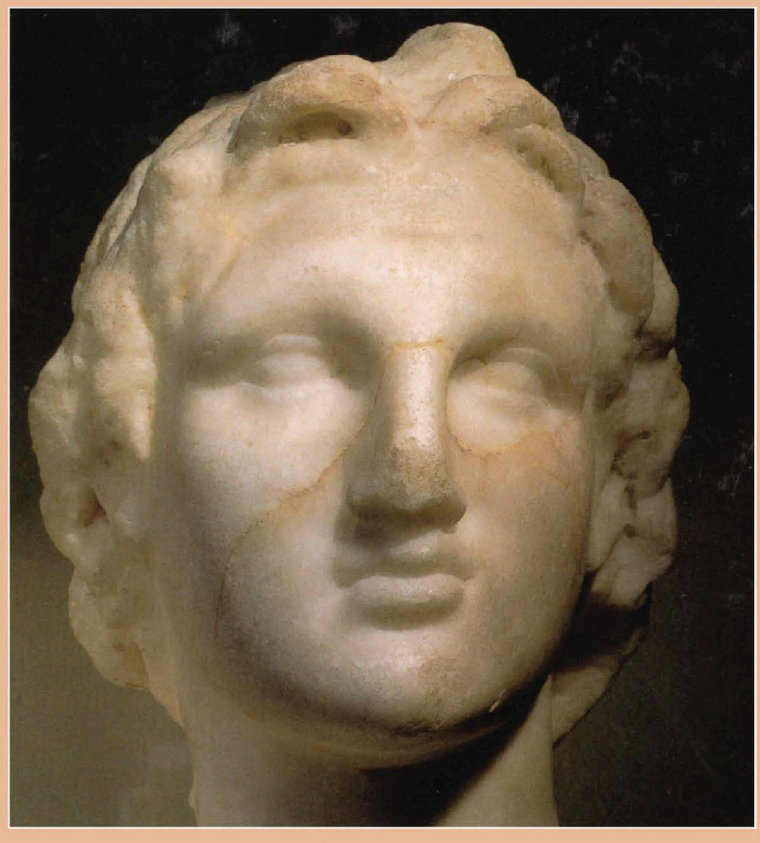
Encyclopedia of Greece and the Hellenic Tradition

Volume 1: A-K & Volume 2: L-Z

Edited by **Graham Speake**

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF GREECE AND THE HELLENIC TRADITION



Volume I

EDITED BY GRAHAM SPEAKE

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Zagreb
HUNGARY
Drava
CROATIA
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Danube
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UKRAINE
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(Constantinople)
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Kavalla
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Thessalonica
Thasos
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Marmara
Kizil Irmak
Tyrrhenian
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Lemnos
Ankara
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Larissa
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Volos
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Nicosia
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IRAQ
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Dead
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Benghazi
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Alexandria
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EGYPT
0
300 km

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF
GREECE
AND THE
HELLENIC
TRADITION

Volume I

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF

GREECE

AND THE

HELLENIC TRADITION

Volume I

A–K

Editor

GRAHAM SPEAKE

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EDITOR'S NOTE

This is first and foremost a book about Greece. But what do we mean by Greece? Is it that remote fairyland of myth and legend ruled by unruly demigods such as Theseus and Agamemnon? Or is it the (much closer to home) source of democracy, reason, fair play, and all the values that we think of today as forming the basis of "our" so-called Western civilization? Do we mean the homeland of Alexander the Great, that most successful general and most romantic hero of all time, who extended his conquests as far as Central Asia? Or is it rather the fatherland of Aristotle Onassis, doyen of 20th-century shipowners, who was born in Asia Minor and was a man of the world if ever there was one? Do we regard Greece as the heart of an empire that touched most of the shores of the Mediterranean and beyond, or as one of the less conspicuous members of NATO or the European Union? Does it put us in mind of dreaming columns in the sunset at Sunium, or of icons and incense on Mount Athos, of *Zorba the Greek*, or the gay clubs of Mykonos? Greece is all these things, and more. They are all the subject-matter of this book.

Secondly it is a book about the Greeks. But who are the Greeks? This question has been debated by scholars for centuries, and the debate continues to this day. For the purposes of this book, we take the Greeks to be all those who speak or spoke the Greek language.

Thirdly, and just as important, it is a book about the Hellenic tradition. We are all of us, whether we like it or not, participants in a tradition, or more likely several traditions. The Hellenic tradition is the cultural tradition in which all Greeks, all Greek-speaking people, participate. Its manifestations are legion and they take different forms at different times. Some of these exhibit a clear thread of continuity throughout the three and a half millennia of Greek history; others, perhaps the majority, come and go, shining brightly for a while before disappearing, but later perhaps resurfacing. The most obvious vehicles of cultural transmission are language and (at least for the last two millennia) religion; but this book will demonstrate that there have been many others, less conspicuous but equally effective, at work in the process.

It will have become clear already that this is not a book about the Hellenic tradition in global terms. It is not about the influence that Hellenism has exerted on other cultures and other peoples. It is restricted to the history and culture of the Greeks themselves, though such restrictions do not preclude (indeed they demand) a global dimension: the Hellenic tradition today is spread far and wide and is just as vibrant in Toronto and Melbourne, and in London and Johannesburg, as it is in Corfu and Nicosia. Even Constantinople, once the queen of cities and Greek-speaking hub of a multi-ethnic empire, later the ultimate but ultimately unattainable goal of the Great Idea, now the home of a tiny and ever-dwindling minority, is still the seat of the Ecumenical Patriarchate to which all Eastern Orthodox Churches owe allegiance.

These then are the cultural boundaries of the book: Greece and the Greeks for the 3500 years of their recorded history. But the syllabus would not be comprehensive without the inclusion of certain extramural topics. Thus there are articles on many of the peoples who have impinged on Greek history and have made significant contributions to the development of Greek culture. In each case the article focuses on the nature of that contribution and the period of that people's interaction with the Greeks, not on the history of the people as a whole. Similarly, articles concerned with places outside the Greek heartlands concentrate primarily on the time during which they were relevant to Greek culture, not their entire history. And there are a few (very few actually) articles about individuals who were not Greeks at all but who are remembered for the contribution that they themselves made to Greece (Hadrian, Mehmet II, Byron, to name but three). In all categories hard decisions had to be made about selection. The result is inevitably a compromise, but we hope at least a representative one.

In addition to the articles on people and places there are thematic articles which attempt to trace the manifestations of the theme concerned throughout the span of Greek history. Again there will be exceptions, because certain themes apply only to particular periods in time; but wherever practicable, the attempt has been made to demonstrate the continuities in Greek culture across the centuries.

Finally there are two extended series of articles. Those devoted to the political history of Greece are easily found because they follow on sequentially under "Political History". These articles are, for reasons of convenience and practicality, divided into the normally recognized periods (though elsewhere in the book there is a conscious effort to avoid periodization). Complementing them is a second series of articles devoted to the cultural history of those same periods; but these are scattered through the book according to the name by which they are most usually known. Thus, after articles on Prehistory, Minoans, and Mycenaeans, there follow Dark Age, Geometric, Archaic, Classical, Hellenistic, Roman, Byzantine (Early, Middle, and Late), Latin Empire, Venetokratia, Ottoman, and Modern Period.

Every article is equipped with a number of suggestions for further reading on the subject. Wherever possible, these are easily accessible sources in major European languages. Cross-referencing between articles has been kept to a minimum in view of the lists of articles at the start of the book and the index at the end; but in general it operates in the direction from the particular to the general.

Acknowledgements

This book was my idea; but a great many people have devoted time and expertise to making it happen. On the academic side, the headword list was compiled with the generous assistance of a distinguished panel of advisers who are listed on p.ix. A vast army of expert contributors from every continent responded with enthusiasm and scholarly acumen to a challenging brief. It has been an enormous privilege for me to work with them. If this book fills a gap in the reference library, it does so only because of their willingness to participate in it. Their efforts fill me in equal measure with gratitude and humility.

On the practical side, maps were compiled by Olive Pearson and site plans by Tom Willcockson, and pictures were researched by Linda Proud. Editorial management and a sense of order were imposed by Carol Jones and, in the final year of the project, by Jonathan Dore, who worked with great dedication to see it through to completion. Delia Gaze, Kara Hattersley-Smith, and Lucilla Watson edited the manuscript; David Edmonds read the proofs; and Christine Headley made the index. I am more grateful than I can say to all of them. But my greatest public debt is to Daniel Kirkpatrick, Managing Director of Fitzroy Dearborn, who was bold enough to commission the project in the first place and has been the most hard-working and the most unassuming member of the team ever since.

This is no place to acknowledge my private debts. The people involved already know who they are, though only I know just how much I owe them. This book is for them. But it is also for all other Hellenists, Hellenes, and Philhellenes everywhere. What has impressed me more than anything about Greece in compiling this book is its astonishing capacity for survival and regeneration. No matter how devastating the catastrophe – from whatever it was that destroyed the civilizations of the Bronze Age to the Asia Minor disaster of 1922 – Greece will always rise again. The tradition is unsinkable. There is something inspiring about that.

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Feast of St Gregory Palamas
26 March 2000

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ALPHABETICAL LIST OF ENTRIES

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Zenobiao

Philosophers, Scientists, Mathematicians
Anaxagoras
Anaximander
Apollonius of Perge
Aratus
Archimedes
Aristides, Aelius
Aristotle
Aristoxenus
Carneades
Dio Cocceianus
Diogenes of Sinope
Dioscurides
Empedocles
Epicurus
Erasistratus
Eratosthenes
Euclid
Eudoxus
Galen
Heraclitus
Herodes Atticus
Heron
Herophilus
Hipparchus
Hippocrates
Hypatia
Parmenides
Philo
Philodemus
Plato
Plotinus
Plutarch
Porphyry
Ptolemy
Pyrrho
Pythagoras
Socrates
Theophrastus
Zeno of Citium

Historians and Biographers
Appian
Arrian
Cassius Dio
Diodorus Siculus
Diogenes Laertius
Dionysius of Halicarnassus
Ephorus
Hecataeus of Miletus
Herodotus
Hieronymus of Cardia
Josephus, Flavius
Plutarch
Polybius
Posidonius
Strabo
Theopompus
Thucydides
Timaeus
Xenophon

Religious
Apologists, Greek
Clement of Alexandria, St
Ephraim the Syrian, St
Evagrius of Pontus
Ignatius, St
Irenaeus
Isaac the Syrian, St
Justin Martyr, St
Macarius (pseudo-)
Mary, Blessed Virgin
Nemesius
Origen
Paul, St
Philo

Artists
Amasis
Apelles
Execias
Lysippus
Phidias
Polygnotus
Praxiteles
Scopas

Byzantium

Scholars and Teachers
Arethas of Caesarea
Argyropoulos, John
Blemmydes, Nikephoros
Choricius of Gaza
Chrysoloras, Manuel
Eusebius
Eustathios
Gaza, Theodore
George of Trebizond
Gregoras, Nikephoros
Kabasilas, Nicholas
Leo the Mathematician
Libanius
Metochites, Theodore
Michael of Ephesus
Philoponus, John
Photios
Planudes, Maximos
Plethon, George Gemistos
Proclus
Procopius of Gaza
Simplicius
Synesius
Themistius
Triklinios, Dimitrios
Tzetzes, John

Rulers and Politicians
Alexios I Komnenos
Andronikos I Komnenos
Andronikos II Palaiologos
Basil I
Basil II
Constantine I the Great
Constantine V
Constantine VII
Constantine IX Monomachos
Constantine XI Palaiologos
Doukas family
Herakleios
Irene
John I Tzimiskes
John II Komnenos
John III Vatatzes
John VI Kantakouzenos
John VIII Palaiologos
Justinian I
Kantakouzenos family
Komnenos family
Laskaris family
Leo III
Leo V
Leo VI
Manuel I Komnenos
Manuel II Palaiologos
Metochites, Theodore
Michael VIII Palaiologos
Palaiologos family
Romanos I Lekapenos
Stephan IV Dushan
Theodora (497–548)
Theodora (d. 867)
Theophilos
Zoe

Historians and Prose Writers
Akropolites, George
Doukas family
Eusebius
Gregoras, Nikephoros
Komnene, Anna
Kritoboulos, Michael
Procopius of Caesarea
Psellos, Michael
Simokattes, Theophylaktos
Sphrantzes, George
Symeon the Logothete
Theophanes the Confessor, St
Zonaras, John

Religious and Theologians
Akindynos, Gregory
Anastasios of Sinai, St
Andrew of Crete, St
Arethas of Caesarea
Athanasios of Athos, St
Athanasius of Alexandria, St
Barlaam of Calabria
Basil the Great, St
Bessarion
Cyril, St
Cyril of Alexandria, St
Demetrius, St
Dionysius the Areopagite, pseudo-
Epiphanius of Salamis, St
Eusebius
Eustathios
Germanos I
Gregory of Nazianzus, St
Gregory of Nyssa, St
Gregory Palamas, St
Helena, St
Italos, John
John Chrysostom, St
John Klimakos, St
John of Damascus, St
Kabasilas, Nicholas
Maximos the Confessor, St
Methodios, St
Neophytos Enkleistos
Nestorius
Philoponus, John
Photios
Procopius of Gaza
Symeon of Thessalonica, St
Symeon the New Theologian, St
Synesius
Theodore of Stoudios, St
Theodoret
Theophanes the Confessor, St
Tzetzes, John
Zonaras, John

Poets, Musicians, Artists
Andrew of Crete, St
Apseudes, Theodore
Chrysaphes, Manuel
Digenis Akritis
Geometres, John
George of Pisidia
Joseph the Hymnographer, St
Kassia
Koukouzeles, St John
Nonnus
Panselinos, Manuel
Prodromos, Theodore
Romanos the Melodist, St

Tourkokratia/Frangokratia

Scholars and Teachers
Corydalleus, Theophilos
Dionysios of Phourna
Korais, Adamantios
Maximos the Greek, St
Moisiodax, Josephos
Theotokis, Nikiphoros
Voulgaris, Evgenios

Writers
Byron, George Gordon, Lord
Chortatsis, Georgios
Kalvos, Andreas
Kornaros, Vitsentzos
Makriyannis, Yannis
Velestinlis, Rigas

Rulers, Warriors, Politicians
Ali Pasha of Ioannina
Botsaris, Markos
Bouboulina, Laskarina

Kapodistria, Count Ioannis
Karaiskakis, Georgios
Kolokotronis, Theodore
Makriyannis, Yannis
Mavrokordatos family
Mavromichalis family
Mehmet II
Miaoulis, Andreas
Soutsos, Mikhail
Velestinlis, Rigas
Ypsilantis family

Religious and Theologians
Argenti, Eustratios
Cyril I Lukaris
Gennadios II Scholarios
Gregory V
Jeremias II Tranos
Kosmas the Aetolian, St
Maximos the Greek, St
Paisy Velichkovsky, St

Artists
Damaskinos, Michael
Dionysios of Phourna
Klontzas, Georgios
Theophanes of Crete
Theotokopoulos, Domenikos (El Greco)
Tzanes, Emmanuel

Modern

Writers, Artists, Musicians, Film Directors
Andronikos, Manolis
Angelopoulos, Thodoros
Cacoyannis, Michalis
Callas, Maria
Cavafy, Constantine
Chatzidakis, Georgios N.
Chatzimichail, Theophilos
Dimaras, K.T.
Doxiadis, Constantinos Apostolou
Elytis, Odysseus
Gatsos, Nikos
Ghika
Gyzis, Nikolaos
Hadjidakis, Manos
Kaftantzoglou, Lysandros
Kazantzakis, Nikos
Kontoglou, Photis
Lytras, Nikephoros
Myrivilis, Stratis
Palamas, Kostis
Pallis, Alexandros
Papadiamantis, Alexandros
Paparrigopoulos, Konstantinos
Parren, Callirrhoe
Pikionis, Dimitris
Politis, Nikolaos
Prevelakis, Pantelis
Psycharis, Yannis
Ritsos, Yiannis
Roidis, Emmanouil
Sakellarides, John Theophrastos
Seferis, George
Sikelianos, Angelos
Skalkotttas, Nikolaos
Solomos, Dionysios
Theodorakis, Mikis
Tsarouchis, Ioannis
Varnalis, Kostas
Vizyinos, Georgios
Xenakis, Iannis

Rulers, Warriors, Politicians
Constantine I
Deliyannis, Theodoros
George I
George II
Kanaris, Constantine
Karamanlis, Constantine
Kolettis, John
Makarios III, Archbishop
Melas, Pavlos
Metaxas, Ioannis
Otho
Papadopoulos, George
Papagos, Alexandros
Papanastasiou, Alexandros
Papandreou family
Plastiras, Nikolaos
Theotokis, George
Trikoupis, Charilaos
Velouchiotis, Ares
Venizelos, Eleftherios
Zervas, Napoleon

Industrialists
Chandris, Antony
Livanos, George P.
Niarchos, Stavros
Onassis, Aristotle

Religious
Athenagoras
Nektarios of Aegina, St
Makarios III, Archbishop

CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF INDIVIDUALS

*fl.*8th or 7th century BC	Hesiod
*fl.*8th or 7th century BC	Homer
*fl.*7th century BC	Archilochus
*c.*640–*c.*560 BC	Solon
b. *c.*630 BC	Sappho
*fl.*6th century BC	Aesop
*fl.*6th century BC	Amasis
*fl.*6th century BC	Execias
*fl.*6th century BC	Pythagoras
b. *c.*557/56 BC	Simonides
d. *c.*547 BC	Anaximander
*c.*530–480 BC	Leonidas
d. *c.*528 BC	Pisistratus
*fl.*525–505 BC	Cleisthenes
*c.*525–456 BC	Aeschylus
*c.*525–459 BC	Themistocles
*c.*518–*c.*438 BC	Pindar
*c.*515–*c.*440 BC	Parmenides
b. *c.*510 BC	Bacchylides
*c.*510–*c.*450 BC	Cimon
*fl.*6th–5th centuries BC	Hecataeus of Miletus
*fl. c.*500 BC	Heraclitus
*fl.*5th century BC	Polygnotus
*c.*500–428 BC	Anaxagoras
*c.*496–406 BC	Sophocles
*c.*492–429 BC	Pericles
*c.*492–432 BC	Empedocles
*c.*490–420s BC	Phidias
484–*c.*425 BC	Herodotus
*c.*480–*c.*407/06 BC	Euripides
*fl.*478–466 BC	Hieron I
470–399 BC	Socrates
*c.*460–*c.*370 BC	Hippocrates
*c.*459/58–*c.*375 BC	Lysias
451/50–404/03 BC	Alcibiades
*c.*445–374/73 BC	Evagoras
*c.*444–359 BC	Agesilaus II
*c.*436–338 BC	Isocrates
*c.*430–367 BC	Dionysius I
*c.*430–*c.*353 BC	Xenophon
429–347 BC	Plato
*fl.*4th century BC	Praxiteles
*c.*400–*c.*320s BC	Ephorus
d. *c.*395 BC	Thucydides
d.395 BC	Lysander
b. *c.*390 BC	Lysippus
*c.*390–*c.*340 BC	Eudoxus
d. *c.*386 BC	Aristophanes
384–322 BC	Aristotle
384–322 BC	Demosthenes
383/82–336 BC	Philip II
378/77–*c.*320 BC	Theopompus
*c.*371–*c.*287 BC	Theophrastus
b. *c.*370 BC	Apelles
b. *c.*370 BC	Aristoxenus
*c.*365–275 BC	Pyrrho
*c.*364–?260 BC	Hieronymus of Cardia
d.362 BC	Epaminondas
*fl.*360–335 BC	Scopas
356–323 BC	Alexander III the Great
d.353 BC	Mausolus
342–292 BC	Menander
341–270 BC	Epicurus
335–263 BC	Zeno of Citium
*c.*330–*c.*260 BC	Herophilus
d. 320s BC	Diogenes of Sinope
*c.*320–*c.*240 BC	Callimachus
319–272 BC	Pyrrhus
*c.*315–*c.*240 BC	Erasistratus
*fl.*4th–3rd centuries BC	Euclid
*fl.*3rd century BC	Apollonius of Perge
*fl.*3rd century BC	Herodas
*fl.*3rd century BC	Theocritus
*c.*295–215 BC	Apollonius Rhodius
*c.*287–212/11 BC	Archimedes
d. *c.*260 BC	Timaeus
260–219 BC	Cleomenes III
*c.*252–182 BC	Philopoemen
*c.*242–187 BC	Antiochus III the Great
d. *c.*240 BC	Aratus
238–179 BC	Philip V
b. *c.*215 BC	Crates of Mallus
*c.*215–*c.*143 BC	Aristarchus of Samothrace
214/13–129/28 BC	Carneades
d. *c.*200 BC	Eratosthenes
*fl.*3rd or 2nd century BC	Lycophron
*fl. c.*2nd century BC	Nicander
*fl.*2nd century BC	Hipparchus
*c.*200–*c.*118 BC	Polybius
*c.*135–*c.*51 BC	Posidonius
*c.*110–40 BC	Philodemus
*fl.*1st century BC	Dionysius of Halicarnassus

*fl.*1st century BC	Diodorus Siculus
69–30 BC	Cleopatra
*c.*64 BC–*c.*AD 19	Strabo
*c.*20 BC–*c.*AD 50	Mary, Blessed Virgin
*fl.*1st century AD	Philo
*c.*AD 30–107	Ignatius, St
37–68	Nero
37–after 93	Josephus, Flavius
*c.*40–112	Dio Cocceianus
*fl. c.*45–75	Dioscurides
*c.*50–120	Plutarch
d. *c.*64	Paul, St
76–138	Hadrian
*c.*90–160	Arrian
*c.*95–160s	Appian
*fl.*1st or 2nd century	Babrius
*fl.*1st or 2nd century	Heron
*fl.*2nd century	Achilles Tatius
*fl.*2nd century	Ptolemy
*c.*100–*c.*165	Justin Martyr, St
*c.*101/03–177	Herodes Atticus
*c.*115–180	Pausanias
117–*c.*180	Aristides, Aelius
*c.*120–180	Lucian
129–?208/16	Galen
*c.*130–*c.*202	Irenaeus
b. *c.*150	Athenaeus
*c.*150–*c.*215	Clement of Alexandria, St
*c.*164–after 229	Cassius Dio
184/85–254/55	Origen
*fl.*2nd or 3rd century	Diogenes Laertius
*fl.*2nd or 3rd century	Longus
*fl.*3rd century	Zenobia
205–269/70	Plotinus
234–*c.*305	Porphyry
*c.*255–*c.*330	Helena, St
*c.*260–339	Eusebius
273/74–337	Constantine I the Great
d. *c.*300	Demetrius, St
*fl.*4th century	Heliodorus
*fl.*4th century	Macarius (pseudo-)
*fl.*4th century	Nemesius
*c.*300–373	Athanasius of Alexandria, St
*c.*306–373	Ephraim the Syrian, St
314–*c.*393	Libanius
*c.*317–*c.*388	Themistius
*c.*329–*c.*390	Gregory of Nazianzus, St
*c.*330–379	Basil the Great, St
*c.*330–*c.*395	Gregory of Nyssa, St
331/32–363	Julian the Apostate
*c.*345–399	Evagrius of Pontus
*c.*347–407	John Chrysostom, St
370–413	Synesius
*c.*370–415	Hypatia
*c.*378–444	Cyril of Alexandria, St
*c.*381–*c.*451	Nestorius
*c.*393–*c.*466	Theodoret
d.403	Epiphanius of Salamis, St
*fl.*5th century	Nonnus
410/11–485	Proclus
*c.*475–*c.*538	Procopius of Gaza
*c.*482–565	Justinian I
*c.*490–570s	Philoponus, John
*c.*497–548	Theodora
*fl. c.*500	Dionysius the Areopagite, pseudo-
*fl.*6th century	Choricius of Gaza
*fl.*6th century	Simplicius
d. after 555	Romanos the Melodist, St
d. *c.*560	Procopius of Caesarea
*c.*575–641	Herakleios
*c.*575–*c.*649	John Klimakos, St
580–662	Maximos the Confessor, St
*fl.*7th century	Anastasios of Sinai, St
*fl.*7th century	George of Pisidia
*fl.*7th century	Isaac the Syrian, St
*fl.*7th century	Simokattes, Theophylaktos
*c.*660–740	Andrew of Crete, St
*c.*685–741	Leo III
*fl.*7th–8th century	Germanos I
718–775	Constantine V
d. *c.*750	John of Damascus, St
*c.*752–803	Irene
759–826	Theodore of Stoudios, St
*c.*760–818	Theophanes the Confessor, St
*c.*780–820	Leo V
*c.*790–after 869	Leo the Mathematician
*fl.*9th century	Kassia
*c.*810–*c.*893	Photios
812/13–842	Theophilos
812/18–*c.*886	Joseph the Hymnnographer, St
*c.*815–885	Methodios, St
826/27–869	Cyril, St
*c.*830–886	Basil I
866–912	Leo VI
d.867	Theodora
*c.*870–948	Romanos I Lekapenos
*fl.*10th century	Geometres, John
*fl.*10th century	Symeon the Logothete
905–959	Constantine VII
*c.*925–976	John I Tzimiskes
*c.*927/30–*c.*997	Athanasios of Athos, St
d. after 932	Arethas of Caesarea
949–1022	Symeon the New Theologian, St
958–1025	Basil II
*c.*978–1050	Zoe
*c.*1000–1055	Constantine IX Monomachos
1018–after 1081	Psellos, Michael
b. *c.*1025	Italos, John
*c.*1057–1118	Alexios I Komnenos
1083–*c.*1153/54	Komnene, Anna
1087–1143	John II Komnenos
*fl.*12th century	Apseudes, Theodore
*fl.*12th century	Michael of Ephesus
*fl.*12th century	Prodromos, Theodore
*fl.*12th century	Zonaras, John
*c.*1110–after 1165	Tzetzes, John
*c.*1115–*c.*1195	Eustathios
1118–1180	Manuel I Komnenos
*c.*1118/20–1185	Andronikos I Komnenos
1134–1219	Neophytos Enkleistos
*c.*1192–1254	John III Vatatzes
1197–1272	Blemmydes, Nikephoros
1217–1282	Akropolites, George
*c.*1225–1282	Michael VIII Palaiologos
*c.*1255–*c.*1305	Planudes, Maximos
1259/60–1328	Andronikos II Palaiologos
1270–1332	Metochites, Theodore
*c.*1280–*c.*1340	Triklinios, Dimitrios

*c.*1290–1348	Barlaam of Calabria
1290/94–1358/61	Gregoras, Nikephoros
*c.*1295–1383	John VI Kantakouzenos
1296–1359	Gregory Palamas, St
*fl. c.*1300	Panselinos, Manuel
*fl.*13th–14th centuries	Koukouzeles, St John
*c.*1300–*c.*1348	Akindynos, Gregory
*c.*1319–*c.*1391	Kabasilas, Nicholas
*c.*1350–1415	Chrysoloras, Manuel
1350–1425	Manuel II Palaiologos
d. 1355	Stephan IV Dushan
*c.*1360–1452	Plethon, George Gemistos
1392–1448	John VIII Palaiologos
1395–1472/73 or *c.*1484	George of Trebizond
*fl.*15th century	Chrysaphes, Manuel
*fl.*15th century	Kritoboulos, Michael
*c.*1400–1472	Bessarion
*c.*1400–1475/76	Gaza, Theodore
1401–1477/78	Sphrantzes, George
1405–1453	Constantine XI Palaiologos
*c.*1405–*c.*1472	Gennadios II Scholarios
*c.*1415–1487	Argyropoulos, John
d.1429	Symeon of Thessalonica, St
1432–1481	Mehmet II
*c.*1470–1556	Maximos the Greek, St
*c.*1490–1559	Theophanes of Crete
*fl.*16th century	Chortatsis, Georgios
*c.*1530–*c.*1592	Damaskinos, Michael
*c.*1530–1595	Jeremias II Tranos
*c.*1535–1608	Klontzas, Georgios
*c.*1541–1614	Theotokopoulos, Domenikos (El Greco)
1553–*c.*1614	Kornaros, Vitsentzos
1570–1638	Cyril I Lukaris
*c.*1574–1646	Corydalleus, Theophilos
*c.*1610–1690	Tzanes, Emmanuel
*c.*1670–after 1744	Dionysios of Phourna
*c.*1687–*c.*1757	Argenti, Eustratios
1714–1779	Kosmas the Aetolian, St
1716–1806	Voulgaris, Evgenios
1722–1794	Paisy Velichkovsky, St
*c.*1725–1800	Moisiodax, Josephos
1731–1800	Theotokis, Nikiphoros
1745–1821	Gregory V
1748–1833	Korais, Adamantios
1750–1822	Ali Pasha of Ioannina
*c.*1757–1798	Velestinlis, Rigas
1769–1835	Miaoulis, Andreas
*c.*1770–1825	Bouboulina, Laskarina
1770–1843	Kolokotronis, Theodore
1774–1847	Kolettis, John
1776–1831	Kapodistria, Count Ioannis
1778–1864	Soutsos, Mikhail
1782–1827	Karaiskakis, Georgios
1788–1824	Byron, George Gordon, Lord
1790–1823	Botsaris, Markos
1792–1869	Kalvos, Andreas
1795–1877	Kanaris, Constantine
1797–1864	Makriyannis, Yannis
1798–1857	Solomos, Dionysios
1811–1885	Kaftantzoglou, Lysandros
1815–1867	Otho
1815–1891	Paparrigopoulos, Konstantinos
1826–1905	Deliyannis, Theodoros
1832–1896	Trikoupis, Charilaos
1832–1904	Lytras, Nikephoros
1836–1904	Roidis, Emmanouil
1842–1901	Gyzis, Nikolaos
1844–1916	Theotokis, George
1845–1913	George I
1846–1920	Nektarios of Aegina, St
1848–1941	Chatzidakis, Georgios N.
1849–1896	Vizyinos, Georgios
1851–1911	Papadiamantis, Alexandros
1851–1935	Pallis, Alexandros
1852–1921	Politis, Nikolaos
*c.*1853–1938	Sakellarides, John Theophrastos
1854–1929	Psycharis, Yannis
1859–1940	Parren, Callirrhoe
1859–1943	Palamas, Kostis
1863–1933	Cavafy, Constantine
1864–1936	Venizelos, Eleftherios
1868–1922	Constantine I
1870–1904	Melas, Pavlos
1871–1941	Metaxas, Ioannis
1873–1934	Chatzimichail, Theophilos
1876/79–1936	Papanastasiou, Alexandros
1883–1953	Plastiras, Nikolaos
1883–1955	Papagos, Alexandros
1883–1957	Kazantzakis, Nikos
1884–1951	Sikelianos, Angelos
1884–1974	Varnalis, Kostas
1886–1972	Athenagoras
1887–1968	Pikionis, Dimitris
1890–1947	George II
1891–1957	Zervas, Napoleon
1892–1969	Myrivilis, Stratis
*c.*1895–1965	Kontoglou, Photis
1900–1971	Seferis, George
1900 (or 1906)–1975	Onassis, Aristotle
1904–1949	Skalkottas, Nikolaos
1904–1992	Dimaras, K.T.
1905–1945	Velouchiotis, Ares
1906–1994	Ghika
1907–1998	Karamanlis, Constantine
1909–1986	Prevelakis, Pantelis
1909–1990	Ritsos, Yiannis
1909–1996	Niarchos, Stavros
1910–1989	Tsarouchis, Ioannis
1911–1996	Elytis, Odysseus
1913–1975	Doxiadis, Constantinos Apostolou
1913–1977	Makarios III, Archbishop
1916–1995	Gatsos, Nikos
1919–1992	Andronikos, Manolis
1919–1999	Papadopoulos, George
1922–	Xenakis, Iannis
1922–	Cacoyannis, Michalis
1923–1977	Callas, Maria
1924–1984	Chandris, Antony
1925–	Theodorakis, Mikis
1925–1994	Hadjidakis, Manos
1926–1997	Livanos, George P.
1935–	Angelopoulos, Thodoros

NOTE ON TRANSLITERATION

Transliteration is always a problem when dealing with a non-Roman alphabet across such a vast span of time and space, and it is as impossible to please everybody as it is to be consistent within the rules one has set. But, on the principle that good transliteration like good writing is by definition inconspicuous, the aim throughout has been to present the reader with the form of any word which is likely to be the most familiar and least jarring. In general, ancient names have been presented in their "Latin" form (e.g. Thucydides), but medieval and modern names in their "Greek" form (e.g. Alexios I Komnenos). Since a point in time had to be chosen for the switch from "Latin" to "Greek" forms, that (entirely arbitrary) moment is taken to be the death of Justinian I (14 November, 565) who was probably the last Byzantine emperor to speak Latin. Greek is always transliterated into the Roman alphabet. Here again the more usual "ancient" system (e.g. *basileus*) is employed until (simply because a date had to be chosen) 1453 when the switch is made to the "modern" system (e.g. *vasilefs*). Places that have a standard ancient (or English) form (such as Thessalonica or Athens) retain that form throughout. Nevertheless inconsistencies and infelicities are inevitable and we can only crave the reader's indulgence where they occur.

GRAHAM SPEAKE

The Greek Alphabet

Capital	*Lower Case*	*Name*		*Transliteration (pre-1453/post-1453)*
A	α	Alpha	=	*a*
B	β	Beta	=	*b/v*
Γ	γ	Gamma	=	*g* (hard, as in "good")
Δ	δ	Delta	=	*d*
E	ε	Epsilon	=	*e* (as e in "net")
Z	ζ	Zeta	=	*z*
H	η	Eta	=	*e* (as ee in "meet")
Θ	θ	Theta	=	*th*
I	ι	Iota	=	*i*
K	κ	Kappa	=	*k*
Λ	λ	Lambda	=	*l*
M	μ	Mu	=	*m*
N	ν	Nu	=	*n*
Ξ	ξ	Xi	=	*x*
O	*o*	Omicron	=	*o* (as o in "spot")
Π	π	Pi	=	*p*
P	ρ	Rho	=	*rh, r*
Σ	$\sigma\,\varsigma$	Sigma	=	*s* (ς when final letter)
T	τ	Tau	=	*t*
Y	υ	Upsilon	=	*u/f* after *a* and *e*
Φ	ϕ	Phi	=	*ph*
X	χ	Chi	=	*ch* (hard, as in "chord")
Ψ	ψ	Psi	=	*ps*
Ω	ω	Omega	=	*o* (as o in "lone")

BYZANTINE EMPERORS

Constantine I the Great	324–337
Constantine II	337–340
Constans I	337–350
Constantius II	337–361
Julian	361–363
Jovian	363–364
Valens	364–378
Theodosius I	379–395
Arcadius	395–408
Theodosius II	408–450
Marcian	450–457
Leo I	457–474
Leo II	473–474
Zeno	474–491
Basiliscus	475–476
Anastasius I	491–518
Justin I	518–527
Justinian I	527–565
Justin II	565–578
Tiberios I	578–582
Maurice	582–602
Phokas	602–610
Herakleios	610–641
Herakleios Constantine and Heraklonas	641
Constans II	641–668
Constantine IV*	668–685
Justinian II	685–695
Leontios	695–698
Tiberios II	698–705
Justinian II (second reign)	705–711
Philippikos	711–713
Anastasios II	713–715
Theodosios III	715–717
Leo III	717–741
Constantine V	741–775
Leo IV	775–780
Constantine VI	780–797
Irene	797–802
Nikephoros I	802–811
Staurakios	811
Michael I Rangabe	811–813
Leo V	813–820
Michael II	820–829
Theophilos	829–842
Michael III	842–867
Basil I	867–886
Leo VI	886–912
Alexander	912–913
Regency for Constantine VII	913–920
Romanos I Lekapenos	920–944
Stephen and Constantine Lekapenos	944–945
Constantine VII	945–959
Romanos II	959–963
Nikephoros II Phokas	963–969
John I Tzimiskes	969–976
Basil II	976–1025
Constantine VIII	1025–1028
Romanos III Argyros	1028–1034
Michael IV Paphlagon	1034–1041
Michael V Kalaphates	1041–1042
Zoe and Theodora	1042
Constantine IX Monomachos	1042–1055
Theodora	1055–1056
Michael VI Stratiotikos	1056–1057
Isaac I Komnenos	1057–1059
Constantine X Doukas	1059–1067
Romanos IV Diogenes	1068–1071
Michael VII Doukas	1071–1078
Nikephoros III Botaneiates	1078–1081
Alexios I Komnenos	1081–1118
John II Komnenos	1118–1143
Manuel I Komnenos	1143–1180
Alexios II Komnenos	1180–1183
Andronikos I Komnenos	1183–1185
Isaac II Angelos	1185–1195
Alexios III Angelos	1195–1203
Isaac II and Alexios IV Angelos	1203–1204
Alexios V Doukas	1204
Theodore I Laskaris	1205–1222
John III Vatatzes	1222–1254
Theodore II Laskaris	1254–1258
John IV Laskaris	1259–1261
Michael VIII Palaiologos	1259–1282
Andronikos II Palaiologos	1282–1328
Michael IX Palaiologos	1294–1320
Andronikos III Palaiologos	1328–1341
John V Palaiologos	1341–1391
John VI Kantakouzenos	1347–1354
Andronikos IV Palaiologos	1376–1379
John VII Palaiologos	1390
Manuel II Palaiologos	1391–1425
John VIII Palaiologos	1425–1448
Constantine XI Palaiologos	1449–1453

**Constantine III was a usurper emperor in the western empire, 407–411*

A

Abortion

Like other ethnic groups in the ancient Mediterranean area, the Greeks afforded the community's protection of law after a child was accepted by the father in a naming ceremony called the *amphidromia*. At any time prior to that event the foetus or child could be killed with impunity and usually without adverse moral judgement.

Abortion was practised through both chemical and surgical procedures. The latter was considered more dangerous and, consequently, most of the anecdotal and medical data refer to drugs, usually taken orally. Only after Christianity was established did this cultural pattern change and even then not dramatically. In pre-Christian Hellenic and Hellenistic societies abortion was regarded as a normal exercise of a woman. The exception was the moral and sometimes legal obligation to bear a child in wedlock when the father wanted the progeny. In Christian Greek- and Latin-speaking communities a woman was free to terminate what we regard as an early pregnancy, but not after she declared herself pregnant or when the foetal development made pregnancy obvious.

Contraception, abortion, and infanticide (provided it was before the ceremonial acceptance into the family) were means to limit family sizes as well as to dispose of unwanted, illegitimate, or deformed children. Exposed babies could be given or sold to slave traders. Hesiod (*fl. c.*700 BC) warns families not to have more than one son. Socrates said that midwives – his own mother was one – knew the drugs to "cause miscarriages if they think them desirable" (Plato, *Theaetetus*, 149d). Aristotle spoke of unspecified drugs to prevent children "before sense and life have begun in the embryo" (*Politics*, 7. 14. 10/1335b). In much the same way Plato voiced the same sentiments for public policy in the ideal state to limit unneeded children. A later report that the lawgivers of Athens and Sparta, Solon and Lycurgus, prohibited abortions is not regarded as authentic. Instead it was merely a reflection of sentiments in the 2nd century AD when Galen made the claim.

The medical writings beginning with those attributed to Hippocrates have prescriptions for causing an abortion. Sometimes they were not explicitly stated for an abortion but for stimulation of the onset of menstruation, although the function was to terminate, in our vocabulary, an early pregnancy. Such plants as the rue, pennyroyal, myrrh, juniper, and birthwort (*Aristolochae*) were among those commonly employed. Birthwort was considered suitable for late-term abortions or, similarly, to initiate labour for delayed childbirth.

The modern question of "when does life begin" was not formulated in ancient Greek society with the meaning we give to it. Plutarch said that Plato regarded the foetus as a living being, but nevertheless Plato recommended abortions for women over 40. Aristotle's biological observations on foetal development, mostly observed with birds' eggs, influenced later Christian theological thinking. Knowing that an accident or Caesarian birth can result in a live birth, Aristotle asked when the foetus developed independent life. Although he did not consistently answer the question in the same way, one of his answers heavily influenced later philosophical and religious attitudes towards abortion. When the foetus had all of its form, Aristotle said that it had *psyche*, meaning "life". The Stoics developed the notion of "soul" for which they employed the word *psyche*. The Christians, when reading Aristotle, thought that his question was not when independent life was expected but ensoulment. The only explicit reference to abortion in the Bible or Torah occurs in Exodus 21: 23 in answer to a question about the fault of a person assaulting a pregnant woman with a miscarriage resulting. The answer was "life is for life". The Hebrew word for life, *nefesh*, was translated by the Septuagint as *psyche*, thus the implication in late, Classical Greek to give a "soul for a soul" as punishment for the act. Most of the Church Fathers adapted Aristotle's views and believed that ensoulment came at that point in a pregnancy when there was foetal movement. They envisioned the soul to have come from God, not the parents, and the divine act came when the foetus was formed. Prior to ensoulment a woman was free to terminate her fertility by returning to her menstrual cycle.

Not all pre-Christian or pagan Greeks subscribed to faultless abortion. For example, a Greek inscription above a sanctuary in Lydia (north Africa) prohibits entry to those who commit contraception, abortion, or infanticide. In its early version the Hippocratic Oath forbade a physician from prescribing an abortive pessary. The 2nd-century AD gynaecology writer Soranus explained that pessaries were more dangerous than oral-route drugs, and thus to be avoided. By late Hellenistic and Roman periods, however, some versions of the oath excised the word for pessary, thereby alleging that a physician was prohibited from the administration of any kind of abortion. Probably no version of the oath was actually taken

by physicians in ancient or Byzantine times, but physicians were no doubt aware of the ethical values espoused.

The Stoics asserted that life began with the taking in of the first breath of cold air, but some Stoics argued that the foetus had the potential for life. No writings of Greek Stoics speak directly on abortion, but later Stoics asserted that intercourse should only be for procreation. Writing in the late 3rd century, Porphyry discussed the question of when the soul enters the new being and answered that it may be as early as when the sperm enters the womb. Porphyry's answer (among others he proposed) was not accepted in Greek culture until the latter part of the 19th century.

In the Hellenistic and Byzantine periods some modifications were made to the ancient formula regarding abortion after foetal formation. The Gnostics regarded intercourse of any kind under any circumstances as wrong. The hateful *pharmakia* ("drugs") in biblical and early Christian works (e.g. Galatians 5: 20 and *Didache*, 5. 1) are oblique references to abortifacients.

Generally the Greek Church Fathers took a stronger position against the termination of pregnancy at any time than did the Latin Fathers. Gregory of Nyssa (d. *c.*395) followed the Latin approach in saying that an unformed (i.e. prequickening) foetus could not be considered a human being. His elder brother Basil (d. *c.*379) spoke harshly against women who "destroyed a foetus ... whether ... formed or unformed". A feticide is the same as homicide; but he mitigated the punishment and recommended compassion and a lesser repentance if circumstances merited it. Essentially the Eastern Orthodox Church adopted as canonical the pronouncement by Basil. Arethas of Caesarea (9th–10th century) and Michael Psellos (11th century) held similar views. Since the Renaissance the Greek Orthodox Church has had a more consistent position compared with the Roman Catholic Church regarding birth control. Essentially the Greek Church rejects any artificial intervention in procreation. In the 20th century, however, it has modified its position on contraception but not on abortion.

Discontinuity existed between Greek medieval religious doctrine and practices, if medical works and legal codes are to be accepted as reflecting actual practice. Those medical works that were based on Classical, Byzantine, and borrowed Arabic authorities all continue prescriptions for abortifacients, most of which were effective. Some were disguised as menstrual stimulators, ostensibly to return to menstruation, but they caused an abortion should pregnancy have been the reason for delay. Procopius, writing in the 6th century, spoke of the empress Theodora employing abortifacients. Justinian's *Digest* protected a male's right to have a child sired in wedlock. Later Byzantine law inflicted capital punishment for widows who killed foetuses for money. Gradually the tolerance for abortion became more restrictive in Greek as well as Latin lands. The 14th-century *Hexabilos* identified suppliers of abortion drugs as murderers. A famous case in 1370 found guilty the father (in this case, a monk) of an unborn child for administering an abortion and sent into exile the physician who supplied the drugs.

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See also Birth, Contraception

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Academy of Athens

Philosophical school founded by Plato

The Academy was a public gymnasium in Athens, sacred to the hero Academus. It was located northwest of Athens, near the Dipylon gate. Plato founded his school there about 388/87 BC when he returned to Athens from his travels in Sicily. He acquired a house with a garden where Mithridates later set up a statue of him and where Speusippus, Plato's nephew and successor, erected statues of the Muses. We do not know much about the organization and legal status of the Academy. Although Plato was not the first to found a school of secondary education in Athens, his school had certain distinctive characteristics. Membership of the Academy was not the exclusive privilege of the few; nor did it presuppose adherence to certain doctrines. Plato did not charge his students – who included women – a fee. Mainly responsible for the teaching was the scholarch, but other senior members could lecture too. Subjects taught, apart from philosophy, included mathematics, astronomy, and natural science. An insight into the activity of the Academy is offered by a fragment of the comic writer Epicrates (4th century).

Unlike the founders of other schools (Socratics, sophists), Plato made provision for the continuation of the school after his death (347 BC), by appointing Speusippus as his successor. His school was maintained until the 1st century BC, enjoying an unbroken line of elected successors. Already the ancients distinguished two main phases in the history of the Academy: (1) the Old Academy from Speusippus to Crantor, and (2) the New Academy from Arcesilaus to Philo of Larissa. Later, doxographers make further divisions, often distinguishing four or five phases. The first phase is that of doctrinal Platonism, whereas with Arcesilaus (316–240 BC) the Academy enters a period of scepticism which gradually became less radical. Unfortunately not a single extant work survives from Plato's successors. Thus our knowledge of the development of Platonic philosophy is often shadowy. Figures who were regarded as crucial for later developments such as Polemo (scholarch 314–276 BC) remain entirely obscure to us. Yet our knowledge of the succession is firm thanks to a variety of ancient sources, notably a papyrus from Herculaneum (*Index Academicus*).

Speusippus had a strong interest in logic and mathematics. He elaborated Plato's theory of division and developed a theory of definition. Speusippus argued for the separate existence of numbers as immutable and eternal objects of knowledge preferable to Plato's ideas. He admitted two opposite principles: the One and the multiplicity. Yet these principles are not universal for the several kinds of substances, but each of them has its own principles. In Aristotle's view this lack of ultimate principles deprives the world of internal order and fails to account for a final cause. As regards ethics, Speusippus maintained that both pleasure and pain should be avoided as they are disturbances. Xenocrates (scholarch 339–314 BC), as we can infer from his list of writings, had a strong interest in moral philosophy, while he was also interested in giving a systematic account of the nature of gods and demons and their relation to heavenly bodies. With Polemo the interest in moral questions predominates. Crates and Crantor apparently continued Polemo's line. Crantor became renowned for his treatise "On Grief" and for composing the first commentary on a Platonic dialogue, namely the *Timaeus*.

The term "New Academy" bears a critical overtone. It was first coined by Antiochus of Ascalon (1st century BC) in order to criticize the sceptical Academy as diverging from a dogmatic Plato. Arcesilaus introduced scepticism into the Academy appealing to Socrates' aporetic method. The aim now was to challenge dogmatic doctrines dialectically. Neither Arcesilaus nor his most important successor Carneades (*c.*214–129 BC) wrote anything; their positions were expounded by their successors, Lacydes and Clitomachus respectively. Arcesilaus questioned Stoic claims that firm knowledge is attainable through sense impressions, arguing that no sense impression is such that it cannot be false. Arcesilaus' alternative to holding mere beliefs was to postulate suspension of judgement as the safest way to avoid error. Carneades systematically questioned dogmatic arguments, insisting on the impossibility of distinguishing cognitive from non-cognitive impressions. He maintained that suspension of judgement still allows for action; we can follow plausible impressions, but we do not have to assent to them.

Philo of Larissa was to be the last scholarch of the Academy. He succeeded Clitomachus around 110 BC, but with the occupation of Athens by Sulla in 89/88 BC he fled to Rome where he continued to teach for about a decade until his death. Philo started as a faithful follower of Carneadian scepticism, but later he reinterpeted it as allowing for formation of philosophical judgements. He maintained that things are actually knowable but we lack a criterion of truth such as the Stoic one, and he argued that this position was being held in the Academy all along, thus presenting the early Academic scepticism of Arcesilaus and his followers as being a reaction to Stoic dogmatism. Antiochus, Philo's disciple, found Philo's new position infuriating. He withdrew from the Academy, reproaching the "New" (i.e. sceptical) Academy as an aberration of Plato's philosophy. He himself propounded the revival of the "Old" Academy, claiming adherence to the ancients. Interestingly Antiochus included among the ancients Aristotle and the early Peripatetics, and argued for an essential agreement between the Academy and the early Peripatos. He also thought that the Stoics were in many respects in accord with the ancients exactly because they borrowed so much from them, only modifying their terminology. Yet Antiochus failed to restore the Old Academy. His philosophical outlook was heavily Stoic; his epistemology was essentially Stoic and his ethics more Peripatetic than Stoic. Antiochus never became scholarch of the Academy; he taught in his own school in the Ptolemaion gymnasium in Athens, while the Academy was abandoned after Sulla's sack of Athens. Antiochus' own school did not last long either.

There is no evidence of any philosophical activity in the Academy in the subsequent centuries. The term "Academic" now meant "sceptic", contrasted to "Platonic" which first applied to Thrasyllus (1st century AD), the editor of Plato's works in tetralogies. Plutarch, however, tried to restore the original meaning of the term "Academic" and defended the aporetic character of Plato's thought. A formal institution of Platonism no longer existed and there were no successors of Plato. Individual Platonists taught their students in their own schools, located either in a gymnasium or in their own house. This was the case with Ammonius and his disciple Plutarch (1st century AD) and also with Taurus (2nd century). In AD 176 the Roman emperor Marcus Aurelius set up chairs for teachers of philosophy in Athens, and Atticus was probably the first incumbent of the Platonist chair. Plotinus (3rd century AD) taught in Rome in an establishment provided by a rich patron, while later Neoplatonists taught in Alexandria, Syria, and Athens. The Athenian school of Neoplatonism established successions. Proclus (5th century) claimed descent from Plato; and Damascius (6th century) argued for an unbroken "Golden Chain" of successors from the time to Plato to himself. But this was a historical illusion propagated by the Athenian Neoplatonists to lend authority to their own school, which was not located in the gymnasium of the Academy. The closure of the Academy by Emperor Justinian in 529 did not stop all philosophical activity. Simplicius and Olympiodorus wrote most of their works after that date.

GEORGE E. KARAMANOLIS

See also Neoplatonism, Plato

Summary

Philosophical school in Athens founded by Plato *c.*388/87 BC. Subjects taught included mathematics, astronomy, and natural science as well as philosophy. Known as the "Old" Academy from Speusippus to Crantor (*c.*269 BC) and the "New" from Arcesilaus to Philo of Larissa (in the latter phase dogmatic Platonism was abandoned in favour of scepticism), the school was deserted after Sulla's sack of Athens in 88 BC.

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Acarnania

Region in western Greece

The Ambracian gulf and the Ionian sea formed Acarnania's northern and western borders, while its border with Aetolia, to the east and south, was less stable. Mount Thyamus and the Achelous river, however, are usually considered the limits of the ancient Acarnanian state. Its most populous region was the plain of the Achelous, commanded by the town of Stratus. The increased excavation activity in Acarnania contributes to a more precise definition of its historical outline. However, issues concerning the provenance of its earliest inhabitants, the role they played in Greek history, and the development of its political institutions are still insufficiently understood due to the small number of comprehensive studies dealing with the region.

Little is known about Acarnania before its colonization by the Corinthians in the 7th century BC; in epic poetry there are references to the region, though without mentioning its name, as the kingdom of the cruel king Echetos. Information on the prehistoric inhabitants of Acarnania, the Taphians, Teleboans, Leleges, and Kouretes, is also vague. It seems that the region was not heavily populated in the Bronze Age; all the sites of this period are located in the region of Astacus, while there is a remarkable absence of Bronze Age sites along the coast.

The Acarnanians of the early historical period moved into the region at the time of, or a little after, the Dorian migration and spoke a northwest Greek dialect, characteristics of which have been traced to Illyria and Epirus. Before the arrival of Corinthian colonists, there was a settlement at Oeniadae. According to a myth narrated by Thucydides, an oracle directed Alcmaeon, Amphiaraus' son, to establish it after his act of matricide. Thus Alcmaeon became the first ruler of this area and his son Acarnan gave his name to the people. The Corinthians colonized primarily the northwest of the territory (Leucas, Anactorium, Sollium) despite native opposition. Consequently, Corinthian artistic influence has been observed in Acarnania during the Archaic period.

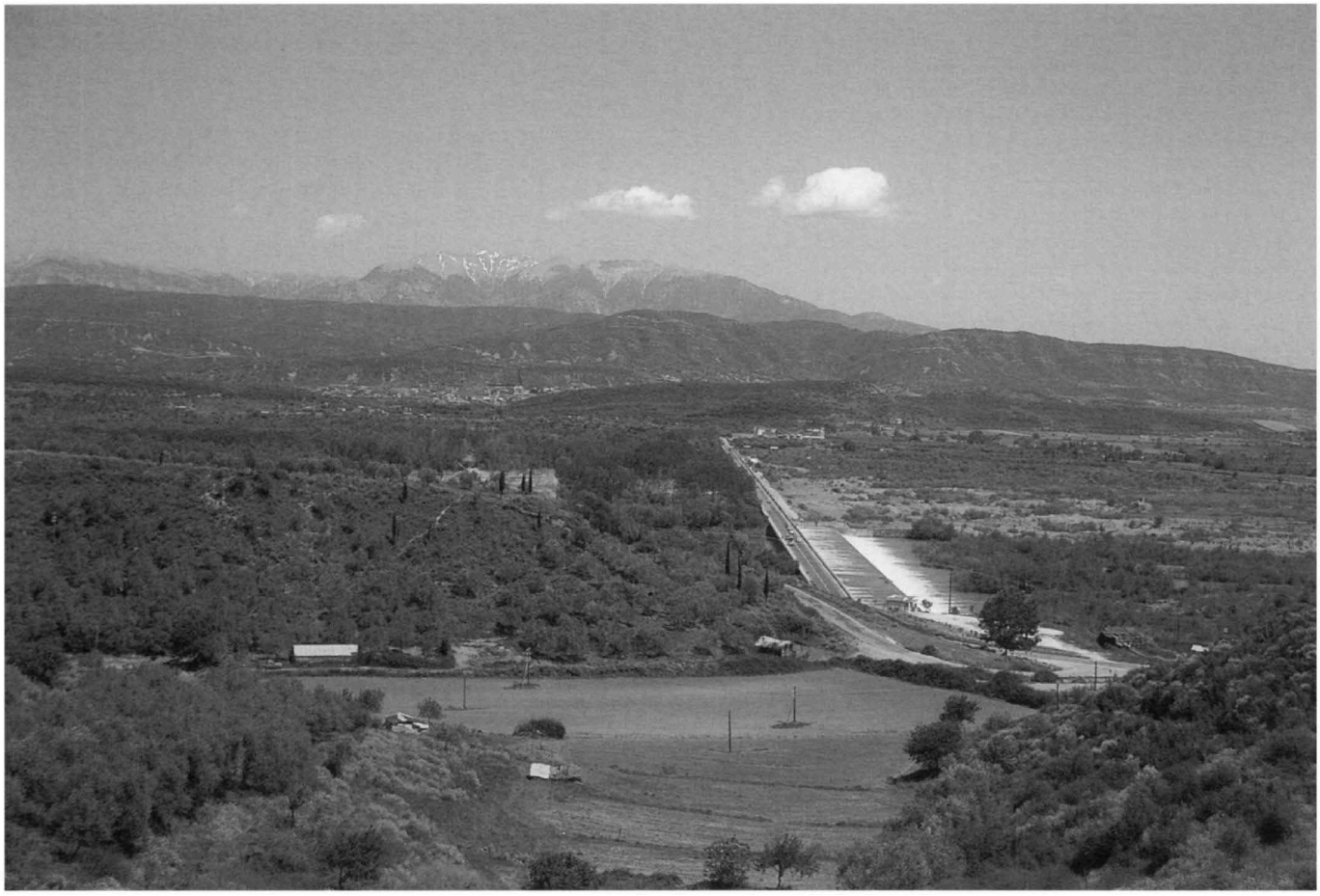
Although Acarnania as a whole did not play an active role in the events of the Greek world, at least until the 4th century BC, it was involved in many wars because of its strategic position along the western sailing route to Italy. It was only the Corinthian colonies, Leucas, Anactorium, and Ambracia, which parricipated in the Persian Wars, sending contingents to Salamis and Plataea. In the middle of the 5th century BC contacts between Acarnania and Athens were developed, as the latter began to expand its sphere of influence in the west of Greece. With the aid of Athens the Acarnanians managed to subdue the Corinthian colonies on their coast. Being in alliance with Athens, they became involved in the Peloponnesian War and sent forces to Sicily in aid of Demosthenes.

By the mid-5th century BC the notion of *ethnos* (nation) existed among the Acarnanians as is demonstrated by the common defence of towns in cases of external attack. The individual poleis were organized into a federal state, the Acarnanian *koinon*, but they retained their autonomy. Each of them contributed troops for the defence of Acarnania, while an official body was located at Stratus from the 4th century BC. The earliest coins of the federal state were issued around 350 BC. The economy of the region was still agriculturally based in the 5th century BC; the production of grapes, olives, wheat, and barley and the keeping of livestock served local consumption, while there are no indications of interstate trade on a regular basis. The strong commercial presence of Corinth is reflected in the adoption of Corinthian coinage from the end of the 6th to the 3rd century BC.

In the Corinthian war (395 BC) Acarnania sided with Athens and its allies against the Lacedaemonians. In 390 BC the Spartan king Agesilaus II attacked Acarnania, which consequently allied with Sparta. Under the threat posed by Philip II of Macedon, the Acarnanians joined the second Athenian Confederacy and fought against him at Chaeronea (338 BC). Macedonia, however, soon replaced Athens as the Acarnanians' ally and protector, especially against Aetolia.

An Acarnanian–Macedonian alliance was encouraged by Cassander in 324 BC, in order to prevent Antigonus' activity in Aetolia which threatened the Macedonian ruler. In 314 BC the Acarnanian communities near the Aetolian border agreed to concentrate in the larger cities. In 294 BC Alexander IV ceded some rights over Acarnania to Pyrrhus in return for military assistance. During the years of Pyrrhus' rule Acarnania was prosperous because of the flow of trade from Greece to south Italy and Sicily and the temporary peace with Aetolia. This peace did not last long and frontier disputes with the Aetolians resulted in the dissolution of the Acarnanian *koinon* and the partition of Acarnania between them and the Epirotes around 252–250 BC.

In 231 BC, after the end of the war between Aetolia and Macedonia (239–234BC), the Acarnanians managed to regain control of their territory and a year later to reestablish their league. They acquired from Epirus the island of Leucas which became their capital. The main target of the new federation's policy was the liberation of the Acarnanian communities under Aetolian control. Antigonus Doson and Philip V supported the league. In 219 BC Philip campaigned along the



Acarnania: looking east from Stratos across the valley of the river Archelous

Aetolian–Acarnanian border and recovered Phoetiae and Oeniadae. At the end of the summer in 217 BC peace was agreed between Philip and the Aetolians at Naupactus.

The Acarnanians sided with Philip against Rome (200 BC) and as a result Leucas was separated from the *koinon* and Thyrreion became the new capital. The Acarnanian confederacy survived until 31–29 BC, but the coastal cities suffered from pirate raids and the whole region from the Roman civil wars. Following the battle of Actium (31 BC) the country was ravaged by Octavian, and its inhabitants settled in Nicopolis (founded 30 BC.)

From Byzantine to modern times Acarnania and Aetolia have shared a common history and development. The region became part of the theme of Nicopolis and then of the despotate of Epirus. Their ancient names, however, were occasionally in use until the 6th century AD. Acarnania took a prominent part in the national uprising of 1821 against Turkish domination and since 1833 has been joined with Aetolia as a nome.

ELENI ZIMI

See also Aetolia

Summary

Region of western Greece colonized by the Corinthians in the 7th century BC. With the aid of Athens the Acarnanians expelled the Corinthians in the 5th century BC and formed a federal state or *koinon*. Allied in turn with Athens, Sparta, Athens again, and Macedonia, Acarnania suffered constant friction with neighbouring Aetolia. The confederacy survived until 29 BC when the region was laid waste by Octavian.

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Achaea

Region in the Peloponnese

Achaea is located in the northwest of the Peloponnese, between Elis and Sicyon, in the restricted land space between the Corinthian Gulf and the mountains. The region is relatively well watered and wooded, especially in its southern portion. Its three highest peaks, Panahaiko, Erimanthos, and Aroaneia, all located in the south, are dotted with numerous attractive villages. Coastal towns in the north are separated by small bays.

Evidence for early settlement in the region includes material remains from the Neolithic, Middle Helladic, and Late Helladic eras. Vestiges of Mycenaean occupation are found in both textual accounts and archaeological data. According to Homer (*Iliad*, 2. 574) Aigion, east of Patras, was part of Agamemnon's territory. And, indeed, archaeological discoveries at Aigion include a fairly extensive Late Helladic necropolis. Pausanias reported a variety of stories connecting the region with ancient Mycenaean, Dorian, and Ionian traditions. According to his description of the upheaval following the decline of the Mycenaean centres, the local "Ionians" moved from Achaea to Attica while "Dorians" from Argos and Sparta moved into the area. Originally named "Aigialea", the region received its Classical name Achaea after the arrival of the Dorian settlers. Herodotus (1. 145) gives us the names of the twelve main parts, *merea*, or cities in Achaea: Aegae, Aigion, Aegira, Bura, Dyme, Helike, Olenus, Patras, Pellene, Phareae, Rhype, and Tritaeae. These cities (or regions) formed a religious and military alliance known as the First Achaean League, which lasted until the late 4th century BC. Of these cities, several gained particular importance: first Helike, then Aigion, was the meeting place of the Achaean League; and Patras (named after Patreas, chief of the Achaeans) very early on became and remained a vital economic centre.

Achaea did not play a leading political role for most of Archaic and Classical antiquity, but it did play an important part in colonial settlement in south Italy, where Achaeans founded several cities including Sybaris and Croton. Achaea also maintained political ties with other Peloponnesian states and was occasionally considered by these neighbours as a means to increase their own power. Hence, in an effort to strengthen their influence in the Peloponnese, the Spartans transferred the bones of Teisamenos (a pre-Dorian hero and son of Orestes) to Sparta. Though the Delphic oracle had reportedly ordered the transfer, the move did not ultimately strengthen the ties between the two states.

Achaean involvement in some of the greatest events in Classical Greek history seems to have been limited. Achaeans did not participate in the Persian Wars (at least neither the Spartan nor the Athenian ally lists mention the Achaeans). And while the region became strategically important during the Peloponnesian War, it only occasionally played an active role in it, as in the Athenian and Achaean battle against the Corinthians in the harbour of Patras in 429 BC.

During the 4th and 3rd centuries Greece was politically unsettled and so Achaea's importance grew, since Achaean cities had largely maintained their democratic institutions (only Pellene had ever been ruled by a dictator or tyrant) and maintained strong league alliances. Except for the earthquake that destroyed Helike in 373 BC, the Achaeans experienced relative stability after the Peloponnesian War. Treaties with the Achaean League, therefore, became an important part of the foreign policy of several states. Epaminondas of Thebes (in 366 BC), for instance, led troops into the Peloponnese and entered Achaea hoping to make an alliance and thereby check Arcadia's political strength. He easily won an alliance there, but it did not last because the Thebans unwisely decided to overturn the local governments. Resistance and revolt resulted, causing the Thebans to lose Achaea, and drawing Sparta and Achaea into a short-lived, but close, association. As Macedonian influence grew, the Achaean League responded with policies opposed to Philip II, but with little longterm effect. Philip and his superior troops changed Greek politics for ever. Macedonians would remain dominant in Greece and Achaea until the coming of the Romans. Indeed, even after the death of Philip's son, Alexander the Great, the Antigonids (the dynasty founded by Antigonus I) took control of the region and in 303 BC parts of Achaea were held by Demetrius Poliorcetes (son of Antigonus I).

Twenty years after the Macedonians dissolved the First Achaean League, the Second Achaean League was created (280 BC). The new league was much more inclusive than its earlier version, and by the mid-3rd century it was led by Aratus of Sicyon. Aratus continued the anti-Macedonian tradition – keeping Achaea out of the Roman–Macedonian wars. This course initially benefited league members in their relations with the increasingly powerful Romans. Thus, as a result of these policies, the Romans brought most of the Peloponnese under the control of Achaea. Nevertheless, close Roman–Achaean ties were soon disturbed due to Roman interference in league affairs and their insistence that Sparta be released from the league. The Spartans had grown opposed to Achaean League power and, when forced to join the confederation, resented league treatment of them. (The Achaeans had torn down the walls of Sparta and disrupted traditional educational practices.) Sparta appealed to the Roman Senate for aid in their conflict with the league. Attempts at arbitration, influenced by a series of misunderstandings, favoured Sparta, resulting in the Achaean war (146 BC), the temporary dissolution of the league, the destruction of Corinth and Patras, and a permanent Roman presence in the region. By 31 BC Octavian made Achaea just another part of the Roman province of Achaea.

There is abundant evidence for vital religious traditions in Achaea throughout its history. Numerous temples, shrines, and sanctuaries dot the landscape. Achaean coins bear the likeness of Poseidon and Athena. In Pellene Pausanias saw a statue to Athena reportedly created by Phidias. He also mentioned an "infallible" oracle for the sick, located at a spring near Patras. The church of St Andrew was later built at the same site, and the waters there were considered to have miraculous powers well into the 19th century. Inhabitants of the region embraced Christianity somewhat earlier than the rest of Greece, in part, perhaps, because St Andrew preached in Patras and was martyred there. Early Christian conversion was accompanied by the urge to build churches, chapels, and monasteries. Not surprisingly, therefore, many early Christian sites can be found in Achaea. One of the region's oldest intact Christian buildings is the monastery of Makellaria, where an inscription claims that the structure was built by Belisarius (d. 565), general of Justinian I.

During the Slav migrations, Achaea received a new influx of Christianized people, particularly from the 6th to the 9th centuries. Over time these Slavic people quietly assimilated Greek culture and language while Achaea again sank into relative political insignificance. However, like other regions in Greece, there was a quickening of political and economic activity during the 9th century and soon thereafter Achaea would become a prize to be won during western Europe's crusading years. In 1205 the region again occupied centre stage with the founding of the principality of Achaea by the Franks (which included the region of Achaea and most of the Peloponnese or "Morea"). By the end of the 13th century parts of central Greece were once again in Byzantine hands, but the principality of Achaea remained under the control of the Franks. Later it passed into the hands of the Palaiologos family, then to the Turks in 1460. Between 1687and 1715 the area was part of a Venetian colony. On 21 March 1821 Germanos the archbishop of Patras called for "freedom or death" from the monastery of Hagia Lavra, originally constructed in AD 961. A revolutionary banner was raised in the monastery garden and, after fierce fighting, the region was finally liberated in 1828. Nowadays the small coastal and mountain villages in Achaea are popular among tourists for their picturesque qualities and their ancient and medieval monuments, while Patras is the largest city in the Peloponnese, the capital of the region, and is again among the most important transportation centres in Greece.

CYNTHIA K. KOSSO

See also Peloponnese

Summary

Region in northwestern Peloponnese. Achaea was settled in the Neolithic period and has fairly extensive Mycenaean remains. Its cities formed a federal state which became politically significant during the Peloponnesian War and remained so until the Roman period. Its principal town Patras was the centre of a Frankish principality of Achaea for two centuries after 1205.

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Achilles Tatius

Novelist of the 2nd century AD

Achilles Tatius wrote the novel *Cleitophon and Leucippe*, probably in the 2nd century AD. The *Suda* credits him also with works on etymology, on remarkable people, and on astronomy; but the third of these works, entitled *On the Sphere*, may belong to a different Achilles. Photios, Eustathios, and the *Suda* refer to him as an Alexandrian. The report in the *Suda* that he became a Christian bishop is doubtful, and nothing certain is known of his life.

The eight books of his novel set forth the romantic adventures of a young Greek couple, a youth from Tyre and a maiden from Byzantium. The historical setting appears to be the Hellenistic age, but no precise dates are indicated. The narrator of the tale is the hero himself. The tone fluctuates considerably, as passion and drama alternate with wit and farce. The first portion of the novel describes how Cleitophon woos Leucippe while she and her mother are residing as guests in his father's house. To escape the suspicions of Leucippe's mother, the lovers run away and set sail for Alexandria. When a storm destroys the ship, Cleitophon and Leucippe land together on the coast of Egypt and are captured by an army of bandits, who plan to sacrifice Leucippe; but the hero and heroine are soon rescued. They travel to Alexandria and then Pharos, where Leucippe is abducted by a zealous admirer and a gang of brigands, who dupe their pursuers into believing that Leucippe is dead. Several months later Cleitophon reluctantly agrees to marry Melite, a young widow who has fallen deeply in love with him. They journey to her home in Ephesus to be wed, and there Cleitophon discovers that Leucippe is still alive and working as a slave on Melite's estate. Melite's husband Thersander, previously presumed dead, now returns to Ephesus. Incited by the wicked servant Sosthenes, he imprisons Cleitophon on a charge of adultery and develops a passionate

lust for Leucippe, but his schemes are eventually foiled. Leucippe and Cleitophon return home to be married.

Like the other ancient Greek novels, Achilles Tatius' work is written in Atticist prose, that is, with vocabulary and syntax imitating those of Athenian prose authors of the 5th and 4th centuries BC. Substantial portions are highly artificial in style, reflecting the literary tastes of the Second Sophistic: for example, strings of two- and three-word phrases often interrupt the regular flow of the prose; adjacent sentences may reflect one another syntactically and rhythmically.

Achilles employs several dramatic and rhetorical elements common to the Greek novels. In addition to engaging in frequent, often witty dialogue, the characters delight in making speeches. Cleitophon and his friend Clinias debate at length the relative merits of love for boys and love for women (2. 35–38); Melite pleads passionately and eloquently when attempting to seduce Cleitophon (5. 25–26). The artificial language is concentrated in such passages, the argumentation elaborate and sometimes facetious. Achilles also exercises his rhetorical skills in copiously detailed descriptions of events and physical objects: a ship wrecked by a storm (3. 1–4), a hippopotamus (4. 2) and an elephant (4. 4), the city of Alexandria (5. 1). Particularly striking are the several descriptions of works of art, or *ekphraseis* (cf. Philostratus' *Imagines*), the most celebrated of which features a painting of Europa and the bull; situated at the opening of the novel, the lavish visual description of the maiden's abduction announces love and travel as major themes of the ensuing narrative. Other notable rhetorical elements include Achilles' theoretical discourses on the physical mechanisms and psychological effects of emotions and sensations: how kisses give pleasure (2. 8), how rage and anger may vie for control over the soul (6. 19).

Unique among the ancient Greek novels is Achilles' use of a first-person narrator, a technique that offers the reader an intimate and emotionally charged account of events and enhances the characterization of the hero. Like the first-person narrators of the pseudo-Lucianic *Ass* and Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*, Achilles' narrator sometimes appears naive, sentimental, or comic. He occasionally presents himself as an object for mild mockery, as when he is duped into thinking Leucippe dead and pitiably laments her loss (3. 16, 5. 7, and 7. 5), and when he dresses in Melite's clothing to escape Thersander (6. 1–5).

Like his fellow novelists, Achilles attaches considerable importance to the heroine's chastity. Leucippe is instructed by Artemis in a dream to preserve her virginity (4. 1), and in the final book a magical test at the temple of Artemis at Ephesus gives public proof of it (8. 6, 8. 13–14). Achilles' other characters, however, are not subject to the same scrutiny.

Achilles makes liberal use of the mythological and literary tradition. The narrator and other characters, for example, introduce myths as subjects of *ekphraseis* and as exempla in argumentation. Melite playfully likens Cleitophon dressed in women's clothing to Achilles in disguise at the palace of Lycomedes. The characters also quote and allude to a range of authors from the Archaic, Classical, and Hellenistic periods, including Homer, Hesiod, Aristophanes, Plato, Herodotus, Demosthenes, and Theocritus. While portraying the characters as educated and urbane, such references also suggest that Achilles wrote for a sophisticated reading public.

Several papyrus fragments of the novel attest to its popularity from the 2nd to the 4th centuries AD. Achilles was again read and admired in Byzantine times. Photios and Michael Psellos comment on his faults and his merits. Achilles was a major influence on the 12th-century novelists, particularly on Eustathios Makrembolites, whose *Hysmine and Hysminias* borrows many features of Achilles' plot, including the flight of hero and heroine from home, the shipwreck, and the chastity test. Makrembolites also adopts Achilles' first-person narrative and shows a similar fondness for visual description and the analysis of emotions.

MICHAEL J. ANDERSON

See also Novel, Romance

Biography

Novelist of the 2nd century AD, author of *Cleitophon and Leucippe*, a romantic adventure story. Achilles was a major influence on the novels of the 12th century, notably the *Hysmine and Hysminias* of Eustathios Makrembolites.

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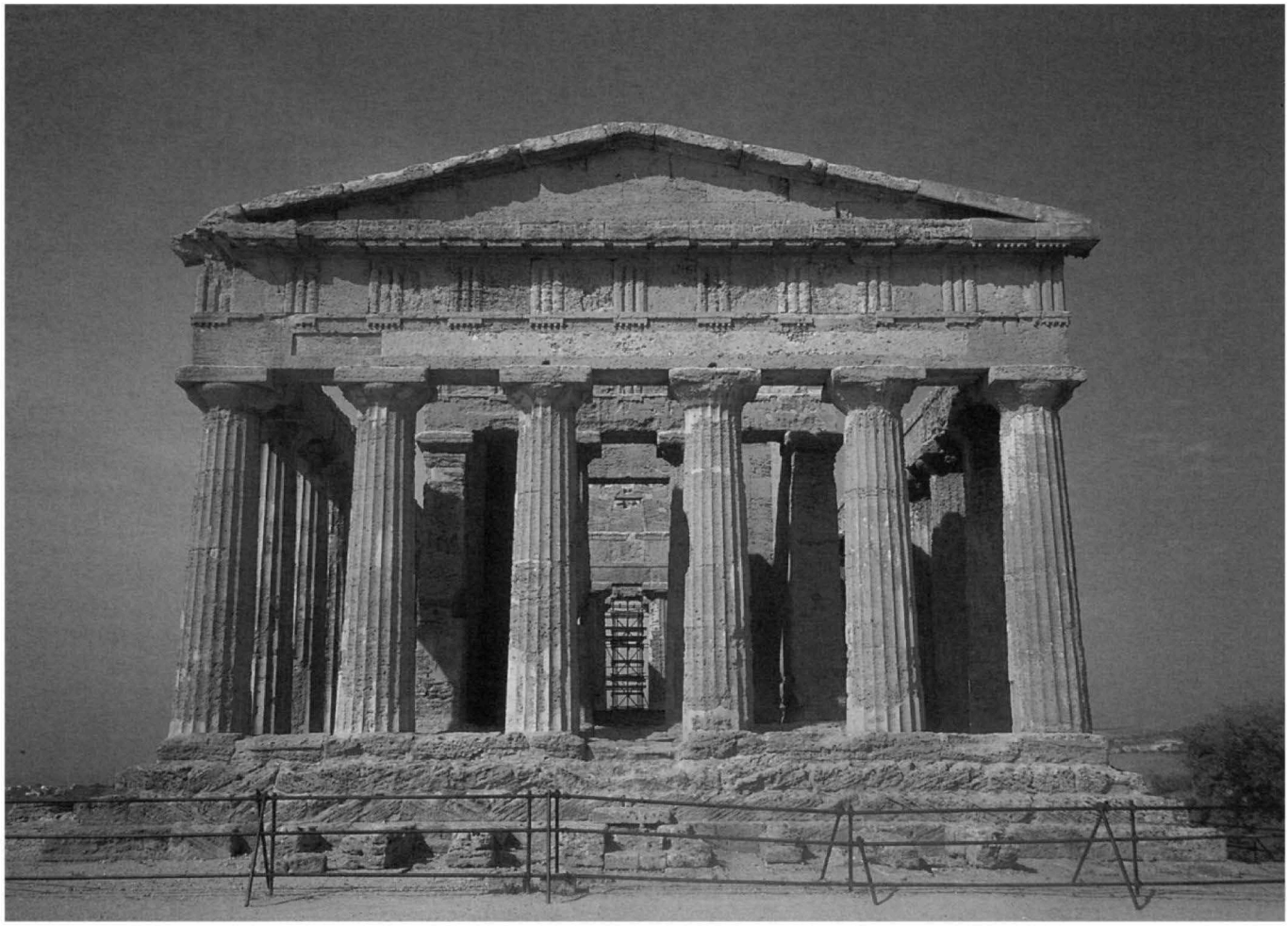
Acragas

City in Sicily

Acragas (Agrigentum in Latin, Girgenti in Italian, then renamed Agrigento after its Latin name by Mussolini; today a provincial capital with about 55,000 inhabitants) was founded four km inland from the southwest coast of Sicily about 582/81 BC by the city of Gela and its Greek mother city Rhodes; the site, steeply rising on three sides, provided a natural fortress. Called "the most beautiful of cities" by Pindar (*Pythian* 12. 1), Acragas' importance already in the 6th century BC is confirmed by the legends about the tyrant Phalaris (560 BC), who built a fortification and widened the city's sphere of influence. At the beginning of the 5th century BC another tyrant, Theron, seized power and made Acragas the second most important city of Sicily; together with his son-in-law Gelon of Syracuse, he defeated the Carthaginians at the Himera river in 480 BC. The rich booty (including 25,000 prisoners of war) provided the means for an enormous building programme, the impressive remains of which can still be seen in the so-called "Valley of temples".



Acragas: the Temple of Concordia, built *c.*430 BC

This term for what is a unique archaeological site is somewhat misleading, as most of the temples are standing on the hilltops along the town wall, so as to be seen clearly from the sea. Similarly, most of the modern names of the temples are not backed up by ancient evidence. The easternmost "Temple of Juno Lacinia" (a peripteros of 6 × 14 columns) was built in the middle of the 5th century BC; it measures 38.10 × 16.91 m, which is relatively small in comparison with other Sicilian temples. It was restored several times in the Roman era, but fell into decay afterwards and was rebuilt in 1785, from then on inspiring numerous paintings and engravings (e.g. by Caspar David Friedrich). The "Temple of Concordia" (named after a Roman inscription found nearby but unconnected with the building) was built about 430 BC. It is one of the best-preserved Greek temples anywhere, because in the 6th century AD it was transformed into a Christian church; most of the Christian refurbishments were removed during the restoration of 1785. Like most of the Classical temples in Sicily it is rather small (39.42 × 16.92 m) and has a peristyle of 6 × 13 columns. A third temple, dedicated to Heracles (this is confirmed by Cicero's description), lies further west along the town wall. Measuring 67 × 25 m, it is the largest and earliest Doric peripteral temple at Acragas, constructed at the beginning of the 5th century BC during Theron's reign, on the site of a previous temple, as excavations have shown. Its architecture shows the transition from Archaic to Classical times: the cella has a pronaos, inner sanctuary, and open opisthodomos, and for the first time the closed adytum that was in use in the region before is lacking. According to Cicero the temple contained a bronze cult statue by the Athenian sculptor Myron (5th century BC) and a painting of Heracles killing the snakes by the famous painter Zeuxis of Heraclea (end of the 5th century). North and west from this temple was the site of the ancient city with its agora (only slight traces remain) and the main gate; beyond the city wall are large necropoleis, and at some distance the ruins of a temple of Asclepius (middle of the 5th century BC).

To the west of the city gates lie the impressive ruins of the Temple of Olympian Zeus, a unique example in Greek architectural history. This Olympieion of gigantic size (56.30 × 113.50 m) was put up by the Carthaginians taken prisoner in 480 BC (though never finished). Unlike other temples, it had no freestanding peristyle, but closed walls, on the outward side of which there were 7 × 14 half-columns (about 20 m high), and between them colossal Atlas figures apparently weighed down by the upper part of the temple – an eloquent symbol of the defeat suffered by the Carthaginians. Inside was an immense hall of pillars consisting of three aisles, the middle of which was open to the sky; these peculiar architectural features were taken over from the Phoenician-Carthaginian world and in this way symbolically "imprisoned" within Greek architecture.

To the west of the Olympieion lies the sanctuary of the Chthonian gods, originally of the 6th century, but greatly enlarged during the 5th; it contained several small buildings and numerous altars, the purposes of which are not yet entirely clear. Another two Doric temples were built next to it in the 5th century. Standing in the northwest corner is the so-called "Temple of the Dioscuri", today one of the landmarks of Acragas. It was heavily restored in the 19th century according to people's imagination of how it should look and by mixing remains of the 5th-century BC structure with those of its first restoration in Hellenistic times. Next to it is "Temple L", slightly larger (17.20 × 38.80 m) and today almost completely destroyed. On the western side of this precinct a large artificial lake (probably constructed under Theron) once formed the water reservoir of the city, but is now a steeply descending valley; beyond are the ruins of the Temple of Hephaestus, the last one built by the city (probably at the end of the 5th century) and unfinished.

After the fall of the tyrants in the early 460s BC, Acragas had a kind of democratic government, in which the city's most prominent son, the philosopher Empedocles, seems to have played a role. A massive Carthaginian offensive at the instigation of Segesta (from 409 BC onwards) brought an end to Acragas' might and prosperity; in 406/05 BC the cities of Selinus, Himera, and Acragas fell before this onslaught. In Acragas the revengeful Carthaginians totally destroyed the Temple of Olympian Zeus; furthermore, the city had to demolish its walls and to pay heavy reparations; it never again fully recovered from this blow. In the 4th century BC Timoleon led a new colony to the almost deserted place and Acragas enjoyed a brief revival under the tyranny of Phintias (286–280 BC). In the Punic wars, however, the city again suffered heavily: it was taken successively by the Romans (261) and the Carthaginians (255), and when it fell in 210 BC as the last Carthaginian outpost in Sicily, the whole population was enslaved by the Romans (who soon, however, brought in Sicani as colonists). In the 1st century BC the city regained some importance because of its agricultural production, and accordingly it suffered under Verres' plundering of Sicily (73–71 BC). In Byzantine times it dwindled to a small village, which after the Arab conquest of 827 grew again and – now being called Kerkent/Gergent – became the centre of the Arab population in Sicily. Today's Agrigento covers only the acropolis of the much larger Greek city.

BALBINA BÄBLER

See also Sicily

Summary

A city in Sicily, founded in 582/81 BC by the city of Gela and its mother city Rhodes. Acragas flourished in the 5th century BC and was the home of the philosopher Empedocles. It is famous today for its sequence of well-preserved Doric temples.

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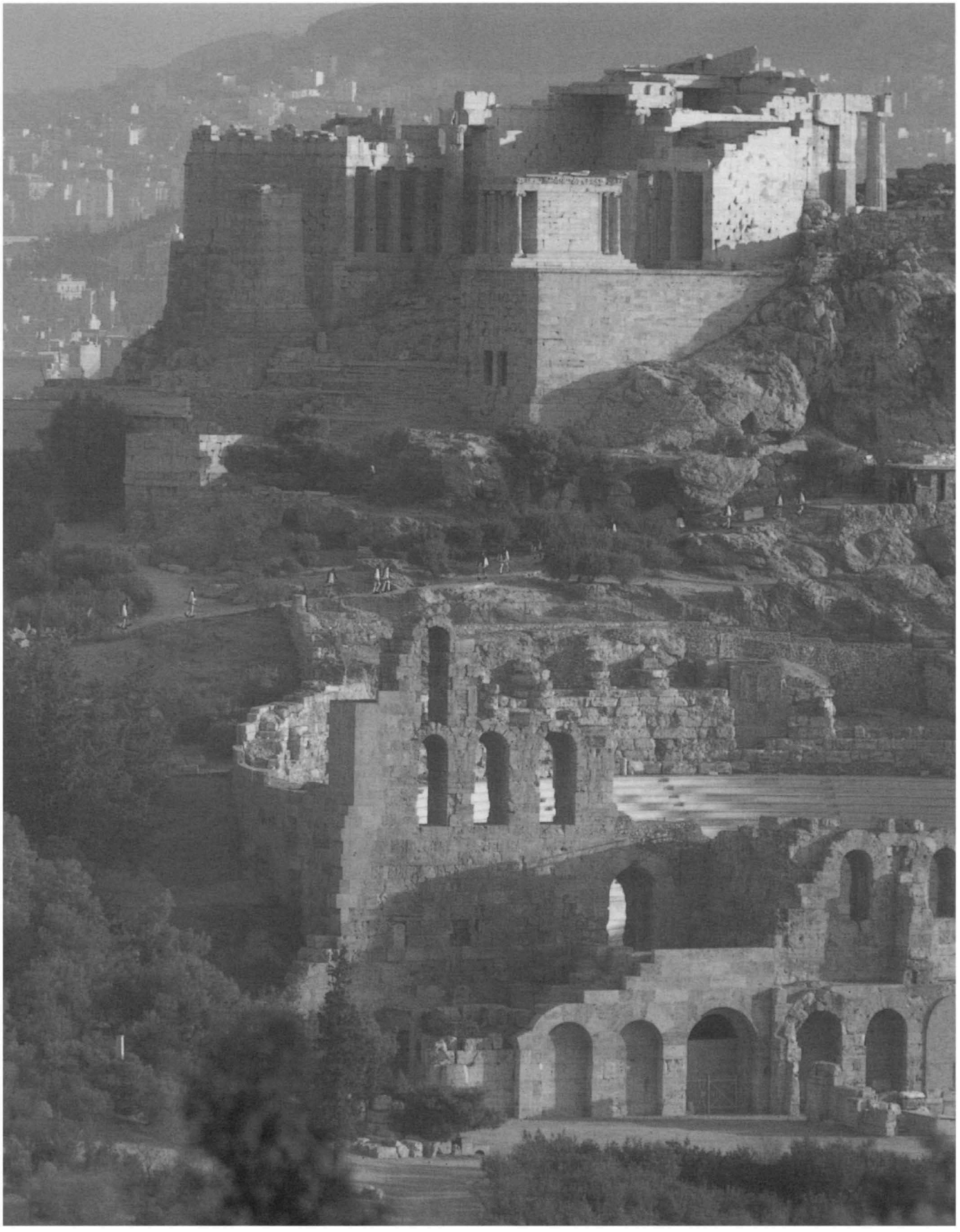
Acropolis of Athens

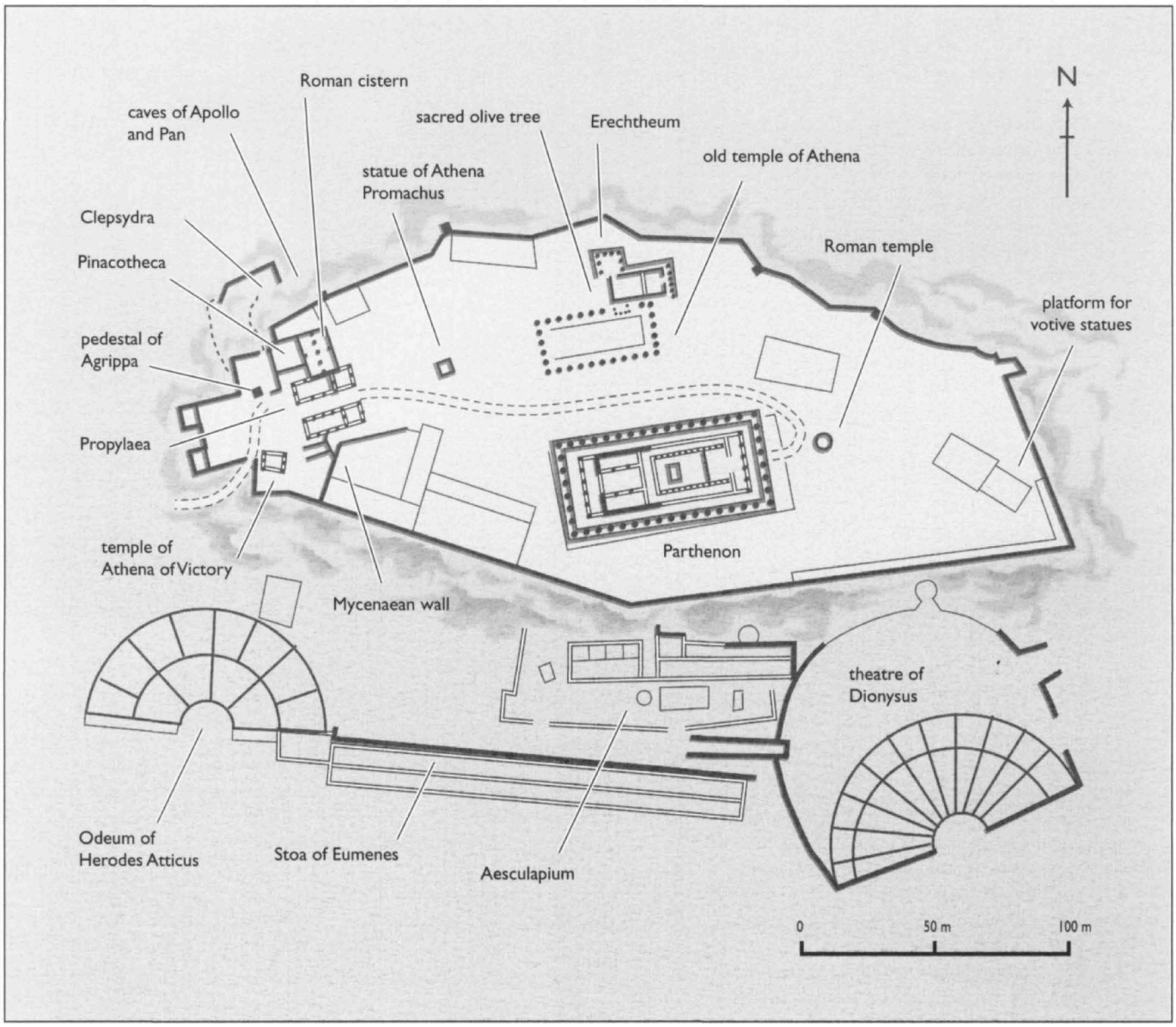
The Acropolis is the heart of the ancient city of Athens. It was the focus of habitation from the earliest days of known settlement; its limestone rock, relatively sheer-sided, provided a place of refuge, and it has abundant springs of water round its lower slopes, particularly on the north side. In course of time it became the Late Bronze Age citadel, strengthened with massive fortification walls similar to those at Mycenae and Tiryns, with a palace-type structure within. Sections of the wall survive and are still visible: there is an important stretch at the west end of the rock, while more is concealed behind later walls. The principal entrance was at the west end. It was obliterated at the end of the 6th century BC, and there has been much discussion of the form it took, but it must have had an outer courtyard, edged to the south by a projecting bastion based on the natural rock, and a dog-leg passage through a gateway at the northeast. Of the palace no real traces survive, but it was presumably situated towards the summit of the rock, at its approximate centre. A curiosity is a well, sunk down the side of the rock on the north, within the line of the walls, which gave access to a good water supply even when the Acropolis was under siege. The eventual fate of the citadel at the end of the Late Bronze Age is uncertain. Obviously, it was prepared for attack: the Athenian tradition (which deserves respect) is that the attack on the city was repulsed, and that its history was unbroken.

Certainly the citadel continued to be the focus through the early years of the first millennium BC. Whether it continued as a place of residence for kings is uncertain, but changing circumstances meant that it became rather the chief place of a cult, dedicated to Athena, the protectress of the city (Polias). Her altar was at the summit of the rock, and probably by the end of the 8th century BC a simple temple was situated near to it. The fortification walls remained, and the rock was still defensible, the entrance being as yet unchanged from its Mycenaean form. A curious survival is found at the well. This had partly collapsed and was filled in after only a short period of use, but the opening and the first few steps down remained, and were used for an annual ritual in which young girls chosen as priestesses descended as far as they could with mysterious bundles that they deposited at the bottom, perhaps an unconscious reenactment of collecting water when the well had functioned.

Development of the site was centred on the provision of improved structures for the cult of Athena. The temple in front of the altar (generally referred to as the "Old Temple") was steadily improved. A substantial foundation wall for its north side was constructed in the 7th century BC, and is still visible. Eventually, perhaps at the end of the 7th or in the 6th century



Acropolis of Athens: from the southwest with the odeum of Herodes Atticus in the foreground



1. **The Acropolis, Athens**

BC (the date is disputed), the temple became peripteral. It had a complex cella, double ended, the main room facing east to the altar, the west divided into two chambers side by side and with an antechamber. The whole building was surrounded by an outer Doric colonnade, behind which at each end inner rows of four columns stood in front of the porches (prostyle porches). The temple was decorated with sculpture, great pediment groups of heraldic felines, which were removed during later repairs and buried on the Acropolis, where they were found in the 19th century. They are now in the Acropolis Museum. The final rebuilding came towards the end of the 6th century BC, at the end of the period in which Pisistratus, and afterwards his son Hippias, ruled Athens as autocrats (tyrants in the Greek sense), and supposedly had a palace on the Acropolis. In its final form the temple was given a new external limestone colonnade, with metope panels of Parian marble, and new Parian marble pediment groups in the latest style, a battle of gods and giants, which included a striding Athena killing a giant, much of which survives in the museum. This temple contained the venerable and original cult statue, which was a simple image carved from olive wood. For it, the maiden priestesses of Athena wove, once every four years, a new dress or *peplos*, which was brought to the statue in a sacred procession. By the 6th century BC this procession of the Panathenaic Festival, held once a year, with a particularly important one for the bringing of the *peplos* every fourth year, was the main event in Athens' religious calendar, and resulted in a gathering of the majority of the citizens.

Less clear are the other structures on the Acropolis at this time. There is evidence for another large temple to the south of the Old Temple, which by the end of the 6th century BC seems also to have had marble metopes; and fragments of the superstructure of several small buildings, often highly decorated, for which no foundations survive. What is certain, though, is that the religious usages, the shrines, and the sacred spots on the Acropolis rock established during the early centuries of the

first millennium BC formed the basis of its continuing function throughout the Classical period.

Improvements began to be made at the end of the 6th and early in the 5th century BC. The Acropolis was last defended, in a minor skirmish, by the Spartan king Cleomenes I in an abortive intervention following the downfall of the tyrants; but it was then essentially demilitarized, the city being defended, presumably, by an outer circuit of walls. The old Mycenaean gateway was therefore torn down, though the forecourt, presumably an important point in the passage of the procession on to the rock, was retained. A new marble gateway with a colonnaded façade was eventually constructed. More importantly, after the victory of Marathon in 490 BC, the southern temple was pulled down and work started on a new, large, and magnificent Doric temple, in marble quarried on Mount Pentelicus, for which the first requirement was deep foundations, 20 courses of limestone, along its south side so that it could be extended in that direction. This work must have caused severe damage to the Mycenaean walls, which were here in a state of collapse.

The work stopped abruptly in the late 480s BC, when the threat of a new Persian invasion probably meant that all available funds were diverted to the building of warships. Athens was abandoned to the invader. The wooden cult statue, together with the women and children, was evacuated, and the walls of the Acropolis hastily patched up and a forlorn defence mounted, not perhaps in opposition to the policy of evacuation and naval defence but because the Athenians felt an obligation to defend the goddess's property. The Acropolis fell and was sacked. The innumerable statues set up as offerings to Athena (many on behalf of the priestesses when their period of office ended) were vandalized, and the partly built new temple, in its scaffolding, and hardly risen above platform level, was burned. The centre of resistance was probably at the gateway building, which would have been fiercely defended. This was severely damaged. The Old Temple was also burned.

When the Persians were driven out, the Athenians returned to tidy up the Acropolis, but not, as yet, to rebuild. The broken statues were gathered up, and, as the property of Athena, buried on the rock itself. The damaged outer colonnade of the Old Temple was dismantled, and part of its entablature built into new walls surrounding the Acropolis, near where the temple stood, on the north side, presumably as a war memorial. It is still visible there. The gateway building was repaired, using secondhand material. Some sort of simple shrine was built at the side of the Old Temple to house the wooden statue, returned from evacuation. The west cella of the Old Temple was patched, to serve perhaps as a repository for sacred objects rather than as a temple. And nothing else: either the resources of Athens were devoted rather to the prosecution of the continuing war against Persia, or the Athenians felt bound by an oath sworn by their army before the battle of Plataea, not to rebuild the vandalized buildings but to leave them in a ruined state as a memorial to the barbarians' sacrilege.

The revival finally got underway in 451 BC. Athens's prestige as a leader of the Greek world demanded splendid buildings on the Acropolis. Control of what was now in effect an empire provided funds, and the war against the Persians had reached some form of satisfactory conclusion. The rebuilding is essentially associated with Athens's greatest politician, Pericles, though he did not live to see it completed. Work began with the south temple, known as the Parthenon, the temple to Athena the virgin goddess (though her cult title was still Protectress of the City). Material left undamaged from the unfinished predecessor was used, including the massive south foundation, but the temple was slightly larger and certainly more magnificent, with eight rather than six columns forming its façade. It was built of Pentelic marble; the architects are named as Callicrates and Ictinus. The lavish sculptural decoration was designed by Phidias, though a whole gang of craftsmen would have been employed to execute the work. All the metopes are carved, and a tremendous continuous frieze ran across the inner porches and over the side walls of the cella. The pediments depicted the contest of Athena and Poseidon for the patronage of Athens, and the birth of Athena. The cult statue was a masterpiece in gold and ivory. The whole was completed in 436 BC.

The second building to be replaced was the gateway, the Propylaea, elaborated to include not only the gateway itself, with Doric porches, but also adjacent rooms, one, at least, to the northwest side being used for ritual feasting and decorated with paintings. Work started in 436 BC, to the design of Mnesicles, but, with war against Sparta looming, the plan was truncated, the inner rooms being abandoned. The structure was brought to a hurried completion just before the war broke out, in 431 BC. The abandoned rooms were never built, though indications of their position can still be seen.

Other building was resumed in the years of peace that began in 421 BC. A small temple of Victory (Nike) in the Ionic order was constructed on the bastion of the entrance. Shortly after, the replacement for the Old Temple was started on a new site to the north: the remains of the Old Temple were eventually removed, leaving only the foundations, which are still visible. The new building (popularly called the Erechtheum, after the legendary king Erechtheus, but more officially "The Temple in which is the Old Image") is built to a most unconventional plan. It has a rectangular cella, on two levels, higher at the east, lower at the west, with an internal arrangement recalling the Old Temple. The eastern room housed the cult statue, and had a façade of six Ionic columns. There is another Ionic porch at the west end of the north side, Ionic columns on the west end (but with bases at the higher, eastern floor level), and on the south, a small projecting porch whose roof and entablature rest on the heads of six incongruous draped female statues, recalling the earlier statues of the priestesses, which were now buried nearby. This building is more than a temple, rather a decorative embellishment to a number of sacred spots and shrines. It gives access, through a subsidiary door in the north porch, to the shrine of Pandrosos and the sacred olive tree, the gift of Athena herself when she contested the patronage with Poseidon. In the north porch is Poseidon's effort, a pool of salt water, which appeared when he struck the Acropolis with his trident. Building the Erechtheum dragged on. Completion was delayed by a fire, and it was finished only in 406 BC, just before the Athenians were finally defeated by the Spartans.

After that, Athens no longer had the money for lavish buildings. Statues and other offerings were dedicated in abundance over the years, one of the earliest and certainly the largest being the colossal bronze statue of Athena the Champion by

Phidias, which stood between the Propylaea and the temples. In the years after the death of Alexander the Great in 323 BC the successor king Demetrius Poliorcetes took up residence on the Acropolis as befitted a king (the stories of his orgies with prostitutes there may well be a calumny). In the 1st century BC the Erechtheum was again damaged by fire, but was carefully repaired, the new workmanship being of the same high standard as the original. The same craftsmen were employed, to judge from the details of the work, to build a small circular shrine dedicated to Rome and Augustus, placed in front of the Parthenon. After that little changed, though the Parthenon was severely damaged by fire in the 4th century AD and needed repair. The Acropolis had become a classic monument to Athens's days of glory; its fame, and the reputation of its buildings, was universal, even when other places were built more lavishly, and on a larger scale.

Change, naturally, came in the Middle Ages. The Parthenon retained a religious significance until the 1830s: it was converted, with the construction of an apse in its east porch, into a Christian church dedicated to the Holy Wisdom (which of course recalls its original dedication). Under the Franks in 1204 it became a Roman Catholic cathedral. With the Turkish conquest in 1456 it became a mosque, and the bell tower of the church that had been built into the western porch was converted into a minaret. In 1687 it was used by the Turks as a gunpowder magazine during the siege of Athens by the Venetians, in the expectation, a vain one, that it would be respected by the besiegers. The resulting explosion blew out the walls of the cella and took off the later roof that then covered it. Later a small mosque was built on the ruins. The Erechtheum became a residence for the Turkish governor and his harem; the Propylaea was adapted as a castle, with a massive tower built on its southwestern wing. Like the Parthenon it was damaged by the explosion of a gunpowder store. Above all, the Acropolis had reverted to its original function as a stronghold: it held a Turkish garrison. It was seized and held by the Greek insurgents against Turkish attack in the War of Independence in the 1820s.

After the freeing of Greece from Turkish rule the last Turkish garrison marched out through the later fortifications and gateway that had been built in front of the Propylaea. For Greece, the Acropolis was now a symbol of the renewal of the old Hellenic spirit and tradition, and the later accretions had to be removed. The Turkish houses and cisterns on it were quickly taken down. The gun position built by the Turks on the Nike bastion was demolished, revealing the dismembered marble of the original temple, well enough preserved for Ludwig Ross to reconstruct it. The "Frankish" tower on the Propylaea was removed at the expense of Heinrich Schliemann in 1874. All the Classical buildings were consolidated and, as far as possible, repaired. At present the Acropolis and its buildings are undergoing another crisis, caused by the vast number of tourists, the atmospheric pollution of the modern city, and the poor quality of some of the earlier repairs. A new and astronomically expensive programme of conservation demonstrates the continuing importance of the Acropolis to the Hellenic tradition.

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Summary

Rocky outcrop that was always the focus of the ancient city of Athens. In the Bronze Age it became a citadel encompassing a palace. Later it became the centre of the cult of Athena and temples were built from the end of the 8th century BC. Sacked by the Persians in 480, the temples were rebuilt (451–436 BC) in grand style by Pericles. Later a church and then a mosque, the Parthenon and other buildings stand as a symbol of the survival of the Hellenic tradition.

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Adoption

The major preoccupation of modern legislation on adoption is the welfare of the adopted child. In ancient Greek cities adoption was used mainly as a succession strategy for childless people. It also entailed duties of a religious character for the adopted person. Adoption has always had a public dimension, expressed either with a declaration in the marketplace or in a civic ceremony or, as in Hellenistic Egypt and Byzantium, with the written instrument or, as happens today, with a court decree.

The laws of Gortyn regulate in detail the process of adoption (called anpansis). Only male adults had the right to adopt. The adoption took place in public, in the agora. The declaration was followed by a ceremony in the political association (*hetaireia*) of the adopter and a sacrifice. The existence of natural children was not an impediment to adopting other children. Legal implications related mainly to inheritance. In particular, if the adopter died without natural heirs, then the adopted inherited his property as well as the obligation to perform religious rites. If the adopter had natural sons (or daughters), then the adopted received a portion equal to that of the natural heiresses. If the adopted died without natural children, the property he inherited was transferred to the next of kin (*epiballontes*) of the adopter. The adoption was cancelled in public and the adopter had to pay 10 staters to the judge, who in his turn gave this amount to the adopted.

In Athens adoption (*(eis)poiesis*) was geared towards the establishment of an heir to the adopter's property and the continuation of his *oikos* (family). Adoptions could be performed in one of three ways: during the lifetime of the adopter (*inter vivos*), by will (testamentary), and posthumously. Only men could adopt, and it was more likely that adult men rather than boys would be adopted. The adopted was able to inherit the property of the adopter like a natural son, without any previous legal formalities. Testamentary adoption was introduced by Solon at the beginning of the 6th century BC. It allowed a man without sons to adopt by testament an adult male, who would inherit from him. If there was

a natural daughter, the adopted son would either marry her himself or provide her with a dowry equal to half of the paternal property. Elderly people were safeguarded from being manipulated by a law annulling an adoption if the adopter was very old or suffered from a mental or physical illness or was under the influence of drugs or was threatened. Finally and most curiously, a posthumous adoption could be performed by the family in the context of a mutually acceptable settlement.

As for other Greek cities we know that in Sparta an adoption took place in front of the kings while in Thebes there was a connection between adoption and grants of land. Adoptions are attested in a large number of inscriptions, especially from Rhodes.

Adoption in the early Byzantine period presents similarities with adoption in Greco-Roman Egypt, where adoption ceased to be oral and took written form. Both parents of the adopted had to consent. In the 6th century Justinian I introduced two kinds of adoption: *adoptio plena* when somebody was adopted by a natural forbear, and *adoptio minus plena* for all other adoptions. In the latter case, the adopted retained the property and succession rights of his natural family.

In the 10th century Leo VI the Wise reformed the system of adoption by granting the right to adopt to women and eunuchs and by banning marriage between a natural and an adopted child. In practice, adoptions were concluded in writing. Adoption agreements did not in themselves constitute the adoption. However, these agreements expounded the rights and duties of the contracting parties; the adopters had to provide the material necessities and a dowry while the adopted was expected to serve and honour his adopted parents. The right to inherit was not automatically granted but had to be explicitly stated. Otherwise, the adopted had a claim to intestate inheritance.

Adoption was used in the imperial court by childless emperors to provide a successor to the throne or by ambitious pretenders anxious to get nearer to the centre stage.

In modern Greek law adoption is allowed if the adopters do not have children of their own. A court decision is required when there are exceptional circumstances. Adults can be adopted by a person older than 50, while a minor can be adopted by anyone older than 30. In any case there should be a difference of 18 years between the adopted and the adopter. The consent of the adopted is required; but if he is a minor, parental consent is needed. Adoption results in the adopted having the same rights and duties as a natural child; however the adopted person retains the rights and duties towards his natural family unless otherwise stated. The adoption is cancelled either by recognition of the adopted as the parent's own child or with marriage between the adopted and the adopter or by court decree.

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See also Children, Family, Inheritance

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Adrianople

City in Thrace

Adrianople (modern Edirne) is located on the middle Hebrus (Maritsa/Euros/Meric) river where it is joined by two other rivers, the Arda and the Tunca (Tundzha). These rivers and their valleys provide access through the Macedonian mountains to the west, the major access from Bulgaria to the northwest, and the route to the Black Sea to the north. Adrianople's strategic location at the western end of an extensive plain which had the city of Constantinople at the eastern end meant that it was used to help safeguard Constantinople from invasions from the north and made it a focal point of military activity.

The original settlement, Orestias, was refounded as Hadrianopolis *c.*AD 126 by the emperor Hadrian, who perhaps was following Trajan's failed attempt to increase urbanization in Thrace. Adrianople itself rarely receives mention as an administrative centre and its importance as a bishopric, known since the end of the 4th century, declined from 27th position in the 7th century to 40th in the 10th century. Instead, more than a dozen battles and sieges in and around the city lend it its significance.

On 3 July 324 Constantine the Great engaged and defeated the forces of the eastern emperor, Licinius, setting the stage for Constantine's ultimate victory and consolidation of the empire under his sole rule. On 9 August 378 the Goths defeated the eastern emperor, Valens, just to the northwest of the city (see below). The city's defences proved strong enough to resist several attacks, in 378 by the Goths, in 583 by the Avars, and later in the 9th and 10th centuries by the Bulgarians, when the city was used as a strong point against them. It was successfully defended in subsequent centuries many times but fell and changed hands frequently during conflicts between Constantinople and its opponents in the 13th and 14th centuries. The city eventually became the Ottomans' capital until their capture of Constantinople in 1453.

The most important of these conflicts was the complete defeat of the Roman forces at the hands of a Gothic-Hunnic force in 378. Earlier in the 360s, Valens had pursued and defeated Gothic bands, forcing them to accept disadvantageous terms and to recognize the Danube as the boundary between the two peoples. By the mid-370s, however, internal dissension and pressures exerted upon the Goths and other Germanic tribes by the Huns, who were sweeping westward across the steppes of Central Asia, began to cause considerable

difficulties. The Goths were being squeezed between two very powerful groups, the Huns and the Romans.

In 376, led by Fritigern and Alavivus, perhaps as many as 70,000 to 80,000 (ancient sources say 200,000) Tervingian Goths were given permission by Valens to cross the Danube and to enter Roman territory, upon the condition of surrendering weapons and young males as hostages. No doubt Valens thought he would have new recruits for his armies. The situation was desperate for the refugees, who had suffered supply problems even on the left bank of the river. Roman officials either did not realize how many Goths were crossing and were unable to deal with the flood of refugees, or they exploited the starving masses by exchanging dog meat for children, who were enslaved. During this chaos a second group of Goths (Greuthungians) sought permission to cross the Danube along with some Alanic and Hunnic refugees and their mounts. They were refused but crossed anyway during the confused circumstances caused by the ill treatment of the Tervingi, whom they joined.

In what may have been an attempt to resolve the explosive situation, the Roman commander of Thrace, Lupicinus, invited Fritigern and Alavivus to a dinner in Marianopolis (Shumla). Here he either tried to assassinate the leaders, or he seized them and killed their bodyguard after a riot began when other Goths were denied access to the city. After the escape of Fritigern, the Goths laid waste the Thracian countryside.

More Alans and Huns had joined Fritigern by 378 and he had come to some sort of agreement with the Franks and Alemanni on the Rhine, who kept the western emperor Gratian from aiding his uncle Valens, who had settled his Persian affairs and moved his court from Antioch to Constantinople. Valens' general Sebastianus quickly brought the Goths and their allies to a standstill about 14 km northwest of the city. The Goths, probably about 20,000 warriors in a large group of 90,000 to 100,000, remained behind their wagon laager (war wagons assembled into a defensive circle). Valens rejected the advice of his general to await the reinforcements from Gratian and moved his army to Adrianople.

Receiving intelligence reports of a Gothic force of only 10,000 infantry and no cavalry, Valens followed the advice of Sebastianus and his staff against the dissenting voice of his general Victor and decided to attack, despite Richomeres' arrival with the information that Gratian's army was only a few days away. On the morning of 9 August, having deposited his baggage train and treasury in the city, Valens moved to engage the enemy.

He marched his 20,000 to 35,000 men (ancient sources give 60,000), of which one third was light and heavy cavalry, through 14 km of dusty, fired terrain under a soon-to-be scorching sun. Proper supplies and, it seems, reconnaissance were abandoned since, when the Roman force suddenly came upon the Goths, they were deployed without having had rest or a meal.

Fritigern, expecting the arrival of his cavalry at any moment, opted for delay by sending ambassadors to Valens seeking a truce. The talks came to nothing and, as often happens, the battle began by accident when Roman guards fired upon the Gothic camp without orders. Within minutes the battle was joined and the Roman line, still forming, was under attack. At the same time the Gothic/Alan cavalry returned and struck the Roman cavalry on the right. The Roman horse held its ground until the Roman centre was separated from the left flank, which had moved partially round the circle of wagons. At this point Fritigern moved to isolate the Roman cavalry on the left, driving them from the field. The Goths now were able to flank the Roman centre, pushing it against the laager and the Roman cavalry on the right. Under the pressure of heavy archery fire, the Roman horse on the right broke and fled the field, leaving the infantry to deal with both Gothic cavalry and infantry. In an ever-decreasing amount of space that hindered their defence, the Romans were overwhelmed and slaughtered when the Gothic reserve charged forth from the laager.

The devastation suffered by the Romans was tremendous: 14,000 to 25,000 casualties, and much of the command structure of both the infantry and cavalry including Sebastianus and other top commanders, 35 military tribunes, and the emperor himself. If the higher estimates are believed, not since Cannae had the Romans suffered such losses of manpower and commanders. These losses, coupled with the presence of a very considerable and hostile Gothic force, created a desperate situation for the eastern empire.

The Goths tried to follow up their victory on the battlefield by assaulting Adrianople and Constantinople but failed. Much more serious were their unhindered attacks upon smaller settlements and the damage suffered throughout the rest of Thrace. The threat they represented had important consequences for the future of the empire: the appointment of Theodosius as emperor, his enrolment of barbarian recruits into the army, and the settlement of Goths as federates within the empire with special privileges.

The battle of Adrianople has often been regarded as a turning point in history and in the history of western warfare. Yet in many ways this is not so. Simple mistakes and miscalculations gave the Goths the victory. Had Valens acted immediately upon his intelligence or waited for Gratian's forces the result would probably have been different. Nor did the role of the Gothic cavalry drastically alter warfare as has been argued. By far the most important results were Roman accommodation of their barbarian neighbours and the growth and use of barbarians in Roman military ventures.

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Summary

City in Thrace whose strategic location made it the site of numerous battles and sieges, most notably the battle of AD 378 in which the Roman army was routed by a combined force of Goths and Huns. A direct consequence of that battle was the greater use of barbarians in the Roman army. Briefly the Ottoman capital, Adrianople was renamed Edirne in modern Turkey.

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Adultery

Hellenic culture has exhibited an almost obsessive concern with female chastity since the time of Homer; Helen's elopement with Paris led to the Trojan War, while Aegisthus' seduction of Clytemnestra destroyed her husband and endangered his house. One key to this concern is the legitimacy of children; a man can never be absolutely sure of his own paternity and that of his children, and even Telemachus, son of the superchaste Penelope, admits that it is a wise child who knows his own father (*Odyssey*, 1. 215–16). Equally important is the impact of female unchastity on social relationships between men. These relationships are informed by concepts of honour, shame, and public reputation, ideas crucial to an understanding of the sexual mores not only of Greek antiquity but also of modern Hellenic society.

With regard to adultery (*moicheia*) in ancient Greece, it was the married or marriageable status of the woman involved that was the crucial point, not the status of the man. *Moicheia* comprised sex between any man, for whom marital status was irrelevant and marital fidelity unnecessary, and a female under a male citizen's protection (that is, the wife, daughter, sister, or mother of a citizen); for a man, married or unmarried, sex with a slave or a prostitute, male or female, did not constitute adultery.

Concerns about adultery in antiquity were informed by particular political and inheritance systems. In Classical Athens, where the male line was a critical factor in the transmission of property and citizen status, the avoidance of adulterine bastardy was accorded a corresponding importance; where patrilineal inheritance pertains, all property depends upon the chastity of women.

Extreme penalties were attached to adultery in Athens. A Draconian law of 621 BC allowed the summary execution of an adulterer caught in flagrante, while Plutarch attributes to Solon a law that allowed a father to sell into slavery an unmarried daughter caught with her seducer (*Solon*, 23. 2), an unparalleled treatment of a free person in Attic law and an indication that the ruined girl no longer had any civic status to violate. These uncompromising penalties had fallen into disuse by the Classical period, but still adultery was criminalized as an act of hubris (disrespect, outrage) against both the individual (that is, the citizen in charge of the ruined woman) and the community. Adultery was regarded as an anti-democratic offence, an act of political as well as sexual subversion, and, accordingly, the social and legal consequences could be severe. Adultery could be used as a justification for homicide if the adulterer (*moichos*) was caught in the act, but the penalty attaching to the charge of adultery (*graphe moicheias*) was more usually a fine or public humiliation. However, there is no firm extant example of the use of the *graphe moicheias* and a prosecution for hubris (*graphe hubreos*) may have been preferred. There was no legal procedure available against the woman taken in adultery, but her punishment was severe also; she was compulsorily divorced and prohibited from participating in public sacrifice ([Demosthenes], 59. 87; Aeschines, 1. 183–84). However, the shame attaching to the cuckold and the compulsion to return both wife and dowry may have induced some husbands to keep the matter quiet and out of the public arena (Euripides, *Hippolytus*, 462–63; Aeschines, 1. 107), and there is evidence to suggest that others manipulated the situation to extort money from adulterers ([Demosthenes], 59. 64–70).

Despite the potential consequences, adultery provided an opportunity for erotic and romantic attachments in a society where arranged marriages were the norm. Many may have thought it a risk worth taking, and several texts imply such behaviour may not have been uncommon (for example, Aristotle claims that it is easy to commit adultery with the wife of a friend or neighbour: *Ethica Nichomachea*, 1137a5). Nevertheless, adultery was regarded as such a severe dereliction of social and civic duty that it could be described as a crime worse than rape (Lysias, 1. 32–33), perhaps because seduction involves the desire and complicity of the woman, and her deception may extend to passing off a lover's children as a husband's. Thus the adulterer and his offspring could take over the household and its legitimate line of descent.

For democratic Athens the civic consequences of adultery were incorporated in the political notion of hubris, but the personal and social dishonour that attaches to the man who cannot guard the women of his household or avenge their disgrace is a transhistorical concept for Hellenic culture which has persisted into 20th-century Greek society. A man's honour (*time*, a term used in both ancient and modern Greek), that is to say, the social recognition of his worth, is defined largely through the chastity of his women. If the chastity of a man's mother is compromised, his own legitimacy is at stake; if his wife is suspected of adultery, the implication is that his children may be bastards, while the idea that a man is not man enough to control his women is a slur on his masculinity (*andrismos*, a modern Greek term). Conversely, the adulterer, while condemned as socially disruptive and a threat to family stability, may enhance his reputation for virility through his behav-

iour. The cuckold, however, is a shamed, emasculated, and stigmatized figure. Women are expected to safeguard their own and their families' reputations by cultivating the appearance of sexual modesty (*dropi*, again a modern Greek term). In the 5th century BC Pericles proclaimed that a woman's greatest glory was not to be talked about (Thucydides, 2. 45), and the public demonstration of female chastity is crucial still – women must not only be chaste, they must be seen to be chaste. Social reputation and gossip are particularly significant in face-to-face societies, not only in those of the ancient world such as Athens but in any close-knit Hellenic community in or outside Greece, and perhaps especially important in village life.

These common social attitudes towards adultery are supported by the Church's attempts to regulate sexual behaviour. Adultery has been marked out for especial censure throughout the Christian tradition, which condemns fornication, a notion that embraces any extramarital sex, either premarital or adulterous, and which threatens the Christian ideal of the "pure" marriage. Indeed, later canon law prescribed death for the adulterer, the strong proscription being based on Matthew 5: 32, which proclaimed that "whoever looks at a woman to lust after her commits adultery with her already in his heart", a pertinent illustration of the Christian principle that sexual fidelity is expected of husbands as well as wives, a marked contrast to the ancient world. However, it is the adultery of wives, not husbands, that provides the only valid grounds for divorce in the Orthodox Church, at least technically, referring to the authority of Matthew 19: 9, which states that if a man remarries, having divorced his wife for any cause other than adultery, he himself commits adultery. For Christian Greeks in particular the marital status of men as well as women is relevant to the definition of adultery, but from antiquity to the present, in both social and religious terms, the unchastity of wives has been the greater concern.

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See also Divorce, Family, Honour and Shame, Marriage

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Aegae

City in Macedonia

The Macedonian city of Aegae (more properly Aegeae) is situated in the northern foothills of the mountain range of Olympus, by the modern village of Vergina, overlooking the river Haliacmon and what is now a rich extent of flat cultivated plain but in antiquity was more likely, at best, marshland. The ancient road to northern Greece, followed by an Athenian army in 432 BC, ran from the coastal towns of Pydna and Methone westwards past Aegae before turning north at the next locality, Beroea. This area formed the Macedonian heartland, and from it successive Macedonian kings extended their rule west and north, until by the 5th century BC the whole region round and beyond the Axios (which flows down from the central Balkans) was part of the Macedonian state.

The city itself is still largely unexcavated. Traces of its fortifications and a city gate, enclosing an acropolis-type hill, can be made out, but archaeological work has concentrated on the areas below this, where important discoveries have been made. The existence of important remains was first noticed by the French archaeologists L. Heuzey and H. Daumet in the 1860s, though they did not identify the site as the ancient Aegae. Following an ambiguous passage in the Roman historian Justinus (7. 1. 7) it was believed that Aegae was situated at Edessa, where there were also ancient remains; but in an important paper given at the First International Symposion on Ancient Macedonia in 1967 N.G.L. Hammond pointed out that this was a misinterpretation, and that Aegae was located

elsewhere: because of its archaeological remains, and other literary evidence, particularly Theophrastus, *De Ventis*, 27, he suggested Vergina. Subsequent discoveries there have more than confirmed this.

Outside the town, on the flat ground, is an extensive cemetery of pit graves covered with low tumuli dating from the early Iron Age (the turn of the 2nd and 1st millennia BC) into the Classical period. The contents of the earlier tombs show connections with regions further to the north, and they are therefore to be identified as the graves of the original Macedonian settlers. There is no good archaeological evidence for the adjacent settlement at this time, and it hardly merits being called a city. Its importance is demonstrated rather by the large number of graves. Aegae is thus the traditional Macedonian centre, and remained so, particularly in terms of its religious function, even when a new city was created at Pella. It should have been a place of residence for the Macedonian kings, but although the 5th-century king Perdiccas was encountered there by the Athenian army in 432 BC, there is no trace of an actual royal residence until the end of the 4th century BC when a substantial palace was built, measuring overall 104.5 by 88.5 m. This consists of a central courtyard 44.5 m square with a peristyle of 16 Doric columns on each side. To the east and north are open verandahs (a most unusual feature for Greek residences, which are invariably closed and inward looking) commanding extensive views over the Haliacmon. Most of its rooms are equipped as formal dining rooms, appropriately graded to accommodate the different ranks of the Macedonian court; the palace seems to have been designed primarily for ceremonial or religious functions rather than as a conventional administrative building.

Below the palace is the theatre, which had wooden seats arranged on the earth slopes, apart from the first row which was limestone. It was here that the great Philip II was murdered in 336 BC, watching a procession in celebration of the marriage of his daughter Cleopatra. Nearby is a small temple, dedicated to the goddess Eucleia by Philip's mother Eurydice. But the most convincing evidence that Vergina is the ancient Aegae is the Great Tumulus, excavated by Manolis Andronikos. Aegae was known from literature (Plutarch, *Pyrrhus*, 26. 6–7) to have been the burial place of the Macedonian kings. Hammond suggested that a built vaulted tomb, of the type categorized as Macedonian and excavated by K. Rhomaios in the 1930s, decorated in the same form of the Ionic order as the monument of Philip at Olympia, might be where he was buried after his assassination. Andronikos's excavation of the largest of the tumuli uncovered more "Macedonian" tombs, including one that was unrobbed, containing the remains of the cremated dead (a man and a woman) in chests of gold together with a vast array of other objects, gold, silver, ivory, and an iron breastplate similar to that worn by Philip's son Alexander in the mosaic which depicts him at the battle of Issus. The remains of the dead man were not completely reduced to ashes, and enough of the bone structure remained to indicate that he was of Philip's age when he died, and that, like Philip, he had been blinded in one eye by an arrow which had entered the skull from above; in all there is ample evidence to confirm the identity of the great Macedonian king and the locality at Vergina as the city of Aegae.

The subsequent history of Aegae is uncertain, and there is no secure archaeological evidence later than the Hellenistic palace. During the troubled years which followed the death in 297 BC of king Cassander (who may have been responsible for the palace) the royal tombs were plundered by Gallic mercenary soldiers employed by the king of Epirus, Pyrrhus, during his invasion of Macedonia in 288 BC. Somehow, Philip's tomb escaped, and it was after this that Antigonus Gonatas, when he secured the kingship of Macedon for himself in 277/76 BC, heaped over it and another unplundered royal tomb the great mound which preserved it intact.

After the final Roman conquest of Macedon following the battle of Pydna in 167 BC, Aegae disappears from history. It is not one of the capitals of the four separate regions into which the Romans divided the former kingdom. Too closely associated with the traditions of the Macedonian people and monarchy, it had no place in the Roman system of things. If not deliberately destroyed, it was defortified and, probably, allowed to dwindle away, its place as the leading city of this area being taken over by Beroea.

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Summary

Ancient city in Macedonia near the modern village of Vergina. It was the religious centre of Macedonia and the burial place of its kings. Following a suggestion made by N.G.L. Hammond in 1967, Manolis Andronikos excavated an unrobbed tomb containing spectacular grave goods which can be safely identified as that of Philip II.

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Aegina

Island in the Saronic gulf

The island of Aegina lies centrally in the Saronic gulf, some 20 km southwest of Piraeus and the same distance from the Argolid peninsula; it has an area of 83 sq km. The location of the island so close to Attica resulted in a greater involvement with the events and developments of mainland Greece throughout its history than any other island of the Aegean. It has always benefited from a fine natural harbour on the west coast, beside which the town of Aegina grew up and flourished. Its climate is more sheltered than most of the Aegean islands, and its land produces major crops of pistachio nuts as well as olive oil, grapes, almonds, and figs.

Colonized in the 3rd millennium BC, by the 2nd millennium BC Aegina had already become an important trading post. During the 10th century BC (according to Herodotus) the island was colonized by Dorians from Epidaurus, having previously undergone Mycenaean occupation; since then it has

Aegina: the temple of Aphaea, built in the late 6th or early 5th century BC

played at various points an active, and sometimes vital, part in Greek history. The Aeginetan navy was a force of paramount importance from the 7th to the 5th centuries BC, and played a major role in the defeat of the Persians at Salamis (480 BC). Also flourishing during these centuries were the skills of its potters and bronze-founders, and modern products of the former are still sold widely today. But the outstanding survival from this period is the temple dedicated to Aphaea, built in the late 6th or early 5th century BC on a hill in the northeast of the island and looking out over the Saronic gulf towards Attica. Although considerably damaged, it still retains 24 of its 32 original columns, and of particular interest are surviving traces of pigmentation on the floors of the pronaos and cella; originally the columns, of local limestone, were stuccoed and then coloured. Figures from the pediments, carved in Parian marble by the famous Aeginetan sculptor Onatas, were taken to Munich after their discovery in 1811. The individuality of Onatas' artistic style is suggested by the comment of Pausanias (5. 25) that his figures, "even though they are in the Aeginetan style, I would not assess as inferior to those of the Attic school of sculptors". Another sculptor from Aegina called Smilis, the son of Euclides must have been one of the more famous sculptors of his day, since the cult image of Hera in the huge temple on Samos was, according to Pausanias, made by him (7. 4). Later, the inhabitants of Aegina were expelled at the start of the Peloponnesian War, but were able to return by 400 BC. For the rest of the pre-Christian period the history of the island was closely linked to that of Athens.

Several early Christian basilicas have been excavated within the area of the town of Aegina, indicating a continuing prosperity into the 6th century AD. To the north of the town the hill of Colonna was fortified by this time, and a unique survival is the 4th-century floor mosaic of a synagogue, of which the inscription gives its cost; the building was converted to a church after the 7th century. Around AD 580 the island became a place of refuge for the inhabitants of Corinth, fleeing the Slavic invasions of the Peloponnese, and during the 9th century, like many other of the islands and coastal sites, Aegina suffered from Arab raids.

In the Deed of Partition of 1204, after the Fourth Crusade, Aegina was one of the two Aegean islands awarded unambiguously to Venice, but its position meant that in reality it was ruled first by the dukes of Athens, and then, from the early 14th century, by the Catalan dynasty of the Fadrique (they styled themselves "Lords of Aegina" and sometimes "of Aegina and Salamis"). On the death of Antonello de Caupena in 1451 without heirs, the island was bequeathed to Venice, who appointed a governor responsible to their administration in Nauplia. The Venetians were to hold Aegina until its devastation by Khaireddin Barbarossa, the much-feared admiral of

Suleiman the Magnificent, in 1537. His massacre of the male population and the abduction of all the women and children left the island largely depopulated for the first time since the 10th century BC, and the later revival of its economy must have been due in part to Albanians who were subsequently introduced by Barbarossa.

It was probably during the Arab attacks that the first settlement was made on the hill towards the northwest of the island now called Palaiochora. With the growing insecurity and increase in danger from piracy that marked the 11th and 12th centuries, inland sites such as this grew in importance, and Palaiochora was to develop into a major ecclesiastical and administrative centre. During the period of Catalan and Venetian domination of the island it was the de facto capital and the seat of the Orthodox metropolitan; there are still 35 churches to be seen on this hilltop site, most built in the 14th–16th centuries; inscriptions survive here recording the restoration of individual buildings in 1533, 1610, 1619, and 1674, and so carried out during the Tourkokratia. This remains the largest and best-preserved source for knowledge of church building in this part of the Aegean during these centuries. Further rebuilding must have followed an attack in 1654 by the Venetian admiral Morosini, who succeeded in reoccupying the island for the Republic for more than half a century. At the Treaty of Karlovitz of 1699 Venice was specifically permitted to retain Aegina, and the island was ceded to the sultan only in 1718 at the Conference of Passarovitz.

The vigour of the Aeginetan economy is indicated by the population figures, which by the 1820s were said to be around 8,500; visitors to Palaiochora reported its population to be between 3,000 and 4,000 in the town alone, which had some 400 houses. It must have been this relative prosperity that, combined with its favourable location, caused the island to play a final brief but significant part on the stage of Greek political life. In 1826 Aegina became the seat of the Greek National Assembly during the period of instability that followed the War of Independence, and in 1829 the first coins of the modern Greek state were minted on Aegina under Ioannis Kapodistria. The monetary unit was named appropriately as the silver *phoenix*, with subdivisions of 100 *lepta*, and was renamed as the *drachma* only in 1833.

More recently Aegina has become the resting place of the embalmed body of St Nektarios (1846–1920) who as metropolitan of Pentapolis founded the Convent of the Holy Trinity there in 1904; in 1961 he became the first saint to be canonized by the Greek Orthodox Church in modern times.

Over many centuries and in a variety of ways Aegina can be seen to have contributed more to the Hellenic tradition than almost any other Aegean island.

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See also Nektarios

Summary

Located in the Saronic gulf some 20 km southwest of Piraeus, Aegina has been closely involved in the history of mainland Greece. It had a famous navy in the 7th–5th centuries BC which fought at Salamis. It was ceded to Venice in 1204 and taken for the Ottomans by Barbarossa in 1537. In 1826 it was the seat of the Greek National Assembly.

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Aeolians

Ancient ethnic group

Of all the major ethnic groups of ancient Greece the Aeolians are the most indistinct. In modern scholarship the term is generally applied to the populations of Thessaly, Boeotia, the eastern Aegean islands of Lesbos and Tenedos, and the northwestern littoral of Asia Minor north of the Hermus valley – largely on the basis of the structural similarities between the dialects of these areas (although the Boeotian dialect displays several "Northwest Greek" characteristics while the Aeolic dialects of the eastern Aegean are marked by "Ionicizing" features almost certainly due to regular contact with neighbouring Ionian settlements).

In antiquity, however, the term "Aeolians" was applied more indiscriminately. The 1st-century BC geographer Strabo (8. 1. 2) says not only that all the populations north of the Corinthian isthmus (with the exception of the Athenians, Megarians, and Dorians "around Parnassus") were Aeolian, but that the Dorians of northern Greece were themselves originally Aeolians whose speech and customs eventually became distinct as a result of their isolation from their neighbours. He claims further that Aeolians had inhabited the Peloponnese prior to the arrival of the Dorians but that most had assimilated with the Dorian invaders save for the Achaeans, the Eleans, and the Arcadians. It should nevertheless be noted that the West Greek dialects of Achaea and Elis and the Arcado-Cypriot dialect of Arcadia appear to demonstrate little or no similarity with the Aeolic dialect group. The lack of coincidence between claims of ethnic origin and the linguistic situation marks a striking contrast with the case of the Ionians and Dorians, and it has been suggested that the etymology of the term "Aeolians" indicates a group of mixed origins.

According to tradition, Thessaly had originally been called Aeolis (Herodotus, 7. 176. 4), though the 5th-century BC historian Thucydides (3. 102. 5) believed that ancient Aeolis was the area surrounding the Aetolian towns of Calydon and Pleuron. Sixty years after the Trojan War, the Aeolian Boeoti who had formerly been settling Thessaly were expelled and occupied Boeotia to the south (Thucydides, 1. 12. 3; Pausanias, 10. 8. 4). Immediately after settling Boeotia, some of the Boeoti accompanied Penthilus, son of Orestes, in his expedition to colonize the island of Lesbos and Aeolis in Asia Minor (Thucydides, 7. 57. 5; Strabo, 9. 2. 5). There were, however, variant versions – the 2nd-century AD traveller Pausanias (3. 2. 1) says that Penthilus colonized Lesbos and his grandson Gras

settled Aeolis, but Strabo (13. 1. 3) reports that it was Gras who settled Lesbos, while the city of Cyme on the coast of Asia Minor was founded by two other descendants of Agamemnon, Kleues and Malaus – and it is generally believed that the tradition of the Aeolian migration was a relatively late compilation that is unlikely to predate the 5th century BC. In particular, the idea that the Aeolian Boeotians were led by the ethnically unrelated Penthilus parallels the tradition of the Dorians returning to the Peloponnese under the leadership of the descendants of Heracles and was almost certainly coined to justify the claims of the Penthilidai, the ruling family in the Lesbian city of Mytilene (Aristotle, *Politics*, 5. 10).

In fact, it is more than likely that a sense of Aeolian identity first emerged among the cities that were founded in the eastern Aegean *c.*1000 BC. At the beginning of the 7th century BC Hesiod (*Works and Days*, 636) described how his father had left "Aeolian Cyme" for Boeotia; a century later the poetess Sappho evokes "the Muse in Aeolian Eresus" (a city on Lesbos), while a tribe named "Aeolis" is attested in the Lesbian city of Methymna. It is telling that the only Aeolian city which participated in the foundation of the 6th-century Hellenion sanctuary at Naucratis was the Lesbian city of Mytilene (Herodotus, 2. 178. 2). The principal vehicle for the expression of this identity was without doubt the league of 12 cities in Asia Minor which is described in the 5th century BC by Herodotus (1. 149) and which was originally thought to include Smyrna, Cyme, Larissa, Neon Teichos, Temnos, Cilla, Notion, Aegiroessa, Pitane, Aegaeae, Myrina, and Gryneia. Herodotus goes on to report how Smyrna was captured by the Colophonians and transferred to the Ionian Dodecapolis. It has been suggested that the league should predate the 8th century BC since from this time the archaeological evidence at Old Smyrna appears to display no qualitative differences from other Ionian settlements. On the other hand, there is no evidence that ethnic affiliations in ancient Greece were necessarily expressed through distinctive repertoires of material culture, and it is far more likely that the league emerged in the course of the archaic period (possibly the early 6th century) as a direct response to the foundation of the Ionian Dodecapolis. On the basis of perceived ties with central Greece (perhaps historical as well as invented), a sense of Aeolian affiliation may have spread from the eastern Aegean to the regions of Boeotia and Thessaly.

Towards the end of the 6th century BC the compiler of the pseudo-Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women* attempted to systematize and harmonize the variant genealogical traditions of different Greek cities so as to anchor local mythologies within a broader panhellenic context. Besides accounting for relationships between various local heroes, the *Catalogue* articulated in genealogical form the relationship between various Greek ethnic groups by deriving filiation of their eponymous ancestors (Aeolus, Dorus, Ion, Achaeus) from the original ancestor of the Greeks, Hellen (Hesiod, fr. 9, 10a). But whereas Dorus, Ion, and Achaeus are relatively faceless figures whose only function would appear to be to express relationships between Greek population groups, Aeolus stands at the head of a developed genealogical tradition that includes a host of heroes from various localities throughout Greece. It is highly likely that the Aeolus who acts as the ethnic eponym for the Aeolians has here been assimilated with an older homonymous figure and that Strabo's extensive application of the term "Aeolians" stems from the widespread distribution of local heroes belonging to this Aeolid lineage.

From the end of the 5th century BC Aeolian identity ceases to operate in any meaningful way. It is possible that it was its indiscriminate application that militated against any solid criteria for collective consciousness, but the political situation on both sides of the Aegean sea also played a role. In the east the Aeolian cities – like their Ionian neighbours – succumbed to the successive domination of Lydia, Persia, the Athenian empire, Persia again, the Seleucids, the Attalids, and finally Rome, though even prior to their incorporation within the Lydian empire they had, with the exception of the cities on Lesbos and Tenedos, accepted the leadership of the Ionians (Herodotus, 1. 151. 3). On the Greek mainland, Thessaly became increasingly riven by internal disputes while the Boeotian city of Thebes concentrated on promoting a pan-Boeotian federation over which it claimed hegemony; but any sentiment of ethnic affinity between the two regions was counteracted by their siding with opposing alliances during the Peloponnesian War and by the construction of an ethnicizing rhetoric between Dorians and Ionians in which the Aeolians found no voice.

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See also Dialects, Hellenes

Summary

Shadowy ethnic group of ancient Greece now identified on linguistic grounds with the populations of Thessaly, Boeotia, Lesbos, Tenedos, and the northwest coast of Asia Minor. All trace of their separate identity disappears at the end of the 5th century BC.

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Aeschines *c.*390–*c.*322 BC

Orator

Aeschines came from an Athenian family that was impoverished by the Peloponnesian War. He was forced to earn a living, and his various early occupations included working as the secretary to the assembly and as a tragic actor. These, and military service for which he was decorated, would stand him in good stead in his political career, which took off after the

destruction of Olynthus by Philip II of Macedon in 348 BC. Aeschines was sent to Arcadia as an ambassador to promote Eubulus' proposed Greek congress, which would discuss resistance to Philip, but in the event in 346 BC he was one of the negotiators of the short-lived Peace of Philocrates. One of his fellow ambassadors was the staunchly anti-Macedonian Demosthenes, and the two men, who had fallen out when serving on the council in 347/46 BC, became sworn enemies. Aeschines may have been duped by Philip, who appeared friendly towards Athens, but Demosthenes accused him of accepting bribes. Demosthenes soon received more ammunition for this charge, as Philip invaded Phocis; Aeschines was sent to plead for fair treatment of the defeated Phocians, and Philip held a feast attended by Aeschines and his fellow envoys. On Aeschines' return to Athens Demosthenes began proceedings against him for treason (346/45 BC), but acted through the notorious rake Timarchus. Aeschines successfully countered with his *Against Timarchus*, in which he prosecuted Timarchus for addressing the assembly when forbidden to do so because of his immorality, and it was not until 343 BC that the mood in Athens was right for Demosthenes to bring the case himself. Aeschines delivered his *On the False Embassy* speech and was narrowly acquitted, but his credibility was undermined. Nevertheless, in 339 BC he was sent as an Athenian representative to the Amphictionic Council at Delphi; but at a time when Greek unity against the threat of Philip was essential, Aeschines managed to stir up a Sacred War against Amphissa. As a result Philip had the excuse he needed to intervene in central Greece, and Athens and Thebes were compelled to oppose him at the disastrous battle of Chaeronea. With his background of friendly relations with Philip and hostility towards Demosthenes, Aeschines was sent on the embassy to negotiate peace terms, after which he largely withdrew from the political arena.

Two opportunities subsequently presented themselves for Aeschines to return to the limelight and attack Demosthenes. In 336 BC Ctesiphon proposed that Demosthenes should be crowned for his services to Athens in the theatre at the Great Dionysia, and this gave Aeschines the chance to prosecute Ctesiphon for making an illegal proposal. Philip's murder, however, meant that the trial was delayed, and it was not until 330 BC, after the failure of Agis III's revolt and with Athens firmly under Macedonian control, that the second occasion presented itself. Aeschines delivered his *Against Ctesiphon*, in which he raised probably valid technical reasons for the illegality of Ctesiphon's proposal, but also attempted to show that Demosthenes' career made him unworthy of such an honour. Demosthenes replied with his superlative *On the Crown* speech, and Aeschines failed to secure one-fifth of the votes. He was thus fined heavily, but it was his humiliation that led him to retire to Rhodes, where he probably spent the rest of his life teaching rhetoric and giving public declamations.

Aeschines was not a professional speech writer, and there is no firm evidence that he studied rhetoric, even if he did become a teacher. His speeches are primarily important for their subject matter, but as with his political career, estimation of Aeschines' literary merits has suffered unduly in ancient and modern times by comparison with Demosthenes. Aeschines writes clear, vivid narrative, sometimes with lengthy sentences but regularly in shorter periods, and with an avoidance of hiatus that is evidence for careful composition. He employs ordinary Attic vocabulary, interspersed with poetic and rare words; and his actor's training leads him to frequent quotations of poetry, which are often long and largely irrelevant. He is prone to using exaggerated language (one of his favourite words is *deinos*, "terrible"), with accumulations of synonyms and appeals to the gods, and he has a range of vivid metaphors at his disposal. Aeschines has an innate wit, which is particularly noticeable when he is attacking Demosthenes, and these attacks can, in the fashion of the time, become extremely abusive. But generally Aeschines' Greek has a dignified tone, as befits a dignified man who deplored the use of extravagant gestures while speaking.

Only the three speeches mentioned above survive, and this was the case also in the Roman period, when Caecilius of Caleacte pronounced a fourth speech concerning Delos spurious. All three are forensic, though delivered in connection with wider public issues. Aeschines, however, tends to avoid these issues and to concentrate on the legalities of the case, but at the same time his talent lies in narrative rather than argument. Hence in *On the Embassy*, Aeschines' best speech, he does not attempt to explain his policies, but offers an amusing and lucid narrative of Demosthenes' totally losing his nerve in the presence of Philip on the first embassy sent to discuss the Peace of Philocrates. When it came to *Against Ctesiphon* Aeschines could not avoid discussing the wider issues, but he concentrates on the results of Demosthenes' policy, not the policy itself. Demosthenes' response was to emphasize the patriotism that underlay his opposition to Philip, and Aeschines later could not help but admire the speech that ruined him.

If Demosthenes' victory in the *Crown* trial undermined Aeschines' subsequent political and literary reputation, some of his merits were, nevertheless, praised by the ancient literary critics, in particular his powerful voice and delivery. The activities of his last years in Rhodes were recognized in the 3rd century AD by the sophist Philostratus of Lemnos, who included Aeschines in his *Lives of the Sophists* and credited him with being the first in a new generation of declamatory sophists, the founder of the so-called "Second Sophistic", which flourished in the 1st and 2nd centuries AD. Aeschines, like other members of the canon of ten Attic orators that had been firmly established by the 2nd century AD, served as a model of Classical Attic oratory, and the sophistic tradition continued in the schools of rhetoric through late antiquity and the Byzantine period down to the Renaissance. The speeches of the *Crown* trial continued to be the focus of attention, and if this was to the greater glory of Demosthenes, it helped to keep Aeschines in the forefront of study. The sophist Himerius, who taught rhetoric in Constantinople (AD 343–52) and Athens (AD 352–61), wrote a speech in the person of Demosthenes against Aeschines; George Chrysokokkes, the Byzantine schoolmaster, copied the manuscripts of Aeschines in the period 1420–28 for his Italian patron Aurispa; and the Cretan Demetrios Doukas assisted in the preparation of the first printed edition of Aldus Manutius in 1513. One final indicator of the continuing study of Aeschines is the collection of scholia to Demosthenes and Aeschines in the monastery of St John on Patmos.

MICHAEL J. EDWARDS

See also Rhetoric

Biography

Born in Athens *c.*390 BC, Aeschines scratched a living as an actor and soldier until 348 BC when he was sent on an embassy to Arcadia. On another in 346 he incurred the enmity of Demosthenes, who charged him with treason. Aeschines successfully counterattacked with a speech *Against Timarchus*, and in 343 was acquitted after delivering his speech *On the False Embassy*. When Demosthenes was offered a crown by Ctesiphon, Aeschines attacked again with his speech *Against Ctesiphon*. Demosthenes successfully defended himself and Aeschines went into exile in Rhodes where he died *c.*322 BC.

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Aeschylus *c.*525–456 BC

Tragedian

Aeschylus saw Athens victorious over the Persians in 490 BC and again in 480–479 BC. His tomb at Gela tells us that he fought at Marathon, but nothing about his drama. Supposedly he came from a distinguished family. He was invited by Hieron I to visit Syracuse in Sicily, and he wrote his *Women of Aetna* on the occasion of Hieron's founding of the city of Aetna. His plays were esteemed for their inspirational and educational value. In Aristophanes' *Frogs* (405 BC) the god Dionysus brings Aeschylus back from the dead so that the Athenians can enjoy good drama once more; Aeschylus claims that his *Seven Against Thebes* is "full of Ares" and that whoever sees it is anxious to become a warrior (*Frogs*, 1021–22).

Seven of Aeschylus' plays survive: *Persians* (472 BC), *Seven against Thebes* (467 BC), *Suppliant Women* (*c.*466 BC), the *Oresteia* trilogy comprising *Agamemnon*, *Choephoroe*, and *Eumenides* (458 BC), and possibly *Prometheus Bound*, though authorship of this play has been disputed. He is said to have written some 80 plays, and he won victories with about 13 of them. Legend has it that, after beginning to compete in 499 BC, he won his first victory in 484 BC and that he was triumphant on every subsequent occasion that he competed. Fragments exist of many of the missing tragedies, rarely extensive, except in a few cases (*Myrmidones*, *Niobe*, *Prometheus Unbound*). His satyr plays were highly regarded and the more substantial of his fragments are in fact from these (*Netfishers*, and *Theoroi*, also known as *Spectators at the Isthmian Games*).

Aeschylus generally wrote his plays in the form of a thematically connected trilogy, and the only trilogy from any of the ancient tragic playwrights that survives is his. This form allows the development of a theme, as in the *Oresteia*, with its admonition that the perpetrators of crime will be punished. This is called a violent grace, accorded by the gods to man to teach him to be wise, to learn through suffering (*Agamemnon*, 176–83). A family curse shows man's dependence on fate for generation after generation, and yet the responsibility for wrongdoing remains his. The lesson is an important one, and Aeschylus charts the transition from personal blood feud and murderous vengeance to the public law court. This trilogy was written two years after the democratic reforms limited the Council of the Areopagus to murder trials. Aeschylus shows respect for the Areopagus, but also seems to espouse the development towards democracy.

Aeschylus' plays include many exchanges between a single actor and the chorus. As much as one half of a play can be choral, and his choruses are particularly dramatic. It is easy to imagine the Persians appearing in their lavish costumes, and the demonic arrival of the Erinyes, or Furies, whose appearance we are told caused women to miscarry. Aristotle tells us that Aeschylus introduced a second actor and his later extant plays show more dialogue between two actors, and, after Sophocles introduced the third actor, sometimes three.

Of the three playwrights from 5th-century BC Athens whose works survive, Aeschylus' language is perhaps the most poetic, with his abstract usage, invented and rare words coupled with bold metaphors. He is certainly the most difficult to translate. He often takes an image and carries it throughout the play, or trilogy, as, for instance, in the *Oresteia* with the related images of net, hunt, blood, fertility, sacrifice, and war: public pursuits that lead to private disaster.

Alone of the three great tragedians, Aeschylus deals with a historical subject, the *Persians*, less than a decade after their defeat. He showed sympathy for the enemy, a useful quality for rising statesmen in the new democracy. In this work he also extolled the merits of democracy by comparison with the Persians, who were governed by a tyrant.

When Aeschylus died, a state decree was issued allowing his plays to be entered at the tragic festivals in competition with living playwrights. Aristophanes' *Frogs* shows us that he was still held in high repute after his death, since he is shown victorious over Euripides. Soon, however, Euripides became more popular. There are few quotations from Aeschylus in writings of the 4th century BC, and Aristotle says little about him. Around 330 BC the Athenian politician Lycurgus prescribed that copies of the texts of the plays should be deposited in the official archives, and that future performances should conform to these texts. The purpose was to safeguard the plays from adaptation and interpolation by actors and producers, of a kind to which they had already become vulnerable. These copies were lent to the Egyptian king, Ptolemy Euergetes I, and would have passed into the library at Alexandria, to form the basis of the critical edition made by the librarian Aristophanes of Byzantium (*c.*257–180 BC). Aristophanes divided the lyrics (previously written as continuous prose) into metrical cola. He also added brief introductory comments, probably making use of Aristotle's lost *Didaskaliai* (production records). Part of these comments survive in the *hypotheses* (plot summaries)

that were prefixed to the plays by later scholars in the Roman period. The composition of commentaries (or scholia) on the plays was begun in the Hellenistic period (by scholars such as Aristarchus of Samothrace, *c.*217–145 BC, and Didymus, ?80–10 BC). Further scholia were added in the Byzantine period.

Greek plays were popular in Rome. Quintus Ennius (238–169 BC) wrote a play called *Eumenides* that used characters from the *Oresteia*. Lucius Accius (170–?86 BC), in addition to plays based on characters from the *Oresteia*, also wrote *Persian Women*, *Prometheus*, and *Myrmidones*. For these Roman plays we have only the titles or a few fragments. In the imperial period Seneca (?AD 1–65) reworked the Greek tragedies in his ten extant plays. His *Agamemnon* and *Thyestes* are both derived in part from Aeschylus' *Oresteia*.

The selection of the seven plays by Aeschylus that we possess was probably made in the 2nd or 3rd century AD, and scholia were included for school use. After parchment gradually replaced papyrus (around the 4th century AD) the unselected plays gradually passed out of use. After the Athenian Academy was closed in 529, the classical texts disappeared from sight for several centuries and did not reemerge until the revival of learning in the middle Byzantine period, when they were copied from the uncial into the new minuscule script. Among the scholars who wrote commentaries and handled the texts of the plays the most important are Thomas Magister (late 13th century), Manuel Moschopoulos (*fl.*1300), and Demetrios Triklinios (early 14th century). Triklinios brought a new metrical awareness to the amendment of the text, in particular the lyrics. The plays that were most preferred by the Byzantines were *Persians*, *Prometheus*, and *Seven against Thebes*. Giovanni Aurispa brought the "Medicean" manuscript, written about 1000, from Constantinople to Italy around 1453. This included the seven plays that survive; it is our only source for *Suppliant Women* and *Choephoroe*. The *Agamemnon* is more fully preserved in two manuscripts from the 14th century and an autograph edition by Triklinios.

Texts of Aeschylus were available in Europe from the early 16th century (six of his plays were published in 1518) but he was not a favourite at this time. For the next 400 years interest in these texts was restricted to western Europe. Opera was founded at the end of the 16th century as a revival of Greek tragedy; in the 17th century Corneille and Racine both reworked Greek tragedy. Further interest followed in the 18th century with Goethe, Lessing, and Schiller, followed by Nietzsche and Kleist in the 19th century, and other reworkings throughout Europe and America.

In 1927 Eva Sikelianos revived performances of Greek tragedy at Delphi, beginning with *Prometheus Bound*. *Suppliant Women* was performed there in 1930. This tradition still continues at Delphi. Tadashi Suzuki took his *Clytemnestra* there, after it was performed in Toga, Japan, in 1983. That same year he did *The Tragedy* (*The Fall of the House of Atreus*) in Tokyo. The National Theatre in Greece regularly performs the ancient plays at Epidaurus, the odeum of Herodes Atticus in Athens, and elsewhere. Tony Harrison's and Peter Hall's *Oresteia* was performed in London in 1981 and at Epidaurus in 1982, the first imported production in that theatre.

In 1954 Dimitris Rondiris, a pupil of Reinhardt, established two festivals to revive ancient Greek drama on a yearly basis, one at Epidaurus, the other at the Herodes Atticus theatre in Athens. In 1980 Karolos Koun directed a fine production of the *Oresteia* in which Melina Mercouri starred as Clytemnestra. Earlier, in 1965, he had done an outstanding production of the *Persians*, which was also performed in London. In 2000, Katie Mitchell directed Ted Hughes's translation of the *Oresteia* in London. Spiro Evangelatos produced an *Oresteia* in 1990 with music by Theodorakis. This play has been performed in Greece since 1903, *Prometheus Bound* since 1917, and *Seven against Thebes* since 1925. *Prometheus Bound* was performed again at Delphi in 1995, ably directed by Theodoros Terzopoulos (he had previously done the *Persians* in 1990). Karolos Koun mounted a splendid production in 1975, and Giannis Tsarouchis a particularly artistic version in 1982. *The Persians* has also been popular and has been regularly performed in Greece since 1889, with an outstanding production by Terzopoulos in 1990 which emphasized the cruel suffering that revolutionary and idealistic defiance can entail. Yearly festivals that revive ancient Greek drama in addition to the ones listed above have occurred at Syracuse in Sicily since 1914 and at Delphi in Greece since 1981.

There have also been several films made of plays by Aeschylus, such as *Prometheus in Chains* (Greece, 1927) by Costas and Demetrios Gaziadis, and *Prometheus Second Person Singular* (Greece, 1975) by Costas Ferris, *Les Perses* (France, 1961) by Jean Prat, and *Notes for an African Oresteia* (Italy, 1970) by Pier Paolo Pasolini.

MARIANNE MCDONALD

See also Tragedy

Biography

Born at Eleusis *c.*525 BC, Aeschylus is the father of Greek tragedy. Seven plays survive. His drama is characterized by large issues and the splendour of his choruses. His trilogies showed divine justice acting over generations. He utilized spectacle to advantage, coupling it with equally spectacular poetic words. His plays have a particular appeal for contemporary audiences. He died at Gela in Sicily in 456 BC.

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Aesop

Legendary fabulist

Although Aesop's very existence has sometimes been considered to be a fable, the many ancient and Byzantine statements about him may contain a historical nucleus, though this is hard to determine. The earliest reference to him is a brief passage from Herodotus (2. 134), which contains the following information: Aesop was a slave of one Iadmon from Samos; he was a fellow slave of Rhodopis, a *hetaira* (courtesan) living in the time of the Pharaoh Amasis (570–525 BC); and urged by an oracle, the Delphians paid compensation to atone for Aesop's death, which was received by Iadmon's homonymous grandson.

These data can be compared and combined with other testimonies. The indications of the place of Aesop's origin and activity vary; some locate him on Samos, others in Lydia, but most in either Thrace or Phrygia. Strikingly enough, all of these are peripheral regions of the ancient Greek world. This may tentatively be connected with the provenance of the fable genre from abroad (Mesopotamia). However this may be, Maximos Planudes' derivation of "Aesop" from "Aethiopian" is at any rate etymologically incorrect.

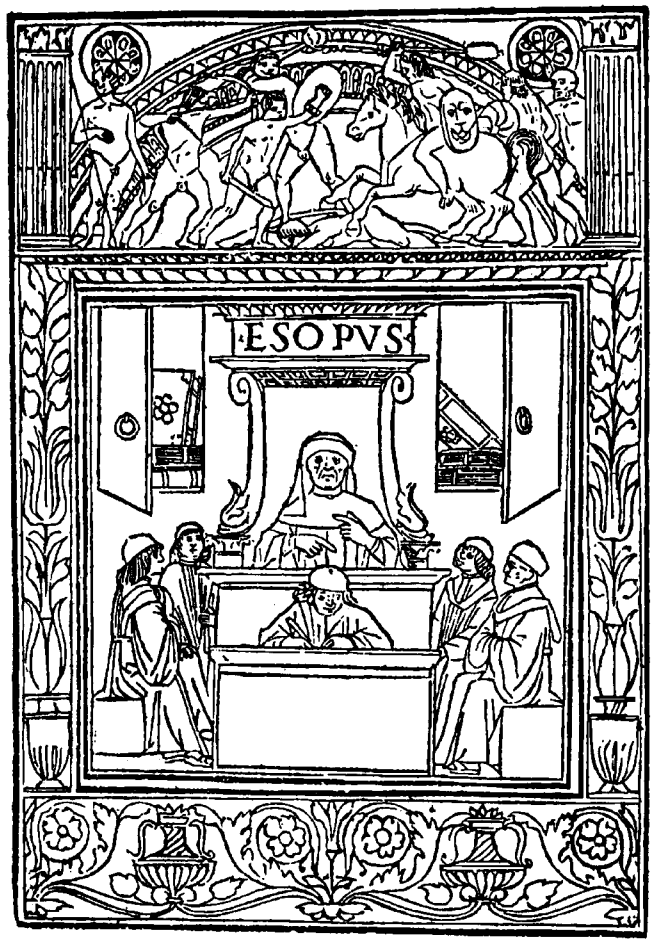
Instead of Iadmon, Aristotle (fr. 573 Rose) names one Xanthos as Aesop's master. More important than the latter's identity is Aesop's alleged social status: the emperor Julian (*Orations*, 7. 3) plausibly observes that Aesop, as a slave, could not speak out but had subtly to disguise his counsels in fables.

If Aesop really existed, he probably belonged to the 6th century BC. Eusebius of Caesarea even dates his death to 564 BC precisely. Herodotus implicitly connects him with Sappho, since he reports that it was her brother who redeemed Rhodopis. An inscription of the 1st century AD (*Inscriptiones Graecae*, 14. 1297) makes Aesop a contemporary of Pisistratus, whereas Plutarch (in his *Symposium*) has him converse not only with the equally legendary Seven Sages but also with Solon, and states that Croesus, the last king of Lydia, sent him as an envoy to Delphi.

This mission was allegedly to be his death, as is already implied by the passage from Herodotus discussed above. Aristophanes (*Wasps*, 1446f.) refers to a story in which Aesop was accused by the Delphians of the theft of a bowl dedicated to Apollo. Later testimonies explain that Aesop incurred the anger of the Delphians because he exposed their habit of greedily misappropriating gifts to the oracle; whereupon they falsely accused him of sacrilege, and put him to death by stoning and/or throwing him from the rocks (*Oxyrhynchus Papyrus* 1800, 2nd century AD; Plutarch; Lucian, Himerius, 4th century AD). He was, however, avenged by Apollo. This legend, which may reflect the ritual expulsion of a scapegoat, must have been well known by as early as the 5th century BC, as indicated by the very brevity of Aristophanes' and Herodotus' allusions. The story's popularity is also indicated by the application of the proverb "Aesop's blood" to persons involved in crimes difficult to expiate (Zenobius, 1. 47, 2nd century AD; Apostolius, 1. 73, 15th century).

Aristophanes (*Wasps*, 1448) adds that Aesop told the Delphians a fable about a dung beetle. Again, the conciseness of the passage shows that the playwright presupposed that the audience would be acquainted with the full story. An ancient commentator explains that Aesop (vainly) tried to prevent his execution by telling the Delphians a story about a tiny scarab who took a terrible revenge on the mighty eagle.

From the 5th century BC it became customary to connect fables with the name of Aesop. This was done in various ways: either Aesop was presented as the narrator of a fable on some occasion of his life, or he figured as a fable character, or the



Aesop: Venetian woodcut, 1491

fable was simply labelled as "Aesop's" or "Aesopic". All these ways of ascribing fables to Aesop occur for the first time in Aristophanes' *Wasps*. By the end of the 5th century BC Aesop's fables must already have enjoyed great popularity, as is clear from passages from Aristophanes and Plato. The former (*Birds*, 471) considers unfamiliarity with Aesop's fables to be a serious lack of cultivation, whereas the latter (*Phaedo*, 60) reports that they were versified by Socrates (who was unjustly condemned to death like Aesop). It is a matter of dispute whether or not these passages imply the circulation of a textbook with Aesop's fables in Classical Athens.

The popularity of Aesop's fables is also evident from archaeology. It is generally assumed that a red-figure *kylix* (drinking cup, *c.*450 BC; now in the Vatican Museum) depicting a hunchback speaking to a fox represents the fabulist in conversation with his favourite fable character. Later testimonies refer to statues of Aesop by Lysippus and Aristodemus and describe an allegorical painting of Aesop and his fables (Tatian, 2nd century AD; Philostratus' *Imagines*, *c.* AD 200; Agathias, 6th century AD). The fabulist was honoured also by literary monuments: apart from various biographical notes (in the *Suda* lexicon and prologues of fable collections) and a fictionalized *Life*, which will be discussed below, we have one fragment of an *Aesop* staged by the comedian Alexis (4th century BC; extant in Athenaeus, 10. 431).

The ascription of fables to Aesop soon became a standard practice, which lasted throughout antiquity. Fables somehow connected with Aesop's name occur in the works of writers from the Classical (Democritus, Aristotle), Hellenistic (Callimachus), and imperial periods of Greek literature (e.g. Galen, Dio of Prusa, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Plutarch, Lucian, Diogenes Laertius, Libanius, Themistius), as well as in early Christian Greek (St Irenaeus, St Basil the Great).

The first to compose a fable collection (Demetrius of Phalerum, *c.*300 BC) also used Aesop's name as a kind of generic label. This was done by other ancient fabulists (Babrius and Phaedrus, his Latin *collega proximus*) as well, and has become customary ever since, as is clear from the habit of Byzantine authors of quoting from "Aesop's fables" (Michael Psellos, John Tzetzes, Eustathios of Thessalonica, Nikephoros Gregoras). Hence it has naturally, but mistakenly, been believed by some that the ancient so-called Aesopic fable collections, which are extant in many Byzantine manuscripts, were by the genre's founding father himself. This myth was, however, definitively unmasked by Sir Richard Bentley (1699), who mainly on internal linguistic evidence convincingly proved that the prose fables cannot have been composed before the Christian era; their author must remain anonymous.

Aesop's renown (according to some perhaps rivalling that of Homer) may be especially based upon the fables ascribed to him, but throughout antiquity and the Byzantine period his name is also connected with apophthegms and proverbs (in John Georgides, *c.*10th century; *codex Mosquensis*, 239, 14th century). His fame was further enhanced by the anonymous *Life of Aesop*, a biographical romance from the imperial Roman period that creatively combines traditional stories about the legendary fabulist with heterogeneous elements derived from various other sources, notably anecdotes about the Seven Sages and the Assyrian book of Ahiqar. Aesop is portrayed as a typical anti-hero, physically and socially inferior but mentally the master of his superiors, and as the champion of popular wisdom, problem-solving, and fable-telling. The text's structure is tripartite; the setting shifts from Samos via the Near East to Delphi. Part 1 relates how Aesop, dumb from birth and enslaved, is granted first the power of speech by the goddess Isis and then freedom by his master Xanthos because, respectively, of his faithfulness and cleverness, and how he reconciles his fellow citizens with their powerful enemy, King Croesus of Lydia. In part 2 Aesop, as a counsellor of King Lycurgus of Babylon, manages to escape a plot set up against him by his adoptive son Ainos ("Fable") and to win an enigmatic battle for his master against the Egyptian pharaoh Nectanebo. Part 3 is about Aesop's tragic end in Delphi (see above). He is, however, with divine approval, avenged by allied Graeco-Babylonian forces.

Of this highly original and at times scabrous text three different versions are extant, viz. the ancient *G* and *W*, and the Byzantine *Pl*, named respectively after the place where the manuscript was originally kept (Grottaferrata; also containing fables of Babrius), after its first editor (Westermann; Braunschweig, 1845), and after Maximos Planudes, who made a somewhat abbreviated version *ad usum delphini* which was to become an early printing bestseller, translated into Latin, German, French, English, Dutch, Spanish, and other European languages. Modern Greek versions are the anonymous *Life of Aesop the Phrygian* (Venice, 1783) and Andreas Moustoxidis's *Life of Aesop* (Corfu, 1857).

In antiquity and in Byzantine times it was told (Photios and the *Suda* lexicon) that Aesop rose from the dead and was reincarnated more than once. Even if one does not believe in metempsychosis, the story of Aesop redivivus aptly symbolizes the eternal resurrection of the creation of Hellas's famous fabulist.

GERT-JAN VAN DIJK

See also Fable

Biography

The eponymous father of Greek fable. Little is known of his life, and indeed his very existence is in doubt. If he existed, it was probably in the 6th century BC. He was by tradition a slave, perhaps on Samos. Fables continued to be ascribed to Aesop throughout antiquity and have been popular ever since.

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Aesthetics

Although the word "aesthetics" is itself derived from the Greek word *aisthanomai* ("I perceive"), it was not coined until 1753, by the German philosopher Alexander Gottlieb Baumgarten. Since then it has gradually come to embrace philosophies of both art and beauty (whether natural or created). This is not to say that the ancients did not have a tradition of what we understand by aesthetics, i.e. a philosophy concerned with the essence and perception of beauty and ugliness.

Apart from the evidence that is implied in their creative works, we are able to form some idea of the views on art and beauty held by the Greeks from at least four types of writing: literary criticism, art criticism, philosophy, and rhetoric. One general idea that emerges from this evidence is that to the Greeks art was a representation (*mimesis*) of life. This is evident from the description of Achilles' shield in *Iliad* 18 where the artist's depiction is praised for its faithfulness to life. This was true not only of the visual arts and works of literature, but even of instrumental music. However, what the Greek thinkers understood by *mimesis* was something much broader than mere copying. It could encompass a wide range of modes of depiction and symbolism that ranged from imitative realism to imaginative idealism and embraced different accounts of the artists' relations to their creations, circling around the polarities of nature and craft, inspiration and technique. Accordingly, ancient attitudes to the representative arts include many distinctive configurations of emphasis. As Aristotle says in the 26th chapter of his *Poetics*, the artist could represent men as they are, as they ought to be, or as they are thought to be.

According to Xenophon, Socrates regarded the beautiful as coincident with the good, while both of them are resolvable into the useful. We call something beautiful when it serves some rational end, be it human gratification or human security. He seems to have emphasized the power of a beautiful object to further the more necessary ends of life rather than the immediate gratification it afforded to perception and contemplation. For him, beauty was a relative thing. Unlike Plato, he did not recognize a "beauty itself" existing absolutely without any relation to a percipient mind. The *Memorabilia* (3. 10) records a conversation with the sculptor Parrhesius in which Socrates introduces two qualifications to the idea of representation: the sculptor can combine into one statue features that in real life belong to many people; and the artist represents not only physical features but also the soul.

The earliest aesthetic theory of any scope is that of Plato. According to him, reality consisted of forms or archetypes that were themselves imperceptible to the senses but were perceptible to the soul in its purest essence. But they were the patterns on which all objects of sense perception were modelled. Thus phenomena imitate the forms or participate in them. From the objects of sense perception the philosopher reasons to the pure forms of which they are mere imitations. But the artist merely copies the objects of sense experience without possessing a knowledge of their forms. What he produces is, thus, an imitation of an imitation. Because he did not possess the philosopher's knowledge of reality, the artist had no claim to be the teacher of men. Plato also believed that certain types of artistic production, such as those that portrayed the character and

actions of base people, were harmful to the moral and emotional integrity of their audiences. Even certain musical modes could induce laziness or incite people to intemperate actions. Accordingly, in formulating an ideal state, Plato, in the *Republic*, recommends rigorous censorship (or even expulsion) of the existing breed of poets and painters in favour of an ideal race of artist-philosophers whose creations should provide moral and political training.

Although Plato was inclined to the conception of an absolute beauty that took its place within his scheme of self-existing forms or ideas, it is not easy to determine exactly what he meant by beauty. Various definitions are rejected in his dialogues by the Platonic Socrates as being inadequate. The only notion of a common element in beautiful objects that we come across in his dialogues is proportion, harmony, or unity among their parts. According to the *Symposium*, true beauty is not something that one can find as an attribute in this or that beautiful thing. For beautiful things, although they partake of beauty, are not themselves "beauty itself". Eros or love causes aspiration towards the pure idea of beauty that Plato also identifies with goodness and truth. According to the *Phaedo*, the soul's knowledge of beauty itself results from recollection of its prenatal existence.

In several of his works Aristotle attempts to defend the claims of representative art as the basis of moral education, the origin of catharsis, and the instrument of character formation. He attempts to develop certain principles of beauty and art by scientific analysis. For Aristotle, just as for Plato, aesthetics was inseparable from morality and politics. In his *Politics* (8. 5) he dwells on the power of art to influence human character, and hence the social order. In the *Metaphysics* he tries to make a distinction between the good and the beautiful: the good is always found in action, whereas beauty may exist in motionless things as well. The good may also be called beautiful under certain circumstances, although essentially they are two different things. Beauty is also different from what is fitting, and is above the useful and the necessary. The pleasure it provides is of the purest kind. The universal elements of beauty are order, symmetry, and definiteness or determinateness (*Metaphysics*) as well as a certain magnitude (*Poetics*); an object should not be so large as to prevent a synoptic view of the whole, or so small as to prevent a clear perception of the articulation of the parts.

The more mystical writings of Plato, the *Timaeus* in particular, suggest a different approach to aesthetics based on the Pythagorean theory of the cosmos or ordered universe. This exerted a decisive influence on the Neoplatonists. Among them Plotinus (born *c.*AD 205) accorded far greater significance to art than did Plato. The essence of his philosophy is the desire to escape from the material world. According to him, *nous* or objective reason, which is self-moving, invests form on inanimate matter, thereby turning it into a *logos* or notion whose beauty lay in its form. Objects that have not been acted upon by reason are formless, and therefore ugly. The creative reason is absolute beauty, which Plotinus calls the more-than-beautiful. Beauty manifests itself in three stages: the highest is human reason; next comes the human soul, which is less perfect because of its links with the material body; lowest of all are the "real" objects. In other words, he explains the universe by a hierarchy rising from matter to soul, soul to reason, and reason to God, the final abstraction, without form or matter, i.e. pure existence. Only the spiritual world contemplated by reason is real, the phenomenal world being a creation of the soul and, hence, a thing without real existence, while matter is only a receptacle for forms imposed on it by the soul. Unlike Aristotle, he believed that a single thing indivisible into parts might be beautiful through its unity and simplicity. He accorded a high place to the beauty of colours in which material darkness is overpowered by light and warmth. According to him, art reveals the form of an object more clearly than ordinary experience does, and it raises the soul to contemplation of the universal. When the artist contemplates notions as models of his creations, such creations may attain to greater beauty than the products of nature. For Plotinus, the highest moments of life were mystical, and by this he meant that in the world of forms the soul was united with the divine or the "one". Since one loses oneself in contemplating an aesthetic object, aesthetic experience comes closest to mystical experience.

The influence of Plato is also manifest in the rhetorical treatise known as Longinus' *On the Sublime* (? 1st century AD). According to this author, "sublimity consists in a certain excellence and distinction in expression" and "it is from this source alone that the greatest poets and historians have acquired their preeminence and won for themselves an eternity of fame." According to him, the sublime not merely persuades but transports the audience out of themselves. It is thus a mystic experience, an ecstasy, which is why its effect is different from that of all merely technical skills. In the 7th chapter he says: "for by some innate power the true sublime uplifts our souls; we are filled with a proud exaltation and a sense of vaunting joy, just as though we had ourselves produced what we had heard." For him, the sublimity of a work is proved by its ability to stand repeated hearings and its unanimous recognition or universal appeal. In chapter 9 he describes the sublime as the echo of a noble mind. The sources of sublimity are: (1) the ability to form grand conceptions; (2) the stimulus of powerful and inspired emotions; (3) figures of speech and thought; (4) diction; and (5) composition. Although he makes several references to the visual arts, his prime concern is literature.

Among the Greeks, examples of art criticism are found in literary works, mostly from the later periods, which contain descriptions of works of art. One such work is Pausanias' *Guide to Greece* (2nd century AD); another is the *Eikones* by one of the Philostrati of Lemnos who appear to have lived in the 2nd–3rd centuries AD. The latter consists of two sets of descriptions in prose of pictures that the author professes to have seen.

There was a strong tendency among the ancient Greeks to connect both art and beauty to more general considerations of human needs and values, so that their aesthetics, so far from being isolated, was involved with the psycho-sociological aspects of culture. In considering questions concerning the origin, subject-matter, form, style, and effect of the arts, several Greek writers adopted a comparative approach. The elder Simonides described poetry as vocal painting and painting as silent poetry. Aristotle, in his *Poetics*, also makes frequent references to the visual arts; and so do the later authors of rhetorical treatises, even though their analogies are often misleading.

Christianity at first regarded the depiction of religious images as idolatrous because of the Old Testament's prohibition against graven images (Exodus 20: 1–5). This reservation was, however, overcome and a pictorial tradition was established by the 3rd century AD. It is in relation to this early condemnation of pagan idolatry and the consequent reluctance to depict sacred Christian figures and stories that early Byzantine art must be understood. Although many notable exceptions exist, figural scenes were usually avoided and were presented in an allusive symbolic mode or were embedded in complex programmes that rendered the veneration of single images practically impossible. From about AD 550 such restraint weakened, and in 7th-century church decorations small isolated panels depicting single figures begin to appear at or near eye level.

The representational theory of art was retained through the Byzantine period as well, and even hagiography emphasized the resemblance of the icon to the original. This naturalistic approach was, however, contradicted by the concept of bodily beauty as a reflection of the absolute beauty of God. The artists aimed at representing what was eternal, rather than what was ephemeral, and they therefore concentrated on the "spiritual" elements of the human body, the face and especially the eyes. The figures are frontal and stable, the opposite qualities being the marks of devils, barbarians, and the enemy in general. Being didactic in purpose, Byzantine art sought to convey its message through a symbolic language. Along with its historical place and time, each event depicted had its place in the ever-repeating cycle of the divine plan, thus conferring upon it a profound significance.

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Aetolia

Region in central Greece

Aetolia is a region in north central Greece whose southern border is the coastline along the Gulf of Corinth. Its western border is formed by the Acheloüs river, which separates modern-day Greece from Albania and in Classical antiquity marked the division between Aetolia and Acarnania. In the 5th century BC an uneven line running from the area just west of Thermopylae in the north to Naupactus on the Corinthian Gulf in the south formed Aetolia's eastern boundary; its northern border abutted the kingdoms of Macedonia and Thrace. At present Aetolia and Acarnania, as the conglomerate Aitolakarnania, comprise the most westerly nome of central Greece; this nome lies between the Gulf of Patras and Epirus. Throughout the centuries the territorial boundaries of Aetolia have dramatically expanded or contracted in accordance with the ebb and flow of the Aetolians' political fortunes.

From the 1st-century-BC geographer Strabo we learn that in antiquity Aetolia fell into two divisions: Old Aetolia and New or Acquired (*Epiktetos*) Aetolia. The area between the Acheloüs and Euenus rivers is known as Old Aetolia. Its most striking geographical features are the complex series of lagoons of the Aetolian plains and Lake Trichonis. Old Aetolia included the city of Calydon, of great mythological significance as the scene of the tragic story of Meleager, Atalanta, and the Calydonian boar hunt. Moreover, Aetolian cities gained undying fame in the catalogue of ships in Book 2 of Homer's *Iliad* (lines 638–44); the poet reports that Thoas, son of Andraimon, led an Aetolian contingent of 40 black ships in the expedition against Troy. New Aetolia extended from the Euenus river eastwards to the land of the Ozolian Locrians. This region did not have the sort of prestige which Greek mythology bestowed upon Old Aetolia; indeed, the 5th-century BC Athenian historian Thucydides (3. 94) remarks that its rude inhabitants spoke a nearly unintelligible form of Greek and ate raw flesh.

Aetolia's period of greatest power and prosperity fell between the years 338 BC, when the victory of Philip II of Macedon over a coalition of Greek city states led by Athens and Thebes changed for ever the configurations of inter-state power relations in Greece, and 189 BC, when Rome imposed a harsh settlement upon the Aetolians in the aftermath of the Roman victory over Aetolia and its ally the Seleucid king Antiochus III. The Aetolian Confederacy (or *koinon*) held regular representative meetings in which federal magistrates were elected, had a pan-Aetolian sanctuary at Thermon, and conducted a common foreign policy.

Sometime around 300 BC Aetolia gained control of the venerable sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi. Aetolia's territorial extent in this period may be calculated on the basis of the number of votes which the Aetolians controlled in the Delphic Amphictionic Council. In antiquity Aetolia's claim to fame lay in the defence of the sanctuary in 279 BC against a Gallic attack. Although it is clear that the Phocians also played a significant role in the repulse of this Gallic incursion, the Aetolians claimed sole responsibility. Some 30 years after the invasion they reorganized the Delphic festival of thanksgiving on a grander scale and represented themselves as the heroic defenders of Hellenism against a barbarian menace. This propaganda apparently was effective: the 2nd-century AD traveller Pausanias (*Description of Greece*, 10. 19. 5) states that the Gallic attack of 279 BC was the gravest peril in all of Greek history. The historian Polybius (*Histories*, 2. 35. 7), writing in the mid-2nd century BC, reluctantly pairs the event with the great 5th-century BC Persian invasions of Greece (although he refuses to name the Aetolians as the authors of the sanctuary's preservation). Throughout its ancient history Aetolia had an uneasy relationship with the Macedonian monarchy, alter-

nately being its ally and its enemy. In the so-called Social War (220–217 BC) the Macedonian king Philip V stunned the confederation by striking deep into its heart with his sack of the federal sanctuary at Thermon.

Aetolia is a rugged land. The lack of geographical and climatic amenities enjoyed by other parts of Greece may give some help towards understanding the Aetolian Confederacy of the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC. The Aetolian economy was based on the annual conduct of war and raiding expeditions; in some cases Aetolia granted other Greek states immunity from its marauding expeditions through treaties of inviolability, or *asylia*. The Aetolian Confederacy was essentially a nation of corsairs and mercenaries. We have already noted the negative assessment of Thucydides. The Aetolians' propaganda centred on their exploits at Delphi in 279 BC must in part be viewed as an attempt to counteract their negative international reputation. In the 2nd century BC, Polybius, as a citizen of the arch-enemy of Aetolia, the Achaean Confederacy, delivered in his *Histories* the most scathing indictment of Aetolia in the literary tradition (see especially the opening of book 4).

Aetolia struck up an alliance with Rome in 211 BC against Macedonia. This act hardly enhanced Aetolia's international image, as many Greeks at this time viewed the Romans as uncouth barbarians. At the conclusion of the Second Macedonian War (200–196 BC) Romano-Aetolian relations broke down as a result of a disagreement over the terms of the treaty. Aetolia was deprived of cities which it believed rightfully belonged to it; and the disgruntled Aetolians called in the Syrian king Antiochus III against Rome, which led to the aforementioned defeat and harsh settlement of 189 BC. Aetolia would never regain its former international position.

Yet in its subsequent history Aetolia takes a conspicuous place in the Hellenic fight against foreign oppression. Early in the 13th century AD Aetolia was a bastion of Greek resistance against the coming of the Franks. Michael Doukas (Despot of Epirus 1204–15) wrested the western seaboard from Naupactus to Dyrrhachium, including much of Old Aetolia, from the Latin Boniface, Marquis of Montferrat. In the 18th century St Kosmas the Aetolian (1714–79) established schools throughout Greek-speaking lands in his fight for Greek Orthodoxy and the Greek language; he was eventually executed by the Ottomans and became one of the so-called Neomartyrs. Finally, mention must be made of Aetolia's part in the Greek War of Independence (1821–32), as well as in the tragic fate of the Romantic poet and philhellene George Gordon, Lord Byron. The Aetolians defeated the Turks at Karpenisi, and under the leadership of Markos Botsaris, Missolonghi heroically withstood several sieges. Byron committed his material and spiritual resources to the moderate prince Alexander Mavrokordatos and the Greek cause. But his frail constitution buckled under the cold Aetolian winter and he died at Missolonghi on 19 April 1824. Yet he soon became a Greek national hero and an inspirational force behind the defeat of the Turko-Egyptian fleet at Navarino in 1827, which assured the end of the Tourkokratia.

Much of Aetolia has remained untouched by modernization. The plains produce olives, currants, and some tobacco, while the mountain eparchies rely upon forest produce, much as did their ancient forbears. The region is for the most part rugged and forbidding; only the hardiest tourist with the stamina of Aetolia's intrepid 19th-century topographers Bazin, Leake, and Woodhouse is likely to penetrate its depths.

CRAIGE CHAMPION

See also Acarnania

Summary

Region of north central Greece which became a federal state in the 4th century BC. Best known for its defence of Delphi against a Gallic attack in 279 BC. Aetolia was a centre of resistance to the Franks in the 13th century and to the Turks in the War of Independence. It remains largely untouched by modernization.

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Africa, North

Ancient Greeks called Africa "Libya", after the name of a tribe in Cyrenaica. The term Africa is a Latin one, initially used by the Romans, especially for the region around Carthage. Libya, however, remained the preferred term in high-style Greek literary texts throughout the Byzantine period. The Greeks believed Libya to be a continent that stretched from the Red Sea and Sinai or Nile to the Pillars of Hercules, or straits of Gibraltar. Although Egypt was in a strict sense considered to be part of the continent of Libya, the Greeks did not normally include Egypt and Egyptians in the terminology for Libya and Libyans.

Although the ancient Greeks knew something of the vicinity of the upper Nile, and were familiar with an ethnic group known as the Ethiopians already in the time of Homer, their knowledge of the African interior remained limited. Greeks from Thera colonized Cyrene *c.*630 BC. Elites in its vicinity, including those in the nearby towns of Apollonia, Barka, and Ptolemais, continued to speak Greek and use Greek for written records at least until the Islamic conquest in the 640s AD, although the indigenous people, who presumably were the majority, continued to speak their own languages. A lively trade with peoples in the interior developed. Greeks normally confined themselves to coastal regions and traded ceramics, wine, and other goods for raw African materials, such as the highly prized plant called silphium that once existed in Cyrenaica. Some cities along the coast west of Cyrenaica, such as Oea, Sabratha and Leptis Magna, also received enduring Greek names, as in Tripoli, although they probably had Phoenician origins. Because of the nature of winds and currents, most shipping between the Levant or Greek mainland and Africa took a northern route, via the Sicilian coast, although navigation did cross from the Greek mainland to Cyrenaica via Crete, or to Egypt via Cyprus. West of Cyrenaica along the African coast, a few traders or seamen may have used Greek, but after the Roman conquest in the 2nd century BC elites and townspeople spoke Latin and some local dialects. A lively Greek Christian culture was still thriving in Cyrenaica at the end of the 4th century AD, however, as the writings and correspondence of Synesius of Cyrene, bishop of Ptolemais, attest.

The Vandal conquest of Africa ruptured the continuity of Roman control in the third decade of the 5th century AD, although their failure to seize Cyrenaica reinforced the cultural and linguistic separation of Cyrenaica (which remained Hellenic, as did Alexandria, in Egypt) from the Latin-speaking coastal areas further west. It immediately became a priority for Byzantine emperors to recover Africa, for reasons of strategy, economics, and prestige. In 468 the Byzantine emperor Leo I unsucessfully sought to reconquer Africa from the Vandals by authorizing a disastrous and costly naval expedition. Vandal naval raids against the Greek mainland and islands were an annoyance but had only a limited effect in the late 5th century. African refugees in Constantinople lobbied intensively for another military expedition. The Arian theology and clergy of the Vandals, who intermittently persecuted orthodox Christians, added an important ecclesiastical motive for a Byzantine reconquest. In the 6th century internal Vandal strife and a diplomatic peace with the Persians allowed Emperor Justinian I to shift resources westward. He appointed the extremely capable commander Belisarius to lead a naval expedition in September 533, which, in the following months, swiftly overwhelmed the Vandals, whose males were deported and whose government, church, and society were eradicated. Byzantine Africa continued to exist until its final conquest by the Muslims at the end of the 7th century.

Byzantine reoccupation brought part of Africa, especially the provinces of Africa Proconsularis and Byzacena, into a closer relationship with the Greek east than ever before. Although the language of the Church remained Latin, a number of Greek-speaking ecclesiastics and monks from the east settled or took up temporary residence or asylum or were exiled there by the imperial government. Greek-speaking officials and soldiers from the east added to this Hellenic element. Nevertheless, west of Cyrenaica, the littoral remained Latin-speaking and the inhabitants of the countryside probably continued to speak various Berber dialects. There was no mass migration of Greek-speakers to Africa in the wake of the Byzantine reconquest, although a few inscriptions attest to the presence of Greek-speakers. In addition to Africa Proconsularis and Byzacena, the Byzantine army reasserted control over much of Numidia, but only over fragments of Mauretania Caesariensis, and the tip of Mauretania Tingitana, part of what is now Morocco. Ties were also resumed with the bishops of Sicily, Italy, and Sardinia. For Justinian I and his contemporaries the reconquest of Africa was a sign of divine favour and an encouragement to additional territorial expansion in the central and western Mediterranean.

The Byzantine empire, however, lacked the financial and military resources to restore Roman Africa to its dimensions and prosperity of the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD. After the initial reconquest by Belisarius, the government failed to send its best generals and troops to garrison the region. From as early as 536, the slow and inadequate payment and provisioning of the soldiers led to serious military rebellions, in which some Berber elements joined. Berber raids spread insecurity and devastation, so compelling the government and inhabitants to devote extensive resources to the construction and upkeep of town fortifications and watchtowers. Justinian I and his successors also encountered difficulties with implementing their Christological policies in Africa. The African Church had strong local traditions of autonomy and adherence to its own strict policies, and preferred to look more to Rome than to Constantinople for cues in ecclesiastical matters.

By the late 6th century Berber raids had led the imperial government to create a new official, a kind of governor-general, the Exarch of Africa, with combined civilian and military powers. His seat was at Carthage and, although there was no conscious Byzantine effort to Hellenize Africa, the region did acquire a stronger Hellenic imprint. It was also a significant source of revenue, second only to Egypt, in its contribution to imperial funds.

Between 608 and 610 the African exarch Herakleios and his son Herakleios successfully rebelled against the usurper-emperor Phokas, using Africa as the springboard for their seizure of the imperial throne. For the first time in many years, the empire had an emperor whose spouse was from Africa, and although Herakleios' African wife Fabia/Eudocia soon died, ties between Africa and Constantinople remained close, if bittersweet, throughout the life of the Herakleian dynasty (AD 610–95).

The pattern of Muslim conquest in Africa between 643 and 698 was similar but not identical to that of western Asia and Egypt. It occurred in the midst of fiscal, political, ecclesiastical, and theological discord even more acrimonious than that which existed further east. Contemporaries found it easy to blame religious disputes for the problems in Africa, but no one could find a satisfactory way out of the difficult situation that still preserved personal property and integrity.

During the 7th century north Africa loomed larger than ever in the Byzantine worldview, but at a high price. Emperor Herakleios (610–41) had spent ten years of his life there and

had married an African landowner's daughter. He and his ruthless treasurer Philagrios, who was briefly exiled to Africa, became familiar with Africa's fiscal potential, which they and their successors utilized to full advantage. Given the very pressing financial needs for defending the Byzantine empire against the Persians and then the Muslims, the Herakleian dynasty naturally turned to Africa for tax revenues. The loss of Egypt in 642–46 meant that African revenues became even more important to the empire. The coming and going of exiles to and from Africa further alerted officials in Constantinople to the region's wealth. By squeezing north Africa for maximal fiscal revenues, the Byzantine authorities exacerbated the already acrimonious theological disputes and hindered the development of an effective defence against the encroaching Muslims. Byzantine policy aimed to spend the seized precious metals, coin, other portable wealth from local churches to fight the enemies of the empire, whether Persians or Muslims. Resistance to such policies from north African landowners and the Church took a number of forms, including the dissemination of hagiographic accounts as well as grumbling and open clashes with the secular authorities. What was Africa getting in return for the ever greater demands for revenue from the central Byzantine imperial authorities?

Byzantine relations with the Berbers had not been good in the 6th century. Memories of Byzantine trickery and the murder of Berber leaders poisoned, or at least complicated, the atmosphere in the 7th century. Yet no possibility existed for raising large numbers of Byzantine troops for the defence of Africa without using Berbers. There were not enough local Latin inhabitants for recruitment into the army, nor could they be drawn away from the empire's threatened borders in the Balkans, Anatolia, and Italy. Berber resistance against the Muslims was not cohesive or well coordinated and it too eventually failed.

At a time when there was the most urgent need for unity and commitment in Africa, Byzantine Africa was rent by political and ecclesiastical divisiveness. The Byzantine monk Maximos the Confessor devoted more time to resisting imperial theology on Christology than to raising popular resistance against the Muslims. By the 650s the Byzantine government was already conceding the loss or virtual loss of Africa to the Muslims, although Byzantine resistance would persist for another four decades. The finger-pointing had already begun as to who was responsible for the debacle, and individuals and factions were interested in making points rather than solving the problem.

A number of incentives motivated the Muslims to conquer Africa, eject the Byzantines, and neutralize or take the region's wealth. The Muslims had probably heard of a failed imperial plan to move troops from Numidia to help Egypt in 633 and may have wished to forestall any repetition or improved version of such an effort. They also did not want the Byzantines in Constantinople to draw on the revenues of Africa to finance their resistance to Islam in Asia Minor, or to use Africa as a base for naval attacks against Muslim-controlled Egypt or other coastal areas. By forcing the Byzantines to pay tribute or even just to defend Africa, the Muslims were depriving them of funds that would otherwise be used in the fight against Islam.

Byzantine Africa did not fall quickly to the Muslims, in contrast to Syria, Mesopotamia, and Egypt. Byzantine resistance continued for many reasons, including financial and strategic ones. The Byzantines, from the perspective of Constantinople, did not want the valuable African resources to fall into Muslim hands. Old Africa Proconsularis (modern Tunisia) was the only place where the Byzantines had any hope of stopping the Muslim advance; logistical problems and lack of Byzantine manpower made it impracticable to consider serious resistance west of Carthage. In this region, however, the Byzantines could still use their fleet and their proximity to Sicily and Malta to advantage. For the Byzantines, holding on to Africa was closely bound up with the prestige of the Herakleian dynasty.

The Muslim conquest of Africa was also more violent than that of Syria, Palestine, Mesopotamia, or Egypt. According to Muslim narrators, the conquest involved more slaughter in combat, more massacres and more mass captivity of civilians, and consequently, more terror and terror-induced flight. Although this may be a case of mere historiographical exaggeration, it may also reflect a greater degree of local resistance, and the fact that Constantinople tried to prevent local officials from making arrangements with the Muslims that might have drained imperial funds and infringed Byzantine sovereignty.

The Muslim conquest of Africa benefited from the momentum, prestige, and confidence that came from so many earlier conquests. The greatest technological assets the Byzantines had were their naval knowledge and fleet, neither of which was used to full advantage. No navy could save the north African interior from the Muslims. Growing apocalypticism may also have contributed to Muslim successes, while Christian apocalypticism probably reduced the strength of Christian resistance, spreading terror and even inducing resigned acquiescence. Only very rarely did the Muslims find willing cooperation from Graeco-Latin leaders in Byzantine Africa, who were willing to give up their localities and accept Muslim rule.

The Christian inhabitanrs of north Africa left no records of their experiences in those years. There are no reports of martyrdoms, in a land that had previously been replete with Christian martyrs. The absence of such records is also consistent with what happened in Syria and Palestine. The Latin and Greek Christian population of Africa did not welcome and was not indifferent to the Muslims. Their reaction was one of resistance or at least fear, and they made any accommodation with Muslims under duress. The Muslim conquest occurred at a moment of great Hellenic religious ferment in Africa, as Greek works such as the *Doctrina Jacobi nuper Baptizati* and the correspondence of Maximos the Confessor attest. Only a few echoes of that period, however, survive in the *Synaxarion* (church calendar of daily commemoration) of Constantinople.

The Greek-speaking population of Africa had never been large, and disappeared after the Muslim conquest, perhaps because it became indistinguishable from the remaining Latins, all of whom were called *Rum*. Many fled from Africa to Europe (to Spain, Italy, Sicily, or Malta), such as the young man who later became the renowned Hadrian of Canterbury in England; some perished, others assimilated. Africa was to become the staging-ground for Muslim assaults on Byzantine

Sicily and southern Italy between the 7th and 11th centuries. Although the Byzantines made a few raids against Muslim-controlled Africa, and later engaged in important diplomacy with the local Muslim rulers, for example in the 10th century, they never had the resources to consider a serious recovery of Africa after its loss in 698. North Africa was too large and too populous to yield to any deep process of Hellenization.

WALTER E. KAEGI

See also Cyrenaica, Egypt

Summary

North Africa was called Libya by the ancient Greeks and Africa by the Romans. They and the Byzantines regarded all the land between the Red Sea and the Straits of Gibraltar as Africa, though Egypt was usually excluded from the designation. The first Greek settlements were made in the 7th century BC. Most of north Africa was Latinized by the Roman conquest, but the coastal towns of Libya were Greek-speaking until the Muslim conquest in the 7th century AD.

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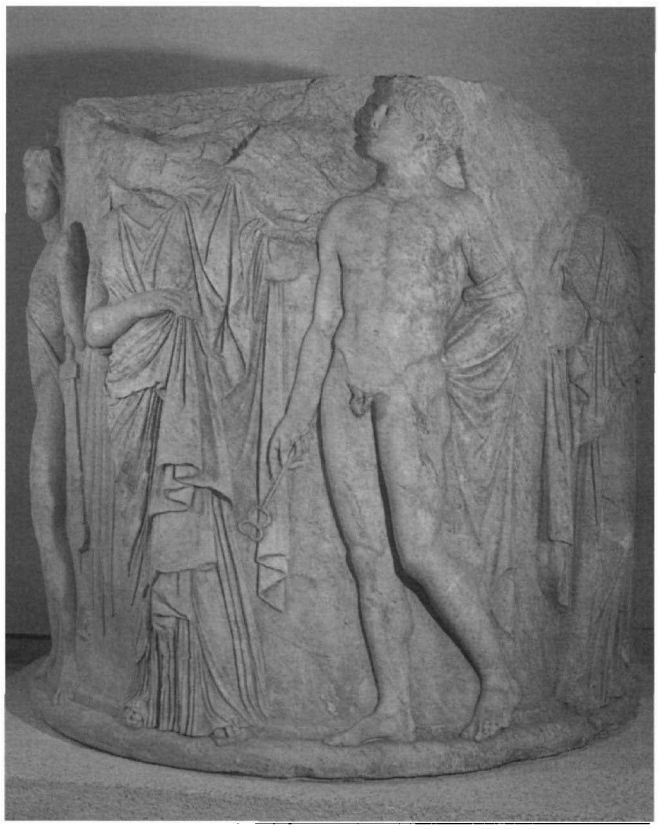
Afterlife

Greek beliefs in the afterlife were complex and contradictory, even no doubt within the same individual. We can only speculate about those that were current in the prehistoric period. Marine motifs painted on the surfaces of terracotta Minoan coffins known as *larnakes* have sometimes been fancifully interpreted as evidence that the Minoans believed in an afterlife that lay across the water. The fact that the Mycenaeans were prepared to clear away previous burials in so-called tholos (or beehive) tombs to make way for a new interment has been taken as evidence by some archaeologists that the Mycenaean corpse was believed to be sentient as long as the flesh remained on the bones. Conversely it has been suggested that the plentiful use of gold in Mycenaean royal burials may have been intended to preserve the body from physical decay, judged to be a necessary precondition for a healthy afterlife. The belief that the dead have need of their possessions in the world to come might account for the ritual slaughtering of animals at the time of burial – a practice for which there is evidence in protogeometric as well as Mycenaean times. Myths such as that of the sacrifice of Polyxena at the grave of Achilles have been taken to suggest knowledge of human sacrifice, conceivably practised with a similar object in mind.

It is only when we have written evidence to supplement the archaeological record, however, that we can begin to identify with some degree of certainty the beliefs about the afterlife that underlay funerary ritual. Undoubtedly the most prevalent, and one, moreover, that has persisted into modern times, has to do with Hades, the subterranean kingdom where the bloodless dead lead a cheerless and monotonous existence punctuated only by the appearance of new arrivals. In the earliest surviving description of the region as provided by Homer in book 11 of the *Odyssey*, every human being with one exception ultimately enters this kingdom, irrespective of their qualities. That exception is Menelaus, who is destined to live out eternity in a favoured region known as Elysium, which is situated at the ends of the earth (4. 561ff.). It is not his virtue that has earned Menelaus his privileged status, however, but merely the fact that he happens to be Zeus' son-in-law. Homeric Hades is therefore a place of equal misery for all and contains no trace of a system of punishments and rewards that are meted out to ordinary mortals, though a few who have sinned on a truly grand scale, such as Ixion, Sisyphus, and Tartarus, are condemned to suffer never-ending torment. The rest of the dead tend to confine themselves to sententious moralizing about their past. Greek tragedy occasionally intimates that kings preserve the same status in Hades as they did in life (e.g. Aeschylus, *Persians*, 691). Judging from depictions of the handshake motif in funerary art, a popular belief in Classical Athens was that upon arrival in the underworld a reunion took place between the recently deceased and their previously dead relatives.

Though belief in Hades probably remained dominant throughout antiquity, from the 6th century BC onwards it had to compete with more nebulous philosophical ideas about the afterlife. Orphism and Pythagoreanism, for instance, taught that the soul or *psyche* experiences incarceration in the body in this world and is released from its earthly constraints into its own element at the moment of death. Precisely what the *psyche* signified to these sects is unclear but it was without doubt a more personalized entity than a Homeric shade. The Pythagoreans also taught that the soul migrated to another body at the moment of death, since it is on a journey that will ideally lead it to a state of moral perfection. Attaining that state of perfection might therefore be expected to take several incarnations. The belief in transmigration (*metempsychosis*) seems to have been confined to philosophical circles. It is advanced in a number of Plato's dialogues, including the *Phaedrus*.

Mystery religions, of which the most important were the Eleusinian mysteries, so named because they were celebrated at Eleusis in Attica, held out the promise of a better afterlife in the case of those who underwent initation. So far as we know, however, the promise was not conditional upon a person's conduct in this life – a circumstance that outraged Diogenes the Cynic, who poured scorn on a belief system that maintained that ethical considerations play no part in determining a person's destiny in the afterlife. The only group that was excluded from initiation were murderers, but this may have been more on ritualistic than moral grounds since the shedding of human blood caused pollution.



Alcestis (centre left) is rescued from Thanatos (death, far left) by Hermes Psychopompus (the soul carrier) on the instructions of Persephone (far right) from the temple of Artemis at Ephesus, British Museum, London

From elsewhere, however, there is evidence to suggest that some Greeks at least came to believe that those guilty of serious crimes would be punished in the afterlife. A notable example is Pausanias' description of a painting by Polygnotus that depicted, among other things, a man who had mistreated his father being throttled by him in the underworld (10. 28. 5). In apparent reference to Orphic belief Aristophanes in *Frogs* (145ff.) comically suggests that "anyone who has stolen from a child, thrashed his mother, struck his father or sworn falsely" will be consigned to "everlasting mud". There are also a few references in tragedy to a post-mortem judgement (e.g. Aeschylus, *Suppliants*, 230f. and *Eumenides*, 269ff.; Euripides, *Helen*, 1013ff.). Though belief in a dualistic afterlife never became universal, it made significant inroads into the Homeric picture of an undifferentiated afterlife.

At no period did the Greeks trouble themselves to formulate a clear image of the rewards that lie ahead in the afterlife for those who manage to escape the fate reserved for the rest of mankind. Very likely they merely envisioned a world whose delights in general terms were identical to the best that is on offer in this one. Such seems to have been the idea behind Elysium, otherwise known as the Isles of the Blest, described by Homer as a place where life is easiest for men and where a gentle breeze always blows. A series of Classical grave reliefs depict the dead reclining, enjoying the pleasures of the symposium. Likewise Plato mocks the Pythagoreans for envisaging an afterlife consisting of "eternal drunkenness" (*Republic*, 2. 363c). The *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, which incorporates the founding charter of the Eleusinian mysteries, merely states in vague terms that initiates will become "prosperous" (*olbioi*, lines 480–82). From the 5th century BC onwards a small minority of funerary inscriptions also refer to a celestial as opposed to a subterranean afterlife for the *psyche* located in the *aither*, i.e. the upper air. There is no suggestion that the dead retain any individuality or even consciousness once they have merged with this element, however. A few dead, notably Castor and Pollux, were transformed into stars, but again it is uncertain what existence they enjoyed as such.

Despite all their attempts to locate the dead above or below the earth, the Greeks found it difficult to envisage their dead as wholly incorporeal. In Classical Athens there is evidence of increasing concern with the physical well-being of the dead, deemed to be dependent upon offerings of food and drink that were placed on the tomb by their relatives, irrespective of whether the dead had been inhumed or cremated. Little can be deduced about eschatological beliefs from the method of disposing of the dead.

In rural Greece to this day beliefs about the afterlife constitute an amalgam of Orthodox Christian teaching alongside notions that have survived from antiquity. In particular the belief that the soul, though disembodied, continues to be dependent upon the living for the necessities of life remains widespread. Hence, food, drink, and clothing are frequently placed on the grave. Likewise candles and lamps are lit in churchyards in accordance with the belief that the other world (*allos kosmos*), like its Classical forebear, is a place of darkness. The dead can only reach Paradise, their ultimate goal, once the flesh has decomposed and the bones have become white and clean. In the preceding, liminal period memorial services are performed on their behalf to assist the deceased on their journey.

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See also Burial Practices, Death, Hades

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Agesilaus II *c.*444–359 BC

King of Sparta

Agesilaus was born to a life of controversy. The younger son of king Archidamus II, he was not expected to ascend the throne. He also suffered from a lame leg, a birth defect for which he tried to compensate throughout his life. He received the ordinary rigorous training of the Spartiates, which inculcated in him a sense of duty to superiors and the law. Extremely ambi-

tious, he harboured an arrogance that he unsuccessfully disguised under a diaphanous cloak of humility. His elder brother, king Agis II, died in 400 BC, which ignited an ugly contest for the throne. Agis' son Leotychides was accused of being illegitimate and, despite his handicap, Agesilaus advanced himself as Archidamus' true son. The furore was fuelled by Diopeithes, an expounder of oracles, who declared that the divine will rejected a lame king, for he would bring "unexpected afflictions and whirling man-killing wars". The result of this unsavoury contest was the recognition of Agesilaus as king.

Agesilaus owed his first important military command to his lover Lysander, the famous war hero. Agesilaus' first assignment was to free the Greek cities of Asia Minor from Persian rule. Accompanied by Lysander, he sailed in 396 BC. His first landfall, at Aulis in Boeotia, was in imitation of Agamemnon, who had sacrificed Iphigeneia there before continuing to Troy. When Agesilaus offered a sacrifice, contrary to native custom, Boeotian officials abruptly disrupted the ceremony. Agesilaus left for Asia Minor with feelings of foreboding and a fierce anger against Thebes.

Agesilaus accomplished comparatively little against the Persians. In 395 BC he unsuccessfully attacked Sardis, the principal city of Lydia, but in all he engaged in desultory operations that inflicted little damage on the Persians. He obviously had no strategic concept of how to defeat such a powerful enemy over such a large expanse of terrain. In any case, events in Greece put an end to his ambitious and unrealistic dream of conquering Persia. Thebes, Athens, Argos, and Corinth banded together to crush Sparta, and in response Sparta promptly recalled Agesilaus to meet the challenge. The Corinthian War (395–386 BC), as the ensuing conflict is known, severely strained Agesilaus' abilities and Sparta's resources.

Hurrying back to Greece, Agesilaus marched overland through the north until he reached Coronea in Boeotia. In August 394 BC he encountered a Theban and allied army, and in a furious battle made a tactical blunder that cost him dearly: he received several wounds, and his troops suffered many casualties. Despite this tactical and strategic defeat, in 391 BC he led a successful invasion of Argos and Corinth, in which he inflicted serious damage. In the following year he campaigned very effectively in Perachora immediately to the north of Corinth but again without decisive results. He fared better in 389 BC, when he defended Sparta's Achaean allies from their neighbour Acarnania.

Victory for Sparta, however, came from diplomacy not from warfare. In 386 BC the Spartan ambassador Antalcidas negotiated the King's Peace that ended the war between Persia and the Greeks. Yet those hoping that this treaty would bring peace were promptly disappointed.

As in 386 BC, Sparta resorted to diplomacy to win the peace. In 371 BC Sparta, Athens, and other Greeks renewed the common peace, but Agesilaus expelled Thebes from it. The irony of this diplomatic victory is that it led to military defeat on the field of Leuctra, which resulted in the downfall of Sparta. In the Peloponnese pent-up anger quickly vented itself: in 370 BC Elis, Arcadia, and Argos allied with Thebes to cripple Sparta as the surest guarantee of their mutual safety. Epaminondas led them into Laconia, where they spread devastation and liberated helots and others. He next led them to the liberation of Messenia, which broke the back of the Spartan economy while raising an implacable foe on Sparta's doorstep. Agesilaus rallied his countrymen through the ordeal, but could not undo the harm for which he was solely responsible. In the following years Sparta declined and Agesilaus languished. His last encounter with Epaminondas was at the battle of Mantinea in 362 BC, a Theban victory but in which the Theban leader was killed. Agesilaus spent his declining years as a mercenary in Egypt, dying in 359 BC on his way back to Sparta.

For all his military fame, Agesilaus never won a major battle. His diplomatic policies almost uniformly led to unnecessary disaster. When he assumed the throne in 400 BC he reigned over a Sparta supreme in Greece; at his death, owing largely to his failures, Sparta was beaten and isolated. His fame survived him, but his mark on history was scarcely stellar. Diopeithes' interpretation of the warning against a lame king had come true.

JOHN BUCKLER

See also Sparta

Biography

Born *c.*444 BC the younger son of king Archidamus II of Sparta, Agesilaus was not brought up to be king. But on the death of his elder brother, King Agis II, in 400 BC, Agis' son was accused of being illegitimate and Agesilaus successfully negotiated for the throne. He had some military success against the Persians but never won a major battle and presided over Spartan decline. He died in Cyrenaica in 359 BC.

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Agora of Athens

Marketplace of ancient Athens

The Agora was located to the northwest of the Acropolis. It was traversed by the Panathenaic Way and formed a large open square serving various public functions. Laid out early in the 6th century BC, it remained the focal point for Athenian commerce, culture, and politics for many centuries. It originally consisted of a square space defined by boundary stones (*horoi*). The first public buildings were erected on the west side and seem to have served the needs of the Council. When Pisistratus was in power at Athens, in the second half of the 6th century BC (566–510 BC), limited building activity took place in the Agora, which expanded gradually to the east and south. A large house-like building preceded the Tholos at the

southwest corner of the Agora, but its use has not been defined with certainty; it was probably built as the palace of the tyrants and later served the domestic needs of the Council. A fountain house, supplied by a terracotta aqueduct, appeared at the southeast corner of the square, while an altar of the Twelve Gods was established at the north. The street of the Panathenaia passed diagonally through the square, as it ran from the Dipylon gate to the Acropolis. Although the line of the road goes back to the Iron Age, when it led to the cemetery of Kerameikos, it was incorporated in the Agora during the 6th century BC.

The constitutional reforms of Cleisthenes at the end of the 6th century BC (508/07 BC) were followed by considerable building activity in the Agora. Several buildings accommodated the new government, including the Heliaea (the principal law court) along the south side of the square, and the Bouleuterion (Senate House), and the Royal Stoa (or Stoa Basileios) – headquarters of the king archon, where the laws were also put on public display – along the west side. Furthermore, shrines to the Mother of Gods, Zeus, and Apollo were built along the west side of the Agora. The Assembly of the citizens (*Ekklesia*), which used to meet in the Agora, found a new gathering place on the Pnyx Hill. The Persian attack in 480/79 BC left all these buildings in ruins, as was also the case on the Acropolis. Repair works, however, took place at the Bouleuterion, the Heliaea, and the Royal Stoa, which were shortly in use again.

After the Persian invasions and during Cimon's time, the architectural development of the Agora was remarkable. Cimon is also reported to have adorned the area with trees. From 479 BC to the middle of the 5th century BC, besides the reconstruction of the buildings destroyed by the Persians, the Painted (or Poikile) Stoa, the Tholos – a round building, functioning as the headquarters of the *prytaneis* ("standing committtee") of the Boule, where they also dined – the Herms, and the aqueduct to the Academy were built. The Painted Stoa is among the most famous buildings in the Athenian Agora. It was first known as Peisianaktios, after the man responsible for its construction, and was decorated with painted wooden panels by the outstanding painters of Athens, such as Polygnotus, Micon, and Panaenus.

The Periclean building programme in the middle of the 5th century BC did not include extensive activity in the Agora, because there was a shift of attention to the Acropolis and Attica. The work was therefore concentrated on repairs to sanctuaries and shrines, such as the altar of the Twelve Gods, the altar of Aphrodite, and the Crossroads Enclosure. Among the first new buildings were the temple of Hephaestus, which was not completed before the Peace of Nicias (421–415 BC), and the Strategeion, the headquarters of the generals.

Although the Peloponnesian War had affected the Periclean building programme leaving several monuments unfinished, a burst of building activity occurred in the Agora during the last 30 years of the 5th century BC, indicating an interest in civic structures. The new Bouleuterion was built immediately to the west of the old one; the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios was a religious building and an informal meeting place of the Athenians; the South Stoa I, a public market building, also housed the officials responsible for the administration of the commercial life of Athens as well as the official weights, measures, and standards; the Mint was the public foundry that produced not only bronze coins but other material in bronze required by the state, such as weights and measures. These constructions were erected with limestone and brick, demonstrating the extent of Athenian resources even in times of war. The old Bouleuterion, known as the Metroon, did not go out of use, but housed the official archives of the city and the cult of Rhea, the Mother of Gods. The construction of the South Stoa and the Mint on the south side of the Agora made this area the official commercial centre, just as the west served administrative needs.

Besides the public buildings, excavations have brought to light many establishments for private industry and commerce, especially on the southwest of the Agora, such as the pottery and metalwork workshops, as well as sculptors' and marble workers' ateliers and shoemakers' shops. These workshops were in most cases attached to the private dwellings of the artisans and tradesmen. Moreover, wine shops and tavernas were found close to the east side of the Agora.

Construction works in the Agora were abandoned during the first half of the 4th century BC, because Athens was recovering from the Peloponnesian War. In the second half of the 4th century BC, when the city's economy improved, partly because of renewed activity at the Laurium mines, a new fountain house was built at the southwest corner, as well as a water clock, and the monument of the Eponymous Heroes was located in front of the Bouleuterion, the latter used for the posting of civic announcements. On the west side of the Agora was the shrine of Zeus Phratrios and Athena Phratria and the temple of Apollo Patroos. The square peristyle at the northeast corner of the Agora housed the law courts, as indicated by the finds of scattered bronze discs, which are identified as public ballots. Associated with the law courts is the state prison, recognized in a building located outside the southwest corner of the square, which dates from the middle of the 5th century BC.

The prosperity of Athens in the 2nd century BC and the benefactions of the eastern monarchs revived building activity in the Agora. The erection of the Middle Stoa, the East Building, and the South Stoa II created a complex, the South Square, which cut off the south half of the square from the north, changing the plan of the Agora. The most likely suggestion about the function of the complex is that it was a commercial centre, the two stoas serving as market buildings. Moreover, a two-storey colonnade, the gift of Attalus II, king of Pergamum (159–138 BC), housed stores and closed the east side of the main square. Also built at this time was the new Metroon on the west side of the square. The remodelling of the 2nd century BC gave a different appearance to the Agora, which it retained for the rest of antiquity. Its area was 50,000 square metres; all sides were now enclosed by colonnades; and the open central square became smaller, divided into two unequal halves by the Middle Stoa.

In 88 BC the Athenians sided with King Mithridates of Pontus in his revolt against Rome. For this reason Athens was besieged in 86 BC by Sulla, and several monuments of the Agora were damaged. Among them the Tholos, the southwest fountain house, the Heliaea, South Stoa II, and the East Building seem to have been destroyed; the Tholos was the only monument soon to be repaired. The south side of the Agora was later reoccupied by private industrial activities, such as

Agora: the Athenian Agora from the southeast with the temple of Hephaestus in the background to the left

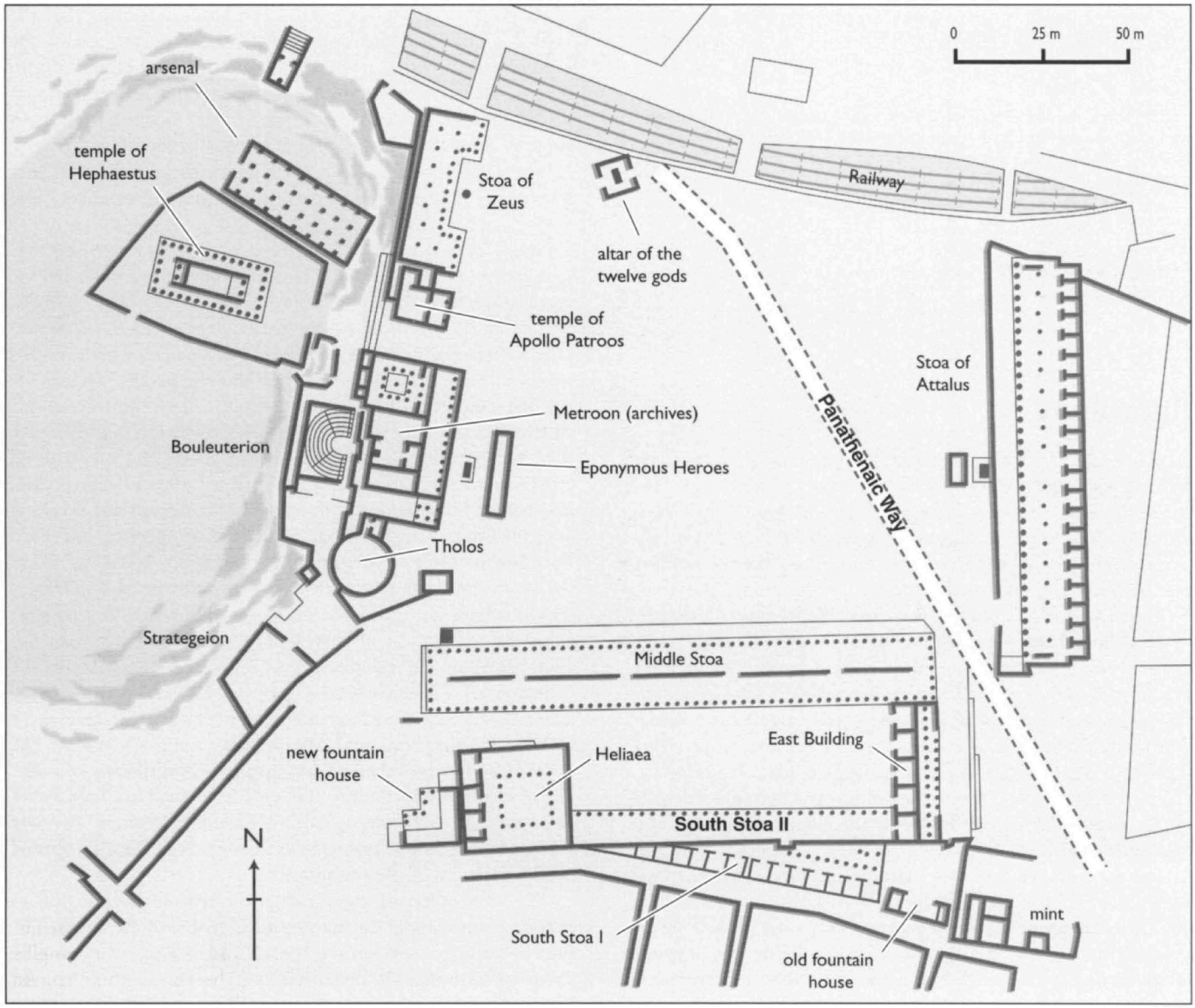
iron foundries, potters' kilns, and marble-workers' workshops. In the time of Hadrian this area was cleaned up and restored to public use.

An important development in the Agora during Roman times was the construction of a marketplace to the east, in the form of a large open courtyard surrounded by colonnades. The construction, which started with Julius Caesar and was completed by Augustus around 11–9 BC, affected the plan of the old Agora. Thus it was no longer thought necessary to maintain the central open square, which was soon covered by the Odeum of Agrippa, housing musical performances, and the temple of Ares; the latter was a 5th-century building standing somewhere in Attica which was dismantled and re-erected in the Agora.

Limited construction works took place in the Athenian Agora during the 1st century AD. The southwest and the southeast temples were erected from reused materials and the civic offices were built at the southwest corner of the square. Additions were also made to already existing buildings, such as an annex behind the stoa of Zeus, probably to house the imperial cult, a columnar porch to the Tholos, and a Doric propylon to the entrance of the Strategeion.

During the reign of Trajan Athens went through a period of prosperity. The earliest building in the Agora, dating to the 2nd century AD and situated along the Panathenaic Way just south of the Stoa of Attalus, was a public library, built by Pantaenus, the son of Flavius Menander. South of the library, a complex of shops was built in the middle of the 2nd century AD. An Ionic porch fronted the shops and was aligned with a similar one in front of the library, so as to create a fashionable street colonnade. Around the same time, during the reign of Trajan, the basilica at the northeast corner of the square was built. It was a three-aisled hall, which served as a law court, but also for commercial and administrative needs. Another 2nd-century addition to the Agora was a Nymphaeum, an elaborate fountain house, built west of the Panathenaic Way. It was begun during the reign of Hadrian, and completed in AD 140 under Antoninus Pius. A round building in front of the Stoa of Attalus, probably built to shelter a statue, dates to the Antonine period. At about this time the Odeum of Agrippa was rebuilt. Lastly, a library was erected by the emperor Hadrian (AD 117–38) to the east of the stoa of Attalus. Throughout the 2nd century AD the Agora flourished as a commercial and cultural centre.

The Athenian Agora was seriously damaged by the Herulians, a tribe who invaded Greece from the north in AD 267. They sacked and burned many cities, including Athens. The temple of Hephaestus survived, and excavations in the surrounding area indicate that several civic buildings on the west and north sides of the Agora, such as the Tholos, the



2. The Agora, Athens

temple of Apollo, the stoa of Zeus, the Royal stoa, and the Painted Stoa, continued to stand, though they were perhaps damaged.

Although the 4th century AD was a period of decline, limited reconstruction work took place: in the Agora the Metroon was restored, the wall of the Tholos was strengthened, and many of the houses were reoccupied. Towards the end of the century, in AD 395, Alaric and the Visigoths reached the walls of Athens; the literary sources disagree about the damage caused to the city, but excavations indicate that such buildings as the Tholos, the temple of Apollo, and the Stoa of Zeus, which survived the Herulians, were destroyed and abandoned.

After the departure of the Visigoths there was a new burst of building activity in the area of the old Agora. A large part of the square was taken up with a gymnasium complex and a porch, the so-called Porch of the Giants. Moreover, the eastern stoa of the library of Pantaenus was rebuilt with a second storey and served as a façade to a new public complex built on two levels.

The area of the Agora suffered again in the attacks of the Slavs who arrived from the north and destroyed the city in AD 582/83. There is scant evidence of reoccupation in the ruins of the Agora from the 7th until the 10th century AD when the town extended again to this area. The temple of Hephaestus was converted to a Christian church early in the 7th century AD, the building was reoriented, and an apse was added.

In later Byzantine, Frankish, and Turkish times the area of the Agora became a residential district. During the Greek War of Independence (1821–28) most of the houses in the area were destroyed; these were again rebuilt after 1834, when Athens became the capital of the modern Greek state.

ELENI ZIMI

Summary

The marketplace of ancient Athens to the northwest of the Acropolis. The Agora was first laid out in the early 6th century BC and remained the centre of the city's commercial, cultural, and political life

throughout antiquity. In later Byzantine, Frankish, and Turkish times it became a residential district.

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Agriculture

In many regions of the Mediterranean agriculture underwent little change between antiquity and the modern age. The socioeconomic and technological developments that have affected the ancient traditions of agriculture have been relatively recent. Ethnographers have found a number of similarities between the cultivation techniques of today and those described by early Greek poets such as Homer and Hesiod.

Ancient and traditional agriculture in Greece has two major factors broadly in common: climate and terrain. The continuing impact of these factors, combined with the extensive survival of cultivating cereals, vines, and olives, has ensured that many techniques of ancient agriculture have survived for thousands of years. The pioneering work of Paul Halstead has revealed a great deal about the traditional agricultural techniques that have survived among the Greek peoples of the Mediterranean.

The recommendations of ancient authors on agriculture sometimes amount to little more than aphorisms or ethical guidelines. In some respects, practice may have differed from such advice. Ancient authors advocate that fields should be left fallow for a year so that the soil could be rested. But pressures on subsistence farms may have required the cultivation of land that otherwise might have been left temporarily idle. A compromise may have been found by planting different crops on land sown previously with, for example, cereals.

Some leases outlining the obligations for the cultivation of land have survived from antiquity. An example from Piraeus allows land to be ploughed for the nine years of the agreement, but in the tenth it was to be left fallow (*Inscriptiones Graecae*, ii^2, 2498). Such strictures indicate the importance attached to leaving land fallow. The need for such guidelines also suggests that farmers may well have avoided leaving fields fallow for a year.

The cultivation of cereals, vines, and olives has remained central to Greek agriculture from antiquity. The climate – broadly speaking, low annual rainfall, dry summers, mild winters – is typical of the Mediterranean. Some regions had superior soil, others more favourable microclimates. A rich, ruddy, fertile soil was a distinctive feature of Boeotia; Thessaly enjoyed extensive tracts of land ideal for the cultivation of cereals. Some regions were famous for specific types of produce: honey in Attica from Classical to Roman times, wine from Chios, Cos, and Thasos, and olive oil on Samos.

Although it is dangerous to generalize, it is clear that the spread of olive, grain, and vine cultivation throughout the Mediterranean world and the location of Greek colonies from the archaic period were not mutually exclusive. It is no coincidence that those areas colonized were seldom unable to support these three crops, and in particular the olive.

The olive was grown by most Greek communities. Highly resistant to low rainfall, but cultivable only at relatively low altitudes, olive trees were long lasting and required little maintenance. Olives could be harvested every other year, but the trees would take 10 to 15 years to reach fruit-bearing maturity. Harvesting took place in autumn or early winter, but the particular timing would have varied from region to region. Olives provided not only foodstuff but also oil, which in turn was used as a base for perfumes and medicines, as fuel for lighting, and for athletics and bathing. The relatively simple cultivation and harvesting of the olives was a less complex task than the production of the oil itself. Processing oil required crushing, pressing, and separation of the olive. Beam presses and rotary mills were the most common devices for crushing and pressing. The study of ancient olive presses has been informed by the examination of presses still used today, where the beam press has remained little changed from antiquity.

Vines were altogether a far more labour-intensive crop to cultivate, maintain, and harvest. The spread of viticulture into southern Spain and the Black Sea cannot be separated from the diffusion of Phocaean and Greek settlers respectively. Vine growing and so wine consumption was a major feature of Hellenic civilization, and the legacy continues today. The ancient symposium was centred around the drinking of wine, albeit diluted with water. The great festival in honour of Dionysus, the Anthesteria, celebrated in late February the new wine, and the wine storage vessels were symbolically opened on the first day of the ceremonies.

The centrality of agriculture to ancient Greek life is nowhere more apparent than in the cultivation of cereals. The two most important crops, barley and wheat, were usually sown in autumn. Of the different types of wheat, the best bread-making, light wheat (hexaploid) was grown in the Black Sea region where the cooler climate and higher rainfall were more suitable for this very popular but less hardy variety. Although wheat is generally more vulnerable to extremes in climate than barley, it is more nutritious and has a much higher yield. It was therefore widely preferred. But the higher-quality bread wheats were not as well suited to the climate in most regions of Greece, especially those in the south. In the second half of the 19th century wheat was far more widely cultivated than barley, on a ratio of 3:1. The evidence from Classical Greece indicates that barley was the more common of the two crops. The high population densities, patterns of landownership, and farm size may have affected the selection of barley as the preferred crop. Even the best breads in antiquity were more coarse than many of those today, while barley was a main ingredient for the large variety of "cakes" eaten in antiquity.

The selection of crops for cultivation was probably driven to some extent by expected yields. The vulnerability of cereals to frost when the crop was young and green, to shortfalls in rain when ripening, and to too much rain before harvest were far greater problems for wheat than for barley. An inscription

Agriculture: agricultural implements on sale at Elassona in Thessaly

from Eleusis recording the contribution in 329–328 BC of first fruits from Attica and the Athenian-controlled territories of Lemnos and Imbros suggests that more barley than wheat was dedicated at Eleusis. It is likely that the figures reveal that there was a poor harvest in Attica that year, and that wheat yields would have suffered more seriously than barley.

Agriculture in Greece rarely concentrated on any one of the three main crops. It is almost certain that most domestic Greek farms would have practised polyculture. Farmsteads devoted to the intensive production of one crop are known but exceptional; a large number of industrial "farms" are known at Chersonesus in the Crimea where estates were exporting their produce, probably wine. Legumes, pulses, and figs could have been grown in many areas. A variety of crops were probably grown on a typical farmstead. Intercropping, the planting of cereals, trees, vines, and pulses on one plot of land, was a likely feature of the Greek farm.

Archaeology cannot always confirm the nature of occupation in some rural establishments. A considerable amount of evidence indicates more permanent installations, some of which we might describe as farms. The Greek farm probably took many forms. People may have worked land close to their settlement, walking out to their fields daily or living in temporary shelters. Ancient and traditional Greek agriculture has generally centred around nucleated settlements, villages, or towns. Patterns of land tenure, the nature of agriculturally productive land, and sometimes issues of security have all influenced the location of settlement. It is now believed that a typical Greek household in antiquity would have had sufficient land to provide for its members. In some communities this may have been more an ideal than a reasonable ambition. Archaeological survey is suggesting that many ancient communities would have been of a size that could be sustained from local agricultural produce.

Excavation and archaeological survey in the rural landscape over the last 30 years have advanced considerably our knowledge of settlement in the countryside. Farms can be difficult to identify. Buildings with or without agricultural functions are often indistinguishable. But ancillary constructions such as threshing floors, olive presses, and field walls – all of which have changed little since antiquity – usually confirm the agricultural concerns of the building. Buildings with towers are a familiar type of rural building often used as a farm and are found throughout the Greek countryside. Aerial photography has revealed the extensive use of retaining walls in the Greek countryside and illustrates the extent to which more marginal land was exploited throughout history. However, it is very difficult, perhaps almost impossible, to date accurately such retaining or field walls.

The margins of survival for the subsistence farm may have been slim; a sequence of bad years would have had a severe impact on the household. Household size would have fluctu-

ated as children matured, moved away, or stayed at home and married, as children were born, and their grandparents died, as slaves were bought or sold.

The intensification of agricultural production by purchasing slaves or using animals for ploughing or transporting may have been too much of a burden for the small farm. Cooperation between neighbours or members of the extended family may have allowed resources to be used within rural communities. Smaller farms were probably unable to support extensive animal farming. Larger herds would have been tended on more mountainous or marginal lands, and there is plenty of direct and indirect evidence for the extensive use of such land in the Classical period.

Storing agricultural produce was one method of protecting against shortfalls in harvests, but such methods could provide only limited amounts. A number of farmsteads in the Greek countryside consisted of a house with a tower-like structure. Such features have survived in the Mediterranean from antiquity. It is almost certain that the tower structure on such farmsteads was used for storing produce and property and on occasion for security.

Human interference was probably the greatest threat to agricultural security, in both real and conceptual terms. The interruption of agricultural activities by warfare is a major feature in Greek history: perhaps most famously, the Spartans and their allies timed their invasions of Attica during the Archidamian War (431–421 BC) to coincide with the harvest period, a critical moment for those who were required to gather the crops. Such interruptions in the agricultural year, at their most extreme the cutting off of cities from the surrounding countryside by siege, presented the most common need for food supplies to be brought in from outside a Greek community.

The connections between life in ancient Greece and agriculture are difficult to separate; the Athenians found it difficult to move from the countryside into the city during the Peloponnesian War (Thucydides, 2. 16. 2). All communities in ancient Greece were dependent on agricultural produce for supplies of food (Plato, *Republic*, 369d, 371c, 372c–d); those communites that could grow all their own grain had considerable advantages over those who needed to import food supplies (see Thucydides, 6. 20. 4).

Self-sufficiency (*autarkeia*) was an ideal that features in many ancient Greek authors when assessing structures such as the household or the polis (Plato, *Laws*, 5. 744b–e). There are few extant works that treat explicitly the art of agriculture: Xenophon's *Oikonomikos* has a great deal to say about agriculture; Theophrastus heralds a higher level of scientific understanding of botanical observation (*Research on Plants* and *Plant Explanations*) in the later 4th century BC. But common to almost all Greek literature is the primacy of agriculture: the shield of Achilles (Homer, *Iliad*, 18. 541ff.) includes a rural scene of ploughmen wheeling their teams of draught animals; the Linear B tablets are full of ideograms and logograms that allow the scribes to maintain the palace accounts of agricultural produce.

The continuing importance of agriculture to Greek life is seen most clearly in the work of archaeological surveys carried out in a variety of locations such as Messenia, the southern Argolid, Nemea, Methana, Boeotia, Aetolia, Ceos, Melos, Crete, and Lesbos. Common to these studies is the observation of the human impact on the Greek landscape over a long period of time. The surveys present findings from geological prospecting to the results of research on recent land use. The collation of statistics, anecdotes, and records of agricultural activities and settlement during the 19th and 20th centuries has produced important information for both comparative and quantitative studies of Greek agriculture.

In many respects the continuities in practices and pressures can be seen stretching from antiquity to the present day. In the Byzantine period polyculture continued, dominated by grain and vine cultivation. In addition, specialist crops appeared such as flax and cotton; in some areas, such as the Peloponnese, silk was produced. There were few technological developments: horses were used in ploughing from the 10th century and windmills started to flourish in the 13th. Increased production still depended largely on extending the area of land under cultivation. Some areas of Greece, particularly the Peloponnese, enjoyed considerable agricultural prosperity in this period.

The main differences between the preindustrial and modern eras of Greece are the more recent technological developments – mechanization and advances in irrigation – and the new socioeconomic factors. On one level, these are the increasing demands of regional markets, and the wider economic context provided by the European Union. In antiquity the farmers of Greece generally operated to provide sufficient produce for their household. Few areas would have been devoted to providing produce for export. But the high quality of produce such as figs, honey, olives, and wine has been a consistent feature of Greek culture throughout history.

GRAHAM OLIVER

See also Geology, Olive, Transhumance, Vine

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Akindynos, Gregory *c.*1300–*c.*1348

Theologian

A native of Prilapon (modern Prilep) in Macedonia, Gregory Akindynos received his formative experiences in Pelagonia (modern Bitola) on the Via Egnatia. He then proceeded to Thessalonica, where he studied under Thomas Magistros and the archdeacon Bryennios. He may have met Barlaam in Thessalonica in 1326/27. Akindynos then became a professor of grammar and tutor in Beroea. There he came into contact with St Gregory Palamas, who from 1326 to 1331 lived in a nearby hermitage. In 1330 Palamas gave Akindynos a copy of Nikephoros Gregoras's treatise on astronomy. In 1332, possibly at Palamas's instigation, he visited Mount Athos. He does not appear to have liked the intellectual atmosphere, or lack of it, on the Holy Mountain, but, unlike Barlaam, never spoke against the monks of Athos. In 1336 he received from Palamas a letter criticizing the anti-Latin treatises of Barlaam. At about this time he settled in Constantinople.

Up to 1341 Akindynos acted as a mediator between Barlaam and Palamas. He strongly advised Barlaam to desist from his attacks on the hesychast monks, though his advice was ignored. A letter from Palamas began to raise doubts in his mind, but he continued to support Palamas's cause, arranging for Palamas's summons to Constantinople to be reworded as an invitation. Palamas stayed with Akindynos on his arrival in the capital in December 1340–January 1341. Akindynos gave his full support to Palamas at the synod of June 1341, on the condition that Palamas would withdraw certain expressions in his work that Akindynos found unsound. Palamas appears to have suggested that he would indeed retract these expressions. He did not, however, compromise, and in fact forced the convocation of another synod in July 1341. Akindynos found himself de facto leader of the anti-Palamite cause.

The debate rapidly escalated into a full-blown controversy, fought with ferocious zeal. Akindynos survived at least one assassination attempt, thanks to the second thoughts of the would-be assassin. Akindynos undertook a prodigious campaign against the "new theology" of Palamas, and did so openly from June 1342. Palamas was arrested and imprisoned in September of that year. Akindynos was ordained in late 1344, being groomed, it seems, for the metropolitan see of Thessalonica. Akindynos was vindicated by the Constantinopolitan synod of October 1345, a decision that was upheld by the patriarch John Kalekas against both the wishes of the regent, Anne of Savoy, and widespread monastic pressure. The positions of Akindynos and Palamas were, however, reversed with the ascendancy of the emperor John VI Kantakouzenos, who finally took the city on the night of the 2–3 February 1347. Palamite theology was canonized by the synods of February 1347 and May 1351, and that of Akindynos condemned. Akindynos died before May 1348.

Akindynos's works are not abundant, and are restricted largely to polemic. He composed refutations of both Barlaam and Palamas. He couched some of anti-Palamite theology in poetic form, as in his *509 Iambics*. We are now in a position to assess an important part of his work following the publication of his *Two Refutations of the Work of Gregory Palamas Entitled "A Dialogue between an Orthodox and a Barlaamite"*. The main thrust of Akindynos's argument is that Palamas's assertion of a real difference between the divine essence and the divine energies or operations is inconsistent with the patristic witness. Akindynos's method is very straightforward; he tackles Palamas point by point, producing a host of patristic testimonies at every opportunity. Akindynos's work is heavy and repetitive, frequently digressing into areas the pertinence of which is obscure. He emphasizes the point that between God and the world there is no *tertium quid*, no *metaxi*. On grace, for example, he argues that there is hypostatic, uncreated grace which is the Son and the Holy Spirit, and created, non-hypostatic grace, and nothing more. He

characterizes Palamas's distinction between the essence and energies of God as a lapse into polytheism and an impious denigration of the divine unity. Furthermore, on Akindynos's reading, Palamas teaches that man participates not in God himself, but in some inferior divinity. There is, however, little real development in Akindynos's thought. His principal objection is quite simply that Palamite theology is new, and therefore inadmissible.

Akindynos was not a scholar of the stature of Barlaam, or indeed of Palamas, as he himself admits. His polemical works are more of an assembly of patristic texts than a sustained theological argument. This may be due to their quasi-official character, being prepared as they were at the request of the patriarch John Kalekas. Akindynos was without doubt sincere in his attacks on Palamite theology, deeming it unsound, dangerous, and innovative. The best rebuttal of that theology was, as he saw it, a demonstration of its inconsistency with the patristic witness. His condemnation at the Palamite councils of 1347 and 1351 has meant that his influence has been virtually nil, being perceptible perhaps only in the far more thoroughgoing defence of the divine unity found in the Byzantine Thomist Demetrios Kydones. Akindynos's innate conservatism and suspicion of change have, however, been shared by many representatives of the Byzantine and post-Byzantine tradition.

MARCUS PLESTED

See also Hesychasm

Biography

Born at Prilep in Macedonia, probably in 1300, Akindynos studied in Thessalonica where he mixed with both Barlaam and St Gregory Palamas. For a while he acted as mediator between them, but from 1342 was openly hostile to Palamas. With the accession of John Kantakouzenos as emperor in 1347 Akindynos lost favour and he died the next year.

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Akropolites, George 1217–1282

Statesman, historian, and teacher

George Akropolites was born into an aristocratic family that had remained in Constantinople after its fall to the Latins in 1204. The numerous autobiographical digressions in his chronicle provide our main source for his life and career. At a young age he left Constantinople in secret for the court of the Nicaean emperor John III Vatatzes (1221–54), under whom the revived Byzantine empire in exile reached its political and cultural apogee. In Nicaea he studied with the most learned teachers of the time; he was taught rhetoric by Theodoros Hexapterygos and the famous Nikephoros Blemmydes introduced him to philosophy. Akropolites was later to become a teacher himself of philosophy and mathematics. His most famous students included John III Vatatzes's son and successor Theodore II Laskaris (1254–58) and the patriarch Gregory II of Cyprus (1283–89), both of whom praised his erudition.

An aristocratic origin and a superb education ensured a rapid career in the imperial service, which culminated in Akropolites's appointment as Grand Logothete or imperial chancellor of the empire, first in Nicaea and then in Constantinople. In the 1240s and 1250s he headed important diplomatic missions to Bulgaria and to the Greek despotate of Epirus, Nicaea's main ideological rival. An unfortunate accident during a surveillance mission in Macedonia led to his capture by the Epirots and a two-year confinement (1257–59) in Arta at the court of the despot Michael II (*c.*1231–71). A political opportunist, after his release from captivity Akropolites was quick to side with the usurper Michael VIII Palaiologos (1259–82) and supported the blinding of the legitimate child-emperor John IV Laskaris (1258–61). After the recapture of Constantinople in July 1261, Akropolites composed prayers of thanksgiving that were publicly read during Michael VIII's triumphal entry into the old imperial capital on 15 August. Michael VIII seems to have trusted Akropolites not only because of his administrative and diplomatic experience, but also on account of his kinship with the Palaiologan family. As a Grand Logothete, Akropolites led the Byzantine embassy that concluded the doomed Union of Lyons (1274) subjecting the Orthodox Church to the papacy. He personally took a solemn oath on behalf of Michael VIII, recognizing the primacy of the Roman curia in matters of both doctrine and administration. He died in 1282 after an embassy to Trebizond that he had led in the same year.

George Akropolites's renown lies less in his activities as a teacher and a diplomat than in his authorship of an important chronicle covering the period from 1203 to 1261. The chronicle is written in a classicizing, yet simple, concise, and unencumbered style. In this respect he stands in stark contrast to subsequent Palaiologan historians such as, for example, Nikephoros Gregoras and John Kantakouzenos, who closely followed Classical models. His chronicle is the main source for the history of the Byzantine splinter states of Nicaea and Epirus in the period between the fall of Constantinople to the Latins in 1204 and its recapture in 1261. Despite his claims for historical objectivity, Akropolites was far from a dispassionate observer of his times. The time and circumstances of the chronicle's composition (between 1261 and 1267) influenced strongly the historian's verdict on the main political figures of the period. His point of view is always pro-Nicaean, pro-aristocratic, and pro-Palaiologan. He consistently played down the imperial claims of the rival despots of Epirus and mistrusted the Bulgarians and Serbians. He praised John III Vatatzes as a consummate diplomat and military commander, but his son and heir, Theodore II Laskaris, is the anti-hero of the chronicle. The historian deeply disliked his anti-aristocratic policies, his autocratic tendencies, and his irascible and suspicious temper. He left a vivid description of how Theodore II punished him with 24 lashes after a disagreement. The emperor's negative characteristics make Michael VIII Palaiologos and his new regime appear in the best possible

light. The chronicle ends with a reference to a lost oration written by Akropolites and exhorting the emperor to declare his firstborn son, Andronikos II, co-ruler.

In addition to the chronicle, George Akropolites wrote rhetorical and theological works. He composed a funeral oration for John III Vatatzes's wife Irene Laskaris in 1239 and for the death of the Nicaean emperor himself in 1254. During the period of his captivity in Epirus he wrote two seemingly anti-Latin theological tracts on the procession of the Holy Spirit. Although these treatises repeat many of the traditional anti-Latin arguments, Akropolites made an effort to accommodate the opposing views. In particular, he pointed out the fact that both Greeks and Latins were united by the common name *Romaioi*, or Romans. His son, Constantine Akropolites, also rose to the rank of Grand Logothere and wrote numerous lives of saints and other works.

DIMITER G. ANGELOV

Biography

Born in Constantinople in 1217, George Akropolites studied in Nicaea under Theodoros Hexapterygos and Nikephoros Blemmydes. He himself became a teacher of philosophy and mathematics but then switched to the imperial service, becoming Grand Logothete and a senior diplomat. Author of an important chronicle of the years 1203–61. He died in Constantinople in 1282.

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Albania

The modern Albanian state came into existence in 1913 in the final stages of the dissolution of the Ottoman empire. The territory has always been subject to Greek influences, and there has always been a Greek-speaking minority in the country. The history of Greek settlement in the region is very controversial and has been dogged by political factors, mostly about the relative degrees of Greek and Illyrian influence in southern Albania and the nature of the tribes that lived there. The geographer Strabo noted that many of these tribes were Epirote and could probably speak some Greek. These people have generally lived in the south of what became modern Albania, in the territory known to Greeks as *Voreio Ipeiros*, northern Epirus. They are probably descended from bilingual ancient tribes who inhabited the area in later antiquity, with additional influences from Greek-speaking labourers settled there by the Ottoman Turks, remnants of ancient Greek coastal colonization, mostly from Corfu, and some emigration of Greek communists and their families after the end of the Greek Civil War in 1949. Greek speakers can also be found in Berat, Tirana, and a number of other Albanian towns. The traditional Greek community in Korça, known to the Greeks as Koritsa, has gone into rapid decline since World War II, but a strong Greek presence remains in many rural areas in the southeast of the country.

In Ottoman times Greek was widely used as the language of business and government in Albania, but it never had much popular presence north of the Shkumbini river in the traditional Albanian heartland. Under the monarchical regime of King Zog in the 1930s Greek-language education was repressed, though the designation of Greek-minority areas recognized by the communist regime of Enver Hoxha at first offered some hope of improvement. But although a few ethnic Greeks rose to high positions under communism, particularly in the defence ministry and secret police, the majority of Orthodox rural villagers were subject to discrimination on grounds of race and religion. This process accelerated in the last years of the communist regime, when, in the pro-atheism campaigns, the Orthodox Church in the south was attacked and many church buildings were closed or desecrated.

With the end of communism in 1991, the position of the Greek minority improved somewhat, and a human rights association, OMONIA, won freedom of religion and of political assembly from the disintegrating one-party state. But the political turmoil in the Balkans that everywhere accompanied the end of communism also affected southern Albania, and the Greek minority began to leave for Greece in a process of mass emigration as soon as they were able to do so. This has resulted in depopulation of a number of traditional Greek centres, particularly the coastal strip between Sarande and Himara. Many ethnic Greeks from Albania have settled in cities in Greece, and Greek-language newspapers have started for them in Athens and Thessalonica. At the same time, there has been steady Greek business investment in Albania, mostly in the food, construction, and tobacco industries. Greek education has developed on a private basis in Albania since 1991, but there are still difficulties with the provision of public education. The position of the Church has much improved, with Greek-speaking priests in post in many places, although many controversial issues still remain, mostly connected with what Albanians see as excessive "Greek" dominance of the hierarchy. Many church buildings have been well restored, and some new churches are under construction. Priests have returned to most parishes. In the uprising in spring 1997 that overthrew the government of Dr Sali Berisha ethnic Greeks played an important part. There are many people with some Greek blood or connections in the governing coalition that came to power at that time.

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Alchemy

Despite its Arabic prefix, the word "alchemy", like "chemistry", appears to be derived from the Greek root *cheo*, meaning "I pour", and its ostensible purpose is the transmutation of metals. As Jung and his followers have shown, however, the process was often treated by its more erudite exponents as a symbol of therapeutic operations on the soul. Mircea Eliade has demonstrated that in many ancient cultures the artisan enjoyed the reputation of a sorcerer, and was credited with skills beyond human science. Thus in Greek mythology Prometheus, the discoverer of fire, is the creator of human beings, while two smiths, the mortal Daedalus and the god Hephaestus, were said to have fashioned animated creatures. It is striking that all suffered injury as a consequence of their follies or misdemeanours; Zeus reserved the severest retribution for the Titans, who invented iron weapons in their war against the gods. The literary tradition pays little honour to the Cyclopes who stoked the fires of Aetna, or to the Telchines who combined the arts of witchcraft and metallurgy in Rhodes. In Israel, where all images were forbidden, there could hardly be such a thing as a pious craftsman: in the apocryphal Book of Enoch the use of stones and metals was traced back to the fallen angels, while in Genesis 4 all brass and iron artifacts, as well as musical instruments, were invented by the posterity of Cain.

The first Greek to display the classic features of the alchemist is Empedocles (*fl.* 480 BC), whose theory that every natural kind is formed by a specific combination of the four elements appears to have been the basis of his pharmaceutic remedies for disorders of the soul. The story that he died by leaping into the crater of Aetna, leaving only a golden sandal, is consistent with his magian character. Nevertheless, the first alchemical literature is attributed to the atomist Democritus and his school. He himself is credited with four treatises on the tincture, or immersion, of gold, silver, stones, and "purple", while fragments survive of a fifth on *Physical and Mystical Matters*. These overlap with the *Baphika,* or *Tinctures*, which has survived under the name of his pupil Bolus, though certain parts at least must date from the early Christian era. This maintains that every natural substance can be produced by the application of a tincture (*baphe*) to iron, copper, tin, or lead. Tincture is the addition of a solvent to a metal, which precipitates new substances according to a fixed succession of colours (black, white, yellow, and red). These correspond to the four elementary metals, but even these are reducible to lead, which, when converted to its liquid state by blackening, or *melansis*, is the prime matter of all the elements and the basis of all ensuing transformations. To know what one is making, one needs to be acquainted with the combinative properties of the reagents, or, as Bolus says, their sympathies and aversions. Sulphur, which is said to evince an extraordinary affinity with metals, is the most potent of the additives, but the ingredients of the process also include a golden alloy, Pontic rhubarb, and Italian wine.

This religious and anthropomorphic imagery, so alien to the style of the real Democritus, is justified by an appeal to books allegedly deposited in a temple by the Persian sage Ostanes. Despite this, the majority of relevant documents are papyri from Egypt, and they leave little doubt that the poetry of the Greek alchemists originated there. The esoteric lore of Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt was collected in the *Hermetika*, so called because its contents were attributed to Hermes Trismegistus; it was he, or rather his Latin equivalent Mercury, who gave his name to the liquid essence that later alchemists used as the catalyst in their experiments. The most remarkable symbol of transformation in the philosophical portions of the *Hermetika* (often arbitrarily separated from the esoteric writings) is the *krater*, or cup, of Treatise 4, which conflates the alchemist's crucible with the mixing bowl of Plato's Demiurge (the creator of the universe). It is possible that the Egyptian name Poimandres, given to the self-transforming Mind who imparts the initial revelation in Treatise 1, commended itself to the Greeks because of its likeness to the word *poimandria* ("cauldron"). Though nothing survives in extenso under Hermes' name, he is mentioned in extant treatises as the writer of authoritative works.

The Hellenization of Egyptian literature was partly the work of Jews, and thus one is not surprised to find a papyrus which conflates the wisdom of the pharaoh Kufu with that of the Hebrew Sabaoth. No doubt it was under Jewish influence that the goddess Isis, in another alchemical papyrus, becomes a pupil of the angel Amnael and gives instruction to Horus in the role of a prophetess. Since Jewish writers generally saw cunning as a property of women, they attributed the invention of the chief alchemical instruments to Maria, another prophetess and a pupil of Ostanes. Her devices included the alembic for distillation, the conical pot, or *phanos*, for sublimation, and another vessel, the *kerotakion*, for change of colours. Sulphur again is the element to which these new refinements are applied. Since the Democritean corpus does not allude to Mary, we may assume that she is a later figment; the readiness with which this alien woman was admitted into the canon is an indication that alchemy had already become a syncretistic faith.

Most of our information about Mary comes from the pagan Zosimus of Panopolis (*fl.* AD 300) in Egypt, whose works are both the most copious and the most interesting vestiges of the ancient practice. The scholarly Neoplatonist Olympiodorus in the late 4th century thought them worthy of a philosophical commentary. Yet Zosimus, for all his pretensions, offers no philosophy in the strict sense, but rhetorical accounts of private visions, which leave us doubting whether they are remembered or imagined, and whether he is recounting a chain of episodes or describing one event in different ways. The usual polarity between the dense substrate and the fluid solvent is presented in such a manner as to make the first analogous to the body and the second to the soul. The self, which is both the subject and the goal of transformation, is represented as a man of various metals, who stands beside the crucible as a priest before an altar, then assumes the role of victim by dismembering and devouring his own flesh. This figure (the homunculus of Goethe and Paracelsus) is identified with Adam, who, with a clear allusion to the book of Genesis, is styled the virgin earth in Zosimus' *Treatise on the Omega*, where the experiment

culminates in an (uninterpreted) vision of the Son of God. We may assume that mercury (or honey, as it is also called) is the object seen with the outward eyes, but of course this is merely the symbol of a mental revelation, which enables the philosopher to return to his proper dwelling place, escaping the fatal influence of the stars. Though Jung may be right to understand these visions as a manifestation of archetypal images, their content is (as one would expect) determined by the literary traditions that were available to a mystic of that era. With the Jewish and Christian vocabulary are mingled the names of Enoch, Zoroaster, and Ostanes, but the stories of Jewish captivity under Nebuchadnezzar (the statue of diverse metals, the blazing furnace, the degradation of the king) are surely the most important prototype.

Zosimus, like the Gnostics of the 3rd century AD, relied on a lost compilation by Nicotheus, "the Hidden One", and alchemy appears to be entwined with the very roots of the Christian heresy (*Omega*, 11; cf. Porphyry, *Life of Plotinus*, 16). The (Phrygian) Naassenes of the 2nd century derived both matter and spirit from a "single blessed substance", and maintained that the soul is in constant oscillation between the two. The first man (whose ethnic character is disputed, as in Zosimus) is called Adam because he is present in every one of us as a living stone of adamant. Hermes is the spiritual demiurge who effects our liberation, while the mutilated deities Attis, Osiris, and Dionysus offer symbols of rebirth. The last named should remind us of the notorious Greek myth in which the Titans tear apart and eat the infant Dionysus, son of Zeus. After Zeus destroys them with a thunderbolt, humanity is created from their ashes, owing its divine spirit to Dionysus and its vices to the intractable Titanic residue.

Alchemy became the guiding principle of a universal science, which allotted the names and colours of different metals to the four humours, the seven ages, and the planets, which were thought to influence both. In addition, the alchemist was required to be a skilled herbalist and an expert in the medical and prophylactic properties of gems. Affinities were easily discerned between alchemical symbolism and the New Testament, where Christ is both the apex and the foundation of a temple which is identical with the body and yet made up of "living stones". Synesius of Cyrene (*fl.* AD 400) wrote a commentary on the Democritean corpus, while the notion of a single blessed substance that "becomes all things" was adapted to meditation on the Trinity by Evagrius (*Epistle* 29). Yet a discipline that purported to derive its code from nature could transcend not only the bounds of race and Church, but those of orthodoxy and heresy. Book 9 of the 13th-century epic *Parzival* by Wolfram von Eschenbach alludes to a legend cherished by the Cathars, and therefore perhaps of eastern (Bogomil) origin, according to which the Holy Grail was a stone cast out of heaven and assigned to the custody of fallen angels. Being thus an emblem of both Christ and Adam, it is able, when the proper question is put to it, to heal the bodily ailments which result from the transgression of the soul.

The ideal of Renaissance alchemy, the union of the personality through the "conjunction of opposites", is derived from Arabic sources such as the Tabula Smaragdina. These in turn look back to a fabulous epoch of Byzantium, giving the name of the emperor Heracleios to the tutelary power of the planet Mercury, and also to a king whose impotent son begets an heir by arcane devices. In fact it is unlikely that the Christian emperors would have looked on alchemy with any more favour than did their pagan predecessor Diocletian, who attempted to burn the manuals of the art in the time of Zosimus. Most of the Byzantine writings on the subject are contained in a single collection of the 9th or early 10th century and dedicated to a certain Theodore. It includes poems under the names of Hierotheos, Heliodoros, and Archelaos, but the most important item is Stephen of Byzantium's treatise *On the Making of Gold*. Like the later volume of the same name by the polymath Michael Psellos, this treats the extraction of precious metals as its principal enterprise. It was another scholar, Gemistos Plethon, who drew the attention of the Western humanists to the *Hermetica*; but he, like Psellos, was chiefly a compiler of other men's doctrines, and the great tradition of alchemy was indebted to Byzantine authors more for what they copied than what they wrote.

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Alcibiades 451/50–404/03 BC

Athenian general and politician

Born into a wealthy family, Alcibiades became the ward of Pericles and his brother Ariphron after his father Cleinias was killed at the battle of Coronea in 447 BC. Although he had fought at Potidaea in 432 BC, where he was wounded and his life saved by Socrates, his first datable political activity was in 420 BC in the immediate aftermath of the Peace of Nicias, which had ended the first phase of the Peloponnesian War (Thucydides, 5. 43). While Nicias advocated that diplomatic pressure should be exerted on the Spartans to persuade their allies to conform to the treaty by carrying out agreed concessions to the Athenians, Alcibiades sought to exploit the

Spartans' difficulties with their allies, even at the expense of the peace. He won the argument and an alliance was made with the Argives and two of Sparta's renegade allies, Mantinea and Elis, but he was unable to obtain sufficient votes to secure the necessary resources to support his policy: only 1300 Athenian troops fought at the battle of Mantinea in 418 BC, when victory enabled the Spartans to recover their lost allies and restore their domination of the Peloponnese.

Thucydides comments on Alcibiades' youth in 420 BC; he reports that Nicias referred to him as "a young man in a hurry" in the debate on whether to send an expedition to Sicily in the spring of 415 BC (Thucydides, 6. 12). Alcibiades was handsome and eloquent, and his charisma had been enhanced by his success in the Olympic festival of 416 BC, when three of his seven entries in the chariot race were placed first, second, and fourth. His advocacy of the Sicilian expedition clearly contributed to the atmosphere of great enthusiasm and high expectations; Thucydides reports that in the end those opposed to the scheme did not dare to vote against it (6. 24). Nevertheless, his flamboyance and palpable personal ambition created mistrust, helped by the deviousness he had shown in an ostracism campaign, probably in 416 BC, when he had agreed with Nicias that they should protect one another by directing their supporters to vote against Hyperbolus (who was then ostracized) and then by a highly unusual proposal to appoint Alcibiades sole commander of the expedition (which was rejected in favour of his sharing responsibility with Nicias and Lamachus); and in the public hysteria that followed the sacrilegious mutilation of the many busts of Hermes on the streets of Athens, his enemies were able to link him with rumours of revolutionary plots to establish oligarchy or tyranny.

When the expedition reached Sicily and Nicias favoured a concentration on limited objectives, Alcibiades failed to support Lamachus' proposal of a direct attack on Syracuse, the chief threat to Athenian interests, which might well have succeeded. Instead he forced Lamachus to back his own plan first to secure more allies, despite their having failed to receive the expected help from Thurii, Rhegium, and Segesta. Alcibiades' policy was adopted with limited success, Naxos and Catane being won over, but Messana and Camarina refusing. At this point he was recalled to stand trial, but, knowing that his enemies at home had been poisoning minds against him since his departure, he eluded his escort at Thurii and fled to the Peloponnese, the Athenians sentencing him to death in his absence.

It is debatable how far Alcibiades' recall affected the Athenian forces, because Nicias now supported Lamachus' plan; after twice defeating the Syracusans outside their city, in the early summer of 414 BC he was completing a series of blockade walls around the town and had high hopes of its surrender. Alcibiades, however, had gone to Sparta and urged the Spartans to send help to Syracuse, emphasizing the extent of Athenian ambitions and their threat to the Peloponnese, and suggesting that the Spartans should at least send a competent general to organize its defence (Thucydides, 6. 91). The Spartans were persuaded and sent Gylippus, whose leadership of the Syracusans was a major factor in the disastrous defeat of the Athenians in 413 BC.

In 412 BC Alcibiades was influential in persuading the Spartans to send ships to the eastern Aegean in order to foment revolts among Athens' allies; he himself helped to win over Chios and Miletus. Meanwhile, king Agis, whose wife he had seduced, persuaded the Spartans that he was unreliable and should be eliminated, but he took refuge with Tissaphernes, satrap of the Anatolian coastal provinces, whom he sought to turn against the Spartans, also hoping thereby to facilitate his own recall to Athens. He then tried to promote a sympathetic regime there by promising that the removal of democracy would secure Persian help; and, although negotiations between Tissaphernes and the Athenian envoys failed and the Persians made a treaty with Sparta, the move against democracy, which had started, succeeded, and a short-lived oligarchy was set up in summer 411 BC.

Ironically, Alcibiades' exile was now cancelled by the commanders of the Athenian fleet at Samos, who refused to accept the oligarchy's authority. On joining them he played important roles first in preventing them abandoning their position in the eastern Aegean to attack Athens, and then in victories over the Spartans in the Hellespont (autumn 411 BC) and off Cyzicus (spring 410 BC). This must have been the period in Thucydides' mind when he said that "his conduct of the war was excellent" (6. 15), and he went on to recover Byzantium in 408 BC.

At this point (407 BC) Alcibiades thought that it was safe to return to Athens. There he received a warm welcome, his exile was officially rescinded, and he enhanced his popularity by organizing the annual procession to the festival at Eleusis to go by land for the first time since the Spartan occupation of Decelea in north Attica in 413 BC. There was still, however, according to Xenophon (*Hellenica*, 1. 4. 17), underlying mistrust of his ambitions and, when he briefly left the fleet in charge of his helmsman Antiochus, who was rashly provoked by Lysander and lost 22 ships, he was relieved of his command and prudently retired into exile. About a year and a half later Aristophanes in his *Frogs* had Dionysus say about him that the city "longs for and hates him and wishes to have him" (line 1425). But he was still in exile near the Hellespont in the late summer of 405 BC, when his warning to the Athenian generals of their folly in beaching their fleet at Aegospotami was disregarded and a surprise Spartan attack took all but eight ships almost without a fight and effectively won the war. After Athens' surrender in 404 BC Alcibiades crossed to Asia, where he was soon killed, probably on the orders of Pharnabazus, satrap of Phrygia, at Lysander's request.

Tradition held that Alcibiades was both the object of Socrates' passion and his pupil, and this association, it seems, was much in the mind of Socrates' accusers when they charged him with corrupting the city's youth. Plato had him figuring prominently with Socrates in his *Symposium* and *Alcibiades I* (*Alcibiades II* is almost certainly not Platonic). Paired by Plutarch in his *Parallel Lives* with the Roman Coriolanus, he was taken up, like Coriolanus, by Shakespeare, who used him in his historically inaccurate *Timon of Athens*. He has continued to fascinate the modern world, notably as the central character of Peter Green's novel *Achilles His Armour* (1955).

T.T.B. RYDER

See also Peloponnesian War

Biography

Born in Athens in 451 or 450 BC, Alcibiades was brought up by his guardian Pericles and was a pupil of Socrates. As a politician he was flamboyant but inconsistent, supporting first Athens, as one of the leaders of the disastrous Sicilian expedition, then Sparta. Losing the confidence of both, he fled to Persia but was subsequently recalled to direct operations of the Athenian fleet. Exiled again, he crossed to Asia after the defeat of Athens in the Peloponnesian War and was murdered in Phrygia in 404/03 BC.

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Alexander III the Great 356–323 BC

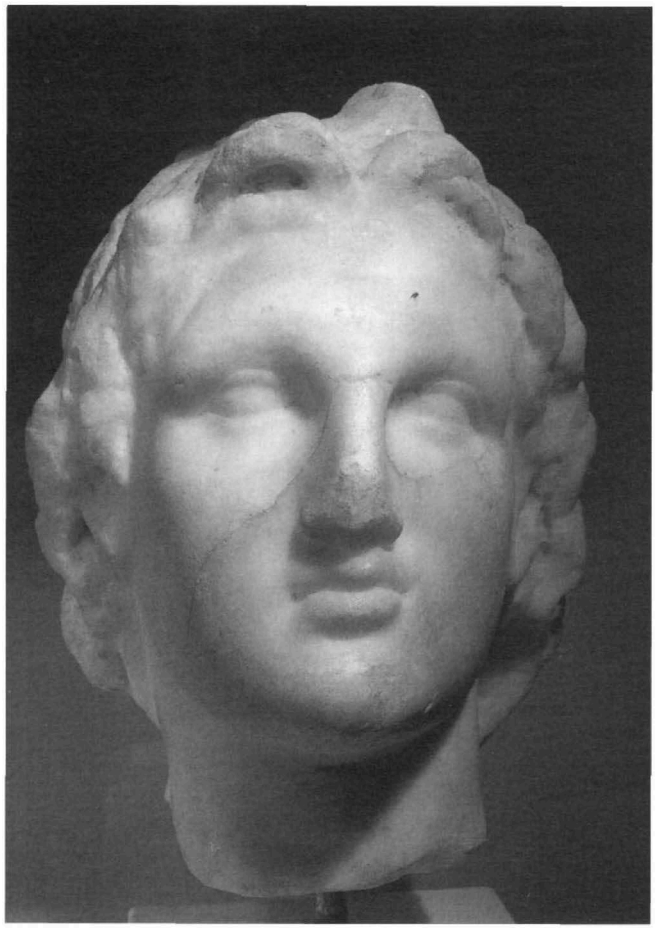
King of Macedon

After the assassination of his father king Philip II of Macedon, at Aegae (modern Vergina) in 336 BC, the 20-year-old prince Alexander acceded to the throne as Alexander III. The vast kingdom of Macedonia that he inherited extended eastward at this time to Thrace and the Black Sea, south to Thessaly, west into modern Albania, and north into the former Yugoslav republics and parts of Bulgaria. As a kingdom, it was politically distinct from the city states of the Greek mainland, although there had been contact between Macedon and Greece for hundreds of years. To give a few examples: an ancestor of Alexander III of the 5th century BC, king Alexander I, was known as "the philhellene" because of his alleged secret help to the Greeks during the Persian Wars, and Greek cities founded along the east coast of Macedonia and in Chalcidice certainly had been in contact with the Macedonians for centuries. Most importantly, recent archaeological investigations in Macedonia have shown beyond doubt that there were close links between aristocratic Macedonian society and the culture of mainland Greece: Attic pottery was imported to Macedonia by the end of the 6th century BC (found in cist graves at Sindos); the city of Pella (developed as the new capital at the end of the 5th century BC) has revealed the best extant pebble mosaics, impressive small finds from the agora, and the recently excavated royal palace, besides being the place where the great Athenian tragedian Euripides ended his life in exile; and the spectacular gold and silver vessels, armour, and jewellery from the 4th-century BC royal tombs at Vergina prove beyond doubt that the Macedonian court class was a rich, cultivated, and sophisticated society completely familiar with the culture of Greece. None the less, there was a deep-seated ethnic rivalry between Macedonian and Greek that the troubled political situation of the 4th century BC intensified. Throughout his life Alexander appears to have regarded the Greeks with suspicion, and never trusted them in political terms.

Alexander's father Philip II had become the political leader of mainland Greece after his defeat of the Greek forces at the battle of Chaeronea in Boeotia in 338 BC. He controlled the city states by enrolling them in an unequal alliance with him known as the League of Corinth (where the first meeting was held), and enlisted his Greek "allies" in a war of revenge against the Persian empire, ostensibly to free the Greek cities of Asia Minor from Persian rule, but in all probability to extend Macedonian control into Asia Minor. The young Alexander inherited control both of the League of Corinth and of the war to win the "freedom of the Greeks of Asia". It is on this basis that he undertook his famous expedition to the east, which has immortalized him as one of the greatest conquerors of all time, worthy of the epithet "the Great". Alexander's military campaigns, his defeat of the Great King of Persia and assumption of that title and position, his further expedition to the Indus river system in the Punjab, his return to the west after a troop mutiny, and his untimely death at Babylon in June 323 BC are all well known and described in an ever-expanding bibliography. His extraordinary military exploits and invincibility inspired later generals (Pompey, Caesar, Augustus, Trajan, and even Napoleon) to emulate him, and his early death at the pinnacle of his fame ensured his elevation to heroic legendary status and his position as a quintessentially romantic, fascinating historical figure.

Alexander the Great's contribution to the Hellenic tradition must be assessed in various ways. Merely to assert that he was the greatest and most famous figure in Greek history whose allure has lasted to modern times is not enough; although this claim alone may justify Alexander's place in posterity, it is a simplistic view based on our admiration for his achievements and fascination with such an enigmatic man. Various issues emerge from the study of Alexander, however, that are relevant to our appreciation of him in the context of Hellenic tradition. These embrace fields as diverse as art history, political developments, religion, and literature.

During his lifetime Alexander was responsible for an innovation that had important consequences for the history of Greek art. Up to the end of the 4th century BC the medium of portraiture was confined to "generic" portraits (a suitable type depicting a noble statesman, a general, etc.) and "imaginary" portraits (e.g. a hypothetical depiction of Homer; if a poet called Homer had indeed existed in the 8th century BC, certainly no one hundreds of years later could have known



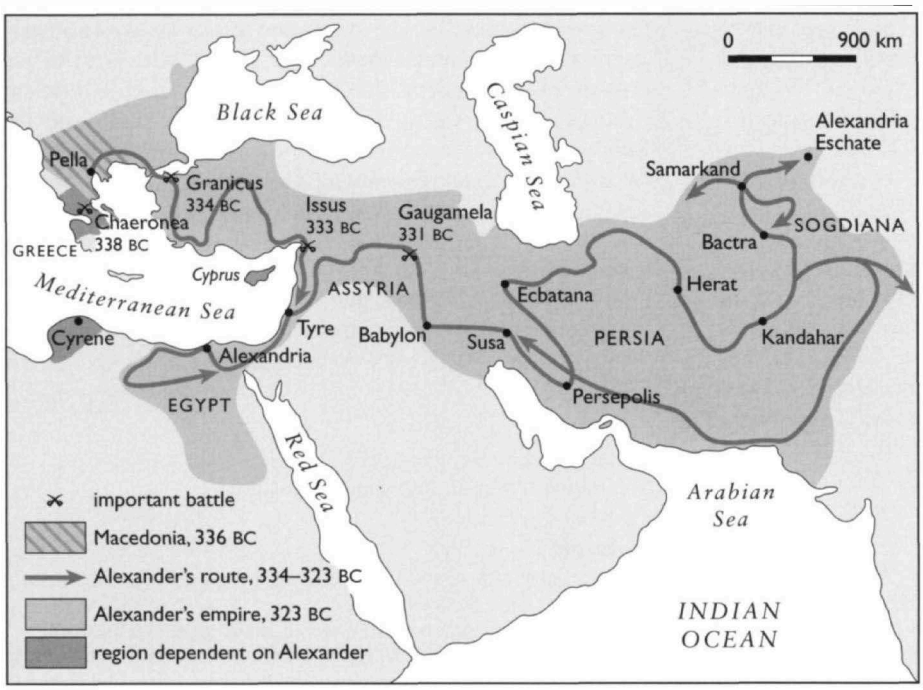
Alexander: portrait bust in marble, sculptor unknown, Graeco-Roman Museum, Alexandria

what he looked like) (see G.M.A. Richter [rev. by R.R.R. Smith], *The Portraits of the Greeks*, Oxford: Phaidon, 1984). Although the beginnings of individualistic portraiture may be traced to Persian kings and satraps of the 4th century BC, Alexander seems to have been the first ruler in the Greek world to control the production of his own image. The ancient sources tell us that he had a court sculptor, a court painter, and a court gem engraver whom alone he trusted to depict him in the approved manner. The surviving portraits of Alexander show that he was represented in a highly idealized way that was immediately identifiable (see J.J. Pollitt, *Art in the Hellenistic Age*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986, pp.19–25). It could be argued that it was desirable for the peoples of his vast empire to have a recognizable depiction of their king, but such a conscious manipulation of one's image was quite new in Greek art, whether it stemmed from deliberate calculation on Alexander's part or merely excessive vanity. The canonical image of Alexander was taken over by his successors for propaganda purposes (see below), and the art of portraiture developed in the Hellenistic age into a major artistic genre, because the kings of the new Greek empires immediately appreciated the ways in which images of themselves could prove beneficial (see R.R.R. Smith, *Hellenistic Royal Portraits*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988).

The personal empire that Alexander created in Asia was not the same as the Macedonian state. At the age of 20 the king had left his homeland under the control of the regent Antipater, with whom he had only sporadic contact for the next 11 years, and he died unexpectedly – never having returned home or secured the Macedonian succession with an heir – with only interim administrative arrangements in place for the vast eastern territories he had conquered. By the end, Alexander's entourage consisted not of an inner circle of nobles who had traditionally advised the king according to Macedonian custom, but of a group of self-made, ambitious generals whose position depended on their personal loyalty to Alexander himself. These men (the so-called "successors") were suddenly left leaderless in Babylon, and some 20 years of chaos ensued before the emergence of three relatively stable new empires, which form the focus of the "Hellenistic" history of the next three centuries.

It soon became clear that Alexander's empire could not survive intact under a single successor. Alexander's posthumous infant son Alexander and his half-witted half-brother Philip Arrhidaeus were declared joint kings, Alexander IV and Philip III. Their regent Antipater, who had been a general under Philip II, firmly resolved to take the kings home to Macedonia, thereby returning Macedon to its origins as a Balkan kingdom. This might have allowed the royal Argead dynasty of Macedonian kings (the family to which both Philip II and Alexander the Great belonged) to continue to rule in an unbroken bloodline in their European homeland, but both kings were soon murdered in the power struggles among the successors, as were, eventually, all the immediate members of Alexander the Great's family. This signalled the extinction of the Argead line of Macedonian kings. Paradoxically, the political and personal influence of Alexander, the absent king, in his Macedonian homeland was far less important than that of his father Philip II had been, and it pales into insignificance when compared to his posthumous reputation and influence in the Asia he had opened up to the Greeks.

Since the sole uniting feature of Alexander's empire had been the king himself, various successors, who were eager to establish their own power in areas of Asia, sought to cloak themselves with the aura of Alexander's legacy in an effort to gain political legitimacy. Although none actually claimed to be Alexander's sole successor, attempts at "identification" with the late king proved a forceful propaganda tool in establishing the validity of their respective political power. Much of this imitation was achieved by the manipulation of royal iconography and the use of Alexander's image. For example, although Alexander himself never minted coins with his own portrait on them, shortly after his death some successors issued coinage with a highly idealized, almost divinized, head of Alexander adorned with subtly emotive attributes: the horns of Zeus Ammon (the oracular god whose shrine in the Egyptian desert Alexander had visited and with whom he felt a particular affinity for the rest of his life), the elephant-scalp headdress (which refers to his victories in India where he faced elephants in battle), and the royal diadem. These early portrait coins of Alexander clearly illustrate the potency of his image, but also directly influence the coinage of all his royal Hellenistic successors, which contains the bead of the particular ruler and a selection of themes with propaganda value pertinent to the royal house in question (see Norman Davis and Colin M.



3. The empire of Alexander the Great in 323 BC

Kraay, *The Hellenistic Kingdoms: Portrait Coins and History*, London: Thames and Hudson, 1973, plates 1–9) .

The strength of Alexander's posthumous reputation as a tool of royal propaganda is seen most clearly in the kingdom of Ptolemaic Egypt (ruled by Alexander's former Macedonian general Ptolemy who subsequently declared himself king and founded a dynasty that ruled Egypt until the suicide of Cleopatra VII in 31 BC). Ptolemy hijacked the funeral cortège of Alexander while it was en route from Babylon, and brought his body to Egypt, eventually burying it in a magnificent tomb in his capital, Alexandria. By this devious act, Ptolemy became the guardian of the body of Alexander, which elevated his importance even as it linked him inextricably with the late king. The remains of Alexander and his magic belonged to Ptolemy. The tomb became the focus for the worship of Alexander (in Alexandria he was worshipped as the "founder God") and, later, of the royal cult of the Ptolemies themselves (see below). The continuing importance of the tie of the Ptolemaic royal family with Alexander was graphically illustrated in a procession staged in Alexandria by Ptolemy I's son and heir, Ptolemy II Philadelphus. A major part of this procession honoured the Greek god Dionysus (from whom the Ptolemies claimed descent), and one important pageant depicted Dionysus as the returning conqueror of India. The parallel between the Indian victories of Dionysus and Alexander (who also features in the procession) was made explicit in the context of the procession, and the Ptolemies shared in the splendour of the eastern triumph as the heirs of Alexander and Dionysus (see E.E. Rice, *The Grand Procession of Ptolemy Philadelphus*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983, pp.84–86). In Egypt Alexander's image and posthumous reputation were deliberately used as powerful symbols of invincibility, divine connections, and the legitimate transfer of political power to the Ptolemaic royal house.

Alexander's views about his own divinity remain unclear because there is little evidence as to what he himself thought about it. He was not the first mortal to receive honours of a superhuman nature, but it appears that he was voted certain divine honours and welcomed them, even if he did not actually demand them. However this may be, the worship of Alexander was widespread in many parts of Greece and Asia after his death, as various cults, priests, dedications, etc., attested. This worship of Alexander clearly influenced the development of the ruler cults of the various Hellenistic monarchies, the deification of monarchs during their lifetime, and the civic cults established by Greek cities in honour of various kings, once the boundary between gods and men, and the honours appropriate to each, had become blurred. When the Romans came to dominate the Greek east, the establishment of the imperial Roman cult in this area can be seen as a natural progression of the acceptance of the worship of a human being (see S.R.F. Price, *Rituals and Power: The Roman Imperial Cult in Asia Minor*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984).

A far more difficult issue is the question of Alexander's role in the Hellenization of the east. How far was Alexander himself responsible for the fact that, over the following several centuries, vast areas of Asia (comprising the Middle East, modern Turkey, Iran, Iraq, and parts of Afghanistan and Pakistan as far as India) became urbanized, populated by Greeks living in harmony with native peoples and remaining largely Greek-speaking, even after many of these territories were incorporated into the Roman empire? Alexander is often regarded as one of the greatest city-founders of all times. His cities were mostly named "Alexandreia" (the transliterated form of the name in Greek), and stretched from Alexandria in Egypt at the southwest tip of his empire to Alexandria Eschate ("the Furthest") on the Jaxartes river (modern Syr Darya) in Central Asia in the extreme northeast of it. It has often been claimed that these Alexander-foundations were responsible for spreading the light of Greek civilization throughout barbarian Asia, but the truth is impossible to ascertain. The ancient sources differ widely about the number (from very few to very many) and locations of his city foundations, as well as their nature. Some, we are told, were cities in the proper sense: permanent settlements with civic institutions and buildings in the Greek style. Others appear to have been fortified military settlements sited at strategic geographical points, and yet others outlying guard posts established as needed to control the surrounding area. There is no evidence for Alexander's reasons for founding cities – if indeed he had a well-thought-out policy in so doing beyond a general preference for civic life – although the rationale behind those that had a military or strategic importance seems obvious enough. In the few cases where we are told of its composition, the population was a

mixture of time-expired Macedonian veterans, Greek mercenaries, and local inhabitants who volunteered to settle there. It is no coincidence that very few Alexandrias known from literary sources have been identified on the ground. In the first place, the pattern of life in Central Asia was essentially nomadic, not accustomed to urbanization. Furthermore, the artificially gathered population was an unhappy mix of peoples (many of them thousands of miles from home and probably longing to return) who had no natural affinity with each other. Many Alexandrias probably soon died out from lack of interest, starvation, internal warfare due to ethnic tensions, or migratory invasions from outside, leaving no identifiable archaeological remains. Other Alexandrias may have been refounded and renamed by Alexander's successors, leaving no clue as to their original foundation.

Given the above considerations, the conclusion must be that Alexander's ephemeral cities themselves can have hardly caused the east to be Hellenized as it was to become in the Seleucid and Graeco-Roman period. The sense in which Alexander can indeed be said to be ultimately responsible for the spread of Hellenic culture in this region is that it was he who opened up the east geographically to the west and created the possibility of Graeco-Macedonian domination there, even though he did not live long enough himself to see it permanently pacified and administered by a ruling class of his creation. The eventual results of Alexander's actions, therefore, must not be confused with his irrecoverable intentions at the time, since it was left to his successors to carry out their own schemes of urbanization and Hellenization.

Finally, Alexander's achievements and extraordinary fame contributed in an unexpected way to the development of ancient Greek literature and, through it, to the development of medieval and modern literature. Many histories of Alexander were written in antiquity, from contemporary eyewitness accounts of the campaigns to works by writers who lived hundreds of years later. The former survive only by title or in quotation by the latter, who drew upon these first-hand accounts as well as on a large body of popular tales that quickly grew up about a figure as world-famous as the great Macedonian conqueror. None the less, these serious histories of Alexander – however important they undoubtedly are to our understanding of Greek historiography – share the stage with a work of a type that has more in common with the ancient novel, namely the romance, a genre of Greek literature that was increasingly popular in the Hellenistic and Graeco-Roman periods.

The so-called *Alexander Romance* is a fascinating "pseudo-historical" source for Alexander the Great. It is a fictitious account of Alexander's exploits based loosely on the historical record, combining several different sources into the main Greek version which has come down to us (it was falsely assigned to Alexander's official historian Callisthenes – hence its frequent attribution in modern literature to pseudo-Callisthenes). Scholars have argued that the *Alexander Romance* dates in its present form from the 3rd century AD (although it incorporates older elements), and that various identifiable strands in it include a fictitious biography of Alexander, an epistolary novel of Alexander's supposed letters, and set-piece descriptions of marvels (see Tomas Hägg, *The Novel in Antiquity*, Oxford: Blackwell, 1983, pp.125ff.). However this may be, the *Alexander Romance* was a hugely popular and influential work, and the vehicle by which a version of Alexander's deeds passed into several different cultures. There was a Byzantine metrical version of the *Romance*, and it was translated in the Middle Ages into some 35 different languages, among them Latin, Syriac, Arabic, Armenian, Hebrew, Ethiopic, and Hungarian. The Alexander of the *Romance* and his amazing exploits became one of the most popular heroes in the medieval Ottoman Karagöz shadow-puppet theatre, and can still be seen today in its modern Greek equivalent, the Karaghiozis puppet theatre.

E.E. RICE

See also Alexandria, Antigonids, Imperial Cult, Karaghiozis, Macedonia, Philip II, Ptolemies, Seleucids

Biography

Born in 356 BC, the son of Philip II and Olympias, Alexander was a pupil of Aristotle. He fought at Chaeronea in 338 and succeeded to the throne of Macedon on his father's death in 336. Having established himself a master of the Greek world, he crossed the Hellespont in 334 with a huge army to conquer the Persian empire. He died on his return, at Babylon in 323 BC. His military exploits and early death ensured his immortality in the Hellenic tradition.

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Alexandria

City in Egypt

At the time of Alexander the Great's invasion of Asia, Egypt had been, intermittently, a remote part of the Persian empire since 526/25 BC when the Great King Cambyses invaded and conquered the country. Persian rule appears to have been harsh during the 4th century, with the result that Alexander was welcomed by the Egyptian populace to whom another foreign conqueror was welcome if it meant the end of hated Persian rule. Alexander entered Egypt from Gaza, and paid his respects at the inland dynastic capital Memphis (south of Cairo) before sailing north along the Nile via the western branch of its delta to the Mediterranean coast, to a small native town called Rhakotis.

There, in 331 BC, Alexander made the first, and indisputably the greatest, of his city foundations, and named it "Alexandreia" (in Greek) after himself. The ancient literary sources give us a romantic picture of the young Alexander appreciating the suitability of the site and taking a personal interest in the design of the city, pacing out the line of the city walls and marking the location for various structures inside. However this may be, the coastal site of Alexandria was a magnificent choice for a city, facing on to the Mediterranean, endowed with good natural harbours, and with easy access to the interior of Egypt through the river system. It may be that local Greek traders in the region (Greeks had been settled at the inland delta city of Naucratis since the 7th century BC) persuaded Alexander of the site's potential, or perhaps Alexander – with a view to his posterity – just acted upon a suggestion that was attractively presented to him. The actual design of the new city was left to Deinocrates, a Macedonian town planner/architect in Alexander's entourage.

Alexander left Egypt and continued his expedition to the east, leaving Alexandria under the control of an appointed financial administrator, Cleomenes of Naucratis. Alexandria seems to have functioned as a Greek polis from shortly after its foundation. When Alexander died in 323 BC, the territory which he had conquered was divided up among his successors for the purposes of administration. The satrapy of Egypt was assigned to Ptolemy son of Lagus, a Macedonian boyhood friend of Alexander who served as a general during the eastern expedition, and it remained firmly in his hands throughout all the struggles of the successors. Cleomenes had proved to be notoriously corrupt in his dealings with the grain trade. After Ptolemy arrived in Alexandria, he made Cleomenes subordinate to him and eventually had him killed. When, in line with the other successors, Ptolemy declared himself a "king" in 305/04 BC, Alexandria became the capital city of his new kingdom, and it remained the capital of the Ptolemaic empire throughout the course of its existence.

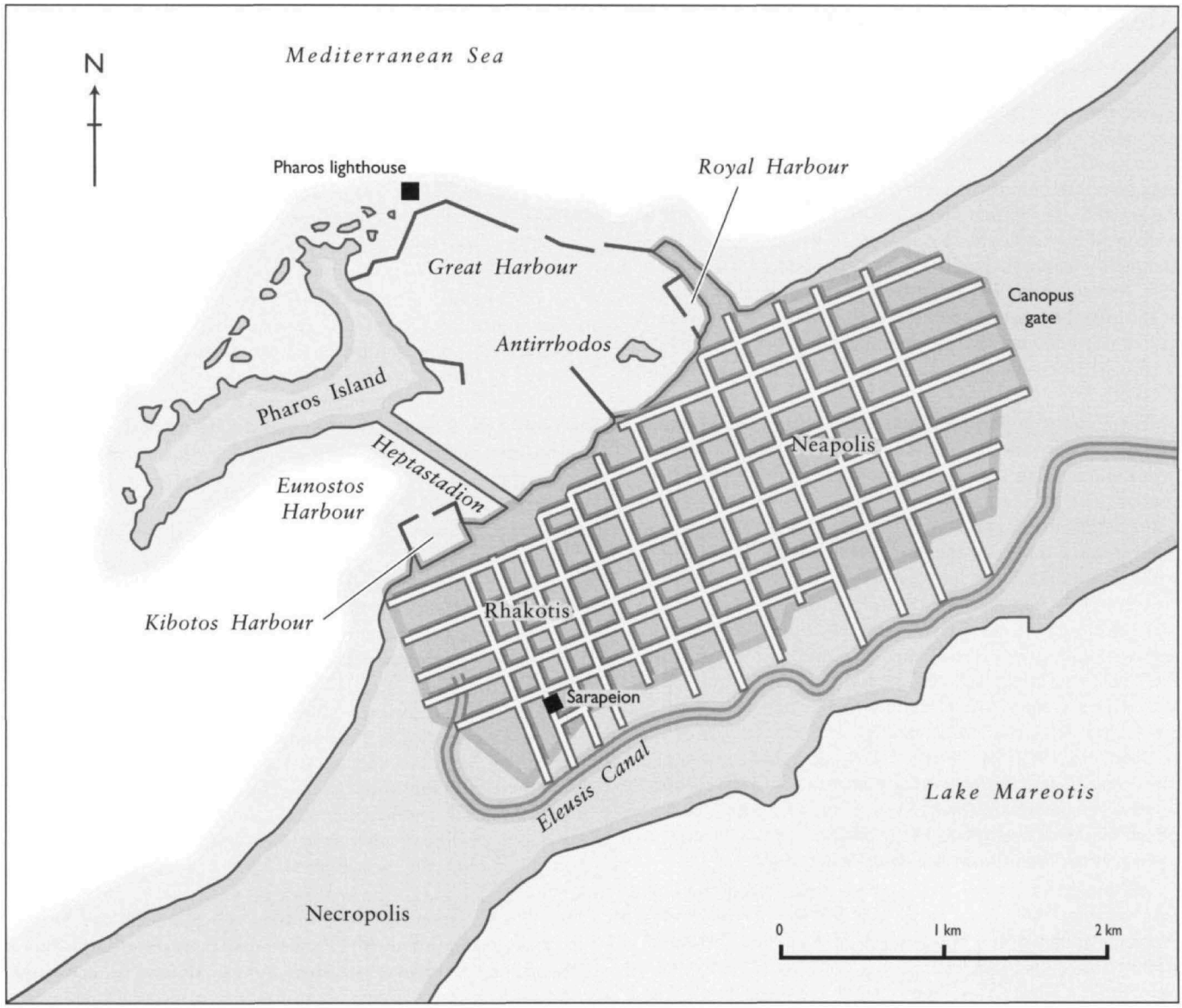
During the reigns of Ptolemy I and his son Ptolemy II Philadelphus, Alexandria developed into a great city which became the jewel of the Mediterranean, taking over from Athens as the commercial and cultural capital of the Greek world. Immigrants were recruited from all over the Greek world to settle in the new city, and soon there evolved a mixed population of Greeks, native Egyptians, Jews, and other ethnic groups. To the first Ptolemies must be attributed the developed layout of the city (based on a grid plan around two main intersecting thoroughfares running the length of the ancient city) and the construction of its most famous features. (The best ancient description of the city is found in book 17 of the geographer Strabo, who visited Alexandria in 24 BC.) Knowledge of ancient Alexandria is limited both because the ancient city has been continuously inhabited and built over, and because the shoreline has sunk several metres since antiquity, submerging large areas of the original city.

The great Pharos, or Lighthouse, of Alexandria was constructed in the eastern harbour, perhaps on the site of an earlier beacon, on the small offshore island of Pharos (whence the lighthouse takes its name) which in antiquity was connected to the mainland by a causeway. The site is occupied today by the 15th-century fort of the Sultan Qait Bey. The Pharos is described by many ancient authors and is depicted on coins of the Roman period. It was the latest construction to be reckoned as one of the seven wonders of the ancient world. An inscription attests the involvement of Sostratus of Cnidus, but whether as architect or dedicator is unknown. Recent underwater excavations near the fort have revealed major remains from the structure.

The main royal complex of the Ptolemies was a huge area known as "the palaces", comprising several major buildings. Its location was thought to be in the area of the Lochias promontory, approximately the site of the smaller modern headland Silsileh on the eastern side of the east harbour, and this has been confirmed by exciting new underwater excavations west of Silsileh. Finds apparently from the palaces have been recovered but they are still being studied. The royal residences of the Ptolemies would undoubtedly have been grand and luxurious, reflecting their acclaimed wealth, but the palaces contained other structures which housed institutions credited with the preservation and dissemination of Greek culture.

The Museum (in Greek *Mouseion* – Shrine of the Muses) was founded probably by Ptolemy I as a complex of residential blocks and study facilities for scholars. Attached to it was the famous Library of Alexandria, founded originally in imitation of the library in Athens but soon eclipsing it in size and fame (ancient sources mention some 490,000 papyrus rolls). The librarian was appointed directly by the king and held the post for life. The library was responsible for the codification, copying, and therefore preservation of much of Greek literature, and attached to the museum and library were some of the greatest Greek scholars and writers of their day from all over the Greek world, many specially invited to Alexandria by the king: the 3rd-century BC poets Callimachus, Theocritus, Lycophron, and Apollonius Rhodius, the mathematician Euclid, the astronomer and geographer Eratosthenes of Cyrene, the grammarian Aristophanes of Byzantium, the 2nd-century AD geographer Claudius Ptolemy, to name but a few. It was an irreparable loss that the library was accidentally burnt in 48 BC during Julius Caesar's "Alexandrian War". A second large library was attached to the temple of Sarapis (or "Sarapeum") in the southern part of ancient Alexandria.

The Greek translation of the Hebrew Old Testament, the so-called Septuagint, was made at Alexandria. Tradition maintains that King Ptolemy II summoned the greatest Jewish scholars of the day to his city, and entertained them while the



4. Alexandria

translation was made. It may rather have been at the behest of the Hellenized Jewish community whose knowledge of Hebrew was decreasing to the point that they could no longer read their holy books in their original language.

Alexandria's fame was furthermore ensured by the burial there of Alexander the Great. His funeral cortege from Babylon was diverted by Ptolemy I to Egypt, and his body first buried in the dynastic capital Memphis before being transferred to a grand tomb (in Greek the "Sema" or "Soma") in or near the palaces area in Alexandria. The various chronological stages of construction for this tomb are uncertain due to varying literary tradition, but, in time, the Ptolemies themselves were buried there and the Sema became the focus of the cult of Alexander and the ruler cult of the Ptolemies. The original gold sarcophagus is said to have been replaced later by an alabaster one, and it is attested that the 3rd-century AD Roman emperor Caracalla gazed upon the embalmed Alexander.

Throughout the centuries of Ptolemaic rule in Egypt, Alexandria remained their capital, and, so far as we can tell, primarily a Greek city, although Egyptian architectural and decorative elements can be seen, especially in the extensive necropolis areas with their rock-cut chamber tombs designed for multiple burials. In common with the other Hellenistic kingdoms, Alexandria came to the attention of Rome, and by the 1st century BC became involved in the Roman civil wars. It is well known that the last Ptolemaic queen, Cleopatra, had a liaison with Julius Caesar, and a renowned love affair with Mark Antony. Their naval defeat at Actium at the hands of Octavian (later the emperor Augustus) led to the suicides of both Antony and Cleopatra.

After the death of Queen Cleopatra VII in 31 BC the Ptolemaic dynasty came to an end and Egypt became a province of the Roman empire. Alexandria continued to flourish due to its advantageous location for east–west trade, and became the second largest city of the empire. For the first three centuries AD massive freighters carrying the Egyptian grain which fed the population of Rome set out on their journeys

from Alexandria every spring. Alexandria continued as a centre of learning. It was the home of the Neoplatonist school of philosophy, whose most influential member was the 3rd-century AD scholar Plotinus, who studied in Alexandria for a time. The school remained active until the 6th century AD, and influenced later Byzantine Greek thought, among much else. A great corpus of commentaries on the famous 4th-century BC Greek philosopher Aristotle was produced by the Alexandrian school.

This pagan tradition existed alongside Christianity, which came early to Alexandria. The evangelist St Mark is reputed to have come to Alexandria in the 1st century AD, to have been its first bishop, and to have been martyred there. Alexandria became one of the main centres of the Christian Church in the first centuries of its existence. A group of influential Greek Christian writers lived and worked in Alexandria in the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD, among them St Clement of Alexandria and Origen. In the 4th century AD Alexandria became the focus for the Arian heresy (named after its promulgator Arius), which was condemned by Athanasius, soon to become the bishop of Alexandria and a champion of orthodox Christianity, at the Council of Nicaea in AD 325. The learned pagan scholar Hypatia, a teacher of Neoplatonic philosophy, was murdered by a Christian mob in Alexandria in 415. The 5th-century bishop Cyril of Alexandria vigorously refuted the pagan writings of Julian the Apostate. Alexandria, a city gleaming with marble according to an Arab source, fell to the Arabs in 642, thereby ending its existence as a Greek city, although Greeks continued to live there.

In the 19th century the renewed maritime prowess of Alexandria made it the second city of Egypt (after Cairo). The city attracted thousands of immigrant merchants and craftsmen from all over Europe and the Mediterranean who founded foreign enclaves; among these was a large Greek population, many of whose descendants remained in Alexandria for generations. This exotic, levantine, cosmopolitan city is memorably evoked in the pages of Lawrence Durrell's four novels which form *The Alexandria Quartet*. Probably the most famous Greek resident of Alexandria in the late 19th and early 20th centuries was the poet Constantine Cavafy (1863–1933), who spent most of his life in the city.

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See also Alexander, Egypt, Jews, Libraries, Museum of Alexandria, Ptolemies, Septuagint

Summary

City in Egypt founded by Alexander the Great in 331 BC. After Alexander's death in 323 Egypt became the kingdom of Ptolemy. Alexandria remained the capital of Ptolemaic Egypt until the fall of the dynasty in 31 BC. It succeeded Athens as the centre of Greek culture and was famous for its lighthouse, palaces, museum, and library. Later it was an important Christian centre. It fell to the Arabs in 642.

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Alexios I Komnenos *c.*1057–1118

Emperor

Alexios I Komnenos (1081–1118), the third son of John Komnenos and Anna Dalassene, was born around 1057, the same year that his uncle, Isaac I Komnenos, ascended the imperial throne. He died on 15 August 1118. His life and reign were the subject of the *Alexiad*, a historical work that his daughter, Anna Komnene, completed a generation after his death. A contemporary, often highly critical account is contained in the *Epitomi Historion* of John Zonaras. The divergence between these two principal sources has been perpetuated in modern scholarship, where Alexios is considered either a paragon "who saved his empire from the rocks on which it seemed likely to founder before 1081" (Nicol, 1991), or as an arch-reactionary who ruthlessly crushed the enlightened "New Society" that had emerged in the mid-11th century (Lemerle, 1977). By all accounts it is clear that Alexios's early diplomatic and military successes set the seal on the triumph of provincial aristocratic values over those of civilian intellectuals and bureaucrats, and allowed his own extended family to dominate Byzantine political life throughout the 12th century. The triumph of kin is paramount: unlike any emperor of the 11th century, Alexios was succeeded by his son (John II), grandson (Manuel I), and great-grandson (Alexios II).

Alexios came to prominence as a ruthless and effective general. As Grand Domestic after 1078 he defeated the imperial pretenders Nikephoros Bryennios and Nikephoros Basilakes, thus securing Nikephoros III Botaneiates's tenuous

hold on power. This was ended by his own successful coup: Alexios's troops entered and looted Constantinople on 1 April 1081. Thereafter, he consolidated his position in the capital through ties of kinship. He entrusted general administration to his mother and elder brother Isaac, and forged an association with the Doukas family, marrying Irene Doukaina, and betrothing his infant daughter Anna to the *porphyrogennetos* ("born to the purple") Constantine Doukas (son of Michael VII Doukas). Alexios was thus free to remain in the field, where for the next decade he campaigned against both the Normans under Robert Guiscard, and the nomadic Pechenegs. To defeat the Normans he required the support of the Venetians, to whom he granted extraordinary trading privileges throughout the empire. The first phase of his reign ended with the crushing victory over the Pechenegs at Levunium on 29 April 1091, about which, Anna reports, it was sung thereafter: "All because of one day the Scythians never saw May." Consequently, Alexios was able to disinherit Constantine Doukas in favour of his own infant son John.

Alexios wished to recover imperial territory in Anatolia from the Seljuk Turks, and appealed to pope Urban II for fellow Christian warriors to aid in his *reconquista*. The response provoked by Urban's preaching, the First Crusade, was a shock and a challenge for Alexios, who succeeded to a large extent in turning the crusaders' energies to his advantage, recovering the western and southern littorals of Asia Minor. Nevertheless, the tensions between East and West that resulted from this grand encounter, and the establishment of the Latin crusader states free from Byzantine suzerainty, set the agenda for future Byzantine foreign policy. It is not surprising that Anna, writing after the Second Crusade (1147–48), suppressed her father's role as a catalyst for the first armed pilgrimage, and we must rely on references in a few Latin accounts, and the testimony of a 13th-century chronicler, the so-called Theodore Skoutariotes, for details of his actions before 1096.

An immediate consequence of soured relations between Alexios and certain Latins was the threat of a second crusade aimed at capturing Constantinople, which was promoted throughout Latin Christendom by the Norman, Bohemond of Taranto. Although this greater menace was averted by Alexios's diplomacy, a second phase of Byzantine–Norman wars in the western Balkans ensued. The treaty of Devol, which brought these to an end in 1108, sealed Alexios's last major foreign-policy success, but to a great extent revealed how hollow were his achievements in that sphere. The stipulation that the Normans must return Antioch to imperial control upon Bohemond's death could not be enforced, and consequently Alexios's successors were committed to long and arduous campaigns and diplomatic entanglements in the Holy Land. Moreover, Alexios failed to drive the Seljuk Turks from Anatolia, and his last campaign of 1116 reinforced this failure: he created a frontier zone around Bithynian Olympus, and evacuated as many of the native population of the interior as would follow him.

Alexios's domestic policy was not truly his own: "He had little interest in (or perhaps aptitude for) the running of government" (Angold, 1996), and entrusted such matters to a series of powerful individuals. First, as we have seen, were his mother and brother; later, after 1112, Alexios entrusted affairs to his wife, and not his son, which precipitated a succession crisis upon his death. Alexios's administrators presided over a major monetary reform around 1092. Gold coin, which had been debased dramatically, was restored in fineness, and fractional denominations were introduced in electrum, billon, and copper. This facilitated a reform in taxation practices, the *Nea Logarike*. After 1102 a new imperial officer, the Logothete of the Sekreta, seems to have had overall control of fiscal administration; the office was held only by the emperor's close relatives. A second significant innovation was the foundation of the Orphanotropheion, a charitable complex in Constantinople. Based around the church of St Paul, it was "like a city within a city" (Magdalino, 1996), which housed, fed, and treated the old and infirm, and educated the children of the poor and orphans. The Orphanotropheion served as a powerful symbol of Alexios's personal piety, a characteristic that he promoted as a counterweight to his persecution of certain individuals whom he tried and condemned as heretics. The most notorious trials were those of the intellectuals John Italos, Eustratios of Nicaea, and Basil the Bogomil.

Alexios's last years were plagued by illness, and one of the most powerful scenes in the *Alexiad* describes his death, surrounded by his kin. His father's death also moved John II, who had a series of panels commissioned that celebrated Alexios's exploits, but also featured his death. Clearly, Alexios's image was created and recreated after his death as a means to legitimate the competing imperial claims of his children. In this context we might better understand the *Mousai*, a work attributed to Alexios, and supposedly intended as advice to his son, which now appears more likely to be another posthumous creation. In the absence of further contemporary evidence Alexios will remain something of an enigma, and the historical appraisal of his life and achievements ambiguous.

PAUL STEPHENSON

See also Komnenos family

Biography

Born *c.*1057 the son of John Komnenos and Anna Dalassene, Alexios served as a general under Michael VII and Nikephoros III. He came to the throne in 1081 with the support of the military aristocracy. He shared power with his mother and brother Isaac. He campaigned against the Normans and Pechenegs. With the help of the First Crusade (1096–99) he recovered the coast of Asia Minor from the Turks. He died in Constantinople in 1118.

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Ali Pasha of Ioannina 1750–1822

Governor of Epirus

Ali Pasha of Ioannina was the Ottoman-appointed governor of Epirus in northern Greece during the critical decades leading up to the first outbreak of the Greek War of Independence in 1821. At the peak of his power, Ali or members of his immediate family controlled the whole of the Peloponnese and the Greek mainland, with the sole exception of the southernmost portions of Attica.

Thought to have been born in 1750 in the southern Albanian village of Tebelen, Ali was a member of a low-ranking noble Albanian Muslim family. By the time of his birth, however, all that remained of his family's nobility was its title – Ali's early biographers all report that his family was virtually destitute in the mid-18th century. It is this poverty that is often used to explain Ali's activities as a brigand and bandit, activities which paved the way for his rise through the Ottoman bureaucracy. Before the age of 20, Ali and his band of Albanian scipetars – the warriors who made up Albanian brigand groups – held de facto control over much of southern Albania and Epirus. The Ottoman state recognized Ali's domination of and familiarity with these territories and in 1778 attempted to coopt his power and influence by appointing him to his first position in the Ottoman hierarchy, that of *kahya* (deputy) to the *derbendler başbuğu*, or chief of police of the mountain defiles, a position which dated from Byzantine times and which had been adopted in turn by the Ottomans. In this new capacity Ali was able further to consolidate his power and simultaneously to please his Ottoman masters by eradicating all brigand activity for which he himself was not responsible. He did not, however, cease himself to be a brigand, but rather gave his brigand activity a pseudo-official quality, instituting regional tariffs, demanding tribute from the citizenry, and charging fees for safe passage through the rugged mountain passes of the region.

Thus it is that early on the Ottoman state established what was to be the pattern for its relationship with Ali throughout his life. Recognizing his formidable power and their own minimal ability to subvert it (Ali's territories were among the westernmost of the Ottoman empire, difficult for the distant Istanbul bureacracy to control), the Ottomans sought instead to make it appear that Ali's powers were the product of Ottoman choosing rather than of Ali's own doing. So it is that Ali was subsequently appointed to a series of increasingly prestigious Ottoman positions. In 1787 Ali himself became *derbendler baùbuXu* and was appointed *mutassarif* (chief administrator) of Ioannina that same year, becoming vizier in 1798.

As pasha of Ioannina – the date of his appointment as pasha (governor) is contested – Ali was in control of an overwhelmingly Greek population, and the policies he instituted within his pashalik exerted a strong influence over the social, economic, and intellectual conditions of Greece in the 18th and early 19th centuries.

In the 18th century Ioannina was established as Greece's premier city of learning, and housed a number of educational institutions. Many of these existed through the endowments of Ioannina's wealthy community of merchants, who in the 17th and 18th centuries had established far-flung trade networks throughout the Balkans, in the Black Sea area, and in the Italian city-states, particularly Venice. Such wealthy Ioanninite families as the Zosimades founded schools that added to the traditional, religiously based curriculum the western European emphasis on and interest in Hellenism, the pre-Byzantine past, and Classical philology. In addition to such "modernized" institutions, Ioannina also had long-established ecclesiastical centres of Greek education. While Ali did not directly promote these institutions, he unwittingly was influenced by them and in some ways furthered their aims. He was the first major ruler of the Balkans, for instance, to use demotic Greek as the language of his courtly affairs. This emphasis on the vernacular for official business helped lay the groundwork for the demoticist point of view in the early years of the modern Greek state, when intellectuals and reformers debated whether to use Classical or demotic Greek as the official state language.

Although a native speaker of Albanian, Ali was fluent in Greek, and the vast majority of his courtiers, secretaries, and physicians were Greek. It seems that Ali's knowledge of Turkish was minimal, at best. The Ottoman landowners of the region, too, overwhelmingly used Greek. Such travellers as the Englishman William Martin Leake wrote in their travel journals of the "high quality" and "clarity" of the Greek used in Ali's territories, and commented on the number and variety of institutions of learning based in Ioannina.

Just as Ali Pasha's influence on Hellenism was great but largely unwitting, so too was his impact on the Greek political affairs of the period. By the beginning of the 19th century, the Ottoman state was no longer prepared to pursue its policy of toleration towards Ali's accumulation of power, illegal activities, and treason against the empire. Ali had, by the turn of the century, become increasingly overt in his claims to exercise power and privilege in his own right, not simply as a representative of the Ottoman government. He had, for instance, entered into secret negotiations with both the French and the English, even while those powers were not recognized as Ottoman allies. His almost entirely Albanian army had grown huge, and it was becoming increasingly clear that these troops were just as likely to be deployed against the Ottoman army as against Ottoman enemies. Finally, in 1820, Ali declared himself independent, and as a result Ottoman troops were deployed against him.

All of these events were occurring at the same time as the Greek populations of the Ottoman empire were actively planning a revolution against their Turkish rulers. Ali provided a much-needed diversion for the revolutionary Greeks, who wisely timed the outbreak of the War of Independence to coincide with the battle between Ali's forces and the Ottomans. It is likely that without this intra-Ottoman conflict – a conflict

which taxed Ottoman military and economic resources – the initial stages of the War of Independence would not have succeeded. For his part too, Ali recognized the significance and potential usefulness of the Greek revolutionaries, and in an unsuccessful last-minute bid to augment his own resources against the Ottoman army, he tried to convince the Greek leadership that his cause and theirs were one and the same. Ali lived to see only the first phases of the Greek revolutionary movement, and was killed in 1822 by Ottoman representatives.

Ali remains a somewhat double-edged figure in the modern history of Hellenism. Reviled by Greek folk tradition as a cruel and despotic ruler, the oppressor of Orthodoxy, and a tyrant of epic proportions, he nevertheless played an important albeit indirect role in the development of Greek language, culture, and politics.

K.E. FLEMING

See also Epirus, Ioannina

Biography

Born at Tebelen in Albania in 1750 into a noble but poor Muslim family, Ali attempted to overcome poverty by brigandage. As he gained control over much of Albania and Epirus, the Ottoman state sought to regularize his position by giving him a series of official posts. As pasha of Ioannina, he ruled most of mainland Greece and declared himself independent in 1820, thus diverting Ottoman attention away from the incipient Greek revolution. He was killed by Ottoman agents in 1822.

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Alphabet

The ancient Greeks can be credited with providing humankind with the first fully alphabetic writing system – an intellectual achievement and technological leap of no mean significance. As is almost universally the case with such advances, the Greek alphabet was built upon a previously existing model – in this case, the consonantal script of speakers of a west Semitic language. Herodotus gives the credit to Cadmus and his fellow Phoenicians who had come to Greece in search of the abducted princess Europa:

> And these Phoenicians who had come with Cadmus ... and settled this country brought to the Greeks, among many other arts, the letters – which, I believe, were not previously known to the Greeks. Eventually they changed the sound and the shape of the letters. In this time, it was mostly Ionian Greeks living around the Phoenicians, who, having learned the letters from them, used these, making a few changes in their shape. The Greeks still called the letters "Phoenician", as was right, since the Phoenicians had brought them to Greece
>
> (Herodotus, 5. 58–61)

Modern scholarship has been almost unanimous in its agreement with Herodotus regarding the Phoenician source of the alphabet.

Herodotus was probably also accurate in envisioning that the Greek adaptation of the Semitic consonantal script took place in a setting in which Greeks and Phoenicians lived in close proximity to one another. Beyond that, the Greek alphabet may have made its first appearance in the Aegean among the West Ionic speakers of Euboea, bordering upon the region of Boeotia in which Cadmus is reported to have settled. The actual Greek acquisition of the Phoenician script, however, probably took place in some other locale and somewhat later than the date in the 2nd millennium BC in which Herodotus' Cadmus would have arrived in Greece.

Prominent among those places that have been proposed for the Greek adaptation of the Semitic writing system are Crete, Rhodes, Al Mina, and Cyprus. Of these, the most compelling candidate (on both linguistic and non-linguistic grounds) appears to be Cyprus, where literate Greeks writing with a syllabic script (the Cypriot Syllabary) lived side-by-side with Phoenicians using their consonantal script. The probable date of adaptation is the early 8th century BC (or possibly even the late 9th century BC).

The Phoenician script, like other West Semitic writing systems of antiquity, consists only of characters for consonants; vowels are not directly represented in Phoenician orthography. Since the Phoenician language possesses several consonants not occurring in Greek, the Greek adapters of the Phoenician script had at their disposal several superfluous consonantal symbols. These they converted to vowel characters: Phoenician *aleph*, representing a glottal stop, was adopted as a symbol for the vowel *a*, that is *alpha* (A); Phoenician *he*, the symbol for *h*, became Greek *epsilon* (E), spelling *e*; *'ayin*, symbol for the Phoenician voiced pharyngeal fricative, was taken over as *omicron* (O), representing Greek *o*; *yod*, the character for *y*, became Greek *iota* (I), used to spell *i*; and Phoenician *waw*, *w*, came to be used for spelling the Greek vowel *u* – the letter *upsilon* (Y, as well as being used for the consonantal character called *digamma* (F), representing *w*). In this way, those Greeks who adapted the Phoenician script for their own use created the first writing system to represent systematically both individual consonant and vowel sounds.

In time, two additional vowel characters appeared in the Greek alphabet. The Phoenician letter *ḥet*, representing a voiceless pharyngeal fricative, was first used for Greek *h*. The consonant *h* did not, however, occur in certain dialects of Greek (such as Cretan and East Ionic); in these, the Greek symbol derived from *ḥet*, that is *eta* (H), came to be used to represent a long vowel *R*. In parallel fashion an additional vowel character was created (being derived from the symbol *omicron*) in order to represent the distinct long vowel *ō* – the

character *omega* (Ω) – and was appended to the very end of the alphabet. Prior to these developments, *epsilon* and *omicron* had been used for representing both short and long *e* and *o* respectively.

The Greek adapters of the Phoenician script included in their alphabet two different characters representing *s*- sounds. One of these stands in the alphabetic position of the Phoenician letter *ṣade* (representing a so-called emphatic fricative or affricate, a consonantal sound characteristic of Semitic languages), the other in the position of Phoenician *shan* (Hebrew *shin*, symbol for *sh*). The former of these corresponds to the Greek letter commonly called *san* (M), the latter to that called *sigma* (Σ). The inclusion of both in the early Greek alphabet suggests that the Greek dialect of the adapters was one in which two distinct *s*-type sounds occurred – a picture consistent with a Cypriot origin of the alphabet. Most Greek dialects had only a single *s*-sound, however, so that the various local, or epichoric, varieties of the Greek alphabet that developed as the script spread across the Greek-speaking regions retained only one of these two symbols.

The name of the character *sigma* is certainly secondary, not continuing a Phoenician letter name (though the contrary claim has been made), and was derived from the Greek root *sig-*, seen in the verb *sizo* ("I hiss"), having an earlier stem **sig-yo-*. Herodotus (1.139) writes that among some Greeks the character *sigma* is itself given the name *san*, and this is also the name by which the latter is commonly denoted in Greek poetry. In all likelihood, *san* was the early Greek name of the *sigma*-character (Σ) and simply continues the name of the corresponding Phoenician letter, *shan*. The original Greek name of that non-*sigma s*- character, the one more commonly called *san* (M, corresponding to Phoenician *ṣade*) is thus unknown, the name *san* having become affiliated with it in those epichoric alphabets from which the *sigma*-character was excised.

Also noteworthy is the inclusion in the early Greek alphabet of two double-consonant characters (i.e. letters that represent a sequence of two individual consonants). The letters in question are Greek *zeta* (Z) and *xi* (Ξ). *Zeta* represents the sequence *zd* (having become *z* in modern Greek) and corresponds to the Phoenician letter *zayin* (symbol for *z*); while *xi* was assigned the value of *ks* by the Greek adapters, and is derived from the Phoenician symbol *samek* (representing *s*, though perhaps earlier with a value such as *kʸ*). The presence of these symbols in the early Greek alphabet is a curious matter, given that they are completely redundant; in other words, the consonant sequences that they represent could have been written using two individual consonant letters. Thus, the sound sequence of *zeta*, for instance, could have been spelt *sd* (*sigma* (Σ) + *delta* (Δ); in accordance with Greek phonetic structure, in this context *sigma* would automatically have the voiced value *z*); and, similarly, the sound sequence of *xi* could have been spelt *ks* (*kappa* (K) + *sigma* (Σ)). The incorporation of these characters in the alphabet again points to Cyprus as the place of adaptation, where similar biconsonantal symbols are properly accounted for within the structure of the Cypriot Syllabary.

In addition to the Greek letters that the adapters derived from corresponding Phoenician characters, and to the vowel letter *omega*, added to the end of the alphabet, certain of the local Greek alphabets are characterized by the presence of three additional letters, immediately preceding *omega*. These are the so-called "supplementals", having no formal Phoenician counterparts. One of these supplementals is the letter *phi*, representing an aspirated stop *ph* (which later becomes the fricative *f*). The second is *chi*, spelling an aspirated velar stop *kh* (later a velar fricative, often transcribed *ch*). The third is yet another biconsonantal character; in this case one representing the sequence *ps*, namely *psi*. As will be seen below, however, different values are in some places attached to these two last-named letters.

The numerous regional forms of the alphabet that developed among the ancient Greeks can be subdivided into three fundamental types on the basis of these supplemental characters. To begin with, there are some epichoric alphabets that lack the supplementals. These are the so-called "primitive" scripts of Crete, Thera, and Melos (also called the "green" scripts, after the colour-coded map of Greek alphabets which was included in Kirchhoff, 1867, most recently republished in 1973). In those alphabets that do include the supplemental characters, the letter *phi* (Φ) appears everywhere with the value *ph*. Differences occur, however, in regard to the remaining two supplementals.

In the "blue" alphabets (again, so called after Kirchhoff's map) *chi* appears as C, representing *kh*; and *psi* (Ψ) has the value *ps*. Among a subset of blue alphabets, however, the supplemental *psi* does not occur (and *ps* is spelt with two letters: *phi* + *sigma*; in the same way these alphabets lack the Phoenician-based biconsonantal letter *xi* (Ξ), and spell *ks* as *chi* + *sigma*). The blue alphabets lacking *psi* have been dubbed "light blue", the remainder "dark blue". Light blue alphabets were used, for example, in Attica and on some of the Aegean Ionic islands; Corinth, Mycenae, and the Ionic cities of Asia Minor, among other places, used the dark blue alphabet.

A large number of regional alphabets show yet a different configuration with regard to the supplemental characters; these are the so-called "red" alphabets. Here the symbol X (blue *chi*) represents not *kh*, but the sequence *ks* (and the Phoenician-based Ξ, representing *ks* in dark blue alphabets, does not occur). Moreover, the symbol Ψ in the red alphabets does not spell *ps*, as in the dark blue alphabets, but is used to represent *kh* (and there is no single symbol for *ps*). The order of the supplementals in the red alphabets is X (*ks*), Φ (*ph*), Ψ (*kh*), versus dark blue Φ (*ph*), X (*kh*), Ψ (*ps*). Among those places using red alphabets were Euboea (and its colonies), Boeotia, and Thessaly.

In 403 BC the Ionic alphabet (a dark blue script) was adopted by Athens as its official alphabet. Within a few decades, this Attic alphabet had spread throughout the Greek-speaking world and replaced most of the regional varieties. Beyond being the ancestor of the modern Greek alphabet, this script would have great influence on the development of writing in Europe, and beyond.

St Cyril and St Methodios, accompanied by other Greek missionaries, set out in the 9th century AD to bring Christianity to the Slavs. As a part of their evangelistic efforts, and on the basis of their own Greek alphabet, the saints developed two alphabetic writing systems with which the Bible could be translated and recorded in the Slavic language of their converts (Old Church Slavonic). One of the scripts, Glagolitic, would survive only in limited usage, but the other, Cyrillic, would give rise to

the writing systems of numerous different Slavic peoples – Russian, Ukrainian, Serbian, Bulgarian. The Russian Cyrillic alphabet would in turn be adapted for writing various non-Slavic languages of Eurasia. The alphabetic scripts which, by tradition, St Mesrop designed for writing Armenian and Georgian (5th century AD), though perhaps of mixed heritage, were also clearly fundamentally based on the Greek alphabet.

It was a Greek alphabet of Magna Graecia, of the red variety, that was acquired by the Etruscans in the 7th century BC. This in turn was transmitted to various peoples of the Italian peninsula, most significantly to the Romans. The Roman alphabet probably inspired the development of the Runic scripts of the Germanic peoples of Europe (and perhaps the curious Celtic Ogham script as well), but, more importantly, was spread to Europe itself, both by Roman armies and, in time, by the Roman Catholic Church. Acquired as the writing system of English and other languages of Europe, it would be spread around the globe. In the final analysis, all alphabetic writing systems in use today have their origin in the Greek alphabet, with the exception of the Han'gul script of Korean.

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See also Phoenicians, Syllabary

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Altars

Altars of one kind or another have been employed continuously from a very early period in Greek history, but the two contrasting dictionary definitions, a "flat-topped block for sacrifice or offerings to a deity" and a "communion table" point to significant discontinuity.

Prehistoric altars could be portable ("tables of offering") or permanent. The latter include rough stones (Mycenae), bench altars (Knossos, Mycenae, Kea, Phylakopi, Tiryns), and some freestanding structures. Of the last, one, apparently used for human sacrifice, comes from Middle Minoan Crete (Anemospilia, Archanes), another stands in the central court at Phaestus, and a further example is represented in the frescos of Xeste 3 at Akrotiri on Thera. In Early Bronze Age Crete stone-built altars are associated with tombs. Sometimes (sanctuary of Apollo Maleatas, Epidaurus, prehistoric phase) altars were formed of the gradually accumulated debris of offerings, whether of sacrificial animals or material gifts, deposited on a sacred spot. By the Archaic period altars were often regular in shape, frequently made of ashlar masonry and with some architectural decoration (e.g. volutes, mouldings, friezes: Cape Monodendri, Miletus).

The most prominent altar type of later antiquity (including the Classical period) was the built *bomos* (platform altar), sometimes an isolated structure, but normally associated with a temple and standing outside its eastern front. On this sacrificial victims were burned. Altars were still sometimes (altar of Zeus at Olympia) composed of debris. From the Hellenistic period some public altars were enclosed by huge, monumental structures and bore extensive sculptural decoration (Great Altar of Zeus at Pergamum). Heroes and chthonic deities, as distinct from the Olympian gods, had a ground altar (*eschara*) which allowed wine and blood to soak into the earth, their natural home.

Smaller private altars, domestic or funerary in function, and of various shapes, are also found. Funerary altars, often round and decorated with garlands and bucrania (the decoration refers to the garlanding of sacrificial animals) are common only in later periods, especially the Roman. Not all offerings were sacrificial: wine, cakes, etc. might be appropriate, according to the occasion, and were more commonly offered on the smaller altars.

In Christian practice the altar originally connoted the table (*iera trapeza*, "holy table") of the Last Supper and was the location of its ritual re-enactment in the liturgy. Later it acquired a variety of symbolic connotations (e.g. Christ's tomb). The first Christian altars (up to the 4th century AD) were mostly small, wooden, and portable. One later type is simply a translation of this into stone. The solid rectangular stone form that became most common may be derived from the tombs of the martyrs, where it was customary to celebrate the Eucharist, in commemoration of their sacrifice. Also connected with this custom was the practice of containing relics of the martyrs within the altar, or in a crypt beneath.

In Christian times the altar continued to be closely associated with the chief sacred building – the church – though now it was situated inside. The interior location allowed it to be adorned with coverings, and to carry symbols permanently (crosses, candlesticks, etc.), although this development did not occur before the 10th century AD. Often an elaborate canopy (ciborium) was raised over the altar.

In spite of the evidence for some degree of overlap between the pagan and Christian traditions (e.g. in the use of sanctuary

sites, iconography), and the possibility that pagan altar structures had some influence on Christian types, there is no evidence for either material or ideological continuity in the case of altars. The former, in any case, would surely have been offensive to Christians. Nevertheless, as the idea of sacrifice inherent in the death of Christ and commemorated in the liturgy became more prominent in Christian thought, there was some convergence of the two traditions, although in Christian practice the sacrifice at the altar is symbolic.

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See also Christianity, Religion

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Amalfi

Port on the west coast of Italy

Amalfi is a seaport in Campania, 50 km south of Naples on the rocky estuary of the Dragone on the north side of the Gulf of Salerno. First mentioned in AD 596 by pope Gregory the Great and frequently mentioned by Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos (913–59) in *De Administrando Imperio*, virtually nothing is known of Amalfi's early history beyond its importance with Naples as a Byzantine naval base. This was signalled in 664 when it was visited by Constans II (641–68) during what proved to be the last visit of any eastern emperor to his possessions in Italy. At the close of the 9th century it formed part of the Byzantine duchy of Naples, from which it became separated by the Lombards. Nominally subject to the emperor in Constantinople, it exploited this status to become, with the Venetians, one of the principal carriers in the east–west trade. Bishop Liutprand of Cremona mentioned the merchants of Amalfi as the suppliers of purple silk to Italian prostitutes and monks; presumably churches and royal courts should be numbered among their customers too, since Liutprand's comments had been occasioned by the confiscation of his own purchases of purple silk by the Byzantine customs authorities. Although there is no surviving record of an Amalfitan colony at Constantinople before the 11th century, it is possible that there were Amalfitan and Venetian commercial colonies in the capital by the middle of the 10th century, since Liutprand mentions "Venetici et Amalphitani" in the army of Nikephoros II Phokas (963–69) and these were presumably men settled in Constantinople. Amalfitan connections at the imperial court secured permission to found a Benedictine monastery on Mount Athos sometime after 985.

During the 1050s the rulers of Amalfi tried to organize resistance to the Normans in southern Italy. In this they failed and in 1073 the city passed under the control of the Norman Robert Guiscard and became part of his duchy of Apulia. The position and privileges of the Amalfitans in Constantinople were to suffer as a consequence. In 1082 it was merchants from Amalfi settled in Durazzo who opened the gates of that town to Guiscard, eight months after a Venetian flotilla had secured the town for the Byzantines. In the same year their trading privileges in Constantinople were subordinated to those of Venice. Again in 1147, when Roger of Sicily attacked the cities of Corinth and Thebes, the Amalfitan commercial quarter was closed down. Nevertheless, although no longer pre-eminent in the Italy–Constantinople trade, there were still Amalfitan merchants living in Constantinople in their quarter clustered around the church of S. Maria de Latina in 1204, since it was one of the quarters attacked by the Greek populace in that year. If after 1073 Amalfitan trade in the Aegean was to be eclipsed by that of Venice and it was in many ways to become a trading centre of the second rank, the port was to remain a wealthy one, with links to Antioch, Acre, and Alexandria, with a reputation for trading voyages and links with Arabs, Sicilians, and Africans.

The cathedral church of St Andrew in Amalfi still has the bronze doors made in Constantinople by a certain Simeon sometime around 1065 and commissioned by the rich Amalfitan merchant Maurus, son of Panteleon, whose family owned property in Constantinople. The doors were much copied by other ecclesiastical establishments in Italy in the 11th century, most notably by abbot Desiderius of Montecassino who sent the measurements of the door to Constantinople to have a set of bronze doors manufactured. The money for this additional set of doors was raised by the same Maurus.

PETER LOCK

Summary

A port on the coast of Italy 50 km south of Naples, Amalfi was originally founded as a Byzantine naval base, probably in the 6th century. By the 10th century it had become a major trading centre. An Amalfitan monastery was founded on Mount Athos in the late 10th century. By the 11th century there was an Amalfitan colony in Constantinople.

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Amasis

Potter and painter of the 6th century BC

The potter Amasis first became known when a vase (560 BC) signed with his name *Amasis me poiesen*, ("Amasis made me") was found at Vulci in 1828. In all, eight black-figure vases bearing his signature are known, and their decoration has often been attributed to a single painter known as the Amasis Painter. Amasis' other work as a potter consists of two vases for Lydos and a cup decorated by a red-figure painter. His earliest signature as a painter occurs on a fragmentary band-cup of around 550 BC.

The name Amasis is a Hellenized form of the common Egyptian name A-ahmes. This has resulted in much scholarly debate as to the potter's origins. It has been suggested either that Amasis was an Athenian named after the Egyptian king Amasis (Ahmosis) or that he was not Athenian by birth and that his name was adopted in Ionia or after he came to Athens. Those who support the former hypothesis argue that the potter and the painter are different men; according to the latter view, the potter and painter are identified as the same person.

The Amasis Painter decorated a wide range of shapes – such as belly- and neck-amphorae, *oinochoae* (wine jugs), cups, *lekythoi* (oil flasks), an *alabastron* (perfume vase), an *aryballos* (oil flask), and a tripod *pyxis* (box), as well as small and large plaques. He did not, however, restrict himself to standard types of vases, but explored different variations of certain shapes, as, for example, the cups and the neck amphorae.

The style of the Amasis Painter is usually considered conservative because, even when he adopted new conventions, he did not abandon established forms. The precision of drawing and the ability to work on different scales seem the main characteristics of his work. He also paid attention to the harmony between the shape of the vase and its decoration, as seen on the panel amphorae he decorated.

In the early stages of his career his style reflected the work of the Heidelberg Painter and of the Siana cup painters. From the former he adopted stately processions, garments with fringes, and certain conventions for the rendering of anatomical details, while the latter probably inspired him to adapt a procession of horsemen to panel-amphorae. Moreover, the influence of Cleitias may be seen in his miniature style. The Amasis Painter also shared a number of features with Lydos, such as the preference for symmetry in his compositions as well as certain details in drawing. Although he used the common black-figure floral ornaments above the panels of his scenes, he reinforced the frames by more than one glaze lines, and a vertical band of meander or chevrons. He used bands of upright buds or palmette and lotus to decorate the area above the panels on amphorae.

In the late phase of his career, instead of foldless drapery, he painted flat, angular folds, and women's flesh was drawn in outline, not white on black, the standard convention of his time. Other characteristics of his work include a change in the ornament framing his compositions – the lotuses lose their central leaf – and the occasional omission of the ground line for his figures. The Amasis Painter demonstrated a great interest in the representation of jewellery and armour, especially of shield devices, as well as of architectural elements (fountain houses, column shafts, and a distyle *in antis*), which offered opportunities to represent spatial depths. He often used stippling for the hairy bodies of the satyrs, figures who had features in common with those drawn by Lydos, and for head-hair and beards. The growing understanding of the human body was reflected in his figures, which gesticulated expressively.

The Amasis Painter decorated vases with a wide repertoire of scenes that extend from the Olympian gods and heroes to daily life in Athens and the Attic countryside. Although several of his figures are labelled with painted inscriptions, the scenes are not always easily recognizable. He prefers to fill out his scenes with figures that either participate in the action or act as mere spectators; only occasionally did he concentrate on just the essential elements of the subject. Dionysus is one of his favourite characters, standing between satyrs, maenads, and mortals or supervising the vintage; the hero Heracles is represented being received on Mount Olympus after his death. His mythological scenes are well composed but rarely show the originality of his representation of the divine stables. The Amasis Painter was one of the first to introduce complex everyday scenes on vases – such as a wedding procession, the fullest early pictorial account of an Attic wedding – women at various stages of wool working and weaving, a hunter's return, and a cavalcade. He also demonstrated a consistent inclination to blur the lines between the realms of mortals and immortals or to combine the two.

The vases decorated by the Amasis Painter were widely distributed in the ancient world, as is also the case with other Attic potters and painters: in south Russia (Berezan), Italy and Sicily (Cumae, Capua, Gravisca, Vulci, Orvieto, Chiusi, Cerveteri, and Selinus), North Africa (Naucratis, Cyrene), Cyprus, and Greece (Athens, Eleusis, Tanagra, Perachora, Kavalla, Rhodes, Samos, Delos). Surviving signed works are now held in various museums around the world, including the Museo Gregoriano Etrusco in the Vatican, the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, the British Museum in London, the Louvre and the Cabinet des Medailles of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, the Martin von Wagner Museum at Würzburg University, and the Getty Museum in Malibu.

ELENI ZIMI

See also Painting, Pottery

Biography

Name of a potter and painter of the 6th century BC. He may have been an Athenian named after the Egyptian king Ahmosis; or he may have come to Athens from elsewhere and acquired the name in Ionia. If the former, potter and painter are assumed to be two different men; if the latter, they are one. As potter Amasis signed eight black-figure vases, two other vases, and a cup. The Amasis Painter painted a wide range of scenes on a wide variety of vase shapes.

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Ambelakia

Town in Thessaly

The village of Ambelakia is situated in the prefecture of Larissa in Thessaly, on the northwest slopes of Mount Ossa (Kissavos), at a height of 390 m. Although it is now only a village with fewer than 500 inhabitants, it was prosperous during the Ottoman period (Tourkokratia) and it made an important contribution to modern Greek culture. It was particularly famous for its commercial development in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. As the name Ambelakia suggests, the surrounding region produces wine.

The establishment of the village of Ambelakia is generally dated to the beginning of the 16th century. There has been much debate, however, about whether the site was inhabited in ancient times, since according to 17th-century sources ancient coins and bronze statues of Heracles were found in the area. In the late 18th century a bronze statue of Heracles was given to Gregorios Konstantas, who was the director of Ambelakia's renowned school. In Byzantine times the region of Ambelakia may have belonged to the monastery of St Demetrios, ruins of which survive today on the eastern slopes of Mount Ossa. Ambelakia was never inhabited by Turks, and, until Thessaly was annexed to the modern Greek state in 1881, the population was exclusively Christian, although there were many Turkish inhabitants in the surrounding region. G. Kordatos maintains that during the Ottoman period Ambelakia, like many villages in Pelion and Epirus, belonged to the administrative category of *waqf* (pious endowment), and was not suppressed by the Ottomans. N. Vees and A. Vakalopoulos have argued that the first inhabitants of Ambelakia came from the village of Lykostomio when it was occupied by the Turks in the 14th century and that the people decided to move further up the mountain. A scholar from Ambelakia,

Ambelakia: the Schwartz house, built in 1787, now a museum

Leonardos, has suggested that there was a village even further north than Ambelakia, in the area of Paliochori.

The school of Greek letters, the Hellenomouseion, was established after 1723. In 1873 Diamantes Maniares contributed generously towards the construction of the famous Maniareios Scholi, which was equipped with the most modern science laboratories, gardens, and accommodation for the school's teachers. The building itself was remarkable for its architecture, but unfortunately collapsed in 1928. World War II dealt the final blow to the vivid intellectual and commercial life of the town, and what now remains is just a small village.

The first agricultural cooperative in Greece was established in Ambelakia, and thus the town became famous for its economic activity and for its role in European economic and social history. The French scholar Boulanger thought that the cooperative at Ambelakia was the first one in Europe and that the spirit of financial cooperation and the idea of building a strong capital economy out of the work of many was first born in Ambelakia. Marxist Greek scholars such as Kordatos have argued vehemently against this view. What is certain is that the cooperative organization between merchants, craftsmen, workers, and farmers established in Ambelakia proved beneficial for the town's cotton industry and intellectual life in the 18th and 19th centuries. Well-endowed libraries were built and the best scholars of the day were invited to teach at the local schools. Many eminent intellectuals of the Greek Enlightenment period – scholars such as Evgenios Voulgaris, Konstantinos Koumas, Gregorios Konstantas, Spyridon Asanes, Georgios Trikalinos, and even Rigas Velestinlis – were associated with the intellectual life of Ambelakia. At least two major works of the Greek Enlightenment were published with a generous subsidy from Ambelakia, *Geographia Neoteriki* (*Modern Geography*, 1791) by Daniel Philippides and Gregorios Konstantas, and *Lexikon tis Ellinikas Glossas* (*Dictionary of the Greek Language*, 3 vols, 1809–16) by Anthimos Gazes.

The town became well known abroad for its textile industry and had close trading contacts with businessmen in the great commercial centres of Europe. Its most important monuments are the church of St George with frescos and decorations carved in wood, and the Schwartz mansion. Georgios Mavros Schwartz was the president of the Ambelakia agricultural cooperative and his house was its headquarters. It was built in 1787 and was decorated with wall paintings and carved wooden ornamentation which are important examples of folk art. The mansion was purchased by the Greek state in the 1960s and now functions as a local folk museum open to the public. The inhabitants of Ambelakia also built the church of Hagia Paraskevi in Tempe in 1651.

ANDROMACHE KARANIKA-DIMAROGONA

Summary

A town in Thessaly on the northwest slopes of Mount Ossa, Ambelakia was probably founded in the 16th century and flourished during the Tourkokratia on the strength of its cotton industry. It was the first town in Greece to have an agricultural cooperative. It was also an intellectual centre for scholars of the Greek Enlightenment. It is now a small village.

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Amphipolis

City in Thrace

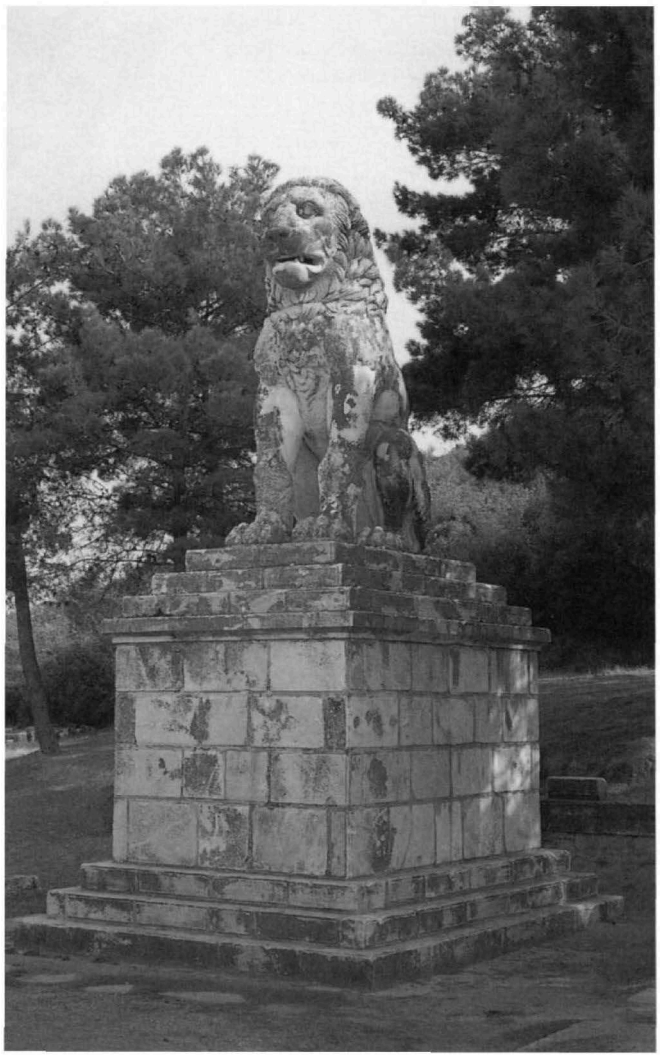
The Athenians and their allies under the general Hagnon, son of Nicias, founded Amphipolis in 437/36 BC on the site of the earlier Thracian city of Ennea Odoi ("Nine Ways"). According to Thucydides (4. 102) Hagnon named it Amphipolis because the river Strymon flowed on each side of the city. It was inhabited by a mixed Greek population, including many Ionian settlers from neighbouring cities, and controlled the rich Strymon basin and its hinterland.

Early in the Peloponnesian War (424 BC) it surrendered to the Spartan general Brasidas; two years later Cleon's unsuccessful expedition to recover it ended with his own death as well as Brasidas' in the battle of Amphipolis (422 BC). Although in the Peace of Nicias (421 BC) there was a special provision for Amphipolis's restoration to Athens, Athenian operations in the region, which did not cease until the time of Philip II of Macedon, indicate that the city was not totally under Athenian control.

The economy of Amphipolis did not depend solely on the rural population which cultivated the Strymon valley, but also on merchants and craftsmen. The city's prosperity is reflected in a lavish series of coins after the Peace of Nicias. Inscriptions provide information about the administrative organization of the city, and the ways in which it controlled trade and protected the life and property of its citizens through its institutions and special officials.

In 357 BC Philip II conquered Amphipolis and established a Macedonian garrison. The city became a royal mint as well as the base for Macedonian operations to the east of the Strymon. In 334 BC the fleet of Alexander the Great set sail on its Asiatic campaign from the harbour of Amphipolis. Moreover, the importance of the city at this period is indicated by Alexander's decision to make Amphipolis one of the six major cult centres of his empire – the others being Delos, Delphi, Dodona, Dion, and Kyrros – and to build a magnificent temple of Artemis Tauropolos, a plan which was never realized.

After Alexander's death his mother Olympias issued a decree by which the garrison of Amphipolis was given to Cassander. It was here that Alexander's wife Roxane and his son and heir Alexander IV were exiled. The strategic location of the city, commanding the bridge over the Strymon, and its



Amphipolis: the Lion monument, on the west side of river Strymon, dating from the 4th century BC

hinterland, rich in agricultural products, precious metals (gold and silver), and timber, ensured its prosperity into Hellenistic and Roman times and it became a strong military, economic, and cosmopolitan centre.

Although archaeological surveys in the area of Amphipolis were undertaken in the 19th century, it was not until 1956 that systematic excavations commenced, bringing important finds to light. A large part of the Classical city wall was revealed. Seven gates provided access to the city, while round towers in elevated positions along the wall controlled all movements on both the east and west banks of the river. The largest and strongest gate was the so-called Bridge Gate, mentioned by Thucydides (4. 103, 108) in connection with the battle between Cleon and Brasidas in 422 BC. The fortifications of the city underwent repeated repairs in Roman and Byzantine times.

In addition to the city walls, an inner fortification wall encircled the acropolis of Amphipolis, which was located on a hill at the most prominent part of the site. At the west end of the acropolis and inside its Classical enceinte, a house of the 4th century BC was excavated, indicating the existence of a Classical suburb in this area, which continued to be inhabited in the Hellenistic period. Moreover, a Hellenistic house of the 2nd century BC with painted walls recalling the First Pompeian style was found in the south sector of Amphipolis.

The first large public building to be identified from epigraphic evidence was the gymnasium. It was located in the southeast sector of the city, between the inner and the outer walls, and next to a narrow water channel, indispensable to the function of the building. It was built by the Hellenistic period and remained in use until the early imperial period, when it was probably destroyed by a fire. An important inscription of the 1st century BC provides information about the education of youths, the society of Amphipolis, and its topography, mentioning an agora, workshops, a road network, and a theatre.

The cult of the king of Thrace, Rhesus, son of Eion and Cleio, already attested in Homer, is the earliest known cult at Amphipolis. In addition, there are sanctuaries of the muse Clio (first half of 4th century BC), of Attis, and a Thesmophorion or Nymphaeum (5th century BC) outside the north city wall, and an open-air structure with niches for the cult of Attis and Cybele, which became popular in Hellenistic and Roman times.

Classical and Hellenistic cemeteries have been discovered outside the city walls. Numerous graves of various types have yielded a vast quantity of grave offerings, such as gold jewellery, terracotta figurines, pottery, bronze objects, and grave stelae. An impressive example of burial sculpture of the 4th century BC is the Monument of the Lion, on the west side of the river Strymon. It was set up in honour of an Amphipolitan citizen, probably Laomedon, one of Alexander's admirals. Today it stands restored on a high podium at the spot where it was found.

After the battle of Pydna (168 BC) Amphipolis became the capital of one of the four administrative districts (*merides*) into which Macedonia was divided by the Romans in order to achieve the break-up of its political unity. Although in the mid-1st century BC Amphipolis suffered invasions by Thracian tribes, which resulted in the destruction of its buildings, both the ancient literary sources and the archaeological evidence reveal that the city flourished as a commercial and artistic centre as well as a mint down to the final years of the Roman empire. With the support of Roman emperors, especially Augustus and Hadrian, Amphipolis remained one of the most important urban centres in Macedonia, as is reflected in its monumental buildings with mosaic floors and mural paintings.

The importance and prosperity of Amphipolis, through which St Paul passed on his journey from Philippi to Thessalonica (AD 49/50), continued in early Christian times, largely because the Via Egnatia ran through the city. Amphipolis became the seat of a bishop and remained as such until AD 692. The discovery of a number of early Christian monuments on the ancient acropolis of Amphipolis – four basilicas with impressive polychrome mosaic floors, a large rectangular building, often identified as an episcopal palace, and a hexagonal church – demonstrates the importance of the city as an urban and religious centre in the early Christian period. The total area covered by Amphipolis in this period is not known with certainty, but the arrival of plague and the raids of the Slavs in the 7th century contributed to the city's decline, gradually resulting in its demise as an urban centre.

It is likely that the city was destroyed by the Slavs' attacks in the 8th or 9th century AD and many of its inhabitants resettled at the mouth of the river Strymon very close to the ancient Eion, where they established a new city on the harbour, named Chrysopolis. Large parts of the Byzantine fortification of the city, a small church, and other scattered structures are preserved. The name Amphipolis continued to be used by Byzantine authors. Furthermore, the site of the ancient city, known at this time as Popolia, retained its strategic importance until the end of the Byzantine empire, as is demonstrated by the fortifications and other activities in the region during the late Byzantine times. Two towers were built on either side of the Strymon, one of them erected in 1367 by two generals, the brothers Alexios and Ioannis, who were also the founders of the monastery of Pantocrator on Mount Athos. Both towers at Amphipolis were owned by the monasteries of Athos, and were probably used to store the agricultural produce of the monastic properties (*metochia*) in the area.

ELENI ZIMI

Summary

City in Thrace, first founded by the Athenians and their allies in 437/36 BC. Its strategic position, commanding the crossing of the Strymon, and its rich hinterland ensured its prosperity throughout antiquity. Its size and prosperity may have been reduced by the Slav invasions of the 7th century, but it remained the seat of a bishop until 692. The city was probably destroyed in the 8th or 9th century when its population was resettled near the mouth of the Strymon.

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Anastasios of Sinai, St

Theologian of the 7th century

The life of this priest-monk is virtually unknown, but he lived in turbulent times. His writings give us a fascinating insight into the world of the Christian Near East at a time when the Monophysite and Monothelite controversies were still raging, and when it had recently been subject to the traumas of the Islamic conquest.

Anastasios travelled widely in Egypt and Syria to refute Monophysites of various types; he was attacking them in Alexandria before 642. His arguments were crystallized in his *Hodegos* or *Guide*. His stance is resolutely Chalcedonian but also exhibits great tact and diplomacy, for example in his recommendation that only pre-Chalcedonian authorities should be used in discussions with the Monophysites. He claims to detect the source of Monophysitism in the categories of Aristotle. Other works include *Two Sermons on the "According to the Image"*, against the Monophysites; a work *Against the Monothelites*; a work *On the Holy Synaxis*; a treatise on the *Hexaemeron*, of which only the last book of 12 survives, and the famous *Questions and Answers*.

The *Questions and Answers*, in the form in which we have them, are certainly not the work of Anastasios. The substance is definitely Anastasian, but has been added to and reworked with great liberty by a later writer, or writers. The work of disengaging the Anastasian from the pseudo-Anastasian content is still in progress. This summary therefore can be only tentative. The question–answer format has a long pedigree: it is found, for instance, in St Basil the Great, the pseudo-Macarius, and in the monks of Gaza, Barsanuphios and John. Anastasios shows a keen understanding of the difficulties of Christian life under Islamic occupation, allowing, for example, that in the absence of an ordained confessor an act of contrition will suffice. He declares: "Each man's conscience is the norm for the reception of the holy mysteries." The difficulties of the post-conquest established Church may have led him to stress the inner life of the Christian. Speaking of the indwelling of God, he asserts that when the soul has become a temple and a dwelling place of God, it loses all desire for churches that have been built, and for the sacraments performed in them – a very audacious statement, but perhaps encouraging for those unable to attend church. His *On the Holy Synaxis* shows that he had no antipathy against the established Church as such, but was appalled by the slovenly attitude of the congregations. He is particularly critical of those who turn up just in time for communion! He also deals with a host of other questions, concerning mixed marriages, money matters, and many other basic pastoral issues: can one, for example, take communion after accidentally swallowing water?

Anastasios was an original, lively, and highly engaging thinker; this becomes increasingly clear as the later accretions to his work are cleared away. He discusses the nature of the soul, the question of chance, the utility of prayer for the dead, the fate of children who die unbaptized, and the salvation of non-Christians. He stresses the common monotheism of Christians and Muslims, but was horrified at the desolation caused by the Islamic conquest. He has no time for the argument that the conquest occurred at the command of God: how could God, Anastasios asks, have urged the profanation of his own body and blood?

In the *Questions and Answers* frequent appeal is made to scripture and patristic witnesses, with citations from, for example, St Basil the Great, St Gregory of Nyssa, St Cyril of Jerusalem, St John Chrysostom, Mark the Monk, and St Maximos the Confessor. His edited dogmatic works reveal a staggeringly extensive range of sources. They confirm the impression given in the *Questions and Answers* that Anastasios was both an original and a deeply traditional thinker. Besides an almost exhaustive appeal to the Fathers, he also demonstrates a familiarity with the works of Aristotle and the Platonic tradition. While continuing to enjoy great authority in the Church, the works of Anastasios deserve to be far better

known than they are at present. Among his works is a story that perfectly sums up his own generous attitude to the Hellenic tradition. A certain scholar was constantly cursing Plato, until one night Plato himself appeared to him in a dream saying: "Man, stop cursing me: for you are only hurting yourself. I do not deny that I was a sinful man: but when the Christ came down into hell, truly no one believed in him before I did."

MARCUS PLESTED

Biography

Almost nothing is known of the life of this 7th-century theologian. He attacked the Monophysites of Alexandria around 640 and was a monk of Sinai by 700. His works include the *Hodegos (Guide)* and *Two Sermons on the "According to the Image"*, both against Monophysitism; *Against the Monothelites*; *On the Holy Synaxis*; a treatise on the *Hexaemeron*; and the *Questions and Answers.*

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Anatolia

In geographical terms Anatolia (otherwise Asia Minor) occupies the territory of Turkey between the Aegean Sea and the Euphrates river. The western and southern coastal areas were part of the Mediterranean world. In the Graeco-Roman period several regions existed within Anatolia, corresponding to separate languages, cultures, and religious beliefs: Bithynia, Cilicia, Cappadocia, Galatia, Paphlagonia, and Pontus.

Anatolia has always been a crossroads of different peoples and cultures, and it was dominated at different times by different political and cultural entities. The Hittite empire was the major power in Anatolia in the Late Bronze Age but its collapse in *c.*1200 BC allowed new cultures to rise. At the beginning of the Iron Age neo-Hittite states were established in the southeast, and at the turn of the 9th century BC the Urartians emerged as a leading power in the east and northeast of the region. Both the Hittites and Urartians frequently clashed with their Assyrian neighbours. However, political difficulties in Anatolia never prevented close cultural contacts and the exchange of artistic ideas.

Greeks from mainland Greece started to settle the western shores of Anatolia and the offshore islands from about the 11th century BC onwards. Aeolians founded cities between the Troad and the gulf of Smyrna; the Dorians established six major cities in Caria and on the islands of Rhodes and Cos. The Ionians, who arrived in much greater numbers than either of these, established themselves between the two. The culture created together by these three peoples is known as East Greek. The 12 Ionian cities – Chios, Samos, Phocaea, Clazomenae, Erythrae, Teos, Lebedos, Colophon, Ephesus, Priene, Myus, and Miletus – were much the most advanced. Smyrna, in the north of Ionia, was in origin an Aeolian town, but at an early date it was captured by Ionians from Colophon.

In the 8th century BC the situation in Anatolia changed once again. The Phrygians emerged as a major political power, with their capital at Gordion. Relations between Phrygians and Greeks were close. Already in the 8th century BC the Phrygian king Midas was married to the daughter of Agamemnon, the king of Aeolian Cyme. This Midas was most probably the same one who sent a dedication (a throne) to the Greek sanctuary in Delphi. Decoration on some Greek pottery, bronze fibulae, cauldrons, bronze belts, etc. demonstrates Phrygian influence on Greek culture as early as the 8th century BC. Phrygia lost its dominant position after the Cimmerian raids of *c.*696 BC and became part of the Lydian empire, the dominant power from the mid-7th century BC having its capital at Sardis. The Ionian contribution to the creation of Lydian culture is witnessed in dress and in architecture (columns and relief panels). In Lydia and Phrygia buildings were decorated and protected by clay relief revetments, often decorated in a Greek style and depicting Greek mythological scenes. At the same time, Greeks took to worshipping the Anatolian goddess whom they knew as Cybele. Lydian rulers were hostile to Ionian and other cities. Alyattes destroyed Smyrna; Croesus subdued others but sent gifts to the temples in Delphi and Ephesus. This was a time when very close cultural links were forged between Lydia and the Ionians, bringing Graeco-Lydian art into existence. Lydian court life was more Greek than oriental in its physical aspects.

The Lydians were conquered by the Persians in 547/46 BC. For the next two centuries, until the conquests of Alexander the Great in 334 BC, this new Persian empire held mastery over Anatolia and the whole of the Near East, including the Greek cities of Anatolia. Many Ionians fled Persian conquest to establish colonies in the west and the east (around the Black Sea). Indeed the creation of Ionian colonies was already under way from the second half of the 7th century BC when Lydian pressure started to make itself felt.

Achaemenid art is a unique phenomenon. Monarchs started to create a court culture, bringing together artists from all corners of their huge domains. These artists, architects, and masons were employed by the king and executed work according to his tastes and wishes. During the construction of the palace in Susa, Darius recorded details of the programme of work: the ornamentation of the walls was brought from Ionia; the captives who worked the stone were Ionians and Sardians; Sardians and Egyptians collaborated on the woodwork; Babylonians on the brickwork; Medes and Egyptians on the decoration of walls and on goldsmiths' work. The sources of the materials used are also given: gold came from Sardis and Bactria; lapis lazuli and cornelian from Sogdiana; turquoise from Chorasmia; silver, ebony, and copper from Egypt; ivory from Ethiopia, India, and Arachosia; cedars of Lebanon were carried to Babylon by Assyrians, and thence to Susa by Carians and Ionians. The Ionian contribution to Achaemenid royal culture was considerable. Although Persian buildings, designed more for effect and ceremonial than for living, were inspired by Mesopotamia, masons were brought from Ionia and Lydia. Greek architectural orders and techniques were introduced to Persia. Nearly all the buildings at Pasargadae were built by

Ionians. Persian sculpture reveals Greek influence and practice in the treatment of drapery; seals show Greek craftsmanship, as do the wall paintings from Gordion. The tomb monuments at Xanthus are decorated with stone reliefs executed in Ionian style.

The Persian empire was divided into provinces (satrapies). Usually, each conquered country formed a separate satrapy, sometimes with a local family as nominal rulers. The provincial capitals housed a Persian civil service and garrison. The king introduced a system of gift-giving and *tributari*.

The Ionian Greeks were supported by Athenians in their revolt of 499 BC. This led to Persian–Athenian conflict. In 492 BC Darius sent a force against northern Greece and in 490 BC to central Greece. Ten years later Xerxes marched against Greece and sacked Athens. By the mid-5th century BC the Greek cities of the eastern Aegean were free, under the hegemony of Athens. After the Persian Wars many Persian ideas filtered through to Athens. Persian metalwork had considerable influence on Athenian pottery – rhyton (drinking-horn) cups are an example. The same can be seen in Greek seals, where the Graeco-Persian style flourished in Anatolia, reaching mainland Greece and spreading throughout the Greek colonial world.

Alexander the Great put an end to the Achaemenid empire. He burned Persepolis and liberated Greeks, including artists and intellectuals who had been persecuted by the Persians. The establishment of Hellenistic kingdoms on the ruins of the Persian empire opened the way to further penetration by and of Greek culture. Greeks followed Alexander the Great to Anatolia and the Near East, establishing new cities and new cultural centres, but at the same time absorbing features of local cultures to create new and cosmopolitan traditions.

The Hellenistic period in Anatolia brought fresh military difficulties. In 302 BC Lysimachus, a Macedonian from Pella, invaded Asia Minor, fought against Antigonus, and secured victory for Seleucus in the battle of Ipsus (301 BC). Most of Asia Minor passed to him, and he proved a financially rapacious ruler until his defeat by Seleucus in 281 BC. Thereafter the region was in the hands of the Seleucids who, from the outset, continued Achaemenid institutional practice in the army and administration and in their colonizing policies. One of their capitals was at Sardis. By the peace of Apamea, negotiated between Antiochus III and Rome in 188 BC, the Seleucids relinquished their possessions north of the Taurus mountains, retaining Pamphylia and Cilicia.

The Mithridates family ruled Pontus from 302 BC. Mithridates IV established good relations with Cappadocia and Rome (whose ally, Pergamum, he helped in a war against Bithynia). His successor invaded Phrygia and Cappadocia, maintained friendly relations with Greece, and was honoured as a benefactor of Athens and Delos. Mithridates VI Eupator was the most famous king of Pontus, and Rome's most dangerous enemy in the 1st century BC. He conquered the whole of the Black Sea and annexed Bithynia and Cappadocia. During the First Mithridatic War against Rome (89–85 BC) in Asia his army swept all before it, and he ordered the massacre of Romans and Italians living there. He was welcomed in Athens and won over most of Greece, but the Roman response under Sulla (87 BC) brought him defeat; Athens was captured, and the war taken to Asia. Peace was arranged and Mithridates lived to fight another day: to further defeat in the Third Mithridatic War in 63 BC and an assisted suicide at the sword of a bodyguard when his son revolted against him prior to further alleged foreign exploits.

The culture of Hellenistic Anatolia flourished. Troy IX was a Hellenistic city furnished with temples, theatre, odeum, *bouleuterion* (council chamber) etc. Pergamum was a very important city, to the safety of whose fortress Alexander the Great's successor Lysimachus entrusted part of his treasure – 9000 talents. During the reign of Attalus I Pergamum became a wealthy and powerful state and the city a worthy royal capital. Its ruler could indulge in patronage of the arts, literature, and philosophy, and gain prestige and pleasure with his horses and chariots at Olympia and other Greek centres. Under Eumenes II the city achieved architectural eminence: the defended area of the acropolis was enlarged so as to contain a further large gymnasium and a second agora, the acropolis itself was built up on a series of grand arched terraces, and an advanced high-pressure water system put in place. The best possible use was made of the natural shape of the land to provide a dazzling backcloth to the expanding city below. The royal palace, barracks, and arsenal crowned the summit; lower down a library, second only to Alexandria's, overlooked the temple of Athena; on a lower level stood an altar to Zeus, 12 m high, which provided a rich opportunity for the local school of sculpture to portray the fight of the gods against the giants; still lower were the agora, and then a great terrace on arches, built into the rock, from which the theatre climbed up the hillside. In 130 BC the last member of the Attalid dynasty bequeathed this prosperous state to Rome and it became part of the province of Asia.

Ephesus and Miletus reverted to being centres of Hellenic culture in Asia Minor once they had recovered from Persian rule. Alexander the Great rebuilt Miletus. The temple of Artemis at Ephesus and the new marble temple of Apollo in Didyma were among the most impressive buildings anywhere in the Greek world.

Roman Asia, the jewel of the empire, comprised the territories of Mysia, Lydia, Pisidia, and Phrygia (Rhodes was added subsequently) along the western coast of Asia Minor. It was stable (the borders remained largely unchanged until the late 3rd century AD) and prosperous, and Hellenic influence remained strong. From 27 BC the province was under the authority of the Senate, administered by a proconsul based in either Pergamum or Ephesus. Administration varied from area to area, and many of the cities that had enjoyed a fair measure of autonomy under the Attalids retained it, despite their inclusion in the province. The province's economic strength was due mainly to its position astride the east–west trade routes, and that strength attracted migrants. Ports such as Smyrna, Miletus, and Rhodes flourished on the trade of foreign vessels passing through, and the cities invested their wealth in their own beautification. Greek notions of self-determination persisted in the cities, an echo of the polis. Schools of philosophy, education, and medicine functioned in Smyrna, Ephesus, and Pergamum; and Pergamum emerged as a centre for eastern deities such as Asclepius. The acceptance of older eastern gods and the toleration of newer ones was another visible link to the absorbent nature of Greek civilization. This was the Roman

province in which Christianity (initially, another cultural import assimilated from the east) and the early Church prospered.

With the foundation of Constantinople in AD 330, the division of the Roman empire, and the mutation of the eastern empire into the Byzantine, Anatolia became a cornerstone of this new Greek, Christian polity. As Byzantine power waxed and waned, so did the extent of its control over Anatolia (in opposition to Arabs and, subsequently and fatally, Turks). The Seljuk Turks' crushing defeat of the Byzantine army in Armenia in 1071 paved the way for the loss of control over most of Asia Minor. The Latin west was called to aid the Greek east, and the Crusades provided temporary relief for the Byzantines. Alas it was to be the Fourth Crusade of 1204 which captured and sacked Constantinople, splintered the Byzantine empire, and created a pale Latin imitation in its place (for less than 60 years in a portion of its territory). The reintegrated but reduced Byzantine empire had soon to face the Ottoman Turks, who captured Bithynia in 1339 and seized Adrianople in 1362. Constantinople itself fell, finally, in 1453. The Greek empire of Trebizond, far to the east on the Black Sea, one of the splinters resulting from the events of 1204, and ruled by the Grand Komnenoi, remnants of the penultimate Byzantine dynasty, fell a mere eight years later.

The Byzantine empire was the centre of Greek Orthodox culture for a millennium, and that culture permeated throughout all its regions and beyond. Christian ideology and norms, as well as church architecture, painting, illuminated writings, etc., created in Constantinople, were adopted, copied, and adapted throughout the Orthodox world. Hagia Sophia formed the great inspiration for architects. One of the finest examples of Byzantine church architecture was St John's in Seljuk, on the Aegean coast of Turkey: it is built to a cruciform plan, with a broad nave, chancel, and transepts, many cupolas, marble facings to the wall, and richly carved capitals. Above it rises the citadel, on the site of a Byzantine fort. Halicarnassus was a bishopric of Byzantine Caria. The southern shore of Turkey is particularly rich in Byzantine churches. Patara and its bishopric have been important since the 6th century. Recent excavation at Sinope has yielded remains of another Byzantine church with fine mosaics. In Trebizond stand the 14th-century church of St Eugenius, the coronation church of the Panagia Chrysokephalos, and its own, rich Hagia Sophia, noted for its murals; within 50 km, amid fortresses, churches, and deserted villages, are three spectacular cave-monasteries – the Panagia Soumela, St George Peristera, and St John the Forerunner Vazelon. The well-known monastery of Soumela continued to flourish under the Ottomans. Many churches – including the basilica in Dag Pazari – contain impressive mosaics, and many rock churches contain murals.

GOCHA R. TSETSKHLADZE

Summary

Geographically Anatolia is the land between the Aegean and the Euphrates river, comprising most of modern-day Turkey. Greeks settled on its western shores from the 11th century BC. From the mid-6th to the mid-4th centuries BC it was part of the Persian empire. It was conquered by Alexander in 334 BC and flourished. Called Asia by the Romans, it remained culturally Greek and formed the heart of the Byzantine empire until lost to the Turks between the 11th and 15th centuries.

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Anatomy and Physiology

Repeated observations of human victims of warfare and accidents, and likewise of animal victims of hunting and sacrifice, probably underlie the remarkable familiarity with gross anatomy displayed in Greek literature from the *Iliad* to the early 5th century BC. Many Homeric descriptions of woundings bear witness to a precise knowledge of vulnerable points in the torso, notably of the anatomical disposition of the principal organs and bones, and of the likely consequences of lesions to each.

Only with the systematic use of dissection did Greek anatomical knowledge advance substantially beyond the level reflected in Homeric epic. A controversial passage in a 4th-century AD commentary on Plato's *Timaeus* claims that Alcmaeon of Croton (5th century BC) first dared to cut out the

eye and discovered its communication with the brain. Along with reports that Alcmaeon knew of the nasal passages and of certain features of the vascular system, this has led some modern scholars to conclude that Alcmaeon was the first to dissect animals for scientific purposes. Similar claims have been made for Democritus. There is, however, no conclusive evidence to support such inferences. Although several Presocratics displayed a keen interest in anatomical structures and in physiological processes such as perception, respiration, and reproduction, they clearly lacked close familiarity with the physical appearance and configuration of the internal structures they describe. According to Diogenes of Apollonia's extensive description (preserved by Aristotle) of the vascular system, for example, two independent networks of vessels (*phlebes*) are distributed throughout the body, one originating in the liver and serving the right side of the body, the other originating in the spleen and serving the left. The bilateral symmetry displayed by the external structure of the body here is apparently assumed to have an internal counterpart.

Hippocratic writings offer many anatomical observations (e.g. *On Places in a Human Being*, *On Fleshes*, *On Fractures*, *On Joints*, *Epidemics*, the pastiche known as *On the Nature of Bones*, and the Hellenistic treatise *On the Heart*). But no systematic Hippocratic treatment of anatomy as such is extant; a 27-line work of disputed date, *On Anatomy* – the shortest text in the vast Hippocratic Corpus – merely enumerates major internal parts of the human torso and summarizes their configuration. Diocles of Carystus, to whom Galen attributes the earliest treatise on anatomy, may have observed the womb in dissected mules, but there is no convincing evidence that he dissected human cadavers.

Aristotle, who occasionally refers to his lost work *Dissections* (*Anatomai*), dissected and vivisected various animals in the course of extensive zoological investigations that covered the lives, reproductive activities, and structures of well over 500 genera. He frequently referred to the human body, too, providing detailed observations on the vascular system and the internal topography of the body, particularly in his *History of Animals*. He acknowledged, however, that he relied on animal anatomy to make inferences about human anatomy and physiology (e.g. *History of Animals*, 1. 16. 494b21–4) and, like Empedocles and others, he made the heart, not the head or the brain, the centre of cognitive activity (whereas Alcmaeon, Democritus, Diogenes, the Hippocratic author of *On Sacred Disease*, and Plato had recognized the central role of the brain).

Spectacular advances in anatomical knowledge were made in the early 3rd century BC, when Herophilus and Erasistratus became the first – and apparently the last – ancient physicians to conduct systematic dissections of human cadavers. According to credible ancient sources they also performed vivisectory experiments on humans, probably on condemned criminals handed over to them by kings in the name of future benefits for all of humanity (Celsus, *Medicina*, proem. 23–26). Their discovery of the nerves, the four coats of the eye, the ventricles of the brain, the ventricles of the heart, the heart valves, the ovaries, numerous vascular structures, etc. had an enduring impact on the history of European anatomy and physiology. Herophilus and Erasistratus attempted not only to describe parts of the body but also to account for their functions on the basis of dissection and vivisectory experiments. They diligently explored respiration, digestion, the pulse, reproduction, and sensory and muscular activity.

Not all ancient physicians agreed, however, that physiological explanations, even if discovered or confirmed by dissections, are necessary to clinical efficacy. The Hellenistic Empiricist "school" by and large rejected physiological investigation and systematic dissection, claiming that the accumulation and transmission of clinical observations, notably of observed instances of successful treatments (even when the success remained unexplained) generally sufficed. Numerous later rival physiological and anatomical treatises, some known mainly through Galen, bear witness, however, to the continuing importance of anatomy and physiology. Though advocating divergent doctrines, Asclepiades of Bithynia, Archigenes, Soranus, and Rufus of Ephesus presented wide-ranging physiological theories based on anatomical beliefs. Furthermore, extensive dissections of animals were conducted in the 2nd century by Marinus, Quintus of Rome, Satyrus, Numisianus, Pelops, and Galen.

Ancient Greek anatomy and physiology culminated in Galen, whose authority went virtually unchallenged for more than a millennium. Aware of the remarkable scientific results which Herophilus and Erasistratus had achieved by means of human dissection, Galen at times wistfully conceded that their access to human cadavers had enabled them to make observations which eluded him, even though his repeated, meticulous dissections of – and vivisectory experiments on – apes, monkeys, pigs, goats, oxen, sheep, mules, horses, donkeys, mice, and other animals allowed him to correct the accounts of many predecessors. To some extent Galen's anatomy is characterized by the superimposition of the soft parts of apes upon the human skeleton, despite his frequent insistence that a dissecting physician should try to choose animals that most closely resemble human beings. He presented his anatomy most fully in his monumental *On Anatomical Procedures* 1–15 (of which more than six books are extant only in a 9th-century Arabic translation). Several shorter anatomical treatises also survive (e.g. *Anatomy of the Womb*, *Anatomy of the Nerves*, *Anatomy of Arteries and Veins*, and *Anatomy of Muscles*).

Galen insisted that anatomy is a prelude not only to surgery but also to physiology. His comprehensive commitment to a teleological explanation of every structure, part, activity, and susceptibility of the body is visible throughout his voluminous anatomical and physiological writings. He fused his expropriations of the theories of several precursors into a coherent teleological model, in which all major physiological activities – respiration, digestion, heartbeat and pulsation, sensation and perception, voluntary and involuntary movement, locomotion, reproduction – are interdependent and interactive. He adapted the four-humour theory of the Hippocratic author of *On the Nature of a Human Being*, introducing more systematic, elaborate correlations between the primary qualities (hot, cold, wet, dry), the elements (earth, air, fire, water), the humours, the four seasons, character types or "constitutions", and stages of life. Inspired by the Platonic theory of a tripartite soul, Galen argued that there are three souls ruling yet serving the body, each manifesting itself through a distinctive faculty (*dynamis*, i.e. a power to act or to be acted upon). In the brain resides the "psychic faculty" which, presiding over reason and

thought, renders sensation, perception, and voluntary motion possible. In the heart resides the "vital faculty", responsible *inter alia* for our emotions. And in the liver dwells the "natural faculty" responsible for nutrition. In *On Natural Faculties*, which Galen recommended to his readers as a sequel to *On Anatomical Procedures*, he added subsidiary faculties, including the "attractive faculty" (e.g. to explain how all parts of the body "attract" nutriment from the blood), the "retentive faculty" to explain how substances can remain in any given place within the body, the "alterative faculty" (e.g. to account for the conversion of food into blood), the "expulsive faculty" to explain secretions and excretions, etc.

A further central feature of Galen's physiology is his theory of innate heat. A flame of life inside the body, innate heat needs air to sustain itself while being tempered continuously by cooler, freshly inhaled air. Some Hippocratics (e.g. *On Fleshes*, 2) and Plato had recognized that bodily heat is essential to life, but for this feature of his physiology Galen seems most indebted to Aristotle. Against those who claimed that the body upon birth acquires heat from without (e.g. Praxagoras, Erasistratus), Galen endorsed the view of Aristotle and the Pneumatists, arguing that we are born with this natural heat, which is the first instrument of the soul. He further agreed with Aristotle that the innate heat is purest and most intense in the heart, and he added that the arteries distribute heat (along with blood and *pneuma* (breath), as Herophilus had claimed) throughout the body.

From Herophilus, Galen also took over the distinction between sensory and motor nerves, and from Erasistratus – against whom Galen wrote more than one fiercely polemical treatise – the influential distinction between "psychic *pneuma*" (in the nerves) and "vital *pneuma*" (in the arteries). According to Galen, the spongy flesh of the lungs acts upon the air we inhale, converting it into a subtler product, *pneuma*. This refined breath passes through very fine "pores" into branches of the pulmonary vein (or "venous artery", in Galen's conception) and thence is "attracted", with blood, by the attractive faculty into the left ventricle of the heart, where it encounters more hot blood and becomes metamorphosed into life-giving, i.e. "vital" *pneuma*. When this cardiac ventricle contracts, blood charged with vital *pneuma* is "attracted" into the aorta and thence into the entire arterial network. After the carotid arteries have distributed vital *pneuma* to the brain, the brain transforms it into "psychic *pneuma*", in part by using air drawn into the cerebral ventricles by way of the nostrils and channels extended into the olfactory bulbs. From the brain psychic *pneuma* – subdivided into sensory and kinetic *pneuma* – flows through imperceptible ducts inside the sensory and motor nerves, enabling sensation and voluntary muscle movements. Medieval Galenists described a third kind of *pneuma*: "natural *pneuma*" produced in the liver, transported through the veins, and functioning as the instrument of the "vegetative" soul. In the vast corpus of Galen's extant texts there is, however, only a single, hypothetical allusion to "natural pneuma" (*Method of Healing*, 12. 5).

Perhaps nowhere is Galen's commitment to teleology expressed more emphatically than in his discussion of reproduction in his major physiological treatise *On the Usefulness of the Parts* (books 14–15), in which he once again fuses the views of many predecessors, even as he criticizes them. With "astonishing skill" Nature has done all she could to make her mortal work – the human body – immortal through reproduction, endowing humans with perfect anatomical instruments for conception, a faculty joined to these instruments to produce pleasure, and a "vegetative soul" that has an irrepressible desire to use the instruments of conception. Being essential to human reproduction, gender-specific anatomical features display Nature's amazing providence: the uterus is bicameral, its hotter right chamber being for the conception and gestation of males, and the colder left chamber for female offspring. To traditional polarities used at least since the Presocratics and Hippocratics to distinguish between female and male – left–right, colder–hotter, weaker–stronger, less perfect and more perfect – Galen added the influential polarity introverted–extroverted: because the female foetus develops in the colder left womb, her generative parts remain inside her body, whereas the male, developing more fully in the hotter right uterus, has extroverted reproductive parts. In support of these in part archaic polarities Galen mustered the formidable weaponry of his meticulous dissections, of his elaborate physiological system, and of his all-encompassing teleology, thereby rendering the old anatomy and physiology scientifically rejuvenated.

Many currents of pre-Galenic anatomy and physiology thus were appropriated and selectively transformed by Galen into an authoritative new medical system which, by and large, was not superseded in Europe and the Near East until the early modern period. Byzantine writers excerpted, paraphrased, and adapted his works on anatomy and physiology, while scholars in Baghdad translated them into Syriac and Arabic, especially in the 9th century, thus ensuring that Galen's views became the almost undisputed norm until systematic human dissection was resumed in the early Renaissance.

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See also Health, Medicine

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Anaxagoras *c.*500–428 BC

Philosopher

Anaxagoras was born in the Ionian city of Clazomenae. After establishing himself as a philosopher there, perhaps by giving lectures or classes, he seems to have come to the attention of Themistocles, who invited him to Athens, where he lived from some time after 470 BC until he was exiled in the late 430s BC. His expulsion was due partly to his friendship with Pericles, and partly to his scientific views, which took no account of the traditional gods in explaining the nature of the heavens. He spent his last few years in Lampsacus.

Although several works are ascribed to him, he probably wrote only one, but it may well have undergone revisions during the course of his stay in Athens. The fame of this book was guaranteed by the reference to it in Plato's *Apology*, where Socrates says that it can be bought in the Agora for a drachma. Elsewhere in Plato's dialogues, most notably in the *Phaedo*, Socrates says that he was disappointed when he read it because Anaxagoras explains everything, including the nature of man, with a reference to what today we would call its chemical make-up, which in turn is governed by *nous*. This is the force that first set the universe in motion and which still determines the mechanism of our changing universe, from the large-scale phenomena of the heavens to (borrowing a term from modern physics that derives from the atomists contemporary with Anaxagoras) the subatomic arrangement of every object; *nous* is often translated as "mind" or "intelligence", and reasonably so, given Plato's punning on the "mindlessness" of Anaxagoras' use of this word. As is clear from Socrates' several attempts to distance himself from Anaxagoras, as well as from Aristophanes' broad satire of Socrates in the *Clouds*, Anaxagoras' contemporaries understood his *nous* either as a new divinity to rival Zeus in his stewardship of the heavens or as a mechanistic (and hence atheistic) cosmic principle. Since Anaxagoras thought that *nous* was present only in some things, presumably animals and plants, the true nature of his *nous* lies somewhere between the anthropomorphic (and somewhat unpredictable) Zeus and what we might call the Laws of Nature.

Although it is tempting to think of *nous* as non-corporeal, Anaxagoras' own words of description are merely that it is the "lightest and purest of all things", and is the only thing capable of existing in a pure form, with no admixture of normal matter. As such, it is not only self-ruling, it also rules all else. In the universe as a whole it works largely by setting things into a vortex that separates heavier objects from lighter ones, pushing the former into the centre, much as a whirlpool can drive pebbles into its middle. Thus the "Socrates" in the *Clouds*, in fact an amalgam of several sophists and Presocratics, presents as a new divinity a pot called *dinos* in Greek, which puns on Zeus/Dios and *dine*, the vortex responsible for the formation of all the heavenly bodies in Anaxagoras' theory.

Just as the vortex stirs things up so that like objects have the opportunity to unite with each other, so too does the breakdown of food during digestion allow like to join with like. (The attraction of like to like was a common belief raised to a scientific principle by many Presocratics.) Anaxagoras, that is, thought that the building blocks of animals (blood, flesh, bone, hair, etc.) were contained within the food they consumed, for, as he says, "how could hair come from not-hair and flesh from not-flesh?"

Much of the first part of his book was devoted to explaining the microscopic nature of matter. Since nothing can come from nothing, there must be some basic unchanging material. And since visible matter takes many forms, few if any of which are permanent, this bedrock of matter must itself come in different, but at this level unchanging, forms, which Anaxagoras metaphorically called "seeds". Thus far, Anaxagoras may be compared to the first atomists Leucippus and Democritus; but his explanation of seeds differed markedly from their atoms. Each seed is indestructible, with fixed shape, colour, and savour. Also fixed is the ration of *dynameis* (roughly "powers" or "qualities") contained within each seed, which tend to exist in polar pairs. These *dynameis* are of an unknown number, but the chief ones named by Anaxagoras are hot/cold, dark/light, heavy/light, and moist/dry. Since each seed contains a fixed amount of *dynameis*, its nature is determined by the combination of the various ratios. Thus, a stone has more heavy than light (both imagined to exist in the same seed simultaneously) and more dry than moist. The facts of nutrition can accordingly be explained by, for example, bread's containing seeds too small to be seen of flesh, bone, hair, etc. The scientific principle at work here – of comprehending the unseen by means of appearances – was expressed by Anaxagoras himself in the form "phenomena are a view of the unseen".

Since, roughly speaking, any object in the cosmos is a mixture just as is the cosmos itself, and since one thing (that is, an object characterized by a certain ratio of qualities) can break down and "become" another, Anaxagoras also deduced that "everything is in everything". For these and similarly scientific attempts to explain matter, change, and causation, Anaxagoras was compared by Aristotle to a sober man among stammerers. He and Democritus were credited by Aristotle and others with elegant and comprehensive theories that could explain both large- and small-scale phenomena.

DAVID SIDER

Biography

Born in Clazomenae *c.*500 BC, Anaxagoras moved to Athens after 470 and remained there until exiled in the 430s. He died in Lampsacus in 428 BC. He wrote (probably) just one book, of which substantial fragments are preserved by Simplicius. It is largely concerned with the nature of matter, which he sees as being governed by a promordial *nous*.

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Anaximander

Philosopher of the 6th century BC

Anaximander of Miletus was active in the first half of the 6th century BC (the date of his death is given by Diogenes Laertius as 547/46 BC). He was said to have been a pupil and kinsman of Thales of Miletus, and is included by ancient historians of philosophy among the group of early thinkers who tried to explain the world on the basis of a single material substance. No work of his survives. For our knowledge of his ideas we rely entirely on reports given by later writers from Aristotle onwards; most of the available information comes from authors writing in the 1st century AD or later, and in these cases it is likely that they are relying on general histories of philosophy and encyclopaedias that go back ultimately to the work of Aristotle's successors (especially Theophrastus).

According to Anaximander, the originative substance was the *apeiron*, a term whose precise meaning is not entirely clear; it might mean either infinite or indeterminate, though since Anaximander believed that his originative substance had both of these qualities the uncertainty does not affect the interpretation of his ideas. The creation of the cosmos came about by the separating out of the opposites from the *apeiron*, in such a way as to achieve an overall balance; the details of this process are obscured by the tendency of our sources to assimilate Anaximander's system to one of the cosmological views of their own time (so making the *apeiron* a mixture or an intermediate substance). The *apeiron* surrounds and controls the cosmos, and is eternal, unageing, and perhaps divine. Anaximander apparently produced something like a complete cosmology. He believed that the earth was cylindrical, its depth a third of its width, and that it was supported by nothing, but stayed where it was because it was equidistant from everything else. The heavenly bodies, he believed, were rings of fire, enclosed except at points where there were holes through which the fire showed through. He claimed that the ring of the sun was 27 times, and the ring of the moon 18 times, the size of the earth. Eclipses were caused when the holes were blocked up (though we are not told what causes the holes to get blocked up). He explained rain as arising from moisture that evaporates under the influence of the sun, and thunder as the wind, enclosed within clouds, breaking out. He seems to have believed also that the earth was drying out (perhaps impressed by the receding coastline in Ionia). Reports of his views on the origins of life are intriguing, though enigmatic. He apparently believed that life originated in moisture, and that the first creatures came into being enclosed in a bark-like shell, which they subsequently shed. In the case of human beings, he argued that, since the human infant is incapable of looking after itself for some years, the first people must have come to maturity under the protection of some other creature; they grew to puberty, he claimed, within fish-like animals, from which they emerged in adulthood when they were old enough to be self-sufficient.

It is, however, his production of the first known Greek map that most interests the ancient sources. Maps had, of course, been known to the ancient societies of Mesopotamia for centuries, and it is not surprising that it was in a trading city like Miletus that the concept was first introduced to Greece. There is another intriguing report that Anaximander invented the gnomon (a kind of simple sundial), which he used to mark solstices and equinoxes, and that he set one up in Sparta. He did not invent the gnomon, in fact, because it already had a long history (indeed, Herodotus attributes its invention to the Babylonians), and this may be another case of Anaximander's introducing foreign ideas to Greece. He was the first known Greek to attempt to produce a complete, comprehensive, and rational account of the world and its development, including the early history of the human race.

Anaximander is also the first recorded writer of Greek prose. He is said to have written a number of books, and an account of his cosmology given by Simplicius (writing in the 6th century AD) in his commentary on Aristotle's *Physics* (24. 13) may contain a quotation from one of them: "that from which existing things have their coming-into-being is also that into which they are destroyed according to necessity; for they pay penalty and retribution to one another for their injustice, according to the assessment of time" (as he puts it in these rather poetic words). Unfortunately, it is impossible to say for

certain where the quotation begins and where it ends, but it is probable that in this passage is contained the earliest surviving piece of Greek prose.

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See also Cartography, Cosmology

Biography

Active in the first half of the 6th century BC, Anaximander of Miletus is said to have been a pupil of Thales of Miletus. None of his writings survive; but we learn from later writers that he tried to account for the world on the basis of a single material substance which he called the *apeiron* (the infinite or indeterminate). He also was the first known Greek to draw a map. He died *c.*547 BC.

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Ancestor Worship

The tendency has been noted (Antonaccio, 1995, p. 268; cf. Humphreys and King 1981, p. 267) that, where political power is fluid and personal, the focus, on occasions of death, impels towards the intense interaction of the living; on the other hand, where the base of power is more stable, resting with a historically grounded social group, care of the dead becomes the focus. There is evidence of both with the Greeks, reflecting the belief in the power of the dead over the living and the inconstancy of political structures.

Mycenaean burial sites, where the norm was collective burial in chamber tombs or tholoi, suggest that certain tombs were singled out for special treatment, but that the dead were not worshipped. The evidence indicates instead that veneration of the deceased was not practised, since tombs were often re-entered, and earlier relics and grave goods swept aside or removed. Those ancestors who drew continued interest and with whom claims of connection were maintained were usually claimed as "heroes" and their personal histories and the status or power ascribed to them after death tended to be reinterpreted according to the needs of the descendants. There is no consistency in the accounts of the births, lives, or ends of these glorified ancestors (heroes sometimes disappear rather than die), but they were believed to have lived mortal, if extraordinary, lives.

Conviction held that ancestors reigned over present events. Patrons and guardians to their progeny, they could grant success in diverse endeavours or curse them with disaster – barrenness, disease, pestilence, or military failure. Thus the dead were rarely ignored, even where not worshipped. They were remembered, feared, and invoked by the living through prayer, votive dedication, animal (and in some cases even human) sacrifice, and commemorated in poetry, in song, and at athletic events. The variety of "heroic" ancestry grew over time until, by the late Classical period, athletes, founders of colonies, and even ordinary folk came to be "heroized" as supermortal.

Links with the ancestral past tended to be broken on the mainland during the Dark Ages except in the colonies where Homeric tradition was preserved, and later reintroduced to the mainland during the "renaissance" of the late 8th century BC. The close of the Dark Ages was accompanied by a revival of enthusiasm for the past, born partly of the nostalgia for lost ancestral links, but also as a matter of expedience, as heroic personifications were adopted to lend legitimacy and historical grounding and to provide patronage for the newly founded city or polis. Ancestral claims could also be strategically deployed to reinforce the power of an elite now threatened by the emergent polis and the levelling tendencies of democracy. The "ancestral yearning" (Snodgrass, 1971, pp. 195–96) of this period is witnessed in art, literature, and ceremonial ritual. Formal hero cult was intense during this period. Tomb cult, one of its manifestations, is connected to the loss of stability in social structures and the struggle for the control of land during the transition from pastoralism to an agricultural society. Noteworthy ancestry could aid in the project of legitimizing and stabilizing the power of certain families, connecting them with an epoch of excellence and lending authenticity to claims of landownership. Tomb cult offerings, though largely private and unofficial, also provided a personal connection with the ancient inhabitants of a place, securing the protection and the favour of ancestral powers and appeasing the anonymous hostile forces thought to dwell therein. Tomb cult peaked in the 8th century BC and continued into the Classical period.

During the late Iron Age trade and prosperity intensified, creating greater social and cultural complexity. Where the region favoured social interaction among the elites, claims of ancestry remained a matter of prestige and burial custom stayed competitive. Teams of asses or horses, armour and weaponry, and a variety of luxury imports were buried with the deceased and there is evidence, at the grave site, of intense ceremonial activity among the living. However, as configurations of power tended towards the personal and fluid, claims of archaic ancestry declined, as did extravagance of burial custom once sanctuaries came to be employed as the arena for communal and regional competitions. In the more isolated regions, however, the ancestral claims of older families were probably maintained.

The well-established polis continued the practice of corporate worship of the ancestral spirits. This provided a unity to its worshipping community, though it could also have a divisive effect since it tended to serve the power of the aristocrats. Some tomb cults were ongoing, monuments being claimed by later generations, but generally they were of short duration and limited scope. As political power came to depend on the redistribution of wealth and on the charismatic draw of individuals, kinship claims were no longer the necessary base of power. During this period there is evidence of a continuing concern for the ancestral past. The dead continue to be related to one another, graves being connected by mounds or tumuli and

enclosed within walls for protection against encroachment by expanding settlement.

Scholars generally agree that the antiquity of the Greek clan or extended family (*genos*) over centuries is a myth without foundation (Cavanaugh, 1991, pp. 100, 103; Antonaccio, 1995, pp. 252–53, 264). Even the most prominent families had no extensive pedigree. In Attica there is no evidence of long-term use of a common lot at any time from the Mycaeanean to the Classical period. Nor is there any sign of the continual tending of graves or consistent cult worship. Ancestral links seem to have been maintained over four generations or less, whether oral or written records helped to keep genealogical memory alive.

On the whole, times of instability and social disruption tended to favour a nostalgia for the past, impelling towards reaffirmations of heroic ancestry, renewed family-based claims of political legitimacy, and increased belief in the power of the dead, evidenced by greater care of the burial sites. With increased stability and prosperity, less emphasis was placed upon ancestral heritage, and there was a return to corporate burial. In the latter case, vigorous interaction between the living tended to be the focus rather than care of the dead.

In the early centuries of the Christian era, the Roman empire's contact with the east brought a blaze of interest in Near Eastern, Egyptian, and Oriental mystery religions, eclipsing for a time the glories of its Greek heritage. As Rome began to crumple, eastern influences triumphed over Classical tradition, not so much because of the superior splendour of the oriental, but because its mystical bent was more suited to the needs of the decaying empire. Its secret ritual practices, its pomp and ceremony, but also the sense of discipline and fellowship it promoted, brought consolation to the world-weary spirit in this era of decline. By the 3rd century Mithraism had spread throughout the empire, embracing the bulk of the army. Though the disillusioned were no longer drawn by the pagan insights of the sheer joy of life, characteristic of the Greeks, eastern mystery cults did promote the belief in the continuance of the soul and the cycle of rebirth, which continued the demand for reverence for the ancestors.

Upon the rubble of decaying Rome the emperor Constantine erected a new empire, Byzantium, committed to Christianity. To complete the transformation of the new empire, he established a second capital city, Constantinople, dedicated in AD 330. This site embraced all the elements of the reformed empire – Greek, Roman, and Christian – but, since it was set on the Greek-speaking coasts around an old Greek city, it was the Hellenistic past of the new empire that was highlighted. Constantine did all that he could to promote that historical connection, making the city a centre of education and the arts, stocking its libraries with Greek manuscripts and its museums with Greek treasures, and beautifying its streets and squares with Greek works. An obsession with its Hellenistic past flared throughout the empire. Even in the 12th century aristocrats were said to boast that their ancestors had arrived with Constantine (Runciman, 1933, p. 28).

Every corner of the Western world to some degree or other owes to its Greek heritage a cultural and political debt. During the national revival of the early 19th century, the Greeks, at least within the intelligentsia, bore the consciousness of being the heirs of a heritage universally revered. An obsession with past glories, *progonoplexia* ("ancestor weaving": Clogg, 1992, p. 2), characterized much of the country's cultural life, yielding movements of purification of the language and nostalgia for ancient ideals. Early Greek nationalists looked only to the Classical past for its inspiration, rejecting the glories of the Byzantine era. But in the mid-19th century Konstantinos Paparrigopoulos, a professor of history at the University of Athens, reinterpreted Greek history as a single continuum linking ancient, medieval, and modern periods.

It is central to the historical experience of the Greeks that their "Greekness" was understood, not so much with reference to a specific place, as to a way of being in the world. Due to its wealth of overseas communities, Greece had always included a large population of those who dwelt beyond the mainland, sojourners in foreign lands. This fact must have raised acutely and continuously the question of what constitutes the Greek identity. Language and religion could in no definitive way answer this question. Ancestry is the only inalienable link that accompanies people wherever they may go. This may explain the continued emphasis on ancestral heritage within the Greek world.

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See also Dead

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Andrew of Crete, St *c.*660–740

Hymnographer and preacher

St Andrew of Crete was one of the most famous Byzantine writers of hymns and homilies. He lived at a period when the Byzantine empire was besieged by Arabs and invaders from the north and when literary production consequently declined. He is perhaps best known for his invention of a new hymnographic form, the canon; whether or not he was really the inventor of this form is disputed by scholars, but his authorship of the best-known example of this genre, *The Great Canon*, is well attested. His homilies, while evidently well loved by contemporary and later medieval audiences, judging by the large number of manuscripts in which they are transmitted, are not suited to modern delivery, being highly rhetorical and employing a fairly recherché vocabulary.

According to an anonymous, but probably early, *Life* written by one Niketas, Patrician and Quaestor, Andrew of Crete was born around 660 in Damascus, Syria. Judging by his own writings, which display a secure command of Attic Greek and the late antique rules of rhetoric, he received a good education in the schools of the Arab-ruled Near East. At the age of fourteen or fifteen he was received as a monastic novice at the church of the Resurrection in Jerusalem. In 685 Andrew was sent to Constantinople in order to convey the agreement of the patriarchate of Jerusalem to the acts of the Sixth Ecumenical Council, held in 680–81. He remained in the imperial city, serving first as a deacon in the Great Church and later as the head of an orphanage and an almshouse in the city. The exact date of his ordination as archbishop of Crete is unknown, owing to the lack of literary sources for the period. However, the ordination must have taken place between 692, when a metropolitan of Gortyn named Basil signed the Acts of the Council in Trullo, and 711, when Andrew, in that capacity himself, signed the decree of a conciliabule ordered by Philippikos Bardanes that temporarily overturned the decisions of the Sixth Ecumenical Council and restored Monothelite doctrine. It is generally assumed, although difficult to prove, that most of Andrew's hymns and homilies were composed when he was serving as archbishop of Crete. A few of the homilies may be dated precisely on the basis of internal evidence, but the majority provide no clues concerning the circumstances of their delivery. It is clear from a few references in the homilies that Andrew lived well into the first period of iconoclasm (730–787) and the date of his death can therefore be placed in 740. Since he refers only rarely to the theological dispute over holy images, however, it can be inferred that he did not play an active part in the controversy. His authorship of a fragment of a text in defence of icons has been disputed, but he does deplore the imperial stance against images in his homily *In Circumcisionem et in S. Basilium* (*Clavis Patrum Graecorum* 8175). Andrew died on the island of Lesbos on his return journey to Crete after a visit to Constantinople, where he had sought imperial aid for his Cretan flock, which had been devastated not only by the Arab invasions but also by plague and famine. He was buried in the church of the holy martyr Anastasia.

Fifty-eight homilies have been attributed to Andrew, but a number of these, which remain unedited, may in fact belong to other authors. It is likely that between 30 and 35 homilies will prove to be his, but all of these texts await detailed stylistic and theological analysis. Most of Andrew's homilies are festal; that is, they belong to a genre that was intended for formal delivery in the context of the liturgical celebrations for particular feast days. Cycles of three or four sermons in honour of the Theotokos, or Mary the "God-bearer", survive that were probably preached in succession during the all-night vigils that preceded her feasts. These homilies reveal the strong influence of earlier marian literature, including especially the *Akathistos* Hymn. Repetitive and highly poetic in style, they celebrate the Virgin with typological and other theological images. Several homilies were written in honour of dominical feasts, including the Raising of Lazarus, Palm Sunday, and the Transfiguration, and a number of panegyrical sermons also survive, honouring both local Cretan saints and martyrs and more universal heroes such as St George and St Nicholas. It should be noted, however, that Andrew's authorship of the last works has been called into question by scholars. The two panegyrics on St

George differ so much in their accounts of the saint's ordeals and martyrdom that it is likely that they were based on two different sources. The encomium on St Nicholas, although transmitted in many manuscripts that attribute the text to Andrew, depends largely on a text that may have been written in the 9th century (cf. Anrich, 1917, pp. 346–56). All of these encomia, as well as an account of the miracles of St Therapon, await detailed analysis before they can be attributed securely to Andrew of Crete. The literary influences on Andrew's homilies lie both in hymnography and in homiletics. His choice of images and poetic word play sometimes echoes those of Romanos the Melodist, a hymnographer of the 6th century, while his prose style reflects most closely that of Gregory of Nazianzus.

The surviving hymns of Andrew of Crete, like his homilies, await detailed study. His Great Canon, which is sung during the fifth week of Lent, is extremely long, with 250 strophes. What is chiefly striking about this hymn is its penitential and personal tone. Andrew speaks in the first person but also on behalf of every Christian, both repenting of his sins and seeking God's forgiveness. He also wrote canons in honour of feasts including the Birth of the Virgin Mary, the Conception of St Anna, her mother, and the Raising of Lazarus. A number of hymns still await critical editions, and for all of them a detailed literary and musical analysis would be desirable. As one of the first, if not the first, writers of canons, Andrew introduced into Greek theological literature a penitential, at times mystical, tone that had previously been absent. Both his hymns and his homilies influenced subsequent hymnographers and preachers in Byzantium. The inclusion of Andrew's homilies in liturgical collections, in which they featured as readings for individual feast days, and the use of his canons in the service of *orthros* (matins), allowed these works to serve as literary models until the end of the Byzantine period.

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See also Hymnography

Biography

Born in Damascus *c.*AD 660, Andrew was educated in the Near East but moved to Constantinople in 685 where he served as a deacon and later as head of an orphanage. Between 692 and 711 he was ordained archbishop of Crete. He died on Lesbos in 740. He wrote numerous homilies, mostly for particular feast days, and hymns, including the Great Canon for the fifth week of Lent.

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Andronikos I Komnenos *c.*1118/20–1185

Emperor

Andronikos I Komnenos (1183–85) was one of the most controversial personalities on the Byzantine throne. The son of Isaac Komnenos and Eirene, and thus the nephew of Emperor John II Komnenos (1118–43), he grew up with Manuel I Komnenos (1143–80). The two cousins had some characteristics in common, such as chivalrous audacity and lasciviousness, but the desire they shared for exclusive leadership made them rivals. Manuel sought in vain to integrate Andronikos into the power network that the imperial family had built up with other aristocratic clans. Highly talented and able to impress and fascinate both men and women alike, Andronikos handled the tasks entrusted to him carelessly. He even conspired against the emperor, was imprisoned, and twice managed to escape. During a decade (*c.*1167–79) of exile in the Arab world, Georgia, and the crusader states he acquired a critical attitude to his country's situation. Although he was not xenophobic himself, he was unscrupulous in his exploitation of anti-Latin resentment, and in 1182 tolerated a massacre at Constantinople in order to take over the regency for the minor Alexios II, whom he suppressed and killed within a year.

In foreign policy the costly, but hardly effective, support of the crusader states was now definitely abandoned. An understanding was reached between Byzantium and the Muslim sultan Saladin concerning their respective spheres of influence in Asia Minor, Syria, and Palestine. The political programme of Andronikos was mainly oriented towards internal affairs in order to regain absolute control: too much power had shifted to the regional magnates, who managed the adminstrative apparatus in the provinces at will. Harsh measures against the salvage of cargo or the exploitation of peasants, for example, were not intended to favour special groups or social strata, but were aimed at creating an efficient and uncorrupt bureaucracy. The old ruling class, seeing its positions endangered, either impeded the imperial reforms or even rose in revolt, which Andronikos and his collaborators (many of them unqualified newcomers) suppressed with cruelty. Increasingly noblemen fell victim to a reign of terror on mere suspicion or denunciation of disloyalty.

Neighbouring countries such as Hungary tried to profit from the unstable situation and, incited by refugees, invaded Byzantine territories, but they were driven back. We may assume that Andronikos would have also succeeded in beating off an unexpected Norman attack from Italy. After the loss of Thessalonica (August 1185) the Byzantine army had already split up the invaders and slowed down their advance eastwards. Nevertheless tension and fear prevailed in the capital, which was inflamed when the mediocre aristocrat Isaac Angelos, stricken with panic, killed an imperial official who had come to arrest him. Seeking asylum in Hagia Sophia, Isaac unwillingly became the champion of a popular uprising and was crowned emperor on 12 September 1185. Andronikos fled, was imprisoned, mutilated, and finally butchered by the mob. His death brought to an end the drastic and often inhuman measures intended to restructure a state in economic and political decline. Two decades later, in 1204,

Constantinople and nearly the whole empire fell an easy prey to the so-called Fourth Crusade.

EWALD KISLINGER

See also Political History 802–1204

Biography

Born *c.*1118/20, Andronikos fought his way to the Byzantine throne in 1183, but was himself murdered two years later in Constantinople. He was the last ruler of the Komnenian dynasty, with a brilliant mind, but a lascivious temper. He inaugurated reforms against corruption and to strengthen the central power against regional magnates, but their resistance caused a reign of terror which culminated in the emperor's murder.

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Andronikos II Palaiologos 1259 or 1260–1328

Emperor

The long reign of Andronikos II Palaiologos (1282–1328) was marked by the beginning of the Ottoman advance in Asia Minor, religious dissensions, and a civil war, but it also witnessed the last efflorescence of Byzantine art and culture. Born in 1259 or 1260, Andronikos was proclaimed co-emperor in 1274 by his father Michael VIII Palaiologos (1259–82), who wished to ensure a smooth transition of power and to strengthen the position of the Palaiologan dynasty, which had ousted the Laskarids of Nicaea in 1261. Andronikos II had, however, a personality and a political credo very different from those of his father. Michael VIII had ruled the empire with an iron hand, subordinating through the Union of Lyons (1274) the Byzantine Church to the papacy in order to ward off western ambitions for the reconquest of Constantinople. Immediately after his accession, Andronikos II Palaiologos repudiated the unpopular Union of Lyons and restored Orthodoxy. Another internal split within the Byzantine Church, the "Arsenite schism", was not healed until 1310. The Arsenites were followers of the patriarch Arsenios (1255–60 and 1261–67), who had supported the dynastic claims of the Laskarid dynasty and of its last representative, the child-emperor John IV Laskaris (1258–61) who had been blinded by Michael VIII's order. The end of the Arsenite schism was also a belated recognition of the legitimacy of the Palaiologan dynasty.

Andronikos II Palaiologos was a devout and staunchly Orthodox emperor. During his rule the influence of the Church in late Byzantine society grew steadily. He included churchmen as judges in the supreme imperial court as reformed in 1296 (the so-called "General Judges of the Romaioi"). In 1312 he transferred the administration of the monasteries of Mount Athos from his own jurisdiction to that of the patriarch. The episcopal dioceses and their order of precedence were also reorganized during his reign. The strong-willed patriarch Athanasios I (1289– 93 and 1303–11), writer of numerous letters and sermons, protected the poor inhabitants of Constantinople from the abuses of merchants and imperial officials, and took to heart the plight of the Greek refugees from the Turkish advance in Asia Minor in the early years of the 14th century. Under his guidance, in 1304 the synod issued a new law, which was confirmed by the emperor in 1306; it covered such topics as inheritance, the opening hours of taverns and bath houses, prostitution, adultery, etc.

The Turkish expansion in Asia Minor became the nemesis of the Byzantines during the reign of Andronikos II. Michael VIII Palaiologos had withdrawn troops from the empire's eastern frontier, which now collapsed under the pressure of successive waves of Turkoman tribes fleeing the Mongol menace. Unlike Michael VIII, who had been preoccupied with the Latin west, however, Andronikos II made efforts to remedy the situation by personally leading an army in Asia Minor; and, for a short time in 1294, the campaigns of the great general Alexios Philanthropenos raised hopes. But he was opposed by powerful landlords in the area, pushed into an unsuccessful rebellion, and his successes were short-lived. Asia Minor rapidly fell to the Turks after the Byzantine defeat at the battle of Bapheus near Nikomedeia (1302) by the forces of Osman, the eponymous founder of the Ottoman state. The Ottomans took Bursa in 1326 and made it their capital. Further south, in the first decade of the 14th century, Ephesus, Smyrna, Miletus, and Sardis fell to the Seljuk emirates. In an unsuccessful effort to turn the tide of Turkish conquests, in 1303 Andronikos II hired a group of undisciplined Catalan mercenaries. After an initial success in the capture of Philadelphia in 1304, the so-called Grand Catalan Company turned against its Byzantine masters, laying waste Thrace and Mount Athos and settling first in the Cassandra peninsula and later in Thessaly. In 1311 the Catalans moved further south to Attica, expelled the ruling Frankish lords, and founded the Catalan principality of Athens and Thebes (1311–88).

Another source of trouble for Andronikos was the aggressive plans for the revival of the Latin kingdom of

Constantinople led in the early 14th century by Charles of Valois, brother of the French king Philip IV the Fair (1285–1314) and husband of the heiress to the Latin kingdom, Catherine de Courtenay. Fortunately for Andronikos, in 1314 Charles of Valois gave up his intentions, which had found support even among some Byzantine aristocrats. The reign of Andronikos II also saw the beginning of the Serbian expansion, which would culminate in the great conquests of Stephan IV Dushan (1331–55). In 1282 the Serbs occupied Byzantine-held northern Macedonia, capturing the strategic city of Skopje. Andronikos had to acknowledge the Serbian conquests; in 1299 the Serbian king Stephan II Milutin (1282–1321) married his five-year-old daughter Simonis and received as a dowry the lands north of the Ochrida–Prilep–Shtip line in Macedonia.

The internal collapse of the late Byzantine state began in the last years of Andronikos II's reign, when a civil war broke out between the ageing emperor and his grandson Andronikos III (1321/28–41). Having started as a private quarrel provoked by the emperor's decision in 1321 to exclude his grandson from the succession, the civil war became an outlet for social tensions and dragged on intermittently for seven years. High taxation and official corruption had plagued Andronikos II's reign. The younger Andronikos tried to lure aristocratic supporters through lavish tax exemptions, which in the long run damaged the imperial fisc and led to the devaluation of the Byzantine golden coin (*hyperpyron*). In 1328 the young Andronikos finally managed to oust his grandfather without any bloodshed, and Andronikos II was confined to the imperial palace. Two years later the supporters of Andronikos III forced the old emperor to enter a monastery, where he died on 13 February 1332.

The reign of Andronikos II saw not only troubling political developments, but also some remarkable cultural achievements. The philologists Maximos Planudes, Thomas Magister, and Manuel Moschopoulos commented on and systematized works of Classical authors. The numerous Byzantine intellectuals and literati of the period were associated, in one way or another, with the court of Andronikos II. Two of the greatest Byzantine encyclopedic scholars, Nikephoros Choumnos (died 1327) and Theodore Metochites (1270–1332), served in the imperial administration and rose to the rank of *mesazon*, or prime minister. Both were of relatively modest social origin but managed to connect their families with the ruling Palaiologan dynasty through marriage. Theodore Metochites became notorious for his corruption and was sacked by the young Andronikos III in 1328. Nikephoros Choumnos, Theodore Metochites, and Nikephoros Gregoras all composed panegyrics in honour of Andronikos II.

DIMITER G. ANGELOV

See also Renaissance (Palaiologan)

Biography

Born in 1259 or 1260, Andronikos II reigned for 46 years from 1282 to 1328. He died a monk in Constantinople in 1332. His reign was marred by Ottoman advances in Asia Minor, by religious controversy, and by civil war. It also witnessed the final flourishing of Byzantine art and culture, the so-called Palaiologan Renaissance. Andronikos was deposed in 1328 by the supporters of his grandson Andronikos III.

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Andronikos, Manolis 1919–1992

Archaeologist

Manolis Andronikos was one of the foremost Greek archaeologists of the 20th century, well known for his devotion to, and promotion of, archaeological investigation in Macedonia. He was born in Prousa (Bursa) of a Samian family, which moved to Thessalonica in 1922 as part of the population exchange with the Turks. This family history may have influenced his subsequent career.

Thessalonica remained the centre of his life, except for a short period of time which he spent at Oxford University on a scholarship, studying under the direction of Sir John Beazley, a well-known British scholar of Greek archaeology. Upon his return to Greece, Andronikos joined the ranks of the Greek Archaeological Service, and began a teaching career at the Aristotelian University of Thessalonica. He was very active in the field, excavating sites in Macedonia and Chalcidice, including Verroia, Naousa, Kilkis, Dion, and Thessalonica. One of his early publications, *Vergina*, vol. 1: *To Necrotapheion Ton Tymvon* [The Tymbon Cemetery], summarizing his excavation work on Iron Age graves in the vicinity of Vergina, made a fundamental contribution to our understanding of Iron Age chronology in central Macedonia.

Andronikos first began excavating in the Hellenistic palace at Vergina under the direction of K.A. Rhomaios in the 1930s. He remained especially devoted to the area and the site, and with George Bakalakis later resumed and expanded the excavations at the Hellenistic palace. The tumulus at Vergina also fascinated Andronikos, but the mound was too expensive to excavate and the foreign schools of archaeology were uninterested in such a project at that time. It was not until he received the support of Constantine Karamanlis, prime minister of Greece and a Macedonian by birth, that his goal was realized. Work at Vergina began in 1976, and a year later he announced that he had discovered a *heroon* (hero shrine), an unlooted 4th-century BC chamber tomb, and an unusually large cist tomb, which had already been stripped of its contents but was still decorated with magnificent wall paintings. Andronikos claimed that the chamber tomb contained the burials of King Philip II of Macedon, father of Alexander the Great, and his wife.

At the time of his discovery he maintained that the archaeological evidence confirmed the site of Vergina as ancient Aegae – the Macedonian royal burial ground and early capital. This evidence consisted of lavishly appointed tombs with

Manolis Andronikos among the ruins of Vergina, which he excavated

splendid wall paintings, clearly dated to the second half of the 4th century BC. The skeletal remains, wrapped in purple, and individual items found in the main chamber and antechamber of the chamber tomb, such as a gold *larnax* (or casket), the lid of which was decorated with the Macedonian star, and elaborate armour, also appeared to support a royal identification. Andronikos found a second chamber in 1978, also unlooted, which he considered to belong to Alexander IV, the son of Alexander the Great and the Bactrian princess Roxane. While most scholars agree with the latter designation, the identification of the remains in the first chamber tomb is still debated. In 1987 he uncovered the tomb of Eurydice, the mother of Philip, which is the earliest and the largest of the Macedonian tombs, containing a magnificent marble throne covered with painted and relief decorations. These finds stimulated great interest and controversy in the field of Greek archaeology, focusing the attention of the Greeks and the rest of the world on Macedonia, and gave new impetus to archaeological excavation in the area.

Andronikos directed excavations at the site of Vergina, revealing the city plan, including a theatre, an agora, the circuit walls, and the acropolis. The seminal publication of his work there, *Vergina: The Royal Tombs and the Ancient City*, appeared in 1984. He also discovered and excavated a number of 4th-century BC tombs at the nearby village of Palatitsa. His frequent, dramatic lecture presentations and the publication of numerous monographs and articles continued to focus attention on Vergina and the archaeology of the region even after the excitement and controversy of his initial discoveries had died down.

As a result of his efforts on behalf of Macedonian archaeology Andronikos gained worldwide renown. He was the recipient of many international professional honours, notably the Hergen award in Austria, and was affiliated with a number of foreign institutions and archaeological schools in Greece, such as the German Archaeological Institute. In addition, he was given the Grand Phoenix Cross, the highest civilian award bestowed by the Greek government.

Andronikos's international prominence benefited Macedonian archaeology by focusing the attention of the world on that region, and maintaining a high level of interest in subsequent work. Excavations continue in a number of locations, including the palaces at Vergina and Pella, and urban sites such as Dion, the religious capital of Macedonia, and Amphipolis, an Athenian colony established in 437 BC. In addition, cemeteries containing burials of the common people have yielded a wealth of information about culture and funerary customs in the Archaic and early Classical periods. His finds at Vergina made new and important contributions to the understanding of 4th-century art and architecture, particularly in the

areas of work in precious metals, tomb architecture, and painting. Andronikos in the course of his career trained a new generation of Greek archaeologists to carry on his work, not only to conduct in-depth research and publication of some of his finds, but to continue excavation work in the area, maintaining the hard-won attention of the community of scholars working in the field of Greek archaeology. Perhaps most important of all for the Greek people, he assumed the role of a national hero as his countrymen used the finds from his excavations as evidence that there were strong ethnic and cultural ties between the ancient Macedonians and the Greek city states to the south, promoting the idea that the Macedonians were above all a Greek tribe.

KATHLEEN DONAHUE SHERWOOD

See also Aegae, Macedonia

Biography

Born in 1919 at Bursa in Asia Minor, Andronikos and his family moved to Thessalonica in 1922 in the exchange of populations and remained based there for the rest of his life. Andronikos became professor of archaeology at the Aristotelian University in 1964. He concentrated on sites in Macedonia and achieved renown as the excavator of the royal tombs (including that of Philip II) at Vergina from 1976. He died in 1992.

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Angelopoulos, Thodoros 1935–

Director, scriptwriter, producer, and critic

Theo Angelopoulos is the most celebrated contemporary film maker working in Greece and a film stylist of striking originality who makes frequent use of extended long shots in his work. His *Aioniotita kai Mia Mera* (Eternity and a Day) won the Palme d'Or at the Cannes Film Festival in 1998, while *Ulysses' Gaze*, starring Harvey Keitel, was winner of the 1995 Festival's Grand Prize. A major Angelopoulos retrospective took place at the Museum of Modern Art in New York in 1990 and, more recently, a special Angelopoulos season was held at the Riverside Studios in London (1998).

Angelopoulos was born in Athens on 27 April 1935 and studied law at the University of Athens (1953–57). After finishing his military service he left for Paris where he enrolled at the Sorbonne, attending lectures by the anthropologist Claude Lévi-Strauss. He also studied at the Institut des Hautes Etudes Cinématographiques, although he left the IDHEC, ostensibly because of disagreements with the staff, and found a mentor in Jean Rouch, the ethnographer and director, at the Musée de l'Homme. In 1964 Angelopoulos returned to Athens were he worked as a film critic for the left-wing newspaper *Dimokratiki Allayi* and for *Synchronos Kinimatographos*, the first serious Greek film magazine, which was founded in 1969 as a Greek equivalent to the influential French film journal, *Cahiers du Cinéma*.

Angelopoulos's first film was a black-and-white short of 23 minutes entitled *The Broadcast* (1968), which won the Critics' Prize at the Thessalonica Film Festival. This was made in collaboration with the cinematographer Yorgos Arvanitis and initiated a long and successful partnership. In total, Angelopoulos has made 11 features. *Anaparastasi* (Reconstruction, 1970), his first feature film, was made during the Colonels' regime and won the coveted Prix Georges Sadoul (1971). It is generally regarded, together with *Evdokia* (1971) by Alexis Damianos (1919–), as inaugurating the New Greek Cinema. Shot on a low budget and using non-professional actors, *Anaparastasi* stands out conspicuously from the mainstream commercial cinema of the 1960s which was dominated by light comedy and melodramas that pandered to the audience's desires for social mobility. On one level it tells the story of the death of the village in late 20th-century Greece and explores the break-up of a traditional rural community under the pressures of urbanization. The action, which is based on a true incident reported in the Greek newspapers, takes place in a mountain village in Epirus where Kostas Gousis (Michalis Photopoulos) returns after years spent in Germany as a guest worker. On his homecoming he is murdered by his wife Eleni (Toula Stathopoulou) with the help of her lover, Christos Grikakas (Yannis Totsikas). The dark, brooding landscape of northern Greece anticipates Angelopoulos's subsequent films which, for the most part, evoke a dilapidated provincial Greece of crumbling façades, far removed from the clichés of sunny Attica. The unity of place in *Anaparastasi* is juxtaposed with disconcerting chronological leaps since the film focuses on the attempts by the police to reconstruct the scene of the crime. Angelopoulos himself plays a cameo role as an investigative journalist. While there are strong documentary aspects to the film, *Anaparastasi* foreshadows many of the technical strategies and thematic preoccupations of Angelopoulos's later work.

The motif of the journey, for example, runs through all of Angelopoulos's films from *Anaparastasi* to *Aioniotita kai Mia Mera* which describes the wanderings of an elderly writer, Alexandros (Bruno Ganz), through Greece. Similarly, the theme of the journey figures strongly in *O Thiasos* (The Thiasus, 1975, distributed in the UK as The Travelling Players), in *Taxidi sta Kythira* (Voyage to Cythera, 1984), where the old communist Spyros (Manos Katrakis) returns to Greece from exile in the Soviet Union, and in *O Melissokomos* (The Beekeeper, 1986), where the middle-aged schoolteacher

(Marcello Mastroianni) leaves his wife and job to follow the pollen route. Finally, the two children Voula (Tania Palaiologou) and Alexandros (Michalis Zeke) in *Topio stin Omichli* (Landscape in the Mist, 1988) voyage like Telemachus in search of their lost father whom they have never known and who may be a figment of their imaginations.

In *Anaparastasi* notions of homecoming are frequently bound up with a mythic structure; Kostas Gousis's repatriation is linked to Aeschylus' *Oresteia*, and more particularly to Clytemnestra's murder of Agamemnon. In other films, such as *O Thiasos*, the actors bear the names of protagonists in the *Oresteia* cycle and perhaps most obviously, in *Ulysses' Gaze*, the peripatetic film maker is dramatized as a Homeric hero in search of his lost homeland. Angelopoulos's work is pervaded with allusions, both visual and verbal, to Classical Greece, and echoes from the work of Angelopoulos's favourite poet George Seferis, notably from the sequence *Mythistorema* (1935), recur in the films.

Much of Angelopoulos's work is concerned with history and the director has designated a collection of his early films the "Historical Trilogy"; this includes *Meres tou '36* (Days of '36, 1970), *O Thiasos*, and *I Kynigoi* (The Hunters, 1977), three films which did much to establish the director's international stature. The first is set around the time of the Metaxas dictatorship and focuses on a political prisoner called Sofianos (Kostas Pavlou) who holds a politician hostage, with dire consequences. The second, which was made shortly before the fall of the military Junta, is a four-hour film that explores the conflicts of the Civil War as seen through the eyes of a troupe of actors whose performances are continually and tragically interrupted. This is undoubtedly one of Angelopoulos's most ambitious films which moves chronologically from the 1930s to the 1950s, encompassing the Metaxas dictatorship, the Italian invasion of Greece, the German occupation, and the Nazi defeat. The final film in the trilogy, *I Kynigoi*, begins in the 1970s with the discovery by hunters of the body of a partisan killed in 1949.

While Angelopoulos's films engage with the turbulence of Greek history and explore real historical moments, on another level they probe the meanings of history itself. As one critic has aptly observed, they should perhaps be regarded as "reflections on history, rather than historical films". As in *I Kynigoi*, they shed light on the ways in which history, embodied in the dead partisan, is continually and unexpectedly resurfacing to trouble the present. Similarly, in *Megalexandros* (1980), the director both celebrates and undermines notions of a grand historical narrative, in a manner that recalls the panoramic sweep of Bernardo Bertolucci's *1900* (1976). The film was shot in a remote village near Grevena in Greek Macedonia and, like Bertolucci's film, takes place in 1900. It relates the story of a heroic Greek bandit (Omero Antonutti) who has ambitions to become a modern Alexander the Great. Escaping from prison with a band of his followers, the bandit kidnaps a group of Englishmen and women and seizes a village in northern Greece which has established an egalitarian way of life based on the abolition of property and the equality of rights. The narrative charts the destruction of the Utopian community, however, as the hostages are murdered and Alexander changes from a hero into a ruthless tyrant. Eventually he is murdered by the villagers and the village itself is secured by government forces.

Following the so-called "trilogy of silence" which included *Taxidi sta Kythira*, *O Melissokomos*, and *Topio stin Omichli*, Angelopoulos produced two films which reflect upon the significance of borders and identity. In *To Meteoro Vima tou Pelargou* (The Suspended Step of the Stork, 1991) a young TV journalist (Gregory Karr) attempts to unearth the secret of a politician's (Marcello Mastroianni) disappearance on the Greek-Albanian border, while the narrative of *Ulysses' Gaze* centres on a film maker's (Keitel) journey to Sarajevo across the borders of a war-torn southeastern Europe in search of three missing reels of the first film footage ever shot in the Balkans. The emotional power of both films is enhanced by Eleni Karaindrou's haunting musical score.

ROBERT SHANNAN PECKHAM

See also Cinema

Biography

Born in Athens in 1935, Angelopoulos studied law at the University of Athens and anthropology at the Sorbonne. Returning to Athens in 1964, he became a film critic. He directed his first film, a short, in 1968, and since then he has directed more than a dozen feature films as well as TV work. His films have won numerous awards.

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Ani

Capital of medieval Armenia

Ani lies 45 km east of Kars in northeastern Anatolia. Its stunning position, a naturally strategic triangular site with eventually walled sides, each about 2 km long, overlooks a gorge of the Arpa Çay (Ahurean river) which is today the border between Turkey and Armenia, and could not escape early defences. In the 5th century AD the Kamsarakan dynasty held a fortress on the citadel at the southern point. From the 8th to the 10th centuries the area (Armenian Shirak) was in Arab hands, but the Armenian Bagratids made Kars their capital. In 961 Ashot III (952–77) moved his capital from Kars to Ani, initiating immense public works. Under Smbat II (977–89) the cathedral was begun and the outline of the great city walls, punctuated by semicircular towers, was completed. Under

Gagik I (989–1020) the cathedral was completed and Ani became the seat of the *katholikos* (patriarch) of Armenia, whose synod hall and regal sepulchral churches lie around the monastery of Horomos, 15 km north of Ani, on the serpentine border which has both divided and preserved them.

The building boom in cut redstone which lasted at Ani from 961 to the early 11th century also included the construction of cisterns, baths, palaces, caravansarays, and churches – variously put by Armenians at 1001 churches and by Ibn al-Athir at a more credible 500. The most delightful surviving church is St Gregory Abugamrents, a 10th-century cylinder with conical dome. But the architect of the three most striking churches is named by inscription as Trdat, a genius who looked back to varied early Armenian examples. For Smbat II and Katranidze, wife of Gagik I, Trdat built the cathedral (989–1001): a vast domed basilica, the largest upstanding building in Ani, which to Westerners who have not seen St Gayane at Vagharshapat looks Romanesque; the ruined circular church of St Gregory of Gagik (1001) is based on Zvartznotz; and the immense church of the Redeemer, which Trdat built in 1036 for a merchant prince, is an octafoil carrying an inscription of market regulations and a very large dome, which is falling in stages.

Following Basil II's Byzantine expansion into northeastern Anatolia, the Armenian *katholikos* Peter Getadarts surrendered Ani to the Byzantines in 1045, which then served as capital of the short-lived theme of Iberia until it was taken by the Seljuks in 1064. There seems to be no building activity attributable to this period. After the battle of Manzikert in 1071, the Seljuks sold Ani to the Kurdish Shaddadid emirs whence it passed to the Zakarids, but the place remained a strategic and polyglot commercial centre after the arrival of the Mongols of the Ilkhans of Iran. For example, in 1215 a merchant prince, Tigranes Honents, financed a beautiful church overlooking the gorge above the now broken bridge between Turkey and Armenia. Dedicated to St Gregory the Illuminator of Armenia, his miracle cycle was painted by Georgian artists – Greek work has also been claimed. It was only with the Timurid Mongol conquest of the early 15th century that Ani lost its importance. When it was in Russian hands in the 19th century and Turkish in the 20th century, it was examined by many archaeologists, but the border has preserved it for further study.

ANTHONY A.M. BRYER

See also Armenia

Summary

Situated in northeast Anatolia, the city of Ani lies on the modern border between Turkey and Armenia. After two centuries of Arab rule, the area became Armenian again and Ashot III (952–77) moved his capital from Kars to Ani. Grand buildings were constructed. From 1045 Ani was the capital of Byzantine Iberia but it was taken by the Seljuks in 1064. Ani lost its importance after the Mongol conquest in the 15th century.

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Animals

In Hellenic society animals have been essential with regard to the practicalities of farm work and food production, transport and war, hunting and sacrifice. Yet for the Greeks the cultural significance of animals goes beyond the practical. Greek myth in words and pictures represents real and imagined animals to explore culture, and uses them as conceptual tools. The Greeks not only used animals for practical purposes, they also used animals to think with.

In Greek society, predominantly rural, animal husbandry has always been important and in the late 20th century nearly one-third of the Greek population works in agriculture, although many farm animals are now reared indoors, often by intensive methods. The imagery of farming has informed Greek expression from Homeric epic on, where "towards evening'" is rendered as "the time for unyoking oxen" (*boulytonde*, as in the *Iliad*, 16. 779 and the *Odyssey*, 9. 58), while the early system of writing left to right and back again was described in terms of oxen ploughing (*boustrophedon*). Even the Greek gods were herdsmen (Apollo in the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes*; Helios in the *Odyssey*) and Zeus, Poseidon, and Dionysus have special taurine associations. Sheep and goats were indispensable for their wool as well as their milk and meat (Theocritus' goatherd and shepherd argue about whose fleeces are best, *Idyll* 5) and feature often in the mythic imagination. Pan is the goat god and the song that accompanied the sacrifice of a billy goat (*tragos*) is linked to the development of tragedy, while the shepherd tending his flock is a common literary theme; Polyphemus and Paris on Ida are early examples, while the Hellenistic pastoral of Theocritus and Longus romanticized shepherds as figures of past innocence, and Christian iconography represents Christ as a shepherd caring for his flock.

Animals were the objects of scientific enquiry for scholars such as Aristotle (*History of Animals*) and the 14th-century writer of the Byzantine *Diegesis ton Tetrapodon Zoon* [Descriptions of Four-Legged Animals]. Foreign fauna interested travellers such as Herodotus and Kosmas Indikopleustes and the Byzantines exhibited exotic creatures such as lions, leopards, crocodiles, bears, antelopes, and ostriches in the hippodrome and in zoos – in the 11th century Constantine IX Monomachos set up a menagerie in Constantinople (Attaleiates, 48–50). Wild animals provided entertainment by fighting (*theriomachountes*), each other or humans; animal–human combat is documented by Justinian I (*Novellae*, 105. 1) and features in Christian martyrology and hagiography.

Horses were valued highly for their service in battle and equestrian competition. The Homeric heroes in their horsehair-crested helmets fight from horsedrawn chariots and many, in particular Hector, are epithetically tamers of horses. Several war horses have their names recorded (unusual for animals): Alexander's Bucephalas was famous (Plutarch, *Alexander*, 61, Strabo, 698) while Achilles' horses, including Xanthus who prophesied Achilles' death (*Iliad*, 19. 478–94), mourned Patroclus (*Iliad*, 17. 443–47). At Athens the citizen class of cavalrymen, said to have been instituted by Solon, consisted of men from wealthy families – the cavalry provided their own horses. Equestrianism was associated with the rich; in

Aristophanes' *Clouds* Strepsiades complains that his son is bankrupting him with his mania for horses and racing. At the Panathenaic games competitors rode bareback or drove four-horse chariots around the race course (*hippodromos*). Pindar in an epinician ode records the victory of a successful race-horse, Pherenicus (*Olympian*, 1. 18), and many of the prize vases presented to the victors depict races. However, Church Fathers such as John Chrysostom were less enthusiastic about horse-racing (*Patrologiae Cursus, Series Graeca*, 59. 519. 33–34).

Animals are often anthropomorphized; writers from Aesop to Aristotle (*Historia Animalium*, 488b13–24) ascribed to animals human characteristics, while Aristophanic comedies such as *Birds* and *Wasps* and the political verse of 14th-century Byzantium such as Theodore Prodromos's *Katomyomachia* and the anonymous *Porikologos* and *Opsarologos* used animals to satirize contemporary society. Human beings are often described in animal terms – greedy people are like wolves, timid people are like deer, and, according to Semonides' poem of the 7th century BC which categorizes women according to animal type, chaste women are like bees (fr. 7 Diehl). The animal skins worn by maenads and the lion slayer Heracles represent an immediate association with the natural and the wild, yet too intimate an affinity with the bestial collapses the radical distinction between humans and other animals, an important predicate of Greek thought in antiquity and the Christian era, although the theory of reincarnation associated with the Pythagoreans which envisaged the transmigration of human souls into animals' bodies blurred this boundary. Hesiod separated man from animal on the grounds that men possess justice and do not eat one another (*Works and Days*, 276ff.); the Homeric hero should display the ferocity that wild creatures embody (Achilles entering battle is a ravening lion, *Iliad*, 20. 164–73) but should not become too beastly (Achilles' desire to eat Hector raw, *Iliad*, 22. 345–46)); the wild carnage and desire to eat raw flesh assimilates the bestialized man to the non-human, a wild animal or a monster like the uncivilized, cannibalistic Cyclops.

Greek myth transforms human beings into animals typically as a punishment: the witch Circe turns Odysseus' crew into pigs (*Odyssey*, 10. 233–43); Artemis makes Callisto a bear and Actaeon a stag; Lycaon, who sacrificed his child to Zeus, became a wolf (and was associated with the werewolf cult). Myth produced a variety of species hybrids like the hippocampus (horse–fish) and chimaera (lion–snake–goat) but Greek myth was interested particularly in animal–human mixtures such as satyrs (donkey–men) and centaurs (horse–men), anomalous creatures which, in blurring the human–animal boundary, draw attention to its importance. The wildness of drunken satyrs, played in satyr drama and painted on sympotic pottery, suggested the dangerous pleasures of bestializing Dionysiac excess; the centauromachy of the Parthenon in which the savage centaurs who disrupt the wedding feast are defeated by the Lapiths signifies the victory of civilization over wildness. Animal imagery is important too in Christian myth and iconography; in the Byzantine period the *Physiologos* and *Hexaemeron* used animals to symbolize virtues and vices and throughout the Christian era the devil has been represented as a snake. Dragons too were identified with evil and with enemies of the Church such as the emperor Julian (361–63); saints such as George and Elisabeth were portrayed defeating dragons.

Artemis, associated iconographically with the stag, was mistress of wild animals (*Iliad*, 21. 470) and she protected them, although as the huntress she killed beasts. Similes of hunting and wild predators are common in Homer and scenes of horses and hounds were popular with artists, who depicted the killing of deer, boar, hares, and lions. In the Byzantine period scenes of animal–human combat were added to this repertoire, as were illustrations of falconry, a popular pastime. A portion of the hunted animal was offered to the gods, yet wild animals were seldom thought to be the proper objects of sacrifice (one exception is the cult of Artemis at Patras: Pausanias, 7. 18. 12). The ritual slaughter of domestic beasts, however, was ubiquitous, although the vegetable offerings and vegetarianism of Orphic and Pythagorean cult ran counter to this principle. The best sacrifice was a bull; also of value were cows, sheep (rams were better than ewes), pigs, and poultry. Pigs were slaughtered in purification rituals. Fish and smaller animals were rarely offered to the gods, although Pausanias mentions puppy sacrifice (3. 14. 8).

The choice of sacrificial victim sometimes mirrored a religious iconography that frequently associated gods with specific animals: at Athens Athena, who carries a goatskin aegis, was honoured with goat sacrifices, while more generally bulls were connected with Zeus and Dionysus, cattle with Hera, doves with Aphrodite, and horses with Poseidon, mythically the ultimate ancestor of the horse. Typically sacrifice entailed the ritual cutting of the animal's throat, but at Argos horses were drowned for Poseidon (Pausanias, 8. 7. 2). Christianity rejected the tradition of animal sacrifice but pagan magic continued to use animals.

Animals were important in prophecy; seers inspected the entrails of sacrificial victims and augurs inferred the future from watching birds in flight and, less commonly, fish swimming. Birds of prey were particularly significant: the eagle was Zeus' bird, and Hesiod's tale of the hawk and the nightingale is a fable of kingly power (*Works and Days*, 202–12). Snakes, thought to be intermediaries between this world and the next, were associated with oracles, with the dead, and with chthonic deities such as Aeschylus' snaky-haired Erinyes. Indeed, several autochthonous myths have serpentine nuances; Cecrops, the first earthborn king of Athens, was a serpent from the waist down, while the foundation of Thebes was marked by the birth of the Spartoi, sprung from the dragon's teeth.

Traditionally the Greeks have kept animals for their usefulness, but in modern Greece cats and dogs, caged birds, and fish are popular pets and even in the ancient world some animals lived indoors; Telemachus' dogs follow him around the house (*Odyssey*, 2. 11, 17. 62), Theocritus' housewife orders her slave to let the dog in and keep the cats out of the knitting basket, although the cats here – *galeai* – may have been pole cats (*Idyll*, 15. 44 and 28), and the Byzantines kept animals as companions. Homer in particular describes human affection for animals: Polyphemus' doting care for his flock is his one redeeming characteristic (*Odyssey*, 9. 446–60) and Odysseus weeps when his old dog Argos dies (*Odyssey*, 17. 290–327).

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See also Divination, Hunting, Mythology, Satyr Play, Spells, Zoology

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Anthology, Greek

Collection of epigrams from the 7th century BC to the 10th century AD

The present *Greek Anthology* is the culmination of a process of anthologizing which began in the 3rd century BC. It properly consists of two collections of epigrams written mainly in the elegiac metre. The *Palatine Anthology* is a compilation from the 10th century AD of 3765 poems, so called from a manuscript once in Rome and now divided between Heidelberg (Universitätsbibliothek, Palat. gr. 23) and Paris (Bibliothèque Nationale, suppl. gr. 384). The *Planudean Anthology* is a 13th- or 14th-century compilation of approximately 2,400 poems, of which 388 do not appear in the *Palatine Anthology*. It was this shorter collection, first published in 1494 by the Byzantine émigré John Laskaris, that was long known in the West as the *Greek Anthology*. The *Palatine Anthology* was not published until the early 19th century, by Friedrich Jacobs (Leipzig, 1813–17).

It was common practice for individual poets of the Hellenistic period to collect their own short poems into an individual book, and the *Soros* [Heap] may have been a joint edition of the epigrammatists Asclepiades, Posidippus, and Hedylus in the early 3rd century BC. True anthologies of poems by different authors were much rarer, although there is some scanty evidence for them from the end of the 4th century BC. The earliest extensive such compilation known today appears to be the *Stephanos* [Garland] of Meleager of Gadara in Syria, which was put together around 100 BC. This is an artistically arranged selection of poems from the previous two centuries, to which Meleager added a preface in which he named all the poets and attributed to each the name of a flower. His collection included graceful poems of his own composition, mainly erotic and addressed to both boys and girls. A second *Garland*, arranged alphabetically by the first word of each poem, was compiled, probably during the reign of Nero, by Philip of Thessalonica. His choice was more eclectic than Meleager's with less emphasis on love and more on rhetorical description (his personal contribution comprises 80 such poems). The first compilation to be called an "anthology", literally a "gathering of flowers", is that of Diogenianus of Heraclea during the time of Hadrian, although the title may be a lexicographer's description and not Diogenianus' own. *Cycle* was the name selected by the lawyer and historian Agathias of Myrina for a further anthology published probably shortly after AD 560. This contains classicizing epigrams by his Constantinopolitan friends and about 100 from his own hand.

The first really comprehensive anthology was that of Constantine Kephalas, who was possibly a palace chaplain

mentioned by chroniclers as active in 917. It comprised the poems gathered by Meleager, Philip, Diogenianus (probably from a 4th-century abridgement), Agathias, and other anthologists and in further individual collections such as the pederastic *Musa Puerilis* of the 2nd-century AD poet Straton of Sardis and the often humorous and satiric poems of the 4th-century AD Alexandrian schoolmaster Palladas. Remarkably, it also included poetic inscriptions on Byzantine churches copied down by a contemporary, the *magistros* Gregory of Kampsa (in Macedonia), during his travels in Greece, Macedonia, and Asia Minor. Although Kephalas's anthology is lost, it formed the bulk of the surviving *Palatine Anthology*. This huge compilation included additional Christian and rhetorically descriptive epigrams. Its compiler is unknown, but it may have been the early 10th-century poet Constantine of Rhodes, three of whose poems it includes.

The *Palatine Anthology* is divided thematically into 15 books of widely differing lengths. Their contents are: (1) 123 Christian epigrams that are mainly copies of inscriptions on Byzantine churches; (2) 65 descriptions in hexameters by the 5th- to 6th -century Egyptian poet Christodoros of Koptos (known also as of Thebes) of the statues of Classical mythological and historical figures in the baths of Zeuxippos in Constantinople; (3) 19 epigrams on filial mythological themes inscribed by two brothers on the columns of a temple at Cyzicus in honour of their mother; (4) the four prefaces to their anthologies of Meleager, Philippos, and Agathias (2); (5) 309 amatory epigrams; (6) 358 dedicatory epigrams; (7) 748 epitaphs; (8) 254 epigrams of St Gregory of Nazianzus; (9) 827 declamatory and descriptive epigrams; (10) 126 hortatory epigrams; (11) 64 convivial and 378 satiric epigrams; (12) 258 erotic and usually pederastic epigrams attributed, probably not always correctly, to Straton; (13) 31 miscellaneous poems in 30 different metres or combinations; (14) 150 arithmetical problems (perhaps all by Metrodoros), riddles, and oracles; (15) 51 miscellaneous poems including six *technopaegnia* (jeux d'esprit), the shapes of whose lines resemble panpipes, an axe, a pair of wings, an altar (two poems), and an egg.

Around 1300 Maximos Planudes, a scribe in the imperial palace and translator of Latin texts, made his own anthology of epigrams. For this he used three now lost manuscripts, two of collections similar to the *Palatine Anthology* and a third of an abridged version of Kephalas's collection. Planudes both rejected many poems and, making skilful use of his metrical knowledge, "emended" others to reflect contemporary propriety. The *Planudean Anthology* is divided into seven books – epideictic, satiric, funerary, ekphrastic epigrams, the hexameters of Christodoros, votive, and amatory epigrams. Each book is subdivided, poems on each theme being arranged alphabetically. Planudes' autograph manuscript (Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Marc. gr. 481) is dated 1301 (or 1299) and there survive also a preliminary and an incomplete final revision done under the compiler's supervision. The 388 poems unique to this compilation, usually collectively called the *Planudean Appendix* or, incorrectly, book 16 of the *Palatine Anthology*, are mainly epigrams about or imaginarily inscribed upon statues and paintings.

The *Anthology* has had a decisive influence on the literatures of modern European languages, especially during the Renaissance. In Greece itself, however, it was largely unknown to the vernacular poets, and the writers in the "purified" language (katharevousa) turned rather to French and Italian models. The main exception is Cavafy, an Alexandrian like many of the poets in the *Anthology*. Many of his poems are on Hellenistic themes, while the homoerotic ones are often inspired by or even based upon the *Anthology*'s epigrams of death and love. Unlike their predecessors, however, they are not pederastic, and, despite being less explicit, are generally more sensuous and anguished as a result of both his own personality and the contemporary attitude towards homo-sexuality.

The *Greek Anthology* is a garden with possibly more weeds than flowers, but it shows in an incomparable way the development of the genre of the epigram over more than one and a half millennia. It contains some of the most exquisite poems ever written in Greek: the world would be immeasurably the poorer were it not for its survival.

A.R. LITTLEWOOD

See also Epigram

Summary

The *Greek Anthology* is a collection of Greek epigrams dating from the 7th century BC to the 10th century AD. It consists of two collections – the *Palatine Anthology* (3765 poems) compiled in the 10th century and the *Planudean Anthology* (which contains 388 additional poems in its total of about 2400) compiled in the 13th–14th centuries. It demonstrates the evolution of the Greek epigram as a genre over more than 1500 years.

Text

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Anthropology, Social

Social anthropology (*anthropos*: Greek for "human being") involves the study of societies, particularly the cultural values and institutions such as religion, law, or politics that organize relations between people. Anthropologists attempt to understand how people in various communities perceive and inhabit their worlds. The focus below will be on social anthropological studies of Greece as well as anthropological studies done by Greeks.

Herodotus is generally viewed as the father of anthropology. He travelled extremely widely for a man of his time, from the Black Sea to Aswan in Upper Egypt, and from Sicily to Cyprus. His *Histories* mention more than 50 different tribes or "nations", including lengthy descriptions of the Egyptians and

the Scythians. He did not stay long in these various places; he was more like a tourist than an ethnographic fieldworker. What distinguished him from earlier historians and mythographers was his application of a rationalist approach, which he called *historia*, literally "research, inquiry" – the very same term the early philosophers used to describe their investigations of nature. He would compare accounts and reject the less likely, or register his own scepticism. As he demurs at one point, "For myself, my duty is to report all that is said, but I am not obliged to believe it all."

Herodotus approached the study of society with distinct categories and questions in mind. He operated according to an implicit social theory that led him to scrutinize descent, language, and religion as the criteria that distinguished one group from another. In his accounts of specific groups he tended to emphasize marriage customs, religious rites, burial practices, and food habits – categories that would shape subsequent ethnographic thought throughout the Middle Ages. The pole of comparison of these various forms of life was, of course, the 5th-century Greek world. In kinship and marriage, for example, the Greeks were patriarchal and patrilineal, and this made for comparative interest in the Lycians who reckoned descent matrilineally, or in the Massagetae who were promiscuous, or the Issedonians who ate their dead parents, but treated their wives as equals.

Herodotus' rational historical method tended to break down in the description of peoples inhabiting the limits of the known world such as the Issedonians. His report that in India there was a tribe "that will not take life in any form; they sow no seed, and have no houses and live on a vegetable diet" apparently contained a kernel of truth. Yet in other passages he wrote of people with feet like goats and others who slept half the year. The Roman imperial historian Pliny continued this exoticizing of peripheral peoples, expanding Herodotus' inventory of ethnological curiosities to include the Gamphastes who went naked and practised non-violence, and the headless Blemmyae whose eyes and mouths were set in their chests. These and other fantastic stories found their way on to medieval maps and influenced the perception of the world until the age of exploration.

The 16th and 17th centuries not only brought Europe into contact with hitherto unexplored parts of the world, it was also the period of the rebirth of humanistic interest in ancient Greece. One result of this historical coincidence of philological and geographical exploration was the appearance of books comparing the institutions and values of the ancients with those of contemporary "savages" in the newly colonized world. The French missionary Joseph-François Lafitau's 1724 volume comparing native North Americans to the Greeks and Romans was just one example of this trend. In addition to his primary interest in religion, Lafitau collected correspondences in domains such as government, family organization, education, and the gendered division of labour. The general conclusion that Lafitau and his contemporaries drew from this kind of research was that native Americans and the people of Classical antiquity must have sprung from one and the same source.

The chronological and evolutionary specifics of the relationship between contemporary inhabitants of small-scale societies and the ancients were further worked out in the 19th century. The view of high Victorian anthropology drew heavily on the ideas of evolution and progress. For E.B. Tylor, who became the world's first professional anthropologist upon assuming a readership at Oxford in 1884, all humans possessed the same mental equipment but some had developed faster and further than others. He divided humanity into three stages: savagery, barbarism, and civilization. The Britain of his day exemplified the last stage, and he and his countrymen could look at small-scale societies in places like Africa and Melanesia, or ancient societies in Greece or Rome, to see what they had once been like. Savagery was characterized by "animism" – the idea that spirits and supernatural beings animated and controlled the natural and human worlds. Homeric descriptions of the souls of warriors departing through their mouths at death could be compared with similar beliefs among peoples of the Malay archipelago. Tylor also considered that isolated elements from earlier stages of humanity could filter through to civilized societies as "survivals" – little irrationalities and superstitions like saying "Bless you!" when someone sneezed.

One of the goals of Tylor's follower, Sir James Frazer, was to identify and extirpate these survivals, thereby paving the road to progress. Frazer's multivolume work *The Golden Bough* (1890–1915) exhaustively catalogued and compared beliefs in fertility, death, and resurrection held by ancient societies, contemporary "primitive" societies, and even European peasants who, it was thought, had not been touched by "civilization". Frazer was an accomplished Classical scholar and his cross-cultural ethnographic learning also found its way into his six-volume commentary on the Greek traveller Pausanias. His influence touched the turn-of-the-century "Cambridge Ritualist" school of Jane Harrison, F.M. Cornford, and others, who made ample use of cross-cultural materials in presenting their arguments about the priority of ritual to myth in ancient Greek society.

Beginning with Bronislaw Malinowski in the 1920s, fieldwork, involving a residence of a year or more among the people under study, became the standard method of data collection in anthropology. During this time the anthropologist was expected to learn the language of the group under study and attempt, through the method of "participant observation", to capture "the native's point of view". Malinowski eschewed the hypothetical historicism of his Victorian predecessors. Societies were to be explained by his functional theory that emphasized how institutions enabled people to adapt to their environment and maintain social harmony in the present.

Malinowski's revolution spelled the end of the comparative, evolutionary, anthropological interest in ancient Greece that had flourished since the Renaissance, and it was not until after World War II that a variety of new approaches began to emerge. In 1955 Claude Lévi-Strauss published his essay on "The Structural Study of Myth" in which he applied his structuralist method to the myth of Oedipus. This called for a solid ethnographic knowledge of the society and the region whose myths were being considered. Lévi-Strauss was no specialist on ancient Greek culture and he even admitted in the course of his essay that Oedipus was "an arbitrary example, treated in an arbitrary manner". His structuralist method, however, was later to prove fruitful in the hands of the French Classical scholars Jean-Pierre Vernant and Marcel Detienne who

produced stunning analyses of the cult of Hestia and the myth of Adonis respectively. These analyses depended upon detailed knowledge of Greek domestic space arrangements, ideas about gender, sexuality, and the symbolic associations of herbs and spices, to name just a few cultural categories.

Another postwar development was the general application of anthropological theories to illuminate Classical Greek values and institutions. The classicist E.R. Dodds (*The Greeks and the Irrational*, 1951) borrowed the American anthropologist Ruth Benedict's distinction between shame and guilt cultures to differentiate the Homeric world, where public appearances counted most, from the world depicted by the Classical tragedians, where actors were riven by internalized dilemmas. In another novel departure the ancient historian M.I. Finley applied the economic anthropological theories of Mauss and Polanyi to the understanding of ancient Greek gift giving, friendship, and trade (*The World of Odysseus*, 1954). From this point onwards anthropological theories and comparative examples have featured prominently and regularly in major works such as Walter Burkert's study of Greek sacrifice (*Homo Necans*, 1983) or James Redfield's study of social values in Homeric epic (*Nature and Culture in the Iliad*, 1975).

The study of modern Greek societies through ethnographic field research represented another important mid-20th-century departure. Up until this moment modern Greek village life and traditonal beliefs had been the province of folklorists and travellers from the 19th century and earlier. Scholars such as John Cuthbert Lawson and Nikolaos Politis were primarily interested in discovering survivals of ancient culture in modern Greece. Although roughly contemporary with the British Victorian anthropologists mentioned above, these folklorists took an entirely different view of survivals. In their view survivals added to knowledge about the revered ancients while also furnishing documentary evidence that the modern Greeks really were valid descendants of the ancients. This was an important national issue for the Greek state after nearly 400 years of Ottoman domination.

The new generation of anthropologists were not concerned with these issues, but rather with Malinowski's programme of rendering a holistic account of the community under immediate study. The American anthropologist Ernestine Friedl presented a monograph (1962) describing life in a Boeotian farming village that considered issues of tradition and modernity. And John Campbell published an account (1964) of the Sarakatsani, a transhumant group of pastoralists in Epirus. Campbell's study was the first full-length exploration of a cognatic kindred, a system where descent is reckoned through both parents. More theoretical focus was given to early anthropological research in Greece by John Peristiany, arguably the first Greek anthropologist to emerge after Herodotus. Peristiany conducted fieldwork in his native Cyprus and edited an influential volume entitled *Honour and Shame: The Values of Mediterranean Society* (1966) that drew together studies documenting a pan-Mediterranean set of complementary values. Men in these societies were held to possess "honour" – the ability to protect one's immediate kin, property, and good name. Women, on the other hand, possessed "shame" – the obligation to conduct themselves with modesty.

Once thought to be the key to understanding Greece, and all Mediterranean societies, the honour and shame complex has been criticized as too rigid. Current research in Greece has moved on to consider the fundamental duality in modern Greek social identity between Classical/western and Ottoman/eastern alternatives – between Hellenism and *Romiosyni*. Among themselves, contemporary Greeks may acknowledge the Ottoman influences on their culture and speak in affectionate, expressive terms that contain numerous Turkish-derived words. For purposes of self-presentation to outsiders these features are downplayed and links with the ancients are emphasized. In such situations more vocabulary may be selected from the katharevousa register, a version of modern Greek invented in the 19th century and designed to purge the spoken language of Turkish and Balkan elements. The performance of Greek identity thus involves constant code-switching between Hellenic and Romaic registers.

One consequence of the florescence of anthropological research on contemporary Greece and Cyprus is that Classical historians may now draw on these data to inform their reconstructions of earlier communities in the very same regions. Archaeologists have exploited this situation to make advances in the area of ethnoarchaeology. In order to further their understanding of ancient Greek subsistence and seasonal work patterns, for example, they may conduct field research among contemporary farmers and shepherds to gain an idea of how much grain a hectare of land normally yields, or how much milk a flock of sheep and goats can provide.

The orientation of this research is paralleled in the work of historians such as David Cohen who argue that the honour and shame complex identified through anthropological research in Greece may deepen the understanding of public morals in Classical Athens. Since independence in 1832 the Greek state, supported by folklorists and foreign travellers, has asserted that it continues the rational and sophisticated traditions of the ancients. Lying, vendettas, and the practices of remote agriculturalists probably did not figure in the state's initial vision of claimable survivals. An unintended consequence of this new research is that the ancient Hellenes now resemble *Romii avant la lettre* and contemporary practices hitherto disparaged as Romaic can now be confidently claimed as Hellenic.

The anthropology of Greece has come full circle in one other respect. Anthropological practice underwent critical reexamination in the 1980s resulting in greater sensitivity to the issues of representation and reflexivity. In principle this meant that more space should be given to representing the unmediated statements and opinions of the people under study, even to the point of making them co-authors of the ethnography. Reflexivity called for the anthropologists to include more information on their personal experiences and feelings in the field. These theoretical developments coincided with the establishment of social anthropology as an academic discipline in Greek universities. Increasing numbers of Greek anthropologists are now undertaking extensive field research in Greece. This rise of an indigenous anthropology offered one solution to the "crisis of representation". Greek anthropologists such as Neni Panourgiá, Nadia Seremetakis, Evthymios Papataxiarchis, and Vassos Argyrou have been able to utilize their total linguistic competence and relative insider status to

offer striking accounts of death as experienced within an Athenian family, funeral lamentation in Mani, patterns of drinking and friendship on the island of Lesbos, and champagne as opposed to "traditional" weddings in Cyprus respectively. Public debates have centred on whether these indigenous anthropologists can render more valid accounts of Greek society. The preliminary verdict seems to be "no"; there are likely to be as many different anthropological accounts of a given society as there are anthropologists.

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See also Folklore, Honour and Shame, Identity

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Antigonids

Dynasty of Macedonian kings

With the death of Alexander the Great in 323 BC and the murder of all the members of his immediate family within the following 30 years, the Argead dynasty of Macedonian kings (of which Alexander was a member) was extinguished. The throne of Macedonia was vacant and briefly occupied by various contenders, creating a political situation of great turmoil and instability. Only when Antigonus Gonatas secured the throne around 277 BC, held it for nearly 30 years, and sired a son who inherited it, can we speak meaningfully of the Antigonid dynasty of kings of Macedonia, but their roots in Macedonian history go back for more than half a century.

The grandfather of Gonatas was Antigonus Monophthalmus (the "One-Eyed"), who was a general throughout the Asian expedition of Alexander the Great. After Alexander's death, he was declared "general" (in Greek *strategos*) – essentially supreme commander – of all Asia, which gave him great power and control over a vast territory. Throughout the next 20 years Antigonus fought to consolidate his position and extend his power at the expense of the other successors of Alexander. At the period of his greatest successes, it might be argued that he came closest to recreating Alexander's kingdom. After some notable military victories, he declared himself and his son Demetrius "kings" in 306 BC. Although they were "kings" without a kingdom in geographical terms, this joint claim suggests that Antigonus intended to establish a hereditary line of rulers.

Antigonus Monophthalmus died on the battlefield of Ipsus in 301 BC, facing a coalition of the other successors. His son Demetrius Poliorcetes ("the Besieger"), who had already acted as Antigonus' roving general throughout Greece and Asia, inherited his father's ambitions. He interfered in the politics of mainland Greece, subdued Athens for a time, and was briefly declared king of Macedonia. In 293 BC Demetrius founded by synoecism a new city, Demetrias, near the site of Classical Pagasae (in turn near the site of Bronze Age Iolcus, from where the legendary Jason set forth on his journey to find the Golden Fleece) in the Gulf of Volos, a few kilometres from the modern city of Volos. In 285 BC, in the course of attempting to recover his father's Asian possessions, Demetrius was captured by Seleucus I of Syria and died in captivity two years later.

Antigonus Gonatas, the son of Demetrius and his wife Phila (the daughter of Antipater, the regent of Macedonia during Alexander the Great's absence), immediately took the title of king and entered the fray for the throne of Macedon. He finally secured it around 277 BC. His long reign saw the Chremonidean war in the 260s BC, when Athens and Sparta tried unsuccessfully to overthrow Macedonian control, and naval victories over the Ptolemies at the battles of Cos and Andros (usually placed in the context of the Chremonidean war). Gonatas died in 239 BC, having outlived all his royal contemporaries. Although his control over mainland Greece was insecure and he had been threatened in Macedonia, he reestablished Macedonia as a nation and made it a kingdom to be ruled by his descendants. On the cultural side, Antigonus had been a pupil of the philosophers Menedemus of Euboea and Zeno of Citium, and his court at Pella was a centre for writers and scholars, among them the historian Hieronymus of Cardia (author of the most reliable account of the decades after the death of Alexander the Great), and the poets Aratus of Soli and Alexander Aetolus.

Gonatas' son Demetrius II had probably been acting as the king's general during much of his father's long rule, but his defence of Macedonia against an Epirot attack at the time of the Chremonidean war is his only known action. He fought a war against Aetolia and the anti-Macedonian Achaeans around 238 BC, and was killed fighting the Illyrian Dardani tribe on the Macedonian frontier in 229 BC, leaving an eight-

year-old son, Philip, to face the barbarian threat and the consequences in Greece of a weakened Macedonia.

The boy king Philip V was placed in the care of a regent, Antigonus Doson, a grandson of Demetrius Poliorcetes from one of his minor marriages. Antigonus proved a blessing to the threatened Macedonia, and his loyalty to the young Philip remained unshaken even after he was himself granted the throne around 227/26 BC (thereby becoming Antigonus III). Doson defeated the warlike Dardani tribe, and turned his attention to the south and east. He defeated the Aetolians and Thessalians in 228 BC, and made an expedition to Caria in 227 BC (the circumstances, cause, and purpose of this adventure remain obscure). His chance to re-establish Macedonian influence in mainland Greece came at the surprising request of the usually anti-Macedonian Aratus of Sicyon (the head of the Achaean League) for help in the Peloponnese against the aggressions of Sparta and Aetolia. Doson readily agreed, and was formally offered the citadel of Acrocorinth (which dominated the Isthmus of Corinth) in return for his military support in 225–24 BC. Corinth was occupied by a Macedonian military garrison, and Doson pushed back the threatening Spartan king.

One of the most important acts of Doson's reign was the foundation in 224 BC of the so-called Hellenic League, an alliance of existing Greek federations under Macedonian hegemony. The various federations were to be internally autonomous but interdependent with respect to foreign policy. The foundation of the Hellenic League was potentially significant because Greece was shortly to face the power of Rome, and it is a landmark in the history of federalism. Unfortunately, Doson's premature death prevented the fruition of his plans having real effect. After recovering Arcadia in 223 BC and defeating the Spartan king Cleomenes III at the battle of Sellasia (just north of Sparta) in 222 BC, he returned to Macedonia to face another Illyrian invasion. A burst blood-vessel in his lungs worsened his already weak health, and he died some months later in 221 BC, having provided for the education of his charge Philip V by sending him to Aratus of Sicyon, Macedonia's recent ally, to learn about Greek affairs.

The accession of Philip V as an independent monarch marks the beginning of the end for an independent Macedon, due to its involvement with a now very powerful Rome. Philip was still a teenager when his regent Doson died, but he was immediately plunged into the so-called Social War in which he and the newly founded Hellenic League faced Aetolia and its allies. The war lasted from 220 to 217 BC, and marked Philip's growth into a mature king. He gradually turned away from his new mentor Aratus and towards the camp of an Illyrian dynast named Demetrius of Pharos (the island of Hvar in modern Croatia) in the Adriatic Sea. Rome had rewarded Demetrius with the rule of this petty state when he delivered Corcyra (modern Corfu) into Roman hands, but his various aggressions in the Aegean caused Rome to expel him in 219 BC, and he escaped to Philip in Macedonia nursing a major grievance. Demetrius encouraged Philip's alienation from Aratus and the Achaean League and continually incited him against Rome, in the first instance against the Romans in Illyria. Furthermore, Philip's treaty with the Carthaginian general Hannibal was the death-knell of any hope of friendship with Rome.

The First Macedonian War between Macedonia and Rome began in 214 BC, and soon Rome forged an alliance with Aetolia against Philip. The war began inauspiciously for Philip, with various disasters in the Peloponnese, an ultimate break with Aratus, and the forced burning of his fleet, but his superior forces on land, combined with Roman inaction at critical periods, forced terms on Aetolia in 206 BC. The First Macedonian War was ended by the Peace of Phoenice (a city in Epirus, now in modern Albania), proposed by Rome in 205 BC and favourable to Philip.

Philip turned his attentions eastward, colluding in 203/202 BC with Antiochus III to divide Egypt and experiencing a naval defeat off the island of Chios in 201 BC at the hands of the combined Rhodian and Pergamene fleets. Fearing Philip's intentions, Rome declared the Second Macedonian War in 200 BC. Campaigns were fought in Greece, Thrace, Macedonia, and Thessaly, sometimes with notable successes for Philip, until in desperation Rome appointed Titus Quinctius Flamininus to the command in 198 BC. Under his leadership, in 197 BC the Romans decisively defeated Philip's forces at the battle of Cynoscephalae in Thessaly. Harsh military and financial terms were imposed upon Macedon, and Philip's elder son Demetrius was taken as a hostage to Rome.

Confined to Macedonia as part of the peace terms, Philip concentrated on rebuilding his country. He was now perforce an ally of Rome, albeit an uneasy one, and he had to be seen to support it – which he did against the usurper Nabis of Sparta, Antiochus III, and Aetolia. Rome remained suspicious of Philip, rightly so in view of his aggressive policy in the Balkans after 185 BC (defeating various Thracian tribes, resettling some, and making alliances with others). Philip, probably with the connivance if not the encouragement of his younger son Perseus, engineered the death of his pro-Roman son Demetrius after he was freed from his Roman sojourn, and secured the succession for Perseus, who shared his imperialist tendencies. On a tour of his kingdom in 179 BC, Philip V died of sickness at Amphipolis.

Upon his accession to the throne, Perseus renewed his treaty of friendship with Rome, but carried on his father's policy of consolidating Macedonia. He furthermore made a convenient dynastic marriage to Princess Laodice, daughter of Seleucus IV of Syria. Complaints by Eumenes II of Pergamum in the Roman Senate about Perseus' growing power led to the declaration of the Third Macedonian War in 171 BC. Macedonian advantages in the early years of the war were ended by the appointment of the Roman general Lucius Aemilius Paullus to the command in 168 BC. The Roman forces utterly defeated Perseus at the battle of Pydna (on the east coast of Macedonia south of Thessalonica) in 168 BC. Perseus fled to Samothrace but finally surrendered to the Romans. He and his children were taken captive to Rome, paraded in chains in Paullus' triumph, and the king – the last of the Antigonids – died in a Roman prison shortly thereafter. Macedonia was sacked of all of its wealth and its people were treated harshly. The royal kingdom was abolished, and the country was divided into four republics with elected officials who operated under Roman supervision. A pretender to the throne, Andriscus from Adramyttium in the Troad, claimed to be the son of Perseus, and raised some support for his cause. He had some military successes *c.*153–148 BC but was defeated by the Roman general

Q. Caecilius Metellus Macedonicus, captured, paraded in triumph at Rome, and executed. Macedonia became a full province of Rome in 146 BC.

The Antigonids re-established Macedonia as a nation after the years of Alexander the Great's absence, the decades of chaos after his death, and the extinction of the Argead dynasty. Under their rule, the country gradually regained its prosperity after the severe depletion of manpower occasioned by the removal of some 40,000 men in their prime to accompany and reinforce the expedition of Alexander the Great. The wealth of Macedonia could not perhaps compete with that of the Ptolemaic and Seleucid empires, but the amount that was removed by the Romans (attesred in literary sources) shows that the Antigonid kings could hold their own among other Greek monarchs. However, it was the serious mistakes in judgement by the later Antigonid kings regarding the level of Rome's interest in the Greek east and its ability to carry out its policy that led Macedonia to lose its independence and became the first of the Hellenistic empires to fall under Roman control.

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See also Macedonia

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Antioch

City in the Roman province of Syria

Antioch (now Antakya in Turkey) was founded by Seleucus I in 300 BC on the left bank of the Orontes, *c.*24 km from the sea, by transfer of 5300 Athenian and Macedonian settlers. The city became the capital of the Seleucid empire, and subsequently of the Roman province of Syria. In addition to being a great centre of administration the city benefited from being on the trade route from Asia to the Mediterranean. Its population, which in the 4th century AD reached around 250,000, was matched in the east only by that of Alexandria, and later that of Constantinople. At that time the city was a splendid sight with an imperial palace, an octagonal cathedral, churches, colonnaded streets, baths and theatres, and mansions with beautiful mosaic floors at the residential suburb of Daphne. The inhabitants were of mixed origins, but the city was Greek in political institutions, culture, and language, and from it Greek language and civilization spread into the villages and towns of northern Syria.

The most important Antiochene secular writers, both of the 4th century AD, were Ammianus Marcellinus, who adapted the tradition of Greek historiography to compose a Latin history of the Roman empire, and Libanius, the most famous orator of his time, a pagan whose pupils included St John Chrysostom and probably St Basil of Caesarea. Antioch had a large Jewish community, and Christianity came there very early. It was the starting point of Paul's mission to the cities of the Greek east, and it was here that Christians were first called by that name. The Antiochene school of biblical exegesis, in contrast to that of Alexandria, emphasized the importance of the literal as against the allegorical meaning of the text. Influential exponents were Diodorus of Tarsus, John Chrysostom, Theodore of Mopsuestia, and Theoderet of Cyrrhus. Antiochene exegesis became associated with Nestorianism, and was forced out of the empire after the Second Council of Ephesus (449). Its traditions continued in the Nestorian school at Nisibis, where much Greek philosophy and theology was translated into Syriac.

The patriarch of Antioch was the leader of all bishops between the Taurus and the Egyptian border, though his authority was weakened during most of the 4th century by divisions in the Antiochene Church. In the Christological controversies of the 5th and 6th centuries supporters of Chalcedon were generally in the majority at Antioch. But Severus, patriarch 512–18, was a principal Monophysite theologian. He wrote in Greek, though his works survive only in Syriac. The hinterland of Antioch became Monophysite and developed a liturgy and literature in Syriac. Later a separate Monophysite patriarchate was established, but its bishop usually resided in a monastery outside the city.

Antioch was devastated by an earthquake in 528 (others struck in 551, 557, 587, 588). It was captured and burnt by the Persians and many of its inhabitants deported in 540. In 542 Antioch suffered the first of a series of visitations of plague. In the early 6th century the city was rebuilt by Justinian I, but the island quarter – the location of the palace, the cathedral, and the hippodrome – was left outside the walls. From 511 to 528 the city was occupied by the Persians, and in 638 it was captured by the Arabs, apparently without much resistance.

Some inhabitants left, and land was assigned to Muslims from Baalbek and Homs. The Chalcedonian (Melkite) community survived at Antioch and after 742 chose a local man as patriarch. The Melkite Church adopted an Arabic liturgy and survives to the present day.

Antioch under the Muslims was a frontier city of an inland empire. Its built-up area seems to have shrunk, particularly after the end of the Umayyad dynasty (750). But the walls remained intact, as did at least two churches and the Roman water supply. In 969 the city was reconquered by the Byzantines who held it until 1089 when it was captured by the Seljuk Turks. In 1098 Antioch was captured by the crusaders after a long siege and became the centre of a Frankish principality which managed to survive, with the help, and sometimes under the suzerainty, of the Byzantine empire. Antioch was once more a large and prosperous city, but in 1268 it was captured and destroyed by the Mamluks. Ever since Antioch has been a small but neat country town, which to the present day preserves considerable traces of its Classical street plan.

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Summary

City in (ancient) Syria, now Antakya in Turkey. Founded in 300 BC by Seleucus I, it became the capital of the Seleucid empire, and later of the Roman province of Syria. Its people were of mixed origins, but Antioch was Greek in political institutions, culture, and language. Captured by the Arabs in 638, it was Byzantine again from 969 to 1089. Taken by the crusaders in 1098, it was finally destroyed by the Mamluks in 1268.

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Antiochus III the Great *c.*242–187 BC

Seleucid king

Antiochus III the Great was the sixth king (223–187 BC)in the Seleucid dynasty and the greatest ruler in the dynasty since Seleucus I (*c.*355–281 BC), the founder of the empire. Son of Seleucus II, he succeeded his elder brother Seleucus III on his assassination in 223 BC. The epithet "great" (*megas*) was probably taken by the king around 204 BC as the result of his eastern expedition of 212–205 BC, though it was subsequently dropped in favour of the title "great king Antiochus" (*basileus megas Antiochos*) that he assumed in 200 BC after his conquest of Coele Syria from Ptolemy V. The title asserted Antiochus' claims over the rule of Asia, following the Persian kings and Alexander the Great, and his superiority over his rivals the Ptolemies, who had claimed the title for themselves.

The best ancient account of Antiochus' reign is that of Polybius, but it is fully preserved only down to 217 BC and is fragmentary thereafter. Polybius must have drawn his information from one or more writers contemporary with the king, though who these were is uncertain. For the story of Antiochus' conflict with the Romans in the 190s BC down to the Treaty of Apamea in 188 BC reliance must be placed on Appian (*Syriake*, 1–44) and Livy (33–38); though derived in part from Polybius, these accounts are written from a Roman, not a Seleucid, perspective, and may not reproduce fully the Polybian original. In addition a large number of Greek inscriptions, chiefly from Asia Minor, provide important information on Antiochus' relations with the Greek communities there.

Antiochus came to power at a young age and in difficult circumstances, but he gradually asserted himself and went on to restore and extend the Seleucid empire as no previous king since Seleucus I had done. A rebellion in the eastern provinces led by Molon, the satrap of Media, who took the royal title, had to be put down (222–220 BC). Achaeus, a relative of the king in charge of Asia Minor from his capital at Sardis, proclaimed his independence and took on the royal title (220 BC), and was not eliminated until 213 BC. A war against Ptolemy IV of Egypt (219–217 BC) resulted in defeat at the battle of Raphia in Palestine, though Antiochus regained control of Seleucia in Pieria. From 212 to 205 BC Antiochus undertook a grandiose expedition to the east (the *anabasis*), perhaps in emulation of Alexander the Great, in which he brought Commagene and Armenia under control, sought to restore Seleucid dominance over Parthia and Bactria (though he was unable to dislodge the ruling king Euthydemus, with whom he made an alliance), and renewed links with India. On his return he made an expedition to the Persian Gulf, though he had to accept the continued independence of the trading city of Gerrha. After an incursion into Asia Minor (204/03 BC) he turned his attention to the successful conquest of Coele Syria, Palestine, and Judaea from Ptolemy V (*c.*202–198 BC). He then moved into Asia Minor to restore Seleucid rule over the Greek cities there, and into Thrace with the object of rebuilding Lysimachea, previously under Seleucid control (197/96 BC). His advance led him into contact with the Romans, who had defeated Philip V of Macedon at Cynoscephalae (197 BC) and had proclaimed the "freedom of the Greeks" at the Isthmian festival (196 BC). Misunderstandings and suspicions developed between both parties as to their respective intentions, and it is not easy to determine the responsibilities for the conflict that eventually broke out when Antiochus landed on the mainland of Greece posing as a champion of Greek freedom against the Romans (192 BC). Expelled by the Romans from Greece (191 BC), Antiochus was then defeated by them at the battle of Magnesia in Lydia (190/89 BC). By the Treaty of Apamea (188 BC) he was forced to evacuate all lands to the north of the

Taurus, reduce his military forces, pay heavy war indemnities, and provide hostages. Significantly reduced, the Seleucid empire remained nevertheless powerful and wealthy. Antiochus himself was killed soon after on an eastern expedition (187 BC) while pillaging a temple of Bel in Elymais.

Antiochus' reputation in the extant sources is very mixed. Polybius found fault in the king's early years when the young ruler lacked authority and experience, though he praised his conduct and achievements in the eastern expedition. He denounced the secret pact that Antiochus allegedly made in 203/02 BC with Philip V to partition the possessions of Ptolemy V. He accused the king of failing in his later years to live up to the promises of his early reign, and thought he had mishandled the campaign against the Romans. The presentation in Livy and Appian of Antiochus' role in the war against Rome is negative. The king is credited with aggressive intentions against Rome, and with mismanaging the war. Roman propaganda also presented him in the guise of an "oriental despot", a second Xerxes invading Greece who was repulsed and defeated by the Romans.

Little is known of the personality of Antiochus (the same is true of most of the kings in the dynasty), though many of his known actions suggest a ruler of exceptional ambition. At some time in his reign (before 193 BC) he instituted a divine cult of himself and his ancestors which was organized on an empire-wide basis, and to which he added (193 BC) a similar cult of his first wife, the Pontic princess Laodice whom he had married in 222 BC. No previous or subsequent Seleucid ruler is known to have done this. He made extensive use of dynastic marriages in his imperial designs, and it is to his reign that belongs the only recorded instance of brother-sister marriage in the dynasty (his eldest son Antiochus was married to his daughter Laodice). On the other hand Antiochus was not a great city founder, unlike Seleucus I and his son Antiochus I, and this affected his subsequent memory. His inglorious end after defeat at the hands of the Romans obscured the memory of his earlier achievements and leaves the historian with an unresolved enigma.

MICHEL AUSTIN

See also Seleucids

Biography

Born *c.*242 BC, Antiochus succeeded his elder brother Seleucus III in 223. He assumed the title "great" probably in 204, but dropped it in 200 in favour of "great king Antiochus" asserting his claims over Asia. He considerably expanded the territory of the Seleucid empire, but was defeated by the Romans at Magnesia in 190/89 BC. He died fighting in 187 BC.

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Anti-westernism

Anti-westernism is a worldwide phenomenon concerning the reaction of native populations in various continents to the political, economic, and cultural imperialism of western Europeans in the wake of their colonization and expansionist policies in modern times. Anti-westernism has been expressed in various forms, including the nativistic and revitalization movements that try to perpetuate indigenous traditions to face the threatening influx of imported elements and to reverse the process of westernization. The term "West" nowadays is not limited to western Europe, but includes other cultural and political units too, especially the US.

The roots of a particular form of anti-westernism that can be observed in Greece as well as in eastern Europe (e.g. in Russia) must be sought especially in the Byzantine period and in the endemic tension between eastern and western Romans for religious and socio-political reasons alike. The Byzantines, due to the geographical position of their empire, mostly used the term "Occident" for Europe and "Orient" for Asia. The west signified for them the *pars occidentalis* of the Roman empire, which by AD 476 had been subjected to the barbarians. Progressively, the Byzantines considered the west as a separate entity, alienated from them, especially after the rise of the Franks and the coronation of Charlemagne as "emperor of the Romans" in 800. The religious tension between the two worlds culminated in the definitive schism of 1054 and was of paramount importance for their continuing estrangement. The consequences of the schism were manifold as far as the Byzantine attitude towards the West was concerned. The foreign occupation of Constantinople from 1204 to 1261 in the wake of the Fourth Crusade as well as theological differences (e.g. the hesychast controversy in the 14th century) deepened the chasm between the two worlds. As a result, the Latin west came to signify for the Orthodox east a geographical

place out of which nothing but dangers and problems had originated. The attempted union of the Churches did not achieve any results, even when the Byzantines faced the threat of Ottoman expansion. The Byzantine preference for the "Turkish turban" rather than for the "Latin tiara" is indicative of the pronounced anti-western sentiments of the day. Even when the traditional notion of Byzantine superiority over other peoples had vanished and western progress was seen as worth imitating, anti-westernism still prevailed as a pattern of orientation on a large scale.

During the Tourkokratia (1453–1821) the schism between East and West intensified in a number of ways. The Greek world was not considered to be a part of Europe, which had been fully identified with the West. The patriarchate of Constantinople was entrusted with the task of safeguarding the Orthodox identity of its members from Islam and from Roman Catholic propaganda. The Orthodox opposition to the Latins was accentuated in this period, as various published and unpublished texts clearly demonstrate. At the cultural level, the impressive development of western Europe in many domains (science, technology, philosophy, economy, and politics) created a serious feeling of inferiority in the East. This was more conspicuous during the 18th century when "the enlightened Europe" was promoted by many Greeks as the best model to be imitated. Such an adoration of the West and its progress met with the declared opposition of many Orthodox, who severely criticized the developments in the fallen and heretical West and tried to compensate for Greece's multiple deficits. Two main anti-western strategies put the emphases on the accomplishments of the ancient Greeks and on the possession of Orthodoxy, i.e. the sole true faith in the entire world. Anti-western views reached their peak when several Orthodox circles tried to legitimize the Ottoman rule with religious arguments, claiming that God intended in this way to protect Orthodoxy from potential submission to the Latin West. Greece's closer contacts with the West and their allegedly fatal consequences for Orthodoxy were thus strictly criticized.

Anti-western attitudes have also been evident since the foundation of the Greek state. In the reign of the Bavarian king Otho (1833–62) there was a systematic attempt to westernize the country in all domains, including the religious one, through the Church's subjection to the state. This enforced process of westernization signified a serious rupture in the Greek historical consciousness and caused a deep cultural schism. There were several indigenous reactions to the dependence on the West, which were manifest both in the thought of individuals (e.g. Y. Makriyannis) and in various socio-religious movements (e.g. of Papoulakos, *c.*1770–1861). In the 19th and 20th centuries this identity crisis also led many Greeks to propose various alternative ways of modernization on the basis of their own heritage (e.g. Eastern Orthodox communalism vs. western individualism). This was a reaction against the wholesale adoption of western patterns of orientation and the constant intervention of western powers in Greek politics. These anti-western efforts were mostly unsuccessful, since Greece still oscillates between tradition and modernity. This lack of equilibrium is the principal cause of various contradictory phenomena in modern Greece, including those of xenomania and xenophobia.

Despite Greece's membership of the European Union, anti-western and even anti-European sentiments are still common in the country in various open and disguised forms. These may be observed in the political arena, for example among the Communists for ideological reasons or among the Socialists of PASOK under A. Papandreou (1981–89), who promised Greeks an independent and nationally dignified foreign policy, away from western European and American interference. Papandreou was also very critical of Greece's membership of NATO and the EU. There exists also a religious anti-westernism, usually among Orthodox fundamentalists, who use the incomparable superiority of Orthodoxy as a defensive mechanism against the heretical West. Anti-western feelings have also been evident among Greek intellectuals of various persuasions (e.g. the generation of the 1930s, the Neo-orthodox current, several leftist groups), who tried to recover Greece's own heritage from the adulterating western influences and to construct a feasible Greek identity in the modern competitive international environment. There exists finally a popular, wide, and diffuse anti-westernism among various population strata for many reasons (e.g. social, psychological, political). However, because the entire Greek society is deeply permeated by western ideas, lifestyles, and consumerist spirit, the Greek public shows a simultaneous love and dislike for these multifaceted influences. This attests to the profound orientation problems that characterize modern Greek society and its ambivalent attitude towards the West.

In Huntington's schema Greece can be described as a "torn country". Its political and economic elites are pro-western, but its history, culture, religion, and tradition are essentially non-western. Its enforced westernization has not so far produced the anticipated results but created additional structural problems that are still evident. However, if Greece redefines its cultural identity, it will modernize itself without rejecting the central elements of its indigenous culture. Such a road to an autonomous, syncretic modernity may mitigate to a considerable degree anti-western sentiments and attitudes and finally lead to a healthier relationship with the West.

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See also Foreigners, Identity

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Antiquity, Reception of

Hellenic culture is the product of a complex and sometimes problematic relationship with its ancient past, cultural and linguistic. From late antiquity to the modern era an emphasis on continuity with the Classical tradition has been seen as a way of maintaining and expressing ideals of Hellenic identity and unity, marked particularly when these ideals have been perceived as being under threat from "alien" hegemonies – the Roman empire, the Tourkokratia – and in times of national reunification and reinvention.

In antiquity itself the Greeks cherished and derived inspiration from their cultural heritage and sought to gain prestige through establishing ancestral connections, communal and personal, with the gods and heroes of myth. It was the Greek writers and scholars of the Hellenistic world and the early Roman empire, however, who laid the foundations for subsequent attitudes to antiquity in the Greek-speaking world. The intensive scholarly enterprise of the Hellenistic age, focused around the great libraries – particularly that of Alexandria where the gathering and editing of ancient texts and fragments were prioritized as the proper object of academic energy – not only preserved the culture of high antiquity for the future but also provided a model of activity for later scholars. This retrospection extended to the Alexandrian literati who displayed their erudition in sophisticated treatments of esoteric myth and a familiarity with earlier genres, dialects, and metres; following the Hellenistic model, the notion that the literature and language of earlier antiquity were the proper exemplars became a standard for later writers.

The Greeks of the early Roman empire exhibited a more pronounced nostalgia for the past; the literary renaissance of the 2nd and early 3rd centuries AD, dubbed the Second Sophistic by Philostratus, was informed heavily by the culture of Classical Athens (designated as the First Sophistic). The orators Herodes Atticus and Aelius Aristides took Classical rhetoric as their model; the travel writer Pausanias sought to describe Greek culture before the Roman conquest; while Phrynicus produced a lexicon of "correct" vocabulary predicated on Classical usage and the notion of ancient Greek as a linguistic and cultural ideal. This "Atticism", a Classicizing and archaizing written style distinct from the developing spoken Greek language, became a marker of the educated elite and a potent ideological symbol of the continuity between past and present which persisted through the Byzantine period and into the 20th century.

The Greek language which had become the koine of the Hellenistic world remained the lingua franca of the Byzantine empire, an important factor in the reception of antiquity by Byzantine writers and scholars, for whom the literary tradition of ancient Greece was central. Writers of the 5th and 6th centuries AD were well acquainted with the literature of antiquity and this familiarity informed their own work: Homer and Aristotle were particularly important exemplars, while Procopius in the early 6th century was influenced by Thucydides and Herodotus and wrote in the language of his Classical models. The problematic 7th and 8th centuries represented a hiatus in Byzantine literary enterprise, but from the late 8th century the focus of scholarly interest was the reaccumulation and re-editing of the ancient texts and fragments that

had been lost in the preceding period; the 9th and 10th centuries saw the production of the *Suda* and Photios's *Bibliotheca*. In the 7th–11th centuries Roman rather than Hellenic antiquity provided the literary model for Byzantine writers, although the copying of Classical texts and scholia continued. In the mid-11th century, however, there was a renaissance of interest in the culture of ancient Greece during the reign of Constantine IX Monomachos. Classical Greek texts were revered particularly, and the Classical revival was marked by a resumption of scholastic endeavour. Noted Classical scholars such as Michael Psellos and John Italos in the 11th century and John Tzetzes and Eustathios of Thessalonica in the 12th did not confine themselves to the copying and editing of ancient manuscripts but became the self-appointed exegetes of the Classical tradition, writing essays and commentaries in a broadly "Classical" style, albeit from a Byzantine perspective, and using ancient texts to reflect upon contemporary and often ecclesiastical issues. During the Palaiologan period (13th century on) there was a revival in Classical philology and many Greek texts owe their survival to the efforts of Planudes in the 13th century and Triklinios in the 14th. Yet antiquity did not have a monopoly of influence upon the Byzantine literati; the histories of Anna Komnene demonstrate a high Attic style but take the Second Sophistic and late antiquity as models as well as the Classical period, while in the Palaiologan period Byzantium was influenced too by the literature of the medieval West, and much of the religious literature of the empire – in particular the hagiographies and hymnographies – owed nothing to the ancient tradition.

There existed within the Church an equivocal attitude towards the culture of antiquity. From the time of Constantine the term Hellenic (*Hellenikos*) was equated with paganism and was construed as a rival to Christianity; the Church preferred the plainer koine to the "pagan" high Classical style of secular literature and repudiated the polytheism and "immoral" gods of ancient mythology. Indeed in the 10th and 11th centuries any involvement with the myth and philosophy of antiquity invited the charge of anti-Christian behaviour; long ago Justinian had tried to suppress the philosophical schools at Athens, and in the mid-11th century the Platonic and Neoplatonic researches of John Italos were denounced as heretical. Yet paganism proved difficult to eradicate: the cult of Dionysus in particular gathered strength in the period of late antiquity, as evidenced by Nonnus' epic *Dionysiaca* of the mid-5th century, while Christian converts used the mythical iconography of ancient Greece in their churches and incorporated elements of the outlawed pagan worship into the new religion. Furthermore, the literature, philosophy, and rhetoric of Greek antiquity were integral to Christian thought and education: the distinction between the repudiation of Hellenism as paganism and a reverence for the secular literature of Hellenic antiquity was an uneasy one.

The 19th century saw the coincidence of two factors that were highly significant with regard to the reception of the Classical tradition – the revival of Classical scholarship in Europe and the emergence of an independent Greece. The influence of European interest in Greece and the many important archaeological finds impressed upon the Greeks the value, artistic, historical, and commercial, of their past. A series of measures that aimed to preserve the Greek heritage were taken in the first half of the 19th century: in 1826 the provisional government issued a decree for the protection of antiquities, and three years later the fourth National Assembly at Argos prohibited their export, and the first archaeological museum in Greece was founded at Aegina. However, many important artefacts had been taken already, for example the friezes from the Parthenon and Bassae, still in London, and the sculptures from the temple of Aphaea on Aegina, now in Munich. The recovery of antiquities is still a political issue in Greece and a focus of national pride.

When the seat of the new government was moved to Athens the city was rebuilt in the Neoclassical style, and between 1834 and 1837 the Acropolis was "cleansed" in an attempt to restore the purity of the Classical past. Indeed, an emphasis on cultural continuity and "purity" became the keynote for a Greek nation that had survived Ottoman domination and its concomitant cultural and linguistic "contamination": Greek identity was to be reconstructed on the foundations of ancient Hellenism and the image of a new philhellenic Greece entering a new Periclean age. The literature of the period is indicative of this classicizing enterprise: Konstantinos Paparrigopoulos's *History of the Greek Nation* (1860–72) stressed the continuity of Greece from antiquity to the modern era; Adamantios Korais (1748–1833) edited a series of Classical texts, and Philippos Ioannou composed verse in Classical metres – the emphasis was on the perpetuation of the Classical tradition and an archaizing purity of language. Classical studies became the basis of education (as indeed was the case throughout Europe); the University of Athens, founded in 1837, emerged as a bastion of linguistic archaism while the syllabus laid down for the "demotic" schools in 1883 concentrated on the rote learning of Classical texts and the study of ancient Greek.

One primary educational and political concern was the question of a national language; the members of the new Greek state spoke a variety of dialects and languages, including Turkish, and the notion of the standardization of Greek and what form it might take occupied thinkers and politicians for much of the 19th and 20th centuries. One school of thought held that the national language should reflect the tradition of ancient Greece and Byzantium and that Greeks should speak the language of antiquity or at least a "corrected" form of contemporary Greek. In the view of such "archaizers" a knowledge of ancient Greek would give the people access to their cultural inheritance and the translation of ancient texts into the vernacular represented a degradation of the past. Contrarily, others argued that the national language should reflect contemporary Greek linguistic practice and culture. For these "demoticizers" ancient Greek was incomprehensible to ordinary people and its study was available only to the privileged few; thus the prioritization of the learned Greek of antiquity over the modern, demotic language was an elitist anachronism, a socially divisive programme that would separate the people from their heritage. The translation of ancient texts and the performance of ancient drama in demotic Greek was supported in particular by Kostis Palamas (1859–1943); however, feelings regarding the "bastardization" of ancient culture ran so high that a performance in 1903 of Aeschylus' *Oresteia* in a vernacular translation resulted in a riot. The "language question" has informed the political ideology of

both left and right and has persisted well into the 20th century; while the Venizelos government introduced the teaching in schools of demotic Greek in 1917, it was not until the Education Act of 1976 that it was decided that the language of education should be modern Greek.

Many modern writers have felt that an artificial "corrected" form of Attic Greek and a "fossilizing" approach to ancient culture are not only reactionary but also a bar to poetic creativity – Dionysios Solomos (1798–1857) in particular was a champion of demoticism, and the vernacular is now the literary as well as the spoken norm. However, much modern Greek poetry is informed and inspired by antiquity: Solomos, while imbued by the Italian tradition, was influenced by Platonism, as was Palamas. Angelos Sikelianos (1884–1951) too was interested in Plato and in ancient mystery religions, while the "historical" poems of Constantine Cavafy (1863–1933) are set in Hellenistic Alexandria and Byzantium. Yet perhaps the cultural genre of antiquity that appeals most to the contemporary cultural imagination is 5th-century BC drama. There have been many European productions of Greek tragedies from the 16th century on throughout Europe (see Burian, 1997), nearly all of them in languages other than Greek, but during the 20th century in particular there has been a revival of interest in the drama of antiquity in Greece itself and a reintroduction of the ancient notion of the dramatic festival: in the 1920s Sikelianos instituted a cultural festival at Delphi, staging Aeschylus' *Prometheus Bound* and *Suppliant Women*, and in the mid-1950s festivals of ancient drama were instituted at Epidaurus and at the Odeum of Herodes Atticus in Athens. Some modern productions have aimed at authenticity; Sikelianos derived the costumes and movements of the chorus from ancient vase paintings for his staging of Aeschylus, while the film maker Michalis Cacoyannis's *Trojan Trilogy* (1961–76) used ancient sites and costumes. However, tragic performances by Karolos Koun's Theatro Technis are informed by modern Greek rituals and there have been several modern treatments of ancient drama that not only use contemporary settings but also use the narratives of antiquity to explore contemporary issues. Jules Dassin's screen adaptation of Euripides' *Hippolytus* (1961) is a critique of Greek high society – Theseus is transformed into a shipping magnate; Hippolytus dies not in a chariot but in an Aston Martin; and Phaedra, played by Melina Mercouri, overdoses on sleeping pills. More recently the fratricide and divided loyalties of Sophocles' *Antigone* were staged by Nikos Koundouros in the no man's land between northern Greece and the former Republic of Yugoslavia.

Translations of ancient texts into modern Greek and new media such as film have engaged a wider audience. Poets, theatre directors, and film makers have taken antiquity out of the museum and classroom and into a wider public arena, reinstating ancient literature and thought as part of the living tradition of Greece and as an integral part of contemporary Hellenic culture. Yet while an engagement with antiquity may be a source of inspiration to its inheritors, the achievements of the past may also provoke what has been called the "anxiety of influence": in the Palaiologan period the scholar Theodore Metochites complained that there was nothing left to say – the ancients had said it all; in the 20th century George Seferis, for whom Greece's ancient ruins signified the sterility of the modern imagination, intimated that the sheer weight of a glorious cultural inheritance could be a burden as well as an inspiration: "I awoke with this marble head in my hands" (*Mythistorema*, 3).

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See also Identity, Language, Tragedy

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Antisemitism

The modern-day equation of Greekness with Orthodox Christianity is one that is often assumed by Greeks and non-Greeks, by government and Church officials alike. We would be well advised, however, to bear in mind that long before there were Greek Christians, there were Greek Jews, for despite present constitutional guarantees regarding freedom of religion, and the legal separation of Church and state, in the modern era it has been very easy to assume that Orthodoxy is essential to Greekness, and Greekness somehow essential to Orthodoxy. Obviously, such an assumption is not tantamount to outright antisemitism, but the close relationship between Orthodoxy and Greekness has at many times in the modern period borne undertones of antisemitism, and has provided a potentially alienating and dangerous environment for Greek Jews.

Although this equation of Orthodoxy and Greekness is now pervasive and established, if one considers the historical sweep of the Hellenic tradition, it is also a relatively late development. Judaism first became a feature of the Greek world during the Hellenistic period. The relationship between Hellenism and Judaism was both consolidated by, and reflected in, the translation of the Jewish scriptures into Greek (270 BC). With the accession of the Seleucid king Antiochus Epiphanes in 176 BC an aggressive policy of Hellenization of Jerusalem and the surrounding regions furthered the development of a strongly Hellenized Jewish population. When revolt broke out in Judaea, Antiochus imposed a number of policies designed specifically to control and subdue the Jews. Circumcision was forbidden, worship of the Judaean God outlawed, and the Temple desecrated.

Thus there were already tensions early on in the history of Graeco-Jewish relations. To characterize them, however, as simply reflective of Greek antisemitism would be both anachronistic and lacking in interpretive subtlety. For although it is in the Hellenistic period that we find the first clash between Greekness and Jewishness, far more important is the fact that it is then that we also see the union, in many significant ways, of these two cultural concepts, and the expansion of both as a result of this union.

Thus it is that long before the advent of Christianity, Hellenism and Judaism came in contact with one another, became to some extent syncretized, and developed a familiar, if at times uneasy, coexistence. The rise of Christianity, a form of which has since come to be regarded as almost synonymous with "Greekness", long postdated this symbiosis between the two traditions, and had to negotiate its way between them.

In order to talk with any real accuracy of something specifically designated as "antisemitism in the Hellenic tradition", one needs to jump far ahead, to the Tourkokratia, if not modernity. For even during the Byzantine period, when the union among imperium, Orthodoxy, and the Hellenic linguistic and philosophical traditions was at its height, the fundamental assumption was nevertheless of a culture that was religiously and ethnically heterogeneous. It would still in this period be grossly anachronistic and heavy-handed to speak of antisemitism as a distinctly Greek phenomenon. The Jews of Byzantium, like those of western Europe in the period, were certainly subject to persecution, invasions, and various other hardships, but such events were a sad product of the general antisemitism so prevalent throughout the Christian world in the medieval period. In comparison to those in western Europe, the Jews of Byzantium fared relatively well.

While during the Byzantine era Greek Jews constituted a minority community within an empire that defined itself as Greek and Orthodox, during the Tourkokratia all Greeks, Jewish and Orthodox alike, were the minority subjects of a potentially hostile empire. It is therefore not surprising that it is during the Tourkokratia, when the Greek community had self-consciously to consolidate, preserve, and propagate its distinct cultural identity, that we find the first clear articulations of Greekness (as an ethnic category) and Orthodoxy as being somehow fused inseparably together. As the dominant Greek "minority" community (albeit a very sizeable and influential one), the Greek Orthodox polity came to bear sole responsibility, and ultimately establish hegemony, as the propagator of Hellenism. The period of Turkish rule gave rise, through the influential role granted to the Orthodox Church by the Ottoman regime, to a form of Greekness that was suffused with Orthodox Christianity. Thus it is that during the Tourkoratia we also first find the origins of what might with some accuracy be identified as a tradition of Greek antisemitism. The rise of an assumed cultural ideology whereby the Orthodox Church was the primary, indeed virtually the only, transmitter and repository of Hellenic tradition came to bear strongly antisemitic undertones.

Outside the most heavily Jewish Ottoman territories, such as Thessalonica, Greekness was articulated primarily through the vocabulary of Orthodoxy. The Greek language and the Greek educational, legal, and fiscal systems were all under the jurisdiction of the Orthodox Church. As a result of this fusion between religious and political and other secular functions, Judaism came to be regarded as inimical to true Greekness. The articulation of a form of Greekness that did not strive to accommodate or include Judaism is clearly a form of Greek antisemitism, one that was strengthened with the establishment of the Greek nation state, and furthered during the modern period.

With the creation of the kingdom of Greece in 1834, following the protracted battle for Greek independence, Jews in Greek lands found themselves in an environment potentially far more alienating than the Ottoman empire had been. The new Greek state articulated itself as strongly Orthodox in character, despite the fact that the Orthodox Church itself was placed under a significant degree of governmental control. The result was that Jews were regarded as not being truly Greek. This contributed significantly to the increasing isolation of Greek Jews from broader Greek society, an isolation both cultural and geographic that made them all-too-easy targets when the Holocaust spread to Greece. Paradoxically, however, in the decades immediately prior to the Holocaust, the overall status of Greek Jews had been gradually improving.

When in October 1940 Greece was brought into World War II, a new and hideous set of tensions was brought to bear on the Greek Jewish communities. On the eve of the war it is estimated that there were some 75,000 Jews living in Greece; at the end of the war, following repatriation, there were fewer than 10,000. The role played by antisemitism in this process is all too evident. It is far more difficult to address the question

of the possible role of a distinctly Greek antisemitism in the eradication of Greek Jewry. As is well known, the Greek chief of police Angelos Evert provided Greek Jews with false identification papers in an effort to protect them from the Holocaust, and archbishop Damaskinos made repeated interventions with both the Greek government and the German authorities on their behalf.

The official Church position regarding Judaism has always condemned antisemitism, and Judaism's vital contribution to Christianity is respected and recognized. Nevertheless, over the years many Church officials have published or publicly spoken on strongly antisemitic themes. Such antisemitism often takes the form of a conflation of Zionism with Judaism, and in fact what in many instances is referred to as Greek antisemitism is much more appropriately referred to as Greek anti-Zionism. Much Greek antisemitic rhetoric assumes Zionism and Judaism to be one and the same thing, and accuses Jews of being anti-Greek or dangerous to the Greek state because of the supposed support of all Jews for the Zionist cause. In its most hysterical and hyperbolic form, such rhetoric argues that all Jews have loyalty only to a "world Zionist state" (that is, Israel), and is based on the belief that Israel has world domination as its goal. Such formulations are dangerous in the extreme, for they both discredit legitimate political positions (by making them seem specifically anti-Jewish) and syllogistically and inaccurately convert all Jews into Zionists. That Greece's stance on the Palestinian problem has been distinctly anti-Israeli is certainly not evidence that Greece is in some fundamental way antisemitic. Nor is the fact that some Greeks are Jews any sort of evidence whatsoever that they consider themselves to be anything other than Greek, or that their "true" loyalty is to the state of Israel.

Not surprisingly, the routine equation of Zionism and Judaism has led to outbreaks of anti-Jewish propaganda and activity that correspond to political events in the Middle East. Following the Israeli invasion of Lebanon in 1982, for example, articles in the mainstream Greek press referred to Israelis as "Nazis", and the "descendants of Hitler". The reception of such statements in Greece, where little care has been taken to distinguish between Israel, Judaism, and Zionism, has been one that has helped to sustain and perpetuate various forms of antisemitism. The recent strengthening of diplomatic and military ties between Turkey and Israel has contributed to the lack of subtlety in distinguishing between the various issues, although the situation has improved somewhat since prime minister Mitsotakis recognized Israel in 1990.

Perhaps most troublingly, such sweepingly inaccurate rhetoric distracts attention from the other, far less overt forms of antisemitism that are still present in a society that has for hundreds of years in many ways equated Greekness with Orthodox Christianity. The Greek educational system still places a heavy emphasis on Christian education, little effort is made to explore and teach the history of Greek Jews, and Greece's numerous if small extreme right-wing organizations, publications, and political parties have for the most part been dealt with leniently by the Greek legal system. Some acts of antisemitic violence have been reported, although in comparison to other European nations they are relatively few. In 1987 a Volos synagogue and several Jewish-owned stores were vandalized; two years later a Jewish memorial at the Lianokladi railway station in Thessaly commemorating victims of the Holocaust was smashed; routinely at international sporting events Israeli teams are jeered at in neo-Nazi rhetoric.

A survey of 1988 reported, depressingly, that fully 71 per cent of Greeks report holding a "somewhat or strongly unfavourable" view of Jews. This fact notwithstanding, the Greek government for the most part is exceedingly hesitant to acknowledge antisemitism as a real problem in Greek society. To some extent this is the intentional turning of a blind eye, but to a large degree it can been seen as the response of a society that is dramatically homogeneous in its ethnic makeup and thus unskilled at dealing with the pressing issues of pluralism and tolerance. The very things that have historically given rise to Greek antisemitism – the linkage between Hellenism and Orthodoxy, and the ethnic homogeneity of Greek society – have, alas, also been the very things that have made Greece ill-equipped to deal with it.

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See also Jews, Septuagint

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Apelles

Painter of the 4th/3rd century BC

Apelles was the most celebrated and the most written-about painter in antiquity, yet we know neither his date of birth nor his date of death. However, his likeable and colourful personality, his rivalries with others, and his special relationships with the most powerful men of his day have generated many anecdotes about the man, the artist, and his works. He attained remarkably high social and economic status, and wrote treatises about his painting. Unfortunately, neither his writings nor his famous creations survive. All we have are anecdotes, the mention of more than 30 titles of his works, perhaps a few very vague and suspect reminiscences in Roman paintings, and a few elaborate literary descriptions, the last of which formed

the basis for attempted recreations of his works by Renaissance artists.

Born sometime around 370 BC, in either Cos or Colophon, Apelles first trained in the Ionic school under Ephorus of Ephesus. He then moved to the Greek mainland, paying a large sum for the privilege of becoming the student of Pamphilus, the master of the Sicyonian school. Combining the grace of the Ionic style with the thoroughness of the Sicyonian school, Apelles attained a reputation that by *c.*340 BC was sufficiently prominent to gain him entry to the court of Philip II in Macedonia, where he painted portraits of the ruler and his court. During the reign of Alexander the Great, Apelles' affable nature and abilities as a painter advanced him to the point where the ruler made him his official portraitist. Apelles joined the ranks of the sculptor Lysippus and the engraver Pyrgoteles as the only artists officially allowed to depict Alexander. The latter was attempting, it seems, to develop his official portraiture, and to control the quality, and messages conveyed by, his images.

Apelles' easy relationship with Alexander and his associations with other powerful rulers and commanders made the artist's reputation. His works fetched extraordinary prices and were avidly collected. His portrait of *Alexander as Zeus Keraunophoros* [the Thunder-Bearer] for the temple of Artemis at Ephesus fetched 20 talents; his *Aphrodite Anadyomene* [Rising from the Sea], intended for the temple of Asclepius at Cos, was eventually taken by the emperor Augustus in exchange for remission of a 100-talent debt.

Apelles' works included a variety of subjects: historical portraits of Philip, Alexander, Menander (satrap of Caria), and Antigonus Monophthalmus; such figures as philosophers, men of letters, actors, and priests; elaborate allegories; personifications; and naturalistic renditions of animals. He even painted a self-portrait, perhaps the first of antiquity. The most famous portraits were those of Alexander. Whereas it was Lysippus who appears to have been chiefly responsible for the development of a heroic image of Alexander, Apelles (and perhaps also Pyrgoteles) created a superhuman image and divine personality which were more suited to the needs of an Alexander who was the ruler of a great and unified empire. *Alexander as Zeus Keraunophoros* had obvious religious and political overtones for the new empire. Some details of the painting are recorded (see below) though even the subject's basic pose is not described: perhaps Alexander was seated on a throne following Phidias' *Olympian Zeus*. The painting of Alexander in the house of the Vettii at Pompeii may reflect some of Apelles' influence.

Of Apelles' numerous portraits of Alexander, two others are notable for conveying the elevated status of the ruler: *Alexander in the company of Nike and the Dioscuri*, and *Alexander in a Triumphal Chariot* with the personification of War (Polemos) with bound hands. Such overt imagery was useful to later rulers, accounting for the prominent display of both paintings in the Forum of Augustus in Rome. Associations with that ruler were made even more directly when Claudius had Alexander's features replaced by those of Augustus. By creating such portraits of Alexander, Apelles breached the divide separating the human from the divine, making the deification of mortals much easier for later artists and rulers.

Of Apelles' allegorical paintings, his *Calumny*, created after he had been slandered and subsequently cleared at Ptolemy's court in Alexandria, is the most famous. Lucian (*Calumny*, 4) provides both the context and description for the work, which has been cited as the only known example of painted satire in antiquity. Several Renaissance artists (among them Dürer and Botticelli) attempted to capture the essence of the lost work using only Lucian's words.

The *Aphrodite Anadyomene*, Apelles' most famous painting, also inspired Renaissance artists. According to one tradition, Apelles had fallen in love with Alexander's mistress while painting her portrait. When he realized what had happened, the king gave her to Apelles, who then used her as the model for the *Anadyomene*. The story fits well with other information about his relationship with Alexander and with his reputation as a naturalistic painter of great talent. The painting was eventually displayed by Augustus in the temple of Julius Caesar, where it would remind viewers of Caesar's claim of descent from Venus-Aphrodite.

Some of Apelles' more elaborate concepts of abstract personifications included depictions of *Thunder* (*Bronte*), *Lightning* (*Astrape*), and the *Thunderbolt* (*Keraunobolia*). All probably were examples of his experimentation with lighting effects, which are recorded or surmised for other paintings. Lucian states that studied gradations in colours were used in the faces of the *Calumny* to distinguish its personifications. Lighting technique may also account for the three-dimensional effect of the fingers holding the sparkling bolt of lightning in the *Keraunophoros*. The suggestion that Apelles increased the brightness of the bolt to make it stand forth by darkening the figure of Alexander provides a hint of what his experimentation might have accomplished.

He is praised continually for the amazing realism of his works. His portraits were said to be so perfect that a physiognomist was able to determine the subject's age and how much longer he had to live. As with earlier painters, stories developed in which animals became judges of paintings, and were unable to distinguish between painted images and reality. When Apelles, entered in a contest to paint horses, realized that a conspiracy had already decided the outcome, he had real horses brought in to prove his skill by their neighing only at his work. As a general attribute of great artists, such comments about naturalistic renditions tell us little about the painters, but often allow other deductions.

The stories about Apelles seem to indicate that he concentrated on human and animal subjects rather than scenery and incidental detail. Nor does he seem to have been much concerned with elaborate perspective, although some of his works imply an interest in foreshortening. He painted an oblique portrait of Antigonus Monophthalmus, so that only his good eye would be visible, and a Heracles seen from behind.

Anecdotes about his friendly rivalry with Protogenes, another important painter, reveal some of Apelles' other techniques and interests. The two painters probably refined the skiagraphic technique (shadow painting), raising it to a new level. The contest in which they vied with one another in drawing a finer, steadier line reveals the importance of manual dexterity and control, which, in conjunction with the daily drawing practice of Apelles, serves to emphasize his probable

belief that these skills were the foundations of his success. Naturalistic illusion through fineness of line seems to have been the key to Apelles' approach to painting.

His skill also was reflected by his use of only four colours. The technique had been in use for some time, but was probably brought to its acme by Apelles, whose fame inspired Renaissance artists to attempt to emulate his success with the restricted palette. The use of few colours and his eschewing of elaborate perspective and scenery made his simplicity of design, his beauty of line, and his charm of expression his chief merits.

In addition to his advances in artistic style and technique, Apelles also developed some sort of transparent varnish, a dark glaze (*atramentum*) that preserved the paintings and softened the colours, perhaps adding to the naturalism of the subject. Attempts to rediscover this substance have failed.

Unlike most other artists, Apelles was unusually receptive to criticism from all quarters, though he was also quick to counter undeserved criticism, whether from a ruler of Alexander's stature or a common cobbler. The story of him hiding to hear criticisms of his works from people in the street, and then altering his paintings accordingly, fits well with his acknowledgements of other painters' abilities: Melanthius spaced his figures better, Asclepiodorus had better symmetry and proportions. Apelles believed himself the painter who excelled all in grace or charm (*charis*). His peers, his clients, and Roman emperors and nobles not only agreed, but regarded him as the best painter of antiquity. Scholars and artists since the Renaissance, intrigued by his reputation and descriptions of his paintings and techniques, have tried in vain to recover his genius.

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See also Painting

Biography

Born *c.*370 BC in either Cos or Colophon, Apelles studied first at Ephesus under Ephorus and later at Sicyon under Pamphilus. He gained entry to the court of Philip II of Macedon. He alone was permitted to paint Alexander. He painted historical portraits, types, personifications, and animals. He achieved fame in his lifetime and became the most celebrated painter in antiquity, though none of his works now survives.

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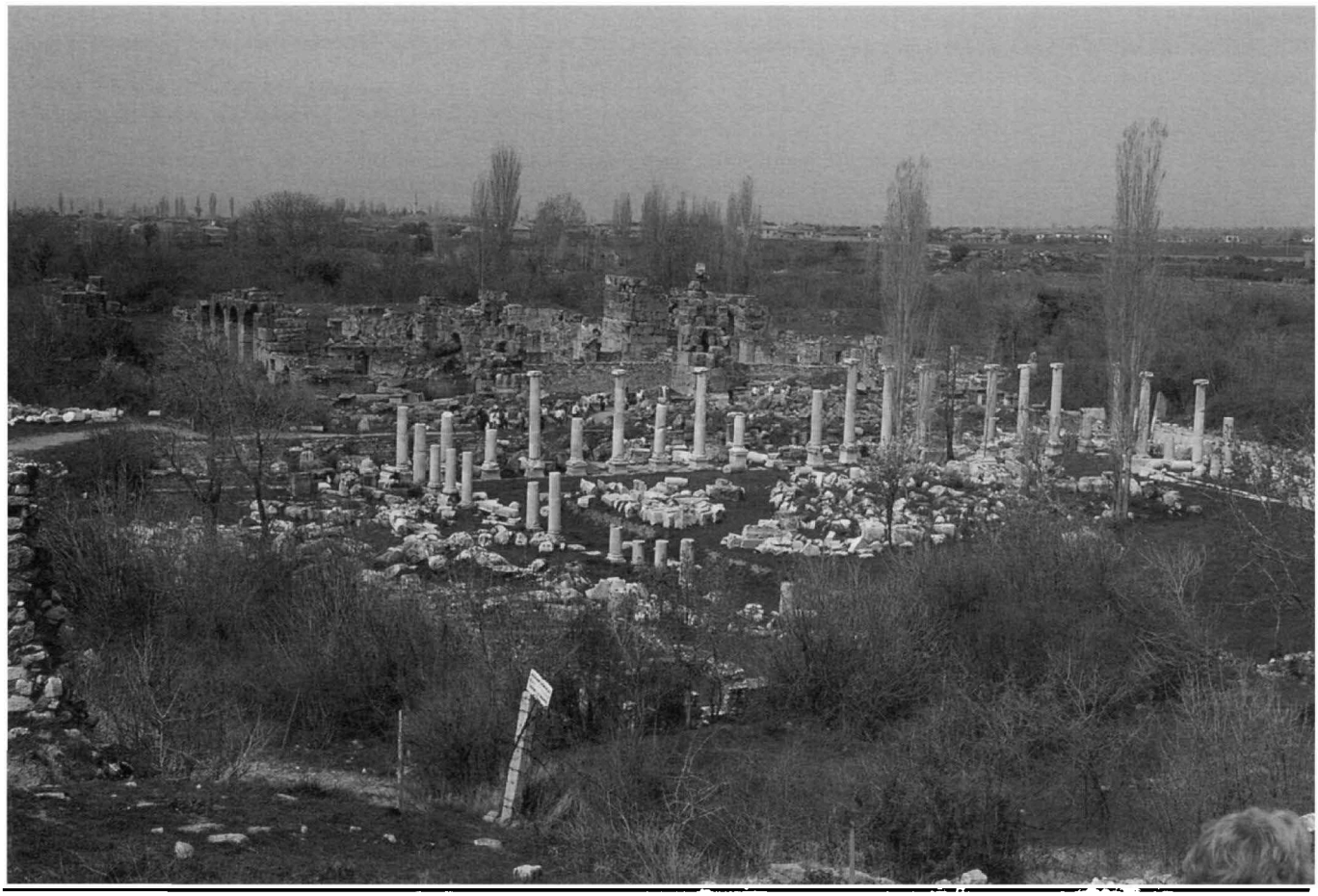
Aphrodisias

City in Asia Minor

Aphrodisias, an ancient city of Caria in Asia Minor (now Geyre in Turkey), is located about 240 km southeast of Izmir (formerly Smyrna) in a fertile plain with a good supply of spring water. The site was inhabited by the late Neolithic period; in the 4th millennium BC a prominent settlement was established and continued to exist there throughout the Bronze Age. Already in prehistoric times a fertility goddess was venerated at the site. As the fame of the local goddess, called Ninoe, gradually spread, a settlement with a sanctuary and a surrounding area under its protection was founded in the 1st millennium BC. Although a vigorous community developed during the Archaic period, one cannot speak of the existence of a city at this time.

Until the Hellenistic period Aphrodisias remained a sacred site with a sanctuary, associated, perhaps from the 3rd century BC, with the Greek goddess Aphrodite, after whom it was named, as indicated by coin inscriptions of the late 2nd and early 1st centuries BC. Its transformation into a city seems to be connected with the establishment of Roman power in western Asia. Although excavations on the site were undertaken at the beginning of the 20th century, it was not until 1961 that Aphrodisias began to be systematically excavated. The site is notable for its extensive and well-preserved monuments.

With the arrival of the Romans in Anatolia Aphrodisias flourished, largely because of its close relationship with Rome



Aphrodisias: an ancient city in western Asia Minor recently brought to life by the excavations of Kenan Erim

and especially with the family of Caesar. Thus Aphrodisias resisted Mithridates VI in 88 BC and the "Liberators" – Brutus and Cassius – after Caesar's death. In 40 BC Labienus, one of their supporters, attacked Aphrodisias and both the city and the sanctuary were plundered before Antony defeated him (39 BC). Thereafter Aphrodisias lay in Antony's sphere of influence. At this time the name of Aphrodisias appeared on coins together with that of the neighbouring city of Plarasa. In 39 and 35 BC Antony sent a senatorial decree to Aphrodisias, in which the Plarasians and Aphrodisians were addressed as citizens of the city, which presumably resulted in the unification of the two cities. The decree guaranteed Aphrodisias its freedom as well as certain special privileges, such as a non-taxable status and asylum rights to the sanctuary of Aphrodite. During the Roman empire the population reached 50,000, and the city enjoyed a long period of prosperity and was transformed into an important cultural, religious, and artistic centre.

The city was laid out according to the Hippodamian town planning system and in the second half of the 3rd century AD a fortification wall, *c.*3.5 km long, was built around it against the threat of Gothic invasions. Elaborate buildings, such as the theatre, the tetrastoon, the agora, the baths of Hadrian, the Sebasteion, the odeum, the temple of Aphrodite, and the stadium (which could seat almost 30,000 spectators) were erected in Aphrodisias during Roman times. Traces of a gymnasium complex and a sculptor's workshop have also been recovered.

The theatre of Aphrodisias, one of the best preserved in Turkey, was built in the second half of the 1st century BC. It remained in use during the early Byzantine period and could hold around 8000 spectators. The wall of the north parodos was discovered to be lined with inscriptions and was thereafter referred to as the "archive wall". These documents – mostly letters – form a unique record for the history of Aphrodisias and of Roman Asia Minor.

To the southwest of the temple of Aphrodite stood a residential complex of the 3rd century AD. The building consisted of several rooms and halls and a peristyle court decorated with blue marble columns. Originally this may have been a private dwelling of a high Roman official, but in the Byzantine period it was the bishop's palace. A similar building, constructed in the 3rd century AD to the north of the temple of Aphrodite, is identified as a school of philosophy, which in the 6th century AD was used as a residence.

Aphrodisias became famous as a centre for medicine and philosophy. Xenocrates composed his medical treatises here, while the philosophers Alexander (one of the best commentators on Aristotle) and Adrastus originated from Aphrodisias. Statues, reliefs, and sarcophagi were produced in the sculpture workshops of Aphrodisias for local use and export. Local sculptors gained fame, and their signatures are found in many regions of the Mediterranean; their craftsmanship was appreciated even in Rome, and a school of sculpture was founded which lasted to the end of the 5th century AD. The sculptors

managed to give new meanings to Classical models and did not limit themselves to mere reproduction of well-known works of Classical art. The marble quarries in the vicinity of Aphrodisias were a source of white and dark marbles. Sculpture competitions were also held in the city.

In the 3rd century AD changes in the administration of the Roman empire affected the privileged status of Aphrodisias, which was considered part of the province of Asia. After the formation of a new province of Caria and Phrygia in the 250s, Aphrodisias probably became its administrative centre. Under Diocletian (284–305), it was the capital of the separate province of Caria.

With the spread of Christianity Aphrodisias became the seat of an archbishop in the 4th century and the temple of Aphrodite was transformed into a triple-naved basilica. The earliest known Aphrodisian bishop is Ammonius, who participated in the Council of Nicaea in 325. Palaces with audience halls flanked the church. The agora to the south was abandoned after an earthquake in the 4th century, and many public buildings were rebuilt at that time.

In the course of the 5th and 6th centuries several bishops of Aphrodisias became involved in the theological disputes concerning the nature of Christ. Paganism was vigorous in the city throughout the 5th century, but there was also an important Monophysite church. Both pagans and Christians made generous benefactions to the city. The city's name was changed to Stavroupolis [City of the Cross] in the 7th century, but by the 12th century it was commonly known by the name of the province, Caria. An earthquake in the reign of Herakleios (610–41) destroyed many buildings in the city, such as the theatre, the odeum, and the agora gate, which were never repaired. The mound of the theatre was then surrounded by walls and transformed into a citadel, where the population could take refuge in times of danger. The city was sacked by Theodore Mankapas in 1188 and by the Seljuks in 1197. It became Turkish in the late 13th century. Gradually the size of the city decreased until it was no more than a village, called Geyre, a name deriving from Caria and mentioned by 17th-century travellers.

ELENI ZIMI

Summary

City in Asia Minor, known as Geyre today. The site was inhabited in prehistoric times and was the centre of a local cult, perhaps associated with Aphrodite. But Aphrodisias did not flourish as a city until Roman times, when it was granted special privileges. A large number of well-preserved monuments survive and the city became an important cultural, religious, and artistic centre. In the 4th century it became the seat of an archibishop and the temple of Aphrodite was turned into a basilica.

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Apollonius of Perge

Mathematician and astronomer of the 3rd century BC

The work of Apollonius of Perge, who was active in the late 3rd century BC, marks the end of the great creative period of Greek geometry. He was the author of a number of mathematical works, including *On the Cutting off of a Ratio* (which survives in an Arabic translation), and we are told by Ptolemy (who quotes one of his theorems) that he did important work on the mathematics of astronomy. His status as one of the great mathematicians of antiquity, however, rests on his *Conica*, a treatise in eight books on the geometry of the ellipse, the parabola, and the hyperbola. The first four books, the only ones to survive in Greek, are described by Apollonius in his preface as an "elementary introduction", and deal with the construction of the figures, their fundamental properties, and a series of theorems on a variety of mathematical relationships; they are modelled, both in their method of presentation and in their organization, on the *Elements* of Euclid. Of the remaining four books, three survive only in Arabic translation, and the fourth is completely lost. They deal with a number of separate additional problems, with little attempt to bring them together into a single system of argument; the quality of mathematical thought in these books (and especially book 5) is very high.

Apollonius himself makes little claim to originality, and it is certainly true that when he wrote his treatise Greek geometers had already been working on conic sections for some time. The

first to do so was probably Menaechmus, in the 4th century BC, as part of his attempt at a solution to the problem of duplicating the cube. Later Euclid wrote a work on conics (now lost), and Archimedes also deals with them, particularly the parabola. Apollonius, however, in suggesting that he is simply compiling and systematizing the work of his predecessors, seriously understates his achievement. Earlier Greek geometers had treated these curves as sections of different kinds of cone, cut by a line perpendicular to one of the sides of the cone. Cutting an acute-angled cone produces an ellipse, a right-angled cone a parabola, and an obtuse-angled cone a hyperbola. What Apollonius did was to show how all of these curves could be generated from sections of a single type of cone, the double oblique cone, thus achieving a much greater degree of generality. He deals with most of the features of conics familiar to modern mathematicians, and where he omits some (as, for example, the focus of the parabola) it is more likely that the reason is that he was trying to write an elementary treatise, rather than that he was unaware of them.

The *Conica* established itself as a sort of supplement to Euclid, and one of the basic texts of Greek mathematics, at a very early date. It was still being studied in the 4th and 5th centuries AD, when it was the subject of commentaries by, among others, Serenus, Hypatia, and Eutocius. The oldest surviving manuscripts date from the 9th century, a period when interest in mathematics was being revived in the Byzantine empire, which perhaps indicates that the *Conica* was still being regarded at that period as a fundamental text.

The 3rd-century AD mathematician Pappus gives brief descriptions of five other works by Apollonius which are now completely lost: *On the Cutting off of an Area*, *On Determinate Sections*, *On Tangencies*, *Plane Loci*, and *Vergings*. Pappus also preserves an extract of a description of a method of expressing and manipulating very large numbers, using 10,000 as base. Other works that are credited to Apollonius are a *Comparison of the Dodecahedron with the* Eicosahedron, a *General Treatise* (on the fundamental principles of geometry), *On the Cylindrical Helix*, a work on unordered irrationals, and the *Quick Delivery*, in which he calculated the value of π to a high degree of accuracy.

RICHARD WALLACE

See also Mathematics

Biography

Active in the late 3rd century BC, Apollonius of Perge is best known for his work on *Conics* (of its eight books, four survive in Greek, three in Arabic, and one is lost). His only other surviving work is *On the Cutting off of a Ratio* which is preserved in an Arabic translation. Ptolemy says he also worked on the mathematics of astronomy.

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Apollonius Rhodius *c.*295–215 BC

Epic poet and scholar

Apollonius was born at Alexandria (cf. Strabo, 14. 655) or, less probably, at Naucratis (Athenaeus, 7 p. 283; Aelian, *De Natura Animalium*, 15. 23). However, he is generally called the Rhodian on account of his retirement in Rhodes, where he is said to have revised his epic after its supposed initial failure to impress the Alexandrian audience, and, through his poem and his work as a rhetorician, to have won the recognition of the Rhodians and even the citizenship of Rhodes. There is probably an element of fiction in this account, which may have been suggested by the existence of some variants quoted in the scholia, which seem to point to an earlier text. According to his two anonymous biographies (contained in the Laurentian manuscript of the *Argonautica* and probably incorporating material derived from the late 1st century BC) and the *Suda*, he was a pupil of Callimachus, with whom he is said to have quarelled over the merits of long traditional epics over short and highly finished poems. The supposed existence of such an enmity — a supposition based on rather flimsy evidence — is, however, rendered improbable by the many striking parallels in the work of the two poets. According to Oxyrhynchus papyrus no. 1241 (late 2nd century AD), Apollonius followed Zenodotus as director of the library in Alexandria (270–247 BC) and was succeeded by Eratosthenes. The *Suda* puts him after Eratosthenes, no doubt due to a confusion with Apollonius the Eidograph, who is mentioned in the papyrus as the successor to Eratosthenes.

Apollonius' lost works include prose tracts on Hesiod (in which he apparently rejected the *Ornithomanteia* but accepted the *Shield of Heracles* as genuine), Archilochus, Antimachus, and a monograph on Homer entitled *Against Zenodotus* (cf. the Venetian scholia on Homer, *Iliad*, 13. 657), a choliambic poem on Egyptian legends entitled *Canobus*, and *ktiseis* or poems on the origin or foundation of cities (a genre fashionable at the time and reflecting Alexandrian enthusiasm for local history and cult) such as Alexandria, Naucratis, Caunus, Cnidus, Rhodes, and possibly Lesbos. The only surviving example of his epigrams (if the attribution is reliable) is an attack on Callimachus (*Anthologia Palatina*, 11. 275).

He was the first ancient writer to divide his own work into books, and in their number as well as in their length, the four books of his epic follow Aristotle's advice in the *Poetics* (chapter 23) that ideally an epic should be as long as the series of three tragedies and one satyr play presented by each poet at a dramatic competition. The *Argonautica* (which runs to 5,835 lines) narrates how Jason and his followers sailed to Colchis by the Propontis and Black Sea (books 1–2), how he won the Golden Fleece with Medea's help (book 3), and how the ship returned home (book 4).

Among the poet's major literary antecedents may be mentioned the fourth Pythian Ode of Pindar, with its account of the Argonautic expedition, and the *Medea* of Euripides. However, Apollonius' main inspiration is Homer, and this influence permeates almost every aspect of his creation, and is most evident in set scenes. Thus the catalogue of the Argonauts (1. 23–233) corresponds to Homer's catalogue of ships in *Iliad* 2, while the description of Jason's cloak (1. 721–67) has been

suggested by the shield of Achilles in *Iliad* 18. These scenes serve to bring out by contrast the significant differences in Apollonius' poem. The same is also true of individual characters in relation to their Homeric prototypes: compare Jason with Odysseus or Medea with Nausicaa and Circe.

The Hellenistic period was an age of scientific and scholarly achievement, and the Hellenistic poets considered this knowledge as part of their artistic material. In keeping with contemporary trends, therefore, Apollonius brings his scholarship to bear on his composition by explaining the causes (*aitia*) of names, cults, relics, customs, and natural phenomena. The scholia record many of the sources that he so diligently consulted. His learning stresses the significance of the Argonautic expedition as a voyage of acculturation, establishing Greek tradition. It has been suggested that the repeatedly positive evaluation of Greek culture (including cult and mythology) should be connected with the Ptolemaic context of the work, since the Ptolemies promoted themselves as the true heirs and champions of Classical Greek culture (Hunter, 1993, chapter 6).

Apollonius was also the first Greek poet to place love in the foreground of the action in an epic and to study its psychology, thereby creating a new trend in western literature. Although he is dealing with a heroic legend, its central theme is not war but love. The capacity he shows for sympathetic analysis in his account of Medea's love for Jason is something not found in earlier Greek literature, with the possible exception of Sappho, whose work, however, has survived only in fragments. His descriptive power is revealed in the many charming *ekphraseis* (descriptions) with which he adorns his poem, once more in keeping with Hellenistic tradition. He also introduces a number of striking and suggestive similes. These descriptions and similes, as well as his fresh treatment of old episodes, serve to attract the reader.

The principal defect of the poem, according to some modern critics, is its lack of structural unity. In their view, Apollonius fails to organize into a whole his abundant array of erudite material, and too often the narrative breaks into long, disjointed passages. It has been pointed out, however, that discontinuity is Apollonius' principle of composition, and that this principle operates in the organization of the narrative both within the book and between books. Although constructed with great care, especially in its versification, its uniform mediocrity often makes the poem positively tedious. He has also been criticized for weak characterization. His Jason lacks the energy expected of a heroic leader, and lacks sufficient development to attract the reader's interest. In each of the two last books where she appears, Medea, as impressionable virgin and dangerous sorceress respectively, is inconsistent (when seen against Aristotle's requirement of consistency for the dramatic character), though she is beautifully drawn and the gradual growth of her love for Jason is described with a truly artistic moderation.

His hexameters generally follow the Homeric pattern, and so does his vocabulary. However, in keeping with the usage of Alexandrian authors, he continually varies and "interprets" the Homeric words and phrases. His greatest stylistic achievement is in fact the subtle adaptation of the Homeric language to express the romantic sentiments of his own age, but its brevity and conciseness are in marked contrast to the natural and easy flow of the Homeric poems.

The *Argonautica* appears to have enjoyed considerable popularity even during Apollonius' own lifetime, for we hear that contemporaries, such as Charon, wrote commentaries on it. Our present scholia are abridged from the commentaries of Lucillus of Tarrha, Sophocles, and Theon, all of whom apparently belong to the pre-Christian era. There are 52 known manuscripts, and numerous papyri testify to the poem's popularity in later antiquity. There are two sets of scholia: the Florentine and the Parisian. The former were published in the edition by J. Lascaris (Florence, 1496), and the latter were first published in Schaefer's edition (2 volumes, Leipzig, 1810–13) and consist mainly of verbal explanations and criticisms. The scholia also speak of one Eirenaius as the author of a critical and exegetical commentary. During the reign of the Byzantine emperor Anastasius I (AD 491–518), one Marianus paraphrased the *Argonautica* in 5608 iambics. In recent times the *Argonautica* has attracted the serious attention of scholars. Surprisingly, there were no English translations of the *Argonautica* until those of E.P. Coleridge (1889), R.C. Seaton (1912), and E.V. Rieu (1959). However, Between 1990 and 1997, three new translations appeared, by Barbara Hughes Fowler (1990), Richard L. Hunter (1993), and Peter Green (1997).

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See also Poetry (Epic)

Biography

Born *c.*295 BC probably in Alexandria, Apollonius is called the Rhodian because he retired to Rhodes, apparently to revise his epic poem, the *Argonautica*, after its poor reception in Alexandria. A pupil of Callimachus, he was director of the Alexandria library after Zenodotus and before Eratosthenes. Lost works include prose tracts on other poets and poems on the foundation of cities. He died in 215 BC.

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Apologists, Greek

The precise identification of the individuals who came to be known collectively as the Greek Apologists has been a matter of debate. An average list would contain as many as 12 names: Quadratus, Aristides of Athens, Aristo of Pella, St Justin Martyr, Tatian the Syrian, Miltiades, Apollinaris of Hierapolis, Athenagoras of Athens, Theophilus of Antioch, Melito of Sardis, the author of the *Epistle of Diognetus*, and Hermias. Of these, some are represented by little surviving text, while others may be read at fair length. The *Epistle of Diognetus*, it may be argued, is best treated separately.

As the name implies, these were Christian writers who wrote in defence of their faith, their apologetic directed in the first instance against what were seen as dangerous misunderstandings and calumnies that might affect the treatment of Christians within the empire at large and within local society. Some were supposedly addressed to emperors, though there is no evidence of response. It was seen as essential that Christian communities should be treated not as potentially dissident, but as loyal citizens of the empire, people whose form of worship, though distinctive, posed no threat to private morality or public order. The Christian Eucharist, with its reference to eating a body and drinking blood, was no crude cannibalism but a deeply spiritual expression of unity. Of more lasting significance are those parts of their work in which these writers attempt to face the intellectual criticism, often scorn, that they met or might expect to meet from their educated counterparts. Though they may not emerge as deeply original thinkers, they show some acquaintance with current thought patterns as they had been traditionally developed, and they are able to engage with ideas that might either be demonstrated to have affinities with Christian teachings or to be inimical to them. They saw their task as setting out as clearly as they could, in debate with Jews or pagans, lines of continuity, while preserving what they regarded as the inalienable uniqueness of their belief. The Apologists try to isolate fundamental points of monotheistic faith or philosophical tenets that tend in their direction, particularly where there is a Platonic angle to be examined. A writer such as Justin, who feels committed to fighting on two fronts, hoping to win acceptance in the philosophical schools through which he claims to have successively passed and equally among people of the Jewish faith from which Christianity had emerged, engaged in a formidable undertaking. While there are tedious and ill-considered tracts in, say, Tatian, there are also fascinating insights into skills of communication. Whatever success, or lack of it, we are to attribute to the Greek Apologists in their own time, we cannot doubt the influence they had on later Christian writers, setting a pattern of reasoned debate, rather than wilful isolation.

Of Quadratus only a fragment survives, quoted by Eusebius, dated around 124. If we accept the statement of that same historian, we would take Aristides to be the earliest whose *Apology* survives, and, indeed, the Syrian and Armenian texts on which our knowledge is based are prefaced by the statement that it is addressed to Hadrian (emperor 117–38). It is, however, more likely to be later, written during the reign of his successor, Antoninus Pius, perhaps *c.*140. If so, it would retain its place as the earliest surviving apology. Aristides attempts to preserve a cool tone. While maintaining the uniqueness of Christians, in that they alone have attained a true knowledge of God, he wishes to place them in the context of Greek philosophical speculation about the nature of deity, writing in terms that would be familiar to the Stoics and indeed to anyone who had done a little serious reading on the being of God (or god) and the nature of the created order. Biblical references are sparse and the Christological section, of interest as a summary of tradition, makes no attempt at exposition.

All this changes when we pass to Justin. He is the outstanding centre point of the group (as such, he is treated in a separate article). In summary, Justin tries to bring together his philosophical background and his biblical convictions, rooted in Hebrew prophecy, to enunciate distinctively Christian tenets in outline Trinitarian form. The *Logos* communicates God's truth to the world, all humanity sharing in affinity with the *Logos* through rational (*logikos*) creation.

Tatian, a pupil of Justin in Rome, resembles him in some ways. They both came from a pagan background, exploring philosophy on their way to conversion. Yet Tatian can take on an arrogant, dismissive tone, unlike Justin's, in referring to Greek philosophy; nor would he have had Justin's support in his lapses into extreme asceticism, though the question of his link with Gnosticism is best left open. Again, his emphasis on divine transcendence is not balanced by any whole-hearted exposition of the Incarnation and work of the *Logos* (never called "Christ"). On the other hand, he did bring out the *Diatessaron*, a setting out of the four gospels in continuous form that kept before generations of readers the central narratives that must be woven into any future Christology.

In Athenagoras we again meet a man with aspirations to be taken seriously in philosophy. (Indeed, his *Legatio* describes itself as "by Athenagoras the Athenian: Philosopher and Christian".) He shows his claim to the title by a more serious appreciation than Tatian's. His writing has more claim to elegance than anything seen so far and could well have impressed open-minded contemporaries. What Athenagoras conveyed in the *Legatio* or *Supplication* (Greek *Presbeia*) around 177 (the year of the martyrdoms, in the reign of Marcus Aurelius, in Gaul at Lyons and Vienne) was not the expected rebuttal of false reports on Christian behaviour but a balanced account of the nature of the faith. Beginning and remaining a strict monotheist, he goes on to assert the divine unity in the context of a Spirit who speaks through the prophets and is integral to the Godhead, fitting into a form of Trinitarian expression that points forward.

Towards the end of the 2nd century Theophilus exhibits similarities and individual features. Eusebius calls him the sixth bishop of Antioch. He had however grown up a pagan. By the time he came to write *Ad Autolycum*, probably *c.*180, he had taken up a strongly monotheistic position, opposed alike to polytheism and to Marcion with his two gods, the Demiurge and the good God, Father of Christ. Unlike Tatian, Theophilus

came to have some repute as an anti-heretical writer. He maintains a philosophical stance, drawing largely on Middle Platonism for concepts and terminology, and it is through the development of philosophical notions that he reaches a distinctive doctrine of *Logos*. He turns more to Stoicism, contrasting the "innate" (*endiathetos*) with the "external" or "expressed" (*prophorikos*) *Logos*. While looking for philosophical underpinning, Theophilus stays in close sympathy with Hellenistic Jewish monotheism, yet being the first Christian writer to use the term "Trinity" (*Trias*). Again, his Christian position is characterized by the breadth of his New Testament quotations.

A group of "mixed ability", the Greek Apologists have in common an awareness of the world outside the Church, Jewish and pagan, and the pressing need for communication with that world. At the same time, their concentration on undeveloped Christian beliefs begins to point a way forward to later thinkers as diverse in outlook and varying in quality as Irenaeus, Tertullian, Novatian, Methodius, Lactantius, and Eusebius.

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See also Justin Martyr

Summary

A group of perhaps 12 writers of the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD who wrote in defence of the Christian faith: Quadratus, Aristides of Athens, Aristo of Pella, St Justin Martyr, Tatian the Syrian, Miltiades, Apollinaris of Hierapolis, Athenagoras of Athens, Theophilus of Antioch, Melito of Sardis, the author of the *Epistle of Diognetus*, and Hermias. Their writings are important for the history of Christian dogma.

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Apophthegmata Patrum

Religious compilation of the 5th and 6th centuries

The *Apophthegmata Patrum*, or *Sayings of the Desert Fathers*, represent the single most important source for the history and spiritual teachings of early Egyptian monasticism. The *Sayings* give us an invaluable picture of monastic life in all its complexity and richness from the pioneering days of St Antony the Great to the monastic diaspora of the 5th century. Dealing with every aspect of the ascetic life, from day-to-day concerns to the highest states of prayer, the *Sayings* have had an enormous influence on the Christian tradition, and continue to provide nourishment in our own age.

The *Sayings* are centred on the semi-eremitic form of monasticism that flourished in the descent of Scetis, with many pieces coming also from Nitria and Kellia. References to the fully developed coenobia of the Pachomian type are rare, and often gently critical. Elements deriving from the Palestinian diaspora forced by the barbarian incursions of the early 5th century refer back most especially to the Scetiote tradition.

The *Sayings* as we have them were compiled over the 5th and 6th centuries from the words of instruction spoken by the elders of Egypt, which had initially been preserved by oral transmission. The preface to the Greek alphabetical collection speaks of the redactor's desire to gather together the diffused words of the initiators and masters of the monastic way of life, and to order them alphabetically for the sake of clarity. The fact that the *logoi* of the Desert Fathers were so well known and remembered precluded any significant reworking of the texts. What we have is therefore very much the raw matter of the Desert Fathers' teachings. The main differences in the manuscript traditions are of arrangement, not so much of content. The most familiar arrangement is the alphabetical collection. The anonymous collection, grouped more or less haphazardly, originally, it seems, formed a sequel to the alphabetical collection. Lastly, we have the systematic collection, grouped according to subject matter. The complexities surrounding the genesis of these different arrangements are far from being unravelled.

There is no artificial unity to the *Sayings*. A great many different perspectives are represented. There is, however, a certain unity arising from the common goal and common struggle of the monks whose counsels are preserved. An ideal of monastic perfection is held up, but allowance is made for human frailty. As Amma Syncletica puts it: "lack of proportion always corrupts". We do get occasional glimpses into the highest reaches of mystical experience, as, for example, the vision of Abba Arsenius "entirely like a flame". These glimpses are, precisely, glimpses; the sayings witness to a certain reticence about delving too deeply into such advanced states. Miracles do occur, but are often treated with caution. The ecclesiastical hierarchy is regarded with enormous, but not automatic, respect. Relations within the monastic community form a kind of leitmotif. Laymen are occasionally held up as being of superior virtue to even the greatest of monks: a nice stimulus to monastic modesty. References to the decline in monastic virtue and prowess are frequent. These stem largely from the diaspora element to which we have referred. Most importantly, perhaps, the *Sayings* preserve a record of the living relationships between elder and disciple: they give us an insight into the means by which the wisdom of the desert was passed on from generation to generation.

The attitude of the *Apophthegmata* to outer learning is not unremittingly hostile. While the possession of books is often frowned upon, and philosopher-monks such as Evagrius of Pontus are gently but firmly chastised, the prevailing opinion is that secular learning is not wrong in itself, but rather inadequate for the intensely practical business of the ascetic life. This is wittily illustrated in two of the apophthegms of Abba Arsenius, formerly tutor in the household of the emperor

Theodosius I (379–95). Arsenius is asked by an anonymous interlocutor: "How is it that we get nowhere, while the Egyptian peasants acquire so many virtues?" Arsenius replies: "We indeed get nothing from our secular education, but the Egyptian peasants acquire the virtues by hard work." Again, speaking of an old Egyptian monk he had consulted, Arsenius comments: "I indeed have been taught Latin and Greek, but I do not even know the alphabet of this peasant."

The genre of the *Sayings* has certain precedents in Classical literature. Cato, for example, composed a collection of the apophthegms of Socrates. Peter Brown (1978, p. 82) has characterized the *Sayings* as "the last and one of the greatest products of the Wisdom Literature of the ancient Near East". The *Sayings*, in their various forms, rapidly became the staple diet of the monastic movement wherever it spread. The *Dialogismoi* of Abba Zosimus already quote, in early 6th-century Palestine, from the *Sayings*. They continued to be, and still are, essential reading for monastics of all traditions. They remain an extremely rich source of a form of spirituality that is both profound and intensely practical.

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Summary

The *Sayings of the Desert Fathers*, compiled in the 5th and 6th centuries from oral tradition passed down by the elders of early Egyptian monasticism. They deal with all aspects of the ascetic life and provide a valuable insight into monastic life from the time of St Antony the Great to the 5th-century monastic diaspora.

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Apostasy

Apostasy, the abandonment of Christianity, was an offence under both canon and Byzantine secular law. Whether it is realized by accession to another religion, to atheism, or to non-religiosity is irrelevant. The acceptance of another Christian confession – according to the prevalent opinion – is not considered apostasy, but heresy. In order to commit apostasy, one must already be a regular member of the Church. The offence is committed either voluntarily or involuntarily, and it can be manifested either expressly or tacitly.

The Church had to deal with apostasy relatively early on, because of the persecutions, when a number of Christians grew fearful of remaining in the flock. An immediate consequence of the offence is that the apostate no longer belongs to the Christian community. The sources of canon law of the unified Church of the first centuries very often make special reference to apostasy in relation to the treatment of those who have repented and wish to revert to Christianity. Relevant canons were set forth by the First Ecumenical Council (11 and 12), the Synod in Ankara (1–9), St Basil the Great (73 and 81), St Gregory of Nyssa (2), and St Peter of Alexandria (1–14); there is also canon 62 by the Holy Apostles. Most of these canons are occasional; they dealt with apostates in the time of the persecutions. These canons obviously lack significance today, because they refer to an offence that was committed prior to their enactment. Similarly, there are canons of general validity, such as canon 62 of the Holy Apostles, which determines that any cleric who denies Christ out of fear of non-Christians should be expelled from the Church. But – it continues – if he simply rejects the role of cleric, then he should be unfrocked. If he repents, he may come back to the Church as a layman. In any case, the type of penalty depended on the time at which the offence was committed – that is, on whether it was committed in a time of persecution or in one of peace. Thus, canon 73 of Basil the Great and canon 2 of Gregory of Nyssa, which refer to a time of peace, establish that those who have voluntarily apostatized and have later repented should be subject to a life-long penalty. Only in the last moments of their lives may they be deemed worthy of receiving Holy Communion. By contrast, the treatment of those who committed apostasy during periods of persecution was more lenient. For those who became apostates involuntarily, the prescribed penalty was a nine-year deprivation of Holy Communion. Although clergymen would preserve their priesthood, they remained in suspension for the remainder of their lives: they were not allowed even to preach (canons 1 and 2 of the Synod of Ankara; 10 of Peter of Alexandria).

Byzantine secular law initially punished apostasy with fines (*Codex Theodosianus*, 16. 8. 7). Later the legislation of Justinian prescribed the death penalty (*Codex*, 1. 11. 10pr.). The *Ecloga* (17. 6) enacted particular measures for prisoners of war who were forced to deny their Christian faith. On their return to Byzantium, they were subjected only to ecclesiastical penalties. The same treatment was adopted by the *Zakon Soudnyj Ljudem*, the legal collection that the Thessalonian missionary Methodios drafted and introduced to Great Moravia. Evidently, the reason that the *Ecloga* introduced this lenient measure, was so that prisoners should not be hesitant about repatriating. As for the rest, all the other statutes of Byzantine legislation maintained their validity, as is demonstrated by the Appendix to the *Ecloga* (3. 12. 16–17). The statutes on captives in the *Ecloga* were repeated in the *Ecloga Privata Aucta* (17. 35–36) and in the *Eclogadium* (17. 27). By contrast, the *Procheiros Nomos* (39. 33) and the *Eisagoge* (= *Epanagoga*; 40. 35) do not contain this statute, but only a general one on the elimination of the death penalty, presumably because apostasy under conditions of coercion no longer interested the state, only the Church (according to Troianos, p.

47). The *Basilica* repeated the statutes of Justinian. By way of the *Basilica*, these were incorporated in the *Syntagma* of Matthaios Vlastaris, in the *Hexabiblos* of Constantinos Harmenopoulos, and in the *Nomokanon* of Manouil Malaxos. Furthermore, the secular law provided for concurrent penalties. The apostate was unable to bear witness, to make a will, or to inherit. Other penalties included confiscation of his property and exclusion from civil and military offices.

During the period of Ottoman rule, large numbers of Christians (and Jews) converted to Islam, voluntarily or involuntarily. Because of the restrictions imposed by the Ottomans, the Church was unable to take any of these measures against them. However, Islamic converts who reverted to Christianity received the death penalty from the Turkish authorities; this was the penalty prescribed by Muslim religious law (the *Sharia*) for apostates from Islam. The latter constituted the body of "neomartyrs" in the Orthodox Church.

In more recent and contemporary Greek secular law, apostasy no longer constitutes a criminal offence. On the basis of the principles and the constitutional statutes on religious freedom, accession to another religion is a matter of personal freedom. Its penal treatment is confined to canon law only: laymen may be excommunicated and clergymen unfrocked (and subsequently excommunicated). The excommunication is imposed under the Synod of the Hierarchy (article 4, §9 of Law 590/1977 = Charter of the Church of Greece). Although the consequences of excommunication are ecclesiastical in nature, excommunication undoubtedly also affects the social status of the person subjected to it.

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See also Canon Law, Neomartyrs

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Appian *c.*AD 95–160s

Historian

Appian was a Romanized Greek, who was born in the dynamic but turbulent city of Alexandria in Egypt. Josephus refers to the "constant strife between the natives and the Jewish colony" (*Jewish War*, 2. 487) that had existed ever since Alexander the Great had given the Jews permission to reside in the city with the same rights as the Greeks. One dramatic fragment of Appian's lost autobiography relates his narrow escape from an angry group of Jews during the Jewish revolt (AD 115–17). This personal experience of civil unrest may help to explain why Appian devotes such a large proportion of his historical narrative to the Roman civil wars of the 1st century BC. Subsequently, he left Alexandria and moved to the more secure environment of Rome, where he became an advocate and was eventually awarded a procuratorship. We have a letter from Fronto to Antoninus Pius (emperor AD 138–61) requesting this position for his friend.

Appian's most important achievement is his historical work, the *Romaica* (written between *c.*AD 148 and 161), which narrates the rise of Rome and its progressive conquests of different nations "in order to understand the weaknesses or endurance of peoples, as well as the virtues or good fortune of their conquerors, or any other factor which contributed to the result" (preface, 12). This focus recalls the pragmatic historiography of Polybius (*c.*200–*c.*118 BC), who in the *Histories* likewise seeks to explain the growth of Roman power. Yet where Polybius analyses a 53-year period in 40 books, Appian's chronological scope is broader, moving from the kings of Rome to Trajan's war in Arabia in 24 books. The *Romaica* are structured along geographical and ethnic lines, with each book usually devoted to a particular people, although book 8 (Hannibal) and book 12 (Mithridates VI) break the pattern by focusing on individual enemies of Rome.

We do not have Appian's whole work, but what survives is impressive and revealing. Appian was writing for a cultured Greek-speaking readership, who wanted to understand more about Roman history and institutions. Consequently, the narrative is punctuated with practical explanations, which frequently remind us that Appian is looking at Rome from the viewpoint of the provincial outsider. So, the military eagle is described as "the symbol held in the highest regard by the Romans" (*Civil War*, 2. 61. 256). Not only does Appian offer explanations of potentially unfamiliar terms, but his Greek prose is accessible and sometimes even includes transliterated Latin words. The 9th-century Byzantine scholar Photios approvingly characterized Appian's Greek as "plain and unadorned". The discovery of a papyrus at Dura Europos containing fragments from Appian and Herodotus suggests that the Alexandrian historian was indeed popular. Some modern critics suggest that Appian's main significance lies in his preservation of crucial material from lost historians such as Asinius Pollio, but this is to undervalue the *Romaica*. Appian in his own right made Roman history accessible to an inquisitive Greek-speaking audience, who were themselves increasingly involved in government and administration within the empire. That there was an appetite for historical texts about Rome among this mobile, Greek-speaking elite is suggested by Zenobius' translation of Sallust's works into Greek under Hadrian. Of course, Greek speakers could always turn to the universal histories of Nicolaus of Damascus or Diodorus Siculus, but these were almost too comprehensive (144 and 40 books respectively), and both narratives stopped in the 1st century BC. The expansion of the Roman empire between the reigns of Augustus and Trajan called for an updated history, which Appian provided.

Although the *Romaica* helped to orientate Greek-speaking readers in the Roman world, Appian could still criticize

Roman methods and shortcomings. So Appian narrates the proscriptions with particular disgust (*Civil War*, 4. 16), and outlines the sufferings of the people of Gomphi, including one incident where 20 distinguished elders, who had poisoned themselves, were discovered lying on the floor "as if they had succumbed to drunkenness" (*Civil War*, 2. 64. 268). Poignantly, Appian juxtaposes the genuine inebriation of Caesar's callous soldiers with the apparent drunkenness of these desperate citizens. It is at such moments that Appian's background as a provincial offers us some uncompromising perspectives of Rome.

Appian's *Romaica* survived, albeit in a fragmented state, largely thanks to the efforts of the excerptors who worked for the emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos (913–59). The first printed edition (Venice, 1477) was a Latin translation by Pier Candido which had been commissioned by Pope Nicholas V. The popularity of this edition prompted first an Italian translation (Rome, 1502) by Alessandro Braccio on the foreign wars, and a French translation (Lyons, 1544) by Claude de Seysell dedicated to King Louis XII of France. Seysell's translation inspired several baroque dramatists, including Pierre Corneille, who took material from Appian for his tragedy *Rodogune* (Paris, 1647). Yet no printed text of Appian in Greek appeared until Carolus Stephanus' edition (Paris, 1551). The first English translation (London, 1578), by William Barker, was grandly entitled *An Auncient Historie and Exquisite Chronicle of the Roman Warres, with a Continuation from the Death of Sextus Pompeius till the Overthrow of Antonie and Cleopatra* and praised Appian as a "noble orator and historiographer". Since Appian's narrative of the civil wars ends with the death of Sextus Pompey, Barker decided to supplement the account with material from Plutarch. Subsequently, William Shakespeare used Barker's Appian when writing *Antony and Cleopatra* and especially *Julius Caesar*. Appian's work remained popular, although not everybody had to rely on translations. In a letter to Engels, Karl Marx wrote: "As a relaxation in the evenings I have been reading Appian on the Roman civil wars in the original Greek. A very valuable book. The chap is an Egyptian by birth. Schlosser says that he has 'no soul', probably because he goes to the roots of the material basis for these civil wars." So, from the late 15th century onwards, Appian has continued to appeal to notable dramatists and intellectuals seeking to gain access to the Roman world through a lucid and accessible historian, who originally wrote to inform a predominantly non-Roman audience.

RHIANNON ASH

Biography

Born in Alexandria *c.*AD 95, Appian experienced the Jewish revolt of 115–17 before moving to Rome where he became an advocate and later a procurator. He died in the 160s. He wrote a history of Rome in 24 books for a Greek-speaking readership. Beginning with the kings of Rome, it is organized on geographical and ethnic principles, and ends with Trajan's war in Arabia. Not all of it survives.

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Apseudes, Theodore

Painter of the late 12th century

The signature of this master painter is to be found at the Enkleistra of St Neophytos near Paphos in Cyprus. The inscription, which is in a shallow cavity below the *Deesis* (Supplication) panel on the north wall, and below the prostrated figure of the donor, St Neophytos, reads: "The Enkleistra was painted by the hand of me, Theodore Apseudes, in the year 6691 [1183]". Another inscription in the adjoining church tells us that "The most venerable church of the life-giving Cross was hewn out, built and painted by the contribution and great toil of our holy and divinely inspired father, Neophytos, in the year 6704 [1196]". The problem is that between the two dates there are perhaps five periods of painting, most of which are very close in style, and it is not clear to which (if not to all) of the paintings Apseudes is referring. For the moment, therefore, it is best to regard Apseudes as an important master in a school of painting. The style of most of the work in the Enkleistra relates to the well-known late 12th-century development of elaborate linear patterning in Byzantine painting.

St Neophytos carved his tomb in the cell where he first lived, and on the ceiling of it are small paintings of the *Crucifixion* and the *Anastasis* (Resurrection). The Byzantine Anastasis combines the two scenes of the Descent into Hell and the Resurrection, and Apseudes' version is full of movement and powerful emotion, which are intensified by the linear patterns of the clothing. The *Crucifixion* depicts the relatively new type of Christ wearing only a loincloth, with his body hanging in a curving shape indicative of resignation and suffering. The figure of St John is in a style similar to the St John of a second *Crucifixion* scene painted on the partition between the cell and the bema. The linear elaboration of St John's garments is less marked than elsewhere in the Enkleistra. The most striking feature is the head, which is bowed in grief and

supported by the right arm and hand. The face is realistically cupped in the hand with the little finger just below the eye socket, as if wiping away a tear. The eyebrows and the lines below the eye are contorted as if in sorrow. The overwhelming effect of grief constitutes a new achievement in medieval painting. The depiction of a recognizable human emotion was to become a standard feature in Byzantine painting and it was later adopted by 13th-century Italian painters under Franciscan patronage. The other feature that these small paintings have in common is the sense of monumentality. Their size, as with any great work of art, is irrelevant and they are as effective if projected on to a large screen as they are in the original small scale of the Enkleistra. Among the larger paintings in the cell, the *Deesis* is notable for a technical innovation in the use of fresh plaster patches for the heads of the figures. In some of the cell and bema paintings this is combined with the practice of reworking the plaster to bring moisture to the surface before completing heads and hands at the finishing stages of a painting.

These technical innovations, together with the stylistic feature of wind-blown draperies, link the school of Apseudes with the important paintings at Lagoudera in Cyprus, dated to 1192. The church at Lagoudera is high in the Pitsillian region of the Troodos mountains and its remoteness has no doubt contributed to the fine state of preservation of its paintings. The church is small and the painter chose to depict only a few scenes from the life of Christ, and two from the life of the Mother of God, all on a grand, monumental scale. Similarities in small painterly details such as highlights and linear patterns between the two churches make it quite clear that the paintings come from the Apseudes school. They also share the rarely observed technical similarity of fresh plaster patching a century before this practice appears in Italy. Similar stylistic links appear in a single grand painting of *St George* in the south bay of the narthex of the church at Asinou, and in some of the paintings at the church of the Archangel at Kato Levkara. There are therefore enough stylistic and technical affinities between these paintings to link these four churches to the Apseudes school. There are also icons that can be linked to the same school.

The salient characteristic of the school is the windblown draperies which can be found in an icon of the Annunciation at the monastery of St Catherine on Mount Sinai and in churches at Nerezi and at Kurbinova in Macedonia. The influence of this style can be detected further afield in some of the mosaics of the Sicilian churches, and in St Mark's, Venice. The wider influence of the Hellenic tradition can be detected in the undoubted affinities of these windblown draperies to the Classical sculptures of ancient Greece. It is not necessary to suppose any direct observation of ancient sculpture on the part of painters, so much as to suggest that a long-standing cultural influence was at work here.

DAVID WINFIELD

See also Painting

Biography

Master painter active in Cyprus in the late 12th century. Nothing is known of his life. His paintings are notable for the introduction of human emotion and a sense of monumentality to Byzantine painting. The use of wind-blown draperies links his work with earlier examples in Sinai and Macedonia and with the Classical sculpture of ancient Greece.

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Apulia

Region of southeast Italy

Apulia (modern Puglia) has been associated with Greek culture since antiquity. The region has Messapian or Greek foundation legends, mentioned already in the writings of Herodotus (7. 170). The name Iapygia is used by Greek writers to denote the same region, although it also refers to the region of Calabria. Many places in Apulia were colonized by Greek cities by the end of the 8th century BC, but that was just the climax of a long history of contacts between the Greeks and the autochthonous population of Italy. One of the most important cities of the area, Tarentum (ancient Greek Taras, modern Taranto), was supposed to have been founded around 706 BC by Spartans as their only colony. The gulf of Taranto had already been colonized by Achaeans from the Peloponnese, who first established Sybaris in 721 BC and then Croton and Metapontium. Taras, the only Dorian colony, was founded after the First Messenian War (traditionally in 706 BC), an example of the tensions in Greece that led to colonization. The founders came from Amyclae, an ancient sacred town of the Spartan state, and according to Strabo (6. 3. 2f.) were linked to Spartans by the maternal side only; they were thought to be illegitimate children of unmarried women, thus they had the name *partheniai* ("sons of concubines"). It is possible that they were of pre-Dorian origin. They were guided by an oracle to establish a colony in the west, and this is typical of the role of religion, and oracles in particular, in sanctioning new settlements. One of the first things that the colonists would do was to establish their religion.

The Greek colonies in Apulia flourished thanks to the craftsmanship and trade that soon developed. Taras, in particular, owed its prosperity to the textile and pottery industries that were soon supplying the rest of Italy. Taras was also famous for its jewellery, as the exquisite collection of the

modern archaeological museum bears witness today. Many of the most important archaeological finds were made only as a result of bombings in World War II. Sybaris was proverbial for its wealth and luxury (Herodotus, 6. 126) and had developed commercial relations with Miletus in Asia Minor. After the initial colonization, many of the cities were able to found further colonies; thus Sybaris founded Poseidonia (the Latin Paestum) on the west coast of Italy. Metapontium, Sybaris, Croton, Siris, and Paestum are known as the "Achaean" area, a term that refers not only to the origin of many of the colonists but also to the artistic styles that were developed there. The artistic currents of Magna Graecia combine many elements.

Sybaris was destroyed by Croton in 510 BC, and the city of Thurii was founded on its site, at the initiative of Pericles, in 444 BC. The famous city planner Hippodamus of Miletus designed the city and was himself one of the leading colonists. This was a part of the ambitious strategy of Pericles to make Athens the centre of a greater Greece. The geographical situation that gave all these cities immediate access to the sea and a fertile hinterland was a significant factor for their later development. This economic growth was soon to be followed by cultural development. Apulia, together with Calabria and Sicily, constituted the region of Magna Graecia. The region of Apulia drew the attention of Rome at the end of the 4th century BC and the Tarentines invited king Pyrrhus of Epirus to assist them in 280 BC. During the Hannibalic and Social Wars there were serious revolts against Rome, which were followed by the destruction of many Apulian cities. After it was annexed to the Roman empire, the region experienced troubled times. Under Diocletian Apulia and Calabria formed a single province. Christianity reshaped the cultural history of the region.

In Byzantine times Apulia suffered material damage in the wars of Justinian I against the Goths, and was later conquered by the Lombards. In the 8th century the Arabs, the Byzantines, and the Lombards laid claims to the area. Apulia was reconquered by the emperor Basil I (876–86) and it stayed under Byzantine rule until the 11th century when the Normans captured it. In 1480, having completed the conquest of continental Greece, Mehmet II managed to occupy the harbour city of Otranto, then considered the most important centre of Greek culture. Several Byzantine churches still survive in Apulia, one of the most famous being the 11th-century church of San Pietro at Otranto, which has several layers of painting. In the southern part of the peninsula the city of Callipoli was founded as a colony of Taras. The Spartan Leucippus soon made it a free city; it was an important commercial settlement in Byzantine times, and there were many monasteries in the area. It was occupied by the Normans in 1071 and later by the Turks in 1481. A minority Greek population survived until the 20th century, consisting mainly of merchants and sailors.

A Greek dialect is still spoken today in the area of Salento, and particularly in the area of Lecce. The villages or towns that preserve some form of that dialect, referred to by the locals as *griko* or *grigo*, are Calimera, Sternatia, Soleto, Martignano, Castrignano, Melpignano, Galatina, and Zollino. There is debate among scholars as to the origin of the dialect, whether it originates from the ancient Greek of Magna Graecia, or is derived from later Byzantine dialects. There is a rich Hellenic tradition that has shrunk significantly in modern times. In some places, such as Calimera and Sternatia, an attempt has been made to preserve an otherwise dying culture and language.

ANDROMACHE KARANIKA-DIMAROGONA

See also Magna Graecia

Summary

The heel of Italy, Apulia has had Greek connections since antiquity. There were many Greek colonies by the end of the 8th century BC. Taras (modern Taranto) was founded by Sparta *c.*706 BC. Apulia prospered by trade and by developing textile and pottery industries. It formed a single province with Calabria under Diocletian. It was disputed between Arabs, Lombards, and Byzantines until the 11th century when it was taken by the Normans. A Greek dialect is still spoken in some villages.

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Arabia

The geographic term "Arabia" is applied to the Arabian peninsula (*Shibh al-Jazirah al-'Arabiyah* in Arabic), which is located in the extreme southwestern corner of Asia and encompasses the modernday countries of Kuwait, Qatar, the United Arab Emirates, the Sultanate of Oman, Yemen, and the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. The Arabian peninsula is bordered by the Red Sea on the west and the southwest, and the Gulf of Aden on the south, the Arabian Sea on the south and southeast, and the Gulf of Oman and the Persian Gulf (also called the Arabian Gulf) on the northeast. Geographically, the peninsula and the Syrian desert merge in the north. The peninsula's total area is about 2,590,000 sq km. The length bordering the Red Sea is approximately 1900 km and the maximum breadth is approximately 2000 km.

The ancient Greeks, who coined the term "Arabia", derived it from the name of a pastoral people, the Arabs, whose presence in the northern Arabian and Syrian desert is well attested to by Assyrian records dating from the 7th century BC which refer to them as *Aribu* or *Aribi*. When the Greeks first reached the shores of the Arabian peninsula, sometime between the 6th and 5th centuries BC, they gave the name Arabia first to the

northern desert area, and then by extension to the whole peninsula to the south. In time there developed a distinction between a Desert Arabia (*Arabia Deserta* in Latin) in the northern part of the peninsula; a Rocky Arabia (*Arabia Petraea* in Latin) on the western fringes of the desert; and a Fertile Arabia (*Arabia Eudaimon* in Greek; *Arabia Felix* in Latin) in the south. None of these three regions was strictly defined, and they were for the most part unexplored.

In antiquity, and until the 7th century AD, trade was the main link between Arabia and the Greek-speaking world. Trade through Arabia also involved items from Ethiopia (Axum), India, and China. The importance of this region to the Byzantine world lay in its strategic proximity to Iran (Byzantium's imperial rival) and its control of the route to India. Most Arabian cities were founded along the caravan trade route that ran along the western edge of the desert, and it was in these cities that interactions between Arabs and Greeks took place.

Knowledge of the history of Arabia comes from records of early travellers and historians, such as Herodotus (*c.*430 BC), Strabo (*c.*AD 22), and Pliny (*c.*AD 23). Most of these accounts concentrate on south Arabia, whence the trade goods originated. In marked contrast with the arid wastes of northern and central Arabia, southern Arabia was a fertile, sedentary, and civilized region. South Arabia was famous for its wealth in spices, minerals, and fruits, as well as for its various kingdoms. In fact, the Greek writer Eratosthenes (writing in the 3rd century BC) described southern Arabia as inhabited by four major peoples, and it is on the basis of his nomenclature that scholars today speak of the south Arabian kingdoms of the Minaeans, the Sabaeans, the Qatabanians, and the Hadramites.

Between the 3rd and 6th centuries AD several Byzantine imperial and ecclesiastical missions were sent to the western and southern parts of the peninsula, and a few cities were converted to Christianity. However, Mecca, the pilgrimage centre of Arabia and the city where Muhammad (the Prophet of Islam) appeared in the first decade of the 7th century, was not converted. Muhammad's mission quickly and fundamentally altered the face of Arabia and its relationship to its Greek-speaking neighbour, the Byzantine world. Arabia became the base of operations against Byzantium. After the Prophet's death in 632, the Arabs wrested the Levant, Egypt, and the rest of North Africa from the Byzantines. By the advent of the Umayyad dynasty in 660, attacks against the Byzantines were conducted from the Umayyad capital, Damascus in Syria, and thus Arabia virtually lost its relevance to the Greek world.

LARA G. TOHME

Summary

Arabia was the Greek name for the peninsula between the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf. Greeks first visited Arabia in the 6th century BC and traded with it until the 7th century AD. Southern Arabia in particular was famous for its spices, minerals, and fruits. The rise of Islam put an end to relations between Arabia and the Greek world.

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Arabs

According to modern usage, Arabs are any of the Arabic-speaking peoples living in the vast region extending from Mauritania on the Atlantic coast of Africa, to southwestern Iran, including the entire Maghrib of North Africa, Egypt and the Sudan, the Arabian peninsula, Syria, and Iraq. In antiquity this term usually referred to the largely nomadic and pastoral Semitic tribes and peoples who lived in and around the modern Arabian peninsula. However, Neo-Assyrian and biblical references dating back to the 9th–7th centuries BC do not relate Arabs particularly with the country of Arabia, but refer to tribes in the Sinai, in Jordan and Syria, and even along the banks of the Euphrates. The term is believed to be absent from inscriptions of Yemen prior to the 2nd century BC. In this article the term is used in a somewhat broad sense, denoting not solely people of Arab blood but including all those who were politically under Arab rule, who spoke the Arab language, and who, since the birth of Islam, have followed that religion. More important than political, racial, or religious unity is the Arabs' common cultural history and their participation in the scientific heritage derived from the Hellenistic world.

Arabic-speaking peoples are mostly Caucasoids of the Mediterranean physical type, although considerable regional variations exist, with admixtures of Negroids of Africa and Mongoloids of Asia. The early inhabitants of the Arabian peninsula reared sheep, goats, and camels in their harsh desert environment, while those settled in the oases cultivated dates and cereals. These oases also served as centres of the caravan trade. From around the 5th century BC Arab families or tribes began to found small states, often at centres of the overland caravan trade. Of these, Petra in present-day Jordan became the capital of the Nabataeans; in AD 106 it was conquered by the Romans, who allowed it to flourish well into the 3rd century. The Syrian desert town of Palmyra came under Roman domination around AD 160 and reached its height in the mid-3rd century.

Herodotus was familiar with the Arabs of southern Palestine and the Sinai as well as those of the frankincense-producing region. According to him the Arabs were among the nations that paid tribute to Darius I of Persia (Hderodotus, 7. 69, 3. 97). But it was the expeditions of Alexander the Great in the region of the Red Sea that brought greater knowledge of the Arabs to the Greeks, as reflected, for example, in the partially preserved work of Agatharchides, the source of Diodorus Siculus' description. According to Arrian (*Anabasis*, 7. 19. 5), Alexander's last plans included the conquest of the eastern Arabian coast, and in preparation for this he dispatched naval expeditions to both the Persian Gulf and the

Red Sea. The presence of Hellenistic Greeks in Bahrain and especially in Failaka, and Antiochus III's expedition to Gerrha in the Saudi interior, reflect early interest in Arabian and Indian trade on the part of the Seleucids. Ariston explored southwards as far as Babel-Mandeb for Ptolemy, who punished the hostile Nabataeans of Petra by tapping the incense route to the south of the city through a trade arrangement with the Lihyanites of Dedan. During Hellenistic times the northern territories as far as the Negev and Transjordan were inhabited by the Nabataean Arabs, who developed their land through skilful water conservation. The southern kingdoms were Minaea on the Red Sea, Katabania at the straits of Hormuz, and Sabaea, the Hadramaut, and Mhra along the south coast. Minaea had ceased to exist by the 2nd century BC and Yemen was dominated by a confederacy of Sabaeans and Homerites. Apart from these petty kingdoms of the south and the north, and to a large extent within them, the political organization of pre-Islamic Arabia was a primitive kinship structure united in clans and tribes which were named after a supposed common ancestor. As a political unit, pre-Islamic Arabia existed only in the careless nomenclature of the Greeks, who used the name Sarakenoi (apparently from the Arabic *Sharqinun*, "easterners") to denote all the population of the peninsula.

For his accounts of the Arabs of Mesopotamia (along the Euphrates), Egypt (Sinai and the Red Sea), southern Jordan (the Nabataeans), the steppe, and eastern Arabia (Gerrha), Strabo depended on Hellenistic sources as well as the Arabian campaign of Aelius Gallus under Augustus. Although this expedition ended in failure, Roman naval predominance in the Red Sea was secured, and the movement of Roman merchantmen between Egypt and India was facilitated by the reduction of Aden, whoever may have been responsible for it (*Peripl. M.E.* 26).

For the Greeks and the Macedonians, Arabia was important chiefly for its incense and spices as well as for gold and gems. They also depended on the Arabs as middlemen for their Indian trade. However, the importance of this role diminished after Hippalus discovered the use of the monsoons for annual direct voyages to India. It is sometimes claimed that this practice was already known to the Arabs for centuries and that the Greeks merely learned from them; but one has to question whether Arab ships of the time were capable of such voyages even if the Arabs knew the "secret" of the monsoons. For both Classical and biblical authors, the defining characteristics of the Arabs were nomadism, pastoralism, and the camel-based caravan trade. However, their military strength is already mentioned in early (Assyrian) sources, and becomes prominent in Roman times. The organization of the southern sector of the *limes* shows that the Romans of the empire took account of their historical role, their steady pressure on the settled lands of the north, and their infiltration into the Syrian end of the Arabian peninsula. The evolution of this military frontier-in-depth from the Euphrates to the Red Sea involved absorption of the client Nabataeans into the Roman provincial system. This was achieved by Trajan in AD 106 through the expedition of Cornelius Palma. The resulting province of Arabia expanded slightly to the north under Septimius, and was divided by Diocletian into Arabia and Palaestina Salutaris, the latter subsequently incorporated into Palestine around AD 358. During the 4th and 5th centuries the *limes* was strengthened in response to the Saracen threat; but by the 6th century it had fallen into decay, so that the Muslim Arab invasions of the early 7th century found it no obstacle. The Arab *foederati* who (with the Phylarch as their chief) shared with the *limes* the defence of the Roman east, included the Tanukhids of the 4th century, the Salihids of the 5th, and the Ghassanids of the 6th.

The birth and spread of Islam in the 7th century led to the unification of the Arab tribes, and during the centuries following the death of the prophet Muhammad in AD 632, the new religion spread throughout most of the present-day Arabic-speaking world and beyond into Central Asia, the Iberian peninsula, Sicily, sub-Saharan Africa, Madagascar, the Indian subcontinent, and the Malay peninsula. Consequent upon the rapid establishment of Islamic supremacy Arabic, the language of the Holy Qu'ran, was adopted throughout much of the Middle East and North Africa.

Although Arab relations with the Byzantine empire consisted largely of invasions and conquests, there were also significant economic and cultural exchanges. Arabs (and Syrians) came as merchants not only to Constantinople, but even as far as Athens, where an Arab colony appears to have existed during the 10th and 11th centuries according to archaeological evidence. Close contact with certain Byzantine circles is suggested by Abbasid attempts to support insurgents from Thomas the Slav to Andronikos Doukas. People of mixed Arab and Greek parentage were so common in the eastern provinces that one of them became the hero of the epic *Digenis Akritas*. There were Christian communities and monasteries within the Abbasid caliphate in which Greek literature flourished during the 8th century and probably later. The caliphs encouraged scholarly contact and tried to invite to Baghdad Byzantine scholars, such as Leo the Mathematician, while Photios went there on an embassy.

Byzantine art and architecture imbibed a considerable amount of Islamic influence. Emperor Theophilos's palace in Constantinople, with its wild animals, automata in the shape of birds or lions, and garden of artificial trees made of precious metals, is said to have been built on Arab models, being similar to Abbasid palaces in Baghdad. Ruins of a palace on the Asian side of the Bosporos with a domed audience hall are thought to relate to a series of earlier Islamic palaces. Early Islam may also have had some impact on the changes in coinage introduced by Justinian II and on iconoclasm. Objects with Islamic motifs appear more abundantly during the Macedonian and Komnenian periods, and in fact down to the Latin conquest of 1204. Roundels with animals or hunting scenes typical of Islamic and early Iranian designs appear on textiles, and silks in particular, while official or expensive costumes tend to adopt eastern cuts and motifs. Ceramic vessels and decorative tiles adopt several motifs and techniques developed in the Muslim world. The crown of Constantine IX and the Pala d'Oro in Venice incorporate enamels with dancers and hunters typical of Islamic art. Islamic features are also evident in what have been interpreted as Byzantine silver objects from central Russia. Imitation of the angular Kufic style of Arabic writing produced the "pseudo-Kufic" motifs which decorated Greek churches. The treasury of St Mark's church in Venice contains a glass cup with an imitation of an Arabic inscription so well executed as to seem legible, placed next to beautifully copied antique motifs. Traces of Islamic influence are evident in

Byzantium from the 9th century, yet Byzantine art was less consistently affected by Islam than the art of other Christian groups in western Asia who came under Islamic political domination, such as Armenians, Georgians, Syrians, and Copts. Religious art rarely reflects Islamic influences, and never in style and expression, the formal means by which Byzantine art differentiates itself from other medieval traditions. On the other hand, it is in the secular art of emperors and in many aspects of material culture that Islamic themes are most evident. This is not surprising since it was an emphasis on representations of pleasure (dancing, singing, music, and hunting) as an expression of power and wealth that Muslim princes introduced into the language of imperial art.

In science the Arabs preserved and developed Greek mathematics, physics, chemistry, astronomy, and medicine, and transmitted to Europe this Greek heritage, after enriching it considerably. Arabic scientific terms still lie embedded in European speech. Islam appeared at a time when the Greek mind, which had earlier attained such heights of learning and wisdom, had come to a point of virtual stagnation. Muslim scholars lost no time in picking up the threads of Greek science. They not only procured and translated Greek texts, but they critically analysed them, collating, correcting, and even substantially supplementing the Greek contributions to science and philosophy. In the field of science the Arabs did not merely transmit to posterity what they received from the Greeks, but gave it a new lease of life and a fresh development in the Arab environment. In mathematics and astronomy they coordinated the work of Greek and Indian scientists and thence made a very real advance. They developed both algebra and plane and spherical trigonometry. They diligently made and recorded astronomical observations which not only extended their Hellenistic inheritance, but also checked and corrected older records. The new astronomy of the 13th century was in a way a futile attempt to correct what the Arabs had perceived as defects in the Ptolemaic cosmology, something that was not achieved until Copernicus. Al-Khwarizmi (780–850) improved on Ptolemy's latitudes and longitudes and reduced his overstatements of size, e.g. of the Mediterranean. He also added many place names which had originated after the Islamic conquests, and were therefore unknown to Ptolemy. By the mid-9th century Arab scientists were able to consolidate what knowledge they had inherited from the Persians and Greeks, and to assimilate it to their own scientific knowledge. Through the Nestorians most of the Greek scientific and philosophical classics had been translated into Syriac and, through Syriac as well as independently, into Arabic. Most significant in this respect was the knowledge which they obtained concerning Hippocrates, Plato, and Galen. This last writer, in particular, came to be criticized by Arab anatomists: e.g. by Abd al-Latif al-Baghdadi (11th century) for asserting that the lower jaw is composed of one bone only; and by Ali Ibn Abbas for suggesting that there were three layers in the walls of blood vessels. Moreover, whereas Galen held that there were only seven bones in the human skull, Muslim anatomists believed that there were eight.

The survival of scientific medicine in the west during the dark ages was due chiefly to three factors: the activities of Jewish physicians who circulated Graeco-Arabic medical knowledge in Christendom; the Byzantine culture of southern Italy; the rendering into Latin of Greek and Arabic medical treatises. The school of Salerno was probably best situated and best prepared to take advantage of these influences. Those who taught and studied there included Greek, Latin, Muslim, and Jewish physicians, and until the 12th century Salerno remained the leading medical institution in Latin Europe.

It is interesting to note that although many Greek texts were translated into Arabic and thence into Latin, few Arabic texts are known to have been translated into Greek. These few are primarily scientific texts, especially on astronomy and, to a lesser extent, on medicine and pharmacology. Among the eastern texts that penetrated Greek literature in the 11th century were the *Stephanites* and *Ichnelates*, translated from Arabic by Symeon Seth. In other fields such as fables, stories, games, numbering system, and music, the Arab contribution is widely accepted as one of transmission from lands further east than one of origination.

D.P.M. WEERAKKODY

Summary

"Arabs" here includes all those of Arab blood and politically under Arab rule. The Arab world was first made manifest to the Greeks by Alexander the Great. Arabia was important as a source of incense and spices, gold and gems. Relations between Arabs and Byzantines were characterized not only by invasions and conquests but also by economic and cultural exchanges.

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Aratus

Author of astronomical poetry of the 3rd century BC

Aratus, the author of *Phaenomena*, the most influential poem in ancient Greek after the Homeric epics, flourished in the first half of the 3rd century BC. Four ancient *Lives* and the entry in the *Suda* combined show that he was born in Soli in Cilicia, that he studied in Athens, where he associated with Callimachus and the philosophers Timon of Phlius and Menedemus of Eretria, and that he was taught Stoicism by Zeno. The only sure date in his biography is 277/76 BC, when king Antigonus Gonatas brought him into the royal Macedonian court at Pella. After a time in residence at the

court of the Syrian king Antiochus, Aratus returned to Pella, where he predeceased Antigonus (d. 240 BC).

Aratus composed many works, including a scholarly commentary on Homer's *Odyssey*, a hymn to Pan that celebrated Antigonus' defeat of the Celts in 277 BC, epigrams (two survive), other elegiac poems, funeral dirges, a hexameter poem called *Iatrica* ("Medical Healing"), a poem about the harmony of the spheres called the *Canon* ("Table"), and *Astrica* ("On Stars") in at least five books. This list may include a collection called *To Kata Lepton* ("Works Slenderly Composed", from which the collection in the *Appendix Vergiliana* derived its title), or that descriptive may apply to Aratus' poetic style generally. His only surviving work is the *Phaenomena*, a didactic epic poem in the style of Hesiod that deals with the astronomical constellations and with weather prognostication. The poem consists of 1154 hexameters: a Stoic proem to Zeus, whose influence pervades the poem (1–18); the constitution of individual constellations in the northern and southern skies (19–453); the planets (454–61); the measurement of time and how to mark nocturnal time by simultaneous risings and settings (462–757); weather signs (758–1141); and a conclusion (1142–54).

The first *Life* explains that Antigonus commissioned the *Phaenomena* by asking Aratus to versify the prose treatise on astronomy by Eudoxus of Cnidus (*fl.*340 BC). The extant commentary by Hipparchus details the relationship between Aratus' poem and Eudoxus' source material. Although Aratus' astronomical inaccuracies disturbed Hipparchus, the poem enjoyed immediate recognition and lasting success among readers who were taken by its poetic achievement. The *Phaenomena* masterfully proceeds in an epic style calculated to emulate Hesiod, whose reputation flourished in the early 3rd century BC, the golden age of Hellenistic poetry. Aratus' literary accomplishment was not lost on contemporaries. The great Hellenistic poets Callimachus (*Epigrammata*, 27) and Leonidas of Tarentum (*Anthologia Palatina*, 9. 25) praised Aratus' refinement – each using the adjective *leptos* (subtle) particularly – and Ptolemy Philadelphus stated in an epigram (*Supplementum Hellenisticum*, 712) that the *leptologos* (subtle-tongued) Aratus deserved to wield the sceptre among poets on astronomical topics. This terminology suggests that the poet's intended audience was an elite readership with interests in literary esoterica.

That some 20 subsequent authors wrote commentaries on Aratus or composed *Aratea* demonstrates the breadth of the poem's influence. It is among a handful of Greek poems to have been translated anciently into Arabic. And its influence on Roman poetry is of tremendous importance. The influence is manifest in the great didactic hexameter poems written by Lucretius and Virgil (*Georgics*) in the 1st century BC, both clearly having been influenced by Aratus' style. Latin poets exhibited a "strong urge to win Aratus for Latin" as part of a patriotic move to "absorb the three great poets [i.e. Callimachus, Theocritus, and Aratus] of the classic Hellenistic generation" (Courtney, 1993). This urge was made manifest among the new poets by Cinna, who brought a copy of Aratus back from Bithynia; by Varro of Atax, whose *Ephemeris* closely recalls Aratus in its extant fragments; and by a youthful Cicero himself, whose *Aratea* consists of 480 continuous lines and some 70 additional lines called the *Prognostica*. Virgil mines Aratus for material in a remarkable passage of the *Georgics* (1. 351–460). Although Ovid's *Phaenomena* survives in only two fragments, both bear strong resemblance to Aratus. Germanicus modernized Aratus, fitting the whole into 725 lines, of which 200 are not based on Aratus, and correcting some errors. Avienus (*fl.* mid-4th century AD) composed a version expanded by more than 700 lines over what Aratus himself had written: *Aratea Phaenomena* (1325 hexameters) and *Aratea Prognostica* (552 hexameters). This interest propelled Aratus into western literature with immense influence (Böker), which is still working today.

ROGER T. MACFARLANE

Biography

Born in the late 4th century BC in Soli in Cilicia, Aratus studied in Athens where he was taught Stoicism by Zeno and associated with Callimachus, Timon of Phlius, and Menedemus of Eretria. In 277/76 BC he was introduced to the Macedonian royal court at Pella by Antigonus Gonatas. He composed much poetry but only the *Phaenomena* survives, a didactic poem on astronomy. He died before 240 BC.

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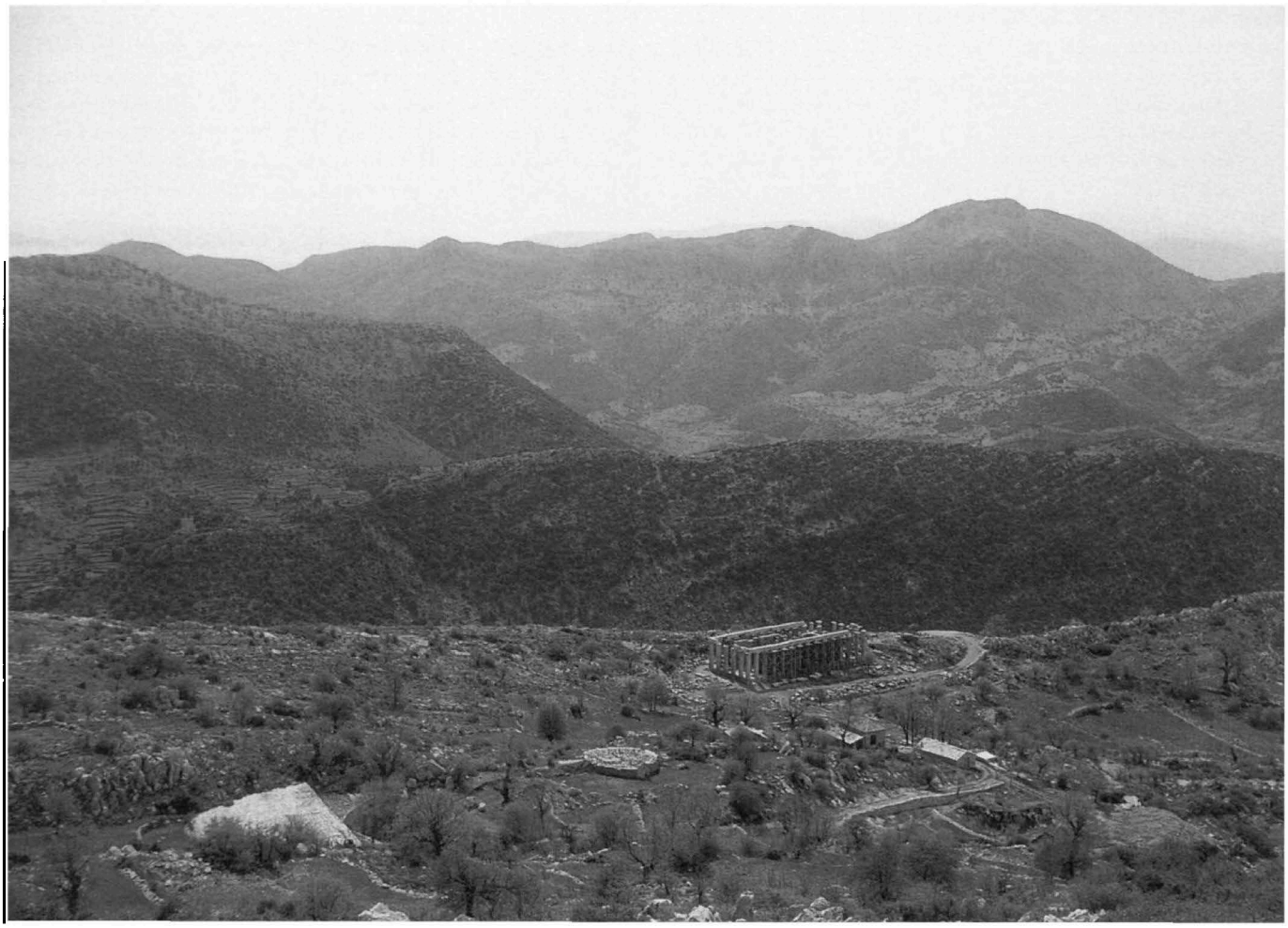
Arcadia

Region of the central Peloponnese

Arcadia is a mountainous region in the centre of the Peloponnese rising to heights of more than 2000 m. It did not gain political independence until late in the Classical period when in 366 BC Megalopolis, the "great city", was founded. But in 234 the poleis of Arcadia joined the Achaean League which became subject to the Romans. After the defeat of the Macedonians at the Battle of Pydna in 168 BC, the Romans took 10,000 Arcadian nobles as hostages to Italy; among them was Polybius, who was later to become an admirer of Roman



Arcadia: the 5th-century BC temple of Apollo at Bassae, high in the mountains of southwest Arcadia

imperialism. The destruction of Corinth in 146 BC also resulted in the end of Arcadian liberty.

Arcadia was not only a physical landscape; it became also a mental landscape ("geistige Landschaft"; as described by Bruno Snell in *Die Entdeckung des Geistes*), representing a cultural idea on which certain ideals were based. Poets of the Hellenistic period made Arcadia the scene of a charming but unrealistic poetry of shepherds and other herdsmen, chief among whom was Pan, the lewd god of the herdsmen, with the legs of a billygoat, who was always playing the panpipes. The bucolic genre, however, did not arise in Arcadia, but in Sicily (Theocritus, the Greek representative of bucolic poetry, was born in Syracuse).

It was the Roman Virgil (70–19 BC) who combined Arcadia and bucolic poetry. He knew the historical work of Polybius with its warm description of the inhabitants of old Arcadia, and he wrote the *Bucolica*. Thus Virgil founded a special genre for all European literatures.

The Italian Renaissance marked a rebirth of Arcadism, beginning with the poetry of Francesco Petrarch (1304–75), the Italian patriot and forerunner of European humanism. Influenced by Virgil, Petrarch wrote poems of minor aesthetic value, which were published posthumously under the title *Bucolicum Carmen*. But the real originator of modern Arcadism was Jacopo Sannazaro (1458–1530) from Naples, with his romance *Arcadia* (*c.*1480). Sannazaro took motifs from Virgil and other Classical writers and imagined an Arcadian golden age, in which life was full of merriment and love, far removed from the realities of rural life and Christian asceticism.

The personality of Sannazaro and his achievement had an enormous effect. In 1590 in Italy Giovanni Battista Guarini (1538–1612), a nobleman, diplomat, and professor of literature, published his *Pastor Fido*, a tragicomic pastoral drama which includes a portrait of Arcadia with strict morals and little licence, and only in the final part do we find a description of the golden age. In the territories dominated by the Venetians, such as Crete and Zakynthos, the *Pastor Fido* was issued in modern Greek. In Spain, Guarini was followed by Garcilaso de la Vega (1503–36), a soldier and writer who cultivated the Italian style in his eclogues; by the great adventurous poet Felix Lope de Vega Carpio (1562–1635), who wrote a pastoral romance *Arcadia* (1598); and by the famous Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra (1547–1616), who in 1585 published – without much acclaim – the bucolic romance *Galatea*. In France, Rémy Belleau (1528–77), a younger member of the Pléiade, published his *Bergerie* (1565), a collection of occasional poems in which personalities from public life appeared in the guise of shepherds in order to hold allegorical conversations about problems of the court and of the state – a masterly

travesty of Arcadism. In the Netherlands, Johan van Heemskerck (1597–1656), a member of the High Council of Amsterdam, wrote his often imitated *Batavische Arcadia* (1637) in order to entertain his political friends with historical and folkloric episodes. In England, Sir Philip Sidney (1554–86), a favourite of the royal court, an Oxford scholar, and a diplomat who was wounded as an officer fighting against the Spanish, wrote his romance *Arcadia* (published posthumously in 1590). He was said to be a successor of Sannazaro and included in his work (in which poetical intermezzi were introduced) the political and moral opinions of the Renaissance ruling class. In Silesia, Valentinus Theokritus translated Sidney's *Arcadia* into German (1629), and Martin Opitz (1597–1639), the famous German critic of language and literature, revised this translation which was printed posthumously in 1642.

In 17th-century Germany a form of Arcadism developed which was fed by both the Classical and the humanistic traditions. The striving for harmony, balance, peace, and quietness was an understandable reaction to the unnatural culture of feudalism. Friedrich Spee (von Langenfeld) (1591–1635) SJ was a follower of this kind of Arcadism; in his collection of poems called *Trutznachtigall*, published posthumously in 1639, he combined spiritual content with bucolic forms. The middle-class intellectuals of the town of Nuremberg made different use of the Arcadian idea. They founded a literary society named Pegnitzorden (the community of the river Pegnitz) which sought to inculcate social graces by distancing themselves from the mastersingers surrounding Hans Sachs. Their protagonist was the lawyer Georg Philipp Harsdörffer (1607–43).

Apart from literary Arcadism, which flourished in most European countries, forms of Arcadism are also found in the figurative arts. This development began in the Renaissance and was at first connected with Rome. The new feeling for nature stimulated artistic production in two ways. The first way can be described as heroic; its roots were the mythology and the architecture of antiquity. The second way was determined by literary Arcadism in all its manifestations. Landscape painting corresponded with this idea and was an ideal medium in which to display gods and nymphs, herds and herdsmen, singing and playing. A forerunner of this style was Giovanni Bellini (*c.*1430–1516) from Venice. For preference he painted biblical scenes with detailed treatment of flora and fauna. The Arcadian style was continued by Giorgio Giorgione (*c.*1477–1510) with his *Tempesta* in the Accademia of Venice and his *Slumbering Venus* in the Dresden Gallery. The acme of this artistic Arcadism was represented by the Frenchman Nicolas Poussin (1594–1665) who from 1624 lived permanently in Rome. He painted a landscape showing a tombstone with the inscription "Et in Arcadia ego" (*Les Bergers d'Arcadie*, Louvre). This motif, which demonstrates that even in Utopian Arcadia death is always present, was first treated by Bartolommeo Schedoni (*c.*1570–1614); the inscription was used in a different sense by Friedrich Schiller (1759–1805) ("I too was born in Arcadia") and Johann Wolfgang Goethe (1749–1832). The Arcadian style of painting was continued, occasionally with a Christian context, by Claude Lorrain (1615–75), Poussin's brother-in-law, and by others. But all these paintings rendered an ideal Arcadia without the benefit of the artists' inspection. Only at the beginning of the 19th century did travel to the Peloponnese become possible and regular.

It was not only writers and artists who were fascinated by the Arcadian idea. The queen of Sweden, Christina (1626–89), assembled writers, poets, and scholars at her palace in Rome in order to discuss their new works. After the death of the queen this circle became the Accademia degli Arcadi, and Canon Giovanni Mario Crescimbeni (1663–1728) its spokesman. The main purpose of the academy was to revive Italian poetry which had been subjected to barbarism in the past; its declared enemy was baroque Marinism, the form of poetry invented by Giambattista Marini (1569–1625). The members of the academy belonged to the upper classes, but women also were admitted. They had to read their poems, but "mala carmina et famosa, obscoena, superstitiosa, impia" (poems that were "evil, scandalous, obscene, superstitious, or impious") were excluded. In 1711 the academy had 1195 members and was supported by Pope Clement XI. In 1795 King John V of Portugal built the academy on the Janiculum. The academy published valuable collections of poems which influenced the aesthetics of an epoch and propagated a formal classicism. In the second half of the 18th century the academy lost much of its prestige, but it survived and still exists today as the Accademia Letteraria Italiana dell'Arcadia.

In Greece the Arcadian ideal has been cultivated for some decades by local societies and the (private) Arcadian Academy in Athens. The old ideals of combining nature and art are being revisited by the modern movement for the protection of nature and the environment.

JOHANNES IRMSCHER

Summary

The central region of the Peloponnese, Arcadia played little part in political history. Its chief city, Megalopolis, was founded in 366 BC. It succumbed to Roman rule after the destruction of Corinth in 146 BC. Its bucolic landscape however has inspired poets from Virgil to Goethe with an ideal of idyllic life, of love, and of peace.

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Archaeological Service

The centuries preceding the creation of the modern Hellenic state in 1830 witnessed the destruction and removal from Greek soil of many ancient monuments and artefacts. Many antiquities suffered severe damage in times of battle, as foreign powers fought each other for the ownership of Greece, and in the more peaceful interludes, particularly during the 18th and early 19th centuries, foreign antiquarians and travellers carried home with them many prized and admired pieces of ancient

Greek sculpture and architecture. By the early 19th century, however, Hellenism and the longing to be free of the ruling hand of the Ottoman Turk were gathering momentum, and these growing feelings of national identity came to express themselves in part in a new-found pride and respect for the monuments of Hellas's great and Classical past. In 1813 the Philomousoi, a society of Greek and foreign lovers of arts and letters, was founded in Athens and when in 1821 the Greeks rose against the Ottoman Turks in the War of Independence, the Philomousoi attempted to protect antiquities from suffering any further damage and destruction.

The speed with which matters now progressed is indicative of the important place that the ancient Greek past occupied in the consciousness of the proud, new, and independent state of Hellas. By 1829 the statesman Ioannis Kapodistria had founded on the island of Aegina the first national museum, under the direction of Andreas Moustoxydis. In 1833 the Ministry of Education was established by royal decree and was charged, among other things, with the excavation, preservation, and protection of antiquities. A year later the first archaeological law entered the statute books: its aim was to maintain the Greek national heritage by preventing the illegal excavation and export of antiquities. By this law was created the nucleus of the Greek Archaeological Service, the body that has acted until the present day as guardian of antiquities. Its first general director was the German A. Weissenburg, and under him were three regional directors (L. Ross, K. Pittakis, and I. Kokkonis) who were, respectively, allocated responsibility for the Peloponnese, central Greece, and the islands. By the end of 1834 the newly formed Archaeological Service had already started work on the Athenian Acropolis to clear the site of modern houses and to raise the fallen columns of the Parthenon.

In 1837, furthermore, three years after the creation of the state Archaeological Service, the Athenian Archaeological Society was founded, a private body that also still exists. Since that time, the society has published the results of its archaeological excavations and research in its annual *Praktika* (or *Proceedings*) and *Ephimeris* (*Journal*) publications, and also since 1954 in the annual *Ergon* (or *Work*) of the society. Also by 1837 conditions were sufficiently settled to move the contents of the Aegina museum to Athens; at first they were housed in temporary quarters, including the ancient Theseum or temple of Athena and Hephaestus above the Athenian Agora. Plans, meanwhile, were made to erect a great National Archaeological Museum in the capital. The designs were drawn up shortly after the middle of the 19th century by the German architect Ludwig Lange, and its construction followed shortly thereafter, making it one of the great early European museum foundations.

As the years passed, the work of the Archaeological Service increased dramatically as the Greek national borders expanded: gradually the Ionian islands (1864), Thessaly (1880–81), and Chios, Crete, Epirus, Lesbos, Macedonia, Samos, and Thrace (1912–13) were all absorbed into Greek territory. Finally, in 1948 the Dodecanese too came under Greek sovereignty. Reflecting this expansion of geographical responsibility, an archaeological law was passed in 1910 to reorganize and expand the Archaeological Service: the service was now recognized as a department of the Ministry of Education and was to be headed by a Director of Antiquities, to whom an increased number of regional officers were to report. An Archaeological Council was also created to discuss and decide matters of particular importance. For the first time, too, the significance of Greece's Byzantine heritage was officially acclaimed by the appointment of an inspector of Christian and medieval antiquities: this was quickly followed in 1914 by the foundation in Athens of a national Byzantine museum. The archaeological law of 1910, and another of 1932, still serve to protect and preserve antiquities in Greece.

Throughout both the Graeco-Turkish war of 1920–22 and World War II, the Archaeological Service continued to fulfil its role as the guardian of Hellenic cultural heritage. During the hostilities in Asia Minor it oversaw the transfer of antiquities to Smyrna for safe keeping from abandoned archaeological sites in the surrounding region, and also conducted the excavation of sites such as Nysa on the Maeander and of the Byzantine church of St John at Ephesus. At the time of the German occupation of Greece, the contents of Greek museums were saved from damage and looting by the passionate dedication of the archaeologists, who emptied their exhibition galleries and hid the antiquities with great ingenuity. Following World War II, much was done to reorganize the national and, by now, numerous regional museums, and from 1950 the archaeological laws were extended to protect monuments and works of art post-dating 1830.

As it exists today, the Archaeological Service forms a major department of the Greek Ministry of Culture. The investigation, care, and presentation of sites and areas of archaeological and historical importance, and of the antiquities and works of art housed in the Greek museums, are divided between three main divisions of the service: Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities, Byzantine and Postbyzantine Antiquities, and Modern (post-1830) Monuments. These three main departments are subdivided into regional units, responsible for archaeology and museums in their particular locale. The Central Archaeological Council in Athens, nevertheless, has ultimate control. A special branch of the service also deals with conservation and restoration matters, and additional departments oversee underwater archaeology, caves and palaeoanthropology, private collections, and the archaeological fieldwork activities of Greek universities and of the foreign archaeological schools and institutes based in Athens. One of the main tasks that falls to the regional units of the Archaeological Service is the oversight of all development and construction work in their districts, which may either uncover ancient remains or affect listed buildings: areas found to be of archaeological importance during, for example, the course of digging new building foundations must, by law, be subjected to rescue excavation by the Archaeological Service. If the antiquities are found to be of particular significance, the modern development work may be completely and permanently halted, the area declared an "archaeological zone", and the land expropriated for state ownership.

Greece is richly strewn with the debris of its past, a factor that today is both a source of great national pride and a valued asset in its development of cultural tourism. However, the demands of antiquity on the present are considerable: the conservation and partial restoration of the major standing

monuments, such as those of the Athenian Acropolis, and the development and construction of new museums for the ever-expanding treasury of excavated antiquities require longterm planning and the commitment of national finances. Furthermore, the sheer weight of archaeological finds and discoveries loads the archaeologists with a heavy burden and backlog of material to be studied and published: the Archaeological Service's annual publications, *Archaiologikon Deltion* (*Archaeological Bulletin*) and *Archaiologika Analekta ex Athinon* (*Athens Annals of Archaeology*), therefore announce recently discovered material in summary form until it can be published in full. But, for all the difficulties of management that Greece's past poses for its present, the soul of modernday Hellas is, nevertheless, entwined inextricably with its past: incidences of the repatriation to Greece of antiquities removed at some earlier date are, for example, often occasions for national rejoicing. As this article is written, a new, comprehensive, and updated archaeological law is in preparation. Its provisions aim to ensure that, as Greece moves forward into the new millennium, the nation's rich cultural heritage will be well protected, investigated, and managed on behalf of present and future generations.

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See also Archaeology, Museums

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Archaeology

Our knowledge of Greek culture was originally derived from written documents, historical texts, and other literature, transmitted through the Middle Ages and the schools of Constantinople. It was largely the dispersal of Byzantine manuscripts to the west that led to the revival of interest in ancient Greece and its achievements, and the development of Classical Greek studies as a fundamental part of western education. At the same time, the conquest of Greece by the Ottoman Turks made Greece difficult of access, and Greek remained essentially a matter of book learning. Travellers such as Cyriac of Ancona, who visited and recorded surviving monuments in the mid-15th century, were most exceptional.

During the 18th century there was a considerable development of interest in the physical remains of antiquity, particularly in Italy. Antiquities were collected by wealthy aristocrats making the Grand Tour, and excavation was carried out at ancient sites, above all Pompeii. The Greek remains in southern Italy, especially the temples at Paestum, came to be known, appreciated, and even copied (e.g. the columns in Joseph Bonomi's church of St James at Great Packington in Warwickshire, of 1789–90). More crucially, in 1751 the aristocratic Society of Dilettanti sent James Stuart and Nicholas Revett to Greece itself, to produce accurate measured drawings of the ancient Greek buildings in Athens and elsewhere, as exemplars for Greek Revival architecture. This was a real stimulus to antiquarian interest in the material remains of ancient Greece, even if there was in all this much of the approach that can be summarized as "Fair Greece, sad relic". From this time there was a steady stream of artists and architects visiting Greece to record the monuments.

All this was transformed, if slowly, by the War of Independence and the freeing of at least part of Greece. The recovery of the material evidence for ancient Greek culture now became a fundamental aspect of the national heritage, and even as Karl Friedrich Schinkel was producing plans for his "dream palace" to house the Bavarian king Otho on the Acropolis of Athens, Kyriakos Pittakis (the brother-in-law of Theresa Makri, Byron's Maid of Athens) was struggling to recover and preserve the fallen and scattered fragments of Classical buildings and sculpture as the Turkish structures there were demolished. The new Greek state passed its law of 10/22 May 1834 that concerned the uncovering and conservation of antiquities. Already, in 1829, Kapodistria had established the Archaeological Service, and in 1833 Adolf Weissenberg had been put in charge of "the conservation, discovery and collection of the archaeological treasures of the Kingdom", with Pittakis responsible for northern Greece, J. Kokkonis for the islands of the Aegean, and Ludwig Ross for the Peloponnese. In 1837 came the foundation of the Archaeological Society of Athens.

Their work was undoubtedly hampered by the poverty of the newly independent state. At first there were very few purpose-built museums (that on Aegina was one of them). At Athens antiquities were stored in the Theseum (temple of Hephaestus), in the Propylaea, in a Turkish cistern in front of the west end of the Parthenon, and in a Turkish house behind the Erechtheum. Conservation work was often crude; although the temple of Nike was resurrected from the Turkish gun bastion into which it had been incorporated, the patching of the Erechtheum was elementary, while the north wall of the Parthenon was supported by a rough and intrusive structure of brickwork.

Into this context came the foundation of the foreign schools, beginning with the French in 1847, which brought much greater resources to the development of Greek archaeology, whether state-supported or funded by wealthy individuals. There was increasingly a new approach, the transformation from collection and antiquarianism to scientific archaeology. Already in the 1850s Charles Newton was emphasizing, in his proposals to excavate the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus, the need for a proper archaeological approach (which he achieved with the recording of his work, including the use of photogra-

phy), even though, by digging in what was still the Ottoman empire rather than Greece, his main purpose was to acquire material for the collections at the British Museum. At the same time, significantly, he was stressing the need for archaeology to be recognized as an essential element in the study of Greek civilization.

From this time, archaeology has transformed our knowledge of Greek culture. In many ways, the most significant single development has been the discovery and ongoing interpretation of Greek prehistory. Excavations at the major prehistoric sites, on the mainland at Mycenae, Tiryns, Pylos, and a whole host of other places, together with those on the island of Crete, have revealed a complete new world of Greece before the Classical Greeks. The discovery at Knossos, Pylos, and elsewhere (most recently, under the streets of modern Thebes) of the Linear B tablets, and their brilliant decipherment in the 1950s by Michael Ventris, has brought us knowledge of the Greek language at a stage more than 500 years earlier than Homer, and with this an understanding of Greek society in a different form, centuries before the evolution of the Classical city states. It has shown us, too, the pre-Greek world of Crete, on top of which the prehistoric Greeks developed, and has enabled us to trace its formative elements from Egypt, the Near East, and Asia Minor. None of this was known before the excavations of Heinrich Schliemann, Arthur Evans, Carl Blegen, and many others.

Turning to the Classical period, archaeology has broadened immensely our knowledge of the Greek world at that time. In Athens we can now see the Agora, not just read about its involvement in the affairs of the city. We no longer have to rely on Thucydides' assurances to understand the physical contrast between the cities of Athens and Sparta. Even things of little significance in themselves make our understanding of the Classical world more real and vivid: we can now actually see the gash made in the forehead of Philip of Macedon by the arrow that removed the sight of one of his eyes at his siege of Methone; but more significantly, in the material that was buried with him in his vaulted tomb at Aegae/Vergina we can see something of the luxurious wealth that characterized his royal existence in the palace at Pella (whose plan itself has been revealed in recent excavations). Beyond the Classical period, archaeology traces (more clearly than the broken written record) the essential continuity of the Greek world; more attention than previously is paid to post-Classical remains, for example, in the excavations at Corinth.

The contribution of archaeology to our understanding of Greek culture can be divided into two broad categories: first, the recovery of actual material from the earth, and secondly its interpretation. Recovery is not confined to excavation. Surveys of extended areas, the study of the distribution of artefacts over the ground, give information about settlement patterns outside the obvious city sites, and their variation at different periods of Greek history, down to the present day. The study of surface evidence, as well as that from excavation, has given us the street plans of innumerable Greek cities. We can now see not only the great temples of the major religious sanctuaries, but also places of lesser, or even completely minor cults, and thereby understand more of the place that these cults had in the lives of the ancient Greeks. It is possible to see more of the workings of the cults, the objects deposited as offerings, the buildings associated with religious practice, often specialized such as those provided – for a select minority – for the ritual feasting that was an essential element of Greek religion. Archaeology has extended our documentary evidence for Greek civilization, above all the discovery and recording, already started by Cyriac of Ancona in the 15th century, of inscriptions. The range of these is immense: they include major historical events, such as the evacuation of Athens at the onset of Xerxes' invasion (though this inscription is later than the event, and raises problems of interpretation). From inscriptions we have the oath sworn by the founders of Thera's colony at Cyrene, records for building the temples at Athens, and of the development of the sanctuary of Asclepius (and thus the Asclepius cult) at Epidaurus. We can assess the tribute paid by the dependent states of Athens' empire, and read the lists of property confiscated from those who mutilated the hermae on the departure of Athens' doomed expedition to Syracuse. Excavation in Egypt, whether organized or, to use a euphemism, commercial, has produced the texts of literary works that did not survive the rigorous exclusions of Byzantine copying, but also more personal documents, bills, receipts, even the private letters of the Greeks in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt. The list is never-ending.

In short, archaeology has shown the complete context in which Greek civilization developed and flourished, as well as its periods of decline. It has given us a first-hand knowledge, not easily recoverable from other sources of information, of Greek art and architecture (which is Classical archaeology in its original meaning). Though much has been lost, discoveries are still accumulating. Without archaeology we would have no visual knowledge of the sculptures that decorated the temple of Zeus at Olympia, or of the marble masterpieces dedicated on the Acropolis of Athens in the 6th century BC and buried after their desecration at the hands of Xerxes' soldiers in 480 BC. Even if chance finds have given us the powerful bronze god (surely Zeus) fished up off Cape Artemisium, or the Riace warriors, plausibly if not with certainty attributed to Phidias himself, it is the techniques developed for the conservation of antiquities that have restored and stabilized them. The literary sources – such as Pausanias – tell us of important paintings, and tantalize us with their descriptions of lost masterpieces; archaeology has restored to us at least the masterpieces painted on the walls of the royal tombs at Vergina, revealed in the late 1970s by Manolis Andronikos, their colours as fresh as the day they were painted, their style compared by their discoverer with that of the old masters. These same graves, and others elsewhere, both in and beyond the Greek world, have produced for us splendid examples of Greek metalworking, in gold and silver as well as bronze, of which there are otherwise only the dimmest echoes in the ancient written sources.

Archaeology has also recovered much of the everyday aspects of Greek civilization. We now have examples of the houses in which the Greeks lived, generally reduced to foundations and footings, but with some better preserved, and certainly with more evidence to show what they were like when they were intact, ranging in date from the prehistoric to the present day, and from all levels of society. Archaeology has uncovered much of the paraphernalia of everyday life, or at least that which was not made of perishable materials (in rare circumstances, even this has survived). The painted vases, too,

illustrate not only legends and mythology, but also scenes from everyday life – in the house, at school, at the workplace, at the bottom of the mines, in the exercise grounds of the gymnasia. They show us the drinking parties, as well as the fun and games that went on there. But they also help to fill out our knowledge of contemporary houses, for they illustrate the furniture – couches, chairs, chests – and the way that objects were hung on the walls of the feasting rooms.

More specialized aspects of archaeology give us further information. Underwater research has been particularly rewarding, starting with the finds dredged up, like the Artemisium *Zeus*, by fishing nets, but more recently developing, thanks to advances in diving technology, into a branch of scientific research that not only locates wrecks but investigates and records them in every detail. The identification of such wrecks, and their cargoes, of all periods, has produced much information on patterns of trade in Greek waters, and wider afield in the Mediterranean. It has even led to the recovery of the remains of ancient ships, particularly the 4th-century BC Kyrenia wreck, which has given us information about the relative longevity of ordinary small trading vessels, and, most invaluably, about the technique of ship construction.

With archaeology go the scientific techniques developed to assist in interpretation. Analysis of pollen, seeds and other vegetable remains in soils and in rubbish pits tells us about crops and diet. Analysis of pottery fabrics tells us where they were made, including the plain wares that were, with their contents, an important part of the export trade of Greece. If our understanding of the Greek world, from the beginning to the present day, is so much wider now than it was a century ago, or compared with the time when the texts were our only source of information, it is archaeology that has made the difference.

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See also Archaeological Service, Inscriptions, Linear B, Pottery

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Archaic Period *c.*700–479 BC

The Archaic period of Greece, which follows the Geometric and precedes the Classical period, is traditionally dated *c.*700–479 BC, for the Geometric style of pottery decoration ends and Orientalizing styles appear around 700 BC, while the end of the Persian Wars in 479 BC marks a significant turning point in Greek history. Some, however, especially archaeologists, like to distinguish the first 100 years of this span (*c.*700–600 BC) as the Orientalizing period, and others prefer to start the Archaic as early as *c.*750 BC so that its beginning coincides with the Greek renaissance. Some recent scholars would also like to end the Archaic period *c.*500 BC, somewhat earlier than the traditional date of 479.

The Archaic period is marked by some of the greatest achievements of the Greeks, visible in such diverse areas as pottery and sculpture, the architecture of the great temples and sanctuaries, lyric poetry, philosophical speculation, and the shift to new forms of political organization. In most respects these achievements were the direct result of developments begun at the time of the Greek renaissance from *c.*750 BC on. The great colonization movement that had begun then continued during this period. Most of the Greek colonies had been established in the west by 650 BC and in southern Italy and Sicily later became known as Magna Graecia because of the large number of newly established Greek settlements there. The Greeks, however, also went further afield, into France and Spain, North Africa and the Near East, and, in fact, the colonization movement did not end until about the middle of the 6th century BC.

This was an era of great thinkers and writers. In Ionia Greek philosophy was born. Thales, Anaximander, and Anaximenes, all from Miletus, sought answers to profound philosophical questions, but elsewhere other schools evolved, each with its own ideas and followers, and significant advances were made in science and mathematics. In literature lyric poetry replaced epic poetry; instead of sweeping accounts of gods and heroes as in Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, this was personal, often very poignant poetry, filled with the range of human emotions. Archilochus, Alcman, Mimnermus, and Sappho all wrote at this time.

The shift in poetic style can be seen as a symptom of this new age, which was a time of political and social transformation. The poleis – the city states – were now consolidated, but the era was one of turmoil and revolution, as well as of greater individualism, as the work of the lyric poets demonstrates. At the beginning of the 7th century BC city states were typically ruled by aristocracies that were generally quite conservative in outlook and, in some respects, greedy and corrupt. Time had come for change, however, and in many city states this meant the adoption of tyranny. The first tyranny on the Greek mainland was in Corinth, where Cypselus took power from the noble Bacchiad family in the 650s BC, and most of the other major states followed suit, with the notable exceptions of Sparta, where two royal families continued to rule, and Athens, where tyranny came relatively late – in the mid-6th century BC.

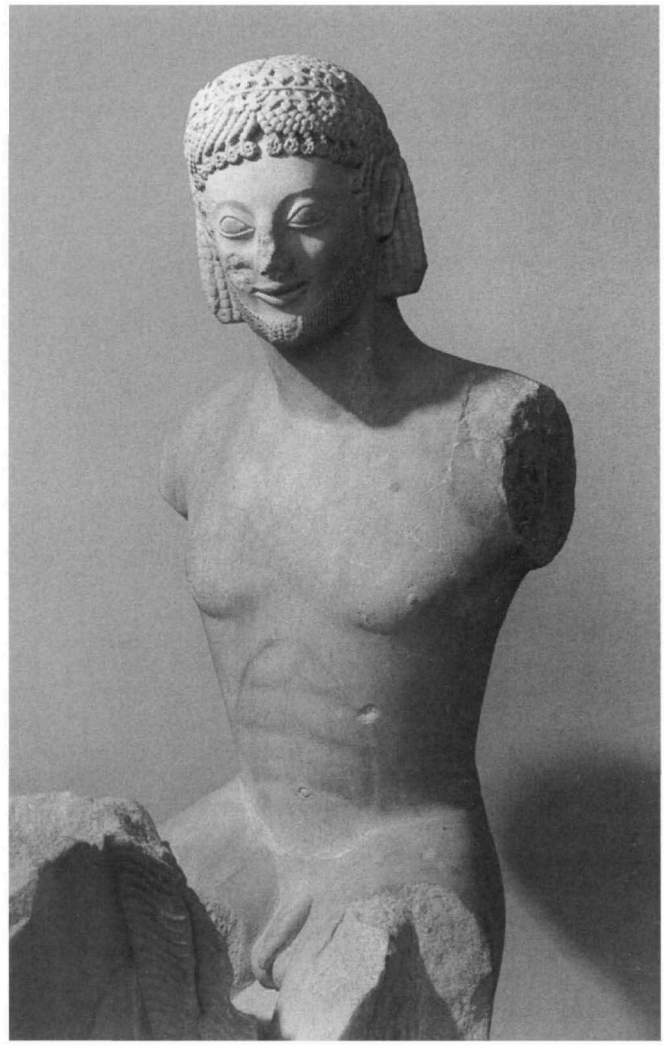
The 7th century BC also represents a time of significant change in artistic style. This was the so-called Orientalizing period, when Greece accepted much influence from its eastern

neighbours. It was the heyday of Corinth and it was there that the Geometric style first came to an end (*c.*720 BC) to be replaced by a new Orientalizing ware known as Protocorinthian. Both incision and polychromy were used to great effect and new motifs, generally inspired by the east, made their appearance on the pottery: floral motifs were employed, as were representations of real and imagined creatures such as lions, sphinxes, and griffins. Corinthian artists are especially known for their miniature pots; exquisitely decorated and filled with oils and perfumes, these were bound for export not only within Greece itself but also to the colonies, and they attest the pre-eminent economic position enjoyed by Corinth at this time. By the later part of the 7th century BC, however, Protocorinthian pottery became mass produced, a victim of its own success, and with this a noticeable change, not to say decline, set in. By the time that the so-called Corinthian ware (the successor of Protocorinthian) had established itself towards the end of the 7th century BC, Corinth's position of wealth and economic dominance was waning and would soon be eclipsed by Athens, whose fortunes were on the rise.

The Orientalizing period also saw the appearance of the type of sculpture known as Daedalic. The eastern, particularly Egyptian, characteristics of such sculpture are obvious in the very stiff frontal pose of the figures, depicted with arms at their sides and heads with triangular faces, low foreheads, and stylized hair. These statues were the forerunners of the famous *kouroi* (male) and *korai* (female) statues of the 6th century BC.

Sculptures are often associated with sanctuaries that themselves grew and prospered throughout the 7th and 6th centuries BC. An emphasis on public religion had begun in the geometric period, but it was in the 7th century BC that the temple became the religious focus of poleis all over the Greek world. Essentially a home for the deity, the temples, which had started life as wood or mud-brick constructions, some as early as the 8th century BC, were now built of stone and followed newly defined rules of architecture – the Doric and Ionic canons. The typical Greek temple comprised three rooms and had a colonnaded porch that surrounded the building. Besides the individual temples built in the poleis there were also the great Panhellenic sanctuaries that received worshippers from all over the Greek world and which were also venues for various types of competitions, particularly athletic and musical ones. The most famous of these sanctuaries were Delphi and Olympia, but others, such as Isthmia, Nemea, Delos, and Dodona, also enjoyed widespread renown. Delphi was known particularly for its oracle of Apollo and it acquired great prestige with visitors coming from all over Greece to receive advice and offer dedications there. Dedications, such as large bronze tripod cauldrons and figurines, demonstrate the popularity already enjoyed by Olympia in the later part of the Geometric period. As the home of the Olympic Games, the first celebration of which is traditionally dated to 776 BC, Olympia came to achieve a very prestigious position in the Archaic period. Treasuries as well as various other buildings, both religious and secular, were erected throughout the Archaic period at both sanctuaries.

In sculpture the 6th century BC was the time of the *kouroi* and *korai* which may, in general, be described as idealized portraits of young adults, the *kouroi* being nude males and the



Archaic Period: marble horseman from the Acropolis at Athens, possibly representing a victor in the Pythian Games.

korai clothed females. Normally the *kouroi* stand stiffly, one leg slightly forward and their arms held tightly at their sides and, on their faces, the famous Archaic smile. These stone statues, many of which acted as grave markers, are often life-size or larger, but their features are not sufficiently distinct to be intended as individual portraits of the deceased; these are men shown in the prime of life – an idealization of manhood. With the *korai* the situation is somewhat different: many appear in sanctuaries as dedications and, while identification remains problematic, it is felt that some may represent votaries. The *korai,* which also show the Archaic smile, are normally clothed, and various colours are used to highlight clothing, hair, jewellery, etc. While these statues are very stiff and block-like when they first appear, the sculptors gradually develop a softer approach in their work and, by the Classical period, have achieved a great degree of naturalism.

One of the major developments of the 6th century BC was the re-emergence of Athens as the leading state after having lost its pre-eminence to Corinth for about a century. This dominance is seen archaeologically in the appearance of Attic black-figure pottery which succeeded the proto-Attic style of the 7th century BC, itself characterized by Orientalizing motifs

and an abandonment of Geometric conventions. The Athenian black-figure ware of the 6th century BC managed to surpass the Corinthian ware of that period and became as popular and widely exported as the Protocorinthian had been in the 7th century BC. Incision was used with such exactness and delicacy that finely detailed paintings were possible. Quite apart from the technical excellence of the pottery, the scenes that the painters chose have been an enormous and valuable source of information about all aspects of life, for Athenians are shown engaged in various everyday pursuits. Grape and olive picking are depicted, for instance, as are pottery making, sculpting, feasting, taking part in the Panathenaic Games (horse racing, wrestling, javelin throwing, etc.), going to school, and so on. Moreover these scenes have afforded glimpses of clothing and furnishing styles, of architectural details, and much more. Mythological scenes were also very popular and feature exploits of a number of heroes and deities such as Achilles, Ajax, Heracles, Athena, Poseidon, Dionysus, and the like. Signatures on the pottery help to identify individual potters and/or painters; among the most famous are Exekias and Amasis, both of whom were active in the 6th century BC.

Politically, too, Athens underwent great changes in the 6th century BC as the aristocrats were challenged, and although attempts at reform were undertaken, most notably by Solon in 594 BC, tyranny was established by Pisistratus in the late 560s BC. After twice being expelled, Pisistratus was able to take over power and command Athens until his death in 528/27 BC. Under his rule Athens flourished and, like his earlier Corinthian counterparts, he also patronized the arts and literature and did much to foster Athenian trade, commerce, and industry. The Acropolis became the centrepiece of Athens as the temple of Athena, the predecessor of the Parthenon, was begun. In general Pisistratus' reign was thus a time of peace and prosperity, but when his two sons took over power in 527 BC the character of the tyranny changed and became oppressive after one of them was murdered. The tyranny was finally overthrown in 510 BC and, two years later, in 508 BC, the Athenians developed a new type of political system, democracy, under the leadership of Cleisthenes. This gave the Athenian citizen a direct say in running the state. It should be noted, however, that women were excluded from this process. The polis system, and in Athens democracy itself, was male-dominated and women were segregated and confined to specific gender-related and socially acceptable roles. The rules governing the role of women varied, however, according to class and status as well as from place to place; in Sparta, for instance, women enjoyed a much freer lifestyle as a result of Sparta's particular social system.

The end of the Archaic period is marked by the onset of the Persian Wars (490–479 BC), caused by the expansionist policies of the Persians. In these wars the two great Persian kings, Darius and then Xerxes, were defeated by a coalition of Greeks, although the brunt of the offensive was borne by Athens and Sparta. After the extraordinary naval victory of the Athenians at Salamis in 480 BC, the battles of Plataea and Mycale the following year mark the end of the Persian threat in Greece.

A. FOLEY

See also Colonization, Philosophy, Poetry (Lyric), Pottery, Sanctuaries, Sculpture, Tyranny

Summary

Dated *c.*700–479 BC, the Archaic period follows the Geometric and precedes the Classical. It is marked by developments in pottery and sculpture, the architecture of temples and sanctuaries, lyric poetry, philosophical speculation, and the shift to new forms of political organization. It ends with the final defeat of Persia at the naval Battle of Mycale in 479 BC.

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Archilochus

Lyric poet of the 7th century BC

Archilochus was born to an aristocratic family on Paros in the early 7th century BC, and his career and poetry exemplify trends in the Greek world during a period of great change in traditional social structures and attitudes. This was the era of Greek colonization and exploration in the Mediterranean and beyond, and Archilochus was a soldier and a wanderer, politically active, and involved in the later stages of the colonization of Thasos begun under his father, *c.*680 BC. Like Hesiod and the early lyric poets, his poetry moves away from the impersonal tone of Homer to one in which the individual is more prominent. The poetic persona that emerges from surviving fragments is consistently passionate, tough, practical, and impatient with pretension and traditional values: he appears as a devotee of war, poetry, women, drink, and, above all, survival.

Much of Archilochus' style and language is Homeric: no early poet could escape the influence of Homeric formulaic language, although Archilochus himself probably composed in writing rather than orally. Different from Homer is much of its subject matter and tone. The world of proud heroes and elevated expression gives way to one where the humbler details of subsistence in a harsh environment, quite absent from Homer, are given as much attention as loftier themes. One notorious poem records the loss of the poet's shield in combat with barbarians: the poem seems unbothered by what should have been a shameful loss – "let it go, I'll get another one just as good." Later sources allege that Archilochus' works were banned from Sparta because of such unsuitable content. Far away is the Iliadic view of death as a worthy end in itself: Archilochus' view is more that of an adventurer who fights for survival, not for glory and death. While such poems strike a new and un-Iliadic note, their atmosphere is not utterly dissimilar to that of the *Odyssey*, and Archilochus' persona resembles Thersites' in some respects. Very Odyssean is one poem in which he encourages his heart "neither to rejoice too much in delights nor be too vexed in troubles, knowing what sort of rhythm possesses man". His attacks on grandiosity and pretension are sometimes thought to reflect a newer, more egalitarian spirit in the newly founded city states of the Archaic age.

Ancient critics consistently link Archilochus with two great predecessors, Homer and Hesiod. His literary power is said to resemble Homer's; his attitudes and subjects are closer to Hesiod's, though he takes his individualism to a greater extreme. He is also the earliest Greek poet to write specifically about sexuality, sometimes using obscenities that are entirely missing from Homer or Hesiod. He was especially famous in antiquity for an abusive iambic poetry whose forerunner was the apotropaic ritual abuse associated with the rites of Demeter, with whom iambic verse itself seems to have had a particular connection. Paros had an old Demeter cult with which Archilochus' family may have been connected. Such traditions also influenced mock-epics such as the *Margites*, and Aristotle makes iambic verse the antecedent of comedy. The obscenities in Archilochus can be remarkably mingled with tender romanticism, and this uniquely dual tone has made him very popular with moderns. In none of his poems is this duality more noticeable than in an unusually long fragment (Page, *Supplementum Lyricis Graecis*, 5478) in which an unidentifiable speaker tries gently to persuade a young woman to make love with him – when she suggests that her sister Neobule is more suitable for him, he abuses Neobule, calling her oversexed and past her prime.

The poem was a particularly important discovery, because of the most famous tradition about Archilochus. According to later sources, he was engaged to be married to Neobule, but when her father Lycambes broke the engagement off, he assailed the family with verses so vicious that they eventually hanged themselves. Nothing specific about the betrothal is found before Horace, but evidence from fragmentary comedy (Cratinus) suggests that the story was well known in 5th-century BC Athens. While some suspect that the story is fictional and derives from misunderstood ritual abuse, the names Lycambes and Neobule do appear in the fragments, and archaeological evidence has proved the reality of some others of Archilochus' addressees. Parian inscriptions indicate that both Archilochus and Lycambes were from leading families, and thus a proposed alliance between the two is plausible. Some of the Lycambes poems were expressed as beast fables, a form derived from Asia Minor that first appears in Greek literature in Hesiod, and later in Aesop. In these, Archilochus could give full rein to his anger while appearing detached and sardonic.

Archilochus' reputation abroad was that of a dangerous, angry man, but within Paros he posthumously acquired an almost heroic status. An inscription of the 3rd century BC describes an Apolline command to honour Archilochus along with the Muses, Apollo, Dionysus, and others, in a place dedicated to his memory. While it admits that the Parians banished him for his abuse, it also mentions the mass attack of impotence sent on them by Dionysus as a punishment for the banishment, and portrays Archilochus as a poet under divine patronage, whose immortality was prophesied to his father by the Delphic oracle. A later inscription, a biography of Archilochus by Demeas (a Parian historian of the 4th century BC), records his death in battle against the Naxians. Such inscriptional evidence tells of participation in embassies and battles, and the Parians apparently remembered him as more community-minded than his fiercely individualistic reputation would suggest: only a few fragments of songs with a community emphasis now remain.

The brilliant violence of his verses brought him admiration for his talent and condemnation for his subject matter in equal measure. Pindar condemns Archilochus' anger as unattractive and unproductive, but he was popular in 5th-century BC Athenian comedy: his apparent rejection of establishment values and pretension made him attractive to the democracy. Plato mentions him in the company of Homer and Hesiod, but does not recommend his writing as edifying. He was the subject of treatises by Heraclides of Pontus and Aristotle, and the Alexandrians included him in their canon of iambic poets along with Semonides and Hipponax. Apollonius Rhodius wrote a book about him, and while Callimachus mentions his ferocity with apparent disapproval, his own iambics were a kind of Archilochean revival. Aristophanes of Byzantium and Aristarchus of Samothrace wrote commentaries on the poems, but unsurprisingly they were omitted from the educational

syllabus of later antiquity because of their tone and subjects. Archilochean papyri date from the mid-3rd century BC to the 3rd century AD. The early Church Fathers preserve some references and quotations: for them, Archilochus was undeniably great but a thoroughly bad character, all too typical of pagan behaviour. The emperor Julian forbade priests to read his work. It is probable that his poetry survived plentifully at least to the 5th century AD, but after Eusebius little is heard of him for the next few centuries. It is hard to know how much survived as far as Byzantium: such quotations as we have may well derive only from anthologies. The first Renaissance edition of his poems is Henri Estienne's *Carmina Poetarum Novem Fragmenta* (Paris, 1560).

SOPHIE MILLS

Biography

Born on Paros in the early 7th century BC to an aristocratic family, Archilochus left in disgrace for Thasos where he became a mercenary, eventually dying in battle against the Naxians. Probably the first major literate poet of the Greek world, he was ranked with Homer and Hesiod by ancient critics; but there is far more passion in his verses than in those of his predecessors.

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Archimedes *c.*287–212/11 BC

Mathematician and inventor

Archimedes was killed in the Roman sack of Syracuse in 212 or 211 BC, which gives us one of the few firm dates in the history of ancient science; if, as a 12th-century Byzantine author reports, he was 75 years old at the time of his death, he would have been born around 287 BC. His father, Phidias, was an astronomer, so that for Archimedes science was the family trade. He came from Syracuse, and did most of his work there, at the court of king Hieron II (and at least some of his writings were originally composed in the Doric dialect spoken in Syracuse); he also seems to have spent some time in Alexandria, and corresponded with the mathematicians Conon, Eratosthenes, and Dositheus, who were based there.

Both in antiquity and in the modern world Archimedes has principally been famous for two reasons: because of the ingenious mechanical devices he is alleged to have discovered; and through anecdotes representing him as the archetype of the scientist so absorbed in his work that he forgets about ordinary life. So it is reported that he would forget to bathe, and when his friends persuaded him to do so he would draw geometrical diagrams in the oil on his body; his death in the sack of Syracuse is said to have been brought about because he was so preoccupied with a geometrical problem that he spoke rudely to the soldier who came to capture him; most famously, while in the bath he reached a solution to the problem of how to find out whether gold that had been given to a craftsman to make a crown had been adulterated with silver, and was so excited that he forgot himself and ran naked through the street shouting "I have found it!" He is credited with the invention of a number of ingenious engineering devices. He is said to have supervised the construction of a massive 4,200-ton ship for Hieron II, and, when it was finished and no one knew how to launch such a large vessel, he supposedly devised a system of pulleys by means of which he was able to move it single-handed; this is of course impossible, because real pulleys (as opposed to mathematical concepts) waste energy through friction, and the whole story is perhaps a fiction designed to illustrate his work on mechanics, and particularly his saying "Give me somewhere to stand and I will move the world." Better attested is his construction of a number of moving models of the celestial sphere. He was also reputed to have invented the Archimedean screw (a device for raising water) and a hydraulic organ. The difficulty that the Romans had in capturing Syracuse was explained by the formidable defence put up by the war-engines devised by Archimedes. In itself this is quite plausible, since in the Hellenistic and Roman periods mathematicians were involved in the construction and use of such machines as catapults. The account was, however, embroidered as time went on, and by the 2nd century AD we are told (by Galen) that he used burning mirrors to set on fire the Roman ships. The story became a favourite one for Byzantine writers, and indeed we are told that in AD 514 the philosopher Proclus used exactly the same technique to drive the fleet of Vitalian away from Constantinople. Though the report is not plausible, and is surely based on inferences from Archimedes' work on the geometry of optics, repeated attempts have been made to show that the device could work (most recently by a Greek journalist, whose practical demonstration, though spectacular, failed to convince sceptical historians that a burning mirror could be made into a practical weapon of war).

Archimedes' interesting eccentricities, and his engineering achievements, tended to obscure the importance of his mathematical work. So when the Roman Cicero, as quaestor in Sicily in 75 BC, rediscovered the tomb of Archimedes overgrown with thickets outside Syracuse, he reported that it carried on it a representation of a sphere and a cylinder. He seems, however, to have had no idea that this represents Archimedes' discovery

of the ratio of the volume of a cylinder to that of a sphere inscribed within it (*On the Sphere and Cylinder*, 1. 34). Archimedes, in fact, was not only a great mathematician, he is also the only one of the truly creative mathematicians of antiquity whose work survives to any extent (since the surviving writings of Euclid and Apollonius of Perge are largely systematizations of the work of their predecessors). In pure mathematics, his greatest work is probably *On the Sphere and Cylinder*, on the volume and surface area of spheres and segments of spheres. Other works in the same field are: *On Conoids and Spheroids*, which deals with the solids created by the revolution of conic sections; *The Quadrature of the Parabola*, which is on the area of parabolas; *On Spirals*, dealing with the geometry of the so-called Archimedean spiral; and *The Measurement of the Circle*, which calculates upper and lower limits for the value of p. In these works Archimedes uses the methods of his predecessors, and especially Eudoxus' "method of exhaustion" with great ingenuity, and sets out his results in traditional Euclidean form. Another surviving treatise, *The Sand-Reckoner*, purports to be a calculation of how many grains of sand it would take to fill the universe, but is actually a demonstration of a method of writing very large numbers using base 100,000,000. He extended the scope of mathematical method by applying it to statics in *On the Equilibrium of Planes* (on centres of gravity and the theory of the lever) and to hydraulics (a subject he seems to have invented) in *On Floating Bodies* (known only in Latin translation until a Greek text was discovered in 1899).

Archimedes' account of his work in the prefaces to his treatises makes it clear that the discovery of a mathematical proposition, and the method by which it was discovered, was quite separate from the presentation and publication of the proof in Euclidean form. In 1906 a previously unknown work of Archimedes, *The Method*, was discovered in Constantinople on a parchment of the 10th century, which had been partially erased so that a Euchologium could be written over it. In this work Archimedes shows how he originally discovered a number of the propositions that are set out in Euclidean form in his other works. He treats figures as combinations of infinitely thin strips, to which the methods of mechanics can be applied, and to some extent anticipates the methods used by the discoverers of calculus in the 17th century. Archimedes himself regarded the method as insufficiently rigorous (and so published proofs in more traditional form). The discovery of this work gives us a rare opportunity to see one of the greatest creative minds of antiquity in action.

Some time in late antiquity (probably in the 6th century AD) the more elementary of Archimedes' works (and in particular *On the Sphere and Cylinder* and the *Measurement of the Circle*) were translated from Doric into Attic Greek, presumably to make them more accessible to readers. This development may be associated with the school of Isidore of Miletus (one of the architects of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople), and is evidence of the continued use of at least some works of Archimedes in education. It was, however, not until the 9th-century revival of the study of mathematics in Constantinople that a proper collection of his works was made, which is the basis of the texts we have today.

RICHARD WALLACE

See also Mathematics, Technology

Biography

Born *c.*287 BC in Syracuse, Archimedes was the son of an astronomer. He worked mostly in Syracuse at the court of Hieron II, but he also visited Alexandria. He is best remembered for the many engineering devices he is said to have invented, but he was also one of the most creative mathematicians of antiquity. He died in the Roman sack of Syracuse in 212 or 211 BC.

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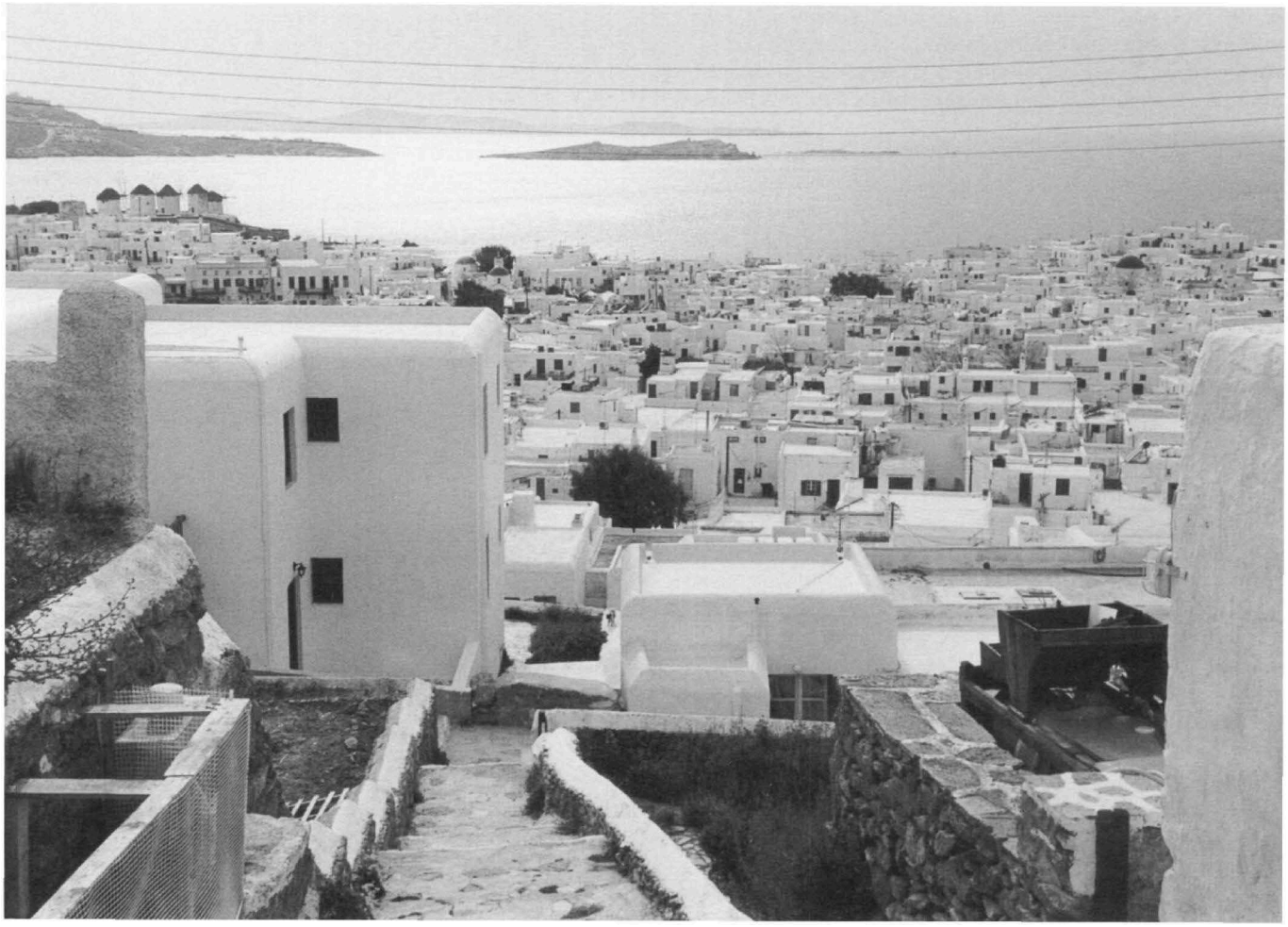
Architecture

Domestic

Domestic architecture describes the space in which people live as private individuals and, generally, as part of a nuclear or extended family. Houses, often the least documented buildings in history, are part of an organic architectural fabric that over time continuously changes and adapts to the inhabitants' ever-evolving needs and desires. Houses are also primarily the domain of women, since women usually decide the arrangement of domestic spaces, keep them in good order, and tend the animals and garden that might form part of a household. Furthermore, beyond providing shelter and a space for familial gathering, houses may also accommodate religious, commercial, manufacturing, or agricultural activities that involve the extended family. In some cases, groups of families and individuals live together in multi-family buildings, thus blurring the line between private and public spheres. A review of domestic architecture through time elucidates not only the conditions of daily and family life, but also the broader context of historical, technological, and economic change. The stylistic details of a house reveal cultural alliances and influences, both within the community and in a broader geographical context. At the same time, however, domestic architecture is markedly conservative and resistant to change. Building methods and the arrangement of space both exhibit a tenacious attachment to traditional materials, techniques, and practices, which are primarily dependent on local resources and climatic conditions. Dramatic changes in building practices are invariably the outcome of major economic, political, and demographic restructuring.

Our knowledge of Classical Greek houses is derived primarily from the 1930s excavations of Olynthus, a town in Chalcidice that was founded in 432 BC according to the Hippodamian manner. While the orthogonal street grid resulted in the erection of buildings in blocks of equal size, housing lots varied slightly in size, undoubtedly the result of individual agreements among landowners. The ground space of a typical residential block was roughly a square measuring 17.2 metres per side. Larger houses had five to seven rooms, smaller houses had one or two. All had a small, interior, south-



Architecture (Domestic): view over Mykonos town where the island house type prevails

facing courtyard, where many of the daily activities took place, notably cooking and often weaving. Several of the courtyards also had permanent altars, commonly dedicated to Zeus Herkeios. The houses were constructed of unbaked bricks, on a foundation of rubble. Pillars were mostly wooden, while the sloping roofs were covered with tiles. Water was supplied from the city cisterns or occasionally by a private cistern.

Athenian houses of the 5th and 4th centuries BC bore an affinity with those of Olynthus both in arrangement and in materials. Due to the irregular street pattern of Athens, however, both the houses and the rooms themselves were irregular in size and shape. The rooms of Athenian houses were arranged around a small, usually south-facing courtyard that could be reached either directly from the street, or through a narrow passage. In fact, the courtyard pattern is characteristic of most ancient Greek houses. Some courtyards had a porch supported by columns, on one or more sides. They were later paved with pebbles set in cement, while most floors were made of hard earth topped with clay. The walls of the principal rooms were covered with plaster and painted with a light colour wash. Literary sources frequently refer to the second storey of houses, though none has survived.

Despite the number of passing literary references to the different spaces, and their uses, within the ancient Athenian house, it is still impossible to match these descriptions to archaeological findings. For example, while texts make references to separate men's quarters (*andron* or *andronitis*) and women's quarters (*gynaikonitis*), archaeologists have been unable to identify such specific locations as little evidence exists of the character of individual rooms. This may also indicate a certain versatility of function among the rooms, depending on the season or on the special needs of the household. Another clear social distinction, that between free and slave inhabitants, is also absent from the physical remains of Athenian houses. Presumably, all men slept in the men's quarters and all women in the women's.

Women's work was confined to the house and included the care of children, the cleaning of the house and its contents, the preparation of meals and the processing of food for storage, as well as spinning and weaving to make clothing and bedding. Many professional men also used their house as a place of business. Marble cutting, pottery making, or metalworking often took place in the courtyard. Rooms that opened directly on to the street were used as offices, workshops, retail shops, taverns, or warehouses. Wealthier and poorer housing quarters were not necessarily mutually distinct. Finally, the majority of Greek towns, including, to an extent, Athens, were home to farmers who worked the surrounding countryside. Wealthier city dwellers maintained handsome residences in the countryside as well. These were not only more spacious than most of

the town houses, but also more regular in plan, as the space occupied by town dwellings was restricted by the irregular street pattern.

New socio-economic conditions during the Hellenistic period brought about the creation of a new urban class of merchants, manufacturers, retired soldiers, and civil servants who prospered in the unified Hellenistic world of the Mediterranean basin and who were able to afford larger and luxurious villas. Architects experimented with new building methods and artistic trends, creating impressive domestic complexes. The layout of Hellenistic houses is similar to that of the houses at Olynthus, but larger and more elaborate. The finest surviving examples of the period are found on the island of Delos, a major mercantile centre at the time. Rooms were arranged around an interior courtyard, usually a complete peristyle with elongated Doric columns. The courtyard and the floor of the principal room often featured mosaic decorations. In the Roman period many of the houses also had an atrium, in addition to the peristyle court. As the Greek and Roman cultures infiltrated each other, their domestic worlds also grew more similar.

In the cities of the late Roman empire the apartment house (*insula*) was a more common housing type than the individual dwelling (*domus*). Two *insula*-type buildings have been unearthed in Ephesus. Constructed in the 1st century AD, they underwent several remodellings until the 7th century. There were vaulted shops on the ground floor and modest rectangular rooms on the upper floor, while a two-storey mansion formed a component of one of the *insulae*. Literary sources also confirm the existence of *insulae* in Constantinople. In fact, residents of a five-storey *insula* complained when some of their neighbours kept pigs in the upper storeys. The individual dwelling (*domus*) continued to be based on the central peristyle courtyard surrounded by rooms and other service areas. These included a bath, kitchen, latrines, plumbing and heating systems, and storage rooms.

Building laws regulated the construction of new houses or the remodelling of existing ones (*Codex Justinianus*, 8. 10. 12). A distance of at least 12 Greek feet had to be maintained between houses. Repairs to old houses were allowed, provided the original plan was not altered. New buildings had to respect neighbours' access to daylight and, especially in Constantinople, view of the sea. Balconies could only be built on streets that were over 12 feet wide, and exterior staircases from the street to the balcony were not permitted, as they could obstruct traffic and pose fire hazards.

Byzantine houses built after 1000 were of several building types. A common plan for a private residence, found in Corinth, Athens, Thebes, and Pergamum, consisted of a rectangular building with a central open space without a peristyle. Storerooms for agricultural produce, workshops, and stables were situated on the ground floor, while the living quarters were upstairs. The quality of the construction was usually poor, with rooms small and irregular and houses built on narrow alleys. New buildings were often raised against existing ancient structures, while architectural elements of demolished ancient buildings (*spolia*) were routinely incorporated into new ones. The private mansion of Attaleiates in Constantinople, described in his foundation charter of 1077, consisted of several two-storey buildings connected by a common courtyard. The mansion also included a separate three-storey dwelling with a donkey-driven mill on the ground floor and a family chapel. By the 12th century chapels and churches had become quite common in the residences of the wealthy. Adorned with paintings, marble, and lamps, these private chapels blurred the distinction between domestic and religious architecture. Similarly, the elaborate architecture of the private mansions is reflected in the middle Byzantine churches which shrank to almost domestic proportions.

In the Ottoman period travellers were often unable to distinguish between the houses of Christian and Muslim inhabitants. Stylistic differences in domestic architecture represented social rather than religious or ethnic distinctions. Travelling building groups (*bouloukia* or *tsourma*) were responsible for the most complicated structures, regardless of whether the patron was Greek or Muslim. As they travelled widely, they adapted their building vocabulary to regional practices. Some groups also disseminated the style of the major cities to the rest of the empire. Members of building groups usually came from the same village, and several groups developed secret dialects, which ensured them privacy while carrying out their work. These building groups were usually the architects of the imposing and elaborate mansions (*archontika*), which in turn provided architectural paradigms to local builders.

While, under Ottoman rule, the Greek population generally avoided the exhibition of wealth in order to escape heavy taxation, certain regions flourished as the result of foreign trade: they were notably some of the islands, and on the mainland around centres of local manufacturing. This new urban class was able to display its wealth by building impressive private mansions in Constantinople and Kastoria, in Ambelakia and Kozani, in Makrinistsa and Tyrnavos, and on the islands of Chios and Hydra, Spetsae and Psara, among other urban centres. The designs of these mansions reflect the unique architectural character of each region, and, by extension, the decentralized nature of political, economic, and cultural activity under the Ottomans.

Despite significant regional differences, there were also common characteristics that distinguished island from mainland architecture. The island house was based on a one-storey, single-space nucleus covered with a flat, stone roof. Its dimensions depended on the construction material, essentially the size of the wooden beams. The houses on the island of Santorini, with their barrel-vaulted roofs built in volcanic stone, constitute the notable exception to the general pattern. In some cases we also find two-storey houses, with storage rooms on the ground floor and living quarters upstairs. As in antiquity, most daily activities continued to take place in the courtyard. In the countryside there were also agricultural buildings for shepherds' quarters, the storage of produce, threshing, preparation of wine, and the keeping of animals. In some cases people and animals were housed in the same building (common practice in many parts of the world), the people sleeping on a higher platform. Finally, important influences in the domestic architecture of the islands between the 15th and 19th centuries came from the Venetian urban houses in Crete, the Genoese houses in Chios, and the Italianate mansions of Zakynthos and Corfu. By introducing elements of Classical and Renaissance architecture in the Greek lands, these

mansions prepared the stylistic ground for the subsequent introduction of Neoclassicism in the 19th century.

While island architecture displayed distinct western influences, mainland architecture remained closer to eastern models. The two-storey middle-class house that was common in the Peloponnese, western Roumeli, and northern Greece was built to an elongated plan, with an external wooden or stone staircase leading to the *hayiati*, the covered second-storey interior balcony. Animals were kept on the ground floor, which was also used for storage and sometimes for the loom. Living space was divided into three areas: the *gonia*, with the fireplace where cooking took place and where the inhabitants slept during the winter; a small room over the entrance; and the *sala*, a formal reception area. The *archontika*, rather than being aggregate of humbler farming units, were influenced by the architecture of other urban centres and, possibly, by the local defensive towers that preceded them. As in the islands, wealthy landowners and merchants who travelled abroad often brought back western furnishings, design ideas, and even craftsmen to work on their mansions. The Greek architectural landscape thus continued to reflect the confluence of both local and external political and economic forces. After the War of Independence (1821–32) the construction of the palace, the university, the academy, and other prominent public and private buildings in Athens helped anchor northern European Neoclassicism in Greece. The first Neoclassical houses were built by wealthy residents who had lived in Europe and who often employed foreign architects and builders. Their elements were quickly copied and adapted by local builders who followed the capital's political and cultural lead.

The most dramatic changes in domestic architecture began in the years between World Wars I and II and escalated after the 1960s. In that period Athens and all other major cities were transformed into giant worksites, as each one- and two-storey house was demolished and replaced by a multi-family apartment building (*polykatoikia*). At first glance, the ubiquitous apartment building may signal the modernization of the country, giving Greek cities that elusive "European" image. It is true that a few of these apartment buildings were designed by professional architects who sought innovative ways to cater for the needs of an urbanized nation without sacrificing aesthetic and cultural precepts. The vast majority of them, however, are the work of engineers and developers whose purpose was the purely practical maximizing of buildable area and, therefore, of private profits. While this little-regulated urban building made private ownership (of individual flats) affordable to the majority of the population, it came at considerable public cost. Public spaces, parks, sports facilities, community buildings, and protected nature areas are sorely absent from Greek cities today. Architects and planners are therefore confronted with the formidable tasks of accommodating a growing population, modifying ageing apartment buildings for contemporary needs, providing open spaces in cities, and creating new areas of affordable housing, while remaining sensitive to the inhabitants' needs and to the natural environment.

ELENI BASTÉA

See also Family, Neoclassicism, Town Planning, Women

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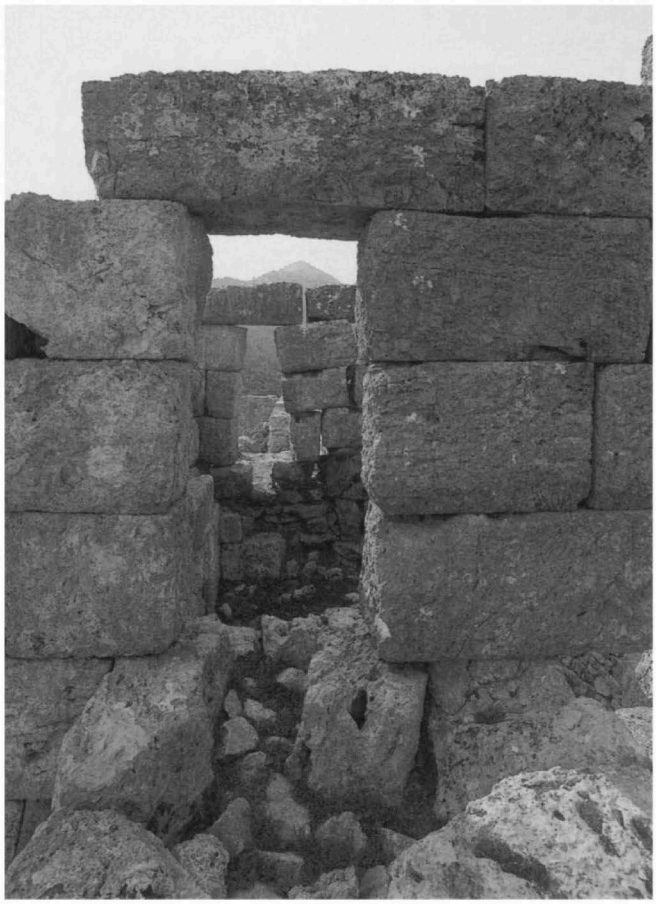
Fortifications

Over the centuries in the Greek world the art of fortification struggled to keep pace with methods of attack; in the long term the attacker prevailed. At times the consequent catastrophes were overwhelming, and the systems being defended collapsed, resulting in a complete regression before the process started again. Therefore no constant line of development and improvement can be traced. In addition, these aspects of warfare did not occur in isolation; external developments, new ideas brought from outside the Greek world, affected the systems employed in Greece.

The Minoan world appears to have eschewed the use of fortifications. There are no walls around the Cretan cities, implying a surprising degree of stability and peacefulness among the various communities on the island. By contrast, the mainland citadels of the Late Bronze Age were fortified, and with the passing of time these fortifications were steadily strengthened. The walls enhance the strength of places already chosen for their steep sides and difficulty of approach. Generally, they are built of massive, irregularly shaped blocks of stone that rely on their sheer weight to keep them in place and the walls intact; this may imply that attack using battering rams was anticipated, and in any case there is no doubt that the massiveness was designed to impress and so deter any would-be attacker. The systems grew up more or less fully fledged, indicating that their origin is to be sought elsewhere – without doubt the even more massive defences of the major Hittite sites, such as Boğazköy in central Anatolia. Gateways were strongly defended, projecting bastions being used to



Architecture (Fortifications): the 4th-century BC fort at Eleutherae, northwest of Athens

provide flanking protection to the actual gate, which, at Mycenae in particular, was given massive jambs and a lintel surmounted by the famous sculptured slab depicting heraldic lions facing a pillar.

Repaired where necessary (and invariably with less massive masonry), these walls served for centuries the communities that emerged from the collapse of Late Bronze Age civilization. New fortifications were rare during the early centuries of the 1st millennium BC. The best example is the walls of Smyrna, in which a high footing of carefully fitted stone surmounted by a thick superstructure of mud brick protected the city from landward attack. This dates from the late 9th or early 8th century BC, and was renewed and replaced until the end of the 7th century BC, when it had to defend the city against an attack by Alyattes, king of Lydia, who brought with him the techniques of siegecraft developed by the Assyrians, particularly overtopping the walls by constructing against them a huge siege mound. Against this the fortifications were helpless, and the same is true a little over a century later, when the Persians used a similar mound against the Cypriot Greek city of Paphos, despite strenuous attempts by the Paphians to undermine the mound by tunnelling.

Within Greece itself this siegecraft was not developed. During the 5th century BC city walls were sufficient to keep out attacks by other Greek forces. In particular, the heavily armoured infantry (hoplites) were too unwieldy, and the risk of losing citizen lives too great. Many cities therefore defended themselves with walls, using stone footings (generally with inner and outer faces only, and a rubble and clay fill) and a superstructure of mud brick. The only practical method of attacking such a wall was to surround it and starve the defenders into submission. This was circumvented by Athens, which linked the city walls with those of its harbour, Piraeus, by means of long walls running the full 7 km between the two places, and then using its command of the sea to import food, protecting the inhabitants from starvation.

Important developments took place in the 4th century BC. Techniques of siegecraft were improved, partly by the introduction of Near Eastern methods, partly by the increased use of specialized non-citizen troops. Siege engines began to be employed, and in consequence the fortification systems had to be strengthened. A crucial development resulted from the victory of the Boeotians over the Spartans in 371 BC. Messenia was liberated, and the Boeotian leader hurriedly created a new strongly defended city at Messene. A huge circuit of more than 6 km was completed within months, allotted section by section to a multitude of constructors. The wall is made throughout of stone, with outer faces of strong rusticated masonry and rubble fill. The most significant development is the addition of towers at regular intervals, to carry missile-throwing engines and archers who could prevent an enemy reaching the curtain wall itself. Gateways were particularly strong; a good example is the Arcadian gate, flanked by towers, an outer gateway giving access only to an inner circular forecourt in which an attacker would be surrounded before being able to reach a second inner gate. Such systems began to be found in other places. In Boeotia itself there is a smaller version at Siphae which is backed by a system of free-standing watchtowers of similar construction.

Some experimentation can be seen in the methods used to build the walls. With the likelihood of direct assault on the fabric of the walls, it was found that a rubble fill might contribute to total collapse if the outer face was dislodged. Different fills, such as packed mud brick, and dividing the interior of the wall into compartments by using through stones binding the inner and outer faces together at intervals, were tried. At the same time, siege engines improved. Philip of Macedon and, especially, Alexander the Great had formidable arsenals of such weapons. Alexander's engines were thwarted only by the walls of Phoenician Tyre, of extra large blocks and gypsum mortar, until he found a weak spot that he could attack by sea. By the end of the 4th century BC systems were extremely sophisticated, but even the walls of Rhodes, strengthened by internal arcaded buttressing, were breached by the elaborate siege engines of Demetrius, and only a desperate defence saved the city. Demetrius' siege engines included a massive mobile tower called the Helepolis, the Taker of Cities, which earned him the nickname of the Besieger; Rhodes was his only failure.

Thus the final phase of Hellenistic Greek fortification had to be designed to keep the siege engines at bay; once they reached the wall, it was virtually doomed to collapse. This was done by providing taller towers that held whole batteries of counter-siege engines, enfilading the wall as well as firing outwards, and by constructing outer systems (*proteichismata*) of secondary walls with deep ditches in front to prevent the heavy and cumbersome engines of the attacker getting close

enough to the walls. Parts of the *proteichisma* of Athens, recently excavated, have in front a sheer-sided ditch 6 m in depth. The strongest and most elaborate of these systems was built late in the 3rd century BC at Syracuse in Sicily, designed by the great scientist Archimedes, but even this failed, after a bloody siege by the Romans.

Despite this, most Hellenistic cities were surrounded by fortification systems so extensive that many of them are well preserved. There are excellent examples at the Greek or Hellenized cities of Asia Minor. Heracleia by Mount Latmos, close to Miletus, is a good example. Miletus itself must have had similar walls, and one of the largest circuits is that at Ephesus. Both Heracleia (a small city) and Ephesus have walls that, like those a century or so earlier at Messene, include a much vaster area than needed for developed habitation, either anticipating expansion or, more likely, leaving room to receive people evacuated from the surrounding countryside in time of war. The walls of Ephesus certainly, and probably also Heracleia, were built for the Successor king Lysimachus, who took over the region after the battle of Ipsus in 301 BC. The walls are of good ashlar, built on the compartment system. Where they run up hillsides, the rock is carefully trimmed in steps to receive the blocks. Towers are generally square, but there are some circular ones, including at Ephesus a massive tower towards the seaward end of the wall. Such walls serve a variety of functions, even if it must have been accepted that they were bound to succumb to a protracted siege vigorously mainrained. They certainly gave routine security against brigandage and small-scale attack, but, most important, they gave their possesors a sense of pride. At some places, such as Perge in Pamphylia, one gets the feeling that the walls, and especially the main gate, were intended as much to look impressive as to be militarily effective.

With the development of Roman authority, military needs changed. The Romans learned their siegecraft from the Hellenistic Greek specialists. The engineers who developed the siege engines worked in a Hellenistic context. Vitruvius, who was Julius Caesar's engineer, certainly knew the engines invented and described in treatises by his Hellenistic predecessors, to whom he refers in his own *De Architectura*. Methods of fortification were vastly improved by the development of concrete construction techniques, which at last made the fill so permanent and durable that any outer facing employed was for decorative purposes only. Moreover, the extension of the empire and the creation of the Pax Romana removed the need for fortifications from the cities of the Greek world. Where walls were retained they were obviously for secondary purposes only, local security, and local pride. The real defence was on the frontiers of the empire.

The incursion of invading peoples into the Aegean area in the 3rd century AD brought a sudden reversal of this situation. Many places were to all intents and purposes undefended. Athens was attacked and sacked by the Heruli in AD 267. A new system of defence was necessary. This had to take account of the fact that a Greek city like Athens no longer had a significant army of its own, or Roman troops to help. It would have to rely on its own limited resources, and this meant that it could no longer hope to defend a circuit as long as that which had surrounded the Classical city, and which, though ruined, survived in part. A new circuit was therefore created, considerably reducing the length of wall and the area defended. This can be seen most clearly in the Agora, most of which was now outside the wall – generally referred to as the "Valerian" wall, after the contemporary emperor at Rome – but this in no way implies that it was an official imperial creation. The wall itself is plainly makeshift. It was made from reused elements of demolished Classical buildings, forming a line of solid but unmortared masonry. At sections, it includes actual buildings; the stoa of Attalus, at the eastern edge of the Agora, survived relatively well preserved because its main structure was incorporated into the new defences. The Agora itself was razed almost completely, not by the Heruli but to create an open zone devoid of cover for an enemy in front of the wall. Beyond this area, the temple of Hephaestus remained intact. The wall ran up to the entrance of the Acropolis. No attempt was made to refortify the Classical Propylaea; instead, a new gate with a small opening and flanking bastions was created, again from reused material, a little below. Everything looks makeshift. It is not constructed according to the latest systems of military works, and, except in so far as it reuses material, it is not a revival of older Classical systems. The city soon redeveloped to include areas outside this wall, but sections of it, particularly on the Acropolis, remained to be incorporated into later medieval fortifications.

Athens in the 3rd century AD is an example of what a Greek city was able to achieve relying entirely on its own resources. Constantine's city of New Rome, Constantinople, represents the opposite extreme, fortified with the full resources of the imperial authorities. The main landward wall, the Theodosian, was laid out in the early part of the 5th century AD. It was built largely of mortared stonework, with regular stringcourses of brick, in the manner that had evolved for Roman concrete construction at the time of the early empire; the obvious comparison is the walls built in the 3rd century AD by Aurelian at Rome. It incorporates larger blocks of stone, for decorative effect rather then necessity, and where a special effect was felt appropriate, there are elements completely faced in good squared masonry; this was particularly so at the Porta Aurea, the great Golden Gate. Such masonry here was a direct revival of the appearance, at least, of the Classical and Hellenistic walls. The wall itself had a regular series of tall towers, placed at intervals of 50 or 60 m. Most were square, some were octagonal, mostly occasionally but near the Golden Gate alternating with the square examples. In front of the wall was a *proteichisma*, lower, but like the main wall, battlemented. It also had towers, but these were not much higher than the wall itself. In front of this was a deep ditch, vertical sided, the sides being supported where necessary by masonry. This was a strong system. Maintained, but not essentially altered in character, it survived as the main defences of the city, and sufficed for resistance to all attacks, perhaps the longest survival of a defensive system, until the Turks set about it with cannon and gunpowder in 1453. Yet, apart from the use of mortar in its construction, it was little modified from the Hellenistic walls of the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC. All the elements in its layout are found in the walls of Hellenistic Athens, and, particularly, in Archimedes' great defences at Syracuse. It is an important example of a continuing military tradition.

Other Byzantine walls may be less spectacular. Many of the cities in the Byzantine empire were already important in the

Hellenistic age. Here the fortifications are often merely the earlier walls repaired and altered as necessary with mortared rubble. Such walls are found on Acrocorinth, for instance, incorporating sections of the gateway of the fortress built by Demetrius the Besieger. Even with the coming of the Turks and gunpowder, such walls were frequently maintained and defended by garrisons as late as the War of Independence.

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See also Siegecraft, Technology, Warfare

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Military, and Masonry Developments

Military architecture from the ancient world survives in the form of city walls and citadels, and linear walls with towers. The main features of ancient fortification can best be seen in Greek wall building.

City fortification is probably as old as the formation of the city itself. Herodotus tells us that the seven walls of Ecbatana, built in the 9th century BC, were concentric, and towers can be seen on Assyrian reliefs depicting military sieges. A well-preserved early example of city walling is at the Hittite capital of Hattusas, Boğazköy in Asia Minor. It has an earth glacis or berm lined with stone at the base of the wall. On the top was either wooden palisading or mud-brick walling. The warring Greek city states improved on these examples, adding their own innovations.

The Lion Gate at Hattusas has a straight principal entry, like the Lion Gate at Mycenae, and both these gates were strengthened spiritually by the presence of the religious sculptural decoration. The idea of a spiritual aid to defence continues into the Byzantine period, when gates were dedicated to Christ or the Mother of God or to a saint. The gates or guardian towers often had a chapel incorporated in them, usually on the first floor.

The Lion Gate at Mycenae testifies to the importance attached to the defence of city gates. It was placed at an angle in the walls so that attackers approaching the gate on the road beneath were subject to flanking fire before they actually reached it and, in addition, it has a defensive bastion on the opposite side to the city wall. The obvious importance of the gate to any fortification is echoed by literary tradition which describes how each of the seven leaders in the Theban war was in command of the attack on one of the seven gates of the city, and that six of them were killed. At Troy a legend has it that Achilles was wounded by an arrow in the heel while attacking the Scaean Gate, which suggests defensive fire from a flanking bastion. By the 4th century BC the more developed form of a gate flanked by two defending towers can be seen at Messene. This type became the standard defence to the principal gate of many cities in the Greek, Roman, and Byzantine periods, since such towers offset the weakness of the gate itself. At the same time they provided protection for an orderly sortie of counter-attacking cavalry or infantry. In times of peace, such a gate was also used for important fêtes and processional purposes. Two other forms of gateway appear in Greece from the 5th century onwards. The bent gate forces an enemy to turn a corner between heavily defended walls before he reaches the gate. A development of the bent gate in Byzantine and crusader times provided for a second or even a third bend inside the principal gate so that, if the besiegers broke it down, they still lacked clear access to the town or citadel that they were attacking. The postern gate served the defenders as a secretive means of communication with the outside world and as a means for covert counter-attack. A postern gate appears at Hattusas, Boğazköy, and was not an invention of the Greeks, but it became a regular element in Greek, Roman, Byzantine, and Frankish fortification.

Walls and towers antedate ancient Greece, but from the Bronze Age onwards the Greeks made great developments in wall construction. Early Cyclopean masonry can be seen at Tiryns and Mycenae. It is typified by the use of huge blocks of irregular masonry shored up by smaller stones and backed by earth and rubble. From the 5th century BC onwards there was a rapid development of masonry types. For their strength these mainly rely on the masonry surfaces of the wall, which were backed up by a core of earth and rubble and could absorb the shock of a missile or the impact of a ram. The surface blocks were made of regular ashlars fitted closely together. The setting pattern for these blocks developed in the Classical period. Instead of regular blocks laid in horizontal courses with the long side outwards, a pattern of headers and stretchers was developed that greatly strengthened the wall. The headers went deep into the earth and rubble core and gave much greater stability. This type of walling, known as casemate walling, probably derives from timber bonding, which was used in mud and masonry walls from the time of the Old Testament onwards (1 Kings 6: 36). A second development was the use of embossed masonry, which can be seen in the 4th-century BC fortifications of Aegosthena and Messene. Whereas ashlar blocks had a smooth surface, the embossed block had smooth margins at the edges while the rest of the surface was rough hewn and irregular. It was designed to dull or deflect the impact of missiles. Its efficacy is reflected in its long history that ends only with the decorative use of it as rusticated masonry in the Baroque period in western Europe.

The early historical development of masonry that makes use of lime mortar as opposed to earth has yet to be charted. It is of vital importance not only to military building but to all architecture since lime mortar transformed the wall into a single strong structural component; earlier, it had consisted of the two elements of fitted surface blocks with an interior core of earth and rubble filler. Vitruvius names an early type of lime mortared walling – *opus incertum*. He remarks that this walling is much stronger than *opus reticulatum* and attributes it to the Greeks, and says that it is not to be made light of. Philo of Byzantium, writing in the 2nd century BC, refers to mortars and to the use of *gypsos*, which may be gypsum rather than lime. However that may be, his lack of emphasis on the use of lime suggests that he did not fully understand its poten-

tial. It was the Roman military engineers and builders who made the greatest advances in the use of lime mortars and lime concrete, and their technical advances were in turn made use of by the Greeks in the Byzantine period. The massive Slav invasions of Greece from the 5th century onwards and the Persian invasions of Asia Minor in the 5th and 6th centuries AD followed by the Arab invasions in the 7th to 9th centuries, saw the transformation, and often the virtual destruction, of the great Greek and Roman cities of the plains. There was a need for rapidly built and efficient defensive walling, and the type of masonry favoured by Byzantine military engineers was the Vitruvian *opus incertum* or mortared rubble wall, with a bonding system of either brick or timber. This could be constructed under the supervision of a military engineer with the use of unskilled labour, most probably the soldiers themselves with the help of forced levies of the local population to bring in stones. It did not require a large force of skilled masons to perform the slow task of shaping ashlars for the smooth surface of a wall. Nor did it require stone suitable for cutting and shaping, since any shape or size of stone could be firmly bedded into the wall mortar with its smoothest face to the outer surface. The outer surface of the wall was protected from water penetration by a shelter coat of lime plaster. In the Byzantine period from the 6th to the 15th century there are numerous examples of *opus incertum* military walling scattered throughout Greece, the Balkans, and Asia Minor. Unlike ashlar walling, *opus incertum* does not look elegant or impressive, and it is difficult to date unless it incorporates inscriptions, brick bonding courses, or decorative features. It has not attracted much attention from Classical scholars because it is not aesthetically pleasing, but its legacy was of fundamental importance not only in military architecture but in all workaday building in the medieval and modern world until Portland cement replaced lime mortar.

The two main categories of military architecture lie in the defence of cities and the defence of frontiers. In the siting and defence of cities the Greeks carried on an ancient tradition of using naturally defended sites: either around a hilltop as at Mycenae, or in the case of ports by using natural ravines. Such natural defences could be improved by rock clearance or ditching. The Greeks concentrated on the development of hilltop citadels such as Aegosthena or Acrocorinth to serve as a final stronghold if the walls of the city were to fall. A Greek city in the plains such as Mantinea was an exception that only became the rule after the Roman conquest; it was not until the 3rd century AD, with the Gothic invasions, that there was an enemy of consequence. In the Byzantine period cities often reverted to Hellenistic hilltop sites and it is not uncommon to find a city with the original Greek ashlar masonry at the base of the wall and Byzantine mortared rubble masonry in the higher courses.

Linear fortifications were used at Athens to link the city with its port and at Acrocorinth to link city and citadel, but they were more suited to frontiers or to the creation of walled mountain refuges that sheltered the whole population of an area with its livestock. Thus the walls of Messene enclose not just a city but a whole landscape. During the Peloponnesian War a defensive wall across the base of the peninsula was planned. Another example is the Byzantine long wall of Thrace.

In both city walls and linear fortifications towers were a regular feature. But once again it was the Greeks of the ancient world who seem to have made the most significant developments in the construction of towers. Early towers seem to have been an integral part of wall construction. They were conceived as vantage points, higher than the adjoining wall, and by projecting a little they acted as buttresses from which flanking fire could be directed upon the attackers. By 304 BC towers that were structurally independent of the walls had been developed. At Rhodes Demetrius Poliorcetes destroyed the curtain wall to either side of a tower, but he was unable to take the tower itself. The text of Philo of Byzantium on the subject of towers is ambiguous, but he does appear to suggest that some towers were structurally independent of the walls, and that they were heightened by the addition of a smaller turret on the top level. The archaeological evidence for the upper work of towers is lacking since none survives intact, but in the 6th century AD Procopius describes independent tower keeps that were forerunners of the medieval keep. No Byzantine examples survive, but their existence is suggested by 16th-century Ottoman examples, such as the White Tower at Thessalonica, and the three great towers of Rumeli Hisar outside Constantinople. In the individual forms of towers and in the traces of walls the ancient Greeks were also innovators. They built towers that were rectangular, round, and U-shaped. Philo of Byzantium seems to recommend the pentagonal, prow-shaped tower. Its pointed shape served well to deflect missiles, and it was a favourite choice in Byzantine fortifications. A version even survived to form a part of artillery fortifications from the 16th century onwards. Philo of Byzantium also describes a wall traced on the pattern of saw teeth. A good example is the 9th-century walls of the Byzantine city of Ankara.

The modern visitor to Greece will be struck by the many medieval castles that are labelled Frankish. Mistra is one example, said to have been built by Villehardouin. The fact that there is a Byzantine chapel in the citadel and that the wall construction is basically Byzantine suggests that Mistra and many other Greek medieval sites were of Byzantine construction but occupied and repaired by the Franks. Another prominent feature of the Greek landscape is the massive artillery fortifications built by the Venetians and the Turks in the 17th and 18th centuries. These fall outside the Hellenic tradition; they owe their radically new design to Italian military engineers, although the continuity of Hellenistic design may be detected in the modified shape of the prow tower.

The surviving evidence of military architecture thus shows that the ancient Greeks and the Byzantines were important developers in this field, and sometimes skilled innovators.

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See also Siegecraft, Technology

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Palaces

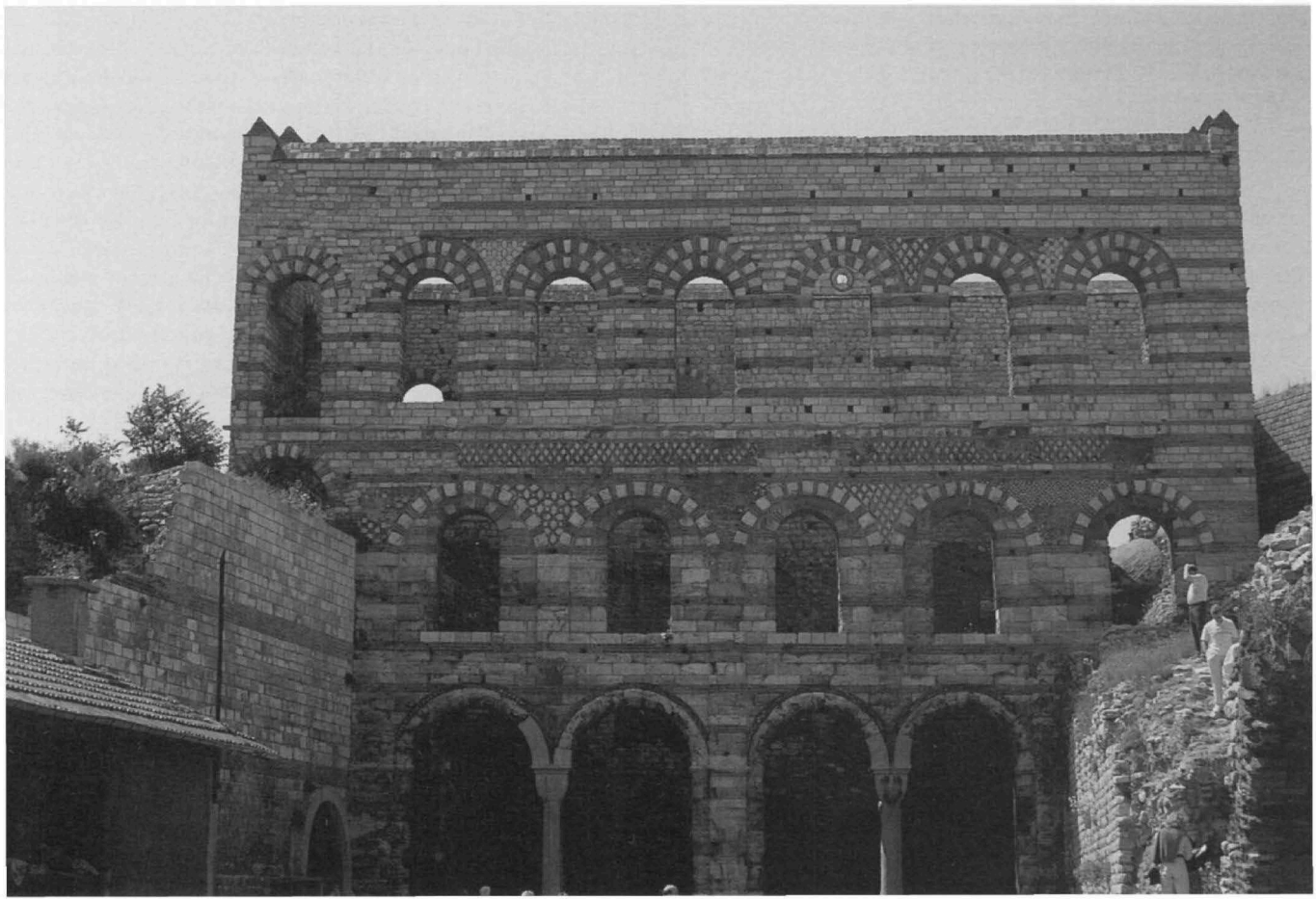
If palaces are defined as buildings that served as a residence and place for fulfilling the administrative duties of a ruler, it is obvious that they will not form a significant element in the architecture of Classical Greece, since at that time monarchy was not a normal political system. At other periods, before and after, the picture is different. The prehistoric societies of Greece, in their developed forms, depended on a complex, centralized administration which, presumably, was under the supreme control of individuals, though, apart from the palaces themselves, the only evidence for this is in later legend, with all the dangers of distortion that implies. There are two main types of palace found in the Bronze Age communities of Greece, the Cretan (Minoan, in the archaeological terminology invented by Sir Arthur Evans, who excavated the greatest of them, at Knossos) and the mainland (Mycenaean). Since we have no written record of how these presumably monarchical states functioned, other than references to authority in the Linear B tablets, interpretation of their palace architecture has to be based on the buildings themselves.

The palace at Knossos comprises areas that can be assigned with some certainty to residential purposes and others that functioned as storerooms, workshops, record office, and thus administrative functions; and others, less easily understood, that were probably designed to accommodate some, at least, of the religious functions of a monarch. The structure developed over a protracted period of time, punctuated by natural disruptions, particularly earthquake, before final destruction some time in the 14th century BC. The placing of the various elements round a central courtyard (a regular feature of the Minoan palaces) gives a superficial appearance of unity; in fact, it is clear from the archaeological evidence that the palace was rather the result of piecemeal development. There is no simple unity to the plan: the different sections have their own organization, and, generally, their own separate routes of access, a feature that is normal in Minoan architecture. The residential areas are on the eastern side of the courtyard. They presented two storeys to the court, though there were also basements taking advantage of the slope down from the courtyard and overlooking a river valley. Grand, wide staircases surrounding a light well led up and down. The individual rooms are spacious and well decorated. (Evans's attempt to assign occupiers to some of them, such as the "Queen's Megaron", are entirely fanciful.) A distinctive feature is the division of a room from a shaft by means of a set of folding doors set between piers. This must have been designed to control and modify the ventilation, to allow free circulation of air during the hot summers, to restrict it in the cooler winters. The religious function seems to have been served by at least one room on the opposite, western side of the court, one of the oldest parts of the palace: a lavishly decorated room, containing a solitary stone "throne", and with basins sunk in the floor, for water and possibly some purification ritual. The courtyard itself, it is suggested, may have been the location for the bull-jumping ritual depicted in Minoan art. The storage and workshop areas comprise long passages, with magazines and other rooms leading off. They are much vaster than would be required to meet the consumption of the residents in the palace: the materials stored and produced would be intended for trade, in a system of economy that would be managed and controlled by the centralized palace authority.

The Mycenaean palaces developed later, after the apparent collapse of Minoan Crete, and were obviously influenced by their Minoan predecessors, whose centralized political and economic systems they probably imitated. There is, however, a significant architectural difference. The central element is a rectangular hall building, divided into an open porch, with two columns, and a square room, sometimes separated from the porch by an antechamber. This was the formal area of the palace. It contained a large central hearth, too big and too magnificent to be merely for heating, and which presumably had some ritual significance. The room may have functioned as an audience chamber, or perhaps the place where the monarch consulted some form of council. It is generally assumed that it corresponds to the room where the kings of the Homeric poems carried out such functions, and the term given to it by Homer, the megaron, is normally applied to its Mycenaean predecessor. In addition, there were often subordinate rooms of similar plan, and, as on Crete, archive and storerooms for a similarly centralized administrative and economic system.

After the collapse of these complex systems, the divided Greek communities may still have been ruled by individuals; a monarchical system, dualized, survived at Sparta throughout its independence, and there were kings even in the Classical period in more backward areas, such as Epirus and Macedon. The houses of these kings may have been somewhat bigger than ordinary dwellings, or placed in particularly prominent locations – a good example is that at Emporio on Chios – but they were of no architectural pretensions, and it would be misleading to call them palaces. Under the non-monarchical regimes of the classical cities, such buildings would only exist under tyrant administrations, but there is no archaeological evidence for the form these took (the palace at Vouni in Cyprus of the 5th-century BC seems to be non-Greek in origin).

Palace architecture becomes important again with the rise of Macedon. Traditionally the Macedonian kings resided at Aegae, but the palace found there in the 19th century dates only from the end of the 4th century BC. Before then, at the end of the 5th century BC, king Archelaus transferred his administrative centre to Pella and built a palace there. This remained the palace of Philip II, and it was there that Alexander the Great was born. It was situated at the top of an acropolis hill, overlooking the city. It is currently being excavated by the Greek Archaeological Service, but it had been very thoroughly destroyed at the end of Macedonian independence and little more than its foundations survive. Its principal feature is that



Architecture (Palaces): the so-called Palace of Porphyrogennetos, now known as the Tekfur Saray, built in Constantinople in the 13th century

it incorporates five distinct courtyards, not all built at the same time, and certainly separating official from residential areas. The residential section probably dates back to the 4th century BC. We know that important artists, such as the painter Apelles, were recruited by Archelaus to decorate and embellish it, but, inevitably, nothing of this survives.

The palace at Aegae, probably built by the successor king Cassander, who wanted to revert to the older Macedonian tradition, is better preserved. It consists of two parts, a smaller courtyard structure at the back, added at a later date, and a large formal courtyard in front, overlooking the plain of the Haliacmon river. This measures 44.50 m square, and was surrounded by Doric columns, 16 on each side and made of local limestone. The entrance is at the centre of the east side, into which it is incorporated. It is marked by two marble piers, each fronted with engaged Ionic half columns, and gives a degree of formality and axiality that is not found in ordinary Greek houses. To the left of the entrance, and entered from the court, is a circular room containing a throne, probably religious in function, dedicated to Heracles Patroos. As far as can be seen from the remains (not all are well preserved), the other rooms that surround the court were all designed for formal feasting. Those on the south side were particularly splendid, two being entered from a vestibule with marble half columns recalling those of the porch. Their floors had magnificent mosaic decoration. Those on the west had space on the surrounding plinths for 30 dining couches. Despite their dimensions, 16.74 by 17.66 m, they were roofed and tiled, with the largest unsupported spans known in Greek architecture, an indication of the superior quality of Macedonian timberwork. The graduation of size and splendour (the floors of the largest rooms were paved with broken fragments of marble only) suggests the hierarchy of the Macedonian court. The whole concept, which was probably anticipated at Pella, was influenced by the Macedonian tradition of erecting large (100-couch) temporary dining pavilions or tents in sanctuaries for particular religious occasions. Such a pavilion was taken by Alexander on his campaign of conquest.

These Macedonian palaces must have influenced the palaces of the successor kings who established themselves in the different fragments of Alexander's empire, though little archaeological evidence survives for them. At the same time the Persian royal tradition was also influential. At Pergamum, which became the capital of an independent kingdom in the second half of the 3rd century BC, there survives on the top of the hill on which the city was built a group of houses that would have served the royal family. They have good-quality mosaic floors, but apart from their select position have nothing special about them to distinguish them from the better-quality Hellenistic houses.

More important was the palace of the Ptolemies at Alexandria. There are no surviving archaeological traces of

this, though evidence for its position has been confirmed by recent underwater research in the adjoining harbour area. Literary evidence gives us some idea of its arrangement and what it comprised. The city had been founded by Alexander as a place in which he could gather the existing Greek settlers in Egypt. He may have intended a palace, though whether he would have regarded it in any sense as his capital in Egypt is unclear. Rather, the palace was developed by his successor Ptolemy I Soter (305–282 BC) and his descendants. An area by the sea and in the northeast part of the city was designated as the royal area (Basileia). It had two main parts. The outer, which was accessible to the public, contained sanctuaries and buildings such as the Museum with its great library, and the theatre. It seems to have been an open space of parkland – it included a zoo – within the city, with the buildings spread out. There was still room in the 1st century BC for Cleopatra to build a shrine-sanctuary dedicated to her lover, Julius Caesar. The inner area, on the promontory Lochias that formed the eastern side of the Grand Harbour, was occupied by the private quarters of the royal family. Even here there seems to have been open space, and the building of which we have the fullest description was a typical Macedonian dining pavilion with 100 couches, lavishly decorated and carpeted. It was built by Ptolemy II Philadelphus (282–246 BC); we have no idea if it was anything more than a temporary structure, though the description we have, by the late author Athenaeus (*fl.* AD 200), derives from the near-contemporary Callixinus, and refers to a structure then long since disappeared.

Much more remote, and part of a very different tradition, was the palace at a Greek settlement known only by its modern name of Ai Khanum in Afghanistan. Here a large area to the west of the main road through the city was devoted to the palace. It dates from the foundation of the place in the early 3rd century BC, with a final phase of about 150 BC. It was vast, covering an area of 87,500 sq m. It was entered by way of a monumental propylaea building, and then a second propylon after the road turned through 90 degrees. This led to a large courtyard surrounded with Corinthian columns, at the back of which was an oriental-type open audience hall, with a wide room behind. Behind all this was the residential area. There are distinct Mesopotamian elements in this, though it undoubtedly belonged to a Greek ruler.

The word "palace" is itself derived from the name of the Palatine Hill in Rome, where the emperors lived. At first their residences were almost entirely in the non-Hellenic tradition of the Roman atrium house. The intention was to play down the concept of monarchy, now equated with the Hellenistic rulers, but as the imperial system came more and more to incorporate elements of the Hellenistic monarchies over whose territories it now ruled, aspects of Hellenistic palace architecture were adopted by the Romans, for example in Nero's Golden House and Domitian's palace on the Palatine.

As a result, later palaces in the Greek area echo rather the Roman type; this can be seen in the palace of Galerius at Thessalonica with its adjacent hippodrome. The same is true of the Great Palace at Constantinople, though this has suffered badly in successive destruction and rebuilding. As with the earlier imperial palaces it comprised an official, administrative area to the east, and a residential one to the west. The entrance to the official section was at the gate called Chalke, south of Hagia Sophia. Within were audience chambers, quarters for the imperial bodyguard, a church, and a 19-couch dining hall. Terraces faced southeast, overlooking the sea, while to the northwest was the Hippodrome, corresponding in its relationship to the palace with the Circus Maximus in Rome. Little of all this remains visible, though the monuments decorating the central line of the racecourse, including the serpent column taken from Delphi, survive. Written descriptions of the sumptuous decoration within give a general idea of its magnificence; excavation has revealed mosaic floors of the highest quality.

In form, this was in complete contrast to a much later building, probably of the 13th century AD, long after the Great Palace had been abandoned. This is the so-called Palace of Porphyrogennetos (Tekfur Saray), which seems much more Western in style except for the decoration of the façade. It comprises a simple rectangular plan with three floors, the first supported on vaults, the second on wooden beams. The ground floor is entered through open arcading, and there are rows of arched windows for the upper floors. Very similar, and of the same approximate date, is the palace of the Despots at Mistra. This too includes a rectangular hall on three floors, together with a more confused wing at right angles. It is now in the process of extensive restoration.

The next Greek palace follows the liberation of Greece from the Turks, and was built for the first king, Otho of Bavaria, between 1837 and 1841, to the designs of Friedrich von Gartner, when it was by far the largest building in the still small city of Athens. It is rather plain, but has good Classical detail to the windows, and a porch of ten Doric columns, as though to emphasize that it is a Greek building rather than a German *Residenz*. It now serves as the Boule, the parliament building.

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See also Great Palace, Minoans, Mycenaeans

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Public Works

While domestic architecture provides shelter to individuals and families, public architecture exists primarily for the benefit of the health, safety, and wellbeing of the larger community. Public architecture caters, among other things, for the provi-

Architecture (Public): the ancient theatre at Palmyra, dating from the 2nd or 3rd century AD

sion of water, removal of waste, facilities for personal hygiene, street paving and other civic utilities, and defensive works. Public architecture, in the form of harbours and lighthouses, roads and bridges, markets, and, more recently, railways and telecommunication systems, also facilitates and encourages commerce and other exchange. Finally, public works, such as poorhouses and hospitals, schools and orphanages, police headquarters and prisons, are associated with social welfare and public order. Depending on the historical period and on the particular administration, responsibility for the undertaking and maintenance of these projects rested variously on private individuals, the city state, the Church, the local or central administration, and national or international commercial concerns. A review of representative public works provides an insight into the daily life of an average citizen, with its attendant inconveniences and occasional luxuries, and reveals the major preoccupations and priorities of various administrations.

In the cities of Classical, 5th-century BC Greece civic buildings and public works were commissioned and financed by the citizens themselves. They included roads and fortifications, temples and theatres, stoas and gymnasia, water fountains and reservoirs. In the pre-Classical period these were financed by kings and tyrants, while in the subsequent Hellenistic and Roman eras they were often commissioned by wealthy donors and, in some cases, by the emperors themselves. Provision of water and removal of waste formed the core of most public works projects.

Although there were elaborate bathing facilities in the palaces of Crete and Mycenae, and simpler ceramic bathtubs (similar in shape to our own) in Olynthus, most people in antiquity bathed in public baths. These had separate spaces for men and women and were often located at the entrance of cities for the convenience of travellers. Public baths gained widespread popularity in Roman times, becoming large and impressive social spaces that were adorned with marble, mosaics, and statues. Public latrines, built also by the city states, similarly provided for the needs of both travellers and residents, since most houses did not have private latrines. In the Roman Agora of Athens an elegant public latrine building accommodated up to 64 customers in a generous, roughly square room. Lavatory seats, carved out of marble, were arranged around the walls. Running water continuously flushed the latrines, while an opening in the centre of the roof allowed for ventilation.

Drinking water for people and animals was supplied by wells, fountains, aqueducts, and reservoirs. In the 6th century BC the tyrant Pisistratus erected the Enneakrounos (nine-

spouted) fountain in the Agora of Athens on the site of the simple spring called Kallirrhoe (fair-flowing). It became famous both for its architectural elegance and for its cool water, which was used in wedding ceremonies for the bathing of the bride. Several other fountains and wells in the Agora and the rest of the city provided water for residents and travellers, their animals and plants. In the Agora of Athens alone 400 wells were opened up throughout a 1000-year period, as indicated by pottery shards found in excavations. In Athens the supervisors of the fountains – *epimeletes krenon*, as Aristotle called them – were elected by the citizens to serve four-year terms, while less important municipal posts were assigned by lot. Care and maintenance of the water supply have always remained an upmost priority for each administration, as it directly affects the life and health of the whole population.

In the islands and other places with little rainfall, residents built private cisterns in their courtyards and occasionally public ones, like the large cistern on the island of Delos (measuring 15.5 × 6.3 m) that gathered rainwater falling in the theatre. A famous water reservoir, built in the island of Samos during the rule of tyrant Polycrates in the 6th century BC, remained in use for 1000 years. According to Herodotus, it was the work of the architect Eupalinus from Megara.

The swelling population of cities and the widespread institution of public baths increased the demand for additional water. New aqueducts transported water from the nearby mountains to central reservoirs in the cities. From there, a network of clay pipes directed the water to baths and fountains. The most elaborate fountains, called nymphaia, were monumental in size and shape, embellished with the statue of the emperor or donor and with numerous sculptures of water nymphs, satyrs, and river gods. Among the most celebrated fountain buildings in the Greek world were the nymphaeum of Herodes Atticus in Olympia and the three-storey nymphaeum of Miletus, both dating from the 2nd century AD. The Roman emperor Hadrian, who embellished Athens with several new structures, also addressed its water supply. He built an aqueduct system that collected water from the nearby mountains of Parnes and Penteli and brought it to a great reservoir in Athens, on the southeast slope of Lycabettus. The reservoir, which can still be seen today, was cleaned up and used again in 1857 and in 1925–26. Waste water along with the rainwater of the Athenian Agora was collected in a closed conduit that led to the Eridanos river. The sewer, which survives almost intact, is still in use today.

In Archaic and Classical cities roads were usually narrow and meandering. One of the most famous roads of antiquity was the Sacred Way that started from the Sacred Gate of Athens and ended 20 km away at the temple of Demeter in Eleusis. The road was 5 m wide, defined on either side by two courses of rough stones and paved with small stones and packed earth. The road was punctuated by stone markers denoting the distance from Athens. Unlike their predecessors, Hellenistic cities were laid out with generous and regular streets. Alexandria, in Egypt, featured an orthogonal street pattern with seven parallel avenues, the central one of which was 31 m wide. Each avenue was bisected by a tree-planted island 1 m wide. One side was paved and intended for people on horses, while the other side was covered with packed earth and pebbles for carriages and chariots.

The construction of harbours was also an important undertaking in ancient Greece, since most of the commercial and military activities relied on sea routes. Harbour entrances were usually wide enough for only one ship to pass through and could be closed with a chain in case of danger. Dock buildings (*neosoikoi*) housed the boats during the winter, while the boats' movable parts – sails, anchors, ropes, chains, etc. – were stored in separate buildings called tool chests (*skeuothekai*). *Neosoikoi* could be found in the Piraeus, Sunium, and other towns by the sea, while the most famous *skeuotheke*, that of Philon in Piraeus, took its name from the architect who designed it.

The Pharos of Alexandria, one of the seven wonders of the ancient world, was the most famous lighthouse in antiquity. It was built on a little island called Pharos for Ptolemy II of Egypt *c.*280 BC. It is said to have been more than 110 m high, with a light that could be seen from a distance of about 300 stadia (about 55 km) at night, while its smoke could be seen from even further away in the daytime. A broad spiral interior ramp allowed the mules to carry wood for the fire that burned at the top. The outside of the lighthouse was made of white stone and decorated with marble and bronze designs. An inscription recorded the name of the architect, who was also known for other works he completed: "Sostratos, the son of Dexiphanos, dedicates this to the gods, saviours of those who travel." Continuously repaired, the Pharos was still standing in the 12th century.

Defensive walls were often one of the most costly public works of a town. They usually enclosed all of a city's area and were expanded as a city grew. Athens, for instance, built first the Mycenaean walls (1240–1220 BC) and the Pelasgic walls, followed by the Themistoclean (479/78 BC) and the post-Herulian walls of the 3rd century AD. Ruined parts of earlier buildings including stones, unbaked bricks, and tiles were commonly incorporated into the walls, which were often built in haste. In case of danger, they provided refuge not only for a town's residents, but also for the inhabitants of the surrounding countryside.

The extensive public works established by the Romans continued to be used and maintained by the Byzantine emperors and administrators. Constantinople drew its main water supply from about 15 km northwest of the city, through an aqueduct built by Hadrian and later restored by Valens. The masonry arches which carried it a distance of 970 m still stand today. A new network of aqueducts was constructed in the late 4th century to accommodate the needs of the growing population. Additional water was supplied by large cisterns, which became the main source of water after the aqueducts fell into disuse around the 7th century. Cisterns supplied water to public baths, monasteries, and churches. The city of Constantinople, whose daily water consumption was about 10,000 cubic m, had a number of open cisterns, with approximate capacity of 900,000 cubic m, and more than 80 covered cisterns, with a capacity of 160,000 cu m. Most houses in the cities and the countryside had no plumbing. Even three-storey houses in Constantinople were often built without sewer drains. Residents obtained water from cisterns and wells and used latrines located outside the main buildings. The large public Roman latrines remained in use until about the 7th century, but apparently not beyond. Building codes regulated

the construction of new latrines and other plumbing installations, such as gutters, sewers, and water pipes.

Public baths continued to play an important social role in the late Roman and early Byzantine periods. There were as many as nine public and 153 private baths in 5th-century Constantinople, with elaborately decorated interiors, featuring statues and other marble decorations. Although clergy and monks also used public baths, the Church regarded baths as centres of immorality, prohibiting mixed bathing and condemning frequent visits there by the clergy. Population decline, coupled with their high maintenance cost and the Church's disapproval, caused the gradual abandonment of public baths after the 6th century. While few remained in use in the subsequent centuries, most buildings were converted to other uses. By the 11th and 12th centuries monastic guidelines prescribed bathing from twice a month to three times a year, with the norm being once a month. The Church promoted the healing nature of bathing and allowed patients in monastic hospitals frequent or even unlimited baths. Monastic baths continued to be built throughout the Byzantine era.

The Byzantine state supported a host of public welfare institutions that tended to the sick, the poor, and the orphans: the hospital (*xenon* or *nosokomeion*), the hospice (*xenodocheion*), the old-age home (*gerokomeion*), the poorhouse (*ptochotropheion*), the orphanage, and the ecclesiastical welfare centre (*diakonia*). Byzantine philanthropy had, of course, antecedents in the pre-Christian era. What made its character unique, however, was the emphasis on spiritual salvation both for the giver and for the beneficiary and the designation of all philanthropic institutions as ecclesiastical units. Although the Church played a prominent role in public charity, some of the welfare institutions were lay sponsored, while others were directly dependent on the emperor. After the 10th century all new charitable institutions were affiliated to monastic communities.

The Ottoman empire perpetuated the tradition of public welfare with the establishment of the *waqf*, a philanthropic, income-producing foundation that expended this income on charitable purposes. *Awqaf* supported mosques, colleges, hospices, fountains, bridges, dervish convents, etc. They generated income for the support of these institutions by building and managing stable establishments that secured a steady rent: Turkish baths, bazaars, shops, bakeries, oil presses, mills, slaughterhouses, tanneries, etc. While in principle *awqaf* were established to support charitable institutions pleasing to God, in practice they also benefited individuals and contributed to the economic life of cities. The few Ottoman structures that still survive in Greece today – baths, covered markets, inns, bridges, fountains – bespeak of an extensive and well-organized network of public works for the cities and the countryside that built upon the legacies of Rome and Byzantium.

After the War of Independence (1821–32) feverish building activity signalled the new state's extensive reconstruction efforts. Initiated by prime minister Charilaos Trikoupis, public works projects between 1882 and 1895 included the construction of a 2640 km road network, 894 km of railway lines, and 6,500 km of telegraph lines. Of the extensive works carried out in harbours, bridges, and lighthouses, two clearly stand out: the draining of Lake Copais, begun in 1882 by a French company, and the opening of the Corinth Canal in 1893, an 11-year project directed by a Hungarian engineer. The belief that technological and economic progress would help Greece gain entry into the family of western Europe began to shift the country's focus from the Classical culture of antiquity to the technological culture of the present and the future. Recent efforts have improved the transport infrastructure – harbours, highways, railways, and airports – in order to encourage both the import–export market and the growing demands of the travel industry. Finally, public works have also focused on environmental projects that include the treatment of waste water dumped in the sea, reforestation and fire protection, pollution control and recycling. Greece has to balance the often competing demands of a growing economy and raised standard of living with their attendant impact on the environment and the ecosystem.

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See also Harbours, Railways, Theatres, Water Management

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Religious

In the prehistoric period the practices of religion were partly associated with the palaces, in which rooms or areas were set aside for cult purposes. In addition, there were shrines at localities that had some particular religious significance; on mountain peaks, for instance, in Minoan Crete, or in caves. There is an obvious shrine building below the citadel at Mycenae, but its religious character is attested by its contents – terracotta cult figures and frescos – rather than the architecture, which is nondescript.

Classical religious architecture begins with the revival of the Greek world following the collapse of the Bronze Age communities and its aftermath. There is undoubtedly some continuity of religious belief, though the movements of peoples may bring different cults with them, and there may have been some association of religious practice or beliefs with the ruins of abandoned structures surviving the collapse, but by and large religion was at first devoid of monumental structures, and cults might well be performed at nothing more than an open-air altar. Yet the gods were identified as persons, and inevitably could be represented, whether or not realistically, by images. References in late literary sources (especially Pausanias) to wooden cult images of great antiquity, similar to the one that survived at Athens, suggest that these were frequent, and needed to be protected from the weather. There are a number of early, simple, square buildings at Kommos, in Crete, of the early 1st millennium BC, which probably housed such images.

Architecture (Religious): Temple of Athena Nike, on the Acropolis at Athens, dating from 427–424 BC

From these simple origins there developed a regular system for the architectural requirements of Greek religion. The central act was the sacrifice, performed at an altar. Some altars were non-architectural (the altar of Zeus at Olympia was no more than a pile of ash), but normally they were built of stone, rectangular in shape, and decorated with the conventional architectural mouldings or other features (triglyph and metope systems, for example, in districts associated with Corinth). In the most elaborate examples, generally Hellenistic, the actual altar of sacrifice might be included in an elaborate architectural frame, as at the temple of Athena at Priene, or, most famously, the great altar of Zeus at Pergamum. The general rule, however, was simplicity.

The sacrifices would be attended, not only by human worshippers, but by the god, in the form of the cult image, and the greatest scope for architectural embellishment was the provision of housing for the image. This is the temple, which is literally the home of the god. Its basic form is the rectangular box, a room for the image, with a porch in front. In the simplest sanctuaries, even the porch may be lacking, but very often the temple was elaborated far beyond this. The starting point was the house as a hut. Very early temples, such as that of Apollo at Eretria, were little, if at all, distinguishable from contemporary hut houses. From this point, architectural development diverges. Houses become more complex in plan, with a multiplicity of rooms arranged round a courtyard. Temples retain the simple hut plan, but embellish it, particularly externally. The original forms use simple materials, timber, wattle, mud brick, thatch, and the only durable element is often a rough footing of field stones. During the 7th century BC the development of quarrying and stone-carving techniques led to the construction of temples built of local stone, generally a form of limestone. The decorative systems become more elaborate, with recognized standard regional forms, of the column, of the entablature the columns supported, and the embellishment of the roof. These constitute the "orders" of Greek architecture, Doric in the mainland and, generally, the west, Ionic in the islands of the Aegean and the east Greek areas. Marble is used where it is locally available (the Cyclades), while the temple of Artemis at Ephesus, supported by king Croesus of Lydia, took advantage of neighbouring quarries of marble to become the first colossal building in that material. Size was a matter of prestige and cost. Temples might increase the dimensions of their basic room, the cella, but this required internal supports (the temple of Artemis at Ephesus was unroofed). Size could also be made more impressive by the addition of external colonnades. The platforms on which these stood were stepped, but as size increased it is noticeable that often, particularly with Doric temples, it was essentially a matter of scaling up the smaller buildings: where these took three steps of reasonable dimensions to give access to the platform, the larger temples retained three steps as a convention, even though as a result they became too large to be of practical use, and special provision for access, a ramp or additional steps, would be needed at the front of the building. The 7th century BC was one of great innovation, but thereafter the forms of temple architecture were essentially static, development being restricted merely to the refinement of detail. Thus in basic appearance there is no real difference between the limestone temple of Artemis at Corcyra (Corfu), of the early 6th century BC, and the Parthenon at Athens, built between 447 and 436 BC. Both have eight-column Doric façades. The difference lies in the proportions of the columns and the Doric order in general, the proportions of the whole building, the refinement of its lines, and the quality and style of the carved decoration applied, as well as the difference of material that makes all this possible. Similarly, there would have been little significant difference between the temple of Artemis at Ephesus of the 6th century BC and its successor, built on the same foundations after the earlier building was destroyed by fire in 356 BC.

There are relatively few colossal buildings. The average important temple seems to have been about 30 m in length and less than 15 m in width. Within this width, the cella would be reduced to around 6 m wide, giving a reasonable room for the cult statue and the deposition of sacred objects, utensils, and valuable offerings, allowing individuals to admire the interior, but certainly not affording room for anything resembling a congregation. The worshippers gathered outside, and were not accommodated in buildings. Thus it was possible for many temples – probably the majority – to be much smaller, and certainly far less elaborate. The conventional view of a Greek temple as a peripteral building, that is, surrounded on its exterior with a colonnade, is misleading.

Other buildings in sanctuaries were ancillary, aimed at providing shelter for a variety of purposes. The most frequent takes the concept of the colonnade, with the orders invented for the temples, and applies them as façades for long, open-roofed porticoes, or stoas. They might provide shelter for worshippers, or for objects deposited in the sanctuary that could not go into the temple. They were useful for defining lines, and so, often, the boundaries of the sanctuary. They would not be so solidly built as temples, and thus are not so durable. Other buildings were more specialized. The core of the cult practices in most sanctuaries was the ritual consumption of the sacrificial victims, the meat being roasted and shared among the worshippers. Mostly it would be consumed alfresco – inevitably, given the thousands who would attend the major festivals – but in many sanctuaries buildings were provided to accommodate the couches on which a privileged few might recline. These often have a porch, with rooms accommodating 11 couches round their walls. Some provide more accommodation. The great banqueting building at Epidaurus had six 11-couch rooms, but also two large halls each holding more than 100. Such buildings were invariably arranged round a courtyard, and this principle, adapted from the now normal form of the Greek house, could serve a variety of other purposes, particularly the enclosed exercise ground. Other specialized buildings are found attached to sanctuaries, perhaps in an area away from the temple/altar complex, such as the open-air theatres and music buildings (odeia), and the stadium for athletic contests. Where a cult placed particular significance on performance, the theatre might well be architecturally dominant, with only an insignificant temple, as in the sanctuary of Dionysus at Athens. The entrance to the sanctuary on occasions (but not always) might be given an elaborate gateway building or propylon, two colonnaded porches placed in front and behind a wall with the actual door openings. The coherence of all these structures within the sanctuary would normally depend on the repetitive use of the architectural order; though use of the orders soon spread outside the

sanctuaries, they originated specifically in the religious context.

Some sanctuaries might require special buildings. Major sanctuaries, like Olympia or Delphi, which were international in character, were often given buildings as offerings by individual cities to the presiding deity; these "treasuries" generally took the form of miniature temples. Others had particular cult requirements, the most important being those cults where the ritual involved the performance of secret procedures seen only by people who had been initiated into the cult. Foremost was the cult of Demeter and Kore at Eleusis, where a large enclosed and roofed building was put up (following earlier and smaller structures) in the 5th century BC; eventually, this too was given a colonnaded porch.

Such sanctuaries continued to be built and used during the Roman period; the Roman form of temple was similar, but generally stood on an elevated podium, approached only from one end. There are surprisingly few specifically Roman-form (as opposed to chronologically Roman) temples in the Greek world, except at places such as Corinth, which had now become actual Roman colonies. Generally, Greek religion remained loyal to the Greek type of temple.

The acceptance by the Greek world of Christianity brought about a profound change. The new religion was both initiatory and congregational; it required closed buildings in which the ritual could be performed, but large enough to accommodate the congregation. The model for this therefore was not the pagan sanctuary with its outdoor altar and sacrifices, but the Roman basilica, a building form that had developed in the 2nd century BC, almost certainly from Hellenistic royal origins (hence its name), but used by the Romans essentially for secular purposes: legal actions, political gatherings, commercial transactions. It would normally be one of the buildings attached to the forum of a Roman city, and comprised a rectangular hall with a platform for a presiding magistrate or judge, usually at one end, and formed by an apse projecting from the main hall. To support the roof, it was divided along its length by two rows of columns supporting a clerestory, with the roof itself carried on wooden beams. Because of developments in Roman woodworking technique it was now possible for the central nave to be reasonably wide; together with the aisles to either side it could hold a congregation easily. In secular Roman architecture the form of the building remains conservative for most of its history. The columns bear a horizontal architrave, and the roof supports remain wooden.

Such a building required virtually no modification to serve as a church. The apsidal tribunal, filled with semicircular tiers of seats, accommodated the priests. Privacy was maintained during services by the construction of a closed porch across the front of the building, the narthex, to which the catechumens, those seeking to become members of the church, would be admitted and from which they could glimpse the proceedings. Outside this, and in major examples, an enclosed colonnaded court provided additional privacy. Such Christian basilicas were built at Rome (Old St Peter's, San Paolo fuori le Mura) and at Constantinople, as well as in the older Greek cities. There was a particularly large and splendid basilical church at Lechaion, the harbour town of Corinth.

An alternative form of church developed in the Greek areas. It seems to have originated with a special type of building devised to embellish burial places, particularly of people designated saints; a most important example was the church covering the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. For this an alternative Roman form of construction, the dome, was adopted. In the first instance it came over circular buildings, and is obviously related to a whole range of Roman secular structures. At the same time, there were large roofed halls in other structures, where the roofs were not supported by wooden beams, but formed by concrete vaults, particularly the great cross-vaulted cold rooms, the frigidaria, of Roman imperial bath buildings. One secular basilica, that of Maxentius and Constantine at Rome, had already employed this system in a freestanding building. The new development was to combine the domed structure with the vaulted hall, using the device of pendentives to transfer the circle of the dome to a square of massive piers linked by arches. In front of this, the nave and aisles would be vaulted over piers linked by arcades; behind, the projecting apse, as in colonnaded basilicas, was covered with a semidome. Subsidiary domes might replace the vaults in the body of the church. Such construction culminates in the great churches of St John at Ephesus, and Hagia Sophia at Constantinople. Although there is no hard and fast rule, later churches in the Greek east tend to the domed form, those in the west the basilical. Thus it was the Orthodox domed church that influenced the Islamic architecture of the Ottoman empire, while in the west the basilica led to the medieval cathedral.

The subsequent influences of Greek religious architecture are varied. The form of the Classical temple, or rather of its colonnaded porch, can be adapted to a range of buildings, and this was done particularly when direct knowledge of ancient Greek architecture was reacquired in the 18th century; through Roman architecture, similar porches in the Corinthian order were already added to churches. Perhaps the oddest example of a revival of ancient Greek forms is the church of St Pancras in London, which incorporates, most incongruously, the decorative forms, including the porch of the Maidens, originally used at the Erechtheum at Athens. That this was unsuitable for church architecture was noted almost immediately.

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See also Altars, Hagia Sophia, Sanctuaries

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Archives

Antiquity

Archives, in the modern sense of the term, were slow to appear in ancient Greece and even then never really corresponded to their modern counterparts in form or function. Oral tradition remained paramount at least until the 5th century BC. Written documents were not necessarily viewed as authoritative or considered important in and of themselves until relatively late in the Classical era. While the Mycenaeans certainly created written records, as witnessed by the many surviving tablets in Linear B, little can be said about their retention and organization. Record-keeping remained sporadic and unsystematic throughout the Archaic period. Cities often recorded important public documents, such as laws, lists of officials, and treaties, on stone. These inscriptions might be found in a variety of locations and in no way constituted a single collection of public records, although groupings of inscriptions are sometimes referred to as archives. Both individuals and cities often used temples as repositories for documents; Heraclitus, for example, allegedly deposited a copy of his writings in a temple of Artemis. Records not deemed worthy of stone were consigned to less durable media, such as wooden tablets (*pinakes*), whitened boards (*leukomata*), and papyrus.

Athens instituted a central archive, the Metroon, in the late 5th century BC (probably between 409 and 405 BC). This was placed in the old council house (Bouleuterion), when a new council house was built on an adjacent site. The building served as a shrine to Demeter as well as the archive, hence the name Metroon. The archives were under the jurisdiction of the Council (Boule) and were staffed by public slaves. It is likely that the contents originally consisted largely of council documents: decrees, correspondence, treaties, etc. As in the past, the keeping of administrative records usually remained in the hands of the individual officials. Many of these officials failed to keep records or treated them as temporary mnemonic devices to be destroyed once their purpose was served. Later in the 4th century BC other documents, such as laws, came to be placed in the central archives. Individuals began depositing personal documents in the public archives at some point in the late 4th century BC. Epicurus deposited his will (Diogenes Laertius, 10. 16) and probably copies of many of his writings in the Metroon.

By the later 4th century BC the use of written documents was increasing. Greek cities of the 4th century BC and Hellenistic period usually had an archive or record office. These served as depositories for the original copies of public records, usually on papyrus or parchment. Private documents, such as contracts and wills, were also frequently deposited in city archives (Aristotle, *Politics*, 1321b). Important public documents might be inscribed on stone in a public place as well; these have sometimes survived. The contents of these "stone archives" tended to be selective and focused on a particular theme. The documents often concerned the rights and privileges of the city. At Priene a small archive on stone preserved decrees and letters of Alexander the Great and Lysimachus that apparently granted various rights to the Prienians. Similarly at Aphrodisias a number of inscriptions document relations between the city and Rome from the late Republic to the time of Septimius Severus with the aim of establishing grants of autonomy and immunity to the city by Rome. Local cults and festivals also figure prominently in Hellenistic inscriptional archives. An example is an archive from the agora of Magnesia-on-Maeander, which concerns the Panhellenic festival of Artemis Leukophyrene.

The best-known and most developed Greek archives are those found in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt. These tended to be more elaborate than those found elsewhere in the Greek world, reflecting the highly bureaucratic nature of Egyptian society. In addition to the central archive in Alexandria, each district (*nome*) had its own archive, which kept records of many private transactions as well as official ones. Many larger villages had their own record offices (*grapheia*) which kept local records and sent copies or summaries of these to the *nome* archives. The workings of the *grapheion* in the village of Tebtunis during the 1st century AD are particularly well understood thanks to the many surviving documents. In the Roman period the *nome* archives also sent summary records to the central archive in Alexandria. Many private archives of Graeco-Roman Egypt also survive in part. While some of these represent accidental groupings of related papers, others indeed represent conscious record keeping by individuals or families. Some of the better known archives of this type include those of Zenon (3rd century BC), Nemesion (1st century AD), Heroninus (3rd century AD), Aurelius Isidorus (4th century AD), Abinnaeus (4th century AD), and Dioscouros of Aphrodito (6th century AD).

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See also Inscriptions

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Byzantium

There can be no doubt that documentary archives were compiled and carefully maintained in Byzantium. The survival of over 40,000 Byzantine lead seals is firm evidence for the production of large numbers of documents, which would have needed to be preserved, whether by secular or ecclesiastical officials, monasteries, cathedrals, or private individuals. The imperial archives in Constantinople appear to have been extensive and very well organized. According to the 6th-century writer John Lydos, the legal records of the Praetorian

Prefecture of the East were kept in vaults beneath the seating area of the hippodrome, and stretched for some 300 m. Byzantine historians often had access to the imperial archives and quoted relevant documents in their works (e.g. Anna Komnene, *Alexiad*, 3. 6. 156).

Sadly, the administrative archives maintained by the Byzantine government have now completely disappeared, those in Constantinople probably having been destroyed in 1204 or 1453. The only exception are the records of the exarchate of Ravenna, the capital of Byzantine Italy from about 568 until 751, which date from 445 onwards, and which are preserved in the State Archives and the Archiepiscopal Archives in Ravenna. The 6th- and 7th-century papyri are particularly informative about the Byzantine administration of the exarchate and the activities of soldiers and officials. Otherwise such Byzantine imperial documents that do survive have done so by chance and are preserved as isolated examples in libraries and archives all over the world. The British Library in London, for example, has a letter of the emperor Manuel II Palaiologos, dated 3 February 1401, with part of the seal still attached. Written in Latin, it thanks the king of England (Henry IV) for a gift of 3000 marks towards the defence of Constantinople (Nero, B. xi, f. 174). The work of Franz Dölger and others has done something to replace what has been lost, by compiling a chronological survey of imperial acts drawn from these isolated survivals and from references in literary works. A similar task has been carried out by B. Hendrickx for the period of Latin rule in Constantinople, 1204–61.

Much the same has to be said about ecclesiastical records as about imperial documents. The existence of the office of *chartophylax*, or Guardian of the Documents, in Hagia Sophia suggests the existence of a patriarchal archive in Constantinople, but again nothing has survived. The acts of the patriarchate of Constantinople which are recorded in literary sources have since been gathered and published by V. Grumel and others.

Yet, although the great imperial and ecclesiastical archives of Constantinople have not come down to us, some collections of documents compiled in the Byzantine period by monastic communities are still intact. Of these the most important are to be found in the monasteries of Mount Athos, which contain numerous charters of the Byzantine period, surviving either in their original form or as copies. The richest collection is that of the monastery of Vatopedi, which has about 250 Byzantine documents. The Great Lavra possesses 172 charters and acts from before 1453, the oldest being a deed of sale dated 897. The monastery of Iviron has some 150 Byzantine documents, including the will of Kale Pakouriane (1090), which gives a detailed description of the lands, icons, and liturgical vessels which she bequeathed. The Serbian monastery of Hilandar has over 300 Greek and Serbian documents from the medieval period.

Other monasteries on Mount Athos, notably Dionysiou, Docheiariou, Esphigmenou, Koutloumousiou, Pantokrator, St Panteleimon, Xenophontos, Xeropotamou, and Zographou, have smaller collections of Byzantine documents, concerned mainly with land transactions or property disputes. Karyes, the administrative centre of Athos, has 13 documents from the period 883–1406, which are primarily regulations concerning all the Athonite monasteries. They include the famous foundation charter of the emperor John I Tzimiskes, dating from between 970 and 972 and known as the *tragos*, or "goat", because it was written on a large piece of goatskin, and that of Constantine IX Monomachos (1045). These archives are of vital importance to the Byzantinist not only for the light which they throw on the practice of monasticism, but also for the information which they provide on agrarian conditions, ethnic composition, literacy, and economic development. Since 1937 a systematic survey and publication of the documents from Athos has been in progress in Paris.

Monasteries other than those on Athos have preserved collections of documents from the Byzantine period, and what follows is by no means an exhaustive list. St John the Theologian on Patmos has a rich archive containing imperial privileges, land surveys, and private acts, and the Theotokos Eleousa in Stroumitza in Macedonia has a chrysobull of Alexios I Komnenos dated July 1085, along with numerous other documents. The Nea Mone of Chios preserves chrysobulls and charters of a number of emperors from Constantine IX to Andronikos II Palaiologos which are informative about land ownership, the status of the peasantry, and taxation of the Jews. Several monasteries in southern Italy, an area which was part of the Byzantine empire from the mid-6th century until 1071, have preserved relevant documents. The monastery of St Elias and St Anastasius of Carbone in Calabria, for example, still has eight Greek documents, including a number of wills, from the period 1007–61, in spite of two damaging fires in 1174 and 1432. For the later period, the monastery of St John the Forerunner on Mount Menoikeion near Serres has important Byzantine, Serbian, and Ottoman documents from the 13th century onwards.

Finally, a number of archives in western Europe, although not Byzantine in origin, contain much information about the Greek world in the period 1204–1453. The archives of the Order of St John, held in the National Archive of Malta, throw light on the condition of the Greek population of Rhodes under the rule of the Knights Hospitallers up to 1522. The administrative records preserved by the Italian maritime republics, especially Venice and Genoa, contain a vast amount of documentary information about Byzantium in the later period. Of particular importance are the records of the deliberations of the Venetian senate on matters of policy towards Byzantium in the years 1293–1453, which often include a detailed discussion of events which are not mentioned in the literary sources. The deliberations have been summarized by F. Thiriet, while J. Chrysostomides has recently published a collection of documents from Venice and elsewhere which concern Latin-ruled Greece. However, the Venetian State Archives also contain a great deal of relevant material which has yet to be systematically explored.

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Modern

For the greater part of its history, and until the War of Independence (1821–27), the official archive material relating to modern Greece originated chiefly from foreign administrations, notably Latin and Ottoman, which ruled the Greeks until they attained independence. With the fall of the Byzantine empire in the 15th century, the state bureaucratic record-keeping tradition of the Byzantines continued principally in the Venetian-ruled Greek lands. Venetians were renowned for their habit of meticulously maintaining extensive records in the places they administered; in fact, such importance did they place on records that they would negotiate with the Turks their safe return to Venice when they pulled out of a dominion. The Venetian archives, preserved nearly in their entirety to the present day, provide a valuable source for the history of Latin rule in the east (Crete, the Ionian islands, the Peloponnese, and Cyprus). In the Ottoman-ruled lands of Hellenism, sultanic bureaucracy and religious law favoured a regional archival policy, centred around the responsible *qadi* (Muslim religious judge), who was expected to enter every decree of the central government in his codices before it took effect in the province. In parallel, the decentralized administrative and taxation system, in cooperation with the Orthodox Church and local communities, allowed the preservation of records to be an activity largely shared with independent and private bodies. Accordingly, apart from the archives of the Turkish authorities and the old repositories of the monastic complexes at Meteora and on Mount Athos, archives were kept at the time by church authorities, communities, schools, notaries, guilds, and subconsulates. More specifically, given the lay jurisdiction with which the Church was vested during the Ottoman rule, church archives became depositories of collected material of broader interest pertinent to all walks of life of the Orthodox subjects. In addition, important and multifarious material was left by scholars, ecclesiastical figures, merchants, teachers, and other individuals in collections of private documents, letters, commercial registers, notes, etc. Lastly, on the fringe of and outside the empire, namely in the Danubian principalities and in Europe, Greek communities kept their own archives illuminating in detail the activities and the organization of the Hellenism of the diaspora (16th–19th centuries). By the end of War of Independence, a great deal of material from the archives of the Ottoman lands had been destroyed and continued to be destroyed in the Greek-inhabited lands of Turkey which were later incorporated into Greece. Still, enough of it survived the turmoils to reach the independent state, providing an invaluable source of historical knowledge.

It was from the outbreak of the Greek revolution onwards that the first Greek official documents were issued by the insurgent Greeks in their struggle to establish a rudimentary state structure. The rapid proliferation of these documents pointed to the need for their proper preservation, so that, at the time of Ioannis Kapodistria (1828–32), the first head of independent Greece, a public service was set up for this purpose. This was suppressed later on, at the time of the Bavarian regency (1833–35), and the preservation of historical state papers was entrusted to the Court of Audit (*Elenktiko Synedrio*). By the end of the 19th century, however, much of the material had been auctioned off, while further volumes of documents lay forgotten in public basements. In the 19th century Romanticism, in its quest for the national past, gave Greek historical studies and archive research a boost; but, despite the fresh preoccupation with the past, emphasizing the need for collecting and arranging primary historical material, the new intellectual trend failed to translate into a public record-keeping policy. Only diplomatic records attracted state protection from the beginning, for since 1832 King Otho had assigned their preservation to the newly established Secretariat of State of the Royal House and External Relations (the foreign ministry's predecessor). Provisionally, the Historical and Ethnological Society of Greece, since its foundation in 1882, made up for state inertia by saving much archival material, notably relating to the War of Independence.

To the complications in the formation of a structured record-keeping policy in Greece was added the piecemeal unification of the country; the state found itself provided with the well-organized archive services of the annexed regions (Ionian republic, 1864; Cretan republic and Samos principality, 1913) before it established a principal state record office. This was set up only in 1914, under the Venizelos government, with the foundation of the General State Archives (*Genika Archeia tou Kratous*). Their housing for decades in a wing of the Athens Academy building proved highly inappropriate for the preservation of the material.

Even nowadays the state of the historical archives in Greece is far from being a cause of national pride by modern standards. This situation reflects the chronic failure of the country to include research in its public priorities, and, culturally, is related to a national reluctance to address questions of historical self-awareness. Sadly, voluminous records of modern Greek history still moulder in public warehouses – a massive testimony to the need for a fully fledged state record office, the process of the completion of the new building for which has

been under way since 1976. In parallel, the principal old-established public archives make no secret of their difficulties. Poor in funds and in research facilities, understaffed, and the victims of official apathy, they can prove a test to the unsuspecting scholar's stamina. Moreover, it is only lately that the state archives are being staffed at last with graduate archivists. Lastly, relics of a lingering attitude of national secrecy over archival records may cause additional frustration, particularly to scholars exploring 20th-century issues touching on current national sensitivities (minorities, Macedonia, Thrace, matters relating to current Graeco-Turkish frictions, contemporary politics, etc.).

Nevertheless, the policy of numerous institutions, societies, and organizations, as a rule loosely associated with the state, has shown a fresh outlook. They have set up and enthusiastically arranged their archives, and encouraged access to records which had long remained unknown to the general researcher. This serves also as a verification that the national long-term project of compiling the definitive corpus of the Greek archival collections throughout the country has some prospect of one day attaining its objectives. As regards Greek historians, archival and research institutes and societies have to their credit popularized over the last 20 years a new pattern of openness and experrise in the management of historical records, breaking free from the "research-unfriendly" tradition. Moreover, the introduction of fresh matters within the scope of historical research, in parallel with the traditional ones of political and diplomatic history, has encouraged the creation of steadily growing archive units. There now follows a rough outline of the available archives of interest to the student of modern Greek history.

The General State Archives, ever since they were founded, have constituted the largest and principal archival repository for all aspects of modern Greece. They have authority over state historical records (excluding those of the foreign ministry), and de jure collect material from all the ministries and state directories (the 50-year rule applies). The main sources span the period from the War of Independence (or Greek revolution, 1821–27) onwards, but the material after 1863 remains unclassified. They are divided into four categories: Revolution archive (1821–27); Kapodistrian archive (1828–32); archive of Otho's reign (1833–62); and archive of George I's reign (1863–1913). Other records include the Yannis Vlachogiannis (first director of the archives) collection (mostly on the Greek revolution); the dossier of the Mixed Commission on Ottoman Estates (1829–77); and the Mavrokordatos papers (1833–80). Of the 20th-century archives, most significant are the Population Exchange Files on Asia Minor Hellenism; that of Kapetan T. Vardas (1905–30), fighter of the Macedonian struggle; and the papers of the premiers I. Metaxas and, in part, E. Tsouderos.

Regional records are preserved with the archive services organized on a prefecture basis under the aegis of the General State Archives. Apart from the fact that the irregular integration of Greek territories into the Greek state gave extra emphasis to the study of regional history as a field in its own right, some of these archive services (namely those of Crete, Samos, and especially the Ionian islands) amassed particularly valuable material from the structured archives kept under foreign administrations. Thus, Cretan history, for example, from 1669 onwards is traced through the Historical Archives of Crete in Chania and Heraklion (containing records ranging from the material of the Turkish archives and the archives of the Translation Offices and the ecclesiastical court, up to the 19th-century collections of the Cretan revolts and the Cretan principality). Similarly, the records from the Archives of Corfu and Levkas (Santa Maura) provide valuable sources for Ionian history during Venetian rule (16th–18th centuries); the Historical Archive of Samos contains a mass of material spanning the entire history of the island (1725–1950), especially as a principality (1834–1912). This is also illustrated by the preservation of the contemporaneous Italian occupation archive (1912–45) with the archive of the Dodecanese, on Rhodes, annexed only after World War II to Greece. Lastly, among regional archives, the Archive of Macedonia in Thessalonica merits a reference for its hundreds of manuscripts (18th–19th centuries).

The Historical Archive of the Greek Ministry of Foreign Affairs, where the country's diplomatic records are kept, is the other principal state archive. Dating from 1822, but chiefly from 1833 with the establishment of Greece as a modern kingdom, the records of the archive still reflect the 1833 classification (general correspondence, legations and consulates, official royal correspondence, treaty papers, treaties, and miscellaneous). The archives open to research today are divided into three sections: (1) General correspondence containing the ministry's drafts of dispatches to its envoys abroad, and their reports to foreign governments. This arrangement is increasingly interspersed with files on particular topics, such as the Cretan revolution (1866–69), the annexation of Thessaly (1881), and the peace conference (1919) (2) Embassy and consular records (from 1834), containing *inter alia* the Greek consuls' reports from the Ottoman empire, a multifarious source on various aspects of its Greek-inhabited provinces. (3) Miscellaneous papers including separate dossiers on such varied and significant subjects as brigandage, taxation, commerce, and landed property. Here, too, much of the material held in the archive awaits classification before it can be accessible to scholars (recently, as a result of a policy of openness to research, the 30-year rule was adopted). Post-World War II records referring to Greece's accession to the European institutions are in the possession not of the Historical Archive but of the General State Archives of the ministry.

The National Library (founded 1866) holds records relating to local history at the time of Ottoman rule, but sources mostly concern the War of Independence (fighters' archive). Later 19th-century collections held give information on various matters concerning the economy, justice, welfare, administration, and education. Here also is deposited the G. Georgiadis archive (1913–40) on the Italian occupation of the island of Rhodes.

The Library of Parliament (founded 1845) houses documents relating generally to the War of Independence (fighters' archive and correspondence of the revolutionary governing bodies), along with documents relating to parliamentary history (from 1844) and a few private collections of papers. *The Benaki Library* annexe (founded 1928) holds a collection of some 3600 newspaper titles (1789–1970), the second largest in the country after that of the National Library.

The Gennadius Library (founded 1926), named after its founder Ioannis Gennadius, a devoted bibliophile, is much used by scholars in Athens. Ottoman-ruled and modern Hellenism (especially the Greek Enlightenment, War of Independence, travellers' literature, and the Eastern Question) are very well represented in its comprehensive bibliographical and documentary holdings. Archival collections contain the documents of Ali Pasha of Ioannina; Ioannis Gennadius's personal archive; the correspondence of K. Mousouris (Turkish ambassador to Athens in the 1840s); the archives of the Dragoumis family, which achieved distinction in society and politics (1840 to present); A. Souliotis-Nikolaidis papers on the Macedonian struggle; part of E. Tsouderos' papers (World War II); and also manuscripts and papers of personalities such as the poets G. Seferis and O. Elytis and the conductor D. Mitropoulos.

The Benaki Museum (founded 1930) provides rich primary material for the study of the period 1814–1974. It holds 550 archival units, or about 500,000 unbound documents, partly sorted. More specifically, its records bear on the *Philiki Hetaireia* (Friendly Society); the Greek revolution; the Kapodistrian and Othonian periods (notably the D. Kallergis papers); the Cretan question 1866–1905 (*inter alia*, the archive of the provisional administration and the papers of Colonel T. Vassos and Prince George); the Macedonian struggle and the Balkan Wars. Greek politics (1900–25) is illuminated by the Benaki and Venizelos family archives and the papers of important Venizelists (N. Plastiras, G. Ventiris, I. Politis, P. Danglis). In addition, collections of outstanding literary figures (Angelos and Eva Sikelianos, C. Cavafy, P. Nirvanas, K. Palamas, and others); contemporaneous files on national resistance (1941–44); and the premier A. Korizis papers (d. 1941) are held. There is also a well-stocked archive of some 4000 photographs.

The Historical and Ethnological Society of Greece contains an archive relating to the period of the Greek revolution. The society is based at the National Historical Museum (formerly the old parliament building), and since its foundation in 1882 has collected important material on the entire Hellenism of the east. Records include particular dossiers on the Cretan revolution of 1866–69 and the Macedonian struggle.

The Greek Literary and Historical Archive (ELIA), a private archival society founded in the mid-1960s, is today a privileged source for research for the student of modern Greek history. Especially strong in family archives spanning periods from a few decades to 150 years, ELIA boasts a particularly broad variety of records to meet the wide-ranging interests of the scholar of political, social, economic, intellectual, and cultural history. Its historical archive consists of hundreds of collections of papers from the revolutionary period up to the time of the German occupation (1941–44) and the Greek civil war (1945–49). These include papers of fighters in the War of Independence; families eminent in public and intellectual life (Valaoritis, Gerulanos, Romas, Eftaxias, Streit, Bountouris, etc.); the papers of Trikoupis covering *inter alia* his correspondence with King George I on foreign policy; the papers of Venizelos (1910–20) and some of his associates; and collections of papers shedding light on contemporary history (Metaxas regime, occupation, and resistance). Also at ELIA are a specialized library of 14,000 titles of rare 19th-century printed books and pamphlets; a collection of 300,000 photographs (from 1860 onwards); a rich map collection of Greece (1830–1950); and the archive of the Greek colony in Egypt (*c.*1850–1950).

The Institute of Neohellenic Research of the National Hellenic Research Foundation, which deserves credit for the dissemination of a fresh attitude to archival research in public life, itself possesses a small number of collections: the A. Louriotis papers (1809–35); A. Pallis papers (1912–64); A. Karatheodoris papers (1816–1906); K. Schinas and P. Argyropoulos papers (1823–80); the Gerousis Trade House archive (1823–1925); and microfilm collections including that of modern Greek portraiture (7000 photographs of distinguished personalities, 15th–20th centuries).

The British School of Archaeology holds among its archives the historian George Finlay's collection of papers concerning the Greek revolution and the period of Otho's monarchy.

For the study of Asia Minor Hellenism until its exodus in 1922, *the Centre for Asia Minor Studies*, a private research centre, holds an oral history archive, unique of its kind, of 150,000 pages, arranged by communities and regions, along with manuscripts (1856–1924), a photographic archive (5000 items), and a specialized library. Other historical societies dealing with specific regions, such as *the Thracian, Epirot, Peloponnesian Studies Societies*, and others, keep significant archive material.

On the study of the Greek civil war and the communist movement (1918 to the present day) the *ASKI Archives* (Contemporary Social History Archives) accommodate part of the Greek Communist Party archives (1918–68), left-wing resistance organizations archives, archive collections and records of political refugees, far-left parties' and organizations' material, etc.

Among the plethora of scattered ecclesiastical archives, the Archives of the Catholic Bishoprics of Tinos and Naxos in the Cyclades deserve special mention for material relating to the early modern period of the area, as does the archive of the Thessalonica Metropolis, a significant source for Macedonian history from the mid-18th century onwards. As to monastic archives, the repositories of the monasteries of Mount Athos, along with the records at the monasteries of Patmos and Kalavryta (16th–18th centuries), are unparalleled.

Of numerous private historical archives in the possession of individuals, *the Pavlos A. Zannas archive* deserves mention as a rich source of documents, correspondence, and reminiscences from the late 19th century onwards. It consists of four archives covering themes from the Graeco-Turkish War (1897) and the Macedonian struggle to the Greek army's Asia Minor expedition (1919–22) and the Axis occupation (1941–44).

On military history, the archive of the *War Museum* holds collections of military papers and documents (1822–1949). The earlier ones include the D. Plapoutas–T. Kolokotronis correspondence (1822–24), General D. Deligiorgopoulos's documents (1828–41), and the Notaras–Petropoulakis archive (1832–67). The bulk of the material concerns archives of high-ranking officers in the wartime periods of 20th-century Greece (from World War I to the Greek Civil War). Likewise, the *Naval Museum* preserves material from naval operations, still in the process of arrangement. Also, the *Army History Directorate* keeps full records of Greek army operations

(Graeco-Turkish War, 1897; Balkan Wars, 1912–13; Asia Minor operations, 1919–22; Italian invasion, 1940–41; and the Korean War, 1950–53), including personal archives.

On the economic history of the country (19th–20th centuries), the *Historical Archive of the National Bank of Greece* provides a most valuable record of the economic development of modern Greece. Similarly, the *Agricultural Bank* has established its own historical archive illustrating the development of Greek agriculture; and other banks, too, have followed this line by arranging their archives for historical research.

Different aspects of modern Greek history and society can be traced through other archives held by various organizations, institutions, and societies. Thus, for example, the organization of higher education and the impact of the national university on Greek culture and ideology are illuminated by the archive of *Athens University* (founded 1837). Also, the course of archaeological excavations in Greece from 1837 to the present day is chronicled through the archive of the *Archaeological Society*, supplemented by the archives of the foreign archaeological schools. For the study of Greek folklore, *the Greek Folklore Research Centre of Athens Academy* keeps some 4200 manuscripts of folklore interest (19th–20th centuries) and large audio collections of folk music. In addition, the archive of *the Greek Folklore Society* provides primary folklore material from the early 1900s, including the collection of G. Megas, a university professor of folklore.

Moreover, a multitude of private societies and unions have opened their archives to scholarly research, a fact reflecting the broadening of the historical field achieved in our time in understanding modern Greek society. Already knowledge of the history of the Greek workers' and trade union movement has been advanced considerably by the research into archives of workers' centres and trade union organizations. Now there is further interest in the archives of industrial enterprises such as that of the French Mining Company at Laurium (1876–1980). The study of medical care and epidemics is served by the archive of the *Evangelismos Infirmary* (from 1884), made up of patients' files, medical reports, and administrative documents. Of learned and literary societies, *Parnassos* (founded 1865), which achieved early prestige among the scholarly coteries of Athens, preserves the archive of N. Levidis (minister and historian, 1848–1942), as well as miscellaneous material from the political and cultural elite of the time. On Greek women's studies, there is the archive of the *National Council of Greek Women*, dating from 1908, which keeps the council's correspondence with the European Department of the International Women's Council (CECIF). Lastly, *the Historical Archive of Greek Youth*, albeit not an archive literally speaking, focuses on material relating to the history of Greek youth, commissioning research projects on young people's involvement in all public and social activities (19th–20th centuries).

Modern Greek hisrory cannot be studied on the basis of records held in Greece alone. However, even an incomplete listing of archival sources of Greek interest abroad, such as the official archives of the Great Powers and those of the Greek communities of the diaspora scattered from France to Russia – to speak only of European sources – would lead us far beyond the purposes of this article. Suffice it to allure the reader with the idea that the mosaic of the ecumenical tradition of Hellenism would be reflected in a lively manner in this enthralling research journey: from the diplomatic records of the British Foreign Office and the Quai d' Orsay, through the archives of Vienna and the records of the Italian cities and the Vatican, northward to the state archives of St Petersburg, and eastward to the Istanbul Bachve-Kalet and the codices of the Orthodox patriarchates.

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Arethas of Caesarea

Scholar and politician of the 9th to 10th centuries

Arethas was born in Patras. Nothing is known of the circumstances of his coming to Constantinople or of his studies. The Euclid in the Bodleian that he had copied in 888 terms him simply "Arethas of Patras"; he was then still a layman. By 895 he was a deacon with a role at the imperial court; in 902 or 903 he was made *protothronos* or metropolitan bishop (archbishop) of Caesaraea of Cappadocia, the first ranking among the sees subject to Constantinople. It has been suggested that he remained permanently in Constantinople, where his political activity took place. But although only Constantinople is named in his historical texts, his sermons point to residence in Caesaraea, and there is no reason to assume that he did not conform to the canonical requirements.

Arethas led the opposition to the fourth marriage of the emperor Leo VI (the "Tetragamy"). After burying three wives, in 905 Leo at last had a son by his mistress, Zoe Carbonopsina. Legitimizing this heir to the throne was paramount. Theodore of Stoudios's writings show that third and fourth marriages were quite frequent and allowed by law, but they were forbidden under canon law, which an emperor might find harder to circumvent than one of his subjects. The patriarch, Nicholas I (whose involvement in a plot to overthrow the emperor had been discovered), was eager to satisfy Leo. But although he managed to obtain an imperial baptism for the infant, he dared not disregard the opposition of the synod, led by Arethas and Epiphanios, metropolitan bishop of Laodicaea, to Leo's marriage. Leo had Arethas tried on a trumped-up charge and exiled, compelled Nicholas to abdicate, under threat of prosecution for high treason, and appealed to Rome. The pope sanctioned the marriage; a new patriarch was elected; Arethas and Leo were reconciled. Arethas's speeches and letters, as well as the scholia to a canonical corpus that he jotted down during the affair, supplement the other documentation. Like iconoclasm, the Tetragamy has received disproportionate attention because of the abundance of surviving sources.

Arethas had an enormous library for the days before printing, as attested by surviving manuscripts, by later ones with notes showing that they were copied from ones in his possession, and by marginal notes in various other manuscripts. His familiarity with Classical literature points in the same direction. Surviving manuscripts include: two volumes of Plato (one in fragmentary condition; when complete, the two manuscripts probably constituted an "Arethas edition" of Plato); Aristotle, poorly represented by the *Categories* and *De Virtutibus et Vitiis* (Arethas certainly owned more, for he describes himself as a "fiery enthusiast for Aristotle, and enquirer into his writings", and he quotes widely from him in the *Scripta Minora*); the oldest surviving manuscript of Euclid (mathematics was still part of philosophy, and hence of theology); an Aelius Aristides; the *Codex Apologetarum* with works by Clement of Alexandria, Eusebius, Justin, and Athenagoras (the manuscript formerly also included Tatian); and a copy of Lucian. He also mentions in a letter a Marcus Aurelius that he has just had copied; a Pausanias in Paris (Bibliothèque Nationale, gr. 1410) is a copy of a manuscript, now lost, that belonged to him; notes and scholia show that he probably also owned the *Orphica*, the *Life of Apollonius of Tyana*, the *Onomastikon* of Pollux, and he may also have owned a more complete Pindar than the one that survives today.

He quotes frequently from Homer (of the *Iliad*, all but three books, but only nine of the *Odyssey*), sometimes several lines, either literally or adapting the text to what he has to say. One of his letters begins: "I have often wondered, reading Homer, what could possess such a sage to have made his poetry from anything so bizarre as myths. If you ask me these should not be seen as myths but as allegories." This remark echoes Plutarch in *How Poetry Should Be Understood* (19e). The significance of the behaviour of the gods is one of the oldest themes in Greek literature, taking very diverse forms, and although the word "allegory" did not appear until later, the

idea is recognizable in Aristotle: "the ancients transmitted, in the form of myths, [the fact] that these things are gods" (*Metaphysics*, 8. 1074b). Arethas was also familiar with Hesiod, Thucidydes, Aristophanes (to whom he devotes a page of high praise), Gorgias, and many others. His commentary on The Book of Revelation is almost entirely derived from Andrew of Crete.

His scholia range from "*Or(aio)*" ("Good"), through notes on current affairs (dynastic, local, wars with Bulgars), topographical information, differences between spoken and Classical Greek, lexicology, archaeology, passing tussles with the author, etc., to full-scale "refutations" of the work in question.

Arethas's texts may be divided into those where profane quotations abound – both aggressively when he is responding to a personal attack, and urbanely in letters to friends – and those where there are none: sermons, dogmatic letters, the defence of his action before the synod (although quotations from Aristotle are occasionally present; he was not considered a "profane" author, but a professional source for theologians). A number of other Byzantine writings dealing exclusively with religion (including the *Corpus Dionysiacum*) lack profane quotations; it has been suggested that their authors were following the same policy.

Arethas's address to a Jewish public was apparently a serious attempt to convince them of the truth of Christianity from their own scriptures. His "Letter to the Vizir" (or "Emir"), which includes references to the Qur'an, is aggressive in tone throughout.

PATRICIA KARLIN-HAYTER

Biography

Born in Patras in the mid-9th century, Arethas made his way to Constantinople where he was ordained a deacon before 895 and archbishop of Caesarea in 902 or 903. He led the synod's opposition to the fourth marriage of Emperor Leo VI. Surviving manuscripts suggest that he had a large library and he was well read in Classical literature. He died after 932.

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Argenti, Eustratios *c.*1687–*c.*1757

Theologian

Little is known about Eustratios Argenti's life. He was a native of Chios, where the Argentis had long been one of the leading families. After graduating from the Patriarchal Academy in Constantinople, he spent about ten years in the west, visiting Venice, Leghorn, Innsbruck, and probably Halle, and perhaps studying at Padua. During his time in Italy and Germany he acquired a good knowledge of both medicine and theology. Around 1720 he returned to Chios where he practised as a doctor. He married, but almost nothing is known of his wife Leonou or of his two children; one of his grandsons, Eustratios Argenti the Younger, was a close associate of Rigas Velestinlis, and the two died together as *ethnomartyres* [martyrs for their nation] at Belgrade in 1798.

From 1748 to 1751 the elder Eustratios was resident in Egypt, where he is known to have engaged in public debates with Roman Catholic missionaries. In a letter of 1751 he describes the precarious state of the Greek Orthodox patriarchate of Alexandria, in imminent danger of being taken over by Rome. In general he takes a pessimistic view of the situation of Orthodoxy throughout the Near East. The Orthodox, he writes, "will lose this second throne as well as the first throne of Rome; the other two, Antioch and Jerusalem, have almost been destroyed; and we shall be as the Armenians and the Maronites, the Copts and the Syrians, with only one Patriarch, of Constantinople, whom the Papists will afterwards expel root and branch with little trouble, when he is left alone and without his brethren" (in K.A. Uspensky, *The Patriarchate of Alexandria* [in Russian], vol. 1, St Petersburg, 1898, p. 346).

Back in Chios in the early 1750s, Argenti continued his anti-Catholic activities, and in particular during the rebaptism controversy he provided valuable theological support for patriarch Cyril V of Constantinople. The extent of his influence in his native island is evident from a report made in 1756 by the French viceconsul in Chios, who wrote: "One of the most effective ways of restoring tranquillity in this country would be to seize ... the doctor *Strati Argenti*, and to have [him] hanged." According to the viceconsul Argenti and two others, all of them "sworn enemies of Catholicism", were in control of the island, and "it is only by their downfall that it will be possible to avoid that of our religion" (in P.P. Argenti, *Diplomatic Archive of Chios 1577–1841*, Cambridge, 1954, pp.1010–11). As far as is known, the threat of hanging was not carried out. Although Argenti had certainly died before 1760, there is no reason to suspect that his end was anything but natural.

Argenti's published works are entirely theological, and they are all polemical treatises against Roman Catholicism. The most ambitious of his writings, the *Treatise against Unleavened Bread* (Leipzig, 1760; 2nd edition, Navplion, 1845), was written with the encouragement of the patriarch Matthew of Alexandria. Its scope is wider than the title suggests, and it is in fact a comprehensive discussion of all the main points on which Orthodox and Catholics differ in Eucharistic practice. Of the three parts of the *Treatise*, the first is directed against the Latin use of *azymes*, or unleavened bread, which Argenti sees as an unjustified innovation, conflicting with the apostolic and early Christian usage. The second and longest section

insists upon the need for an *epiklesis*, or invocation of the Holy Spirit, in the Eucharistic prayer of consecration. The third and final part attacks the Latin practice of withholding the chalice from the laity and of denying communion to young children. In the *Treatise* Argenti, following patriarch Dositheos and the Council of Jerusalem (1672), employs the term "transubstantiation" (*metousiosis*); but, unlike them, he refrains from applying to the Eucharist the distinction between "substance" and "accidents". The *Treatise* is not a work of great originality, but it is well documented and clearly argued; there is no other Greek work published on the subject in the period of the Tourkokratia that is comparable in its detail and thoroughness.

Argenti's *Manual Concerning Baptism* (Constantinople, 1756; 2nd edition, Leipzig, 1757) is much shorter than the *Treatise against Unleavened Bread* but has greater originality. Until the middle of the 18th century it was normal for Roman Catholic converts to the Orthodox Church to be received by anointing with the holy chrism. Cyril V, ecumenical patriarch from 1748 to 1751 and from 1752 to 1757, insisted that they should be henceforward admitted through the sacrament of baptism. This provoked a sharp controversy, but eventually Cyril's viewpoint was confirmed in 1755 by a synodical decree signed by himself and the patriarchs of Alexandria and Jerusalem. The practice of receiving Roman Catholics by rebaptism remained the norm in Greek-speaking churches until the late 19th century; since then it has been customary to receive them by chrismation, but rebaptism is still required in certain places, most notably Mount Athos.

In his *Manual Concerning Baptism* Argenti endorses Cyril V's standpoint. Immersion, he claims, is an essential element in the administration of baptism, symbolizing as it does the true significance of the sacrament as burial and resurrection with Christ; it can be omitted only in situations of emergency. The Latin practice of usually administering the sacrament by affusion (pouring water over the candidate's forehead) renders their baptism null and void. Another book advocating the rebaptism of Latins, *Sprinkling Pilloried* (Constantinople, 1756), often attributed to Argenti, is almost certainly not his work; the author is probably Christopher the Aetolian.

Argenti also wrote a *Short Treatise against the Purgatorial Fire of the Papists*, edited by Michael Constantinides (Athens, 1939). Here he allows for a middle state between heaven and hell, where the souls of the faithful departed are "neither honoured nor punished"; but this middle state is in his view altogether different from the Latin purgatory, since the souls there do not undergo "expiatory chastisement and torment". Argenti's treatises on papal infallibility and on the identification of the pope with the Antichrist survive in manuscript but remain unpublished.

In his anti-Latin polemic Argenti says relatively little about the *filioque* clause. An interesting passage in the *Treatise against Unleavened Bread* singles out the rationalism of Latin scholasticism, with its excessive dependence upon Aristotelian philosophy, as the basic cause of the schism between East and West (1st edition, pp. 171–72). Although trained in the terminology of western theology, Argenti himself is neither a Latinizer like Dositheos of Jerusalem nor a Protestantizer like Cyril Lukaris, but he stands apart from both of the westernizing "schools" of 17th-century Orthodoxy. In contrast to his younger contemporary Evgenios Voulgaris, he shows little sympathy for the world of the western Enlightenment. Essentially a conservative, he has more in common with Nikodemos of the Holy Mountain and the Kollyvades; but, unlike them, he makes no use of the tradition upheld by Gregory Palamas and the Hesychasts.

KALLISTOS WARE

Biography

Born in Chios *c.*1687, Argenti was educated at the Patriarchal Academy in Constantinople and spent ten years in western Europe, acquiring a good knowledge of both medicine and theology. Returning to Chios *c.*1720 he practised as a doctor and married. In 1748–51 he lived in Egypt and debated with Roman Catholic missionaries. He wrote a number of polemical treatises against Catholicism. He died *c.*1757.

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Argolid

Region in southern Greece

The Argolid is most simply defined as the territory of Argos when it was a city state, but simple definitions are never complete. Argos came to control the entire plain which it dominates geographically from the west, but beyond that there are other areas which in a broad sense constitute part of the Argolid, but which were not part of Argos. Often the term Argolid is taken to include the whole of the area between the Saronic Gulf to the north and the Gulf of Argos to the south, but it is best restricted to the plain and its surrounding mountains, for within the wider area the plain of Argos is distinct from the mountainous and more broken region to the east. All the important communities are positioned in or around the plain; of those beyond, Epidaurus, though claimed by Argos, was rarely under Argive control, while the more distant cities of Troezen and Hermione were always completely separate entities. It is the Argive plain that matters.

Along the plain's southern edge is an extensive sweep of beach; though the ancient coastline was inland from this, it must have been similar. The plain extends northwards to form a roughly triangular area. Argos is almost at the southwestern corner; at the southeastern corner is Nauplia (modern Navplion), and, a little to the west, Tiryns. Mycenae is, more or less, at the northern apex. Today the best harbour and most important town are at Navplion. In antiquity Tiryns probably had little more than an open beach and probably used Nauplia's harbour. Argos is further away from the sea, but evidence for overseas trade is clear for the Archaic period, and some form of maritime outlet is certain.

Otherwise communication and access are by land. Until recently the main route, followed by road and railway alike, entered the plain from the north, from the territory of Corinth and its neighbour Phlious down past Mycenae. It left Argos heading south, where, near Lerna, the mountains come closer to the sea; it then went across a smaller plain, into the hills that took it up to Arcadia, the centre of the Peloponnese, or along the coast into yet another plain, the Thyreatis, the possession of which was long disputed between Argos and Sparta. The Argive plain was therefore of some strategic significance, coming between the central and southern Peloponnese and the north, but it was not as strategic as Corinth, which could block the passage from south to north absolutely. There were alternative routes past the Argive plain through the hills and mountains to the west, from Arcadia, past Tegea and Mantinea, across to Phlious, and down to Sicyon and the gulf of Corinth. The modern motorway follows part of this route past Mantinea and over to Phlious, although this is only achieved with the help of a substantial tunnel. Nevertheless, the pass over the mountains at this point was always feasible, and this was the route preferred by the Spartan armies.

The Argive plain is potentially fertile. Though no great river flows through it, the surrounding limestone hills retain the water, and there are abundant springs round its edge. It is here that the communities grew up, and there is much evidence for settlement already in the Neolithic period. By the Early Bronze Age there were important communities around the plain, especially on the site of Argos itself, but the period of greatest significance was undoubtedly the Late Bronze Age, generally termed the Mycenaean Age to give emphasis to the apparent predominance of that state. This is based partly on archaeological evidence, and partly on an interpretation of the Homeric poems, which give supreme authority to Agamemnon, king of Mycenae, over an alliance of the whole of mainland Greece. How far this reflected political reality is impossible to say, but in so far as there is evidence of a common standard of material existence and wealth in mainland Greece, the importance of Mycenae is certain, though it is an importance shared with the other communities of the Argolid.

How this wealth was acquired is unclear. Today the plain produces a mixture of crops, including citrus fruit, but in antiquity much of it was probably used for corn. Horse-rearing also seems to have been significant, particularly in the Late Bronze Age, and remains of horses have been found deliberately buried, presumably with their owners, in Late Bronze Age graves. Homer often mentions horse rearing and describes Mycenae specifically as "rich in gold", though this would have come from elsewhere. Mycenae, with its heavily fortified citadel, is often compared to a robbers' lair, but this is overdramatizing the situation: the fortifications are repeated at Tiryns and elsewhere in this period, and are essentially defensive. Control of the sea may have involved overseas raiding – the genesis of the story of the siege of Troy may lie in a memory of such activity – but trade and exchange, however it was conducted, is the likeliest explanation for the Argolid's wealth.

Argos seems to have been less important in the Late Bronze Age than in the succeeding Classical period, and this can lead to some confusion, since Athenians in the 5th century BC were liable to attribute the Homeric stories to the kings of Argos rather than Mycenae, which by the 5th century BC barely existed. More significant is the existence of a whole string of communities along the eastern side of the Argive plain, starting with Mycenae in the north. Not all their ancient names are known. Next to Mycenae is the locality known as the Argive Heraion, where the most important of the Classical sanctuaries developed. Graves indicate that there was a prehistoric settlement here. A short, dry gorge leads northeast to the small plain of Berbati, with hills all round except at the point of entry: again, a place of Late Bronze Age settlement. Further south are Dendra, with important graves, and Midea, with its long fortification wall leading to a remote hilltop site. Finally, at the southern end of this string of communities is Tiryns.

There is a pattern to these places. There is a reasonable degree of separation between them, so that they could function independently. They are all situated at springs, or where springs once existed, another clue to their existence. Whether they actually were independent, or whether they were all placed under the control of one authority, is not known. Mycenae and Tiryns were both equipped with structures suitable for a ruler and his needs. Their fortifications were very extensive, with spectacular and well-defended entrances. Inside the fortifications of both places was a rectangular building, with a porch at one end and a ceremonial hearth within. These buildings have been identified as palaces and would seem to have been where rulers could perform their official duties. Both buildings have storage space and have yielded evidence of imported goods from overseas. Mycenae, more than Tiryns, has massive cemeteries with different types of graves. The earlier shaft graves, which were excavated in the 19th century by Heinrich Schliemann, contained the fabulous gold treasures and other objects now in the National Museum at Athens. The later graves include the tremendous tholos tombs with their high corbel-domed chambers which, though mostly robbed centuries ago, still impress with their structural competence and scale. More ordinary graves, particularly rockcut chamber tombs, which are related in form to the tholoi, have been found at all the Late Bronze Age sites. Although these tombs probably belonged to people of lesser rank, they often contained offerings of value. Taking all this into account, and comparing it with other regions of Greece of the same period, it is clear that in the Late Bronze Age the Argolid was the wealthiest and the most important area of mainland Greece, and that it had taken over from the earlier supremacy of Minoan Knossos in Crete.

In the 11th century BC all this collapsed, despite the construction of massive fortifications in the principal centres. What eventually emerged in the 8th century BC was rather different. Some of the Late Bronze Age centres continued as communities, such as Mycenae, Tiryns, and Asine, near Nauplia. They may, like Mycenae, have patched up their stupendous fortifications. Mycenae's connection with the heroes of the Homeric poems was accepted, and the hero worship of Agamemnon was established in the greatest of the tholoi, which was identified as his tomb (or, alternatively, as the treasure chamber of his father, Atreus). Tiryns also continued to be inhabited, but, like Mycenae, seems to have had a much-reduced population. According to Herodotus, at the time of the Persian invasions in the early 5th century Mycenae and Tiryns, unlike Argos, sided with the anti-Persian alliance

and between them could only field an army of 400 men. The Argive Heraion was now a sanctuary, rather than a settlement. The lead undoubtedly had passed to Argos. Behind this development lies the arrival, into a depopulated region, of Dorian settlers who established themselves at Argos rather than the eastern sites, which perhaps overawed them with their massive remains. At Argos they settled on the lower ground below the citadel, just as at Sparta they chose a new, low-lying site across the river from the Bronze Age settlement. The eastern Argolid communities may have continued to be descended from the earlier population. The Argive Heraion, to judge from the objects deposited in it, at first belonged to its eastern geographical neighbours.

In the 7th and 6th centuries BC this changed as Argos took political control of the entire area. The Heraion now became the principal sanctuary for the whole of the Argolid. It was this that made Argos one of the major cities of Classical Greece, though its control was briefly broken as a consequence of the Battle of Sepeia in about 494 BC when it was defeated by Sparta, and Mycenae and Tiryns regained their independence. It was not long, however, before Argos recovered and reunited the Argolid under its control. But the Argolid never regained the preeminence it had enjoyed in the Late Bronze Age. The overseas trade, and the benefits of that trade, moved from the gulf of Argos to the Saronic gulf and Athens. All this is reflected at the Argive Heraion. The sanctuary is an important one. It contains the remains of one of the earliest peripteral temples in Greece which, although its columns were of wood, is likely to have been a forerunner of the Doric order. Destroyed by fire in 416 BC, it was replaced with a more up-to-date stone temple. Little of this replacement remains, apart from its foundations, but the sculpture, including the cult statue, was attributed to the greatest of the Argive sculptors, Polyclitus. Even so, and although in its design it shows Athenian influence, this temple nowhere approaches the Athenian buildings in quality or magnificence.

The later history of the Argolid is relatively uneventful, and is essentially that of the city of Argos. During the Roman empire the Argolid continued as a prosperous backwater, with most of the population probably living in the city. There is a Roman bath building at the Argive Heraion, which was excavated in the early 20th century, and which has partly eroded away. Otherwise there is little Roman construction outside the city. There are some good examples of late mosaic floors, now in the Argos museum, which indicate continued prosperity into the 5th century AD. Later still, scattered over the Argolid, and often incorporating the remains of Classical buildings, are a number of delightful but small Byzantine churches which suggest a population living in villages, most noticeably on the eastern side of the plain, and continuing a traditional pattern of life.

R.A. TOMLINSON

Summary

The Argolid is the plain that extends south from Mycenae to Argos, Nauplia, and the sea coast. Though it has no great rivers, it is potentially fertile and by the Late Bronze Age was the focus of an important group of sites, notably Mycenae and Tiryns, where spectacular archaeological finds have been made. Argos only emerged in the 7th and 6th centuries BC to dominate the region.

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Argos

City in southern Greece

The city of Argos has a continuous history from the Neolithic period to the present day. It centres on two hills, the high acropolis, called the Larisa, to the south, and the lower, rounder Aspis to the north. The main area of settlement is on the eastern side of these two hills. Of the earliest occupation only traces remain, but of the Middle Bronze Age there is more substantial evidence, particularly on the Aspis. By the Late Bronze Age the hills were fortified. They look across the plain towards Tiryns, on the coast, and Mycenae, further inland. The relationship between the three communities during this period is imprecisely known; Argos may have been the least significant of the three, and as such perhaps the least likely to survive during their decline at the end of the Late Bronze Age. Whatever the reason, it was occupied by new settlers, of Dorian origin, who seem to have assimilated the descendants of the original population. By the 8th century BC Argos was again a flourishing city and a leading community in the Greek world as it emerged from the obscurity that followed the collapse of the Late Bronze Age states. It produced an abundant sequence of pottery decorated in the Geometric style, less refined than that of Athens, but equally vigorous. Much survives from local burials, indicating a degree of prosperity in the community. Even more significant is the suit of bronze armour – comprising a helmet, breastplate, and shield – that was found in one of the graves at Argos, named the "Panoply Grave" after this discovery. The bronze from which this armour was fashioned would have been imported, a sign of revival at Argos, and it probably indicates the first stages in the development of the form of warfare which led to the heavily armoured infantryman, the hoplite, of Classical history.

There is a tradition that at this time Argos controlled a wide area of the Peloponnese, but this was still a long time before true historical record began, and it may be an anachronism, either a reflection of the larger territorial states of the Late Bronze Age or the predominance of another city, Sparta, in the Classical period. It is unlikely that in the 8th century BC Argos controlled even the eastern side of the Argive plain.

During the 7th century BC Argos underwent changes. The city's pottery industry seems to have collapsed, or, at least, ceased producing vases to be deposited in graves. Political resurgence brought a certain Pheidon to power. He is described by Aristotle as a king (meaning, perhaps, that he exercised traditional religious and military power) who became an

authoritarian ruler (a tyrant, in the Greek sense) seizing control of the Olympic Games on the other side of the Peloponnese and engaging in war with the Spartans as well as with more closely neighbouring cities. He is also said to have introduced a standard of coinage, an anachronism for the 7th century BC and possibly again a misinterpretation. Whatever the truth of all this, Argos was by that time clearly becoming a major city, powerful enough to challenge Spartan supremacy in the Peloponnese, though not to prevail. At the battle of Sepeia (494 BC?) the Argive army was crushed by the Spartans, and Argos forced into a submissive peace. Subsequently Argos was invited by Athens and Sparta to join their resistance to Persia, but Argos tactfully set impossible conditions, so justifying its refusal and doubtless hoping to play the Persians against the Spartans. When the peace between Argos and Sparta expired after 30 years, the Argives, this time in alliance with the Athenians, challenged the Spartans but again were crushed. Nevertheless the city flourished. On the lower ground below the Larisa the agora was developed at this time, its edges being delimited in part at least by extended porticoes (stoas) of a thoroughly up-to-date form. A further attempt at victory over the Spartans, again in alliance with the Athenians, ended in defeat for the Argives at the Battle of Mantinea in 416 BC. In the years that followed Argos rallied support from other Peloponnesian cities who had turned against Spartan authoritarianism. This led to the so-called Corinthian War, during which an interesting political experiment, a union between Argos and Corinth, gave much alarm to the Spartans, who duly suppressed it.

A revival in the city's fortune came about fortuitously when the Macedonian kings, whose family name was Argeadae, claimed descent from the legendary kings of Argos, apparently on the dubious basis of the similarity of name and the invention of a fictitious genealogy. This meant, after the Macedonian victory of Chaeronea, that the Argives were in favour. Even after the death of Alexander the Great and the confusion which followed, Argos remained loyal to its Macedonian connection, and eventually to Antigonus Gonatas who ruled Macedon for much of the first half of the 3rd century BC. His enemy Pyrrhus tried to take Argos by surprise, but lost the initiative when one of his battle elephants (previously used spectacularly in his fruitless war with the Romans) got stuck under a city gate. Pyrrhus himself broke into the town, only to meet an ignominious death when an old woman dropped a heavy rooftile on his head. For much of the 3rd century BC Argos was ruled by pro-Macedonian tyrants, who were derided for their subservience by Greeks opposed to Macedonian supremacy, but who were perfectly acceptable to the citizens of Argos, who prospered as a result.

With the Roman conquest of Greece, Argos lost what prominence it had, and under the Roman empire was far less important than Corinth. It became a typical Roman provincial town, its prosperity signalled by public buildings, particularly a substantial bath complex of the 2nd century AD, the most extensive ancient ruin in Argos apart from the theatre, which cut into the slope of the Larisa and was certainly in existence early in the 4th century BC. Argos also retained in the Roman period the fortifications on the Larisa, large portions of which date from the 5th century BC. These were refurbished in the Byzantine period, when Argos continued as a small town, and resisted a long Frankish siege in the 13th century. The city's key position, on one of the routes from the north into the southern Peloponnese, ensured both its continuation and the maintenance and improvement (finally, during the Turkish occupation) of its fortifications.

The major contribution of Argos to the Classical tradition in the arts lay undoubtedly in the field of sculpture. The early Argives' skills in bronze working produced in the 7th century BC a series of decorated shields, primarily for dedication in the sanctuary at Olympia and probably reflecting the Argive involvement there. With the development of the lost-wax technique of hollow casting, these bronze-working skills were later applied to freestanding sculpture. The pioneer in this, Ageladas, is no more than a name. He is eclipsed by the 5th-century sculptor Polyclitus, perhaps a pupil, though the chronology is uncertain. Only copies of Polyclitus' works survive. One in particular, called the *Doryphoros* (spear-bearer), seems to have been produced as the sculptor's ideal of masculine human beauty. The form, as well as the style, influenced sculptors of the succeeding century, and in the Roman period Polyclitus was regarded as the supreme exponent of his art, so that Polyclitan forms are used, for instance, for portrait statues of the Roman emperors, such as the Prima Porta *Augustus*; others, incongruously, go even further and depict emperors in Polyclitan nudity.

R.A. TOMLINSON

Summary

City in southern Greece with a continuous history from the Neolithic period to the present day. After the Bronze Age, when it was overshadowed by neighbouring Mycenae and Tiryns, it was occupied by Dorian settlers and the city flourished during the Classical period, when it was noted for its sculpture.

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Argyropoulos, John *c.*1415–1487

Scholar

John Argyropoulos was one of the most prominent of the Byzantine émigré scholars who took up residence in Italy after the capture of Constantinople by the Ottoman Turks in 1453. In his teaching at the University of Florence he won adulation rivalled only by that accorded to Manuel Chrysoloras, and his students included some of the foremost Italian humanists of the next generation.

In the years before the fall of Constantinople, Argyropoulos had belonged to the narrow circle of Byzantine intellectuals. He had taught rhetoric at the Katholikon Mouseion, or higher

John Argyropoulos, from a 16th-century engraving

school, and had written a number of rhetorical works in traditional style in praise of the emperors John VIII (1421/25–48) and Constantine XI (1449–53) Palaiologos. His reputation outside Byzantium began to grow from 1438, when he accompanied John VIII to the Council of Florence as part of the Byzantine delegation and became a supporter of the union of the Churches proclaimed there. He appears to have remained in Italy until about 1443, giving private lessons in Greek and studying Latin at the University of Padua. The knowledge of Latin that he obtained in this period undoubtedly stood him in good stead in the future, as did the contacts he made with such prominent Florentines as Palla Strozzi. He was once more in Italy in August 1454 as a refugee following the fall of Constantinople, and after a period in Greece at the court of the despot Thomas Palaiologos at Patras, he returned to western Europe in 1456 as an ambassador to the papal, French, and English courts.

It was while he was in Italy on this mission in October 1456 that Argyropoulos received an invitation from the Florentine statesman Cosimo de' Medici to take up the chair of Greek at the University of Florence, with a substantial yearly stipend of 400 florins. His teaching in Florence proved to be immensely popular, and served to revive the interest in Greek studies that had languished since the departure of Manuel Chrysoloras in 1400. His public lectures on Aristotle, given in the mornings, were thronged by eager listeners from all over Europe. In the afternoons he gave private lessons to some of the most prominent Florentine intellectuals, including Pallas Strozzi, the child prodigy Angelo Poliziano, Alamanno Rinuccini, Donato Acciaiuoli, the bookseller Vespasiano da Bisticci, and Cosimo's grandson, Lorenzo de' Medici, "the Magnificent". He came to enjoy something approaching celebrity status, becoming a leading member of the Accademia Fiorentina, a literary club that met in Rinuccini's house, and receiving a house in the Via Larga and Florentine citizenship in 1466.

Argyropoulos's popularity was probably due, at least in part, to two aspects of his teaching method. The first was the importance that he attached to speculative philosophy as an essential part of the curriculum, rather than adhering solely to rhetoric, the traditional mainstay of humanist education. In an introductory lecture given in November 1458 to his course on Aristotle's *Physics*, Argyropoulos, like Theodore Gaza before him, extolled the usefulness of Greek philosophy as a training for effective participation in political life. His lectures therefore covered ethics, logic, physics, and metaphysics, as well as rhetoric and the Greek language itself. Secondly, there was his choice of philosopher. Although personally an Aristotelian who accepted the traditional, scholastic interpretations of Aristotle's philosophy, in his private teaching Argyropoulos gave instruction in the works of Plato. His exposition of Plato proved to be so effective that many of his students, particularly Acciaiuoli and Rinuccini, transferred their interest from rhetoric to Plato's metaphysical philosophy, with important long-term consequences for the development of Florentine political thought.

As well as teaching, Argyropoulos was active as a translator of Greek texts into Latin. He prepared versions of a number of Aristotle's works, including the *Nicomachean Ethics*, the *Physics*, and the *Metaphysics*, all of which he dedicated to members of the Medici family. Unlike Manuel Chrysoloras and Theodore Gaza, however, he preferred a literal translation, distrusting literary elegance, which he considered likely to obscure meaning. This may explain why his translations were never as widely used as those of Theodore Gaza and cardinal Bessarion.

In spite of the high reputation he had obtained during his 15 years in Florence, in 1471 Argyropoulos moved to Rome for reasons that are not entirely clear. He may have been moved to leave Florence by the death of his patron, Cosimo's son, Piero de' Medici, in 1469, and by hopes of obtaining the favour of the Greek cardinal Bessarion. He had also found a new patron in pope Sixtus IV, Francesco della Rovere, whom he may well have met earlier at Padua in the 1440s. Argyropoulos remained in Rome for the rest of his life – apart from a short period in Florence in the years 1477–81 – giving public lectures in the Vatican on Greek philosophy and literature. His most prominent student in this last period of his life was the German humanist Johannes Reuchlin. He continued to translate Greek texts, notably St Basil's *Hexaemeron*. He died on 26 June 1487, allegedly from an over-indulgence in watermelon, but one tangible reminder of his time in Rome can still be seen today: his portrait appears in the frescos by Domenico Ghirlandaio on the walls of the Sistine chapel.

JONATHAN HARRIS

Biography

Born in Constantinople *c.*1415, Argyropoulos accompanied John VIII to the Council of Florence in 1438 and remained in Italy until *c.*1443. After the fall of Constantinople he returned to Italy and in 1456 was invited by Cosimo de' Medici to take the chair of Greek at the University of Florence. In 1471 he moved to Rome where he died in 1487.

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Aristarchus of Samothrace *c.*215–*c.*143 BC

Librarian and scholar

Aristarchus was born in Samothrace *c.*215 BC and died at the age of 72 (we are told) *c.*143 BC in Cyprus. Most of his adult life, however, was spent in Alexandria, first as tutor to several young royals of the house of Ptolemy and then as one of a distinguished line of librarians at the most famous centre of learning in the Greek world, the Museum. His predecessors were Zenodotus, Apollonius of Rhodes, Eratosthenes, and Aristophanes. Although nowadays we tend to think of librarians primarily as cataloguers and maintainers of the texts in their collections, those at Alexandria were also scholars and occasionally, most notably in the cases of Apollonius and Eratosthenes, poets as well. (Callimachus, however, the most famous of Hellenistic poets and the compiler of the *Pinakes*, a list of authors and their works so complete that it could serve as library catalogue, never served as a librarian.)

Aristarchus has his detractors as well as fans, but despite the frequent difficulty in distinguishing his contribution from the vast amount of scholiastic material in the margin of extant Greek texts, especially the scholia of Homer, the overall nature of his contributions is clear. Like his predecessors, and much like any modern editor and commentator, Aristarchus was responsible for establishing the standard text and explaining his choice of readings and the meanings of puzzling words, expressions, character motivation, and overall meaning. Prose works, arriving in the library in fewer copies with fewer textual variants, required (or at any rate received) little work of this sort, although Aristarchus did write a commentary on Herodotus, some traces of which survive. Poetry, however, written in all the dialects ever spoken in Greece, to say nothing of the artificial forms that Homer and others felt free to create, and showing up – "published" is too narrow a term – in varying lengths for the same work and with a variety of lexical and morphological forms, required a battery of methodological skills. Homer and Hesiod, therefore, along with the more difficult lyric (notably Alcman and Pindar) and tragic poets, received the greatest attention from the Alexandrian poet-scholars.

The first task, as suggested above, was to establish a standard text, which in large part was derived from what was thought to be the best readings of preexisting manuscripts; but to a lesser extent, when the manuscripts were deemed unsatisfactory, editorial intervention was brought to bear. The gentlest instance of the latter was the use of marginal signs designed to alert the reader to questionable lines, which would be allowed to stand in the text. Aristarchus, for example, kept many lines which Zenodotus had expunged from his official text of Homer. A stronger measure would excise one or more lines or alter individual words.

Of all the poets treated by Aristarchus – Homer, Hesiod, Archilochus, Alcaeus, Pindar, Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides (very likely), and the comic poet Aristophanes – it is the author of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, thanks to the vast amount of carefully attributed scholia surviving in medieval manuscripts, who provides us with the best picture of Aristarchus' activities as both editor and commentator. In hundreds of places the scholia on Homer name Aristarchus as their source; in others a suggestion that is anonymous in the scholia is attributed to Aristarchus elsewhere, which strongly suggests that many other anonymous scholia owe their origin to him. We even on occasion learn his earlier views along with his later thoughts, as expressed in his second commentary on Homer. Some of the characteristics of Aristarchan scholarship are:

(1) Removing narrative inconsistencies. For example, to avoid inconsistency between Odysseus' account to Alcinous in book 7 of the *Odyssey* and Homer's narrative of the same event in book 6, Aristarchus altered a sunset in the earlier book to late afternoon, although, even if this was an inconsistency, rather than the result of yet one more bending of the truth on Odysseus' part, it would be Homer's and not that of a scribe; it would deserve not textual emendation so much as notice (with or without censure). In fact Aristarchus himself did this on other occasions in his separately published commentaries, as when he pointed out, without demanding alteration or excision, that the emissaries to Achilles in *Iliad* 9 ate two dinners on the same day (as what soldier could not?).

(2) Excising "improper" passages. Homer had been criticized for describing gods impiously as early as Xenophanes and most notably by Plato, but although the editorial vice of actually removing such passages is associated chiefly with Zenodotus, Aristarchus too is guilty of this. It is, for example, only thanks to Plutarch that we know the lines spoken by Phoenix in *Iliad* 9, where he says that he considered killing his own father, which were ejected from the text by Aristarchus and from all subsequent copies. But these lines are part of a long speech in which Phoenix artfully develops a parallel between his younger self and Achilles, who had threatened *his* superior, Agamemnon.

(3) "Explaining Homer from Homer". The idea behind this well-known phrase is an excellent starting point for any commentator, but Aristarchus could carry it too far, occasionally misinterpreting a Homeric word, when even a text so close in time to Homer as an early Homeric hymn would explain and defend Homer's usage. Since excesses of this sort were largely limited to his commentaries, they did not affect the text. Some close readings of the text, moreover, such as Aristarchus' attempts to understand the point of individual similes, can still stand.

Many of Aristarchus' readings were adopted by later editors and still appear in current editions. More important than any tabulation of his presence in later texts, however, is the example that he and his fellow Alexandrian editors left for their successors. For all that their methodology has been tempered with a greater understanding of Greek historical linguistics and the nature of poetry, their diligence and desire to explain all puzzling passages on rational principles remain the core of modern editorial practice. Their philology is our philology.

DAVID SIDER

See also Scholarship

Biography

Born in Samothrace *c.*215 BC, Aristarchus spent most of his career at Alexandria. He was tutor to the Egyptian royal family. He succeeded Apollonius as head librarian of the Museum and was also a scholar and critic. He produced critical editions of Homer, Hesiod, Archilochus, Alcaeus, Anacreon, and Pindar. He wrote commentaries on Homer, Hesiod, Archilochus, Alcman, Pindar, Aeschylus, Sophocles, Aristophanes, Herodotus, and perhaps Euripides. He died in Cyprus *c.*143 BC.

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Aristides, Aelius AD 117–*c.*180

Writer and orator

In many respects Aristides is a typical representative of the cultural tendencies of his age, the so-called Second Sophistic, while in others he cuts a rather peculiar figure. Born into a well-to-do family of the little town of Hadriani in Mysia, he acquired a thorough rhetorical education based on the great texts of the Greek classics and soon began to pursue the career of a professional speaker (a "sophist" in the parlance of the time) for the multifarious public occasions that the cultural life of his times provided. A long-lasting illness, however, with symptoms of physical as well as psychic distress, which broke out soon after he had returned from an educational journey to Egypt, forced him to curtail public appearances and to spend long periods within the precinct of the healing god Asclepius at Pergamum. Aristides himself documented these periods in his *Hieroi Logoi* (Sacred Discourses), relating how the god appeared in his dreams and gave him various (and sometimes quite strange) commands to fulfil, but also encouraged him to carry on with his rhetorical studies, promising that he might even surpass the great Demosthenes. The *Hieroi Logoi* thus reveal not only the workings of an overanxious and selfcentred mind, but also a singular determination to rival and outdo the best of the Classical authors he had been taught to emulate.

It was apparently in the AD 150s that Aristides was able to put his illness behind him and publicly perform some of his great speeches, among them the famous *Encomium to Rome*; in this he celebrated (not without some exaggeration) the civilizing power of the Roman empire that had given the Mediterranean and especially the Greek world a stable frame within which to survive and prosper (Aristides was a Roman citizen, a distinction probably inherited from his father). Like other Greek intellectuals of his time, however, he looked back even more to the glorious days of Classical Greece and wrote an even longer speech (the *Panathenaikos*, its title not fortuitously evoking its great predecessor written by Isocrates) extolling the cultural and political achievements of Athens in its most illustrious days. In a similar vein, his *Meletai* ("declamations", i.e. speeches conceived as if pronounced by some great historical figure in a certain historical situation) tried to bring back to life some of the most decisive moments of Classical history (e.g. the situation on the eve of the Battle of Leuctra in 371 BC; the Athenians deliberating about reinforcements to their troops fighting against Syracuse in 414 BC); and a number of hymns in prose – a genre of which Aristides even claimed to be the inventor – praised the gods of Classical religion. Still, at least some part of his rhetorical activity was also directed to the present. Like Dio Chrysostom, he addressed various cities and exhorted them to put aside their internal differences and rivalries with each other. His most remarkable achievement in this domain is the speeches on Smyrna, which he addressed to the Roman emperors Marcus Aurelius and Commodus after the city had been levelled by a disastrous earthquake in AD 177 or 178; these speeches actually moved the Roman authorities to contribute decisively to Smyrna's resurrection.

Some of Aristides' most elaborate works were probably never performed, but were disseminated in written form and

soon proved to be influential. In three long essays he intervened in an intellectual struggle of already long standing, that between rhetoric and philosophy, both of which claimed to be the most important subject of a higher education. Since Plato had carried out his formidable attacks on rhetoric in the *Gorgias*, that struggle had never ceased, and now Aristides came down emphatically on the side of rhetoric. A long double essay *On Rhetoric* proclaimed the pre-eminent worth of its subject against philosophy, and the equally long *In Defence of the Four* aimed to rehabilitate the achievements of the four great Athenian statesmen and generals Miltiades, Themistocles, Cimon, and Pericles, which had been ferociously taken apart in the *Gorgias*. Later on, the Neoplatonists took these attacks on their founding father seriously enough to react to them: in the latter part of the 3rd century AD Porphyry wrote *Against Aristides* in seven books, and in the 5th century Olympiodorus and Proclus still felt obliged to take note of Aristides' essays.

It was, however, in the field of rhetoric itself that Aristides proved most influential. He was one of the foremost exponents of literary Atticism in his age, and his efforts to make his style conform as much as possible to the way Attic authors had expressed themselves some 500 years earlier were astonishingly successful. He had no gift for extemporizing speeches (an ability that was very much sought after in his time), but rather preferred to polish his texts as meticulously as possible in his study. This may in fact have assured their survival; Aristides is one of the very few typical authors of the Second Sophistic whose work was preserved beyond the end of antiquity, and he even belongs to the small number of Greek writers whose works survive almost in their entirety. For centuries after his death (which probably occurred around AD 180) Aristides very nearly attained the goal he had so fervently pursued: to surpass Demosthenes. Already in the 3rd century AD the rhetorician Longinus regarded him as the defender of Atticism against the dissoluteness of so-called Asianic oratory (characterized by bombast and emotion); at about the same time the rhetorical treatises of Menander of Laodicea (who also wrote the first commentary on him) cite Aristides as often as Isocrates and Plato and considerably more frequently than Demosthenes and Lysias. In the 4th century AD Libanius and Himerius show his influence: Libanius wrote set pieces against declamations that Aristides had worked out (e.g. his *Embassy Speech to Achilles*) and the *Hieroi Logoi* provided inspiration for his autobiography, while Himerius' *Polemarchikos* drew on Aristides' *Panathenaikos*. At about the same time Sopater of Apamea provided an *Introduction* to Aristides' work and commentaries, which – together with the exegetical notes of other authors – later became a part of the extensive scholia (explanatory notes) that were added in the margins of the manuscripts.

After the dark centuries of early Byzantium we find Aristides holding an important place in higher education. Photios in his *Bibliotheca* (cod. 246–48) provided excerpts of the *Panathenaikos* and the long anti-Platonic speeches on rhetoric; in the 10th century archbishop Arethas ordered the writing of what today is the most important Aristides manuscript (A, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS E.D. Clarke 39) and added notes to it. In the 11th century Theodora (daughter of the emperor Constantine VIII and later an empress herself) copied a text of Aristides in her own hand, and Michael Psellos commended studying him – besides such classics as Demosthenes, Isocrates, and others – as a necessary means for attaining mastery of style. The Palaiologan renaissance preserved Aristides' influence; two speeches *On Exemption from Public Burdens* (also called the "Leptinean orations") by Thomas Magistros (who also excerpted Aristides for his lexicon) even found their way into the Aristidean corpus. In the 14th century Theodore Metochites not only modelled his *Byzantios* on Aristides' encomium on Rome, but also wrote an essay comparing Aristides and Demosthenes, and in the 15th century the *Hieroi Logoi* still provided inspiration for John Chortasmenos's reports on his own sickness. The fall of Byzantium finally put an end to Aristides' long importance as a model for elaborate rhetorical writing.

HEINZ-GÜNTHER NESSELRATH

Biography

Born in AD 117 at Hadriani in Mysia, Aristides was educated in Athens and Pergamum and travelled widely (to Egypt, Cyzicus, and Rome) before settling at Smyrna. Chronic illness forced his (temporary) retirement and enabled him to pursue his rhetorical studies. He became a great exponent of literary Atticism for which he was much admired by posterity. He died *c.*180.

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Aristocracy

Rule by the "best"

Aristocracy (*aristokratia*), a form of government based on the principle that the "best" should rule, is a compound of the Greek words for the best (*ariston*) and rule (*kratos*). Aristocracy may appear similar to rule by the rich (plutocracy), or by the few (oligarchy), or by honour (timocracy), but it is distinguished by the exercise of power by a hereditary minority, usually a relatively small landed class. Aristocrats claim to be the best because they are the possessors of some superiority by blood, lineage, rank, talent, virtue, or wisdom, which becomes a legitimizing principle. A variety of socio-political practices and political arguments have been used to justify the resulting privileges. Aristocracies develop traditions to set themselves apart from the common mass of people. By adopting distinctive styles of behaviour, dress, habits, speech, interests, education, and even sexual practices, aristocrats are marked as qualitatively different from ordinary people. These cultural distinctions are inculcated into all members of the aristocratic families. Aristocrats seek to maintain themselves by the principle of purity of blood so that only a noble may marry a noble. They usually maintain control of the principal sources of wealth, military training, and the institutions of religion. By means of these controls power can be held for generations. Aristocracies degenerate in several ways. Excessive inbreeding can eliminate the vigour needed to rule. Intermarriage with the *nouveaux riches*, or with powerful oligarchs, to renew ebbing fortunes violates the genetic principle and puts the aristocracy up for sale. Or they may simply fail to cope with changing times.

In Homer "the best" usually means the best warriors. By the Archaic period the Homeric military elite of merit had changed to a nobility of birth. When combined with the advantages that family traditions and wealth provide, aristocracy can produce those who are the apparent "natural leaders" of society. Greek aristocratic families claimed that descent from a heroic or mythical person set them apart from and above others in every generation. The aristocrats were the eupatrids, or those born to "good fathers".

In the 8th century BC when the Greek city states were emerging from the Dark Ages, the kings of earlier times had all but vanished, except at a few places such as Argos and Sparta. Elsewhere kings were replaced by or dominated by aristocrats. For the next few centuries the aristocrats ruled or dominated their respective city states, usually through a council (*boule*). Often the ruling class came from only one clan.

By the end of the 6th century BC socioeconomic and military changes brought challenges to aristocratic power. Growing population pressures and economic difficulties impoverished small farmers. Lenders, often aristocrats, sold indebted fellow citizens into slavery. These conditions and practices led to socioeconomic tensions which were aggravated by the revolutionary changes in warfare. In the heroic age aristocrats had been the most powerful warriors. Riding to battle on a horse or in a chariot, they often fought only their social equals. Now the hoplite, a heavily armed, middle-class soldier, fighting as part of a unit called a phalanx, became the core of the city state's army. The new middle class, who could afford the armour but not the horse, demanded a share of the political power. When the aristocrats refused to accept reforms, the ensuing conflict with the lower classes turned into class warfare.

In some cases of civil strife in the city states a disgruntled aristocrat would lead the people in revolt against the aristocracy. These "class traitors" eventually acquired the name *tyrannos* (tyrant). Cypselus became tyrant of Corinth after the aristocratic family, the Bacchiadae, were overthrown. The 5th century BC was virtually the age of tyrants in Greece, a time when the old aristocratic system was breaking down, to be replaced by oligarchies, or democracies. The civil strife ended in some city states, such as at Athens, with a democratic form of government. Elsewhere it produced oligarchies. In Sparta, however, the regime was successful in suppressing any democratic tendencies that threatened the prevailing aristocracy.

Athenian aristocratic families included the Alcmaeonidae, Philaedae, Eumolpidae, Phytalidae, Eteoboutadae, and Lycomidae. Individual Athenian aristocrats included Draco, Solon, Hippias, Cleisthenes, Pericles, and Alcibiades. Individual Spartan aristocrats included Lycurgus and Leonidas. The Presocratic philosopher Heraclitus of Ephesus was an aristocrat, as were many other philosophers, including Plato. The rise of democracy reduced the power of aristocrats, yet they often provided the leadership in many fields.

Plato in his *Republic* advocates rule by an aristocracy of intellect. Generally, aristocrats have avoided intellect as a criterion of membership in the aristocracy because there is no guarantee that remarkable aristocrats will have anything other than ordinary children. Aware of this, Plato rejected physical succession in his Utopia in favour of a system of recruitment that sought the best and brightest, even if born into the lower orders. Aristotle's theory of aristocracy, as developed in the *Politics*, has been used over the centuries to support aristocratic aspirations. He argues that aristocracy is the good form of rule by the few because they are the best from virtue, and that such a regime itself cultivates virtue in the city state.

In the Hellenistic age a few aristocratic families continued their traditions, but for the most part the Hellenistic kings ruled through bureaucracies, as did the Romans. By the time of the emperor Justinian (527–65) a system of military districts called "themes" arose. The theme system encouraged ownership by many small landholders who could easily serve as soldiers. By the reign of Basil II (976–1025) large landowners had emerged from the military aristocracy. Their efforts to create large estates led to civil war. Although they were defeated, they eventually took over from within, and emperors were drawn from aristocratic families. Consolidation of landownership ruined the theme system, which had been the source of military strength for the empire.

After the fall of Constantinople in 1453, moneyed aristocrats eventually emerged among the Greeks living in the Ottoman empire. Composed of Greek and Hellenized Albanian and Romanian families, they were called the Phanariots after the lighthouse quarter in Constantinople.

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Aristophanes

Athenian comic dramatist of the 5th–4th centuries BC

Aristophanes composed 40 comedies, 11 of which have survived, the earliest of these being datable to 425 BC and the last to 388. In the course of the Classical period comedy underwent great changes in character and structure. Aristophanes is a representative of Old Comedy – its supreme representative, in the judgement of late antiquity, and therefore the only one whose works have survived.

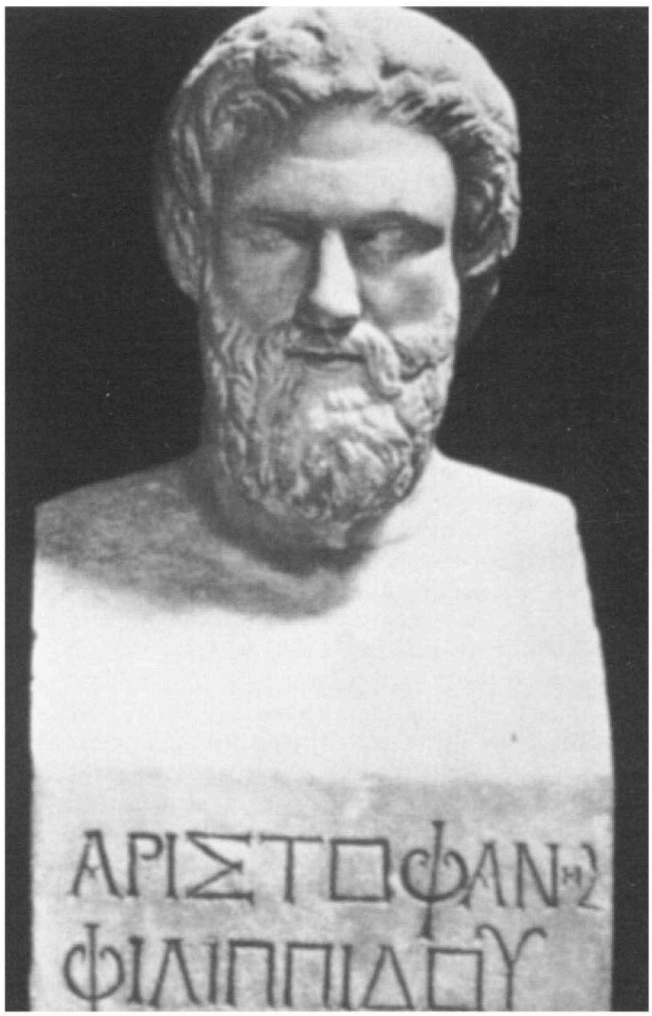
Nothing quite like Old Comedy exists in the modern theatre; it comprises elements of farce, but includes much that we associate with pantomime, situation comedy, savage political satire, and animated cartoons. Its dramatic time is always the present, and its topicality constitutes one of its essential differences from the universality of "New Comedy", which held the stage two generations after Aristophanes' death. The characters in some of his comedies were living people known to the audience, such as Euripides (in *Acharnians*) and Socrates (in *Clouds*). The plot sometimes turns upon an issue which was a real political issue at the time of performance.

By no means all Aristophanes' plays are political, and whether they are or not, the resolution of the plot entails unlimited fantasy. In *Birds*, for example, a plausible Athenian persuades the (Greek-speaking) birds to build a city in the sky and lay siege to the gods; and in *Frogs* the god Dionysus travels to the underworld and presides over a poetical contest between the ghosts of Aeschylus and Euripides. The operation of cause and effect in the world as we know it is suspended to whatever extent the poet wishes, and the audience is not expected to say "But how could...?" or "But surely...!" because consistency is readily sacrificed. In *Lysistrata*, for instance, an Athenian woman organizes the citizens' wives of the belligerent states to go on a sex strike until negotiations for peace are opened. The plot envisages that while the younger wives stay at home, tantalizing and frustrating their husbands, the older women occupy the Acropolis; but then we find that *all* the wives have shut themselves away on the Acropolis.

Whereas there is some evidence that some of Aristophanes' plays were performed in the Greek cities of southern Italy and Sicily for a while after his death, that seems not to have been the case in Athens, where popular taste in comedy changed rapidly and fundamentally. In the 3rd century BC, however, scholars were attracted to the reading and study (though not the performance) of Aristophanes, and successive commentaries on his texts were composed. By about AD 900, when interest in ancient pagan literature revived at Byzantium after a long lapse, manuscripts of 11 out of the original 40 plays could still be found, and within those 11 a canon of three took shape: *Wealth* (*Plutus*), *Clouds*, and *Frogs*. *Wealth*, far in the lead in respect of the number of medieval manuscripts which contain it, owed its popularity and educational utility to the universality of its theme – the "injustice" which everywhere rewards the dishonest and impoverishes the righteous – and to the consequent paucity of references which demand antiquarian knowledge. Its comparative avoidance of outright obscenity and of difficult passages in elaborate poetic language no doubt contributed to its high status.

Aristophanes became known to western European scholars in the 15th century; the first printed edition of his plays appeared in 1498, and many Latin translations followed (there was even an Italian translation in 1545). When an individual play appeared in a modern language, it was usually *Wealth*, for the Byzantine evaluation, inherited by the Renaissance, prevailed for nearly three centuries. After the beginning of the 19th century school editions of all the plays, together with translations for the educated public, proliferated. The editions were often ruthlessly bowdlerized by excision, which obscured the point of jokes, as did evasive paraphrase in translations.

According to an ancient anecdote, Plato told the Syracusan tyrant Dionysius that for a proper understanding of Athenian democracy a thorough reading of Aristophanes was essential. That advice was not taken (and probably not known) by the protagonists of the Hellenic cultural revival which from small beginnings in the 17th century increasingly came to engage Greek intellectuals at the end of the 18th century. While school pupils in the west were becoming well acquainted with Aristophanes, he had no place in the 30 volumes of Korais' *Hellenic Library*, and first found a modern Greek editor (Neophytos Doukas) in 1845. Doukas, rather like the Byzantine scholars, valued Aristophanes above all as an exponent of the Classical Attic language, whereas Korais and other participants in the Greek revival were aiming at moral and intellectual regeneration, an end to which a poet so often frivolous, cynical, and obscene did not seem to make a contribution of value. Within living memory, students at Greek universities heard no lectures on Aristophanes. There exists, however, in Greece a long and rich tradition of obscene, satirical, anti-establishment popular song, together (in some regions) with touring market-square comic performances, and it is noteworthy that the first translations of Aristophanes into demotic Greek (by Rangavis) coincided with the introduction in 1860 of shadow-plays whose stock characters always included an ingenious and imaginative rogue of Aristophanic type (karaghiozis). During the last 50 years performances of



Aristophanes, son of Philippos, father of Greek comedy

Aristophanes in demotic translation have come to be one of the most striking achievements of the modern Greek theatre.

In a typical Aristophanic play a substantial part is played by a chorus, sometimes representing animals, birds, insects, or personified abstractions. That is a tradition which Aristophanes inherited, for a vase painting dating from long before his time depicts men dressed as birds dancing in line. The chorus of *Wasps*, pitiless old jurymen, is a metaphor realized in the flesh. Except in his last two plays, *Women in the Assembly* (*Ecclesiazusae*) and *Wealth*, where we see the start of the process which soon led to the limitation of the chorus's role to song-and-dance intermezzi for which the poet did not write the songs himself, the chorus at a central point in the play steps wholly, partly, or minimally out of its role in the plot and addresses the audience directly. It may speak for the poet, as "he" or (as part of the time in *Clouds*) "I", denigrating the poets who were his rivals for prizes at dramatic festivals; it may criticize, often with a light and humorous touch, political behaviour of the citizen body; or it may (as in *Birds*) exploit with jocular imagination ideas which emerge from the plot of the play. This direct address to the audience, usually preceded and followed by lyric hymns addressed to deities, is the "parabasis" of the play, and it raises the question: when it seems to us to be serious, is it really serious?

On one occasion at least it is hard to avoid saying "yes". In *Frogs* the parabasis urges the restoration of citizen rights to the men who had been disfranchised for their involvement in an oligarchic revolt six years earlier. That was a practicable step (even if unwise), and a step actually taken some months later after disastrous defeat at sea. But it is not just in the parabasis that the question arises; it is raised also by the purposes which the "hero" of the play (there is not always one) realizes triumphantly. We can be certain that the audience of *Acharnians* contained some people who shared the view that going to war against Sparta had been a mistake and that there was now an opportunity to stop it, because we know that not everyone had favoured war at the start and that in its second year, under the impact of the plague, the assembly had seriously contemplated negotiation for peace. It is wrong, though, to think of Aristophanes as a pacifist in the modern sense; between the belief that killing is always a sin and the recognition that there are times when peace is more advantageous there is a considerable gap. Perhaps, diffidently, he was a feminist, who in *Lysistrata* and *Women at the Thesmophoria* gives a powerful voice to the dissatisfactions of women, though to his audience the idea that women (or sheep, or sharks) could organize themselves like men would have been intrinsically funny, and *Women in the Assembly* treats women as preoccupied with food, drink, and sex.

While his parodies of tragedy can be acquitted of malice, his uninhibited attacks on named individuals can hardly be dismissed as harmless fun, seeing that at the end of *Clouds* Socrates and his disciples, driven out of the school by fire and pelted with stones, suffer the fate of traitors whose crimes were judged so monstrous as to deprive them of the law's protection. Plato blamed Aristophanes for creating popular prejudice against Socrates; and there were a few critical occasions on which vilification of named individuals on the comic stage was temporarily forbidden by law. Perhaps humorous periodicals which are frequently sued for libel are the nearest modern equivalent to Aristophanes.

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See also Comedy, Karaghiozis

Biography

Born probably in the 450s BC, Aristophanes was the greatest exponent of Old Attic Comedy but little is known of his life. Of 40 plays written by him, 11 have survived, ranging in date from 425 to 388 BC. They are now popular on the modern Greek stage. Aristophanes died *c.*386 BC.

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Aristotelianism

It is not possible to understand "Aristotelianism" properly without understanding the complex reception of Aristotle's works. It is true that there are concepts one immediately associates with Aristotle's teachings – the four causes, the doctrine of the mean, and the like – but Aristotle meant many things to many readers over time. As is well known, Aristotle's writings were not in circulation for more than two centuries after his death. It is not entirely clear who was responsible for recovering them, but copies of his works were evidently available in Rome in the 1st century BC. Aristotle's ideas had little detectable influence, however, except in the fields of rhetoric and cosmology. It was not until the 3rd and 4th centuries AD that Aristotle was the subject of lectures and commentary activity in the schools of philosophy at Alexandria and Athens, notably by the Neoplatonists, Porphyry and Alexander of Aphrodisias, both of whom concentrated mainly on the works comprising the *Organon*. Porphyry's *Eisagoge* (Introduction) to Aristotle's *Categories* was enormously influential through the Greek and, later, the Latin Middle Ages, as was Alexander's commentary on the *Topics*. These Alexandrian and Athenian exegetes, however, were concerned above all to reconcile Aristotle with Plato, on the assumption that in the works of both one could find the truths of philosophy, but expressed differently. By comparison with Plato, they found Aristotle notoriously obscure – intentionally, these commentators explain. In the 6th century significant commentary activity was carried on by John Philoponus and Simplicius, both students of the Neoplatonist Ammonius Hermeiou in Alexandria. In Ravenna, then the capital of the western Roman empire, Boethius produced a translation of the *Topics* into Latin and commentaries (now lost) on the *Analytics*. The Boethian version of the *Topics*, along with his *De Differentiis Topicis*, formed the core of the "Old Logic" that was to persist well into the Latin Middle Ages.

As early as the 4th century Aristotle was being translated in Edessa into Syriac. These Syriac versions formed the base for translations into Judaeo-Arabic and, in 10th-century Baghdad, into Arabic. These aroused keen interest among Muslim scholars both in Baghdad and, in the two succeeding centuries, in Moorish Spain. Among the most influential of those scholars were al-Farabi (d. 950), Ibn Sina (Avicenna) (d. 1137), and Ibn Rushd (Averroes) (d. 1198), all of whom produced editions, with commentaries (often collating Greek manuscripts checked against the Syriac), of Aristotle's major works with the exception of the *Politics*, the *Eudemian Ethics*, and the *Magna Moralia*. Like their Greek Neoplatonist predecessors, whose prolegomena and commentaries they also translated and studied, Arabic exegetes understood Aristotle as the author of a closed system and supposed him to be in complete agreement with Plato.

Aristotelianism in the Middle Ages must, of course, be differentiated, for there were two separate traditions, the Byzantine and that of the Latin west. In Byzantium Aristotle was looked upon with some suspicion, as a pagan thinker who believed, for instance, that matter was eternal and that, if there is a divinity, it is physically represented by the ether that fills the void in the universe. In the 9th and 10th centuries there was a surge in interest in Aristotle and the production of some important manuscripts of his works – some of them possibly obtained from libraries in Baghdad and Basra. By far the most widely circulated were the books that make up the *Organon*, with the treatises on natural history running a distant second. In the 11th century Michael Psellos and his student John Italos lectured on Aristotle, mainly on dialectic. One of Italos's students, Eustratios, composed a commentary on book 6 of the *Nicomachean Ethics*. Italos and Eustratios, however, found it hard to stay safe from persecution, as Italos was twice condemned by Orthodox theologians and Eustratios, in 1117, was condemned for, among other things, claiming that Christ reasoned in Aristotelian syllogisms. In the decades that followed, members of a scholarly circle sponsored by the secluded Anna Komnene, chiefly Michael of Ephesus and Stephanos Skylitzes, produced commentaries on many of Aristotle's works for which there was no commentary tradition in Greek. One of the commentaries that may have come out of the activity sponsored by Anna is that on *Nicomachean Ethics* 6 by Eustratios, which begins with a dedication praising her piety and learning and addressed to a young reader by an old writer. Eustratios also composed a commentary on *Nicomachean Ethics* 1, one on book 2 of the *Posterior Analytics*, and a short piece based on Aristotle's *Meteorology*. Michael of Ephesus produced a much larger number of works than did Eustratios. It is generally agreed that he composed scholia and/or commentaries on *Nicomachean Ethics* 5, 9, and 10; the *Parva Naturalia*, the biological treatises; *Metaphysics* E–N; *The Generation of Animals*; *Topics* (lost); *Physics* (lost);

De Interpretatione (lost); *Prior Analytics*, book 2; *Sophistic Refutations*; and the *Rhetoric*. Even allowing for the fact that Michael obviously depended on earlier commentaries on these works, his output was nothing short of amazing – the extant material alone filling more than 1100 printed pages. At the end of the 13th and during the 14th century, there was another "renaissance" of interest in Aristotle in the synoptic works of Nikephoros Blemmydes (d. 1272), who composed epitomes of both the *Organon* and the *Physics*. Even in the 14th century writers such as Theodore Metochites complained about the "labyrinthine" obscurity of Aristotle's style. Aristotle's philosophy, on the whole, never played an important part in Byzantine thinking.

In the Latin west, Aristotle arrived in the mid-13th century via Latin translations by Gerard of Cremona and William of Moerbeke of Arabic versions of his works. His influence, channelled partly through the commentaries of Ibn Rushd and Maimonides, was enormous on the works of Aquinas and such thinkers as Siger de Brabant. In spite of the strenuous opposition of the Catholic hierarchy, Aristotle made significant inroads into medieval thinking. Indeed, he was universally known as "The Philosopher". This was, once again, primarily in the field of logic; but his influence is also apparent in discussions on the nature of an "art" and a "science", in the need to discuss all subjects in terms of the four causes, and in the fact that Aristotelian (Latin) technical vocabulary became the virtual lingua franca of all the disciplines, not least theology. Theological discussions were controlled by Aristotelian principles of valid deduction to such a degree that Byzantine theologians had difficulty both in following and in countering western arguments in their encounters in the 14th and 15th centuries. As a consequence, Gennadios Scholarios produced translations into Greek of parts of Aquinas' *Summa contra Gentiles* and his *De Ente et Essentia*, the *Summulae Logicales* of Peter of Spain, and the commentary on Aristotle's *Categories* by Gilbert de la Porrée.

During the 15th and 16th centuries in Europe there was a huge growth in interest in Aristotle's works. This was due in part to the proliferation of printing presses after 1470 or so and the consequent publication, by 1600, of over 3000 editions of *Aristotelica*. With the fall of Constantinople to the Turks in 1453, large numbers of codices containing the works of Aristotle and his Greek commentators arrived in the west as did a number of Greek scholars who brought instruction in Greek to western universities. These were critical factors in the Renaissance recovery of Aristotle, and although Byzantine teachers had been active in Italy well before 1453, the second half of the 15th century witnessed activity of a different order. Scholars such as Demetrios Chalkondyles and Leonikos Thomaios lectured on Aristotle at the University of Padua, where a chair of Greek letters was established in 1463. In 1497 a chair of Aristotelian philosophy was established at Padua, where Aristotle's works were read by students in virtually every discipline, including medicine. In 1542 a chair of Greek and Latin philosophy was established at the Collège Royal, and Francesco Vimercato was invited from Milan to lecture on Aristotle's *De Anima*. The first printed edition of the Greek text of Aristotle's works (minus the *Rhetoric*) had been published by Aldus Manutius in Venice in 1498. This enormous project could not have been realized without the assistance of the indefatigable Markos Moussouros, who himself was responsible for the publication of Alexander of Aphrodisias's *Commentary on the Topics* (1514) – highly influential on Renaissance study of Aristotle.

The University of Padua became perhaps the most influential centre of Aristotle studies in Europe at a time when there was enormous interest in Aristotle. (As the eminent scholar Charles Lohr has observed, there was more commentary activity during this period than in the whole millennium between Boethius and Pietro Pomponazzi.) At Padua Aristotle was combined with Scholastic methods and principles to produce a kind of neo-Aristotelianism that was to inspire a new enthusiasm for philosophy. Greek scholars such as Michael Sophianos and Daniel Fourlanos joined with Jacopo Zabarella (d. 1589) in lecturing on Aristotle's *Poetics*, the *De Anima*, and the *Parts of Animals*; and Fourlanos produced Latin versions of *Parts* and of *De Anima* in 1574. That same year Maximos Margounios (1549–1602) published a Latin translation of Psellos on book 2 of the *Posterior Analytics*.

The following generation of Aristotle scholars at Padua included such teachers as Joannes Kottounios (1577–1658), a Macedonian from Ohrid who would succeed the famous Cesare Cremonini as professor of philosophy – chiefly Aristotle's works on natural philosophy. In his lectures on Aristotle's *De Caelo* and *Meteorologia* Kottounios sided with Cremonini, who had become famous as the man who would not look through Galileo's telescope. Unlike his "Aristotelian" predecessor Zabarella, Cremonini had little use for direct observation – which should remind us of the important fact that Renaissance "Aristotelians" were extremely eclectic. Some Renaissance "Aristotelians" took up Aristotle's logic without paying attention to anything else; others adopted his moral philosophy without the natural philosophy; some revered his natural philosophy without his *Metaphysics*; and some, indeed, continued to read Aristotle in Neoplatonic fashion, looking for traces of the *prisca scientia* contained in the works of writers like Hermes Trismegistos.

In 1613 another of Cremonini's students, Theophilos Corydalleus, (1570–1646) successfully completed disputations on medical questions as well as on Aristorte's *De Anima* and the question of how odours are perceived according to the *Physics* , and was granted a double doctorate in medicine and philosophy. Corydalleus, who would be an important influence on Greek education until the end of the 18th century, spent the rest of his life propagating the Paduan version of Aristotle throughout the Balkans, spending time teaching in Cephalonia, Zakynthos, his native Athens, and Constantinople. At Constantinople in 1625 he was appointed dragoman of the Patriarchate and *didaskalos* in the Patriarchal Academy, which he promptly reorganized along "Italian" lines. Three years later he would depart for Zakynthos to teach there again; but he returned to Constantinople in 1636. Corydalleus wrote extensively on various Aristotelian treatises, but only his *Rhetoric*, a synthesis of Aristotle and the still dominant Ciceronian doctrine, was published in his lifetime – in London, by Nikodemos Metaxas, in 1625. All of the rest exist only in manuscripts, the sheer number and distribution of which make it clear how pervasive his influence was. These include commentaries on the *Metaphysics*, *De Anima*, and *De Caelo*; notes on the *Physics* and *On Generation and Corruption*; and

his *Commentary and Questions Concerning Aristotle's Logic as a Whole*. These were used in schools in the Ionian islands, Bucharest, Jassy, and Constantinople well into the 18th century, towards the end of which printed editions of some began to appear. It is notable that Corydalleus wrote his treatises in Attic Greek, possibly because modern Greek had not yet stabilized, but certainly because he thought it best to write about Aristotle in Aristotle's language.

The generation after Corydalleus saw continued interest in Aristotle's works, most notably, perhaps, in the activities of the Phanariot Alexander Mavrokordatos (1641–1709). Mavrokordatos had been educated in Rome, Padua, and Bologna, where he studied medicine. Mavrokordatos eventually went to Constantinople, where he taught at the Patriarchal Academy, and later (in 1673) was appointed to the office of Grand Dragoman by the Sublime Porte. Amid all his various duties, he found time to write a number of books on a wide range of subjects, including a commentary on and synopsis of Aristotle's *Rhetoric*. One of Mavrokordatos's students, Sebastos Kyminitis, is recorded as having lectured on *On Vices and Virtues* at the Greek Academy in Bucharest in 1689.

Interest in Aristotle's philosophy was beginning to wane, however, among teachers of philosophy, many of whom were educated in Italy and Germany and were consequently (and increasingly) drawn to the "new" philosophy as propounded by the likes of Descartes, Leibniz, and Locke. Thus, on the one hand, George Sougdouris taught Aristotelian logic and poetics in the Corydalleus tradition in Ioannina between 1682 and 1715; but on the other, his student, Methodios Anthrakistes (b. *c.*1662), was condemned by a patriarchal synod in 1723 for not adhering to the Peripatetic school. This action represents a major readjustment within the Orthodox Church (recall Eustratios), which in reaction to the new philosophies of the west had adopted the Paduan version of Aristotle as its philosophical framework.

Padua continued to be a centre for Aristotle studies well into the 18th century. Some traditional branches of philosophy – chiefly physics – no longer looked to Aristotle's teachings, but ethics, metaphysics, logic, and rhetoric at Padua retained a strongly Aristotelian character. This was particularly evident in the teaching and writing of Vikentios Damodos (1700–52). Damodos was yet another Greek who studied in Italy, but returned to his homeland to teach. Born in Cephalonia, he studied first at the Flanginian Academy, founded in 1626 and sponsored by the metropolitan of Venice, and then went to Padua, where he took a double *Juris Doctor* degree in 1721. He returned shortly after to Cephalonia, first to practise law, but before long to teach in his native village, Chavriata. He wrote on a large number of subjects, most often from an Aristotelian standpoint, as in his *Metaphysics*, a synopsis of the *Nicomachean Ethics*, an *Epitome of Aristotelian Logic*, and two treatises on rhetoric strongly influenced by Aristotle's *Rhetoric*. None of his works was published in his lifetime, although his *Epitome of Aristotelian Logic* and his *Art of Rhetoric* were well enough known to be published in Venice in 1759.

At this juncture, evidence for interest in Aristotle becomes thin and widely dispersed. Such interest seems to have narrowed to his logical works and, to a somewhat lesser degree, to the *Ethics*. Thus, for instance, the *Introduction to Aristotle's Logic* by Georgios Sougdouris (d. 1740) came out in a 1792 edition in Venice. Manasse Eliades (d. 1785), who did not consider himself an Aristotelian, lectured on the *Categories* at the Academy in Bucharest. Neophytos Kavsokalyvytis (d. 1780) produced scholia on the *Ethics* for his students in Chios. In general, however, Greek philosophers were more interested in translating into Greek such authors as Malebranche and Condillac than in continuing the Aristotelian tradition. Occasionally Aristotle was pressed into service for arguments about other matters. Adamantios Korais, for instance, produced in his Hellenic Library editions of the *Politics* (1822) and the *Ethics* (1825), suggesting in the prefaces to those editions that they might be of assistance in constitutional decisions that had to be made after the War of Independence. That suggestion, it seems, foreshadowed similar determinations in England and Germany 20 years later, during the years of political liberalization, when there was a similar ripple of interest in Aristotle. Since then, it is fair to say, interest in Aristotle has been limited largely to philological circles in Greece, as it has been in the countries of western Europe.

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See also Aristotle, Philosophy

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Aristotle 384–322 BC

Philosopher

Aristotle was born at Stagira in Chalcidice; his father, Nicomachus, was court physician to the Macedonian king Amyntas III. At the age of 17 he went to Athens to study at Plato's Academy, remaining a member for 20 years (first as a student and later as a teacher). Shortly after Plato's death in 347 BC, he left Athens for the court of Hermias at Atarneus in Asia Minor. He lived for two years on the island of Lesbos, where he engaged in some zoological researches and met Theophrastus, who was to become his student. In 343 BC he went to the court of the Macedonian king Philip II at Pella and there served as tutor to Philip's son, Alexander. In 335 BC, when Athens had come under Macedonian rule, Aristotle returned and founded his own school, in the Lyceum (a sanctuary located outside the eastern section of the ancient wall). There was a *peripatos* – a colonnaded walk – in the building, from which the school acquired its name – the Peripatetic

school. On the death of Alexander in 323 BC there was an eruption of anti-Macedonian sentiment in Athens, and Aristotle himself was charged with impiety. He fled and came to reside on a family estate at Chalcis on the island of Euboea. One report has him stating that he fled "so that Athens might not commit another crime against philosophy" (in 399 BC Socrates had been charged with impiety, found guilty, and sentenced to death.) He died at Chalcis a year later, perhaps of a stomach ailment.

Aristotle was a student of Plato, but his own writings clearly show that he was by no means a Platonist. (Some of his early works, of which only a few fragments survive, contain Platonist elements, but these may have been propagandist writings for the Academy.) Plato's grand theory was that of the Forms. He held that certain unitary, unchanging, and perfect realities exist in a realm beyond perception. Among these realities are the Good Itself and the Beautiful Itself. The theory of the Forms has both ontological and epistemological aspects. The Forms are basic realities and so the existence of all other things (within our own changeable and imperfect realm of perception) is dependent upon them. Further knowledge, for Plato, is a cognitive grasp of the Forms. Knowledge is gained, not through a process of justification (in which experience or belief is built up into knowledge through argument or investigation), but through a process of discovery. To come to know the Forms is to turn the mind's eye towards these self-justifying realities.

Aristotle explicitly rejects the theory of the Forms. His ontology and epistemology are profoundly anti-Platonist. For Aristotle, individual substances – such as "this man here" and "this horse here" – are ontologically basic. (It has been suggested that Aristotle's emphasis on biological individuals, in contrast to Plato's emphasis on quasi-mathematical individuals – the Forms – is due to the influence of the profession of Aristotle's father.) All else is dependent upon these primary substances: particular quantities and qualities would not exist if primary substances did not exist. Further, the universals that range above individual substances – universals such as man, horse, and animal – are substances only in a derivative sense. These indicate the character of a plurality of primary substances, but they do not exist as unitary basic realities. Thus, Aristotle reverses the Platonic model: he takes what is changeable to be ontologically basic and he denies that universals are substantial unities.

Scientific knowledge, according to Aristotle, is a cognitive grasp of the cause of a thing together with an understanding that the cause could not be otherwise. Aristotle thought of the sciences as axiomatic deductive systems. (Here Plato's fascination with mathematics may have been of some influence.) According to his view, one has scientific knowledge when one can demonstrate the cause of a thing from first principles. These first principles are better known and prior to the conclusion of a scientific demonstration. Thus, for Aristotle, knowledge of, say, why snakes have a larynx but no epiglottis is akin to knowledge of why two triangles with the same base and height are equal in area. In each case, knowledge is secured through demonstration from the first principles of the relevant science. First principles, however, cannot be demonstrated. These must be grasped by some other means. Aristotle holds that our perceptual experience provides the ultimate justification of first principles. Our nature is such that we store perceptions within the soul. Owing to memory we come to have experience (a grasp of concepts based on particulars) and owing to experience we come to entertain the principles of science (concepts involving the grasp of strict universals). For example, Aristotle asserts that it is from perceptual experience that we grasp the truth that an eclipse is a certain loss of light on the moon. This, however, is not knowledge of the cause of an eclipse. Knowledge of the cause – obstruction of the sun's light by the Earth – is secured through a process of inference to the best explanation. Other candidate explanations (say, rotation of the moon) fail the test of perceptual experience (our familiarity with the precise pattern of loss of light on the moon during an eclipse suggests that the rotation of the moon is not a suitable explanation). Reason tests candidate explanations against our perceptual experience and so it is this experience that provides the ultimate justification of first principles. Aristotle's empiricism, thus, lies in stark contrast to Plato's rationalism.

Aristotle was the first philosopher to develop a theory of formal logic. His theory of deductive inference is that of the categorical syllogism. By first establishing the validity of four "perfect" (axiomatic) syllogistic forms, he was able to show which remaining standard syllogistic forms are valid. (Out of 256 standard syllogistic forms, only 24 are valid.) Aristotelian logic was for two millennia treated as the whole of logic. The logical writings constitute a singular and unparalleled achievement and Aristotle was himself aware of this. In a rare self-congratulatory passage he lauds his own achievements in logic as being entirely without precedent among Greek philosophers.

In areas where his predecessors had expounded theories, Aristotle would often begin his own studies by setting out, analysing, and comparing their views. He would then explore what is common among such theories, mark differences, and locate areas in which such theories stand at odds (with one another, with the perceived phenomena, or within themselves). He would then guide his own positive investigation in the light of the results of this inquiry. In such inquiries Aristotle sought to preserve what is true in earlier theories and to understand better the difficulties within a given field. (He claimed that it is impossible for one to untie a knot that one does not know.) Inquiry of this sort occupies the philosophical branch of Aristotle's dialectical method, a method of arguing from the opinions of others.

Dialectical inquiry is most evident in the works on natural science. In these works, among other things, Aristotle sets out and studies the theories of the Presocratic philosophers. We owe practically all that we know of the Presocratics to Aristotle; for a majority of the extant fragments come from his own writings, the writings of his student Theophrastus, and the writings of his Greek commentators (such as Simplicius). Within the works on natural science we find many of the distinctive conceptual advances that mark Aristotle's thought as superior to that of his predecessors. One such advance can be found in his treatment of causality. While many of the Presocratic philosophers had attempted to account for natural phenomena through an analysis of matter, Aristotle argues that a complete treatment of such phenomena must take into account not only material causes, but formal, final, and effi-

cient ones as well. Just as a complete account of a sculpture will make reference to its matter (bronze), its form (shape or organization), its efficient cause (the sculptor who initiated the shaping of the bronze), and the purpose for which it was made, a complete account of the genesis of a living thing, or of the organic functioning of a living thing, will make reference to four causes.

Aristotle utilizes the doctrine of the four causes within both his psychological and his biological works. In his main psychological work, the *De Anima*, he argues that soul is not a body, and yet it is also not an immaterial substance that might exist in separation from the body. Soul is the form of the living body: it is the organization-for-the-sake-of-functioning of the living thing. This theory – hylomorphism – avoids the pitfalls of both elemental materialism (which fails to give an account of purposes or goals in nature) and Platonic dualism (which, when conjoined with the doctrine of the transmigration of soul, fails to give an account of how different kinds of bodies might prove to be suitable hosts for some one kind of soul). The theory of hylomorphism is, perhaps, compromised within Aristotle's account of intellect. He suggests that intellect may be separable from the body. (This move towards dualism is, perhaps, an anomaly within his writings, an anomaly that may betray a Platonist influence.)

The doctrine of the four causes shapes Aristotle's biological investigations. (The writings on biology take up more than one-fourth of the extant corpus.) His view of nature is teleological. Thus, taking the fully developed and flourishing member of the species to be the end towards which the species itself aims, he holds that the biologist must focus his studies on healthy mature adults within a given species. The variety and depth of Aristotle's investigations into the anatomy, development, and habits of animals are dazzling. While a summary of his work in zoology cannot be attempted here, it should be noted that even into the 19th century naturalists were (re)discovering certain anatomical features of species that Aristotle had already noted in his own researches.

The central concept of Aristotle's ethics is flourishing (*eudaimonia*). The concept is also central to his political writings, for he asserts that the main function of government is to promote *eudaimonia* among its citizens. He thinks that, since humans differ from other animals in so far as they are rational, flourishing for a human must be living a certain life of active reason. We are rational, however, in two ways: part of us exercises reason and part of us is obedient to reason. Out of this distinction – a distinction between intellect and passion – Aristotle generates a theory of human excellence that treats both rational excellence and moral excellence. The moral excellences (such as courage and temperance) are means between extremes. To be temperate, for example, is to have an intermediate disposition in respect to bodily pleasures. These excellences are acquired through habituation. One becomes courageous, for example, by doing courageous things (even if at first one does not do courageous things courageously). The intellectual excellences (such as wisdom and prudence) are not means between extremes. These excellences are not acquired through habituation, rather they are taught. In his discussion of the best life, Aristotle places special emphasis on the intellectual activity of contemplation. He maintains that the life of contemplation is the best life: it is the best life in so far as it involves the activity of some divine element within us.

Aristotle's conception of God is linked to his cosmological theory. He holds that the earth is the centre of a finite spherical cosmos and that the heavens are constituted by a set of nesting concentric spheres that move eternally in perfect circles. The motion of the spheres has a first cause. This cause is an unmoved mover: it is an immaterial god. The unmoved mover (the highest sort of being) engages eternally in thought (the highest sort of activity). It is not the generative cause of the cosmos. Rather, it lives an exalted life of contemplation. The unmoved mover is eternally self-thinking thought.

After Aristotle's death Theophrastus became the second head of the Peripatetic school. Under his leadership the school thrived. He was a talented empirical scientist and a vigorous thinker intensely interested in the study of Aristotle's works. After his death the Peripatetic school fell into decline. His successors were either highly specialized thinkers (like Strato) or markedly unoriginal thinkers (like Lyco). It is probable that the Peripatetic school in Athens did not survive into the 1st century BC. Aristotle's thought, however, did not perish in the Lyceum. A considerable number of his writings have survived. In the 1st century BC Andronicus of Rhodes produced an edition of Aristotle's works and from the time of this edition there has been a continuous history of the transmission of Aristotle's texts within the Greek tradition. (The corpus as we now have it contains, perhaps, one third of what Aristotle had written.) Texts survived, but in addition Aristotle's thought did not go the way of dead dogma: his works were studied in the Neoplatonic schools of Athens, Constantinople, and Alexandria. Some of his doctrines found their way into Neoplatonism itself. (For example, the doctrine of the unmoved mover as self-thinking thought clearly reemerges in the writings of Plotinus.) These schools established a tradition of writing commentaries on Aristotle's works and in so doing they secured his legacy within Hellenic culture.

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See also Aristotelianism, Cosmology, Ethics, Dialectic, Government, Logic, Lyceum, Plato, Zoology

Biography

Born at Stagira in Chalcidice in 384 BC, Aristotle studied at Plato's Academy in Athens and remained there until soon after Plato's death (347 BC), when he moved first to Asia Minor and then Lesbos. On Lesbos he met Theophrastus, who became his pupil. In 343 he moved to Pella in Macedonia as tutor to the son of Philip II, Alexander. In 335 he returned to Athens and founded the Peripatetic school in the Lyceum. After Alexander's death he was charged with impiety and fled to Euboea where he died in 322 BC.

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Aristoxenus

Writer on music in the 4th century BC

Born around 370 BC in Taras (Latin Tarentum; modern Taranto), Aristoxenus grew up when this town was ruled by Archytas the Pythagorean. His first instructor was his father Mnesias, a musician, and it is by this title, *musicus*, that Aristoxenus was persistently called, although in his case this term must be understood to refer primarily to his theoretical writings on music rather than to the skill he had in singing and in playing instruments. (That he had such abilities is demonstrated by his basing his theory of harmonics on aesthetic principles at variance with the purely mathematical views of more orthodox Pythagoreans.) His later teachers included the obscure Lampros of Erythrae (perhaps while still in Taras), then the Pythagorean Xenophilus, and finally Aristotle. His reputation in the Lyceum was such that he expected to be head of the school after Aristotle's death. That the headship fell instead to Theophrastus, whose interests were as wide-ranging as Aristotle's (including some technical works on music), should have come as no surprise.

Aristoxenus, for all his 453 books (as tallied by the *Suda*) on various philosophical, biographical, and historical topics, seems to have concentrated his best efforts on music. Indeed, we now know very little of his straightforward philosophical works, not even how large a proportion of the whole they formed. His comments on the nature of the soul owe little if anything to Aristotle's *De Anima* but have more to do with Pythagorean ideas of harmony in the soul such as are found in Plato's *Phaedo* and *Timaeus*. Since our sources (chiefly Cicero and Lactantius) associate these ideas with musical harmony, Aristoxenus may well have introduced them in his musical writings rather than in a separate work on the nature of the soul. Some sources refer to his *Hypomnemata* (Memorabilia), but this is a catch-all title that says nothing about the work's subject matter; other sources add the word *Miscellaneous* to the title. Here too Aristoxenus is said to have discussed musical matters, although perhaps not as technically as in his treatises devoted to the subject. Even his biographies may have been chosen because of his interest in music. This is obviously so in the case of his comprehensive work entitled *On Tragic Poets* and a separate life of Telestes the dithyrambic poet but, even in his biographies of Plato, Socrates, Archytas, and, of course, Pythagoras, he would have had much to say about their views of music as well as more usual matters, such as Socrates' two wives and Plato's travels. The quality of his biographical writings was praised by none other than the master of the genre, Plutarch, comparing the great and unalloyed pleasure they provide to that obtained by reading Herodotus or Homer.

We also hear of works entitled *Rules of Education* (in at least ten books), *Political Laws* (in at least eight books), *Mantinean Character*, and (if different from the last) *Praise of Mantineans*. Most of these fragments have nothing to do with music: they discuss the difference between two words having to do with shame, the fact that one educates one's son best by making him a citizen of a well-governed city, that Lycurgus died in Crete; but even here (in *Political Laws*), Aristoxenus has something to say about the composition of pseudo-Epicharmic verses by Chrysogonus the *aulos* player.

Aristoxenus truly deserves his title of *musicus*, then. In addition to some of the pertinent works named above, we hear of and learn a little about the following: *On Music*, *Course on Music* (these may be two titles for the same work), *On Music in Lyric Poetry*, and *Praxidamantea* (presumably on the views of the musical theorist Praxidamas). Significant portions, however, are extant of works entitled *Elementa Rhythmica* and *Elementa Harmonica* (in three books), although the latter seems rather to be selections from two distinct works. These actual words of Aristoxenus can be further supplemented by passages in later writers who drew freely from Aristoxenus: Porphyry, Michael Psellos, and two anonymous works.

Much of these two works is concerned with the technical details of notes, tempi, modes, scales, intervals, etc., but it is plain that Aristoxenus considered himself to be an innovator in the writing of musical theory. Arguing against those who, although ignorant of the true nature of music, nonetheless denied it any significance, Aristoxenus also distinguished himself from the extreme intellectualism of the Pythagoreans (see above), although he accepted some of their views on the

relationship between music and ethical behaviour. He could not, however, bind himself to a rigidly mathematical scheme that failed to take into account the slight but inherent disparities that are as much a part of music as (his example) the deviations from straight lines that woodworkers and other craftsmen in visual arts incorporate into their products. These deviations can be perceived, and then described, only by someone skilled in music.

Later writers on music theory made frequent reference to the theories expounded by Aristoxenus (even when they do not name him), some going so far as to ally themselves specifically with him in opposition to Pythagorean views.

DAVID SIDER

See also Music

Biography

Born *c.*370 BC in Taras (now Taranto) the son of a musician, Aristoxenus was taught first by his father, then by Lampros of Erythrae. Probably in Athens he was a pupil of Xenophilus and then joined Aristotle's Lyceum. He wrote copiously – 453 books according to the *Suda* – and mostly on music. He failed to succeed Aristotle as head of the Lyceum. His date of death is unknown.

Writings

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Armatoloi

Licensed militias

Literally "men at arms", the *armatoloi* (singular *armatolos*) made up the quasi-official local militias that patrolled the numerous mountain passes of the northern mainland of Greece from the Byzantine period onwards. They were particularly dominant from the 15th to the 18th centuries, and were also present throughout the mountainous Balkan territories of the Ottoman empire, in Albania, Bosnia, Bulgaria, and Macedonia. During the Ottoman period, Balkan territories were divided into administrative subdistricts known as *armatoliks*, each of which had appended to it an *armatoloi* militia.

In addition to preventing brigand activity, the *armatoloi* were in some instances responsible also for rounding up enemies of the Ottoman government, guarding strategically critical areas, and serving as bodyguards for visiting travellers. For performing these functions, the *armatoloi* were paid by the local populations of the areas in which they served (in the form of a fee charged by the Ottoman government), and in some instances enjoyed also the revenue gathered in the form of tolls or passage taxes charged to those passing through the mountains or over the bridges which they often guarded.

Initially established as part of the administrative structure of the Byzantine empire, these militias were subsequently adopted by both the Venetian and Ottoman provincial administrations, and thus provide a clear example of the numerous cases of political and cultural continuity, syncretism, and cooption linking the Byzantine, Ottoman, and modern Greek era. In the Peloponnese a rough equivalent of the *armatoloi* were of the *kapoi* (singular *kapos*), whose role was also to guard against brigands. During the Ottoman period, however, the *armatoloi* were in the direct employ of the Ottoman state, whereas the *kapoi* were employed by the wealthy Greek landholding class known as the Primates. Although technically under the control of the Ottoman government, the *armatoloi* in many instances acted wholly independently, and for this reason came increasingly to be regarded by the Ottoman state as untrustworthy and possibly treasonous.

The primary target of the *armatoloi* were, in theory, the klephts, a generic and fairly loosely applied term used to designate the numerous brigands of the mountainous areas of Greece, brigands whose ranks were constantly replenished by an ample surplus male population fleeing the chronic regional problems of poverty and famine. In many instances, however, the boundary between klephts and *armatoloi* was fluid, and many *armatoloi* were, prior to their recruitment, active klephts. Indeed, in some instances individuals acted in both capacities simultaneously. The relationship between the two groups, then, was often one of collusion rather than hostility. This was most markedly the case during the late 18th and early 19th centuries, when Greek revolutionary activity relied heavily on both groups for its success.

The fluidity between the groups was also marked in specific territories where local Ottoman governors attempted to replace an old Greek *armatoloi* establishment with new hand-picked *armatoloi* of their own choosing. The most dramatic example of this is seen in the Epirot lands of Ali Pasha of Ioannina, who in the latter half of the18th century made the region's *armatoloi* almost exclusively Albanian. Deposed Greek *armatoloi* in such areas became klephts instead, and understood their subsequent anti-*armatoloi* behaviour to constitute not just a form of brigandry, but also a sort of resistance to Ottoman domination. Just as many *armatoloi* had earlier been klephts, so too were many klephts former *armatoloi*. Indeed, the French folklorist Claude Fauriel has argued that "the titles of Armatole and Klepht might be used almost interchangeably for either".

In Greek regions of the Ottoman empire the *armatoloi* were drawn largely from the Greek Orthodox population, a fact which was to have significant implications for the long process of Greek liberation, for in the revolutionary period the military and social power enjoyed by the *armatoloi* came to be equated with Greek revolutionary activity. In other regions, such as Bosnia and Albania, the *armatoloi* were drawn from the local Muslim populations. Both the klephts and *armatoloi* came in effect to be groups of well-trained guerrillas, trained over a lifetime of living in the mountains off pillage and forage, and were very important for their minute knowledge of Greece's moun-

tainous terrain, their stamina, and their ruthlessness during the first phases of the Greek War of Independence.

The *armatoloi* as an official force of the Ottoman state were disbanded by firman (imperial decree) in 1721, a full century before the first outbreak of the Greek War of Independence, but they continued throughout the 18th century to exist in practice if not in theory. During this period the Ottoman fear of Russian influence in the region, coupled with an increasing distrust of Greek *armatoloi*, led to the dismissal of most Greek *armatoloi* and their replacement with Albanian Muslims. The Greek former *armatoloi* became almost without exception klephts.

The importance of the *armatoloi* to both the Greek independence movement and to Greek historical tradition in general is amply testified to by Greek folk tradition. A common theme of Greek folksong is the narration of the exciting and dangerous lives of famous *armatoloi*, who are usually depicted not so much as the employees of the Turks as their antagonists. Other important sources for information regarding the *armatoloi* include the military memoirs of various participants in the Greek War of Independence, such as Nikolaos Kasomoulis, whose *Military Recollections* (*Stratiotika Enthymemata*) demonstrates their importance to the success of the Greek revolutionaries. The *armatoloi*, then, while marginal members of Greek society from a legalistic and political standpoint, were critical players in the early stages of the establishment of the new Greek state; and the success of the Greek War of Independence owes as much to them as to the intellectual elites who spread revolutionary rhetoric among the Ottoman Greek populations.

K.E. FLEMING

See also Brigandage

Summary

Armatoloi (literally "men at arms") were semi-official local militias which patrolled the mountainous Balkan territories of the Ottoman empire. They were intended to prevent brigandage, round up enemies of the state, and protect visiting travellers. They enjoyed a good measure of independence and were increasingly regarded as untrustworthy by the Ottoman government. Although officially disbanded in 1721, they continued to exist throughout the 18th century.

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Armenia

In the Classical and Byzantine periods Armenia covered roughly the rugged upland plateau southeast of the Black Sea, south of Iberia (Georgia), and southwest of Caucasian Albania (Azerbaijan) and the Caspian Sea and also the more fertile lands of the upper Tigris valley; but its boundaries fluctuated greatly and it was frequently fragmented. Its early history is largely dependent upon foreign sources since the Armenian alphabet was not devised until *c.*AD 400 (although governmental documents and other texts were written in Iranian in Aramaic characters, Greek or, for some ecclesiastical documents, Syriac), and even for a few centuries after that most native histories were ecclesiastical and with little interest in secular matters.

The origin of the Armenians is mysterious. Although their language is the sole member of an Indo-European subgroup, they were probably of ancient Anatolian stock akin to the Hurrians and entered the failing kingdom of Urartu, with its capital at Van, from the west around 600 BC. The area's subsequent status as a satrapy of the Achaemenid Persian empire earned it brief mention by Herodotus (e.g. 3. 93), but the first substantial documented contact between Armenians and Greeks is given by Xenophon, who led the Greek mercenaries safely home from Mesopotamia through Armenian territory in 401–400 BC (*Anabasis*, 4. 4–5). After his victory at Gaugamela in 331 over Darius III, for whom Armenia had furnished 40,000 infantry and 7000 cavalry, Alexander appointed Mithranes, the turncoat son of the last Persian satrap, as its governor. Although the Seleucids never exerted direct control over the principalities of a usually fragmented Armenia, Greek influence grew rapidly and can be seen most vividly today in seven inscriptions cut into a rockface at Armavir in the Araxes valley around 200 BC, one of which refers to Hesiod while another is a compilation of extracts from Greek dramas. Seleucid overlordship ended when Antiochus III was defeated at Magnesia in 190 BC by the Romans, who allowed his two Armenian satraps Artashes (Artaxias) and Zareh (Zariadris) to establish themselves as kings of Greater Armenia and Tsophk (Sophene) respectively.

Greek acculturation increased, notably in the 1st century BC during the reign of Tigran II who, before being forced in 66 BC to cede many of his conquests and accept Roman suzerainty, briefly, in alliance with his father-in-law Mithridates VI Eupator of Pontus and chiefly at the expense of Parthia, made Armenia an important empire stretching from the Caspian to the Mediterranean. He built in the Hellenistic style his new capital Tigranakert (Tigranocerta, possibly the later Byzantine Martyropolis), to which he removed many thousands of Greeks. His philhellene inclinations continued under his son Artavazd II, who maintained a theatre and is reputed to have himself written tragedies and other forms of literature in

Greek. For much of the Roman period Armenia was a buffer state (and often the site of warfare) between the Roman and the Parthian or, later, the Sassanian empire, although the Romans did annex a small portion west of the Euphrates (Armenia Minor) and briefly under Trajan the whole area (Greater Armenia). Latin, however, made no headway and the elite continued to use Greek (and Iranian) in addition to their native tongue. The correspondence of Libanius, the celebrated rhetorician of Antioch in the 4th century AD, indicates that he taught at least 20 Armenian students. Owing to the swift and thorough conversion of the Armenians to Christianity (which became the official religion in 314) by the Parthian missionary Gregory the Illuminator, little Graeco-Armenian art survives and, owing to their scrupulous adherence to the commandment prohibiting the making of graven images, almost no sculpture. The sole surviving temple is a magnificent grey basalt peripteral Ionic structure erected by the Arsacid Trdat (Tiridates) I in the second half of the 1st century AD and preserved only through its conversion into a royal summer residence (though ruined by an earthquake in 1679 it has been reerected). Once housing a statue of Mithras, it still displays a luxuriantly carved frieze of Armenian and Hellenistic motifs. In the neighbouring Roman bath-house a mythological mosaic of Ocean and Sea offers the curious Greek inscription "we worked without reward".

A 50-year power struggle between the Sassanians and the Byzantines, in which the heavily involved Armenians attempted to assert some measure of independence, ended in 387 with a peace treaty in accordance with which the much larger eastern part of the territory (Persamenia) became a Sassanian and the western a Byzantine vassal state (later divided by Justinian I into four small provinces, Armenia I–IV, and considerably enlarged at Sassanian expense by the emperor Maurice in 591). Arsacid rule died out in both halves, the Sassanian *marzpan* (margrave) respecting the rights of the ever-quarrelling *nakharas* (local barons), the Byzantine authorities trying to destroy the feudal system and impose imperial institutions and customs. The Byzantines made another tactical error in their efforts to force the Chalcedonian formulation (451) of Christ's two natures unconfusedly, inseparably, and immutably within one hypostasis upon the Armenians, who charged the Byzantines with Nestorianizing and developed their own Church, formally severing their relations with the Constantinopolitan patriarchate at the second Council of Dvin (554). This, in combination with Sassanian attempts to convert them to Zoroastrianism, both encouraged a sense of nationalism, which was zealously fostered by the Armenian *katholikos* (archbishop), and in the 7th century to some extent facilitated conquest by the Arabs, who offered religious tolerance. Byzantium thus temporarily lost its share of Armenia.

The caliphate, while incorporating Iberia and Albania to create the huge province of Arminiya, established a military zone in the west, but the Byzantine crises of the early 8th century soon drew the Arabs still further west. The ensuing consolidation of Arab control of Armenia begat growing revolts from the *nakharas*, who were largely eliminated as numerous Muslim emirates were set up. In the 9th century, however, the resurgence of Byzantine power and its eastward expansion, coupled with the decline of the Abbasid caliphate, enabled the Armenians slowly to regain control of their affairs. The Bagratid dynasty was established in the major portion of the country with the coronation of Ašot I in 884, while in 908 the Artsrunid Gagik became king of Vaspurakan, which lay in the south between lakes Van and Urmia. Caliph and emperor vied with each in granting recognition and honorific titles to Armenian sovereigns.

The Byzantines were themselves responsible for the destruction of this bulwark against their Muslim foes. Although in 974 the attempt by John I Tzimiskes (himself of Armenian origin) to expand Byzantine territory was rebuffed so effectively by Ašot III that the emperor was induced to declare him an ally and "spiritual son", Taron in the southwest had already been taken over under his predecessor Nikephoros II Phokas, while his successor Basil II annexed Armenian Tayk in the northwest. Even more seriously, Vaspurakan was ceded to the Byzantines in 1021–22 and Ani, the royal capital founded by Ašot III east of Kars, was surrendered in 1045. Thus by the middle of the 11th century most of Armenia was divided into Byzantine themes and its nobility had fled abroad. The first Seljuk raid into Armenia was ordered by the sultan Tughrul in 1048, Ani fell to Alp-Arslan 16 years later (prompting a futile cession of Kars to the Byzantines), and when Romanos IV Diogenes lost the Battle of Manzikert in 1071 there were no Armenian leaders left to prevent the Seljuks from sweeping through the rest of their territory and into Anatolia and thereby depriving the Byzantines permanently of most of their Asiatic possessions. Armenia itself enjoyed a brief respite, with Georgian protection, under the rule of the Christianized Kurdish Zakarids before falling into the hands of the Mongols in 1236.

The Seljuk conquest created an Armenian diaspora. Many Armenians fled north to Georgia or the Crimea and thence to southern Russia and Poland, while others moved southwest into Cilicia. This was the mountainous area between the Taurus and Anti-Taurus ranges, but included too the fertile lowlands around the Gulf of Alexandretta and the crucial Cilician Gates (the easiest pass through the Taurus from Anatolia and thence to the eastern littoral of the Mediterranean). Some Armenians were already there, since, after Nikephoros II Phokas had wrested a largely depopulated Cilicia from the Arabs in 965, the Byzantines had appointed local Armenians as governors and later had ceded them tracts of land, thus making possible the establishment of independent enclaves only nominally obedient to Constantinople. After a short-lived unification under an Armenian adventurer known to the Byzantines as Philaretos Brachamios (Varazhnuni), local Armenian chieftains slowly extended their domains at imperial expense, despite briefly successful campaigns by John II Komnenos and Manuel I Komnenos in 1137–38 and 1158 respectively, and from 1199 Cilicia was an independent kingdom under the Armenian Rubenid and Hetumid and latterly the Latin Lusignan dynasties until it fell to the Mamluks in 1375. Its position on a major east–west mercantile route enabled Cilicia to prosper for a while, especially while it enjoyed the Mongols' protection in the second half of the 13th century before the latter's conversion to Islam. Contact with the Latins began in 1097 with the First Crusade and, partly through intermarriage, the Armenians became increasingly influenced by westerners rather than Byzantines, a

development which even led to highly divisive and ultimately aborted attempts at ecclesiastical union with Rome.

After Mesrop Maštoc, with the aid of the Greek calligrapher Rufinus, had devised an Armenian alphabet, there was an immediate surge of Armenian translations, produced largely in important Christian cities, notably Constantinople and Edessa and, a little later, Jerusalem. At first these translations, starting with the Old Testament's Proverbs, were almost exclusively religious. Lives of eastern martyrs, Syrian patristic texts, and Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History* were translated from Syriac, Eusebius' *Chronicle* and works by the Cappadocian Fathers, Athanasius of Alexandria, and others from Greek. Many Greek works, including *Questions and Answers on Genesis and Exodus* by Philo Judaeus and some by John Chrysostom, are known only from Armenian translations. After that initial burst of energy religious translations were sporadic, although activity revived around 700 when Stephen of Siwnik translated *inter alia* the corpus of pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite, and again in the Cilician period, especially by Nerses of Lambron, who sought out rare Greek (and Latin) texts. Owing to theological disagreement very few post-Chalcedonian Byzantine works were translated into Armenian, George of Pisidia's *Hexaemeron* being a rare exception (as, significantly, are the polemical treatises of the monophysite patriarch of Alexandria Timothy Ailouros).

In secular literature the most influential translation was of the *Art of Grammar* by Dionysius Thrax, which spawned extensive Armenian commentaries, followed by redactions of the rhetorical works of, among others, Theon and Aphthon. In philosophy translations were made of Aristotle, Porphyry, and the 6th-century Alexandrians Olympiodorus, Elias, and David (wrongly claimed by Armenians as a pupil of Mesrop Ma_toc), thereby showing an interest particularly in logic. Other works appeared in redactions to accommodate Christian beliefs (e.g. the *Alexander Romance*) or Armenian interests (e.g. the Syriac *Chronicle* of the late 12th-century Jacobite patriarch of Antioch, Michael I). Original Armenian theological writing is largely defensive in respect to Byzantium. Historical compositions show little interest in Byzantium as such, but are often important in supplying information on the empire's eastern borders: Matthew of Edessa's *Chronicle* is of particular value for information on imperial involvement in Cilicia. Byzantine interest in Armenian literature is minimal, although there are Greek translations of the establishment of Christianity in Armenia by the pseudonymous Agathangelos and a pro-Chalcedonian anonymous account of Armenio-Byzantine ecclesiastical relations (now known as the *Narratio de Rebus Armeniae*) written *c.*700 and, significantly, lost in the Armenian original.

The Byzantine contribution to Armenian architecture is immediately evident, but styles of other circumjacent states (especially Syria) left their marks too. In the other direction, despite the wild exaggeration in the famous claims of Joseph Strzygowski for the Armenians' adaptation of Central Asian styles learned through Sassanian intermediaries and passed on by them to the whole of Christendom, Armenian architects did indeed develop great expertise which was not without effect upon Byzantium. Notably it was the Armenian master builder Trdat who was deemed most capable of repairing the damage caused by an earthquake in 989 to Constantinople's principal church, Hagia Sophia. Materials available dictated that virtually all churches were constructed of a rubble conglomerate faced with large blocks of yellow, red, or grey tufa. Simple single-aisled basilicas, some according to historical accounts adapted from Hellenistic temples and all small except for a remarkable example of *c.*500 at Ereruk, gave way in the 6th century to domed (usually cross-domed) buildings, with squinches or (less often) pendentives. This experimentation with centralized plans is almost certainly due to Byzantine influence. During the period of Armenian independence in the late 9th to early 11th centuries, drums and domes grew taller and were often distinctively polygonal (the latter usually also conical or pyramidal), while some Islamic features such as *muqarnas* (stalactitic squinches) appear. Cilician churches were largely traditional.

Figural sculpture became far more widespread, dominant, and exuberant than in Byzantine architecture, the outstanding, though somewhat idiosyncratic, example being the early 10th-century figures and biblical scenes on the exterior of the church of the Holy Cross on the island of Aghtamar in Lake Van, where Graeco-Roman and Arab elements jostle with Byzantine. The few surviving examples of interior fresco decoration largely follow Byzantine models, but interestingly at Aghtamar there is an Old Testament (Genesis) cycle (long abandoned in the Byzantine world) and at Tatev western artists are reputed to have been employed in the early 10th-century church of SS Peter and Paul. Manuscript illumination is usually iconographically and stylistically Byzantine, but in both respects (and sometimes even as late as the 12th century) harks back to the pre-iconoclastic period, while some 11th-century pmanuscripts exhibit the stark naivety of painters striving to reduce art to its essentials. Cilician Armenian painting is often highly individualistic. While some of its manuscript illuminations are again naive, others show a consummate intimacy with Byzantine work but yet have an expressiveness of their own; this is especially so in the work of the outstanding late 13th-century painter Toros Roslin, who worked mainly at Hromkla, whither the patriarchal see had been transferred in 1151. In the 14th century his namesake Taron was prominent in a group which deliberately opposed Byzantium in developing anti-Chalcedonian imagery.

As a result of forced eviction and voluntary migration, Armenians constituted a substantial minority of the Byzantine population, even when Armenia itself was not in imperial hands. Their military valour induced emperors, beginning on a small scale with Justinian I, to transplant them to threatened border regions. In the late 6th century the emperor Maurice proposed to the Sassanian monarch that Armenians on either side of their line of partition through the country should be deported, and for his part moved a vast number to Thrace (then including much of modern Bulgaria, which still has a sizeable Armenian minority). Thousands more were moved there later by Constantine V and to neighbouring Macedonia by Basil II. Tiberius II forced possibly as many as 10,000 to migrate to Cyprus in 578, Nikephoros I used them to resettle Sparta in the early 9th century, and Nikephoros II to resettle Crete after his conquest of the island in 961, while others were sent to Sicily and southern Italy in the 8th and 9th centuries. Religious belief was the cause of another Byzantine resettlement in an attempt under Basil I in 878 to extirpate the viru-

lently iconoclastic Armenian Paulicians who had established their own state around Tephrike (Divriğl) in Cappadocia. (It is still unclear if they were Adoptionists or Manichaean dualists believing in a docetic Christology. Despite their expulsion they spawned the communities of the Tondrakites, which continued to cause Byzantium problems into the 11th century.) Foreign invasion, and especially the Arab seizure of much of their territory, also forced or encouraged many thousands of Armenians to migrate to the Byzantine theme of Armeniakon and elsewhere in Asia Minor, Constantinople itself, and Bulgaria. In times of relative quiet, military enlistment and possibilities for economic advancement, especially through trade, induced many others to leave their homeland for the empire (and the caliphate).

The Byzantine attitude towards Armenians was generally, though not uniformly, unfavourable. In writing to his Sassanian counterpart, Maurice (the tradition of his own Armenian origin is most probably apocryphal) called them "a knavish and indocile nation" and claimed that whether they killed or were killed in Thrace enemies would have died. The patriarch Joseph I Galesiotes pronounced them "morbid and rebellious" and the patriarch Athanasios I classed them with Jews as defiling to Christians. Doubtless the majority's rejection of Chalcedonian dyophysitism, the internecine turbulence of their country whether under foreign rule or not, their stubborn adherence to their own culture, and their usually rustic manners were distasteful to the educated city dwellers who constitute most Byzantine literary sources. Moreover, what little evidence there is suggests that this contempt may have been shared by the lower classes. Nevertheless Armenians played a prominent role in Byzantine history.

Procopius claims that emperors had traditionally chosen Armenians for their bodyguard and names no fewer than 17 Armenian generals who were employed by Justinian: of these one, the aged eunuch Narses, was given supreme command of Byzantine forces in Italy and crushed the Ostrogothic forces of Totila in 552. From the late 6th century until the Arab invasion of the mid-7th Byzantine military recruitment was largely Armenian, since Avaro-Slavic incursions into the Balkans severely restricted possibilities there. It has been estimated that even after that, until the loss of Anatolia to the Seljuks, Armenians drawn from Byzantine-controlled territory predominated in the Byzantine army. Some, and most who achieved high rank, were, however, of Chalcedonian persuasion. Several emperors of the 9th and 10th centuries were of Armenian origin: Leo V, a fine and honest soldier responsible for the restoration of iconoclasm; Basil I, born into a family transplanted to Macedonia and founder of the "Macedonian" dynasty; Romanos I Lekapenos, a highly successful emperor and the only navy officer to attain that position; and John I Tzimiskes, another militarily competent emperor. In addition Theodora, wife of Theophilos and later regent for their son Michael III, was of Armenian origin, and other emperors had Armenian connections. Generals, loyal, and especially traitorous (Kazhdan finds 25 mutinies under Armenian leadership, or at least with Armenian participation, between 976 and 1204), were often of Armenian stock. Among good servants of the empire were Melias, the Armenian prince Mleh who founded the *kleisoura* (small administrative unit) of Lykandos in the Anti-Taurus mountains, and John Kourkouas, who recovered the holy Mandylion of Edessa: both played an important part in Byzantine expansion eastwards. Armenians were less likely to be courtiers (at least until the Komnenian period), but even here there were influential figures like Stylianos Zaoutzes, at one time father-in-law of Leo VI. At least two 12th-century patriarchs were of Armenian stock: Michael II, of the Kourkouas family and, on his father's side, Theodosios Boradiotes. While there were no specifically Armenian monasteries on Mount Athos, there were Armenian monks there, one of whom, Theoktistos, abbot of Esphigmenou, rose to be *protos* (head) of the whole community in the 1030s. The annexation of Armenian territory in the late 10th and first half of the 11th century hugely increased the number of Armenians in the empire, and it has been estimated that in the latter century 10 to 15 per cent of the Byzantine aristocracy were Armenian. Nevertheless, in the Komnenian and Palaiologan periods they appear to have filled far fewer positions of authority, and with the creation of an Armenian state in Cilicia the arrival of newcomers came to an end.

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See also Cilicia

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Army

Armies and war making were the focus of one of the landmarks of early Greek culture, Homer's *Iliad*. The epic poems of the 8th century BC looked back to the battles and warriors of the Bronze Age, so vividly depicted in the *Iliad*, with awe and fascination. War making played a key role in the Mycenaean heroic age and its aftermath, after 1100 BC, when the Dorians, Iron Age warriors who invaded and eventually settled in Greece, changed the political and social landscape. The dearth of historical and archaeological information on the post-Mycenaean years, the so-called Greek Dark Age between 1100 BC and 800 BC, makes it difficult to ascertain the exact causes and consequences of the decline of the Mycenaeans. It appears, however, that the decline of Mycenae had begun before the advent of the Dorians. It appears also that a series of invasions by the armies of the migrating Sea Peoples (who overran the Hittite empire, and sought to conquer Egypt, and one of whose tribes, the Philistines, settled in Palestine) were among the factors leading to the general exhaustion that marked the Mycenaean world even before 1100 BC. After 1000 BC Greek society was reduced to small local communities, from which there gradually emerged the city state (polis).

Military conflict between the city states of mainland Greece was not rare even at a later period, between the 8th century BC and the beginning of the Persian Wars in the early 5th century BC. Yet, with the exception of Sparta, the city states sought to avoid the maintenance of a standing army. By the time of the first Persian War (490 BC) most city states used cavalry, but its extensive use was confined to the Thessalian League. For the rest, their military strength was represented by the organization of the infantry. The hoplites, the armed citizen-soldiers, fought on foot and were organized in companies (*lochoi*) and platoons (*enomotiai*). In the ten years between the first and the second Persian War (480–479 BC), Athens concentrated on strengthening its sea power by building a large trireme fleet. After the Persians' devastating defeat in 479 BC, which ended the Persian threat to the Greek world, Athenian hegemony was established gradually in mainland Greece and, with the help of the Delian League, throughout the Aegean, from Thasos to Rhodes.

Armies in Classical antiquity represented the organized mobilization of citizenry in case of war. Therefore, while military conflict was not uncommon, it implied the temporary militarization of life – again with the exception of Sparta, the only city state in which a militaristic structure and way of life defined all other social and political activity. In Athens the relaxed quality of civic life in the polis during the Periclean age is contrasted by Thucydides to the poisonous atmosphere brought about through war, militarization, and the suspension of many features of the Athenian democracy. The Peloponnesian Wars (460–445, 431–404 BC), caused by a complex series of perceived threats and counter-threats, manifested the consequences of the imperial expansionism of the Athenian League and the commitment by Sparta and the Peloponnesian League to total victory and the destruction of the power of Athens. In particular the second, so-called Great, Peloponnesian War displayed a succession of intense clashes and a relentless crusade towards total supremacy. It was the dominance of that mentality in both camps that explains the Sicilian expedition in the final years of the war, a colossal undertaking by Athens aimed at conquering Sparta's allies in Sicily. The defeat of Athens left Sparta in the position of a dominant player. But the inward-looking character of the Spartan regime, combined with the fragmentation of the Greek city states and the efforts by the Persians to influence political developments in Athens and elsewhere, resulted in political complications which moderated the significance of the Spartan victory.

The rise of Macedon in the 4th century BC, which soon put an end to Spartan supremacy, owed much to the military innovations introduced and perfected by Philip and his son Alexander the Great. These were the development of siege weaponry to obviate the need for lengthy blockades, and the perfection of infantry/cavalry tactics based on new models for the organization of the deep phalanx, which enabled complex manoeuvres and combined infantry/cavalry deployment (Connolly, 1977 and Humble, 1980). In the invasion of Asia Alexander led an army in which not only Macedonians but all Greeks participated, with the exception of the Spartans. After Alexander's death (323 BC) the Macedonian empire suffered the wars of the generals, which introduced the war elephant to the battlefield. The fragmentation of the Hellenistic world, the result of intense conflict between Alexander's successors, prepared the ground for the gradual absorption of large segments of that world into the emerging Roman empire.

Throughout the Roman and early Byzantine periods, inhabitants of the Greek peninsula often served in the auxiliary cohorts of the army, which was a professional long-service force. Discharged veterans received a pension from a public fund and/or a small estate. In the Byzantine period the administrative structure of the empire was dependent on the spatial organization of the military command in politico-military units (themes) led by generals. The theme was a combined administrative and military unit established by the emperor Herakleios in the 7th century AD and, despite subsequent changes and reforms in other aspects of the army, this basic structure was preserved. By contrast, there was considerable temporal variation concerning military duties and conscription. At some point, all adult male subjects under the age of 40 had to be available for military service. Foreign mercenaries were used extensively on various occasions, particularly (but not exclusively) after the 10th century. The imperial guard had only foreign soldiers, mainly from northern Europe and Scandinavia (the Varangian Guard). During the years of Ottoman rule, war making and the army were in the hands of the Muslims, while trade and economic activities were left to

the non-Muslim subjects, usually Greeks and Jews. Yet the Ottomans also had licensed bands of Christian irregulars (the *armatoloi*) in mainland Greece in order to use them against the brigands (the klephts) who often dominated the mountainous districts of the region.

The Greek War of Independence was fought against the Ottomans mainly by Christian irregulars and brigands, bands of philhellenes, and, on a couple of occasions, regular European armies. In the War of Independence and in subsequent political developments an important role was played by the *armatoloi* and the klephts, a "distinctive military class" (Koliopoulos, 1987) which was the product of the years of Ottoman rule combined with the geographical (a mountainous terrain) and social particularities of the Greek peninsula. These groups continued to play key roles after 1830, when the modern Greek nation state came into being. The territorial settlement of 1830 was seen by many as provisional; Greek irredentism was a formidable force between 1830 and 1922, when the irredentist drive came to an abrupt end with defeat at the hands of the emerging Turkish secular state. The irregulars of the War of Independence followed two paths after 1830. Some joined the Greek army, which was gradually developed along Western lines. The regular army soon became an important mechanism, along with the educational establishments, for the social and often also the linguistic Hellenization of its recruits (Kitromilides, 1989). Others remained outside the regular army. In the latter category, most joined irredentist bands which became the protagonists of nationalist mobilizations in the mid-1850s, in 1877–79, in 1897, and in the struggle for Macedonia in the early years of the 20th century (1903–08).

Despite early efforts, particularly by the Trikoupis governments, to perfect the regular army, it was only in 1912 that the Greek state was in a position to use a well-organized and equipped professional army. From the beginning of the 20th century to the mid-1970s the army played key roles in political development, starting with the coup in 1909 which, apart from its corporatist aspects linked to the officers' professional concerns, appeared to favour liberal politicians. In this sense the 1909 coup presaged and favoured a bourgeois outcome. The new regime after 1909 did much to increase military professionalization. In turn, Greek gains in the Balkan Wars (1912–13) did much to increase the domestic prestige and role of the army.

But the domestic role of the army soon became so entangled in political strife that it was difficult in the interwar period to distinguish between interventions by the military as an institution and the use being made by segments of the political elite of different groups of military officers. Pronunciamentos, coup attempts, and other forms of intervention by royalist officers against a liberal government and by liberal officers against a royalist government became common, resulting in considerable politicization of the army. The Civil War of the 1940s reinforced internal security as a major task for the army, and the controlled and limited democracy which ensued in the 1950s saw the army assume the position of an arbiter of the regime. Still, despite its militaristic features, the regime of controlled democracy reintroduced the aforementioned intra-military fragmentation along political lines. This is evident in the coup of 1967, which was meant to block the possibility of a centre-left government emerging from the planned elections of that year. The fierce anti-communism of the junta should not be taken very seriously as the main explanation for the coup. The politicization of the army being a critical background factor, the authoritarian regime of 1967–74 reflected to an extent the efforts by middle-ranking officers to reassert the role of the army as an arbiter. In fact, the royalist generals had been preparing a coup on behalf of the king in 1967, when the junta took over and neutralized both the centre-left and the royalist factions in the officer corps. The officers who led the coup in 1967 had been members in the 1940s of a far right military fraternity known by the initials IDEA (Holy Band of Greek Officers). The group had been founded among Greek officers in the Middle East during the German occupation of Greece.

The breakdown of the authoritarian regime in 1974 amid foreign policy crises and domestic upheaval marked a crucial change in the army's position in the political system. The Karamanlis government, angered by apparent US and NATO passivity and tolerance of the Turkish intervention in Cyprus, decided to withdraw from the military section of NATO. The withdrawal had two aims. First, it wanted to give the Greek government complete control over the armed forces in case of a direct Greek–Turkish clash. Second, it was a symbolic act indicating Greece's determination to defend its national interest and search for appropriate alliances in the process rather than the other way round (the structure of alliances determining the course of action). Greece's NATO withdrawal was a tactical mistake. First, it left Athens with no ability to influence the NATO Council during subsequent developments. Second, it gave a mixed signal to the West, complicated by the fact that French influence in Athens, which was on the increase, particularly irritated the USA. Third, the Greek military establishment was cut off from its NATO links, even if only temporarily. This was a mixed blessing for the new regime in Athens. On the one hand, to the extent that the military regime had any clear US or NATO backing, this move could perhaps have facilitated the democratization process. On the other hand, the move underlined the extent to which the post-junta role and legitimacy of the Greek military became dependent on Greek–Turkish rivalry. Last but not least, the fourth implication of Greece's withdrawal was that when Athens decided to return to the military section of NATO a few years later the Turkish side was able to negotiate, along with the other partners, the conditions for Greece's reintegration.

The crisis in relations with Turkey over Cyprus in 1974 left the impression in Greece that the Greek army was inadequately prepared and that its domestic preoccupations had undermined its credibility as a military force abroad. After 1974 the army went through a process of reorientation from its traditional role (internal security plus commitment to defend the northern borders against NATO enemies) to a new one (protection of national interests against perceived Turkish expansionism). The professionalization of the officer corps has increased since the return to democracy in 1974 and has been combined more recently with modern curricula at the Military Academy, regular exchanges in western Europe and the USA, and efforts to better integrate new officers within a democratic context. Developments in international relations in south-eastern Europe since 1989 have added a new dimension to the

role of the Greek army, in view of the fact that the defence orientation towards the eastern borders against a background of relative stability in the north cannot now be taken for granted.

Bearing in mind the peculiarities of the country as well as the analytical issues posed by the comparative examination of the role of the army in newly consolidated democracies, it can be argued that the role of the Greek army in the 1990s was defined by four main parameters. First, Greece maintained a very substantial level of defence spending, one of the highest in NATO. Second, there were waverings (inherited from the early, populist years of PASOK in government in the 1980s) between a clearly defined role for the professional army and a rather confused notion of popular defence (*pallaiki amyna*) whose original conception in the 1980s had borrowed freely from both the Israeli and the late Yugoslav models. What enabled the continuation of this debate was the third of these parameters, namely, the evolution of Greek–Turkish rivalry over Cyprus and certain issues which concerned the Aegean, coupled with the weighty role of the military establishment in Turkish politics. Finally, developments on the EU front were crucial in two respects. On the one hand, the agreement over Economic and Monetary Union put increased pressure on Greece to adjust its economy in order to be able to participate in the Euro zone after 2001. There are crucial budgetary dilemmas ahead, and military expenditure cannot avoid becoming embroiled in the debates at some point. On the other hand, the steps towards strengthening the Western European Union (WEU) created the opportunity for Greek military integration in WEU mechanisms and operations. The Yugoslav conflict and subsequent peace-keeping operations in the area offered the opportunity for involvement by the Greek army in new roles in a combined UN-NATO-WEU structure.

Unlike comparable processes in Spain and Portugal, Greece's change of regime and democratic consolidation after the mid-1970s had to address the issue of the new role and legitimacy of the army with reference to a major external factor. It remains to be seen whether Greek political elites will now endeavour to shift the reference point for the legitimacy of the post-authoritarian role of the Greek army from Greek–Turkish rivalry to common European security. This is, of course, an interactive process, and depends also on developments on the Turkish side. The Europeanization of Turkey will increase the likelihood of cooperation in Greek–Turkish relations, while regression to militarist nationalism or a shift towards Islamic fundamentalism, the other possible paths for the future of the Turkish state, may favour conflict. Despite oscillations, the general trend in Greece since 1974 has favoured high military spending legitimized through the precipitate embrace of a mentality of *vis pacem, para bellum*. As the challenges of European convergence and Europeanization require the mobilization of energies and resources towards a new direction, old maxims and inherited "common wisdom" need to be re-examined.

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See also Junta, Warfare

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Arrian *c.*AD 90–160

Historian

In his preface to the *Anabasis of Alexander* Arrian declares that wherever Ptolemy and Aristobulus, the Alexander historians, "have both given the same accounts of Alexander the son of Philip, it is my practice to record what they say as completely true, but when they differ, to select the version I regard as more trustworthy and also more telling". He has chosen these two authors because both of them took part in Alexander's expedition and both wrote after his death, thus not being "under any constraint or hope of gain", particularly Ptolemy, who became king. Other accounts Arrian intends to record only as "tales" told of Alexander (Praefatio, 1–3). In this unique statement on principles of selection and use of sources Arrian sweepingly disqualifies the bulk of his predecessors, including Callisthenes (mentioned only as a historical figure in the *Anabasis of Alexander*), Clitarchus, Diodorus, and Plutarch, names that never appear in Arrian's extant works. In the so-called "second preface" to the same *Anabasis* Arrian even boasts that before him Alexander's exploits were never properly recorded, and that he, at last, "will make Alexander's deeds known to men" (1. 12. 2–5). He also displays a similar attitude elsewhere. In the *Indica* (2. 9) he singles out Eratosthenes as "more trustworthy than any other writer", and Nearchus and Megasthenes since both are "remarkable men" (17. 6); in the opening chapter of the *Tactica* he enumerates tactical writers, including Pyrrhus, Polybius, and Posidonius, only to declare them all useless.

Predecessors and sources are not necessarily models. Arrian's ideal was Xenophon – his career as a soldier and, later in life, as a retired gentleman-writer (*Cynegeticus*, 1). He called himself "Xenophon", and was nicknamed the "new Xenophon" by later biographers. Arrian was indeed as prolific and versatile a writer as Xenophon. Like Xenophon, who started his intellectual career as a disciple of Socrates, Arrian began his as a disciple of Epictetus, turning thereafter to other subjects. Yet, he did not write contemporary history as Xenophon had done. All his historical work bears upon the past: the *Antiquities of Bithynia*, the monographs on Dion and Timoleon, the *Anabasis of Alexander*, the *Events after Alexander*. Actually, he must have had more than one model. Herodotus, for example, is quoted and used several times. Arrian's works bristle with Herodotean reminiscences in content, in vocabulary, and in style. In true Herodotean fashion he reports versions that he does not credit, has reservations about his sources, and leaves it to others to judge or explain. In the *Indica* he even adopts the Ionic style. Sometimes he feels compelled to find a compromise between Herodotus and his avowed model Xenophon. A case in point is his belief in the existence of Amazons in mythical times, as attested by Herodotus and by Athenian funeral orators, while disbelieving their survival in historical times, as Xenophon's silence would suggest (*Anabasis*, 7. 13. 5–6). Arrian's debt to Thucydides and Theopompus (never mentioned by name) should perhaps remain a matter of speculation, but the influence of Atthidography on his local chronicle of Bithynia (*Bithyniaca*) is quite evident. His presumably continuous survey of Bithynian antiquities from mythical times to 74 BC, as well as his self-identification as a priest of Demeter and Core, the tutelary goddesses of Nicomedia, echo a topos already exploited by Cleidemus and Philochorus in the 4th century BC.

Having predecessors, and even being influenced by them, does not necessarily imply slavish imitation. Arrian read and absorbed his sources, but though sometimes he followed them passively, he developed a style of his own. His historical work is a mixture of the "pragmatic" school of Thucydides, Xenophon, and Polybius, and of the encomiastic trend of Alexander-historians such as Callisthenes and the "vulgate" tradition. And, of course, Arrian was a child of his times. The very project of compiling a laudatory monograph on Alexander cannot be dissociated from the impact of the Parthian wars of Trajan on Greek intellectuals, or from the reminiscences and propaganda about the Persian wars emanating in the 2nd century from Hadrian's Panhellenion in Athens.

Arrian's reputation among his younger contemporaries and later, as having an exemplary career as a philosopher, a historian, or a master of style, is well attested. For Lucian, Arrian was "a disciple of Epictetus, a Roman of the highest distinction, and a life-long devotee of letters", a man who did not disdain writing the life even of the brigand Tilliborus (a work otherwise unknown). Aulus Gellius was acquainted with Arrian's edition of Epictetus' *Discourses*. Cassius Dio wrote a "Life of Arrian the Philosopher" (not extant) and in his *Roman History* he mentioned Arrian's role in the war against the Alani. Dexippus apparently used and followed closely Arrian's history of the Diadochi without mounting his name. In the 4th century AD Eusebius put Arrian's *floruit* in AD 149/50 and Themistius pronounced him a famous example of a philosopher engaged in public life. In the 5th century Malalas called Arrian a "most wise chronographer" and used his *Parthica* for Trajan's wars. His contemporary Johannes Lydus quoted him on the antiquities of the Parthians. Procopius quotes him on Kytaia, the Colchian city of Medea, and the Neoplatonist Simplicius mentions a *Life of Epictetus* written by Arrian. In the 6th century Stephanus of Byzantium used Arrian extensively, consulting particularly the *Bithyniaca* and the *Parthica* for his own purposes and quoting verbatim several passages.

Photios's encomium of Arrian, appended to the epitome of the *Events after Alexander*, is one of the longest in the *Bibliotheca*. To Photios, Arrian was "inferior to no one of the best writers of history", a true imitator of Xenophon, a writer worthy of praise for his clarity, composition, and style, as well as for his lack of out-of-place digressions and parentheses, and for his traditional choice of words. Photios abridged Arrian's historical works and knew of his edition of Epictetus' teachings. Arrian's reputation for composition is also attested in Byzantine times by the anonymous author of a treatise *On Syntax*.

The *Suda* lexicon has an entry on Arrian and refers to him repeatedly, particularly to the *Parthica*, from which many substantial passages are quoted. A 10th-century collection of *excerpta* includes passages from Arrian's *Anabasis of Alexander*, and a passage from this same work on the statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton at Athens is quoted in the scholia to Proclus' commentary on Plato's *Timaeus*. In the 12th century Tzetzes and the *Etymologicum Magnum* used Arrian's *Bithyniaca*, and Eustathios drew heavily on both the

Bithyniaca and the *Anabasis of Alexander* for his commentaries on Homer and Dionysius Periegetes, preserving sizeable passages quoted verbatim. Finally, around 1200 the Codex Vindobonensis (Vienna, Nationalbibliothek, hist. gr. 4) was copied, from which all the extant manuscripts of the *Anabasis of Alexander* are descended.

DAVID ASHERI

Biography

Born in Nicomedia in Bithynia *c.*AD 90, Arrian studied under the Stoic Epictetus before moving to Greece (108–12) and a career in the civil service under Hadrian. He served as legate of Cappadocia (131–37) and then retired to Athens where he died *c.*160. Arrian wrote on a wide range of subjects including geography, hunting, military tactics, and local history, but is best known for his *Anabasis*, a history of the campaigns of Alexander the Great.

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Arta

Town in Epirus

The town of Arta lies some 14 km north of the Ambracian Gulf, in a bend of the Arachthus river where it winds down from the Xerovouni mountains to the west coast of Greece. It has always been the principal coastal town of the district of Epirus, and was known in antiquity as Ambracia. Its situation close to the estuary of the Arachthus allowed its inhabitants to reap the agricultural benefits of the flat, fertile, and well-watered surrounding land.

The area was first colonized by Corinth in the late 7th century BC, and a century later had become fully established. Pyrrhus, the king of Epirus, the son of Aeacides and Phthia, consolidated his position by settling there in 295 BC, and was the first ruler to make the town into a substantial capital, erecting many public buildings and sculptures. These were largely removed by the Romans when they took the town in 189 BC, and the inhabitants were moved to populate the new city of Nicopolis.

During the medieval period Arta became an important Venetian trading post, and by the mid-12th century was the seat of an archbishopric. However, the geographical remoteness of Epirus from the main centres of power in Greece meant that it was never given any great significance in imperial Byzantine policy. This remoteness was turned to advantage after 1204, when the dismemberment of the Byzantine empire after the Fourth Crusade allowed Michael I Angelos to establish an autonomous Byzantine state with its capital at Arta, thus initiating the most brilliant and (for the Greek world) influential period of the town's history. He adopted the title of despot, and so the despotate of Epirus became an independent state that was to persist under various governments until long after Turkish rule had been established in the rest of Greece.

The surviving monuments of Arta provide a vivid demonstration of the individuality that was established during its years as capital of a Byzantine despotate. Although acknowledging Byzantine traditions, the town is much closer to Italy than to Thessalonica or Constantinople, and western influences clearly formed part of its cultural input. The fortress on the town's low acropolis has visible Classical foundations, and its walls, now much restored, contain reused Classical *spolia*, although they now have little to show of their medieval past. But it is the large metropolitan church of the Panagia Parigoritissa ("Virgin of Consolation") which conveys most graphically the meeting of Constantinopolitan and western

Arta: bridge on the Arachthus river at Arta, celebrated in legend and song

sources that was such an authentic feature of the despotate. Built between 1283 and 1296 to a square plan, its west, south, and exterior walls are pierced by two rows of double-arcaded windows, and appear to have more in common with the forms of a central Italian *palazzo* than with any Byzantine tradition, but the five apses and six cupolas all show the Greek origins of the despotate. Further acknowledgement of Byzantine origins can be found within the spacious interior of the church, where a relief of a double-headed eagle is set into the floor and mosaics can just be seen high up in the large central cupola.

Two other churches in Arta itself broaden this impression: that of St Basil, a wooden-roofed basilica of the second half of the 13th century, of which the most prominent feature is an outstandingly rich and colourful exterior at its east end, formed partly from glazed polychrome tiles; and that of St Theodora of 1246–67, of which the dedication is due to the pious Theodora of the family Petraliphas, the wife of the despot Michael II (1246–67), whose tomb is located here. She appears in the graphically expressive relief carving of the tomb with beside her the second of her six children, the despot Nikiphoros I (1267–96).

Among other churches that exemplify the vitality of the despotate in the surroundings of Arta, that of Pangia tou Vlacherna, in the village of Vlacherna, demonstrates the inventiveness of local builders who, under the despot Michael II, added three cupolas to what was originally a 12th-century three-aisled basilica. The smaller, domed, 13th-century church of St Nicholas tes Rhodias, built on an inscribed cross plan, is distinguished by a broad Greek meander pattern, set in thin bricks and running right round its exterior; this gesture to antiquity is balanced by some unusual 13th- to 14th-century frescos on its interior walls.

The prosperity of Epirus and the major town of Arta meant that they were coveted by a succession of powers under various leaders. Both before and after the restoration of Greek rule in Constantinople in 1261 attempts had been made to regain control of Arta by successive emperors, but a long period was to ensue when its rulers were principally non-Greeks. For almost 20 years until 1338 it had been occupied by the Orsini family, who were then ruling in the Adriatic as counts of Cephalonia. Andronikos III recovered Arta for the Byzantine empire in that year, but by 1348 it had fallen to Stephan IV Dushan, the powerful and ambitious *kral* of Serbia. In 1359 his successor, Symeon Uroš, decided to divide his growing territory in northern Greece, and placed Arta under the care of an Albanian lord, Peter Losha, giving him the title of despot of Arta and Rogoi. This despotate survived until 1384, when Italians from the Adriatic restored hegemony, and the fortunes

of Arta became linked to the counts of Cephalonia, with their islands of Ithaca and Zakynthos and mainland holdings in western Greece.

Albanians again became involved in the fortunes of the town when Muriki and Yaqub Spata became lords of Arta between 1399 and 1416, until another Italian, Carlo Tocco, entering Arta in 1416, declared himself despot. The growing Turkish power meant that for much of the 15th century Venice was to assume, in order that its many possessions should be protected, an increasing power and responsibility in the area, and the last nominal despot of Arta, Leonardo III Tocco, was left to rule by the agreement of the republic. When he died in 1479, all of Epirus, including Arta, was under full Turkish control.

During the centuries of Ottoman domination Arta was to share the fate of the rest of Greece, and even so was only to achieve its desired status as fully Greek territory quite late in the struggle for Greek independence. Its geographical position was again to become important when, in 1832, the Arta–Volos line was established as the northern limit of the new kingdom of Greece. In spite of this, the town of Arta with its immediate surrounding territory was only to emerge again as a fully Greek possession in 1881; in that year the reconvened frontier commission came to an agreement that granted Arta, with its surrounding area, and Thessaly to Greece, but allowed Turkey to retain both Ioannina to the north and Preveza a short distance to the southwest. This anomalous arrangement was finally resolved only in 1912.

Thus it can be said that the two periods of Arta's most notable contribution to the Hellenic tradition occurred initially under Pyrrhus, who first made the town his capital in the 3rd–2nd century BC, and later, as an independent Byzantine despotate, when it was able to express a vigorous individualism which was reflected in the outstanding range of buildings that can still be seen today.

PAUL HETHERINGTON

See also Epirus

Summary

The chief coastal town of Epirus, Arta was known as Ambracia in antiquity. The area was colonized by Corinth in the 7th century BC. Arta was the capital of Pyrrhus, king of Epirus in the 3rd–2nd centuries BC. In the Middle Ages it was an important Venetian trading post. From 1204 to 1479 it was the capital of the Despotate of Epirus.

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Asia Minor Campaign and Disaster

1919–1922

The Asia Minor campaign and its culmination, the disaster of 1922, were the dramatic climaxes in the pursuit of the Great Idea (the reconstruction of the Byzantine empire), and important landmarks in the history of modern Greece. Their effects were far reaching: the centuries-old Greek populations of Asia Minor were uprooted, with horrific loss of life and property. The destitute refugees flooded into Greece and the word *katastrophi* (disaster) became synonymous with the Asia Minor affair.

In 1919, after the conclusion of the European war, the situation for Greece and the Greeks had appeared auspicious. Greece was sitting at the Peace Conference on the side of the victors; a general consensus appeared to exist among the victorious powers that the Ottoman empire (along with the German and Austro-Hungarian empires) would be dismembered or, at least, divided into spheres of influence; even more importantly, Greece had ethnographic grounds to support its own claims, grounds that were at the core of the Allied wartime declarations, including Woodrow Wilson's "Fourteen Points"; all this could only augur well for the Greek populations and for the realization of the Great Idea, the core of Greek policy over the previous 80 years. A further advantage for Greece was that it bordered the regions it claimed, a geographical advantage that no other power possessed.

The head of the Greek government was Eleftherios Venizelos, a statesman of international repute; but in 1919 the country was still deeply divided by the National Schism, and its constitutional order was irregular: Venizelos had come to power following an intervention of the Entente powers, and, as his opponents were saying, "by foreign bayonets"; king Constantine had left the country in 1917 without abdicating, appointing in his place his second son, Alexander; and Venizelos was ruling by means of a "resurrected" parliament elected in 1915, in which his supporters had a majority. On 29 March 1919 the Italians began to occupy the area of Adalia in southern Anatolia and to advance northwest towards Smyrna. Alarmed by this development, on 7 May the British prime minister Lloyd George, the American president Wilson, and the French premier Clémenceau, in the absence of the Italian delegation, authorized Greece to occupy the city of Smyrna and its hinterland, to protect the Christian populations of that city. The landing took place on 15 May, under the protection of Allied warships. The Greek occupation was not uneventful: the Greek troops were fired on by Turkish irregulars on arrival at the quays of Smyrna and Turkish guerrillas began raids on the Greek-occupied area. With atrocities occurring on both sides, military considerations made a speedy occupation of the Greek zone imperative.

By the autumn of 1919, the Greeks were well established, militarily and administratively, in Smryna and its vicinity, even though Turkish nationalist irregulars were harassing the Greek forces and the Christian inhabitants of the area. However, given the weakness of their opponents, the attacks were easily repulsed. The most difficult problem was the geographical boundaries in which the Greek army could operate, these being no more than 3 km outside the Greek zone. Within this limited

Asia Minor Disaster: Greek refugees fleeing before the advancing Turkish army, 1922

area, mopping-up operations continued throughout the rest of 1919 and during the first half of 1920. After the nationalist attack on the British garrison at Izmit in June 1920, however, the ban on operations was lifted (initially with the blessing of the Allied High Command in Constantinople) and the Greek army was allowed not only to pursue the attacking forces, but also to extend its zone of occupation inland.

The Greek territorial claims and the occupation of Smyrna were formalized in the Treaty of Sèvres, signed on 10 August 1920; it confirmed the Greek mandate for the Smyrna area from the Gulf of Adramyttio to Scala Nuova; the Greek zone was contiguous with a British occupation zone (to the north) and an Italian one to the south; the French were in Cilicia. The treaty was draconian for Turkey, which was limited to a small kernel in central Asia Minor; yet despite a comprehensive list of obligations, the open question was how Turkey would be compelled to accept and fulfil the terms of the treaty. Almost immediately it became clear that the Turks were not going to accept them; and that the Entente was collectively unwilling and even unable to enforce them militarily. The one power that was prepared to intervene militarily to enforce the treaty was Greece; however, its own resources, even if strained to the limit, were numerically insufficient for the task

The Greek landing in Smyrna and the Treaty of Sèvres caused considerable upheaval and reactions among the Turkish populations. Mustafa Kemal (later Atatürk) became the focus and organizer of resistance to the treaty. From central Asia Minor he organized two conferences of Turkish nationalists (in July and September 1919), both of which affirmed the rejection of the Sèvres treaty. The new Ottoman parliament, elected in November 1919, had a majority of nationalist deputies and was openly against the Treaty of Sèvres; the Allies dissolved it, but Kemal reconvened it in Ankara in April 1920, renamed as the Grand National Assembly. This became the supreme power for the Turkish nationalists, and soon the only power in Turkey.

In November 1920, following the death of king Alexander, Venizelos held elections in Greece; he was defeated decisively and left the country. This led to a series of resignations and the replacement of Venizelist officers from commands of units on the Asia Minor front. These included the replacement of general Paraskevopoulos, commander of the army in Smyrna, with general Papoulas. More importantly, the change in government resulted in a change in the Entente stance towards Greece: on 21 November 1920 the Entente issued a common declaration informing Greece that the return of Constantine to

the throne would result in the immediate cessation of financial aid and that the Allies would no longer assume any responsibility towards Greece. The restoration of Constantine gave the French and Italians the pretext they needed to distance themselves from their already shaky support of Greece and allowed them to effect a rapprochement with Mustafa Kemal's nationalists. Further adverse developments were also taking place: on 13 November 1920, in London, the French had suggested to the Allies the return of Smyrna to Turkey; on 20 November 1920 the Armenians capitulated and agreed to renounce their gains from the Treaty of Sèvres; while a rapprochement between the Turkish nationalists and the Soviets led to the signing of a treaty of friendship between the two on 3 March 1921. By the summer of 1921 the French and Italian military forces had begun evacuating the regions they were occupying, while their governments were vying with each other over supplying the nationalists; Mustafa Kemal had received large amounts of financial aid from the Soviets; and the British government had declared that it would remain neutral in the conflict. Despite these developments the Greek government and high command decided on a further push eastwards, which would later take the Greek army just short of Ankara, the capital of the nationalists. The campaign, which lasted until the end of August 1921, was only partly successful: the Turkish forces were generally pushed back and often defeated with many casualties and loss of equipment, but the Greeks failed to inflict a decisive defeat; long lines of communication and some war-weariness were also taking their toll. By September 1921 it was obvious that the front could not be held as it was; the Greek forces retreated westwards to a defensive line between Eskişehir and Afyonkarahisar. A military stalemate ensued with the front remaining stable until August 1922.

On the diplomatic front the Entente had attempted to find a solution to the stalemate in the summer of 1921, with little success. In February and March 1922 a further attempt was made, again with no success; both the Ottoman and the nationalist Turkish delegations insisted on the evacuation by the Greeks of both Asia Minor and Thrace before any further discussion could take place. The Greeks rejected this condition. The conference ended with the Entente proposals (modifications of the treaty of Sèvres and an autonomous status for Smyrna) given to the belligerents, but neither really accepting them. More importantly, Lloyd George, in meetings with the Greek delegation, encouraged the Greeks to seek a military solution to the issue. This was particularly welcome to the Greek government and in line with the Greek staff's confidence in the capability of the Greek army; the result was the Greek offensive of the spring and summer of 1921.

In October 1921 the French government signed the Franklin–Bouillon pact that recognized de facto the nationalists as the legitimate government of Turkey; the remaining French troops were withdrawn from Cilicia and arms and munitions (including 10 war planes) handed over.

In March 1922 the Entente made another attempt to find a solution to the stalemate; the proposals were more far-reaching than before, including changes in the demilitarized zone of the straits, evacuation of Constantinople by the Allied troops, a national homeland for the Armenians in Cilicia, and a League of Nations mandate for Smyrna; but the Greeks reserved their

5. Asia Minor campaign, 1919–22

reply to the proposals and the Turks rejected them, insisting once more on an unconditional withdrawal of the Greeks. All along, while Britain (particularly Curzon, the foreign secretary) was trying to find a solution, the other two members of the Entente, France and Italy, continued to supply Kemal's nationalists. In July the Greeks (in a veiled threat) asked for permission to enter Constantinople; they were refused and they did not move.

In the meantime Kemal's army was becoming stronger; and while the Greeks were not in any way inferior, general Hadjanestis, appointed in May 1922 as the new commander of the troops in Asia Minor, changed the organization of the Greek forces, centralizing command; his own headquarters were in Smyrna. Given the length of the front and the difficulties in communication, this was to prove a fatal mistake. On 26 August 1922 Kemal, from his headquarters a few kilometres behind the front line, launched a massive offensive and broke the Greek front between Afyonkarahisar and Savran. The Greek retreat was badly mismanaged and ended in several divisions being surrounded and having to surrender. By 8 September Smyrna was evacuated by the Greek troops; Turkish cavalry entered the city the next day. The evacuation of the Greek army from the Asia Minor seaboard was completed by 16 September 1922.

In Smyrna the departure of the Greek forces was to open a tragic page in Greek history. A wholesale massacre of Armenians and Greeks by regular and irregular Turkish troops was followed by the organized and systematic burning of the Armenian, Greek, and European quarters of the city. The toll was more than 25,000 dead. More than 200,000 destitute and panic-stricken people, mostly women and children, flocked to the shore, in a desperate attempt to find some means to leave.

Further atrocities took place there, in front of the foreign warships that were anchored in the Smyrna harbour. Among the dead was Chrysostomos, the Greek metropolitan of Smyrna, who was cut to pieces by the Turkish mob in front of a French marines patrol. A few days later, Nureddin, the Turkish military commander, issued a proclamation by which all Greek and Armenian men aged between 18 and 45 were rounded up and taken inland, to work in the notorious *amele taburu* (work battalions); most did not return. The remaining Greeks and Armenians were given until 30 September to leave; if they did not, the proclamation continued, they would "be considered suspect of threatening the security of the army and public order" and deported. Similar scenes of looting, destruction, massacre, and deportation were repeated in other towns and villages of the coast where Greek populations were living.

British intervention (which France grudgingly agreed to support) resulted in an armistice signed in Moudania on 11 October 1922. Greece had to evacuate eastern Thrace and withdraw west of the Mariza (Evros) river. Following this decision, the Greek population of eastern Thrace abandoned their homes and followed the Greek army into Greece. The region was handed over to the British authorities who, in turn, handed it to the Turkish nationalist representatives on the same day.

The results of the Asia Minor campaign were confirmed with the Lausanne treaty, which finalized the end of the Greek dreams, killing with them the Great Idea. As a result of the disaster and the Treaty of Lausanne, 1.5 million Greeks left Turkey for Greece, exchanged for 350,000 Muslims who left Greece for Turkey. The compulsory exchange of populations made Asia Minor, along with eastern Thrace, Pontus, and later Imbros and Tenedos, part of what became known in Greek as the *chamenes patrides* (lost homelands).

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See also Great Idea, Lausanne, Refugees, Sèvres, Smyrna

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Astrology

Astrology is a pseudoscience that uses astronomical phenomena to make mundane predictions. Its origins lie in Mesopotamian astral, planetary, and meteorological omens, which were being catalogued already in the 2nd millennium BC in the cuneiform text *Enu-ma Anu Enlil* (much of its material is to be found in later Greek manuals such as those of Ptolemy, Hephaestion of Thebes, and John the Lydian in the 2nd, 5th, and 6th centuries AD respectively). Although it was not at first true astrology, in so far as there was no suggested relationship of cause and effect, increasingly exact astronomical observations from the 7th century BC encouraged the Babylonians to extend their science to making predictions for individual humans. By the late 5th century this Babylonian protoastrology had penetrated a Greek world made receptive through its divinization of celestial bodies. Greeks are responsible for its complex developments made chiefly in the period *c.*300 BC – *c.*AD 300.

Astrology is dependent upon a belief in sympathetic magic, which postulates a link between the macrocosm (universe) and the microcosm (man). It is based upon the supposed characteristics and associations with mundane phenomena of the seven "planets" (Sun, Moon, Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Venus, and Mercury) and the twelve constellations of the zodiac, the latter being groupings as seen from earth of unrelated stars in a moving band eight or nine degrees each side of the ecliptic (the apparent course of the sun's annual orbit). The attribution of characteristics and associations to celestial bodies has on rare occasions a vestige of reason: thus Saturn, whose orbit is furthest from the sun of the planets known to the ancient world, was considered cold and malign, the cause of freezing weather, pestilences, and scarcity, and in man of dysentery, colic, the bringing up of phlegm, elephantiasis, etc. More typically, however, his lordship over the right ear (like Mercury's over the buttocks) appears quite arbitrary. Other associations depend upon contemporary theories: for instance, Pythagorean mathematics, by classifying all even numbers as female, dictates that Taurus (the Bull), since it is the second sign of the zodiac, should be female.

The "planets" were seen as moving anticlockwise at various speeds against the zodiacal circle, which itself revolved clockwise against an envisaged stationary circle whose four cardinal points were those of the risings and settings on the horizon of the ecliptic and the zenith and the nadir. This second circle was divided into usually 12 segments or "places" (today commonly "houses"). The degree of influence on mundane phenomena of each celestial body was believed dependent upon its position in respect to other bodies (its "aspects") and its "place", but there

were so many calculations of often contradictory evidence that failure of predictions could easily be explained away. This was even more possible with the addition of the *dodecatemoria*, the division of each sign of the zodiac into 12 equal parts of two and a half degrees, each assigned to one of the 12 signs of the zodiac and thus allowing a "planet" to be in, say, the *dodecatamorion* of Scorpio in the sign of Gemini. All astrologers tended to base their predictions upon tables rather than observation, despite the accurately calculated discovery by Hipparchus in the late 2nd century BC of the precession of the equinox (the retrograde movement of the equinoctial points along the ecliptic), and thus continued to work on the assumption that the vernal equinox occurred at the first point of Aries rather than at some point in Pisces.

Believers were divided into those who, through acceptance of a purely mechanistic universe, held that the celestial bodies dictated an ineluctable fate and those who believed that astrology merely gave clues to personalities and trends and whose role was therefore that of a guide. The commonest application of astrology was for genethlialogy in which predictions were made about an individual on the basis of celestial positions at the hour of his birth or, far less commonly and of course less accurately calculated, his conception. These predictions could be updated by anniversary horoscopes. Large numbers of often astronomically impossible horoscopes have survived on papyrus, while there is one more "scientifically" reputable ancient collection from *c.*AD 130 in the *Anthologies* of the Antiochian Vettius Valens. Catarchic astrology determined the most favourable moments for commencing various enterprises such as journeys and military campaigns. Largely a subdivision of this was iatromathematics which dictated when certain herbs should be picked for greatest efficacy, predicted the course of illnesses, and gave clues as to treatment. Interrogational astronomy was dependent upon the positions of the celestial bodies at the time of the question.

Philosophical underpinnings to Greek astrology gave it respectability. Thus even the supremely competent astronomer Claudius Ptolemy in the 2nd century AD accepted and, indeed, even wrote a textbook (*Apotelesmatika* or *Tetrabiblos*, Astrology or the Fourfold Book) on the subject. Opposition was largely aimed at quack practitioners and those who threatened the stability of the state by making public predictions of the death of its ruler. Stoics, with the notable exception of Panaetius, were particularly drawn to astrology by their belief in cosmic sympathy, and in the early 1st century AD Manilius wrote a didactic poem (in Latin) on the subject. Epicureans and Cynics, however, scoffed at it. The most detailed surviving refutations are those of the Sceptic Sextus Empiricus in the 2nd century AD and of Plotinus and Origen in the 3rd century AD. Since astrology offended the concept of man's free will, Christian opposition was at times virulent but could not entirely extirpate it owing to belief in the "star" that led the Magi to Bethlehem. The 4th-century Priscillianist heretics in Spain even went so far as to hold that God used the celestial bodies to make manifest his will.

Hellenistic astrology passed through Sanskrit translations (most notably the *Yavanatjataka*, Sphujidhvaja's versification of Yavaneśvara's translation of AD 149/50) to India, where it was modified to accommodate local beliefs. Sassanian Iran learned its astrology from both Greek and Indian sources and, before it passed it on to the Islamic world, added another type, the political, wherein predictions were made for whole nations.

Knowledge of astronomy almost completely died out in the Latin west through the non-existence there of astronomical tables. It continued, however, in Byzantium, beginning with an iatromathematical treatise on bed-illnesses by Pancharius, but in the period from the 4th to the 7th century it consisted of little other than compendia of Hellenistic material. Translations from Arabic began shortly before the year 1000 and introduced political astronomy. Belief was strongest probably during the 12th century when it was enthusiastically promoted by the emperor Manuel I. Both Arab and Byzantine astrologers were in consultation over the malign conjunction of planets on 16 September 1186, the elaborate attempts to protect the imperial palace from whose threat were mocked by Niketas Choniates. The Palaiologan period saw vast compilations of both Arabic and especially earlier Greek material, the latter of which was sometimes revised.

Knowledge of Greek astrology returned to the west from Islamic Spain by the 12th century. Astronomical discoveries in the 16th and 17th centuries undermined its validity, although most astronomers still retained belief in it and Johannes Kepler attempted to accommodate it to a heliocentric universe. Any intellectual basis for belief was finally eradicated by Newtonian physics (despite his own dabbling with horoscopes). Thereafter one of the most ingenious creations of the Greek mind has retained only a popular following, which has predictably been strongest at periods of crisis and disillusionment with established institutions both religious and political.

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See also Fate

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Astronomy

Greek astronomy can be defined as the astronomy of epicycles, an invention of the 3rd century BC. To arrive at this solution for planetary movements, the astronomers of the 3rd century had behind them three centuries of observations and mathematical theories.

Little is known about the mathematical astronomy of the Presocratics. Thales of Miletus (7th–6th century BC) is considered to be the first Greek astronomer. He predicted solar eclipses by studying their periodic recurrences, but with an important factor of error. Anaximander (6th century BC) observed the inclination of the ecliptic. Pythagoras (6th–5th century BC) found the "right" (in the geocentric system) order of the planets (Earth, Moon, Mercury, Venus, Sun, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn, while Aristotle later placed the Sun between the Moon and Mercury). A little more is known about the contemporary of Socrates, Meton, who, observing from the hill of Pnyx about 432 BC, defined the solar–lunar cycle of 19 years.

The observational data (especially those concerning the retrograde planetary motions and Sun and Moon anomalies) were important enough in Plato's time for him to pose the problem of "saving the phenomena" (interpreting celestial bodies' motions by circular orbits with uniform speed). According to Simplicius (6th century AD), it was Eudoxus who produced that system, composed of homocentric spheres. The combination of two spheres rotating with unchanging velocities can effectively represent the retrograde planetary motions. For the motion of the Sun he employed three spheres (one to account for an observation known to have been mistaken), and another three for the Moon.

Eudoxus' system only partially saved the phenomena: in particular it did not take into account the variations in the distance of the heavenly bodies (the variation in the apparent diameter of the Sun or in the brilliance of the planets). This problem was posed during the 3rd century BC. The heliocentric system proposed by Aristarchus of Samos (4th–3rd century) was an adequate response to that problem but, probably for philosophical reasons, it was not followed by the main Greek astronomers. According to a later source, Theon of Smyrna (2nd century AD), a system had been proposed during the 3rd century BC similar to that imagined 19 centuries later by Tycho Brahe. In that system the two "inner" planets, Mercury and Venus, orbit the Sun, while the latter orbits the earth, the centre of the universe. This system resolved far better than that of Eudoxus the motion of Mercury and Venus; it is highly probable that it is the origin of the astronomy of epicycles. Indeed, if the orbit of the Sun is replaced by the deferent cycle of Mercury and Venus, the solution attributed to Apollonius of Perge (born *c.*244 BC) is reached.

In an effort to respond to the solar anomaly, while respecting the principle of circular uniform motion, 3rd-century Greek astronomers proposed the "eccentric" solution: the Sun travels on an eccentric circle (centred on a point that does not correspond to the earth's centre). This system presented two difficulties: it was not symmetrical and it was contradictory to Aristotelian physics, which could not accept a motion around an imaginary point. It was probably Apollonius who resolved the problem of symmetry, by demonstrating the equivalence of an eccentric to an epicycle travelling around a concentric (deferent circle), while the "Aristotelian" problem has never been resolved. This epicycle plus deferent solution was to characterize all the astronomical systems until the beginning of the 17th century, when Kepler formulated his first planetary law, that of the elliptical orbits.

Between Apollonius and Hipparchus (who was observing at Rhodes *c.*128 BC), Greek astronomers had developed a complete epicycle plus deferent astronomical theory. By combining the radius and the motions (clockwise or anticlockwise), these astronomers could reproduce the retrograde motion of the planets (but not the fact that the "loops" produced by this motion were not symmetrical) and represent approximately the Sun's and the Moon's motion.

By reversing the "methodological" approach of astronomy, Hipparchus played a decisive role in the development of Greek astronomy. According to available information, which comes mainly from Ptolemy, Hipparchus was the first to give priority to the collection of observations in order to find the empirical laws of the motion. After that, he tried to solve the problem by circular uniform movements. Hipparchus tried to determine the radii of the deferents and the epicycles of the planets and computed a successful theory for the motion of the Sun. He also showed how to calculate the Moon's motion; his work was masterfully completed by Ptolemy.

As for the Sun, Hipparchus determined its eccentricity, resolving thus its principal anomaly, that of the inequality of the seasons' length. It was probably while working on the theory of the Sun that he made his main discovery, that of the precession of the equinoxes. By comparing historical observations, Hipparchus remarked that, in its annual movement, it took the Sun a little more time to reach the same zodiacal point than to reach the equator: the sidereal year would then be different from the solar year. This phenomenon, due to the spinning-top movement of the axis of the earth, was interpreted by Hipparchus as a very slow movement of the sphere of the stars, from west to east (about 1 degree per century, while the true value is 1 degree, 23 minutes, 30 seconds).

As for the Moon, the problem was much more complicated, as the motion of the earth's satellite presents six main anomalies. Although Hipparchus knew only one, he did not succeed in resolving it, but he posed the problem of the parallaxis relating to solar and lunar observations: he said that astronomers must consider the earth as a point only with respect to the fixed stars. He also tried to determine the dimensions and the distances of the heavenly bodies.

The apex of Greek astronomy was the magisterial work of Claudius Ptolemy. His book, the *Great Mathematical Syntaxis of Astronomy*, known as the *Almagest*, finished between AD 142 and 146, included all the astronomical phenomena known at that time. This book constituted a unique advance in the history of science: it was to be the main reference for all astronomers until the work of Tycho Brahe and Kepler, almost 1500 years later. Indeed, all Greek, Islamic, or Roman planetary astronomy until Kepler can be characterized as Ptolemaic.

Ptolemy continued and concluded Hipparchus' work. His method was similar: to collect as many observations as possible; to show up the anomalies of the planetary motions; to find the empirical laws for these anomalies; to combine various circular uniform movements in order to save the phenomena;

to choose the most adequate among the different solutions, and determine the radii and the positions of the circles and the angular speeds; to compute the planetary tables. The coincidence of forecast with observation confirmed the theory.

The main celestial movements according to Ptolemy were the following two: (a) the diurnal motion of the sky from east to west; (b) all other motions, which mainly took place from west to east and close to the ecliptic. Whenever Ptolemy was able to choose from among many solutions, he preferred the simplest. He adopted Hipparchus' solution for the Sun, but for reasons of simplicity he chose the eccentric from the deferent plus epicycle. For all the other heavenly bodies he presented his own solution, which in the case of Venus, Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn involved the famous "equant" (it was given this name during the Middle Ages): the centre of the epicycle does not move with a uniform motion; the circular uniform motion is "transferred" to a point of another circle (the equant). As a consequence, the phenomena were saved (the planets travel faster at their perigee and more slowly at their apogee), but this represented a serious departure from Aristotelian physics and from the principle of uniform circular motion posed by Ptolemy himself. The system was also extremely complicated: Ptolemy even added circles to move the level of the epicycle from that of the deferent!

Ptolemy presented his cosmological speculations (the mechanisms responsible for all the motions of the heavenly bodies) in his book *Planetary Hypotheses*. This work was the precursor of Islamic astronomical theories on the mechanisms of the celestial spheres. Another astronomical work of Ptolemy, the *Handy Tables*, a revised version of the *Almagest*, remained in use throughout the Middle Ages.

The main Greek commentator on Ptolemy was Theon of Alexandria (4th century AD). His commentary on the *Almagest* and two commentaries on the *Handy Tables* were the last important works of ancient Greek astronomy. In the 6th century John Philoponus wrote the first known *Treatise on the Astrolabe* (*c.*520–50), based on an unknown source. The first Byzantine astronomer of any note is considered to be Stephanus of Alexandria. He wrote a *Commentary on the Handy Tables* (*c.*610–20) inspired by the *Small Commentary* of Theon, a work designed for students unable to do multiplication and division.

Little is known about astronomy during the iconoclast period (except for some astrological works such as that of a certain Stephanus, written about 775, with previsions for the Muslim dynasties). The 9th century, however, is marked by the personality of Leo the Mathematician, and by the splendid copies made of Ptolemy's and Theon's works. These copies secured the transmission of the great astronomical works of antiquity.

The first indication of the influence of Arab astronomy on Byzantium dates to about 1032: an anonymous marginal commentary comparing Ptolemy's astronomy with that of the "moderns" (i.e. the Arabs, and especially the astronomer al-Alam). About 1072–78 another anonymous treatise introduces pure trigonometric methods in astronomy, inspired by the work of Habash al-Hasib. During the 12th century the works of Ptolemy were translated into Latin in Sicily, from Greek manuscripts offered by the emperor of Byzantium to the king of Sicily.

The great period of Byzantine astronomy began at the end of the 13th century, during the reign of Andronikos II Palaiologos. There were two main streams of thought: that of the renaissance of Ptolemaic astronomy and that of the foreign influences.

Theodore Metochites, "Grand Logothete" (the equivalent of prime minister), finished *c.*1316 a monumental astronomical work, the *Elements of Astronomy*. His pupil Nikephoros Gregoras (*c.*1290–1358) introduced Byzantine scholars to the practise of computing eclipses based on Ptolemy's method. Theodore Meliteniotes (*fl.*1393) wrote the *Astronomical Tribiblos*, a huge treatise restoring Ptolemy's astronomy among others.

At the end of the 13th century the physician Gregory Chioniades travelled from Trebizond to Tabriz to study Persian astronomy (the Maragha was then the world's most famous observatory). He brought back knowledge and manuscripts which, in 1346, were translated into Greek by George Chrysokokkes whose work, *Introduction to the Persian Astronomical Syntaxis*, was one of the most frequently copied Byzantine astronomical texts: more than 40 copies have survived. Maragha's astronomy was transmitted to Europe by means of Greek translations; Copernicus based his astronomical system on the "Al-Tusi couple", which he probably knew from a Greek manuscript. Another foreign influence on Byzantine astronomy was that of the Jews. In 1435 Michael Chrysokokkes translated Immanel ben Jacob Bonfils de Tarascon's tables of eclipses (*Ioudaikon Hexapterygon*). The *Alphonsine Tables* were also translated into Greek, first in Cyprus (*c.*1340) and then in Constantinople by Demetrios Chrysoloras (*c.*1360–*c.*1416), a high-ranking Byzantine official.

The last Byzantine astronomer was the philosopher George Gemistos Plethon (*c.*1360–1452); his Hellenic patriotism, mysticism, and late contact with the West encouraged him to propose an extremely original calendar reform.

The next important Greek astronomical work was the 16th century adjustment of the tables of *Ioudaikon Hexapterygon* by Damaskinos Stoudites, archbishop of Arta and Lepanto. From the 17th century only very simple manuals presenting the main lines of Ptolemaic astronomy survive. At the end of the century Chrysanthos Notaras (later patriarch of Jerusalem) adapted, probably from Persian, the main astrolabe problems and in 1716 he edited in Paris the first Greek printed book presenting non-Ptolemaic astronomy. As late as 1748 an important text for the history of the astrolabe was printed, "Peri Astrolavou" (On the Astrolabe, in *Odos Mathimatikis*), written by Methodios Anthrakistes some years earlier. This work is considered to be the last text of the Greek tradition concerning the construction of the astrolabe. Newtonian astronomy was introduced in the Greek communities of the Ottoman empire after the second half of the 18th century. Nikiphoros Theotokis was one of the main scholars professing the "new astronomy" in the Greek colleges. Textbooks such as the Lalande's *Astronomy* were published at the very beginning of the 19th century.

Observational astronomy was to revive in Greece in 1842, when Simon Sinas founded the Athens Observatory near the place where Meton had once observed. There Julius Schmidt drew his famous lunar maps. He was the only foreign

astronomer, for very soon Greeks, who had previously studied in European observatories, began to run the institution following international standards.

EFTHYMIOS NICOLAIDIS

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Athanasios of Athos, St *c.*927/30–*c.*997

Founder of the first Athonite monastery

St Athanasios, who became known as the Athonite, was born in Trebizond in Asia Minor and was baptized under the name of Avramios. He came from a wealthy family, but having lost both of his parents at an early age, his upbringing was entrusted first to a nun who was a relative of his, and, after her death, to a eunuch who was related to the emperor Romanos I Lekapenos (920–44). He was educated in Constantinople and, after spending some time teaching there, he abandoned the secular world and entered the monastery of Kyminas in Bithynia where the abbot was Michael Maleinos, the uncle of Nikephoros II Phokas (963–69). When Nikephoros marched against the Arabs in Crete, he asked Athanasios to accompany him. Athanasios, who then was a monk on Mount Athos, accepted the invitation and lived in Crete until 961 when the island regained its independence. Nikephoros also gave Athanasios a considerable sum of money in order to build up a monastery, where he himself intended to become a monk at a later date. Thus, Athanasios founded the monastery of the Great Lavra in 963. It was the first monastery to be established in the territory of Mount Athos and today it still holds the leading position in the ranking of Athonite monasteries. It should be pointed out, however, that before Athanasios's time the eremitic type of monasticism, combined with some form of communal life but loosely organized, had already existed on Athos. But Athanasios inaugurated the cenobitic form of monastic life under a central administration, because he realized that the poor sketes could not give a home to a long-lived monastic tradition. With imperial support the Lavra was granted annual revenue and lands and Athanasios initiated large-scale construction.

Quite soon, however, Athanasios faced the condemnation of some Athonite ascetics, who blamed him for abandoning their cherished monastic traditions and the concept of the "poor monastery" and for secularizing Athos. Yet, both the ascetics and emperor John I Tzimiskes (969–76), the successor of Nikephoros, soon came to realize that such innovations were not new inventions, but simply the continuation of the old and well-established tradition of cenobiticism in the east. A consequence of these disputes was the creation of the Typikon (rule) of the Great Lavra, which came to be known by the name of *Tragos* (972). This document, composed by order of Tzimiskes, contained the reforms of Athanasios. Thus for the first time on Athos there existed a book of rules concerning the internal organization of monasteries. In addition, through this Typikon Athos was recognized as an independent monastic polity. In it Athos is referred to not simply as the Mountain, as it used to be called up to that point, but as the Holy Mountain, a name that was officially acknowledged later on by emperor Constantine IX Monomachos (1042–55). From then on, Athanasios became the spiritual leader and reformer of Athonite monasticism. Even today he is regarded as the father and patriarch of all Athonite monks, because his reforms contributed to the establishment of cenobitic monasticism and to the subsequent flourishing of Athos. Consequently, the celebration of the millennium of the foundation of the Great Lavra in 1963 coincided with that of Orthodox monasticism on Athos.

The contribution of St Athanasios to the Greek Orthodox monastic tradition is immense. Although the monastic tradition of lavras no longer existed in Byzantium, he instigated on Athos the creation of a cenobium on which a small number of monastic cells depended. His reforms were endorsed by all subsequently created monasteries on Athos and elsewhere. It is also worth mentioning that Athanasios introduced into his monastery new time-saving devices, such as a machine driven by oxen to prepare dough.

Athanasios died on Athos probably in 997, for his signature appeared in the "Acts of Lavra" for the last time in October 996. The first biographies of Athanasios were composed in the third decade of the 11th century.

FR. NEKTARIOS DROSOS

See also Athos, Monasticism

Biography

Born in Trebizond *c.*927/30 to a wealthy family, Athanasios lost his parents early and was brought up first by a nun and then by a relative of the emperor. He was educated in Constantinople and became a teacher before entering a monastery in Bithynia. He lived in Crete until 961 when he moved to Athos. In 963 he founded the first cenobitic monastery on Athos, the Great Lavra. He died on Athos *c.*997.

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Athanasius of Alexandria, St *c.*300–373

Pope of Alexandria

Athanasius first appears on the scene of history as the deacon of Alexander, the pope of Alexandria, at the First Ecumenical Council of Nicaea in 325. Of his early years we know nothing, though from his writings we can deduce that he was not a product of the formal system of education in late antiquity, but nonetheless had a good command of Greek, and an adequate familiarity with the ideas of the Classical and Hellenistic philosophers: he revered Plato as "that great one among the Greeks [i.e. pagans]". All this is consistent with the suggestion that he received his education among protomonastic ascetic circles in Egypt. As a young man, he must have caught the eye of Alexander and attached himself to his circle. In 328, having barely reached the canonical age of 30, he was elected bishop of Alexandria (or "pope", the traditional title for this post) to succeed his mentor. The election was contested, and perhaps not just because of his age. He continued Alexander's opposition to the Alexandrian priest Arius, who had been condemned at the First Ecumenical Council for denying the unqualified divinity of Christ, and was embroiled in the Meletian schism, a legacy of the great persecution at the beginning of the 4th century. He remained pope of Alexandria until his death in 373, though in the course of his life he was deposed several times and exiled four times. His position in the history of the Christian Church is bound up with his sustained opposition to those bishops in the east, and to the emperors whose support they secured, especially Constantius II, who were unwilling to endorse the creed (or symbol) of the Council of Nicaea and sought to replace it with a series of creeds all endorsed by conciliar authority, and with the eventual victory of what has come to be called "Nicene orthodoxy", though he did not live to see the Second Ecumenical Council (held at Constantinople in 381), called by the emperor Theodosius to reinstate the authority of Nicaea. He pursued this struggle through his many writings against those he somewhat unfairly dubbed "Arians" or "Ariomaniacs", some of which tell the history of the struggle, others of which assert the authority of bishops, not emperors, to define Christain doctrine and govern the Christian Church. Even within his lifetime Athanasius was regarded by many with awe, and his dominant position is reflected in all the surviving church histories of the 4th century.

Athanasius' importance is found, first of all, in his championing of Nicene orthodoxy, which formally became the religious orthodoxy of the Byzantine empire in 381. Central to this is the confession that the Son of God, who became incarnate in Jesus of Nazareth, is consubstantial (*homoousios*) with the Father, that is, of the same unqualified divinity as the Father. He also, in his latter years, defended the divinity of the Spirit, and therefore the doctrine of the Trinity. But, more generally, in Athanasius' thought we find, perhaps for the first time, the pattern and the essential themes that were to characterize Byzantine theology: the doctrine of a consubstantial and coequal Trinity; the doctrine of the creation of the universe out of nothing through the Word of God, the second person of the Trinity, and of humankind's special role within the cosmos as being created in the image of God; the idea of the fall of humankind, through human disobedience, a fall that has cosmic implications; and the conviction that, through the assumption of a human life, the Word of God has redeemed humanity by conquering death and revealing the risen life through his resurrection, and has not only redeemed humanity, but promises deification (*theopoiesis* or *theosis*, a sharing in the divine nature) to all those who believe and strive to conform their lives to his through ascetical struggle and sacramental grace. All this is stated with amazing conciseness in his early work, *On the Incarnation*. Later Byzantine theology would explore the intricacies of this grand vision, but not alter its broad outline, with its main span reaching from creation to deification. A further dimension to Athanasius' importance is the strong link he forged between his hierarchical office and the emerging monasticism of the 4th century. This is symbolized in the ascription to Athanasius (an ascription that has been questioned in recent times, but is probably still sound) of the *Life of St Antony*, the great Egyptian hermit. The *Life of St Antony* became the pre-eminent model for the saint's *vita*, the most popular form of literature in the Byzantine world. This work, in which Athanasius embraces the characteristic demonology of the Fathers of the Desert (something otherwise rare in his writings), and his other ascetical writings (many of which survive in Coptic, Syriac, or Armenian) make clear the depth of Athanasius' commitment both to the monastic movement and to the more traditional urban and village asceticism that he also took steps to organize.

ANDREW LOUTH

Biography

Born in Alexandria *c.*AD 300, Athanasius received a good education and had some knowledge of the Classical philosophers. Elected pope of Alexandria at the age of 30, he was five times deposed and exiled. He championed orthodox Christianity against the heresy of Arianism. Other surviving works include a treatise *On the Incarnation* and (of uncertain authorship) the *Life of St Antony*. He died in Alexandria in 373.

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Atheism

Atheism conventionally refers to a system of belief that denies the existence of a personal divinity. Taken in this sense, it is of fairly recent coinage in Greek intellectual history. In a broader sense, however, atheism, taken to refer to godlessness or, polemically, to the rejection of particular religious beliefs, has a better-documented pedigree.

Atheos is the Greek for "atheist". This is etymologically an adjective of broad application designating most frequently godlessness or the denial of a particular set of divinities. Thus, for example, in the *Eumenides* by the Athenian playwright Aeschylus, Orestes is called *atheos* because contrary to religious convention he had murdered his mother Clytemnestra, although his conversations with Apollo necessitate his belief in the existence of gods. Likewise, in *Oedipus the King* by Sophocles, the chorus protests its loyalty to Oedipus by wishing to be abandoned by friends (*aphilos*) and gods (*atheos*) alike if it wishes any ill towards him.

The number of known atheists in antiquity is very small. Though the historical record is somewhat fragmentary in most instances, during the latter part of the 5th century BC Athens witnessed a small number of piety trials directed against natural philosophers, who were commonly perceived as atheists. These early scientists became objects of legal persecution largely because of their attempts to substitute natural causality for divine intervention. Diagoras of Melos is traditionally known as "the atheist" although the evidence indicates that he did not reject the existence of all gods. Anaxagoras was more clearly atheistic in his outlook since he specifically rejected the divine nature of the sun by referring to it as a piece of "hot stone". Protagoras held a more ambivalent position by proclaiming his uncertainty one way or the other as to the existence of the gods. Most famously, Socrates was tried and executed in 399 BC because he allegedly rejected the state divinities, introduced new gods, and corrupted the youth. The truth of these charges is unknowable, but three aspects of the case are significant. First, Socrates was represented in the *Clouds*, a comic play by Aristophanes, as rejecting the gods in favour of apotheosized natural mechanisms. Second, in Plato's *Apology*, a fictitious representation of his defence speech, Socrates specifically denies the charge of atheism, thereby demonstrating his vulnerability on that very point. Third, he is represented by the relevant witnesses as possessing a personal oracle, known as the *daemonion*, and observing the religious customs of his day, thus leaving him vulnerable to the charge of introducing new gods. Obviously, the atheism of Socrates was not the religious nihilism of the modern era.

Subsequent to Socrates, it is possible to speak of atheistic beliefs within a broader Graeco-Roman context. The Epicurean school of philosophy with its strict materialism and denial of divine intervention in human affairs is chiefly associated with these ideas. The Roman poet Lucretius, writing in the 1st century BC, aimed to popularize this particular outlook with his epic poem *On the Nature of Things*, a spirited challenge to the religious beliefs of his day. Plutarch, who lived during the last half of the 1st century and first half of the 2nd century AD, in his book *On Superstition*, gives atheism a very modern sense, saying that it is a denial of the existence of gods, but adds that it results from spurious reasoning. Doubtless the agnosticism of Marcus Aurelius, the Stoic emperor who reigned AD 161–80, easily falls within the bounds of ancient atheism. Lucian, a contemporary of Marcus Aurelius, describes in his *Icaromenippus* several schools of thought about the nature of the divine, some of which are atheistic, whether in the ancient or the modern sense

Christians, because they rejected the religious norms of their contemporaries and refused to yield in their monotheistic views, were regularly persecuted for their atheism. Lucian relates how Alexander of Abunoteichos, a spiritual mountebank, incited his followers to stone the Christians because they were blaspheming atheists. For their part, Christians enthusiastically labelled non-Christians and various sectarians as atheists. For example, in his Letter to the Ephesians Paul says that before the coming of Christ the gentiles were "without hope and atheists". According to Clement of Alexandria in his *Exhortation to the Greeks*, Diagoras and others who were in his view rightly sceptical about traditional Greek religion were not atheists; rather the true atheists were those who upheld pagan religious norms. The Christian apologist Athanasius refers to those who do not share his views on the relationship between Jesus Christ and God as atheists and non-believers. Polemical allegations of atheism aside, it appears that no evidence for intellectual atheism during the late antique period

survives. As one writer has noted of this time, "sceptics and rationalists, if they existed, have left no mark on history and literature" (Jones, 1964, vol. 2, p.957).

Christian polemicists within the Greek Orthodox Church appear to have been just as tendentious in their application of the term "atheist" as their ancient predecessors. *Planosparaktes*, an anonymous 18th-century poem, is an example of this. In it a certain Auxentios, a miracle-working monk murdered in 1752, is called an atheist because of his support for the patriarch Cyril V, whose controversial views on the baptism of former Roman Catholics resulted in his being deposed twice from his see.

The latter part of the 18th and early part of the 19th centuries mark a period when leading intellectuals, influenced by exposure to the Enlightenment in western Europe, began to confront a Church hierarchy that was far too supportive of the Ottomans. In this context appears the *Ellenike Nomarchia*, a sustained and vigorous attack on the Orthodox Church and the Church's condemnation of Beniamin Lesvios in 1804 for teaching that the earth revolved around the sun, to cite two examples of the level of controversy. The *Didaskalia Patriki* of 1798 surely ranks as paramount among Church apologetics directed against the perceived atheistical tendencies of the French Revolution and its intellectual underpinnings. Concerned about the revival of Classical learning and growing interest in Enlightenment thought, the patriarchate reopened its presses to ensure the publication of doctrinally sound material.

The impact of Marxism and its explicitly atheistic outlook must also be noted. During the Civil War of 1946–49 it is said that a sizeable number of Orthodox priests and monks were executed by members of the far left. In the Eastern bloc countries the constraints of Communism were likewise felt. Thus the Orthodox Church in Bulgaria was forced to make certain concessions in order to retain a slightly privileged status under the regime there.

C.A. HOFFMAN

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Athenaeus

Prose writer of the 2nd century AD

Athenaeus was born in Naucratis, a Greek community in Egypt, around AD 150. He was prominent among the Greek scholars of the so-called Second Sophistic, and but one of several produced by Naucratis. These scholars, Athenaeus included, were concerned with the revival of Classical Greek culture in the context of Roman imperial rule. Athenaeus spent time in Rome in the patronage of P. Livius Larensis, a cultured Roman bibliophile with a strong interest in Hellenism. However, there is no evidence for the frequent assertion that he belonged to the circle of Julia Domna, the wife of the Roman emperor Septimius Severus.

His principal work was his *Deipnosophistae*, (Sophists at Dinner). It is divided into 15 books (not 30, as sometimes claimed), of which the opening and closing books are fragmentary: for these, we depend largely upon an epitome. The *Deipnosophistae* forms part of a long Hellenic tradition of sympotic literature, a direct descendant of Plato's *Symposium*, Xenophon's *Symposium*, Plutarch's *Sympotic Questions*, and Lucian's *Symposium*, among other texts. However, it is far longer than these predecessors. The diners, 24 in total with the host Larensis included, discuss both the dinner itself and a bevy of issues that arise from particular dishes or circumstances – cooks (Greek and non-Greek), extraordinary concoctions, outstanding banquets, dances, music, musical instruments, furniture, wines, health, cultivated fruits, gluttony, austerity, luxury, scholarship, and humour.

Each diner receives his own characterization, but some are more strongly drawn than others. They include Ulpianus of Tyre, committed to the purity of Attic Greek and always concerned to raise a pedantic point of grammar (and probably not to be identified with Ulpian the jurist); Kynoulkus, a Cynic who takes pleasure in goading the irascible Ulpian; Galen the physician; Masourius, with pretensions to musical expertise; Ploutarchus, a grammarian; and Myrtilus with his taste for proverbs. How far these characters are real people in Larensis' circle remains a matter of doubt: Athenaeus has been suspected of sly humour in his construction and naming of the diners. Certainly, humour is a pervasive feature of the *Deipnosophistae*, both in the interaction of characters and in the dubious and often overblown learning in which the diners compete. The *Deipnosophistae* is best read as a work of both philosophy and satire, appropriately enough in the sympotic tradition.

Athenaeus' work has most often been used as a source for earlier Greek dining or for lost texts, which are quoted very extensively throughout. Its thematic division (e.g. book 7 on fish; book 13 on courtesans) encourages the former approach, while the sheer density of quotation makes the latter inevitable. In accordance with the humorous tone of the work, quotations from Greek comedy are particularly frequent and constitute an enormous part of our knowledge of the genre. Athenaeus' quotations are drawn from some 1250 authors: they include the titles of some 1000 plays and run to some 10,000 lines of verse. The combination of verse quotation and prose text indicates Athenaeus' debt to the genre of Menippean satire.

However, Athenaeus also quotes heavily from prose works, as well as from verse. For example, the historian Callixinus' lengthy account of the grand procession of Ptolemy II Philadelphus is preserved in the *Deipnosophistae*. Athenaeus displays through his characters a historical sensibility far beyond that of an antiquarian. In particular, although his work focuses especially upon Greek culture in its broadest sense, there is also a recurrent concern with the contemporary historical situation, with Rome and its emperors (8. 361f on Hadrian; 12. 537f on Commodus). Moreover, the most recent scholarship encourages the suspicion that Athenaeus not only preserved quotations, but also inserted his own additions and emendations: in any event, it is often difficult to be sure where quotation ends and Athenaeus' own writing begins. There is also an uncomfortable inconsistency in the details of the setting: the first ten books seem to relate to a single banquet, books 11–14 indicate a second gathering, while the final book 15 contains a third session, the whole covering three successive days, it seems. The dramatic context has been taken to range inconsistently between January (9. 372b), April (8. 361f), and August (3. 99e), whether by authorial error or in consequence of the manuscript tradition. However, although January and August are mentioned in the text, it is only 21 April (the ritual "birthday" of Rome) that is clearly given as the time of the dinner(s).

Athenaeus mentions two further works of his own in the course of the *Deipnosophistae*. Neither survives, but both represent features of the concerns that he displays in the extant work. One may be regarded as a historical work in view of its title, *On the Kings of Syria* (*Deipnosophistae*, 5. 211a). However, the rulers of Syria, who might include not only the Greek Seleucids but even Semiramis, offered ample scope for a wealth of anecdote, humour, and moralistic philosophizing, so that the work may not have been the solid historical text that has often been imagined. Certainly, the short passage quoted in the *Deipnosophistae* suggests that its tone may not have been so very different from that of the extant work. Athenaeus' other work survives only as a title: it was a treatise on Archippus' comedy *Fishes*, produced after 403 BC (*Deipnosophistae*, 7. 329c). This play seems to have centred upon an imaginary treaty between Athens and the fishes, akin to the central conceit in Aristophanes' *Birds*: as with the birds of the latter, the play no doubt raised numerous issues of the identification, terminology, and qualities of a wide range of fish, a matter of keen interest to the author of the *Deipnosophistae*.

The oldest surviving manuscript of the *Deipnosophistae* is dated to the 10th century AD. The work seems to have been much used in the Middle Ages, at least in epitomized form: for his commentary on the Homeric poems, Eustathios draws from the epitome on some 2000 occasions. At present in Greece the term "Deipnosophist" has been resurrected in a series of articles on taste and aesthetics, which appeared in the newspaper *Kathemirini* intermittently from 1989 to 1991 and which have now been collected and published as a book, of which *Deipnosophist* constitutes both the title and its author's nom de plume. The inspiration of Athenaeus is explicitly acknowledged, but the modern work is not a dialogue and does not seek to reproduce the texture or flavour of its ancient forebear.

DAVID BRAUND

See also Symposium

Biography

Born in Naucratis *c.*AD 150, Athenaeus was a leading figure in the movement known as the Second Sophistic. He spent some time in Rome as the guest of P. Livius Larensis. His principal work is an example of sympotic literature, the *Deipnosophistae*, which contains quotations from many other works that are now lost, notably comedy.

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Athenagoras 1886–1972

Patriarch of Constantinople

Athenagoras was an important ecclesiastical figure of international standing during the 20th century. He was born on 25 March 1886 in the village of Tsaraplana (now Vasilikon) in Epirus and his lay name was Aristoklis (Spyrou). From 1903 to 1910 he studied theology at the school of Chalki, a traditional educational centre of the ecumenical patriarchate of Constantinople, and in March 1910 he was ordained a deacon. He then served in the diocese of Pelagonia (in the area of Monastir), where he undertook the supervision of Greek Orthodox schools and remained during the Balkan Wars and World War I. Following a short stay on Mount Athos in 1918, in March 1919 he was named secretary of the new archbishop of Athens, Meletios Metaxakis, who was very involved in ecumenical contacts. Athenagoras remained in Athens during that turbulent political period and was ordained priest in December 1922. In the same month he was elected bishop of Corfu and Paxoi, where he engaged in wide social, political, and ecclesiastical activities.

Athenagoras showed an early interest in the promotion of interreligious and particularly interdenominational dialogue, a fact that was manifested later in his strong ecumenical engagement. In 1930 he was named secretary of a conference, held at the monastery of Vatopedi on Mount Athos, to prepare for a prospective Panorthodox synod. In the same year he also participated in the Lambeth Conference in Britain to promote the continuation of Orthodox–Anglican dialogue. In August 1930 he was elected archbishop of North and South America by the Patriarchal Synod, a development that would have immense influence on his future ecumenical endeavours. Though not familiar with the conditions in the US, when confronted with the serious frictions in the ecclesiastical body and the Greek communities there, Athenagoras pursued a policy that proved to be very effective. During his 18-year stay in the US (1930–48), he managed, among other things, to bring about the internal unity of the Greek Orthodox Church in America, to provide the structure of the archdiocese with a set of administrative regulations that functioned well, to develop an effective charity system, and to secure its future on a solid basis through the organization of an Orthodox-oriented education system both for lay persons and for the priests of the archdiocese (e.g. the Holy Cross School of Theology in Brookline, Massachusetts). He also contributed to Greek War Relief, which aimed at alleviating the suffering of the Greek people in the wake of World War II. He initiated an approach between the various Orthodox national Churches (e.g. the Russian, the Serbian, and the Romanian) in an attempt to secure Orthodox unity and collaboration in the US. He also had the opportunity to develop further his international ecclesiastical and political contacts (e.g. with president Harry Truman).

Though an American citizen, Athenagoras was elected ecumenical patriarch of Constantinople on 1 November 1948. The Turkish state did not present any obstacles to such an election, but after his death in 1972 it changed its attitude on the matter. Serious criticism of his election came principally from the Soviet Union, which suspected the manipulation of Orthodoxy by the US to increase its influence in Eastern Europe. Such a reaction was fully understandable on the eve of the ensuing Cold War. During his long patriarchal reign Athenagoras transformed the Phanar from an isolated Orthodox centre, laden with spiritual resources and bygone glory, into a religious institution of international prestige and significance. He was also particularly interested in promoting the mutual rapprochement between Greeks and Turks. Such a policy was especially difficult considering the resurgence of nationalist confrontation between the two nations (e.g. the violent acts against the Greek community in Istanbul on 6–7 September 1955) and the Cyprus problem. This resulted in the evident suspicion with which the Turkish state viewed Athenagoras's ecumenical contacts and related activities.

Apart from his great interest in the dioceses of the patriarchate in Europe, America, and Oceania, Athenagoras placed particular emphasis upon inter-Christian reconciliation. In the official celebrations for the millennium of Mount Athos in 1963, he invited the prelates of other Christian confessions to participate alongside the Orthodox hierarchs. He also fostered the continuing dialogue with the Anglicans, the Old Catholics, and the Protestants, and made visits to Canterbury, Rome, and Geneva (to the World Council of Churches). Athenagoras's most important contribution to Christian unity was perhaps his initiation of the dialogue between the Orthodox and the Roman Catholic Churches. Between 1964 and 1967 Athenagoras and pope Paul VI had regular meetings in Jerusalem, Constantinople, and Rome. On 7 December 1965 the mutual anathemas, pronounced by the two Churches following the definitive schism between them in 1054, were withdrawn. This symbolic act of reconciliation and love, which was hailed as a decisive step in the future relations of the two Churches, was severely criticized by Orthodox hardliners and fundamentalists as well as by other Orthodox as a compromise, or worse, as a betrayal of the Orthodox faith due to the still existing theological differences between the two Churches.

Another important challenge that Athenagoras had to face was the disrupting and divisive effects of nationalism in the various Orthodox Churches, which had destroyed to a considerable degree traditional Orthodox unity. He therefore paid visits to the other three Orthodox patriarchates as well as to several other autocephalous Orthodox Churches. The preparation of a great Panorthodox synod to discuss various dogmatic, liturgical, and practical matters of common heritage and interest lay at the heart of his endeavours, as manifested in the Panorthodox conferences on the island of Rhodes in 1961, 1963, and 1964, and in Geneva in 1968. Moreover, the tension between Constantinople and Moscow was mitigated to a certain extent when patriarch Aleksii of Moscow visited the Phanar in 1961 and acknowledged the canonical rights of the patriarchate of Constantinople. Yet the pretensions of Moscow to be the great Orthodox Church were not in accord with the ecumenical vision of Athenagoras and his historic role as primus inter pares among all Orthodox patriarchs and archbishops. Although the results of these early Panorthodox conferences were unimpressive, certain positive steps have been taken in several directions, for example, concerning the non-Chalcedonian (Monophysite) and Nestorian Churches.

Athenagoras's death in 1972 signified a major turning point in Turkish policy vis-à-vis the ecumenical patriarchate. The

Turkish state intended to intervene more actively in the election procedures of the new patriarch, who from now on had to be a Turkish citizen too. The theological division of the school of Chalki was closed in August 1971, a development that seriously affected the patriarchate's capacity to provide its numerous Orthodox dioceses all over the world with the necessary ecclesiastical personnel. In addition, a clear intention of the Turkish state was to undermine the international and ecumenical role of the patriarchate by considering it solely as the religious head of the tiny Greek community in Istanbul. Such a policy, however, is in clear contrast to the heritage left by Athenagoras and his successful efforts in upgrading the patriarchate's international role in the contemporary world.

VASILIOS MAKRIDES

See also Ecumenism, Patriarchate of Constantinople

Biography

Born in Epirus in 1886, Athenagoras was educated at the patriarchal school of Chalki in Constantinople before being ordained a deacon in 1910. In 1919 he became secretary to the archbishop of Athens; and in 1922 he was ordained a priest and bishop of Corfu and Paxoi. After a spell as archbishop of North and South America (1930-48) he was elected ecumenical patriarch of Constantinople in 1948 in which capacity he made major contributions to ecumenical dialogue with other Churches. He died in 1972.

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Athens

Capital of modern Greece

The modern city of Athens extends across the largest plain of Attica at a distance of 6–7 km from the coast to the south. Apart from this southern edge, which opens to the port of Piraeus and the Saronic Gulf, the city is surrounded by mountains, namely Aigaleo, Penteli, Parnitha, and Hymettos in a clockwise direction.

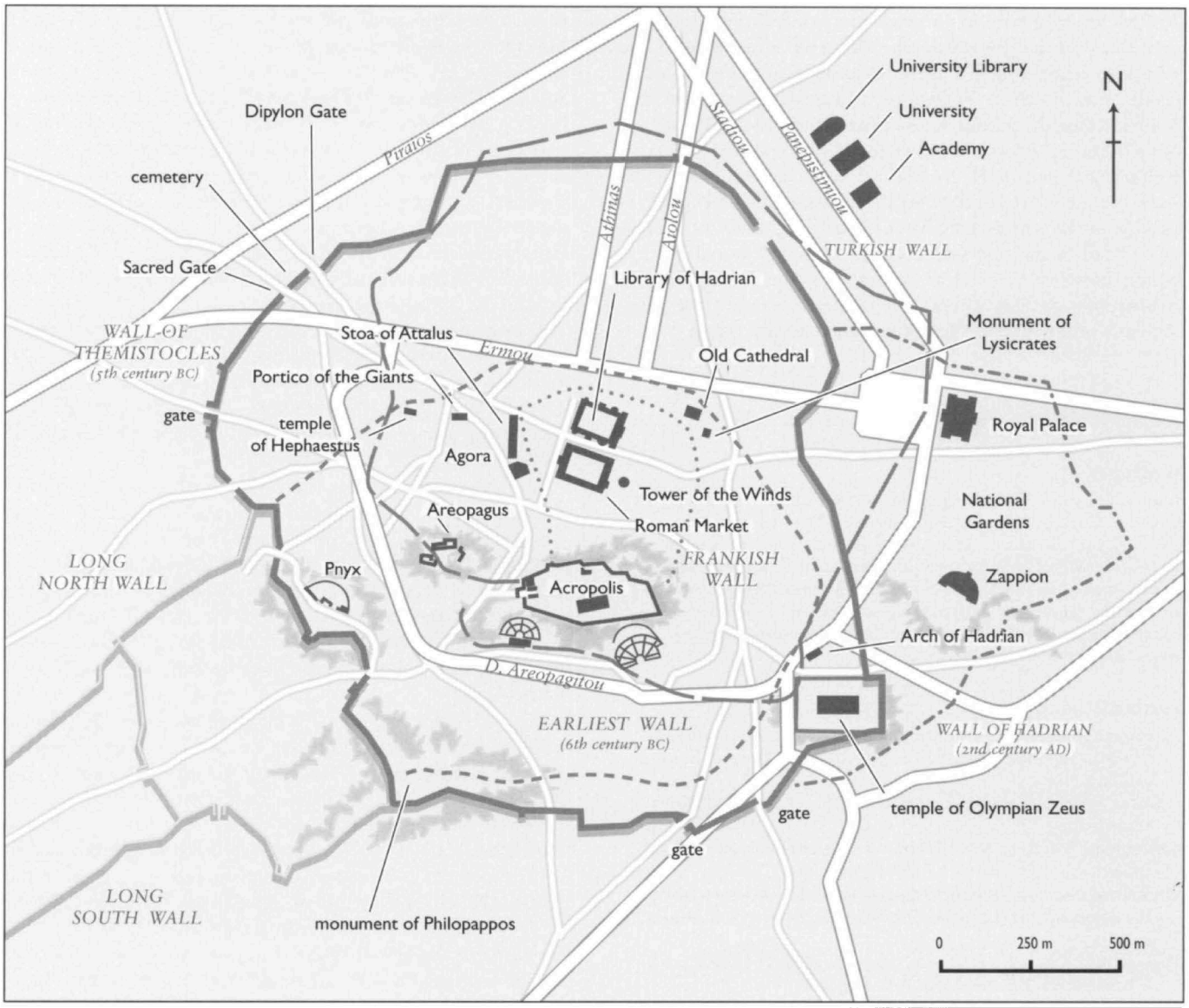
Archaeological evidence shows that the earliest settlement took place during the late Neolithic period around 4000 BC. The substantial remains of later periods have obscured these prehistoric settlements, but we know that the first nucleus of life in the region developed on the rock of the Acropolis and its cavities, with farms and roughly made huts subsequently spreading to the south. There is evidence of extensive farming, herding, and fishing and of the worship of a goddess of fertility. Subsequently a number of small and independent kingdoms were established around this nucleus, such as those in Kifisia, Brauron, Marathon, and Eleusis; trade links were developed, especially with the Cyclades; arteries to the Peloponnese and mainland Greece to the north were established; and fortifications were built, especially around coastal settlements, but also around the Acropolis in the second half of the 13th century BC. Athens continued to grow amid these independent conglomerations, and by the Late Bronze Age it was undoubtedly considered one of the most prestigious Mycenaean centres, as indicated by wealthy 14th-century BC tombs, the remains of a Mycenaean palace on the Acropolis, and the 13th-century BC fortifications.

It was sometime during the 14th or 13th century BC that all the kingdoms of Attica formed a political union called *Athinai* (in the plural) and centred around the ancient Athini or Kekropia. Even if not entirely peaceful, the unification – widely known as synoecism and assigned to the mythical hero Theseus who thus became the first king of the city state of Athens – was panegyrically celebrated in the Classical period with two major festivals, the Synoecia and the Panathenaea, which took place in the Agora.

The Mycenaean period is inextricably associated with a series of mythical kings, such as Cranaus, Erechtheus, Cecrops, Pandion, Ion, Aegeus, Codrus, and of course Theseus, whose lives nourished the Athenians' collective consciousness in historical times. But the city's prosperity was seriously affected during the collapse of Mycenaean civilization and the Dorian invasion at the end of the 2nd millennium BC. These tumultuous events brought about social changes that eventually led to the abolition of kingship. The Athenians took great pride in the fact that the Dorians never invaded the city, and it is from this period that the myth of autochthony stems. It was also at that time that Athenian refugees moved across to Ionia, in Asia Minor, in what would later be known as the first movement of colonization.

The descent of the Dorians (11th century BC) also marks the beginning of the Geometric period in Greek history, which lasted until the 8th century BC. Even though the period is often called the Dark Age of ancient Greece – mainly because of the general shortage of raw materials, the decline of trade, and the non-existence of writing – Athens steadily increased in size, new settlements were built, and its pottery with the famous geometric designs and the first sketchy outlines of the human body prepared the ground for subsequent artistic achievements.

In the course of the 7th century BC the increasing significance of craftsmanship and handicraft and the revival of trade put under scrutiny the unquestionable hegemony of the aristocracy of titles and land. There is evidence of a failed attempt of Cylon in 636 BC to exploit this general dissatisfaction in order to become a tyrant. Amid continuing struggle Draco codified the hitherto unwritten – mainly criminal – body of laws, but the unrest did not subside until Solon, a man trusted by all, reformed the state and the laws in 594 BC. His reforms



6. Athens

aimed mainly at including the lowest body of Athenians in political decisions, and they are often now considered as the first step towards the realization of democracy, even if they did not manage to elicit general consent.

Encouraged by their newly established political rights, the farmers and cattle breeders kept pressing for an improvement in their position and in 561 BC one of their most able politicians, Pisistratus, took advantage of their unrest and support to set up a tyranny. In spite of his hegemonic spirit, he gave out agrarian loans, boosted trade with other tyrannical states in the Aegean area, and opened the city up to Ionian philosophical and artistic influences. Ancient sources assign to him the first recording of the Homeric epics and the establishment in 566 BC of the Panathenaea, a first major instance of collective religious worship. The tyrannical regime became oppressive during the years of Hippias, who was finally chased away in 510 BC. After two years of renewed political struggle Cleisthenes from the aristocratic family of the Alcmaeonidae enlarged the list of Athenian citizens, divided the population into ten tribes of mixed origins, and inaugurated the policy of ostracism – enabling the citizens to demand the removal from the city for ten years of any citizen they deemed too influential. The newly established Athenian democracy provoked Persia by supporting the Ionian Revolt and subsequently successfully resisted the Persian assaults at Marathon (490 BC) and Salamis (480 BC).

A more integrated form of democracy is associated with the rule of Ephialtes (who was assassinated by reactionary aristocrats in 461 BC) and Pericles. But Athens' leading role in Greek politics had been formally acknowledged already from 478 BC with the foundation of the Delian League, which brought all subject allies under Athenian control. Led by able politicians and generals such as Aristides, Cimon, and Pericles himself, Athens prospered for 50 years in political, artistic, philosophical, and financial spheres alike; suffice it here to remind ourselves of the Parthenon, the golden-ivory statue of Athena in it, and Athenian tragedy – all products of that famous *pentekontaetia* (50 years) brought to an end in 431 BC by the

eruption of the Peloponnesian War, which was the result of Sparta's growing discontent in the face of an increasing Athenian expansionism in the late 430s BC. Lasting 27 years, the unprecedented cruelty of this conflict with Sparta exhausted the city and at the same time let Persia into Greek internal affairs in 407 BC, when the former stepped into the war on the side of Sparta.

The antagonism between the two principal Greek cities continued over the course of the 4th century BC and Persia was once again called upon during the Corinthian War (395–386 BC), this time on the side of Athens. During the short revival of its independent status in the first half of the 4th century BC, Athens pursued an alliance with rising Thebes and made a series of failed attempts, including a second Athenian League, to restore its imperial role. The cultural life was still flourishing but the political prestige and the finances of the city were in steep decline. The emergence of Philip II of Macedon around the middle of the century and his appeal for a Panhellenic alliance that would campaign against the Persians were met with Athenian distrust and hostility, as Demosthenes' well-known and flagrantly rhetorical speeches against the Macedonian king testify. Athens' military power received a heavy blow from the Macedonian army at Chaeronea in 338 BC, but its leaders in the 330s and 320s BC, notably Eubulus and Lycurgus, carried on with policies of retrenchment that stripped the city of its last opportunities for a viable political role in the new order.

Under Cassander of Macedon, Demetrius of Phaleron ruled peacefully but tyrannically so that the arrival of the Antigonid ruler, Demetrius Poliorcetes in 307 BC was enthusiastically welcomed. In spite of the financial adversities that kept on driving the citizens away (mostly to the Asian courts whose armies employed them as mercenaries), Athens in the Hellenistic period established itself as a centre of culture and philosophy of international status. Epicurean and Stoic schools were now added to the Platonic Academy and the Aristotelian Lyceum, while the theatre and the arts thrived. Roman domination in 146 BC had no effect on Athens' intellectual and cultural prestige, which was to last throughout the years of Roman rule as well as the early Byzantine era up to the 5th century AD. The city enjoyed a new economic boom around 100 BC, related to privileges bestowed upon it by the Romans. But the Athenians' support of Mithridates VI in an effort to regain their freedom was severely punished by Sulla in 86 BC.

From the 50s BC Roman nobles and emperors with philhellenic attitudes – notably Hadrian, Herodes Atticus, and Gaius Antiochus Philopappus – became benefactors of the city. During the 1st century AD the altar to the Unknown God and the first Jewish synagogue were erected. The Gothic descent on Europe had its impact on Athens, which was devastated by an invasion of Heruli in AD 267 and of Alaric in AD 396. The city's demographic and financial decline – which had already started by the end of the Peloponnesian War, when Athens is estimated to have had a population of around 36,000 people – was precipitated after the last destructions. At the same time, Christianity started making inroads. Already in the 3rd century AD celebrated Christian philosophers were teaching in new schools on the outskirts of the city.

Throughout the early Byzantine era Athens, together with all the dioceses of the Greek mainland, was placed under the administrative authority of the papal throne in Rome, maintaining at the same time a close relationship with Constantinople. However, in 732 emperor Leo III attached all the Greek dioceses to the patriarchate of Constantinople, as a retaliatory measure against the pope because of his opposition to Leo's own iconoclastic policy.

The attachment of Athens to Constantinople and the favourable presence of Irene the Athenian as consort to emperor Leo IV signified the start of a period of increasing prosperity for Athens. This was the period of the Slavic attacks against the Byzantine empire, which in the 19th century prompted Jakob Fallmerayer's claims about a Slavic prevalence in the Greek south before the 10th century. The current scholarly position maintains, however, that the influence of these Slavic nomadic groups was significantly limited in Attica – as, for example, the rarity of Slavic place names signifies – and that Athens, throughout these attacks, continued its increasingly prosperous existence, which was also reflected in the upgrading of the episcopate of Athens to a diocese in the 9th century, and the visit in 1018 of the Byzantine emperor Basil II Boulgaroktonos (Bulgar Slayer), following his victory over the Bulgarians of Samuel. The city also seems to have been little affected by the raids of Saracen pirates from Crete on the coasts of Attica in the beginning of the 10th century. The only significant disturbances to the prosperity of Athens were certain friction points with Thebes, the administrative centre of the Hellenic theme (i.e. the administrative division with political and military character that was formed during the 8th century AD in response to the Slavic pressure), in relation to tax collections and other decisions concerning Athens.

During the reign of the Komnenos dynasty – 10th–11th centuries – trade, agriculture, and craftsmanship continued to grow and a series of important monuments were built, the churches of Kapnikarea, Agioi Theodoroi, Agios Ioannis Karea, Omorphi Ekklisia, parts of the monastery of Kaisariani, and the monastery of Daphni with its famous mosaics on the west side of the city. However, education and intellectual life remained unresponsive to the cultural renaissance of Constantinople during the Komnenian dynasty. Michael Choniatis, the erudite last bishop of Athens before the Frankish occupation, draws in his writings a bleak picture of the intellectual achievements of the Athenians. This image should be associated especially with the second half of the 12th century, a time of steady decline for the city mainly due to regular pirate raids, the increasingly frequent encroachments of the Normans, and the arbitrary and heavy taxation rates imposed by the tax collectors of the Byzantine empire.

Athens was conquered by the Franks in 1205 and attached to the Frankish kingdom of Thessalonica. Even though under foreign rule, the city enjoyed a prolonged period of economic as well as political prosperity, which was additionally strengthened by its increasingly close relationship with the principality of Achaea. But desire for expansion towards the north brought in the Catalans as a mercenary army, who subsequently turned against the Franks and eventually conquered Athens in 1311. The Catalonian period was particularly painful for the Athenians, whose civil rights severely dwindled and who were reduced to a state of serfdom. Throughout the 14th century Venetian, Sicilian, and Spanish aspirations enfeebled the Catalans until they finally succumbed to the expansionism of

the Florentine ruler of Corinth, Nerio Azaggioli, who occupied the Acropolis in 1388.

The Florentines relieved some of the oppression infamously connected with the Catalans. Certain religious freedoms were restored for the Orthodox, and a few Greek representatives were admitted into the local administration. The period before the Turkish occupation in 1458 was one of prolonged turmoil, however, with Venetians, Turks, and Florentines clashing over the dominion of the city. The first half of the 15th century brought some renewed prosperity to Athens mainly due to the tolerant policy of Antonio Azaggioli towards the Greeks. But the economic, political, and social abuse of the westerners and the deep schism between the Orthodox and the Catholics, as underlined by the turbulent council of Ferrara-Florence (1438–39), aggravated the hostility between Latins and Greeks. As a result, when the sultan Mehmet II entered the city in 1458 its few remaining residents received him with feelings of relief.

Excited about this illustrious addition to his empire, Mehmet granted Athens special privileges, including the right to some form of local self-rule. This initial favouritism did not prevent religious oppression, however, which generated neomartyrs such as Philothei Venizelou, or aggression, such as the mass kidnapping of children; whereas the distrust of the local rulers also counteracted on an everyday basis the sultan's flexible attitude.

Driven by the hope that the Turko-Venetian war that had erupted in 1684 would prove useful in their own struggle for liberation, the Athenians entrusted the city to the Venetians on 10 September 1687. The battles that followed caused severe damage to the Parthenon and resulted in a very short-lived Venetian domination. When the Turks reoccupied the Acropolis, the Athenians fled the city en masse and did not start to return for three years, in 1691. The period of relatively liberal rule that followed, and lasted for most of the first half of the 18th century, came to an abrupt end with the friction between Turks and Russians towards the end of the century, when Turks again felt threatened by the Greeks' urge for liberation. Russians and Turks came to a – temporary – agreement in 1774, but the arbitrariness of the sultans and the local *voivode* was not eliminated. It was during the first years of the 19th century that Lord Elgin, having obtained the sultan's permission to collect already detached stones and inscriptions, managed to transfer the Parthenon and Erechtheum marbles to England.

The Revolution of 1821 spread great enthusiasm among the Athenians who became involved at once. Important military men came to the city's succour, among them Androutsos, Makriyannis, Karaiskakis, and later on the French Favière and Derigny. The Turks finally surrendered control of the Acropolis on 31 March 1833 and on 18 September 1834 Athens was declared the capital of the newly founded modern Greek state.

The transference of the capital from Nauplia to Athens transformed the small town of 1500 houses into the first political, economic, and intellectual centre of the new state. This transformation took time, however, and for most of the 19th century the robust, cosmopolitan periphery, with cities such as Ermoupolis and Patras, continued to attract the main financial activities of the new state, even though its political power was concentrated in Athens. From the very beginning, however, and within the narrow space of autonomous expression left to it by the conflicting interests of the supervising European Great Powers, the city struggled to establish a modern Greek identity for the new state. This effort was further undermined due to the mutual antipathies between the indigenous people and the newly arrived emigrants from Europe, as well as the military and the political leaders. Much energy was directed towards urban development, which combined two dominant styles, the more spontaneously romantic, with folk elements, and the Neoclassical. The latter was particularly boosted by the involvement of Classically educated German architects in designing the city and some of its most important public buildings, such as the palace (started 1832), the university (started 1839), and Hotel Grande Bretagne (started 1842). The subsequent years brought more freedom and a predominantly eclectic architectural style, even though the monolithic dependence on Classical antiquity as the prevalent tool for modern Greek self-expression meant that a fair number of Byzantine and later monuments were still being destroyed.

During the last decades of the 19th century Athens' political role continued to expand just as it was actively involved in the republican reformation of 1843, and the turbulent change of dynasty in 1863. Charilaos Trikoupis's premierships (in the 1880s and 1890s) brought further development, and vital work on the infrastructure that was largely missing in this architecturally impressive city was carried out. By the 1890s Athens had already begun to acquire a centrality not unrelated to the urban pull and overconcentration that plague it today. This centrality was boosted by the detachment between the 1880s and the 1920s of several other Greek regions from the ailing Ottoman empire and their attachment to the new state. People and resources from regions such as Thessaly, Epirus, Macedonia, Western Thrace, and Asia Minor, successively, were concentrated in Athens, thus enabling its industrialization at the expense of the periphery. The city has ever since been inextricably connected with all the most highly influential events of modern Greek political life, from the mutinies of royalists and Venizelists of the period 1909–35 through to the resulting dictatorship of Ioannis Metaxas on 4 August 1936 and the clashes of December 1944 between ELAS and British forces (also known as *Dekemvriana*) in the centre of Athens which, it is estimated, left about 800 buildings in ruins. Finally, in 1973, the protests of students at the Athens Law School and Polytechnic, which symbolized the discontent of the country as a whole with the military junta of the colonels, and heralded the fall of their regime a few months later.

From 1950 onwards there has been impressive economic and demographic expansion in the environs of Athens, attracting the greater part of the political, cultural, and administrative activities of the country. It is estimated that it has accommodated almost half of the national industry and produces almost half of the national income. Such a disproportionate growth has resulted in urban anarchy, pollution, and serious infrastructure failures that disfigure this otherwise dynamic city. The state has been aware of these problems and their impact on the socioeconomic development of Greece as a whole, and

has been trying to design policies that will redress this imbalance.

EFROSSINI SPENTZOU

See also Acropolis, Agora, Delian League, Piraeus

Summary

Inhabited since the Neolithic period (*c.*4000 BC), Athens was a major Mycenaean centre in the Late Bronze Age. A tyranny was set up Pisistratus in 561 BC, to be followed at the end of the 6th century by the democratic reforms of Cleisthenes. After the Persian Wars Athens emerged as leader of Greece and centre of Hellenic culture. Political hegemony was dissipated by the Peloponnesian War and subsequent struggles with Macedon and Rome; cultural supremacy was retained undimmed until the 5th century AD. Athens was named the capital of the modern Greek state in 1834 and has ever since been the prime focus of political and cultural activity in the country.

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Athos, Mount

Principal centre of Orthodox monasticism

Mount Athos is a peninsula in northern Greece, the most easterly of the three claws that Chalcidice extends into the Aegean Sea. From the isthmus in the northwest to the southeast point the distance is about 56 km, while that from coast to coast is rarely more than 8 km. About 6 km south of the isthmus a wall marks the frontier, and beyond it the ground rises steeply to wooded peaks of 500 and 600 m. South of Karyes, the capital, which stands more or less in the centre of the peninsula, the woods turn to scrub and eventually to bare rock as the contours rise, peaking finally at 2030 m before a sudden drop down to the sea. For more than a thousand years Athos has been the exclusive preserve of Orthodox monks; to this day it remains the principal centre of monasticism for all the Eastern Orthodox Churches. It is dedicated to the glorification of the Virgin Mary (or Theotokos), whose garden by tradition it is. She alone is held to represent her sex there, which is why Athos is closed to women.

In antiquity Athos was already a holy mountain, its peak being sacred to Zeus. In 492 BC the Persian fleet of Mardonius was dashed to pieces on the rocks at the southern point; mindful of this, the next time the Persians invaded Macedonia by sea, in 480 BC, they cut a canal through the isthmus to ensure the safe passage of their ships. Several cities were founded on the peninsula, and in the 4th century BC there was even a bizarre proposal to carve the mountain itself into the image of Alexander the Great; but the king told his architect to concentrate rather on designing the new city of Alexandria, and by the early centuries AD it seems that the place was deserted.

No one knows when the first monks arrived on Athos, but it is unlikely to have been before the 8th century. (Some monasteries claim foundation dates as early as the 3rd or 4th century, but there is no evidence to support them.) The first recorded reference to Athonite monks is at the synod, known as the "Triumph of Orthodoxy", convened by the empress Theodora in 843 to celebrate the end of iconoclasm; and some 9th-century hermits are known by name: Peter the Athonite, who lived in a cave *c.*840–90, and Evthymios of Thessalonica, who founded the first community of ascetics. The first real monastery was established in 963 by St Athanasios of Athos with the support and encouragement of the emperor Nikephoros II Phokas. Still known as the Great Lavra (or Megiste Lavra), it holds first place in the hierarchy of all the monasteries, and the Athonite millennium was duly celebrated there in 1963. The ascetics opposed the introduction of cenobitic (common life) monasticism and, after the murder of Nikephoros in 969, appealed to the new emperor, John I Tzimiskes; but he overruled their objections, and ever since then both traditions – the eremitic and the cenobitic – have coexisted on Athos.

Further monasteries were soon founded, though not all survive today. Of the twenty that do, nine were established in the 10th century, four more in the 11th, one in the 12th, one in the 13th, four in the 14th, and the last in the 16th. These figures reflect the fortunes of the empire at the time. In earlier centuries there were many monastic centres and many holy

mountains elsewhere; but after the Turkish conquest of Asia Minor, the Latin occupation of many Byzantine provinces in Europe, and the Slav advances in the Balkans, by the 14th century Athos was the only one to survive. Since then it has always been known as *the* Holy Mountain (*Agion Oros* in Greek).

Athos has always been an international centre, a focus for monasticism and pilgrimage for all the Orthodox Churches. The Bulgarian monastery (Zographou) was founded in the 10th century, as was the Georgian house of Iviron (now Greek); Russians have had a monastery since the 11th century, Serbs since the 12th; Moldavians and Wallachians have long been represented, and there was even a Benedictine monastery for Amalfitans from the 10th century to the 14th. Today seventeen of the twenty monasteries are Greek-speaking; there is one each for Serbs, Bulgarians, and Russians; and two sketes (monastic villages) are reserved for Romanians. All sketes, cells, and hermitages are subordinated to the larger foundations, which is why the latter are called "ruling monasteries". Each of them is a self-governing, independent entity within the monastic federation, and between them they rule the Mountain. Each sends an elected representative to serve for a year in the Holy Community, the parliament of Athos, which meets regularly in Karyes. These arrangements have been in place since an imperial decree of 1046, on the strength of which the monks claim that theirs is the oldest continuing democracy in the world. From the start the Mountain came under the jurisdiction of the emperor, but by the early 13th century the new monasteries had become stavropegic (under the authority of the patriarchate) and in 1312 authority over the whole Mountain was transferred to the patriarch by emperor Andronikos II Palaiologos.

Athos survived the turmoil of the empire's last centuries, but not without a fight. All the monasteries suffered constant assaults by pirates, crusaders, adventurers, and Turks who would stop at nothing to strip them of their treasures. The need for self defence made them look more like castles and fortified towns, which is in many ways what they became. In order to attract wealthy and influential recruits, many monasteries began to depart from the cenobitic system (according to which all wealth is contributed to a common purse) in favour of a more individualistic (or idiorrhythmic) way of life in which personal wealth and profit were accepted. Though frowned upon at first, this alternative system did eventually gain imperial sanction in 1406 and was until recently followed by at least half of the monasteries.

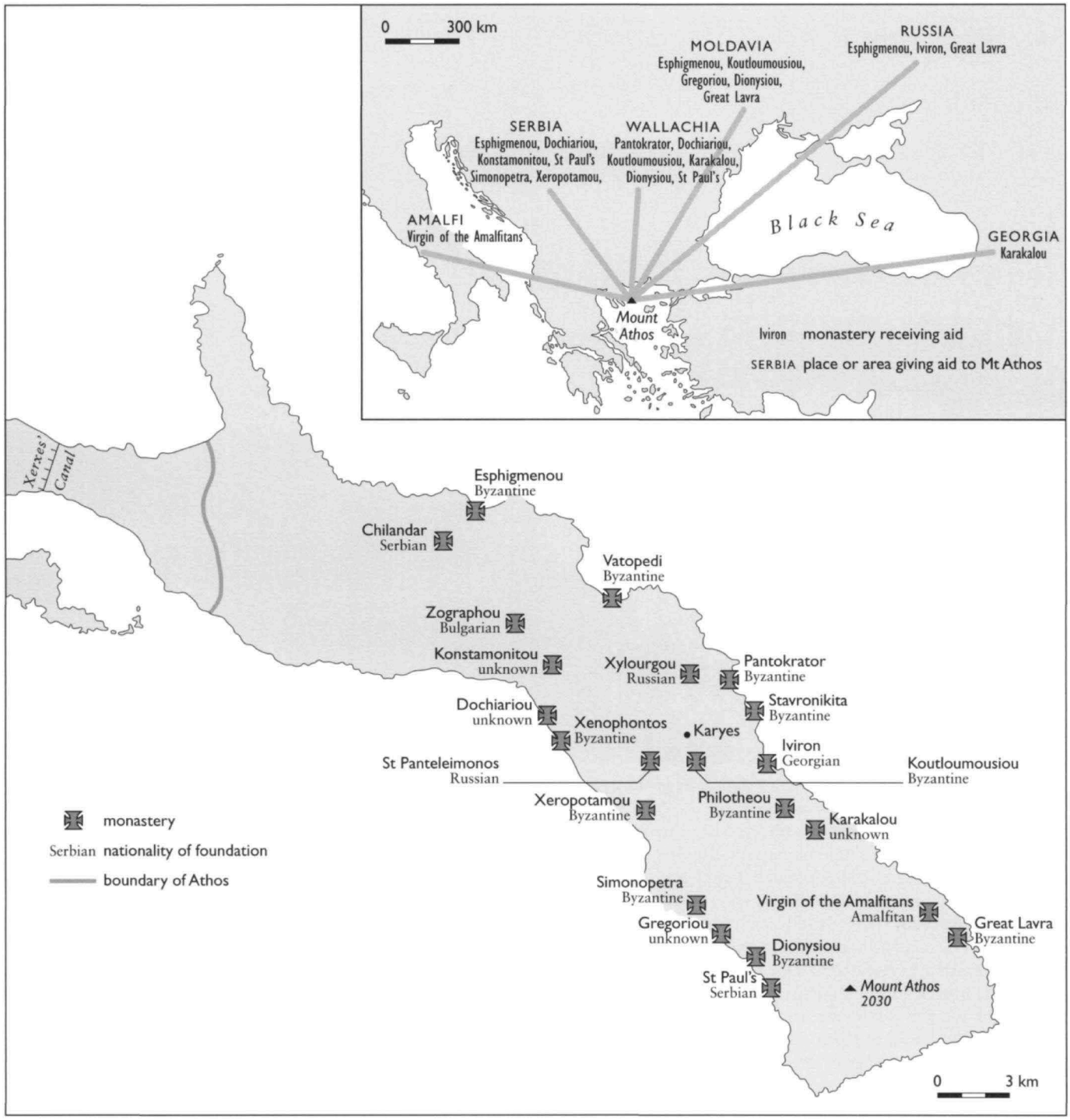
As the chief monastic survivor, Athos was able to take full advantage of the so-called Palaiologan renaissance, the cultural flowering that Byzantium enjoyed while the empire crumbled. Artists such as Manuel Panselinos were employed to decorate the principal churches. Musicians such as St John Koukouzeles, a monk of the Great Lavra, revolutionized the tradition of Byzantine chant. Theologians such as St Gregory Palamas, whose doctrine of hesychasm forms the basis of Athonite spirituality to this day, made Athos an international centre of scholarship. Emperors, anxious to gain the sympathy of the monks, or of the people, or of God, endowed the monasteries with treasures; and some were even tonsured monks themselves. In the late Byzantine period the monasteries were major landowners, and their surviving records are among the most important documentary evidence for Byzantine economic life.

Although the confiscation of monastic estates had begun even before the end of the empire, Athos was still in a strong position when Ottoman occupation began in 1430. The monks lost their remaining estates in Macedonia and Thrace, and they were forced to pay tax to the sultan; but they retained their autonomy, they remained under the spiritual protection of the ecumenical patriarch, and they continued to enjoy a period of prosperity. During the 16th century another monastery (Stavronikita) was founded, library holdings continued to expand, and the Cretan school of painters was active on Athos, creating some of the most glorious examples of their art. While the rural population fell into a state of increasingly profound ignorance, poverty, and despondency, the monasteries, and especially those of the Holy Mountain, upheld the traditions not only of Orthodoxy but also of Byzantium. Indeed it is no exaggeration to say that during the long, dark centuries of the Tourkokratia Athos was one of the principal guardians of Hellenism.

Even in the 17th century, when standards of education and literacy in Greece and Asia Minor had reached a very low ebb, the monasteries continued to acquire books for their libraries. But in the 18th century there was a decline, which the patriarch Cyril V made a determined effort to resist with the foundation in 1753 of an academy near the monastery of Vatopedi. His intention was to restore Athos to its place as a centre of religious culture and learning and to that end he appointed the philosopher Evgenios Voulgaris as director of the school. But the experiment failed: Voulgaris's theories proved too liberal for the monks, within a few years he was removed to Constantinople, and the school was destroyed by fire.

In the late 18th century, while the secularizing spirit of the Enlightenment began to take hold of Western Europe, a conservative reaction to it sprang up on Athos. The members of this movement, known as the Kollyvades, sought to show that Greek national awareness would be regenerated not by adherence to Western notions of secular liberalism but by a return to the spiritual values of true Orthodoxy and patristic theology. Among the leading figures of this "fundamentalist" revival were St Makarios of Corinth (1731–1805) and St Nikodemos of the Holy Mountain (1748–1809), who collaborated to produce an extensive anthology of Athonite spiritual writing known as the *Philokalia* (Venice, 1782), a work that retains its popularity and influence to this day. Salvation through Orthodoxy was also the message of another Athonite monk of the 18th century, St Kosmas the Aetolian (1714–79). He made a number of missionary journeys through the Greek-speaking lands in an attempt to revive the flagging morale of the people, emphasizing the link between Orthodoxy and the Greek language, and founding Greek schools wherever he went. Eventually falling foul of the Ottoman authorities, he was executed and joined the ranks of the so-called Neomartyrs who died for their faith during the Tourkokratia.

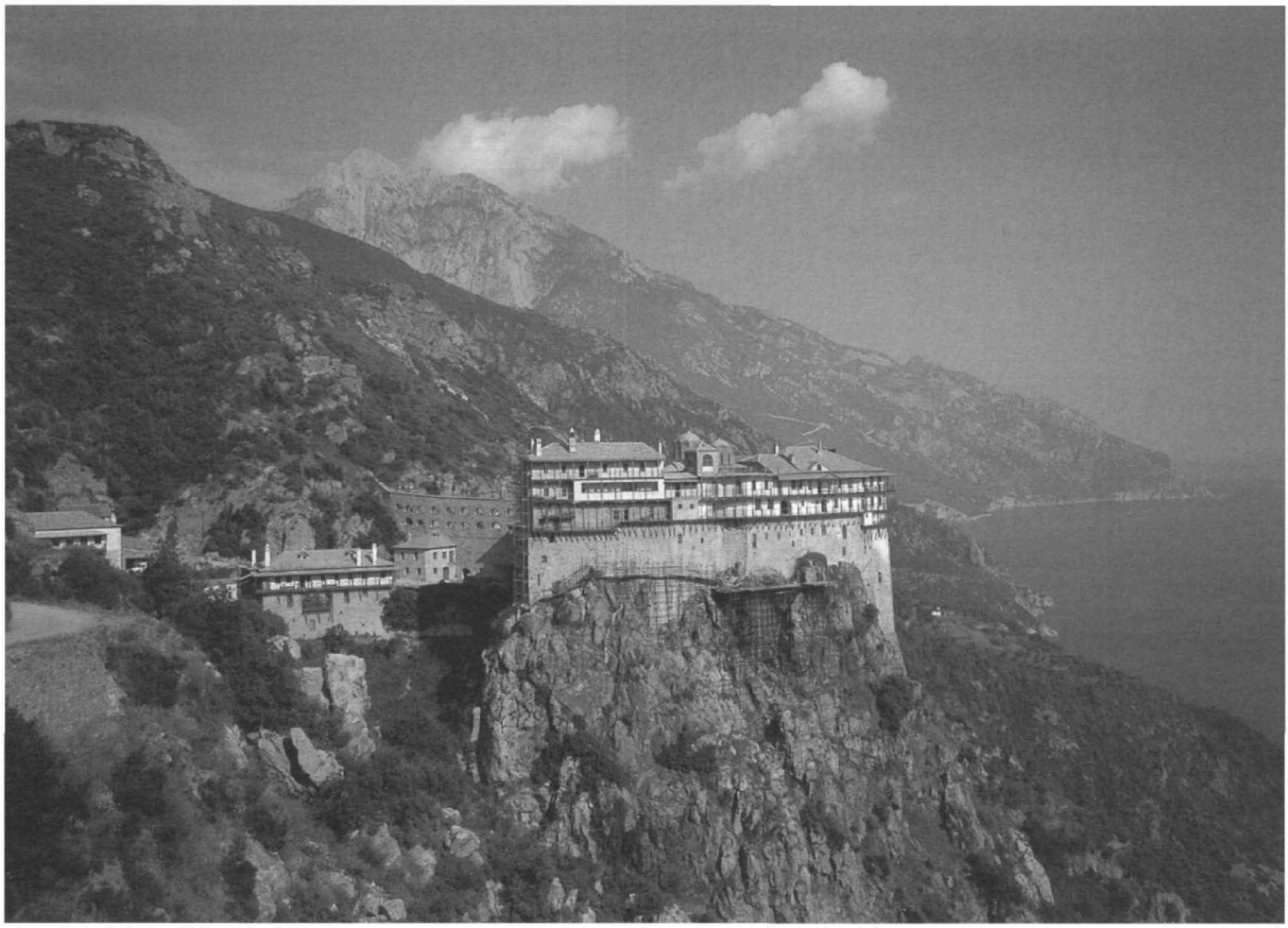
Throughout much of the 19th and 20th centuries Athos felt the impact of political events in the outside world. The preference of most elders was to hold aloof from involvement in the War of Independence (1821–32), but many younger monks could not resist showing their sympathy for those fighting for freedom. The Turks quickly snuffed out the revolt and installed



7. Monasteries of Mount Athos

a garrison of 3000 troops on the Mountain. As a result many more monks fled and the population fell to barely a thousand.

After the establishment of an independent Greece in 1832 the fortunes of Mount Athos began to recover, only to be threatened again from another direction. During the latter part of the 19th century the number of Russian monks at the monastery of St Panteleimonos began to increase dramatically. The buildings there and at the Russian sketes were enlarged out of all proportion to accommodate the influx, and there were soon more Slavs than Greeks on the Mountain (5500 out of a total population of 9800 in 1910). The motive for this was perhaps more political than religious, though that is not to say that there were not many pious ascetics among them. Some say that the tsar had set his sights on the throne of Constantinople and saw Athos as a convenient strongpoint from which to dominate the Aegean. But, whatever the motive for it, the attempted Russian takeover failed – for two reasons. First, the Great Powers intervened and refused to ratify the treaty of San Stefano (1878) which would have ceded most of what is now northern Greece to a greater Bulgaria under Russian patron-



Athos: the monastery of Simonopetra dating from the 14th century with the peak of Athos itself behind

age. Second, despite their numbers, the Russians never controlled more than a single monastery; and on Athos what counts is not monks on misericords but ruling monasteries in the Holy Community. Even so, the Russians remained numerically dominant until the Revolution of 1917, after which borders were sealed and there was a rapid decline. Numbers at St Panteleimonos have been falling ever since.

The other event that had a significant impact on the Holy Mountain was the dismemberment of the Ottoman empire. Along with the rest of northern Greece, Athos was liberated in 1912; but it took another 11 years of almost continuous war before any sort of stability returned. Even then, the price paid by the monasteries was the confiscation of their estates in Chalcidice to make way for some of the hundreds of thousands of refugees "returning" to Greece from Asia Minor in 1923 in the compulsory exchange of population. Suddenly, after nearly 500 years of Turkish rule, Athos was stripped of a large part of its raison d'être – as the guardian of Hellenism. Like Cavafy's barbarians, the Turks were "a kind of solution". Even though the Great Idea was in ruins and Greece was overrun by impoverished, starving, and unemployed refugees, the Greeks were a free people with their own land, their own language, their own culture, and their own religion. Finally released from its political-cultural responsibility, the Mountain needed to find a new role to play. It faltered – for half a century – and by the 1960s, when Athos was celebrating a past of 1000 years, it seemed to many observers to have no future at all, except as a museum of Byzantine art and architecture, and the Greek government was keen to realize its potential as a centre for tourism.

But the spiritual traditions of Athos, which had not died at all, are extremely resilient. While the monasteries, especially the idiorrhythmic ones, became so depleted in numbers that some were even threatened with closure, there was increased activity in the sketes and cells at the remote tip of the peninsula, the so-called desert of Athos. This area had always attracted hermits and ascetics who shunned the monasteries and withdrew entirely from the world. During the 1950s and 1960s a number of such men gained reputations as gifted teachers and acquired groups of disciples, mostly educated young men eager to follow their example. Several monasteries on the brink of collapse turned to these men and invited them in, at the same time accepting the need to revert from the idiorrhythmic to the cenobitic way of life. At first this meant no more than a reshuffling of the existing population; but from the 1970s there was a steady increase in numbers over all, and by the mid-1990s the total was approaching 2000 from a low in 1971 of 1145.

All 20 monasteries now follow the cenobitic rule; standards of spirituality have risen markedly with the influx of better-educated monks; buildings that had fallen into disrepair are

being restored; treasures are being properly cared for; libraries are being catalogued and manuscripts conserved; skills such as icon painting, wood carving, and chanting are being revived on traditional lines; there is clear evidence of renewal in nearly every monastery (the exceptions to this are the non-Greek houses). The revival is an entirely traditional one: in no sense is it a reform; even the abolition of the idiorrhythmic system signals a return to the original cenobitic way of life. The downside is that, as monks tend increasingly to come from an urban, educated background instead of a rural, peasant one, some skills such as farming and fishing have to be relearnt; and in order to fund the revival, some monasteries have been tempted to overexploit their forests, resulting in the replacement of mules and mule-tracks by motor vehicles and a network of roads. Furthermore, the determination of the majority of the monasteries to assert their autonomy and their panorthodox traditions has on occasion resulted in friction with both the patriarchate in Constantinople and the government in Athens which are charged respectively with spiritual and civil authority over the Mountain. But the fact is that at last Athos has rediscovered its raison d'être, which is to provide a radical alternative to the ever-increasing secularization of modern society. As a result it has resumed its traditional role and is once again operating as the spiritual heart and voice of Orthodoxy.

GRAHAM SPEAKE

See also Hesychasm, Kollyvades, Monasteries, Monasticism, *Philokalia*, Pilgrimage, Renaissance (Palaiologan), Zealots

Summary

Principal centre of monasticism for all the Eastern Orthodox Churches. First monastery founded in 963. Expanded rapidly in the 10th and 11th centuries. Flourished in the late Byzantine period as a centre of scholarship and art. Operated as the guardian of Hellenism throughout the Tourkokratia. Declined spiritually in the 19th century and numerically in the 20th. Enjoying revival since the 1970s. Closed to women.

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Atomism

One of the greatest contributions of ancient Greek philosophical *logos* to world civilization was the expression of a series of theories on the beginnings and structure of matter. Some were simple; others were more complex. Regardless of whether or not they were correct, they were a significant source of ideas and rationales that eventually played a role in the formation of modern scientific thought, even if they were incomprehensible to some.

The so-called atomic theory played a leading role. It consisted of a characteristic central idea that rejected the notion of an infinite divisibility of matter, as opposed to Aristotelian philosophy. The founder of the ancient theory of atomism is supposed to have been Mochus or Moschus, before the Trojan War. Leucippus, Democritus, and Epicurus, though not the introducers, described it and proved reasonably that atoms are the first principles of bodies. The views of Epicurus are considered by many to be the foundations on which many later Europeans formulated their own theories. As for Leucippus, whose historical existence has on occasion been disputed, we know that he was active in Miletus around the middle of the 5th century BC. According to Aristotle and Theophrastus, the title of his work was the *Great World System* (*Megas Diakosmos*). One of his students was Democritus, who was born in Abdera around 460 BC. All the original writings of Democritus are lost but excerpts of his work survive in later writers. Epicurus continued after Democritus.

The basis for adopting the existence of atoms is the acceptance of the existence of a vacuum, which is another distinction from Aristotelian philosophy. The existence of a vacuum, however, contradicts the theory of an infinite divisibility of matter. For this contradiction to be resolved, Leucippus' atom must be free of any vacuum and remain unchanged; a vacuum

can exist only in the space between the atoms. Atoms are not born; they are indestructible, unchangeable, simple, and therefore eternal and with specific dimensions. They are not motionless but are in a state of a perpetual spin, which allows similar atoms to come closer together. According to Democritus, bodies are initially formed by the joining and binding of groups of atoms that eventually mould a world or worlds, since atomistic philosophers support the existence of infinite worlds. The perfect atoms move towards the peripheral and form a spherical celestial dome; heavier materials move towards the centre of the sphere and constitute the earth. Based on the atomic theory, Democritus tried to give a convincing interpretation of the subject of colours, maintaining that the four primary colours – white, black, red, and yellow – were the result of the different types and positions of the atoms inside the body.

From the ancient Greek theory of atomism, Newton mainly adopted that of hardness when he expanded his atomic theory in the *Opticks* (Query 23). Many, however, consider that the scientist who brought the atomic theory into the public eye was Pierre Gassendi, who in 1649 published his comments on the 10th book of Diogenes Laertius and the *Syntagma Philosophiae Epicuri*, both of which contained a presentation of Epicurean and Democritean atomization.

This general theory by Western Europeans concerning the atomic structure of bodies was also basically accepted by Greek scholars during the Tourkokratia. Everybody now accepts that atoms are the basic factors of matter. Nikiphoros Theotokis, in the first chapter of his book, *Elements of Physics* (*Stichia Physikis*, 1766–67), wrote characteristically:

> Lucretius, Gassendi, Boerhaave, Desaguliers, and the other modern philosophers suppose atoms to be the principles of every body. These atoms are quite small, hard, moveable, pathetic, impenetrable, impassable. As they are elements of every body, and the basis of bigger bodies, we need to find their properties.

Scholars also accepted Dalton's later theory on atoms formulated in 1805. Dalton's atom was, of course, quite different from the modern atom, but it constituted one more link in the chain of the evolution of scientific thought from antiquity up to today.

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See also Physics

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Attalids

Ruling dynasty of the Hellenistic kingdom of Pergamum

The Attalids were the ruling family of the kingdom of Pergamum, which flourished under their control in the Hellenistic period from 281 to 133 BC. The dynasty was established by Philetaerus, a general in the army of Lysimachus, one of the successors of Alexander the Great. Lysimachus had gained control of Thrace and northwestern Asia Minor in the struggles after Alexander's death (323 BC), and he kept a large part of his state treasury in the city of Pergamum, which was under Philetaerus' command. In 281 BC Lysimachus was killed in battle, and Philetaerus laid claim both to Pergamum and to the treasury of 9000 talents. The 18 years of Philetaerus' rule (281–263 BC) were dedicated primarily to establishing and extending his control of northwestern Asia Minor and solidifying his family's position as the rulers of Pergamum.

In the early 3rd century BC Pergamum was a small Greek city built on top of a high acropolis whose walls enclosed houses, military barracks, storerooms, water cisterns, an agora (marketplace), and a small temple built of andesite (the locally available stone) honouring Athena (patron deity of the city); near the lower reaches of the citadel, outside the walls, was a temple of Demeter. Food was supplied by farms in the surrounding plain of the fertile Caicus river valley. With his financial wealth, an easily defended acropolis, a fertile farming region, and reliable water sources, Philetaerus' main problem was protecting the outlying parts of Pergamum from the city's enemies. The most insistent of these were the marauding Gauls, a warlike tribe from central Europe that had crossed into Asia Minor in 278 BC and was harassing the cities and towns of northern and western Anatolia. While Philetaerus waged several successful battles against the Gauls between 278 and 276 BC, he often dealt with their threats of attack and plunder in the same manner as other local political leaders – by paying hefty tribute.

Philetaerus, who had no children of his own, adopted his nephew Eumenes, and named him his successor. Eumenes I (263–241 BC) was occupied in much the same manner as his uncle: he defended Pergamum against the more powerful Hellenistic kings, especially the Seleucids, extended the territory under his control, and continued the policy of pacifying the Gauls through payment of onerous tribute. Eumenes I was followed by his cousin Attalus I, who ruled from 241 to 197 BC. Attalus was an astute politician, a brilliant general, and a patron of education and the arts. It was during his reign that Pergamum began its transition from a hilltop fortress to a splendid Hellenistic metropolis. His first major act was to refuse to pay tribute to the ever-menacing Gauls. He led the Pergamene army against them, defeating them solidly. In honour of his achievement, the epithet "Soter" (Saviour) was

added to his name, and he was the first of his family to be given the title "king". The victory over the Gauls was followed by a number of military successes, often in alliance with an increasingly powerful Rome, and Pergamum's control and influence in Asia Minor were extended and strengthened.

Two of his sons followed Attalus I as king – Eumenes II (197–159 BC) and Attalus II (159–138 BC). Their reigns brought Pergamum to its zenith as a prominent political and cultural centre in the Hellenistic world. The city's population increased to more than 100,000 people, while the kingdom as a whole covered 172,880 sq km with a population of 5,500,000 comprising five classes of residents: citizens, foreign residents, soldiers, freedmen, and slaves. From the beginning, Pergamum had been governed by the constitution of a Greek city state, although the monarchy had exercised great authority in the political system. During the reign of Eumenes II the military alliance with Rome, which had contributed much to the growing strength of Pergamum, was temporarily broken and Eumenes led his army unassisted in an important battle against the Gauls, who were waging frequent attacks on many of the cities in Asia Minor. This victory, won without the help of his powerful ally, substantially enhanced Eumenes' standing among neighbouring political leaders and greatly increased the power of the Pergamene monarchy.

Attalus II was an elderly man when he ascended the throne upon the death of Eumenes II. During his 21-year reign (159–138 BC) he continued the policies of his brother. He was a competent military leader and diplomat, continued the alliance with Rome, and was a patron of scholars and artists. Attalus II was succeeded by Attalus III, a son of Eumenes II, who ruled for only five years (138–133 BC). Upon his death this last Attalid king bequeathed Pergamum to Rome in his will. This act has never been clearly understood, but his decision may have been based on the knowledge that there was little chance that Pergamum could remain independent much longer. Rome had conquered mainland Greece, and devastated those who stood against it. Because of Attalus III, the citizens of Pergamum were neither plundered nor enslaved, but continued their lives in peace under the new regime. Pergamum became the capital of the Roman province of Asia in 129 BC.

The Attalids, especially from the time of Attalus I, saw themselves as the preservers of Classical civilization in the Hellenistic period. Since the political and military endeavours of Alexander the Great and his successors in the 4th century BC had moved the focus of the Greek world to Asia Minor and the Near East, resulting in the diminishment of mainland Greece, the goal of the dynasty was to make Pergamum the cultural and artistic successor of Athens. Along with the wealth of the original treasury of Lysimachus, the Attalids had a number of sources of income with which to implement their plan. Taxes were paid by the indigenous communities in the surrounding territory; tribute was paid by subject cities; and duties were assessed on items that were transported through territory under Attalid control. Pergamum also had great natural resources. Farms in the Caicus river valley produced wheat, barley, grapes, figs, olives, pomegranates, horses, pigs, cattle, and sheep. Mines and quarries supplied gold, zinc, copper, andesite, and marble. Pergamene factories produced wool, carpets, woven textiles, sewn garments, leather, perfumes, pottery, armour, and parchment. The great wealth of the kingdom by the 2nd century BC allowed Eumenes II to institute a major building programme that turned Pergamum into a magnificent city of marble monuments that was more than four times its original size.

Along with city planners and architects, Eumenes II welcomed artists and scholars. Pergamum had been known for its school of sculpture since the reign of Attalus I in the 3rd century BC when several famous sculptors came to the city to create a multifigured group to commemorate the king's victory over the Gauls. The epitome of the Pergamene school, and of all Hellenistic sculpture, however, was the reliefs of the spectacular Pergamum Altar (now in the Berlin Staatliche Museen), a monument that honoured the Attalid dynasty, their military victories, and Pergamum's founding hero, Telephus. Dynastic support of a wide range of scholars, especially those connected to the schools of philosophy in Athens, had begun during the reigns of Eumenes I and Attalus I. Attalus' own teacher had been a Peripatetic philosopher from Athens, and his son Attalus II studied at the Academy in Athens. While Pergamum did not develop a professional school comparable to that at Alexandria, the scholarly environment created by the kings attracted a large number of well-respected philosophers, mathematicians, historians, biographers, geographers, astronomers, poets, playwrights, engineers, physicians, and scientists. The Attalids' support was not restricted to the professional class, however, but extended as well to a sophisticated secondary education system in which both boys and girls from Pergamum received instruction.

The scholarly climate was enhanced even further by the creation of the renowned Pergamene library during the reign of Eumenes II in the 2nd century BC. Second only to the library at Alexandria in antiquity, at its height it may have owned as many as 200,000 works. The most significant scholar in Pergamum in that period was Crates of Mallus, a Stoic philosopher, literary critic, grammarian, and geographer, who was also probably director of the library. He created a system of cosmogony in which the earth was round, and while he was not the first person to describe the earth as a sphere, he was the first to construct a three-dimensional geographical globe. Crates seems to have been influential in encouraging the production and export of fine-quality parchment, for which Pergamum became justly famous. The use of parchment not only eventually displaced papyrus as the main writing material in antiquity, but it facilitated the development of the paged book (codex), which had replaced rolled documents by the 4th century AD.

As the power of the Roman empire waned in the 3rd century AD, Pergamum declined in population and contracted in size. The city diminished in standing as a centre of political, commercial, and military activity. Except for the renovation of the temple of the Egyptian gods as a Christian basilica, it also played only a small role in ecclesiastical affairs. The sanctuary of Asclepius was abandoned, as were most other buildings in the plain and on the lower levels of the acropolis. By the late 3rd century AD the city consisted primarily of houses built over earlier structures on the fortified upper acropolis. Pergamum did continue the Attalid tradition of being a centre of intellectual activity, however, playing a prominent role in the scholarship of the 4th century. It was home to the school of Aedesius (d. 355), a Neoplatonist who trained most of the famous teach-

ers of philosophy in western Anatolia, including Maximus of Ephesus (d. 371), one of whose pupils was the future emperor Julian. Oribasius (d. 400), a companion of Julian and a native of Pergamum, was one of the most famous doctors and medical writers of the period; he was especially noted for his compilation of excerpts from the works of earlier Greek and Roman physicians.

While Pergamum continued to be occupied during the Byzantine period, it is little more than a shadow on the page of history. It was captured for brief periods by the Arabs in the 7th and 8th centuries, and refortified by the Byzantine emperors Constans II and Manuel Komnenos in the 7th and 12th centuries, respectively. It came under the authority of the Greek emperor of Nicaea, Theodore Laskaris, in 1214, then Turkish emirs gained control in 1302. By the end of the 14th century Pergamum had been nearly destroyed by invasion and sacking. In the Byzantine period ancient Greek manuscripts and knowledge of Classical culture were preserved in major centres of learning, such as Constantinople, Thessalonica, and southern Italy. How much influence came down to them from the scholarly environment created by the Attalids at Pergamum – through the disbursement of the library's holdings or through the students trained by teachers from Pergamum – remains unclear from the current state of knowledge.

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See also Pergamum

Summary

The Attalids were the founders and ruling dynasty of the kingdom of Pergamum in Asia Minor between 281 and 133 BC. They saw themselves as the preservers of Classical civilization and their goal was to make their capital city the successor to Athens as the cultural and artistic centre of the Hellenistic world. To this end they compiled a library of some 200,000 works and supported a large number of scholars in all areas of Greek learning, as well as artists, city planners, and architects, who turned Pergamum into a metropolis of marble monuments.

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Attica

Region of central Greece

Ancient Attica was made up the greater part of the modern nome of the same name. A three-sided peninsula which protrudes from central Greece, Attica is surrounded by sea on two sides with Cape Sunium and its famous temple of Poseidon at the southernmost tip. On the landward side Boeotia and Megara lie on the borders. In antiquity Attica covered over 2400 sq km and embraced a variety of mountain ranges and valleys as well as coastal and inland plains. The extent of the territory increased in specific periods, as the disputed areas fought over by Athens and Boeotia or Athens and Megara were added to Attica.

The Parnes mountain range separates Attica from its main northern rival, Boeotia. Here the competing poleis (or city states) fought over the upland plains and near the coast the important centre of Oropus. At the heart of Attica lies the Cephisus plain with the city of Athens at its centre. Enclosing the city and its plain are the mountain ranges of Hymettus on the east and Aegaleus on the west. Beyond Aegaleus stretches the Thriasian plain and the border with Megara. Eleusis lies at the southern edge of this plain. It looks across to the island of Salamis which was part of the Athenian polis in antiquity. To the northeast of Athens lie the Penteli mountains. Both Hymettus and Penteli provided the city with marble for building projects, most famously those on the Athenian Acropolis of the 5th century BC funded by the maritime empire. In southern Attica, the other major upland area, the Laurium hills were famous for silver and lead ores. The silver financed the construction of Athenian ships in the first quarter of the 5th century and continued to provide Athens with a large reserve of wealth on which it built its success. The natural resources of Attica, precious metal and marble, supplemented its agricultural assets, in particular olive oil, honey, and figs. These were the three most important cultivated crops of the region in antiquity.

Attica has been occupied since neolithic times. Evidence for human activity on the Acropolis dates back to about 3000 BC: pits and wells containing late neolithic pottery have been found near the Clepsydra spring on the north slopes. Wells and burials of the Early and Middle Helladic periods (3000–1500 BC) show signs of continued and expanding human settlement in Attica into the Late Bronze Age. In the Mycenaean period (Late Helladic: 1550–1100) the growth in the number and quality of sites and the associated finds in Attica is remarkable. The end of the Mycenaean period sees a drop in the number of sites and quality of burial goods in Attica during the second half of 12th century BC. The Dark Age period, which covers the sub-Mycenaean to the end of the Protogeometric periods (1100 – *c.*900 BC), is fast becoming a misnomer in the history of Attica. Iron technology spread quickly in this period, and was the dominant metal for swords, knives, axes, daggers, dress pins, and fibulae in the latter half of the 11th and the 10th centuries BC. The number of sites in Attica reaches a nadir in 1100 BC; but *c.*1050 BC there appears a new style of Attic pottery, the Protogeometric style, and a growing number of settlements on the east coast and inland become identifiable. This steady transformation of occupation after the sub-

Mycenaean period is reflected in changes to burial practices; in addition, at the end of the 10th century, sanctuary offerings start to appear, examples of which are found at the Academy in Athens and on Mount Hymettus.

The Geometric period (*c.* 900–700 BC) marks a rapid progression of developments in Attica. The number of known sites rises more than threefold between the 9th and the end of the 8th centuries. By 700 BC nearly half of the known Classical deme sites of Attica show signs of occupation. Despite the growth in evidence of monumental sanctuaries in the wider Greek world in the 8th and 7th centuries, Attica betrays fewer signs of such advances until later on. The 8th century is generally thought to be the time when Attica becomes a territory dominated by Athens; the widespread distribution of small settlements in the countryside is reflected by the large number of cemeteries found in the Attic countryside. These numbers fall in the 7th century and cult activity becomes the best indication of rural settlement. The 7th century is considered to be a time of revolutionary political changes in Attica: the mythical synoecism of Attica by Thesus may belong to the Geometric period or before, but the stories of family conflicts, the Cylonian conspiracy (*c.*630 BC), and the Solonian reforms of the early 6th century mark important periods in the history of Attica.

In the late 7th and 6th centuries political developments were centred on the control of power in Athens, and the reforms enacted there affected the whole of Attica. The unification of Attica as a political entity took place by the 7th century, and its subsequent history revolves around the relationship between the urban centre of Athens and its smaller, often rural communities. The power struggles of the 6th century, which present themselves as factional competition between groups, sometimes related by kinship ties, centre on regions within Attica (Herodotus, 1. 59). The experience of tyranny in Attica in the second half of the 6th century was not harsh. Many developments focused on Athens, but settlements outside the urban centre were improved during this period of growing prosperity and peace: Eleusis was developed with an impressive circuit wall and the Telesterion (the hall of the mysteries) took on the square hypostyle design which existed at the end of antiquity; the early developments of the theatre at Thoricus belong to this period; the temple of Apollo on Cape Zoster at Vouliagmeni dates back to this time.

The fall of the Pisistratids and the reforms of Cleisthenes of 508/07 transformed the political organization of Attica and so shaped the subsequent structure of the region's history. The people of Attica were formally arranged by demes, small village- or town-sized communities. A number of demes were located in Athens, but the majority of the demes were extra-urban. These 139 demes were allocated to 30 regional groupings (*trittyes*). Attica was divided into three groups of ten *trittyes*: there were ten *trittyes* from the coastal areas, ten from the plain or inland area, and ten from the city area. The grouping of demes into these local enclaves allowed some manipulation of territorial control. One *trittys* from each of the three areas made up a tribe, and there were ten tribes. This political reorganization of Attica ensured that for much of antiquity the history of Athens could not be separated from the history of its surrounding rural territory.

The central role of demes formalized the political standing of rural settlements. The Cleisthenic reforms produced a system of political participation which involved the whole population of Attica in the running of the polis, even if the seat of power was located in the urban centre.

Attica in the Classical period flourished and became one of the most densely populated regions in Greece. Exploitation of the countryside increased rapidly, and the extent of farming and animal tending in the 4th century saw activity on even the most marginal of land.

The major cult centres of Attica at Rhamnous, Sunium, and Eleusis underwent intense contruction work. New temples were also built at Acharnae and at Brauron. The insecurities created by the Peloponnesian War saw the construction of forts in Attica: Thoricus and Sunium were enclosed by defences, fortresses were built at Phyle and Panakton. The war had considerable impact on the Attic countryside. Pericles' defence of Athens during the Archidamian War (431–421) forced those living in the countryside to move into the city on a regular basis. The countryside was not abandoned completely, but there are signs of devastation: the Dema wall house is thought to have fallen into disuse during this period. The relatively brief summer invasions by the Spartan army during these years were less severe than the disruptions which the construction of a Spartan fort on Deceleia achieved between 413 and 403. The role of the harbour town Piraeus and the strategic roles played by Eleusis, Sunium, and Rhamnous were crucial to the security of Attica. Their functions became more formalized by the end of the 4th century and were to remain so for at least the next three centuries.

The archaeological evidence for settlement and activity in Attica peaks in the 4th century: epigraphic evidence for the erection of decrees, funerary material, and religious dedications all climax in this period. The decline of evidence and signs of activity in the 3rd and 2nd centuries is thought to suggest that people withdrew from the countryside and migrated to the city. But the continuing success of Eleusis and Rhamnous throughout the Hellenistic period and the importance of the countryside as a source of food supplies suggest that Attica remained relatively well populated in the 3rd to 1st centuries BC. Clear signs of decline in activity focus on the Laurium mining region which had been heavily populated in the 5th and especially 4th centuries. The exploitation of silver by Athens in this area attracted large numbers of slaves, industry, and farming. The decline of mining in the first half of the 3rd century, and the small level of activity from the late 3rd century onwards, mark a stark contrast with the Classical period. The occupation of Attica in the 3rd and 2nd centuries should not be based on the exceptional patterns of activity seen in Laurium; Heracleides Creticus, writing in the late 3rd century, described Attica as a fertile region with a large number of inns and good road networks, all of which indicates some level of rural occupation.

The Hellenistic period may signify a decline in the intense exploitation of Attica; the real drop in activity belongs to the late Hellenistic and early Roman period in line with many other rural areas in Greece. The virtual disappearance of settlement and activity in and around Panakton in the previously disputed area between Boeotia and Attica from 200 BC to the late Roman period symbolizes the reduced pressure on the

countryside in this period. The pattern of exploitation in marginal land in Attica is one way of calibrating the levels of activity in the area.

But the Roman period also sees an increasing revival in prosperity in other parts of Attica concentrated among a much smaller number of individuals. In the early 2nd century AD Herodes Atticus displayed his wealth in Athens but also developed Marathon as a personal estate. In contrast, some areas declined as the urban centre of Athens increasingly became the focus of expenditure: the Augustan period saw the removal of elements from the temple of Poseidon at Sunium into the rebuilt temple of Ares in the Agora at Athens.

In the late Roman period there is a brief intensification of activity in Attica, in line with general signs of revival in Athens. The Herulian sack of Athens in AD 267 and the subsequent decline of activity in Attica mark the gradual drift of the region from the prosperity of the Greek and Roman periods.

Invasions from the end of the 6th to the 8th centuries, however, delayed any revival. Byzantium had reasserted control in Greece by the middle of the 9th century and Attica began to rediscover some prosperity, enjoying greater security from the middle of the 10th century. In 967 Crete was recovered from the Arabs, thereby reducing the threat of raids in Attica. The formal establishment of Christianity in the 5th and 6th centuries AD had seen the construction of churches and the conversion of some ancient temples in Attica, and many new churches in the region date from the 11th to the 13th centuries. The monastery of Kaiasariani on the lower slopes of Mount Hymettus dates back to the 11th century. It escaped the imposition of taxation by the Turks following the conquest of Attica in 1456, and remained independent of Athens until 1716.

The Latin conquest of Constantinople in 1204 brought changes for Athens and Attica. The Burgundian knight Otto de la Roche was given control of Boeotia and Attica by Boniface III. Under Frankish rule Attica prospered for around 100 years. The countryside is still dotted with Frankish towers built during this period.

Frankish control was broken in 1311 and the region was under Catalan control for much of the 14th century. The Venetians wrested Attica from the Catalans in 1386 and remained in power until the Turkish occupation. Attica was annexed to the Ottoman empire in 1456, and stayed under Turkish control until the Greek War of Independence (1821–32). Athens was finally liberated and became the capital of free Greece in 1834.

The population of Athens expanded into Attica during the 1920s following the resettlement and exchange of Greek and Turkish peoples in 1923. During World War II Attica suffered considerably. The German forces occupied the area between April 1941 and October 1944. Koropi was the last village in Attica to be burnt down by the German army as it retreated from the coast. In December 1944 a communist revolution broke out in Athens. On the slopes of Hymettus there was fierce fighting between the British troops and the forces of ELAS.

The history of Attica cannot be separated easily from that of Athens, but its importance for the political development of Athens in antiquity cannot be underestimated. A number of major sites in Attica illustrate the wealth and success of the region. The modern development of Athens and its expansion into Attica confirm the symbiotic relationship which typified the dependence of Athens on Attica in the Classical period.

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Summary

Attica, a peninsula protruding from central Greece, is the region surrounding Athens. In antiquity it provided the raw materials that were fundamental to the city's success—marble, silver, and crops. Attica was politically unified by the 7th century BC and reorganized by the reforms of Cleisthenes in 508/07 BC. Its prosperity declined in the late Roman period. It received an influx during the exchange of populations in 1923.

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Australia

There were no Greeks among the first white settlers in Australia who arrived with the First Fleet in 1788. The first mention of Greeks on Australian soil, in 1818, is not a flattering one: a local newspaper in Sydney complained of rubbish being thrown in the streets by Greeks and other foreigners. The earliest Greeks in Australia were perhaps from the island of Cyprus. Most of the first Greeks in the Antipodes were

Australia: procession of Greek Australians celebrating their dual heritage

certainly from the Greek islands: Poros and Hydra, Ithaca and Samos, Rhodes and Euboea, Calymnos and Cos, Cythera and Castellorizo; those from the mainland were from the Peloponnese. At home they had been mostly either people of the sea (sailors, fishermen, and sponge divers) or else people of the land (farmers and shepherds). In Australia they worked on sugar plantations or in the mines; later they moved to the cities, where they managed restaurants or grocery stores. Although many of them were rapidly well established, it was not at all easy for the early immigrants, who worked hard in the hope someday of returning to Greece, a dream that was fulfilled only by a few. World War I and the Italian occupation of the Dodecanese islands sowed the seeds of an ever-increasing emigration. Almost all of the inhabitants of Castellorizo, for example, migrated overseas, most to Australia. After World War II the wave of migration continued unabated. In comparison to the difficulties faced by the earlier migrants, those who migrated during the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s left their mark on Australian society, both socially and commercially, in spite of the fact that many of them first worked in factories. Today the Greeks are an integral part of Australia, holding important positions in government and society, and are well known for their contribution to commerce, politics, and education.

From the early 20th century, many of the islanders had

formed their own associations (or brotherhoods) in Australia. And though the first Greeks were unlettered for the most part, one Greek doctor opened a medical practice in Melbourne in 1902. The Greek press also began in Melbourne, in 1913 with the publication of *Afstralia* (the paper was later renamed *Ethnikon Vima*, under which name it still appears today). Other daily newspapers also appeared, such as the *National Herald* and, more recently, *O [Neos] Kosmos*.

The presence of Greeks in Australia, however, is particularly associated with the growth of the Orthodox Church. The early migrants quickly felt the need to build churches and to organize their social and spiritual life with adjacent halls and schools. It is this close connection of the Greek people with their Church that has accounted for the rapid development of educational establishments (on the primary, secondary, and even tertiary levels) and welfare institutions (especially the care of the aged). Any study of the Greeks in Australia is therefore inevitably linked to an understanding of the Greek Orthodox Church, but the close cooperation of the Greek people with their Church has at times been intense and contentious.

The historical development of the Greek Orthodox Church in Australia has been an increasingly significant feature in the life and culture of the Antipodes. Although it is difficult to discover the origins of Hellenism or of Orthodoxy there – there are very few clear references to them – the overall impact of the Eastern Orthodox Church is today easily perceived in a society where pluralism and multiculturism are not abstract humanitarian ideals but already, at least to a certain degree, realities of everyday life. The Greek Orthodox faith and Church, particularly after World War II, are not marginal phenomena in Australia, but have been gradually integrated into society at large. Before 1945 there were only 10,000 Greeks in Australia, while by 1950 there were 75,000, by 1960 there were 160,000, by 1970 about 400,000, and today more than 600,000. The Orthodox population numbers around 1 million, out of a total population of 17 million. Fewer than half of these were born in Australia, while fewer than 5 per cent have both parents born in Australia.

The first Liturgy in Australia – in Sydney, possibly during Bright Week of 1820 – was celebrated by a Russian Orthodox priest called Fr Dionisii, who was the chaplain on a ship that sailed to the Antarctic and round the world in the years 1819–21. But it was not until 1895, when a Greek priest named Archimandrite Dorotheos Bakaliaros arrived in Australia, that regular parish life appears to have begun. He travelled between Sydney and Melbourne, performing services in local town halls, but he had probably left Australia before the completion of the first Orthodox church, which was built in Sydney in 1898 and dedicated to the Holy Trinity.

The canonical jurisdiction and status of the first Orthodox churches are equally unclear. It appears that originally clergy were secured from the patriarchate of Jerusalem, which provided the communities in Sydney and Melbourne with priests during the early years. The first church in Melbourne was constructed in 1900. Two years later, the Church of Greece assumed spiritual responsibility for the churches in Australia, and began to send out priests for the pastoral needs of the Greek-speaking parishes. The earliest parishes served a multilingual congregation, and the clergy from Jerusalem were clearly well qualified for this purpose. In 1922 the ecumenical patriarch in Constantinople, Meletios Metaxakis, claimed jurisdiction over all the Greek Orthodox living abroad, and in 1924 he established the Greek Orthodox metropolis of Australia and New Zealand "for the better organization of the Orthodox Church" in that part of the world. The ecumenical patriarch has exercised spiritual authority over the Greek Orthodox Church in Australia and appointed its canonical archbishop ever since.

The Greek Orthodox Church (promoted to the status of archdiocese in 1959, and separated from New Zealand in 1970, when the latter was formed as its own metropolis) is divided into five archdiocesan districts, with local offices in the federal capitals, and has more than 120 clergymen, and more than 100 organized parishes with their own catechetical and afternoon language classes and community centres. The archbishop (since 1975 His Eminence archbishop Stylianos) is based in Sydney, and has three assistant bishops.

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B

Babrius

Writer of fables of the 1st or 2nd century AD

Babrius wrote verse fables, 144 of which are extant in their original metrical form. In addition, two proems (prefaces) remain, which seems to indicate that the fables were originally published in two books. The first proem is dedicated to one "boy Branchus", the second to "king Alexander's son". These two addressees are probably one and the same person. It is, however, unclear with what historical king Alexander prince Branchus' father is to be equated. We do possess external termini ante quem: since Babrius' fables can be shown to have been well known by the early 3rd century AD, the author can safely be assumed to have lived in the 2nd or late 1st century AD; a still earlier date is excluded by the linguistic evidence. Quite unlike his predecessor Phaedrus (early 1st century AD), who was a Greek writing Latin fables, Babrius wrote in Greek, but was in all probability of Roman origin. This is indicated both by his very name, which occurs only in Latin and not in Greek inscriptions, and by a peculiarity of his metrical technique, accentuating each penultimate syllable, which is in accordance with Roman rather than with Greek prosody and stress. Babrius may have lived in the eastern (Greek-speaking) part of the Roman empire, more particularly in or near Syria. This is suggested by the literary and historically surprisingly exact ascription of the genre's origin to the Syrians (i.e. Assyrians) in the second proem. Further clues may be found in the author's professed personal experience with Arabs (57. 12), and in the oriental local colour of no. 8.

Babrius' fables are written in so-called choliambic trimeters (iambic trimeters with a long penultimate syllable). In both proems he selfconfidently states that he has "softened" the stinging iambs, by which he may be taken to mean that he has innovatively tempered the originally satiric connotations of choliambic metre. The fables' length varies considerably: on the one hand, the quatrain form is quite frequent, but the collection also includes a fable of 102 lines (no. 95). Many fables feature metrical epimythia, whose authenticity has sometimes unjustly been disputed. The collection has obviously been preserved incompletely, the alphabetic order in the principal manuscript abruptly ending with omicron.

The fables' subject matter is partly traditional and partly original, including all kinds of variations as well as fabulizations of mythological and other materials. Babrius seems to have drawn from a variety of sources. His narrative elaborations, psychological portrayal of protagonists, and mildly humorous tone are all stylistically idiosyncratic.

Babrius' fables enjoyed immediate popularity. A papyrus fragment dating from the early 3rd century AD (*Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, edited by B.P. Grenfell and A.S. Hunt, 1898–, 10. 1249) contains parts of four Babrius fables dealing with the theme of false judgement, which may be an indication that they were included in some sort of anthology used for moral education. That Babrius did soon become a school author is clear from various testimonies. First, the bilingual Graeco-Roman *Hermeneumata* ("Interpretations") by pseudo-Dositheus, which can be dated exactly to AD 207 and are explicitly composed "for lovers of Latin", contain 17 fables, 3 of which derive from Babrian prototypes. Second, 14 fables, 11 of which are in Babrian choliambs, have been preserved on the so-called Van Assendelft wax tablets (named after their Dutch buyer) from Palmyra (destroyed in AD 272); the many mistakes made in the Greek, as well as the very writing material, show that the fables served as a dictation given by a schoolmaster to a not-too-brilliant pupil. Third, we have a papyrus scrap (*Amherst Papyri*, edited by B.P. Grenfell and A.S. Hunt, 1900–, 2. 26; late 3rd or early 4th century AD) with fragments of three fables by Babrius, whose educational application is again clear from the accompanying Latin verbatim translation. Finally, another papyrus (*Bouriant Papyri*, 1; 4th century AD; edited by P. Collart, Paris: Champion, vol.1), undoubtedly a Greek language teaching method, starting with monosyllabic words, ends with part of the first proem of Babrius' fable collection.

Babrius' fables also found more literate readers. In a Greek letter (*Epistle* 82; AD 362) the Roman emperor Julian explicitly quotes from a book containing fables by Babrius. In addition, Babrius' collection is the principal source for the 42 Latin fables in elegiac distichs by the Roman fabulist Avianus (*c.*AD 400), who pays tribute to his predecessor in the prose preface to his verse collection dedicated to the erudite Macrobius Ambrosius Theodosius, future praetorian prefect of Italy (AD 430).

The fables' popularity lasted throughout the Byzantine period. First of all, the *Suda* lexicon quotes more than 50 times from Babrius to exemplify particular words, and even lists the fabulist under a separate entry – in a way the Byzantine predecessor of this essay. John Georgides included many *epimythia*

(concluding morals) from fables by Babrius in his *Gnomologium* (*c.*10th century). Two lexica (the so-called *Etymologicum Genuinum* and *Etymologicum Magnum*, dating from the 9th and 12th centuries respectively) exemplify two rare words (*omphax* and *pepromenon*) by quoting from two fables by Babrius. Two other lexica (Photios and, again, the *Suda*) paraphrase a Babrian fable to illustrate the meaning of a proverb (*tn kheira*). One fable (no. 141) is only (if incompletely) preserved by two rather late testimonies, the Byzantine polyhistor John Tzetzes (12th century) and the neo-Latin Natalis Comes (16th century).

An important witness of the collection's popularity is the large number (148) of prose paraphrases of Babrian fables. Many of these (more than 50) give the outline of fables not preserved in their original metrical form. In addition, Babrius is the primary source of the Byzantine *Tetrastichs*, a collection of 89 fable quatrains in quasi-ancient iambic trimeters or typically Byzantine dodecasyllabic verses, ascribed to Ignatios (Diakonos?; 9th century). Their author(s) may have found inspiration in the frequency of four-liners among Babrius' fables mentioned above. The *Tetrastichs* were widely read in the Middle Ages, as is demonstrated by the great number of manuscripts, many of them falsely proclaiming Babrius as their author, and even misspelling his name as Babrias, Gabrias, or even worse. Their alleged Babrian authorship has been taken for granted more than once; even the famous French fabulist Jean de la Fontaine states that he has used Babrius, whereas it can be shown that he really read the *Tetrastichs*, and that in a Latin translation. Conversely, a scholium on Thucydides (4. 92) quotes as if from Aesop two verses by Babrius, whose proems admittedly do stereotypically mention the legendary fabulist as a source of inspiration.

Three Byzantine manuscripts containing fables by Babrius are extant: A, G, and V, named after the libraries in which they once were, or still are, kept, on Mount Athos, in Grottaferrata, and the Vatican, respectively. The principal manuscript A (now in the British Library, Add. 22087; 10th century) contains 122 fables, which are, like the prose paraphrases and the so-called Aesopic fables, alphabetically ordered by their incipit; the alphabetization of the second proem (under *m*, as it begins with *mythos*) makes it a priori unlikely that this order is the author's. G (now in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, Cod. 397; 10th century) has – in addition to an important version of the *Life of Aesop* – 31 fables, 4 of which are preserved only here; V (Cod. Vaticanus Gr. 777; 15th century) has 30 fables, 12 of which are not in A.

Modern times have seen the gradual publication of Babrius' collection. The fables from A and V, as well as the wax tablets, *Hermeneumata*, and prose paraphrases, were first published in the 19th century, whereas G and the papyri reappeared only in the 20th century. The rediscovery of the Athonite manuscript in 1842 by Minoides Mynas and its subsequent first edition (edited by J.F. Boissonade, Paris, 1844) were a first-rate scholarly sensation at the time. The enthusiastic finder was inspired by his success to compose a series of fables in the manner of Babrius; his forgeries did mislead one editor (G.C. Lewis, London, 1846), but the pseudo-Babrius was soon unmasked as a jackdaw strutting with borrowed feathers. This curious little anecdote epitomizes a problematic implication of the fables' popularity. In view of the author's own complaint in his second proem that imitators "sneaked in when I first opened the door", those studying the many fables and paraphrases connected with his name should at least not rule out too easily the possibility that the accepted body of Babrius's work includes some forgeries.

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See also Fable

Biography

Babrius lived in the 2nd or late 1st century AD, perhaps in Syria. He was probably of Roman origin but wrote verse fables in Greek, of which 144 survive in their metrical form. Prose paraphrases of more than 50 others survive. He remained popular throughout the Byzantine period.

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Bacchylides

Lyric poet of the 5th century BC

Bacchylides, from Iulis on Ceos, was born around 510 BC and was active until the third quarter of the 5th century BC. A papyrus discovered in 1896 has preserved substantial remains of some 14 of his epinician odes (victory songs) and six dithyrambs (poems on heroic subjects). Bacchylides also composed hymns to the gods, paeans (hymns to Apollo), hyporchemes (songs for dancing), prosodia (processional

songs), partheneia (songs for maidens), erotica (songs of love), and possibly enkomia (songs of praise), of which only fragments remain.

Little is known of his life. The poetic talents of the young Bacchylides probably developed under the influence of his uncle Simonides, who composed in a similar range of genres. Like many Greek poets before him, Bacchylides enjoyed the attention of a wealthy prince. Three of his surviving epinician odes are addressed to Hieron, tyrant of Syracuse, and the poet must have spent time in Sicily in the 470s BC. Ancient scholars believed that Bacchylides and his contemporary Pindar rivalled each other at Hieron's court for the favour of the powerful ruler. Bacchylides and his poems were also well received in many other parts of the Greek world. Among the addressees of his victory odes were athletes from Ceos, Aegina, Athens, Thessaly, Phlius, and Metapontum; and his surviving dithyrambs appear to have been performed in Athens, Delos, Delphi, and Sparta.

Bacchylides composed his victory odes for performance in the victor's home town after his return from the games, or, in the case of shorter hymns, to be performed at the athletic festivals. The odes were performed by choruses, which danced or processed while singing the odes to the accompaniment of the aulos and/or the lyre. The poems typically contain a mixture of praise, aphoristic statements, and myth. Since an ode usually records the name of the athlete, the specific contest won (chariot race, wrestling, etc.), and the location of the competition (Olympia, Delphi, etc.), it functions as an announcement and commemoration of the victory. Also included in the poet's praise are the victor's family and city of origin. Scattered gnomic statements, expressing proverbial wisdom or beliefs, enhance and temper the words of praise: "no mortal is blessed in all things" (5. 53–55), "fame follows him whom the gods honour" (5. 193–94). The third typical component of the odes, the often extended narration of heroic myth, serves several purposes. The inclusion of myths is a form of praise for the poems' addressees, as some association is implied between the achievements of the athletes and the exploits of the heroes. In poem 13, for example, the games at Nemea are understood to commemorate the struggle between Heracles and the Nemean lion. Recollections of specific mythic figures sometimes reflect the noble past of a victor's homeland. Poem 1, composed for a Cean victor, tells the story of Dexithea and her son, the Cean hero Euxantius. Myths of the heroic past may also illustrate principles and beliefs. Poem 3 relates the miraculous rescue of the semi-mythological king Croesus as evidence that the gods reward generosity and piety.

The dithyrambs, intended for choral performance at religious festivals and competitions, narrate scenes from heroic myth. Perhaps Bacchylides' most famous dithyramb, ode 17, tells how Theseus, while sailing to Crete with Minos and the contingent of captive Athenian youths and maidens, descended into the sea to the house of his father Poseidon and received gifts from Amphitrite. The poem characterizes the hero as a champion of the Athenians, opposing the aggression of Minos, and the affirmation that Theseus was the son of Poseidon may reflect the growth of Athenian naval power in the Aegean between and after the Persian Wars. The subjects of Bacchylides' other dithyrambs include the embassy of Menelaus and Odysseus to Troy, Heracles' celebration of the capture of Oechalia, the arrival of the young Theseus at Athens, Io's escape from Argus, and the marriage of Idas and Marpessa.

Bacchylides drew upon a range of previous poetry for his mythic material. Prominent among these sources were the early epic poets, from whom Bacchylides adopted legends about Heracles, Menelaus, and Meleager. He quotes one aphorism directly from Hesiod, and other maxims recall Theognis and Solon. It is reasonable to assume that, in regard to style and manner of presentation, Bacchylides was heavily indebted to his uncle Simonides, a pioneer in the development of the victory ode, but the scanty remains of Simonides allow little comparison. Bacchylides shares in common with Pindar the use of myth and maxim, and he seems occasionally to have imitated his older contemporary, but the styles of the two poets differ significantly. Pindar favours daring metaphor and dense imagery, while Bacchylides prefers simpler modes of expressions. Bacchylides also prefers clear, linear narration of myth, as was the practice in epic. His introduction of dialogue into his narration is reminiscent of Homer and was probably influenced by Stesichorus.

Bacchylides found no immediate successor, and the types of choral lyric he composed waned in popularity as the 5th century BC progressed, but his poetry was remembered long after his death. Alexandrian scholars counted Bacchylides among the nine great lyric poets. He is mentioned several times in the scholia of Homer, Hesiod, Pindar, and others. He found an admirer and imitator in the Roman poet Horace. Quotations and references to Bacchylides in such authors as Longinus, Plutarch, Athenaeus, and Stobaeus attest to his enduring appeal, but the manuscript transmission seems to have been broken in the Roman period and his works were lost until the discovery of the papyrus in 1896.

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Biography

Born *c.*510 BC on Ceos, Bacchylides was active at least until 450 BC. He was the nephew of the poet Simonides and was no doubt influenced by him. In the 470s BC he spent time at the court of Hieron I, tyrant of Syracuse, where he may have been a rival of Pindar. Substantial fragments of poems in various genres survive, notably epinician odes and dithyrambs.

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Bactria

Region of Central Asia

Annexed to the Persian empire by Cyrus II (Herodotus, I. 153), probably in the 530s BC, Bactria was an important satrapy of the Achaemenids, bordering on the Oxus river in the north, the Pamir mountains in the northeast, and the Hindu Kush in the south. In 522/21 BC the satrap of Bactria, Dadarshish, supported Darius I against the rebellious Armenians and quashed the uprising of neighbouring Margiana. His successor was Artabanus, who probably was satrap between 500 BC and 465 BC. Bactrian infantry and cavalry, equipped with reed bows and short spears, fought under the command of Hystaspes, a brother of Xerxes, in the invasion of Greece in 480/79 BC (Herodotus, 7. 64). Together with the Medes and Saka, the Bactrian contingent wintered in Thessaly in 480/79 BC under the command of Mardonius. In consequence of a palace intrigue Xerxes' brother Masistes, the *hyparchos* (subordinate governor) of Bactria, planned a revolt against the king in Bactria, but was killed on his way there (Herodotus, 9. 113). At the battle of Gaugamela Bactrian and Saka forces faced Alexander and his companions, marking them as the strongest force in the army of the Persian king. After his defeat Darius III tried to escape to Bactria, but he was killed by its satrap Bessus, who was also a relative of the king (Arrian, *Anabasis*, 3. 21. 5, 3. 30. 4). When Bessus assumed the Persian tiara and proclaimed himself king, Alexander immediately moved his army to Bactria to kill Bessus. The Bactrian capital Bactra, modern Balkh, was Alexander's residence in 329/28 BC before he continued his campaign against Sogdiana the following spring. Bactrian rebellion against Alexander in the summer of 329 BC lasted for two years, and when it was finally quashed, Alexander took 30,000 Bactrians and Sogdians as hostages.

Bactria was a wealthy province, profiting undoubtedly from trade between Persia and India, but also benefiting from fertile oases and pasturage. According to Herodotus (3. 92) Bactria paid an annual tribute of 360 talents of silver to the king of Persia. Reliefs at Persepolis show a Bactrian delegation bringing gold and camels as gifts to the king. The fact that several of Bactria's satraps were relatives of the king of Persia reflects the importance of this province for the Persian empire.

In the Seleucid period Bactria-Sogdiana formed a vast satrapy under one satrap, and was recognized as a wealthy province with valuable resources. In the 230s BC, led by the Greek Diodotus, Bactria revolted against the Seleucids and Diodotus proclaimed himself king. In 206 BC, after a two-year siege, Antiochus III was forced to recognize the Bactrian king Euthydemus. The Greek-Bactrian kingdom survived until 140 BC, when the Saka invaded Bactria, only to be expelled by a new power, the Tocharians, who invaded the country in AD 100.

Little evidence exists to elucidate the influence of Bactrian culture on the Greeks. While new foundations and extensive irrigation systems attest to the emergence of a growing Greek population in Bactria, the nature of the relationship between the local population and the new Greek-Bactrian rulers is difficult to establish. This uncertainty is illustrated by Ai Khanoum, a city of Greek foundation, complete with gymnasium and theatre, whose religious architecture, however, is distinctly oriental. Though Greek artists brought to Bactria much of the Greek style in art and architecture, they gradually assimilated new, local forms and styles. Bactrian Greek art was probably produced for the ruling elite, but must have existed alongside local traditions. Among the new species of plants introduced from Bactria to the Hellenistic world were the pistachio tree, which, according to Theophrastus, grew there (*Historia Plantarum*, 4. 4. 7).

MARIA BROSIUS

Summary

A region of Central Asia, Bactria was annexed to the Persian empire in the 530s BC. Bactrians fought alongside Persians in the invasion of Greece in 480/79 BC. After the Battle of Gaugamela Alexander took up residence at Bactra in 329 BC and put down a Bactrian rebellion. The Greek-Bactrian kingdom survived until 140 BC. A Greek city was built at Ai Khanoum.

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Balkan Wars 1912–1913

The Balkan Wars were events of momentous importance to Greece. They mark the beginning of a decade of war and expansion, a decade during which Greece would come very close to the realization of the territorial aspect of the Great Idea. However, the Balkan Wars were also the natural culmination of the Macedonian struggle and one of the last phases of the Eastern Question.

The First Balkan War broke out in October 1912 and ended with the Treaty of London in May 1913. It was the natural outcome of the network of treaties concluded (or, in the case of the Graeco-Serbian treaty, discussed) between Bulgaria, Greece, Montenegro, and Serbia during 1912; the initial moves

8. The outcome of the Balkan Wars, 1912–13

were made as a result of Russian initiatives, but the events soon moved away from Russian control. The result was a military alliance between Bulgaria, Greece, Montenegro, and Serbia, directed against the Ottoman empire.

Hostilities began in October 1912, following a prearranged schedule whereby Montenegro declared war on the Ottoman empire and the other three Balkan states mobilized and followed suit. During the First Balkan War the numerical superiority of the allies was crushing. What resulted was victory for the allied armies. Greece made quick progress, invading Epirus and Macedonia and advancing rapidly on all fronts. On 26 October 1912 the Ottoman commander of Thessalonica surrendered the city to the Greek army. Greek army units also laid siege to Ioannina, the principal city of Epirus. The Greek navy quickly established superiority in the Aegean, stopping the Ottomans from transporting troops by sea from Anatolia and also liberating the islands of the eastern Aegean Sea. Crete once more proclaimed union with Greece. The other Balkan allies were equally successful; by May 1913 the Great Powers put an end to the conflict, forcing the belligerents to sign the Treaty of London. With this the Ottoman empire ceded all territory west of a line between Enos and Media (both points in eastern Thrace) to the victorious Balkan allies.

The problem facing the allies was now the division of the spoils. The territorial clauses of the Serbo-Bulgarian treaty left territory unassigned, while no territorial clauses had been included in the Graeco–Bulgarian treary. A further complication arose out of the creation (at the insistence of the Great Powers) of an independent Albanian state, whose territories figured in the aspirations of the allies. Bulgaria, however, was dissatisfied with the outcome of the war: Bulgaria felt it had borne the brunt of the fighting, while its territorial gains were disproportionate to its contribution; clashes had already begun during the war between Bulgarian and Greek units (with fighting breaking out in Thessalonica and elsewhere) as well as with the Serbs. Fear of Bulgaria led to secret discussions between Serbia and Greece, with a secret treaty signed between the two countries in June 1913. It was a very timely action: within the month the Bulgarians attacked both the Greeks and the Serbs in an attempt to break the front and separate the two armies, thus sparking off the Second Balkan War. The attack failed; Serbia and Greece were soon joined in the war against Bulgaria by the Ottoman empire which seized the chance of recovering territory occupied by Bulgaria (including the city of Adrianople); and by Romania, which invaded Bulgaria from the north. Within a month the war was over. With the Treaty of Bucharest, concluded in August 1913, Bulgaria lost territory to Serbia, Greece, Romania, and the Ottoman empire; it lost the city of Kavalla (which had been given to it after the First Balkan War), though it retained an outlet to the Aegean Sea including the city of Dedeagach (Alexandroupolis).

For Greece, the Balkan Wars were highly successful. Greece acquired the whole of the southern Macedonian lands, most of Epirus (with the exception of the northern part) and the islands of the eastern Aegean including Lemnos, Chios, Lesbos, and Samos as well as Crete; the islands of Imbros and Tenedos (whose population was Greek, although occupied by Greece during the First Balkan War), were put at the disposal of the Great Powers, and were eventually given to Turkey. Greece increased its land area by some 70 per cent and its population rose from 2.8 million to almost 4.8 million. The important cities of Thessalonica (the major port of the Balkans), Kavalla, and Ioannina were incorporated in the kingdom, along with rich and fertile lands. The success of Greece in the war also took it considerably closer to the realization of the Great Idea, though there were now obstacles in further expansion (not least the Bulgarian outlet to the Aegean, which blocked potential Greek eastward expansion towards Constantinople). Greece was also faced with the major problem of the integration of the new territories into the kingdom; this was not easy, given that considerable parts of the population of these territories were non-Greek. The task would be delayed by the outbreak of World War I and would only be completed in the aftermath of the Asia Minor disaster in 1922. The conflict between expansionists and those who advocated integration of the newly acquired lands before further territorial expansion would also be one of the causes that gave rise to the national schism. More generally, the Treaty of Bucharest created a lasting resentment in both Bulgaria and the Ottoman empire, a resentment that would decisively influence their choice of allies in World War I and subsequently.

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Banking

Banking in Greece is, as M. Rostovtzeff remarks, "as ancient as the use of a coinage issued and guaranteed by the state". The earliest bankers (*trapezites*), the money-changers, sat behind their tables (*trapezai*) in the streets and marketplaces of ancient Greece ready to exchange coins of other cities. If the banking business is loosely defined as the storage of valuables and the lending of money at interest to borrowers, then the first primitive banks of Greece can be considered to be the temples. Since they were recipients of the offerings of the devout and because their sacrosanct character made them ordinarily safe from pillage, it is easy to see how this form of business began. Funds deposited in temples remained untouched and cash was lent from the temples' own funds to states, and also apparently – although the evidence is not certain – to individuals. The temple of the goddess Athena at Athens, for example, lent money to the state between 433 and 427 BC at 6 per cent. It must, however, be emphasized that the temples never operated a general banking business; that was left to private individuals.

The earliest mentioned banker in Greece for whom we have proper evidence is one Philostephanus of Corinth, who received a deposit of the considerable sum of 70 talents from Themistocles. In the 4th century BC we know the names of about 20 Athenian bankers. But banking in ancient Athens was a small private concern, never a great international system, organized and carried on in a modern way. The never-ending wars of ancient Greek cities and the great danger that pirates constituted to foreign trade made international banking impossible. Even among towns in the same state there were no banking facilities. The cheque and the bill of exchange were unknown.

The banking operation in Athens, like nearly all other commercial activities, was performed mainly by metics (people not native to the city). For this reason, bankers were sometimes considered marginal to society. The most famous and wealthy ancient Greek banker was Pasion (d. 370/69 BC), a former slave. Although there were rich and famous bankers, yet money-lending and foreign exchange operations were, to a large extent, carried on by usurers. Interest rates of 30 per cent were not uncommon, especially for loans made to merchants and shipmasters for the furtherance of commercial ventures in overseas trade.

In addition to temples and individuals, some city banks existed (in the case of Athens the evidence is not strong). Miletus, for example, known for its financial strength, instead of having recourse to private bankers or temples for its money transactions, created a state bank. A further step was the establishment of a state bank monopoly.

The banking business, despite its local character and the absence of foreign operations, was relatively well developed in the ancient Greek city states, a characteristic that was later inherited by the banks of the Hellenistic world. One of the new principal features of that period was the rapid spread of city as well as temple banks, the best known of which were those of Cos, Ephesus, and Sardis. Although the evidence is not abundant, we know that temples in the Seleucid empire were highly respected at least in the early times of the dynasty. When, because of financial difficulties, some Seleucid emperors required the surrender of temple wealth, the action provoked a fierce reaction from the citizens because the bulk of the money consisted of private deposits.

The Ptolemaic banking system, on the other hand, assumed a peculiar and unique character. Its chief novelty was the centralization of banking by the creation of a state bank in Alexandria. Private banks played a secondary role in the economic life of Egypt. The Ptolemaic central bank was organized on a Greek pattern and in general was not very different from a regular city bank. Because the bank was an institution whose primary business was the custody and investment of the state's money and sometimes the collection of taxes, the interests of private clients were of secondary concern to it. Given the guarantees needed by the state bank to finance private ventures, individuals in need of money almost certainly had recourse to private banks. As a consequence of its good management, citizens preferred to deposit their money in it. The kings were not opposed to this extension of the activities of the bank as it meant an increase in their income and involved very little risk. In addition to these activities, the bank had dealings in corn, since corn in Egypt was almost an equivalent of money. The government's granaries were effectively a network of corn banks with their centre in Alexandria. They were managed by a special staff, who had the same functions as the bankers; namely, they acted as intermediaries for either state or private corn transactions. The Ptolemaic banking system did not disappear with the rule of the Ptolemies. It was retained with some modifications by the Roman administrators of Egypt and it influenced the Roman and Byzantine system of tax and rent collection.

Byzantium did not have a state bank like the Ptolemaic banking system, either because of the financial fragility of the Byzantine state or for religious reasons, since for Christians it was highly unethical to lend money at interest. The treasury, whose main business was the management of state money and the collection of taxes, effectively performed some of the activities of a central bank. The money market was strictly controlled by the government, in particular by means of measures limiting the rate of interest. In the 4th century the legally permitted interest rate was 12.5 per cent, though this did not mean that a higher rate could not be obtained. Short-term loans for foreign trade that involved higher risks could command more than 50 per cent. The law did not recognize this rate, however, and it could not be enforced in a law court.

It appears that bank credit was often used, particularly for covering the cost of military undertakings, and that taxes under collection were used as security. After Justinian's death in 565, his successor had first to cover the banking debts of his predecessor. One way of dealing with such problems was by confiscating the property of political opponents who had to face prosecution after a change of government. Another characteristic of the Byzantine banking system was that all bankers had to belong to a corporation. This was also true for every important business activity in order for the state to control and tax it effectively.

During the last centuries of Byzantium Constantinople was undeniably the financial centre of the empire, while its bankers, not only Greeks but also Italians and Jews, were the most wealthy and famous inhabitants. It was normal to make loans using foreign currency; these consisted of exchange contracts on which the interest was in fact hidden in the exchange rate established. Cheques or promissory notes began gradually to be used. These were commonly employed by the Latin bankers but were also introduced and largely adopted by the Byzantines. The bankers of the late Byzantine empire, especially those with big foreign and domestic operations, had undeniable economic power, but in contrast with the Latin west they never succeeded in creating real public banks. Despite their ability to handle every known type of financial transaction of their time and to engage in spontaneous business ventures that promised to be profitable, they remained private institutions. The same is true even after the fall of the empire to the Ottomans.

In the first years following the Turkish conquest, Greek bankers had no formal operations because of the expulsions and the absence of any commercial activity, although usury never disappeared. Gradually rich Greeks, Jews, and Armenians began to invest their capital in money lending since the velocity of money circulation in the Ottoman empire was slow and credit was the usual method of payment in trade. These bankers had accumulated their wealth through commerce and were engaged in every economic activity deemed profitable, not only money lending.

In Constantinople the Phanariots provided most of the bankers. They were Greek nobles who had many privileges granted to them by the Porte. They were highly educated and became senior officials of the Ottoman state such as secretaries, interpreters, and ambassadors. The Phanariots had very good relations with the Porte and some of them became bankers to the sultan. The main requirement for anyone desiring to be engaged in banking operations was the availability of capital. But sometimes it could be done even without capital, as was occasionally the case with Albanians who borrowed money from Jewish bankers. The Albanians had no difficulty in raising money for their speculations because they had established themselves as being of good character in their financial affairs.

No particular laws regulated the interest rate, which therefore fluctuated greatly according to the creditworthiness of the borrower and the security posted. Loans to the state had a 10 per cent interest rate; those made to European merchants in Smyrna also had a 10 per cent rate. In Greece the rates varied from 10 to 30 per cent according to the creditworthiness of the customer. Maritime loans, being less secure, bore a higher interest rate, between 17 and 50 per cent, depending on the vessel's destination and the season in which the voyage took place. Bankers' profits were not only derived from the rate charged on loans but also from some arbitrary practices of the Turkish authorities, such as the payment of tax prior to the harvest in order to favour money-lenders. The peasants therefore had no alternative but to borrow money until harvest time and usually on the condition that bankers could buy their produce at a price between 2 and 6 per cent lower than its market value.

At the time of the Greek War of Independence (1821) organized banking facilities in Greece operated only in Thessalonica and the islands of Hydra and Spetsae. The preferred way of transferring large amounts of money as well as financing the purchase of merchandise was the bill of exchange. Bankers advanced loans to traders with security for the commodities and received bills payable over a period ranging from one month to two years. Although in Constantinople the cashing of bills was a common operation, in Athens such facilities did not exist until 1817.

Greek banking during the years of Turkish occupation is characterized by the personal nature of the business and by the absence of banks such as existed in western Europe. This situation gradually changed with the establishment of an independent Greek state. The first bank in Greece was established in 1828 under the name National Financial Bank (Ethniki Chrimatistiki Trapeza). It was a state institution issuing securities on behalf of the Greek government and had no other operations, but it failed to gain confidence and ended its operations about six years later. The second serious attempt, a successful one, was the founding in 1841 of the National Bank of Greece (Ethniki Trapeza tis Ellados). Initially the main operations of the bank were the issuing of currency, the trading of debt securities, and the granting of mortgages. By the end of the century the institution had expanded its operations to all types of transactions and activities related to banking and had become the most important Greek bank, a position that it still holds. A large number of banks were founded during this period, but apart from one or two, most were of a regional or personal character. Because of their inadequate capital base and limited revenues, they failed to survive and either ceased operations or were acquired by the big ones. The main reasons for this development were: the absence of government regulation and intervention, and the tendency of the financial institutions to perform indiscriminately every banking activity without being specialized in core operations.

In December 1927 the Central Bank (Trapeza tis Ellados) was established with its main business being the issuing of currency, a task performed until then mainly by the National Bank of Greece among its other activities. Moreover during this period two other specialized financial institutions were founded, the National Mortgage Bank (Ethniki Ktimatiki Trapeza) in 1927, a former subsidiary of the National Bank of Greece, and the Agricultural Bank (Agrotiki Trapeza) in 1929. These two banks specialized in real estate and agricultural credit respectively, operations that had been performed mainly by the National Bank of Greece. After World War II the transformation of the Greek banking industry continued, with a reversal of the tendency to create small banking units of

regional character, as well as with the adoption of modern Western banking practices.

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See also Finance, Taxation

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Baptism

The literal meaning of the Greek word *baptizo* is "immerse" or "dip in" and it is in this sense that the word occurs from the time of Hippocrates. In antiquity, however, the word is found in a sacral context only occasionally and did not acquire a technically religious meaning. There are some early examples of sacral baths, such as those found in the Eleusinian cults (5th century BC) and in Bacchic consecrations. Yet the underlying motive of sacral washings in Hellenism is that of bathing, washing, or cleansing. Later on, the notion became spiritualized and ritual immersions acquired in Judaism the meaning of purification. St John the Baptist first gave an eschatological orientation to baptism by relating it to penitence and the forgiveness of sins (cf. Mark 1: 4–8). From then on, the belief became common that a ritual absolution that signified a desire for purity of soul and the forgiveness of sins will be effaced by God in the same manner as corporeal dirt, i.e. by the use of water.

In Christianity baptism occupied a place of utmost significance from the very beginning. In the New Testament baptismal immersion was linked to Christ's death, burial, and resurrection (cf. Romans 6: 3–4). This is the reason why baptism in the early Church took place during the Easter vigil, thus emphasizing its final aim, regeneration and eternal life. Moreover, because baptism is connected with Christ's death, who "died to sin once for all" (Romans 6: 10), it is administered only once. Subsequently, the meaning of baptism was enlarged even further to signify incorporation and integration into the Church.

In the early Church there was a lengthy process of initiation for the catechumens for baptism, which lasted up to three years. However, by the middle of the 2nd century, infant baptism became common practice. Yet the baptismal rite retained the final part of the "catechumenate" and incorporated it into the service. Thus the Orthodox rite begins with the exorcism of Satan and the evil spirits of error, wickedness, idolatry, covetousness, the renunciation of evil, and the confession of faith. Previously all these were pronounced by the adult catechumens before baptism. Since infant baptism was established, that part of the service has been fulfilled by a spiritual guardian or godparent who acts on behalf of the infant. It is popular practice in Greece for the godparent to stand for children only of the same sex, since it is believed that children who have the same spiritual guardian are spiritual kinsmen. Such children are regarded therefore as "brothers" and "sisters" and marriage among them is prohibited. Here spiritual unity becomes the binding element between the two persons, thus emphasizing spiritual kinship as superior to biological. From the time of baptism onwards, the child's "religious education" should ideally be carried out by its godparent, its family, and the Church. At the beginning of the service the priest also asks the godparent the name of the infant. In Greece an infant remains unnamed until the actual day of baptism. Usually Greek children are named after one of their grandparents, thus pointing out the continuity of life even after death and the regeneration of generations.

The baptismal sacrament proper begins with the blessing of the water in a long prayer recited by the priest. The surface of the water is signed with sanctified olive oil and the godparent anoints the infant with this oil. Both water and oil are life-giving substances. Their use in baptism signifies the redemption of matter; they are the medium through which communion with God is achieved.

The priest, invoking the name of the Holy Trinity, baptizes the child by three total immersions and emersions. This triple act symbolizes Christ's three-day burial and resurrection. The baptismal font becomes the tomb in which the baptized is immersed or "buried" and from which he or she is immersed or "raised up", so that he or she may walk in newness of life (cf. Romans 6: 4). The baptismal font, however, is also, in the words of the Church Fathers, the "Divine Womb" whence one receives a new birth. Thus, baptism introduces the Orthodox to a new mode of existence, to a regeneration, and to the transcendence of his or her biological "hypostasis" (cf. J. Zizioulas).

Baptism: 5th-century mosaic of the baptism of Christ, Baptistery of the Orthodox, Ravenna

An essential difference between the Orthodox and western liturgical practices is that in the Orthodox rite the sacraments of baptism and chrismation or confirmation are merged together. Chrismation is the sacrament of Pentecost. For the Orthodox it is not a separate sacrament but the fulfilment of baptism, as indeed Pentecost is for Easter. Through chrismation human nature, purified by baptism, receives the gift of the Holy Spirit. The priest anoints the various parts of the infant's body – forehead, eyes, nostrils, lips, ears, breast, hands, and feet – with chrism (*myron* in Greek). Chrismation is considered to be the "ordination of the laity"; through it the baptized infant becomes a full member of the Christian community.

In the early Church baptism and confirmation were not administered in the church but in a separate place called the *baptisterion* (baptistery). Following chrismation, the newly baptized were dressed in white robes, symbolic of the "newness of life", and were led by the clergy for the celebration of the Eucharist, where they received their first Holy Communion. Today also baptism and confirmation are followed by a procession of the priest, accompanied by the godparent holding the newly baptized infant, round the baptismal font. The fulfilment of baptism and chrismation is found in the Eucharist. For three consecutive Sundays the neophyte will receive the sacrament of Holy Communion. In the early Church the neophytes remained in the church for eight days. This "rite of passage" ended on the eighth day with the washing of the holy chrism, the cutting of the hair, and their return into the world.

Although the above description points to the prevalent form of baptism in Orthodoxy, there also exists what is known as "clinical" baptism. When a person is seriously ill and has not been baptized, then baptism may be administered by any baptized Christian either in the air or by affusion. But such a form of baptism, though necessary in certain circumstances, is considered as imperfect and is administered only by the use of "ecclesiastical economy", i.e. concession or dispensation. The Orthodox also regard the Latin baptism as incomplete, because it is not done by immersion but by sprinkling. Since the middle of the 18th century a big debate has been created in the Orthodox Church on whether western converts should be "rebaptized". It was held that sprinkling alone was inadequate for conveying to the baptized person the regeneration achieved through immersion. The debate still continues today. However, the usual practice – since 1932 when archbishop Chrysostomos I introduced into the Euchologion the "Service of Conversion to Orthodoxy from the Latin Church" – is for baptized Christians of other Churches to be received in Orthodoxy by chrismation alone. Finally, it is worth noting that a symbolic "second baptism" is part of the tonsuring ritual of the monastic profession.

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Barlaam of Calabria *c.*1290–1348

Theologian

A native of Seminara in Calabria, Barlaam had his initial formation in a Greek-rite monastery, perhaps at St Elias of Galatro. There he studied Greek and Latin, the philosophy of Plato and Aristotle, and Western scholasticism. He arrived in Constantinople around 1328, seeking a closer knowledge of both the Byzantine Church and the Hellenic philosophical tradition. Court favour won him a chair in theology and patristic exegesis, and his lectures soon attracted a wide audience, including Gregory Akindynos. His success attracted the rivalry of Nikephoros Gregoras. For a time he taught in Thessalonica, where his pupils included Demetrios Cydones.

Barlaam was the only theologian in the empire deemed capable of dealing with the Dominican legates of pope John XXII sent in 1333. To them he gave an able defence of the single procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father, pointing out that the Latin syllogistic arguments were not strictly apodictic, or demonstrative, according to the definition of Aristotle. It was as this time that his disputes with St Gregory Palamas began, Gregory becoming uneasy with Barlaam's theological method. Barlaam, examining the methods of prayer used by the hesychast monks, found their physical method strange and even scandalous. He began to draw attention to the abuses he perceived, notwithstanding the protestations of Akindynos. Forced to withdraw from the capital, he continued his campaign in Thessalonica, provoking Palamas's first *Triad in Defence of the Holy Hesychasts*.

Returning from an abortive mission to gather support in the West for an anti-Turkish crusade in 1339, Barlaam found Palamas's second *Triad* to which he replied with his *Against the Messalians*. This in turn instigated Palamas's third *Triad*. Again ignoring the counsel of Akindynos, Barlaam formally accused the hesychast party at the Constantinopolitan synod of June 1341. He was soon put on the defensive, his accusations against the hesychast monks being deemed groundless and his explanation of the light of the Transfiguration inconsistent with the patristic witness. With the death of Andronikos III, his patron, Barlaam was almost entirely isolated, and left for the West. He was consecrated bishop of Gerace in Calabria in 1342. He returned to Constantinople only once, in 1346, as leader of a fruitless papal mission to Anne of Savoy that was overtaken by events. He died in 1348.

Barlaam was a prolific writer. Against the Latins he produced 18 works on the procession of the Holy Spirit and 3 on papal primacy. One of his works on the Holy Spirit was directed specifically against Thomas Aquinas. His arguments are chiefly based on philosophical reasoning. His anti-Palamite polemic survives only in fragments, with some further information contained in his surviving letters. He was accused of denying that God really differs from his operations and teaching that the light of the Transfiguration was created. After his return to the West, Barlaam also produced Catholic apologetic. His *Reply to Demetrios Cydones*, which is edited, is a good example. Less well known are his philosophical and scientific works. He composed a work on Stoic ethics, and addressed a series of philosophical solutions to George Lapithos, the Cypriot scholar. Lastly we must mention his works on astronomy, his highly regarded works on algebra and arithmetic, and his treatise on the celestial harmonies in music.

Barlaam has been ill-served by posterity. His reputation in the East has been blackened out of recognition. In the West he has been seen as overly vacillating. Palamite sources have characterized him as a Western stooge or fifth columnist. This is unfair. Barlaam was certainly familiar with Western scholasticism, but exhibited no great sympathy for it in his Byzantine period. His treatise against Thomas Aquinas demonstrates this. In fact, up to 1341 he was a more committed anti-Unionist than was Palamas. Barlaam's theological method was greatly influenced by Aristotelian argument. He was also well versed in Plato and the traditions of Neoplatonism. He was particularly indebted to Dionysius the Areopagite.

Barlaam's influence has naturally been restricted by the canonization of Palamite theology. Even the anti-Palamite faction of Akindynos repudiated him. Barlaam did, however, retain a small circle of supporters in Byzantium, the most notable of them being Demetrios Cydones, the Byzantine Thomist. His anti-Latin works may have furnished some material for the anti-Unionist party in the last hundred years of the Byzantine empire. Equally, his Catholic apologetic appears, through Cydones, to have influenced the Unionist party.

MARCUS PLESTED

See also Gregory Palamas, Hesychasm

Biography

Born at Seminara in Calabria *c.*1290, Barlaam became a monk in Italy and studied the ancient philosophers as well as Western scholasticism. He moved to Constantinople *c.*1328 where he became a professor of theology and patristic exegesis. His attacks on hesychasm and St Gregory Palamas divided the Church and Barlaam

returned to the West where he became Bishop of Gerace in 1342. He died in 1348, perhaps at Avignon.

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Basil I *c.*830–886

Emperor

The figure of Basil I (867–86) is prominent in Byzantine history because he was the founder of the so-called Macedonian dynasty, which lasted from 867 until the death in 1056 of its last representative, the empress Theodora. Basil had risen to power as a favourite of the emperor Michael III (842–67) of the Amorian dynasty, and seems to have been of humble origin, a fact reflected in both the panegyrical *Vita Basilii* and the hostile Logothete chronicle tradition. As the son of peasants Basil was not the recipient of an elite education, and as emperor he seems to have been intellectually primarily dependent on Photios. On his accession to sole power in 867 Basil had at first removed Photios from the patriarchate and exiled him, only to recall him to the palace and later re-establish him as patriarch in 878, which position Photios still held on Basil's death in 886.

Photios is well known as the explicit source of the crucial cultural monuments of the 9th century, such as the *Bibliotheca*, his letter of advice to the recent Christian convert Boris of Bulgaria, and his own collection of homilies. Photios's hand can also be detected in other endeavours designed with the Macedonian dynasty in mind, such as the illustrated manuscript of the homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, gr. 510), which contains portraits of Basil, his wife Eudokia Ingerine, and their sons Leo and Alexander.

Basil's name is, however, attached to the two parainetic texts from his reign, written as if by him to his son and heir Leo VI. Of these two texts the first and earlier is the better known. They are inspired by previous examples of the genre of advice such as Isocrates' *To Nicocles* and *To Demonicus*, but most notably by the 6th-century *Ekthesis* of Agapetus, deacon of Hagia Sophia, which was addressed to the emperor Justinian I (527–65). They probably date from 879 and 886 respectively, the first on Leo's elevation to the position of heir apparent, the second on his restoration as heir apparent following his disgrace and confinement. Given Basil's lack of literary ability it is unlikely that he was the real author of the texts, and Photios's hand again has been suggested, especially for the *First Parainesis*. This text is closest to the model of Agapetus. It is divided into distinct chapters, having 66 compared to the 72 of the *Ekthesis*. The acrostic device used by Agapetus is also used, spelling out the message *Basil Emperor of the Romans in Christ for His Beloved Son and Co-emperor Leo*. Unlike the work of Agapetus, each chapter is given an individual heading, setting out its theme. The second text is much shorter, has no acrostic, and is not subdivided into topics, but again consists of the typical ideological and moralistic reflections, and exploits in particular the Old Testament Wisdom literature. The texts together reflect the vogue for parainetic and didactic texts, but more particularly for the achievements of the age of Justinian – reflected in the art of the reign (triumphal images of Basil recalling those commemorating the military victories that marked the reign of Justinian) but especially in the interest in, and production of, legislation under Basil.

The main project of Basil's reign was the endeavour to revise and produce the essential version (in Greek) of the Roman *Corpus Juris Civilis*, that is, the collection of legal texts issued under Justinian, namely the *Institutes*, *Digest*, *Codex*, and his own *Novels* (these were issued in Greek from the beginning). This exercise, resulting in 60 books, seems to have been completed under Leo VI (886–912), and became known as the *Basilika*, or the imperial laws. As a preliminary and introductory volume to the *Basilika* there appeared under Basil, Leo, and Alexander (912–13) the *Epanagoge* (or rather *Eisagoge*); here too Photios's hand can be detected, for it seems likely that he contributed the preface and the individual titles on the emperor and the patriarch. The *Procheiron* (a practical law book drawing on the *Institutes* and the *Ecloga* of Leo III (716–41), issued in the names of Basil, Constantine – Basil's eldest son, who predeceased him in 879 – and Leo), has been identified by Schminck as a later reworking of the *Epanagoge* by Leo VI, though some (e.g. Lokin) would still see it as an authentic Basilian text.

Thus, as far as the Hellenic tradition goes, Basil himself was not such an active figure; his virtue is that he provides the opportunity for others. Indeed one could say that Basil's career and circumstances provided the greatest inspiration. He was of low origin, his accession as emperor was not without scandal, and as such he needed much ideological weight thrown behind him. Thus poets, writers, orators, intellectuals, artists, and builders (not just Photios) were inspired to come to his aid and create a very special atmosphere in the 9th and 10th centuries. Basil is the focus of such celebratory works as poems by Photios, the *Epitaphios* of Leo VI, the *Vita Basilii* commissioned by Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos (913–59), and Basil's own important ecclesiastical foundation the Nea Ekklesia ("new church"). This latter was Basil's major ecclesiastical foundation, built within the Great Palace and dedicated in 880. The richly decorated five-domed church had as its divine dedicatees Christ, the prophet Elijah (Basil's particular divine patron it seems), the archangel Michael (perhaps originally Gabriel), the Virgin and St Nicholas. Basil's building projects are recorded most extensively in the *Vita Basilii*. These entailed the repair and restoration of many of the late-Antique churches of Constantinople (including Hagia Sophia, the Holy Apostles, and St Mokios), and also the construction of new structures, especially in the imperial palace itself, which in addition to the Nea Ekklesia included a courtyard with fountains, porticoes enclosing a garden, a polo ground (the Tzykanisterion), and imperial apartments. The most famous of the apartments is the Kainourgion which was decorated with

mosaics, including depictions of the emperor and his labours, his generals and their military successes, and the imperial family.

All these projects aspired to present Basil as a God-favoured emperor, whether as a new David or a direct descendant of both Alexander the Great and Constantine the Great. It was the creation and establishment of a new dynasty that provided the impetus for the literary, artistic, architectural, and legal projects of the age, and this is the cultural legacy of Basil I.

SHAUN TOUGHER

Biography

Born of humble stock in Thrace or Macedonia *c.*830, Basil achieved power as a favourite of Michael III. On Michael's murder in 867 Basil became emperor and founder of the Macedonian dynasty. During his reign his armies campaigned in the east and in Italy, but his main project was the attempt to revise and codify the law. He died in Constantinople in 886 after a hunting accident.

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Basil II 958–1025

Emperor

Basil II (976–1025) is generally considered the greatest of all the Byzantine emperors. He was a successful military leader whose campaigns brought the empire to its greatest geographical extent. He spent much of his early life under the regency of his mother, the empress Theophano, and a series of military strongmen. Upon the death of John I Tzimiskes (969–76) Basil, now 18, decided to assert his rights to the throne. Bardas Skleros, the former *domestikos* (commander) of the east under John Tzimiskes, rose up to challenge him. By 978 he had seized control of most of Asia Minor. Basil Lekapenos, the grand chamberlain, turned to Bardas Phokas for help against Skleros. At Pankaleia in 979 Phokas defeated first Skleros in a single combat and then his entire army. Despite Basil's success, power continued to be exercised by Lekapenos until his exile in 985, after which the emperor assumed total control of the government. Basil's brother, Constantine VIII, showed little interest in ruling and spent most of his time in extravagant pleasures. Later, in 987, after Basil's defeat by the Bulgarians at Trajan's Gates, the nobility rose up against him, the chief leaders being Bardas Skleros and Bardas Phokas. Both rebels had widespread support among the senior officers of the army and the landed nobility. Originally Phokas and Skleros agreed to share the empire between them, but later Phokas had Skleros arrested and, having brought all of Asia Minor under his control, prepared to attack Constantinople. Basil was only able to defeat Phokas with the help of Vladimir I of Kiev, who sent 6000 troops to support him. These troops would later become the nucleus of the famous Varangian Guard. In return for his timely aid, Basil gave his sister Anna to Vladimir in marriage, an act that also led to the conversion of Russia to Orthodox Christianity.

The revolts of Phokas and Skleros had a lasting impact on Basil and he continued to be suspicious of the military aristocracy. As a result he decided, in 996, to restrict the power of the *dynatoi* by issuing new legislation on the alienation of soldiers' land. He repealed Nikephoros Phokas's earlier legislation which limited monastic landholding, mainly because he felt this law worked more in the interests of the landowning class, and issued new regulations restricting monastic lands. Small houses of eight monks or fewer that stood on peasant land were subordinate to the village community but exempt from paying tribute to the bishop, while larger houses were made subordinate to the bishop but could make no new acquisitions of land. Basil also decreed that all property acquired by the *dynatoi* (notables) from the poor since the time of Romanos I Lekapenos (920–44) should be returned without any compensation. The state claimed a right of eviction on all land that had been under state control as far back as the time of Augustus. Later he made the *dynatoi* responsible for the outstanding tax payments of the peasantry. Despite his efforts the *dynatoi* continued to be powerful and many noble families who figure prominently in later Byzantine history could trace their origins back to Basil's reign.

Basil spent a good part of his reign waging war against Bulgaria, which had become a serious threat again under the leadership of Samuel, who established his capital at Ohrid. At first, Basil was unsuccessful, being defeated by the Bulgarians at Trajan's Gates in 986. He returned in 991, but war with the Fatimids in Syria forced him to turn his attention elsewhere. In 1001, after concluding a peace treaty with the Fatimids, Basil returned again to Bulgaria. One of the most infamous incidents of this war followed his victory at Kleidion in 1014: he had thousands of Bulgarian prisoners of war blinded and then sent

Basil II: frontispiece of an 11th-century psalter showing Basil triumphant over the defeated Bulgarians, Biblioteca Marciana, Venice

them back to their king, Samuel, who purportedly died from the shock of seeing so horrific a sight. The war finally concluded with the capture of Ohrid in 1018. Basil's successful conquest of Bulgaria earned him the title "Bulgaroktonos" (Bulgar Slayer). He next extended Byzantine control over Croatia and Serbia. In the east he organized the kingdom of David of Tayk'/Tao into the theme of Iberia and in 1022 incorporated the kingdom of Vaspurakan into another theme. Basil also offered a marriage alliance to the German emperor Otto III between Otto and Basil's neice Zoe; however, Otto died before the marriage could take place. Basil's future military plans called for the reconquest of Sicily and war with the Western empire, but he did not live to carry out these projects. Because of his preoccupation with warfare, he treated scholars with disdain and consequently his reign witnessed a decline in intellectual and creative activity. Basil never married and died in Constantinople on 15 December 1025. He was succeeded by his brother Constantine VIII.

JOHN F. SHEAN

Biography

Born in 958, Basil succeeded John I Tzimiskes in 976, but until 985 power was exercised by Basil Lekapenos. Having defeated the rebellions of Bardas Phokas and Bardas Skleros, Basil curbed the rights of wealthy landowners. After several campaigns he conquered Bulgaria and earned the nickname "Bulgar Slayer". In the east he defeated the Georgians and planned the (unrealized) reconquest of Sicily. He died in 1025.

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Basil the Great, St *c.*330–379

Christian writer

The "Cappadocian father" who made the greatest impact in his lifetime, Basil was the younger brother of St Macrina (the younger) and the elder brother of St Gregory of Nyssa. Growing up in a prosperous and cultured Christian family, he benefited from an extensive and extended education that left him with a knowledge not only of Christian writers but also of a range of Classical Greek philosophical and literary figures. Caesarea in his native Cappadocia saw the start of this education, and lengthy study followed in Constantinople and Athens. His university life in Athens was marked by the breadth and depth of his studies and by a somewhat austere regime of work and church attendance. Here he set himself mastery of pagan as well as Christian authors, sharing his enthusiasm with Gregory of Nazianzus, to become a lifelong friend, and also with Julian, later as emperor to abandon Christianity and with it Basil's friendship. Partly under the influence of the formidable and very talented Macrina, Basil abandoned a promising secular career in rhetoric, turning to monastic seclusion, briefly in Syria and Egypt, before settling to an eremitical life in Neocaesarea in 358. This was not a totally solitary existence, since he was joined by his friend Gregory with whom he undertook preaching expeditions in the surrounding countryside. This pattern was to be broken around 364 when the recognition of a basic talent brought him into active life in Caesarea. Its bishop, Eusebius, felt himself under extreme pressure from the emperor Valens who had taken up a marked Arian stance. Seeing in Basil a man who had not only maintained a firm Nicene orthodoxy but one who possessed outstanding powers of expression and determined character and, as it turned out, clear gifts of leadership, Eusebius summoned him to the defence of his Church against the stringent demands of the emperor. Working closely with his bishop, the newly ordained Basil rapidly made himself indispensable, gaining recognition as the natural successor to the see. Succeed Eusebius he did in 370, beginning a decade of administrative brilliance in a time of theological and ecclesiastical turmoil. The Arian ideas championed by Valens took on new forms in the teachings of Eunomius, while the divinity of the Holy Spirit was attacked by the Pneumatomachian party. Basil's opposition was vigorous in speech and writing. He did not live to see the Council of Constantinople (381), but his contributions to its definitive statements of orthodox belief are manifest.

It was not only unorthodox belief that occupied Basil. When it came to Church affairs he was no less capable of taking a strong line, even when it meant conflict with Rome and Alexandria over the appointment of the bishop of Antioch. Nor was he averse from exerting influence in political affairs. Having begun at the top with his confrontation with Valens, he would tackle provincial governors and imperial administrators on issues that he felt involved social justice or Church autonomy. His social concerns combined with his sense of ecclesiastical power, as he established a whole complex of social services, centred on buildings instituted as hospitals and refuges from poverty, setting up schemes for famine relief and poor relief programmes that would outlive him. A whole new Caesarea grew up, to the disapproval of some who wanted a more church-centred bishop, but strongly defended by others such as Nazianzen who saw here a vital expression of Christian concern, a proper complement to the vigorous sermons preached by Basil. The style might draw on the rhetorical practices of his youth in its telling use of standard figures, but it is saved from formalism by the liveliness of his insights and the pastoral concern evinced for his large and eager congregations. Whether he is expounding, against all comers, the Christian doctrine of creation, as in the *hexaemeron* sermons of 370, preached before he became bishop, or interpreting psalms or events in the liturgical year or again attempting to explain the nature of Christian duty and restraint, Basil emerges as a powerful expositor. He is equally effective in his numerous letters. When collected, they became recognized as literary models, yet content outweighs form, since the letters express deep feeling for friends, consolation for loss, commendation of perceived merit, alongside official correspondence dealing with behaviour in Church affairs and letters, sometimes of treatise length, setting out his understanding of the Nicene faith and its

legitimate development in terms of the Holy Spirit and the Trinity. His writing of sermons and letters was in competition for Basil's time not only with his episcopal administrative duties but also with the production of his strictly theological works. His lifelong adhesion to Nicene orthodoxy came out in 360 in his attack on the extreme Arian stance of Eunomius. The work by which he is probably best known is *On the Holy Spirit*, dedicated to his friend Amphilochius of Iconium.

The interest shown in correspondence with contemporaries who were not Christians is echoed in Basil's continued concern with Classical Greek literature. His awareness of his Christian past may be exemplified in the edition of selections of Origen's works that he produced in collaboration with Gregory of Nazianzus under the title *Philokalia*, yet he never lost interest in the writings of the Classical centuries, as he demonstrates in a treatise setting out educational principles on which young Christians may be encouraged to explore certain authors who predate Christianity. Written probably in his final years, this *Address* displays an understandable mixture of openness and caution. His young readers would be encouraged to range over poets from Homer to Euripides and to give thought to the works of Plato. Basil had seen Julian's attempt to place Christians on the cultural sidelines by banning them from teaching the Classics, a move he had passionately opposed. Yet he maintains a certain moral austerity, calling for concentration by his students on examples of excellence of character.

In the midst of this multifarious activity, Basil did not abandon another of his youthful enthusiasms, a yearning for the ascetic life. Amazingly, alongside a life of varied and apparently exhausting activity, he maintained a monastic vocation, having formulated in his early days alongside Nazianzen some 80 rules for right Christian conduct, the *Moralia*, applicable to all Christians prepared to follow ascetic practice within daily life, but especially focusing on the monastery. Later, Basil set out in detail in the *Asceticon*, the "Rule of St Basil", as it is widely known, a comprehensive understanding, in question and answer form, of the fundamentals of monastic life. Strict, without the vitiation of extremes, the Rules point to a life that was to become standard. Limited means, manual work, and study were to be set within a pattern of liturgical practice within a community life that enjoined obedience and chastity. This life, however, was not to be self-regarding. The bishop of social and educational concerns is visible in the monastic injunctions to relieve poverty and take part in training children. His emphasis on worship may also be traced in the "Liturgy of St Basil", partly attributable to him.

Any one of Basil's activities might have seemed sufficient to occupy a full life: their combination is astonishing. His influence continued in theological development, in educational practice through the Byzantine centuries into the Renaissance, and, perhaps most visibly, in the dominance of his Rule both in the East, where it remains central to this day, and in the West where, through the mediation of Rufinus, John Cassian, and most notably St Benedict, it had a profound effect. Basil is visible also in another sense, in that his stature as "the Great" was recognized in portraiture, where he is pictured as an elderly bishop, though he died around the age of 50, or with the attribute of a dove, interesting in a man whose career was far from totally eirenic. Representations of Basil occurred notably in Constantinople, on Mount Athos, in Sinai, and in Ochrid in Macedonia.

D.A. SYKES

See also Cappadocia, Gregory of Nazianzus, Gregory of Nyssa

Biography

Born *c.*330 at Caesarea in Cappadocia, Basil was the brother of both St Gregory of Nyssa and St Macrina the Younger. Educated in Athens and Constantinople, he became the lifelong friend of St Gregory of Nazianzus. Abandoning rhetoric, he devoted himself to the ascetic life and in 370 became bishop of Caesarea. Surviving works include sermons, letters, a treatise *On the Holy Spirit*, an essay on pagan literature, and the *Asceticon* (his monastic rule). He died probably in 379.

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Beirut

City in Phoenicia

Archaeological evidence of occupation on the site of Beirut goes back to Neolithic times. The earliest mention of the name occurs in the Amarna letters (1377–1360 BC). After Alexander the Great had conquered the Near East, the city was Hellenized under the rule of the Ptolemaic and Seleucid dynasties. The Roman emperor Augustus settled veterans on the site, and around 14 BC Beirut (Latin Berytus) received the status of a Roman colony. Henceforth it was an island of Latin culture in the Greek Near East.

Beirut owed not a few of the monumental buildings that marked it as a Graeco-Roman city to the patronage of king Herod of Judaea and his descendants. The religion of Beirut had a Graeco-Roman superstructure built on Semitic foundations. Poseidon/Neptune, the principal deity, was probably a Hellenized version of Baal Markod. The patron goddess of the city, Aphrodite/Venus, who was worshipped in a temple of Roman design, was probably Astarte in Graeco-Roman guise.

Beirut was a trading city known for its silk and purple dyeing. Around AD 238 the school of Roman law is mentioned for the first time. Gregory Thaumaturgus, later to be a famous missionary bishop, was a student. In the 4th century many young men who were hoping to make a career in the imperial service or the courts enrolled to study Roman law. At the time the sophist Libanius was worried that the competition of professional studies in Latin and law would replace the traditional rhetorical education based on the study of Greek literature. In the end his fear proved groundless. The latest known public inscription from Beirut written in Latin dates from AD 344. In the 5th century Greek became the language of instruction at the law school. From the prefecture of Cyrus (AD 439–42) praetorian prefects issued their edicts in Greek. In the 5th and early 6th centuries some very well-known jurists taught at Beirut, two of them members of the commission set up by Justinian to compile the *Corpus Iuris Civilis*. With the publication of the Code legal education was restricted to the schools in Constantinople, Rome, and Beirut.

By the 3rd century Christianity was well established at Beirut. Theodosius II gave it the status of an ecclesiastical metropolis, which it retained after the Council of Chalcedon (451), although by then it no longer had any suffragan sees subordinated to it. At this time Beirut, like much of Phoenicia, still had numerous practising pagans. Zacharias of Mytilene has left a vivid account of how sometime around 480 a group of Christian student activists organized a search for manuals of magic among fellow students, including at least one Christian, with a view to forcing their owners to surrender them. The books are said to have been works of Zoroaster, Ostanes, and Manetho, and their magic, though potentially capable of achieving a wide range of wicked purposes, appears to have been employed chiefly to further sexual relations and to find hidden treasure. It was claimed that a human sacrifice was being planned and that ownership of magical literature was much more widespread than had been suspected at first. Leadership of the campaign was taken over by the bishop. A popular rising in defence of the books and their owners was defeated with the help of a band of peasants brought in from the countryside. The books were burnt in the presence of the civil authorities. A pagan professor of law named Leontius was sent into exile until he converted to Christianity.

Beirut suffered a disastrous earthquake in 551 when 300,000 inhabitants are said to have been killed, though archaeological evidence suggests that not all the city was destroyed. According to the contemporary historian Agathias, the teaching of law resumed after the city had been rebuilt, but there are no later references to the law school. After the city was captured by the Arabs in 635, Muslims gradually formed the majority of the population, but the city contined to have Christian communities: Melkites, Monophysites, and, from the late 7th century, Maronites. Beirut was taken and held briefly by the emperor John I Tzimiskes in 975.

J.H.W.G. LIEBESCHUETZ

Summary

Beirut (Latin Berytus) was first Hellenized under the Ptolemaic and Seleucid dynasties. Augustus made it a Roman colony and it remained Latin-speaking until the 4th century. The city was famous for its school of Roman law, established *c.*AD 238 and still flourishing in the 6th century, and for its silk and purple dyeing. It fell to the Arabs in 635.

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Berlin, Treaty of 1878

The Congress of Berlin, held in Berlin in June 1878, resulted in the treaty of Berlin. The congress and the treaty signalled Europe's readiness to involve itself more deeply in Balkan affairs. The terms of the treaty, while intended to impose a measure of stability on the peninsula, in fact set the stage for the violent conflicts that would devastate the area in the decades to come. For both these reasons, the treaty of Berlin has been called the single most important agreement for the Balkan nations of the 19th century. For Greece the consequences of the treaty were deeply negative. It was forced to accept a new state on its northern border, Bulgaria, that was directly competitive with it in Macedonia. Up to this time Greece had always assumed that it would be the beneficiary of any Ottoman retreat from the Balkans. After the treaty of Berlin this could no longer be taken for granted.

Although the decisions taken by the congress were of the utmost importance to the people of the Balkans, it was very much a meeting of the Great Powers and was intended to serve their interests. None of the Balkan states was allowed to participate fully in the proceedings, and they had to limit themselves to sending representatives who were permitted only to present their arguments. In no case were these arguments able to alter a major decision. The Great Powers – Britain, Russia, Austria-Hungary, and Germany – were concerned first and foremost to restore the European balance of power which had been upset by Russia's backing of a greater Bulgaria. The establishment of the new state of Bulgaria was a direct result of the troubled decade of the 1870s.

After 40 years of relative quiet the Balkans endured a protracted and peninsula-wide upheaval during the 1870s. Beginning with a peasant rebellion in Bosnia and Hercegovina in the summer of 1875 that refused to go away, the Great Powers – particularly Austria-Hungary and Russia – became increasingly concerned that the status quo could no longer be preserved. In the summer of 1876, as Serbian and Montenegrin forces began to invade Bosnia-Hercegovina, Russia and Austria-Hungary agreed to the following: if the Balkan armies were defeated, then Russia and Austria-Hungary would work together to maintain the status quo. Should they be victorious, then together, again, these two powers would partition the Ottoman empire but with the proviso that no great Balkan state should be established.

In the end Russia abandoned this rather hands-off approach. Spurred on by the disastrous performance of the Serbian military as well as the unwillingness of the Ottoman government to allow interference in the affairs of Bosnia-Hercegovina, in April 1877 Russia declared war on the Ottoman empire. Russian willingness to take on the Ottomans would give it extra leverage vis-à-vis the other great powers when the war was over, leverage that it would use to support its new client, Bulgaria. The Russo-Turkish war presented all the Balkan states, Greece among them, with an agonizing choice. Greece was well aware that Russia had plans for a Bulgarian state and it was afraid that, if it fought, the end result might be to wrest territory from the Ottomans only to give it to the Slavs. On the other hand, if it refrained from entering, it could well be left out of a peace settlement. By entering the war at the very last minute in February 1878, Greece got the worst of both worlds: it angered Britain, who had not wanted it to enter the conflict, but did not give any appreciable help to the Russians, who could thus disregard it.

Taking advantage of its victory over the Ottomans, Russia signed a bilateral treaty with the sultan in March 1878. The treaty of San Stefano, which established a new Bulgarian state, shocked European and Balkan powers alike. If the terms of the treaty had been carried out, Bulgaria would have embraced territory both north and south of the Balkan mountains, Thrace, and most of Macedonia. The state, now the largest in the Balkans, would clearly be under Russian control. For Greece this meant the end of its hopes to extend its boundaries to include Thrace and, especially, Macedonia. Not only that; the territory that Greece coveted was to be awarded to a detested Balkan enemy. For Austria-Hungary and Britain this was a completely unacceptable extension of Russia's influence in the Balkans without any corresponding gain for themselves. Austria-Hungary felt this particularly strongly. As far as it was concerned, Russia had violated their agreement, whereby if Russia extended its influence in the eastern Balkans, then Austria-Hungary had to be compensated with Bosnia-Hercegovina. Tremendous international pressure was brought to bear upon Russia and it eventually agreed to the meeting in Berlin, the express purpose of which was to rewrite the treaty of San Stefano.

If at least one Balkan power – Bulgaria – was satisfied by the terms of the treaty of San Stefano, none was made happy by the treaty of Berlin. Bulgaria was cut down to size, thereby ensuring a permanent sense of grievance on the part of the Bulgarians. The area south of the Balkan mountains was burdened with the tortured status of a semiautonomous province with a Christian governor chosen by an intricate process. This complex arrangement did not last, and in 1886 eastern Rumelia, as the area was known, was won for Bulgaria through force of arms. Unable to decide what should be done with them, the Great Powers handed Macedonia and Thrace back to the Ottoman empire. Every Balkan state interpreted this as a temporary arrangement and this ensured that, over the next 35 years, the area would become a bloodbath as Serbia, Greece, and Bulgaria sought to establish their claims over Macedonia in particular. Greece itself gained no territory at Berlin. Serbia was dismayed to see that its former ally, Russia, was concerned first and foremost to satisfy Austria-Hungary which, as a result of the treaty, received the right to occupy and administer Bosnia and Hercegovina. Thus Serbian ambitions in these areas, which were considerable, were blocked, just as Greece's were in Macedonia. This served only to increase Serbian interest in Macedonia.

By establishing a smaller Bulgarian state and awarding control in Bosnia-Hercegovina to Austria-Hungary, the Great Powers were able to re-establish amicable relations among themselves. But the treaty left every Balkan government feeling aggrieved and thus the arrangements made at Berlin increased, rather than decreased, the possibility of future conflict.

MOLLY GREENE

See also Bulgaria, Macedonia

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Bessarion *c.*1400–1472

Cardinal and scholar

Bessarion, a Byzantine monk and later cardinal of the Roman Church, was the most prominent of the Byzantine émigrés who took up residence in Italy during the 15th century. His background as a member of the Byzantine educated elite and his status as a powerful and wealthy cardinal of the Roman Church enabled him to assume a unique role both in preserving the Hellenic literary tradition of Byzantium and of the ancient world, and in disseminating that tradition throughout Italy and Western Europe. Above all he helped to stimulate the revival of the study of Plato during the Italian Renaissance.

In Constantinople in the early years of the 15th century Bessarion followed the traditional Byzantine higher education syllabus, studying under John Chortesmenos and George Chrysokokkes. He later spent time at Mistra with George Gemistos Plethon, the champion of Platonic studies, before being appointed metropolitan of Nicaea in 1437. The following year he accompanied the Byzantine emperor John VIII Palaiologos to the Council of Ferrara-Florence, where he emerged as one of the most prominent supporrers of union with the Roman Church among the Byzantine clergy. His *Dogmatic Discourse on the Union*, addressed to the Byzantine delegation, urged them to accept union with the Latin Church, the authority of the pope, and the "Western creed with its controversial addition of the word *filioque* ("and the son"), in the hope that military aid against the Turks would follow. When agreement was finally reached, Bessarion was accorded the honour of reading out the decretal of union in Greek in the cathedral of Florence on 6 July 1439. The union of the Churches, however, was not well received by the people of Constantinople, and from about 1442 Bessarion was living permanently in Rome. He was made a cardinal and was even considered for the papacy on two occasions.

Although many Byzantines saw Bessarion's conversion as treachery, he remained deeply concerned for his country and compatriots. He used his personal wealth and influence to assist his fellow Byzantines in exile, paying the ransoms of many of those taken prisoner after the fall of Constantinople in 1453. He also played an active role in the efforts to organize a crusade to retake the city. In 1471 he published his *Oration to the Leaders of Italy Regarding the Imminent Perils* in which he urged them to unite against the common enemy of all Christians.

Yet it was not only the military threat posed by the Turks to Italy that worried Bessarion, but the realization that their capture of Constantinople might finally extinguish the inheritance of Greek Classical literature that had been preserved for so long under the Byzantine empire. According to his own account, after 1453 he embarked on a systematic rescue mission, collecting manuscripts of the Greek Classics to preserve them for posterity. His servants were sent as far afield as Constantinople and Trebizond to purchase Greek manuscripts, and a small army of scribes was employed to make copies of these works, both in Italy and in the Venetian colony of Crete. Bessarion himself contributed to the process both by copying manuscripts and by scouring Italian monastic libraries in search of long-forgotten codices. He is alleged to have scored a notable success in the monastery of San Niccolò di Casole near Otranto, where he discovered the texts of works by Colluthus and Quintus Smyrnaeus.

Bessarion also promoted the translation of Greek texts into Latin, as a way of bringing them to a wider, non-Greek readership. He himself prepared Latin versions of Xenophon's *Memorabilia*, the metaphysical essay of Theophrastus, and Aristotle's *Metaphysics*, the last remaining the standard Latin translation until well into the 19th century. He also encouraged similar work by his protégés George of Trebizond and Theodore Gaza.

As a result of these activities, Bessarion expended the enormous sum of 30,000 florins and built up a vast collection of some 800 books. In 1468, having decided that the Venetian republic was the most stable of the Italian states and so most likely to be able to preserve the Hellenic inheritance, he donated the entire collection to the church of St Mark in Venice, where it is still preserved in the Marciana Library. It included some of the most important manuscripts of Classical literature, such as the famous Codex Venetus of Aristophanes (Marc. gr. 474). They were a major reason why, in the 1490s, the publisher Aldus Manutius chose Venice as the site for his Greek printing press, which before 1515 produced editions of nearly all the works of the major Greek authors of antiquity.

Apart from the collection, reproduction, and translation of manuscripts of Classical Greek texts, Bessarion also played an important role in promoting discussion and debate as to their value and meaning. His residence next to the church of the Holy Apostles in Rome became a meeting place for scholars, an "Academy" where prominent Italian humanists such as Flavio Biondo, Lorenzo Valla, and Poggio Bracciolini could discuss Hellenic philosophy and literature with the many Greek expatriates, including George of Trebizond, Theodore Gaza, and Andronikos Kallistos, who lived under Bessarion's protection.

Bessarion and his circle were at the centre of the debate on the merits of the works of Plato, which were only now once more becoming available in the West. While the philosophy of

Bessarion: 16th-century engraving of Bessarion in his cardinal's hat

Aristotle had long ago come to be regarded as compatible with Christian doctrine, aspects of Plato's thought, such as the concept of metempsychosis, or the transmigration of souls, were much more difficult to reconcile with traditional theology. The debate had begun in 1438 when Bessarion's teacher, George Gemistos Plethon, had circulated his treatise *On the Differences of Plato and Aristotle* at the Council of Florence, and the whole question had become much more heated when George of Trebizond had published his *Comparisons of Plato and Aristotle*, a strongly worded attack on both Plato and Plethon. In 1469 Bessarion produced his *Against the Calumniator of Plato*, in both Latin and Greek, as a reply to the attacks of George of Trebizond. Bessarion sought to defend Plato by stressing those areas of his thought that were reconcilable with Christianity, and by relegating the "celestial republic", with its communal sharing of property and wives, to the status of an ideal, unattainable in a fallen world. His championship of Plato proved to be much more successful than Plethon's had been: by expounding Plato's thought in Latin, *Against the Calumniator* made it accessible to a much wider readership, and by stressing the points of agreement both with Aristotle and with Christian doctrine, it helped to make its study respectable.

JONATHAN HARRIS

Biography

Born around 1400 at Trebizond, Bessarion was educated in Constantinople and Mistra. He became a monk in 1423 and was appointed Metropolitan of Nicaea in 1437. In 1438 he attended the Council of Florence as a leader of the unionists. In 1439 he converted to Roman Catholicism and became a cardinal. He devoted himself to rescuing manuscripts of Greek Classical literature and bringing them to Italy. On his death in 1472 he left his library of some 800 books to Venice.

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Biography and Autobiography

The genre of biography, if it can indeed be called a genre before the advent of the saint's *Life*, was one of extreme fluidity, some examples being categorized in antiquity rather under other genres such as the encomium and the funeral speech. The format too varied greatly: Satyrus' *Life of Euripides*, for instance, a work of the 3rd century BC, was even written as a dialogue. The term "biography" itself does not appear before the 5th century AD (in fragments of Damascius' *Life of Isidorus*), although *bios* (life) occurs for some varieties of biography from the 4th century BC, when it was even used collectively for Dicaearchus' cultural *Life of Greece*. The word "autobiography" is not ancient at all, but appears to have been coined by an anonymous English reviewer in 1797, and rejected by its author as pedantic.

The germ of biography is evident in the earliest Greek literature. In each of the Homeric epics an interest in the doings of individuals is signalled in the opening line. The *Iliad* deals centrally with the wrath of Achilles in his quarrel with Agamemnon and adds excursus on the prowess of a host of other noble warriors in preference to detailing the progress of a campaign; the *Odyssey* focuses on the adventures over a ten-

year period of its eponymous hero. Personal revelations are made by Hesiod in his *Works and Days* and also, although there is much modern scholarly argument over their veracity, by the lyric poets of the Archaic age. An interest in genealogy too is attested towards the end of this period.

True biography and autobiography, however, began only in the 5th and 4th centuries BC. According to Momigliano, the first occurred largely in Greek Asia Minor, and he plausibly attributes it to eastern influence, and the second in mariners' accounts of their voyages, but the scanty evidence precludes any certainty in either case. From the beginning, however, as far as can be perceived, and throughout the history of surviving Classical and Byzantine biographical writing, one feature was consistently maintained: in the case especially of political and military figures, to a far greater extent than in the modern world, a distinction was drawn between histories containing biographical information and works centred upon an individual. The former generally restrict themselves to adult activities, detail the individual's publicly important actions, and strive for a high standard of truth; the latter include information on childhood, emphasize the personality, and often twist the strict truth for the sake of the work's overall purpose (the loci classici are Polybius, 10. 24 and Plutarch, *Life of Alexander*, 1. 2).

Commonly cited as the earliest of all Greek biographies, and dating from the first third of the 5th century BC, is *Matters Concerning Heraclides, King of Mylasa* by Scylax of Caryanda. However, only the title is preserved (and that only in a Byzantine compilation of the 10th century AD), there is no indication whatsoever of the nature of the work, and its attribution to this rather than the later Scylax of Halicarnassus or even to a third Scylax is open to question. Quotations direct and indirect from *On Themistocles, Thucydides and Pericles* by Stesimbrotus of Thasos (*c.*470–425 BC) clearly indicate a decided bibliographic interest, but even here the exact nature of the work is unclear. Possibly groundbreaking is the roughly contemporary prose *Epidemiai* by the poet Ion of Chios in which he describes, with obvious autobiographical elements, his visits to and impressions of notable men both political and literary (e.g. the tragedians Aeschylus and Sophocles), while fragments indicate that he mentioned philosophers too, including Socrates (without proving in this case any personal acquaintance).

In the earliest surviving Greek history Herodotus shows overt biographical interest in eastern rulers, whereas his Greeks generally appear as individuals more covertly through their actions, the latter a tendency even more pronounced in Thucydides. This may simply be explicable on the ground of familiarity to their audiences, but may reflect oriental practice in monarchies in contrast to the more communal emphasis in the Greek city states. The oldest surviving Greek works actually centred upon an individual date from the first half of the 4th century BC and take notably different forms. First there are "apologies" (legal defences), especially of Socrates, for whom both Plato and Xenophon initiated a series of ever more imaginary material which continued until the sophist Libanius' declamation in the 4th century AD. Plato's became increasingly regarded as the standard biography of the historical Socrates, while Xenophon supplemented his with a collection of reminiscences (*Memorabilia*) of the philosopher's conversations, most, if not all, garnered from other sources. In imitation Isocrates, in 353 BC at the age of 82, after an unsuccessful law suit, felt compelled to write an imaginary forensic defence of his own life's work (*Antidosis*). Demosthenes' *De Corona*, on the other hand, is a real and spirited defence of the author's political career delivered personally in court in 330 BC but dealing with the period before Athens' submission to Macedon. Fully fledged encomia too appeared in the first half of the 5th century BC. Isocrates asserts in his *Evagoras* (king of Salamis in Cyprus who was assassinated in 374 BC) that he is the first to "praise a man's virtues in prose", presumably meaning in an extended single work. The dramatic, though fictional, setting is a funeral oration, which in a democracy was usually reserved for citizens collectively lost in battle. His uncritical laudatory example was followed by Xenophon, whose *Agesilaus* similarly describes its subject's actions and virtues, but may have been inspired by adverse criticism of the Spartan king (died 359 BC). Two further works of Xenophon demonstrate the extended range of biographical writing. The *Anabasis* vigorously and memorably describes his own role in leading home from Mesopotamia the Greek mercenaries after the battle of Cunaxa in 401 BC. The *Cyropaedia* is extraordinarily difficult to classify, since it deals only briefly with its ostensible subject (the education of Cyrus the Great), and is closer to a very lengthy dissertation on ideal kingship. It has been described as both a philosophical novel and the precursor of the love-romance. Moreover, whereas in the *Anabasis* historical veracity is occasionally subordinated to a self-advertisement necessitated by (lost) rival accounts, the *Cyropaedia* is so cavalier with truth as, among numerous flagrantly fictitious assertions, to have its hero die in bed rather than battle.

Aristotle encouraged a continuing Peripatetic biographical interest in other directions. The only surviving work is Theophrastus' *Characters*, a series of 30 sketches of unpleasant types of personality. His contemporary Clearchus of Soli attempted descriptions of different peoples. Others, not all Peripatetics, wrote on real individual figures (Theophrastus himself on Aristotle's nephew Callisthenes of Olynthus, a historian of Alexander the Great executed by the king) and especially philosophers. Aristoxenus' *Lives* were anecdotal and waspish; Antigonus of Carystus raised the subject to a higher level of scholarly accuracy in the mid-3rd century BC; and in the early 2nd century BC Sotion tried in his 13-book *Succession of the Philosophers* to establish an intellectual lineage from teacher to student, a serial form of philosophical biography best known today in Diogenes Laertius' work of the 3rd (?) century AD. Poets were not forgotten, and with older figures (beginning with Homer) ignorance was often not permitted to vitiate a full account: Chamaeleon, for instance, in the late 4th or early 3rd century BC, inferred biographical facts from the writers' own compositions, a practice that could lead to ludicrous inaccuracies and (a far more serious problem) to numerous suspect assertions not demonstrably false. Through a love of sensationalism, in the 3rd century BC Hermippus of Smyrna was deliberately fraudulent in his biographies of philosophers, poets, and lawgivers, of whom some were mythical.

Political biography from the Hellenistic period has also perished. Nevertheless, scattered fragments and allusions point to an increasing interest in individual rulers which was inspired by the charismatic career of Alexander the Great and continued under the numerous subsequent monarchies. Some of these

works naturally veered towards panegyric, such as *How Alexander was Brought Up* by the king's helmsman Onesicritus, who probably modelled his work on Xenophon's *Cyropaedia*. Adversely critical moral judgements, however, are suggested by monographs on types of public figures such as the Peripatetic Phaenias' *On the Tyrants of Sicily* and *The Slaying of Tyrants for Revenge*, Idomeneus' *On* [Athenian] *Demagogues* and Hermippus' *Lives of Those who Passed from Philosophy to Tyranny and Despotic Rule*. Nepos' surviving Latin biographies (including some of Greeks) from the 1st century AD, which have both an encomiastic and an ethical purpose, probably reflect a trend in most lost Hellenistic productions. Apologetic memoirs too by public figures continued, including the influential work of Aratus, the Sicyonian statesman of the 3rd century BC.

It is only from the imperial Roman age that true Greek biography and autobiography survive in substantial quantity, and even then not until the 1st and 2nd centuries AD. A largely new aspect of autobiographical works is their composition by intellectuals. Unfortunately only fragments remain of *On My Own Life and Education* by Nicolaus of Damascus, a Peripatetic aristocrat, tutor of the children of Mark Antony and adviser to Herod the Great (who wrote also a now fragmentary biography of Augustus which was based upon the emperor's own autobiography), but the Hellenized aristocratic Jewish priest Josephus saw fit to include intellectual matters in his surviving *Life*, which is chiefly intended as a defence of his command of Galilee during the first Jewish revolt (AD 66–70). The *To Himself* (*Meditations*) of the Roman emperor Marcus Aurelius, a unique work from antiquity consisting of very private self-exploratory musings on human existence whose subsequent publication is a complete mystery, also reflects (although it may not be categorized as a true autobiography) this trend, as does more clearly the physician Galen's philosophical *On My Own Opinions*. Notable later examples are the autobiography of the Antiochene rhetorician Libanius, written over nearly 20 years and in the form of a sophistic discourse, and most especially Synesius of Cyrene's *Dion*, in which he defends his attachment to Classical culture against both monkish asceticism and excessive pagan superstition.

Biographies of public figures reached their acme with Plutarch, whose *Parallel Lives* (in which he paired Greeks and Romans with usually a concluding comparison) was already an educational text by the early Byzantine period. Unlike many Greek biographies, they are of genuine literary merit and, despite some problems, real historical value; and they deal with the entire lives of their subject. Nevertheless, their primary aim was moral education through examples of virtuous and vicious behaviour. Their psychological observations are on occasion subtly perceptive. Historical monographs (rather than true biographies), centred upon an individual and usually verging on the encomium, also continued to be written, such as Arrian's *Anabasis of Alexander* and the somewhat earlier second book of Maccabees (an epitome of a lost work by a certain Jason of Cyrene).

Biographies of philosophers are still to be found in the imperial age, but, in reflection of current literary interests, sophists replace poets. Modern knowledge of the Second Sophistic is largely dependent upon the 3rd-century *Lives of the Sophists* by Lucius Flavius Philostratus ("the Athenian"), a collection of brief and at times tendentious sketches. Diogenes Laertius' compendium of the lives and tenets of ancient philosophers, derived from similar earlier compilations, is a work of industry but little critical acumen and is chiefly valuable today for its quotation of three compositions by Epicurus. Generally more scholarly, though laudatory, biographies are those of the Neoplatonists Plotinus and Proclus by their pupils Porphyry and Marinus respectively, while biographies of Pythagoras by Porphyry and Iamblichus claim him as the source of Plato's philosophy.

In the imperial (and Byzantine) age, far more than before, contemporary rulers were subject to epideictic oratory, which contained many biographical details, albeit highly encomiastic and selective. The late 3rd-century rhetorician Menander, in laying down their formulaic contents, shows the types into which these addresses were divided: they included the encomiastic imperial oration and the address to local governors, speeches of welcome and valediction, speeches at weddings, birthdays, and funerals, the ambassador's speech, and many more. Most surviving examples are Byzantine, the emperor expecting one every year at Epiphany, and the ecumenical patriarch on Lazarus Saturday.

Biography of the Hellenistic and imperial ages had similarities with and probably influence on the anecdotal style of the synoptic gospels, a feature that persisted into the Lives of martyrs and saints. It is unclear to what extent the rise of Christianity or simply the common culture of late antiquity may have prompted the empress Julia Domna (d. 217) to bid Philostratus write a biography of the neo-Pythagorean holy man Apollonius of Tyana, a fictionalized amalgam of exotic travel, miracles, exorcisms, sage advice, religious asceticism, and nonconformity unique in pagan biography. At least it elicited a comparison between Apollonius and Jesus, which in turn provoked a refutation by Eusebius in the early 4th century. Lives of Christian saints most probably induced Eunapius to follow Philostratus in producing similar, though inferior and idealized, sketches of 4th-century pagan philosophers, rhetoricians, and iatrosophists.

By far the most important form of biography in the Byzantine period is hagiography (see the separate entry under that title), an edifying and often exciting recital of an individual's struggle for union with God. Saints themselves, though frequently vouchsafing much personal information in their letters and other writings, rarely wrote overt autobiographies. That by Gregory of Nazianzus is made doubly remarkable by his preference for verse over prose. In the 11th century St Christodoulos of Patmos attached an autobiography to the Typikon (charter) of his monastery, a practice followed also by the historian Michael Attaleiates and later by Michael VIII Palaiologos (1259–82).

Byzantine historians were often eyewitnesses of or participants in what they describe, and Michael Psellos in his 11th-century *Chronographia* was especially and notoriously unable to forget the importance of his own involvement. Nevertheless, although Nikephoros Basilakes discusses his education and teaching in an introduction to a collection of his works which he made around 1160, true autobiography does not reappear until the Palaiologan period, when it appealed to a variety of men. The most interesting examples are those of the teacher and scholar Nikephoros Blemmydes (an apologia of his life),

the cultured Constantinopolitan patriarch Gregory II, the scholarly statesman Theodore Metochites, and the philo-Latin Roman convert to Roman Catholicism Demetrios Kydones. Perhaps classifiable also as autobiography are the *Histories* of the usurping emperor John VI Kantakouzenos, written after he became a monk in 1354, who with the sedulously fostered guise of objectivity sought to defend his political career.

Byzantine secular biographies are even less common, although a few imperial figures such as Theodora the wife of Theophilos (829–42), and John III Vatatzes (1221–54) received them in hagiographic form. They are nearly all encomiastic, more critical appraisals being reserved for histories (although hagiography could take the form of hostile biography as in Niketas David Paphlagon's *Life* of Ignatios, which becomes an attack on the rival patriarch Photios). The biography of Basil I, written or at least commissioned by Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos (913–59), is indeed embedded within a history (the so-called *Theophanes Continuatus*) and was designed to validate the position of Constantine. The *Alexiad* stands on its own and is a far more ambitious defence of her father by the princess Anna Komnene, while the five-book history by Michael Kritoboulos of Imbros is to a considerable extent a eulogy of the conqueror of Constantinople, Mehmet II Fatih, to whom it is dedicated. In complete contrast, except that they too seemingly veer from the strict truth, are a few biographical invectives. Noteworthy in this connection are two from the 12th century. The anonymous *Anacharsis or Ananias* belabours an aristocratic failure at soldiering, riding, hunting, musicianship, calligraphy, and astrology, whose second marriage was to a Jewess whom even baptism could not save from being called a frog. Nikephoros Basilakes' target is a certain Bagoas, an educated catamite of humble birth who feigned piety to insinuate himself into the palace.

During the period of foreign occupation after the fall of Constantinople in 1453 various eyewitness accounts of specific calamitous events contain personal details. Autobiographical writing proper was rare and usually restricted to descriptions of journeys or captivity, such as that of "Christopher Angell [Angelos], a Grecian, who tasted of many stripes and torments inflicted by the Turkes for the faith which he had in Christ Iesus", as the English version proclaims. He used Classical Greek for his work, published in 1617 at Oxford where he taught his native language, whereas his near contemporary Georgios Mosketes, professor of Greek at Pisa, chose Italian for an account of his travels in the Levant, imprisonment by the Turks, and subsequent ransom. Memoirs became more common in the second half of the 18th century (including some by the Constantinopolitan patriarch Meletios II in the high language) and reached their climax during the War of Independence, most notably in the vivid and idiosyncratic vernacular reminiscences of General Makriyannis.

Biographies before the late 18th century are rare and at first rather chronicles of a series of rulers or patriarchs. However, the increasing involvement of Russia in Greek affairs encouraged in 1736 a lengthy *Life of Peter the Great* in Italian by Antonios Katephoros, which was later translated into vernacular Greek. Growing patriotism in anticipation of escape from Turkish rule spawned biographies of ancient heroes: an adaptation of the pseudo-Callisthenic *Alexander Romance* (1800) is attributed to Demetrios Gobdelas, professor and rector of the Greek school at Jassy, while Athanasios of Stagira used western sources for his *Lives* of Themistocles (1816) and Miltiades (1818); and whereas a certain Spyridon Kaphireus wrote on the *Virtues and Deeds of Demosthenes* (1820), the Athenian patriot in the struggle against the Macedonians, Georgios Bentotes, was inspired by Marmontel's *Bélisaire* to translate that imaginative reconstruction of the romantic Byzantine general's latter days (1783). Far more useful, however, is *The New Greece* (published posthumously in 1872) by Georgios Zabiras (1744–1804), which presents biographies of 517 Greek savants of the Tourkokratia. An interest in personality types reappeared too during this period, inspired by Theophrastus' *Characters*: Adamantios Korais edited this work and translated it into French (1799), Demetrios Darbaris produced a Greek translation with a few additional characters of his own (1795), and Charisios Megdanes composed imitations under the title *Lychnos tou Diogenous* [Lantern of Diogenes] (1818).

Later 19th- and 20th-century Greek biography and autobiography largely followed, generally without any great distinction, the styles of other European literatures. Three works, however, stand out. In his *To Taxidi Mou* [My Journey] of 1888 Ioannis Psycharis chose semi-fictional autobiographical travels around the Greek world to make his clamant demand for official recognition of the demotic language; Ilias Venezis's *Noumero 31328* [Number 31328] is a graphic description of his time as a prisoner of the Turks (1922–23); Nikos Kazantzakis's last, and posthumously published, work, *Anaphora ston Greko* [Report to Greco] (1957), is a highly fictionalized autobiography in which he seeks to give a spiritual and philosophical coherence to his journey through life.

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See also Hagiography, Historiography, Rhetoric

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Birth

Birth is a crucial feature of the life cycle. In the Greek cultural milieu, childbearing and family continuity are of paramount importance, with marriage and children considered to be life's highest attainment. The procreative purpose of female sexuality is emphasized, the role of the mother is glorified, and there is an apparent tendency to chide those who are either unable to achieve such a state within marriage or in some way rebel against it. The birth of a child is seen as ensuring the regeneration of life within the family and the community. It is regarded as a way of defeating death and securing personal immortality, since Greek children often bear their grandparents' names. In antiquity the Greeks were also dependent on their offspring for the perpetuity of their families (*oikoi*), for support in old age, and for the tending of their tombs after death.

Until recently birth was primarily the concern of women. Its social history points to similarities in the experience and status of Greek women in all historical periods. The principal role of all Greek women was that of bearers and nurturers of legitimate children and, indeed, continuance of the race. Although we cannot speak of Greek women in antiquity as a unified group, legal and historical sources attest to the exclusion of women throughout Greece from the public domain, and to their devotion solely to reproduction. Indeed, even Spartan women – who were considered to be different and more visible than other Greek women in the public sphere because of their involvement in many athletic events – engaged in such activities with the main goal of bracing their bodies for delivering children for the city. Thus infertility in antiquity was viewed as a calamity; conversely, the birth of a child brought about a great change in the bride's position through full admission into the conjugal family, denied to her up to then.

Conception and childbirth were also seen as beneficial for female health and were prescribed as cures for a number of gynaecological conditions. Labour and delivery, however, could he difficult and in some cases could even lead to death. A high rate of both maternal and infant mortality is often assumed by researchers who report on the use of various herbal drinks, induced sneezing, or the tying of a pumice or a dead cyclamen root on a woman's thigh as a means of easing a difficult delivery. There was also a belief that delivery would be impeded if things were tied on or around the mother, for example, her hair or a belt. Because of the dangers involved in childbirth, women often invoked the help of certain deities who were believed to protect them on delivery, such as Artemis (Lochia), Athena, Eileithyia, and Genetyllis (in Attica).

Women gave birth at home with the assistance of female relatives and neighbours and/or a midwife. Male doctors were expected to assist only in cases of prolonged and hazardous labour. The role of the midwife was notable both in antiquity and in the recent past, and in some cases she shared the same status as a doctor. At birth it was the midwife who announced the sex of the child, cut and tied the umbilical cord, and judged its fitness to live. Yet, the expertise of the midwife was not limited to the process of delivery and to the birth itself. She was able to treat many female complaints that had to do with the uterus as well as postnatal problems, such as puerperal fever. In fact, a competent midwife possessed a wide knowledge of such diverse fields as dietetics, pharmacology, surgery (meaning the "work of hands"), and magic.

The use of a wet-nurse or dry-nurse was also common in Greek antiquity, but the mother was regarded as the infant's prime caretaker. However, children belonged to their fathers, not to their mothers, and Greek law codes asserted that in the event of the father's death the newborn should be offered to its father's family. Male infants were favoured and the male foetus was believed to be more active than the female. Women who carried a male child were thought to be healthier with a better complexion, as well as having an easier pregnancy and delivery. Many ethnographic data refer to the use of figurines to increase fertility. Women who desired to have a child made an effigy of themselves as pregnant or an effigy of their prospective child as an adult and carried it as a talisman. Some researchers believe that the large number of female idols found in the Aegean and dating from the early Neolithic period may reveal an earlier preference for the birth of girls, since fertility was crucial for the survival of the group and pregnancy as well as maternity may even have granted special symbolic value to women. However, data on infanticide and the exposure of infants in Hellenistic Greece reveal that, if such a preference existed in early antiquity, it must have ceased later on because girls formed the group that was most highly at risk from such practices. Both infanticide and abortion were regarded as acceptable forms of family planning, with the former being preferable to the latter from the point of view of the mother's health.

Childbirth was considered unclean both in antiquity and in the present day, because it is coloured by natural, profane blood and thus ritually pollutes all those concerned, especially the mother. In antiquity the mother was considered impure until her postnatal bleeding had stopped. For that period of time contact with the sacred was avoided and women were excluded from the temples. A 40-day purification period was also followed by women after an abortion.

During the Byzantine era birth was institutionalized with the establishment of some lying-in hospitals, but the majority of women continued to give birth at home with the help of a midwife. Although evidence is lacking concerning the size of families and the frequency of births in this period, there was still a high rate of maternal and infant mortality. In this regard, A. Laiou estimates the net birth rate in the 14th century as 22

per 1000. Christianity, however, changed attitudes towards marriage and procreation, which were now viewed as subordinate to celibacy. At the same time the prestige of the woman as wife and mother grew due to her association with the greatest archetype of Christian cosmology, the Mother of God. The birth of boys was still favoured over that of girls since girls had to be endowed with dowries, and infertility was still a source of tremendous shame. In Byzantium many pre-Christian beliefs concerning childbearing persisted despite their condemnation by the Church. In the absence of medical expertise midwives often employed a mixture of medical folklore practices and outright witchcraft to facilitate birth. Midwives were thus often associated with heretical beliefs and rituals. Women used various religious objects in order to gain divine assistance during delivery. The use of pagan amulets was also widespread, and was responsible for women commonly being accused of superstitious practices.

Christian writers condemned contraception and abortion, at any stage of pregnancy, as even worse than murder since they claimed that the victim lost the chance to become a human being. Nevertheless, Byzantine women used several means to prevent continuous pregnancies, the most common being toxic herbal medicines and long periods of breast-feeding, which reduced the risk of pregnancy, as well as postnatal taboos on sexual intercourse. Sexual intercourse was also prohibited on Sundays and fasting days, and there was a belief that women who conceived on such days would give birth to lepers and epileptics. In the absence of effective contraception the only option that remained open to parents, especially those living in extreme poverty, was the abandonment of infants. Many children were abandoned at the entrance of churches or wealthy households, and the Christian emperors could do little in such cases. Constantine I, in a law of 329, permitted the sale of children in cases of extreme poverty. The creation of orphanages represented an attempt by the Church and the state to relieve such problems.

Under Ottoman rule the desire of Greeks for male children became more palpable than ever, for boys were equated with weapons and thus increased the hope of liberation. Birth continued to take place at home, as in earlier periods. It is worth noting, however, that during the Tourkokratia the custom of breastfeeding became established throughout Greece, since it was closely related to the survival of infants, and thus of the Greek people in general. Greek mothers considered breastfeeding to be the "eighth sacrament" of the Church, thus making it a sacred act. Moreover, evidence shows that the socialization of girls into motherhood and breastfeeding practices started at 3 years of age when the child was given her first doll. Maternal mortality during this period was more than 35 per cent – 20 times greater than it is today – and the wet nurses (*vizastres*) were therefore honoured by the people and the Church. They were the first to receive the consecrated host (*antidoron*) from the priest in church, and those who had nursed many children were automatically granted absolution. The patron saint of wet nurses was St Marina, and the woman who nursed nine children was called "St Marina and Mistress". The importance attached to breastfeeding is also attested by the fact that children who were nursed by the same woman were considered to be siblings, and were therefore forbidden to marry one another.

In the rural areas of modern Greece such practices continued – and still continue in some areas even today with minor variations. The wealth of folk traditions and rituals regarding pregnancy, childbirth, the first weeks of life of the infant, and the transitional period faced by the mother persisted in modern Greece until the 1960s, and some persist today. In some cases, the incorporation of ancient traditions and rituals into Orthodox Christianity is obvious. Today the saints who are most often invoked by pregnant women are St Elevtherios – his name derives from the word *elevtheria* (freedom) and he helps women in delivery – and St Marina. It is notable that in Athens the churches devoted to these particular saints are built on the ruins of temples of Eileithyia, the deity who was connected with labour and delivery in antiquity.

It is not necessary to delve very far into the past to find the belief that during pregnancy and the postnatal period women were considered open to demonic attack and were protected by certain prohibitions, such as the 40-day taboo, the avoidance of crossing over ravines, the constant censing of the house, and the fear of darkness. The infant, too, was considered to be particularly susceptible to the "evil eye", and for 40 days was kept inside the house. The end of that period was, and still is, marked by an act of purification where mother and child receive the blessing of the priest at church (*sarantisma*). There is also a widespread belief that on the first, third, or seventh day after birth – depending on the area – the infant is visited by the Fates (Moires), known also as "old women" (*gries*), which predetermines his or her luck and the events of the whole of his or her life. Special measures had to be taken for the reception of the Fates. The dogs of the house had to be tied up, so as not to scare the Fates into leaving; the furniture of the house was moved so as not to obstruct their way; and a table with honey, bread, wine, and sweets had to be laid out. The mother, however, was not left alone because the Fates were old and envious and might harm her. Other customs that have endured include the use of certain herbs to induce fertility, and formulas followed during the rite of marriage, conception, pregnancy, and childbirth to increase the chance of the birth of male infants (*arrenogonia*). Finally, the belief that pregnant women crave certain foods is very much alive, as is the belief that, if they do not eat them, they will either lose the baby or their baby will have a birthmark.

Up to the 1960s the midwife was an important figure in village communities, and in some areas of northern Greece is still honoured on 8 January, on what is known as the "day of the midwife". From the 1950s, however, childbirth has been increasingly institutionalized and the magico-religious practices surrounding it have gradually disappeared. Women now give birth in hospitals or private clinics under the care of obstetricians who are mostly males. Breastfeeding is no longer widespread, and since maternal and infant mortality is greatly reduced, couples have fewer children than in the past. Indeed, the recent decline in the birth rate is one of the greatest problems of Greece. Between 1975 and 1995 the birthrate decreased to about 40 to 60 per cent; the average number of children in 1995 was estimated to be between 1.25 and 1.49. Infertility, however, is still regarded as a social and personal defect, for which women are held responsible, though increasingly medical science persuades men to bear responsibility as well.

Compared to other life-cycle rituals, such as marriage and death, birth was and still is less publicly ritualized. Moreover, in all historical periods the father does not really figure in the process, because in Greece a second, superior "social" birth exists that usually negates the part played by women and transfers control to men. In antiquity children were incorporated into society in a celebration held five or ten days after their birth (*amphidromia*) in which they were given a name and were publicly acknowledged as family members. In the context of Greek Orthodoxy children receive a second, superior birth with baptism and become full members of the Christian community; it is during baptism that they receive their name and hence become persons. Finally, one of the ways in which infertility was confronted, both in antiquity and at present, was through adoption. In certain areas of modern Greece, the father would pass the adopted child through a wide sleeve that was stitched on to his shirt, in a symbolic act of birth known as *arrenolocheia* (couvade).

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See also Abortion, Children, Women

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Bishops

The Greek word *episkopos*, the Latinized form of which (*episcopus*) is the root of the word "bishop", literally means "overseer". In the Christian Church it has come to denote the highest ministry, after those of deacon and priest.

In Classical antiquity and in the apostolic age the noun referred to a function or an activity, namely that of being a supervisor. In ancient Greece *episkopoi* are attested as supervisors and business managers in both a secular and a religious context, as state or city officials or as officers of pagan cults. There are only six passages in the New Testament – none of them in the gospels – that use the word and its cognates to refer either to Christ as the shepherd and guardian of souls (1 Peter 2: 25) or to those who occupy a supervisory role within the communities (Acts 1: 20; Acts 20: 28; Philippians 1: 1; 1 Timothy 3: 1–7; Titus 1: 7–9). It is significant that these passages allow for the possibility of several *episkopoi* within a congregation and that they do not specify the need for every congregation to appoint *episkopoi*. In fact, before the 4th century, Christian writers often fail to make a clear distinction between the episcopate and the presbyterate.

Paul's First Letter to Timothy (1 Timothy 3: 2–7) provides the earliest description of the ideal character of an *episkopos*, inspiring all later writing on the subject. He has to be well respected, irreproachable in his lifestyle, of sound character, not a recent convert, and a gifted teacher. He also has to be an able manager of his own household – thus proving his poten-

tial to hold authority in the congregation – and may not be married more than once.

The monarchic episcopate, where there is only one bishop for a community, is first attested in the epistles of Ignatius of Antioch (died *c.*107). The word *episkopos* now acquired the additional sense of a specific office in the Christian Church. Ignatius regards the monarchic episcopate simultaneously as a reflection of the One God and as a guarantor for the doctrinal unity of the Church. The bishop represents God while the presbyters represent the Apostles. At the same time he is the first among equals within the presbyterate. To his congregation he is the spiritual model due to his exemplary conduct and the sacral centre due to his liturgical functions.

By the 4th century the episcopal office had acquired clearer contours, and traditions regarding episcopal appointment had been established that would remain valid, with certain variations, to the present day. A minimum age of 30 years is required for ordination to the priesthood in the Orthodox Church, and by extension also for the episcopate. The bishop's character must be above reproach. He may not be a neophyte and he must have the higher education essential to his duty as a teacher. The celibacy of bishops that has become customary today was demanded in the legislation of the emperor Justinian (527–65), but it was not consistently enforced. Still in 692 the Council in Trullo (Quinisext Council) stipulated that, if a bishop-elect was married, his wife had to enter a monastery at some distance from his residence. Eventually, the problem was eliminated by recruiting bishops from monasteries. Another concern was simony, i.e. the purchase of ecclesiastical office. Contested episcopal elections between ambitious candidates could easily turn into riots and lead to bloodshed, as John Chrysostom reports for the city of Antioch. Church councils repeatedly inveigh against this practice, which undermined the honour of the episcopal office.

The concrete circumstances of the election of a bishop vary over time and in different regions. The general guidelines were set down by the Council of Nicaea (325) which repeats in essence the *Apostolic Tradition* of Hippolytus of Rome: a new bishop must be elected by the inhabitants and the clergy of the city where his see is located, as well as by all the other bishops in the relevant diocese, either at a synod or by letter. Once the candidate is confirmed by the metropolitan, his ordination is performed by three, or at least two, bishops from neighbouring sees through the laying on of hands, in a demonstration of the principle of collegiality. A bishop may not leave his diocese for prolonged periods of time, nor may he seek a lateral transfer to another episcopal see.

In the early Church only the bishops were allowed to preach and to perform baptisms, but these functions were eventually extended to priests. However, the ordination of priests and deacons as well as the consecration of church altars remains the exclusive domain of bishops to the present day. The bishop is assisted by one or more deacons in his liturgical functions, and by an *oikonomos* (manager) and a *chartophylax* (document keeper) in the financial and administrative governance of his diocese. The most prominent manifestation of the bishops' role in clarifying Christian doctrine, and of the principle of collegiality among them, is their participation in synods and councils. Once or twice a year the bishops of a province gather for a synod under the presidency of their metropolitan. As participants in ecumenical councils, they stand for the universal Church in its entirety.

The bishops acquired public prominence when the emperor Constantine ended the great persecution and extended his imperial patronage to the Christian Church. In convening the Council of Nicaea, he not only bestowed official recognition on the bishops as representatives of the Church, but also accorded them the privilege of imperial officials to travel by the imperial post. The council was attended by some 300 bishops, most from the eastern regions of the Roman empire. It solidified the shape of the ecclesiastical organization that had developed in analogy to the administrative and territorial structure of the Roman empire. Corresponding to the provinces of the empire were the dioceses of the Church. The largest city within such a territory (the metropolis) was the seat of provincial government and also became the seat of the metropolitan bishop, who presided over the bishops of the lesser cities within his diocese. Responsible for vast stretches of rural hinterland were *chorepiskopoi* (literally: "country bishops"). They were subordinate to their bishop, with whose approval they could ordain deacons and priests. This custom was prevalent especially in Asia Minor in the early Byzantine period, but lost importance by the 8th century, and had become obsolete by the 12th.

As a result of Constantine's advocacy of Christianity, Church and empire became coterminous. This also affected the role of the bishops. They were increasingly called upon by the imperial legislation to take an active role in the administration of their cities, to administer justice even in civil matters, to monitor the performance of imperial provincial officers, and to report abuses. The emperor Justinian, for example, stipulated in 530 that bishops had to collaborate with the city council in the supervision of public building works, road construction, and the maintenance of aqueducts and public baths.

At times of crisis, bishops often became the focal point of authority in their cities. During the periods of severe famine in the 6th century, they saw to the distribution of food and regulated the grain supply. In the course of the Persian and Arab invasions of the 7th century, they organized the relief efforts for the population and even became involved in the military defence of their cities. In subsequent centuries, as the properties of the Church increased, so did the power of the bishops. In addition to the city with its religious structures – churches, monasteries and convents, hospitals and orphanages – they were often in charge of a large territory with towns and villages. After the Council of Chalcedon (451) the bishops also held the authority over the monasteries in their diocese.

The letters and sermons by bishops of the Byzantine period give us a vivid picture of the concrete circumstances of their lives (Basil of Caesarea, John Chrysostom, Severus of Antioch, Leo of Synada). More formal treatises that deal with the various aspects of the episcopate were composed by the Church Fathers Gregory of Nazianzus (*On his Flight*), John Chrysostom (*On the Priesthood*), and pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite (*The Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*). Many saints' *Lives* celebrate the deeds of holy bishops, such as the *Life of John the Almsgiver* and the *Life of the Patriarch Eutychius*.

Under the Tourkokratia, since adherence to Orthodox Christianity shaped the identity of the inhabitants of the former Byzantine empire, the bishops were important figures

of leadership, especially in fostering education by maintaining schools and institutions of higher learning.

Today, in the autocephalous Orthodox Church of Greece, bishops continue to play an important role in ministering to the pastoral and spiritual needs of their dioceses. In 1922 all episcopal sees were declared to have the rank of metropolitans. There are 81 dioceses, with an additional number of titular metropolitans and bishops with special missions. They convene once a year for the Holy Synod, presided over by the metropolitan of Athens.

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See also Orthodox Church

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Bithynia

Region of northwest Asia Minor

Bordering the Sea of Marmara, the straits of the Bosporus, and the southern shores of the Black Sea, and situated opposite Constantinople (Istanbul), Bithynia is today part of Turkey, and well known for its Byzantine fortifications and churches. Although originally confined to the peninsula of Chalcedon, it gradually extended eastwards to Heraclea and Paphlagonia and southwards across the Propontis to Mysian Olympus, a well-known Byzantine monastic centre during the iconoclastic period. Though mountainous and densely forested, it was one of the most prosperous regions of Asia Minor. Not only did it contain good pastureland, but it also produced fine timber and all kinds of fruits and grains. It was blessed with fine harbours, fertile valleys, and supplies of marble. The principal routes to the Anatolian plateau and to Pontus ran across it. However, its chief channel of communication was the Sangarius river which, with its tributaries, watered its fertile agricultural lands. As a corridor between Europe and inner Anatolia, Bithynia was situated in a strategic yet vulnerable position between east and west.

Bithynia was named after the Bithyni, one of the warlike Indo-European tribes that had emigrated from Thrace during the latter part of the 2nd millennium BC. In 560 BC the land was conquered by king Croesus of Lydia, but it fell into the hands of the Persians when the latter conquered Lydia four years later. However, foreign rule had very little effect on Bithynia, which retained its ethnic identity and survived into Hellenistic times under the rule of a local dynasty. It often waged war with the Greek colonies of the coast, and the warlike nature of its inhabitants saved it from complete domination by the Persians after the 6th century BC. It was occupied by Alexander the Great in 334 BC, although the warlike tribes did not fully submit to his conquest. After Alexander's death in 323 BC, Antigonus I ruled the land nominally for some time and founded Nicaea (modern Iznik), which subsequently became a prominent city of Bithynia. But the Bithynians regained their independence under Zipoetes in the early 3rd century BC. His son Nicomedes I established the first dynasty of Bithynian kings and ruled from 278 to 250 BC. In 264 BC he founded Nicomedia (modern Izmit) and made it his capital. He made an unsuccessful offer to pay the heavy public debt of the Cnidians in return for the *Venus* of Praxiteles. In order to protect themselves against the Seleucids and their rival Heraclea, the kings adopted a policy of both aggression and judicious alliance. As a result their power spread to inner Paphlagonia, to the fertile basins round Nicaea and Prusa, and eventually over the cities of the coast. Nicomedes invited into Anatolia as mercenary allies the warlike Celts who were subsequently settled in Galatia. This led to turbulent conditions in the land for many years thereafter. The country, however, prospered under his successors, stabilizing itself internally while shifting alliances and waging wars with powerful neighbours such as Pergamum to which, however, it lost some territory during the 2nd century BC. These kings founded cities and promoted Greek culture.

The kingdom reached the height of its power in the early 2nd century BC, but this was followed by a century of rapid decline under incompetent leadership. Its notable rulers were Prusias I (237–192 BC), Prusias II (192–148 BC), Nicomedes II (142–91 BC), and Nicomedes III (91–74 BC). The last mentioned was a close ally of the Romans, being little more than a Roman puppet, and on his death he bequeathed his kingdom to Rome. This led to the Third Mithridatic War (74–63 BC) when Mithridates VI of Pontus tried without success to prevent the Romans from annexing Bithynia. During 65–63 BC Pompey organized Bithynia and Pontus into a single Roman province for purposes of administration. Its capital was Nicomedia which, nearly three centuries later, became the imperial seat of Diocletian. To facilitate the maintenance of order and the collection of taxes, Pompey divided the territory among 11 cities. Much of the land was split up into large estates, especially in the region of Nicaea. Although this area was heavily exploited by the Publicani (tax-farmers) during the 1st century BC, and in consequence much land was transferred to Italian owners, under the empire it became very prosperous. The rapid recovery of these cities from the ravages of war speaks well for Roman rule.

At first, the new province was governed by proconsuls. However, under the Julio-Claudian emperors imperial procurators assumed greater responsibilities owing to the importance of the highways to the eastern frontiers and Syria as well as the maritime connections with the Black Sea. Under Trajan and Hadrian the proconsuls were replaced by special imperial legates, and this agreement became permanent from the time of Marcus Aurelius. Pliny the Younger was sent as propraetor to Bithynia to restore the solvency of some cities there, particu-

larly Nicaea and Nicomedia, which so rivalled one another in building as to risk bankruptcy. His correspondence with Trajan well reflects the conditions of Bithynian city life in the early 2nd century AD, while the speeches of Dio Cocceianus show symptoms of a booming but uncontrolled civic prosperity, as reflected in embezzlement by magistrates, lavish building programmes, bitter feuds between cities, and popular discontent.

Bithynia was the home of some well-known scientists and writers such as Hipparchus of Nicaea and Arrian of Nicomedia. It was also the temporary residence of the Latin authors Catullus and Suetonius, as well as the younger Pliny. Helena, the mother of the emperor Constantine, came from Bithynia. The *octophorus*, or eight-man litter, was particularly associated with the Bithynian kings. Bithynia became a separate province in the early 4th century AD, and continued to exist into the 8th century when Slav captives were settled there.

Under the Byzantine empire the territory of Bithynia was restricted to an area west of the Sangarius, and constituted a province in the diocese of Pontus. Although the growth of Constantinople eclipsed its cities, Bithynia prospered as a result of its position on the military and commercial routes between Constantinople and Anatolia. In the 7th century it became part of the Opsikion theme and was subsequently divided between that theme and the Optimatoi. Ecclesiastically, after 451 Bithynia was divided into the three provinces of Nicomedia, Nicaea, and Chalcedon. It was overrun by the Turks under Osman in 1298, and thereafter formed an integral part of the Ottoman empire.

D.P.M. WEERAKKODY

Summary

A region of northwestern Asia Minor, Bithynia was named after the tribe of the Bithyni which had emigrated from Thrace. It was taken by the Persians in 556 BC and by Alexander the Great in 334 BC, but it was never fully subdued. A successful dynasty of Bithynian kings ruled from 278 to 74 BC. In 65–63 BC Pompey organized Bithynia and Pontus into a single province. It was later part of the Byzantine Opsikion theme and was overrun by the Ottomans in 1298.

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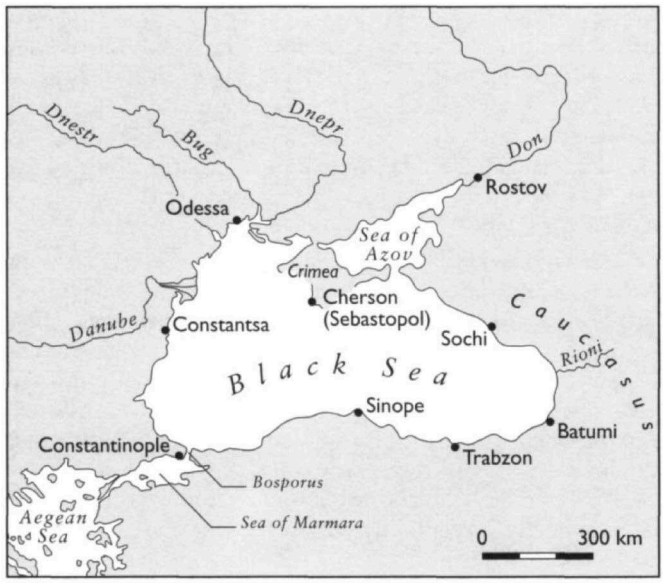
Black Sea

The Greek *Pontos Euxeinos* or *Axeinos*, Arabic *Bahr al-Nitash*, medieval Latin *Mare Majus*, Slavonic *Chernoye More*, and Turkish *Kara Deniz*, is called the Black Sea in most languages, probably in apposition to oriental concepts of geography by colour – e.g. the Yellow Sea and the Mongol Golden Horde were somewhere east or north, and for medieval Greeks (and modern Turks) the White Sea was the Aegean, while the Red Sea was also thought to embrace the Indian Ocean. Classical Greek explanations that the "hospitable" Euxine replaced the "inhospitable" Axine may mask an Iranian origin in variants of "black" *afshin*. Certainly non-classicizing Greeks call it so as the *Mavri Thalassa*.

The Black Sea is a vast basin, in shape a figure of 8 on its side, 1180 km in width from Thrace to Colchis (where the Argonauts sought the Golden Fleece) but only 263 km at its waist from the Crimea to Anatolia. This basin is filled by great rivers: clockwise from the Thracian Bosporus are the Classical Panysos (Bulgarian Kamcija), the Istros (Danube, the single greatest river, with many mouths), the Tyras (Slavonic Dnestr), the Hypanis (Slavonic Bug), and the Borosthenes (Slavonic Dnepr). The Tanais (Slavonic Don) percolates across the Sea of Maiotis (Azov), through the Cimmerian Bosporus, into the Black Sea proper. The Phasis (Rioni) runs down from the Caucasus to the most humid corner of the Black Sea. Indeed Batumi, known to French sailors as "Le pissoir de la Mer Noire", sustains a staggering annual rainfall of almost 2500 mm, while the western lobe of the sea attracts from 350 mm in the Crimea to 500 mm in Istanbul. From Anatolia on the south coast the Iris (Kizil) and Halys (Yeşil), the Red and Green rivers of Turkey, debouch through broad deltas.

The Euxine basin is tilted south, from floating weeds at the mouths of the Dnestr and Dnepr and the 8-metre shallows of the Sea of Azov below the Don, to a depth of 2245 m just north of Sinope. At some stage, still disputed by geologists, this great accumulation of fresh river water burst out through the Thracian Bosporus above Byzantium into the progressively more salty waters of the Mediterranean and, eventually, of the Atlantic. Yet this Bosporus is a mere pinhole. The result is that the Black Sea is sulphurous and lifeless below about 150 m. Through a double current, it has been estimated that the Bosporus can recycle the surface waters within 140 years, but the stagnant depths take up to 2500 years to renew. Nevertheless the Black Sea harbours some 180 kinds of fish, including an anchovy (*engroulis encrasicolus*, Aristotle's *amias*, Turkish *hamsi*) and Maiotic sturgeon, the produce of which, including varieties of caviare, were preserved for Lenten austerity in medieval Constantinople. But preservation requires salt, of which the sea itself is short. As Strabo observed, the fish which most attracted Greeks into it was the Greek *palamida* (Latin *pelamys sarda*, Turkish *palamut*, or English bonito), which gyrates clockwise round the sea, against its sluggish prevailing current. The palamida starts off life in the Danube delta in spring, and skirts the northern coast of Anatolia from Trebizond to Sinope where fishermen, with long rods, cluster to catch it in late summer. In autumn the palamida plunges down the Bosporus, returning from the Aegean in winter. Among other products, grain from the Balkans and northern steppe was first in bulk and significance. It was important to ancient Greece and medieval Italy and essential to Constantinople after Egypt was lost to Islam. There was Vlach cheese and Crimean wine, Scythian and Caucasian slaves – including Mamluks for Egypt. The 10th-century Varangian route down the Dnepr rapids brought products of the north, such as furs, wax, honey, amber, and pilgrims, to Constantinople in *monoxyla* (dugout canoes), and in turn gave the Mediterranean a back door to the Baltic where, unlike the Anglo-Saxons, the Vikings knew what a sponge was. Anatolia and the Caucasus exported minerals (silver, copper, tin, iron, alum, naptha); Trebizond wine, oil, and hazelnuts (once



9. Black Sea

known from Novgorod to the Nile); and Paphlagonia timber and livestock (which was brought to Constantinople either on the hoof or as bacon).

Such products of its hinterland might have brought Greek colonists earlier into the Black Sea were it not so inhospitable to shipping. Any Argonaut from the Aegean (the tale is only exemplary) faced a climb against the surface current up the straits of the Dardanelles, through the prosperous Sea of Marmara (where Proconnesus provided the white marble of Constantinople), and then a dash through the sphincter of the Bosporus, whence the Clashing Rocks spewed him into the further alarms of the Black Sea. It is not surprising that, while ancient Troy was a haven for porterage to the south, 7th-century BC Byzantium was a late-comer to the north. The tideless sea has few natural harbours. Typically, local boats are double-ended and hug the shore, up on to which they are winched. Oared craft, like the *Argo*, are hazardous and do not carry much. Along with portolan maps and double-entry book-keeping, the Italians introduced larger cargo ships from the 13th century, but few exceeded 500 tons and a 900-ton ship launched from Sinope in 1461 was a wonder of its day. The northern, shallower parts are liable to ice during three winter months and to sudden storms, which can snap masts in two as late as March. The Anatolian coast is free of fog for only three summer months. This means that ancient and medieval shipping from the south tended to transhibernate, which encouraged colonization on the alien shores. Nevertheless Euxine transport by sea was still more economical than by land (where the price of grain might double every 50 km), and allowed Constantinople the luxury of a double cuisine – based on both olive oil and animal grease. Depending on the weather, the sea was about two weeks' sail from end to end (by which route Georgians reached Mount Athos and Armenians Bulgaria) and, if lucky, just two days at its waist from the Crimea to Sinope: but many travellers hung around for months – a rhythm broken only when steam replaced sail.

Apart from grain, and perhaps wine and salt fish, most Euxine commerce was internal. Except for exploiting it, ports tended to turn their backs on their hinterland. External interest was in three stages. In the first the significance of the Greek colonies established from the 7th to the 5th century BC was largely cultural – the encounter of peoples of the interior with Classical Hellenism – and then strategic – the concern of Rome and Byzantium with how to deal with successive waves of steppe peoples from the 3rd to the 13th century AD, by acculturization, evangelization, or simply summer warfare. The pattern of ancient Greek colonization, from Megara but mostly Milesian, was strikingly replicated in a second stage from 1261 to 1475, by Italian stations from Venice (but mostly Genoese, and sometimes both). These were more miniature Hong Kongs than colonies, but opened a European window on the east to merchants such as Marco Polo and Franciscan missionaries throughout the Mongol empire. But such is the continuity of settlement in the first two stages that they may be taken together.

The *periplus* or circuit of major Greek settlement in the first two stages may be taken clockwise from and to the Bosporus, with the run of the palamida. On the west coast lay Mesembria (medieval Mesembre, modern Nesebur); Tomis (modern Constanţa, where Ovid was exiled); and Histria, whose shrunken walls were built against against 3rd-century Gothic and 7th-century Avar attack; its function was replaced by the medieval settlement of Vicina, up the Danube. The major Greek colony of the Crimea was Cherson, replaced as an entrepôt by Theodosia (medieval Caffa, modern Feodosiya), and finally, as a naval arsenal, by Sebastopol. Around Rostov at the mouth of the Don lay the shifting and most remote of ancient Greek and medieval Venetian colonies: Tanais (medieval Tana). The Cimmerian Bosporus was flanked on the west by settlements around Pantikapaion (medieval Vospro, modern Kerch) and, on the eastern Taman spit of the often autonomous Bosporus, by Tmutorokan (medieval Matrega). On the east coast lay Georgippa (modern Anapa), another integrated site of local and Greek peoples from the 5th century BC, and Pityous (medieval Pezonda, modern Pitsunda), whence St John Chrysostom was on his way to exile when he died in AD 407. The "deep harbour" of Bathys Limen (medieval Lovati, modern Batumi) may have been the best in the Black Sea, but led nowhere. Trapezous (medieval Trebizond, modern Trabzon) was not really a harbour, but led everywhere in Central Asia. Other Anatolian Greek settlements, concluding the circuit west, followed the same pattern: Kerasous (modern Giresun); Amisos (medieval Simisso, modern Samsun), which during the 19th century sprang from being a small Turkish village to the largest Greek city of the sea, controlling the Ottoman tobacco trade); Sinope; Amastris (modern Amasra); and Pontic Herakleia (medieval Puntarachia, modern Ereğli).

From 1475 to 1793 the Black Sea became an Ottoman lake, crossed by monks of Trebizond to the Danubian principalities, khans of Crim-Tatary, or pilgrim patriarchs of Antioch, all Ottoman subjects or tributaries. The third Greek phase of its history began with the Russian conquest of the north from 1793. Within reach of Constantinople and the warm sea of the Mediterranean, the Russians named Odessa with antiquarian zeal after the ancient Greek colony of Odessos, near Varna, changing its sex on the way, and the Orthodox Church found that St Andrew, the first-called Apostle, had put in there in 9th-century tradition on his anticlockwise *periplus* of the Black Sea

which began with Byzantium. Nevertheless Odessa attracted Greek settlers, and a revolutionary brotherhood, the *Philike Hetaireia*, was founded there in 1814, now memorialized in an excellent museum. After the Greek War of Independence and further Russian intervention, the Treaty of Adrianople of 1829 allowed southern access to the Black Sea again, when Greeks eagerly reinvigorated the old pattern, now largely commercial. In 1853 a Russian squadron sank a Turkish flotilla in the harbour of Sinope, precipitating the Crimean War. But the greater revolution thereafter was of steam over sail, in which Greek entrepreneurs participated. Septinsular Greeks (from Ithaca especially) cornered the Danube shipping trade. Sinope itself, the historic hub of the Black Sea, enjoyed a final period of prosperity as a coaling station. The 20th century brought a sequence of changes which has come near to concluding the third stage of Greek involvement in the Black Sea. In Sinope today a giant radar establishment faces an equivalent station in the Crimea, both now dormant. Ottoman Greek palamida fishers were replaced by Turks from Greece after 1923, but with the end of steam, they can only look at international shipping that has no call on Sinope, even for its fish, which struggle for survival in the now poisonous waters brought down by the rivers into the Black Sea.

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Blemmydes, Nikephoros 1197–1272

Scholar and teacher

Nikephoros Blemmydes was born in Constantinople, the son of a physician. After the Latin occupation of the capital in 1204 he moved with his parents to Nicaea, where he studied medicine, mathematics, philosophy, and theology. His subsequent career in the Church was initiated by the patriarch Germanos II, who ordained him *anagnostes* (reader), deacon, and *logothetes* (patriarchal official). In 1235 he took monastic vows and was appointed *hegoumenos* of the monastery of Gregory Thaumatourgos in Ephesus. During the years 1239–40 he travelled to Mount Athos, Thessalonica, Larissa, and Ohrid in search of books, which were not available in Nicaea or Ephesus. In 1241 he founded his own monastery near Ephesus, but he did not manage to ensure its independence, so it finally became a *metochion* (dependency) of the Galesios monastery. In 1254 he was offered the patriarchal throne, but refused it and chose to remain a monk. He died in his monastery in 1272.

Blemmydes was one of the most learned and influential scholars of his time. He was also renowned as a devoted teacher, and among his students were George Akropolites and the emperor of Nicaea Theodore II Laskaris (1254–58). He left two versions of a remarkable autobiography, the *Curriculum Vitae et Carmina* (1264) and the *Autographia sive Curriculum Vitae* (1265). It has elements of a hagiographical work as well as some vivid passages with valuable information about his education and intellectual development. The arrogance and the exaggerations that this work contains in places give us a good idea of Blemmydes' difficult character.

Around 1260 he wrote an introductory *Compendium* in two books, the first summarizing logic and the second physics. The introduction to logic, which was written at the suggestion of the emperor, opens with the statement that logic is very helpful in understanding scripture. It gives in 40 chapters the contents of Porphyry's *Isagoge* and Aristotle's *Categoriae*, *De Interpretatione*, *Analytica Priora*, and *Sophistici Elenchi*, using the logical works of the ancient commentators as well as of earlier Byzantine scholars such as Michael Psellos. The introduction to physics contains 32 chapters, which briefly summarize Aristotle's *Physica*, *De Generatione et Corruptione*, *De Caelo*, and *Meteorologica*, following Olympiodorus, Simplicius, and Philoponus. In this work Blemmydes discusses with particular interest the notions of time and place and Aristotle's doctrine of the fifth element, i.e. aether, which in fact is the only point where he disagrees with Aristotle. Both introductions are quite brief and clear, especially suitable for teaching purposes. Although they are undoubtedly compilations from Aristotle and the previous commentators, they also show that Blemmydes was no mere copyist. He did include his own ideas on different occasions, and he rephrased the passages he borrowed from his sources in a way that proves he understood them. Even if they are not particularly original, these introductions were extremely influential both in the East and in the West, up to the 17th and 18th centuries – a fact that is clearly attested by the great number of manuscripts that contain them and which can be found in major libraries all over Europe.

In addition to his compendium, Blemmydes wrote two treatises on geography. The more concise of them is very similar to chapters 28 and 29 of his introduction to physics; the other is a guide to geography which turns out to be nothing more than a prose paraphrase of the poem by Dionysius Periegetes.

In his theological writings Blemmydes tried to harmonize Plato and Aristotle with Christian doctrine. He wrote treatises on the procession of the Holy Spirit, on faith (595–606), on virtue and its exercise as well as ascetic works and fragments of a Typikon. His other works include letters, medical treatises, verses, and the *Imperial Statue*, which belongs to the genre of the Mirror of Princes (which offers advice to a ruler) and in which Blemmydes gives ethical and practical advice to his student Theodore II Laskaris. It was paraphrased in the 14th century by George Galesiotes and George Oinaiotes in order to be more accessible to the layman.

KATERINA IERODIAKONOU

Biography

Born in Constantinople in 1197 the son of a doctor, Blemmydes moved with his family to Nicaea after 1204 where he studied medicine, mathematics, philosophy, and theology. Tonsured in 1235, he became abbot of a monastery at Ephesus. In 1254 he declined the

offer to become patriarch of Constantinople. He was a learned and influential scholar and teacher. He died in 1272.

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Boeotia

Region of central Greece

The land of Boeotia is hemmed in by mountains on all sides. Along the Corinthian gulf the high mass of Mount Helicon and the lower pine-clad heights of Mount Cithaeron form the southern links in the great chain of mountains starting with Pindus in the north and continuing with Parnassus in Phocis. Parnassus in turn sends a spur eastwards to meet a spur of Cnemis, the two leaving only a gap of some 400 m for the course of the Cephissus river. This line forms the boundary between Boeotia and Phocis. From Oeta in Thessaly another chain advances until it meets Parnes, which stretches westwards towards Cithaeron, thereby separating Boeotia from Attica.

Within these mountains Boeotia lay split into two great basins, that of Orchomenus in the west and that of Thebes in the east, each of them quite distinct and separated from the other by the ridge of Onchestus. Copais, the largest lake in Greece for most of history, further served to divide Boeotia. Reaching from Mount Ptoos in the east to Helicon in the west, the lake left only a narrow ribbon of land to carry the road between Orchomenus and Thebes. Apart from the mountains Lake Copais, drained in the late 19th century, was the most conspicuous feature of the landscape, covering an area of some 360 sq. km.

The western basin of Boeotia is a patchwork of small plains and valleys separated from one another by bare, rugged hills, and watered by numerous springs and rivulets. The region was thickly settled, with Chaeronea, Lebadea, Coronea, and Haliartus each commanding the resources of level ground, and Orchomenus dominating the entire area. The eastern basin was marked by more and larger plains that supported numerous cities. The combination of good land and an ample, steady supply of water ensured prosperous farming. The openness of the terrain also permitted easy communication among cities. This region possessed the only good road to the sea. Its many cities included Thisbe, Thespiae, Plataea, Acraephia, Tanagra, and Aulis. Within the basin the centrally located city of Thebes was predominant. From the outset of the Persian Wars until the *pax Romana* Boeotia was the "dancing floor of Ares", the scene of countless battles, an epithet equally applicable to later ages.

Within the western basin the plain of Chaeronea, onto which ran the high road from northern Greece, formed the threshold to Boeotia. Commanding a fertile plain some 20 km in length and 3 km in breadth, the walled city of Chaeronea stood at the foot of the hills on the southern side of the plain. Its scanty remains include the theatre and the lion monument that marks the site of the battle there in 338 BC between Philip of Macedon and the Greeks. Sulla defeated the army of the Hellenistic king Mithridates there in 86 BC. From Chaeronea a main road led northeastwards to Orchomenus, the principal city of the western basin. The city stood at the southern foot of Mount Acontium immediately above Lake Copais. Connecting the city with its fortified citadel runs a long line of magnificent walls. Its most notable architectural remains include the tholos, or beehive tomb, and the remains of a palace, both of which testify to the greatness of Orchomenus during the Mycenaean period (*c.*1600–1250 BC). From the Classical period comes the newly found theatre, and from the Byzantine period dates the church of Koimesis tis Theotokou (the Falling Asleep of the Mother of God), built in the Bulgar architectural tradition. Orchomenus was also the site of the battle of Lake Copais in 1311, when soldiers of the Catalan Grand Company smashed the defenders of Frankish Greece.

South of Orchomenus lay Lebadea, overlooking a fertile plain that stretched from Mount Helicon to the Copaic basin. The city itself was always strategically significant owing to its location on the main road between the western and eastern basins. Its prominence in antiquity was due to the famous oracle of Trophonius, which functioned from the 6th century BC until the 3rd century AD. Lebadea flourished during the Middle Ages. The extant Frankish fortifications testify to its prosperity and military importance. During the 14th century it was fought over by the Catalans, Franks, and Navarrese, only to fall to the Turks in 1394. It was the second city in Greece from the time of the Turks until the War of Independence. Its magnificent 18th-century watchtower is still conspicuous evidence of its prominence. The route westwards from Lebadea to Thebes passed the valley of Coronea, at the entrance of which sat the city on a twin-peaked summit. Remains of the city are few, but in its neighbourhood stood the

renowned sanctuaries of Itonian Athena and Athena Alalcomenae. Coronea was additionally important because of its communications up the Phalarus valley to a highland route over Mount Helicon. Its topographical position meant that Coronea was the scene of several major battles. At the eastward end of the road stood Haliartus, one of the strongest points between Lake Copais and Mount Helicon. Situated on a low hill and surrounded by stout circuit-walls, Haliartus commanded a narrow pass that could not be outflanked, wherefore it too often became a battlefield. Haliartus possessed a small, but fertile, plain, and its low, fortified acropolis contained a temple and several other public buildings. Onchestus, to the east of Haliartus, occupied a low ridge between Copais and the Theban plain. Its significance was religious, political, and symbolic in nature. In the 6th century BC it was the seat of an amphictyonic league composed of several major Boeotian cities. There the Boeotians celebrated their unity by a common festival dedicated to Poseidon. Onchestus reached its acme in history as the political capital of the re-established Boeotian Confederacy of the Hellenistic period.

East of Onchestus lay Thebes, the principal city of the eastern basin and the capital of Boeotia. It controlled the large, fruitful Aonian plain in the north, and lay near both the Asopus valley to the south and the Teneric plain to the west. Its rich and open land, combined with ample and constant supplies of water, nurtured a thriving agricultural economy. The acropolis of Thebes was the low plateau of Cadmea, which has been the primary seat of inhabitation from prehistory to today. Remains of the city, however, are few. Nonetheless, Thebes played a distinguished role in Greek affairs throughout history, and at one point in the 4th century BC it was the greatest power in Greece.

Emanating north of Thebes was a road leading to Acraephia of which little remains, and a much more important route passed to the northeast of Acraephia to Aulis and Chalcis. Aulis was the best harbour in Boeotia. It was the point where Agamemnon sacrificed Iphigeneia before sailing to Troy, and from it Hesiod sailed to Euboea. It was the chief harbour of Epaminondas' naval programme of 364 BC, and served as a port for two large Hellenistic fleets. Its most famous monument was the temple of Artemis and its adjacent buildings. Almost due east of Thebes is Tanagra, situated in the eastern part of the plain of the Asopus river. It is Homer's "Graia by the sea". Little is left of the city except for fragments of the circuit-wall and the foundations of a few buildings.

Plataea was located south of Thebes at the foot of the major passes over Mount Cithaeron from Megara and Attica. As the portal of southern Boeotia, Plataea was the perfect base from which to guard the passes. Though not large, its plain was capable of sustaining a city of ample size. Plataea was most famous for the decisive victory won there by the Greeks over the Persians in 479 BC. After the battle the Greeks erected the altar of Zeus Eleutherios (Zeus the Free). Thereafter, it became insignificant apart from its Panhellenic festivals, which were still celebrated as late as the 3rd century AD. Southwest of Thebes in the eastern basin, Thespiae overlooked a small region of rich river valleys beneath low hills. It had access to the Corinthian Gulf by way of Creusis and farther west by Thisbe, both separated from Thespiae by mountains. Thespiae boasts only a few ruins, for in the 19th century French archaeologists destroyed much of its walls in search of inscriptions. It survived into the time of the Roman empire as a religious centre, owing to its Panhellenic festivals of Eros and the Muses.

Boeotia was prominent throughout history, but its grandest moments came during the Classical period. It survived the Persian Wars to emerge as a united people and government. In 447 BC it created a confederacy that introduced the first effective federal body in Greek history. Having helped to defeat Athens in the Peloponnesian War, Boeotia rose to ascendancy in Greece during the Theban hegemony. In the Hellenistic period Boeotia suffered decline, but rose again during the Roman empire. The Middle Ages saw the spread of Christianity through the region and economic prosperity that even innumerable wars never entirely destroyed. Only with the coming of the Turks did Boeotia again decline. In the 19th and 20th centuries Boeotia yet again enjoyed a prosperity that endures today.

JOHN BUCKLER

Summary

A region of central Greece, Boeotia is surrounded by mountains. In the 5th century its cities formed a confederacy which helped to defeat Athens in the Peloponnesian War. After the war Boeotia briefly dominated Greece during the so-called Theban hegemony. It declined during the Hellenistic period but rose again under the Romans. During the Byzantine period it was prosperous but declined again under the Ottomans. Its prosperity returned in the 19th century.

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Books and Readers

The two main pre-alphabetic scripts in use in the Bronze Age, Linear A (used *c.*1800–1450 BC in Minoan Crete) and Linear B (attested in Mycenaean inscriptions from the 13th century BC), seem to have been exclusively employed for administrative recording. Writing and reading were confined to professional scribes.

In the early 8th century BC the alphabetic script was adopted in the Greek world from the east (the first examples date from *c.*740 BC). The absence of writing for many centuries had encouraged the oral mode of literary production, which the Homeric epics seem to reflect. Although writing and communication with written messages were known, Archaic Greece was predominantly a society of oral traditions (law, religion, history). Poetry (epic or lyric), whether orally composed or written down, was meant to be heard and was orally performed. Yet we hear of editions of the poems of Sappho and

Alcaeus arranged in a certain order, and we assume that there were books of them owned by the performers and by the poets themselves, who appear to have known each other's work. From the 7th century BC papyrus was used for writing purposes, becoming the main writing material around 500 BC. The Greek word for "book" (*biblion*) means papyrus strip, thus suggesting the primacy of the papyrus roll as a book form. Other writing materials included leather, and Herodotus (5. 8) mentions that the Ionians used leather rolls. Books were scarce, afforded only by magistrates such as the tyrants Polycrates of Samos and Pisistratus of Athens, who are said to have owned collections of books (Athenaeus, 1. 3a).

The papyrus plant grew mainly in Lower Egypt, especially the Nile valley, and from a very early date it served writing purposes in Pharaonic Egypt. Its manufacture involved cutting the stem into short segments, slicing the white pith into thin strips, and placing them vertically parallel to each other; over this layer a second layer of strips was placed horizontally; the two layers were compressed so as to become one, and the sheet was then smoothed with a stone. Afterwards dried sheets were glued together to form a roll, usually 6–8 m long; rollers often protected the outer sheets. The scribes normally used for a writing surface the inside of the roll, where the fibres are horizontal, allowing the pen to run smoothly along them. The text was arranged in columns (*selides*) of varying height and length. The writing was in majuscule script without word division, punctuation, accents, or breathings. Titles, mostly later inventions, and authors' names usually came at the end of the roll. The lack of a law of copyright made forgeries common. Divisions into books largely reflect divisions into rolls and are artificial for all Greek writers before the 4th century BC. The reader held the roll with both hands, rolling up and unrolling so that the required portion of text was in front of him. Reading in antiquity amounted to reading aloud. It was difficult to make references or to quote with precision. Hence ancient readers usually quote from memory.

In the Classical period the use of books (i.e. rolls) became widespread, as the testimony of a number of Attic vases clearly shows. Intellectuals wrote down their treatises and published them by reading them aloud or having them read out (*ekdosis*) by a literate slave (*anagnostes*). Socrates in the *Phaedo* (97b–98b) says that he heard read a book of Anaxagoras and subsequently procured it to read it by himself. Protagoras also published his *On the Gods* by having it read aloud. There is evidence for an organized book market, and we learn that Anaxagoras' works were available for a drachma (*Apology*, 26d). The plays of Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides were also available in book form. Dionysus in the *Frogs* (52f.) reads Euripides' *Andromeda*, and Aristophanes' audience is able to consult books (*Frogs*, 1114). The dissemination of book culture in the 4th century BC made a teacher of writing and reading indispensable for the education of children (*Protagoras*, 325d–e). Although literacy levels varied, the habit of reading now became widespread, especially in higher social classes. Socrates praises a young man who spends money on books, and Aristotle was nicknamed "reader", since he used to study his books in solitude. The earliest surviving papyri with Greek texts (Timotheos, *Persai*, and the Derveni Papyrus) date from the end of the 4th century BC.

Until the end of the Classical period there were only private collections of books, often owned by an erudite individual such as Speusippus, Aristotle, and Arcesilaus or by a private institution such as the Academy and the Lyceum. In the 3rd century BC public libraries were built by the Attalids and the Ptolemies, in Pergamum and in Alexandria respectively. In the Museum in Alexandria the foundations were now laid for the editing of Classical texts. Such scholars as Zenodotus, Aristophanes of Byzantium, and Aristarchus showed critical acumen in their editions of Homer, Hesiod, and the lyric and dramatic poets. They invented critical signs to indicate spurious verses and repetitions; they marked the metrical cola; and they devised aids to the reader (e.g. punctuation, change of speaker). Their work led to a general rise in the standards of book production. Division and arrangement of the contents into books were now employed by the authors themselves. Greek books circulated widely in the Roman world, featuring in private libraries of intellectuals such as Cicero and Atticus. The Bible was now translated into Greek for the Greek-speaking Jews.

Book culture flourished in late antiquity and most surviving papyri come from this period. The availability of books encouraged the making of anthologies, miscellanies, and encyclopedic works. Scholars such as Galen, Aulus Gellius, and later Origen and Eusebius, hired secretaries to help them in compiling their books. Parchment now became available as a more durable alternative to papyrus. But the appearance of the codex, the ancestor of the modern book, as an alternative book form was the most important event in book culture. A codex consists of a number of wide sheets folded vertically in half and then stitched together so that a single sheet forms two leaves. The earliest codices date from the late 2nd century AD. For some time rolls and codices coexisted (3rd–4th centuries AD), but soon the codex prevailed and became the usual book form. Initially there were codices of both papyrus and parchment, but parchment soon became dominant. The establishment of the codex form was presumably due to its adoption by Christians. Early codices contained almost exclusively Christian texts. Systematic translation from rolls to codices took place in the 4th–5th centuries AD. The earliest extant codices are the famous Codex Sinaiticus and Codex Vaticanus of the Bible (4th century). Christians developed their own literature, and Christian centres of learning were established (Caesarea, Alexandria). Important collected editions appeared, such as Andronicus' edition of Aristotle, Thrasyllus' arrangement of Plato's dialogues, Porphyry's edition of Plotinus' treatises, and textbooks with selections of Classical authors for school use.

The codex was the usual book form in the Byzantine period, but the roll survived in the transmission of liturgical texts and in the imperial chancery. The dominant Christian culture affected book production. Prayer books, bibles, and psalters enjoyed the widest readership. The lower classes tended to read hagiographic literature, collections of patristic sayings, and popular stories (e.g. *Physiologus*), while the middle classes may have also read chronicles, history (e.g. the *Patria Constantinopolis*), and novels. Books of practical use, for example medicine, astrology, and of course school books, circulated widely. The Byzantine intellectual elite was largely preoccupied with Classical texts, thus ensuring their preservation for posterity. Ancient treatises were the models for the

Byzantines – from science to literature. Books were expensive, and, at least until the introduction of paper, only the affluent could afford them. Shortages of writing materials account for the use of palimpsests, i.e. manuscripts where the original was erased and a new text written over it.

The Byzantine renaissance of the 9th–10th centuries brought a revival in book culture. The first significant change in book production was the adoption of minuscule script in the 9th century and the transcription of majuscule manuscripts into minuscule. Most of our earliest manuscripts come from this period. Majuscule manuscripts of the years 600–800 have not survived. Photios in his *Bibliotheca* gives us an idea of the books that were available at that time. Some texts were already extremely hard to find – e.g. the historians Theopompus and Ctesias, available to Photios, were no longer available to Arethas a few decades later. Arethas's recensions included division of the text into chapters and paragraphs, as well as the addition of marginal comments, lists of contents, and bibliographical notes. Many monasteries housed important scriptoria, where monks with growing professionalism prepared copies of (mostly) ecclesiastical and (some) secular authors. Luxury manuscripts might include illumination and cover decoration. This flourishing book culture ceased abruptly with the sack of Constantinople by the Fourth Crusade in 1204. The stream of humanists in the 13th and 14th centuries very successfully carried out the task of preserving such Classical literature as then survived, so that few texts that the Byzantines had in 1261 have failed to reach us. The introduction of paper, a material originally invented in China and adopted by the Arabs in the 9th century, marks an important change in book production. By the 14th century parchment had been largely replaced by paper, much of it now produced in western Europe.

The fall of Constantinople in 1453 increased the flow of Greek intellectuals to Italy, where the Renaissance was blossoming. The demand for Classical texts was great, and Greek and western scholars organized missions to procure manuscripts of Classical authors from Constantinople. Many of them owned impressive collections of Greek manuscripts. The most important event regarding book production was the invention of printing in 1452. The grammar of Constantine Laskaris was the first Greek printed book, in 1476. In the 1490s Aldus Manutius set up a publishing house in Venice dedicated to the production of Greek Classical texts. In mainland Greece under Turkish rule almost 4500 separate publications are recorded between the 1500s and the 1820s, many of them reissues of existing works. Books with religious content predominate, principally printed by Greek printers in Venice. But in the 18th century the number of books with secular content rose considerably, and by the beginning of the 19th century they outnumbered books with religious content. This shift highlights the effect of the Greek Enlightenment. The Greeks became increasingly aware of the important scientific and cultural events taking place in Europe, such as new scientific discoveries, the French Enlightenment, and modern European philosophy, and the emergent Greek intelligentsia tried to transplant the new ideas into Greece. Intellectuals such as Moisiodax, Kodrikas, Doukas, and Korais draw heavily on western philosophical and scientific treatises. Books by prominent European intellectuals (Voltaire, Locke, Newton, Beccaria) now appeared in translation. Literature played a minimal role in this revival. Greek books were now being printed within the confines of the Ottoman empire, in Iasi, Bucharest, and in Constantinople, where a patriarchal press was set up in 1798. The first Greek newspaper (*Ephimeris*) appeared in 1797 and periodicals such as *Logios Ermis* (1811–21) were published. Levels of literacy were low among the Greek lower classes; those who could read preferred religious texts or popular literature such as the life of Alexander the Great, Aesop's *Fables*, *Bertoldos*, the *Story of Sosanna*, 17th-century Cretan literature, and translations of western romances. Some of this literature, notably the Cretan, was meant to be recited aloud rather than read silently.

The establishment of the modern Greek state in the 1830s brought a revival in the printing of books, newspapers, and journals. The language question divided book culture for a long time. The official language of the Greek state was the purified, archaizing katharevousa, which displaced the spoken demotic. Greek literature, strongly influenced by French culture, was mostly cultivated by an intellectual elite (the Phanariots). But around 1880 an intellectual change took place: talented prose writers appeared (Papadiamantis, Karkavitsas), and demotic started to gain ground. In the 20th century there was a considerable increase in the production of literature, but also an expansion of readership. In the last decades there has been an upsurge of book production. There are now more than 580 individual publishers as well as 40 to 50 institutions with publishing activity. Most are located in Athens (90.5 per cent) and in Thessalonica (8.1 per cent). In 1997 more than 5000 new titles came out (plus 3000 reprints). Literature (Greek, translated, and children's) enjoys the widest readership, with books of history, essays, technology, and classics coming next.

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See also Libraries, Literacy, Media, Papyrus, Printing, Scholarship

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Bosnia

Part of Roman Dalmatia

The earliest mention of Bosnia occurs in *De Administrando Imperio* by the Byzantine emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos (913–59). At first limited to the valley of the river Bosna, the name was later applied to a wider area. Once part of the Roman province of Dalmatia, Bosnia was originally inhabited by Illyrian tribes. Archaeological evidence shows an influence of the Greek colonies in the eastern Adriatic, including Narona, at the mouth of the Neretva. The long period of Roman rule left a stronger imprint. With the exploitation of mines and a new system of communications, the economy developed and urban settlements were created.

A proconsular province since Justinian's time, Byzantine Dalmatia suffered Avaro-Slav attacks and was finally colonized by two Slavonic tribes, the Croats and the Serbs, during the reign of Herakleios (610–41). By the 10th century Croats had settled between Istria and the rivers Cetina and Pliva, while Serbs occupied territory east of that line, bordering the Bulgarian state and the Byzantine theme of Dyrrachium.

As Christianity spread from the coastal cities, a bishopric was established in Bistue Nova (modern Vitez). The most important remains of early Christian architecture are at Blagaj, Breza, Dabravine, and Zenica. In the late 9th century the Old Church Slavonic liturgy was introduced by the followers of Saints Cyril and Methodius. Although the area was under the jurisdiction of the Roman archbishopric of Salona and later of Dubrovnik and Kalosca, liturgy in Old Church Slavonic was retained; the Cyrillic script eventually replaced the Glagolitic.

Bosnia was part of the Serbian state of Prince Časlav until 950. In the following period its local rulers (*bans*) had to confront the attacks of the Croatian king Krešimir and the Bulgarian tsar Samuel. When Basil II reconquered the Balkans for Byzantium (after 1014), Bosnian *bans* became his vassals. In the 12th century Bosnia accepted the supremacy of Hungary, but rejoined the Byzantine empire under Manuel I, who mentioned it in his imperial title. After Manuel's death in 1180, Hungary's suzerainty was restored. In the late 12th century a dualist heresy (Bogomilism) reached Bosnia. *Ban* Kulin (1180–1204) had to withstand accusations from Rome and Hungary: this was the beginning of a long struggle against the "Bosnian Church" in which Rome, the Hungarian kings, and the Dominican and Franciscan orders took a leading part. Kulin was a relation of Stefan Nemanja, a well-known opponent of the heresy in Serbia. An inscription found near Visoko mentions Kulin's portrait above the entrance to one of his churches. His charter to Dubrovnik, dated 1189, giving privileges to its traders, is one of the oldest preserved official documents in Serbian-Slavonic and in Cyrillic.

The region of Hum, comprising the valley of Neretva and the hinterland of Dubrovnik, came into the possession of the Bosnian rulers in the 14th century. These were parts of the Serbian state, with a bishopric established there by St Sava (after 1219). Other Orthodox centres of western Serbia were joined to the Bosnian state during the reign of Tvrtko I (1353–91). As the Serbian state disintegrated after the death of Tsar Stephan IV Dushan (1331–55), Tvrtko assumed the role of an heir to the Nemanjić kings to whom he was related. Referring to them as "my ancestors", he was crowned "King of the Serbs, Bosnia, the Littoral and the Western parts" by the Serbian Metropolitan at Mileševa, the burial church of St Sava. The coronation took place on the feast of St Demetrius in 1377 and was approved by Tvrtko's suzerain, King Lajos I of Hungary. Having added to his own the name Stephan, the traditional name of the Serbian kings, Tvrtko founded a new city near Kotor, which he put under the patronage of St Stephen (later Herceg Novi). On the western border, parts of Croatian Catholic lands were also joined to Bosnia. As the mining industry developed, Bosnian cities became prosperous centres of trade.

From Tvrtko's reign onwards, Bosnian history reflects the diversity of political and cultural influences which met on its territory. Religion continued to be an important factor. Catholicism was strong in the cities where miners from Saxony and foreign merchants had their colonies. Orthodoxy prevailed in the eastern parts of the country, while the "Bosnian Church" had its supporters (*patarens*) among the feudal lords. Among the most powerful was Stephan Vukčić Kosača, ruler of Hum, who in 1448 assumed the title of "Herceg of St Sava". His lands became known as Herzegovina. Vukčić's diplomacy, involving dealings with Rome, Venice, Dubrovnik, the kingdom of Naples, Hungary, the despotate of Serbia, and the Turks, illustrates the precarious position of the central Balkans in his time. Originally a *pataren*, he later favoured the Orthodox Church. In 1454 Patriarch Gennadios Scholarios reassured the monks of the Sinai monastery of St Catherine about donations received from Vukčić and advised them to pray for him. The churches of St George at Goračde and of Saints Sergius and Bacchus at Podi were Vukčić's foundations and his Orthodoxy is confirmed by the mention of icons and holy relics in his will.

By 1463 the greater part of Bosnia fell to the Turks who advanced also into Croatia and Slavonia. Although not imposed, Islamization gradually took place. Migrations, either spontaneous or forced, resulting from constant wars and devastation throughout Serbia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, became a feature in the following periods. Settlers in the border regions (Krajine), encouraged by the Habsburg emperors to continue fighting the Turks, were granted important privileges.

The pre-Ottoman cultural heritage of Bosnia-Herzegovina includes both Catholic and Orthodox churches and monasteries (with some monumental painting still extant) and many fortresses. Book illumination was practised in monastic and princely scriptoria. Of particular interest are the sepulchral stone monuments (*stećci*) with carved decoration, especially at Radimlja, Olovo, and Vlasenica.

The Orthodox churches, monasteries, and schools were governed by the Serbian patriarchate of Peć until it was abolished by the Turks in 1766 and the jurisdiction transferred to the Ecumenical patriarchate (until 1920). Many churches were rebuilt and received new fresco decoration in the 16th and 17th centuries, including Papraća, Lomnica, Ozren, Žitomislić, and Zavala. Icon painting and work in precious metal were renowned. In this activity much support was provided by the contacts with the Serbian monastery of Hilandar on Mount Athos.

Under Ottoman rule Islamic arts flourished. Patrons were Ottoman dignitaries who were often Islamized members of the local families. The best monuments were planned by Mimar Sinan and his contemporaries: mosques in Sarajevo, Banja Luka, and Foča; bridges at Višegrad, Mostar, and Trebinje.

With the decline of the Ottoman empire, revolts against the Turks became more frequent, culminating in the Serbian uprising of 1875 in Herzegovina. As Austria's political drive towards the east coincided with the emergence of a united South-Slav state concept, dreaded by the Habsburgs, the geopolitical role of Bosnia-Herzegovina became crucial. Occupied by Austria after the Congress of Berlin in 1878, it was annexed to the Austro-Hungarian empire in 1908. Austria promoted industry and trade and allocated lavish funds for the urbanization of Sarajevo. However, the agrarian problems were left unattended, as Ottoman feudalism remained unchanged. The new regime was based on Austrian bureaucracy and legislature, and the use of German language.

According to the 1910 Austrian census, the population of Bosnia-Herzegovina was 1,898,044, with Serbs (Orthodox) accounting for 43.49 per cent, the Muslims 32.25 per cent, and the Croats (Catholics) 22.87 per cent. Habsburg policies exacerbated friction between these groups. Initiated in that period and later fostered by Nazi ideology, a genocidal programme against the Orthodox Serbs and their culture was implemented by the Ustaše in the "Independent State of Croatia" (which included Bosnia-Herzegovina) during World War II. The Western Powers' disregard for the delicate nature of Bosnia-Herzegovina's history had tragic repercussions in most recent times.

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Botany

Ancient Greek literary writers often mentioned plant names, but without revealing whether these meant much to their audience. Theocritus and Sappho decorated their verses with pretty names of plants, and a famous fragment of a play by Eupolis has a chorus of goats declaiming a (very inaccurate) list of the plants that they were supposed to eat. There is nothing to show whether ancient Greek countryfolk had a profound knowledge of edible and medicinal wild plants.

Theophrastus (*c.*371–*c.*287 BC), colleague and successor of Aristotle, and the author of the *History of Plants* and *Explanations of Plants*, is regarded as the father of botany. He was a busy teacher at the Lyceum with many other interests, who probably had little time for botanical research. He seems to have known (at first or second hand) some 300 out of the 6000 species of wild plants that can today be found in modern Greece.

To judge by the *History of Plants*, Greek botanists were interested in five aspects of botany: (1) the structure and physiology of plants – for example, whether roots and shoots grow simultaneously; (2) the cultivation and propagation of field, orchard, and garden crops; (3) the occurrence and uses of wild trees; (4) drugs and medicinal herbs; (5) the occurrence of plants in particular localities.

On drug plants Theophrastus overlaps with the contemporary or earlier corpus of works associated with Hippocrates, later to be developed by Dioscorides and Galen, the great physicians of the early Roman empire. Herbs, gathered by professional herbalists, were evidently articles of commerce; Crete, with its many endemic species, was a special source.

Theophrastus does not stand alone: he mentions earlier botanists whose works do not survive. Many of his known successors were Roman rather than Greek. The technology of cultivation was taken up with greater success by Columella, Pliny the Elder, and Palladius Rutilius.

Ancient Greek botany laboured under many difficulties, beginning with that of identification and taxonomy. Botanists need to know which species of plant they are talking about. Writing a workable description of a plant, one from which someone else can recognize that plant, was a skill not far advanced in ancient times. Theophrastus mentioned brief points of difference between two or three similar species, but

rarely, if ever, gave enough information to identify an unknown plant. Dioscorides attempted the systematic description of plants; in an early Byzantine manuscript his descriptions are accompanied by illustrations copied from a lost work by Crateuas; fewer than half of these actually describe or depict a recognizable plant. Botanical illustration was a skill known to the ancient Greeks, but illustrations were not accurately reproduced until the invention of woodblock printing in the Middle Ages. Without the means of identifying plants and explaining that identification to others, the science of botany could not get far. The ancient physician often did not know what exactly he was prescribing for his patient.

Even worse was the ancient Greek vice of theorizing from small amounts of data. Although this led to some success in astronomy, it could not cope with the complexities and irregularities of plant life. *The Explanation of Plants* poses such vaguely physiological questions as "Why are not all plants more fragrant in hot countries?" Its "answers" lead into a morass of abstraction and generality, Aristotelian logic at its worst, having virtually no contact with actual plants. There is no sign of the patient collection, verification, and comparison of data from which real insights might have been gained; nor of the procedure of producing a theory from existing material and then seeking fresh data with which to test it.

Theophrastus collected information about tropical plants from remote parts of the world. But he valued information not for its own sake but in order to illustrate whatever theory he was writing about. Not much of a traveller, he relied on what others told him, and displayed little interest in verifying his data. He put into circulation some misinformation that is still current: for example, the notion that ivy destroys the tree on which it grows, which he could have disproved without leaving Athens.

However, he has some genuine insights into the behaviour of plants, noticing, for example, that firs like shade and pines like sun. At one point he attempted an ecological account of an actual place, the seasonal lake of Copais, with its unique reeds, and special craft of musical-instrument-making.

Evidence suggests that the ancient Hebrews and Romans were better botanists than the Greeks: much of Theophrastus' material comes from Italy, where he had never been. This conclusion, however, depends on surviving writings, which are presumably only a small fraction of the literature that once there was. (In other fields, such as engineering and shipbuilding, the Greeks' achievements were far greater than we would suspect from the written evidence.)

By way of the Romans, the Byzantine *Geoponika* of the 10th century AD, and the Arabs, Theophrastus' legacy regarding cultivated plants was carried forward to initiate modern agricultural writing, in the form of the works of Alonso de Herrera in the 16th century. Ancient herbalism continued into Byzantine times, as shown by the attention paid to Dioscurides and his illustrations. This is the source of the post-medieval western tradition of herbals, which developed into modern botany. It was also an impetus to the development of modern plant taxonomy, as early modern botanists visited Greece and other countries to try to identify and recover Dioscurides' drug plants. The herbalistic tradition continues in Greece to this day: *Votanotheriapeutiki*, a herbal by I.K. Prinea and A.M. Sphakianaki published in Athens in 1980, is explicitly in the Dioscuridean tradition.

In some parts of modern Greece there is a precise and far-reaching vernacular knowledge of medicinal and edible wild plants. Many Cretan countryfolk are fully familiar with their island's wealth of endemic plants, and are able to give the name of each one, together with their virutes.

OLIVER RACKHAM

See also Plants

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Botsaris, Markos 1790–1823

Souliot hero in the War of Independence

Markos Botsaris, an important Souliot leader in the Greek War of Independence, became an icon for the courage of the Souliot warrior. Like many other great Greek warriors before him, he possessed such admirable personal qualities as bravery, endurance, a strong attachment to his native land and people, and above all a fierce devotion to freedom.

When Ali Pasha took over Souli in 1803, he abandoned all the favouritism that he had shown the Botsaris family while Markos's grandfather, George, and later his father, Kitsos, were in his employment. The pasha's persecution of the Botsaris family was as vigorous and savage as it was of all the Souliots. Many of their close relatives and friends were killed by the pasha's army. The surviving members of the clan, including Markos's father, were exiled to the Ionian island of Corfu where they came under the protectorate of the British. It was here that Markos and his father joined foreign armies, as was customary for Greek warriors in exile, Markos serving in an Albanian regiment under French command.

By the age of 10, Markos had begun his training in the use of arms. Like the great Spartan warriors of antiquity, the Souliots were taught to fight from an early age. They learned to move quickly and to take cover when and where they could. The Souliot warriors were renowned throughout the country for the fierceness with which they fought their battles, their ability to endure great deprivation, and the perseverance with which they strove to win their freedom.

Markos's education had begun early in Souli and probably continued during his exile on Corfu. In an attempt to help spread the Greek language, in 1809 he wrote a simple Greek–Albanian dictionary, which is in part preserved in the French Bibliothèque Nationale. In 1980 Tito Giohalas added it to the series of publications of the Academy of Athens.

The passionate love of his home finally brought Markos back to Epirus in 1819. Soon after his return from exile, he conducted negotiations with Ali Pasha which provided for the return of Souli to the Souliots in exchange for their assistance

in opposing the sultan's forces. It was at this time, through his successes on the battlefield, that Botsaris gained the respect and admiration of his fellow Souliots, and renown among the leaders of Greece. He became the commander-in-chief to the Souliot forces after the demotion of Georgios Varnakiotis, who was suspected by the parliamentary authorities of striking an bargain with the Turks. Such changes of allegiance were not uncommon among the Greek and Turkish warriors of the Greek War of Independence. Botsaris himself had fought at one time against Ali Pasha's Albanian army, while at another he had fought alongside the pasha against the sultan's beleaguering forces. The ultimate goal of freedom, however, remained constant.

In July 1822, with a force of 300 warriors, Botsaris joined the Greek army at Komboti. The first battles at Plaka were successful, but later the Turkish forces took the advantage. With his remaining 32 men, Botsaris left at once for Peta, but this proved to be another disappointing defeat.

Not dissuaded by such defeats, Botsaris continued to harass the Turkish army at every turn. As winter approached in 1822, he went to assist Alexander Mavrokordatos in his defence of Missolonghi, helping to fortify the city and prepare for the advancing Turkish forces. He was also to prove himself a very capable diplomat in the Greek attempts to sow the seeds of dissension among the Turks. In a ploy to gain the time needed to receive supplies and reinforcements, Markos met the Turkish military leaders, Omer Vrionis, Mehmed Reshid, and Yusuf Pasha, with various false proposals for capitulation. At great risk to himself, he carried out this and other cunning deceptions until the government, persuaded by Mavrokordatos as to the importance of a stronghold at Missolonghi, sent reinforcements. Garrisons led by Mavromichalis, Zaimis, and Londos were included among the new arrivals.

In recognition of his abilities, the government gave Markos Botsaris the title of general, which sparked some dissension among the other chieftains of western Greece. But Markos impressed upon them the important role that unity would play in the successful liberation of Greece from the Turkish yoke. He pointed out that generals are made on the battlefield and, with this, kissed the diploma (which he had received along with the title of general) out of respect for his country, and then tore it into small pieces. This powerful demonstration won the confidence of his fellow chieftains, who all agreed to work together in earnest.

Perhaps the most famous of Markos's battles was his final one. Following the successful defence of the first siege of Missolonghi, Markos and his Souliot warriors, some 1000 men, went to Karpenisi where the Turkish-Albanian forces were ten times that number. Botsaris and his men attacked at night, taking their opponents completely by surprise, and succeeded in killing nearly 800 Turkish-Albanians. After only a short period of fighting, in an attempt to reach the tent of the pasha whom he wished to kill personally, Botsaris was hit by a stray bullet in his right eye and was able only to call out: "I've been hit, brothers!" In order to conceal his death so that the other soldiers would not lose heart, the Souliots covered his body with a coat. Later, his body was carried off the battlefield over his cousin's shoulder to be taken back to Missolonghi, where he was given a hero's burial. Unfortunately, the sense of victory after this battle fell short of its true advantage. Having lost their commanding chief, the Souliot soldiers were to become once again the undisciplined clan that they had been before Botsaris's leadership.

Markos Botsaris's heroism has been honoured in the works of such great Greek poets as Solomos, Kalvos, Palamas, and Balaorites. His bravery has been applauded in plays by Zampelios, Soutsos, and Alkeos. A statue of him resides in the Plateia Botsaris in Missolonghi, at the Museum of the Revolution. His tragic death is depicted in four of Iatridis's ink drawings. His courage and fierce patriotism have been the subject of many klephtic ballads. One such heart-rending ballad describes the agony with which the loss of this great hero was mourned by his fellow Souliots, as well as by the whole of Greece.

JACQUELINE PETROPOULOS

Biography

Born in 1790 in Souli, Botsaris was exiled with his father to Corfu. There he served in an Albanian regiment under French command. Returning to Epirus in 1819, he became commander-in-chief of the Souliot forces. During the War of Independence he was revered for his bravery and dedication to the cause of Greek freedom and given the rank of general. He died in battle at Karpenisi in 1823.

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Bouboulina, Laskarina, *c.*1770–1825

Heroine of the War of Independence

Laskarina Bouboulina was born in Constantinople, where her father Stavrianos Pinotsis was imprisoned for his participation in the Orlov revolution of 1770. After Pinotsis's death in Heptapyrgeio prison his wife Skevo emigrated from her native Hydra to Spetses, where she married Demetrios Lazarou, a prosperous sea captain. Both islands had been settled in the early 18th century by Albanians whose maritime activities were exempt from the fiscal administration of the Porte; together with the Greek islands of Psara and Kasos, which enjoyed similar exemptions, these islands were to contribute the greatest number of ships to the Greek cause during the War of Independence.

Waxing tall, dark, and athletic, Laskarina married Demetrios Yannouzas, a sea captain, probably in 1788. She bore him three children before his death at sea in 1797. The eponym by which she is universally known derives from the name of her second husband, Demetrios Bouboulis, a wealthy Spetsiot shipowner and captain, to whom she bore three more children. On his death in 1811 Bouboulina was a wealthy woman. When the Porte sought to confiscate her inheritance on the grounds of Bouboulis's participation in the Russo-Turkish War she sought the protection of the Russian ambassador Stroganoff; by contriving an audience with the mother of the sultan she won protection for her property.

Bouboulina was apparently initiated into the *Philiki Hetaireia* during a stay in Constantinople. On her return to Spetses she undertook to build several ships. At 48 cubits and 18 cannon the frigate *Agamemnon* surpassed the prescribed limits for private vessels; Bouboulina is said to have bribed the *kapitan* Hussein Pasha into permitting its use.

During the Napoleonic wars Spetses and Hydra had profited from western European demand for imported grain. This prosperity abated when grain prices fell after the peace of 1815 and again after the good European harvest of 1820. The *Hetaireia* found the inactive sailors and merchants of the islands receptive to promises of Russian support for an insurrection. Spetses was the first island to declare independence, in late March or early April 1821.

On 4 April 1821 Greek forces besieged Nauplia; on the same day Bouboulina and the *Agamemnon* arrived in the Gulf of Argos together with the ship of the Spetsiot notable Gikas Botasis. Bouboulina obtained several more ships from Spetses, and a blockade of Nauplia was effected. On 10 April, Easter Sunday, the Turks broke the land siege. Bouboulina disembarked at the Mills of Argos (Myloi), and on the fourth day after Easter she rode into Argos to a grand reception. According to Philemon, the people of Argos saw her as another Telesilla, the Argive poetess who armed the women of Argos after its defeat by Cleomenes of Sparta (Plutarch, *Moralia*, 245 c–f). Bouboulina and Botasis provided money, munitions, and a boost to Greek morale which made possible the resumption of the siege of Nauplia. On 25 April her son Yannis Yannouzas was killed in the defence of Argos. Bouboulina is said to have reported to the administration of Spetses: "My son is dead but Argos is still ours." In May she left her brother in charge of the blockade at Nauplia, and sailed with the *Agamemnon* to assist at the blockade of Monemvasia. The impregnable fortress was starved into submission on 5 August 1821. By mid-September Bouboulina left the Mills of Argos to be present for the anticipated fall of Tripolitsa. Kolokotronis and Petrobey Mavromichalis allowed her to enter the city in order to persuade the harem of Khurshid Pasha to give up their money and jewels in return for safety. As the Greek army became aware that the six-month siege was being prolonged by such private negotiations designed to reserve the booty for their chiefs, their indignation was such that they contrived to storm the city without their leaders on 5 October 1821. The anarchic sack of Tripolitsa, during which perhaps 8000 Turks were killed, was a blow to the authority of Kolokotronis. Shortly thereafter Bouboulina's daughter Eleni was engaged to Kolokotronis's eldest son, Panos.

Bouboulina then returned to the siege of Nauplia; when the city fell in December, she was again accused of intriguing with Kolokotronis for the wealth of the Ottoman women. Frantzis reports that on being sent to scout the Ottoman ladies Bouboulina concealed many valuables in her bosom, few of which were declared to the state commission. Panos Kolokotronis and Eleni Boubouli were married with pomp at Nauplia. Panos was named the garrison commander and Bouboulina was installed as the leading figure of the city.

It was Bouboulina's kinsmen from Hydra and Spetses who would oust her. The approval of a British loan to Greece in the amount of £300,000 became the occasion for a civil war which pitted the party of Kolokotronis, including Bouboulina, against the government of the Spetsiot Botasis and the Hydriot notable Konduriottes, who as president was designated recipient of the loan. This "war of Kolokotronis" was resolved in June 1824 when Panos Kolokotronis agreed to surrender Nauplia in return for a share of the money. Konduriottes in turn refused to enter the city until Bouboulina was evacuated.

Bouboulina returned to Spetses where the travellers Emerson and Pecchio met her in May 1825. They report her response at the news of Kolokotronis's imminent release: "If it's true, I'll return to the army with him to fight the Turks." In the event, she was killed on 22 May by Yannos Koutsis, in revenge for his sister's elopement with Bouboulina's son.

Of the many women associated with the Greek revolution, such as Mado Mavrogenous, with whom she might be compared, Laskarina Bouboulina – an Arvanitissa and native Albanian speaker – retains the greatest hold on the Greek imagination. She has been celebrated in verse by Soutsos and others; novels and a tragedy have been composed about her. Her sculpture can be seen on Tinos and Spetses, and her home in Spetses is open to the public.

C.G. BROWN

Biography

A native Albanian speaker, Bouboulina was born in Constantinople *c.*1770. Returning to Hydra with her mother, she moved to Spetses and in 1788 married Demetrios Lazarou, a ship's captain. After his death in 1797, she married Demetrios Bouboulis, a wealthy shipowner. He died in 1811. She joined the *Philiki Hetaireia* and agreed to supply ships to the war effort, notably for the siege of Nauplia in 1821. She was murdered in 1825.

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Brigandage

Brigandage was endemic in the mountains of continental Greece throughout the period of Ottoman administration. The Greeks who engaged in this activity were generally young bachelors belonging to the mountain villages and transhumant shepherd communities in the area where they operated. They shared with the inhabitants of the mountains, who were also their principal victims, the same social values predicated on notions of honour, pride, and shame, and the same social institutions which protected the material interests and social reputation of the family. Before the War of Independence brigands were known as "klephts", a term which in one sense simply means "thief", but carried more complex associations in patriotic claims to heroism and sometimes countercharges of brutality. Klephts were generally shepherds or villagers who through debt, sheep theft, homicide, or other troubles had fallen foul of the Ottoman Turkish authorities and taken to the hills. They lived by levying protection money from villagers or by looting their houses. Captives were also held to ransom, and normally decapitated if the stipulated sum was not paid. To combat these breaches of order the Ottoman authorities recruited bodies of local militia known as *armatoloi*, who were similarly men-at-arms, very often former klephts who had regained respectability through amnesty.

Klephts and *armatoloi* together formed a complementary security system that cost the Ottoman Turks very little. A captain of *armatoloi* granted the klephts in his district a certain tolerance since only their existence justified his own employment. Klephts aimed to cause just sufficient disorder to encourage the authorities to give them, in turn, amnesty and employment as *armatoloi*. The victims were, of course, the villagers, taxed by the *armatoloi* and raided by the klephts.

The fate of this klephtic tradition in the new state of modern Greece was ambiguous. It was hardly satisfactory to have to admit that many of the glorious heroes of the War of Independence had previously heen brigands, and that during the course of the war some klephts had even re-entered Turkish service. The klephts now had to be portrayed as patriots resisting Turkish rule. This indeed, in a sense, was true, but it was incidental to the other purposes of the klephts already described. A heroic pastoral existence that included killing Turks, tossing the boulder, and Homeric feasting was attributed to them by folklorists and historians (not always Greek), a romantic construction far removed from the reality of klephtic life, which was generally short and often brutal, for both the klepht and his victims.

After the war many of the irregulars found it impossible to return to the unprestigious and unrewarding toil of peasant farming. If they could not find service in the Greek government's own irregular contingents, they turned again to brigandage, though they were no longer officially known as klephts. That term was too closely linked to the heroes of the War of Independence to be sullied by association with common brigandage. They had now become *listes*, common thieves and freebooters. Yet circumstances would again conspire to call on these men to join their illegal activities to a more patriotic cause.

The frontier of the new Greece, set up by the European powers, ran between Arta and Volos, excluding from the nation state more Hellenes than it included. Greece was inexorably drawn into repeated attempts to liberate Greeks still living under Ottoman rule. Its small regular army, essentially intended for internal security and ceremonial, could not hope to match the Turkish forces; nor was Great Britain prepared to allow Greece (always vulnerable to naval blockade) to contribute towards any further weakening of the Ottoman empire. In this pattern of relations brigands found their place. Whenever domestic difficulties or irredentist pressures dictated, the Greek government encouraged the formation of irregular bands to cross the frontier and foment revolt among the Christian population. The operations of irregulars could not be attributed to the Greek government with the same certainty as invasion by regular forces; and they had the added advantage that they exported the depredations of brigands to Turkish territory.

It was almost the end of the 19th century before these tactics were abandoned, partly because the revolts that they provoked regularly failed, partly because brigandage itself lost its local support with the gradual restriction of the transhumant pastoral economy in the mountains. (Many brigands were shepherds.) Moreover the political patrons of leading brigands who in the past had protected them from prosecution and used them to exert pressure at elections, or create disorder to embarrass the government, increasingly found such clients a political liability in the gradually developing state.

Klephts organized themselves in bands generally numbering between 20 and 30 men, about the number which a leader without the support of hierarchical discipline could reasonably dominate by the force of his personality. Bodies of klephts consisting of as many as 400 men were invariably temporary confederations of smaller bands which did not surrender their identities. The leader of a band was known as the *kapetanios* (captain) or *protoklephtis* (the first klepht), and his followers as *pallikaria*. The term *pallikari* emphasizes the parallel between its use in describing the duties of the young unmarried son or brother who guards the family honour, and its application in marking the role of the klephtic hero, also as a rule unmarried. The band in some respects resembled, and was modelled on, an extended family without the presence of women, the same kinship basis as that of the typical transhumant shepherd group, the *tselingato*, from which many klephts were drawn. In such bands there was generally a nucleus of two or three brothers, cousins, or kinsmen, who provided the leader with unquestioning support. Between these men and the other unrelated klephts a network of ritual relations was created through blood brotherhood. In a society where unre-

lated men were mutually hostile and untrusting, the *vlamides* or *bratimoi* ("blood brothers") owed each other the trust and straight dealing on which their survival depended – in the same measure as brothers.

A band of klephts operated in an area known to the captain and his closest associates. Kinsmen in villages and shepherd encampments provided intelligence and food (meat, flour, and salt), without which they could not survive or plan rational operations. In their mountain wilderness, the klephts created what order they could, establishing a number of *limeria* (camps) in inaccessible positions, between which they circulated to avoid surprise. As far as they were able, they paid great attention to their clothing and their arms, on which the leaders especially were prepared to spend extravagantly. In common with *armatoloi* and Albanian soldiers, they wore the white fustanella kilt, elaborately decorated waistcoats with silver buttons, and silver knee-plates when they could be afforded. Personal cleanliness was not a concern and it was a matter of professional pride that their kilts had become grey with encrusted dirt and grease. They armed themselves with long guns, curved swords with a fine cutting edge, and daggers, all of which could be very elaborately decorated. This concern with the display of pride, of appearing above others, was a form of visual boast, which also had the effect of discouraging their opponents.

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See also Armatoloi

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Britain

Britain has felt the strong influence of Hellenism in literature, education, political and social ideas, and the visual arts, notably architecture. The country has served as a refuge for the persecuted and exiled, providing social and economic conditions that allowed Greek enterprise to flourish. Thus in the 19th century England became a centre of Greek commercial and maritime enterprise, and in the 20th century a home for a large Cypriot community. Today Britain is host every year to many thousands of students from Greece and Cyprus. In the other direction Britain has been important to the Hellenic world as a source of political and social ideas, an inspiration in literature, and a Great Power that played a determining role in the political evolution of the modern Greek state.

Greek seamen had penetrated to Britain by the 5th century BC and the traveller Pytheas of Marseilles who circumnavigated the British Isles in the late 4th century BC left a good account of this journey, which is reproduced by Strabo. In the Christian era there were contacts between England and Byzantium by way of the Carolingian courts. The Greek scholar and teacher Theodore of Tarsus occupied the see of Canterbury in the 7th century AD. Fine Byzantine silver artifacts were found in the Sutton Hoo ship burial (7th century), and the influence of Byzantium can be seen in Anglo-Saxon arts of the 10th and 11th centuries.

In the dark period after the fall of Constantinople, when Greece was lost to western European knowledge, a number of Greek scholars and mercenaries found their way to Britain. From the 16th century British trade in the Levant, conducted largely with Greeks, led to renewed interest in the Greek Orthodox Church and in the state of affairs in Greek lands. The contacts of Cyril Lukaris, the "Calvinist patriarch" (died 1638), with England contributed to this: it was at Cyril's initiative that the printing press set up for the London Greek commercial community by Nicodemus Metaxas of Cephalonia was brought to Constantinople and began to publish theological works in Greek. A Greek theologian, Nathaniel Conopius, later archbishop of Smyrna, incidentally introduced coffee to Oxford and London in the mid-17th century. By 1677 there was a sufficient community of Greek businessmen in London for them to found a (short-lived) Greek church in Soho.

Alongside these commercial and theological links, which extended to an abortive exploration of union between the Orthodox and the Anglican Churches, British 17th-century travellers and patrons helped to foster a new interest in the artistic heritage and the present state of Hellenism. John Milton was an early representative of what came to be called Philhellenism. English collectors began to take an acquisitive interest in Greek antiquities. The publication of Stuart and Revett's *Antiquities of Athens* in 1762 on behalf of the Society of Dilettanti was a turning point in the diffusion of knowledge of the Hellenic heritage. British travellers and philhellenes made a major contribution to the "rediscovery" of Greece, and to creating the climate of opinion in which the independence of the Greek state became feasible. Byron's contribution to awakening the conscience of Europe to the Greek cause was such that he is still revered by all Greeks.

The influence of British political and social ideas and administrative practice can be traced in Greek thought from the late 17th century, and was felt directly in the Ionian islands during the British protectorate from 1814 to 1864. But the primary external influence in the consolidation of the institutions of the modern Greek state was German, exercised through the Bavarian monarchy of king Otho. British liberal and free-trading ideas were attractive to the rising Greek bourgeoisie represented in the early 20th century by Eleftherios Venizelos, whose close understanding with Lloyd George and belief in the need to align Greece with the dominant maritime power in the Mediterranean led to the national schism in Greece in World War I and thence to the catastrophe at Smyrna and the uprooting of Hellenism from Asia Minor.

The main interaction of the two countries and traditions in the 19th and 20th centuries has been strategic and maritime, Greece playing an important role in Britain's approach to, control of, and influence in the eastern Mediterranean region, and Britain being seen in Greece as a key strategic factor (and at crucial times an ally) from the time of independence until after World War II. In the case of Cyprus, briefly occupied by Richard I in 1191 (and then sold), occupied again by Britain in 1878, and later a crown colony until the establishment in 1960 of the independent Republic of Cyprus, the strategic interest is

still evident in the presence of British sovereign base areas on the island.

The Hellenic presence in Britain today consists of an economically dynamic business community centred on shipping and working in the City of London; a transient population of more than 20,000 students, undergraduate and post-graduate, at British universities; and a large permanent population of Greek Cypriots concentrated mainly in north London. A small Greek commercial community has been present in London since the 17th century; but the rapid growth in importance of the community dates from the late 18th century, when merchants mainly from Chios began to establish trading houses with networks extending from southern Russia to Constantinople and Smyrna to Livorno, Marseilles, and London. This emigration was given an enormous boost by the tragic effects of the Turkish massacre of Chios in 1822, which pushed members of the prominent Chiot trading families into emigration. The largest of the great Greek trading houses, Rallis Bros, first established its London office in 1818.

This community of Greeks, drawing on their widespread family networks and applying their commercial acumen in the British liberal free-trading environment at a time of expanding European trade, established their offices and homes in the City of London around Finsbury Circus, and from modest beginnings grew mightily between 1820 and the middle of the 19th century. Their trade was the import of grains from Russia through Odessa, and the export of textiles and manufactured goods. From the middle of the century on, some firms extended their commerce to India, where a great part of the Rallis activity and fortune was made. The prominent families, Rallis, Argentis, Schilizzis, and others, governed the affairs of their community through a committee or brotherhood. Their houses, their churches, first in London Wall, then the St Sophia cathedral in Bayswater, consecrated in 1876, and their funereal monuments at the Greek cemetery in West Norwood, are witness to a solidly prosperous community, characterized by intermarriage between prominent families. Greek traders from Chios played a major part in the development of the Baltic Exchange. As their prosperity grew, the prominent families moved out of the City westwards to Paddington, Bayswater, Notting Hill, and Holland Park. Towards the end of the 19th century they tended to assimilate themselves more and more with the British middle, and in some cases upper, classes.With the passing of time, education in British public schools distanced the younger generation from their Greek roots.

Shipowning developed side-by-side with commerce in the second half of the 19th century. The maritime connection has endured until the present day, though the nature of Greek commercial activities has changed and new families have come to prominence in the community. In the later 19th century a network of shipowner-traders from the Ionian islands (mainly Cephalonia and Ithaca) active in the Danube grain trade displaced the Chiots from their preeminent position. The leading new figure was Panaghis Vaglianos, a shipowner and trader who also played a central role in financing the development of the Greek merchant fleet. In the 20th century London maintained its position as a new generation from Chios, Andros, Kassos, and Oinoussai came to the fore and as the Greek fleet developed into the world's largest, specializing in dry bulk cargoes and, after World War II, in oil tankers also. The Greek shipowning community has endured and prospered because of the perceived benefits to Greek owners of keeping their offices or agencies in London, which include tax advantages and synergy with the City of London's services. Since 1936 it has been represented by the Greek Shipping Cooperation Committee, of which the president has been seen as the doyen of the Greek community, while the metropolitan archbishop of Thyateira and Great Britain is its spiritual leader.

A substantial community of Cypriots has also developed in Britain. From a modest number early in the 20th century, this grew rapidly through successive waves of emigration after World War II, in the early 1960s when Cyprus became a republic, and after the Turkish occupation of Northern Cyprus in 1974. The Greek Cypriot community, which may now number between 100,000 and 200,000, is mainly concentrated in north London, and is present also in Birmingham, Bristol, Manchester, Liverpool, and other British cities. It is active in the restaurant and clothing trades, in services, and in the professions.

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Bulgaria

Greek colonization of the Bulgarian coast, part of the region known in antiquity as Thrace, began in the 7th century BC with Miletus leading the way. The main sites were Apollonia (modern Sozopolis), Odrysos (modern Varna), Anchialos (Pomorie), Krounoi (Balchik), Naulochus (Ozbar), and Mesembria (Nesebar). These cities led an unexciting if prosperous existence, trading wine and salt in exchange for grain and livestock. Philip of Macedon conquered the interior of Bulgaria and founded Philippopolis (modern Plovdiv) in 342 BC. Only his more powerful successors kept control of this area, and only some stubborn campaigning in 28 and 29 BC by Marcus Licinius Crassus, son of the triumvir, brought the

Roman frontier as far as the Danube. Thrace remained a client kingdom until the reign of the emperor Claudius (AD 41–54) when it was incorporated into the Roman empire. For the next 150 years the south-eastern part of Europe prospered. More cities were founded in the interior, and it is clear from the evidence of inscriptions that Greek rather than Latin was the lingua franca in most of Bulgaria except for the Danube frontier. Ovid, although actually writing about Tomis in Romania, gives a fair picture of the hybrid culture of the Roman era, well preserved in Bulgarian archaeological museums.

10. Bulgaria

Barbarian pressure on the Danube frontier began towards the end of the 2nd century AD in the reign of the emperor Marcus Aurelius (AD 161–80), although at the beginning of the century Trajan had advanced Roman power across the Danube into Dacia. From AD 200 to 600 there was endless pressure on this frontier. Many barbarians passed into the Roman empire. On the other hand Greek influence spread to new cities of the interior such as Marcianopolis, Diocletianopolis, Nicopolis ad Istrum, and Nicopolis ad Nestum. A fair portrait of life in some of these cities and Greek cities on the coast is given by the 4th-century historian Ammianus Marcellinus and the author of the *Historia Augusta*. In the 6th century the western Balkans were devastated by barbarian invasion, but imperial armies were still active in Bulgarian territory in close proximity to Constantinople.

Finally the Danube frontier collapsed in 602. This did little to affect the coastal cities, but the fragile Graeco-Roman culture in the interior collapsed. Serdica and Philippopolis held out until the 9th century, but then Sofia became a Bulgarian city, and Plovdiv went into a period of decline. After the attacks of tsar Simeon at the beginning of the 10th century even the Black Sea ports passed briefly under Bulgarian control, until the Byzantine revival at the end of the century brought the whole of the Balkans under imperial sway. Greek influence, however, remained largely confined to the coast. It was a commonplace of Greek ecclesiastical writers to complain of the primitive conditions in the interior, and Western travellers during the Crusades agreed on this point.

The rise of the second Bulgarian empire and the Fourth Crusade (1204) meant that Byzantium lost control of the Bulgarian interior for ever, and the coastal cities for a temporary period. Michael VIII Palaiologos recovered the latter during an extensive campaign in 1262, and curiously, in spite of temporary losses in Bulgarian, Greek, and Turkish raids, they remained as part of the empire until 1453. Under Ottoman rule the seaports continued to prosper. Great Byzantine names appear in the records of these towns. Michael Kantakouzenos's wealth is noted in the 16th century, although eventually he was executed by the sultan. Cossack raids in the 17th century damaged the towns, and the great monasteries of Sozopol were destroyed in 1629. Greek priests and merchants were a powerful force of Hellenism in the interior, although they never really penetrated the countryside. Plovdiv was settled extensively by Greek merchants, whose houses can still be seen, and in the south Melnik and Nevrokop, now Goce Delčev, were centres of Hellenism. At the beginning of the 19th century we find some collaboration between Bulgarian bands under such leaders as Dimitris Vakiotis and the Greek movement for independence. Since Greek schools were the only schools to provide education, even nationalist Bulgarian intellectuals derived inspiration from Greek models. The work of Dimitrios Darvaris (1751–1823) was influential in education and literature. Soon, however, Bulgarians began demanding their own schools, Church (gained in 1870), and an independent state (virtually gained in 1878 although full independence was not granted until 1908). Greek cities survived, either because, like Melnik, they were not even in 1878 a part of Bulgaria, or because, like the coastal ports, they were in a part of Bulgaria that involved a strange mixture of races, as for instance the Gagauz, Turkish-speaking Christians who often allied with the Greeks.

The Balkan Wars and World War I led to the hardening of frontiers. Greece and Bulgaria were on different sides in two of these wars, and the position of Greek speakers in Bulgaria became difficult. Accordingly in a series of well-documented population exchanges most of the Greek speakers left centres where Greek had been spoken for 2500 years in exchange for homes in Macedonia and western Thrace previously inhabited by Bulgarians. Some of the poorer inhabitants remained behind, and fairly rapidly became assimilated. It is still possible to find old people in Nesebar speaking Greek among themselves, and Nesebar, Goce Delčev, and Melnik look like Greek towns. In the census of 1965 there were more than 8000 inhabitants of Bulgaria speaking Greek, but the collapse of Communism has meant that many of these, like the 4500 Karakatchans also speaking Greek, emigrated to Greece.

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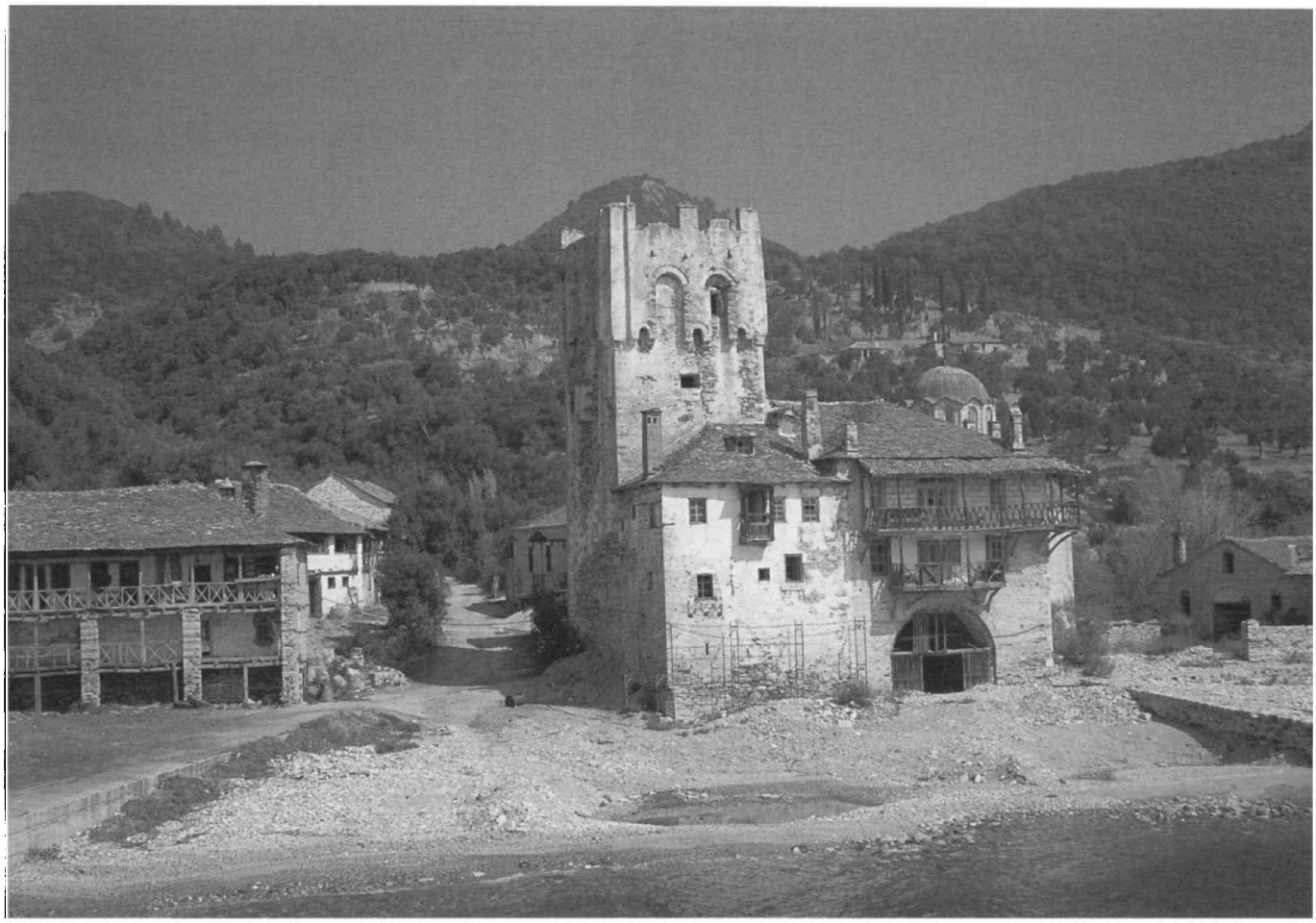

Bulgaria: the port building of Zographon, the Bulgarian monastery on Mount Athos

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Bulgars

The Bulgars were a non-Indo-European people originating in southern Russia. Under khan Asparuch (*c.*AD 650–*c.*700), one of many semi-legendary leaders of Bulgaria, they reached and crossed the Danube. In AD 681 the emperor Constantine IV was forced to recognize a Bulgarian kingdom north of the Haemus mountains. By this time most of the Balkans had been penetrated by the Slavs, and in the next 100 years Bulgaria took control of these Slav settlements, depriving them of their non-Indo-European identity in the process. A Byzantine revival in the 9th century was halted by khan Krum, who in 811 defeated and slew the emperor Nikephoros I. By this time the Bulgarian realm stretched over much of northern Greece and threatened Constantinople, which Krum attacked.

Krum's successor, Omurtag, made peace with Byzantium. He was the last ruler with a non-Slavonic name. His grandson Boris was converted to Christianity, but Bulgaria still remained a thorn in the side of the Byzantine empire. Boris's son Simeon, although or because he had been brought up in Constantinople, harboured ambitions to succeed to the Byzantine throne. He was known as "the half-Greek", and introduced Greek culture to Bulgaria. He defeated the Byzantines decisively in 917, but his successors Peter and Boris II were faced with internal dissension, threats from Russia, and a renascent Byzantium which under John I Tzimiskes (969–76) overran the eastern half of Bulgaria. In west Bulgaria there was a last Bulgarian revival under tsar Samuel, who kept the Byzantines at bay until 1014 when he was decisively defeated by them under the appropriately named Basil Bulgaroktonos (Bulgar Slayer).

The centre of Samuel's empire was around lakes Ohrid and Prespa, but he had at times ruled as far west as the Adriatic and as far south as Thessaly. His racial origins are obscure, and it has been claimed that he was Macedonian rather than Bulgarian. All that he ruled passed under Byzantine control and remained so for more than 150 years, although there were

sporadic revolts. In 1185 two local chieftains in the Haemus mountains rose up in protest against extortionate taxes. The enfeebled Byzantine empire was in no position to suppress this revolt, and Asen's brother Kalojan was able to take advantage of the Fourth Crusade (1204) to establish a strong Bulgarian state that was never again to acknowledge Byzantine rule. Tsar Asen II from 1218 to 1241 ruled over a kingdom that stretched from the Black Sea to the Adriatic, a kingdom almost as large as that of Samuel. As with Samuel there is some doubt about the racial origin of the Asenids, since Byzantine sources frequently refer to them as Vlachs. The narrow chauvinism of modern historians cannot obscure the fact that both Bulgarian empires were multi-ethnic states.

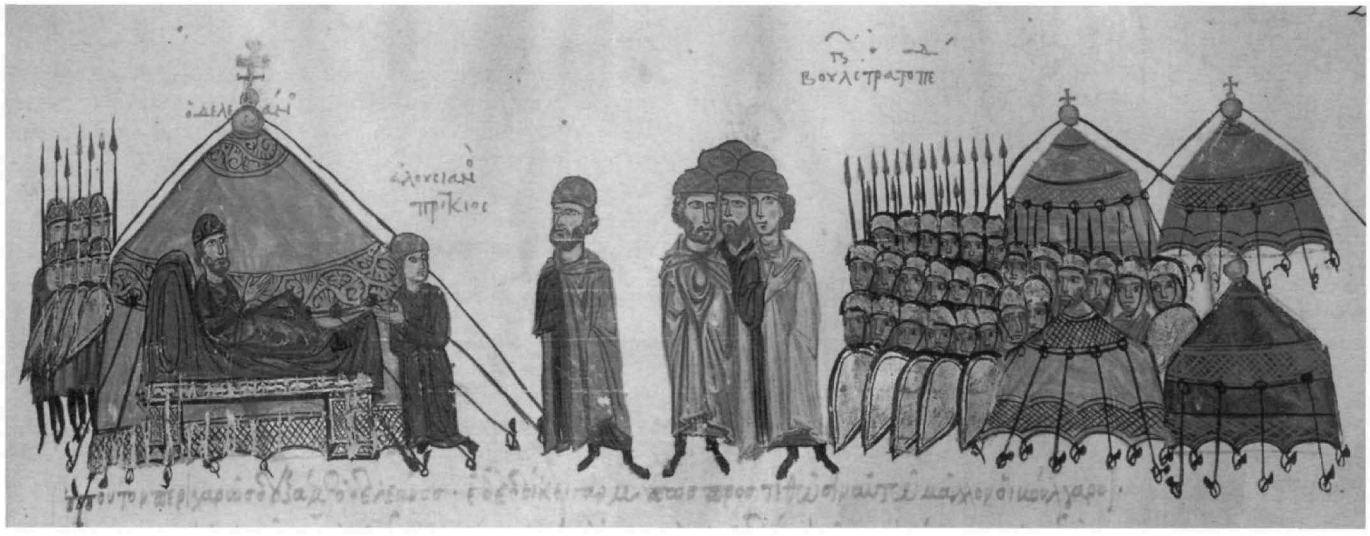
After a brief period when it was the principal power in the Balkans the second Bulgarian empire rapidly declined. There was an invasion by the Tatars, internal dissension, and a revival of Byzantine power under the Palaiologoi. The Bulgarians were no match for the growing power of the Serbs, who defeated them decisively at Kyustendil in 1341, and an enfeebled and divided kingdom rapidly fell a victim to the Ottomans who were to rule over Bulgaria for 500 years. Oddly, the disastrous 14th century saw a revival in Bulgarian art and literature, inspired by Byzantine models.

There were some spasmodic revolts against Turkish authority, but on the whole Bulgarian resistance was tame. A number of Bulgarians were converted to Islam; a number of Turks settled in Bulgaria. The Bulgarian Church was subordinated to the patriarchate at Constantinople, and Greek priests discouraged Bulgarian patriotism and the use of the Bulgarian language. By the 1840s, however, Bulgarian schools were being founded and Russian support fostered Bulgarian nationalism. Surprisingly many early Bulgarian leaders received their education in Greece. Relations between Bulgaria and Greece deteriorated sharply in 1870 when the Turkish authorities allowed a separate Bulgarian Church, known as the Exarchate. For the next 50 years Patriarchists supporting the Greek Church and Exarchists supporting the Bulgarian Church fought with each other, sometimes literally, for the allegiance of the inhabitants of the central Balkans, while simultaneously fighting for independence from the Turks. In 1878 after some particularly brutal massacres of Bulgarians a limited form of independence was granted to Bulgaria at the treaty of Berlin; the earlier treaty of San Stefano in the same year had given a much greater area to Bulgaria, but between 1878 and 1912 there was still a large area of Turkish territory disputed between the Exarchists and the Patriarchists.

This dispute was eventually settled by the Balkan Wars. In 1912 Greek, Serbian, and Bulgarian armies invaded Turkish territory. While the Serbs advanced as far as Bitola and the Greek army arrived at Thessalonica just before the Bulgarians, the main brunt of the fighting was borne by the Bulgarians in Thrace with little in the way of territorial gains. It looked as if the combatants were going to be rewarded with what their armies had gained. Enraged by this, the Bulgarians started the Second Balkan War in 1913. This they lost, and they lost more territory as a result. Western Thrace, largely inhabited by Muslims with some Greeks in the towns, became Bulgarian briefly, but the bulk of Macedonia was divided between Serbia and Greece, although generally inhabited by a people speaking a language very like Bulgarian. In World War I Bulgaria was again on the losing side and lost western Thrace to Greece in the subsequent peace treaty.

Not surprisingly, as the enemy in the guerrilla wars since 1880, and the enemy in the Second Balkan War and World War I, Bulgarians were not popular with Greeks. There was a nasty border incident near Petrič in 1925. Attempts under the aegis of France to achieve an alliance of Balkan states foundered when Bulgaria joined the Axis and was rewarded with most of Yugoslav Macedonia and western Thrace for its pains. Bulgarian rule over this territory was not successful, especially in Greece, where most of the Bulgarian population had left as a result of some well-managed population exchanges.

In 1944 Bulgaria deserted Germany and joined Russia. For Greece, which had first resisted the Axis and then fought a civil war against the communists, the Bulgarians remained enemies. The frontier was tightly guarded, and diplomatic relations remained frosty. The end of the Cold War and common coldness to the emergence of the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia as an independent state meant a slight reduction of tension, although the economic instability of the new Bulgaria



Bulgars: illustration from the 11th-century chronicle of Skylitzes showing the Bulgar leader Peter Deljan in his tent during his siege of Thessalonica in 1040, Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid

and the presence of a large Muslim minority still aroused suspicion. In fact Bulgaria and Greece have much in common, sharing a Byzantine heritage, Eastern Orthodoxy, and a tradition of resistance against the Turks. But old enmities die hard.

T.J. WINNIFRITH

Summary

A non-Indo-European people from southern Russia, the Bulgars moved westwards at the same time as the Huns and Avars. In 681 they crossed the Danube and forced Byzantium to recognize a Bulgarian kingdom. At times this kingdom stretched from the Black Sea to the Adriatic. The Bulgars rapidly assimilated with the Slavs and by the 9th century ceased to be a separate ethnic group.

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Bureaucracy

For most of antiquity, Greece remained a series of separate states, often in conflict. Hence, tracing patterns of bureaucracy is a difficult process at best. The Greek city states required administrative machinery to coordinate and produce documents, collect taxes, preside over laws, and maintain order. As a result, the development of a bureaucracy, or a core of professionals dedicated to the minutiae of state administration, became a requisite in nearly every state. City states developed similar patterns of administration. Increased efficiency, accompanied by advances in travel, produced government reforms on every level in almost every state. Greece was the first civilization effectively to develop a bureaucracy that incorporated those members of society who fulfilled the qualities of servitude and learning required to meet the needs of its citizens.

The duties of administration, responsibilities for the execution of those duties, and those permitted to function as part of the administration varied from state to state and period to period. Membership in many organizations was limited, by definition, to citizens. Affairs of the state and benefits that accompanied civil service were restricted to individuals belonging to a socially accepted group. Hereditary affiliation was the only means of inclusion within ancient Greek society. In some regions, however, slaves were employed for labour-intensive functions such as recording. Differences between the staffing of local governments were not important, however, since the benefits of government went to its citizens and to no one else.

The establishment of a bureaucracy indicated the creation of an institution that outlived its specific function. Although they varied by time and location, ancient Greek society became dependent upon the services provided by civil servants. The bureaucratic framework relied on flexibility to meet evolving demands in a changing society. In its most basic sense, the bureaucracy facilitated distribution of obligations and benefits that accompanied citizenship. Through this distribution, Greek administrators promoted equity among the population and governmental advantage. The result of the Greek bureaucratic system was a society increasingly tied to local rule, and a general feeling of benevolence between government and citizen.

During the Archaic period public authority lacked direction and effectiveness. Evidence for this is found in Homer's *Odyssey*. City-state governments in this period failed to convene for decades. Citizenship indicated eligibility for public service, and, in return, society expected career terms of service from those elected. Other than the central composition of the government, usually a king, a council, and an assembly, little else is known about the daily functions of the government or its administration during the 8th century BC. With the limited number of persons involved in ruling a city state, there is likely to have been little interaction between ruler and subject, and little mutual concern.

Following the Archaic period, two events indicate the improbability of an established Greek bureaucracy. First, accounts of the Seven against Thebes suggest that the requisite conditions for a coalition – primarily an established bureaucracy – were missing. Second, Athenian intervention in the affairs of Miletus in 450 BC and Samos in 442 BC was limited to physical and not political domination. Athens lacked the required administrators to promote its policies and intentions. In both cases, Greece lacked the tools to capitalize on the success of its military campaigns.

Evolving through the ages of monarchy, aristocracy, and tyranny, three periods void of successful bureaucratic systems, democratic reforms in government produced similar changes in administration. Magistrates became crucial figures in most societies. Civil servants were elected annually and were not ordinarily eligible for reelection. Cities and states were administered by those professional civil servants who possessed no real power, but dedicated themselves to the execution of their duties. In any given city state, hundreds, even thousands of magistrates' positions existed, allowing a civil servant the opportunity to serve in several positions simultaneously without repeating a post assignment. Lower magistrates received a state-provided salary, while higher-ranking officials often came from wealthy families, demanding no compensation. It was during the 2nd century BC that magistrates achieved prominence within Greek society, and a permanent, professional core of civil servants was established.

By the 3rd century BC Greek bureaucratic reform produced more widespread and tangible results. In Thrace king Seuthes III organized the country on a Hellenistic model. He divided his kingdom into towns, provinces, and regions. At the lower levels local rule provided direction for daily government functions, while a smaller percentage of natives participated at the higher levels. Each level took direction from higher authorities, while preserving the appearance of self-rule.

In Egypt Hellenistic rulers inherited a bureaucracy many centuries old. Different from the civil servants that perpetuated the daily activities of the Greek city state, Egyptian bureaucrats often performed their scribal or accounting duties for their entire lives. Scribes were often illiterate, transferring the symbols from one sheet to the next, failing to understand their

significance. Accountants, who could perform basic arithmetic, were likewise illiterate, and ignorant of their greater significance within society. Trained to serve the pharaohs, Egyptian civil servants introduced a new standard of detail to administrative duties. The success of the Egyptian bureaucratic model prior to the Greeks is questionable, since few civil servants recognized their job significance or benefited from their selfless service. During the period of Greek rule an abundance of trained civil servants, both native and imported, permitted the division of Egypt into cantons, districts, and villages that could be extraordinarily well controlled. Traditionally, Greek civil servants filled higher posts in the empire than their native counterparts. Accountability throughout Egypt achieved unparalleled proportions during the 3rd century BC.

The Ptolemaic kingdom was the most effective political organization to emerge from the Greek-speaking world. The constitution of the empire provided the basis for unequalled administrative success. The Ptolemies oversaw the Macedonian-Greek upper class and the Egyptian fellahin, a group dedicated to the patient and meticulous work of serving the pharaohs. Rather than replace the Egyptian bureaucratic system, the first two Ptolemies opted to augment the existing system with Greek reforms. The combination of a disciplined workforce and efficient administration produced the most effective government of the ancient world. Reforms in government administration and accountability in Ptolemaic Egypt provided the standard by which bureaucracies would be measured for decades. It was also during the 3rd century BC that bureaucratic service became not only an acceptable profession for the upper class, but an enviable one.

During the 2nd century BC Greek bureaucratic reforms were introduced throughout the eastern and western empires. Mithridates I emulated the Greek system, and employed Greek civil servants in large numbers. Iranian leadership instituted Greek reforms at the local level, and evidence of Greek bureaucratic influence appeared as far away as Kurdistan and India. The Greek model provided the basis for efficient administration of empires that continued to grow in size and complexity. By emphasizing self-rule, central governments freed themselves of the tedium associated with accounting and recording at the local level. The division of empires into subordinate organizations increased accountability and ensured the communication of supreme mandates.

Few changes occurred in Greek bureaucracy following antiquity. The Greek administrative model spread widely, appearing as the basis for the Roman system of administration, defining the Byzantine model of government, and finding great favour centuries later in the courts of Europe. Kingdoms in both east and west assimilated patterns of Greek government in their expanding and contracting empires.

Byzantium refined the Greek bureaucratic model. Gradually, a system of centrally controlled, self-governing institutions took shape. Although native-born inhabitants enjoyed the privileges of citizenship, the civil service provided an avenue towards acceptance and social mobility not previously available. Competition for bureaucratic positions improved the quality of candidates and their subsequent performance. Education eventually became the prerequisite for service, replacing citizenship in significance. Two distinct career paths guided bureaucrats, and provided nearly unlimited potential for advancement. Civil servants specialized in finance or clerical careers. Both positions required literacy and advanced education. Similar to the ancient model, post holders were appointed or elected for a year, but the number of posts available in any given location allowed for civil servants to serve in many at one time. Bureaucratic positions occurred from the lowest to the highest levels of government, promising advancement for the most competent within a career field.

The chief institution within Byzantium was the commune. An established commune was a legal entity of one or several towns, providing self-direction, but enjoying the toleration of the administration. The *Kununname* was the first handbook to standardize and regulate the duties, responsibilities, and progressions of the bureaucrat. It facilitated efficient local rule, without extensive oversight from the central government. The *Kununname* further delineated two distinct career paths: accounting and clerical careers. Accountants levied and dispersed taxes at a local level, giving those who filled such a position great importance. Clerks not only performed as recorders, but also convened and presided over legal disputes. For the non-citizen, the authority and respect that accompanied civil service could not be found in any other career. As a result of Byzantine reforms, the world recognized the significant contributions of civil servants and welcomed their contributions, even in the most restricted societies.

During the period of Ottoman rule, Greek bureaucracy took a backward step. Plagued by a system of paternalism, government inefficiency reached a level not previously experienced. Local magistrates were exceptionally corrupt and appointed for long periods of time. Few local offices existed to address the needs of the population, while taxes increasingly supported programmes outside the community. Gradual erosion of the once effective Greek bureaucratic model resulted in a government incapable of the most basic administrative functions. Unable to recognize the limitations paternalism placed on the efficiency of the civil service, the Ottoman government failed in its ability to manage or administer its empire. It was during the period prior to the 19th century that Greek government at every level achieved new lows.

In terms of both national identity and social direction, Greece experienced great changes prior to the 19th century. As a consequence of Greek exposure to European nationalism, Ottoman practices seemed inadequate for a changing society. Shifting trends in the 19th century favoured western law codes, administrative processes, and a general return to effective government. The effort to redistribute both the wealth and the lands of those who had ruled Greece required an administrative system that promoted equity, similar to that of the Archaic period. For a brief period of time in the 19th century Greek paternalism or appointment through favour guided the assignment of civil servants. Paternalism resulted from exposure to European governments as well as the lingering effects of Ottoman rule. This policy proved ineffective in Greece as in most other European nations by the 20th century, giving rise to appointment by merit. This trend continues today. The modern Greek civil service requires strong skills in administration, diversity of character and talent, and dedication to advancing the goals of both the state and the citizens.

In antiquity Greece produced a significant and lasting model for bureaucratic efficiency. This Greek model effectively

guided operations at every level of government, and succeeded in administering an empire that encompassed divergent cultures and concerns. Elements of Hellenistic bureaucracy survive in nearly every major government in the world today, a tribute to the vision of the early Greek thinkers.

SCOTT BLANCHETTE

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Burial Practices

The earliest burials in Greece date from the Mesolithic period (8th millennium BC). In the cave of Franchthi (Argolid) were found the undisturbed inhumation of a young man and several disturbed burials, together with two cremations thought to be the earliest in Europe. There are many more instances of Neolithic burials (5th–4th millennia BC). The standard practice was primary inhumation in pits, though secondary inhumation (after the body had been exposed or provisionally buried until the flesh had disintegrated) and cremation are also attested. Formal cemeteries are first found in the Late Neolithic (Kephala on Keos), but are not common, or indeed large, before the Early Bronze Age (3rd millennium BC), in the Cyclades and Attica; from then on, the practice of burying the dead within the house is mainly restricted to children. Monumental tombs for multiple burials (family, clan, or tribe) appear for the first time in the Early Bronze Age, but only in small numbers and certain areas (e.g. Leucas and Crete). Grave goods, which in the Neolithic were limited to simple pots, stone tools, or jewellery, become much more varied and reflect the socioeconomic differences in the community, the wealthy graves containing bronze weapons, clay and stone vases, gold and silver jewellery, and figurines of clay or marble. There is some evidence of ritual at the grave: vessels deposited on top of the grave, libations poured to the dead, and the ritual drink or "toasting" the dead, a custom better known from the Mycenaean period.

At the time of the first Minoan palaces (2000–1700 BC), the burial practices in Crete continue mostly unchanged, though jars (pithoi) or coffins (*larnakes*) were used more frequently. On the less prosperous mainland, burials were usually made within the settlements, in pits, stone cists, or in *pithoi*, and were scantily furnished with grave goods. Burying under tumuli, the only form of communal burial in this period, was an aristocratic practice, possibly restricted to particular tribes or clans, and largely confined to Messenia.

The Mycenaean period (1600–1100 BC) saw the change to the advice of multiple burial. Primary inhumation in family tombs became the norm. Single burials were uncommon and cremation an exception before the end of the period. The monumentality of the grave, the elaboration of the burial rites, and the quality and quantity of grave goods varied in relation to the status and wealth of the deceased in what was now a highly differentiated society. The earliest aristocratic cemeteries, Grave Circles A and B at Mycenae (1650–1550 BC), were circular stone enclosures, containing the graves of men, women, and children. The later, and richer, graves were deep shafts in which a number of dead were laid, and lavishly adorned with gold, including death masks for some of the men, headbands and shrouds decorated with gold discs for the women. Men were also provided with many weapons, and with drinking cups of precious metals, and women with gold jewellery. Later princely tombs were mostly of the tholos (beehive) type with corbelled vaults. The most monumental tholos tombs were built at Mycenae in the 14th and 13th centuries BC. Aristocratic funerals seem to have been lavish affairs, with funeral processions to the grave, the dead on horse-drawn chariots, the consumption of funeral meals, and the sacrifice of animals, sometimes even horses. Commoners were buried in larger cemeteries and simpler tombs dug in the rock, with a passage leading to a chamber (chamber tombs). Here multiple burials were often made over a period of several generations; earlier burials were pushed aside to make room for new burials after the flesh of the dead had disintegrated.

The so-called Dark Age (*c.*1200–700 BC) witnessed the reversion to single inhumation, in pit- or cist-graves. This is now believed to have been the result of the depopulation and fragmentation of society which followed the destruction of the Mycenaean centres, rather than of the arrival of newcomers. Only in some regions (Crete and to a lesser extent Messenia and Thessaly) was multiple burial in chamber or tholos tombs retained. During the Protogeometric and early Geometric periods (1050–800 BC) Attica and a few other regions (especially Crete) adopted cremation to the exclusion of inhumation, particularly for adults, children being mostly inhumed. But in the 8th century inhumation made a full comeback in Athens, and for the rest of antiquity the two rites then coexisted, though there were differences from region to region and period to period, cremation being more common than inhumation for adults in the Archaic period (7th–6th centuries BC), inhumation more popular in the Hellenistic period (4th–1st centuries BC). The two practices were a matter of choice and not of status or wealth. Inhumation graves were normally single burials, in simple shafts or pits, sometimes lined with stones or covered with tiles, or in containers such as sarcophagi, clay tubs, or pots (particularly for children). Cremation burials were normally placed in urns of clay or metal, which were often placed in lidded stone boxes. The graves were surmounted by mounds (tumuli) and often by grave markers. In the Archaic period the mounds were large and the grave markers could be tall sculptured gravestones or even over-lifesized statues (*kouroi*). In the Classical period, the age of democracy, laws were passed at intervals to curb the ostentatious display of wealth and to control the expense of

funerals, and so the mounds, judging certainly from representations on vases, were much smaller, while in Athens at least sculptured stone grave markers seem to have gone out of fashion for most of the 5th century. Family plots and *peribolos* (precint) tombs (tombs built of bricks or stones above the family plot) were used in Athens in the Classical period, but the grander type of built tomb was forbidden soon after its introduction in the late 5th century BC. Impressive examples of such tombs, with temple-like facades and sometimes vaulted and richly painted interiors, were built by the Macedonian kings and aristocracy from the 4th century BC onwards. They display a monumentality and wealth of grave goods (witness the unlooted tombs of Vergina) not found since the Mycenaean period.

The ancient Greek funeral as a three-staged process was already established by the time of Homer. The laying in state of the dead, or *prothesis*, most likely took place in the courtyard of the house after the ritual washing of the corpse by the women of the household. The dead was laid on a bier, wrapped in a shroud (or wedding dress in the case of unmarried or recently married women), the head supported by pillows and adorned with a crown. An important part of the *prothesis* was the mourning and singing of dirges, both formal (*threnoi*), sung by professional mourners, and improvised (*gooi*), sung by friends and members of the family. During the *ekphora* the dead was taken to the place of burial, on a horse- or mule-drawn cart (though Geometric representations, in keeping with heroic ideals, show chariots), and accompanied by a procession of mourners and sometimes a pipe-player. Less is known about the third stage, or deposition: a libation of wine was made to the dead, grave goods (personal belongings: strigils, mirrors, jewellery, toys, or vases) were placed in the grave or in special offering places or ditches nearby. Ceremonies were held during which burnt remnants of food, including the bones of small animals or birds, were also deposited. After the funeral, a funerary banquet (*perideipnon*) in honour of the deceased was held in the deceased's house. In the days and weeks which followed, libations and offerings were made at the grave by relatives of the deceased, particularly the women. Special rituals were the *trita* (third-day rituals), *enata* (ninth-day), and *triakostia* (thirtieth-day). Subsequently rituals were held to mark the annual anniversary or special occasions.

Funerary customs did not substantially change during the Hellenistic and Roman periods, though the graves are generally poorly furnished (the most common offering is the fusiform *unguentarium*, a container for ointment). The spread of Christianity naturally had repercussions on funerary practices. One important change was the disappearance of cremation. During the Byzantine period the dead continued to be buried in single graves, though these were now usually located in graveyards adjacent to, or inside, churches and chapels. The graves themselves were cists made of stone or brick, and marked with a grave slab with a cross on it, or with an actual cross. However the earlier custom of including vases and other objects, and even the coin which had previously been intended for paying the ferryman Charon, is found in Byzantine graves, and reflects the continuity of the pagan custom of providing for the passage from life to death.

In contemporary Greece the funerary customs are a mixture of Christian practices and long-standing traditions, which have many analogies with those of antiquity. In the cities, where the undertakers are responsible for the organization of the funeral and other rites, many of the traditions have been lost, but they are still observed in rural Greece. In many villages the dead is laid out on a bed at home, while relatives and friends mourn and sing laments before the dead is taken to church for the funeral. These laments (*moirologhia*), which are part of the Greek oral tradition and a survival of the ancient *gooi*, are also sung by women during the funerary procession and at the deposition. The priest presides at the formal funerary service in church, and recites prayers for the forgiveness of the sins of the deceased (the *trisagio*) at home and at the graveyard. A coffin of metal, wood, or concrete is normally used, and a cross or, if it can be afforded, a monument of marble is later erected above the grave. Food is brought to the graveyard at the funeral and on all later occasions when rites are performed. Indispensable are the *kollyva*, consisting of boiled wheat with spices and raisins decorated with icing sugar and silver sweets. Rites are held at the grave at prescribed days after the death of a person. The dates (the third, ninth, and most importantly the fortieth) are connected with the stages in Christ's progress between his death and the Ascension, but they closely correspond to ancient practices. The last important rite to be performed at the grave is the exhumation of the bones of the deceased, which usually takes place three to seven years after burial, by which time the flesh has disintegrated completely. This practice, which has connections with the prehistoric custom of secondary burial, marks the integration of the deceased into the world of the dead and the end of the obligations of the living to the dead. The exhumed bones are placed either in designated areas in the churchyard or in ossuaries, or else they are reburied beside the original grave. In the villages the rite is usually carried out by the women and provides the last occasion for mourning, the singing of *moirologhia*, and the sharing of *kollyva*.

CHRISTINA SOUYOUDZOGLOU-HAYWOOD

See also Death

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Byron, George Gordon, Lord 1788–1824

Poet and philhellene

"While every man of any pretensions to learning" is tiring himself out studying "the harangues of the Athenian demagogues in favour of freedom, the real or supposed descendants of these sturdy republicans are left to the actual tyranny of their masters, although a very slight effort is required to strike off their chains." Byron's remark occurs in a note, written towards the end of his time in Greece and Turkey in 1809–11, to his *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*, canto 2 (1812). This work (one of the most popular poems of the 19th century), and the series of eastern tales beginning with *The Giaour* (1813), had a profound influence on European and American philhellenism in the years just before the outbreak of the Greek War of Independence in 1821; subsequently the poet's own death while attempting to help strike off the chains in 1823–24 had even greater impact.

Childe Harold is neither actively hostile to ancient Greece – there are meditations at Marathon, Sunium, and the like – nor invariably favourable to modern Greece: Byron sometimes gives voice to the common contemporary belief that modern Greeks are degenerate, unworthy to inhabit the "land of lost gods and godlike men". But there is an unusual degree of interest in such "lands scarce noticed in historic tales" as the domains of Ali Pasha in Epirus and Albania, and it is clear that on balance he is sympathetic to a people whose ungodlike nature he regarded, more than most, as an unsurprising consequence of centuries of Turkish oppression. The poet engages closely enough with these moderns to go to the unusual lengths of learning "the Romaic or Modern Greek language", the appendix on which in *Childe Harold* includes the *Battle Hymn* (1797) of Rigas of Velestino, "who perished in the attempt to revolutionize Greece". Byron's close engagement with the Greeks prompts both sympathetic sentiment and a desire to inform; *Childe Harold* combines "exoticism with a sense of history and of place and a responsiveness to contemporary political realities" (Webb, 1993).

Byron's continuing philhellenic reputation was also enhanced by his disapproval, expressed in both the *Childe Harold* canto and *The Curse of Minerva* (1812), of Lord Elgin's removal of the Parthenon frieze, and his provision, in *Don Juan*, cantos 2 and 3 (1819), of both a sympathetic modern Greek heroine, Haidée (speaker of "good modern Greek / With an Ionian accent, low and sweet"), and a song that, taken out of its partly ironic context, became one of the anthems of philhellenism: "The isles of Greece, the isles of Greece! / Where burning Sappho loved and sung...".

Byron, who was sympathetic to liberal causes including that of the Italian *carbonari*, took some interest in the Greek War of Independence from its inception. He became more involved once the London Greek Committee approached him in April 1823. Edward Blaquiere, an Irish supporter of Greek independence, encouraged him on behalf of the committee to lend his aid in "resuscitating the land already so well illustrated by your sublime and energetic muse", and he was made a member in May. His departure for Greece was also a response to personal imperatives including a desire to do great deeds instead of writing poems, perhaps to improve his reputation at home, and to escape from his relationship with Teresa Guiccioli.

Having raised as much money as possible, Byron set off from Genoa in July. He went to Cephalonia, where the British resident, colonel Charles Napier, was both well disposed to the Greek cause and among those best able to brief his visitor on the complex internal divisions among the Greek leaders (a state of affairs little known to or idealistically ignored by the committee). Anxious about the implications of supporting or appearing to support a particular faction or grouping, Byron stayed in Cephalonia until late December. Finally in January 1824 he moved to Missolonghi, headquarters of prince Alexandros Mavrokordatos, although he attempted not to become too closely identified with him. Byron's time here was mostly difficult and unhappy – he was besieged in person or by letter by Greeks of every faction seeking money, attempted to pacify quarrelsome foreign volunteers, had difficulties in controlling the hundreds of unruly Suliotes and Albanians whom he for a time employed, and was irritated and confined by the persistent rain which made the already naturally damp Missolonghi "a mud-basket". Military supplies from the London Greek Committee were slow in coming and inadequate or unsuitable when they did arrive, and its promised loan, which Byron was to have administered, was not finalized until just before his death. Not surprisingly, he was less unambiguously committed to the cause than pious legend would have it; he stopped keeping a journal because he "could not help abusing the Greeks in it". But he was determined to honour his word, and expressed loyalty to newly awoken Greece and a heroic determination to seek "A Soldier's Grave" in one of his last poems, "On This Day I Complete My Thirty-Sixth Year". (The Byron myth has often stressed this aspect of the poem rather than its explicit origin as a reaction to unrequited love, particularly perhaps since the love was for a Greek boy, Loukas Chalandritsanos.) The loyalty was preserved inviolate by his death (from fever exacerbated by excessive medical bleeding) in April 1824. This was probably more useful to the Greek cause than anything Byron could have achieved while living.

He became immediately a martyr in the cause of liberty, saluted in a stirring funeral oration by Spiridion Trikoupis (itself an influence on subsequent tributes in verse), with solemn mourning and cannon shots in Missolonghi, and then with a national day of mourning. Through the 19th and early 20th century and beyond statues designed to stress his heroic qualities proliferated, and streets and children were named after him. (The best-known statue, of Byron and Greece in the Zappeion gardens in Athens, dates from 1896.) He was mourned in klephtic ballads, by Dionysios Solomos in his *Lyrical Poem on the Death of Lord Byron* (unpublished until after Solomos's death in 1857 but later influential), by Andreas Kalvos in "The Britannic Muse" (1826); later the academic poet Alexandros Soutsos, the popular poet Achilleus Paraschos, and many others continued to proclaim Byron's glorious sacrifice; there was a fresh rush of poetry to mark the centenary of his death in 1924, and he was the subject of plays by Alekos Lidorikis (1934) and Manolis Skouloudis (1964).

Interest in the hero's life led to some interest in his poems, most of which were available in translation from the 1850s. Solomos's *Hymn to Liberty* (1825), begun in 1823, echoes the

Lord Byron: statue at Missolonghi, erected in 1881, with the poet's heart buried beneath

"Isles of Greece" song – where the breasts of Byron's pre-rebellion Greek maidens must one day "suckle slaves", those of Solomos's maidens will suckle "courage and freedom" – and much 19th-century Greek poetry is more generally "Byronic". As late as 1912 Kostis Palamas (in "Pegasus") asserts that Pegasus has been riderless since Byron's death and only now does a Greek poet make bold to mount in his place. Nevertheless, in Greece as to some extent elsewhere, his life as mythically constructed since Missolonghi has remained much better known than his work or his actually more complex attitude to the Greeks.

MARTIN GARRETT

Biography

Born in London in 1788, Byron was educated at Harrow and Trinity College, Cambridge. He visited Greece and Turkey in 1809–11 after which (in 1812) he published the first two cantos of *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*. Its lament on the bondage of Greece had a profound effect on European and American philhellenism. Byron himself sailed for Greece in 1823 and died of fever at Missolonghi in 1824.

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Byzantine Period, Early 330–843

In AD 324 Constantine the Great became sole ruler of a Roman empire that could still claim its territorial integrity. It was at this time that he took the momentous decision to build a new city on the shores of the Bosporus, on the site of ancient Byzantium. Constantine's city, Constantinople, was soon to be known as the "New Rome", and, although not designated at first to be the capital of the empire, it was to become so. Constantinople was positioned in close proximity to centres of Hellenistic culture; in time, and under Christian influence, it became the focal point and representative of the Christian Byzantine empire as Rome had been of the earlier pagan civilization of the Mediterranean.

The Christian author Sozomen relates how Constantine, after a long search for a suitable site for his city, was told in a dream to abandon his plan to build on the ruins of what was believed to be the legendary Troy, and consequently decided to raise his city on the ruins of Byzantium (Sozomen, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 2. 3). Christian legend later told the story that when founding "New Rome" Constantine walked a great distance outlining the circumference of his city until those who accompanied him asked in wonderment: "How long, our Lord, will you keep going?" He reportedly replied: "I shall keep on until he who walks ahead of me will stop" (Philostorgius, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 2. 9).

It was thus believed that Constantinople had been situated on the shores of the Bosporus on the site of Byzantium, the ancient colony of the Megarians, by divine intervention. The city commanded the entrances to the Black and the Mediterranean seas, and was placed on the border of two continents: Europe and Asia. The ancients had considered this location so advantageous that the Greek historian Herodotus told how the Persian general Megabazus, on arriving at Byzantium, called the inhabitants of the opposite shore at Chalcedon a blind people for having failed to build their colony on the better site, which was soon after occupied by the Megarians (Herodotus, 4. 1–44).

Constantine ordered materials to be brought from everywhere in the Roman empire, and pagan works of art were requisitioned by his agents and shipped to Constantinople from major imperial cities. The emperor's new city was dedicated on 11 May 330 with celebrations that lasted for 40 days. In order to protect his creation, Constantine surrounded the city with a wall that reached from the Golden Horn to the Sea of Marmora.

An insufficient number of monuments and buildings have survived the ravages of time to give us evidence of what the city must have looked like in the days of its founder. The church of St Irene, however, although rebuilt twice, during the reigns of Justinian the Great (527–65) and Leo III (716–41), dates back to the time of the first Christian emperor, and is preserved to this day. Of the pagan monuments brought to Constantinople, the famous serpent column from Delphi, given to the sanctuary of Apollo in commemoration of the Battle of Plataea, can still be seen in Istanbul today.

Not only architecture but Christian literature flourished under Constantine. The bishop Eusebius, the "father of ecclesiastical history", lived into the early 4th century and is the principal authority on Constantine the Great. His main work,

the *Ecclesiastical History*, covers the time span from Christ to 324, when a victorious Constantine became sole ruler of the empire. The *History* is one of the most important sources for early Christianity, containing a wealth of documentary data. It is the first Church history to have been written, and thus sets the tone for later historians of Christianity. The spurious *Vita Constantina*, if written by Eusebius at all, is a panegyric rather than a history of the life of the emperor. The work of Eusebius was later continued by Socrates, Sozomen, Theodoret, and the Arian Philostorgius.

The intellectual life of the empire in this period was particularly rich and vigorous in Egypt, and especially so in Alexandria. Synesius of Cyrene, a scion of an old pagan family, began as a Neoplatonist but ended his life as the bishop of Ptolemaïs. Regardless of this, his sentiments remained coloured by his pagan past. Although not a historian, his work contains much that is of historical interest; but it is mostly as a stylist that Synesius set a standard that was much admired and copied by later writers. Athanasius, bishop of Alexandria, devoted his work to theological disputes during the long conflict with Arianism. In addition, he wrote a *Life of St Antony* in celebration of the founder of monasticism. He was followed by Palladius who, writing under the influence of Athanasius, presented in his work the ideal of the ascetic life. Cyril, another bishop of Alexandria, wrote letters and sermons that were no stylistic masterpieces since, by his own admission, he lacked a rhetorical education. Clearly, such training was still considered the cornerstone of the education of the elite.

An interesting woman whose impressive erudition stands out against the background of the savants of early Christianity is Hypatia, who lived in the early 5th century. The daughter of an Alexandrian mathematician, and a woman of great beauty, she became a philosopher in her own right. Alas the learned lady was finally killed by a fanatical crowd in Alexandria.

When Constantine died in 337, he left to his heirs an empire that once more had a well- established currency in the splendid *solidus* (*nomisma*), a gold coin that was to retain its value, and the respect it commanded throughout the Mediterranean world and beyond, for almost 700 years. The army that he had led so successfully in many battles was devoted to the house of Constantine, and, given the Achilles heel of an uncertain succession, it insisted that only the three living sons of the emperor could rule. This led to the massacre of all the other relatives of Constantine except for two very young boys, his nephews Gallus and Julian.

The three sons who followed him, Constantine, Constans, and Constantius, shared a combined reign from 337 to 340. With his brothers eliminated in 340 and 350 respectively after a period of conflict, Constantius became sole ruler of the empire for the rest of his reign. For lack of an heir, Constantius made his cousin, Julian, Caesar in 335. In 361 Julian's troops declared him emperor. Civil war was barely avoided when on his deathbed Constantius magnanimously designated Julian as his successor.

Julian (361–63), known as the "Apostate", had a brief reign during which he tried to bring back pagan worship. In his youth, when he was virtually an exile, he had cultivated the study of philosophy and, although baptized, loathed the Christian religion. Julian was a brilliant intellectual who was at home in various genres of literature: orations, letters, and satire. His satirical work, the *Misopogon*, is an important biographical source for the emperor's life. He met an early death when he invaded Persia at the head of his armies. Subsequent rumours told that he had been struck down by a Christian among his own soldiers. Christianity had won the day, and the reign of Julian can be seen as a failed attempt to turn back the clock.

The empire faced troubled times as a result of both the renewed barbarian invasions and the calamitous Battle of Adrianople (378), in which the emperor Valens lost his life, and after which Gothic forces overran imperial territory. It was for reasons of such dangers that the emperor Gratian raised to the throne as co-emperor Theodosius, an able general who, on account of a conspiracy against his father that led to the latter's execution, had lived in exile in Spain. To satisfy dynastic sensibilities, Theodosius married Gratian's half-sister, Galla.

The emperor eventually established his two sons as successors: the older son, Arcadius, was to remain in Constantinople as senior Augustus while Honorius, his younger son, was to rule the West. Throughout his reign it had been the aim of Theodosius to maintain the unity of the empire but paradoxically, by designating his sons as rulers of an eastern and western territory respectively, the end of the 4th century foreshadows later developments leading to regional separation and a cultural parting of ways between East and West. In Church matters he was staunchly orthodox, and it was in his time that Christianity finally won its place as the religion of state. Theodosius' religious legislation granted a measure of tolerance to the Jews but was heavy-handed in dealing with pagans and heretics. A grateful Church would later call him "the Great".

The immediate successors in the Theodosian dynasty were singularly undistinguished. During their reigns the prominence at court of military men rather than men of culture is not surprising given the dangers surrounding the empire. In the year of Theodosius' death the Huns had overrun Syria and Mesopotamia while the Visigoths ravaged the Balkans. As a precautionary measure, Anthemius, praetorian prefect of the east under Theodosius II (408–50), surrounded Constantinople with additional defences, the Theodosian walls, which made the city virtually impregnable. The rule of Theodosius II is furthermore distinguished by the founding of a school of higher learning in Constantinople. This may have been due to the influence of the emperor's wife, the learned empress Eudocia. As a final achievement in 438, together with Valentinian III, he issued the Theodosian Code, which is the earliest imperial collection of laws.

The era was dominated by disputes over Christian dogma, and in 451 the emperor Marcian, who had succeeded Theodosius II, called the Fourth Ecumenical Council to meet at Chalcedon. It was to determine the thorny question of the nature of Christ, and ended condemning both the Monophysite and the Nestorian interpretations of the dogma. The council pronounced that Christ was both God and Man, and reaffirmed the status of the Virgin Mary as *Theotokos* ("one who gave birth to God"). The importance of the council lies furthermore in that it established Constantinople as ranking second only to Rome. Chalcedon remained a benchmark in the history of the Church, and further disagreements

would inevitably be measured against the canons it had established.

Athens, ancient abode of Greek philosophy, although in decline, could still in the 5th century boast of being its centre. Proclus of Constantinople, the last important representative of Neoplatonic thought, taught there. The influence of philosophy may have been waning but there were many writers in this troubled century who recorded interesting aspects of the new enemies threatening the empire. One of them, Priscus of Thrace, had been a member of an embassy to the court of Attila, king of the Huns. He observed much about the customs of these people, and his work became a source for later authors such as Cassiodorus and Jordanes. The pagan writer Zosimus wrote a *New History*, which ends with the Visigothic siege and sack of Rome in 410. He contends that this calamity was brought about by the anger of the pagan gods for having been abandoned by the Romans, and he blames Constantine the Great for it. By contrast, he has the highest regard for the emperor Julian.

In this period three elements – Christianity, Hellenism, and the orient – provided the basis for the development of a distinctly Christian art; and imperial Constantinople became central to Christian culture in its eastern form. The "New Rome" was able to assimilate and transmute the various elements into a new artistic and cultural synthesis.

In the eastern Mediterranean the early churches of the Holy Land, such as those of Jerusalem, Bethlehem, and Nazareth, belong to the era of Constantine's dynasty. The monastery of St Simeon Stylites (Qalat Seman) between Antioch and Aleppo remains an impressive witness to this splendid early achievement, even as a ruin. Arcadius (395–408), the successor of Theodosius the Great, built a basilica in the Maryut desert near Alexandria over the grave of Menas, a revered Egyptian saint. There is thus evidence that imperial generosity and support for the Church reached well beyond the confines of the capital.

When the emperor Justin I died in 527, his nephew Petrus Sabbatius became emperor as Justinian I (527–65). His reign, although it has its critics, is generally regarded as a "golden age". It seems that Justinian's plans were oriented towards the West from the beginning. Latin was emphasized as the language of government, and religious orthodoxy, in the sense of the western Church, was enforced. The religious policy of Justinian aimed at orthodox conformity, in spite of his empress's Monophysite sympathies. His main effort, however, was to eradicate all traces of paganism. In this spirit, in 529 he closed the Academy in Athens, which had been founded 900 years earlier by Plato. By contrast, the school of higher learning that had been established earlier in Constantinople continued to flourish into the days of the emperor Maurice (582–602). The main aim of this institution was no doubt to provide the imperial government with educated bureaucrats.

The emperor himself was engaged in theological disputes, and wrote dogmatic tracts and hymnology. His many achievements, nevertheless, are celebrated by the historians of his reign. Foremost among the latter stands Procopius of Caesarea. Educated for a career in law, he became secretary to Justinian's general, Belisarius, the conqueror of Vandal Africa and Ostrogothic Italy. In this position he had access to letters, dispatches, and conversations that together with his personal observations inform his writings. In addition to Procopius' official histories of Justinian's wars and building activities, in the *Anecdota* he launched a vicious attack on the emperor and his consort, Theodora. His works, for all their exaggerations, are nevertheless of great historical value, and are important for the information they contain on the early Slavic and Germanic peoples.

A contemporary of Procopius, Peter the Patrician, composed, among other things, a treatise on court ceremonies, part of which was later incorporated into the writings of Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos (913–59) in his own work on this subject. Procopius was followed by Agathias who wrote poems, epigrams, and a history of the reign of Justinian covering the period from 552 to 558. Agathias was in turn succeeded by Menander Protector who related events up to the accession of Maurice. Although extant only in fragments, Menander's history contains valuable information on geography and ethnography. It was continued by Theopylaktos Simokattes whose major work, a history of the reign of Maurice, and probably written early in the reign of Herakleios (608–41), is an important source.

A bureaucrat under Justinian, John the Lydian, wrote a treatise on the administration of the empire. John, it is said, was much valued by Justinian on account of his excellent education; so much so that he commissioned him to write an imperial panegyric. The era of Justinian furthermore produced works on a broad geographical scale, such as the *Christian Topography* of Cosmas Indicopleustes, and the statistical survey of the political geography of the empire, the *Synekdimos* of Hierocles. This latter work was to become an important source of geographical information for Constantine Porphyrogennetos. There were also writers of chronicles such as John Malalas. He was a Syrian from Antioch who could boast little education, but his chronicle, written in vulgar Greek, spans the time from the early Egyptians to the end of Justinian's reign. It became immensely popular, and exerted much influence beyond the borders of the empire when it was translated into Slavonic.

Church history in this era is represented by the Syrian Evagrius, who wrote about ecclesiastical events from the Council of Ephesus (431) to the year 593, and John of Ephesus (d. *c.*586), who wrote his work in Syriac. The latter's account is written from a Monophysite viewpoint. This bias is important since Monophysitism was then the prime theological dispute, and, by extension, a hot political issue as well. In addition to his *Ecclesiastical History*, which begins with the time of Julius Caesar and ends in 585, he also wrote a work on the lives of the eastern saints. Another contemporary of both Justin and Justinian was Leontius of Byzantium. His polemical writings, which expound an orthodox religious view, are typical of a Byzantine intellectual who moved gradually away from the once fashionable Neoplatonic thought and nearer to that of Aristotle.

There is finally a host of authors of hagiographical and devotional literature. Cyril of Scythopolis, a monk of the Palestinian lavra of Mar Saba, wrote saints' lives but his work remained incomplete. But, even so, his writings are a valuable source for cultural history. Another Palestinian monk, John Moschus, composed in Greek *The Spiritual Meadow* (*Leimon*) in which he gathers together the experiences gained in his travels to monasteries throughout the east. This work became

favourite reading in the Byzantine empire and neighbouring countries. Given the interest of the reading public in matters of religion, the era may justly be called an "age of spirituality".

Romanos the Melodist, a writer of hymns, lived in the reign of Justinian. It is thought that he was the creator of the *Akathistos* hymn in praise of the *Theotokos*. It is worth noting that the Virgin Mary rose in the 6th century to her exalted place as the protectress of Constantinople, and that in the reign of the emperor Maurice her ascension into heaven became a feast day. Paul the Silentiary too was a contemporary of Justinian. He celebrated in Greek verse the beauty of the emperor's great church, Hagia Sophia, and particularly its splendid pulpit. Paul's poetry on this subject is still of much interest to art historians today.

The North African writer Corippus, who wrote his work in Latin, lived at first at Carthage but was later called to the imperial court at Constantinople. His works give testimony of the continued use of Latin into Justinian's reign. His *Johannis* was written in praise of John Troglita, the general who successfully put down a revolt against the imperial regime in North Africa. In addition, a panegyric of Justin II by Corippus contains interesting material on 6th-century court ceremonies. Finally, there was a body of entertainment literature such as romances and novels that was popular with the educated populations of the great cities of the empire. It is easy to conclude from the foregoing brief overview that the age of late antiquity preserved, and even expanded, its literary heritage.

As lawgiver, Justinian realized that the Code of Theodosius no longer served the needs of the law courts. It was largely incomplete, and earlier laws existed in scattered collections only. Thus he decided to replace it. A committee was established under the chairmanship of Tribonius, his quaestor, and in 529 the first edition of the new code was issued. But it had been too hastily compiled, and this made it necessary to produce a revised edition, in 534. Justinian's code consists of three parts: the *Institutes* (a legal textbook), the *Digest* (a commentary of jurists from the 2nd century onwards), and the *Corpus Iuris Civilis*, beginning with the praetor's edict under Hadrian and continuing to the time of Justinian. Later, Justinian's own legislation, the *Novellae*, was appended to the code. It remained a source of legal thought in Christendom, and when it was reintroduced in the West from the 11th century on, it became the foundation of civil law in continental Europe.

The other great achievement of the age of Justinian lay in his building activities, the most outstanding example of which is the monumental church of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople, built after an earlier church had been destroyed in the Nika rebellion of 532. Hagia Sophia is a domed basilica, with the enormous central dome rising over a longitudinal nave; and its interior is splendidly decorated with richly coloured mosaics and marbles. Throughout the ages, this church made such an impression on visitors to Constantinople that a whole body of legends and miraculous stories began to circulate, influencing even writers of Slavic and Islamic cultures. The other important church erected by Justinian, and designed by the same pair of architects who had planned Hagia Sophia, namely Isidore of Miletus and Anthemius of Tralles, was the church of the Holy Apostles which, originating in the time of Constantine the Great, was in such disrepair that the emperor decided to rebuild it. It remained as the burial place of the Byzantine emperors up to the 11th century but was destroyed in the Turkish conquest of Constantinople by Mehmet II to make room for his own mosque. Today the church of St Mark in Venice, which was modelled on the Holy Apostles, gives an indication of what its prototype in Constantinople must have looked like.

An outpost of Byzantine administration in the West in the 6th century, the exarchate of Ravenna had previously been first the capital of the western government under the emperor Honorius (395–423) and after that of Ostrogothic Italy. The period of the exarchate represents a brilliant phase in the architectural history of that city. When Ravenna fell to the conquering Byzantine army under the command of Belisarius, the church of San Vitale, the construction of which had already been started under the Ostrogoths, was then completed by order of Justinian. The other great church of this period is San Apollinare in Classe, the harbour of Ravenna. Grandiosely conceived in their architectural design, the most outstanding features of these churches are the mosaics. The apse of San Vitale contains the most discussed mosaics of Justinian's reign, showing on facing panels the emperor and empress, surrounded by their courts.

As recorded by Procopius in his *De Aedificiis*, Justinian built, in addition to these churches, fortifications, monasteries, baths, hospitals, and aqueducts. Little remains today of these buildings, and some are now known only through literary descriptions. Besides the great architectural and literary achievements of the age, the creations of the so-called "minor arts" should not be forgotten. These works in carved ivory, woven textiles, intricate metalwork, and colourful enamels still convey today the brilliance of the Byzantine achievement in late antiquity. As Gervase Mathew reminds us, "In Byzantine civilization these arts are never minor."

Tiberius' reign (578–82) ushered in a new era in Byzantine history. The emperor turned his attention to the affairs of the threatened East, abandoning much of Italy to the Lombards and leaving only the exarchate of Ravenna and parts of southern Italy under imperial control. A similar policy was pursued by Maurice who succeeded him in 582. He himself was an educated man who had risen in both the bureaucracy and the military, and presumably would have been sympathetic to the high culture of his day. This is supported in various sources that point to the achievements of his reign. But with the empire threatened once again by the might of Persia, and inroads of Avars and Slavs in the Balkans, there was little to spare for cultivating the arts. The so-called *Strategikon* (General's Handbook) of the emperor Maurice may have been written in his time, bearing testimony to the military concerns of the age. In the end, the emperor's political realism accompanied by stringent fiscal measures proved unpopular, and he fell victim to an army rebellion in 602.

The following reign, of Phokas (602–10) who had led the uprising against Maurice, is a dark page in the cultural life of the empire. The era is characterized by anarchy, foreign invasions, and internal conspiracies. With the coming of Herakleios, son of the exarch of Africa, the empire entered into a period of great military conflicts with Persia and the Avar power. Jerusalem was captured by the Persians who penetrated as far as Egypt. It was only in 628 that Herakleios was able to

overcome the Persians and decisively crush Sassanian might. In the Balkans he established suzerainty over the Slavs following the waning of Avar control in the region.

In religion, too, Herakleios tried to find a solution to the vexing conflict with Monophysitism, issuing the *Ekthesis* or Exposition of Faith in 636, recognizing two natures but one will in Christ. The *Ekthesis* aimed at reconciling the Monophysites in the eastern provinces. It was, however, too late since at the same time the rapid conquest of these provinces by Arab forces under the banner of Islam had begun.

Ironically, the territorially shrunken Byzantine empire became more homogeneous as a result of having lost most of the provinces in which Monophysitism was strongest. This process was complete when Egypt too was conquered by Amr, the Muslim general, in 658. The empire became distinctly Greek in speech and culture in the time of Herakleios who, by taking the title of *basileus* (king), finally broke with the tradition of his predecessors who had styled themselves successors of the first Roman emperor, Augustus.

The early part of Herakleios's reign had been a struggle for the very existence of the empire, and the later period was overshadowed by the Arab menace. For this reason the intellectual life of the age was at an all-time low. Nevertheless, George of Pisidia, the deacon of Hagia Sophia, celebrated the reign of Herakleios in three historical works, and composed a panegyric in his honour on the occasion of his final victory in the conflict with Persia. George was later much appreciated by the 11th-century scholar Michael Psellos who considered him an equal of Euripides. The so-called *Chronicon Paschale* was composed in the reign of Herakleios and, although largely unoriginal, contains some interesting historical remarks about contemporary events.

The dynasty of Herakleios ended in 711 with the death of Justinian II. After a brief interlude of non-dynastic rulers, Leo III founded a dynasty that lasted until 802. The iconoclast emperors of Leo's house shook the very foundations of Byzantine religiosity when they legislated against religious art, and especially the veneration of icons, many of which were believed by the people of the empire to be heavenly manifestations "not made by human hands".

The period was also characterized by the great struggle between Byzantium and Islam. In an all-out offensive, the Muslims tried to take the capital, Constantinople, itself. The attempt failed thanks to the skilful use of Greek fire and the severity of a winter campaign that made the Muslim forces withdraw in 718. It was the last Arab attempt to take the "God-protected" city, and given the importance accorded to Leo's victory by later generations, it assumes historic significance. Constantinople had become the "sacred fortress" of Christendom in the minds of many.

Leo's reign is also remembered for the emperor's legislative activity. He realized that Justinian's code, which had been composed in Latin, no longer reflected the conditions of the Greek-speaking empire. His code, the *Ekloga*, was issued in the name of the "wise and pious emperors, Leo and Constantine".

Modern scholarship has tried to find connections between the Arab danger to the empire and Leo's iconoclast legislation. It is also thought that Leo, who was probably of Syrian origin, was influenced by Jewish and Muslim thought in the matter of images. Both religions considered the use of icons as a form of idolatry, and it has been noted in the historical analysis of iconoclasm that the caliph Yazid II forbade the Christians in his territory to venerate images three years before Leo's edict to the same effect.

Whatever provoked the emperor's stand on icons, his and his successors' legislation had far-reaching consequences, especially when after the Synod of Hieria (754) the destruction of sacred art was carried out with brutal efficiency. In this attempt to stamp out the worship of sacred images, icons, whether painted or in mosaic, sculpture, or illuminated manuscripts, were ruthlessly destroyed. This wholesale destruction was also accompanied by the annihilation of relics. Ironically, what remained of earlier religious art survived mostly in the provinces that had been lost to Islam and which were therefore beyond the reach of the imperial government.

It was in the reign of the empress Irene (797–802) that icon veneration was once more temporarily established. The second period of iconoclasm, however, ended only in the regency of Theodora, wife of the emperor Theophilos, who convened a council that reinstated the legality of icons throughout the empire in 843. The date of this event, 11 March, is to this day celebrated in the Greek Orthodox Church as the feast of Orthodoxy.

Much as the iconoclast emperors had achieved in their reigns, their policies hastened the rupture with the papacy, and made possible the crowning of Charlemagne as emperor of a renewed Roman empire in the west in 800.

FRANZISKA E. SHLOSSER

See also Chronicles, Hagia Sophia, Hagiography, Historiography, Hymnography, Iconoclasm, Law, Ravenna

Summary

From 330, the dedication of Constantinople by Constantine the Great, to 843, the triumph of Orthodoxy. Architecture and Christian literature develops under Constantine. Intellectual life flourishes in Egypt. Christianity becomes state religion under Theodosius I. Fourth Ecumenical Council at Chalcedon determines Christ's nature. Athens remains the centre of Greek philosophy. The Golden Age of Justinian in the 6th century as seen in Ravenna and elsewhere. Period of iconoclasm is followed by the triumph of Orthodoxy.

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Byzantine Period, Middle 843–1204

The middle Byzantine period began with the re-establishment of the veneration of icons in 843 and ended with the fall of Constantinople to the Crusaders in 1204. The period has been characterized as the "classic" phase of Byzantine civilization, when many of those features usually seen as most typically Byzantine from the modern point of view can be most clearly discerned.

Although the overall structure of imperial government and Church administration remained similar to that of earlier centuries, the social and economic role of local landowners and monasteries increased considerably compared with the early Byzantine period. Many new monasteries were founded, including the great monastic centres at Mount Athos and the Meteora in Greece, and these had a high degree of autonomy. The autonomy of the local aristocracies, within the thematic administrative structure already established, was also greater than in the early Byzantine period, and these rural "lords" came to play an important role in Byzantine society in general.

Accordingly, the middle Byzantine countryside was divided into large estates, owned by monastic houses or secular magnates. Rural society and economy became increasingly "feudal" in organization, especially at the end of the middle Byzantine period. There was a strict social hierarchy, although a degree of social mobility is apparent. However, the government in Constantinople retained control of the empire and was able to collect taxes, issue coinage, and enforce laws. Greek was the language of government, but religion – not language – became the defining feature of the Byzantine political and cultural identity, although a "Roman" identity was still also asserted.

Although an episcopal structure of Church administration remained, focused on the patriarch of Constantinople, the most distinctive characteristic of the middle Byzantine Church was the many monasteries, large and small. Middle Byzantine monasteries tended to share a similar layout, as exemplified both on Mount Athos and at the Meteora and on a smaller scale at many lesser monastic centres, as at Sagmata in Boeotia. Enclosed by a wall, with an elaborate main gate, they were centred on a church set in the middle of a courtyard. Around this were the monks' accommodation, refectory, and other buildings, often of more than one storey in height. As these examples show, in Greece and the Balkans especially, a large number of middle Byzantine monasteries still survive today as religious houses and many church buildings of this date also remain in use.

In cultural terms, probably the most important change affecting the middle Byzantine Church was the end of iconoclasm. This restored the veneration of icons to the liturgy and acted as a stimulus both to the arts (especially mosaic and painting) and to the monastic movement. Throughout the period the Church also actively supported a wide range of intellectual life, including literature and secular learning. In particular, Constantinople itself became a major centre for renewed academic and artistic activity. Thus, during the middle Byzantine period a distinctive new artistic style emerged that owed less to the Roman past than had early Byzantine art and which was often – although by no means universally – religious in its subjects.

Byzantine culture also began to encompass peoples outside the empire, as Orthodoxy gained new converts beyond the imperial frontiers. New Orthodox states were established following the conversion of the Bulgarian ruler (Boris I) in 864 and tsar Vladimir of Russia in 988. One result of this may have been the formation of a cultural, religious, and perhaps political zone centred on Constantinople, in which courts and the

Middle Byzantine Period: 9th- or 10th-century mosaic of Christ in Glory, church of Hagia Sophia, Thessalonica

Church in a number of independent states emulated Byzantine institutions: the "Byzantine Commonwealth".

It was in this period, too, that Byzantine church architecture began conventionally to employ the "cross-in-square" or "inscribed cross plan", which has remained a model for Orthodox churches ever since. During the middle Byzantine period this rapidly became the standard form of church building, and examples are known throughout the empire. Perhaps among the earliest churches of this form still standing are at Tirilye (in Bithynia), Side (in Turkey), and Skripou (in Boeotia). At Constantinople the first church employing this plan may well have been the Nea Ekklesia at the Great Palace (880). However, the oldest examples still in existence in the Byzantine capital are the Myrelaion and the Monastery of Constantine Lips churches, dating from the 10th century.

The origins of the cross-in-square church are obscure: some scholars have detected early Byzantine provincial (perhaps Armenian) predecessors to this distinctive plan; others think it originated from the architectural elaboration of cross-domed churches. Whatever its origins, the cross-in-square church is perhaps the archetypal middle Byzantine monument, although it is important to note that the rock-cut churches of Cappadocia include examples with many other plans. This may suggest that there was a wider diversity of middle Byzantine church forms than the evidence of free-standing buildings would imply, and the rock-cut churches themselves also remind us that regional constructional techniques and building types still existed.

Churches are associated with other architectural developments of the period. These include an increased emphasis on the exterior appearance of buildings; a tendency for smaller, more compact structures; and a formalization of the decorative programme of churches, so that different buildings tend to have similar schemes of art. These artistic programmes show biblical scenes, saints, and notables in a strict hierarchy throughout the church building, with Christ depicted in the (almost ubiquitous) dome.

Secular palaces known from middle Byzantine written sources also often seem to have adopted a plan similar to monasteries – that of a courtyard with central church – although rural aristocratic centres also included castle-like hilltop fortresses, appropriate to the military lifestyle of the secular rural elite.

In the borderlands where these "lords" were strongest, they

existed in a society that, while strongly Christian in its religion, was open to much Islamic cultural influence, as reflected in the fictional story of Digenis Akritis. The extent to which a fusion of cultures emerged in this border area is unclear. For example, there seems to have been some Islamic influence on the architecture of Byzantine palace buildings from the 9th century onward. This was not only in the eastern borderlands that were adjacent to Islamic polities, but even in Constantinople. The earliest instance of this is perhaps the palace built at Bryas (near Constantinople) by emperor Theophilos (829–42), which was explicitly modelled on buildings in Baghdad. Later, emperor John II Komnenos (1118–43) built a Seljuk-style pavilion (the Muchroutas) in the Great Palace at Constantinople.

Much more problematical is the extent to which Islamic architectural styles were employed in secular contexts in eastern Anatolia itself. In Cappadocia many middle Byzantine buildings – especially elaborately decorated churches – were cut into the soft tufa. Some have both Byzantine and Islamic architectural features, and it has been suggested that some may be the mansions of local secular landowners, although the more usual interpretation is that they all represent churches and monasteries.

Throughout the Byzantine empire both monastic communities and the rural aristocracy gained their economic support mainly from agriculture. The rural population lived in small villages, but little is known about such settlements archaeologically and they were seldom described in detail in texts. Most likely, they characteristically contained wooden or stonebuilt rectangular houses, with tiled or thatched roofs. Most villages probably also had a church, serving as the focus for the community.

However, although the economy was predominantly agricultural and the population mostly dwelt on the land, towns did exist, as at Thessalonica and Pergamum. Constantinople, the capital, was still by far the most important political, cultural, and trading centre and the largest city. In the 9th century both it and many of the provincial towns seem to have been smaller and very different in character from their early Byzantine predecessors. However, during the middle Byzantine period it seems that both Constantinople and other towns grew in size and acquired new commercial roles.

Characteristically, the middle-Byzantine period town contained closely packed stonebuilt houses (examples of which have been excavated at Athens and Pergamum) set along narrow streets, within a defensive wall. The civic buildings and other monuments of earlier periods were largely disused, and the principal public buildings in most of these towns (as in the villages) were churches. Monasteries were more common within middle Byzantine towns than had perhaps previously been the case, and crafts, including pottery production, were carried out within towns as well as in the monasteries and villages in the countryside.

Middle-Byzantine pottery is very distinctive. From the 7th century at the latest, Byzantine pottery was often glazed, and glazed and elaborately decorated pottery characterizes middle Byzantine assemblages. For example, "polychrome ware", glazed white vessels highly decorated with red, blue, and black paint, is characteristic of the middle-Byzantine period. A range of wall plaques, in the same style, adorned many buildings in Constantinople, as at St John Studios, the Myrelaion, and the Great Palace itself. Many other types of glazed pottery were also produced, as well as unglazed vessels and amphorae. These are commonly found at Byzantine town and monastery sites during excavation, but their study is hampered by a lack of well-dated archaeological contexts.

Other material changes in everyday life are also evidenced. For example, although wall mosaics were still made, floor mosaics – common in major buildings in the early Byzantine period – were no longer routinely laid. *Opus sectile* (a floor made of larger pieces of marble or other stone placed in designs) took their place. While this may be no more than a matter of fashion, some indications of technological change seem to be present. To give one example, aqueducts seem no longer to have supplied the needs of towns for drinking water. Instead, water was commonly stored in cisterns, one of the most widespread features of Byzantine sites of this date.

Thus, the middle-Byzantine period shows both continuities and discontinuities from the early-Byzantine period in culture, administration, society, economy, and in its material aspects. This has led to much debate over a range of related issues, including the connection between middle-Byzantine culture, society, economy, and technology and those of the Roman world, the degree of innovation present in the middle-Byzantine period, and the extent and character of both feudalism and urbanism. Nevertheless, few would doubt today that the middle-Byzantine period saw some of the greatest cultural and political achievements of Byzantine civilization.

KEN DARK

See also Commonwealth, Estates, Monasteries, Mosaic, Painting

Summary

Dated from 802 to 1204, the middle-Byzantine period is often regarded as the "classic" phase of Byzantine culture. Following the Triumph of Orthodoxy (the restoration of icons) in 843 many monasteries were founded. Religion, not language, became the criterion of cultural identity. The arts and learning flourished and the Church was their principal patron.

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Byzantine Period, Late 1261–1453

The final phase of Byzantine civilization presents a remarkable paradox of health within infirmity.

During the final two centuries of Byzantium's history, its political situation was one of consistent decline. The recovery of Constantinople in 1261 by the imperial regime in Nicaea seemed to vindicate Byzantium's humiliation of 1204. But when the first ruler of the new (and ultimate) dynasty of the Palaiologoi, Michael VIII (1259–82), boldly attempted to play a grand role in international politics, he was in fact stretching the capacities of his realm to near breaking-point. His successors were obliged to confront the realities of governing what had become a minor local state – "the empire of the Straits" it has been called – within a context of international affairs in which neighbours and rivals were far greater powers. External weakness was compounded by internal dynastic and social conflicts which made it the more vulnerable to the aggressions of its neighbours, especially the Serbians in the first half of the 14th century, and then the Ottoman Turks in the second half. Even before the beginning of the 15th century, a half-century before the final debacle of 1453, Byzantium was a ravaged spectre of a state: its lands reduced to Constantinople, a few islands, and other scraps of territory, its economy largely in the hands of others, and its government little more than a holding operation in the face of looming destruction.

Yet, for all the outward decay and degradation, Byzantine civilization remained remarkably vibrant and productive, even allowing for the reduction in patronage and economic resources. The sheer volume of its cultural legacy is extraordinary – and is still only beginning to be investigated and explicated in full.

The intellectual life of the Palaiologan era owed much to the cultural recovery launched under the Laskarid regime in Nicaea (1204–61). Nicaea (modern Iznik) was not the only refuge for institutional and cultural leadership among the fragments of the Byzantine world that had been smashed by the Fourth Crusade. But it soon became the most promising and consistent focus of claims to the traditions of Constantinople. From that great city's dispersed court came remnants of the intellectual elite who painfully strove to reconstruct in exile the earlier educational and scholarly life. The principal exemplar of the Nicaean revival was the learned Nikephoros Blemmydes (1197–*c.*1269), whose students included the philosopher-historian George Akropolites and even the future emperor Theodore II Laskaris. By the time Byzantine government was restored in Constantinople, a thriving cultural life was ready-made to be transferred back to the capital. Nor was Constantinople to be the only centre: Thessalonica could at times claim to rival the capital in artists and men of learning, while Mistra in the Morea also became a lively centre in the later Palaiologan epoch.

The scholarly circles identified with the first two Palaiologan emperors, Michael VIII and then Andronikos II (1282–1328), included such eminences as Akropolites's student, the polymath-historian George Pachymeres (1242–*c.*1310), the remarkable philologist Maximos Planudes (*c.*1255–*c.*1305), and Theodore Metochites (1270–1332), a facile scholar, artistic patron, and court politician of the highest rank. The next generation was best represented by his student, the highly versatile polymath-historian Nikephoros Gregoras (*c.*1292–*c.*1360). In the realm of historical writing, too, the ex-emperor John VI Kantakouzenos produced in his memoirs an outstanding example of its kind; though, in truth, the writing of history was to lapse until a constellation of 15th-century writers (Chalkokondyles, Doukas, Sphrantzes) gave it one final flourishing.

The most impressive scholar of the 14th century was surely Demetrios Kydones (*c.*1324–*c.*1398), who not only continued the Byzantine philosophical emphasis on Plato but who attempted a short-lived programme of studying and translating works of St Augustine, Anselm of Canterbury, and Thomas Aquinas. Just as with Planudes's earlier translations of Latin authors (Cato, Ovid, Cicero, Caesar among the ancients; St Augustine among Christians) for his circle of Constantinopolitan scholars, Kydones's later effort to alert Greek scholarship to what Latin literature and thought might offer proved fruitless in the face of Byzantine conservatism. Nevertheless, it symbolized the attraction of Latin culture to certain Byzantine individuals and, in the case of Kydones himself, was part of a mental reorientation leading him to accept Thomist thought and convert to Roman Catholicism. His students, such as the emperor Manuel II (1391–1425), continued his strictly Greek philosophical and literary tradition, without his ideology. But Kydones's protégé, Manuel Chrysoloras (*c.*1350–1415), extended further the older man's bridge to the West when he became (1387) the first Byzantine scholar of front rank to teach ancient Greek language and literature to the Italian humanists of the western Renaissance – becoming a Catholic himself in the process.

Chrysoloras wrote the first grammar book of Greek in Latin, and trained the first generation of Italian scholars in the language. His work represented a great breakthrough that for the first time opened the innermost circles of Byzantine learning to western scholars. It thereby initiated a flood of scholarly contacts, involving visits by Italian scholars to Byzantine centres and, above all, a steady flow of Byzantine scholars to the new lands of professional opportunity in Italy and beyond. The earlier of these included George Trapezountios (1395–*c.*1472), John Argyropoulos (*c.*1393?–1487), and Theodore Gaza (*c.*1400–*c.*1475), all of whom adopted Latin Christianity. Outstanding among these, however, was Bessarion of Trebizond (*c.*1400–72): his important role in achieving church union at the Council of Florence (1439) won

him a cardinal's hat in the Roman Church, and thereafter he became a major intermediary for expatriate Byzantine scholars in Italy.

Byzantine learning has been criticized as archaizing pedantry, but its scholarly traditions created standards of philology and techniques of textual criticism that, together with knowledge of the ancient Greek language and access to the ancient texts, allowed Byzantine scholars to restore to western Europe a full knowledge of the literature of Classical Hellenism – a crucial contribution to the western Renaissance. A further intellectual influence was to direct Italian humanists to the study of Plato, which launched them in their decisive philosophical directions. This apparently resulted from discourses given during participation in the Council of Florence by Bessarion's teacher, the great scholar George Gemistos, who took the name of Plethon (*c.*1360–1452). Ironically, however, Plethon chose to remain a part of the Byzantine world rather than relocate in the West. In the final years of his long life, Plethon produced syntheses of his Platonic thought that were strikingly original and controversial. His intellectual opponent, the champion of Aristotle and upholder of Orthodox purity, George Scholarios, represents a kind of epilogue, in becoming the first patriarch of Constantinople under the Turks as Gennadios II.

The aforementioned are, of course, only among the most outstanding of a larger catalogue of scholars. Nor were philology and philosophy the only important areas of Palaiologan intellectual life. A final compilation of Byzantine law was achieved for immediate and practical use by Constantine Harmenopoulos in 1345. Though Byzantium has never been rated highly as a producer of great literary works, there was nevertheless, in its own terms, a considerable productivity in the Palaiologan era, not only in the rhetorical exercises of high culture that occupied the learned circles, but in popular writing as well. There was a particular flowering of the idiom of the Greek verse romance in the 14th century. Hagiography also enjoyed one final burst of activity, in a round of attention both to earlier saints and to contemporaneous holy men. This feature was hardly surprising in an epoch when the Church took on increasing prominence in a world in which the state was shrivelling so drastically: a world out of which the patriarch would survive the emperor as the force of leadership in the survival of Hellenic society and culture.

Accordingly, it is understandable that perhaps the most striking demonstration of Palaiologan cultural energy is shown in the sphere of theology. Beset by hostile ideological forces, Byzantine religious writers – both professionals and laymen – turned vigorously to the defence of their faith. There was a flourishing of debate with, and polemic against, Islamic religion, which had become such a potent threat with the progress of the Turkish conquest. The issue of church union with Rome – which was understood to threaten the compromising of Orthodox principles with Latin ones and the humiliating submission of Constantinople to Rome – was a recurrently provocative one for an era framed by two abortive union councils, those of Lyons (1274) and Florence (1439). Numerous treatises were composed to refute Latin doctrines, notably the so-called Double Procession of the Holy Spirit.

Even more stimulating to polemic, however, was the issue of hesychasm, the one significant theological controversy in Byzantium after the Christological debates and iconoclasm. Byzantine practices of mystical devotion, represented in private spiritual exercises in "silence" (*hesychia*), especially as a focus of monastic spirituality, were challenged in the 14th century and were given final definition by the last original Byzantine theologian, Gregory Palamas (*c.*1296–1359), whose ideas were adopted as official doctrine. The depth and virulence of the controversy over Palamism, however, partly reflected the increased importance and flourishing of monastic life itself in this late period. Nevertheless, the continuing transcendence of mystic theology over immediate polemic was exemplified in the writings of Nicholas Kabasilas, whose thought connects Palaiologan explication with the earlier traditions of Christian and Byzantine spirituality. The vitality of spiritual art is also reflected in lively activity in liturgical music, involving such important singer-composer-theoreticians as John Koukouzeles (d. *c.*1340) and Manuel Chrysaphes "the Lampadarios" who was active at the courts of the last two emperors.

In general, the particularly strong religious component of Palaiologan culture suggests an assumption, conscious or otherwise, by its participants that it was the spiritual dimension, rather than the political, which must provide the necessary guidance to those surviving the collapse of Byzantine government and society, and which must give the real meaning to what persisted of Hellenic identity.

In the realm of visual arts, of course, productivity is conditional upon the economic support system, whose decline or failure has its adverse effects. Building or rebuilding of monuments, especially churches, was extensive in the earlier part of the Palaiologan period, but gradually fell off. The survivals of late architecture are sporadic – few in Constantinople, more in provincial areas, especially in Thessalonica and, above all, in Mistra (numerous churches, the Palace of the Despots), whose prosperity in the late period contrasted ever more sharply with the capital's decline.

A last great burst of mosaic decoration attended the early Palaiologan decades. A great deal has been lost, but survives in the decoration of Holy Apostles' Church in Thessalonica, and in Constantinople in the magnificent *Deesis* panel in Hagia Sophia's south gallery. A climax was reached in the stunning ensemble of mosaics and frescoes in the reconstructed Chora Monastery (present-day Kariye Djami), as financed by Theodore Metochites and as restored to virtually complete glory today. The high cost of mosaic work reduced its role as a medium in the later Palaiologan period, but its place was filled more than robustly by the predominance of fresco painting. Artists in this medium explored more dramatic techniques of representation and extensions of iconography. Their achievements reached a peak in the 14th- and 15th-century churches of Mistra. But Byzantine monumental artists extended their work and influence not only through the provinces but into neighbouring areas, with rich results in such areas as Serbia, Russia, and Georgia. The continued vitality of Byzantine artistic style also provided inspiration for the flourishing in Italy of the so-called *maniera greca* in the 13th and 14th centuries, helping to shape such artists as Duccio. It is even argued that Byzantine innovations strongly influenced Giotto and other figures of what was to become early Renaissance art in Italy.

In addition to monumental art, the medium of manuscript illumination continued to prosper in Palaiologan Byzantium, even if with diminished court patronage. Finely illustrated books were produced not only in Constantinople but in other centres, such as Thessalonica, down to the early 15th century. Particularly important was Palaiologan icon painting, with surviving works of great power coming out of both the capital and Thessalonica – e.g. the Ohrid icon of the Annunciation from early 14th-century Constantinople. Some painters from this period are known by name, and by far the most interesting and perhaps important is Theophanes the Greek. He worked his way from Constantinople through Russian lands in the late 14th century, in the media of both fresco and icons, contributing greatly to the flowering of Russian painting thereafter, as extended in the work of Andrei Rublev (*c.*1365–1430) and his followers.

Likewise, the momentum of Palaiologan creativity would not be halted in the Greek world itself by the disaster of 1453, but would survive in traditions of fresco and especially icon painting under foreign rule. This was particularly true of the great icon painters of Crete and other islands under Venetian rule, whose lively productivity flowered on through the 17th century. It climaxed in one highly personal tangent followed in the West by Domenikos Theotokopoulos or "El Greco" (*c.*1548–*c.*1625), and it ended in the 18th-century Corfiote school, which was in turn made the basis for the present-day revival of icon painting that flourishes in the monasteries of Mount Athos and elsewhere in Greece. Once again, not even the attempted murder of Byzantine civilization could entirely end its life and influence.

In all, it has to be observed that the Palaiologan era constitutes not only a viable phase in the history of Byzantine art, but also one of its most important ones.

Over the centuries, Byzantium had repeatedly demonstrated the vitality of its society and the tenacity of its cultural traditions, surviving near-catastrophes and regenerating itself. The Palaiologan era displayed yet again those characteristics, amid the very cataclysm of its conclusion. Even when its political embodiment, the imperial state, had been wasted and destroyed, depriving it of outward independent structure, that civilization would still not truly die. It would live on to some degree under Turkish rule, eventually to feed into the modern regeneration of the Greek world. The stubborn vivacity of Palaiologan culture thus gives final testimony to the overall strength of Byzantine civilization as a whole, within the still larger context of the enduring and evolving Hellenic tradition.

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See also Hesychasm, Historiography, Icon, Mistra, Mosaic, Music, Painting, Renaissance (Palaiologan), Scholarship

Summary

From 1261, when Constantinople was recovered from the Latins, to 1453, when it fell to the Ottoman Turks. A remarkable cultural flowering known as the Palaiologan Renaissance, when there was great activity in the areas of scholarship, law, literature, theology, and the visual arts. Although politically the empire disintegrated in this period, Byzantine civilization was flourishing to the very end.

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Byzantines

The people to whom we conventionally apply this term would not have made much sense of it – a reminder that ex post facto historical labels and terms can often be very misleading.

The word "Byzantine" derives, of course, from the original name for the city on the Bosporus that was to become Constantinople. It was created in the mid-7th century BC by Greek colonists from Megara, and named Byzantion (or Byzantis) after Byzas, its supposed founder. When Constantine the Great expanded it as his new residence, to be called his city, *Konstantinoupolis*, it became the capital of the medieval "Greek" empire which is reckoned as lasting, from Constantine's refoundation in AD 324, for more than 11 centuries (with a brief interlude of Latin rule, 1204–61) until its storming by the Ottoman Turks in 1453.

It is true that Greek writers of the Middle Ages, at least those of intellectual circles enamoured of retaining ancient nomenclature at the cost of all reality, continued to use the name *Byzantion* in hyper-refined application to Constantinople itself, and such writers might also use the word *Byzantioi* for its citizens alone, as an archaizing artificiality. But even these writers would never describe their entire state and society as *Byzantion*, nor would they call themselves *Byzantioi* as a general population. It was rather the first generation of post-1453 western scholars, notably the German humanist Hieronymus Wolf (1516–80), who began the practice of calling the state "Byzantium" and its people "Byzantines". Other terminologies have also been brought into play, the imperial continuation of late antiquity being called such things as "Le Bas-Empire", or "later Roman" or "east Roman" empire, with "Byzantine" reserved for the phase of civilization running only from the 8th, or perhaps the 7th, century onward. Nevertheless, labels of "Byzantium" and "Byzantine" have persisted and are generally applied uniformly in historical usages today to the full span of AD 324–1453.

As for the people of that time and civilization, for the most part, they would no more have called themselves "Byzantines" than they would have called themselves "Greeks" (*Hellenes*). In medieval usage, the word "Hellas" was a geographic and administrative term applied to part of what we think of as both ancient and modern Greece. But, by the late Roman era, "Hellene" became less an ethnic term than a cultural one, increasingly identified with paganism. The emperor Julian the Apostate (361–63) furthered that idea by identifying the cultural and religious paganism he hoped to revitalize as "Hellenism". Early Christian writers used "Hellene" consistently to mean "pagan" or "gentile", whereas secular scholars identified "Hellenes" as the writers of the ancient Greek tradition, to be admired for their wisdom and eloquence, but to be distinguished from savants since illuminated by Christian truth. Through the Greek Middle Ages, therefore, it was usually insulting to be called a "Greek". The Latin ambassador Liutprand of Cremona, for instance, learnt this to his peril in 968. His very life was endangered when documents connected with his embassy spoke of his German master as "emperor of the Romans" (*Imperator Romanorum*) while describing the sovereign of Constantinople as "emperor of the Greeks" (*Imperator Graecorum*).

What our "Byzantines" regularly and officially called themselves, in fact, was "Romans". While they understood "Rome" as the name for a specific city in Italy, they also regarded that city as bypassed and superseded by "the New Rome" of Constantinople, the older capital's very nomenclature now transferred eastward. What we have come to call "the Byzantine empire" was, to its citizens, "the empire of the Romans" (*basileia ton Rhomaion*), or simply *Romania*, and they were "Romans" (*Rhomaioi*). These usages continued all the way to the end of the empire, in the 15th century. Such terminology was known and acknowledged by neighbours beyond their frontiers: the Arabs (as would later the Turks) knew them as *Rumi*; the Greek word *Romania* was appropriated by Latins as the designation for the crusader world of Frankish feudalism on Greek soil; while the Ottomans were to designate their European territories as *Rumelia*.

For much of the Byzantine empire's history, this usage made perfect sense. The terms *Rhomaios* and *rhomaïkos* avoided the perspectives in which we are now so fixated, identified with ethnic consciousness and latter-day "national" concepts. Byzantium long continued the Roman empire's character as just that, a multiethnic and multilingual state containing numerous peoples, many of them conscious of distinctive identities, and even retaining their own local cultures. But the continuing refinement of *romanitas* developed a distinctly extra-ethnic meaning to the term "Roman" for those who used it.

Essentially, that term comprehended three important components. The first was the "Roman" heritage of law and divinely destined world sovereignty. The second was a "Hellenic" component of language and culture: among Byzantines, the verb *hellenizein* meant "to speak Greek [*to hellenikon*]" and one studied "the learning of the Hellenes", to become educated in the literature and thought of the old pagan

Greeks. The third component was the Orthodox Christian faith, increasingly as identified with the jurisdiction of the see of Constantinople.

As the empire's frontiers shifted and generally contracted over the generations, there were changes in ethnic composition and diversity, and one may wonder how much various population elements in the countryside understood of these three components. Latin was used in the earlier centuries essentially as an administrative tongue (dying out effectively by the 7th century). The educated were trained in a highly sophisticated, archaizing extension of Classical Attic Greek, while the urban classes in general spoke a simpler demotic street Greek. Local languages (Armenian, Syriac, Coptic; Slavic variants) might persist for a while, but even the uneducated must eventually have shared in some Greek as the working vernacular. What probably bound most together, however, would not have been secular culture but the beliefs and rituals of the Orthodox faith. Over the centuries, only the elite of the capital and other major cities would have understood fully the tripartite meaning of "Roman" identity.

Nevertheless, the "Roman" synthesis involved a dichotomy of pagan and Christian that could both persist and come apart. It is true that people we would call Greeks (mainly rural or small-town folk) continued to call themselves *Rhomaioi* well into the 20th century, preserving that combination of the two elements that emphasized the Christian, in contradistinction to the secular and citified stereotype of the *Hellenes* of modern Greece. By contrast, however, during the medieval era itself the Byzantines selectively rethought what "Hellene" might mean for them. By the 12th century, when the territories had been reduced to a more compactly Greek-speaking population which was painfully aware of the pressures of outside peoples, Byzantines began cautious use of the "Hellenic" label to apply to aspects of their life and identity without any negative (i.e. "pagan") associations. This process continued through the ensuing generations, with pride in the "Hellenic" cultural heritage becoming partially transferable as a sense of "national" identity.

The result was a blurring of distinctions between words and their meanings in late writings. Official use of the designation "Roman" continued for things Byzantine, but the word simultaneously began to be applied explicitly to "Western" peoples and things, in clear opposition to "Hellene" and "Hellenic" as words for Byzantines, who could now frankly be called "Greeks". For illustrations, we need look no further than two figures of the 15th century, otherwise bitterly hostile in their ideas. Thus, the controversial (even paganizing) philosopher George Gemistos Plethon proudly revelled in the identity of "Hellenes" as those linked to the glorious heritage of ancient (and pagan) Greece; while the churchman George Scholarios – as Gennadios II the first patriarch under the Turks – consistently used the word "Hellenes" to mean Greek Orthodox Christians. Each understood the word as carrying what we would recognize as ethnic implications, even if from distinctly different points of association.

We could, moreover, find an ironic parallel between the struggles of "Greeks" and "Turks" to establish their modern ethnic identities. We might suggest that there had to be made clear the same distinction between *Rhomaios* (imperial Byzantine Christian) and *Hellene* (modern Greek) as between *Osmanli* (imperial Ottoman Muslim) and Turk (secular national), on the part of peoples whose anthropological backgrounds involved much intermixing of stocks and evolution within changing worlds.

The complexity of these usages suggests the dangers of relying blandly upon modern concepts of ethnicity, which do not apply equally to the earlier eras of late antiquity and early Christianity. There is no question that what we call "Byzantium" represents the medieval phase of the Hellenic tradition, in its broadest terms. To understand who "Byzantines" were, however, requires a sensitivity to what "Hellenism" variously meant in different ways at different times, as much as a linguistic or cultural label as an ethnic one.

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See also Identity, Language, Law, Orthodox Church, Rumeli

Summary

This term is applied conventionally today to the people who inhabited the Byzantine empire from AD 324 to 1453. They would not have called themselves Byzantines or even Greeks (Hellenes) but Romans. The three essential components of *romanitas* for them were: the "Roman" heritage of law and divinely ordained world sovereignty; Greek language and culture; and the Orthodox Christian faith.

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Byzantium

City on the Bosporus, later known as Constantinople and Istanbul

Byzantium was founded at the southern end of the European shore of the Bosporus by Megarians, probably in association with other colonists from the Peloponnese and central Greece, in 668 or 659 BC according to respectively Herodotus (4. 144) and Eusebius (*Chronicle*). Its name is of Thracian origin, legend claiming the city's founders to be Byzas, son of the nymph Semestre or a Thracian king, and a certain Antes. Like any other settlement along the Bosporus and, to a lesser extent, the Hellespont (Dardanelles), Byzantium could potentially control maritime traffic from the Euxine (Black Sea) to the Aegean and the land route between Europe and Asia (Polybius (4. 38) details the city's mercantile advantages). Its defensible position, however, was such that the earlier Megarian colony of Chalcedon (now Istanbul's Asiatic suburb of Kadiköy) on the opposite shore of the Bosporus came to be known as "The City of the Blind". On a triangular peninsula bounded to the south by the Propontis (Sea of Marmara), to the east by the Bosporus, and to the north by the Golden Horn (a 7.2 km inlet which could serve as a protectable natural harbour), the city had only two drawbacks, exposure to the European hinterland to the west and a lack of drinking water. Both these were remedied in later centuries by the construction of increasingly massive walls and a system of aqueducts and vast open and underground cisterns.

The colonists settled on the eastern tip of the peninsula, which sparse archaeological finds suggest had been occupied as early as the 2nd millenium BC. Apart from traces of shrines to Aphrodite, Apollo, and Artemis between the churches of Hagia Sophia and Hagia Eirene, superimposition of later buildings has precluded the discovery of the Greek city. According to literary sources, however, a north–south wall of about 2 km with 27 towers and several gates enclosed to the east military headquarters, an agora, temples, sanctuaries (most notably to Zeus, Poseidon, Athene, and Dionysus), cisterns, a gymnasium, and a theatre.

Little is known of Byzantium's history until 512 BC, when the city came under Persian rule. Except for the period of the Ionian Revolt (499–494), this persisted until 478 when the Spartan Pausanias expelled the occupying garrison, only to be himself recalled by his government for alleged treason. Thereupon Byzantium joined the Delian League, although, when the Persian threat had receded and Athens was treating the member states as its empire, Byzantium twice attempted revolt (440–439 and 411–408). Its annual contribution to the league of 15 talents indicates a wealth at this time which was derived mainly from tuna fishing, tolls imposed on shipping in the Bosporus, and the resources of both European and Asiatic holdings. After the Battle of Aegospotami in 405 it came under Spartan control, but numismatic evidence proves that it joined the anti-Spartan sea league after the Battle of Cnidus in 394. Formally an ally of Athens from *c.*378, Byzantium revolted again in 357 in support of Rhodes, Cos, and Chios. Subsequently it came increasingly under Macedonian influence until, in alliance with Athens once more, it changed course and successfully held out against Philip II in 340–339 (to commemorate Hecate's succour at this famous siege the Byzantines put on their coinage her symbols of crescent moon and star, which were later adopted by the modern Turkish state). After the Battle of Chaeronea in 338 Byzantium came again under Macedonian sway, and in the 270s suffered severely from Galatian depredations.

In the following century its economic recovery was considerably aided by the privileged status granted to it as a reward for supporting the Romans during the Macedonian wars. This status was retained until Byzantium backed Pescennius Niger in his struggle for imperial power with Septimius Severus in AD 193–95. After a siege of two years, graphically and exaggeratedly described by Cassius Dio (75. 10–14), the Byzantines capitulated. Severus, however, rebuilt their devastated city, approximately doubling its area by constructing a new north–south wall about 800 m westward of its Greek predecessor from a point just east of the present Galata Bridge. Little of the layout of the Severan city is known, but a theatre and baths were built, the hippodrome commenced, and, probably, porticoes added around the agora from which a porticoed avenue led to the wall. (For the later history of the city, its topography, and monuments, see the entry on Constantinople.)

After an aborted attempt at building a new city in the Troad near the ancient Sigeum (at a location now known as Yenişehir) just south of the entrance to the Hellespont, Constantine I chose the site of Byzantium for his new and Christian capital. The city's perimeter was marked out on 8 November 324 and the dedication took place on 11 May 330. It is not certain what the emperor wished its name to be. Although it was most commonly referred to as Constantinople ("City of Constantine"), the Latin poet Publius Optatianus Porphyrius used (in *Carminae*, 4. 6) the expression "New Rome" as early as 324/25 (Cassiodorus' account of Constantine inscribing *Secunda Roma* on a marble column is, however, almost certainly legendary). Thereafter comparison with the ancient capital and rhetorical references to "New Rome" were increasingly favoured, but the earliest surviving attestation of this as an official name appears in Canon 3 of the First Council of Constantinople in 381. Used with considerable frequency by Byzantines over the centuries, "New Rome" was imitated later by the Seljuk Turks who, keen to uphold their imperial ambitions, named their capital at Iconium (modern Konya) "Rum". Later still, Moscow, as the new defender of the Orthodox faith, was described as "The New Constantinople" in 1492 and, from the early 16th century, as "The Third Rome". The Greek Ecumenical Patriarch was, and still is, officially "Bishop of New Rome", and for the Turks the patriarchate is *Rum Patrikhanesi*.

Constantinople was, however, increasingly referred to simply as "The City" (*I Poli*) and in the West as "The Great City" (Micklegard in the Icelandic sagas). The later Ottoman name of Stamboul or Istanbul is usually explained as a corruption of the Greek for "To the City", itself on occasion deliberately altered to Islambul or "Full of Islam". Owing to the

archaizing of the Greek literati the name Byzantium (*Byzantion*) was preserved, and "Byzantines" therefore meant the inhabitants of the city alone. Since the empire was a continuation of the Roman empire, its inhabitants, when not referring to themselves as citizens of a specific city, called themselves "Romans", albeit usually and increasingly in Greek (*Rhomaioi*). At least until the coronation of Charlemagne on Christmas Day in 800, the western world also unquestionably accepted the empire as "Roman" (in the 10th century the Ottonian dynasty ambitiously established a rival "Roman" empire). Only after their empire had lost its polyethnic nature and was almost exclusively Greek-speaking did its inhabitants ever call themselves "Greeks" (*Hellenes*), a term by which they had earlier designated their pagan forbears. The use of the word Byzantine to cover the whole empire and its people is a modern anachronism of convenience: a few scholars beset by scruples have preferred to speak of an East Roman civilization.

The term "Byzantine" (or "byzantine") is used today in popular speech only pejoratively. In art it signifies either excessive ornamentation or two-dimensional rigidity, the latter largely a consequence of familiarity with post-Byzantine rather than genuinely Byzantine icons. In a ceremonial context it not inaccurately signifies lengthy and ritualistic formality with more show than substance. In argumentation it signifies either meaningless verbiage or hair-splitting logic: these derive from despairing Byzantine attempts to solve theological conundrums such as "the indivisibly divisible and divisibly indivisible" dual natures of Christ and the subtle formulations of Byzantine theologians which offended their more forthright western brethren. However, by far the most common misuse of the word suggests intrigue, secretiveness, deviousness, and deceit. This is quite unfair since Byzantium had no more palace cabals than many other states (and fewer than some, including its successors, the Ottoman Turks). The misapprehension is, however, of long standing and stems partly from the complexities of the Byzantine civil service, which bewildered many simple-minded western crusaders. More influential, however, has been the contempt of these crusaders, to whom war was largely a game of chivalric ostentation, for the Byzantine understanding of war as an evil to be undergone only when all the resources of diplomacy had been exhausted.

The word "Byzantine" is used more properly today in two technical contexts. The Byzantine era is a chronology that, though devised as early as the 7th century AD, did not come into general use in the Byzantine world until the late 10th. A modification of the Alexandrian era, it numbers solar years from the creation of the world in 5508 rather than 5492 BC. Its year began originally at the vernal equinox on 21 March, but in the late 9th or early 10th century this was changed to 1 September. The Byzantine Rite is a liturgical system of mainly Constantinopolitan and Palestinian rites. Commonly divided into Late Roman, Imperial, Stoudite, and Neo-Sabaïtic phases, it reflects successively the Antiochene origins of many early patriarchs of Constantinople, the imperial magnificence of Justinian in particular, the Palestinian monasticization of Theodore of Stoudios, and the Palestinian modifications of the Lavra of Mar Saba. It reached its definitive form under the Athonite hesychasts in the 14th century, by which time it was used throughout the Byzantine world with the exception of southern Italy and Russia.

A.R. LITTLEWOOD

See also Byzantines, Chronology, Constantinople

Summary

Founded in the 7th century BC by colonists from Megara, the city of Byzantium occupied a defensible position bounded to the south by the Propontis, to the east by the Bosporus, and to the north by the Golden Horn. Its disadvantages were exposure to its hinterland to the west and a lack of drinking water. It was refounded as Constantinople, the New Rome, by Constantine the Great in AD 324.

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C

Cacoyannis, Michalis 1922–

Film-maker, scriptwriter, theatre director, actor, and translator

Together with Thodoros Angelopoulos (1935–), Michalis Cacoyannis is the best-known film maker working in Greece today, with an established international reputation. In 1995 a retrospective of the director's work was staged at the Thessalonica Film Festival. Between 1954 and 1992 Cacoyannis directed 13 feature films, a documentary on the Turkish invasion of Cyprus, and the successful television drama *The Story of Jacob and Joseph* (1974). He has also worked as a theatre director and produced numerous plays both in Greece and abroad, as well as operas.

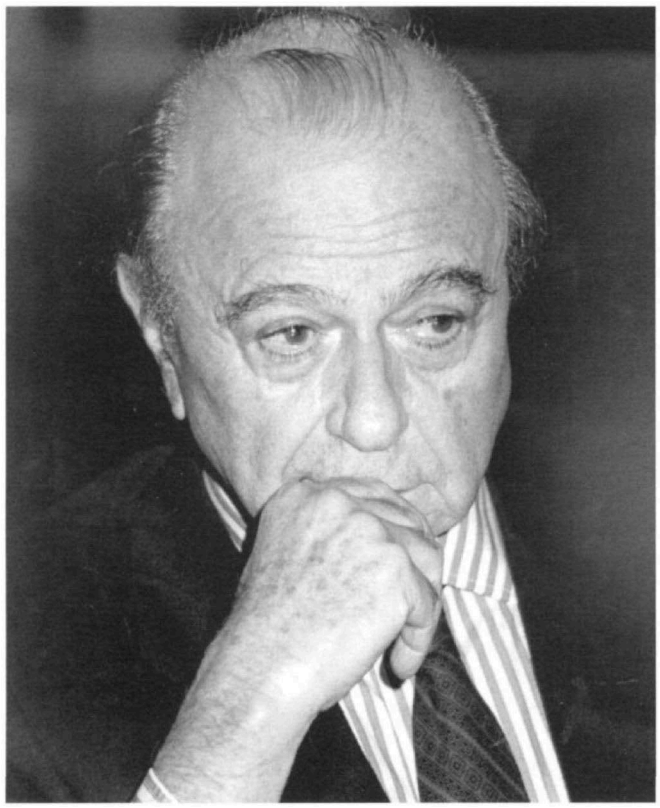
Cacoyannis was born in Limassol, Cyprus, on 11 June 1922. After studying law in Great Britain, Cacoyannis produced programmes for the BBC's Greek-language broadcasts during World War II, while attending the Central School of Dramatic Art (1944). He made his stage debut at London's Old Vic theatre in 1947 in Oscar Wilde's *Salome*, going on to perform in a number of different productions and taking the lead in Albert Camus's *Caligula* (1949). He visited the United States before returning to Greece in 1952, where he directed his first feature film, *Kyriatiko Xypanima* (Getting Up on Sunday, 1954; distributed in the UK as *Windfall in Athens*), which was screened at the Edinburgh Festival. Critical acclaim came with *Stella* (1955); this was followed by *To Koritsime ta Mavra* (*The Girl in Black*, 1956), a film about the tragic consequences of an Athenian writer's love for an island girl, which was made with the cinematographer Walter Lassally who has collaborated with Cacoyannis on many of his features.

Cacoyannis's early films share technical and thematic preoccupations with the European art cinema of the period, and in particular, with Italian neorealism which was introduced into Greece by Grigoris Grigoriou (1919–). The use of location filming and the frustrated hope of a postwar renewal that Cacoyannis's early films express, for example, owe much to postwar Italian cinema. All of them starred little-known actors who were later to build successful acting careers, including Elli Lambeti, Dimitris Horn, Yorgos Foundas, and Melina Mercouri, who made her screen debut with *Stella*. Together with those of Nikos Koundouros (1926–), Cacoyannis's films were the first independent Greek productions to attract international attention.

The script of *Stella*, which is characterized by its intense dialogue, was adapted from the play *Stella with the Red Gloves* by Ioakovos Kambanellis, with a score by Manos Chatzidakis. The action takes place for the most part in the bustling Monastiraki district of Athens and the narrative focuses on the tragic fate of the eponymous heroine (Mercouri), a singer in the bar Paradise, who is condemned for wanting to live in defiance of established moral codes. Cacoyannis's film charts Stella's doomed relationships, first with Alekos (Alekos Alexandrakis), who comes from an affluent bourgeois family in Patissia, and secondly with Miltos (Foundas), a brash football player from Piraeus. The heroine refuses to be pressured into marriage by her lovers and the denouement takes place in central Athens during the Ochi Day celebrations, as Stella goes to watch the parades while her fiancé Miltos waits with the guests in church. A parallel is intimated here between the nation's rejection of the Italian ultimatum and Stella's renunciation of the marriage to Miltos. At the end of the film, however, with Stella's murder by Miltos, the threat of a disrupted social order is quashed. Since the 1970s the character of Stella has been appropriated as a symbol of female emancipation and the film has often been construed as an index of authentic "Greekness", achieving an established position in the canon of Greek cinema.

Many of these social and political preoccupations are taken up again in the melodrama *To Televtaio Psema* (The Last Lie, 1958; distributed in the UK as *A Matter of Dignity*,) which was both written and directed by Cacoyannis and centres on a young Athenian woman's pledge to marry a rich man – in so doing relinquishing her chance of happiness – to save her family from bankruptcy. Like Stella, albeit in very different ways, the film explores social conventions and freedom in a rapidly changing society.

Cacoyannis's best works have been adaptations of plays or novels. In 1959 he produced a version of Kosmas Politis's masterful novel *Eroica* (1937), misleadingly translated into English as *Our Last Spring*. The film follows the adventures of a group of adolescents whose imaginary, heroic world is subdued by death and sexual desire. In 1964 Cacoyannis achieved international fame with the 20th Century Fox (a studio founded by the Greek entrepreneur Spyros Skouras) production of *Zorba the Greek*, starring Anthony Quinn and



Michalis Cacoyannis

Alan Bates and based on the novel by Nikos Kazantzakis (1946). Set to music by Mikis Theodorakis, this remains Cacoyannis's biggest international success, although the film has never been popular in Greece. As Cacoyannis himself has commented sardonically in a recent interview: "I was considered an artist when I made my early Greek films, but when *Zorba the Greek* was cast with Anthony Quinn, a Mexican-American actor, and the film made money, I was considered from then on as a commercial director!" The narrative of *Zorba* centres on an English writer of Greek parentage (Bates) who travels to Crete to claim his inheritance of a lignite mine. While waiting in Piraeus for the ship to take him there he is befriended by the ebullient Alexis Zorba (Quinn), described by the studio publicity as a "life force", who helps him to lose his inhibitions and waken his senses. Subsequently Quinn found it impossible to shake off the image of the extrovert Greek but agreed to act in Cacoyannis's Broadway musical based on the film which ran from 1983 to 1986.

Cacoyannis was to draw upon his theatrical background when he brought ancient drama to the screen for a wide modern audience in his successful adaptations of Euripides' tragedies inaugurated with *Electra* (1962), which starred Irene Papas and which won numerous international awards and an Oscar nomination. This was followed by *The Trojan Women* (1971), which starred Katharine Hepburn and Vanessa Redgrave, and *Iphigeneia* (1977). The films combine close-ups with dramatic long shots, and in so doing successfully balance convincing, poignant characterizations with an imposing mythic orientation.

Cacoyannis's more recent films have been less successful. *Sweet Country* (1986), a feature with an international cast, is based on a novel by Caroline Richards and explores the fate of two women, Eva (Carole Laure) and Monica (Joanna Pettet), during the coup d'état led by General Pinochet in 1973 which overthrew the government of Salvador Allende in Chile; while Eva is caught and tortured, for no other reason than being the secretary of the President's wife, Monica joins the resistance. The comedy *Pano, Kato, kai Plagios* (*Up, Down, and Sideways*, 1993) maps out the frustrations of contemporary Athenian life over a period of 24 hours, focusing on the tensions between Maria, a widow (Papas), her adolescent son Stavros (Stratos Tzortzoglou), and Anestis (Panos Michalopoulos), the man who rekindles her passion. Other films include an Italian feature *Il Relito* (*The Wastrel*, 1961), and the British film *The Day the Fish Came Out* (1967), starring Tom Courtenay, Colin Blakely, and Sam Wanamaker, about the threat of radioactive contamination in the Mediterranean after a military aircraft crashes in the Aegean. The narrative, which is strangely reminiscent of Stanley Kubrick's comic call for disarmament in *Dr Strangelove* (1963), focuses on the efforts of a team of experts (who pose as agents of a hotel development company) to recover stray bombs. Finally, Cacoyannis's documentary *Attila 74* (1975) is a passionate account of dispossession that records the impact of the Turkish invasion of Cyprus in the summer of 1974.

Cacoyannis's last project of the 1990s was a screen adaptation of Anton Chekhov's *The Cherry Orchard*, entitled *Varya* (1999). It was filmed in Bulgaria with the support of the Onassis Foundation and starred Alan Bates and Charlotte Rampling.

ROBERT SHANNAN PECKHAM

See also Cinema

Biography

Born in Limassol, Cyprus, in 1922, Cacoyannis studied law in Britain and produced Greek-language programmes for the BBC during World War II. His first acclaimed film was *Stella* (1955); his best-known works are *Zorba the Greek* (1964), which won an Oscar for cinematography and art direction, and film adaptations of Euripidean tragedies. He has directed plays and produced three translations of Shakespeare into Greek as well as English versions of two plays of Euripides.

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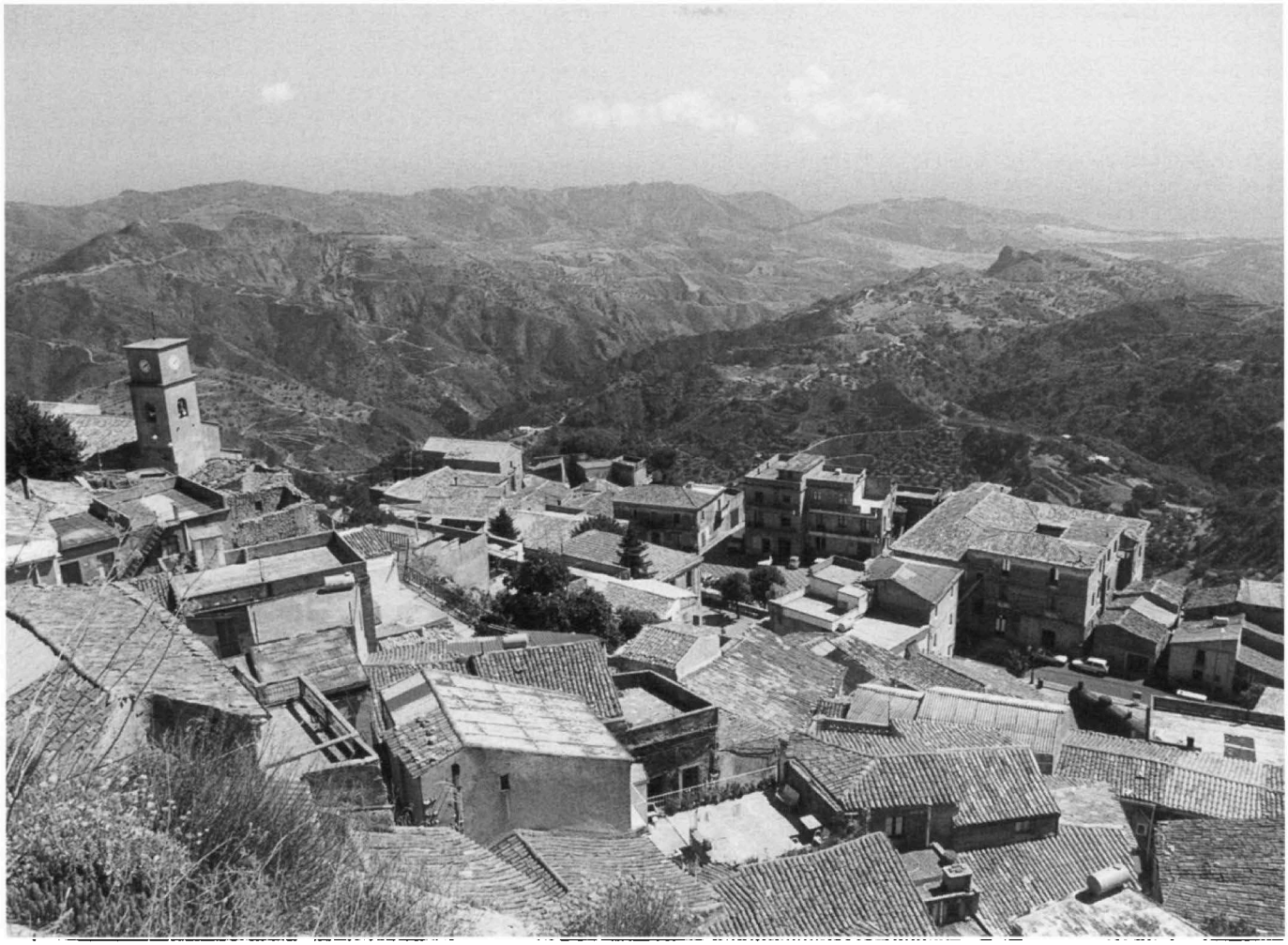
Calabria

Region of southwest Italy

Calabria was colonized by the Greek city states from the 8th century BC. The south Italian colonies constituted "Greater Greece" or, as it is most commonly referred to, Magna Graecia. The establishment of Greek colonies in south Italy and Sicily was only the conclusion of a long period of contacts,



Calabria: the village of Bova, where a Greek dialect is still spoken

from the end of the 2nd millennium BC, between the Greeks of the mainland and the islands, who were seeking new markets, and the indigenous people in Italy. The colonization was extremely successful, especially when compared with the trading settlements of the Phoenician and Carthaginian settlers, which lacked the permanent character of the Greek colonies. The expeditions were led by aristocratic families. There was close cooperation with the mother city, which provided active support for the colony. Rapid economic and cultural development therefore soon followed.

One of the most famous Greek cities was Rhegium (modern Reggio di Calabria), an Ionian colony established by the Euboeans. Many philosophers were associated with the region of Magna Graecia and Calabria in particular, such as Pythagoras who emigrated from Samos to Croton, Timaeus in Locri, Parmenides and Zeno in Elea. The philosophical system of Pythagoras deeply influenced the cultural life of the colonies. Many of his ideas were enhanced by the Orphic cults that flourished in the area. Recent finds of gold coins with incised text found in tombs have increased our knowledge of the influence of the Orphic cult. Modern museums exhibit many traces of a glorious civilization and the archaeological sites are often breathtaking. Two of the most famous ancient statues, the Riace bronzes of approximately the 5th century BC, were found in a shipwreck in 1972 and are now exhibited in the museum of Reggio. Rhegium was important culturally. The sculptor Pythagoras, the poet Ibycus, and the historians Hippys and Glaucus were associated with it.

Locri was a colony established by Dorians from Locris. The poet Xenocrates was associated with Locri; he devised the "Locrian harmony", a new type of musical composition that depended upon flutes rather than lyres. The Hellenistic female poet Nossis was also associated with Locri. She is known to us through some poems in the *Palatine Anthology*, and is believed to have written mainly epigrams in the sapphic metre. Ruins of an Ionic temple have been found near Locri, as well as a site associated with the cult of Persephone. Temples in the Ionic style are rare in Magna Graecia, where the Doric style prevails. A common feature of many cities in the area is the extramural sanctuary, such as the Heraion near Croton. Caulonia was a colony established by Locri that was destroyed in the wars between Pyrrhus and the Romans.

The region was conquered by the Romans by 212 BC and the cultural map changed significantly in the following centuries. Under Diocletian (AD 284–305) Calabria and Apulia formed one province, and until the 7th century the name Calabria designated all of southern Italy. There were major political and social upheavals in the area in AD 476 and

towards the end of the western Roman empire. Until the first half of the 7th century the regions of south Italy (Bretia and Basilicata) constituted an eparchy directly dependent on the exarchate of Ravenna. The 7th century is important for Hellenic culture in the area, because this was when the first wave of immigrants came from Cappadocia, Syria, and Egypt. Also, due to the Islamic incursions on the eastern frontier of the empire, monks were taking refuge in Calabria and Sicily where they could practise true ascetism, especially in the mountains. In the 8th century Calabria became a *doukaton* (dukedom), dependent on the *strategos* (commander) of Sicily, which had been elevated to a Byzantine theme. Following the monastic immigration that came from the east, many monks came from the Greek mainland due to the religious turbulence associated with iconoclasm, especially after the edicts of Leo III. The foundation of monasteries also meant the establishment of Greek cultural centres.

The conquest of Sicily by the Arabs reshaped the south Italian world in the first half of the 10th century and persuaded the emperor Nikephoros Phokas to reorganize the administration of the empire. Religious matters also intervened, and became extremely important in view of the ongoing struggle between East and West. The Greek rite was imposed in all the churches of south Italy that belonged to the theme of Calabria, Lucania, and Longobardia (modern Puglia). Since Sicily was mainly in the hands of the Arabs, there was more immigration into Calabria, and that included the Sicilian monks. On the other hand, the Byzantine presence was not always well received by the local people due to the heavy taxation that was imposed on them, since it was an important region from a strategic point of view, and a large armed force had to be sustained in the area. The Normans occupied Calabria in 1040. Although there were still many Greek influences in customs, culture, and ecclesiastical matters, a gradual distancing started, and the Latin rite was gradually imposed in churches.

Trade continued with the Byzantines, and many monasteries were built in the following years. Calabria became an important refuge for scholars from the east, such as the monk Barlaam (*c.*1290–1350), and there was a significant circulation of Greek texts. Palaeographers identify a peculiar calligraphic style in many manuscripts as the Reggio script.

Today in the area of Aspromonte there are several villages where a distinctive Greek dialect is still spoken, mingled with many Italiot elements. There are various views as to the origin of this dialect, which is not quite the same as the one spoken in Puglia and the area of Salento, and often differs among villages of the same region. Many scholars argue that its origin is ancient Greek, others that it is Byzantine Greek, adducing many historical reasons related to the political turbulence in the area in the Middle Ages. The villages in which one finds Hellenophones today are Bova, Bova Marina, Condofuri, Amendolea, Roghudi, and Galliciano. There is a rich linguistic, literary, and musical Hellenic tradition that has shrunk significantly in modern times.

ANDROMACHE KARANIKA-DIMARGONA

See also Magna Graecia

Summary

The toe of Italy, Calabria was colonized by Greeks from the 8th century BC. Rhegium and Locri were major colonies and cultural centres. Under Diocletian Calabria and Apulia formed one province. Until the 7th century AD south Italy was an eparchy dependent on the exarchate of Ravenna. The 7th century brought refugees from Islam and the 8th from iconoclasm. Calabria was occupied by the Normans in 1040 but its culture remained largely Greek into the 14th century.

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Calendar

Most ancient Greek states had their own individual calendars, often more than one for different purposes (e.g. civil and religious) as in many countries today (e.g. civil, religious, financial, scholastic). Like all calendars, the Greek suffered from the incommensurability of the units commonly used – solar day, synodic month, and tropical year. The solar day is the slightly variable period between successive apparent passages of the sun around the earth, and was usually taken to commence at sunset. The synodic month is the substantially variable period of a single cycle of the moon's phases as seen from the earth, and was deemed to commence with the appearance of the crescent of the "new moon". The tropical year is the period between successive passages of the sun across the celestial equator in March (the vernal equinox), although the dates of its commencement were extremely varied. The week of seven days, possibly inspired by Babylonian hebdomadism, entered the Graeco-Roman world from the Jews only in the 1st century BC, at the end of which the practice of naming its days for the planets, as found in most European languages today, was already being established (the Hebrew numbering of the days, however, persisted in Greek).

All ancient Greek calendars were originally, and most remained largely, lunar. Months were named after festivals or deities and one was intercalated periodically to achieve approximate correspondence with the solar year. Most surviving calendaric information relates to Athens, which used an astronomically controlled lunar calendar; a festival or archon's

lunar calendar (which through manipulation for political and religious reasons (mocked by Aristophanes in *Clouds*, 615–26) was often seriously at variance with the former); and a "prytany" calendar (used in dating governmental documents) which was based upon the annual presidential terms of the ten tribes in the *boule* (council). The years of the first two calendars were divided into 12 months of 29 or 30 days with a month being repeated when deemed necessary. The first day of each month was called the "new moon"; the next nine were numbered forwards as the "2nd to 10th of the waxing month", and the next nine simply as the "11th to 19th"; the 20th and 21st were called respectively the "20th" or the "earlier 10th" and the "10th of the waning month" or the "later 10th"; the 22nd to 28th were counted backwards as the "9th to 3rd of the waning month"; and the last day of the month was called "the old and the new", leaving the 29th in a 30-day month to be the "2nd of the waning month". Years were named after the eponymous archon (and in other states after other officials, priests, etc.). For the later numbering of years in a series, i.e. eras, see the article on Chronology.

Greek calendaric reform based upon cycles of years was made possible by the astronomical discoveries beginning in the 6th century BC with the sphericity of the earth, the obliquity of the ecliptic, etc. and, in the 4th century, by the theory of Eudoxus (which was refined by Callippus) of sun, moon, and planets moving in concentric spheres around the earth. Thus sometime before 432 the cycle of the *octaeteris* (cycle of eight years) was worked out by which the intercalation at intervals of three 30-day months during a period of eight lunar years made the period roughly synchronous with eight tropical years. The famous reform of Meton and Euctemon at Athens in 432 (of which not all the details are known) devised a more accurate cycle of 19 tropical years and 125 30-day ("full") and 110 29-day ("hollow") months. Around 100 years later Callippus proposed a cycle of 76 years which is one day shorter than four of Meton's cycles and thus accords more closely with astronomical phenomena. Later cycles of 2484 years (Aristarchus, who hypothesized heliocentricity) and 304 (Hipparchus) are also known, but, with the exception of the *octaeteris*, there has been much debate as to what extent any were used for civic as opposed to astronomical purposes.

In Greece itself states largely kept their own calendars into the early Roman period, some even persisting with the *octaeteris* until as late as *c.*AD 200. The conquests of Alexander, however, introduced over much of the eastern Hellenized world the Macedonian calendar of a year of 12 followed by a year of 13 lunar months, although this gave an excess of about seven days over a period of two solar years. The Greeks in Egypt, however, adopted the local calendar and the Seleucids adapted the Macedonian to the Babylonian.

Since by the mid-1st century BC the partly lunar Roman Republican calendar was substantially and increasingly out of phase with the seasons, Julius Caesar, in his capacity as Pontifex Maximus (chief priest), invited the Greek astronomer Sosigenes of Alexandria to advise on a new calendar, which was instituted in 46 BC and became known as the Julian calendar. Sosigenes first intercalated 67 days in addition to the regular biennial intercalation of 23 days (or 22 alternately in a quadrennial cycle) after 23 February, and then, to preclude a repetition of the Republican problem, proposed the adoption of a tropical (solar) year of 365.25 days. For practicality three years were to be of 365 days' duration with an extra day intercalated (between 23 and 24 February) every fourth year. However, because of confusion caused by Roman inclusive reckoning this was done every third year until the situation was gradually righted under Augustus between 9 BC and AD 4, by which time the months had been given their present number of days. The revision of this calendar, known as the Gregorian calendar, appeared in a papal bull of Pope Gregory XIII in 1582. By it the first three centennial years in every sequence of four are not bissextile (leap) years, since the true length of the tropical year (365.242199 mean solar days) puts the Julian Calendar approximately seven days behind the seasons every 1000 years.

The Byzantines largely used the Julian calendar, but with the days of the month numbered successively (rather than by Kalends, Nones, and Ides) and with the year beginning on 1 September, the traditional date for the beginning of an indiction (period of 15 years when annual tax was to remain unaltered). However, consular years (used until the 7th century for public and legal documents) still began on 1 January, while regnal years, patriarchal years (Constantinopolitan, Alexandrian, Antiochian, and Ierosolymite), papal years, and those of officials such as the praetorian prefect began upon accession or appointment. The problem of calculating the date of Easter begat a cycle of 532 years, the product of a 19-year lunar and a 28-year solar cycle, which gave precisely recurring Julian dates for the festival and its associated holy days. These cycles, with the rules for calculation, form the *computus*, tables from which survive in many manuscripts. The Church calendar was a combination of the Synaxarion, a list of calendarically fixed feasts and saints' days (often given separately with appropriate lections) and the Kanonarion, a list of the mobile Paschal feasts.

During the Tourkokratia Greeks were permitted to keep their civic and religious calendars. The modern state made the decision to change to the more astronomically correct Gregorian calendar in 1923, 16 February becoming 1 March, and the Greek Church swiftly followed, 10 March becoming 23 March. Nevertheless, outside the national Church there are still communities ("Old Calendarist") which abide by the Julian calendar, as do the monasteries of Mount Athos, where the day, itself divided into 12 hours of night and 12 of daylight, begins at sundown (except for Iviron which starts its day at sunrise).

A.R. LITTLEWOOD

See also Chronology, Old Calendarists

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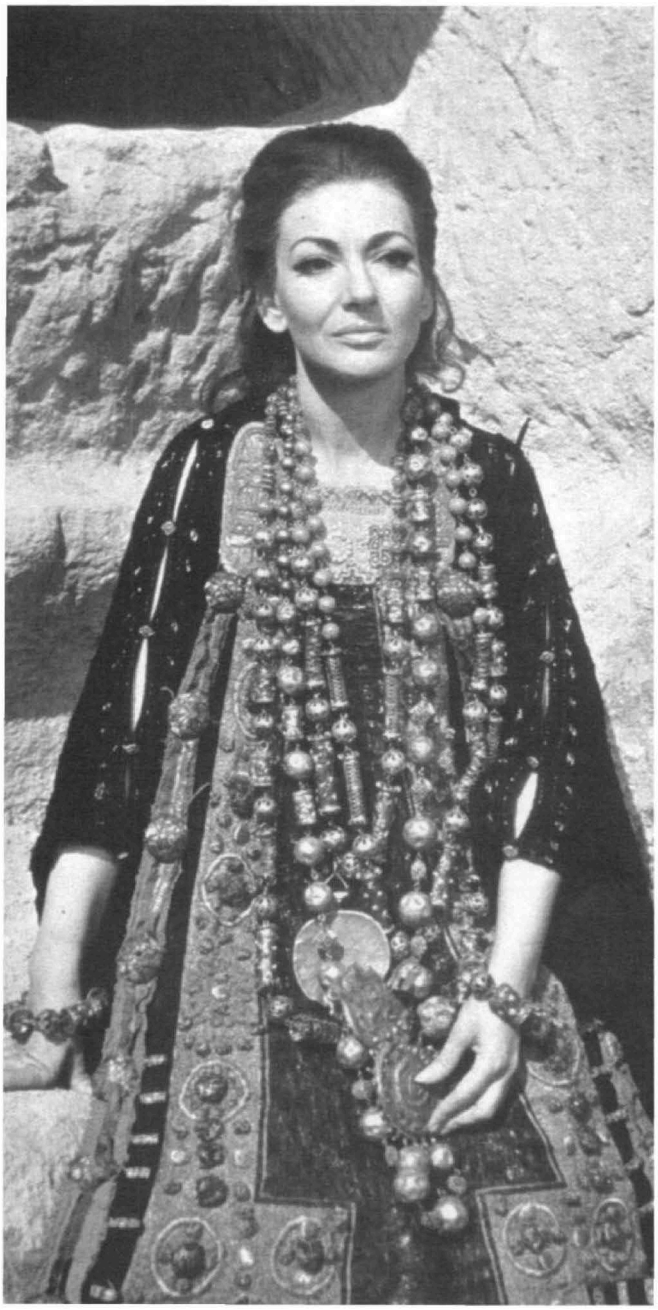
Callas, Maria 1923–1977

Opera singer

Born on 2 December 1923 in New York and trained in Athens, Cecilia Sophia Anna Maria Callas went on to become one of the outstanding operatic sopranos of the 20th century. She was the second daughter of George Kalogeropoulos, a pharmacist from Meligala in the Peloponnese, and Evangelia Dimitroadou, the daughter of a military officer descended from prosperous Phanariots. The family surname was shortened to Callas when her parents emigrated to the United States several months before her birth, in what may have been an attempt to revitalize a marriage shaken by the recent death of their only son, Vasily. Unfortunately, the strains of immigrant life and financial difficulties, later compounded by the onset of the Great Depression, brought only further discord to the couple. Maria (or Mary, as she was then known) and her older sister Jackie (Iakinthy) were thus raised in an environment marked by constant bickering. Significantly, these marital disputes extended to music, reflecting in microcosm the cultural struggles that were being played out at that time in Greece. George preferred to listen to gramophone records of *rebetika* ("low-life" music) which his wife, whose musical tastes and cultural pretensions were those of the contemporary westernizing Greek bourgeoisie, would promptly disparage and replace with recordings of opera. Evangelia would also regularly listen to radio broadcasts from the Metropolitan Opera with her daughters, upon whom a substantial portion of the family's meagre financial resources were bestowed at her insistence for music lessons. Both girls studied piano, and Mary sang at school, in church, and, at her mother's behest, in radio competitions. In 1937 Evangelia separated from George and returned to Greece with the children, citing a desire to advance their musical careers.

In Athens Evangelia eventually managed to arrange an audition for her daughter Maria with Maria Trivella, a teacher of singing who secured a scholarship for her at the National Conservatory of the composer Manolis Kalomiris. Proving herself to be a determined and dedicated pupil, Maria Callas progressed rapidly and on 2 April 1939 she made her operatic debut as Santuzza in a student production of *Cavalleria Rusticana*. Emboldened by this achievement, Maria's mother presented her for an audition before Elvira de Hidalgo, a Spanish soprano of international stature who had come to Greece to teach at the more prestigious Athens Conservatory. Hidalgo was sufficiently impressed to arrange a full scholarship for her at the Athens Conservatory, where she sang in numerous concerts with the soprano Arda Mandikian and other students. Callas was hired by the Royal Theatre in 1940 and early in the next year (probably in February) she made her professional debut in the minor role of Beatrice in von Suppé's operetta *Boccaccio*. During the Axis occupation (1941–44) she graduated to leading roles with the Athens Opera while continuing to appear in concerts and recitals, albeit somewhat sporadically because of the adverse conditions. On 27 August 1942 she made her first appearance as Tosca, a role that she would sing to great acclaim towards the end of her career. She went on to sing in Athenian productions of *Cavalleria Rusticana*, *Fidelio*, d'Albert's *Tiefland*, and *O Protomastoras* by Kalomiris, the only modern Greek opera she was ever to sing. After the liberation of Greece she continued to appear on the operatic and concert stages, but the refusal of the Athens Opera to renew her contract – a decision variously attributed to the jealousy of more established singers and accusations of collaboration with the occupiers – caused her to return to New York in September 1945 after her final appearances as Laura in Millöcker's operetta *Der Bettelstudent*.

Unable to advance her career sufficiently in America, Callas accepted an offer to sing the title role in Ponchielli's *La Gioconda* at the Arena in Verona, where she first performed on 2 August 1947 under the direction of Tullio Serafin. This successful appearance led to increasingly frequent engagements



Maria Callas: a still from Pier Paolo Pasolini's film *Medea* (1970), in which Callas took the title role

in Italy, Mexico, and South America to sing a wide variety of operas by Italian and German composers. Although initially prized for her dramatic interpretations of Aida, Isolde, Kundry, Brünnhilde, and Turandot, Callas soon abandoned heavy roles on Serafin's advice. She thereafter became known as a supreme interpreter of Italian operas from the later 18th to the mid-19th century, including works by Gluck, Haydn, Cherubini, Spontini, Bellini, Donizetti, and Verdi. Only after she had made her debut on the world's most prestigious operatic stages – for example, La Scala (12 April 1950), Covent Garden (8 November 1950), the Chicago Lyric Theatre (1 November 1954), and the Metropolitan (29 October 1956) – and had become an international celebrity was she engaged by the Athens Festival to sing in two concerts at the Herodes Atticus Theatre in August 1957. Despite political wranglings over the size of her fee and vocal troubles that caused her to cancel the first of these appearances, on 5 August Callas scored an artistic triumph over an initially hostile audience and thereafter began to renew her artistic and personal ties with Greece. At her suggestion, the new Dallas Civic Opera production of Cherubini's *Medea* was premièred on 6 November 1958 with direction by Alexis Miniotis of Greece's National Theatre and design by Ioannis Tsarouchis. In addition to helping to mount over the next four years further stagings of *Medea* at Covent Garden (1959), Epidaurus (1961), and La Scala (1961–62), Miniotis and Tsarouchis collaborated with Callas on the Greek National Opera's performances in August 1960 at Epidaurus of *Norma*, the first opera ever mounted in that ancient theatre. Callas, who donated the fees for all of her 1960 and 1961 Epidaurus engagements to a scholarship fund for poor singers, was given awards by the city of Athens and the government of Greece officially recognizing her contributions to art.

During the early 1960s Callas gradually withdrew from the operatic stage as her longstanding vocal troubles increased and her private life became centred on a relationship with the shipping magnate Aristotle Onassis. On 5 July 1965 she made her final operatic appearance as Tosca at Covent Garden, after which she made occasional recordings, gave infrequent concerts, starred in a non-operatic film of *Medea* directed by Pasolini, and led master classes. After completing a punishing two-year recital tour in 1974, she retired completely from public life and died in Paris on 16 September 1977.

Notwithstanding the relative brevity of her international career, the voice and personality of Callas have remained intensely fascinating to opera lovers and the general public, causing her to achieve near mythic status after her death. Her artistic work and glamorous life have been documented in exhaustive detail through numerous books and recordings. Most recently, she has begun to inspire authors both in Greece and abroad to create fictional accounts of episodes in her life, including Terrence McNally's play *Masterclass* and *Thymamai ten Maria* (I Remember Maria) by Menes Koumantareas, a short story describing how a young bellboy from Corfu heard Callas sing during her stay at the Grand Bretagne Hotel in 1957.

ALEXANDER LINGAS

See also Opera

Biography

Born in New York in 1923 to parents who had just emigrated to the USA, Callas returned to Greece with her mother in 1937. She won a scholarship to the Athens Conservatory in that year and made her professional operatic debut in 1940. She moved to New York in 1945, then back to Europe in 1947, and throughout the 1950s enjoyed international stardom. She gradually withdrew from performance in the 1960s and died in Paris in 1977.

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Callimachus *c.*320 BC–*c.*240 BC

Poet and scholar

Callimachus was one of the foremost literary scholars of the Hellenistic age and its most important poet. He produced an impressive array of works in prose and verse (the *Suda* ascribes more than 800 books to him, only a very small proportion of which has been preserved). Ingeniously taking up and reacting to earlier poetry, he became the very model of the *poeta doctus* for centuries to come.

Few details of Callimachus' life are known. He was born probably around 320 BC to a noble Cyrenean family. He may early on have had a position at the Ptolemaic court in Alexandria and could have attained his high standard of education at no better place than this. He spent long periods of his life in Alexandria and was intimately connected with its magnificent museum and royal library (both founded by Ptolemy I). Some other facts reported about him are probably fictitious: the *Suda*'s statement that he was at first a lowly schoolteacher is probably the product of slanderous invention, and the evidence for his supposed feud with his (somewhat younger) contemporary Apollonius Rhodius is late and shaky (e.g. the identification of Apollonius with the target of

Callimachus' curse-poem *Ibis*). Callimachus died probably around 240 BC.

Since dates for Callimachus' wide-ranging oeuvre are almost non-existent, it is best to present his work according to genre, following the order of the *Diegeseis* (summaries of his poems) preserved on papyrus (see below).

Callimachus' most famous poetic work is the *Aetia*, a collection of stories in four books relating the cause (*aition*, hence the title) and origin of certain peculiar customs and phenomena in the Greek world. Thanks to surviving papyri, this substantial work (possibly up to 6000 verses in elegiac couplets) can be reconstructed to a large extent. In the first two books (probably completed by 270 BC), the stories were framed by a conversation that Callimachus himself had (in a dream) with the Muses on Mount Helicon (a programmatic reminiscence of Hesiod). Books 3 and 4 were probably added considerably later (after 246 BC); they do not follow the narrative frame of the earlier books but consist of a collection of aetiological stories, the first and the last of which honoured Queen Berenice II, the wife of Ptolemy III Euergetes, thus providing a frame. At the beginning of book 3 the *Victoria Berenices* celebrates – in Pindaric fashion – the queen's chariot victory at the Nemean Games and gives the tale of the games' *aition*, Heracles' slaying of the Nemean Lion, told from a typically Callimachean angle. On his way to the fight, the hero spends the night in the lowly dwelling of the poor peasant Molorcus; this domestic setting was probably much more developed than Heracles' fight itself. Book 4 ends with the *Coma Berenices*, the tale of the lock of hair that the queen dedicated for the safe homecoming of Euergetes (who had gone to war in Syria); the lock vanished and was miraculously rediscovered in heaven as a new star (the charming story can still be read in Catullus' Latin translation). Another famous story (in book 3) is that of Acontius and Cydippe, admired and imitated in Latin (by Virgil, Propertius, and Ovid) as well as in later Greek literature (e.g. in the *Letters* of "Aristaenetus"). The most important – and most widely quoted – part of the *Aetia* was the prologue, which (contrary to what earlier scholars have surmised) was already the introduction to its original two books. In it Callimachus vividly and vehemently rejects the carpings of the Telchines, as he calls his critics (the name originally signified some malevolent spirits), who demand from him heroic epics on a massive scale; but he cites the well-crafted small-scale poems of Mimnermus and Philitas as his models and claims that from his very beginnings as a poet Apollo himself advised him to seek out yet untrodden poetic paths.

The epilogue at the end of the *Aetia* evokes the next category of Callimachus' poetry, the thematically and metrically very diverse *Iambi*, which adopt the tradition of the old Ionic iambus (and especially the work of Hipponax), as the *Aetia* took up Hesiodic catalogue poetry. In six of the *Iambi* (1–5 and 13) he adopted Hipponax' trademark metre, the "limping iambic"; in the rest he used a variety of other metres. In *Iambus* 1 Hipponax himself speaks; he is "on holiday" from Hades and now admonishes – of all people – the scholars of Alexandria (Callimachus' colleagues) to cease squabbling with each other; he then pointedly relates how magnanimously the Seven Sages behaved among themselves. *Iambus* 2 tells an Aesopian fable with satirical application at the end. *Iambus* 3 laments present bad times. *Iambus* 4, another fable about the contest between the laurel tree and the olive tree that is interrupted by a neighbouring bush, is apparently connected to the framing story, in which a quarrel between Callimachus and a rival is similarly interrupted by a third person. In *Iambus* 5, in metaphorical language, the poet advises a pederastic schoolteacher not to pursue his vice any further. *Iambus* 6 offers a detailed (but badly preserved) description of the great statue of Olympian Zeus, apparently given by the poet to a friend who is about to visit Olympia; this is an intriguing mixture of a *propemptikon* (a farewell poem) and a traveller's guide. *Iambus* 7 gives an aetiological story about the wooden statue of Hermes Perpheraeus (told by the statue itself). Of *Iambi* 8–11 only a few verses remain, but we know their content from the *Diegeseis*: a victory ode in iambic trimeters containing another aetiological tale (8), a conversation between a statue of Hermes with erect phallus and a pederast (9), an *aition* for a curious pig sacrifice to Aphrodite (10), and an *aition* for a proverb (11). *Iambus* 12 returns to more poetical spheres. In this birthday poem for the newborn daughter of a friend the poet related how, when a similar feast was once celebrated on Olympus for the newborn Hebe, Apollo's hymn was judged the best among the presents then given; surely Callimachus himself wanted his own birthday poem to be judged similarly. In *Iambus* 13 Callimachus defended himself against critics carping at the diversity and multiformity of his poems. This could have been a fitting conclusion to the collection; recently, though, it has been argued that the book of *Iambi* did not only contain the 13 poems described above, but also the four following miscellaneous poems in various lyrical metres, as the *Diegeseis* do not really distinguish them from the preceding *Iambi* (Cameron, 1995, pp. 163–70).

The *Hecale* is Callimachus' response to Greek epic tradition; in this epyllion (little epic) he chooses – as in the Heracles story in the *Victoria Berenices* – a characteristically unexpected angle to retell a deed by the young Athenian hero Theseus. Having just escaped an assassination attempt by the sorceress Medea, Theseus is forbidden by his father Aegeus to seek a new danger and slay the mighty bull that ravages the Marathonian countryside; he ventures out nevertheless and, when surprised by a heavy downpour, finds hospitable refuge in the hut of a poor old woman, Hecale (and Callimachus describes this domestic scene with loving detail). Next day Theseus successfully captures the bull (this, it seems, was described only very briefly), but on his return finds the old woman dead; so he sacrifices the bull in her memory, and founds a new Attic deme, which he names Hecale, and a sanctuary to Zeus Hekaleios as well. The latter part of the poem is filled out mainly by the curious conversation between an old crow (which deeply delves into Athenian mythical history) and another bird (possibly an owl). The whole poem may have been 1000 to 1500 hexameters long.

The six *Hymns* to various deities, which take their cue from the so-called *Homeric Hymns*, are the only substantial part of Callimachus' poetry (except the *Epigrams*) to be preserved in medieval manuscript tradition. *Hymns* 1 (*To Zeus*), 3 (*To Artemis*), and 4 (*To Delos*; the island is divinized as the birthplace of Apollo) are written in a straightforward fashion. *Hymn* 3 especially contains scenes pervaded by typically Callimachean humour: little Artemis reaches in vain for her father's bearded chin and pulls hairs from the shaggy breast of

the Cyclops Brontes, and when – after a hunting foray – she is welcomed on Olympus by Heracles, this well-known lover of great quantities of meat earnestly tells her not to hunt little hares but bigger animals like boar and oxen! *Hymn* 4 wittily includes an honorific mention of Ptolemy Philadelphus by way of a curious prophecy (162–95): when Leto approaches the island of Cos, Apollo, speaking from her womb, forbids her to bear him there, for this island is destined to become the birthplace of another god (Philadelphus). The other three *Hymns* are set within the frame of a ritual which is evoked by the poet's very words. *Hymn* 5 (*To the Bath of Pallas*), which unlike the other hymns is written in elegiac couplets and Doric dialect, unfolds within a ritual bathing scene for a statue of Athena; within this frame another (mythical) bath of Athena is described which cost Tiresias (who had inadvertently stumbled on the scene) his eyesight for seeing the bathing goddess. *Hymn* 6 (*To Demeter*, again in Doric dialect) within its ritual frame tells how Demeter punished Erysichthon for destroying her sacred trees by striking him with eternal hunger (which is then described in lurid and ludicrous detail). *Hymn* 2 (*To Apollo*) evokes the epiphany of the golden, youthful Apollo and ends with a peculiar section leading us back to Callimachus' convictions regarding poetry (105–12): Phthonos (personified Envy) approaches Apollo and whispers into his ear that he does not love poets who do not produce works on the scale of the sea, but Apollo kicks him away and declares his own preference for the clear and pure water of the modest fountain to the mighty, but muddy, Assyrian stream.

Of Callimachus' *Epigrams* about 60 have survived, almost all of them in the *Anthologia Palatina*. In an age famous for gifted epigrammatists, these little poems (rarely exceeding six lines) still hold their own for the strength of feeling that they express and the unexpected turn of thought that they often take.

Callimachus was as much a scholar as a poet, but of the astonishing amount of prose works he produced even more has been lost than of his poetry. According to the *Suda*, he wrote, among other things, *On the Names of the Months according to Peoples and Cities*, *The Settling of Islands and Cities and their Renaming*, *On Winds*, *On Birds*, *On the Rivers in the Inhabited World*, and *Collection of the Carvels of all the World according to Localities*. His greatest achievement as a scholar, however, was surely the *Pinakes*, or *Tables of Those who Distinguished Themselves in All Kinds of Learning and of their Writings*, a gigantic catalogue (in 120 books) which presented the contents of the great royal library in Alexandria ordered by genre, author, and single works.

Both as a scholar and as a poet Callimachus had far-reaching influence. The great Alexandrian scholars Eratosthenes and Aristophanes of Byzantium were his pupils, as were a number of lesser ones (Hermippus of Smyrna, Istrus, and Philostephanus). In the realms of poetry, the *Aetia* and *Hecale* acquired immediate and lasting fame. The *Aetia* secured Callimachus a place among the foremost elegiac Greek poets; echoes from the *Hecale* can be found in many Greek as well as Roman poets. In Hellenistic times Callimachus' presence could be felt in the works of Apollonius Rhodius, Lycophron, Rhianus, Eratosthenes, Euphorion, Nicander, and Parthenius; in imperial times in that of Dionysius Periegetes, the two Oppians, Quintus of Smyrna, Triphiodorus, the Christian Gregory of Nazianzus, and Nonnus (both in the *Dionysiaca* and in the poetic paraphrase of St John's Gospel). In the little Egyptian village of Oxyrhynchus alone, papyrus fragments of nine separate copies of the *Hecale* have been found (ranging from the 2nd to the 6th or 7th centuries AD).

As Callimachus' poetry was never easy, even for native Greek-speakers, his works soon needed clarification. Perhaps as early as the final centuries BC the so-called *Diegeseis* (one might call them "Tales from Callimachus") were produced; largely preserved on papyrus, they provide valuable information on the content of Callimachus' work. Commentaries on Callimachus' poetry are known to have been written at least since the end of the 1st century BC: Theon, a scholar of Augustan times, and Epaphroditus (1st century AD) wrote commentaries on the *Aetia*; Archibius, the son of Apollonius, on the *Epigrams*; and Salustius (late antiquity) on the *Hecale* and perhaps other poems; this commentary was still used by Byzantine lexica (see below). Around AD 500 Marianus of Eleutheropolis produced a paraphrase of the *Hecale*, *Hymns*, *Aetia*, and *Epigrams* in 6810 iambic lines. The *Hecale* was cited by Archbishop Arethas (active in the late 9th/early 10th century), who also knew the *Aetia* and the *Hymns*; by the *Etymologicum Genuinum* (which, though itself lost, spawned various other *Etymologica* in the following centuries) in the 9th century and by the *Suda* (our most important source for the *Hecale* fragments apart from the papyri) in the 10th. The owner of the last known copy of *Hecale* (and probably *Aetia*) was Michael Choniates, metropolitan of Athens (1182–1204). This copy, however, in all likelihood perished when Athens was sacked by members of the Fourth Crusade in 1205. It was not until the 20th century that papyri would restore at least a part of what had been lost 700 years ago.

HEINZ-GÜNTHER NESSELRATH

Biography

Born *c.*320 BC in Cyrene, Callimachus was probably educated in Alexandria and lived there for much of his life. He was closely connected with the Museum and the royal library. He wrote extensively in poetry (*Aetia*, *Iambi*, *Hymns*, *Epigrams*) and prose (most notably the *Pinakes*, a catalogue in 120 books of the library's collections). His pupils included Eratosthenes and Aristophanes of Byzantium. He died *c.*240 BC.

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Canada

The first Greek to visit Canada may have been the Cephalonian navigator Apostolos Valerianos, otherwise known as Yannis Phokas, who in the employ of the Viceroy of Mexico explored the Pacific coast of the Americas in 1592 and for whom the Strait of Juan de Fuca, which separates Vancouver Island from the state of Washington, was later named. Although he was preceded by a few fellow-countrymen along the shores of the Saint Lawrence in eastern Canada, the first Greek immigrant of any importance was the soldier of fortune George Kapiotis from Cyme in Euboea, who fought for the British in the Crimean War, joined the gold rush to the Caribou in the early 1850s, and settled in Victoria where he married a local Songhee chief's daughter whom he taught Greek (their grandson, the physician George Athans, was a Canadian champion diver who competed at the Olympics of 1936). By 1900 there were still fewer than 300 Greeks in Canada, almost exclusively males from the poorer areas of Greece such as Arcadia, Laconia, and the islands, who had arrived usually with the intention of making money and returning to Greece rather than settling permanently. The rate of immigration increased in the early decades of the 20th century because of poverty and political persecution in Greece and the Canadian need for cheap labour, but immigration policies biased against southeastern Europeans still kept the numbers low, there being even by 1931 only 9450 persons of Greek origin in the country. A postwar change of immigration policy led to an influx of Greeks in the 1950s to mid-1970s with a peak of over 10,000 in 1967, but growing unemployment in Canada ensured only a trickle in the 20 years up to 1998. According to the 1991 census there were 151,150 people in Canada claiming single Greek descent and 40,330 claiming part-Greek descent, with only a slight preponderance of males, but these figures are probably too low. Approximately 30,000 were Greek Cypriots, whose immigration began in the 1960s and reached its peak with the Turkish invasion of the island in 1974.

Although most immigrants were peasants and fishermen, they largely chose to live in cities, especially Toronto, Montréal, and Vancouver. In 1991 55 per cent resided in Ontario and 29.5 per cent in the province of Québec. The men worked at first mainly in labouring jobs and then increasingly in their own businesses, of which in 1951 about 80 per cent were restaurants (which frequently offered Canadian rather than Greek food). The young women worked at first as domestic servants and later as partners in their husbands' businesses. Since second-generation Greek Canadians had on average more than twice as many years of schooling as their parents, so many entered higher-paying occupations, and especially the professions of teaching, law, engineering, and medicine, that in the late 1990s retiring restaurateurs were finding it difficult to keep their businesses in the family.

The first Greek Orthodox priest in Canada, Agathadoros Papageorgopoulos, came to Montréal in 1906 from Greece, although he was theoretically under the Ecumenical Patriarchate, and from 1908 to 1922 the communities were under the spiritual care, rather than effective jurisdiction, of the Church of Greece. In 1922 Meletios, in his first official act as the new ecumenical patriarch, created the archdiocese of North and South America, which he had begun to organize on a visit the preceding year. The Canadian parishes, originally incorporated into the diocese of Boston, were formed into a separate diocese with the installation of bishop Athenagoras Kokkinakis in 1960. A further reorganization in 1996 saw the enthronement on 26 September of Canada's first archbishop, Sotirios Athanasoulas, under the direct jurisdiction of the Ecumenical Patriarch. By May 1998 there were 65 parishes (although no bishoprics had yet been created) and it was planned to open a seminary in Toronto later that year. A very few small Old Calendarist communities had been established in Canada since the 1960s, and a small but growing number of parishes of other Orthodox Churches such as the Antiochian catered largely for second-generation Greeks and their often non-Greek families who both needed the liturgy in English and wished to escape Greek cultural domination. Since the late 1940s the traditionally wide-reaching and often authoritarian role of the Church in community affairs was increasingly challenged, and often acrimonious struggles developed between the clergy (born mainly in Greece) and secular leaders. Among the factors involved were the influence of the generally more secular Canadian society, the immigration of many communists persecuted in Greece at the end of the Civil War in 1949, and the Church's support of the junta in Greece from 1967 to 1974.

The small numbers of Greeks in Canada always encouraged the creation of tightly knit communities within the cities. In the 1970s and 1980s the federal government's deliberate fostering of multiculturalism further aided a sense of ethnic distinctness. Greek schools, for the teaching of the history and the modern language, proliferated. Increasingly under lay direction, these have operated in the evenings and on Saturdays, but have rarely catered for children over the age of 14. Cultural, sporting, and philanthropic associations, some purely local, many provincial or national or affiliated with US groups, have been sponsored both by the Church and by the secular communities (the first were in Montréal as early as 1906). In 1981 the Hellenic Canadian Congress was founded as an umbrella organization largely to give these associations a more effective voice in dealings with different layers of government. In 1998 there were approximately 12 Greek newspapers in Canada, the earliest having appeared in Montréal in 1924. Greek television and radio programmes have been based mainly in Toronto and Montréal. Although these factors have all promoted ethnic

awareness, Canadian state schooling, the low level of Greek immigration in the 1980s and 1990s, and the growing tendency of young Greek-Canadians to practise exogamy had already begun to break down ethnic barriers and produce something more akin to the "melting-pot" of the USA.

Greek consciousness traditionally resulted in communities taking far more interest in Greek than in Canadian politics. Canadian Greeks returned to fight in the Balkan Wars of 1912–13, were divided between Venizelists and Royalists in and after World War I but joined forces in their opposition to the Germans in World War II, contributed generously to the Greek Relief Fund to aid the Nationalist Government against the communists in the Civil War, and later have been united in their opposition to the claims of Turkish Cyprus and the Former Yugoslavian Republic of Macedonia. In response to the junta in 1967–74 Andreas Papandreou, while a visiting professor at York University in Toronto, founded the Panhellenic Liberation Movement (PAK, later PASOK) before he returned to Greece as leader of the opposition and, in 1981, became its first socialist prime minister. In contrast the earliest serious interest in Canadian politics was not shown until the early 1960s when the Greek Association of the Liberal Party was founded in Montréal. By 1993 two senators, two members of the federal parliament, and one member of a provincial parliament (Saskatchewan) could claim a Greek origin.

Classical Greek (and Latin) language and literature and ancient history have traditionally been taught at Canadian universities in separate Classics departments, some of which in the 1990s became parts of larger departments of languages or Western civilization. Since the 1970s there has been a huge growth in courses on Greek (and Roman) culture, whose lack of a linguistic requirement has often resulted in enrolments of up to 300 students. A few universities have offered courses in Byzantine Studies and there is a Canadian committee affiliated to the Association Internationale des Études Byzantines. University courses in modern Greek have been rare and mainly in Montréal. Most Classics professors used to be both foreign born and trained (mainly in the UK and the USA), but, owing to a curb on immigration and a growth of graduate studies, most appointments made since the early 1980s have been of Canadians, though very few of these have been of Greek descent.

Publications by Canadian classicists were paltry until the 1950s, but since then there has been an upsurge of scholarly activity, much of very high quality. Since 1946 the Classical Association of Canada has published annually the internationally respected journal *Phoenix*, which has since been joined by *Classical News and Views / Echoes du monde classique* (1957, radically improved in 1982 as *Echos du monde classique / Classical Views* and issued with an annual fascicle of Canadian archaeological reports), *Teiresias: A Review and Continuing Bibliography of Boiotian Studies* (1971, now entirely electronic), *Cahiers des études anciennes* (1972), *Dionysius* (1977), and *The Ancient History Bulletin* (1987). In March 1989 the University of Western Ontario established the Centre for Olympic Studies (the first such centre in the world), which since 1992 has published annually its *International Journal of Olympic Studies* and biennially the *Proceedings* of its symposia. Byzantine studies have been remarkably fostered by the Hellenic Canadian Association of Constantinople which since 1992 has regularly published as monographs the public lectures that it sponsors.

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Canals

Until well into the 20th century difficulties of overland transport in Greece have led to a preference for water routes. A lack of navigable rivers has meant that long portages could not always be avoided, but Greece's deeply indented, irregular coastline has also provided opportunities to shorten both land and water passages through the construction of canals.

The most obvious site for a canal is at the isthmus of Corinth, which is a mere 6 km wide. A canal at this point was an objective of rulers from the 7th century BC to the modern era. The Cypselid dynasty, which ruled Corinth from the mid-7th to the early 6th century BC, was credited by ancient sources with a number of major projects linked to water transport. The dynasty's founder Cypselus was said to have dug a canal which separated Leucas (a Corinthian colony) from the mainland, making it an island. His son, Periander, constructed the artificial harbour at Lechaeum, on the north side of the isthmus. Late sources claim that he intended to dig a canal, but had to settle for a slipway, called *diolkos* in Greek. Traces of this construction, consisting of a paved roadway and two channels, are still visible, and archaeological as well as literary evidence supports the conclusion that it was originally constructed in the late 7th or early 6th century BC. The original purpose of this slipway is not entirely clear. The *diolkos* is near to neither of Corinth's ports, and was probably used by ships who were simply in transit. All the explicit mentions of its use involve the transport of warships. Still, this is unlikely to have been the *diolkos*' principal function as envisaged by its Corinthian builders who, after all, controlled harbours on both sides of the isthmus. It has been suggested (Cook, 1979) that the objectives of the original builders were commercial. Use of the *diolkos* allowed the Corinthians to levy tolls on those who were not actually trading with them but were passing through Corinthian territory. This slipway remained usable at least into the period of the early Roman empire, and there is some

evidence that it was continuously in use up until the 9th century AD.

A canal at the isthmus of Corinth was supposedly contemplated by a variety of Hellenistic and Roman luminaries. The Roman historian Suetonius gives an account of Nero attempting to encourage the praetorian guard in this endeavour by breaking the ground and carrying the first basket of earth himself. This was not merely one of Nero's extravagant but empty gestures, since trenches 1.5 to 2 km long dating to his reign were visible before digging for the modern canal began. This canal was finally completed in 1893 during the administration of the prime minister Charilaos Trikoupis. It was one of many public works projects aimed at modernizing the country's infrastructure. For ships which can pass through the canal, the voyage from the Aegean to the Ionian Sea is shortened by some 325 km.

The second famous canal in Greece was the work of the country's enemies. The assistance that Athens and Eretria lent to the Ionian Revolt attracted the negative attention of Darius, king of Persia, who sent an expedition ostensibly to discipline those two cities. However, the expedition never progressed further than Macedonia because of excessive casualties on land and a disaster at sea. Attempting to sail round the Athos peninsula, the fleet was caught in a gale; Herodotus claimed that about 300 ships and over 20,000 men were lost as a result. A second attempt by Darius resulted in the great Athenian victory at Marathon. Herodotus presented Darius' successor Xerxes as eager to take revenge on the Greeks. He raised a force which dwarfed all the famous armies of the past and took extraordinary steps for the transport and provisioning of the expedition. In order to avoid a repeat of the Athos disaster he ordered that a canal be cut across the peninsula at its narrowest point, a distance of slightly more than 2 km. The project took three years to complete, and when finished the canal was the width of two triremes. Perhaps with the *diolkos* at Corinth in mind, Herodotus stated that Xerxes could easily have had the ships dragged across the narrow spit of land. He dismissed the canal as a work of ostentation, another manifestation of Xerxes' fatal hubris. Indeed, some ancient writers doubted that the canal had ever existed, or suggested that it had been only partially cut, with the ships being dragged the remainder of the distance. Nevertheless, European travellers of the 18th and 19th centuries noted traces of ditches and a chain of marshy lagoons along the line where the canal presumably ran. Recent geophysical investigations by the British School at Athens confirmed a V-shaped feature running along this line which agrees in its general dimensions with Herodotus' description (Isserlin *et al.*, 1994). The question of whether the cut completely severed the peninsula, turning it into an island, remains unsettled. The character of the soil along the southern portion of the presumed course of the canal would have made excavation much more difficult. Cores taken from the fill of the canal have no marine indicators, perhaps evidence that it had no direct outlet to the sea or that it was open only for a short time. Herodotus states that as part of the canal-building project breakwaters were constructed to keep the canal from silting up. No traces of these breakwaters have been found and, if they were in existence only for a short time, the canal itself may have had only a brief useful life (Isserlin *et al.*, 1996).

In post-Classical times Greek engineers had at their disposal more elaborate techniques for the building of artificial waterways. In the 3rd century BC Ptolemy II Philadelphus restored the Nile–Red Sea canal which had existed in the time of the pharaohs. Diodorus Siculus describes it as having a gate that could be opened and closed quickly, while Strabo mentions that boatmen could sail in and out easily. All of this suggests some kind of lock. Egyptian reliefs showing heavily laden ships voyaging between Egyptian Thebes and the land of Punt by way of the Red Sea attest to a much earlier canal which would also have been equipped with a lock (Moore, 1950, p. 99).

Roman military engineers assured the supply lines of the empire through a series of canals, dykes, and locks in the western European provinces. Pliny the Younger suggested to the emperor Trajan, while he was governor of Bithynia, that the construction of a canal between the city of Nicomedia and a lake in the interior might be a worthwhile project. The canal was never constructed, but in the 6th century AD Justinian proposed an even more ambitious scheme to connect the Black Sea with the Propontis. This was to involve reversing the current in the Sangarius river, which flows northeast into the Black Sea, so that it would instead flow southwest into the lake. From there, a canal would be used to convey ships to Nicomedia. However, the only evidence that construction was even begun is the existence of an absurdly large bridge over the Melas river. This insignificant stream was supposed to receive the flow of the diverted Sangarius, but the plan was never accomplished (Moore, 1950, p. 108–09).

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See also Water Management

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Candia, Fall of 1669

Determined to achieve supremacy throughout the eastern Mediterranean, and anxious to secure full control of the sea routes, the Turks eventually found a pretext for organizing a campaign to expel the Venetians for good from Crete and the

Levant. In 1644, off the island of Rhodes, a naval force of the Hospitaller Knights of St John captured a Turkish ship that was carrying functionaries of the Ottoman state on pilgrimage to Mecca. Among the captives was one of the wives of the sultan and their son. On their way back to Malta the knights anchored off Kaloi Limenes in Crete and released the Christians who had been slaves of the Turks, and took on supplies. Although the Venetian authorities on Crete had done their best to send the knights on their way as quickly as possible, the Turks nevertheless accused the Venetians of harbouring hostile forces, and declared war.

In 1645 the Turkish fleet commanded by Yusuf Pasha anchored in the port of Suda and a large military force disembarked close to the monastery of the Virgin at Gonia. Meeting no resistance, the Turks marched towards Chania, destroying villages and monasteries on the way. The Venetians tried to muster some counteroffensive, but to no avail. On 22 August 1645, after coming to terms, the town surrendered to the Turks. The conquest of Chania does not seem to have alarmed the European powers, who failed to appreciate the expansionist designs of the Ottomans. After repeated appeals for help from Venice, a small fleet of galleys sent by the pope, Spain, Malta, and the duke of Tuscany eventually arrived in Crete, some days after the surrender of Chania. Attempts to recapture the city were in vain; it was lost for good. In just a short space of time the Turks managed to establish control over most of western Crete, particularly the areas of Kissamos, Kydonia, and Apokoronas, reaching the gates of Rethymnon.

The siege of Rethymnon began in the autumn of 1646. At the start of the siege the Venetians had ordered the transfer of the population of the city to Candia in order to escape the continual bombardment from the Ottoman artillery and the food shortages. In the summer of the same year the city was afflicted by the plague, aggravated by the insanitary and squalid conditions of the besieged. At last, on 13 November of the same year, the *fortezza* of Rethymnon surrendered to the Turks.

The siege of Candia began in 1648, and it was to drag on for no less than 21 years, a duration that has few parallels in world history. Francesco Morosini, the last defender of Candia, was appointed head of the Christian forces in this critical contest between Christendom and Islam. Alongside him there were the reinforcements sent by the Knights of Malta, the pope, Spain, France, Tuscany, and the duke of Savoy. Yet despite the spirited resistance of the Venetians, the Cretans, and their allies, Candia could not hold out indefinitely against the Turkish onslaught. Before the superior might of the Turkish military machine under the leadership of the grand vizier Ahmet Köprülü, and under no illusion that defeat was avoidable, Morosini eventually opted for a diplomatic solution: on 16 September 1669 after long negotiations attended, on the Ottoman side, by the Greek interpreter Panayotis Nikousios, and on the Venetian side by the Scotsman Annant and the Cretan noble Stephanos Skordilis, an agreement was signed whereby the island of Crete, with the exception only of Gramboussa, Suda, and Spinalonga, became Ottoman territory. Besides their arms and canons, the terms of the treaty allowed the Venetians to take with them their treasures and the government archive. It is for this reason that the valuable archive of the duke of Crete survived, brought back from Candia to Venice, where it is still preserved today. The transportation of the archive was supervised by the Greek Thomas Sakellaris.

The fall of Crete to the Ottomans was a severe blow to Venice, not only because it lost its most important dominion in the eastern Mediterranean, but chiefly because its prestige was irreparably dented. As they left the city, the Venetians dismantled the huge cross that they had erected in 1648 at the highest point of the city on the tower of Martinengo as a symbol of the city's strength. The immediate result of the Turkish conquest of Crete was a substantial reduction in the size of the population. Numerous Cretans, preferring flight to servitude, sought refuge in other Venetian dominions, and in particular in the Ionian islands or in Venice itself. This catastrophic war that shocked the Christian west, the plundering of the city's treasures, the destruction of the churches, and the expulsion of the population are described vividly for us in the long poem by the Rethymniot Marinos Tzanes Bounialis, *The Cretan War*.

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Canon Law

The Byzantine Church never produced an exhaustive and juridically consistent corpus of canon law, but it did recognize the permanent authority of a body of conciliar decrees and patristic opinions issued at various times and in various circumstances. Byzantine theology avoided rationally structured systematization, so the Byzantine Church never bound itself with an exhaustive code of ecclesiastical laws. The councils issued canons related to the structure and administration of the Church and to discipline, but all these texts reflected the requirements of particular situations. The canonical requirements were seen as absolute, inasmuch as they reflected the permanent norms of Christian doctrine and ethics, but in many cases the Byzantine Church also recognized the possibility that these same norms could be preserved not by applying the letter of the law, but by exercising mercy or condescension. Moreover the harmonious coexistence of the empire and the Church, as it was defined mainly by the emperor Justinian I (527–65), made it inevitable that imperial decrees came to be authoritative for the Church as, reciprocally, the empire recognized that ecclesiastical canons had the force of law. The text that comes closest to a theoretical definition of church–state relations in Byzantium is *Novella* 6 of Justinian I, which defines the priesthood and the imperial dignity as "the two greatest gifts of God" to mankind, and insists on their common divine origin. The ideal, as presented in the *Novella*, is a harmony between the two powers. In many cases of conflict

between the two parallel systems the canon law prevailed. The result of this system was that many areas of Church discipline, such as the system for electing bishops and rule of marriage, were covered by imperial legislation, while in turn the emperors were formally bound by ecclesiastical canons (a famous case with many implications was the Church's opposition to the fourth marriage of emperor Leo VI).

Ecclesiastical canons and imperial laws regulated the election of patriarchs. Justinian (*Novella* 174, issued in 565) required that an electoral college of clergy and "important citizens" – similar to the college of cardinals in Rome – participate in the election, but the laity, with the exception of the emperor, were soon eliminated from the process. According to Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos (913–59), the metropolitans of the synod chose three candidates so that the emperors could pick one, while reserving for himself the option of making another choice as well. This openly admitted role of the emperor – which formally contradicted canonical proscriptions against the choice of clerics by civil rulers – was perhaps understandable in view of the political functions of the "ecumenical" patriarch in the state.

The sources of Byzantine canon law are the following:

Decrees of ecumenical councils. The decrees of Nicaea (325), Constantinople I (381), Ephesus (431), Chalcedon (451), the Quinisext Synod, also known as the Council in Trullo (692), which issued canons on behalf of Constantinople II (553) and Constantinople III (680–8), and Nicaea II (787).

Apostolic canons. These represent 85 disciplinary rules going back to the first half of the 4th century. Originating in Syria, they were given formal canonical authority by the Council in Trullo.

Canons of local councils. These were the canons of Ancyra (314), Neocaesarea (314–25), Antioch (341), Sardica (343), Gangra and Laodicea, and Constantinople (394). There were also the canons of Carthage (418), which included decrees of several councils of the north African episcopate held between the 3rd and the 5th centuries, as well as the later canons of Constantinople (859–80), sometimes referred to as the "Eighth Ecumenical Council".

Canons of the Fathers. These were a collection of patristic excerpts that were given formal canonical authority by the various councils. They included texts by Dionysius of Alexandria (died 265), Gregory of Neocaesarea (died 270), Peter of Alexandria (died 311), Athanasius of Alexandria (died 373), Basil of Caesarea (died 379), Gregory of Nazianzus (died 389/390), Amphilochius of Iconium (died 395), Timothy of Alexandria (died 355), Theophilus of Alexandria (died 412), Cyril of Alexandria (died 444), and Gennadius of Constantinople (died 471).

As for imperial legislation on ecclesiastical affairs, the most important compilation was the *Corpus Iuris Civilis* of Justinian I, followed by the *Novellae* (*Nearai* in Greek) issued by him and succeeding emperors. Other important sources of imperial legislation on ecclesiastical affairs are the *Ekloga* (731–41) and, particularly in the legislation of the Macedonians, the *Procheiros Nomos* (870–78), the *Basilics* (867–912), and the *Epanagoge.*

Nomokanon is a term used in Byzantine canon law to designate a collection presenting synoptically both ecclesiastical canons (*kanones*) and civil laws (*nomoi*) on ecclesiastical subjects. These were systematized collections of imperial laws and ecclesiastical rules arranged according to topic. The earliest was the *Nomokanon of 50 Titles*, assembled by an unknown compiler towards the end of the 6th century from two works by the lawyer-patriarch of Constantinople Ioannis III Scholastikos (565–77): the first one is the *Synagoge of 50 Titles*, a topical arrangement of conciliar canons to which Ioannis added the so-called apostolic canons, the African Code, and diverse excerpts from the letters of Basil the Great, and the second one a collection of civil laws in 87 chapters.

More influential was the *Nomokanon of 14 Titles*, assembled between 629 and 640 by the anonymous jurist usually known as Enantiophanes. Civil laws are drawn from a collection known as the *Tripartita*, while canons and the overall arrangement derive from the *Syntagma of 14 Titles*, which appeared in Constantinople in the later 6th century.

The *Nomokanon of 14 Titles* as well as the *Syntagma* went through several later compilations, these serving mainly to incorporate new canonical texts. Most famous is the compilation of the *Nomokanon* of 883, often ascribed to patriarch Photios, which not only enjoyed wide circulation in the Byzantine empire but also served as the basis for the major Slavic canonical collection known as *Kormchaya Kniga*, edited by St Sava of Serbia (13th century) and subsequently accepted in all the Slavic lands of the Balkans and Russia. Also noteworthy is the compilation of Theodore Bestes (in 1090), which gives an improved text for the imperial laws, and the extensive commentary of Theodore Balsamon (*c.*1170–78).

In late Byzantium the term *nomokanon* also came to be applied to manuals on penitential matters intended for the use of confessors. Such manuals circulated from the 9th century, often under the name of John the Faster (patriarch of Constantinople, 582–95). Their wide diffusion in the Slavic world, particularly in Russia, stems above all from the monastic communities of Mount Athos.

The authoritative commentaries on canonical legislation listed above appeared particularly in the 12th century. The commentary of Ioannis Zonaras attempted to classify canons according to their relative importance and authority. Alexis Aristenos emphasized their historical context. Theodore Balsamon, titular patriarch of Antioch during the reign of Manuel I Komnenos (1143–80), produced a major commentary on the entire *Nomokanon of 14 Titles* that attempted to coordinate the ecclesiastical legislation of the previous centuries and the civil legislation contained in the *Corpus Iuris Civilis* and the *Basilics.*

The permanent synod (*synodos endemousa*) at Constantinople regularly issued decrees on canonical and doctrinal issues. Since the archives of the patriarchate were almost totally destroyed by successive invaders (mainly after 1204), only a small part of the decrees have been preserved in their original text. In the last two centuries of the empire, as the power of the emperors diminished dramatically, the patriarchs assumed a wider role and greater competence in the affairs of society far beyond the shrinking borders of the empire. This new role was expressed in the concept of "universal leadership" (*kedemonia panton*) used in patriarchal decrees

of that period (1261–1453), but their influence and their role were not comparable with those of the popes.

The entire legislative body of canonical texts was, according to Byzantine tradition, entrusted to the stewardship (*oikonomia*) of the bishops, with local provincial synods as well as the permanent synod at Constantinople acting as courts of appeal or as supreme tribunals. In the New Testament this term is used to designate God's plan for the salvation of mankind (Ephesians 1: 9–10, 3: 2–3) and also the stewardship entrusted to the bishops (1 Corinthians 4: 1; Colossians 1: 24–25; Titus 1: 7). This biblical origin of the term helps to explain the Byzantine canonical notion of *oikonomia*, which was not simply an exception to established rules but "an imitation of God's love for man" (Nicholas Mystikos), and implied repentance by the pardoned sinner. The principle of *oikonomia* implied a certain discretion given to the bishops in applying sanctions against repentant sinners. Politically minded patriarchs tended to expand the concept of *oikonomia*, more especially when imperial and political interests were involved, whereas the monks stood for a stricter interpretation of Church rules. On several occasions controversies, and even schisms, occurred over the issue of the use of *oikonomia*, for example the "moechian" schism in the early 9th century, on the occasion of the adulterous marriage of emperor Constantine VI, the "Tetragamy" of Leo VI in the 10th century, and the religious and political movement of hesychasm in the 14th century. However, everyone agreed on the principle that one could practice *oikonomia* only, in the words of Eulogius of Alexandria, "whenever orthodox doctrine remained unharmed", though there were many problems and misunderstandings.

A very important aspect of the Byzantine Church and of Byzantine canon law is the acceptance, at least as a principle, of a multiplicity of ecclesiastical centres. During the Palaiologan dynasty (1258–1453) the empire barely survived under the steady advance of Ottoman power in Asia Minor and, later, in the Balkans. During the same period the patriarchate of Constantinople, adapting to the new political situation, succeeded not only in maintaining its jurisdiction over vast territories but also in acquiring greater prestige and authority. When the Latins occupied Constantinople (1204–61), the patriarch went to exile in Nicaea, but continued to be recognized as the head of the mother Church of the Orthodox Slavs. From his exile he was more flexible and more generous towards them than his predecessors who had resided in the imperial city at the height of its power. In 1219 he appointed St Sava as the first archbishop of an independent Serbian Church. Sixteen years later he recognized the Bulgarian patriarchate of Tornovo. The Russian Church, destined to become the most powerful heir of Byzantine civilization, remained firmly under the patriarch's ecclesiastical control for the centuries to come. It was during the era of the grand prince Ivan III (1462–1505) that the Russians began to see in their powerful capital of Moscow a "new Constantinople" or a "third Rome". Nevertheless, it was still from Ottoman-held Constantinople that the Muscovite princes sought and obtained the recognition of their imperial title and, in 1589, the establishment of a patriarchate in Moscow.

That was the starting point for the development of autonomous ecclesiastical centres under the spiritual control of Constantinople. These ecclesiastical centres developed their own practices and their own canonic texts. The Church of Constantinople produced canon laws within its jurisdiction (more or less the territories of the Ottoman empire) and the patriarchate of Moscow for the territories of Russia. This trend created different sources of canon law for each autonomous Church in the Orthodox communion and currently the most accurate approach to the canon law of the Eastern Orthodox Church should be comparative. Of course the differences between the canon law systems of each "autocephalous" church are not essential, and in any case they carry the legacy of Christian Byzantium.

The Church of Greece, founded in 1833 and recognized by Constantinople in 1850, now has its own sources of canon law in addition to the ones that it has inherited. Most of these sources are the laws of the Greek state, which regulate every administrative and legal aspect of the Church. The general legal framework describing the relations between Church and state is provided by article 3 of the Greek Constitution:

> The prevailing religion in Greece is that of the Eastern Orthodox Church of Christ. The Orthodox Church of Greece, acknowledging our Lord Jesus Christ as its head, is inseparably united in doctrine with the Great Church of Christ in Constantinople and with every other Church of Christ of the same doctrine, observing unwaveringly, as they do, the holy apostolic and synodal canons and sacred traditions. It is autocephalous and is administrated by the Holy Synod of serving Bishops and the Permanent Holy Synod originating thereof and assembled as specified by the statutory Charter of the Church in compliance with the provisions of the Patriarchal Tome of 29 June 1850 and the Synodal Act of 4 September 1928. The ecclesiastical regime existing in certain districts of the state shall not be deemed contrary to the provisions of the preceding paragraph.

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See also Councils, Law, *Nomokanon*, Orthodox Church, Patriarchate of Constantinople

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Canonization

The concept of an abiding office and role of intercession for certain leading disciples of Christ who have followed their Lord into heavenly glory is one that is witnessed even in the primitive Church. The apostles were promised thrones of glory in the Kingdom (Matthew 19: 28), a promise that was always understood to signify a continuing role of powerful influence, even the exercise of judgement, within the context of the eschatological dominion of Christ. The early Church, from earliest times, therefore, understood that certain elect disciples would exercise an office of intercession with Christ that began in this life but would endure into the next. While Paul called all the members of the Christian assembly "the saints" it is clear enough that the Christian populace soon regarded certain "saints" as more significant than others. The central issue seems to have been the extent of their intercessory power. The first example of this attitude, observable in the New Testament writings themselves, was the cult of the apostles. Among the latter, Peter and Paul were given special pre-eminence.

In the persecutions of the 3rd and 4th centuries the extending cult of martyrs developed the idea of "saints" even further. The Christians regarded those who had died for the sake of their faith as surely guaranteed the reward of eternal life with Christ. Already in the Book of Revelation the martyrs are described as clothed in glorious white garments and praying before God's throne (Revelation 6: 9f.), pointing yet again to the centrality of the issue of intercession involved in the Christian cult of the saints. Those who proved themselves constant in time of persecution, but were spared the ultimate penalty of death, came to enjoy great status in the Church. The letters of Cyprian of Carthage in the 3rd century demonstrate the conflict that could arise between these "confessors" and the episcopate. The faithful clearly regarded the confessors as sharing in the prerogatives of the martyrs, and able to exercise on earth an intercessory power with Christ on behalf of sinners. This belief paved the way for the fully developed cult of saints which expanded from martyrs alone to embrace a wider range of favoured disciples, such as ascetics and hierarchs; all of whom were "included in" the concept of martyrdom (even if only symbolically) by themselves being called confessors, a title that became commonly used of later non-martyr saints.

Archaeological evidence shows that the early Christians often desired to be buried alongside their martyrs, hoping that on the day of resurrection they would be in the presence of elect souls who would intercede for them. Soon, especially from the 4th century onwards, the bodies of martyrs were transferred from common cemeteries and enshrined in special churches. Their entombed bodies became focuses of pilgrimage. They were petitioned for intercession with God, especially for healing miracles, and for the grace of forgiveness.

The beginning of the rationalization of the cultus of saints can be traced to the late 2nd century, but it is really visible in the 4th and 5th centuries. By this era the monastic ascetics came to be regarded as a new paradigm of what would constitute an ideal disciple. Athanasius' *Life of Antony* enjoyed an immense popularity and can almost be regarded as the progenitor of the genre of Christian hagiography. In this case the great popular esteem with which Antony was regarded as a Christian ascetic and holy man was reshaped by Athanasius, an important Alexandrian hierarch, and brought to serve other ecclesial ends – not least the furtherance of doctrinal orthodoxy. In the next generation the Cappadocian Fathers (especially Gregory of Nazianzus and Gregory of Nyssa) developed the genre of hagiography in texts that were designed to highlight the sanctity of their own familial circle, and offer them as ideal figures of Christian discipleship. The Cappadocians developed Christian hagiography from the basis of Hellenistic panegyric and, like Athanasius, their motive of shaping a form of orthodox doctrine was never far from mind as they tried to group a wider circle of the faithful around the ideal image of a saint whom they idealized in their encomium (the *Life* of the Saint) as a model of virtue and orthodoxy. Gregory of Nyssa's *Life of Macrina* and Gregory of Nazianzus' *Funeral Sermons* on members of his family are early examples of this hagiographical process. Panegyric texts such as these soon came to have a special liturgical significance.

In the final stage of development, after the 5th century, all the elements of the picture come together. Now, in addition to a hagiographic text and the actual possession of a body (the relics of the saint), the practical benefit of results is more insistently required. No longer is it enough to expect heavenly intercession from the saint: some earthly manifestation of benefit is also needed. The element of manifestation (*epiphaneia*) is most commonly spoken about with regard to miracles of healing. Frequently the older element of reconciliation, which the saint can effect with God, is presumed and much of the healing genre (especially the healing of demoniacs) can rightly be classed as a variant form of speaking about reconciliation and release from guilt, a theme that was paramount in the earliest cult of martyrs.

The 5th century witnessed a number of *inventiones*: the discovery by miraculous dream-intimations of lost relics of great saints from earlier times. The empresses Pulcheria and Eudoxia gained great status by their *inventio* of relics, and the clearest example of how this cult of saints' intercession was related to the exercise of power in Byzantium can be seen in the legends of Constantine's mother Helena. The story of her finding of the True Cross, the supreme relic in Byzantine estimation, is a classic of the type. So too is the story, preserved in the writings of Cyril of Alexandria, of the discovery of the relics of Cyrus and John, the Holy Unmercenaries (healer saints), which Cyril translated to Menouthis in the early 5th century to offset the continuing attraction of the Isis cult in Egypt. The process of recognizing the places where the saints lay hidden, or recognizing more generally that this person was a powerful intercessor with God (*anagnorisis*) had by the 5th

century become a statement not only about the great power of the saint, but also about the spiritual acumen of those who oversaw the celebrations at the saint's shrine. All the elements for what we might therefore call a canonization (*anakeryxis*) were in place, but the acclamation that attended the proclamation of a saint was still largely a local and popular matter (however orchestrated it might sometimes be by hierarchs or princes) in Byzantium until well into the 13th century. The crucial elements can thus be established as: (*a*) a paradigmatic life (ideally a martyrdom; secondarily a radically ascetic lifestyle); (*b*) the possession in the local church of relics that were regarded as focal points for the saint's activity – especially on his or her feast day, or the day or anniversary of the "translation" of relics (when they had been moved into a position of honour within the church); (*c*) a hagiographic narrative that could be read out on the feast day recounting the merits of the saint and invoking his or her presence; and finally (*d*) an icon of the saint (the last element increasingly coming into place as the centuries developed).

From the 6th century onwards, and throughout all later Byzantine literature, the genre of the "Life of the Saint" came to rival even biblical and theological commentary. The Cypriot hermit saint Neophytos shows a classic example of this plastic process of "canonization" as it developed with all the necessary elements being carefully supplied in advance. Some later Byzantine hagiographies show the difficulty in trying to fit examples of married women (who did not fit the paradigm of ascetics) into the rigid categories of sainthood that had become established in the hagiographic genre. The attempt of Symeon the New Theologian in the 11th century to canonize his own spiritual father, Symeon Eulabes, earned him the censure of the Synod of Constantinople, and although other matters of conflict were at work in this case, it also serves as a clear sign that the process of canonization was being regularized from the time of Basil II onwards.

By the 13th century an official ecclesiastical process was beginning to be established to regularize the process of declaring saints. It is only from this period that we can properly speak of a Byzantine "canonization" process. It followed a similar movement in the West, visible from the late 10th century when the papal court attempted to restrict the right to declare new saints to itself. In Byzantium the first example of "official" canonization seems to have been that of patriarch Arsenios in the late 13th century, and more cases are witnessed in the 14th century, including those of patriarch Athanasios I and Gregory Palamas. A certain focus on leading hierarchs and teachers is noticeable. In the formalization of the process the same criteria – of exemplary life, actively powerful relics, and a hagiographic and iconic tradition – remain as standards, all of which, of course, could themselves be summed up as evidence of a lively popular cultus of the individual in question. Where the cultus was not popular or extensive (some pertinent examples are given in the collection of "Lives" of women saints recently translated by A.M. Talbot), the individual in question never seems to have entered the Byzantine Church's Synaxarion, the liturgical canon of saints invoked in the offices of prayer, and entered into the festal calendar.

In present Orthodox practice the right to declare saints falls to the Holy Synod, the supreme juridical legislature of the various autocephalous Churches, but it is still in a large measure dependent on the ancient criteria – the prior existence of a lively cult of the saint (and thus the Christian acclamation (*anakeryxis*) that is at the heart of canonization resides, ultimately, in the spiritual sense of the Church at large), an expression of its faith in the closeness of Christ's leading disciples to their glorified master, and a sense that they enjoy special intercessory power with Christ, a power that they are still interested in exercising for the benefit of the "family" of Christians.

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See also Hagiography, Martyrdom

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Cappadocia

Region of central Anatolia

Cappadocia's southern border is the Taurus range of mountains. The Black Sea lies to the north, and its eastern boundary is set by Armenia and the Euphrates, with Lake Tata at its southern end. It consists of rugged plateau country, originally known for the breeding of horses, with limited agriculture, good grazing, and a fair degree of afforestation on the higher ground. The region is divided into a northern part, known as "Cappadocian Pontus", or more often simply "Pontus", and a southern part known as "Greater Cappadocia", or simply "Cappadocia".

Early in its history the region was invaded by Assyrians and Hittites (2nd millennium BC), followed by Phrygians and Cimmerians (*c.*1000 BC). The Persians, who came next (6th century BC), left their influence in art and religion. Although not directly conquered by Alexander the Great, Cappadocia came under Macedonian control from the 4th century, as the native monarchy assimilated Hellenized patterns. This process was well advanced in the 2nd century BC, when kingdoms such as Cappadocia were forced to take sides for or against the Romans. A spell of vacillation ended in support for Rome. As a client kingdom Cappadocia gained a measure of protection, benefiting particularly from Pompey's restoration of order in the east. Annexation followed in AD 17, when Cappadocia was for a time combined with Galatia. Between 107 and 113, it was joined with Pontus to form a new province, an arrangement which lasted until the reign of Diocletian (284–305). The strategic importance of this frontier province was recognized by the building of roads and the stationing of garrisons. The

area became one of large estates, including imperial ones, clearly worth defending. It contrived to resist complete absorption into Roman life, maintaining an identity which included a form of the Cappadocian language which survived into the 3rd century AD.

Immigration was also an important factor in the history of Cappadocia, whether of Jews and Celts in the Hellenistic period or of Armenians in the 6th century AD. The diaspora Jews of Cappadocia were a significant element in the history of the Christian Church, mentioned in Acts 2: 9 as present at Pentecost and again referred to in 1 Peter 1: 1 as a notable part of the Jewish community, amenable to conversion. Christianity was established early in Cappadocia and the region came to play a notable part in its development. Mazaka became the capital in the 2nd century BC, but was renamed Caesarea (modern Kayseri) in 12–9 BC and became the provincial capital in AD 17, serving not only as an administrative centre but as a focus of literature and learning. This cultural primacy was encouraged by the emergence of a notable bishopric. St Firmilian (d. 268) was an impressive occupant of the see who was on intimate terms with Origen and was able to invite the Alexandrian teacher to Caesarea. Cappadocia did not escape persecution, whether under Emperor Maximinus "the Thracian" (235–38) or Decius, in the years 249–51. Throughout all this, Cappadocia maintained a reputation for Christian orthodoxy, in contrast to the sundry heterodox movements that developed in neighbouring Phrygia.

It was, however, in the 4th century, following Constantine I's acceptance of Christianity, that Cappadocia achieved its most noteworthy Christian status, through the birth there and lifelong work of the so-called Cappadocian Fathers, Basil of Caesarea, Gregory of Nazianzus, and Gregory of Nyssa. Associated with them were Macrina, the sister of Basil and Gregory of Nyssa, Amphilochius of Iconium, and Asterius of Nemesa. Cappodocia was also the birthplace of the emperor Julian, who came to be known as "the Apostate", for although brought up as a Christian he repudiated the faith and attempted to restore paganism, to the great anger of Basil and Gregory of Nazianzus who had been fellow-students in his Christian days. The preservation of the Nicene faith and its definitive expression at the Council of Constantinople in 381 owes much to the relentless exertions of the Cappadocian Fathers.

Alongside these searches for orthodox theological expression are the works of art of the Cappadocian Church. The region's rock-cut churches are decorated with complex wall-paintings that are variously primitive, bold, and direct in character and show a continuity of style, perhaps reflecting long traditions of monastic life and geographical remoteness. This isolation may well have been of importance during the iconoclastic controversy of the 8th and 9th centuries, allowing the secret preservation of works which might otherwise have been destroyed. The paintings were seen as valuable aids to meditation, with the potential to arouse strong emotions and to have an influence beyond their native region. Their distinctive character is thought to have affected painting styles in Thessalonica and possibly Italy. The 12th-century paintings of Elmale Kilisse, Qaranleq Kilisse, and Tchareqle Kilisse are particularly noteworthy.

Cappadocia maintained some measure of Greek identity until the Treaty of Lausanne in 1923, when the Greek population of Cappadocia, along with the communities of Pontus and Lycia, were repatriated under an exchange scheme agreed with the Turkish government.

D.A. SYKES

See also Basil the Great, Gregory of Nazianzus, Gregory of Nyssa

Summary

Region of central Anatolia, Hellenized from the 4th century BC in the wake of Alexander's conquests. There were significant Jewish, Celtic, and Armenian minorities, but Cappadocia was known for its Christian orthodoxy. Most notable were the so-called Cappadocian Fathers of the 4th century, Basil of Caesarea, Gregory of Nazianzus, and Gregory of Nyssa. Also distinctive are its rock-cut churches.

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Carneades 214/13–129/28 BC

Philosopher

A pupil of Hegesinus the Academic, Carneades became the classic exponent of the sceptical interpretation of Plato. According to this, the essence of Plato's thought was to be found, not in the positive teachings of the later dialogues, but in the diffidence of Socrates, who maintained that he knew nothing, pronounced most of his arguments inconclusive, and was willing in the *Phaedrus* to deliver successive speeches on the same question in opposing characters. Carneades, however, also made himself familiar with a more dogmatic system under

the Stoic teacher Diogenes of Babylon, and many of his discussions (which were not committed to writing but reported by his pupils) take the form of animadversions on Chrysippus, the most accomplished dialectician of that school. Indeed, he is reputed to have said that he would have been nothing without Chrysippus (Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of Philosophers*, 4. 62). Chrysippus averred that the wise man has no opinions, since he is able to distinguish between impressions that are dubitable or false and those that are truly cognitive. Carneades, on the other hand, believed that by exposing the flaws in the arguments of his great Stoic predecessor he had proved the fallibility of all reasoning, and had thus shown that the wise man is bound either to have opinions or to think of nothing at all.

The most famous of his polemics were directed against the Stoic belief in providence. Chrysippus had urged that since the gods are wise they are bound to love us, and, since they know the future, cannot fail to speak in times of need through oracles and omens. Carneades turned this reasoning on its head by saying that, if it is true that a deity who is wise is bound to love us, the presence in the world of many evils that belie this love compels the impartial thinker to doubt either the existence or the wisdom of the gods (Cicero, *Nature of the Gods*, 3. 32). He was a strong proponent of free will, and is said to have attempted a tripartite classification of the possible goals of life. Against the Stoics who followed Chrysippus in upholding divination, he retorted that the evidence of the senses, unreliable though it is, is still more worthy of trust than the private arts by which the seers profess to detect an occult significance in nature (Cicero, *On Divination*, 2. 9). From the frequency with which his name is cited in polemics against astrology, it is probable that he is the source of many specific arguments espoused by the later, Pyrrhonist branch of scepticism; nevertheless his views can be distinguished from those of the Pyrrhonists in two respects at least. First, he did not acknowledge that his doctrine of universal fallibility was itself a thesis open to refutation; secondly, he did not assert that all fallible opinions were of equal weight, but held that we may have reasons for considering one more probable than another. The Carneadean sceptic therefore lives according to his own conclusions and not, as the Pyrrhonist has to do, according to the custom of his neighbours. Nevertheless the criteria that determined probability for Carneades are far from clear, and even his disciples found it hard in many cases to ascertain his own belief.

The most notorious episode of his life was his visit to Rome in 155 BC, when he joined the Peripatetic Critolaus and the Stoic Diogenes in a petition for the waiving of a fine that the Senate had imposed on Athens. To demonstrate his prowess in philosophy he spoke on one day before the Senate in support of a certain thesis and on the next with equal cogency against it. So impressive was this exhibition that the Senate at once acceded to Cato's motion for the settlement of the fine and the expulsion of the philosophers from the capital (Plutrach, *Cato Maior*, 22). Nevertheless, there is something not entirely foreign to the Roman spirit in scepticism. Cato himself is said to have thought that augury was a sham, and Cicero borrowed liberally from Carneades in his works *On Divination* and *On Fate* which offer persuasive criticism of the Stoics. The third and ablest speaker in his dialogue *On the Nature of the Gods* declares that the Stoics have not convinced him, and that therefore he rests content with ancestral custom, the *mos maiorum*. This is the acquiescence of a Pyrrhonist, yet Cicero himself, in more Carneadean fashion, admits the force of the arguments on both sides, but opines without giving reasons that the Stoic enjoyed the best of the exchange. Carneades was for him the paradigmatic figure of the New Academy, of which he professed at times to be a member.

Under the Roman empire, systematic thought was once again in fashion among the Platonists, and Numenius of Apamea, a 2nd-century AD precursor of Plotinus, accused the New Academy of a progressive apostasy from the genuine teachings of the master. Around AD 200 the Christian writer Clement of Alexandria appealed to sceptical arguments to demonstrate the bankruptcy of philosophy, and deduced that no constructive thought was possible for those who were unwilling to put their faith in an infallible revelation (*Stromateis*, 5). The objections to astrology that were borrowed from Carneades by the Pyrrhonist Sextus Empiricus were borrowed in turn from Sextus by Hippolytus of Rome (died 235) and by Augustine. Nevertheless Augustine's work *Against the Academics* upholds dogmatic Platonism against the Carneadean method which assumes that it is possible to discover what is "like the truth" (*veri simile*) without the knowledge of anything that is certifiably true. The Christian tradition had good reason to treat the sceptic as its natural adversary, in the west as in the east: a Pyrrhonian suspension of belief could be the preface to orthodoxy, as in Descartes, but where the Carneadean spirit prevailed, as in Voltaire and Bayle, it allowed at most a lukewarm and conventional adherence to the Church.

MARK EDWARDS

See also Scepticism

Biography

Born in Cyrene in 214/13 BC, Carneades was a pupil of Hegesinus at the Academy and also of the Stoic Diogenes of Babylon. He became head of the Academy (or founder of the New Academy) before 155 BC. In that year he joined Diogenes and Critolaus on an embassy to Rome. He left no writings but his ideas were recorded by his pupil Clitomachus. He resigned in 137/36 and died in 129/28 BC.

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Carthage

Phoenician city in north Africa

The traditional date for the founding of Carthage is 814 BC. In the *Aeneid* Virgil immortalized the foundation myth of Queen Dido fleeing the Phoenician city of Tyre, and the murderous

designs of her brother, to the shores of north Africa where she established her 'New City' (*Kart-Hadasht*).

Carthage became a prosperous city governed by an oligarchy with two chief magistrates (*suffetes*) elected annually, and supported by a Council of 300 and a popular assembly advising them. This constitution was admired by Aristotle in his *Politics* (2. 8). It evolved later into the Court of the 104 Judges, and the Boards of Five. The ruling class used this system to block any ambitious *suffet* from becoming too powerful with the help of the army.

Soon the Phoenician seafarers of Carthage began to colonize Andalusia, Malta, Sardinia, and parts of Sicily. Phoenician tombs in these regions, dated between 800 and 700 BC, attest to this activity. The following centuries saw the further expansion of Carthaginian territory along the north African coast. One group among the leaders of Carthage favoured branching out into the interior where they occupied land in the Bagradas valley, and successfully practised agriculture among the Berbers. The majority of the leading men in Carthage, however, concentrated their activity on seafaring and trade. Carthage became the foremost among the Phoenician settlements along the coast of Africa, drawing revenues from their ports, which made it the wealthiest city in the western Mediterranean.

Eventually, Carthage's colonizing zeal and mercantile activities brought it into conflict with the peoples of the northern shores of the Mediterranean: first the Etruscans and Greeks, and later the Romans. In 535 BC Carthage in alliance with the Etruscans fought a victorious battle against Phocaeans at Alalia in Corsica and in 509 BC, as an established power in the western Mediterranean, it signed a treaty with Rome.

A Carthaginian army under the leadership of Hamilcar, possibly encouraged by Persia which was involved in conflict with the Greeks in the east, attacked Sicily in 480 BC. The invasion failed due mainly to an alliance between Syracuse and Acragas. Gelon (*c.*540–478 BC), the tyrant first of Gela and later of Syracuse, was a military leader of talent who had established his authority over more than half of Sicilian territory. In league with Theron of Acragas (488–472 BC) and others, Gelon defeated the Carthaginians in 480 at Himera. Rich spoils in booty and prisoners were taken, and Gelon, mindful of Apollo, dedicated a golden tripod to the god at Delphi. Carthage was forced to buy peace, paying a large war indemnity.

The Greeks of Sicily were threatened again by Carthage when a Punic force captured Selinus and Himera in 409. In 405 Dionysius I (*c.*430–367 BC), the tyrant of Syracuse, acknowledged Carthaginian possessions in western Sicily where Himilco founded Lilybaeum, but was later able to drive them out of Sicily, leaving them by 392 in possession of the island's western extremity only. It was under his weaker son Dionysius II that Sicily was once again thrown into conflict.

In 348, 306, and again in 278 BC Carthage concluded further treaties with Rome. The last of these treaties had as its raison d'être in the danger posed to Carthage and Rome by the coming of Pyrrhus to Sicily. Regardless of this, the two states were later drawn into armed conflict, having both become entangled in Sicilian politics.

The First Punic War broke out in 264 and lasted until 241 BC. It was essentially a war triggered off by conflict of interest between Carthage and Rome; the former attempting to gain control over the Greek cities of Magna Graecia, and the latter seeing it as an interference in its sphere of influence. To recoup Carthage's losses resulting from the war, Hamilcar Barca abandoned all interest in Greek Sicily and established a Carthaginian empire in Spain. The capture of Saguntum by Hannibal in 219 BC provided the casus belli for the Second Punic War which saw Hannibal's spectacular crossing of the Alps into Italy and a string of impressive victories, but ended with Hannibal's defeat at the battle of Zama in Africa in 202 BC. In his statesmanship Hannibal belongs to the Hellenistic world of the Mediterranean, and in his generalship to the tradition of Alexander the Great and Pyrrhus, the Molossian king of Epirus (319–272 BC). After Zama Hannibal fled to the court of King Prusias I of Bithynia where he committed suicide in 183/82 BC. The Third Punic War was provoked by Rome's African ally Massinissa, and led to the destruction of Carthage by Scipio in 146 BC.

The territory of Carthage was pronounced cursed ground, and when Caius Gracchus tried to establish a Roman colony there, his enemies in the Roman Senate resisted, and he failed. It was later colonized by Caesar and Augustus, becoming the capital of proconsular Africa in the 2nd century AD. As such it was a flourishing Roman city, equally famous as a centre of education for orators and lawyers. Tertullian and Cyprian made it an important Christian city in the 3rd century AD; and in later years the bishop of Carthage was to play a significant role in Latin Christianity.

In AD 439 the Vandal king Gaiseric seized Carthage and made it the capital of his kingdom which lasted until AD 533/4, when Africa was conquered by Belisarius, the general of the emperor Justinian. Carthage remained the centre of the reconquered territory, and in time became the seat of the exarchate of Carthage. The exarchate was an administrative structure of the early Byzantine empire in which the exarch, appointed by the emperor in Constantinople as a kind of viceroy, wielded absolute power as chief administrator and military commander.

Justinian reconstituted Byzantine rule over Africa by appointing initially a *praefectus praetorio Africae*. He was not at first given military powers, and the emperor ordered Belisarius to take measures for the safety of the territory. The *praefectus praetorio* was directed to reside in Carthage, and was given a large, salaried staff to be divided between civilian and military departments. The administrative organization of the territory reflected the fact that Italy, to whose jurisdiction Africa had formerly belonged, was still in the hands of the Goths. When Belisarius left for Constantinople, one of his officers, Solomon, remained in Africa as the first *magister militum per Africam*. Soon afterwards, however, he was also appointed praetorian prefect in addition to his military command. The *Novels* of Justinian, issued in AD 535, regulating the question of land ownership and the re-establishment of the Church of Africa, are addressed to Solomon, *praefectus praetorio Africae*. Some historians see in this the possible beginnings of the exarchates which were to provide the model for the later thematic organization of the empire. Evidence points in this direction, since in the late 6th century the exarch of Africa is addressed as such in the correspondence of pope Gregory the Great.

The city maintained close ties with the Byzantine empire. It was from Carthage that Herakleios, the son of the exarch of the same name, came in AD 610 to overthrow the emperor Phokas whose tyrannical government had brought the eastern empire to near ruin. In the darkest days of his rule Herakleios is said to have contemplated moving the seat of government to Carthage, and as late as AD 663 Constans II (AD 641–68) attempted to govern the empire from Syracuse.

Carthage remained loyal to Byzantium into the final years of the 7th century, resisting the advances of Islamic armies on their westward drive, but was finally taken in AD 698 by an Arab force, bringing to an end Byzantine rule in north Africa.

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See also Africa (North), Phoenicians, Sicily

Summary

A Phoenician foundation near modern Tunis, Carthage became through trade the wealthiest city in the western Mediterranean. After early conflict with Greeks in Corsica and Sicily, Carthage fought a series of major wars against Rome, ending in the destruction of the city in 146 BC. Flourishing again by the 2nd century AD, Carthage fell to the Vandals in 439 but was reconquered by Byzantium in 533/34. Byzantine rule was ended by the Arabs in 698.

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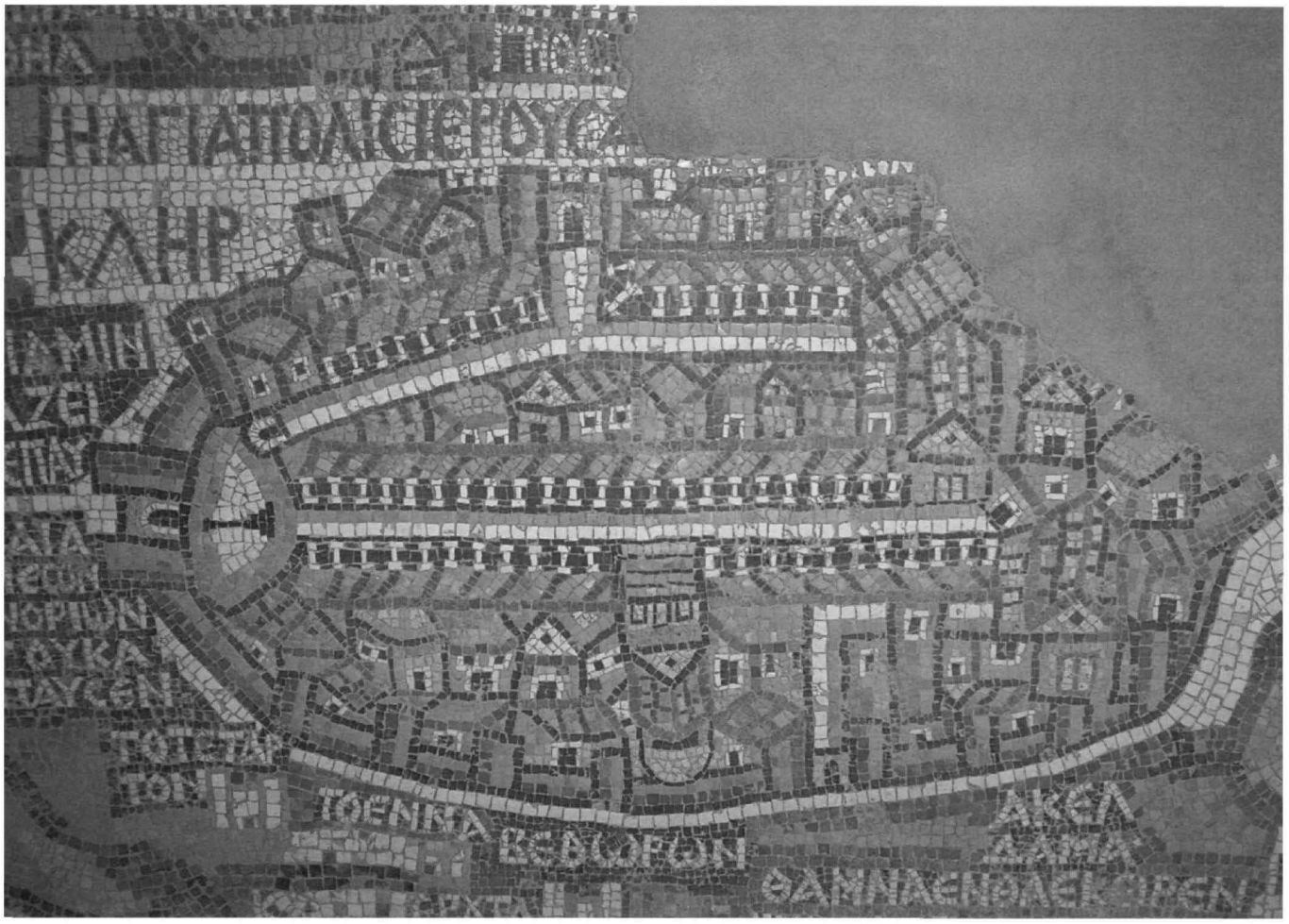
Cartography

In any consideration of cartography as practised by the Greeks, it quickly becomes apparent that there are two main divisions: the first is related to cosmology and theories about the origin and shape of the earth as a whole, while the second is rather more mundane and involves plans of a building, an area, a town, or a district, and may describe how to get from point A to point B, either by land or by sea. The ancients described these divisions as geography and chorography, respectively (cf. Ptolemy, *Geography*, 1. 1–5).

With regard to geography, early representations of the world survive from the Near East, the most famous perhaps being a clay tablet in the British Museum depicting Babylon and other districts and cities, along with the river Euphrates, all surrounded by a circular salt ocean with indications of mythical beasts and regions beyond the ocean. This object, dated *c.*600 BC, is surprisingly similar to the concept of the world promulgated by Thales of Miletus at about the same time, where the world is likened to an inverted bowl floating upon water: certainly the idea of the "River of Ocean" surrounding the land mass of the known world is remarkably persistent from Homer to late-Classical antiquity. As geographical knowledge improved, various writers recorded what they believed to be the spatial relationships of territories and peoples to each other, and it is from this information that many modern historical atlases present items such as "the world according to Hecataeus" or "Herodotus" or "Eratosthenes": actual ancient versions of these maps do not survive (indeed, modern versions seem to originate in the 1883 volumes of Bunbury), although there do exist Byzantine versions of Ptolemy's maps.

Circular maps were remarkably persistent, being found as late as the 1st century BC, even though Herodotus (4. 36) had mocked them in the 5th century. Of course, it is easy to confuse a circle with the representation of a sphere on a flat surface: the notion that the earth is spherical may have originated with Pythagoras and his followers in the late 6th century and certainly the idea was widely known by the 4th century, as can be seen from the production of "celestial spheres" (it is these, frequently with a zodiacal band, which appear in later statues of Atlas carrying a globe), all of which involved understanding of the equator, the tropics, and the polar zones, along with theories about inhabitable areas and the existence of "antipodes". Inevitably, people wanted to know exactly *where* they lived on this sphere and how *large* it was.

The gnomon (a vertical pointer, part of any sundial and possibly introduced from Babylon in the 6th century BC) made it possible to calculate latitude, if one knew the date and took one's readings at midday. Pytheas of Massalia (*fl. c.*320 BC) calculated the latitude of his home town to within about 13 km of the correct position; and from his famous voyage to the Tin Islands, around Britain, and possibly into the Baltic, he provided information about the length of solstitial days at various sites, which were later translated into degrees of latitude. (Longitude, of course, could not be calculated with any precision at all in antiquity, not that that prevented people from trying.) Eratosthenes of Cyrene (*c.*276–*c.*194 BC), chief librarian in Alexandria, was able, using a gnomon, to calculate that the distance from Alexandria to Syene (Aswan) was one fiftieth of the circumference of the earth, giving a result of 250,000 stades, which he later altered to 252,000 stades. There are several errors in Eratosthenes' calculations, notably that Syene lies on the Tropic of Cancer and that it is on the same meridian as Alexandria; however, these happen to cancel each other out and, depending on the length one accepts for a stade, his answer is either astonishingly close to the correct



Cartography: mosaic map of Jerusalem, mid-6th century, from a church in Madaba, Jordan

figure, or it is merely the best approximation arrived at in antiquity.

In a major work on geography Eratosthenes then proceeded to calculate the size of the *oikoumene*, the inhabited portion of the world, as known in the 3rd century BC, and to produce a detailed map of it, using lines of latitude and a number of meridians to produce a grid, within which countries were placed, each having a generalized indication of its overall shape. Our knowledge of this map comes from later sources and, although it was somewhat crude and modern reconstructions of it may be rather misleading, nonetheless it formed the basis of all subsequent attempts in antiquity to produce maps of the inhabited world as they would be understood today.

By the middle of the 2nd century BC terrestrial globes were being produced, though large segments of them were inevitably hypothetical. Map makers tended, therefore, to focus on maps of the "known" world and they were, by this time, concerned with two problems: the representation of a section of a sphere on a flat surface and the type of scale to use. Crates of Mallus (who visited Rome *c.*168 BC) created a very large map which was 7 feet wide from east to west and intended to represent a scale of 1 foot to 10,000 stades; apparently the meridians did not converge. This map and others like it were clearly unsatisfactory; so the problem of establishing a suitable projection was tackled by Ptolemy (Claudius Ptolmaeus, *c.*AD 90–168), who worked in Alexandria: he produced two projections, described in Book 1 of his *Geography*, and they constitute perhaps the greatest legacy from antiquity in scientific map making. In addition, the remaining seven books of the *Geography* catalogue by latitude and longitude about 8000 cities, mountains, islands, and the like, providing the raw material for the construction of a series of maps.

As for chorography, topographical representations have been identified in prehistoric carvings, and on rock and wall paintings and pottery, including an apparent "town plan" from Çatal Hüyük in Anatolia (*c.*6200 BC); and in Mesopotamia a seated statue of Gudea, ruler of Lagash in the mid-22nd century BC, shows on his lap a tablet bearing the plan of a large building with a scale along the top. In Egypt trigonometry and surveying instruments were developed in the early part of the Old Kingdom (*c.*2600 BC) to enable land allotments to be redefined after the annual inundation of the Nile; and many plans of estates, mines, and tombs survive from the period before 1000 BC. The Egyptian tradition of surveying and chorography became important for the rest of the Mediterranean world after the death of Alexander the Great, with the Ptolemaic dynasty and the scientific upsurge created by the Museum and Library in Alexandria. Alexander's expedition across the Middle East as far as India created huge logistical problems involving supplies and reinforcements, and Alexander, pupil as

he was of Aristotle and curious about everything, had surveyors ("bematists") and geographers in his train. The result was an expansion of earlier Persian "route maps" and other representations of the world (cf. the story of Cleomenes I of Sparta and his discovery, from a map, that to travel the Royal Road from Sardis to Susa involved a march of three months: Herodotus, 5. 49–50), while Ptolemaic surveys in Egypt both of agricultural land and of distances undoubtedly influenced developments in Carthage and in Italy, where the Greek cities of the south and then the Romans evolved elaborate systems of land surveying and allocation (centuriation). The building of highways throughout the growing empire produced what today are known as "strip maps", culminating in the ancestor of the famous Tabula Peutingeriana and in various Itineraries, which reflect major routes for land travel in the Roman empire and later.

Although these developments involved Greek-speaking lands, traditionally the Greeks were seafarers and their interests are reflected in *periploi* ("sea routes around"), which correspond to modern "Pilots", with descriptions of sea distances, landfalls, coastlines, river estuaries, and harbours. The earliest *periplous* which can be hypothesized is "Homeric": any modern analysis of the wanderings of Odysseus is controversial, but it may not be entirely fanciful to see in the *Odyssey* some reference to knowledge of Italian, Sicilian, and north African waters acquired by the Greeks during the first phase of western colonization (*c.*750–650 BC): see, for example, Bradford's comparison of Odysseus' landfall among the Laistrygonians at *Odyssey*, 10. 87–97 with the (British Admiralty) *Mediterranean Pilot* account of Porte de Bonifacio in southern Corsica. Many such *periploi* appeared over the centuries, involving navigation all round the Mediterranean and also in the Atlantic, and in eastern waters too, after the voyage of Alexander's admiral Nearchus from the Indus to the Persian Gulf. Perhaps the most important of these is the *Periplus Erythraei Maris*, written by an Egyptian Greek about the middle of the 1st century AD: it describes routes around the coasts of east Africa and southern Arabia and the direct route, using the recently discovered monsoon, to the west coast of India.

Over time these two approaches to cartography, geography and chorography, drew on and enriched each other. For example, the huge map of the known world created by Marcus Agrippa at the behest of Augustus and displayed on a portico in Rome late in the 1st century BC was the result of the accumulation of chorographic as well as geographic information, while the huge engraved maps of the city of Rome created in the Flavian and Severan periods (of which stone fragments survive) represent the culmination of the tradition of detailed depiction of limited areas.

In the later Roman empire there seems to have been a decline in cartographic skill. For example, the mediaeval *mappae mundi* ("world maps"), which represent a mainly Christian development, are commonly circular or oval: they appear from as early as the 3rd to the mid-15th century and frequently have Jerusalem at their centre (especially from the beginning of the crusades), and their purpose seems to have been primarily didactic and moralizing. A similar development can be seen in the Greek east, where Cosmas Indicopleustes ("sailor to India"), an Alexandrian merchant and convert to Christianity (*c.*mid-6th century AD), wrote a *Christian Topography* in 12 books, in which the main tenets of spherical geography are rejected, the earth is seen as flat and rectangular, and the universe is a box-like structure, vaulted on top and resembling the biblical description of the Ark of the Covenant. However, this was probably not typical of the Greek east: besides the enormous mosaic map of Bible lands (*c.*24 × 6 m, of which 10.5 × 5 m survives, *c.*mid-6th century, from a church at Madaba in Jordan), depicting Jerusalem in considerable and accurate detail and showing some affinities to the Tabula Peutingeriana, *periploi* continued to be produced in the Byzantine era. These *periploi* are sometimes referred to as "Portolans", but the latter are a later, mainly western Mediterranean phenomenon, beginning *c.*1300 and involving use of the magnetic compass; there are a few Greek examples, but dating only from the 16th century.

The main Byzantine contribution to cartography came with the rediscovery of Ptolemy, of whom general knowledge seems to have died out in both the west and the east around 600, by the monk Maximos Planudes in 1295. The manuscript he found had no maps; so Planudes had a set made, and these so impressed the emperor Andronikos II Palaiologos that he had copies made for himself. There are two items to be noted here: first, there were in Constantinople *c.*1300 cartographers skilled enough to produce good maps from Ptolemy's text – cartography had not died out; second, all manuscripts (in the various recensions) of Ptolemy extant today are derived from Planudes's initiative. By 1406 there was a Latin translation of Ptolemy, dedicated to Pope Gregory XII, and the stage was set for the rebirth of European cartography.

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Cassius Dio *c.*AD 164 –after AD 229

Historian

Cassius Dio originally came from the prosperous city of Nicaea in Bithynia in northern Asia Minor, but was probably taken to Rome as a boy when his father Cassius Apronianus became a senator. Thus Dio, born in the Greek east and brought up in Rome, had a dual heritage. Following in his father's footsteps, he entered the Senate under Commodus (reigned AD 180–92), was awarded a praetorship by Pertinax (AD 193), and, probably around AD 204, was made consul by Septimius Severus (AD

193–211). His career continued to prosper under Severus Alexander (AD 222–35), who in quick succession appointed Dio proconsul of Africa (*c.*AD 223), legate of Dalmatia (*c.*AD 224–26), and legate of Upper Pannonia (*c.*AD 226–28). These appointments were certainly prestigious, but Dio, who was no longer a young man, was thereby prevented from spending much time in either Italy (where he had a pleasant villa at Capua) or Bithynia. In the end, Dio did not forget his eastern roots, although much of his adult life was spent serving Rome around the empire. After holding his second consulship in AD 229, he retired to Bithynia to nurse his bad feet (80. 4. 2–5. 3). The precise date of his death remains unknown.

Dio's most important achievement is his monumental historical work, the *Roman History*, which was written in Greek and originally contained 80 books narrating events from the origins of Rome until AD 229. The Bithynian senator claims that the impetus to write history came from Septimius Severus. This emperor had so much enjoyed Dio's earlier work on the dreams and portents that heralded his principate that he wrote a letter to say so (72. 23. 1): that same night Dio dreamed that a divine power ordered him to write a historical narrative of Severus' rise to power, and the success of this work eventually resulted in Dio composing the *Roman History*. Today we have *Roman History* 36–55. 9 (covering the years 69–6 BC) almost intact, but the remaining books are preserved only in fragments and epitomes. Proudly Dio claims that he spent 10 years conducting historical research and 12 years actually writing the narrative until the death of Severus in AD 211 (72. 23. 5). This assertion is designed to generate confidence in the *Roman History* as a well-crafted historical work and echoes the claims of previous historians writing in Greek: Diodorus Siculus claims to have spent 30 years on his history, and Dionysius of Halicarnassus 22 years. Above all, Dio was influenced by Thucydides, from whom phrases, ideas, and techniques were borrowed. So, Dio's Fabius Rullus argues against excessive retaliation for a Latin revolt (fr. 36. 1) in a way that recalls Thucydides' Diodotus during the Mytilenean debate. Dio's stylistic and intellectual debts to the 5th-century BC historian Thucydides can be seen as symptomatic of the Greek cultural revival known as the Second Sophistic.

At the same time, Dio owed much to the Roman historiographical tradition. For chronology the *Roman History* uses the official Roman year dated by consuls as the principal structural device, but, like Tacitus, Dio does not allow himself to be restricted by this potentially rigid annalistic format. So Dio organizes material along biographical lines, particularly when narrating the principate: individual emperors are often both introduced and allowed to leave the stage with separate character sketches. Likewise, Dio was prepared to narrate events that spanned several years in one continuous segment of narrative, particularly in the case of foreign campaigns (49. 19–33). Moreover, he clearly knew Latin: he appears to have read Seneca's *Apocolocyntosis* (60. 35. 3–4) and laments the fact that he cannot find a direct equivalent for the Latin word *auctoritas*, which he transliterates in Greek (53. 3. 4–5).

Ideologically, Dio valued the stability created by the principate and observed pithily that "Monarchy sounds unpleasant, but it is the most practical form of government under which to live" (44. 1. 2). This stance does not make him uncritical of incompetent emperors, and even Septimius Severus, who inspired Dio to write history, is given a balanced treatment. We are repeatedly offered perspectives on the principate that reflect the senatorial point of view. So, when Commodus decapitates an ostrich and brandishes the head at the senators, Dio discreetly hints to his colleagues that they can avoid laughing by chewing on the laurel leaves of their crowns (72. 21. 1–2). In his narrative Dio's judgement on particular emperors often rests on how well they treated his fellow senators.

Nor does Dio's general approval of the imperial system lead him to ignore the difficulties of historical inquiry under the principate, when the size of the empire and the secrecy in which important decisions were taken made it difficult to reconstruct events (53. 19). Dio, who spent his professional life working under the emperors, was fascinated by the transition from republic to principate, as is clear from the fact that the *Roman History* devotes much more space to this period than to any other. Today historians especially value Dio's sophisticated and clear narrative of the triumviral era, and passages such as the unusually frank reassessment of Cicero (38. 12) show that Dio can offer us valuable alternative perspectives on leading historical figures of the period. Perhaps Dio's own experiences of confronting turbulent armies in Pannonia (80. 4) may have sharpened his interest in the triumviral age as a whole.

Dio was the last substantial writer of annalistic history from the ancient world whose work is at least partly extant. The Byzantine scholar Photios had read Dio and regarded him as a much clearer writer than Thucydides. Perhaps this enthusiastic response was partly because Dio's subject matter in the *Roman History* must by its very nature have appealed to educated readers in the Byzantine world, who saw their state as a continuation of the Roman empire. Many fragments of the *Roman History* have survived thanks to the efforts of the excerptors who worked for the emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos (913–959). There is a useful epitome of books 36–80 made in the late 11th century by John Xiphilinos, who selected episodes from Dio that he regarded as particularly entertaining or enlightening. Moreover, early in the 12th century, John Zonaras wrote an *Epitome of Histories*, which was a universal history documenting events from the creation until AD 1118. A comparison between the *Epitome* and extant portions of the *Roman History* shows that Zonaras tended to paraphrase Dio fairly freely, but the Byzantine historian did preserve a version of *Roman History* 1–21 (now lost), which served as one of his chief sources for early Roman history. Subsequently, in Paris, the king's printer Robert Estienne produced in 1548 the first printed edition of Dio's *Roman History*, which ensured that the work was widely read. Finally, Dio's *Roman History* was competently edited by U.P. Boissevain (1895–1931), and his text still serves as the starting point for most modern editions.

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See also Historiography

Biography

Born at Nicaea *c.*AD 164, Cassius Dio was educated in Rome and followed his father into the Senate. He held the consulship twice and after the second time (AD 229) he retired to Bithynia where he died (date unknown). Dio wrote in Greek a *Roman History* in 80 books,

taking events from the origins of Rome to his own day, of which about 20 books survive intact (covering 69–6 BC) and fragments of the rest.

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Catalans

The origins of Catalonia and the Catalan language lie in the break-up of the Roman province of Tarraconensis by its Visigothic rulers before the invasion of Muslim armies from north Africa in the early 8th century AD. In 801 Charlemagne conquered Barcelona and in 865 the Spanish March based around Tarragona, Barcelona, and Girona was set up by Charles the Bald (843–77). It was he who appointed Guifre or Wifred the Hairy as count of the Spanish March. Latterday Catalans view Wifred's reign (870–97) as the beginning of a distinct Catalan political and cultural identity. In 1151 the crown of Aragon and the county of Barcelona were united by marriage. The two areas remained distinct but in a political confederation united by their count-kings. It was in the reign of James I (1213–76) that the commercial and territorial horizons of Aragon-Catalonia were dramatically enlarged and the maritime potential of Catalonia was extended from a local to a Mediterranean-wide role.

In the years 1229–31 the island of Majorca was conquered. By the mid-1280s the merchant marine of Barcelona and Majorca had established regular sailings to Meson, Palermo, Tunis, Alexandria, and Constantinople and outside the Straits of Gibraltar to Morocco, England, and Flanders. Catalan was set fair to be one of the commercial languages of the Mediterranean in the 14th century.

Politically and militarily the Aragonese-Catalan confederation took a major role in Mediterranean politics from the 1280s. As David Abulafia has pointed out, it is not clear whether trade followed the flag or whether the monarchs of Aragon-Catalonia had their political interests dictated by the commercial interests of their merchant communities. In 1282 Peter III of Aragon (1279–85) became king of Sicily through the right of his wife Constance, the granddaughter of the emperor Frederick II, and following the Sicilian Vespers, which had expelled Angevin garrisons from the island. The long and bitter war of the Sicilian Vespers (1282–1302) between the Angevins and their Aragonese rivals was to have repercussions for the Aegean area and for Catalan involvement in that region. In 1315 the Angevin–Aragonese struggle for Sicily spilled over to the Peloponnese when Ferrando of Majorca, cousin of the Aragonese ruler of Sicily, sought to wrest control of the principality of Achaea from the Angevin-backed ruler Louis of Burgundy. After a good beginning, Ferrando's overconfident behaviour led to his defeat and death at the Battle of Manolada near Elis on 5 July 1316.

The Treaty of Caltabellota (1302), which brought an end to the war of the Sicilian Vespers, also threw many Catalan mercenaries out of a job. Those in Aragonese employ in Sicily found a new war and a new employer in the Byzantine emperor Andronikos II Palaiologos who in 1303–05 used them to fight the Turks. Falling out with Andronikos, this Catalan Grand Company moved west to Thessaly, plundering its way there through the Byzantine provinces of Thrace and Macedonia, ostensibly in the pay of Charles of Valois who used their presence in the region to support the claims of his wife Catherine de Courtenay as titular Latin empress of Constantinople. In 1310 they were employed by Gautier de Brienne, the duke of Athens, to further his interests in Thessaly and they captured Domokos and Halmyros for him. In 1311 Gautier wished to dismiss most of his Catalan mercenaries now based at Halmyros. These defied him and he was forced to send an army to remove them. On Monday, 15 March 1311 the Frankish army of more than 700 knights was annihilated near Halmyros and control of the duchy of Athens and Thebes passed to the Catalan Company. In 1312 they recognized the overlordship of Frederick II of Sicily (1296–1337). Catalan rule over the duchy lasted until 1388.

PETER LOCK

Summary

From their capital Barcelona the Catalans became a major commercial and maritime power in the 13th and 14th centuries. Having fought in Sicily as allies of the Aragonese, many Catalans found employment as mercenaries to the Byzantine emperor Andronikos II

who used them to fight the Turks in 1303–05. The duchy of Athens and Thebes was ruled by the Catalan Company from 1311 to 1388.

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Catana

City in Sicily

The city of Catana lies on the coast in the centre of eastern Sicily, its harbour facing the Ionian sea – an excellent site for a port. It occupied the north side of a fertile volcanic plain in the shadow of Mount Etna; its sister city, Leontini, was situated to the south. No doubt the intention of the Ionians in founding the two cities was to control access to the rich agricultural plain. Catana was also located near a delta formed by three major river valleys reaching westwards into the interior, which was occupied by Sicels.

The Ionian colony at Catana was founded *c.*729 BC by Chalcidians from the mother colony of Sicilian Naxos, itself founded by a group of Chalcidians from Euboea. The *oikistes*, or founder, was Euarchus. In the early period a great variety of Greek pottery – Corinthian, Athenian, Chalcidian, Chian, East Greek, and Spartan – indicates that the native Sicels were well acquainted with the Greeks, primarily through trade. Once the Ionian colonists settled on the site, relations appear to have been relatively peaceful, with the archaeological evidence suggesting that the two groups lived amicably side by side. Thucydides (6. 2), however, says that the Sicels retreated inland and to the north with the arrival of the Ionians on the east coast of the island.

Catana was autonomous in the Archaic period, with a very active political and economic life. Greek goods gradually made their way into the interior along the river valleys; archaeological evidence indicates that the area was fairly well Hellenized by the end of the 6th century BC. The lawgiver Charondas (*c.*500) established one of the earliest codes of Greek law, pertaining primarily to the giving of evidence in court and rules governing contracts. These laws were successful in retaining aristocratic power without dissension among the colonists, and his law code became famous throughout Greece. Stesichorus, the choral lyric poet, was also resident in Catana at this time. Only fragments of his work survive, but they show that his treatment of myth was an important stage in the transition from epic to tragedy in Greek literature.

By the early 5th century BC the city had lost its autonomy and was under Syracusan control. In 475 Hieron I, tyrant at Syracuse, invaded Catana and expelled the inhabitants. He repopulated the site with Dorians and mercenaries and renamed the city Aetna, setting up his son Deinomenes as ruler, but the Catanians returned in 461 and the old name was restored. Later in the century, during the Sicilian expedition (415–413 BC), the city supported Athens, which used it as a base for attacks against Syracuse. When the Athenians were defeated, the city was occupied by Dionysus I, another tyrant ruling at Syracuse, who sold the entire population into slavery and settled his Campanian mercenaries there. From then on Catana formed part of the Syracusan empire. Diodorus Siculus (14. 59. 2) relates that the lands were given to the Sicels with the Ionians remaining in exile until 358, when the survivors moved to Tauromenium (Taormina). The Campanian mercenaries still inhabited Catana when it was conquered by Rome in 263 BC during the First Punic War.

In the 5th century the city was celebrated by the poet Aeschylus in his now lost play *The Women of Aetna* (*c.*470 BC), and it was the centrepiece for Pindar's *Pythian* 1, a choral lyric composed for the festival in honour of Apollo at Delphi, at which the major event was a musical competition for a hymn to the god.

Little is known about the physical appearance of the Greek city, as its remains were largely obliterated by the lava flow of 1669. Architectural fragments on the acropolis, a sanctuary of Demeter, long theatre walls, and the contents of Hellenistic graves outside the ancient city, do however attest to its presence.

In the 2nd and 1st centuries BC the city was given the status of a *civitas decumana*, flourishing under the Roman Republic, although it suffered damage in the First Slave War (135 BC). Catana became a Roman colony under Augustus (21 BC). Most of the extant physical remains in Catana date to the Roman imperial period, when the city was very prosperous. Having maintained and improved its port facilities, it served as a centre for the shipment of timber and basalt millstones.

The vast majority of Sicilian craftsmen were Greek-speaking, and the epigraphical evidence indicates that even into the Roman period roughly half the population on the island still spoke Greek, while the other half spoke Latin. The Greek calendar continued in use into the early imperial period, and the year was officially dated according to the eponymous priesthood of Zeus Olympios at Syracuse. It appears that Sicily was never fully Romanized and that Greek was widely spoken, especially in the rural areas, which were hardly affected by the Roman incursion. In fact, much of the island seems to have remained Greek until the end of the Roman empire. Catana retained its importance through the Byzantine period, and was one of the first and most important Christian communities in Sicily.

The Chalcidians were the earliest and most prolific colonizers on the eastern coast of the island, laying claim to the whole northeastern part of Sicily in two decades with the establishment of colonies there – one of the first settlements was located at Catana. Through peaceful coexistence with the native Sicels, Catana was a vital factor in the establishment of a Greek foothold on the eastern coast of the island, controlling as it did the agricultural products of the fertile volcanic plain and, by

virtue of its excellent harbour, serving as a base for Greeks trading with settlements further to the west along the shores of the Mediterranean Sea. Catana played an important role in the Hellenization of the eastern central part of the island, a process so successful that the city was emblematic of a strong Greek presence in Sicily long after it became part of the Roman empire.

KATHLEEN DONAHUE SHERWOOD

See also Sicily

Summary

City in eastern Sicily founded by Ionian Greeks *c.*729 BC from Sicilian Naxos. Independent in the Archaic period, Catana came under Syracusan control in the 5th century BC and remained so until conquered by Rome in 263 BC. It became a Roman colony under Augustus but like the rest of Sicily remained largely Greek-speaking until the end of the empire.

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Caucasus

Region between the Black Sea and the Caspian Sea

The Caucasian mountains, which, with their many rivers, lakes, and passes, divide the northern Caucasus from Transcaucasia, were familiar to the Greeks, but they knew only the name and massiveness of this range. Herodotus was the first to give information about the mountains and the peoples who dwelt there, living a primitive and barbarian life. Alexander the Great was mistaken in thinking that the Hindu Kush was part of the Caucasian range. Although Strabo gives a good description of the mountains, ancient authors were wont to mislocate them to or conflate them with the Urals as well as the Hindu Kush.

This very distant and mysterious mountain region had its place in Greek mythology. The Caucasus was the land of Arimasps and of griffins, who guarded its gold treasure. Prometheus, having stolen the secret of fire and given it to man, was punished by being chained to Mount Elbrus, one of the highest peaks in the Caucasus, while an eagle sent by Zeus picked continuously at his liver until he was unbound by Heracles, who slew the eagle. There are several local versions of the myth and cult of Prometheus. In Georgian folklore Prometheus is called Amirani. In Greece itself there are many other versions: for example, in Athens he was worshipped by potters and in the Academy; in Thebes one of the Cabiri is named Prometheus and his son is Aetnaeus.

To the south of the Caucasian mountains lies Transcaucasia, known to the Greeks as home to the ancient civilizations of Colchis, Iberia, Armenia, and Albania, the first three being familiar to them but the latter beyond their interest and involvement.

Colchis was the best known thanks to the establishment of the Ionian colonies of Phasis, Gyenos, and Dioscurias on its Black Sea coast in the mid-6th century BC. In Greek imagination Colchis was the final destination of Jason and the Argonauts, who sailed there to retrieve the golden fleece. This, one of the most popular Greek myths, had a very strong impact on ancient art, and over several centuries artists depicted scenes from it. One of the most popular figures in Greek literature and art was Medea, the barbarian Colchian princess, granddaughter of Helios and daughter of Aeëtes, king of Colchis. Thanks to her sorcery and love Jason was able to depart from Colchis with the golden fleece; he also took Medea, and later married her. When he attempted to repudiate Medea she killed their children. The popularity of herbal medicines in ancient Greece was linked to Medea and her magical powers.

For Greeks Colchis was a land rich in gold, iron, timber, and honey. Ancient authors state that these natural resources and raw materials, together with slaves, were exported to Greece. In their writings it was alleged that particles of gold were washed up by the mountain streams of the Caucasus, and that Colchians used to place fleeces in the water to catch them. This is but one of many interpretations of the golden fleece in ancient Greek literature. It is thought that when Greeks initially arrived in the vicinity of Phasis they saw a very beautiful species of bird, previously unknown to them, which they started to export to Greece. They named it "bird from the Phasis river" (pheasant).

Colchian elite culture was strongly influenced by Greek. This is reflected in architecture, sculpture, goldwork, etc. Greek craftsmen were employed; the cults of Apollo, Dionysus, Helios, Heracles, and the Dioscuri were common; Greek was widespread as the official and religious language. Greek influence continued via Byzantium from the 4th century AD with the adoption of Christianity as the state religion of Egrisi (successor to Colchis; modern western Georgia) and Iberia (eastern Georgia). Early Christian church architecture showed strong Byzantine influence, and the Georgian Church itself was a

Byzantine offshoot. In the medieval period, Georgian icons were opulently decorated with enamel, initially influenced by Byzantine practice before a distinct Georgian school grew up (as was the case with religious mural painting and mosaics). A new wave of Greek settlers (known as Pontic Greeks) appeared from Anatolia in the wake of the Graeco-Turkish conflicts of the later 19th century. They settled in western Georgia in new villages which they established, and preserved their linguistic and cultural identity. Many "returned" to Greece following the collapse of the Soviet Union.

Iberia and Armenia were subject to weaker Greek influence. The predominant external influence was Achaemenid Persia. But the subsequent creation of Hellenistic kingdoms in the east brought the full weight of Hellenic culture to bear. This was reflected in the layout and architecture of cities, in crafts, and everyday life. Armenia was also Christianized and enjoyed close links with Byzantium.

GOCHA R. TSETSKHLADZE

Summary

A region to the east of the Black Sea, between it and the Caspian, the Caucasus was known to the ancient Greeks as a distant land of mysterious mountains. Many legends were located there. The Transcaucasian regions of Colchis (western Georgia), Iberia (eastern Georgia), and Armenia were Christianized early and subject to Greek influence. Many Pontic Greeks settled in western Georgia in the 19th century.

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Cavafy, Constantine 1863–1933

Poet

Constantine Cavafy is widely regarded as the most important poet of modern Greece. Although he was contemporary with Kostis Palamas and began publishing in the same year (1886) as Palamas did, Cavafy's main creative period coincides with Palamas's decline. For Cavafy was, in his own words, "a poet of old age"; he did not reach poetic maturity until he was 40. Thus Palamas belongs more to the 19th century, while Cavafy is a poet of the 20th century, both chronologically and in spirit.

Cavafy has often been regarded by Greek critics as sui generis, since the Greek literary currents of his own day had little detectable influence on his mature poetry. This view, however, ignores the profound and lasting impact of Cavafy's English education, his exposure to Byzantium through Gibbon, his initial encounter with the Classics in English schoolbooks, and his extensive knowledge of English literature. Even Cavafy's metrical experiments can be traced to English prosodic forebears. Thus, rather than coming from nowhere in literary terms, Cavafy can more plausibly be seen in the context of the English schooling he received between the ages of 9 and 16 in Liverpool and London.

Cavafy shows little interest in the preoccupations of late 19th- and early 20th-century Greek poetry: irredentism, the Greek landscape, and folk poetry. He does not advert constantly to Greece's glorious Classical past, preferring instead to explore the unfashionably decadent Byzantine and Hellenistic periods. The increasingly explicit homoeroticism of Cavafy's love poetry is another discordant feature, by contemporaneous standards.

Cavafy's enduring interest in Byzantium dates from a very early stage in his poetic career. The reason for this interest may well be connected with the fact that Cavafy had family roots in Constantinople. A second factor is that, for a Greek of the diaspora, late antiquity, when the centre of Hellenism was no longer Athens, held a particular fascination. Cavafy was able, by means of Byzantium, to lay claim to an elevated genealogy, both for himself (as a descendant of the Phanariots) and for his poetry, as central to (through being descended from) the poetic tradition of Byzantine Egypt, rather than peripheral to the modern Athenian school. Between 1882 and 1885 Cavafy lived in Constantinople. It was probably during this period that he began to acquire his prodigious knowledge of the Byzantine empire and its chroniclers.

Cavafy described himself as a "historian poet", and the vast majority of his poems are set in the recent or distant past. He divided his poetry into three categories: historical, philosophical, and erotic. Although there is some overlap between these categories, Cavafy's thematic collections (the most finalized arrangement of his poems) follow this distinction, grouping poems according to their predominant theme. In the historical sections of his thematic collections, poems are arranged in chronological order of the events to which they refer.

The philosophical poems, which have sometimes been called "didactic" by critics, are fewest in number and mostly fall into the earlier section of Cavafy's recognized (or canonical) poetry. Like many of Cavafy's poems, the philosophical poems can be read on two levels: as straightforward moralistic advice, or as satires on heroic attitudes.

The historical poems often take as their focus minor characters, such as Cleopatra's son Caesarion, or major characters in ignominious moments. Antony is depicted after his defeat at Actium, consoling himself with illusions of the Alexandria he will never reign over. Byzantine emperors are seen wearing jewels made of glass, or taking the schema in indecent haste just before dying, or again abandoning their finery like an actor's mask to sneak away. The historical moment is often one of transience: Christanity is replacing paganism; empires are crumbling; cultures, ideologies, and languages are under threat.

Cavafy's erotic poetry is distinguished by an apparent absence of higher sentiments, and a preoccupation with physical beauty and pleasure. Set in the past, these poems form a commentary, as do the historical poems, on historiography and the relationship between time, memory, and art. The erotic poems include epitaphs and poems of poetics. The epitaphs focus on beautiful, prematurely deceased, young men, who have usually lived lives of unbridled pleasure. The poems of poetics talk about art, mostly in the first person. One of the

Constantine Cavafy, Alexandrian poet

best-known erotic poems, "To Sensual Pleasure", describes this as sacred and the most important thing in life.

Cavafy was among the first Greek poets to break away from conventional metrical forms, though his experiments are by no means as extreme as those of Sikelianos in "Prologue to Life". Most of Cavafy's poetry is iambic, but line lengths vary, and syncopation and enjambment are widely used. His principal use of the 15-syllable line is for ironic effect. He is also very sparing in his use of rhyme, and never employs it for purely decorative effect. The prosodic understatement of Cavafy's poetry has led to its being perceived as prosaic, and Palamas famously dubbed it "historical journalism".

Cavafy's language is original, even idiosyncratic. It is quite unlike the intentionally poetic demotic of Palamas and his Athenian contemporaries, and makes frequent use of katharevousa morphology and syntax and also of Constantinopolitan idioms. Extreme demoticists and katharevousa supporters alike viewed this mixed language with hostility, and Palamas described Cavafy as "the Karaghiozis of demotic". Cavafy retaliated publicly by politely explaining that he could not understand Palamas's kind of lyricism, and privately by referring to his second-rate brandy as "the Palamas brandy".

Cavafy's reputation in Greece was largely founded posthumously. Admired during his lifetime by a small circle of Alexandrian literati and by a handful of foreigners, most notably E.M. Forster, with whom he became friendly in 1917, Cavafy was virtually ignored in Greece until the last decade of his life. Cavafy's idiosyncratic methods of disseminating his work, in privately printed pamphlets, broadsheets, booklets, and hand-pinned looseleaf collections, were a contributing factor in this lack of recognition. The first published volume of Cavafy's poetry appeared posthumously in 1935. As a perfectionist, constantly revising and even discarding his work, Cavafy seems to have been reluctant to make his poems publicly available in a permanent form.

Cavafy's work has proved puzzling, even to his admirers. Timos Malanos, who was the first to attempt a critical account of it, placed great emphasis on Cavafy's homosexuality, reading the poetry in Freudian terms as a mask for private obsessions. The Marxist critic Stratis Tsirkas attempted to read Cavafy's poems as veiled political allegory. A more influential approach has been George Seferis's attempt to demonstrate that Cavafy used the so-called "mythical method" of Eliot and Joyce, developing a constant parallel between past and present, although this approach may more fruitfully be applied to Seferis's own poetry. Perhaps more useful is the approach of Nasos Vayenas, who views Cavafy's poetic method as a continuous refining of the language of irony. As Cavafy himself, who remains the subtlest critic of his own work, pointed out, the pleasure derived from his poetry is intellectual, rather than emotional.

Cavafy's posthumous influence on Greek poetry, but also on world poetry, has been enormous. His description of himself, in a satirical French press release of around 1930, as "an ultra-modern poet" and "a poet for future generations" has proved uncannily accurate.

SARAH EKDAWI

See also Poetry (Lyric)

Biography

Born in Alexandria in 1863, Cavafy was the son of a wealthy merchant. Educated in England, he lived in Constantinople from 1882 to 1885 and thereafter in Alexandria where he worked for the Egyptian Ministry of Irrigation. His first (privately printed) collection of poems appeared in 1904 but he was little known outside his own circle of literati. He died in 1933 in Alexandria.

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Celibacy

Celibacy refers mainly to a religious attitude towards sexuality that stresses physical chastity and the negation of carnal love. "Celibacy" must be distinguished from "virginity", which implies lifelong sexual abstinence. A virgin body is a celibate body, but the opposite is not necessarily true. Both terms designate not only a particular physical state but also a spiritual one, and sometimes are used interchangeably. The meaning of the Greek term *agamia* (celibacy) can best be understood by its opposition to *gamos* (marriage). In the cultural milieu of Greece, marriage for both sexes is axiomatic. Celibacy, therefore, is unacceptable, unless it is employed in the religious sphere. It is only within this context that celibacy offers to an individual an unconventional but socially acceptable alternative to traditional gender roles. Celibacy, therefore, in the Greek case, is used to indicate the unmarried state of bishops and monastics and in some cases of dedicated religious devotees.

By definition celibacy implies self-sufficiency and separation. It points to a hierarchy of relationships with the divine and establishes superiority. The celibate becomes the symbol of purity and the conveyor of special religious powers. In antiquity sexual abstinence was demanded of priests and priestesses of certain deities. However, in the case of priestesses the main idea of celibacy was that they lived in marital relation to the divine. Thus, old peasant women that could no longer have sexual intercourse were chosen for the position of Pythia at the

temple of Apollo at Delphi, serving as "brides" of the god. A few days of sexual restraint were also required of participants in the cults and this was probably connected with the idea that sexual intercourse is polluting because it opens the possibility of demonic infection. As far as male celibacy in antiquity was concerned, one could distinguish two types: first, that of the priest whose celibacy was demanded for purely ritualistic reasons; and secondly the philosophically grounded celibacy of such groups as the Pythagoreans and the Stoic philosopher Epictetus, who saw the philosopher's task as necessitating a detachment from the mundane requirements of family care. Yet, it is worth noting here that in pre-Christian times celibacy was also considered, particularly by the Athenians, as "evil" because it prevented the reproduction of the human race and negated the "natural laws" of human existence. Plato and Plutarch even mention that special laws existed against celibacy.

Though in antiquity celibacy seemed primarily to serve a ritual function, in the early Christian Church it came to serve an ethical one as well. The celibate state was extolled by the Church Fathers and from then on was regarded as explicitly superior to being sexually active, even within the context of marriage. In the first centuries of Christianity, due to eschatological expectations, many Christians chose to live in celibacy, for, "when they rise from the dead, they neither marry nor are given in marriage, but are like angels in heaven" (Mark 12: 25). In the beginning, both celibate men and celibate women lived in the same communities and this cohabitation of the sexes was viewed as involving a more rigorous ascetical effort. Thus was created the institution of *syneisakton parthenon* or the *subintroductae* (celibate women cohabitating with clerics or monks), which, however, was condemned by the First Ecumenical Council in 325 (canon 3).

Celibacy as an anticipation of the "angelic life" led some monastics to the egotistic belief that this state of being was superior to the one followed by married Christians, and created a conflict with the ecclesiastical administration. Around 340 the Council of Gangra threatened with excommunication all those who believed that no person living in a state of marriage had any hope of approaching God. The Church Fathers defended the positive value of the nuptial union against any form of heresy which denied the body and the realities of marriage. They argued that marriage and celibacy, although they involved different practices, were based on the same theology and spirituality. Moreover, both celibacy and marriage were perceived by them as referring to a spiritual state of interiorized chastity – a chastity of the soul and mind. It is worth noting here that, when the Fathers spoke of virginity and celibacy, their positions were frequently antithetical and complementary. Thus, one cannot reduce them simply to a single insight. However, St John Chrysostom, who may be regarded as the best explicator of the essence of marriage, argued that its sum and substance is love and its main purpose the unification of humankind. Such love may be carnal at the outset, but gradually it should become spiritualized. Here, celibacy emerges as the natural development of marriage.

This positive view of marriage is also apparent in the context of sacerdotal celibacy, which was regarded in the East as a matter of personal choice. In the West the Council of Elvira (306) decreed the obligatory celibacy of all priests and bishops, but the eastern Churches were disinclined to take this position, hence allowing wedded bishops and priests as long as they had been married only once and their wives were neither widows nor divorcees (Apostolic Canon 17, 18). However, a later development of canon law reserved the highest ranks of the Church to unmarried clergy. This rule was established first in 528 by Justinian I and was confirmed by the decrees of the Quinisext Council in 629. Celibacy became mandatory for bishops by the 12th canon of the Council in Trullo (692), which remained in effect throughout the Byzantine era: readers and cantors could marry after ordination, while ordained priests, deacons, and subdeacons could retain already established marriages. Bishops, however, had to be separated from their wives, who had to enter a convent. Today Greek Orthodox priests are allowed either to marry or to take monastic vows prior to ordination. Thus, a hierarchy has been established in the Church in which the male celibates occupy the highest ranks. Wedded clergy are considered as spiritually advanced only when abstaining from sexual relations, a requirement for the celebration of the Eucharist. Such a view is derived from the association of purity with celibacy and of sexuality with pollution, particularly in the sacred sphere.

Celibacy is also a prerequisite for both male and female Orthodox monastics, who take vows to remain chaste. In this context, celibacy is considered necessary for spiritual advancement and is also viewed as betrothal to Christ in imitation of his union with the Church. It is worth mentioning, however, that women in the early Church were seen as having a greater need for celibacy than men, not only because they had an opportunity to serve God but also as a means of redemption. Although the institutional celibacy of nuns today is not connected with sacerdotalism, in the early Church it was associated with the order of deaconesses who, like deacons, were ordained to their office and assisted bishops and priests in the pastoral care of the faithful and especially of women. The Fourth Ecumenical Council in 451 prohibited marriage after ordination for deaconesses (canon 15) who were mainly selected out of female monastics, widows who had been married only once, or bishops' wives.

In Greece today non-institutional lay celibacy is found in the context of religious brotherhoods and sisterhoods, whose members choose to remain unmarried out of devotion, without, however, taking any monastic vows to that effect. This type of celibacy concerns particularly women since in the Greek cultural context there is no place for spinsterhood.

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See also Bishops, Marriage, Priesthood

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Censorship

Censorship is a means of preventing the expression of ideas, speech, or behaviour. Social, religious, political, military, and other authorities practise censorship in the name of the common good of society, seeking to protect it from heresy, obscenity, treason, or ideological error. In one form or another censorship has existed universally throughout Greek history.

Most of the censorship among the ancient Greeks occurred over religious and political ideas. The common charge was impiety (*asebeia*). Since they believed that the gods could actively help or harm the city state, impious behaviour that might invoke divine wrath was punished. Sparta imposed a rigid system of censorship to protect its militarism: books, music, and even learned men were banned. Greek tyrants exercised censorship to silence and eliminate their opponents. Generally speaking, under the tyrants, and many other rulers, censorship was identical with harsh repression.

Artists were not usually censored, but one notable exception in the first half of the 4th century was the case of the Athenian courtesan Phryne, who was charged with impiety because she modelled for a nude statue of Aphrodite by Praxiteles. Hyperides, pleading her case, tore her clothes off at the height of his defence, and asked the all-male jury if there was anything about her body that was offensive to the gods or man. She was rather quickly acquitted.

Censorship of playwrights occurred on a number of occasions. Euripides, who played no active political role, was charged with *asebeia* by Cleon, as were other dramatists including Aristophanes. Humour was sometimes used to censure behaviour through the weight of public opinion, becoming thereby an unofficial form of censorship to those afraid of being satirized. Those mocked would occasionally seek to punish the jokers. Plato in the *Laws* advocates censorship of those forms of comedy that are cloaks for vicious personal attacks. Tragedies could also be banned. In 493 BC a tragedy written by Phrynichus and produced at the Dionysia on the theme of the failure of the Ionian revolt, and the fall of Miletus deeply moved the audience; fearing turmoil, the authorities fined Phrynichus and banned the play.

Athens, though democratic, censored many thinkers, artists, and intellectuals; they were exiled, imprisoned, or executed, or they took flight. Aeschylus was accused of violating the secrecy of the Eleusinian mysteries. Phidias was also accused of impiety and fled to Olympia. Protagoras, the famous sophist, was censored for his remark "Man is the measure of all things." Accused of atheism, he was banished from Athens and certain of his books were burned.

The beliefs of the Greek philosophers laid them open to various charges. Xenophanes criticized the morality of the Olympian gods as portrayed by Homer and other poets, arguing that their behaviour was shameful. This generated complaints of atheism (impiety) against him. Similarly, Anaxagoras of Clazomenae (*c.*500–428 BC) had argued that the sun was a hot rock. Convicted of impiety, he was banished from Athens and died in exile at Lampsacus. The real motive for the prosecution was probably to embarrass his patron Pericles.

The most famous case of censorship of a philosopher was the trial of Socrates on charges of corrupting youth (the moral charge) and impiety (the religious charge). The resulting judicial murder on these trumped-up charges was to have a profound influence on many including his most famous pupil, Plato. Oddly it is Plato who in the *Apology* stated the implications of a refusal to accept censorship, and later in the *Republic* himself instituted a system of censorship.

Plato's *Republic* has been widely read since it was first written and it has influenced many who would seek to impose censorship. Plato believed that whatever entered the soul would either develop it or corrupt it. In his utopian Republic a system of censorship is described that would mould the minds of all citizens, but especially the Guardian class, through a system of censored education. This included censorship of music, for Plato believed that music could have a profound impact on the soul and that it was important that the right music be heard at the right time. It should be noted that on several occasions intellectuals sought to censor those they disagreed with; Plato, for instance, wanted to burn the works of Democritus.

Aristotle also advocated a form of educational censorship in his *Politics*. Following the death of Alexander the Great, Aristotle himself became a victim of censorship. He was charged with impiety, but fled "lest Athens sin twice against philosophy".

During the Hellenistic period many states adopted a policy of punishing external political threats quickly, but they usually

left native populations and cultures alone. One notable exception was the Seleucid policy of forced Hellenization, which censored any opposition to assimilation. This policy was violently resisted by conservative Jews, whose resistance and success in arms is described in the books of Maccabees and still celebrated at the festival of Hanukkah.

The establishment of great libraries at Alexandria and elsewhere led to two forms of literary censorship. When editors collated manuscripts, they often found variants in the copies and decisions had to be made about which was the "correct" version. Editors could also make important changes when issuing new editions of older works and thereby influence the interpretation of the text.

The other form of literary censorship was mob rule. On a number of occasions mobs or conquerors sacked and burned libraries. The library at Alexandria was damaged and burned during Julius Caesar's siege in 42 BC, by Christians in AD 391, and by Muslims in AD 642. In the Christian era political charges were brought against missionaries and other Christians. Because the worship of the emperor was equated with political loyalty, the Christian refusal to comply led to their persecution – in effect a violent form of censorship. St John was exiled to the island of Patmos and some scholars believe that the apocalyptic style of the book of Revelation was a religious cover that enabled the book to get past the censors.

With the conversion of the emperor Constantine and the legitimization of Christianity, a brief period of toleration occurred, which ended with the triumph of Christianity as the only licit religion. Under the emperor Theodosius I pagan religions were proscribed, sexual regulations were imposed, and the Olympic Games stopped. Theodosius, like Constantine before him and others after him, repressed unorthodox beliefs. The union of Church and state meant that heresies contrary to the Nicene Creed were viewed as political opposition and thus deserving of censure. The emperor Justinian I, seeking political unification through theological orthodoxy, also persecuted heresies, and he closed the philosophical schools in Athens (AD 529).

In the 8th century the iconoclasts vigorously censored the veneration of icons; the two periods of iconoclasm lasted for more than 80 years in total. The Latin conquest of Constantinople in 1204 and the occupation of its western lands led to the censorship of Orthodoxy and of other expressions of Greek culture, and it was only in 1261 that the restoration of Byzantine rule liberated most of the people. The Ottoman conquest involved the suppression of Greek faith and culture to a certain extent, but underground schools sought to preserve and extend Greek faith, language, and culture.

After Greek independence censorship took the forms typical of the modern nation state whose primary concern is state security from political enemies. Political challenges were usually suppressed. Political censorship was, however, limited by a general lack of opportunities in the undeveloped Greek state. One exception was the attempt of the Greek government to standardize Greek through the imposition of a pseudo-Classical language (katharevousa). Efforts were made to develop this artificial variant of Greek at the expense of the demotic form.

From World War I until late in the 20th century Greece experienced typical patterns of wartime censorship, or censorship of unpopular groups. In June 1925 the military rule of General Theodore Pangalos attempted sumptuary legislation to define the length of women's skirts. By the 1930s more serious efforts were made to censor the Greek Communist Party (KKE). In 1936 General George Metaxas became the virtual dictator of Greece and his nationalist ideology led to many forms of censorship. School textbooks either followed the nationalist line or were censored. Youth organizations were established to spread nationalist propaganda and rival organizations such as the Boy Scouts were banned.

During the German occupation in World War II ruthless Nazi censorship was imposed. Reprisal and intimidation occurred in a number of places. In the years after the war the right wing was able to suppress the leftist partisans and communists. In October 1947 the newspapers of the Greek Communist Party and of other leftist groups were banned and prisons were filled with their members.

The election of George Papandreou as Prime Minister in 1963 led to the adoption of policies of reconciliation that sought to end the civil strife of the previous decades and eliminated most censorship. The short-lived Papandreou government was followed by the coup d'état of the military junta in 1967. The lengths of women's skirts and of men's hair were subject to regulation and the media was rigorously censored. In 1974 the junta was replaced by the Karamanlis government and a new democratic era began. Most forms of censorship were then ended.

The current constitution of Greece shows a serious effort to balance individual rights with the responsibility of the government to protect society, but despite its high regard for "the rights of man", censorship is built into it. The Eastern Orthodox Church is described as the "prevailing religion" and translations of the Bible are forbidden unless given "prior sanction by the Autocephalous Church of Greece and the Great Church of Christ in Constantinople" (Article 3). According to Article 13 "Proselytism is prohibited", which means that the preaching of any faith other than Greek Orthodoxy is prohibited. Article 14 declares that the press is free and prohibits prior censorship, but seizure before or after circulation can be done if a publication "offends against the Christian or any other known religion; insults the President of the Republic; discloses state secrets (especially military secrets); or is obscene". Press offences must be punished according to law. The limited freedom of the press is not applied to other forms of mass communication. Article 15 permits censorship of electronic media and the film industry. The objective of communications control is to further the social and cultural mission of the country.

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See also Antisemitism, Atheism, Heresy, Iconoclasm, Junta, Media

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Ceremony, Byzantine

The ceremony (*katastasis* or *taxis*, "arrangement") is a structure of rules and formulas intended to organize social coexistence. The actions, words, and gestures that accompany a ceremony often took on a symbolic character. Ritual actions mark important phases in the life of the Byzantines. Private processions, for example, could be performed for personal celebrations such as weddings, or for funerals; official processions were held by different social groups such as students, guilds, clergymen, and civil servants.

A particular, refined, and complicated form of ceremony was that of the Byzantine court, which controlled the emperor's meetings with his subjects. Furthermore, it reflected his relationship to governmental institutions and to the Church. It also illustrated the power and legitimacy of the imperial throne by means of public display. A strongly religious element is conspicuously associated with all ceremonial actions. Beginning in late antiquity, the Byzantine court ceremonial was continuously developed over the centuries.

The principal written source for Byzantine ceremonies – in addition to visual art (e.g. mosaics, miniatures) – is the so-called *Book of Ceremonies* (*De Ceremoniis*) of the 10th century, a compilation of earlier and contemporary sources inspired by the emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos (913–59) and completed during his reign (he himself wrote the preface). It contains a great deal of information about the procedures at different festivities of sacred and profane character, such as processions on public holidays from the palace into the churches of Constantinople; the emperor's wedding and coronation; the departure and return of the emperor from and to the capital; triumphs after successful military actions; receptions of foreign rulers and diplomats; and banquets. The work therefore probably served as a manual both for the organizers and for the participants in these events. The rules of protocol concerning the motion and dress of the participants were very precise, as well as about which groups of people were allowed to appear when and how they were to pay homage to the emperor. Although the ceremonial was obliged to tradition, it was by no means inflexible, but adapted to changing conditions over time. This is demonstrated in an anonymous text of the 14th century called *De Officiis*. The author repeatedly calls his contemporaries' attention to the fact that certain elements of a ceremony are no longer in use or that some dignities and titles no longer exist. Non-Greek sources can also contribute to the elucidation of ceremonial procedures. The western bishop Liutprand of Cremona who in the 10th century stayed at the Byzantine court several times on official missions was able to observe some of the ceremonies very closely. Liutprand quite impressively describes the splendour and luxury of such spectacles. The throne room was equipped with artificial mobile animals and a mechanical throne that could be raised and lowered automatically. In addition, the *De Ceremoniis* gives an idea of the precious garments and gorgeous ornamentation of the rooms and the routes the processions took. Court ceremonies had their roots in the Roman empire, but their style was determined by Christianity. Furthermore, a certain oriental influence in behaviour and gestures is evident. The palace area, Hagia Sophia, the hippodrome, and some places and streets of Constantinople were the "stages" for these performances. There were high-ranking officials who were specifically charged to implement the protocol.

One special kind of ceremony was the audience, the meeting of the emperor with certain groups; this was also a relic from Roman times. There were daily morning receptions at which high-ranking officials and dignitaries appeared before the emperor in order to discuss current affairs, and receptions were also held on special occasions. Foreign ambassadors, for example, were led into audience halls reserved for thar purpose. The emperor, dressed splendidly and carrying the insignia of his office, sat on a platform veiled with curtains.

The participants entered in groups (according to their rank or divisions) in company with the master of ceremonies. Porphyry disks in the floor served as markers for certain actions. Absolute silence was required, and only the master of ceremonies spoke, giving short instructions. People had to approach the emperor in a humble way, performing the so-called *proskynesis*, an attitiude of subjection and supplication, which was expressed by different gestures such as bowing the head or the upper part of the body or prostrating. Exalting the emperor in such a way stemmed from his being seen as the representative of God on earth (the emperor himself performed *proskynesis* when praying to God). Thus, an initially pagan ceremony could persist and develop in Christian times.

Acclamations were another important element of ceremonies, i.e. rhythmic speaking choruses offered to the emperor by the people, members of the Senate, ministers, and especially by the leaders of the circus factions (the people's parties). They were the only outlet that the people were allowed to have; otherwise they had to remain silent. In the Roman period these were spontaneous demonstrations of praise, reproach, approval, refusal, demand, or congratulations. They became more and more formalized and professional in time, being mainly carried out by the representatives of the factions. The emperor was praised in a servile way according to stereotypical models. While in late antiquity Greek and Latin words were mixed in acclamations, in the following centuries Greek prevailed. Some frozen Latin expressions for certain occasions were however preserved until late Byzantine times.

There are some remnants of Byzantine ceremonies in the practice of the Orthodox Church. The Byzantine court ceremonial and the rites of the Greek liturgy show strong parallels, because they influenced each other over the centuries. Furthermore, the extraordinary and outstanding position of the emperor was preserved beyond the Byzantine period by the Russian tsars, since Russia saw itself as the successor of the Byzantine empire. This tradition even passed on to Soviet communism and to the socialist nations of Eastern Europe, demonstrated in the personality cults of the party leaders. Even ceremonial elements are to be found: Herbert Hunger has compared socialist slogans used at party congresses with Byzantine acclamations and has found some amazing parallels.

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Chaeronea, Battle of

Battle fought between Macedonians and the southern Greeks in 338 BC

It was in the territory of Chaeronea on 2 August (or possibly 1 September) 338 BC that the decisive battle was fought that enabled Philip II of Macedon to bring the Greek homeland under his control.

When Philip negotiated the peace treaty that ended the first war with Athens in 346 BC, his aim seems to have been to win the Athenians' friendship and cooperation, and he insisted that the treaty should be accompanied by an alliance. It failed, however, to effect a real reconciliation. The Athenians could not forget what they saw as his treachery over Amphipolis in 357 BC and they were not reassured by his treatment of their Phocian allies in the immediate aftermath of the treaty's conclusion. Thereafter, although in 344 BC he made an apparently genuine attempt to allay the Athenians' suspicions by offering to amend the peace terms, Philip persistently intervened in Greek affairs in ways that enabled Demosthenes and others at Athens persuasively to depict him as untrustworthy and hostile. In 340 BC he began to threaten the Athenians' corn-supply route from the Black Sea and attacked Perinthus on the Propontis (Sea of Marmora) and Byzantium. His failure to take either city and their own earlier success in expelling his friends from Euboea encouraged the Athenians, who at once declared war when Philip seized their corn fleet near the Bosporus in September.

To wage war positively, Philip needed to threaten Athens, but his old allies the Thebans had recently seized the pass of Thermopylae and seemed likely to bar his way (previously, in 346 BC, a treacherous Phocian general had enabled him to take it and subdue the Phocians). However, a dispute in the Delphian Amphictyony, of which he had been a member since 346 BC, led to a sacred war being proclaimed against Locrian Amphissa and, after the failure of the Amphictyons' first campaign, Philip was given the command.

In autumn 339 BC he advanced over the difficult pass into Doris, ostensibly to attack Amphissa, but unexpectedly turned eastwards down the Cephisus valley and took Elatea on the road from Thermopylae to Thebes, demanding that the Thebans assist him or at least facilitate his invasion of Attica. Demosthenes persuaded the Thebans to refuse and an Athenian force moved into Boeotia. Philip made no further move until the spring of 338 BC, when he took Amphissa. He then made a final attempt to achieve his aims without a battle, but his offers were rejected at both Thebes and Athens; he advanced into northwest Boeotia to find that his enemies were barring his way in a gap of about 2.5 km between the Cephisus and the low hills to the west.

In view of the battle's importance, the information provided by the sources is disappointingly meagre. It was a characteristically Greek head-on clash between two armies consisting of hoplites, heavily armed infantry in close formation, but there is no agreement on their relative strengths. Diodorus Siculus (16. 85) says that Philip with "more than 30,000 infantry and no less than 2,000 cavalry had the advantage in numbers", while Justin (9. 3) gives the Greeks numerical superiority, a conclusion suggested by the incomplete figures in Plutarch

(*Demosthenes*, 17). According to Demosthenes' speech *On the Crown*, contingents from Euboea, Achaea, Corinth, Megara, Leucas, and Corinth supported the Athenians and the Thebans.

As to the disposition of the forces, Diodorus (16. 86) says that Philip faced the Athenians on one wing and his son Alexander faced the Thebans on the other, but gives no further details; Plutarch, however, links Alexander with the river Cephisus on the Macedonian left (*Alexander*, 9).

Diodorus writes in general terms of the fierce fighting, both sides for a while having "hopes of victory", before Alexander's men gradually broke down their opponents and put them to flight (Diodorus' words give no support to the modern theory that his cavalry broke the Theban hoplites), while Philip did the same to the Athenians; although, according to Polyaenus, the collector of military stratagems writing in the 2nd century AD, this was only after a feigned retreat had lured them up a slope to disrupt their order – the only detail of the action provided by the sources.

Information about casualties is also sparse. The only figures in the sources are for the Athenians, more than 1,000 dead and at least 2,000 captured (Diodorus, 16. 86). Theban losses were probably heavier and Plutarch (*Pelopidas*, 18) reports that the Theban Sacred Band of 300 picked hoplites were totally destroyed, although excavations beneath the Lion monument erected in their honour revealed the remains of only 254 bodies.

Philip's victory was so emphatic that he did not need to press on to attack Thebes and Athens. The Athenians prepared to defend their walls, but, still preferring to win their cooperation rather than to crush them, the king paid the due honours to their dead and released their prisoners without ransom. Thereupon they readily accepted his peace terms, agreeing to renew their alliance with him and to dissolve what was left of their maritime confederacy in return for keeping inviolate their territory and institutions. The Thebans were less fortunate, having to ransom their prisoners and accept both a Macedonian garrison and an oligarchic regime dominated by Philip's friends. He then installed a garrison in Corinth and secured friendly regimes in other states, encountering resistance only at the borders with Sparta, where he used a little force to secure the frontiers of the Spartans' neighbours, but otherwise ignored their continuing defiance.

His military control established, Philip ensured his political supremacy by organizing a settlement along the lines of the earlier "common peace" treaties, designed to secure the peace and the loyalty of the Greeks. Confident of his domination, he persuaded them to appoint him leader of a Panhellenic invasion of the Persian empire. After his murder in 336 BC, the decisive quality of his victory was further shown in the meagre support mustered by the Thebans for their rising against Alexander the following year. Macedonian domination was reemphasized by their swift suppression and the total destruction of the city at Alexander's hands, although it was never accepted and was seriously challenged in the confusion following his early death in 323 BC. Greek freedom was never fully restored, not even in the brief period (243–224 BC) when Macedonian garrisons failed to hold Corinth, and in 196 BC the Romans took indirect control of the peninsula, formally annexing it in 146 BC.

The significance of Philip's victory has continued to be recognized in the modern world. In his tenth sonnet (pub. 1645) John Milton referred to it as "that dishonest victory at Chaeronea, fatal to liberty" and George Grote, the first great British historian of ancient Greece, called Philip "the destroyer of freedom and independence in the Hellenistic world" (*A History of Greece*, 1846). The Lion monument was seen by Pausanias in the mid-2nd century AD, but was later demolished. Its fragments were accidentally discovered by the traveller George Lidwell Taylor in 1881, and it was restored and replaced on its ancient plinth beside the old main road north from Levadia by the Greek Archaeological Society in 1902–04.

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Summary

Battle in 338 BC at which Philip II of Macedon became master of all Greece. For practical purposes it marked the end of Greek self-determination until 1832.

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Chalcidice

Region of northern Greece

Lying as it does beyond the land routes that cross Macedonia and being separated from the rest of the country by natural barriers, Chalcidice has had a history that differs from that of mainland Macedonia. The western part of the country was closely associated with Thessalonica: whoever was in control of the city usually had control of western Chalcidice. Chalcidice as a whole is particularly rich in timber and minerals, which is why all powers with an interest in the north Aegean area made efforts to gain control of the region.

Chalcidice first entered Greek history in the 8th century BC with the founding of the first Greek colonies. The country was colonized by the Ionian cities of Euboea, notably, though not exclusively, Chalcis (which provides the etymology of the name Chalcidice). There was only one Dorian colony in Chalcidice, Potidaea on the isthmus of the Pallene peninsula, which was founded by Corinthians *c.*700 BC. Most significant of the other Greek colonies were Olynthus in southwest Chalcidice, Mende and Scione in the Pallene peninsula, Torone in the Sithonia peninsula, Acanthus and Stageira (birthplace of Aristotle) in eastern Chalcidice. The Greek colonization was mainly of an urban type and localized in the coastal areas of the country. An exceptional case was the colonization by Chalcis of rural southwestern Chalcidice which expanded over the area around Olynthus. There settlers from Chalcis lived side-by-side with the non-Greek Bottiaeans. The Greek colonies of Chalcidice became bridgeheads for the diffusion of Hellenic culture in the

hinterland. The first to receive cultural influence from the Greek colonists were the earlier settlers of Chalcidice, the Thracians, Bottiaeans, and Pelasgians; they had become completely Hellenized by the Hellenistic era when Chalcidice became an integral part of the Macedonian state.

In the aftermath of the Persian Wars the cities of Chalcidice were included in the Athenian sphere of influence and all of them joined the Delian League. Events in Chalcidice were among the causes for the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War, as Potidaea was encouraged by its mother-city Corinth to break away from Athenian control in 432 BC. Athens sent an expeditionary force against Potidaea and managed to capture it after a two-year siege. The hostility to Athens, however, was not confined to Dorian Potidaea, but spread among the Ionian Chalcidians as well. Following the advice of the Macedonian king Perdiccas II, an enemy of Athens, the Chalcidians of the area around Olynthus were resettled inside the town in 432 BC, increasing its size and strength and making it a stronghold of anti-Athenian sentiment. More Chalcidian cities reversed their allegiances during the campaign of the Spartan general Brasidas between 424 and 422 BC. The cities that revolted against Athens, starting with Olynthus, made up the nucleus of the Chalcidian League which, after the end of the Peloponnesian War, expanded over the entire region. With a foreign policy dictated from Olynthus, the Chalcidian League built up particularly strong armed forces and, by switching alliances between Sparta, Athens, Thebes, Macedonia, and the Thracian kingdoms, played a leading role in north Aegean politics during the first half of the 4th century BC.

Chalcidian power was challenged when Macedonian imperialism took shape during the first years of Philip II's rule. His first involvement in the affairs of Chalcidice took place in 357 BC when he drove the Athenians out of Potidaea on behalf of the Chalcidian League. Soon, the cities of Chalcidice themselves became victims of Macedonian expansionism, as Philip occupied one after another. Faced with this threat, Olynthus turned for help to its old enemy, Athens, and this provided the occasion for Demosthenes to write his three renowned *Olynthiac* orations urging his fellow citizens to support by all means their former enemies in Chalcidice. Nevertheless, Olynthus fell in 348 BC, Chalcidice became an integral part of the Macedonian state, and, later on, was incorporated into the Roman province of Macedonia. The Hellenistic era is marked by the development of Cassandreia (founded by Cassander in 316 BC), which became one of the major cities in Macedonia and one of its few Roman colonies (Pella, Dion, and Philippi were the others).

Medieval Chalcidice developed in the shadow of Thessalonica and the Holy Mountain. The main towns of the region in that period were Cassandreia, Ierissos, Hermeleia, Rebenikeia, and Rentina, though none among them was particularly significant. Cassandreia, in particular, had lost much of the importance it had in Hellenistic and Roman times. From the 10th century onwards, when the monastic community was officially established on Mount Athos, the rest of Chalcidice became progressively the backyard of the Holy Mountain. The monastic domain expanded enormously by means of imperial and private donation, or through direct purchase of property by the monasteries, and incorporated a great deal of land and property in Chalcidice including entire villages. Collections of documents relating to these monastic possessions are still preserved in the archives of the monasteries and have become a prime source for the study of Byzantine rural society, economy, and demography, by taking the villages of Chalcidice as case studies.

The medieval monastic documents shed much light on the agricultural economy of Chalcidice. Mining, which was the second most important economic activity of the region, is better documented during the Ottoman period (Turkish occupation of Chalcidice began as early as 1387, followed by an interval of restored Byzantine rule and then Venetian rule in western Chalcidice between 1403 and 1430). Mining was undertaken in several villages of the region, mainly in the central and eastern areas, which later became known as "Mademochoria". The principal centre of mining was the town of Siderokausia in the northeast of the country. Particular attention was paid to the development of silver mining at Siderokausia during the reign of Süleyman I in the 16th century when the task of organizing and directing the extraction and processing of the ore was given to German masters, while more than 6000 workers and dealers, Greeks, Jews, Bulgarians, and others, were employed in the business.

The Ottoman government had granted a special administrative status as well as fiscal privileges to several villages in Chalcidice. In the 18th century some groups of villages with common status and the same privileges joined in confederations with communal authority. One of those confederations consisted of the villages that had been mining centres, known as Mademochoria, though the mining had declined sharply by then and stopped completely in the 19th century. Another confederation was formed by the so-called "Chasikochoria", in western Chalcidice, which constituted a domain (*hass*) of the sultan's mother. A third was composed of the villages of Cassandra (Pallene) peninsula, a *waqf* (pious donation) intended to provide subsidies for the poor of Mecca and Medina.

Chalcidice and the region of Mount Vermion, including Naousa, were the only parts of Macedonia where the Greeks rose in rebellion during the War of Independence. In the case of Chalcidice, this is explained by the revolutionary fervour and enthusiasm that was shown by many of the monks of Mount Athos who were members of the *Philike Hetaireia*, as well as by the possibility of support and supply by sea. In late March 1821 the Serrean patriot Emmanuel Pappas arrived in Mount Athos and began to stir up revolt. Fighting broke out in June at Polygyros, one of the "Mademochoria" in central Chalcidice and presentday capital of the region, and spread through the country. Nevertheless, the Greeks were not strong enough to repel the Turkish counteroffensive and, after losing the area of Polygyros, organized a last defence in Cassandra peninsula which was crushed in December 1821.

Ottoman rule in Chalcidice ended in 1912 as a result of the Balkan Wars. The history of the region in the 20th century is marked by the arrival of Greek refugees from Turkey after 1922. In order to provide for their rehabilitation the Greek government proceeded to confiscate the monastic estates, which still amounted to a large area of land in Chalcidice, undertaking to subsidize the monasteries in return. The economy of contemporary Chalcidice has grown remarkably due to tourism, while the recent discovery of gold deposits

offers further opportunities for the development of the region, though it has given rise to controversies on environmental issues.

KONSTANTINOS P. MOUSTAKAS

Summary

Though officially part of Macedonia, Chalcidice has had a history of its own due to its geographical isolation. It was first colonized by Greeks in the 8th century BC, notably from Chalcis (whence its name). After the Persian Wars the cities of Chalcidice joined the Delian League, but later changed allegiance. They were absorbed by Macedon in 348 BC. From the 10th century the region was dominated by the monasteries of Mount Athos whose estates were confiscated in the 20th century to accommodate refugees from Asia Minor.

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Chalcis

City in Euboea

Chalcis is located on the narrowest point of the Euripus and is the capital of the district of Euboea. Today it is a bustling capital city of about 50,000 inhabitants and the town profits from trade in several important commodities (including livestock, butter, and agricultural tools). Modern Chalcis obscures the remains of the ancient city, which was famous for its manufacture of bronze (the city may have received its name from this trade, since *chalkos* means "bronze"). The Mycenaean city praised by Homer (*Iliad*, 2. 540) has yet to be discovered, but some ancient remains from the late Geometric period on have been found in the area of the modern town.

Chalcis played an important role in the developments of Geometric and Archaic Greece. The inhabitants were known for their commercial enterprise (including trade in pottery and metalwork) and colonizing ventures (founding colonies and trading posts on the coasts of Sicily, Italy, Chalcidice, Thrace, the islands of the Aegean, and possibly Syria). Perhaps most famous, while at the same time least understood, is the role that Chalcis played in the Lelantine War with Eretria. Apparently, during the late 8th century BC Chalcis and Eretria were in competition for land and power, which led to a war over the rich Lelantine plain. Strabo (*Geography*, 10. 1. 9) says that this plain was famous, among other things, for its curative hot-water fountains, which were even used by the Roman general Sulla. This early Hellenic conflict over the Lelantine plain involved, at least, Miletus, which supported Eretria, and Samos, which supported Chalcis. Thucydides implies that numerous other states were involved. While the 8th-century victor is unknown, Chalcis seems to have held the plain in the 7th century BC.

Chalcis was ruled by a monarchy until the 7th century BC, when its last king Amphidamus was killed in battle. (Aristotle, in *Politics*, 1304a, mentions a later, but otherwise unknown tyrant, Phoxus, who was overthrown by the elites of the city.) The aristocracy then took over, and eventually supported the Athenian tyrant Hippias who fled there after his expulsion from power. Tragically for their independence, the people of Chalcis allied with Boeotia against Athens, partly in an attempt to restore Hippias. The Athenians then attacked and defeated the Chalcidians, took their land for the settlement of 5000 cleruchs, dismantled their navy, and assumed control over their colonies in Italy and Sicily. The Athenians, proud of their success against Chalcis, set up a chariot on the Acropolis and inscribed it with news of their victory (Herodotus, 5. 77. 4; Diodorus, *Historical Library*, 10. 24. 3). In 480 BC the people of Chalcis supported the Athenians against Persia and sent at least 20 ships to the Greek fleet. Soldiers of Chalcis also fought in the Battle of Plataea.

Demosthenes in his orations on *Philip*, *On the False Assembly*, and *Against Midias* highlights the role that Chalcis played in early Macedonian attempts to influence and control Greece. Originally Callias, the general from Chalcis, supported Philip, but he then turned against Macedon in a successful attempt to rid the Euboean cities of Oreus and Eretria of tyrants. Nevertheless Philip took the city and garrisoned it in 338 BC. It remained important as a strategic control point and trade centre until 146 BC, when it was attacked and severely damaged by the Romans.

Once in the Roman sphere, the city, and Euboea, first became part of the province of Macedonia, and then in 27 BC the island became a part of the province of Achaea. Chalcis, due to its strategic location, remained economically viable throughout the Roman period. During the early Byzantine period, pagan temples were replaced with Christian monasteries and churches. By the 9th century AD silk was crucial to the economic life of the provincial Byzantine nobles in Chalcis. (In 1147 Roger II, king of Sicily, used his army to kidnap silk workers from Chalcis.) The Venetians captured and fortified the city in 1210, and made it the capital of Negroponte ("Black Bridge", referring to the whole of Euboea), the name deriving from a corruption of the Greek *ston Egripo* ("on the Euripus") and the Italian *ponte*, referring to the movable bridge built by Justinian. After a brutal battle in Chalcis against Sultan Mehmet II in 1470, the town fell to the Turks and then became the headquarters of *kaptan pasha* (admiral). The remains of the Turkish fortress, built in 1686 on top of the castle of Karababa (originally designed by the Venetians), apparently rest on even more ancient foundations – perhaps those of a Macedonian fort built *c.*334 BC. Chalcis remained in Turkish hands until 22 February 1833 when at last Chalcis and Euboea

were freed from external rule, and Euboea was declared part of independent Greece.

The bridge spanning the Euripus channel at Chalcis also has an interesting history. The first fixed bridge was wooden, built in 411 BC, partly to interfere with Athenian maritime trade. In 334 BC towers, a wall, and gates were added to strengthen the defensive capabilities of the bridge. This structure remained more or less intact until Justianian replaced the fixed structure with a movable wooden bridge (intended to facilitate waterborne traffic). The Turks replaced Justinian's bridge with another fixed bridge, which remained in place until 1856, at which point a new swing bridge was constructed. The Belgians, in 1896, made major changes including enlarging the channel and erecting an iron swing bridge. The existing structure was created in 1962.

The city now houses a Folklore Museum, a storage house of medieval antiquities, and a small, well-kept Archaeological Museum. The Archaeological Museum displays Mycenaean pottery from local tombs and marble remains from Chalcis, Eretria, and Carystus. Sparse archaeological remains of buildings and graves have been found on the castle hill and fragments from other ancient structures may be seen built into the castle walls and other structures. The local synagogue, rebuilt in 1849 on its original foundations, includes in its walls tombstones from an ancient Jewish cemetery dating back at least 1,200 years. The modern city flourishes and is a popular route into Euboea for European and Athenian travellers.

CYNTHIA K. KOSSO

Summary

The largest city in Euboea located at the narrowest point of the Euripus, Chalcis played an important part in colonizing Sicily and Italy in the 8th century BC. It fought Eretria for possession of the Lelantine plain. In the Classical period it was dominated by Athens. In antiquity it was famous for its bronze working and in the Middle Ages for silk production.

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Chandris, Antony 1924–1984

Shipowner

Antony Chandris, president of the Union of Greek Shipowners from 1975 to 1981, succeeded in bridging the previously deep gulf between the Greek state and public opinion on the one hand and Greece's main industry on the other.

His father was a shipowner from Chios. He was educated at Athens College and as a marine engineer at the polytechnic in Lausanne. He and his brother Dimitri Chandris made Chandris Lines a leader in the 1950s and 1960s in passenger shipping, especially the movement of emigrants to Australia, but then switched the focus of their activities to tankers and cruise vessels.

Like most members of the shipping community, Antony and his wife Ourania Nikolaou lived in London. Greek politicians and public opinion felt that shipowners, who controlled by far the largest Greek industry, were contributing little to the country. On the other hand, there was resentment and suspicion following attempts by the government to impose retrospective taxation and to attach the insurance earnings gained from merchant ships sunk during World War II. In 1955, 80 per cent of Greek-owned tonnage flew foreign flags.

During this period the London-based Greek Shipping Cooperation Committee was influential. The chairmanship of his friend, John C. Carras (1963–65), brought ideas for a closing of the gap which found their way into the proposed five-year economic plan elaborated under the aegis of Andreas Papandreou in 1965. Some were, ironically, put into effect by the colonels after 1967, but the support of the dictatorship by many shipowners made Greek public opinion more hostile than ever.

Chandris was vice-chairman of the committee from 1967 to 1975. After the dictatorship fell in 1974, he stood for the presidency of the Union of Greek Shipowners. Narrowly failing in November 1974, he was triumphantly elected in January 1975, and unanimously re-elected in 1979. During his presidency the present institutional framework of Greek-owned shipping was put into place: with an eighth of total deadweight tonnage in 1980 the Greek merchant fleet was the largest in the world. The taxation system and other important provisions were entrenched under the Constitution of 1975. The year 1981 saw the highest proportion of Greek-owned tonnage ever under the Greek flag: 42 million tons to 12 million.

Chandris was a patient negotiator and determined bridge builder, and his humanity and warmth were proverbial. Under him the union succeeded for the first time in reaching out to a wide range of political opinion and integrating the interests of shipping with those of the country. He also organized its effective representation internationally, in the US, the European Union, and elsewhere.

A man of broad interests, Chandris invested substantially inside Greece. He was a co-founder of *Elliniki Etairia* (the Greek Society), Greece's main conservation organization, and supported important restoration work at the 11th-century church of Nea Moni on Chios. When he resigned in 1981 due to lung cancer, the shipping industry had become a respected partner both within and outside Greece.

COSTA CARRAS

See also Ships and Shipping

Biography

Born in 1924, Chandris was educated at Athens College and studied marine engineering at Lausanne Polytechnic. He and his brother Dimitri built up Chandris Lines, first as a leading passenger carrier, and later switched to tankers and cruise ships. Antony Chandris was President of the Union of Greek Shipowners from 1975 to 1981. He died in 1984.

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Chatzidakis, Georgios N. 1848–1941

Linguist

Chatzidakis is considered to be the pre-eminent linguist of Greece and one of the most influential individuals in shaping the study of the Greek language. Born in Mirtos in Crete, he studied Greek and Latin philology at the Philosophy Department of the University of Athens between 1873 and 1877, and received a scholarship to study linguistics in Germany, attending the universities of Leipzig and Berlin, as well as that of Vienna. He received a doctorate from the Philosophy Department at Athens University in 1883, with his thesis *Symvoli eis tin Istoria tis Ellinikis Glossis* (Contribution to the History of the Greek Language). He was designated interim professor of linguistics and of Indian philology at Athens University in 1885, appointed dean in 1905, and continued to teach at the university until 1923. He founded the University of Thessalonica, where he taught linguistics, and was dean from 1926 to 1928. He became a member of the Athenian Academy in 1926 and in 1927 was voted its president. He established the *Glossiki Hetaireia* (Language Society), as well as other scientific guilds. He died in Athens in 1941.

Despite its antiquity and remarkable importance for the illustration of linguistic principles and the evolution of words, the Greek language and its history, apart from the Archaic and Classical periods, had been mostly neglected by scholars. Chatzidakis's *Sintomos Istoria tis Ellinikis Glossis* (Short History of the Greek Language) was a succinct study, aimed primarily at a general readership.

A pupil of the philologist Kostantinos Kontos at the University of Athens, Chatzidakis used katharevousa (a form of Greek based on the spoken language but "purged" of modern elements) in his writings, but because he was a student of comparative linguistics and was thus able to view Greek bilingualism historically and objectively, he fought for its simplification, recommending, for example, that it be relieved of the infinitive and optative. Most significantly, he enabled the systematic study of demotic to be accepted at Athens university, where the "purist" language was used. He ultimately became one of the leading purists and used his influence between 1917 and 1920 to prevent the universal adoption of demoticism.

Chatzidakis was one of the first Greeks to study the medieval and modern Greek language, and in 1928 he founded the medieval archives of the Athenian Academy. The linguistic character of medieval texts was extensively and ardently debated by the two foremost Greek authorities on the subject, Chatzidakis himself and his adversary, Yannis Psycharis. Chatzidakis maintained that the beginnings of modern Greek could be traced as far back as the 6th century AD. He also argued that the language of medieval writers should not be taken as a manifestation of the popular speech of the day and, therefore, no emphasis should be placed upon it by historians of the language. Psycharis, on the other hand, contended that the formative period of modern Greek extended from the 10th to the 18th centuries, and believed that works written during this period were reliable witnesses to the dialects of their time, and thus could be relied upon for an understanding of the condition of the popular language in the last few centuries. Ultimately, Psycharis's theory met with little favour outside his own immediate circle, which was composed mainly of his former students. Nearly all modern Greek scholars concur with Chatzidakis, both in terms of the date of the beginning of modern Greek and with regard to the nature of the medieval written language. The linguistic struggle between Chatzidakis and Psycharis, on these and other issues, reached its height with the *Evangeliaka* (1901) and the *Orestiaka* (1903).

Chatzidakis also maintained that the Greek language, in spite of its peculiarities, remained the most Indo-European of all the languages in its group, exhibiting a comparatively true and accurate picture of the parent tongue, especially on such points as vocalism, verbal forms, and syntax. In one of his classic studies, *Peri tis Enotitos tis Ellinikis Glossis* (On the Unity of the Greek Language), Chatzidakis proved that Greek still uses or, at the very least, allows for the understanding of words used as far back as the composition of the New Testament. It was to this fact that he attributed the special bond that the Greek people feel for their language.

Without George Chatzidakis's work our understanding of the demotic language would have remained opaque. His scholarly study of this field dissipated much misguided teaching and increased our understanding of the Greek language. The fact that Chatzidakis did not use his influence and knowledge to promote the establishment of demotic as the official language is considered a failing, but it can only be assumed from his confidence in the language that demotic had not yet matured sufficiently to position itself as the official written language of Greece.

GEORGIA KEFALAS

See also Language

Biography

Born on Crete in 1848, Chatzidakis studied at the School of Philosophy of the University of Athens in 1873–77 and attended the universities of Leipzig, Berlin, and Vienna before taking his doctarate in Athens in 1883. He taught linguistics at Athens from 1885 to 1923 and was dean of the University of Thessalonica from 1926 to 1928. He championed the study of demotic and, in opposition to

Psycharis, traced its origins back to the 6th century AD. He died in Athens in 1941.

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Chatzimichail, Theophilos 1873–1934

Folk painter

Theophilos (as he is usually known) began painting in his home at a very early age, but the tradition that he was taught by his maternal grandfather, the icon painter Kostantis Zografos, cannot be confirmed. His left-handedness made it difficult for him to follow his father's trade as a shoemaker; physically weak, and with a marked stutter, he was mocked by his peers and by early adolescence was socially isolated, devoted entirely to painting, traditional stories and songs, and an active fantasy life.

Before 1890 he left Mytilini on Lesbos for Smyrna, where he made his living as a painter, receiving lodging or a meal in payment for his work; his paintings from this period, on walls and furniture, have not survived. In Smyrna he adopted the fustanella as his everyday dress, sometimes with the full equipment familiar in the uniform of the National Guard, "dressing up" as a stereotypical Greek in a city of mixed culture, rather than wearing traditional costume, which on Lesbos meant *vrakia* (baggy knee-breeches). He also paraded about the city as Alexander with a gang of street children as his "Macedonians". It is now impossible to determine if his claim to have been a bodyguard at the Greek consulate in Smyrna had any basis in reality or was a reflection of these playacting fantasies.

After 1900 he moved to Thessaly, and continued to live by painting, receiving commissions both from residents of the villages on Mount Pelion and in the city of Volos. He returned to Mytilini in 1927. Soon afterwards, the Parisian art critic Tériade (Stratis Eleftheriadis, 1897–1983, a native of Skamnia on Lesbos) discovered his work, and in 1929 contracted to buy whatever Theophilos produced, providing him with supplies and encouraging him to move from wall painting to the more permanent and portable medium of canvas. In the following year an article by Kostas Ouranis in a national newspaper made Theophilos known more generally in Greece.

Both in the Pelion region and on Lesbos Theophilos was heir to a well-established tradition of wall painting in house decoration. What makes his work distinctive is that his painting was not restricted to the inner walls of bourgeois homes, but to a wide variety of surfaces, indoors and outdoors; his most famous work was the decoration of a taverna at Karini, on the way to a shrine of the Virgin at Ayiassos which attracts visitors from beyond Lesbos. Even more important was his choice of subjects; as well as traditional floral designs and landscapes, Theophilos decorated everything with paradigmatic figures of Greek traditional culture: ancient Greek gods and heroes, Alexander, Erotokritos, and the leaders of the War of Independence. The last, the subject of his most enduring fantasies and performances, are painted with a clarity and intensity that have few parallels. In the canvasses made for Tériade after 1929 he also portrayed a traditional way of life which was being rapidly replaced by a more homogenized modern (he would have said "Frankish") culture, symbolized by the aeroplanes he included in his latest paintings. In such paintings as his portrait of a musician from Lemnos and a representation of Mytilini in 1888 (before he left for Smyrna), there is the same vivid recall of a world now lost as in other works produced in Lesbos after the Asia Minor catastrophe, such as Elias Venezis's *Aeolia* and Stratis Myrivilis's *Vasilis Arvanitis*. Even though Myrivilis did not admire Theophilos artistically, he found him an appropriately archetypal figure to appear with his folk hero Vasilis Arvanitis in a nostalgic evocation of Greek traditional culture.

Along with his paints, Theophilos's workbox included a collection of postcards, photographs, and illustrations from school texts and popular literature. Some of his paintings are clearly derived from these pictures; but he produced works of startling originality, and even his most derivative works introduce new elements of light and colour, and are generally far more alive than their models.

For the poets Andreas Embeirikos, Odysseus Elytis, and George Seferis, the discovery of Theophilos in the 1930s was a critical point in their intellectual development. Like General Makriyannis's *Memoirs*, Theophilos represented a vital and authentically Greek popular tradition, as different from 19th-century academic European art as the general's Greek was from the artificial classicizing language of official culture. Theophilos's position as an iconic figure of Greek popular culture has since been enhanced by fictionalized treatments of his life, such as the *Myth of Theophilos* by Nestoras Matsas (1971) and the television film *Theophilos* by Lakis Papastathis (1987).

The largest collections of Theophilos's works are in the Museum of Theophilos in Varia outside Mytilini and the house of Yannis Kontos in Anakasia (Pelion); although the decoration of the taverna at Karini has largely disappeared, a decorated counter is still in use in a *kafeneion* in Ayia Paraskevi on Lesbos. Reproductions of several paintings are available on the World Wide Web, on sites maintained by the Greek Ministry of Culture (www.culture.gr).

HUGH J. MASON

See also Painting

Biography

Chatzimichail, usually known by his first name Theophilos, was born in Mytilini on Lesbos in 1873 and may have been taught to paint by his grandfather, the icon painter Kostantis Zografos. He moved to Smyrna and later to Mount Pelion, making a poor living as a journeyman painter of tavernas and coffee houses. Soon after his return

to Mytilini in 1927 his talent was recognized by the Parisian critic Tériade. He died in Mytilini in 1934.

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Chersonese, Thracian

The Thracian Chersonese, now known as the Gallipoli (Gelibolu) peninsula in modern Turkey, is a long, narrow peninsula forming the European side of the Hellespont (Dardanelles) and connecting the Sea of Marmara with the Aegean. It was always important as a wheat-exporting region, but even more because of its strategic location as a crossing point between Europe and Asia; before long, this attracted Greek colonization, mainly by Aeolians from Lesbos and Ionian Greeks from Miletus as early as the end of the 8th and the beginning of the 7th century BC. Attic black-figure vases started to reach the area from 600 BC, showing an Athenian interest in it that was to continue for centuries: probably already in the 6th century the Chersonese was a strategic point on the route along which grain imports vital for Athens moved (by the 4th century Athens imported about half of the grain it needed from the Black Sea region). The Athenian aristocrat Miltiades the Elder established a domain of his own and built a defensive wall across the Bulair isthmus to protect it against the native Thracians; the Chersonese remained his family's property until his nephew Miltiades the Younger abandoned it to Darius I of Persia (*c.*492 BC). According to the account given by Herodotus (6. 34–40, 6. 103f.), the Chersonese was originally held by the Thracian Dolonci, who consulted the Delphic oracle when they were attacked by another tribe, and then invited Miltiades to protect them. Miltiades died childless, and in about 516 BC the sons of the Athenian tyrant Pisistratus sent Miltiades the Younger to take control of the region. He established himself by maintaining an army of 500 mercenaries and married the daughter of the Thracian king Olorus, who became his ally. He fled back to Athens, however, before the Persian advance, and for the next 30 years the Chersonese was under Persian control.

After the Persian withdrawal from the Greek mainland in 479, Athens quickly moved to regain control of the Chersonese – conquering the strategically important Sestus – to ensure the safe passage of Black Sea grain; the Chersonese became a part of the Delian League. Moreover, the sending of colonists there was an outlet for surplus population (among the Athenian settlements known as cleruchies founded about the middle of the 5th century BC there is a dispatch of 1000 cleruchs to the Chersonese). After the Peloponnesian War (431–404) Sparta briefly controlled the area, but it reverted to the control of Athens, who once more sent settlers there in 353 and cruelly punished recalcitrant Sestus. In 338 Athens finally ceded the area to Philip II of Macedonia; later it became part of the Seleucid empire. In 188 BC the Romans gave the Chersonese to the Attalid Eumenes II of Pergamum; it became Roman in 133 BC. Under Augustus it was turned into an emperor's estate.

Since the beginning of Greek colonization, a number of Greek towns developed on the Chersonese. Of the lesser ones (Alopeconnesus, an Aeolian foundation; Crithote, founded by the elder Miltiades and in ruins in Roman times) not much is known; more importance – varying over time – was attained by Sestus, Cardia, Elaious, and (since Hellenistic times) Lysimacheia and Callipolis (which gave the peninsula its modern name).

Sestus was situated at the narrowest part of the Hellespont (just opposite Abydus) and therefore provided the best point of departure to and from Asia; originally a Thracian settlement and mentioned already in Homer's catalogue of the Trojan army (*Iliad*, 2. 836), it was colonized by the Lesbians in about 600 BC. In 480 BC Xerxes built his naval bridge there, and in 334 BC Alexander the Great crossed from there over to Asia. In 365 BC Sestus was held by the Persian satrap Ariobarzanes; in 360 BC the Thracians conquered the city. Under Attalid rule, Sestus seems to have retained a certain autonomy and minted its own coins; this stopped only in AD 250, when the city fell into decay. In the 6th century AD Justinian erected a fortress above the remains, and the place again had some importance in the fighting between the Latin emperors based in Constantinople and the Byzantine emperors at Nicaea in the early 13th century. As the Chersonese has not yet been much explored archaeologically (access to this military area of modern Turkey is restricted), the precise location of Sestus remains unknown.

Cardia, founded by the Milesians and occupied by the elder Miltiades and his colonists in 560 BC, had a strategic location on the west coast of the Chersonese where it opened up into mainland Thrace. In the Peloponnesian War Cardia was an Athenian naval base. Lysimachus destroyed it in 309 BC to incorporate its inhabitants into the newly founded Lysimacheia.

Elaious, situated at the southern tip of the Chersonese and dominating its entrance, was probably also an Athenian foundation and used by Miltiades as a harbour; it was famous because of its ancient sanctuary of Protesilaus (perhaps identical with the prehistoric tumulus of Eski Hisarlâk), which was pillaged by the Persian Artayctes, but apparently continued to exist until late antiquity; Alexander the Great sacrificed at Protesilaus' tomb before crossing over to Troy. Elaious served as an Athenian naval base in the Peloponnesian War and was a member of the Second Delian League from 375 BC; when the

Chersonese became the property of the Thracian king Cotys I, Elaious together with Crithote (see above) remained with Athens. Elaious still played a role in the battles between Constantine the Great and Licinius in AD 323 and was, like Sestus, refortified by Justinian.

Lysimacheia was founded at the northern end of Chersonese (near Cardia) in 309 BC by Lysimachus, who intended it to be his capital. After his death in 281 the city passed through several hands and was finally destroyed by the Thracian king Diegylis in 144 BC.

Callipolis, mentioned by sources only since the 3rd century BC (it was conquered in 209 BC by Philip V of Macedon), acquired greater importance in later antiquity when Byzantium became capital of the eastern empire. In 1354 or 1357 the city was the first place in Europe to be conquered by the Turks; it remained strategically important as a naval base for the defence of Istanbul. The modern town of Gallipoli was heavily damaged by an earthquake in 1912 and shortly afterwards suffered severe destruction during the fierce fighting of the Gallipoli campaign of World War I, in which determined Turkish resistance caused the invading Allies heavy losses. Today Gelibolu, a Turkish town of 14,500 inhabitants, is a commercial centre, fishing port, and marine base.

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Summary

A long narrow peninsula, forming the European side of the Hellespont, the Thracian Chersonese was important in antiquity because of its fertility and its strategic location as a crossing point between Europe and Asia, and between the Black Sea and the Mediterranean.

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Chersonesus

City in the Crimea

Chersonesus was a Greek colony in the southwest of the Crimea peninsula (near the modern city of Sevastopol). Throughout antiquity it had an important strategic position: whoever held the city had control over the northwest section of the Black Sea, i.e. the Danube delta and the entrance to the great northern gulf which receives the waters of the Dniestr, Bug, and Dniepr.

Until recently it was commonly agreed that Chersonesus was a Dorian colony, founded by Heraclea Pontica together with Delos in the later 5th century BC and that there had probably been an earlier, small Ionian emporium. New excavations, however, have brought to light Ionian and Attic black-figure vases and terracottas of the last quarter of the 6th century BC as well as a series of spectacular ostraca of the entire 5th century, showing that the colonists had the Milesian alphabet, but used chiefly Dorian names. This new evidence proves that already in the last quarter of the 6th century BC not only Heracleots but also Ionians from the south shore of the Pontus took part in the foundation of the polis. This earlier dating was confirmed when in 1986 an intact stratum of the Archaic period (containing the traces of a sanctuary of the end of the 6th century) was found in the northeast part of the city.

Chersonesus soon seems to have acquired a large territory. In the 4th century BC the city state covered most of the southwest Crimea and its fertile coast, including towns like Kerkinitis and Kalos Limen. Fortified farms with towers were built in this area, and at the same time the production of local amphorae began (for exporting wine). Coins were also minted from the 4th century BC.

In the 3rd century BC, however, the city state was badly affected by Scythian and Sarmatian invasions. Archaeological evidence shows that all surrounding settlements were destroyed and burned: several farmhouses contained human skeletons (apparently victims of a surprise attack) and in western Crimea coin hoards were found, hastily buried by the inhabitants. In Chersonesus itself the people, apparently expecting further attacks, built a new line of town walls from grave stelae of the city's necropolis. Chersonesus never fully recovered from this destruction; its agricultural settlements were in ruins, fields and vineyards destroyed, the export of goods and the production of amphorae almost brought to a standstill. At the end of the 2nd century Mithridates VI of Pontus protected the city against the Scythians, but Chersonesus lost its external territories; later it was integrated into the Bosporan kingdom by Asandros. When the Scythians besieged the city again in AD 60/61, Nero installed Roman soldiers and a naval detachment. Under Hadrian the Bosporanian king Cotys II also controlled Chersonesus; Antoninus Pius re-established the city's independence.

In the 2nd century AD Chersonesus was the starting point for the conversion of the Crimean population to Christianity. It was here that the banished bishop of Rome, St Clement, was martyred during the persecutions under the emperor Trajan. By the beginning of the 4th century Christianity was firmly established in Chersonesus.

During the Byzantine period, the city – now called Cherson (this name is attested at least since Hadrianic times) – gained great importance because of its strategic position in the empire's northern defence system and its control of the major sea routes. The Hellenistic town walls were repaired at the end of the 5th century and reinforced with towers and bastions in the reign of Justinian; further restorations took place in the 7th and 8th centuries. Moreover, between the 5th century and the end of the 10th some 30 churches were built in Cherson, among them four luxurious basilicas and a cruciform church. This last was discovered in 1897 and had an altar containing a silver reliquary bearing a monogram, bust, and control stamps of Justinian I. The city seems also to have been a place of exile for prominent persons, among them the pope St Martin (AD 655) and the emperor Justinian II (695). In the 8th century Cherson belonged to the Khazars, but Byzantine rule was re-established in the earlier part of the 9th century, and for the

next three centuries Cherson was again the most important outpost of Byzantium in the northern Black Sea. It became a centre for Byzantine diplomatic, ecclesiastical, and military activity in relation to the peoples of the steppe. Knowledge of them proved to be of great value to the monks Cyril (originally Constantine the Philosopher) and Methodios, who spent the winter of 860/61 at Cherson before setting out on their missionary work. In the 10th century Cherson was a focal point for relations between Byzantium and the fledgeling Russian state. It was here that in 988 prince Vladimir of Kiev was baptized by the metropolitan of Cherson and married Anna Porphyrogenneta ("born in the purple"), the sister of Emperor Basil II (976–1025); the prelates of the metropolitanate of Cherson then accompanied the couple to Kiev, where they founded the Russian Orthodox Church. The same Vladimir had shortly before conquered and destroyed Cherson, because Basil had at first reneged on his promise to send Anna as Vladimir's wife-to-be in return for his help against a mutiny in Cappadocia.

The Byzantines rebuilt Cherson, but it did not fully recover and its strategic importance further dwindled following the Byzantine reconquest of the Danube delta. In 1081 the Seljuk Turks captured Sinope, Cherson's main supplier of wheat, for the first time, and again definitively in 1194. With the fall of Constantinople to the Franks and Venetians in 1204, Cherson lost its main centre of support. For a time this role was filled by the so-called empire of the Great Komnenoi of Trebizond (which had come into being as a spinoff of the disintegrating Byzantine empire), but the establishment of new commercial outposts by the Genoese and Venetians contributed to Cherson's decline. In 1299 the city barely survived a destructive invasion of Tatars and Mongols. Byzantine sources last mention it in 1396; it was finally abandoned some decades later.

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See also Crimea

Summary

Greek colony in the southwest Crimea, near modern Sevastopol, founded by Heracleans and Ionians at the end of the 6th century BC. Flourished in the 5th and 4th centuries but lost its rich agricultural surroundings to the Scythians and Sarmatians in the 3rd century BC. Important role in Byzantine times and for the spread of Christianity in Russia. Destroyed by the Mongols in 1299, finally abandoned in the 15th century.

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Children

For Hellenic culture the family is central and childlessness a catastrophe. Men need children to inherit their property and perpetuate the paternal line, while the primary function of wives has been to fulfil this patrilineal ambition. The childless have resorted to remedies of varying efficacy, from the ancient practice of incubation (documented in inscriptions from the shrine of Asclepius at Epidaurus, 4th century BC: *Inscriptiones Graecae*, 4. 2. 121–2) to today's more sophisticated medical interventions, but, since the traditional purpose of marriage is to produce heirs, often the consequence of infertility has been marital separation. Children have been important to Hellenic society in terms both military and political: in the 4th century BC Dinarchus claimed that a man without legitimate issue could become neither an orator nor a general (1. 71) and in Sparta bachelors were mocked publicly, while temporary relaxations in marriage laws in times of war and depopulation reflect anxieties about maintaining the birthrate.

While Greek culture has regarded unproductive marriage as anomalous, the partible inheritance system (in which an estate is divided among all its legitimate inheritors with no rule of primogeniture) which pertained at ancient Athens and in the Hellenistic and Byzantine worlds, together with the problem of poverty and the obligation to dower daughters, meant that children were not always a blessing. Large families were (and still are) a luxury; Polybius in the mid-2nd century BC claimed that family planning led to prosperity (36. 17. 5). High infant mortality rates due to primitive obstetrics and medical care limited family size, but contraception was largely ineffective (one 4th-century BC Hippocratic text suggests a posset of beans and water: *On the Nature of Women*, 98) and adoption for the ancient and medieval Greeks was not a means of finding a home for unwanted children but of ensuring an heir for the paternal estate, the usual adoptee being a male adult. Indeed at Athens foundling children could not be adopted since the consent of the child's father was needed. Furthermore, while the orphans of Athenian citizens killed in battle were supported at the expense of the state (Thucydides, 2. 45), state-run orphanages that cared for abandoned children did not appear until the Byzantine era, and they were few and far between.

Since contraception was unreliable and celibacy not an option (for pre-Christian Greeks at least), the standard methods of disposing of unwanted children were abortion and infant exposure. Abortion, legal in Greece today, is condemned by Orthodox teaching. However, pre-Christian concerns about abortion centred on the issue of paternal authority and the potential destruction of heirs rather than the sanctity of human life – only fathers (or, if the father was dead, the child's or embryo's agnatic kin) could decide to abort or expose

offspring, and the mother who attempted to appropriate this power of decision was liable to prosecution (see Lysias, frr. 8a, 8b). Exposure must be distinguished from infanticide, which in Hellenic society has been almost invariably the object of religious proscription. Infants were left typically in places where people went, and they were intended to be found. The usual fate of foundlings was slavery and, for girls, the brothel. Ambrose suggested that, while the poor practised exposure, the wealthy favoured (or perhaps had access to effective methods of) abortion (*Lex.*, 5. 58). At Sparta the decision to raise a child belonged not to its father but to the elders of his tribe. "Defective" infants were cast into the Apothetae, a chasm under Mount Taygetus (Plutarch, *Lycurgus*, 16).

Demographic evidence suggests that the Greeks of antiquity practised selective female exposure; a letter of the 1st century BC from a soldier to his wife orders her to expose their unborn baby if it turns out to be a girl (*Oxyrhynchus Papyrus* 744). Indeed, Greek culture traditionally values sons more highly than their sisters, a partiality that illustrates the radical gender bias inherent in Greek society; at ancient Athens males alone could inherit and for Greeks ancient and modern the engendering of boys is a mark of masculinity. Even at the dawn of the 21st century sons may count for more than daughters; when asked how many children they have, Greek men may enumerate their sons only (see Vermeulen 1970).

The Greek Constitution now insists that both parents share equal rights and responsibilities in parenting (article 4, para 2, 1975) but earlier Hellenic society prioritized paternal authority. At Athens the father acknowledged paternity on the *dekate*, the tenth day after birth, while the formal rejection of an older child was possible (*apokeryxis*). In antiquity, as now, children were legal minors, subject to the authority of a guardian (*kyrios*), normally the child's father, although at Athens in the Classical period the archon was obliged to appoint a guardian – usually an agnatic male relative – for orphans. The children of divorced parents or widows belonged to their father's house and the modern assumption that children should live with their mothers in the event of marital breakdown or paternal death represents a radical reversal of ancient practice. Yet the trend has its roots in late antiquity; Byzantine law insisted that stepfathers adopt the children of a wife's previous marriage.

At Athens sons became their own *kyrioi* when they attained their majority (at about 18), although daughters, being perpetually legal minors, remained throughout their lives under the guardianship of either their male natal kin or their husbands. Although adult sons were legally independent, filial obligations remained strong; honour was due to one's parents as to the gods and sons could be disfranchised for mistreating their parents (Demosthenes, 10. 40–41; Lysias, 13. 91). In the Byzantine period the Roman law that legally subordinated adult children to their fathers (*hyperexousia*) was accepted by Justinian, and later the *Prochiron* (907) required that sons desiring legal independence should be formally emancipated from paternal power, although Leo VI (886–912) granted legal independence to sons who had established their own *oikoi* (households). Paternal authority persisting into adulthood led to tensions (John Chrysostom claimed that sons preferred their fathers not to live too long in *Colosseos*, 1. 3 – see *Patrologiae Cursus Completa, series Graeca*, 62. 303, edited by J.-P. Migne), yet the threat of disinheritance may have motivated sons to keep on good terms with their fathers – while the legal minimum to be divided among all legitimate sons was one-quarter (later one-third) of the paternal estate, the amount could be divided unequally (Justinian, *Novellae*, 115. 3).

The children of "illegitimate" unions were dealt with variously. At Classical Athens a child was a bastard (*nothos*) if he did not result from a union legitimized by *engue* (betrothal) or *epidikasia* (legal process) in the case of an *epikliros* (heiress). *Nothoi* born to free Athenian parents were not members of the *oikos* but could inherit a residual portion of their fathers' estates in default of legitimate heirs; Justinian also allowed illegitimate children to inherit in the absence of legitimate sons (*Codex Iustinianus*, 5. 27. 8). The treatment of children of concubines and slaves underwent various changes; at Athens in the 5th century BC the children of citizens and free alien concubines could perhaps be legitimized, although this was no longer possible in the 4th century BC. Children of citizens and slaves, however, were slaves and belonged to their owners. In the Byzantine period Constantine insisted that children of freedmen and slave women remain slaves (*Codex Theodosianus*, 12. 1. 1, 4. 8. 7), although later Justinian rendered such children automatically free unless this was proscribed by the father's will. In 479 Zeno legitimized automatically children of free men and free concubines, a law extended by Justinian in 539 to embrace children of slave concubines. Children born of two slaves were throughout the period owned by their parents' masters. In post-Solonic Athens the law debarred parents from selling their children into slavery (Plutarch, *Solon*, 23. 2) and Byzantine children could be neither sold nor abandoned, although in 329 Constantine legalized the sale of children with the right of later repurchase.

Ancient literary representations of children begin with that of Astyanax in the *Iliad*. Erinna mentions little girls who play with dolls and are afraid of the "bogeywoman" Mormo (*Distaff*, *Greek Literary Papyri*, 3. 120, 4th century BC), while the death of children, from the horror of infanticide (Euripides' *Medea* and *Hercules Furens*) to the accidental death of 119 schoolchildren on Chios (Herodotus, 6. 27) evokes pathos and often signifies the end of the paternal line. *Choes* (pitchers) of the Classical period and Hellenistic art exhibit a particular interest in children, while Christian iconography frequently represents the infant Jesus.

In antiquity children were considered wild (Plato, *Timaeus*, 44a–b). Education was essential to "tame" children and to prepare them for adult roles and responsibilities – politics and war for boys, marriage for girls. A child's first learning experience was at home where the women of the household played an important part in the transmission of culture through storytelling and religious instruction (Plato, *Laws*, 887d–e). Many mothers took their children's education seriously – in the 2nd century AD Plutarch mentions a mother educating herself in order to educate her children (*Moralia*, 14b–c) and advises that wetnurses, who in the past, when weaning occurred at the ages of 2 or 3, exercised a significant influence on their charges, should be Greek-speaking and of good character (*Moralia*, 3e). Boys were removed from the sphere of female influence at 7 or 8. The Spartan *agoge* (education system) separated boys from their families at the age of 7, while elsewhere boys whose families could afford it were educated at schools where Homer and, later, Christian texts such as the Psalms formed the basis of a

literary education, although many Christians such as Basil of Caesarea found pagan texts morally problematic as a didactic tool. Military training was crucial for boys and institutionalized homosexuality was an educational feature of many Greek states including Sparta (Xenophon, 2. 12) and Dorian Crete (Ephorus, fr. 70. 149). Physical education at the gymnasium and social education at the symposium were usually the province of boys, but music and dancing were common to both sexes; Alcman and Sappho in the 7th century BC attest to girls' choirs. However for girls education was essentially domestic: spinning and weaving were taught at home and up to recent times girls had limited access to formal education. Indeed, until the late 20th century Greek families financed the education of their sons but seldom that of their daughters.

The children of the poor and slaves worked at home, on the land, or at a trade; a papyrus from the Hellenistic period documents the case of a slave child apprenticed to a weaver (*Oxyrhynchus Papyrus* 1647). Childhood was short for many children in the past; girls were married young (although *Peira*, 49. 22 describes penalties for those who married girls under 12) and in the mid-7th century 10 was the minimum age for taking monastic vows. The 20th century has seen the extension of childhood into late adolescence as a much greater proportion of children, girls as well as boys, remain in education longer, while the minimum age for marriage in Greece is now 16 (18 without parental consent).

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See also Abortion, Adoption, Contraception, Divorce, Gender, Inheritance, Marriage

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Chios

Island in the eastern Aegean

The island of Chios has been inhabited almost continuously from the Stone Age to the present day. This it owes at least in part to its fertile soil and to its geographical position, located in the eastern Aegean just off the coast of Asia Minor, from where over countless centuries it has been able to exploit the trade routes north to the Hellespont and the Black Sea and south, west, and east to the Mediterranean, the Levant, and Egypt.

The earliest evidence for human habitation comes from the cave site of Ayio Gala in the northwest of the island, and dates from the early Neolithic period in the 6th millennium BC. In the 5th millennium BC a settlement was also established at Emporio in the south, and continued in almost constant use through the Early, Middle, and Late Bronze Age. Then around 1100 BC Emporio, in keeping with other Mycenaean sites all over the Aegean, suffered catastrophic destruction by fire and abandonment by its population. Our understanding of the subsequent Dark Age period is confused, though probably around 1000 BC the island was colonized by Ionian Greek-speakers arriving from the west.

By the 8th century BC Chios shows evidence of increased activity, including the refoundation of a settlement at Emporio, the existence of a religious sanctuary at nearby Kato Phana, and clear indications of active overseas trade. The 7th century BC was a time of great expansion and development for the island, in terms both of its mercantile trade and also of its external cultural and political relations. Together with other Greek cities, it founded the trading station of Naucratis in Egypt and, joining with 11 other cities in the eastern Aegean,

Chios: monastery of Nea Moni, founded in the mid-11th century by the emperor Constantine IX Monomachos

established the Panionium or league of Ionian states. By the Archaic period the island was united under the control of Chios town, situated in the middle of the east coast. This was a time of great prosperity, when Chios emerged as one of the leading naval powers in the Aegean. Its products of gum mastic, turpentine, decorated pottery, fine cloth, figs, and wine were exported widely throughout the Aegean and beyond. So famous, indeed, was its wine that Chian coins were recognized by their emblem of the wine amphora. In addition to its commercial activities, Chios also became renowned for its school of sculptors: Chian artists such as Archermus, Bupalus, Micciades, and Glaucus exerted a strong influence on Archaic Greek sculptural style and were much sought after for their work. Also by the 6th century BC Chios had firmly established itself in the Greek poetic tradition: claiming to be the birthplace of Homer, a claim strongly contested by neighbouring Smyrna, the island became home to the Homeridae, a school of rhapsodes who asserted their descent from Homer himself. In the Classical period, too, Chios' influence on the arts and learning remained strong: the tragic poet Ion, the historian Theopompus, and the sophist Theocritus all numbering among its sons.

Although the early political history of Chios is scarcely understood, a fragment of an inscribed stele found on the island and dating to 575–550 BC represents one of the earliest extant documents in Greek constitutional history and shows that Chios was already attempting to move towards a democratic system of government. In its external relations the island prospered as long as the Lydians controlled western Asia Minor. In 545 BC, however, the Lydian kingdom was destroyed by the Persians, who imposed harsh tyrannical rule on the Ionian cities, including Chios. The Ionian response came in 499 BC in the form of a revolt in which Chios, as a naval power, played a major part. The subsequent defeat of the allies brought down a terrible reprisal on Chios in 493 BC, when the Persians marched across the island leaving death and destruction in their wake. The Persian domination persisted until their defeat at the hands of the Greeks in 479 BC. Independent once again, Chios now elected democratic leaders, and joined the Delian League under the leadership of Athens. Peace and prosperity returned to the island and the Chiots became famed for their wealth and luxurious lifestyle, which was supported by vast numbers of slaves. The Peloponnesian War (431–404 BC) proved a rude interruption to this idyll, especially when in 412 BC the Chiots revolted against their Athenian allies, an act that ended in Chiot defeat and fierce retribution by the Athenians. Following the close of the Peloponnesian War, Chios fell successively under Spartan and Athenian control. Subsequently it resisted the rise of Macedonian power, which led to its capture in 333 BC by one of the generals of Alexander the

Great and the imposition of a Macedonian garrison. In 332 BC Alexander sent a letter to the Chiots (inscription in Chios Museum) in which he ensured the restoration of the democracy, previously undermined by an oligarchic faction, and ordered a contribution of 20 Chiot triremes for his fleet. During the Hellenistic period the island regained its independence and passed in turn under the influence of Ptolemy I, the Seleucids, the Attalids, and the Macedonians. But its glorious days of wealth and power were now long over. Pro-Roman in its stance, Chios fared well in Roman hands, retaining its autonomy, but suffered severe damage in 86 BC during the Mithridaric wars. An earthquake of 17 BC brought further hardships, though these were in part offset by the aid extended to the island by Tiberius. In AD 70 the autonomy of Chios was abolished by Vespasian, and by the end of the 1st century AD economic decline had set in.

The early Christian history of Chios is obscure. St Isidorus, the island's patron saint, was at work there during the 3rd century, and the first official record of a Chiot bishop is of Tryphon in the 5th century. However, the archaeological evidence suggests that between the 4th and 7th centuries Chios enjoyed increased prosperity with basilica churches being built at Emporio, Chios town, and probably Kato Phana. The destructive Arab raids of the mid-7th century, however, ushered in a further period of decline and it is not until the 10th and 11th centuries that signs of recovery and development are again visible. The concern of the central Byzantine state for the security and welfare of the island now becomes clear in the construction of a fortress in Chios town, the presence of royal officers, and the founding of the monastery of Nea Moni. This highly important monument, endowed by the emperor Constantine IX Monomachos (1042–54), preserves some of the finest examples of Byzantine mosaic, painting, and architecture known to us.

By now once more attractive to foreign powers, attempts were made to seize Chios in the years 1125–71 by the Venetians, while between 1204 and 1225 the island fell subject to the Latin empire of Constantinople. In their turn, the Genoese set their sights on Chios, occupying it for the first time in the years 1307–29, and more permanently a second time between 1346 and 1566. Genoese interest in the island focused on the suitability of Chios as a mercantile depot for Black Sea commerce. Their administration of the island was controlled by Maona, a Genoese chartered company, most of whose members were drawn from the Giustiniani family while the "Podestà", or governor, was directly appointed by the Republic of Genoa. Although they ruled the native inhabitants with a heavy hand, the Genoese nevertheless ensured the security of Chios, building many defence towers and fortresses, and oversaw efficient agricultural production. Cultivation of citrus fruit and mastic and the manufacture of silk resulted in an increase in the wealth and population of the island, and the export of its products far and wide throughout the Mediterranean world. Mastic, a resin of the lentisk tree, grows only in the south of Chios and since antiquity the island had therefore possessed a monopoly on this valuable commodity, which was famed for its medicinal and other uses. Under Genoese encouragement, fortified mastic-producing villages, such as Pyrgi, Mesta, and Olympoi, now sprang up in southern Chios. They were located inland at a distance from the sea, in order to escape the greedy eyes of pirates and Turks, were built around a central defence tower, and presented high, blank perimeter walls to the outside world. The Genoese, together with the old Byzantine noble families, meanwhile, built gracious mansions surrounded by citrus estates in the Kampos district to the south of Chios town.

In 1566 Chios was taken by the Turks. Thereafter, despite the attempts of the Florentine Knights of St Stephen (1599) and of the Venetians (1694–95) to wrest the island from them, Chios remained under Ottoman control until 1912. During this period, at least until 1821, the inhabitants enjoyed a considerable degree of political and religious autonomy and also economic prosperity, although they did have to remit heavy taxes to the foreign overlord. Trade continued to flourish, although Chios's position as the foremost mercantile port for ships plying between Constantinople and Europe, and between Constantinople and Syria-Egypt, had by the mid-17th century taken second place to nearby Smyrna. The island's prosperity and relative autonomy led, furthermore, to its fostering of cultural Hellenism. The School of Chios, founded in 1792 and financed by Chian merchants, possessed a library and printing press, the library owing much to the scholar Adamantios Korais. Another great scholar associated with the school was Neophytos Vamvas, a prolific writer on a number of subjects. Together with men such as Alexandros and Nikolaos Mavrokordatos, they safeguarded intellectual and spiritual Hellenism under the Ottoman occupation. When the War of Independence broke out in 1821, Korais was instrumental in encouraging the uprising. In 1822 the Chiots joined the rebellion, only to be punished by terrible massacres, enslavement, and destruction at the hands of the Turks. In revenge, Konstantinos Kanaris, commander of the powerful naval fleet of Psara, a small but important island lying off the west coast of Chios, destroyed the Turkish flagship. The Turkish massacres were vividly portrayed in Delacroix's famous painting (Paris, Louvre) of the outrage, a work of art that was to help shape western support for the Greek struggle for independence. The massacres of 1822 had deep and long-lasting effects on Chios. Many of those who survived fled the island and established settlements throughout Greece and overseas. The more fortunate of the refugees, such as the Rallis brothers, later became successful merchants in London, Paris, Marseilles, Palermo, Odessa, Alexandria, and elsewhere. In 1912, during the Balkan Wars, Chios was finally liberated and joined with the independent state of Hellas. Following the disaster of 1822 and also a catastrophic earthquake in 1881, which killed thousands and destroyed much property, shipping came to play an increasingly significant role in the revival of the Chian economy and, following the liberation, the merchant navy continued to expand. Many Greek shipping families, such as Chandris, Hadjipateras, Laimos, Livanos, Lyras, and Pateras, hailing from both Chios and the neighbouring islets of Oinoussai, generated great wealth during the 19th and 20th centuries. But despite its liberation, Chios' days of occupation were not yet over, for between May 1941 and September 1944 it suffered subjugation at the hands of the German forces during World War II.

Today the once teeming population of the island has declined as a result of urban drift and overseas emigration to countries such as America and Australia. Accordingly, agricul-

tural production has shrunk, though mastic cultivation in the south of Chios continues to harvest a lucrative monopoly. Shipping also still plays an important role in the island's life and economy, and though some limited tourism has developed in recent years, this still prosperous island is by no means dependent on the tourist industry. Culturally, too, Chios fulfils a significant role as home to the Korais Library, rebuilt in 1886, and today one of the most important libraries in Greece.

LESLEY A. BEAUMONT

Summary

Chios has been inhabited since the early Neolithic period. In the Archaic period it helped found Naucratis and established the league of Ionian states. This was a period of great commercial and cultural prosperity. Sacked by the Persians, Chios joined the Delian League and enjoyed renewed prosperity in the 5th century BC. Gradual decline set in under the Romans and Arabs, but Chios flourished again in the 10th and 11th centuries. After rule by Venetians, Latins, and Genoese, Chios fell to the Ottomans in 1566. There were terrible massacres in 1822. The island was joined to Greece in 1912.

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Choricius of Gaza

Sophist and orator of the 6th century AD

Choricius lived and taught in his native city of Gaza in the age of the emperor Justinian (527–65). He was a pupil of the orator Procopius who had established a famous school of rhetoric there. Choricius succeeded his teacher as master of the school (*c.*538–50) and, as his speeches in front of the City authorities at festivals and other occasions suggest, he became the most acclaimed orator in the city of Gaza after Procopius. Choricius belongs to the rhetorical tradition which goes back to the Second Sophistic, a tradition of epideictic oratory favouring the composition of *declamationes* (*meletai*, rhetorical exercises on a given topic), rhetorical descriptions (*ekphraseis*), and speeches. Rhetoric was well established in the school curriculum, as was the teaching of grammar. The practice of declamation became particularly prominent in Greek schools of the period. Orators and sophists such as Aelius Aristides (2nd century AD) became models of this kind, while the handbooks of Hermogenes (2nd century AD) and Aphthonius (4th century) offered a systematization of this school rhetoric, the so-called *progymnasmata* (rhetorical exercises). This tradition reached a peak in Constantinople and Antioch with Libanius in the 4th century. Then in the 6th century Gaza became the new centre where rhetoric flourished. Rhetorical products of this kind required rigorous style and imaginative content and, despite their heavy rhetorical flavour, they often have considerable literary claims.

A number of Choricius' works have survived, which can be classified under three headings: speeches (8), declamations (12), and *dialexeis* (25), that is, a preliminary informal talk (basically an argument) preceding the delivery of a major speech. Several of his speeches and his declamations are prefaced with a *dialexis* and/or a *theoria*, an introductory piece containing information about the issue to be treated and the mode of its treatment. Unlike the *theoria*, the *dialexis* is not necessarily related to the main speech, but some of them discuss problems of declamation. Like Procopius and Aeneas of Gaza, Choricius himself was a Christian. Thus, in his encomiastic speeches to bishop Marcianus he employs traditional rhetorical means for the description of the architecture and the paintings of the churches of St Sergius and St Stephen in Gaza, built by Marcianus. But, these few works apart, in which we find allusions and references to the Bible, there are few traces of Christian influence in his work, which, faithful to rhetorical conventions, is permeated by pagan ideas and imagery. Choricius' speeches are both encomiastic and funereal. They address high-ranking local officials, and one funeral speech is devoted to his teacher Procopius. The themes of the declamations were determined by the rhetorical tradition – preeminently representations (*ethopoiiai*) of either stock characters (e.g. the avaricious older man) or mythical/historical pairs (e.g. Patroclus, Miltiades). They are often treated in pairs of opposites (Polydamas/Priamus, the young hero/the old miser). Choricius' versions of these stock themes are particularly elegant and his fictional discourse attains a high degree of sophistication.

Choricius' most interesting work for us today is his speech in defence of mimic theatrical performances entitled *Apology*

for the Mimes (*Synegoria Mimon*). This is the last surviving text from antiquity concerning ancient theatrical performances. Although it is a mere rhetorical exercise, probably delivered in public in a theatre, it is invaluable for the information it contains about the popular genre of mime. The work presupposes mimic performances in Constantinople before 526, when Justinian issued an edict against theatre performances, but it may well have been written after this date. The Church targeted mimic performances on the ground that they had a bad effect on public morals, and John Chrysostom and Libanius were fierce critics of them. The topic thus lent itself to rhetorical advocacy. Choricius addresses the most important charges against mimic performances; the actors of the mime are defended against charges of immorality and the performances against charges of arousing bodily desire. The mime is presented as beneficial for the city, having a good effect on both the citizens and the authorities. Given the nature of his work, it is difficult to say what Choricius really thought about his subject, but this does not make his testimony less valuable.

Typical of the rhetorical products of this kind, Choricius' works are full of allusions and references to earlier Greek literature, on which he evidently was particularly knowledgeable. Homer, the Greek dramatic poets, Thucydides, Plato, and the Attic orators serve as examples of pure Attic style and colour every piece of Choricius' work. From among his contemporaries, he is most indebted to Libanius and to his teacher Procopius. Choricius writes Atticizing Greek and is particularly rigorous about his style. His works suffer from the weakness of the rhetorical works of this kind, namely excessive use of rhetorical schemes and poetic expressions, trivial ideas, rhetorical excess, and sophisticated style. However, they are valuable testimonies of his age. They contain important information about local personalities, history, and culture. His accounts of festivals (both pagan and Christian) and other cultural activities in Gaza are invaluable as they illustrate a gradual transition from paganism to Christianity. Choricius testifies to the survival of pagan customs and festivals in a largely Christianized society and sheds some light on the social life of Gaza, highlighting the role of the bishop and other local authorities. Choricius' works were used by subsequent generations of Byzantines; Photios, who read them, judges Choricius' style fairly and praises his Christian faith.

GEORGE E. KARAMANOLIS

Biography

Choricius (*fl.* 6th century AD) lived and taught in Gaza where he was a pupil of the orator Procopius. He succeded Procopius as master of the school of rhetoric at Gaza and himself became a noted orator. Surviving works include speeches, declamations, and arguments which give valuable information about the society and architecture of Gaza and about contemporary attitudes to the theatre.

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Chortatsis, Georgios

Cretan playwright of the late 16th century

Georgios Chortatsis is the most important figure in Cretan Renaissance drama, but, paradoxically, the one about whom least is known. Although there have been several attempts to identify the playwright with persons of the same name known from contemporary archival sources, none can be regarded as conclusive. All that can be said is that he was a native of Rethymnon, though he later lived in Kastro (Chandax), was active around the last decade of the 16th century, and was the author of at least three plays and two sets of dramatic interludes. Since his works are dated before any of the other surviving Cretan plays, he may have been the person responsible for the introduction of Renaissance drama in Greek (other Cretans are known who wrote plays in Italian a decade or two earlier). Among his circle of acquaintances were several influential persons of the time, including the Veneto-Cretan nobleman Markos Antonios Viaros and the lawyer Ioannis Mourmouris, to whom he dedicated *Panoria* and *Erofili* respectively. Internal evidence shows him to have been familiar with a wide range of Latin and Italian literature, particularly 16th-century works by Trissino, Speroni, Ariosto, Tasso, Guarini, and others.

The plays definitely known to have been written by Chortatsis include one of each of the three main dramatic genres of the time: the pastoral comedy (*tragicommedia pastorale*) *Panoria*, the tragedy *Erophili*, and the comedy *Katzourbos*. *Panoria* (which used to be known as *Gyparis*) is usually regarded as the earliest of the three works, dated around 1590. It is a work of Arcadian sophistication, but located in the Cretan countryside, specifically on Mount Ida; it is an Ida adapted to pastoral conventions, with goddesses and Nereids inhabiting its woods, shepherdesses hunting deer, and Cupid armed with bow and arrows. Chortatsis draws on Guarini's *Pastor Fido*, Tasso's *Aminta*, and perhaps also Grotto's *La Calisto* for some episodes, but borrowed material is artfully reworked to suit the plot requirements of the Cretan play. It centres on the loves of two pairs of shepherds, Gyparis and Panoria, and Alexis and Athousa. Two comic characters, Giannoulis, the father of Panoria, and the worldly-wise old woman Phrosyni, try to persuade the two shepherdesses to accept the advances of their swains. The successful outcome is brought about by the intervention of Aphrodite and her son Eros. The tragic posturings of the two love-sick shepherds are counterbalanced by the comic, and often bawdy, talk of the two older characters. Despite all the rustic humour, the liberated attitudes of the two shepherdesses have a very modern

resonance. Chortatsis successfully adapts the conventions of pastoral drama to a Cretan context: his play is much more down-to-earth than the sophisticated artificiality of Italian pastoral.

Erophili was certainly completed after *Panoria* but can be dated only approximately to about 1595. It was the only one of Chortatsis' plays to be printed during the Cretan Renaissance period: an unsatisfactory edition was published in Venice in 1637, but a much better one appeared in 1676 and was several times reprinted. Three manuscripts have also survived. Chortatsis based his play on the plot of Giraldi's *Orbecche*; secondary sources include Tasso's *Il Re Torrismondo* and *Aminta* and Trissino's *Sofonisba*. Comparison with *Orbecche* reveals Chortatsis's superiority as a dramatist, in terms of both plot construction and characterization. The play is set in Egypt, where king Philogonos has usurped the throne after killing his brother. His daughter Erophili has secretly married Panaretos, a noble general. The drama reaches its height with the king's discovery of the marriage. In revenge for the affront to his honour he kills Panaretos and offers the dismembered remains to Erophili as a wedding present. Erophili commits suicide and, in the final scene, the king is killed by the chorus of the princess's handmaids. The chorus, which has commented on the action in choric odes at the end of each act, thus finally assumes an active and decisive role, avenging the heroine's death. The play's sophisticated construction is particularly noteworthy: alternating monologues and dialogues vary the pace, suspense and dramatic irony are artfully employed, and the speeches, particularly those of Erofili, are infused with a lyrical intensity. A set of four interludes associated with the play in the manuscripts and editions tell a contrasting and unrelated story: the episode of Rinaldo and Armida from Tasso's *Gerusalemme Liberata*. Words, music, and dance combine with elaborate effects to provide relief from the emotional intensity of the tragedy – if at least it can be assumed that the interludes were intended for performance between the acts.

Katzourbos was completed between 1595 and 1601, a dating based on allusions in the play to contemporary persons and events. It belongs to the tradition of *commedia erudita*, and makes use of stock characters such as the gluttonous servant, the pedantic schoolmaster, and the *miles gloriosus*. The plot is trivial enough: Nikolos is in love with Kassandra, the presumed daughter of the courtesan Poulisena, but is rivalled by old Armenis, who plans to buy a night of pleasure with Kassandra. An elaborate plan is laid to deceive Armenis by substituting Poulisena's maid Anneza for Kassandra. Armenis's amorous adventure is thwarted by his wife, and the intrigue is finally resolved by the discovery that Kassandra is really Armenis's long-lost daughter, who had been carried off from Naxos by Turkish pirates and sold in Crete. All ends happily with the marriage of Kassandra and Nikolos. Interwoven into the story line are various comic episodes involving the braggart captain, the schoolmaster, and the servants. Although there are some weaknesses in the plot (perhaps in part due to changes made by a later adapter), Chortatsis' comic inventiveness never flags. He exploits a wide variety of humorous effects, both verbal and visual, showing an awareness of contemporary Italian theories of laughter and rhetoric. Topical and local references to people, places, and events would have enhanced the appeal to a Cretan audience. Chortatsis's comedy provided the model for another Cretan playwright, Markos Antonios Phoskolos, who composed his *Phortounatos c.*1655.

A further comedy, *Stathis*, has also been attributed to Chortatsis, but definite proof is lacking. The problem is complicated by the fact that *Stathis* survives only in an abridged three-act version made in the Ionian islands.

The three plays definitely known to be by Chortatsis are all in couplet-rhymed 15-syllable verse (with the exception of the choric odes of *Erophili*, which are in hendecasyllables with *terza rima*). They share the five-act structure prescribed for Neoclassical drama, and employ the Cretan dialect with many west Cretan elements. Chortatsis's poetic style is intricate and finely wrought, with long complex periods, much use of imagery, and a subtle feel for rhythm and rhyme. As K. Dimaras has written: "At no point, even in his least lyrical moments, can we forget that we are dealing with a genuine poet." Little is known about contemporary performances in Crete, but Chortatsis's work was transmitted to the Ionian islands (manuscripts of all three plays were copied there), and had a considerable influence on the development of a local dramatic tradition. Parts of *Erophili* also passed into oral tradition, either as ballads or as carnival entertainments, in various parts of Greece. All three plays have enjoyed successful revivals on the stage in recent years.

DAVID HOLTON

See also Renaissance (Veneto-Cretan)

Biography

Active in the last decade of the 16th century, though actual dates of birth and death are unknown. Born in Rethymnon, Chortatsis was the earliest and most important of the playwrights of the Cretan Renaissance. Three plays survive: *Panoria*, a pastoral comedy, *Erophili*, a tragedy, and the comedy *Katzourbos*.

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Christianity

Few episodes in antiquity are so well documented as the beginnings of Christianity; perhaps for that reason, few are so obscure. That Jesus came from Nazareth, that he preached the Kingdom of God, that he was crucified by the Roman procurator Pontius Pilate are acknowledged facts in almost every study of the subject; every other detail of his life remains the stuff of unabated controversy. We know at least what emerged as Christianity: the recognition of Jesus as the Son of God, the Messiah or Christ of Israel, the Lord of life for his followers in the present world and the judge of all humanity in the next. In the New Testament all these claims are based on a belief in his Resurrection; if there was a community that revered him only as a human teacher, it must have perished quickly, and the history of the Roman world can show no other case in which a dead man, having first received the honours due to a human being, was subsequently worshipped as a god.

Faith in Christ was initially spread by Jewish missionaries, but (apart from a short-lived community in Jerusalem) the only Churches of which we have a reliable record were established among the Gentiles. The principal author of the Gentile mission was a Hellenized Jew from Tarsus in Cilicia, Saul or Paul, who had met the resurrected Christ but not the earthly Jesus. Paul maintains that only the Resurrection can deliver human nature from the sinfulness that clings to it as a consequence of Adam's first transgression. To practise a cult of manufactured idols, like the Gentiles, or of outward ordinances, like the Jews, is to live according to the flesh; only those who have died with Christ and have been incorporated into his body through the Church can walk according to the Spirit, knowing both release from punishment and liberty from sin. Faith in the Resurrection makes us righteous in the sight of God, and prepares us to be sanctified by the Spirit of obedience, who quickened Christ himself. True sanctity and everlasting life are possible only in the spiritual body, which will be given to the elect on Christ's return.

Paul thought this to be imminent, perhaps echoing a prophecy of Jesus (Mark 9: 1 etc.); but, as expectation waned, it was necessary to seek at least a partial realization of the Kingdom of God on earth. Some of the moral precepts in the Gospels may have been part of Jesus' ministry, but Matthew strikes a new note when he makes the Church the arbiter of judgement and forgiveness in the present. The communal meal or Eucharist came to signify, not so much the expectation of Christ's return, as the remembrance of his sufferings and a literal partaking of his body. Baptism, once the sign of faith in adults, was already being administered to children in some churches by the end of the 2nd century, being explained by Origen as the means whereby Christ purges the filth inherited or incurred at the time of birth. Above all, doctrine and discipline were maintained by appointed ministers who claimed direct descent from the apostles. The division of these into presbyters and deacons, perhaps with an *episkopos* or bishop as chief presbyter, was prevalent by the end of the 2nd century in the Greek-speaking communities of Syria, Asia, Italy, and Gaul.

The scriptures of the early Christians were in Greek, and at this period they comprised all or most of the present New Testament, together with the Septuagint, the Greek translation of the Hebrew Torah. The authority of the "apocryphal" books, which have no Hebrew original, was maintained by the eminent scholars Epiphanius and Origen, and even today the Orthodox revere them as canonical, arguing that the work of the Holy Spirit in the interpretation of scripture is continuous, and that while the Church is the heir of the apostles, the Bible is the creation of the Church. The argument is stronger if one holds, with the fourth evangelist St John and Origen, that prophecy is not the work of men, but of Christ himself, who as the Word of God has been active in creation, revelation, and redemption since the beginning of the world.

Scripture and the hierarchy sustained the Church in the face of the persecutions that it suffered from Jews, from pagan magistrates, from local mobs, and even from emperors. The readiness with which Christ's people followed him to martyrdom provoked the irony of pagan writers; their refusal to treat the emperor as a god was seen as treason; and their abstinence from public cults provoked the charge that they were not only atheists but practised atrocious rites. The catalogue of Greek martyrs includes Ignatius of Antioch, Polycarp of Smyrna, Origen of Caesarea, and Peter of Alexandria; it will be observed that the centres of persecution were the great cities, which were also the localities in which the Gospel spread most rapidly. It should also be noted, however, that, where it was not purposely invited, the violence of the magistrates was sparingly employed, and almost always fell on the leaders of the Church.

Laymen, bishops, and presbyters took a hand in the development of doctrine in the early Christian centuries. The chief concern of laymen, such as Justin, Athenagoras, and Aristides, was to express their faith in a form that would be acceptable to philosophers and innocuous to political authorities. The clergy saw their task as the protection of received tradition against the fallacious inferences, denials, and deviations of other teachers, whom they stigmatized as heretics. Thus Irenaeus defends the flesh of Christ, the Resurrection, and the Old Testament against an extravagant strain of Pauline teaching, which contended that the body and the Law could have no part in the economy of salvation. In the 3rd century primitive adherence to monotheism (an undisputed tenet of Christianity) was found to be in conflict with the Trinitarian formulas that had figured in prayer and liturgy since apostolic times. In its insistence on the "three hypostases", the school of Origen offered no equivalent description for the unity of the Godhead; but when the presbyter Arius declared that the Son was no God but a creature of the Father, the adjective *homoousios* ("consubstantial") was inserted in the credal declaration of the Nicene Council in AD 325.

Christianity: relief of an empty throne awaiting Christ's second coming, with lambs representing the apostles, 4th-century Byzantine, Frühchristlich-Byzantische Sammlung, Berlin

Western influence may be suspected here, since Constantine, the first Christian emperor, was also the convenor of the council. The patronage that the Christian Church enjoyed from Constantine and his successors had a number of important consequences: an official predilection for Christianity at the expense of Judaism, thus ratifying the separation of the two religions; the practice of settling differences in doctrine by ecumenical definitions, which elevated the status of the bishops who produced them, and superseded the more informal creeds of previous centuries; the exercise of royal power in the shaping and enforcement of ecclesiastical policy, especially in the East, where the dominant emperor tended to be resident; and a transference of political and cultural supremacy to Christians, which encouraged them to make explicit use of Greek philosophy and to imitate the ornate style of contemporary writings. It was the Christianity of Byzantium that preserved the masterpieces of pagan literature.

Not everyone embraced the world so readily, and it was in the late 3rd century that Antony left his village in Upper Egypt to overcome new temptations in the desert. His early imitators were also solitaries or eremites, and in Syria the ascetics (known as stylites) are reputed to have spent their lives on pillars. But from the mid-4th century the usual form of monasticism was the communal or cenobitic one, in which a spiritual director helped the novice to vanquish carnal passions. In the texts on prayer and contemplative piety that make up the *Philokalia*, a compilation of the 18th century, we often find the simultaneous presence of very different streams of thought such as the psychology of Plato and a belief in the glorification of the flesh. Nevertheless philosophy proved to be of little assistance in reconciling the full humanity of Christ with the full divinity accorded to him by supporters of the Nicene definition. This tenet, though rejected or diluted in conciliar pronouncements of the intervening period, was reaffirmed in 381 at the Council of Constantinople, together with the equal divinity of the Holy Spirit. The same assembly, however, had to condemn Apollinarius, who denied that Christ had possessed a human mind. His principal opponents, the Cappadocian Fathers, may be regarded as the founders of the Greek Orthodox tradition. This maintains the priority of the Father in the Trinity, with the rider that all three Persons share the incomprehensibile essence of God; at the same time, it adds that Christ could not have been the saviour of humanity had he not been perfect man.

It was not enough to affirm the full humanity of Christ without assenting to a true union of these natures. The patriarch Nestorius was condemned for his alleged denial of this at the Council of Ephesus in 431; in 451, however, the Council of Chalcedon condemned the opposing error of maintaining that the human nature had been absorbed by the divinity. The council upheld the doctrine of Rome, but at the cost of a double schism, which gave rise to anti-Chalcedonian churches in Egypt and the eastern parts of the empire. These churches, whether they favoured or opposed the "Nestorian" teaching, resisted the attempts of Byzantine emperors to suppress or reconcile them, frequently displaying their independence by using Syriac or Coptic rather than Greek. Meanwhile the chief refiners of the Chalcedonian formula were Leontius of Byzantium, who argued for a mutual penetration (*perichoresis*) of the two natures; Maximos the Confessor, who persuaded the Church that Christ had not one will but two in indissoluble union; and John of Damascus, whose digest of the faith was to exert great influence even in the West. Maximos held that things divine and heavenly were mirrored both in the Church and in human nature; the commentaries of Germanos and Kabasilas show what a central place the liturgy continued to hold in expositions of Orthodox theology. While it offers no philosophical theory to explain the efficacy of the Christian sacraments, the Orthodox Church believes that the body and blood of Christ are consumed in the Eucharist, and that baptism makes infants into members of his body. The principle that the Incarnation has permanently united God to matter underlies the cult of images, which was abolished temporarily by the iconoclastic rulers of the 8th century, but restored by the Seventh Ecumenical Council at Nicaea in 787.

The seventh is the last council to be regarded by the Greeks as ecumenical. All seven were attended by the legates of the Roman see, but never by the bishops. Among the further causes of estrangement were the new dignities that accrued to

Constantinople at the second and the fourth councils, the barbarian hegemony in Italy after 476, and the efforts of the iconoclast emperors to enforce the obedience of the Roman pontiff. When Rome transferred its allegiance from Byzantium to the Franks in 800, theological differences were intensified by political hostility. The breach was recognized, rather than created, by Rome's excommunication of the patriarchate of Constantinople in 1054, and despite the councils of Lyon (1275), Basle (1431), and Florence (1438) no reconciliation has been achieved. To the crusaders of 1204 the Greeks were already heretics. The main points that distinguish their theology from that of western Christendom are:

1. *The filioque.* Eastern theologians do not speak of a double procession of the Spirit from the Father and the Son within the Trinity, though they readily accept that the Spirit was "received from" the Son in his earthly mission as the Paraclete. Western thinkers have tended, on the other hand, to follow Augustine's teaching that the Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son. Under the Frankish emperors the words "and the Son" (*filioque*) were inserted into the clause on the procession of the Spirit in the so-called Nicene Creed. Such additions had been proscribed by the Council of Ephesus in 431, and in 1054 the *filioque* supplied the principal ground of theological dispute between the Churches. The Greeks object that it postulates two sources in the Trinity, and thus accords to it only an abstract unity. For them the Father alone is the source of unity, whereas the Augustinian theory holds that the Spirit, as the joint offspring of the Son and Father, constitutes a bond of love between them. Early proponents of the *filioque* believed that it was a necessary defence against an Arian subordination of the Son to the Father, though nowadays the Greek position is better understood. So far is it from being true that the status of Christ is lessened by the Orthodox insistence on the priority of the Father that more prayers are addressed to Christ than in the western Churches, notably the Jesus prayer – "Lord Jesus Christ, Son of God, have mercy on me a sinner" – which remains a common devotional exercise. The invocation of Mary as *Theotokos* ("one who gave birth to God") is attested in the 4th century by Gregory of Nazianzus, and Nestorius' opposition to it was the cause of Cyril's first complaint against him. Admirers of the Greek tradition argue that, by stressing the coinherence of the Father, Son, and Spirit, it encourages us to think of the Godhead as a communion of persons; Zizioulas's study *Being as Communion* has commanded much attention in the West.

2. *Redemption.* Western theologians since Augustine have often held that the death of Christ discharged a debt that we were incapable of paying for ourselves; this is often accompanied by a doctrine of divine predestination, which asserts that even faith in the atoning work of Christ would be impossible without an act of grace. The Orthodox, however, reject the view that we are incapable of virtue in our natural state, as they also reject the Augustinian doctrine that we inherit the penalty of Adam's sin. Most Greek fathers (Cyril excepted) seem to have found no heresy in the Pelagian opponents of Augustine. Maximos the Confessor gave new currency to the notion, first proposed by Irenaeus, that humans were created in the image of God but not with the perfect likeness; this was manifested by the incarnation of Christ, and is attainable, with the help of the Holy Spirit, for anyone who elects to be incorporated into his earthly body. As we retain the image (which consists in our free will or rationality), we are free to make the initial act of faith, and are therefore fellow workers or *synergoi* with the redemptive love of God. The latter is not generally regarded as an offended Lord requiring satisfaction or as a judge inflicting punishment; rather, the divine Word who created us and took flesh in order to gather us into his body, thus enrolling us in his victory over Satan and reconciling our estranged hearts to himself.

3. *Life and death.* Faith is not so much an intellectual assent as a continuous participation in the body of Christ. The Incarnation has sanctified all matter, so that veneration of icons and partaking of the Eucharist can serve as regular instruments of salvation. The elaborate liturgy of Christmas and Easter teaches that Christ brings salvation through his Incarnation, Crucifixion, and Resurrection. Although the mysticism of Evagrius in the 4th century seemed to ignore the resurrection of the body, the usual aim of Orthodox spirituality has been rather to enhance the integrity of the human person: Symeon the New Theologian tasted the glorification of the body, while the Messalians of the 4th century and the Palamites of the 14th locate the centre of devotion in the "heart". Some hold that the cooperation of God with the believer continues after death, when the latter will undergo the fires of Purgatory – not so much to expiate his sins as to make him fit for heaven. A tradition going back to Origen holds that all humanity may eventually be saved, and that even the sinner's experience of hell arises only from his refusal to accept the warmth of love.

4. *Ecclesiology.* Women are not admitted to the priesthood, though as martyrs they may attain sainthood. The saints retain communion with the living, and may be addressed in prayer; Mary, the foremost of them, is supposed to have remained a virgin for the whole of her life, which many believe to have ended with her bodily assumption into heaven. By a decree of the Council in Trullo (692), bishops, when elected, should be unmarried; priests have always been allowed to marry provided their marriage took place before their ordination to the diaconate. Dogmatic resolutions can be taken only by councils, which must be ecumenical. The patriarch of Constantinople exercises primacy de facto, though a nominal pre-eminence is still allowed to Rome.

Since the fall of Byzantium the Greek world has contracted, and now that Greece is a state, its people do not need religion to sustain their nationhood. Nevertheless, attendance at the great services remains frequent, and even where there is little knowledge of dogma, the saints' days are remembered and observed. The monasteries of Mount Athos are probably flourishing more than those of the western denominations, and Justinian's church of the Holy Wisdom (Hagia Sophia) in Istanbul (Constantinople) is among the acknowledged glories of European architecture. The poems of the 6th-century "melodist" Romanos are regarded as the best works of Greek literature between the Classical period and the late 19th century. Here, as elsewhere, the modern intellectual is no friend to traditional religion; yet the novels of Kazantzakis (*Zorba the Greek*, *Christ Recrucified*, *The Last Temptation*, *God's Pauper*) testify to its hold upon the Greek imagination.

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See also Baptism, Councils, Heresy, Liturgy, Martyrdom, Monasticism, New Testament, Orthodox Church, Schism, Septuagint, Theology

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Chronicles

By convention, history writing can be classified as either annalistic (composed of brief annual entries) or narrative. The ancient Greek world provides the earliest European examples of both, on the basis of which the Greek-speaking medieval world of Byzantium developed Christianized varieties. Byzantine-style chronicles proved remarkably long lasting.

The earliest known Greek historical records are lists of public officials, such as the priestesses of Hera in Argos, the Athenian archons, or of victors in festivals, such as the Olympic Games. Such lists were kept in each community for local purposes and provided a basis for noting events of local significance. These were the first forms of chronicles. With the establishment of the multinational Hellenistic kingdoms in the wake of the conquests of Alexander it became of interest to establish synchronicities; hence the work of Timaeus (*c.*350–260 BC) and Eratosthenes (*c.*285–194 BC) on Olympic victor lists, which could function as a universal chronological framework within which significant events could be placed. The Parian Marble (of which two fragments survive, one in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, the other in the Paros Museum) lists a mixture of political, military, religious, and literary events from Cecrops, the first king of Athens, onwards, dated synchronously but corrrelated backwards from the archonship of Diognetus in Athens (264/63 BC, presumably the date of composition). Significant lists of rulers and dynasties, forerunners of the fully fledged chronicle, were compiled by such men as Apollodorus of Athens (*c.*180–120 BC), Castor of Rhodes (1st century BC), Manetho of Heliopolis (*fl.*280 BC), and Phlegon of Tralles (*fl.*AD 140).

These works of pagan late antiquity formed the background against which the (now lost) Christian *Chronicle* of Eusebius of Caesarea was written (two editions: before AD 303 and 325/26). Eusebius synchronized Old Testament and Graeco-Roman history into a continuous chronological sequence calibrated by years from Abraham and, from 776 BC onwards, by Olympiads. The Greek Eusebius has not survived. The work was in two parts, raw lists (surviving only in an Armenian version) and the chronicle proper (best preserved in Jerome's highly influential Latin translation). Its purpose was to demonstrate that God's plan for man's salvation encompassed the whole of history. Eusebius established a genre, the Christian world chronicle, which was to have a long history in the subsequent Byzantine centuries, though little has survived of his immediate successors (such as the Egyptian monks Annianus and Panodorus).

The first full-length chronicle in the Eusebian mould to be preserved is that of the 6th-century John Malalas, from Antioch, which recounts world history from Creation to the reign of Justinian (527–65), dealing with biblical and Near Eastern history as well as that of mythical Greece and imperial Rome. Malalas has an acute interest in Antiochene local lore and a fondness for a good story. The balance that he gave to ancient history – much emphasis on the Trojan War, little on the Greek city states or republican Rome – affected the presentation of the past by all later chroniclers, since his work was extensively excerpted. The old assumption that Byzantine chronicles of this sort were written for monastic audiences while secular history was written by and for secular officials of high rank has now been revised. The thought worlds, for example, of Malalas and his contemporary Procopius, a secular historian writing on the wars of Justinian, have much in common; it is chiefly the form and language that differ.

Other Christian world chronicles include the *Chronicon Paschale* (Easter Chronicle, so called because it attempts to provide chronological correlations between Easter and Creation; written *c.*630), the chronicle of George Synkellos (written before 810), and those of George the Monk (*c.*866), Constantine Manasses (*c.*1140), and Michael Glykas (mid-12th century). Chronicle writers in this tradition tend to copy out their predecessors, with changes reflecting the ideologies and realities of the time of writing, up to the period when

the chronicler has personal access to oral sources. This last section becomes his personal contribution to the tradition.

The term chronicle is also applied to works in medieval Greek that cover longer periods of time and are largely independent of eyewitness accounts (the mark of the historian): into this category would come the chronicles of Theophanes (*c.*817) and Zonaras (*c.*1150); Zonaras is distinctive in naming some of his sources. There are two Byzantine chronicles in popular verse: the *Chronicle of the Morea* (14th century) describes the foundation and early history of the Frankish kingdoms in the Peloponnese, while the *Chronicle of the Tocco* (early 15th century) narrates the history of the Italian rulers of the Ionian islands and Epirus. Both used mixed language levels, which give interesting evidence of the spoken Greek of the time of composition.

From the late Byzantine period come a number of texts that provide succinct, secular, and at times enigmatic accounts of invasions: the *Chronicle of Monemvasia* (perhaps a 10th-century text, in 16th-century manuscripts), the *Chronicle of Galaxeidi* (written *c.*1703 but referring, among other topics, to Bulgarian invasions in the Peloponnese), the *Chronicle of Ioannina* (15th century, on the brutal rule of Thomas Preljubovic, d. 1384), and the *Chronicle of the Turkish Sultans* (16th century).

Lists of dated events in chronicle format also survive. The *Chronographikon* of patriarch Nikephoros I (806–13), which is a list of rulers from Creation to 829, was copied frequently: it may have become a schoolroom text. Notes in the margins of manuscripts of all kinds survive from the 10th century onwards (the so-called *Short Chronicles*), giving precise annotations of births and deaths, invasions, catastrophes, and natural phenomena, thus providing an annalistic counterpoint to the more discursive accounts of narrative historians.

The influence of the Byzantine world chronicle lingered long. Among several late 16th-century examples is the *Biblion Istorikon* known under the name of Dorotheos of Monemvasia, which takes as its basic structure a worldview that can be traced back to the 6th-century Malalas. Dorotheos's work was reprinted frequently in the 17th and 18th centuries, providing, it would seem, a textbook on world history for the Greek-speaking world of the Tourkokratia.

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See also Historiography

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Chronology

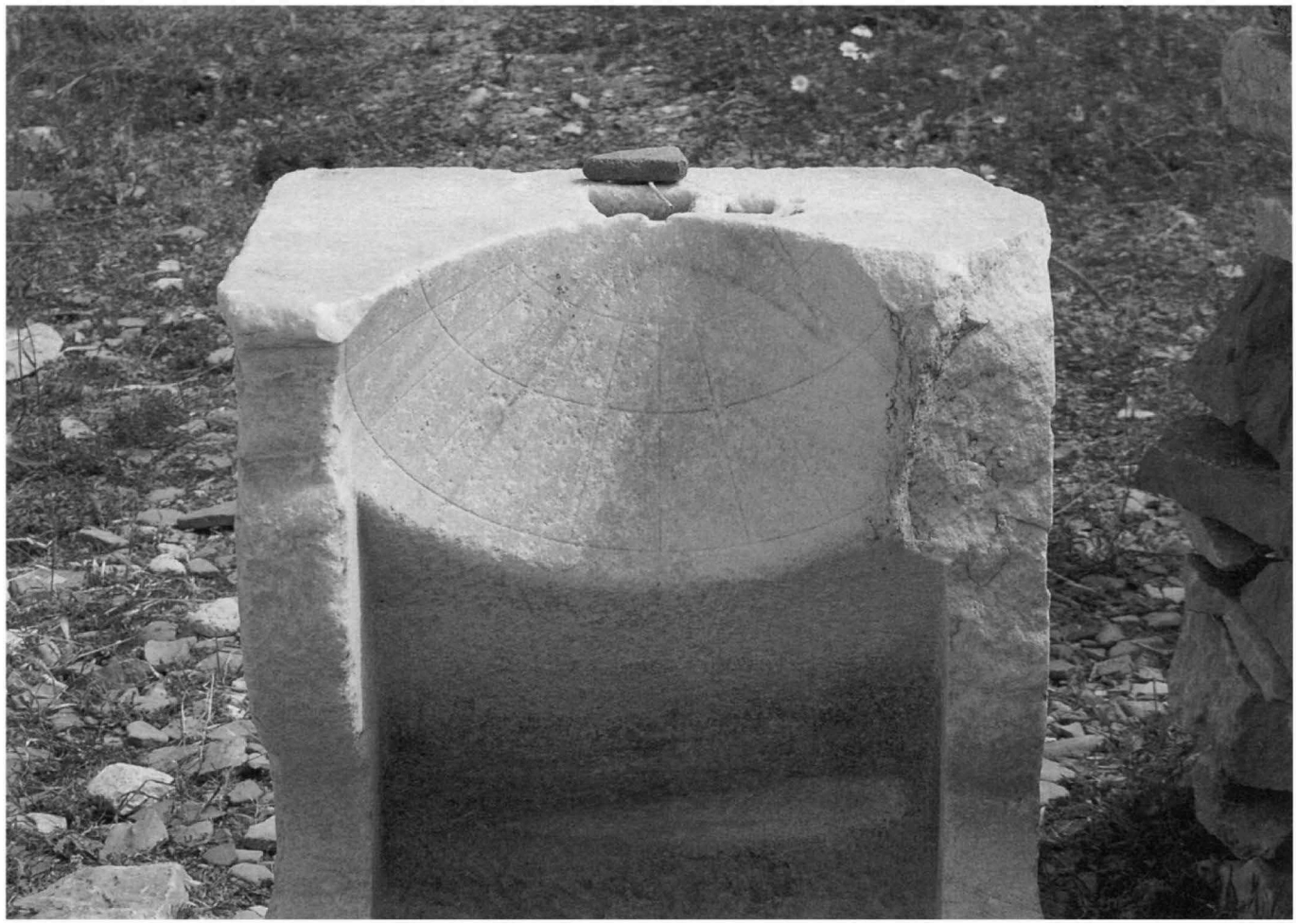
By "chronology" we mean the division of time, the ordering of events and the intervals between them on a fixed scale. The natural world has three ways of marking the passage of time: the daily cycle of night and day, the monthly cycle of the moon, and the annual seasonal cycle of the sun. The ancient and medieval Greek world had several ways of marking the succession of days in the month or year and the sequence of years, and of dating historical events whether within a short or a long time-span.

From at least the 5th century BC the full day was divided into night and day, each of 12 hours whose length varied according to season and latitude. Hours could be measured by a sundial or waterclock, but for most people internal divisions of the hour remained imprecise, though considerable precision could be achieved for astronomical calculations.

The week is an artificial temporal division not used in the ancient world. In the Greek-speaking world of the Christian east Roman empire a seven-day week, originally Hebrew but then Christianized, came into use. Each day had a mystical and liturgical symbolism sometimes apparent in the names (e.g. Paraskeve, Friday, "preparation").

By the 5th century BC Athenian astronomers had become aware that the lunar month was 29.5 days long and the solar year 365.25 days. There was no universal calendar and each Greek community used its own month names and individual date for the new year. The months were normally named after the festivals that fell within them, or after a deity. In the Byzantine world local month names remained predominant until late in the 5th century AD, but thereafter the Roman month names (Ianouaraios, Febrouarios, etc.) gradually prevailed.

In the Graeco-Roman world of antiquity prior to the reforms of Julius Caesar (44 BC) the calendar year was frequently at variance with the seasonal and solar year, despite the addition (intercalation) of days and months at irregular intervals, often for political rather than calendrical reasons. After the reform the year consisted of 365 days with one day inserted in the month of February every fourth (leap) year, a system that remained in force generally until the reforms introduced by Pope Gregory XIII in 1582 (the Gregorian calendar),



Chronology: ancient sundial at Cnidus in Caria

which removed leap-year status from century years, except for those divisible by 400 (e.g. 1600, 2000 etc.).

Between Meton (*fl.*432 BC) and Ptolemy (writing AD 146–170) an increasingly precise understanding of the lunisolar cycles was developed, giving rise to accurate predictions of eclipses, and also enabling public calendars to be set up that traced the movements of constellations throughout the year. In the Christian Byzantine empire lunisolar cycles were used to calculate the date of Easter (the results usually presented in paschal tables) and also to extrapolate to the date of Creation.

Dating of events in the short term in the ancient world (for legal documents, government decrees, some historical events) was normally by the year of the priest or magistrate into which they fell (e.g. Athenian archons, Roman consuls). Dynasties might be calculated roughly in terms of human generations. In the wake of the conquests of Alexander and the establishment of the Seleucid empire, a more precise reckoning by the Seleucid era (beginning from 312/11 BC) became widespread, together with an interest in establishing the synchronicity of rulers and events. Timaeus (mid-4th century–late 260s BC) constructed a synchronous list of Olympian victors, Spartan kings and ephors, Athenian archons, and priestesses of Hera; thereafter it became customary to date historical events in a longer perspective by years of the Olympic Games, i.e. by Olympiads. Eratosthenes in the 3rd century BC further refined these lists and replaced a mythical prehistoric chronology with one based on what was believed to be the historical date of the fall of Troy (1183/82 BC). Other eras were also used, notably one calculating from the foundation of Rome (753 BC).

In the Byzantine world several systems of dating were in general use for short-term perspectives. Events could be dated by eponymous years (referring to an individual's holding of a particular office). These could begin and end at any point in the solar year: they included the regnal years of Byzantine emperors and foreign rulers, patriarchs of Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, or Jerualem, popes of Rome, etc. Until the 7th century AD dating was also by consulships, with each year named after one of two consuls appointed (with diminishing regularity) annually on 1 January. Numbered indiction years, within a 15-year cycle, were also used, though the indiction cycles themselves were not numbered. Events could also be dated by major natural phenomena, such as earthquakes, eclipses, and the appearance of comets. On a larger scale, dating by Olympiads continued, and also by local eras such as the Antiochene (starting from 49 BC). The *Chronicle* of Eusebius (2nd edition, AD 325) presented an influential synchronous table of world history from Creation with a Christian perspective. However, the most widely used dating reference came to be the so-called Byzantine era, from the date of Creation; the latter was arrived at by extrapolating back-

wards from the year of Christ's death and resurrection through the recurring synchronicity of the lunar cycle (19 years) and the solar cycle (28 years), making a combined cycle of 532 years. Until about the 9th century AD chroniclers and historians noted events by a multiplicity of overlapping systems; thereafter the regular dating method was by years from the Creation (normally deemed to have taken place 5,508 years before Christ's incarnation). Such dates are conventionally known as Year of the World (Anno Mundi; AM). Dating from the incarnation (Anno Domini; AD) was devised by the Scythian monk Dionysius Exiguus in the early 6th century, but did not come into use in the Greek world until late in the Byzantine period and was not widespread until long after the fall of Constantinople.

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See also Calendar

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Chrysaphes, Manuel

Musician of the 15th century

Manuel Chrysaphes was undoubtedly the outstanding member of the Byzantine empire's last generation of church musicians. What little is known of his career as a cantor, composer, theorist, and scribe has been gleaned primarily from the brief notes attached to his compositions in musical manuscripts. These reveal that he was a *lampadarios* (a soloist and choir leader) among the "royal clergy" of the last Byzantine emperor, who also commissioned several of his works. Leaving Constantinople after its capture by the Turks in 1453, he continued to compose for the Orthodox Church in Serbia, Sparta, and Venetian-controlled Crete. Scholars have identified four codices written by Chrysaphes, three of which are in musical collections now on Mount Athos: the Kalophonic Sticherarion (MS Iviron 975, a collection of florid hymns for the Liturgy of the Hours which, according to Gregorios Stathis, predates 1453); the Akolouthia (MS Iviron 1120 ("1458"), an important anthology containing the autograph of his theoretical treatise *On the Theory of the Art of Chanting and on Certain Erroneous Views that Some Hold about it*); and the Kalophonic Sticherarion (MS Xeropotamou 270, dated by Stathis to some time shortly after the fall of Constantinople). The fourth and presumably the latest of Chrysaphes's autographs is the MS. Istanbul Seraglio 15, a copy of the *Grammar* of Moschopoulos dated July 1463.

A highly versatile and prolific composer, Chrysaphes contributed both original melodies and arrangements of pre-existing chants to nearly every genre of Byzantine liturgical music. For the three Eucharistic liturgies of the Orthodox Church he composed many settings of their more solemn chants, including music for the ordinary and festal Trisagia ("Holy God", "As many as have been baptized", and "We venerate Your Cross"); music in all eight modes for the Alleluia sung before the Gospel; multiple settings of the offertory chants "We who represent the Cherubim" and "Now the powers of Heaven"; and communion verses for ordinary weekdays, Sundays (in all eight modes), and the feasts of the liturgical year. Representing a variety of styles, these works range from elegant reworkings of traditional melodies – e.g. the *Dynamis* on fol. 491 of MS Iviron 1120, which is based on the standard Trisagion for hierarchical liturgies – to sprawling compositions in the highly embellished "kalophonic" idiom pioneered by St John Koukouzeles.

Chrysaphes's music for the Eucharistic liturgies is complemented by a much larger body of psalmodic and hymnodic chants for the morning and evening offices of the Byzantine monastic rite of St Sabas. For the festal psalms of these services, Chrysaphes followed the late Byzantine custom of composing elaborate settings, often extended through musical and textual troping, of selected verses with their refrains. These would have been performed alongside anonymous traditional melodies and settings by other composers during the chanting of such psalms as 1, 2 , 3, and 103 at Vespers and 134, 135, and 136 at Matins. Falling outside the normal cycle of office psalms is Chrysaphes's moving lament for the fall of Constantinople, "O God, the nations have come into your inheritance", a setting of selected verses from Psalm 78 included by the composer in his autograph Iviron 1120. Other psalmodic chants from the same manuscript not belonging to the central repertory are found in his redaction of the "Service of the Furnace", a liturgical drama relating the story of the three children in the fiery furnace from the Septuagint book of Daniel that was performed on the Sunday before Christmas. Like his other settings of psalms and canticles, Chrysaphes's chants for this drama show the same stylistic diversity as his melodies for the Eucharistic liturgies. In contrast, although they continue to reflect a mix of old and new material, nearly all the hymns that Chrysaphes composed for the Byzantine offices are cast in the florid kalophonic style. Many are arrangements of traditional hymns appearing in the printed service books of the modern Orthodox Church, while others are set texts by such late Byzantine hymnographers as Nikephoros Xanthopoulos and St Mark Eugenikos of Ephesus. Like St John Koukouzeles and John Kladas, Chrysaphes also composed melodies for his own liturgical poetry, including approximately 20 poems in 15-syllable verse.

Innovations of a rather different sort were recently discovered among Chrysaphes's settings of kalophonic *stichera* (short hymns) by Stathis, who noted brief two-part passages in his autograph MS. Iviron 975. These would seem to suggest that some of the hymns were performed in a simple two-part style, presumably derived from the late medieval Italian practice of so-called "primitive polyphony". Such a style of composition was in fact occasionally employed by his predecessor Manuel Gazes and his contemporary John Plousiadenos, both of whom wrote two-part works. Polyphony, however, is never mentioned in Chrysaphes's treatise *On the Theory of the Art of Chanting*, which is focused on two issues of Byzantine performance practice, namely the proper realization of Byzantine notation and the execution of modulations. Regarding the first of these, Chrysaphes insists that rendering the intervallic neumes of a chant accurately is only a preliminary step towards a stylistically correct performance, the achievement of which depends on the singer's recognition and idiomatic realization of melodic patterns (*theseis*). The remainder of the treatise is devoted to an extended discussion of the Byzantine signs of modulation (*phthorai*) that remains frustratingly obscure because the exact tunings of the modes are never mentioned.

Throughout the period of Ottoman domination the musical works of Chrysaphes were frequently anthologized. Highly influential as models for post-Byzantine composers, these chants were subjected to melodic elaboration through a process of written and oral realization known as *exegesis*. At the beginning of the 19th century Chourmouzios the Archivist employed *exegesis* to transcribe in 17 volumes the complete works of Chrysaphes into the "New Method" of reformed Byzantine notation used by the modern Greek Orthodox Church. Select transcriptions were also made during the period of notational reform by Matthaios Vatopedinos and Gregorios the Protopsaltes, and the latter's florid realizations were published in the Constantinopolitan *Pandekte* of 1850–51. Most recently, Chrysaphes's theoretical writings about *theseis* and modulation have been cited frequently by Western and traditionalist Greek scholars attempting to interpret medieval Byzantine musical notation.

ALEXANDER LINGAS

Biography

Active in the mid-15th century, Chrysaphes was the leading church musician of his generation. He was a choir leader in the service of Constantine XI. Leaving Constantinople in 1453, he continued to compose for the Church in Serbia, the Morea, and Crete. A prolific composer, he wrote for almost every genre of liturgical music.

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Chrysoloras, Manuel *c.*1350–1415

Scholar and diplomat

Manuel Chrysoloras played a significant role in the development of Greek studies in Italy during the early Renaissance. A personal friend of the learned Byzantine emperor Manuel II Palaiologos (1391–1425), Chrysoloras was a member of the close circle of intellectuals that the emperor headed in Constantinople. Unusually for a Byzantine intellectual, he possessed a knowledge of Latin which made him invaluable as an ambassador to western Europe. Between about 1390 and 1415 he visited Italy, France, England, Spain, and the Holy Roman empire, in the hope of persuading their rulers to send military assistance to the beleaguered Byzantine empire against the Ottoman Turks. His ceaseless diplomatic activities may explain why, unlike other members of Manuel II's circle, his literary output was limited and unoriginal. His best-known work is *A Comparison of the Old and New Rome*, a discussion of the relative merits of the cities of Rome and Constantinople.

Yet it was as a result of a diplomatic mission that Chrysoloras came to have such an impact on Greek studies in Italy. In 1391, while in Venice, he gave some lessons in Greek to a certain Roberto Rossi, who then passed an enthusiastic account of his teacher to Coluccio Salutati, the chancellor of Florence. So impressed was Salutati that he decided to secure Chrysoloras's services, and in 1396 invited him to teach grammar and Greek literature at the University of Florence. Chrysoloras occupied this post only between 1397 and 1400, but in that period had a tremendous effect, prompting the Florentine historian Leonardo Bruni to claim, with only slight exaggeration, that Chrysoloras had singlehandedly revived in Italy the study of Greek letters that had been dead for 700 years. Among his pupils were numbered some of the foremost figures of the revival of Greek studies in Renaissance Italy, including Bruni himself, Guarino da Verona, and Palla Strozzi.

Chrysoloras's success in stimulating a revival in Greek studies and in imparting his knowledge so widely arose from his novel teaching methods. He carefully graded the authors that his pupils studied, beginning with prose authors before moving on to the poets, and among the poets beginning with Homer before passing to other epics, tragedies, and comedies. He was also able to simplify Greek grammar, his approach being later encapsulated in his textbook entitled *Erotemata* or "Questions", which cut through many of the complexities presented in traditional Byzantine grammar books. The *Erotemata* was translated into Latin by Guarino and was one of the first books to be printed in Italy, around 1471. Chrysoloras's methods and textbook placed the Greek

EMANVEL CHRYSOLORAS
GRAMMATICVS GRAECVS.
Patria, Roma Noua; est Vetus altera patria Roma:
In Latium per me Græcia ducta venit.
EMANVEL

Manuel Chrysoloras, a 16th-century engraving

language within the grasp of any keen and intelligent student, and some of his pupils were able to achieve a high degree of competence in only a year.

He also helped to make Greek literature better known in Italy in his activities as a translator. Along with Uberto Decembrio (d. 1427), he produced a Latin translation of Plato's *Republic*, a version that helped to stimulate the first awakening of interest in Plato's political thought in Italy. The success of Chrysoloras's translation was undoubtedly helped by his method, which was to abandon the word-for-word approach of previous translators in favour of a version that conveyed the spirit of the text and which had some literary merit in Latin, while at the same time avoiding an over-free rendering. His method was subsequently adopted by the Italian humanists as the standard approach to Greek translation, and inspired a generation of Italian scholars to produce new Latin versions of Aristotle to replace the old scholastic texts.

Chrysoloras left Florence in 1400, and after spending time in Pavia and Milan, where he may have continued his teaching, he returned to Constantinople in 1403. His later career was devoted to diplomacy rather than to teaching, although he may have done something to stimulate Greek studies in France when in 1408 he presented a codex of the works of Dionysius the Areopagite (now in the Louvre, Paris), to the abbey of Saint-Denis on behalf of Manuel II. It was on a diplomatic mission that he died in 1415 while representing the Byzantine emperor at the Council of Constance.

Yet although Chrysoloras's teaching career in Florence had been brief, it was to have a significant impact in the long term, largely thanks to his pupil Guarino da Verona. Guarino followed Chrysoloras back to Constantinople in 1403 and remained there until 1408, acquiring a thorough grounding in the Greek language and Classical Greek literature. On his return to Italy, he became one of the foremost teachers of Greek, able to present Classical texts to Italians in a form in which they could be readily understood. In 1452, long after Chrysoloras's death, Guarino compiled the *Chrysolorina*, a collection of letters and texts that bore witness to the esteem in which his master had been held, and which constituted an act of homage to the man who was credited with having revived Greek studies in Italy.

JONATHAN HARRIS

Biography

Born *c.*1350, Chrosoloras was a friend of the emperor Manuel II Palaiologos who sent him on numerous missions to western Europe. He taught Greek at the University of Florence from 1397 to 1400 where his pupils included Guarino da Verona. Guarino did much to promote Greek studies in Italy and translated Chrysoloras's Greek grammar into Latin. Chrysoloras died at the Council of Constance in 1415.

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Church–State Relations

The relationship between Church and state in Greece is a matter of great importance with a long historical tradition. In order to understand, for example, the contemporary relations between Orthodoxy and politics – or more broadly the crucial role played by the Orthodox tradition in Greece – one has to

take into consideration the specific sociopolitical developments since early Byzantine times. Before the Byzantine era, however, early Christian attitudes towards the Roman state and its power were far from consistent. Jesus Christ distinguished clearly between the "things of Caesar" and "the things of God" (Matthew 22: 21), while Paul (Romans 13: 1) admonished Christians to obey the governing authorities, because these derived their authority from God. On the other hand, Peter (Acts 5: 29) opined that in certain issues Christians must obey God rather than men. A radical and total negation of the state is also found in the book of Revelation. These cases reveal that Christianity was not altogether conservative in sociopolitical matters, but placed religious authority above all mundane powers. This is more apparent in the cases of numerous martyrs, who preferred to die rather than betray their Christian faith. Early Christians generally chose to remain loyal to the political authorities, but not when vital issues of their Christian identity (e.g. their radical monotheism) were at stake.

Byzantium, the New Rome, inaugurated a new chapter in Church–state relations when its founder, Constantine I (324–37), initially declared Christianity de jure as a *religio licita* and further as the official religion of the Roman state. Constantine's role, the political liberation he brought to the persecuted Church, and its public patronage were emphasized by Eusebius of Caesarea. Apart from occasional conflicts and matters of dispute, there always existed a very close collaboration between Church and state, between the *sacerdotium* (priesthood) and the *imperium* (imperial state), which was legally and religiously legitimized and stabilized, especially during the reign of Justinian I (527–65). On the basis of this mutual understanding, the Church commanded allegiance to the state, legitimized it, and tried to serve its goals – though usually not when matters of faith were at stake. On the other hand, the state protected the Church's interests and contributed to the solution of its problems (e.g. of dogmatic disputes through the summoning of Church councils). According to the principle of "symphony" (*consonantia*), both Church and state as a single organism affirmed that they had the same *Kyrios* (Lord), Jesus Christ. Neither of these two parties was the loser from this longstanding connection, which found its clear expression in Byzantine political ideology. The strength of the Byzantine empire and the culmination of its power were also attributed to this strong collaboration. The Byzantines generally felt superior to other people due to their Orthodox faith.

An area of dispute in modern scholarship concerning Byzantine Church–state relations has to do with the issue of Caesaropapism, i.e. the total subordination of the Church to the will of the emperor, who allegedly enjoyed unlimited rights over it. This was thought to be the outcome of the Church's submission to the imperial system and its bureaucracy. Yet the term "Caesaropapism" does not depict accurately the specific Byzantine situation. The political and religious authorities remained clearly distinguished, and the emperor never undertook the role of patriarch. Emperors could exert considerable influence upon the external affairs of the Church (e.g. on financial and material issues), but not on internal, theological issues, as the longstanding disputes over iconoclasm and the union of the Churches show. On the other hand, the Church, despite its strong connection with the state, tried through various means to preserve its autonomy, while in certain cases its ideological power was enormous and could even influence state legislation decisively. It is also important to note that the Byzantine model of Church–state relations has left its indelible mark upon Eastern Christendom, including Greece, and continues to function as an ideal pattern for the whole of society to imitate.

After the fall of Byzantium substantial changes occurred to existing Church–state relations. The Orthodox Church, due to the privileges bestowed upon it by the sultans, became the only Byzantine institution that survived the fall and continued to exist within the Ottoman empire. The patriarch of Constantinople became the leader of the entire Orthodox *millet* (community), to which not only Greeks belonged. Thus, during the long Ottoman domination (1453–1821) the Church acquired several other jurisdictions (e.g. in legal, educational, social, and political matters) far beyond the strictly religious domain. The gradual increase of its functions led to the transformation of the Church into a religio-political institution. Such a change implied a considerable strengthening of its social influence, which was naturally underscored by its own values and mode of thinking. Though the Church tried to preserve its traditional supranational role, it also provided a shelter for the preservation of various ethnic-cultural identities in the Balkans, including the Greek one, from the inroads of Islam and western propaganda. Orthodoxy was thus transformed into a crucial factor in the articulation of modern Greek identity. Nonetheless, the main challenge to the Church's supremacy came with the Greek Enlightenment of the late 18th century onwards, when demands were voiced for the limitation of the Church's broad influence and the concomitant differentiation of society.

This demand, however, was forcibly realized after the foundation of the Greek state during the reign of the young Bavarian king Otho (1833–62). This marked the beginning of a vigorous secularization process in an attempt to limit the jurisdiction of the Church solely to the religious domain and to foster the functional differentiation of the various societal sectors (e.g. law, administration, education). Thus, the autocephalous Church of Greece was unilaterally declared in 1833 through a split from the patriarchate of Constantinople, was totally subjected to the state, and was controlled by a government procurator. These and other developments (e.g. the closing of numerous monasteries and the confiscation of their property) caused a reaction among many Orthodox believers and led to a worsening of the Church's situation during the 19th century. Despite these difficulties, the ideological power of the Church was still left untouched, and it was able to adjust to the new situation by supporting wholeheartedly Greek nationalism in the frame of the "Great Idea". This meant also its transformation into an organ of the state and into a purely national Church, which signified the unavoidable end of Orthodoxy's previous supranational tradition in the east. Apart from this, from the 19th century onwards an entire mythology was created to support the diachronic correlation and ideal synthesis of Hellenism and Christianity throughout history. All these factors attest to the new opportunities offered to the Church to retain its pivotal role within Greek society.

The Church's overall situation was later impoved substantially during the reign of king George I (1863–1913). The

constitution of 1864 gave greater freedom to the Church, while state legislation catered for the amelioration of the pecuniary condition of the clergy and the parishes. The Church, however, still remained dependent on the state at many levels and was thus affected by political corruption, factional rivalries, and multifaceted, intertwined interests. The political scandal of the *Simoniaka* (1874–78) and the gospel riots (*Evangeliaka*) of November 1901 demonstrate the interplay between religion and politics in this period. The same can be observed later when during World War I Greece was divided between the followers of the prime minister E. Venizelos and the followers of king Constantine I. The Church was divided too, and its royalist faction anathematized Venizelos in 1916 when the latter established a provisional government in Thessalonica. The dependence of the Church on political developments continued to exist even later, for example during World War II and the ensuing Civil War (1946–49), whereas the dictatorship of 1967–74 created a major internal split within the body of the hierarchs, whose repercussions in various domains have dogged the Church until now.

An important development in Church–state relations was the legal recognition by the Greek parliament (Law 590/1977) for the first time of the Constitutional Charter of the Church of Greece, published in the *Government Gazette* (Issue 146 of 31 May 1977). This marked the beginning of a new era in the relations between these two major institutions, which moved to the status of mutual alliance and collaboration in various domains. It was also stated that the administration of the Church would be free from state intervention, especially with regard to the election of the archbishop, in which there had been constant interference throughout modern Greek history. Yet various problems and contentious issues in Church–state relations have appeared in recent years too. Among the most hotly discussed matters were the following: the issue of "the automatic divorce", i.e. divorce on the grounds of long separation; the introduction of civil marriage as equivalent to the religious one; the nationalization of ecclesiastic and monastic property; the legalization of abortion; the depenalization of adultery; the compulsory record of religious affiliation on identity cards for all Greek citizens; the consequences of the Schengen Treaty; the revision of the constitution regarding religious freedom and the rights of religious minorities; and finally, the major "ecclesiastical problem" referring to the deposition of 12 metropolitans in 1974 by archbishop Serapheim, their later attempts at reinstatement through civil and other means, and the concomitant violent conflicts in some dioceses (1989–98).

In order to understand these problems between Church and state, it is vital to consider first that the Greek state is in principle a modern, secular institution, which belongs to the European Union, collaborates with all major international fora, and tries to conform to transnational regulations. At the same time, it is deeply influenced, both explicitly and implicitly, by the predominant Orthodox tradition, which it uses for various purposes (e.g. national) in the present globalized environment. But Orthodox doctrine, considered as the only true revelation of God, is in many cases out of line with the exigencies of a modern state and its policies of assimilation and adaptation to the world system. The lack of balance between these two situations creates occasional problems that spoil the apparently smooth surface of Greek Church–state relations.

It is quite characteristic of both that neither the state nor the Church wants to terminate their close connection and collaboration, though they have occasionally declared that such a development would perhaps be beneficial for both of them. The PASOK party in its founding manifesto of 1974 promised that it would implement a complete administrative separation of Church and state, a pledge that has not been fulfilled, although PASOK has sought looser ties with the Church. Especially after the collapse of communism in eastern Europe, where the Orthodox Church traditionally had firm footholds, the consequent revival of Orthodoxy there, and its active reappearance in political life, visions of a prospective separation between Church and state in Greece have almost completely vanished. After all, such a development would certainly be against the demands of the times. From this point of view, it can be said that in Greece Church–state relations have reached a normal level of compromise and coexistence. There is a single Ministry of Education and Religious Affairs, and the Church functions as a legal entity in public law. Needless to say, there exist several areas of overlapping interest between Church and state (e.g. in the civil code, and the finances of the Church). Finally, the Constitution of 1975/86, beginning with an invocation of the Holy Trinity, acknowledges the privileges of the Eastern Orthodox Church as the "dominant, prevailing religion" on Greek territory.

In this context, it is not surprising that Orthodoxy is very often used by the state and various politicians for a number of purposes (e.g. as an ideological tool for social control and cohesion, as a mechanism against acculturation and for social integration, as a decorative element in ostentatious ceremonies, and as a means for the worldwide promotion of Hellenism). This signifies that Orthodoxy is an indispensable element in the Greek sociopolitical system. Suffice it to say that the archbishop of Greece can become at turbulent historical moments the "ethnarch", i.e. both political/national and religious/spiritual leader of the Greek *ethnos* (nation). One example was when archbishop Damaskinos Papandreou became also viceroy (1944–46) and prime minister (1945). This is indicative of the strong interpenetration between the religious and the political spheres in Greece. In addition, the overwhelming majority of Greeks, though indifferent and sometimes very critical towards the Church, do not generally favour its separation from the state. Instead they support the improvement of their relations, because they think that the Orthodox Church has played a pivotal role for the Greek nation in the past. Thus, Orthodoxy prevails today in Greece largely because it is closely related to the ethnic and cultural identity of the people, a fact that influences decisively the positive attitude of most political parties towards the Church.

Generally, it seems that Church–state relations in Greece are paradoxical and even contradictory in certain ways, but this situation has a plausible explanation. If one may use a revelatory metaphor, Church–state relations in Greece resemble very closely the life of a married couple who have problems, but are not yet divorced. Both spouses continue to live together, follow their own life-styles, and collaborate on issues of common interest and profit. At the same time, they do not share a bedroom, occasionally have serious quarrels, and threaten to

sue for divorce. But these threats remain solely verbal and both parties prefer to continue the status quo for practical reasons. It goes without saying that this situation is far from ideal and constitutes a tenacious source of problems for Church and state alike.

VASILIOS MAKRIDES

See also Orthodox Church, Orthodoxy and Hellenism, Orthodoxy and Nationalism

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Cilicia

Region of southern Asia Minor

Cilicia commonly (but not invariably) names the area of southern Turkey bounded by the river Melas (Turkish Manavgat) to the west, the Taurus to the north, the Amanus as far south as Cape Rhosus (Hınzır Burnu) on the gulf of Issus to the east, and the Mediterranean to the south.

West of the river Lamus (Lamas) Cilicia is mountainous and the coastline mainly abrupt; it was named "rough" (Greek Tracheia); to the east as far as the Amanus it is a fertile plain (hence Greek Pedias). The mountainous mass of Rough Cilicia, jutting out into the sea, threatening not only Pedias but also the Pamphylian plain to its own west, difficult to penetrate or pacify, is a defining feature of Cilician history. Another is the location of Pedias on a main land route between east and west.

The Cilicians were an Anatolian people; Hittite and neo-Hittite sites have been uncovered (strikingly at Meydancık Kale near Gülnar and at Karatepe). Greek settlement began in the Archaic period at coastal sites in Tracheia (e.g. Kelenderis, Nagidus, Soli). Later legend attributed some native cities (Mallus, Mopsuestia, Olba, Tarsus) to Greek foundation in the heroic age. What history underlies this is obscure; a name resembling Mopsus (who figures in the legends) is borne by an ancestor in a royal inscription of the 8th century BC at Karatepe.

There were native kings at Tarsus under the Persians until the early 4th century BC. After Alexander's conquests control was disputed by the Seleucids and the Ptolemies. At first the whole was probably Seleucid; two of Seleucus Nicator's lasting monuments, Seleucia ad Calycadnum (Silifke) and the temple of Zeus at Olba, are in Tracheia. But by the middle of the 3rd century Tracheia had Ptolemaic garrisons which were ejected in 197 BC.

Seleucid weakness resulted in the pirate "kingdom" in western Tracheia around 140 BC. With the connivance or tolerance of other states the pirates grew in strength; only in 101 BC was a Provincia Ciliciae (which did not include Cilicia) created by Rome to deal with them. For the next 30 years efforts were unsuccessful. Meanwhile in 83 BC Pedias was conquered by Tigranes of Armenia. A pirate raid on Ostia in 68 BC provoked a decisive response from Rome in the appointment and successful campaign of Pompey the following year. Tigranes also withdrew from Pedias. Pompey resettled pirates in the cities of Pedias and eastern Tracheia (including Soli, refounded as Pompeiopolis) and organized Pedias as a group of city states; rougher territory to the east was handed to a local dynast, Tarcondimotus. A policy of leaving such territory to clients endured until the Flavian period.

The Provincia Ciliciae of 64 BC extended beyond Cilicia proper. Between 58 and 47 BC it included Cyprus, and between 56 and 49 BC stretched to Phrygia. Around 44 BC Pedias became part of the province of Syria. Soon after, Tracheia (excluding the free city of Seleucia) was given to Egypt. It remained under client kings for about a century after Actium (Amyntas of Galatia to 28 BC, Archelaus of Cappadocia and his son, also Archelaus, to AD 38, and finally Antiochus IV of Commagene to AD 72). The kingdom of Olba in eastern Tracheia remained under the native dynasty until AD 41 when it was given to Polemo II of Pontus. A number of cities of Tracheia were founded in this period, perhaps with civilizing intent; Titiopolis and Domitiopolis probably by Cleopatra; Iotape, Irenopolis, Germanicopolis (still Turkish Ermenek), and Philadelphia by Antiochus IV; and Claudiopolis (Turkish Mut) by Polemo II. Two uprisings by the tribes (in AD 36 and 52) were serious enough to be recorded by Tacitus and needed Roman troops for their suppression.

In AD 72 Vespasian deposed Antiochus IV and united Pedias and Tracheia (except its western fringe) in a single province of Cilicia. Then they were divided again (perhaps in the mid-2nd century). Tracheia was thenceforth known as Isauria. In the second half of the 3rd century there were uprisings of the Isaurians and invasions by the Persians who in 260 advanced as far as Corycus and subsequently as far as Selinus. In the Diocletianic reform the province of Cilicia was subdivided, with Cilicia I having its capital at Tarsus and Cilicia II at Anazarbus. Both Cilicias and Isauria were part of Oriens and later were ecclesiastically subject to Antioch.

In 353 the Isaurians attacked Lycaonia and Pamphylia, in 354 Palaeae and Seleucia, in 368 Pamphylia again, in 400 Syria and Palestine. Sites were fortified (e.g. Anemurium in the 380s, Korasion around 370, and the shrine of St Thecla near Seleucia by 384); Isaurian fortresses were captured and regarrisoned without effect. There are vivid glimpses of these troubles in the 5th-century Miracles of St Thecla.

Zeno, an Isaurian who had become a favourite and son-in-law of Leo I, became emperor in 474. His rule was marked by civil wars, two of which in 474–76 and 483–88 took place in Cilicia. Zeno attributed his success in the first to St Thecla and rebuilt the sanctuary. What of the little that survives is Zeno's has been debated; the suggestion that some of the splendid churches still standing in eastern Tracheia (e.g. at Alahan, Canytela, Corycus, and Dag Pazarı) belong to Zeno's reign, on the grounds that the flow of patronage ceased afterwards, is plausible. The Isaurians were reputed as masons; they are later recorded at St Saba, St Symeon Stylites, and Hagia Sophia. Isaurian power ended with Zeno in 491. The Isaurians took on Anastasius and lost; reduction of their fortresses took seven years.

Cilicia: the land castle at Kizkalesi, built in the 12th century when the area was part of the Cilician kingdom of Armenia

Cilicia was lost to the Persians between 613 and 629. The Arabs first reached Tarsus (which its inhabitants abandoned) in 637, the first invasion of many throughout the century. Pedias remained nominally Roman till the beginning of the 8th century. Thereafter the frontier moved west to the Lamus and, despite raid and counter-raid, remained stable for more than two centuries. The devastation of these wars in Pedias is obvious; there are almost no standing remains from antiquity (Tarsus was described as in ruins in 778). By contrast in Tracheia urban life seems only gradually to have petered out; its subsequent depopulation has left a very rich collection of monuments.

The Byzantines recovered Pedias in 950 and retained it for little more than a century. After Manzikert they had to compete with other contenders (the Turks, the crusaders, and the Armenians). The Byzantine campaigns of 1137 and 1159 had shortlived effects and by the third quarter of the century their power had melted away. Cilicia now belonged to the Armenians but did not long remain at peace. Raids by the Mamluks began in 1266 and continued with devastating effect till their final conquest in 1375. Cilicia became wholly Ottoman in 1515.

The 19th century saw Greek immigration from Cappadocia, Cyprus, and the Aegean. Near its end Cuinet counted 46,200 Orthodox Greeks in a population of 403,439 (of whom 173,389 were Christians) in the vilayet of Adana (which covered Cilicia). Those remaining in the French zone (covering Pedias) were evacuated in November 1921 after the French agreement with Angora. The treatment of those under Turkish rule further west was less ordered; by 1923 they too had all gone.

GEORGE LEMOS

Summary

A region of southeastern Anatolia, the coast of Cilicia was settled by Greeks in the Archaic period. After Alexander's conquests it was disputed by the Seleucids and Ptolemies. A Roman province of Cilicia was created in 101 BC, part of which remained nominally Roman until the 12th century – the Byzantines reconquered it from the Arabs in 950 but lost control to the Turks by the later 12th century.

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Cimon *c.*510–*c.*450 BC

Athenian aristocrat

Cimon has not been as well served by ancient tradition as some of his slightly older or younger contemporaries, because his era of dominance at Athens fell slightly after Herodotus' period of focus, but slightly before that of Thucydides. Plutarch's *Life of Cimon*, which contains most of what we know of him, is much shorter than his *Lives* of Themistocles or Aristides. Although Plutarch did not lack sources, it is evident that Cimon's personality did not generate as much interest in later generations as those of his more intriguing adversaries Pericles and Themistocles.

A relative of Thucydides, Cimon was from a very distinguished Athenian family, the Philaidae. He was the son of one of its most distinguished members, Miltiades, who, as ruler of the Chersonese, had promoted Athens' colonial ambitions keenly until his support for the Ionian Revolt so angered the Persians that he was forced to escape to Athens (493 BC). The climax of his career was his generalship at the Battle of Marathon (490 BC), but his subsequent campaign against Paros for its Persian sympathies was a failure. At the instigation of Pericles' father Xanthippus, he was fined 50 talents, but died from a battle wound before he could pay it. Cimon inherited not only his father's debt, but also his policies of hostility to Persia and Athenian imperial expansionism.

After an impressive performance at Salamis, Cimon was made an Athenian envoy to Sparta in 479 BC, and his name is associated with the most important campaigns of the early Delian League, from 478 BC to 463 BC, working with its organizer Aristides, who is said to have championed the young Cimon as his ally against Themistocles. In 478 the Spartan general Pausanias was still in charge of the Greek forces, but according to Athenian tradition his arrogance began to alienate them, and they were won over by the kindness of the Athenian generals. Once the Spartans recalled Pausanias on a charge of treason, control over the anti-Persian operations was definitively ceded to Athens, thereby laying the foundations for Athenian dominance over the Aegean during the 5th century BC. Acquitted, Pausanias took Byzantium, but he was driven out by Cimon himself, who then triumphed in his father's old stamping ground by removing Eion in Thrace from Persian hands (476/75 BC). Soon after this, he won Scyros for Athenian colonists and, in an effective personal coup, returned the alleged bones of Athens' national hero Theseus to the city for burial, to great acclaim. Sources do not explicitly say that he led the early campaigns of the league to crush allied rebellion, at Carystus and Naxos (473–469 BC), but his usual enthusiasm for Athenian expansion makes his presence there very likely.

Soon after Naxos the Athenians undertook a major campaign in the southeast Aegean, perhaps to mollify allied discontent at their use of the league to police its own members. Cimon's greatest triumph followed at Eurymedon in Pamphylia (*c.*468 BC), when his troops wiped out the Persian fleet, and cities as far east as Phaselis joined the league. His generalship brought material wealth to Athens, and an immense sense of pride to a city that had been sacked by the Persians only some 12 years earlier, but was now carrying vengeance right into the Great King's territory. Cimon's comprehensive victory may be said to have paved the way for the Peace of Callias, *c.*450 BC, whereby Greek freedom from Persian interference was finally secured.

At this time, however, Cimon continued to pursue the Persians relentlessly, returning to the Chersonese and driving out those who remained, before besieging the Thasians who had now seceded from the league (465–463 BC). The Spartans, actively working against their former allies in the Persian Wars, had promised the Thasians that they would help them by invading Attica, but an earthquake and a helot revolt frustrated this plan. Meanwhile, Cimon crushed Thasos and returned to Athens, to be prosecuted (unsuccessfully) by the up-and-coming Pericles on a charge of bribery for having made no territorial gains in Macedonia. Unlike Pericles and others, Cimon clung to the old view that Sparta was Athens' partner, not its rival in Greek leadership (in spite of his service in the expansionist Delian League), and in 462 BC he persuaded Athens to help the desperate Spartans. It was perhaps while he was away that Ephialtes introduced the democratic reforms that took most jurisdiction away from the Areopagus and gave it to the people's courts instead: whether or not this was the cause, the Spartans decided that the Athenian army could not be trusted not to help the helots, and sent them away. This ignominious dismissal severely damaged Cimon's credibility in Athens, and, after a failed attempt to reverse Ephialtes' work, he was ostracized in 461 BC. Athens also broke irrevocably with Sparta by allying with its enemy, Argos.

Cimon's next known action was to patch up relations between Athens and Sparta with a five-year truce, *c.*451 BC. The two cities had been testing one another's strength throughout the decade, at the battles of Tanagra (won by Sparta) and Oenophyta (won by Athens), and after the loss of 200 Athenian ships in Egypt in 454 BC, both sides were ready for a brief respite. It seems clear that Cimon still hankered after the past when Sparta was an ally, not an enemy, and his last campaign was also a throwback to the 470s BC. He mounted another expedition to Persia to recapture Cyprus, but he died there, and aggressive Athenian expansion in the east ceased thereafter.

The sources, perhaps derived from Critias, say that Pericles instituted jury pay in order to counter Cimon's personal generosity. Cimon's family was wealthy anyway, and his huge campaign revenues brought him popularity as he opened up his estates to the poor, and gave them public dinners and financial handouts. Payment became necessary after the Ephialtic reforms, which brought a greater volume of business to the democratic courts, so that larger issues of practicality rather than small-scale politicking may have caused Pericles' move,

but it is certainly true that Pericles opposed the traditional, almost feudal patronage practised by those from rich families, such as Cimon's, because this was damaging to democracy. A number of artefacts associated with Cimon indicate that he was keen to assert himself in a traditionally aristocratic manner: the Painted Stoa, commissioned by his brother-in-law, bore a picture of Marathon in which Miltiades was prominent, and a Delphic dedication associated a statue of Miltiades with those of Athena, Apollo, and the Athenian tribal heroes. By rehabilitating his father, Cimon augmented his own status as the inheritor of Marathonian glory over that of Themistocles, whose victory had been Salamis.

There is, therefore, some truth in the schematizations of later sources that pit Cimon the conservative against Pericles the democrat. His foreign policy was conservative in that it was based on traditional Greek affiliations at a time when new alignments were beginning which would lead to the Peloponnesian War. The names of two of his sons – Lacedaemonius and Eleius – are revealing. In other ways, however, he was as imperially minded as Pericles, leading the campaigns that created the Athenian empire, encouraging the Athenian naval activity that later writers associate with radical democracy, and vigorously opposing secession from the league. Both he and Aristides, though not as brilliant as Themistocles, played a huge part in the creation of 5th-century democracy.

SOPHIE MILLS

Biography

Born *c.*510 BC to a noble Athenian family, Cimon was the son of Miltiades, ruler of the Thracian Chersonese. As a general he actively pursued the war against Persia but was keen to retain Sparta as Athens' partner, not rival, in leadership of Greece. He was ostracized in 461 BC but recalled in 451 to mend fences with Sparta. He died soon after in Cyprus, attempting to recapture that island from Persia.

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Cinema

Cinema in Greece, as a form of mass popular entertainment, is largely a postwar phenomenon, although a tradition of Greek film making can be traced back to the early decades of the 20th century. The first Lumière films were shown in central Athens in 1897 to a mixed public response: members of the audience reportedly fainted, while others threw stones at the screen. Nevertheless, a cinema was established in the capital several years later.

The first full-length feature film to be made in Greece was a bucolic romance entitled *Golpho* (1914) by Kostas Bachatoris, which was adapted from the popular play by Spiridon Peresiadis and premiered at the Pantheon cinema on 22 January 1915. *Golfo* was followed in the same year by Michalis Glitsos's adaptation of Konstantinos Christomanos's Athenian novel *I Kerenia Koukla* (Waxen Doll, 1911), again starring Verginia Diamanti in the leading role.

Documentaries, however, such as those by the Hungarian royalist Josef Hepp, were also produced during this period, notably *The Entry of the Greek Army into Thessalonica* (1912), in which Hepp recorded the Greek military successes of the First Balkan War. The first film made in Greece was a newsreel of the 1906 interim Olympic Games.

In 1927 the DAG production company was formed and produced a number of features, including *Astero* (The Star), the first Greek feature to penetrate foreign markets, appealing, in particular, to Greeks of the diaspora. The director of this film, Dimitris Gaziadis (1899–1965), who went on to make a further five films, had studied in Berlin and later established a school of film making (1928). He was also the author of the first Greek book on cinema entitled *How Can I Act in Cinema?* (1926). In 1932 the first talkie was made by Dimitris Tsakiris, again a romance entitled *Agapitikos tis Voskopoulas* (The Lover of the Shepherdess), based on the play by Dimitrios Koromilas. The Greek film industry, however, lacked sufficient financial resources to rise to the challenge of the new technology and, consequently, few films were made in the 1930s.

World War II and the ensuing German occupation (1941–44), which was followed by the Civil War (1947–49), largely undermined attempts at rehabilitating the film industry in Greece. Despite the political and social turmoil, however, this period did see the founding of a major production company. The rise of the Greek cinema in the postwar years is closely connected to the establishment by the entrepreneur Philopoimin Phinos (1908–77) of the Phinos Films production company, which was launched with the film *Phoni tis Kardias* (Voice of the Heart) in 1943. Phinos Films was self-consciously styled on Hollywood production companies and oversaw production from the initial shooting, through the processes of editing, distribution, and marketing. Phinos produced mainly comedies and melodramas, as well as Hollywood genres such as the musical and the western. Among its greatest successes were the many features starring Aliki Vouyouklaki (1937–96), undoubtedly one of the leading stars of the Greek cinema, who made her debut in 1954 with Nikos Tsiforos's (1912–70) *To Pontiaki* (The Little Mouse), although she came to prominence a year later with Dimis Dadiras's (1927–82) version of *Agapitikos tis Voskopoulas*.

By the mid-1950s numerous films were being produced. These were mainly comedies which drew upon a broad range of Greek comic drama from popular entertainment, such as farce, variety, and the shadow puppet theatre (*karaghiozis*), to Aristophanes. A local star system began to develop during this period which saw the emergence of distinct comic actors such as Vassilis Logothetidis, Kostas Hadjihristos, Dinos Iliopoulos, and Thanassis Vengos (1927–), a self-taught comedian who has made over 110 films, including such hits as *Ti Ekanes ston Polemo, Thanasi?* (What Did You Do in the War, Thanassi?, 1971), and who was introduced to cinema by the director Nikos Koundouros (1926–) after they met in the concentration camp on the island of Makronissos.

Cinema: Alan Bates and Anthony Quinn in *Zorba the Greek* (1964), directed by Michalis Cacoyannis

Two outstanding directors of comedy active during the 1950s were Yorgos Tzavellas (1916–76) and Alekos Sakellarios (1913–92). Tzavellas directed such classics as *O Methistakas* (The Drunkard, 1950), which broke box-office records in Greece, and *Kalpiki Lira* (Counterfeit Coin, 1955), which starred Logothetidis with music by Manos Chatzidakis, and followed the fate of a coin as it passed through a myriad of hands. Among the best-known of Sakellarios's 50 or so films are *Oi Germanoi Xanarchontai* (The Germans are Coming Back, 1947), *Laterna, Phtochia, kai Philotimo* (Barrel Organ, Poverty and Dignity, 1955), and *I Thia apo to Chikago* (The Aunt from Chicago, 1957).

With a few exceptions, the major output of commercial Greek cinema consisted of low-budget comedies and melodramas. These did not evince any degree of experimentation, although the legacy of the war is reflected in the uncomfortable narrative shifts and sometimes hysterical acting. Nevertheless, the early 1950s did see some independent film productions. It was Grigoris Grigoriou (1919–), the director of *Pikro Psomi* (Bitter Bread, 1951), who introduced what is often called "Greek neo-realism" under the influence of the Italian postwar cinema of Roberto Rossellini, Luchino Visconti, and Vittoria De Sica. Neo-realism was a postwar movement that exploited location filming and employed non-professional actors, drawing for its subject matter upon the experiences and struggles of the popular classes.

At the same time, two other independent film makers launched their careers: Michael Cacoyannis (1922–), a Greek Cypriot, with his film *Stella* (1955), which established the career of Melina Mercouri (1923–94), and Koundouros with his film *O Drakos* (The Ogre, 1956, distributed in the UK as *The Ogre of Athens*). Despite such classics as *Stella*, *To Koritsi me ta Mavra* (The Girl in Black, 1956), starring Elli Lambetti, and his screen versions of the Euripidean tragedies *Electra* (1961), *The Trojan Women* (1971), and *Iphigenia* (1977), however, Cacoyannis remains best known today for *Zorba the Greek* (1964), an adaptation of the novel by Nikos Kazantzakis (1883–1957).

It was in the 1960s, however, that film directors such as Alexis Damianos (1921–), Theodoros Angelopoulos (1935–), and Pantelis Voulgaris (1940–), among others, attempted to break with the mainstream commercial film industry and created an *auteur* cinema outside the studio system, in much the same way as the French New Wave had done. The "New Greek Cinema" is a general term often applied to these independent film makers such as Kostas Ferris (1935–), Nikos Nikolaïdis (1940–), Nikos Panayotopoulos (1941–), Yorgos Panoussopoulos (1942–), and Vassilis Vapheas (1944–), who rose to prominence in the 1960s and 1970s, in the wake of innovative films such as *Sky* (1962) by Takis Kanellopoulos (1934–90). The term "New Greek Cinema" itself was coined by the critic Photis Alexiou in a review of a film by Voulgaris and refers to a broad category of films which are intensely concerned with contemporary Greek social issues and with the nation's recent historical experiences of political repression and conflict. Many of the films adopt a critical – even defiant – stance towards authority and in retrospect the "New Greek Cinema" can perhaps best be understood as a reaction to the oppressive 1967–74 dictatorship, as well as an attempt by directors to reflect upon the meanings of Greekness during a period when Greece was increasingly falling under the political and artistic influence of the United States. At the same time, while for the most part it eschewed the narrative techniques of the mainstream Greek commercial cinema, the "New Greek Cinema" found inspiration in the experimentation that characterized European art cinemas. Many of these preoccupations were debated in the pages of the film magazine *Synchronos Kinimatographos*, which was published between 1960 and 1985 and to which Angelopoulos and Voulgaris contributed.

Two films can perhaps be singled out as marking a watershed in Greek cinema of this period: Angelopoulos's first feature film *Anaparastasi* (Reconstruction, 1970) and Damianos's *Evdokia* (1971), the second part of a loose trilogy which began with *Mechri to Ploio* (Until the Ship Sails, 1966) and concluded in 1995 with *Iniochos* (The Charioteer). *Evdokia* is a love drama that centres on the tragic relationship between a sergeant and a prostitute who meet one night in a taverna and who marry after a brief but intense affair. The film charts the break-up of the couple's relationship against a barren, semiurban, Attic landscape. Sensuality and tenderness are consistently juxtaposed against the harsh discipline of the military compound and the film explores the consequences of social marginality, as well as the tensions between repressive middle-class aspirations and freedom.

Notwithstanding the interest which the New Greek Cinema provoked, by the mid-1970s the Greek film industry was in a crisis under the impact of television, together with the commercial successes of Hollywood films. It was partly to bolster independent Greek film makers that the Greek Film Centre was inaugurated in 1970, originally as a subsidiary of the Greek Industrial and Development Bank. It acquired its present name, however, after the overthrow of the Colonels' regime in 1974 and in 1982 the then minister of culture, Melina Mercouri, undertook the promotion of Greek films. A scriptwriting fund was also established. Today many Greek film makers benefit from its coproduction programme and it remains the primary producer of new films in Greece. At the same time the Thessalonica Film Festival, which was founded

in 1960, acted as an important boost for the domestic film industry, bestowing valuable awards. It remains the main annual cinematic event in Greece. In 1981 the running of the festival was taken over by the Ministry of Culture and in 1992 it was transformed into an international event.

Although relatively few films are produced in Greece today and of the 9 million tickets sold in Greece in 1997, only 550,000 were for Greek films, there have been exciting developments in recent years. Following in the path of Tonia Marketaki (1942–94), women directors such as Maria Iliou, Photini Siskopoulou, Angeliki Antoniou, and Olga Malea – whose raunchy feature debut *O Orgasmos tis Ayeladas* (The Orgasm of the Cow, 1996) was a box-office hit – are making their mark. Sotiris Goritsas's *Balkanizateur* (1997), the story of two men's pursuit of fortune in the black-market economies of the Balkans, was another success; between them the films sold some 300,000 tickets. Among promising younger directors, Renos Charalambidis burst on to the scene in 1997 with the prize-winning *No Budget Story*, while Menelaos Karamangiolis's ambitious thriller *Black Out* (1998) won general acclaim.

There is growing interest, too, in the Greek cinema abroad. Greek film has begun to be taught at foreign universities, including Cambridge, where an international conference entitled "Theatres of War: Fifty Years of Greek Cinema" was hosted in 1998. There has been a major retrospective of Greek cinema at the Centre Georges Pompidou in Paris (1995) and retrospectives of Angelopoulos at the Museum of Modern Art in New York in 1990 and at the Riverside Studios in London in 1998. With the support of the Greek Film Centre, a Greek film series was screened at the National Film Theatre in London in 1998.

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Cities

What is a city? Is it a community of buildings or a community of people? According to Aristotle, it is not a community of buildings but of people. For one could, for example, "enclose Megara and Corinth in a wall, yet they would not be one city". "But a city", he continues, "is a society of people ... not ... founded for the purpose of men's merely living together, but for their living as men ought" (*Politics*, 3. 9). On the other hand, when Pausanias, the 2nd-century AD traveller, came upon a little place in Phocis, he hesitated to call it a "city" (*polis*) as it possessed "no government offices or gymnasium, no theatre or agora or water flowing down to a fountain" (10. 4. 1). Gradually, "city", which is at the root of the word "civilization" (*politismos*), came to encompass both the buildings and the people of a permanent settlement.

In Mesopotamia evidence of permanent village agriculture dates back to 8000 BC and temple cities and city states date from 3500 BC. In Greece the earliest settlements were the Minoan (2000–1400 BC) and Mycenaean (1600–1050 BC) palace centres. At about 800 BC Archaic Greek societies began developing permanent city structures. While the Greeks did not invent the city as a form, they established it as a political institution. The polis, as an independent city state and a community of self-governing citizens, emerged in the Greek world in the 8th century BC. Its democratic underpinnings, governed by equality of all under the law (*isonomia*), were contrasted with the monarchical and despotic institutions of contemporary cities in Mesopotamia, Egypt, and the Persian empire.

Greek cities originated either from small villages that grew gradually, from several villages that came together to form a community (synoecism), or from colonial settlements. Athens was allegedly formed through synoecism. Colonial settlements, on the Ionian coast (modern Turkey in Asia Minor) and on the south Italian peninsula, were founded for purposes of commerce and retained ties to the mother city in mainland Greece. Many of the new settlements were planned on an orthogonal grid, while cities that evolved over time usually exhibited an irregular, "organic" street plan. Athens, established in Mycenean times, had an "organic" street plan that was first set out in the Archaic period. Miletus, on the coast of modern Turkey, was planned on an orthogonal grid by Hippodamus in 479 BC, following its destruction by the Persians in 490 BC. Though the ancient Greek cities possessed some of the characteristics associated with urban environments today – high concentration of population, division of labour, trade with other cities – they were all heavily dependent on agriculture. The connection of the city to the countryside remained most vital until the 20th century.

Of the approximately 700 cities of the Greek commonwealth in the Classical period, Athens was the largest and most famous. Public life took place in the Agora – the ancient civic centre and marketplace – while the city's tutelary goddess Athena was honoured by the Periclean building programme on the Acropolis: the Parthenon (447–432 BC), the Erechtheum (421–405 BC), and the temple of Athena Nike (427–424 BC). In contrast to the magnificence of the public building programme, residential architecture remained humble and inward looking. In the Classical Greek city no individual, no matter how powerful, could attach his name to the new civic structures, as it was the state and the citizens themselves (the free, male residents) who commissioned and paid for all public buildings. That changed during the subsequent periods, when Hellenistic rulers and Roman emperors endowed several of the Greek cities with larger and more luxurious public buildings that bore their names: the stoa of Attalus, Hadrian's library, etc. These private donations eroded the democratic ideals of the Classical polis whereby all men enjoyed equal footing. This practice of privately funded civic structures, named after wealthy individ-

uals or corporations, similarly marks the urban landscape today.

The insularity of the Classical Greek city states, which often resulted not only in competition but also in warfare among them, was transformed in the ensuing Hellenistic period. As a result of the successful military campaigns of Philip II of Macedon, most of central and southern Greece became subjugated to the Macedonian kingdom. Philip's son, Alexander III the Great, undertook a campaign of expansion to the east, creating a kingdom that stretched from Cyrene in North Africa to India. As Alexander considered his mission to be a civilizing one, albeit imperialist, he founded several new cities, thus spreading the Hellenic language and culture across much of the known world. These cities were normally laid out in a grid pattern, adjusted to the existing topography in each case. While their building programme was based on the Classical Greek city – with an agora, temples, theatres, and other civic structures – their political system differed drastically. Whereas the classical Greek city was, at least in principle, politically autonomous, the Hellenistic city was a dependent member of an extensive empire. Alexandria in Egypt, the first and greatest of Alexander's cities, was founded in 332 BC. It soon became one of the most important trading centres of the Mediterranean, and an eminent centre for culture and philosophical studies, its Neoplatonic schools eventually rivalling the philosophy schools of Athens. "Alexandria is situated, as it were, at the crossroads of the whole world, ... bringing together all men into one place, displaying them to one another, and, as far as possible, making them of the same race", wrote Dio of Prusa in his *Alexandrian Speech* (*c.*AD 69/79). Thessalonica, founded in 316 BC, also rose to prominence under Roman rule, becoming the capital of the Roman province of Macedonia and an important military and commercial centre. It maintained its commercial and administrative importance in the subsequent Byzantine and Ottoman periods.

Greece became a Roman province in AD 146, after a war in which the Romans destroyed Corinth. Under the Roman empire Athens, though now a provincial city, still enjoyed a special status as a result of its cultural eminence. While its political significance atrophied, its physical image was enhanced by the new buildings endowed by the various emperors and high-ranking Roman officials. A resurgence of its philosophy schools in the 4th and 5th centuries infused new blood into its economy, until the emperor Justinian ordered their closure in AD 529, condemning Athens to obscurity.

The next major city to rise to prominence in the Graeco-Roman world was Byzantium, a Greek merchant settlement founded at the end of the 8th century BC on the shore of the Bosporus. Chosen by emperor Constantine the Great (307–337) as a capital of the eastern Roman empire, it was aggrandized and inaugurated in 330 as Constantinople. Constantinople was endowed with a unique triple identity: Greek, Roman, and Christian. Hailed as "the New Rome", its political, legal, and building structure certainly justified that claim. Also part of that structure, however, were the earliest layers of its Classical Greek and Hellenistic foundation, and its newly acquired Christian identity. Constantinople became the centre of the Byzantine empire, diffusing its imperial, religious, and commercial power over a vast territory. It reached its zenith under the reign of Justinian I (527–65), maintaining a key role until the period of the Latin rule (1204–61). The weakening of the Byzantine empire finally led to the fall of Constantinople in 1453 to the armies of the Ottoman sultan Mehmet II.

The legacy of Byzantine civilization did not disappear overnight with the fall of Constantinople. Just as the Byzantine emperors ensured the continuity of several Roman institutions, so too the Ottomans incorporated several aspects of Byzantine culture into their own governing system. Given the widespread destruction by the crusaders, many Greek cities, including Athens, considered Ottoman rule preferable. On the whole, the Ottomans preserved the existing urban structures, converting some of the churches into mosques, and building new mosques, *tekkes* (dervish convents), baths, and other civic buildings that imprinted on each city a new image. In fact, when Mehmet II arrived in Athens in 1458, so impressed was he with the city's ancient heritage that he conferred upon it special administrative and religious privileges. Athens, as well as other Greek cities, experienced a period of economic and population growth in the 15th–17th centuries, reflecting the overall prosperity of the Ottoman empire. Conditions deteriorated, however, in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, leading to the War of Independence (1821–27) and the establishment of the modern Greek kingdom in 1833.

The events of the 19th century caused a major rupture in the demographic and administrative structure of the Greek cities. After the departure of most Muslims, the centuries-old ethnic diversity of the population was replaced by a mostly homogeneous Greek population from the Greek countryside and the European diaspora. The traditionally decentralized administration, which enjoyed a considerable degree of autonomy and self-government, was replaced by a highly centralized monarchy modelled on the Bavarian prototype. The new capital, Athens, rose to prominence as the main administrative and economic centre, even though several other cities – Nauplia, Patras, Corinth, and Syros among them – had a much more prominent commercial profile. The charge of the new state was to forge a national Greek identity, connect the modern with the ancient past, and highlight the ancient legacy. New planning and architecture projects helped the nation's cities project a modern, uniform, and western image. The vestiges of the Classical, Roman, Byzantine, and Ottoman pasts, however, remained close to the new urban surfaces.

More recently, the European Union, of which Greece is a member, has been gradually recasting the political significance of national borders and national identities, moving towards the creation of a rich multicultural European mosaic. The annual institution of the "European City of Culture", a post already held by Athens and Thessalonica, the establishment of festivals and contests in various cities, and the widespread use of the English language have begun to create a new, shared, European identity. As individual cities and towns have begun to celebrate their own cultural histories for the benefit of a broader European public, identification with a particular city may prove, once again, more powerful than national identification.

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See also Town Planning, Urbanization

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City State

The city state (polis) was the prevailing political, cultural, religious, and social system among the Greeks from *c.*800 to *c.*300 BC. The map of ancient Greece was a mosaic of city states; each was independent, but some were linked with others by ties of kinship and military alliances.

The term "polis" originally apparently meant something like "the villages around". The Greeks used the term *synoikismos* to describe the unifying of the houses in the countryside (*oikoi*) and villages (*komai*) into a constitutional system (*politeia*). Most city states had an acropolis (a high city), a fortified area on a high rocky promontory overlooking the surrounding countryside, which served as a place of refuge in times of danger.

Geography was a factor in the rise of the city states, because the numerous islands of Greece, the very mountainous terrain of the mainland, and the isolation of small plains favoured small local units of government. Another factor was the collapse of kingship late in the Dark Ages; by the historical period most city states were ruled by councils controlled by aristocrats.

The territory of each city state was small. Some were only a few kilometres square: Athens with 2600 sq km of territory and Sparta with 8400 sq km were among the largest. Physically the city state might look urban or be composed of villages without walls, as at Sparta. The population was generally small. Slaves and foreigners (metics) were excluded from citizenship, while women, children, and sometimes "the dwellers around" (*perioikoi*) were classified as second-class citizens. The full citizens (*politai*) of the polis were all males over the age of 18. Their births would be registered with the traditional brotherhood (phratry). Regardless of its location, the male citizens were the essence of the city state. They composed a corporate body, ordered by the principle of citizenship, which could be housed anywhere. All were expected to serve in defence of the city state.

The city states were varied and numerous, eventually numbering perhaps as many as 1200 or more. Their constitutions and history largely remain unknown. The Aeolian-, Ionian-, and Dorian-speaking Greeks developed different styles of city states; Athens and Sparta are the best known of the Ionian and Dorian types, respectively. Most of ancient Greek history is known through the histories of these two, the most famous; but other important ones included Corinth, Syracuse, Miletus, Ephesus, Thebes, and Chalcis. Tribal and cultic differences marked the city states with a jealous particularism. Most were isolated in small farming valleys with their own local shrines, laws, and dialects.

By the mid-8th century BC population increases led to the foundation of numerous colonies all around the Mediterranean, but especially on the shores of the Black Sea, in southern Italy, and in Sicily. Each of these usually became an independent city state. Sometimes the new colony was founded by two or more mother cities.

The government of most city states changed over the centuries. By the Archaic period most were ruled by aristocrats in a council, but an assembly of citizens and magistrates also participated in governing. In Athens the earliest council was the Areopagus, made up of elder statesmen; the members, archons, served for life. By the end of the 7th century BC growing tensions between the aristocrats and citizens from the lower orders, in Athens and other city states, often developed into class conflicts. When Solon was elected archon of Athens in 594 BC he began a programme of political reform that was to lead eventually to the establishment of Athenian democracy at the end of the 6th century BC.

Sparta resisted all reform and maintained an oligarchy based upon the laws of Lycurgus, which had organized the people into Spartiates (citizens), *perioikoi* (non-citizens with some rights), and helots (state serfs). There were two kings, elected from two royal families, who exercised limited power; one stayed at home and the other led the army into battle. Sparta was governed by five officials called ephors, elected to one-year terms by citizens, with the aid of a council. There was also a citizen assembly (*apella*).

War, an incessant feature of life, robbed the Greeks of their strength. During the Classical period cooperative efforts were made to limit the jealous particularism through leagues. While most were military alliances, some leagues served trade needs, and even managed some of the games. They included the Aetolian League, Boeotian League, Chalcidic League, League of Corinth, Delian League, Second Athenian League, Achaean League, Ionian League, and the Delphic Amphictiony, which managed the Pythian Games.

The sovereignty of the city states ended with the conquest of the Greeks by Philip II of Macedon in 338 BC. After the conquests of Alexander the Great, Graeco-Macedonian kingdoms were established throughout the empire. The individual

Greek city states were never again strong enough to regain their original power.

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See also Urbanization

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Civil War 1945–1949

The Greek Civil War, rooted in the struggle for power between leftist and right-wing pro-monarchist forces, erupted after the liberation of Greece from the fascist forces of the Axis. Immediately after the withdrawal of the Nazis from Greece in October 1944, the British, who had already put Greece within their sphere of influence, intervened to establish a conservative pro-monarchist post-liberation government in Athens, in order to protect their geopolitical interests in the region. On 18 October 1944 British forces and the Greek government in exile of George Papandreou landed in Athens. Upon their arrival in Greece the British (*a*) demobilized ELAS (National Popular Liberation Army), the military wing of the EAM (National Liberation Front), who for more than three years had fiercely fought the occupation armies of the Axis, (*b*) formed a national Greek army under British tutelage, consisting largely of zealous ultra-right-wing volunteers, and (*c*) ignored public demands for the punishment of Greeks who had collaborated with the enemy during the occupation. After the clash of British troops and units of ELAS forces in Athens from 3 December 1944 to 11 January 1945, Greek army units were increasingly made up of selected ultra-conservative conscripts who were called up as army reservists.

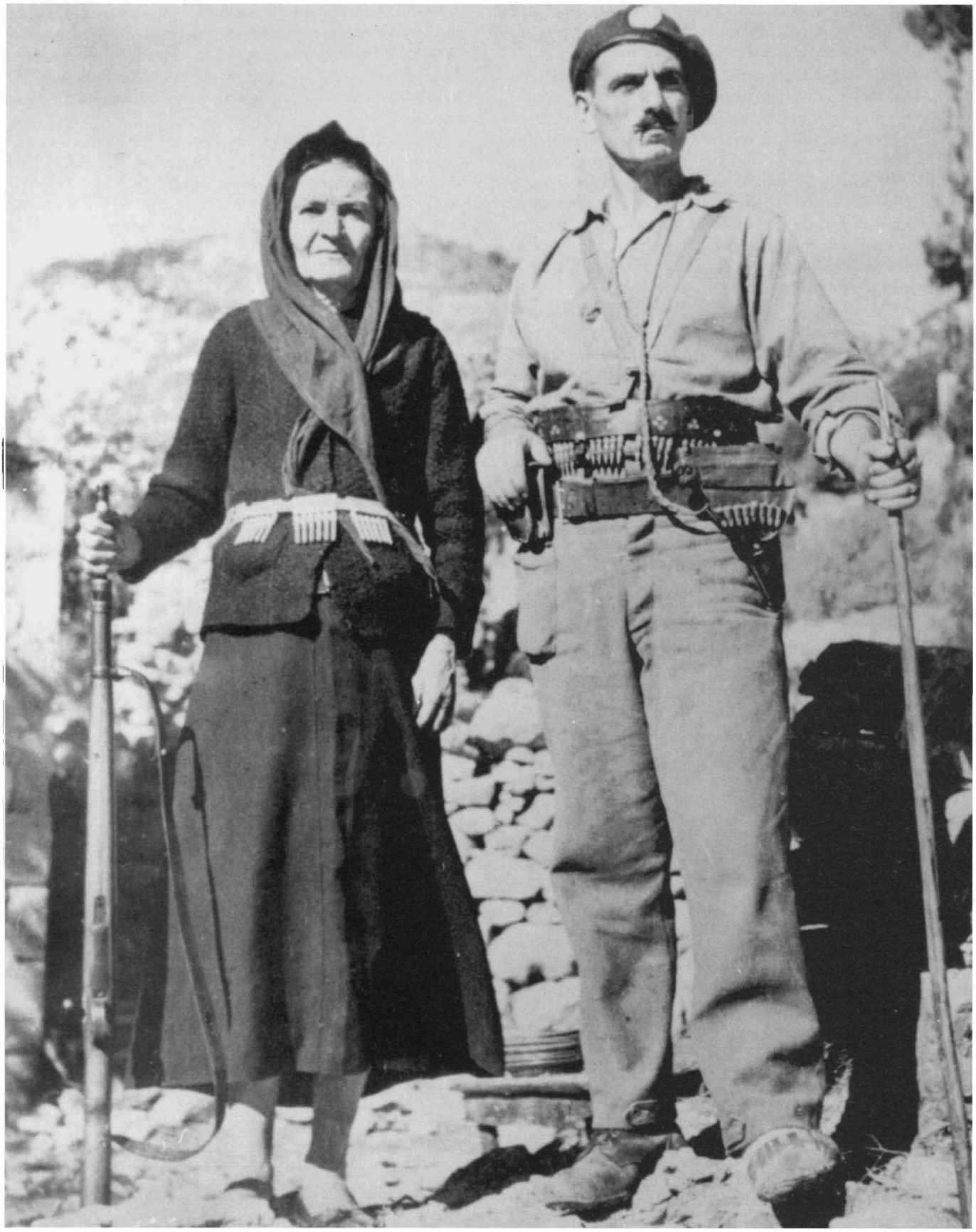
The Varkiza Agreement of 12 February 1945, between the right-wing pro-monarchists and EAM/ELAS forces, called for a general amnesty and the recruitment of ELAS into the post-liberation Greek army. After the agreement EAM/ELAS showed a willingness to coexist peacefully within a democratic parliamentary system of government and avoid violent conflicts. The peaceful intentions of EAM/ELAS, however, were ignored by the British and their right-wing Greek friends, who insisted on the return of king George II and the exclusion of ELAS and many liberals from the conscription of the Greek armed forces.

Heinz Richter has indicated that from the lower ranks to the top commands the post-liberation Greek army was filled with royalists, anti-communists, former Nazi collaborators of the Security Battalions (*Tagmata Asphalias*), and members of the ultra-right-wing "Organization X". The police, a federal law enforcement agency, also used the same political-background criteria to select their officers. Both the army and the police showed little respect for democratic procedures or civil rights and increasingly became independent from civilian control, especially when they were attacking leftist Greek citizens.

This new right-wing social order received support from the wealthy Greeks, many of whom had profited from economic collaboration with the Nazis, or from speculating in scarce commodities during the occupation (1941–44). These entrepreneurs constituted an important and powerful social group of postwar Greek society.

From October 1944 to March 1946 the British appointed and deposed four Greek prime ministers for being unable to deal with the economic problems and political instability of the country. Finally, the first elections since 1936 were held on 31 March 1946, under the supervision of British, French, and American observers. The communists, under the leadership of Nikos Zachariadis, as well as some liberals, boycotted the elections, which resulted in a clear victory for the right wing under the leadership of prime minister Constantine Tsaldaris. The new government, headed by Tsaldaris, brought forward a rigged and coerced plebiscite on 1 September 1946, and king George II returned to Athens on 27 September. The restoration of the monarchy was seen by the right-wingers, as well as many republicans, as essential to the maintenance of traditional conservative Greek institutions and values, which had been challenged by leftist forces. The National Liberation Front (EAM), for example, had advocated postwar radical institutional changes and mass participation in the political process by all regional and social groups, including the underprivileged and women.

With a new vengeful right-wing government and the return of the king, repression and persecution against the left were intensified, driving former ELAS fighters and leftist political refugees back to the mountains. Many thousands of Greek civil servants, including university professors, who had joined the resistance movement (1941–44) against the Axis, were fired from their jobs on the grounds of being "anti-nationalists". Many were terrorized by the police and right-wing paramilitary groups, imprisoned, tortured, sent into exile, or executed. During 1946, 116 Greek leftist citizens were sentenced by



Civil War: ELAS guerrillas, who had fought the Axis in World War II, returned to the mountains in 1946 as Greece descended into civil war

court marshal and executed, and another 688 in 1947. The death penalty was given for offences such as criticizing the authorities or helping leftist insurgents.

Indiscriminate persecution and terrorism by the Greek right forced more communists and liberal anti-monarchists to resort to arms for protection and survival. Attacks by left-wing bands on police posts and army patrols also became common activities. An attack on the police station of Litochoro, a village near Mount Olympus, by communist insurgents on 31 March 1946, is often cited as the start of the Civil War; on the other hand, right-wing armed bands had attacked left- wing communities in the Peloponnese; and by September 1946 several hundred left-wing armed bands were organized throughout Greece, especially in the rural areas.

In October 1946 the Communist Party of Greece (KKE) announced the formation of the Democratic Army of Greece (DAG) under the leadership of Markos Vafiadis, a former ELAS leader. Vafiadis assumed command of the new army from a headquarters in northern Thessaly. Most of the DAG combatants, including the regional commanders, were members of former resistance organizations, especially ELAS. As soon as Vafiadis assumed leadership of the leftist forces, Tito of Yugoslavia ordered that the communist Slav-Macedonian Popular Liberation Front (SNOF) should, for their operations in Greece, be under the command of the Democratic Army of Greece. Slav-Macedonians exploited the opportunity to cultivate the idea of Slav-Macedonian secessionism, an extremely unpopular policy among Greeks of all political leanings. Under enormous pressure from rank and file, the communist leadership terminated the shaky alliance between the DAG and the Slav-Macedonian units of SNOF. The separation was not amicable, and it came late. In certain instances, SNOF and DAG units fought against each other; and the right wing had already succeeded in labelling the leftists as traitors to their nation, an image which was to haunt the communists in Greece for decades.

By the end of 1946 the national Greek army had just over 98,000 demoralized and poorly trained soldiers and officers. The Democratic Army of Greece, on the other hand, had nearly 10,000 combatants and sent detachments to different parts of Greece to promote military operations against the right-wing pro-monarchist forces. The Yugoslavs and Bulgarians provided the leftist armed forces in northern Greece with guns and ammunition. Attacks by left-wing forces were more ferocious against the police and right-wing paramilitary units such as X-ites, who were considered responsible for most of the atrocities committed against leftists and even liberal Greek citizens. The police, who were not trained for combat, suffered casualties three times as heavy as those of the army. Furthermore, the police and X-ites were more likely than regular soldiers to be executed after being captured by communist insurgents. Leftist forces also took revenge on ultra-right-wing civilians who were held responsible for collaborating with police and security forces.

On 31 March 1947 the British presence in Greece was officially terminated, leaving the Americans responsible for carrying on economic and military aid to the Greek government. Fearing a communist takeover in Greece, the Americans granted massive aid as a part of a programme known as the Truman Doctrine. Within a relatively short time American aid to Greece transformed the national Greek army into a disciplined and effective fighting force under the leadership of General Alexandros Papagos. As an ardently anti-leftist force the army remained insulated by American intervention from politicians and enjoyed a close relationship with its American patrons.

On 24 December 1947 the Communist Party of Greece announced the formation of a provisional democratic government in the mountains of northern Greece under the leadership of Markos Vafiadis. The objectives of the new leftist government included recognition of the full equality of all minorities (but not the establishment of an independent Macedonian state), nationalization of banks and heavy industry, agrarian reform, democratic reorganization of the country, the creation of a democratic army, navy, and air force, and resistance to foreign aggression.

The committed hard-core communists, as well as their left-wing supporters, came from all classes of Greek society. However, the vigorous political and military leaders and organizers came from the educated and professional classes, some for democratic reasons and some for radical socialist objectives. They saw the monarchy as a reactionary, fascist institution, and the British and Americans as imperialists who looked after their own interests and supported the worst elements in Greek society in order to achieve their ends.

Communist regimes in the Balkans refused to recognize the provisional government and to deal with it in other than clandestine ways. On 27 December 1947 the Communist Party of Greece was outlawed by the nationalist government of Greece and all "communist"-related activities were subjected to harsh punishment, including the death penalty. Some leftists were spared after signing a "declaration of repentance".

Under intensive pressure by the national army, the leftist Democratic Army of Greece started to rely on forced conscription of men, as well as women, in the areas it controlled. Most of the conscripts were young, from villages and small towns, who had little or no experience of guerrilla warfare. About 25 per cent of them were females, many of whom had risen to positions of junior command. By the spring of 1948 the DAG had reached its peak of 30,000 regular combatants and 70,000 reservists in auxiliary organizations. It controlled over 65 per cent of the rural population and half of Greece's surface area. More than 700,000 Greeks became refugees within Greece. The overwhelming majority of them were forced by the national army to leave their villages in order to deprive the communist insurgents of supplies and moral support.

The forced conscription of women and men by the DAG created suspicion and distrust, even among liberals who sympathized with the persecuted members of the left. Furthermore, the *pedomazoma* (abduction) of 28,000 children from the war zone of northern Greece to Eastern European countries by the Greek communist forces became the most contentious and emotive issue of the Civil War against the insurgents. According to the communists, the children, many of whose parents were in the DAG, were evacuated for their own protection; according to the Greek government, to be indoctrinated as young communists.

With the increase of military and economic aid from the United States, the national army of 147,000 men became an effective force in military operations against the Democratic

Army. Many tens of thousands of auxiliary military organizations (e.g. National Guard, police, and armed civilians) played an important supportive role for the national army. The final battles of the Civil War were fought in the summer of 1949 on the Grammos and Vitsi mountain ranges in northern Greece, where 16,000 combatants of the Democratic Army held heavily fortified positions. Other battles were fought in the mountainous regions of the Peloponnese. Overwhelmed by the superior nationalist armed forces, and battered by massive air strikes, the Democratic Army was finally defeated. Over 3000 leftist troops escaped to neighbouring Albania, Bulgaria, and Yugoslavia. Although minor clashes between the national army and small leftist units continued for several months throughout Greece, the Greek Civil War was over.

In his analysis of the war, the historian Richard Clogg indicates that there were at least four factors which contributed to the military defeat of the communist forces in Greece. First, the forced conscription of men and women by the Democratic Army and the abduction of children from the war zone to Eastern bloc countries. Because of these two unpopular policies the communists lost the support of the Greek liberal population, who might otherwise have been attracted to some of their political and economic objectives. Second, the inclusion of Slav-Macedonians in the Democratic Army, a very unpopular policy even among Greek leftists. The majority of the leftists would not fight for a cause which, if successful, would truncate their country. Third, the feud between Stalin and Tito. When Yugoslavia was expelled from the Cominform in 1948, the Greek communists sided with Moscow. As a consequence Tito closed Yugoslavia's borders with Greece in 1949, depriving the Democratic Army of much-needed supplies as well as important reserves. More than 4000 combatants of the Democratic Army were cut off in Yugoslavia and not permitted to cross back into Greece to assist their comrades. The fourth factor was the massive influx of American economic and military aid to the national army to contain Soviet expansionism. Furthermore, since Greece was within the British and American sphere of influence, the Soviets were unwilling to risk a confrontation with the West in order to secure a leftist victory in Greece.

During the Civil War over 158,000 Greeks lost their lives. Estimated casualties, according to the Greek government, included 29,000 leftist combatants and 11,000 of the national army. More than 40,000 leftists were sent to concentration camps by the pro-monarchist government. About 20,000 men and women were tried for crimes against the state and, of those, at least 5000 were executed.

After the defeat of the Democratic Army in northern Greece in August 1949, more than 70,000 men and women fled to Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union as political refugees. The systematic persecution and ostracism of the communists continued until July 1974 when the Greek parliament voted for the legalization of the Greek Communist Party.

The destruction of the Greek economy by the Axis occupation and the Civil War, along with high rates of unemployment during the 1950s and 1960s, forced hundreds of thousands of Greeks to leave their country in search of better social and economic opportunities in other countries, including Australia, Canada, and the United States. Most of them were economically deprived peasants with little academic attainment and occupational skills. Some peasants, however, emigrated to large cities, especially in the Athens area, to find jobs and improve their socio-economic status.

Political persecution against the left-wing elements by the right wing during the post-Civil War years also forced a large number of Greeks to emigrate to Australia and Canada, where they could find political freedom and better economic opportunities. At that time the US Embassy in Athens was very reluctant to issue visas of immigration to Greek citizens with leftist ideologies, especially those affiliated to the Communist Party.

Between 1951 and 1971 over 10 per cent of the Greek population had emigrated to foreign countries, mainly for economic and political reasons. These patterns of emigration, along with the introduction of new agricultural technology, contributed to a steady decline of the rural population in Greece. The proportion of the rural population was changed from 53 per cent in 1951 to 35 per cent in 1971.

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Classical Period *c.*479–323 BC

The Classical period of Greek civilization is framed by wars: at the beginning was the great conflict with the Persian empire culminating in the defeat of Xerxes' invasion of 479 BC; at the end was the war between Philip II, king of Macedon, and the alliance of Athens and Thebes, followed by the conquest of the Near East by Philip's son Alexander the Great. Undoubtedly these circumstances influenced the character of the period, though they are only one factor in its complex form. The period also witnessed the greatest achievements of the Greek city state and its varied political systems: in essentials, this was marked by the triumph of the voluntary cooperation of the free citizens who constituted these small communities over the monolithic and massive resources of an absolutist, autocratic empire. At the same time, however, the city state contained the seeds of its own decline. The need to build a larger political organization strong enough to continue the combat against the Persians led to empire and hegemony within the Greek states themselves (particularly that of Athens, which dominated the

Classical Period: sculpture from the west pediment of the Parthenon showing Iris, messenger of the gods, *c.*438 BC, British Museum, London

first half of the period), and the subsequent rivalry and quarrels that weakened that unity following the great war between Athens and Sparta, and their resulting collective weakness in the face of the aggressive monarchy of Philip II.

Classical art and literature grew out of the developments of the preceding Archaic period, though political success engendered a new confidence. It is noticeable in the fine arts, in both sculpture and (in so far as the evidence for it has survived) painting. Already in the late Archaic period sculpture had been evolving away from its oriental- (and particularly Egyptian-) derived formalism towards greater naturalism. The stiff, formal poses of the Archaic marble statues give way to more complex ones made possible by the rapid development of hollow cast bronze. Indeed, the extremely elaborate poses of some early Classical statues, such as the *Discus Thrower* of Myron, seem specifically to illustrate their freedom from the restraints previously imposed by the marble block. This phase passed, and Classical sculpture is marked essentially by a relaxed, yet idealized, naturalism. But what were by repute its greatest achievements, the lost statues of gold and ivory (fixed on a wooden frame) made by Phidias as the focus of worship in the temples of Athena on the Acropolis of Athens and of Zeus at Olympia, must have had an awesome majesty and formality that transcended any natural representation.

Much of this sculpture was produced to satisfy the demands of official patronage rather than the private individual. Statues were set up as thank-offerings for victory, or to express the religious needs of the community, rather than as monuments to the prestige and power of ruling families. The city, the community, commissioned them, and the art reflected, very often, the political agenda set by the community itself. Not all of this was the triumphant militarism typified by Phidias' colossal bronze of *Athena the Champion* that dominated the Acropolis of Athens, and which was prominent enough to serve as a landmark to guide ships approaching the harbour of Piraeus, more than 6 km away. More subtle, and echoing the changed circumstances of the 4th century BC, was the personification of *Peace* and her infant *Wealth* made by Cephisidotus (of which later copies survive), while a surviving original bronze of *Athena*, plausibly attributed to the same sculptor, though armoured, seems to present no threat of military aggression. The emphasis, more and more, is on humanity, as in the *Hermes Playing with the Infant Dionysus* by Praxiteles, Cephisidotus' more famous son, which was found at Olympia and often thought to be an original, not a copy. But in many ways the logical and most influential development of Classical sculpture is seen in Praxiteles' *Aphrodite*, sensational in its own day on account of its nudity, and a forerunner of an endless sculptural interest in the naked female form (and, in this case, supposedly modelled not on an imaginary goddess but on the sculptor's own mistress).

Despite this, sculpture was very much a public art, and even the *Aphrodite* was purchased by the people of Cnidus in Asia Minor, to be set up there in a sanctuary of the goddess, where the statue became a tourist attraction. Statues were placed in religious sanctuaries and in public places such as the agora, a term better translated as the civic centre rather then the marketplace of the Greek cities. Sculpture also adorned public buildings, particularly temples, which, continuing the conventions of the Archaic period, carried relief decoration on their friezes, and sculpture in the round in their pediments, the supreme examples of the Classical period being the temple of Athena, the Parthenon, on the Acropolis of Athens, and the slightly earlier temple of Zeus at Olympia. Certainly at Athens, and in all probability at Olympia, this work did not simply pay tribute to the gods, but at the same time celebrated victory over the barbarian, the Persian invader. It is typical of the Classical attitude, however, that it did this by allegory (for example, Greeks defeating legendary Amazons) rather than by direct representation, an indication that the Greek approach was now radically different from that of the Near Eastern predecessors.

Painting, we know, was used to decorate public buildings, such as temples, porticos, and feasting rooms, such as at the entrance (Propylaea) to the Athenian Acropolis. Executed on wooden panels or plastered walls, it was essentially a fragile

medium and is now largely lost. Decorated vases, their pictures fired in the kiln, give us some idea of developments – the move towards greater realism, perhaps in advance of sculpture, and the illusion of three dimensions and depth. The panel-painting technique of colour wash on a chalky white ground was used briefly in the last part of the 5th century BC in a special category of vase, made to be deposited in graves; the best illustrate the freedom that artists had then mastered. In 1977, the unearthing of the tombs of Philip II and other members of the Macedonian royal family revealed wall-paintings of dazzling mastery that anticipate uncannily the achievements of Renaissance artists, in the sense of liberation from long traditions and conventions: such work clearly went on to inspire artists in the Hellenistic and Roman periods.

Architecture was firmly rooted in the forms of the Archaic period – superficially, there is no great difference between the Doric temple of Artemis at Corcyra, of the early 6th century BC, and the Parthenon, the greatest Doric building of the 5th century BC. Developments can be seen in the improvement in technique, particularly the use of marble, and the refinement of detail. Yet there is more than this. Though it is not easily noticed by the naked eye, the Parthenon represents the application to building design of a rigorously thought-out sequence of mathematical proportions, particularly in the ratio of 4:9, that is 2 squared to 3 squared. It is in mathematics that some of the greatest advances of the Classical period can be discerned. Despite having – or perhaps, by virtue of having – hopelessly cumbersome numerical systems, the 5th century BC was the time at which the Greek interest in mathematics became fully awakened, not surprisingly through geometry, ratio, and proportion rather than arithmetic. Sculptors such as Polyclitus saw the ideal of human beauty in the mathematical relationship between the different parts of the human body. The mathematicians of the Classical period constituted a discipline that has continued uninterruptedly, through the succeeding Hellenistic and Roman periods, inspiring the Arabic mathematicians of the Middle Ages, and on to the present day. Thus the work of the 4th-century mathematician Eudoxus of Cnidus was incorporated by the Hellenistic Euclid into his fundamental textbook, the *Elements*, which was still an essential schoolbook in the 20th century.

In addition to mathematics, and also building on the pioneering achievements of the Archaic period, the natural sciences flourished. Much, inevitably, was theoretical, but in what we would term physics for instance, Greek scientists evolved the atomic theory. It was still essentially the age of the universalist, but so much had been achieved that the greatest of them, Aristotle, gathered together in his writings (which read more like lecture notes, carefully preserved for posterity, than published works) his systematical concepts of the whole range of scientific thought – and beyond. The philosophers – a term coined in the Classical period – also turned to the study of human behaviour, politics and the nature of political relationships, the concepts of law and order and justice, of religious and related matters, of poetry and the arts. The nature of the ideal state was investigated; in size and scope, not surprisingly, it resembled the Classical Greek city state, but the unsatisfactory nature of contemporary political forms meant that no existing city furnished an ideal model, although Aristotle studied the constitutions, presumably all different, of some 150 of them.

How much of practical value this study of political theory achieved is dubious, though Plato went to Syracuse to advise the autocratic ruler of that city, and Aristotle was chosen by Philip II to be tutor to his son Alexander the Great. The principal achievement of the philosophers based in Athens, including Aristotle, who was not a native Athenian, was the institution of their own philosophical schools (again, with Archaic-period antecedents). These were based on the exercise grounds, the gymnasia, of the Classical city, and they survived and even developed as centres of intellectual life through the succeeding Hellenistic and Roman periods. Although as centres of paganism they were suppressed by the Christian emperor Justinian, they provided a model for Alexandria, for the Arabic centres of the Middle Ages, and so again through post-medieval Renaissance Europe to the present day.

During the Classical period there was a great flourishing of literature. Earlier literature, since the time and works of Homer, comprised exclusively poetry. Now a significant prose literature began. The writings of Herodotus in many ways typify the Classical achievement. First and foremost, he brought to Greece a great personal knowledge of the wider world within which the Greeks existed and operated. Born at Halicarnassus in Asia Minor, he was by birth a subject of the Persian king; his neighbours were the non-Greek Carians. He certainly visited Egypt and other parts of the Persian empire before arriving in Athens, at the period of its great rise to power and prosperity following the defeat of Xerxes' invasion. He knew the leading political families, who told him their family histories, which were so important a part of the city's development. He was inspired to record the history of the Persian Wars, as the first united achievement of the Greek peoples since the siege of Troy (which to him, of course, was equally historical). In a world where education included above all else a knowledge of the Homeric poems, he set out to produce his own epic of the Persian Wars – but written in prose, not verse. He included everything that seemed to him to have even the least bearing on the history of the war, and thus preserved for us a vast spectrum of contemporary knowledge. Above all, in doing this, he instigated the study of contemporary or near-contemporary events: as the "father of history" he certainly inspired his more methodical successor Thucydides, who wrote about the lesser war between Athens and Sparta, with a deeper insight into historical analysis that this tragic event required, and thereafter an endless sequence of historians, down to the present day. From this, too, prose became the natural medium of expression for the philosophers.

At the same time, drama was developed as a new form of poetic literature. Here, too, the roots lie in the Archaic period, in the choral odes sung and danced at religious festivals throughout the Greek world. Tragedy required the participation of individual actors, separated from the choruses. They played the roles of recognizable characters drawn from the almost limitless repertoire of traditional legend and myth. Significantly, actions based on contemporary events are almost unheard of; the main known – and surviving – example is Aeschylus' play the *Persians*, which again was based on the events of Xerxes' invasion. Comedy was more involved with contemporary affairs, particularly politics, and often portrayed

real politicians or other public figures. It was all part of the ferment of contemporary intellectual life. The surviving examples of both tragedy and comedy come, almost inevitably, from 5th-century Athens. Drama went into a marked decline in the succeeding century, the only real survivor being the "new" non-political comedy of manners of the late 4th century BC. Until recent discoveries of these plays on papyri from Egypt, they survived only in Latin versions of the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC. From the Greek examples, later Latin plays, written as literary exercises rather than for production on the stage, in their turn inspired subjects for plays by Shakespeare.

It would be wrong to create the impression that Classical Greece was unified in its achievement. Some places – most obviously, Athens – predominate because their own position in the Classical world, their wealth, and their power were particularly inspiring. In these places the culture of the Classical period is very much a *Zeitgeist*, the spirit of the age. They might well stimulate achievement elsewhere. All the same, much of the Greek world was outside this achievement. Some cities, such as Sparta, quite deliberately turned their backs on it in a desperate attempt to preserve what were for them the more congenial virtues of the preceding Archaic period. Many places, poor and small and insignificant, remained outside through lack of opportunity or sheer ignorance. All the same, awareness of what was being achieved was widespread, and the excitement, if not the opportunity, was not restricted by political or geographical divisions. Aristotle, surely the greatest intellect of the Classical period, came from Stagira in northern Greece, a place that recent excavation has shown to be nothing more than a rather squalid village; to gain intellectual fulfilment he had to move away, not just to the wealth of Philip II's growing kingdom but to Athens, in political decline but still the epitome of Classical civilization.

R.A. TOMLINSON

See also Architecture, Comedy, Democracy, Historiography, Mathematics, Painting, Philosophy, Physics, Religion, Tragedy

Summary

Roughly 479–323 BC – from the end of the Persian Wars to the death of Alexander the Great. The period is notable for a cultural flowering in Greece – and especially in Athens – in almost every field which brought to maturity the seeds sown in the preceding Archaic period. Among other highlights, the tragedies of Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripedes, the philosophy of Socrates, Plato and Aristotle, and the sculptures of Phidias and Praxiteles are considered benchmarks in the development of Western civilization.

Further Reading

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Cleisthenes *fl.*525–505 BC

Athenian political leader

The clan of the Alcmaeonidae, to which Cleisthenes belonged, had been prominent in the old "Eupatrid" pre-Solonian aristocracy of Athens. One of its members, Megacles, was chief archon around *c.*630 BC when another noble, Cylon, attempted to seize power and set himself up as "tyrant". Megacles rallied the people and blockaded him on the Acropolis. Cylon escaped, but his followers, who had taken refuge at the statue of Athena, were killed, despite a promise of safe conduct. As a result the whole clan was tried, put under a curse, and exiled.

Restored, it seems, at the time of Solon's reforms (594 BC), the Alcmaeonidae emerged in the mid-6th century as leaders of the coast faction, the "Men of the Shore" in Herodotus' account (1. 59) of the political struggles that led to Pisistratus' three attempts to establish a "tyranny"; Aristotle (*Athenian Constitution*, 13) identifies this faction as the supporters of "the middle form of constitution", such as Solon had tried to bring about, and views Pisistratus as "a man who seemed inclined to democracy". The Alcmaeonidae went into exile (Herodotus, 1. 64) after Pisistratus' successful third attempt with strong foreign backing.

Cleisthenes, who at this time was at least an adolescent, if not an adult, presumably went with them. But at some point, probably after Pisistratus' death in 528/27 BC, he returned to Athens, now ruled by Pisistratus' son Hippias, for he was almost certainly the Cleisthenes who appears in one fragment, discovered in the Athenian Agora, of a late 5th-century BC list of chief archons, as holding office in what its editors identify as 525/24 BC.

Later Cleisthenes was again in exile with many of his clan, who, after failing to spark a popular rising against Hippias by means of an armed incursion into Attica, withdrew to Delphi, where they obtained the contract for rebuilding the fire-damaged temple of Apollo. Their lavish performance of the task won them influence with the Delphic authorities, who were persuaded to advise the Spartans, whenever they came to consult the oracle, to liberate Athens from the tyrant. This advice was probably instrumental in winning support at Sparta for such men as king Cleomenes, who had other reasons for removing Hippias. In the event, after a failed seaborne invasion in 511 BC, the following year Cleomenes took a substantial army by land from the Peloponnese, won a battle, and forced Hippias into exile.

Cleisthenes' role in these events is unknown, but he is identified by Herodotus (5. 66) as one of the two most powerful men in Athens after Hippias' expulsion, his rival being Isagoras, described by Aristotle (*Athenian Constitution*, 20) as a friend of the tyrants. Isagoras gained the upper hand, being elected chief archon for 508/07 BC, whereupon, as Herodotus puts it, Cleisthenes "took the people into his party", words echoed by Aristotle, who adds: "by proposing to give political power to the masses". The clear inference to be drawn from their wording is that they believed that this action was born of political expediency, a belief that the previous history of the Alcmaeonidae, for all their support of the Solonian reforms, cannot be said to refute.

Cleisthenes' appeal to the people must have met with a response, for Isagoras at once sought help from Cleomenes, who had worked with him in 510 BC. The Spartan king's reply was to call on the Athenians to expel Cleisthenes and others of "the accursed" (Herodotus, 5. 70) – the descendants of the Alcmaeonidae who had been punished with a curse after the massacre of Cylon's supporters in the late 7th century BC – and then to travel to Athens with a small force. Before he arrived, Cleisthenes himself left Athens, a move that, whatever his motive, enabled the people to decide on their best policy without the pressure of the curse, but Cleomenes still set about expelling as many as 700 households of Cleisthenes' supporters. He also tried to replace the Solonian Council of 400 with a body of 300 partisans of Isagoras, and then seized the Acropolis. The people rose against him and after a two-day siege forced him to depart under truce, expelled Isagoras, and recalled Cleisthenes.

Cleisthenes now carried out his promise to give power to the people. His principal reform was to create a new tribal structure for the political and military organization of the Athenian people, replacing the four old Ionian tribes based on kinship with ten new tribes based on 139 small local units, the demes, grouped in such a way as to minimize the influence of the wealthy landed nobles by making each tribe consist of people drawn from all over Athens and Attica. He linked demes together, not necessarily with their immediate neighbours, to form thirty *trittyes*, ten in each of three regions, the city, the inland, and the coasts, and then took one *trittys* from each region to form each new tribe. He thus aimed to preserve the unity of the state against the sort of powerful regional factions whose rivalries had led to Pisistratus' tyranny and whose re-emergence Isagoras' success seemed to foreshadow.

Cleisthenes then used the new tribes to reshape Solon's Council of 400. Enlarged to 500, it was to consist of 50 men from each tribe selected by lot from nominees of the demes, the members to change annually and no one to serve more than twice in his lifetime. These arrangements ensured that it could not be controlled by minority pressure groups, while educating a good proportion of the citizens in public affairs, and so it enabled the sovereign Assembly open to all citizens, whose business it prepared and whose decisions it carried out, also to be truly democratic and effective. The two essential institutions of Athenian democracy were now in place and functioning properly. Cleisthenes' enactment of the only other measure credited to him, the introduction of ostracism (Aristotle, *The Athenian Constitution*, 22), has been needlessly doubted on the grounds that the procedure was not used until 488/87 BC.

His name is not linked with any event after his reforms of 508/07 BC and it is not known what part, if any, he had in the successful defence of the new democratic Athens against threats from Sparta, Thebes, and Chalcis (506–505 BC), or even when he died. However, both Herodotus (6. 131) and Aristotle (*Athenian Constitution*, 29) refer to him without qualification as the one who "established democracy"; Isocrates in his *Areopagiticus* (*c.*354 BC) sees the system he set up as greatly preferable to the radical democracy of his own day. Under it, certainly, the Athenians were very successful. In the modern democratic era, although due weight has been given to the influence of Solon as the "father of democracy", and although some scholars have detected signs of pro-Alcmaeonid gerrymandering in allocating *trittyes* to tribes, the essential role of Cleisthenes in the democracy's development to maturity has been freely recognized, not least in the celebrations that marked the 2,500th anniversary of his laws.

T.T.B. RYDER

See also Democracy

Biography

A member of the Alcmaeonid clan, Cleisthenes (date of birth unknown) was probably chief archon in 525/24 BC during the tyranny of Hippias. After the expulsion of Hippias by Cleomenes of Sparta in 510 BC, Cleisthenes emerged as a popular leader and in 508/07 BC carried out political reforms that set in motion the machinery that would bring about the establishment of Athenian democracy. Date of death unknown.

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Clement of Alexandria, St

*c.*AD 150– *c.*AD 215

Christian writer

It is to a large degree thanks to Clement that the cultural and philosophical traditions of Hellenism were deemed to be a legitimate component of Christian theology. In the religious and philosophical melting pot that was late-antique Alexandria, Clement fought a two-sided battle that was in many respects successful. Against the tendency to reject the Hellenic tradition outright evinced in Tatian, Tertullian, and Irenaeus, Clement defended the utility of Hellenic learning for the defence and deepening of the faith. On the other front, Clement attacked the complex and seductive speculations of the Gnostics, which had proved so attractive to many educated Christians.

The bulk of Clement's work forms a kind of trilogy. The *Protrepticus* or *Exhortation to the Greeks* is an attack on the absurdities of pagan religion and a call to accept the only true religion, that which has been sublimely revealed by Christ, the *Logos* of God. The *Paedagogue* or *Teacher* takes up the instruction of those who have accepted baptism. Its aim is to teach the perfect accomplishment of the virtues. The *Stromateis* or *Miscellanies* are, as the title suggests, a collection of diffuse materials; they deal, among other things, with the relation between the Christian faith and Hellenic philosophy, with marriage, and with the ideal of the true gnostic. In addition Clement composed a small work, *Quis Dives Salvitur?*or *Who is The Rich Man that is Saved?* This piece is a commentary on Mark 10: 17–31. Clement argues that the Christian is not required actually to sell all his goods, but rather to be free from attachment to them. Other works survive only as fragments.

Clement's teaching is centred on the *Logos*, the creator, instructor, and perfecter of humankind. The *Logos* has revealed God to the Jews in the Law of the Old Testament, to the Greeks in their philosophy, and finally and most perfectly in his own Incarnation. Philosophy is therefore a legitimate tool of Christian theology. The difference is one of degree, not of kind.

In opposition to the Gnostic tendency to divide Christians into more or less predetermined classes, Clement insists upon the sufficiency of faith and the equal grace conferred upon all at baptism. Also against the Gnostics, Clement affirms the integrity of the material order and the goodness of the body. Against the tendency found among Christians and Gnostics alike to denigrate marriage, Clement upheld its sanctity. He goes so far as to suggest that the married Christian is on a level above the celibate. The celibate has fewer distractions and encumbrances; his task is therefore easier.

Notwithstanding the equality of grace received at baptism, the Christian must strive for perfection. Through the exercise of his free will, he must struggle for the gift of *apatheia*, or freedom from passions. God is radically unknowable, but is made known to those who love him. Clement's apophaticism is more than mere agnosticism. The true gnostic is led by the *Logos* to the contemplation of God. By way of this anagogy, man is deified. Clement speaks of man's deification with almost unprecedented clarity.

Of Clement's immediate background we know frustratingly little. He is very vague about his own teachers, naming only one of them, the Alexandrian lecturer Pantaeus. His work is suffused with Platonic philosophy and Stoic ethics, and marked by Aristotelian logic and vocabulary. His frequent allusions to Classical literature, no doubt intended to keep up the interest of his cultured audience, are drawn from both florilegia and direct acquaintance. He is patently indebted to the Jewish Platonist Philo of Alexandria, particularly in respect of the allegorical method of biblical exegesis, the incomprehensibility of God, and the ideal of *apatheia*. Clement's integration of the Hellenic tradition and Christianity is a more searching and critical development of that proposed by St Justin Martyr. Clement's *Exhortation* owes some elements to Tatian's *Exhortation*.

The influence of Clement has been profound. The fusion of Hellenic philosophy and moral teaching with Christianity proved to be a heady mixture. Origen, though a man of greatly different temper, continued the work of Clement, establishing Christian Platonisim as the hallmark of the school of Alexandria. The Cappadocian Fathers represent the greatest flowering of the tradition of Clement and Origen. Clement's influence is clearly perceptible in the works of Evagrius of Pontus and pseudo-Macarius, the two great fountainheads of monastic spirituality. Clement's conception of the angelic hierarchies may be regarded as an ancestor of that made famous by Dionysius the Areopagite. Clement is quoted with deep approval by St Maximos the Confessor. He continued to be an important authority for the Byzantines. While removed from the Roman martyrology in the late 16th century, he remains accounted a saint by the Orthodox Church.

MARCUS PLESTED

Biography

Born *c.*AD 150, probably at Athens, educated at Alexandria in the catechetical school of Pantaenus, whom he succeeded. Principal surviving works are: *Protrepticus* (*Exhortation to the Greeks*), *Paedagogue* (*Teacher*), and *Stromateis* (*Miscellanies*). He argued for the legitimate retention of Hellenic cultural and philosophical traditions in Christian theology. He left Alexandria in 202 before the persecutions of Septimius Severus and died between 211 and 216.

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Cleomenes III 260–219 BC

King of Sparta

The lives of Cleomenes III (Agiad, reigned *c.*235–222 BC) and his predecessor Agis IV (Eurypontid, reigned *c.*235–222 BC) are the subject of numerous studies and novels, ancient as well as modern. After Lycurgus the lawgiver, Leonidas, and Agesilaus II, they are the most famous exemplars of Spartan culture.

Their achievements and significance, on the other hand, are the stuff of history.

Cleomenes probably acceded to the Spartan throne in 235 BC. He could not have chosen a more pregnant moment. For it was then that Aratus achieved the decisive gain for the Achaean League that imperilled Sparta's future, in a way that Macedonian suzerainty of Greece had not. Megalopolis, led by its ex-tyrant Lydiadas, threw in its lot with Achaea, whose foreign policy thereby took on a decidedly anti-Spartan flavour. Like all his royal predecessors since Agesilaus II, only more so, Cleomenes had to keep watch on Megalopolis, no matter how preoccupied he might be otherwise with internal upheaval or other external threats from inside or outside the Peloponnese. Unlike all his predecessors, Cleomenes not only recovered from Megalopolis the disputed borderland of Belminatis but actually destroyed the urban centre of the Great City itself. For this, among many other things, he earned the enduring hatred of Polybius, even though the historian was born in a resurgent Megalopolis, 20 years after the king's ignominious death in exile.

The only hope for Sparta to regain its important standing in the Peloponnese was to mobilize all its inner strength and deal with the urgent social problems that beset it. Cleomenes seems to have understood this at a very early stage, and, instead of following the example of his father Leonidas and his father's cousin Areus, he decided to emulate Agis. It came as a surprise to his contemporaries to see the principles of Agis adopted by the son of his most bitter enemy.

Cleomenes was neither a romantic dreamer nor a dogmatic rationalist, but a practical politician. He was determined to solve the urgent social problems of Sparta in order to increase its political and military power, and at the same time to strengthen his own position. He knew very well that he could not carry out the necessary reforms by persuasion alone, and therefore tried to gain popularity and fame through military feats.

This does not mean, of course, that these events cannot or should not be viewed within their wider context, particularly the continuing balance of power between the three great dynasts of Macedon, Egypt, and the Near East. Indeed, it was this stalemate and, particularly, the enfeebled Macedonian suzerainty over Greece as represented successively by Antigonus II Gonatas (*c.*277–239 BC) and Demetrius II (*c.*239–229 BC) that allowed the Aetolian League, the Achaean League, and then Sparta under Cleomenes the space for internal consolidation or transformation and external expansion. In fact, it was the resurgence of Macedon under Antigonus III Doson in the 220s BC, ironically precipitated by Cleomenes, that fully exposed the limitations of the single Greek city state as a power unit and put paid to Sparta's illusory independence and ephemeral social renewal.

Cleomenes had planned his coup well in advance with the collaboration of a small group of sympathizers, including his stepfather Megistonous, a rich landowner. Returning to Sparta one evening (probably in the autumn of 227 BC) he fell upon the ephors at supper, killing four of them and ten of their chief supporters, and seized power. Eighty opponents were proscribed. Cleomenes then proceeded to carry out the same revolutionary programme that had led to the downfall of Agis. All landed property was put into a common pool, debts were cancelled, and the land was divided into 4,000 Spartan lots. He raised the citizen body to perhaps 5,000 from the metics and *perioikoi* (dwellers round about), but in the reassignment of the land, lots were reserved for proscribed exiles, whose eventual reconciliation and return was evidently envisaged – or at least that was the impression that Cleomenes sought to convey. Equally important for his aims, the traditional Spartan *agoge* (upbringing), with military training, age groups for boys, and common messes for adults, was reintroduced. But Cleomenes' measures were not simply backward-looking. Now at last, a century after Alexander and after several Spartan defeats, he introduced the Macedonian type of phalanx and spent the winter drilling his troops in the use of the long pike, the *sarissa*. Constitutionally, he weakened the Gerousia by attenuating or removing some of its powers, and by making election to it annual rather than for life (a major source of its enormous prestige), and abolished the ephorate, which he condemned as an excrescence on the "Lycurgan constitution", a move that led his opponents to brand him as a tyrant. According to Pausanias, he established a new board of magistrates, the *patronomoi* (the title means "Guardians of Ancestral Law and Order").

The Cleomenean revolution struck a chord in the cities of Sparta's Achaean opponents, where the poor sub-hoplite citizenry yearned for debt cancellation and land redistribution on the Spartan model, which they obviously regarded as exportable. This, however, was a grave misapprehension, because Sparta's unique sociopolitical conditions could not simply be reproduced elsewhere, and because Cleomenes had no intention of exporting social or economic revolution of any kind. Ideological preference may have had something to do with this refusal, but a more powerful factor was the pragmatic consideration that Spartan hegemony over an association of cities dominated by mass movements of a genuinely democratic character was likely to be radically unstable and bound to attract the unwelcome attention of Macedon, which had made its views on popular social movements unequivocally clear from the very outset of its hegemony of Greece.

The Cleomenic War, the war against Cleomenes as seen from the Achaean standpoint, lasted from 229/28 to 222 BC. At the beginning Cleomenes was very successful, and almost provoked the collapse of the Achean League. By the beginning of 224 BC his military-political drive had not only brought Argos and most of Arcadia within the Spartan camp but had carried his victorious arms into and beyond the original Achaean heartland to the very gates of the Peloponnese at Corinth. The victory in the field at Hecatombeum in western Achaea in 226 BC was matched in 225 BC by the diplomatic triumph of the adhesion of Argos. Even Aratus' own Sicyon trembled before the blast and had its loyalties severely strained. A few months into 224 BC, however, the wily and perplexing Aratus, former liberator of the Acrocorinth and unifier of much of the Peloponnese on an ostensibly anti-Macedonian alliance, deployed his recently acquired authority as general plenipotentiary (*strategos autokrator*) to lead the Achaean League into an alliance with none other than the old enemy Macedon.

A century before, the decisive battle between a still independent Greece and Macedon at Chaeronea had preceded the formation in 338 BC of Philip's Hellenic League, usually known

as the League of Corinth. In the 220s BC the decisive encounter between Macedon and a still independent Sparta succeeded the formation of a new Hellenic League conceived on significantly different lines. Not only was Doson's league directed specifically against Sparta and the generalized social revolution it was supposed to stand for, but this was an alliance of federations, not single poleis.

The battle that was to settle the war was fought near Sellasia on the northern borders of Laconia. But Cleomenes' cause was already lost, and Ptolemy IV Philopator acknowledged that he had become a poor investment by cutting off his subsidy just days in advance of the fighting. But so far as can be ascertained, the decisive factor in Macedon's victory was superiority in numbers. Cleomenes' losses were heavy; but he himself escaped with a handful of men to Sparta, and thence to Gytheum, where they embarked for Egypt, to join his mother as a refugee in Ptolemy's Alexandria. Antigonus proceeded to take Sparta and achieved what Philip II had scorned to attempt and Pyrrhus among others had failed to execute, the first capture of the city.

Cleomenes' political reforms were now cancelled and the ephorate was restored; the kingship was in effect left vacant. The fate of his social and economic measures is less certain. The cancellation of debts clearly could not be reversed. It seems on the whole likely that in this field Cleomenes' measures were not wholly abrogated but that some sort of compromise was reached.

A vaguely Cleomenean political tendency at Sparta survived the battle of Sellasia. But it was a lost affair, especially after the pathetic deaths of Cleomenes and his handful of supporters at Alexandria in spring 219 BC in a futile rising against the new Ptolemy IV Philopator. The legend of Cleomenes, however, was in safe hands, and his ideas influenced generations to come.

DIMITRIS A. KALOGERAS

Biography

Born 260 BC. Spartan king (235–222 BC) and political reformer. Cleomenes tried to solve the social problems of Sparta in order to increase its political and military power and at the same time strengthen his own position. He reinstalled the Lycurgan political system, cancelled debts, and redistributed land in equal portions. His reforms alarmed neighbouring states, especially Macedon. He was defeated in 222 BC at Sellasia and his reforms cancelled. He went into exile and died in Alexandria in 219 BC.

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Cleopatra 69–30 BC

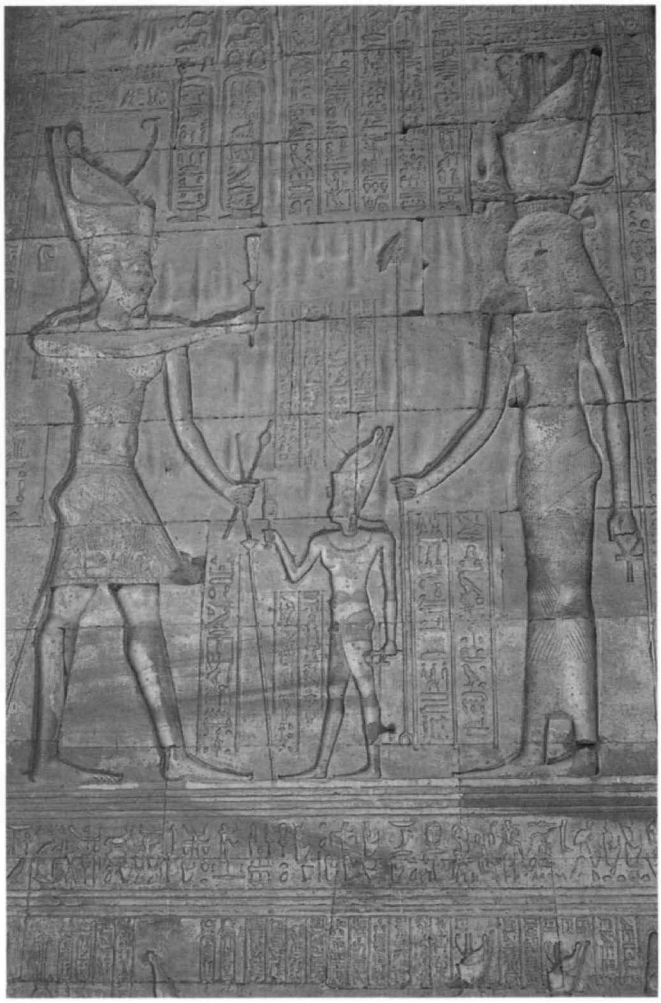
Queen of Egypt

Cleopatra was born in 69 BC to Ptolemy XII Auletes, king of Ptolemaic Egypt, and (almost certainly) his sister-wife Cleopatra V. The third of their six children, Cleopatra grew up against the backdrop of her father's turbulent reign, in the course of which he was deposed and fled Egypt for some years. During this period Cleopatra's two elder sisters ruled as pharaohs, although one soon died and the other was killed after Ptolemy XII was restored with Roman support. Nothing is known about Cleopatra's early life, but when her father died in 51 BC, Cleopatra was his eldest surviving child and acceded to the throne as Cleopatra VII Philopator, ruling jointly with her younger brother Ptolemy XIII, whom she married in accordance with Ptolemaic custom.

On account of the machinations of ambitious ministers and the agitation of the Alexandrian populace, the Egyptian throne was still far from secure. A war was engineered between brother and sister, leading to Cleopatra's expulsion from Alexandria. During the course of the contemporaneous Roman civil war between the triumvirs Pompey and Julius Caesar, Pompey fled to Egypt after his defeat at the battle of Pharsalus, and was pursued by Caesar. Pompey was treacherously murdered by the supporters of Ptolemy XIII. When Caesar arrived with his troops he decided to support the claims of Cleopatra and fought on her behalf the Alexandrian War against her brother. Caesar was by now married to his third Roman wife and was in his early 50s; Cleopatra was a young woman of about 20. Tradition maintains that she came to meet him in secret wrapped in a linen sack, and that Caesar, susceptible to feminine wiles, was immediately captivated by her.

Roman forces won the war, in the course of which Ptolemy XIII was killed. Caesar restored Cleopatra to the Egyptian throne and had her married to her other younger brother Ptolemy XIV, ostensibly to rule jointly with him. It is after this that Caesar and Cleopatra took their legendary Nile cruise to explore the country of Upper Egypt, an episode which has been much romanticized in recent times. No details about this trip survive, but when Caesar left Egypt sometime in 47 BC, Cleopatra was pregnant, allegedly by him. Later that year she gave birth to a son, known as Caesarion ("Little Caesar"). In 46 BC, for reasons which remain obscure, Cleopatra and her son followed Caesar to Rome, where they remained until his assassination on the Ides of March in 44 BC.

After the murder of Cleopatra's great champion and protector, the queen returned to Alexandria. She engineered the murder of her brother Ptolemy XIV and installed her young son on the throne with her as Ptolemy XV. The political consequences of Caesar's murder were great. One of his major supporters was Mark Antony, who allied himself with Octavian, Caesar's great-nephew and posthumously adopted



Cleopatra: relief from the temple at Dendera, Egypt, showing Julius Caesar and Cleopatra, with their son Caesarion between them

son, against Caesar's assassins. After their defeat of the assassins, Antony and Octavian divided the territory of Rome between them, but gradually fell out with each other to the extent that civil war again ensued. Antony, whose power base was in the east, summoned Cleopatra to meet him in Cilicia in 41 BC. Ancient sources describe Cleopatra arriving in her spectacular state barge at Tarsus adorned as Aphrodite, having cunningly calculated the effect of her appearance and such a dramatic arrival. Although Antony was by now a mature man in his 40s married to his third Roman wife, he was instantly smitten by the queen. She invited him to a sumptuous feast aboard her barge, and was lavishly entertained by him the following day.

Antony and Cleopatra spent the following winter together at Alexandria, enjoying a life of luxury, the extravagant Ptolemaic court life clearly appealing to the self-indulgent Roman. Cleopatra bore him twins (a boy and a girl) in 40 BC. Antony left Egypt to deal with events in Rome, taking as his fourth wife Octavian's half-sister Octavia in an attempt to improve relations with his rival. There is no evidence that he saw Cleopatra again until 37 BC, when he met her in Syria. It appears that their relationship was further consolidated, though it stopped short of marriage since Antony was still legally married to Octavia. He acknowledged his paternity of their twins, and Cleopatra bore him another son the following year.

Relations between Antony and Octavian worsened, no doubt hastened by this insult to Octavia. Antony campaigned in Parthia and Armenia, with varying results, but the final break with Octavian came after a ceremony in Alexandria in 34 BC, known as the Donations of Alexandria. At a grand spectacle Cleopatra was confirmed as queen of Egypt and the surrounding lands in conjunction with her son Caesarion, and the rest of the eastern territories were divided between the two sons of Antony and Cleopatra. By this act Antony and Cleopatra claimed dynastic succession for their children even as he granted Roman territories to the half-Egyptian princes. War with Octavian was now inevitable, and large forces were mustered.

The combined forces of Antony and Cleopatra were defeated by Octavian in the naval Battle of Actium (off the west coast of Greece) in 31 BC. The tactics of the battle have occasioned great debate, but Cleopatra's ships, lined up behind those of Antony, fled the scene through a gap in the battle lines and headed for Egypt. In despair, Antony followed her, his ships were captured, and his land forces gradually defected to Octavian. The campaign was lost. It only remained for Octavian to capture his two foes.

Antony and Cleopatra slowly returned to Egypt, and resumed their relationship. They spent the winter of 31 BC in Alexandria in a life of profligate luxury, reminiscent of the early days of their courtship. They made plans for further warfare even as Octavian approached Egypt. Various embassies were sent to Octavian. Some sources attest that Octavian secretly told Cleopatra that he would spare her if she betrayed Antony; others that Octavian pretended to be in love with Cleopatra so that she would not kill herself and burn the colossal treasure which she had collected in her unfinished tomb. In any event, it appears that Cleopatra was terrified of capture and being forced to march as a captive in Octavian's Roman triumph, which the victor clearly intended.

Egypt was attacked in 30 BC, and Antony was ultimately unable to stave off defeat when many of his land and naval forces deserted to Octavian. At the news of the final defeat, Cleopatra locked herself and her servants into her tomb and apparently sent out a message to Antony that she was dead. Antony killed himself with his sword, and some days later, despite Octavian's efforts to keep her alive, Cleopatra was found dead in her tomb, allegedly killed by the bite of an asp although rumours of poison were known.

Cleopatra's death ended the rule of the Greek Ptolemaic dynasty of kings in Egypt, and the country became a province of Rome. It was her fate, for good or ill, to come into contact with two of the most powerful Romans of their day, and her love affairs with them have ensured her undying fame. In hostile Roman sources Cleopatra was depicted as an eastern witch who had seduced two noble Romans, yet she was a Greek and only the first of her dynasty to speak Egyptian. Her political cunning and capacity for survival, whether as victim or manipulator, meant that Egypt remained Greek and inde-

pendent from Roman rule for longer than the other Hellenistic empires.

E.E. RICE

See also Ptolemies

Biography

Born in 69 BC the daughter of Ptolemy XII Auletes, Cleopatra became queen on the death of her father in 51 BC, ruling jointly with her younger brother Ptolemy XIII. In a war between the brother and sister Julius Caesar supported Cleopatra and restored her to her throne. In 47 BC she bore his child and lived in Rome 46–44 BC. After Caesar's murder she returned to Egypt and in 41 BC met Mark Antony in Cilicia. Their forces were defeated at Actium in 31 BC by Octavian. Antony and Cleopatra committed suicide in Alexandria in 30 BC.

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Climate

Greece has a Mediterranean-type climate similar to that of Spain or California, with harsh dry summers (the dead season) and warm wet winters (the growing season in the lowlands).

The year begins in September, when clouds start to gather and the sun no longer burns so relentlessly. The first rains, coming one to ten weeks later, awaken plant growth for the winter. Frost and snow are rare but significant: olives cannot be grown in hollows where cold air gathers. Soil moisture typically reaches a maximum in spring; then the rains tail off, the heat of the sun rises, and evaporation increases. Many plants settle down to their summer dormancy, but some – notably the vine – are less well adapted to the climate and remain active through the dry season, their deep roots extracting water from the bedrock.

Greece is the land of lazy days in the crushing sun of a summer beach, and active days in the genial warmth of a southern winter; but also of people dropping dead from heat in the streets of Athens, or drowning in a flash flood in an arid Cretan gorge; of distant mountains glittering with snow; of the clammy mists from which the volcano island Santorini draws its moisture; of fire-storms jumping gorges, blasted by the October sirocco; of mules struggling through the snow in the high passes of Crete in July. Deluges are rare but very significant: once in a lifetime half a year's rain falls within a day or two and transforms a landscape.

Greece in general has a wet west side and a dry east side. The areas frequented by tourists are mostly dry, especially the islands. Athens, in the east, is one of the driest cities in Europe; Olympia, Patras, and Corfu, in the west, are relatively wet. High mountains distort the pattern; each one has a rain-excess on its northwest side, where the rain-bearing winds strike it, and a rain-shadow on the southeast. The southeast corner of Crete has less than 300 mm of annual rainfall; the high mountains probably get over 2000 mm, most of it as snow. One can have the illusion of going from Wales to Morocco in an afternoon's walk.

At high altitudes plant growth is limited by winter cold as well as summer drought. In the Pindus the growing season may be as short as two months: cereals and vines can be grown there but not olives. Modern Greeks cannot bear the cold, and flee from it if they possibly can. The highest all-year settlement is at 900 m, less than half as high as in the Alps, and a little higher than in Norway; anything higher calls for transhumance. Settlement has been much higher in prehistory.

Dust is a significant factor. It is picked up by storms in the Algerian Sahara and is transported in the upper atmosphere, to fall as a "red rain" of mud, especially in Crete. Over the centuries this has been an appreciable addition to the soils of the island, and may contribute to Crete's unexpected fertility.

Has the climate always been so? Records of unusual weather are fairly copious from islands in later phases of the Little Ice Age (1590s and 1690s AD). These were decades of extreme weather – cold, heat, drought, deluges – greater than anything that seems to occur now. Crete then had many more permanent rivers than today.

Climatology was already a discipline in ancient Greece. Theophrastus' best surviving work was in this field. Unfortunately the interest of ancient philosophers in theories rather than data means that they have little to tell us. The climate of ancient Greece was not grossly different from what it is now, but without instrumental measurements it is impossible to verify whether the climate – as opposed to unusual weather – was quite the same. If the ancient Greeks really went naked as on vase-paintings, they should have shivered in the chill damp of spring and been tortured by sunburn. (Modern Greeks are fully clad, and enjoy shade and the summer night.) It is an open question whether the clear atmosphere attributed

by modern writers to ancient Greece, unlike the hazy, often murky atmosphere usual today, is merely a proverbial platitude, or whether there has really been a change.

It is often conjectured that some change or other in early human affairs, for example the decline of the Mycenaeans, was due to a change of climate, such as drought. These claims lack independent evidence. There is, however, some evidence that winter snow was then less rare than it is now, and vegetation zones possibly lower. Theophrastus makes the definite (though secondhand) statement that settlement and cultivation reached higher into the mountains of Crete in the past than in his time.

The present Mediterranean climate, however, is not very much older than Greek history. During the ice ages, up to 14,000 years ago, Greece was drier and colder than it is now. There was then a period of wetter, less strongly seasonal climate than today, when northern trees such as lime and alder were common down to the south of Greece and even in Crete. The change to something like the present climate began in the 5th millennium BC and was completed in the Bronze Age. Agriculture, coming after the change, is reasonably well adapted to a summer-dry climate (except in the case of the vine), whereas wild vegetation has not had time to adapt and copes as best it may. Not many Greek trees lose their leaves in summer as one might expect.

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Coinage

Ancient Greek coinage developed in Asia Minor, probably influenced by the circulation of Lydian coinage in the 7th century BC. The production of Greek coinage grew as the polis flourished and spread throughout the Mediterranean during the height of the colonization phase between *c.*700 and *c.*500 BC. As a result, coinage in antiquity was an essentially Greek phenomenon and became a medium of exchange, the legacy of which remains with us today.

Money had existed long before the introduction of coinage. But it is less clear in the Greek world, at least, what exactly constituted money. We know that bars of precious metal were used as currency in the 8th century BC. Smaller payments, which required smaller denominations of coinage than were offered by early silver coinage, were probably served by other forms of money. Arrowheads, for instance, were used from the mid-6th century BC in the Black Sea area.

The earliest known Greek coins belong to the 6th century BC, but our knowledge of them is limited by the availability of good, datable archaeological contexts. The earliest archaeological evidence for the existence of coins dates from the middle of that century at the temple of Artemis in Ephesus. The coins of the Lydian king Alyattes, of a gold and silver alloy called electrum, were marked and punched with designs. Most Greek coinage was to be made of silver. Electrum was retained by a few cities (e.g. Cyzicus, Mytilene, and Phocaea) and then only until the 4th century BC.

It is clear that by *c.*500 BC silver coinage had been adopted by Greek cities throughout the Mediterranean – in Greece, Italy, Sicily, and the Hellenized parts of the Achaemenid empire, primarily western Asia Minor. It was not until the conquests of Alexander the Great in the third quarter of the 4th century BC that we see the further expansion of Greek coinage into Babylonia, Bactria, and eventually India (Cribb 1983). Rome also began to imitate Greek coinage at the end of the 4th century BC (Howgego 1995, p.10).

The introduction of coinage has yet to be explained conclusively. Some have suggested that coinage was required to pay mercenary soldiers employed in campaigns, others that coins were used to facilitate large payments by and to states (Cook 1958; Kraay and Jenkins 1976, pp.317–28). Such speculation was limited until recently by the absence of small-denomination coins, but new examination has revealed in some quantity evidence for fractional coinage at least for the late 6th and 5th centuries BC. Small denominations have appeared so far only for silver coins: these small issues discovered would still retain some value, for example the smallest electrum coin represented a day's wages (Kraay, 1964). It is only with the introduction of base metal coinage, such as bronze, apparent in Greece from around the mid-5th century BC, that one can start to think of a more diverse role for coinage.

The development and spread of Greek coinage are inextricably linked with the development of the polis and the increase in the political and economic forces of Greek-speaking communities in and around the Mediterranean. The payments made by these city states were clearly facilitated by the development of coinage. Civic coinage was validated by markings that confirmed the value and legitimacy of the state's coinage; the Greek word for coin – *nomisma* – was linked to the legitimizing authority through the laws – *nomoi* – that regulated production. However not all Greek coinage was produced by states; often individuals issued coins, acting as or representing "states". The number of individuals issuing coins exploded at the end of the 4th century BC. Ptolemy I established a precedent for the other Hellenistic kings by having his portrait put on the obverse of Egyptian coinage around 305–304 BC.

Designs on Greek coinage were synonymous with the issuing city or authority. Towards the end of the 6th century BC Athens produced coins with an owl depicted on the reverse. The bird was associated with their tutelary divinity Athena – she appeared on the obverse – and the coins soon became known as "owls". Other states had their civic designs struck on the obverse: Aegina had a tortoise, Corinth a colt. Later in the 4th century BC the monarchic leaders were to introduce their own image on to the obverse face of their coinage. Coinage from the end of the 4th century BC becomes much more closely associated with individuals, typically the Hellenistic dynasts. In the later Hellenistic period the names of eponymous officials stamped on coins allows greater precision in dating.

Coinage was one way for a city or a ruler to extend his identity through the coin types. The circulation of coinage provided a useful means of conveying ideas and meaning. Coins were therefore an important means of spreading propaganda and political messages. Around 405 BC the cities of Rhodes, Cnidus, Iasos, Samos, Ephesus, Cyzicus, and Byzantium issued coins with the same obverse type of Heracles strangling a serpent, while retaining their own civic design on the reverse. By sharing the same coin type, these cities were able to display their support for Sparta. Under the leadership of Lysimachus, of Heraclid descent, they had defeated Athens, represented by a snake symbolizing Cecrops, the founder of Athens (Howgego 1995, p.63; Karwiese 1980).

Greek coinage circulated over a wide geographic area. The most popular coins in the Classical period were the Athenian silver "owls". Most coins were made from precious metals and their value equated loosely to the content of metal in the coin. Not all Greek cities observed the same weight standards, however; thus an Athenian, Corinthian, and Aeginetan drachma were all of different weights. The Athenian silver coinage was made from metal of a higher silver content than any other contemporary Greek coin. This, and the political might of Athens that the city enjoyed thanks to its 5th-century BC empire, ensured that its coinage was established as one of the most important issues in the Mediterranean. The Athenian weight standard eventually became the norm for many of the Hellenistic kingdoms from the end of the 4th century BC. The use of the Athenian system for Alexander issues preserved this weight standard in some areas until the 1st century BC. Posthumous Alexander issues remained popular for much of the Hellenistic period.

Reducing the weight standard was one form of monetary manipulation. Debasing coinage is known; Athens introduced a "copper" currency around 406 BC (Howgego 1995, p.111). A more familiar ploy was to reduce the precious-metal content in the coin. Ptolemy I introduced major reforms to Egyptian coinage between *c.*310 and *c.*290 BC, abandoning the Athenian weight standard and eventually lowering the weight of his silver tetradrachm by nearly 20 per cent. Egypt operated a closed economy, and all coinage had to be exchanged for local issues, a development paralleled within the Attalid kingdom at the start of the 2nd century BC.

Many Greek coin producers lacked local silver resources. Rich local deposits of precious metals were available in some areas. The Athenians in the Laurium hills of southwest Attica, those on the island of Siphnos until the flooding of the mines in the 5th century BC, and the people of Thrace, Macedon, and Thasos all had access to supplies of precious metals. At Pangaeum, in Thrace, east of Amphipolis, Philip II of Macedon increased the extraction of the silver and gold from the mines after 356 BC. His son Alexander the Great used the metal to produce coins that were to circulate over vast distances and dominate the Hellenistic world. But good local metal supplies were not always necessary for the widespread circulation of coin: the distribution of Corinthian and Aeginetan issues in the Archaic and Classical era indicates that commercial activity was the main reason for the spread of their coinage.

Coin production took place in mints. Skilled craftsmen produced the designs for the coins on metal dies, which were used to punch the desired image on to the two sides of the coin or flan. It was normal for one of the two dies to be gripped in an anvil. The impression made on the coin by this static die is known as the obverse; the other side of the coin is known as the reverse and the image here was created by striking the die on the upper side of the flan. The dies used to strike coins would eventually deteriorate and sometimes break; the lower die would almost always have the longer life expectancy. A number of "new" coins were produced by striking new images on to existing coins. Such coins are known as "overstrikes".

Mints could also copy the designs of other coins. A number of cities in Sicily and south Italy were particularly famed for the quality of their coins and the types used were imitated throughout the Mediterranean. The head of Arethusa, which appeared originally on a Syracusan issue created by the famous engraver Cimon, was clearly imitated in the shape of the nymph who appeared independently on 4th-century BC coins at Larissa in Thessaly and at Tarsus in Cilicia. A number of coin producers imitated the designs and types of other cities: the Athenian silver tetradrachm was copied in Babylon, Phoenicia, and Egypt during the Classical period.

Coin distribution evolved with changing political and economic circumstances. So the rise of the Hellenistic kingdoms from the late 4th century BC marked a significant shift. Two levels of coin circulation can be observed. Coins issued by the monarchs enjoyed a far wider international acceptability than those of many of the smaller Greek cities. The exception in the Hellenistic period was probably Athens which revitalized its coinage in the 2nd century BC with the production of the so-called New Style Athenian coinage. Like Rhodes, Athens continued to issue a silver coin down to the 1st century BC.

From the 4th century BC more local bronze coins were issued in Greece, and these enjoyed considerable regional success, rarely being found outside their immediate centres of production. The bronze issues played a major role in the local economy and coins were minted for specific religious festivals, such as the Eleusinia in Attica. Bronze issues increased and were widely employed by Greek cities as Rome dominated Greek politics from the early 2nd century BC.

The federal Greek states became important producers of coinage in the Hellenistic period; in Asia Minor Greek cities continued to mint coins following the treaty of Apamea. By the end of the 1st century BC many Greek cities were no longer issuing their own distinct coinage. By this time, and throughout the 1st–3rd centuries AD, local Greek coins had taken on the appearance of Roman coins and were restricted to being struck in bronze. Under the Roman empire more Greek-speaking cities in Asia Minor were issuing coins than at any other time in antiquity. In the 3rd century AD the local production and circulation of provincial bronze coins issued by Greek cities reflects considerable economic developments within the Roman empire.

The coinage of the Byzantine period continued to be influenced by the coins of the later Roman empire. Copper, silver, and gold were minted but there were periods when one or other of these metals fell into disuse. Silver coins are less common in the 5th and 6th centuries AD. Initally Latin dominated the coinage of the Byzantine period, but eventually Greek took hold from the 7th century and had largely replaced Latin by the 11th century. Byzantine coinage drove the

economies of the 4th to 7th and 11th to mid-13th centuries and made Constantinople the centre of a prosperous empire.

The legacy of ancient Greek coinage for the development of coinage in modern Greece is considerable. The use of images and terms from antiquity on modern Greek coins does reflect the enormous heritage of the past. In this, of course, Greece is similar to many other countries that illustrate their own history and culture on their coins and banknotes. But for Greece there is particular importance attached to the ideology of Hellenism. The very Greekness of modern Greece is established by connection with its ancient history. The role of Alexander the Great as a force unifying the Hellenic world is as strong today as it was in the 4th century BC.

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Colonization

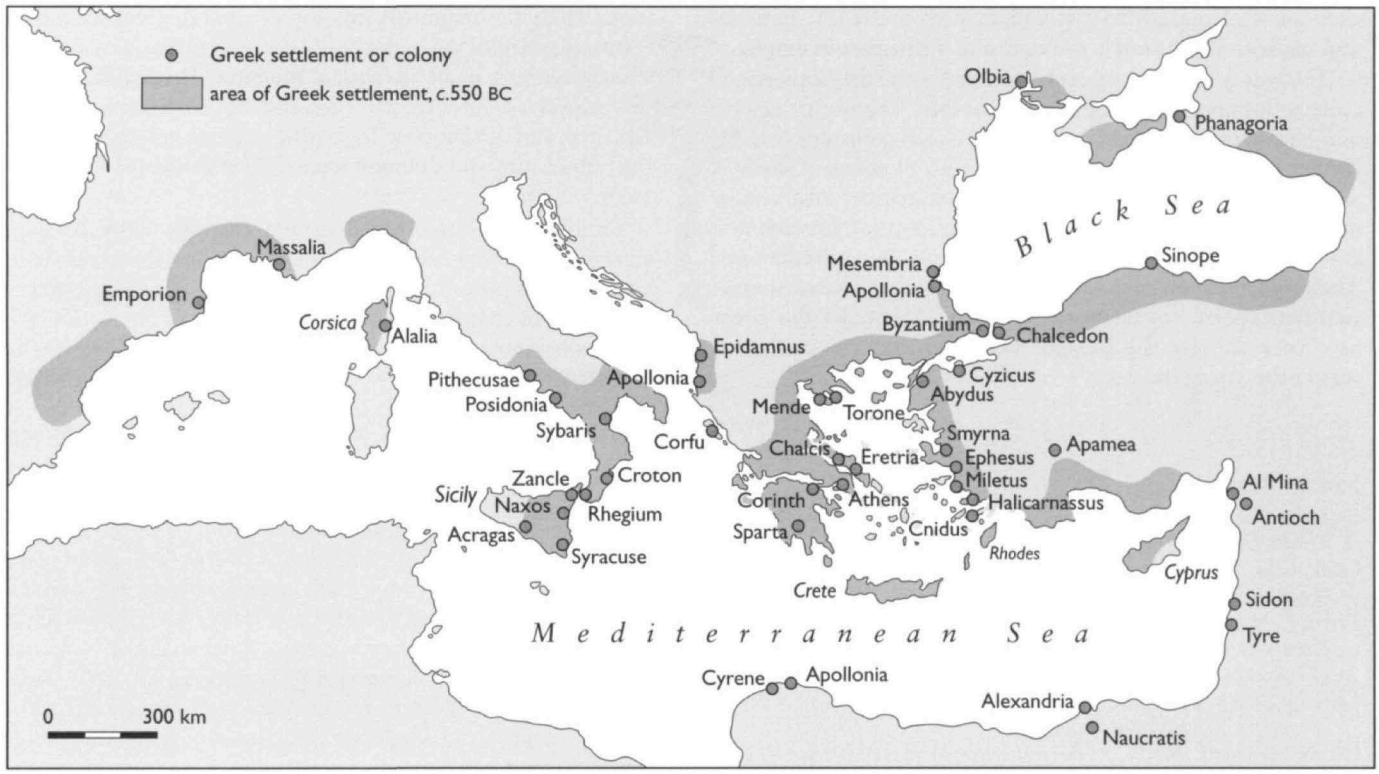
It should be remarked at the outset that the term "colonization" to describe Greek expansion throughout the Mediterranean and Pontic areas is a coinage of modern scholarship. It is employed by historians to indicate the process whereby, from the 8th century BC through to the Hellenistic era, Greek cities took collective and conscious decisions to plant sections of their population on foreign soil under the leadership of an *oikistes* (founder) who was responsible for the distribution of land plots to his fellow colonists and the transfer of metropolitan cults to the new civic foundation which was generally independent of its metropolis (though Corinth seems to have continued to exercise some authority over its colonies). There are, however, three difficulties with this conventional definition.

First, while in modern historiography the colonizing process is distinguished sharply in both chronological and definitional terms from the migratory traditions regarding earlier movements of peoples such as the Dorians, Ionians, or Aeolians, ancient authors made no such distinction. Thucydides (1. 12. 4), for example, uses the same terminology to describe both the Athenian colonization of Ionia (the "Ionian migration") and the 8th-century BC Peloponnesian colonization of Italy and Sicily.

Secondly, it is not at all certain that the early colonial ventures of the 8th century BC were as organized and public in nature as the prevailing orthodoxy upholds. A case in point is the late 8th-century colonization of south Italy which the sources attribute to cities in Peloponnesian Achaea despite the fact that there is neither literary nor archaeological evidence for Achaean cities much before the 5th century BC. The fact is that the "mechanics" of early colonization are often and all too uncritically retrojected from foundation decrees of later periods, particularly those concerning the foundation of Naupactus (first quarter of the 5th century BC), Brea (third quarter of the 5th century BC), Black Corcyra (4th century BC), and Cyrene, where it is impossible to gauge the extent to which a 4th-century decree replicates–as it claims–an original foundation decree of the later 7th century BC (though the weight of scholarly opinion inclines towards scepticism). Similarly, literary accounts for colonial foundations rarely predate the 5th century BC: thus, the developed tradition concerning the founding of Cyrene (which is frequently–though not unproblematically–regarded as a "model" for colonial foundations in general) is not attested before Pindar and Herodotus (see further below). A related point concerns the chronology of foundations. Thucydides (6.3–5) gives dates for the earliest colonies of Sicily while a more complete list is presented by Eusebius of Caesarea (late 3rd century AD). In neither case is the source of their information certain nor how they reckoned their dates. Archaeological investigation can certainly assist in answering this question, though the commencement of colonial activity–as opposed to less formal transactions of trade or exchange–is not always immediately apparent in the material record and in any case our ceramic chronologies are based in part (and more than is often admitted) on the Thucydidean and Eusebian dates. In general, the probability is that the origins of the earliest colonies were more haphazard, mixed, and gradual than is often stated.

Thirdly, while it would be unsound to regard Mycenaean material objects found in south Italy, Sicily, and the Aeolian islands as reflections of an early Mycenaean colonization of these areas (Mycenaean material is also found well inland in Anatolia), it does now appear that colonial activity may in some instances predate the 8th century. Thucydides (4. 123. 1) regards the city of Mende in Chalcidice as a colony (*apoikia*) of Eretria and it has often been assumed that Mende along with Torone (also in Chalcidice) were Euboean foundations of the Archaic period, but recent excavations at both sites have recovered Euboean and Euboeanizing material that dates back as far as the 10th or even 11th century BC. It is possible that this colonial activity represents a "rehearsal" for the more numerous and distant colonies planted in the west in the 8th century.

Indeed, the Euboeans of Eretria and Chalcis appear to have been prominent participants within the early colonization of the west. Both are said to have founded Pithecusae on the



11. Areas of Greek settlement from the 8th to the 3rd century BC

island of Ischia in the Gulf of Naples (Strabo, 5. 4. 9) with the Chalcidian element transferring to Cumae on the mainland opposite (Livy, 8. 22. 5–6): archaeological evidence suggests a date of about 775 BC for Pithecusae and 725–700 BC for Cumae. According to Thucydides (6. 3. 1) the first Sicilian colony, Naxos, was founded by Chalcidians under the leadership of Theocles in 734 BC, with Leontini and Catana following in 729 BC, while a Euboean presence is attested before the end of the 8th century at Zancle and Rhegium on either side of the Straits of Messina. Corinthians under the Bacchiad Archias are said to have founded Syracuse in 733 BC (Thucydides, 6. 3. 2)–a city which was to participate in the "secondary" colonization of Acrae and Casmenae in the mid-7th century and Camarina at the beginning of the 6th century BC. Megara Hyblaea was supposedly founded in 728 BC by Megarians who had failed to settle Leontini (Thucydides, 6. 4. 1) and established its own colony at Selinus a century later. Rhodes and Crete are said to have founded Gela in 688 BC (Thucydides, 6. 4. 3), followed in 580 BC by Gela's foundation of Acragas (Strabo, 6. 2. 5). Finally, Achaeans are credited with the foundation of several colonies in south Italy–including Sybaris and Croton towards the end of the 8th century, Metapontum and Caulonia in the second half of the 7th century, and Posidonia in the early 6th century–while Tarentum was founded by Spartan dissidents in the last decade of the 8th century and Epizephyrean Locri by Locrians in the early decades of the 7th century BC.

The second major area of early colonial activity was in the region of the Hellespont, Propontis, and Black Sea. Milesian foundation is attributed to Abydus on the Hellespont (670 BC?), Cyzicus in the Propontis (756 BC?), and Sinope (631 BC?) together with a host of other colonies in the Black Sea; Miletus is also said to have participated with Paros and Erythrae in founding Parion in 709 BC. The Megarians planted the colonies of Astacus, Chalcedon, Selymbria, and Byzantium at the eastern end of the Propontis in the course of the 7th century and collaborated with the Boeotians in founding Heraclea Pontica *c.*560 BC. Towards the end of the 7th century, the Athenians founded Sigeum on the Hellespont and Samos established Perinthus on the northern shore of the Propontis, while the Tean colony of Phanagoria on the northern shores of the Black Sea probably dates to the mid-6th century BC.

In the far west, settlers and refugees from Phocaea are credited with the foundation *c.*600 BC of Massilia in southern France and Emporion in Spain. In the northern Aegean, the Chalcidice peninsula was settled by Eretrians, Chalcidians, Achaeans, Corinthians, and Andrians while Paros led a Panhellenic venture to colonize Thasos in the mid-7th century and Samians are said to have settled Samothrace in the second half of the 6th century BC. Finally, Libyan Cyrene is said to have been colonized by Thera *c.*630 BC and archaeological evidence suggests that other settlements were established in Libya at Tocra, Euhesperides, and Barca from the last third of the 7th century to the middle of the 6th century BC.

The motives for early colonization are the subject of scholarly controversy and it is probably unwise to insist upon unicausal factors. Some colonies may have been established for the purpose of exploiting trading opportunities, though most were situated on headlands and estuaries in possession of fertile plains, so it may be that the increased sedentary conditions of mainland Greece in the 8th century (together with consequent demographic increase) led to a shortage of agricultural land at home–certainly the Theran version of the foundation of Cyrene claims that a seven-year drought prompted the

consultation of the Delphic oracle which instructed the Therans to colonize Libya (Herodotus, 4. 151). Alternatively, since the early colonial ventures appear to coincide with the crystallization of the polis or "city state", it may be that the inclusionary/exclusionary process through which the community of citizens emerged inevitably resulted in social disaffection on the part of those who found themselves excluded or dissatisfied: in the Cyrenean account concerning the origins of Cyrene, the founder Battus is said to be the illegitimate son of a Theran aristocrat and a Cretan princess (Herodotus, 4. 154–55), and similar imputations of illegitimate birth may be inferred from the name of the Spartan Partheniai ("maiden-born") who are said to have colonized Tarentum (Strabo, 6. 3. 2).

It is most unlikely that prospective colonists were entirely ignorant of their destinations. A small quantity of Protogeometric (10th-century) material has been recovered in the region of Tarentum while Greek cups dating to Middle Geometric II (early 8th century) are attested at Etruscan Veii; Cumae, Capua, and Pontecagnano in Campania; Scoglio del Tonno in Puglia; and Villasmundo in eastern Sicily. This would suggest either direct knowledge of the west on the part of Greek traders or at least indirect knowledge passed to Greek manufacturers by mercantile middlemen (probably Phoenicians). In some instances colonies were established on virgin soil (e.g. Pithecusae)–sometimes with the explicit blessing of neighbouring indigenous populations (Megara Hyblaea, Cyrene)–though on other occasions the colonizing effort required forcible occupation of the land (Thasos) and often subjugation of the former population (Syracuse, Heraclea Pontica). Though a matter of controversy, it is probable that intermarriage fostered greater integration between new colonists and indigenous populations: Herodotus (1. 164–65) states that wives accompanied the Phocaeans who attempted to colonize Corsican Alalia, though in his description of the foundation of Cyrene (4. 153)–as well as the Athenian "colonization" of Ionia (1. 146.2–3)–there is mention of men only so the likelihood is that the colonists, who were normally young men, took indigenous wives upon their arrival at colonial sites. Diodorus of Sicily (5. 6. 5) explains that the native population of Sicily eventually adopted the Greek language and educated their children according to a Greek model and it is this "Hellenization" of Sicily and south Italy that would later exercise such a profound influence on the culture of the Romans.

Colonization continued–albeit on a reduced scale–throughout the Classical period. In the early 5th century eastern Locrians established a colony at Naupactus; in the 440s BC Athenians settled Brea in Thrace and participated in the collective foundation of Thurii on the site of ancient Sybaris in southern Italy; and in 426 BC the Spartans issued a general invitation for Greeks (with the exception of the Ionians, Achaeans, and some others) to join them in the foundation of Heraclea Trachinia in central Greece (Thucydides, 3. 92). For the first time, contemporary literary and epigraphic testimony reveals the precise workings of colonial ventures in this period, from consultation of the Delphic oracle seeking approval for the expedition to the provisions for choosing an *oikistes*, recruiting colonists, and formalizing the relationship between the mother-city and its colony as well as providing for the right of return in the event of colonial failure. It is debatable whether the practices attested in this period had also operated in the case of the earliest colonies: the literary accounts for the earlier foundations which were first consigned to writing at this time (though they are frequently preserved only in later sources such as Diodorus of Sicily) are characterized by recurring tropes – many focusing on the "outsider" status of the *oikistes* who is directed to found a colony when consulting the Delphic oracle on a completely unrelated matter–and it is tempting to believe that individual traditions were selectively moulded to fit this new genre of foundation stories. Indeed careful reading of literary accounts reveals the existence of multiple traditions in which colonial origins are attributed to varying populations and *oikistai* (both mortal and heroic) and oracular sanction sought from other sanctuaries besides Delphi. Colonial traditions were never transmitted for their own sake but to justify and legitimate claims to power and recognition in the present.

From the end of the 6th century BC, Athens began to found a new type of colony named a cleruchy. Although ancient authors often fail to make any terminological distinction between a cleruchy and a colony, the chief difference would appear to reside in the fact that, while colonies were normally established as autonomous foundations, residents of a cleruchy remained Athenian citizens, though the situation is complicated by the fact that later residents of Athenian colonies also often retained citizenship at Athens. In general, the function of the cleruchy seems to have been to act as a garrison over populations that were deemed hostile to Athens. Cleruchies were established at Chalcis and Salamis in the late 6th century; Andros, Chersonesus, Lemnos, Imbros, and Histiaea in the mid-5th century; Aegina, Lesbos, and Melos in the last third of the 5th century; and Samos in the mid-4th century.

A renewed wave of colonization was initiated by Alexander the Great and his Hellenistic successors, especially in Babylonia (Seleucia on Tigris), northern Syria (Antioch, Apamea), Asia Minor (Laodicea), and central Asia (Ai Khanoum). These colonies normally served the function of garrisons and were populated by both Greeks and Macedonians, though the new city of Alexandria, founded west of the Canopic mouth of the Nile Delta in 331 BC, was granted full civic status. Its original citizens were Greeks of various origins, but the city also had a large indigenous Egyptian and Jewish population.

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Comedy

Greece has furnished us with the earliest literary examples of comedy. As a form of popular entertainment, Greek comedy is probably of greater antiquity than tragedy. The origin of the word has been connected with *komos*, meaning "a band of revellers". Their processions, with unrestrained singing and jesting, were held in honour of Dionysus, so that comedy or "the song of the *komos*", like the tragedy and the satyr play, may have had its origin in the festivals of Dionysus. Tradition attributed its invention to the Dorian inhabitants of Megara, from where it was supposed to have spread to other Dorian communities.

In chapters 4 and 5 of the *Poetics* Aristotle gives a rather cursory account of the origin and development of comedy. The gist of his account is: the Megarians, both of Sicily and of the isthmus, claim to have originated comedy; its name is (erroneously) derived from *kome* ("village"); its origin lay in the preludes to the phallic songs; the steps by which it developed are uncertain; the Sicilians introduced plots in place of mere lampoons; and comedy took longer than tragedy to receive recognition in Athens.

The transformation of the local Doric farce of Sicily into a literary form is attributed to Epicharmus of Cos (*c.*540–450 BC). Other representatives of early Dorian comedy appear to have included his contemporary Phormus or Phormis and Dinolochus, said to be a pupil of the latter. The introduction of comedy to Attica (*c.*580 BC) is credited to Susarion, who is said to have transplanted it to the Attic deme of Icaria, which is known to have been the principal centre of the worship of Dionysus in Attica, and the home of Thespis, the pioneer tragic poet, as well as of Chionides and Magnes (*c.*550 BC), who are said to have given Megarian comedy a more artistic form. Its adoption at Athens during the time of the Persian Wars ensured for comedy a place in literature. At Athens comedy became an official part of the celebration of Dionysus in 486 BC.

The evidence suggests that the ingredients of the old Attic comedy came from sources widely differing in place and time. The existence of "animal choruses" is attested by an Attic black-figure amphora of the mid-6th century BC, which depicts men disguised as horses, with riders on their backs, accompanied by a flute-player, and a 5th-century Attic vase showing men dressed as birds. Vases of the 6th century also depict grotesque satyrs as well as dancers whose dress is exaggerated behind and in front for humorous effect. The unrestrained personal abuse and gross sexual humour are anticipated in the poems of Archilochus (7th century BC) and Hipponax, and need not be traced solely to Dionysiac rituals. The dramatic element may have been derived from the secular Dorian comedy without chorus that is said to have originated in Megara and been developed by Epicharmus at Syracuse.

The earliest phase of ancient Greek comedy is known as "Old Comedy". In practice, this term refers to the comedies produced at Athens during the 5th century BC. These plays are characterized by unrestrained satire of public persons and affairs, extremely irreverent treatment of mythology and the gods, outspoken political criticism and comment on literary and philosophical matters, as well as sexually oriented humour. The actors wore grotesque masks, and their costumes, though based on the dress of everyday life, included artificial exaggeration for comic effect. The short tunic could expose the large phallus each carried. They also wore masks of certain easily recognized types. Female roles were played by men. Accordingly, nude or exposed women must have been costumed representations of the female body. Although Old Comedy transformed ritual into art, it still retained traces of its ritual origin: the prominence given to the phallus in the earlier plays; the final festive union of the sexes in a party or marriage; and the expressed or implied references to the reproductive organs.

The heyday of Old Comedy was during the time of Pericles and the Peloponnesian War when Athenian democracy had reached its highest point of development. Cratinus (*c.*520–*c.*423 BC) and his younger contemporaries Eupolis (*c.*446–*c.*411 BC) and Aristophanes are believed to have been the foremost writers of Old Comedy. Others include Crates, Pherecrates, Hermippus, Teleclides, Phrynichus, Ameipsias, Plato (not the philosopher), and Theopompus.

The plays were composed of a blend of song, dance, personal invective, and buffoonery, and consisted of loosely related episodes. The plot was set in contemporary Athens. In most plays of Aristophanes the protagonist conceives a fantastic plan that runs counter to the natural order of things. He is opposed by the chorus whom he eventually succeeds in winning over to his side. A series of short episodes then demonstrate the consequences of the realization of his fantasy for various professions and types, usually involving a series of acceptances and rejections, and the play usually ends in a festive spirit.

From a consideration of the 11 extant plays of Aristophanes (9 of which happen to be the only completely surviving examples of Old Comedy), we may infer that, gradually, a six-part structure evolved: (1) a *prologos* or introduction in which the basic issue of the play is explained and developed: the protagonist conceives an extravagantly imaginative but absurdly impractical solution to a problem; (2) the *parodos* or entry of

Comedy: a production of Aristophanes' comedy *The Birds*, directed by Karolos Kun, Epidaurus, 1975

the chorus; (3) the *agon* or contest between opposing principals, in which the hero defends his bright idea from attacks and invariably defeats his opponents; (4) the *parabasis* in which the chorus, on behalf of the poet, speaks to the audience and attacks prominent citizens: it consisted of an anapaestic passage followed by the *pnigos* (a long sentence to be uttered in one breath), an *ode* or invocation to a god, an *epirrhema* or satiric speech on current affairs, an *antode*, and *antepirrhema*; (5) a series of *epeisodia* or farcical scenes, usually without any sequential connection with each other but building up to a climax, lightly separated by songs of the chorus, demonstrating the consequences of the realization of the hero's fantasy both on the protagonist and on typical figures, but occasionally carrying on the main plot; (6) *exodos* or final scene of rejoicing generally leading up to a banquet or wedding.

Attic comedies, like Attic tragedies, were performed at the great festivals of Dionysus, namely, the Dionysia and the Lenaea. Their inclusion in the latter dates from shortly before 440 BC. Five comic poets competed on each occasion, each presenting one play (the number of competitors was evidently reduced to three during the Peloponnesian War, but this has been debated). In the 4th century comedies were also given at the rural Dionysia, but it is not known how far back this practice went.

Like a tragedy, a comedy consisted of the dramatic dialogue (for which the iambic trimeter was generally used) and the lyrical choruses. However, whereas the tragic chorus consisted of 12 (later 15) singers, the comic chorus included 24. They were often divided into two half-choruses. They wore masks and grotesque dresses to suit their parts (e.g. as birds, wasps, etc.), but removed their outer cloaks for the purpose of their dances. Their role was not generally one of reconciliation, as in tragedy, but of exciting the disputants and finally siding with the victor. On occasion, the entry of the chorus presents a moment of violence and excitement. It may be hostile to the protagonist who is faced with the task of winning them over to his side. Once this has been achieved, they applaud and reinforce what he says and does. The chorus played an important part in the Old Comedy, and, at least in the case of Aristophanes, several of the plays were named after their choruses.

The freedom of political criticism enjoyed by poets of the Old Comedy appears to have been occasionally curtailed, but it was not permanently lost until the downfall of Athenian

democracy in 404 BC. The loss of imperial power and political energy was gradually reflected by a choice of material of a less typically Athenian and more cosmopolitan nature. Most notable is the reduced importance of the comic chorus. The *parabasis* disappeared altogether, and the choral odes were replaced by interpolated pieces (*embolima*) not germane to the play.

The term "Middle Comedy", which is of Hellenistic origin, has been used to designate Attic comedies written between *c.*404 and *c.*320 BC. The term is used to describe these plays because they represent a transition from Old Comedy to New Comedy, both of which have certain features in common with it. Although plays with political themes were still produced, mainly (but not exclusively) in the earlier part of the period, and politicians such as Demosthenes and Callimedon were frequently ridiculed, broadly speaking Middle Comedy avoided outspoken political criticism and open attacks on individuals, and dealt instead with typical human faults and foibles. The authors concentrated on social satire and resorted to burlesque or parody of tragedy, mythology, and the lives of the philosophers, notably Plato and the Pythagoreans.

The observation of contemporary types, manners, and pursuits was a common characteristic. Typical characters of New Comedy, such as bullies, parasites (evolved from the flatterers of Old Comedy), cooks, pimps, soldiers, stern old men, young men in love, and courtesans figured in Middle Comedy as well, although some of them, such as the swaggering soldier, can be traced back to Old Comedy at least. Their occurrence leads us to conclude that New Comedy-type plots were also anticipated in Middle Comedy. Significant also in this connection is the impact of Euripides' plays such as the *Iphigeneia in Tauris*, the *Ion*, and the *Helen*. Middle Comedy represents a period of experiment and transition. Different types of play appear to have predominated at various times, so that one may not be justified in labelling one type of play as Middle Comedy to the exclusion of all others.

The most celebrated authors of Middle Comedy were Antiphanes of Athens and Alexis of Thurii, followed by Eubulus, Timocles, and Anaxandrides of Rhodes. It is interesting to note that many of the authors were of non-Athenian origin. They appear to have been extremely prolific. More than 800 of their plays are said to have survived as late as the 2nd century AD. Athenaeus, who has preserved the majority of fragments, mentions some 57 playwrights. However, no complete example has come down to us, but the last play of Aristophanes, the *Plutus*, no doubt reflects some of the changed features.

The period of New Comedy extends from about 320 BC to the mid-3rd century BC. Its main features are the representation of contemporary life by means of imaginary persons drawn from it, the development of plot and character, the substitution of humour for wit, and the introduction of romantic love as a theme. These plays were written largely during a time of political and moral disillusionment, when Athens was no longer a free state but had come under the sway of Macedon. Political references are rare and are subordinate to the depiction of the domestic life of fictitious characters.

New Comedy offers a mildly satiric view of contemporary Athenian society, especially in its familiar and domestic aspects. There is no parody of public figures and events as in Old Comedy. Instead we meet with representations of the private affairs of average but fictitious men and women depicted without supernatural or heroic overtones.

The common subject is the infatuation of a high-born young man for a slave girl. One of the lovers is usually a foundling, the discovery of whose true birth and identity finally makes their union possible. But the romantic element is not the only ingredient and is not very significant: the girl whom the hero wishes to possess does not always appear on stage, or when she does, she often does not speak. Intrigue (especially on the part of crafty slaves on behalf of their young masters) plays an important part in the plots of New Comedy, which are articulated to a far greater extent than those of Old Comedy. The names of the slaves (Getas, Libys, etc.) reflect the economic expansion in the wake of Macedonian conquest. The resulting cosmopolitan atmosphere is matched by the mobility of the people, who constantly go abroad, be it on business, mercenary service, or as the result of misfortune. Although the characters have fixed names and masks, they differ vividly and come to life as individuals, at least in the better plays. Athenian laws of citizenship and marriage are integral to many of the plays. Yet the universality of the characters, situations, and relationships makes the plays enjoyable to those far removed from Athens in time and place. Menander, in particular, excelled at the sympathetic portrayal of various personal relationships and problems arising from ignorance, misunderstanding, and prejudice, in all of which one can recognize his debt to Euripides.

The dialogues of New Comedy are in the usual iambic trimeter, but there are trochaic tetrameters and lyrical passages too that may have been performed by the actors themselves. The chorus is so diminished in importance as to become a small band of musicians and dancers periodically providing light entertainment. The language is Attic, but closer to the koine of everyday speech. The play was apparently divided into five acts by the four choral interludes.

The most famous exponent of New Comedy was Menander (342–292 BC). His surviving work includes one complete play, the *Dyscolus*, and considerable portions of three others: *Perikeiromene*, *Epitrepontes*, and *Samia*. Some of his other plays, as well as those of his fellow New Comedy writers (Diphilus, Philemon, Philippides, Posidippus, Apollodorus of Carystus), are known to us only through their Latin translations and adaptations by the Roman comic poets Plautus (*c.*254–184 BC) and Terence (195/185–159 BC). The original Greek texts circulated widely until the 7th century AD, but were then completely lost. Until the discovery of the Menander papyri, New Comedy was known only through quotations, Roman adaptations, and echoes in later Greek authors such as Alciphron and Lucian.

Greek theatre did not survive in Byzantium, although dramas (including comedies) were copied and transmitted in manuscripts and during the Palaiologan period a number of scholars wrote commentaries on the various works. Naturally, we encounter here and there in Byzantine texts phrases and expressions from the comic poets – especially in satirical works. But these are philological remnants, so to speak. In *Epistle* 150 Photios shows knowledge of Aristophanes' *Plutus*, which he is likely to have encountered in the school curriculum. By contrast, Menander was still being read in the school

at Gaza in the 6th century, but did not survive into the Middle Ages. Heliodorus wrote a commentary on the metres of Aristophanes, parts of which are found in the extant scholia. Among the sources most frequently used in the *Suda* are the text and scholia to Aristophanes, for which the *Suda* is in effect a fairly important witness. Of Eustathius' notes to Aristophanes no more is known than minute fragments preserved in late manuscripts. By the late 13th century it had become the custom to read three plays of each tragedian and Aristophanes, sometimes known as the "triad"; the habit may go back to the 12th century or earlier, for Tzetzes composed a full commentary on only the three Aristophanic comedies that later were standard reading, namely, *Plutus*, *Frogs*, and *Clouds*. The Ravenna Aristophanes is the only medieval manuscript to contain all 11 plays (Ravenna, Gr. 429). It has been suggested that Manuel Moschopoulos may have worked on a recension (possibly with annotations) of the Aristophanic triad since some scholia, especially on the *Plutus*, have been traced to him.

The pure Attic language of Aristophanes was studied and imitated by the ancient Atticists and their Byzantine successors. In his desire to create a modern Greek language, Adamantios Korais (1748–1833), the most important representative of the Greek Enlightenment, studied Aristophanic comedy with its rich linguistic heritage. However, these studies, as well as the earliest revivals of Aristophanic comedy, were affected by moral scruples: hence the relatively small number of translations, adaptations, and stage versions prior to 1900. For a long time Aristophanic performances were given by non-professional troupes both within and outside Greece, and this amateur spirit partly accounts for the high degree of audience appeal and participation associated with modern Aristophanic revivals in Greece. By the 1950s, however, the comedies had moved on to the official stage of the ancient drama festivals of Epidaurus (inaugurated 1954) and Athens (inaugurated 1955). The chief contributors to this promotion were Karolos Koun (1908–87) and his former student Alexis Solomos. These two directors, working independently and under widely differing conditions, set off a tradition of presenting the plays of Aristophanes to the large urban public, thereby ensuring their popularity in Greece.

Due to its contemporary relevance, revivals of Aristophanic comedy enjoyed vast success during the years of the military junta (1967–74), but declined in the two years following the fall of the dictatorship. There have been productions since 1977, but many of them have been characterized as events for tourists. However, during the same period, Aristophanic material has been put to alternative uses, such as Savvopoulos' musical version of the *Acharnians*, a shadow theatre adaptation of the *Birds* by P. Michopoulos in 1984, children's books and comics based on the plays, and productions staged in Greece by mostly English-speaking companies.

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See also Theatres, Tragedy

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Commonwealth, Byzantine

The Byzantine Commonwealth was first identified and described by the Oxford historian Dimitri Obolensky. The term is best known from his important publication of 1971, *The Byzantine Commonwealth: Eastern Europe 500–1453*. This book examined the way in which people living outside the borders of the Byzantine empire encountered aspects of Byzantine life, whether cultural, political, economic, or religious. Obolensky argued that many Byzantine influences successfully passed beyond the empire's borders, to the extent that they were subsequently incorporated into the everyday life of people who were not "Romaioi" and who may themselves have had no direct contact with Byzantium. Indeed, he found the levels of "Byzantinization" to be so high that he felt justified in claiming that an international community had existed that shared extensively in the life of Byzantium, although it was not incorporated into the empire itself. This alleged international community was termed the "Byzantine Commonwealth".

By focusing principally on the transnational character of the Byzantine tradition, Obolensky was pioneering a new approach within Byzantine studies. Hitherto, much of the scholarly work on the international relations of the Byzantine empire had been conducted by those seeking to shed light on Byzantine foreign policy, or on other aspects of the political history of the empire itself. This new work, however, examined the Byzantine Commonwealth in its own right. It discussed the process of "Byzantinization" with a view to ascertaining its impact on the subsequent development both of its member countries and of the region generally. In seeking to move away from a historiography that laid undue emphasis on formal political structures in defining its field of study, Obolensky could be said to have been incorporating aspects of the "history of civilizations" approach into Byzantine studies.

The subtitle of Obolensky's book suggests that the Byzantine Commonwealth was contained within the eastern European region. This may be true of the period *c.*800–1453, when it can be agreed to have extended from Kievan Rus and the lands to the north of the Black Sea, across to the eastern part of Hungary and the Transylvanian plain, and then south across the Danube to Romania and the Balkan peninsula. In the Balkans, the commonwealth included Serbia, Bulgaria (except between 1018 and 1187 when it was officially incorporated into the empire as a "theme" – a unit of provincial government), and various other territories over which the Byzantines did not exercise direct administrative control. Obolensky did not, however, include Byzantine overseas "dependants" – such as Sicily, Apulia, and Venice – in his definition of the commonwealth. These were, de jure, included in the formal structure of the empire for at least part of the period that the book covers.

Over the course of the millennium the borders of the Byzantine Commonwealth underwent some significant change. As the geographical frontiers of Byzantium itself shifted, so too did those of the commonwealth. Some areas left the commonwealth for political reasons, such as Bulgaria when it was (albeit temporarily) absorbed into the empire. Others, such as Croatia, moved away from the commonwealth in cultural terms: its geographical position on the far northeast of the Adriatic littoral quickly exposed it to the influences of Latin Christendom. The result was that levels of "Byzantinization" in Croatia were never particularly high, and by the end of the 9th century Pannonian Croatia and some of Dalmatian Croatia were firmly orientated towards the West. Temporary acknowledgement of the Byzantine emperor's suzerainty by the Croats in the 11th century was not accompanied by the widespread adoption of other aspects of Byzantine culture. Conversely, some countries joined the commonwealth several centuries after its establishment. The lands that comprise modern Romania, for example, entered the commonwealth as late as the 14th century. Immediately before this their inhabitants were under the authority of the Hungarian princes, and prior to that the region had served as a temporary home to several different groups of peoples who were travelling west from the steppe. These latter groups did not form sedentary societies and so were more resistant to Byzantine influences, which were most attractive to societies at a higher level of political and social organization.

The constituent parts of the Byzantine Commonwealth were not, of course, homogeneous, even if they all comprised sedentary and centralized societies. They related both to the empire and to each other in sometimes very different ways, and where similar aspects of the Byzantine tradition *were* adopted, it was rarely at the same time. Profound differences in geography, history, economics, and political organization made sure of that. One should not be surprised, then, to discover that wars and violent conflicts were a common part of the political landscape of the Byzantine Commonwealth during the late antique and medieval periods. Indeed, one of the longest and most violent wars in eastern Europe took place between the empire and the country that had proved most receptive to Byzantine ideas and material goods: Bulgaria. For most of the 10th century these two polities were at war with each other, until 1018 when the Byzantine army finally defeated the Bulgarians and brought them under Byzantine subjugation. Clearly, a similar cultural tradition, even when that included similar ecclesiastical structures, education system, and political organization, did not prevent countries from waging war against one another.

Thus, the Byzantine Commonwealth was an organic entity; it was always in the midst of social and political changes, and the direction of the "Byzantinization" process was never fixed. A country could, for instance, be seeking political rapprochement with the empire's enemies, while at the same time increasing its demand for Byzantine products and developing a distinctly "Byzantine" artistic tradition. This was, for example, the case with early-13th-century Serbia as its ruler, grand zupan Stephan, sought to protect his political autonomy in the face of the Fourth Crusade. Although Stephan put himself under the religious authority of the pope in 1217, Serbia remained at the interface of East and West, and in economic and social terms started to move towards Byzantium. When, in the early 14th century, the territorial conquests of Stephan IV Dushan brought the country closer to Byzantine influences, Serbia became more entrenched in the Byzantine Commonwealth. In this way, the character of the commonwealth underwent significant change over the course of its 1,000-year history as its members responded to disparate events and circumstances. According to Obolensky's analysis,

the greatest transition period for the commonwealth was the mid-12th century, as it moved from being a community whose strongest links with Byzantium – apart from Orthodoxy – were political, to one in which the most prominent Byzantine influences were cultural.

Nevertheless, there *was* extensive continuity in the character of the Byzantine Commonwealth, principally in the area of religion. Member societies all shared in the life and work of the Eastern Orthodox Church, acknowledging as they did so that this was an ecclesiastical organization whose spiritual and administrative base was the Church of Constantinople. A ruler who had recently converted to Christianity according to the Byzantine (that is, Eastern) rite was sent priests and bishops from the Patriarchal School in Constantinople. These men proceeded to establish dioceses of the Byzantine Church in the convert country. Thus, Bulgaria, whose ruler khan Boris had been baptized as a Christian in 865, had received significant numbers of Greek priests and a Greek archbishop by 870. Likewise, when grand prince Vladimir of Kiev accepted Christianity from the Byzantines in 988, he was sent Greek-speaking priests and bishops from Constantinople to facilitate the establishment of the new Russian Church. The setting up of the Orthodox Church in 13th-century Serbia conformed to the same pattern.

12. Byzantine Commonwealth in the 11th century

Yet, the conversion of eastern Europe to Orthodoxy, rather than Catholicism, was not inevitable, for missionaries from both denominations operated there until the 10th century. The attraction of Orthodoxy lay in the fact that, whereas the western missionaries believed that the scriptures should be read only in their original, "sacred" languages, Greek and Hebrew, and also Latin, the Byzantine missionaries agreed that new converts should be able to worship in the vernacular (citing 1 Corinthians 14 as justification). Moreover, since the Slavs (who had migrated into the region in the 7th century) did not have a written script for the Slavic language, the Byzantine Church invented one for it. Two monks, Cyril and Methodios, were sent to introduce the script to the Christian communities of eastern Europe, specifically Moravia, Bulgaria, and Kievan Rus. The script, known as Old Church Slavonic (from which the modern-day Cyrillic is derived), had unprecedented success. Although Moravia was later absorbed into the Catholic Church, the other countries that accepted and used the Slavonic script remained within the orbit of the Eastern Church through the Great Schism of 1054 and beyond. The exception is Croatia, which gradually orientated itself towards the West after the 8th century. Nevertheless, when the Synod of Spalatum was convened around 1069, there were still Christians in the eastern part of Croatia who worshipped according to the Slavonic rite. The contribution of Cyril and Methodios, therefore, to the formation of the Byzantine Commonwealth is inestimable.

Political, as well as spiritual, consequences followed from accepting the liturgy of the Orthodox Church. These could not be separated from doctrinal beliefs, for Orthodoxy brought to bear upon its adherents a coherent system of thought, which encompassed the social and political realms, as well as the theological. Thus, the Byzantines conceived of the (Orthodox) eastern European countries as part of an indivisible Christian society, or *oikoumene*, over which God had appointed the emperor to be the guardian before Christ's return to earth. When a ruler (and hence his country) converted to Christianity, the imperial government held to an implicit belief that he had publicly acknowledged his subservience to the Byzantine emperor in Constantinople and had promised that in future he would help to defend the *oikoumene* against external attack. The empire's perceived hegemony was expressed diplomatically in the emperor's practice of standing as godfather to new Christian rulers, or, occasionally, by "adopting" a foreign ruler to be his "spiritual brother" or "spiritual son".

In theory, there was no room for dissent of any kind within the *oikoumene*. The Byzantines believed that dissent in one area would inevitably damage all of the Christian community. When, in the 1390s, for example, prince Basil I of Moscow

made disparaging remarks about the relationship of the emperor to the Church, he received a stern letter from the patriarch of Constantinople: "It is not possible for Christians to have the Church and not to have the empire. For Church and empire have a great unity and community; nor is it possible for them to be separated from one another." Nevertheless, the political unity of the Byzantine Commonwealth should not be overemphasized. Whereas ecclesiastical unity was maintained, albeit with local variations of emphasis, throughout the Orthodox world, the notion that a political hierarchy existed among the rulers of the commonwealth, with the emperor at its head, was often a theoretical abstraction and seldom put to practical use. The list of foreign rulers, together with their ranking and mode of address, which appears in the mid-10th-century Byzantine source *The Book of Ceremonies* does not indicate the extent to which other countries were incorporated into the Byzantine orbit.

While direct political links between the commonwealth and the empire became less defined as the period progressed, the commonwealth's cultural identity became more evident. It was common for the rulers of eastern Europe to import Byzantine master craftsmen and architects so that their palaces and cathedrals could be built in the Byzantine style. The 11th-century rebuilding of Kiev is a case in point. Meanwhile, the popularity of the Slavonic script continued to grow, and with it the demand for literary works translated from the Greek. In monasteries across eastern Europe, and particularly on Mount Athos, the international monastic centre near Thessalonica, monks laboured in scriptoria, copying or translating into Slavonic the works of Byzantine and Classical scholars. The books – containing both theological and secular works – were then sent to libraries and churches in far-reaching parts of the commonwealth.

The intermediaries for the transmission of Byzantine cultural influences were not always people moving into the commonwealth from the direction of the empire. The assimilation, for example, of Kievan Rus into the commonwealth was greatly facilitated by Russian links with the Bulgarians. The Russian ruling elite obtained its first prolonged exposure to Byzantine culture in 967 when it attacked eastern Bulgaria on behalf of emperor Nikephoros Phokas. Impressed by the wealth of urban Bulgaria, grand prince Svyatoslav of Kiev refused to leave, writing in a letter to his mother Olga that life in Bulgaria was far preferable to that in Kievan Rus. When, eventually, in 971, the Russians were persuaded to return home, they took with them a new taste for Byzantine culture, as well as Byzantine literature, and at least one Byzantine woman – who was given in marriage to Svyatoslav's son. Nearly 50 years later, Kievan Rus was again the recipient of a Byzantine culture that had been filtered through a Bulgarian intermediary. After the Byzantine annexation of Bulgaria in 1018, many Bulgarians, including priests and other educated people, migrated north to Kiev. As well as their everyday possessions, they took with them Slavic translations of Byzantine literature, including law codes. The migrant Bulgarians were assimilated into Russian society and seem to have had a significant impact on Russian literary development, for philological research has shown that many of the medieval Slavonic scripts found in Russia are of Bulgarian origin.

The facets of Byzantine political, social, and religious life that were transmitted into eastern Europe during the period 500–1453 were not unaffected by the existing culture of the recipient peoples, or these peoples' own circumstances. Nor did the "Byzantinizing" process hinder the development of a unique social and political identity in the countries of the Byzantine Commonwealth. Indeed, having possession of Byzantine ideas about governance and social organization actually helped countries such as Bulgaria to break away from the empire's overlordship and to develop their own state structures in the later Middle Ages.

It is, therefore, difficult to offer a comprehensive description of the Byzantine Commonwealth, and the precise borders of this entity have eluded identification. Those scholars who have conceived of the commonwealth as an international community composed principally of formalized political linkages – such as dynastic marriages or the granting of court titles – have often been critical of the concept of a Byzantine Commonwealth. Yet, scholars more interested in the processes of cultural transmission have found that the concept provides a useful framework for examining the international relations of eastern Europe in the medieval period. This latter group of scholars has carried out more detailed historical research on aspects of Obolensky's argument, the result of which has been the further illumination of cultural linkages between the empire and its neighbours. New archaeological research has also illuminated such linkages, and has, interestingly, strengthened the view that the "Byzantinization" process was not confined to eastern Europe and the Christian *oikoumene*, but took place in parts of central and western Europe as well. The process can even be identified outside Obolensky's chronological remit of 500–1453. If the reign of Constantine the Great is taken to mark the inauguration of the Christian (Byzantine) empire, then those aspects of religious and cultural life that sprang – directly or indirectly – from the events of his reign can reliably be termed "Byzantine", rather than "late Roman". The transmission of these aspects of Byzantine culture across formal imperial boundaries (and even as far as the westernmost parts of Europe) is reliably attested throughout the 4th and 5th centuries, albeit to differing degrees. It seems possible, therefore, that the formative years of the Byzantine Commonwealth are to be found rather earlier than was previously suggested by Obolensky, and that, moreover, the geographical area covered by it was broader than hitherto supposed. While the Byzantine Commonwealth continues to evade a precise characterization, therefore, it is likely to remain the subject of academic research.

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Communist Party (KKE)

The Communist Party of Greece was founded on 10 November 1918 as the Socialist Labour Party of Greece (*Sosialistikon Ergatikon Komma Ellados*, SEKE); in April 1920 the party joined the Third International and was renamed SEKE(Kommounistiko); at its Third Extraordinary Congress in 1924 SEKE(K) changed its name to KKE (*Kommounistiko Komma Elladas – Elliniko Tmima tis Kommounistikis Diethnous*) (Communist Party of Greece – Greek Section of the Communist International).

Throughout the interwar years the KKE remained a party with marginal appeal; its share of the national vote was consistently small in the period until 1929, remaining below 4 per cent, and usually polling much less. This was partly the result of the policy of vigorous *ouvrierisme* the KKE pursued; a weakness that is hardly surprising, considering the numerical weakness of Greek industrial workers in the interwar years. The weakness was, however, attenuated by the continuous power struggles within the party: by 1931 the KKE had changed leader eight times, with the loss of leadership usually accompanied by the expulsion of the outgoing leader from the party. The party also had to overcome bouts of state measures intended to limit its effectiveness. In 1931 the Comintern sent Nikos Zahariadis to reorganize the KKE; he became its Secretary General in 1935, a post he retained until 1956. Under Zahariadis the KKE came out of its isolation, increased party membership tenfold, modified its highly unpopular position on the Macedonian Question, and even managed to elect 15 deputies in the elections of January 1936, enough to hold the balance in the hung parliament that ensued.

Under the Metaxas dictatorship, the KKE party organization was all but destroyed. Large numbers of real and suspected communists were arrested, imprisoned, or exiled, including virtually the whole of the party leadership. Maniadakis, the head of the Metaxas secret police, even created its own bogus KKE organization, complete with *Rizospastis*, the party newspaper, that sowed confusion in the ranks of the remaining communist supporters.

However, the KKE reached the peak of its popularity during the Axis occupation of Greece. It was the founding force and controlling influence in EAM and ELAS (*Ethniko Apelevtherotiko Metopo*, National Liberation Front, and *Ellinikos Laikos Apelevtherotikos Stratos*, Greek Popular Liberation Army), respectively the largest political and military resistance movements in occupied Greece. By the end of the occupation, party membership had multiplied and the KKE was claiming that its ideas and policies enjoyed the support of a very large segment of the population. The KKE (and EAM) had declared against the return of king George II to Greece after the end of the war, at least until a plebiscite had been organized; it was also initially against participation in the government of national unity formed under George Papandreou after the Lebanon Agreement in 1944. However, probably as a result of advice by a Soviet mission that was parachuted into the Greek mountains in July 1944, it suddenly reversed its position, cooperated with the British and the bourgeois parties, and accepted five relatively minor ministerial portfolios.

Following the liberation of Greece, the KKE's policy remained ambivalent. It seemed to fail to decide whether it wanted to seize power by force or not. The communist ministers resigned from the Papandreou government on 1 December 1944; what followed was the *Dekemvriana*, the events of December 1944 and January 1945, when ELAS forces fought pitched battles in Athens against British and Greek forces. The Varkiza Agreement of February 1945 ended the hostilities but not the conflict. For the next 18 months the KKE, once more under the leadership of Zahariadis (who had spent the war years in Dachau concentration camp), vacillated between participation in politics and armed struggle. The KKE controversially decided to abstain from the elections of March 1946, thus probably losing its last chance of peaceful integration in national politics. In the meantime the country was sliding towards civil war. The KKE adopted a policy of self-defence for its members, many of whom had been driven underground or to the mountains by extreme right-wing repression. By August 1946 armed bands were already formed; in October the KKE announced the formation of the Democratic Army; the KKE was declared illegal in December 1947; it was to remain illegal until 1974. In the summer of 1948, following the Tito–Cominform split, the KKE sided with Stalin, publicly condemning Tito, despite the fact that most of its supplies were coming from Yugoslavia. At about the same time, Zahariadis assumed the military leadership of the struggle and forced a change in tactics, which is usually credited (along with the massive US support for the Athens national government) with the defeat of the Communist Democratic Army in the Civil War.

Between 1949 and 1974 the KKE operated in exile, with headquarters in Bucharest and branches in other countries of the Eastern bloc. Zahariadis insisted on retaining the party on a war footing, even after it became clear that the armed struggle was no longer a realistic option. Following de-Stalinization in the Soviet Union and the satellites, Zahariadis was deposed and exiled to Siberia. Throughout the 1951–67 period, in politics in Greece itself, the KKE supported EDA (*Enomeni Dimotratiki Aristera*, United Democratic Left, founded in

1951), an umbrella of left-wing forces, which successfully contested all national elections between 1952 and 1967.

The KKE went through a major crisis in 1968, when it split into a Euro-communist faction named KKE(es) (KKE of the Interior) and the Moscow-oriented mainstream KKE. The party was legalized after the fall of the Colonels' regime in 1974; under the leadership of Harilaos Florakis, a resistance and Civil War veteran, the KKE established itself as the major party expressing the communist left in post-1974 Greece. The KKE contested all elections after 1974, either alone or in coalition with other left-wing parties; however, it never polled more than 12 per cent of the national vote: even in the elections of June 1989, when virtually all left-wing parties cooperated in an alliance, their collective share of the vote was 13.1 per cent. Between 1974 and the mid-1980s the party's influence was very considerable in the student movement, where KNE, the Communist Party youth, often dominated the scene.

While in the 1970s and early 1980s the party showing remained more or less stable, subsequently the KKE saw its fortunes gradually decline; this was in part the result of the rise and success of the more vigorous, left-of-centre Panhellenic Socialist Party (PASOK), which deprived the KKE of some support from moderate leftists.

During the period 1989–90 the KKE participated in government for the first time since 1944. Between July and November 1989 it was the junior partner in a coalition with the conservative New Democracy party; it subsequently participated in the "ecumenical" (grand coalition) government that governed between November 1989 and April 1990, as the elections of November 1989 had produced another hung parliament.

The KKE passed a serious crisis in 1989, when it supported the anti-Gorbachev coup in the Soviet Union. Though Florakis retired and there was some renewal in the leadership, more importantly the party failed to renew its policies in the 1990s, retaining an anti-Western, anti-capitalist rhetoric of diminishing relevance for the majority of the Greek electorate. This resulted in a further decrease of party support in the elections of 1993 and 1996, a decrease bringing electoral support for the KKE to roughly 1936 levels.

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See also Civil War, EAM and ELAS

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Constantine I 1868–1922

King of the Hellenes

Constantine I ranks among the most controversial personalities of modern Greece. He was the eldest son of king George I and Queen Olga; in 1889 he married Princess Sophie Dorothea Hohenzollern, sister of kaiser Wilhelm of Germany. He trained as a soldier both in Athens and in Germany, but his reputation received a blow when he commanded the Greek army in Thessaly in the disastrous war of in 1897. However, though the defeat may have been to an extent due to his lack of experience, it was probably more directly linked to the lack of preparedness and inadequate training of the Greek army of the time. Despite demands for his resignation, Constantine retained his army position until the 1909 Goudi pronunciamento, when the Military League demanded that he and the other princes resign from army posts. He was reinstated by Venizelos in 1911, and was commander-in-chief of the Greek army in the highly successful campaigns of the Balkan Wars of 1912–13. In 1913, in an action that would be variously interpreted later, the kaiser presented him with the baton of a field marshal of the Prussian army.

He ascended the throne in 1913, at the age of 45, following the assassination of king George I in Thessalonica. He soon proved that, though he was a charismatic leader, he lacked his father's wisdom as well as experience. Constantine enjoyed considerable popularity, especially among the army: an army deputation had acted as godfather for his youngest child, princess Katherine, earning him the affectionate nickname *koumparos* (godbrother).

Initially Constantine cooperated well with prime minister Venizelos, but this ended with the outbreak of World War I. Venizelos was in favour of entering the war on the side of the Entente, and his arguments became even weightier after both Ottoman Turkey and Bulgaria, Greece's traditional enemies, joined the Central Powers (in November 1914 and September 1915 respectively). Constantine was in favour of remaining neutral, an attitude popularly described at the time as a view in favour of a "small and honourable Greece". This was linked to the view that consolidation of the territorial gains of the Balkan Wars should be the first priority, rather than further territorial expansion, as dictated by the Great Idea. To justify his involvement in active politics, Constantine claimed foreign affairs lay within his constitutional powers; Venizelos, disagreeing, resigned in March 1915, but won a clear majority in the elections of the following June. Venizelos regarded the result as a clear mandate in favour of Greek entry to the war alongside the Entente powers, but Constantine still refused to agree to this and once more demanded his resignation; Venizelos was subsequently dismissed and fresh elections were called. This disagreement was the beginning of the national schism.

Venizelos's party abstained from the elections of December 1915; other international and national events, among them the coup staged in Thessalonica by the National Defence movement, widened the rift between Constantine and Venizelos. By 1916 Greece was on the brink of civil war, with two governments: a royal government in Athens, formally neutral, controlling the southern half of Greece; and a Venizelist

provisional government in Thessalonica, controlling the northern half and most of the islands, supporting and supported by the Entente. In June 1917 the Entente demanded that Constantine leave the country, using as pretext the violation of his oath to uphold the Greek Constitution. He left with the crown prince (later king George II), without formally abdicating, and was succeeded by his second son, Alexander. A government headed by Venizelos assumed power over the whole of Greece.

Constantine remained away from Greece (mostly in Switzerland) until Venizelos's defeat in the elections of November 1920. A rigged plebiscite, organized by the victorious Popular Party in December 1920, invited Constantine back to the throne. Once back, Constantine presided over the gradual unravelling of Greece's adventure in Asia Minor. Neither he nor the Populist government was strong or decisive enough to disentangle Greece from Asia Minor. Disaster came in August 1922, when the Turkish nationalist forces under Mustafa Kemal (later Atatürk) attacked and broke the front. The defeated Greek troops, evacuated to the nearby islands, revolted and demanded, among other things, the king's abdication. Constantine abdicated on 26 September 1922 and left Greece. He died in an obscure hotel in Palermo four months later.

As the popular support for him shows, Constantine was both charismatic and gifted; his shortcomings were mostly in that he saw the role of the monarch as much more active than the times (and the 1911 Constitution in force at the time) allowed. Indeed his involvement in politics dates from well before he became king: while still the crown prince he had been partly responsible for bringing down one of the Trikoupis administrations, when he openly participated in an anti-government demonstration. Once king, he elected to become an active political player, rather than the impassive umpire his father had been. He identified with the Populists and the more conservative elements in Greek society; his advocacy of neutrality during World War I, and the lengths to which he was prepared to go to advance it, gave him a reputation as a Germanophile, which he was never quite able to dispel. During the deepest rift of the national schism, he was even branded as a traitor, though very little evidence of direct links with the Central Powers has been uncovered.

Adoring supporters at the time called him Constantine XII, a numeral chosen to imply continuity between the modern Greek dynasty and the Byzantine emperors; and a proverb circulating at the time was claiming that as a Constantine was the last Greek emperor of Constantinople (in 1453), it would be a Constantine who would take it back from the Ottomans. Constantine got nearest to the realization of the dreams of the Great Idea, though this was more a result of Venizelos's foresight than his own policies. It is ironic that he would die in exile and remain, even after death, the object of hatred for half his people and of admiration for the other half.

GEORGE KAZAMIAS

See also Asia Minor Campaign, World War I

Biography

Born in 1868 the eldest son of king George I and queen Olga, Constantine trained as a soldier in Athens and Berlin. In 1889 he married princess Sophie, sister of Kaiser Wilhelm II. He commanded the Greek forces in the Graeco-Turkish war of 1897 and in the Balkan Wars of 1912–13. He came to the throne in 1913 and clashed with Venizelos about entry into World War I. He went into exile in 1917–20. Invited back, he abdicated after the Asia Minor disaster in 1922. He died in Palermo in 1922.

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Constantine I the Great 273/74–337

Emperor

Constantine the Great was born in Naissus (modern Niš, in Serbia) in 273/4, the son of the future emperor Constantius Chlorus and Helena his concubine (or perhaps wife). From 293, when his father became a member of the tetrarchy, as Caesar to the Augustus Maximian, Constantine served in the Roman army in the eastern part of the empire, first fighting in the Persian war and later serving with Galerius on the Danube; thereafter he seems to have been attached to Diocletian's court. The "Great Persecution" of the Christians began in 303, though in the west it was less severe than in the east, and in Gaul and Britain, where Constantius held sway, the persecution seems to have been limited to the demolition of churches. In 305 Diocletian, then seriously ill, and the other senior emperor, or Augustus, Maximian, resigned and were succeeded by their Caesars, Galerius and Constantius. Constantine (and Maximian's son, Maxentius) was passed over in the succession; two of Galerius' favourites, Severus (possibly his praetorian prefect) and Maximinus (his nephew), became Caesars.

After the reconstitution of the tetrarchy in Nicomedia, Constantius left for Britain, soon followed by his son. On 25 July 306, at York, Constantius died, and Constantine was immediately hailed by the army there as Augustus, his father's successor. He immediately announced his assumption of the imperial dignity to Galerius, the other Augustus, who compromised by appointing him Caesar, a position Constantine did not refuse, thus assuring beyond any doubt his legitimacy. The ensuing dissolution of the tetrarchy was a complicated business. Maxentius, initially with the support of his father, proclaimed himself Augustus in Italy. After Severus' failure to defeat Maxentius, Galerius appointed Licinius to the task, as Augustus. Galerius himself died in 311, having issued an edict of toleration, bringing to an end the persecution of Christians in the east. The following year Constantine advanced into Italy. On 28 October Maxentius left Rome and crossed the Tiber to

Constantine the Great: portrait of the emperor on a gold solidus minted at Nicodemia in 335, Barber Institute, Birmingham

confront the forces of Constantine. At the Battle of the Milvian Bridge he was defeated, and Constantine entered the city as the undisputed ruler of the western Roman empire. Rule of the eastern empire was now disputed between the two other Augusti: Maximinus, who had begun persecuting Christians again in Egypt and Palestine, and Licinius, whom Constantine supported. In 313 Constantine and Licinius met in Milan and extended to the whole empire the toleration Christians were already enjoying in the western part of the empire. Later that year Licinius defeated Maximinus. Harmony between the two Augusti, Constantine and Licinius, did not last long. There was an indecisive war in 316, and in 324 Licinius was finally defeated by Constantine, who thus became sole emperor, which he remained until his death.

Constantine's victory over Maxentius in 312 was presented in Constantine's propaganda as a victory for Christianity (though there is evidence that Maxentius supported the Christians too), and very soon there circulated stories that before the battle Constantine had had a dream (so Lactantius), or a vision in the sky (so Eusebius), in which he had seen the cross as an emblem of victory, which he was to use as his military standard: the *labarum*, bearing either the chi-rho or the *crux monogrammaticum* (so Lactantius, who says that it was inscribed on the shields of Constantine's soldiers). This dream or vision is presented as Constantine's conversion. There is in fact evidence that Constantine was far from unfamiliar with Christianity: the name of one of his half-sisters, Anastasia, may indicate longstanding Christian leanings in his family, and Constantine seems to have included Christian bishops in his entourage before the victory of 312. It is, however, clear that after 312 Constantine adopted Christianity as his favoured religion and made it the object of his considerable patronage. There is also evidence from coinage that like his father he maintained his devotion to *sol invictus*, the "unconquered sun", but it is not unlikely that, like later Roman Christians we hear of from pope Leo I (440–61), he had no problem in assimilating Christ and the *sol invictus*. As to the motives for his conversion, there is continuing scholarly dispute over whether it was a response to the growing Christianization of the empire, or a precondition for its ensuing Christianization. The pagan rumour (preserved by Zosimus) that Constantine embraced Christianity as the only religion that could offer forgiveness to one who had murdered his wife and son in 326 is perhaps not entirely without foundation. At any rate, Constantine only became a baptized Christian on his deathbed in 337.

Constantine's support for Christianity is manifest in his providing funds for the building of churches, initially in the west, but soon in the east, and also in the introduction of changes in the law to meet Christian sensibilities (for instance recognizing bishops as legitimate legal arbiters). It is perhaps also manifest in his founding in 330 the city of Constantinople, named after him, or "New Rome". However, Eusebius' account of Constantine's planning a Christian city with many churches is not borne out by the surviving evidence: it seems that the only church begun by Constantine was the church of the Holy Apostles, intended as his mausoleum where his body would rest as that of the 13th apostle. The Christian Church, the object of Constantine's favours, very soon presented problems for him. In north Africa he found a Church divided by Donatism, and quickly discovered that Christian disunity was not easily dealt with. Even worse, when he had attained his ambition as sole emperor in 324, he found the Church in the east divided over the issue of Arianism. To solve this he convoked a synod, the first Council of Nicaea, which within a decade or so was to be regarded as the first ecumenical (or universal) council: Arius was condemned and the Christian faith defined in a creed (or symbol) drawn by the council. Constantine's involvement in the affairs of the Church has often been seen as the beginnings of Caesaropapism, though it has recently been forcefully argued (by Barnes) that Constantine and his immediate successors were scrupulous in respecting the government of the Church by bishops meeting in synod. Despite the clear decision of the Council of Nicaea against Arianism, Constantine seemed to compromise in his later years (at least in the eyes of the Orthodox) and received baptism from the hands of an Arian bishop, Eusebius of Nicomedia.

Constantine's reputation as the first Christian emperor was enormous: more of his successors bore the name of Constantine than any other, the last dying in defence of the city Constantine had founded in 1453. The vision of the cross that was the occasion of his conversion led to its becoming a symbol closely associated with Constantine (and the imperial office), which was enhanced in legend by his being closely associated with his mother Helena's discovery of the True Cross in 326. The shadow cast over his name by his having been baptized on his deathbed by an Arian was removed by the legend that he was baptized in Rome after his victory at the Milvian Bridge by pope Sylvester I. He is commemorated as a saint in the Orthodox Church, together with his mother Helena, on 21 May.

ANDREW LOUTH

See also Constantinople

Biography

Born at Naissus in Serbia in 273/74, the son of Constantius I and Helena, Constantine served in the Roman army from 293. When Constantius died at York in 306, Constantine was proclaimed as his successor by the troops there. After victory at the Milvian Bridge in 312 he entered Rome as ruler of the western part of the empire; and in 324 became sole ruler of the whole. Constantine was a supporter of Christianity and in 330 founded the city of Constantinople as a new, Christian, capital. He died near Nicomedia in 337.

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Constantine V 718–775

Emperor

Constantine V (741–75) earned unparalleled notoriety with Byzantine commentators due to his violent persecution of the supporters of icons during the first part of the iconoclastic controversy (726/30–784). The opprobrious nicknames given him included *Kopronymos* (the "dung-named", referring to a story that he had excreted in the font during baptism, an exceptionally bad omen) and *Kaballinos* (or "stable hand", a reference to his penchant for horses). In his day, however, he enjoyed a power base of military and to an extent political support that few other emperors before or after him could boast.

Constantine was the son and successor of the emperor Leo III the Isaurian (716–41) who initiated official iconoclast policies in either 726 or 730. The initial reaction to this policy appears to have been muted, thanks to popular approval of Leo's decisive actions in 717 when he helped to save Constantinople from a prolonged Arab siege. But it does not seem that he waged an all-out campaign of destruction against either icons or their supporters. All he asked for was an end to the actual veneration of icons, especially in public places and churches.

After Leo III's death in 741, Constantine appears to have enjoyed considerable support in the provincial, or *thematic*, armies, thanks to his father's victories against both Bulgars and Arabs, the like of which had rarely been seen since Herakleios's last campaigns against the Persians a century earlier. But the outset of Constantine's reign was marked by the revolt of his brother-in-law Artabasdos (*c.*741–43) who even managed to occupy Constantinople in 743, where he may have reversed iconoclast policies. Constantine finally crushed the revolt but the incident had impressed upon him the need to restructure the military and tie them more closely to his person.

The most important feature of Constantine's military reforms, beginning in the mid-740s, involved the creation of well-trained and well-maintained garrison units and field armies in and around Constantinople: these were collectively known as the *tagmata* (singular *tagma*, i.e. battalion) and were mostly recruited from the civic deme factions of the capital and destitute members of the mob. The crack troops of the *tagmata* eventually constituted Constantine's power base for his violent execution of iconoclast policies. The emperor's military prowess, his attention to the welfare of his troops, and his triumphs against the Bulgars (at Anchialos in 763 and Lithosoria in 773) and the Arabs (the capture of Germanikeia, Theodosioupolis, and Melitine in 752) associated his success with his iconoclasm in the military and popular mind. Consequently, anyone who opposed iconoclasm came to be identified as a personal enemy of the emperor and a traitor to the state.

The devastating plague of 746–47, during which Constantine may have briefly moved his court to Nicomedia, may have convinced him that God wanted him to take a tougher line against the icons and their venerators, the most vocal of whom were monks. After all, God had not failed him before. Furthermore, Constantine began to realize that, in order to refute the icons once and for all, theological arguments had to be presented at a Church council. This led to the Council of Hieria in 754 which, although proclaiming itself ecumenical, included no representatives from Rome or the eastern patriarchates, and even lacked a patriarch of Constantinople up to the very last session.

Constantine displayed prowess in his theological writings, of which the so-called *Peuseis*, or "Questions", is the only surviving example – if indeed there were originally others. Some historians have detected a Monophysite strain in his theology, claiming that his family's origins in north Syria predisposed him to such inclinations. This need not necessarily be the case. Nevertheless, Constantine may have influenced the synod's final pronouncements. Two of the most important points made in the *Peuseis* are that to portray Christ in an icon necessarily circumscribes the uncircumscribable divine nature in Him, and that the only true image (*typos*) of Christ was the Eucharist itself.

Imperial persecution of iconophiles (venerators of icons), mostly monks and nuns, increased around this time. Some, like St Stephanos the Neomartyr, were even publicly humiliated and executed. Later Byzantine sources claim that Constantine also waged an all-out war on holy objects (gospel books, chalices, vestments, etc.) in an attempt to eliminate monastic influence entirely. Some hostility towards the Virgin Mary is also noted, although this does not seem to have characterized the line taken by the official Church. These images of gross sacrilege deeply affected later historians and churchmen and more than anything contributed to the notoriety of both emperor and iconoclasm in their writings. These actions, however, were not part of any calculated iconoclast attack against the holy. Social and political factors (psychological dislocation in the wake of the plague, the hero cult around Constantine, short-term localized power interests, etc.) can help to explain them better.

Iconoclasm apart, Constantine showed a great interest in secular art, decorating his residences with scenes of his battles and his favourite charioteers. He also may have been responsible for the renovation of the church of Hagia Irene in

Constantinople, one of the most significant monuments of the period.

In his policy with the Caliphate he showed prowess, stemming Arab advances with a determination never previously seen. His iconoclast policies, however, isolated him in the iconophile West, and he may have been responsible for removing Calabria, Sicily, Illyricum, Macedonia, Crete, and Greece from the nominal jurisdiction of Rome and placing them under Constantinople. His hostile policies led to Rome drawing closer to the Franks in their struggle against the Lombards, and have long been regarded as contributing indirectly to the rise of Charlemagne.

Together with his father, Constantine may have been responsible for the publication in 741 of the *Ekloge*, the famous law code in which Christian attitudes to laws relating to the family, sexual offences, and criminal law begin to predominate over the more legalistic compilations of the Roman past. The *Ekloge* had a great influence on Byzantine law for centuries.

Constantine's war against the iconophiles subsided after his death in 775, indicating that its ferocity had much to do with his own personality. By 787, during the regency of his daughter-in-law Irene, the icons had been restored at the second Council of Nicaea and militant iconoclasm had abated.

Constantine's shadow loomed large over the events leading to the second period of iconoclasm, when soldiers and the mob invoked his name during a disastrous war with the Bulgars undertaken by iconophile emperors (809–16). The second period of iconoclasm, begun by Leo V in 815, owed much to his memory. The patriarch Nikephoros (806–15) attempted in his writings to refute the idea that Constantine's reign had been a "golden age". After 843 his name became synonymous with the powers of evil, and his bones were exhumed from the church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople and discarded.

In modern Byzantine studies Constantine represents an anomaly that has fascinated historians, some of whom have regarded him as an enlightened despot trying to centralize the secular power of the state in the face of a "reactionary" iconophile Church. Protestant theologians see his iconoclasm as a precursor of the Reformation. Such evaluations, however, have more to do with modern concepts of progress and religion than with a realistic appraisal of events.

DAVID R. TURNER

See also Iconoclasm

Biography

Born at Constantinople in 718, Constantine succeeded his father Leo III in 741. Surviving a revolt by his brother-in-law Artabasdos in 741–43, he reorganized the military. In 754 he convened a church council at Hieria and thereafter pursued iconoclast policies which he supported with his own writings. He died at Strongylon in 775. After the triumph of Orthodoxy in 843 his bones were exhumed and scattered.

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Constantine VII 905–959

Emperor

The name of Constantine VII, or Constantine Porphyrogennetos (913–59), is one inextricably linked with the so-called encyclopaedic trend of 9th- and 10th-century Byzantine literature, epitomized by such works as the *Book of Themes* (*De Thematibus*), the *Book of Ceremonies* (*De Ceremoniis*), and *On Governing the Empire* (*De Administrando Imperio*), all works commissioned, if not personally compiled, by Constantine VII. This literary role that characterizes Constantine is often ascribed to his exclusion from imperial power for so long.

Although born the son of the emperor Leo VI in 905 and crowned co-emperor in 908, Constantine VII had to wait from 912 (the date of the death of his father) until 945 to be an independent emperor. His uncle Alexander ruled from 912–913, then a regency was established for Constantine headed by the patriarch Nicholas. Constantine's mother Zoe Karbonopsina managed to oust Nicholas in 914 and establish herself as regent, but in 919 the admiral Romanos Lekapenos forced her to retire and gained control of Constantine. Constantine was married to Romanos's daughter Helena, then Romanos became emperor himself in 920, maintaining Constantine as a co-emperor but also establishing his own sons as co-emperors. Romanos I ruled until 944 when he was dethroned by his sons Stephen and Constantine. However they soon fell themselves in 945, and Constantine VII finally secured his birthright. Thus it was to fill his time during his exclusion from power that he turned to intellectual pursuits. Some sources also credit him with being a painter.

Perhaps the most famous of the encyclopaedic works linked with Constantine VII is the *Book of Ceremonies*. It was divided into two books, the second asserting that it was innovative because it drew on material that had previously been known only orally, though it too does contain pre-existing material,

such as Philotheos's *Kletorologion* (a list of titles and offices), which was produced under Leo VI in 899. More significant perhaps are the ideas expressed in the prefaces – the importance of ceremony for *taxis* (order), the reproduction on earth of the harmony of the universe created by the Divinity. Here, as in other texts, Constantine's work is characterized by the qualities of compiling, cutting and pasting, preserving, and preface-adding.

The *On Governing the Empire* seems to be "a sort of encyclopedia of Byzantium's foreign policy" (Lemerle, p.320). It is prefaced by an address from Constantine VII to his son Romanos, asserting that the text is to be his guide to ruling over foreign nations well. The work consists of 53 chapters and is preoccupied especially with the Pechenegs (but seems hopelessly outdated on the Arabs and the West), and it also turns to internal diplomacy in its latter chapters. Here we find an emphasis (as in other texts connected with Constantine) on the language in which it is written – an everyday, understandable style.

The *Book of Themes* is a more problematic work. There is no address to Romanos, indeed no preface at all. It is divided into two books, one on the eastern themes, one on the western, and again its information seems less than up-to-date.

Of the other encyclopaedic works linked with Constantine, but not in his name, the most famous is probably the *Excerpta*. This was in 53 sections, each dealing with a particular topic, and each consisting of extracts drawn from pre-existing material, especially Hellenistic, Roman, and Byzantine histories, rather than the Greek classics of Herodotus, Thucydides, and Xenophon. In fact, the 26 authors known from the surviving list are notable for the reason that "almost half of them [are] grouped around the fifth to seventh centuries" (Lemerle, p.331). Each section was also topped by a preface, which appears to have been identical for each. Of this vast work only a tiny part has survived, notably Section 27 "On Embassies" and Section 50 "On Virtues and Vices". Lemerle remarks that "The scale of the tenth-century collection, as also the size of our loss, is astonishing" (p.325).

A well-known work in the encyclopaedic tradition dedicated to Constantine is the *Geoponica*, on rural life. It is divided into 20 sections, is headed by a preface, lists the authors consulted, and appears merely to use a pre-existing text (that of Kassianos Bassos Scholastikos).

Constantine seems also to have been the inspiration behind a corpus of strategic writings, including the *Taktika* of his father; and he appears to be the dedicatee of the famous *Synaxarion of Constantinople*. Thus the literary activity of his reign connected with him is broad and all-encompassing, pointing perhaps to a desire to possess all manner of human wisdom, casting the emperor in the role of the Old Testament king Solomon; indeed the preface to *On Governing the Empire* is marked by its use of the biblical Wisdom literature.

But it is not just encyclopaedism and the amassing and arranging of information that distinguish the work connected with Constantine VII. As a member of a dynasty that had come to power through bloody murder Constantine was not blind to the need to appropriate history. The works of Genesios and Theophanes Continuatus (so-called) were the result. A biographical impulse marks these texts, making them distinct from the chronographic concerns of Theophanes. Genesios's

Constantine VII: portrait of the emperor on a gold solidus minted in 945, Barber Institute, Birmingham

work covered the reigns of the four emperors Leo V, Michael II, Theophilos, and Michael III, the last also including material on Basil I the Macedonian. Theophanes Continuatus also wrote an account based on the reigns of emperors from Leo V onwards. Books 1–5 are divided into individual reigns, but then book 6 comprises the remaining reigns together, and probably postdates Constantine VII's life. Jenkins argues that here we have the beginnings of a less black-and-white, typically medieval characterization, inspired by the use of Classical authors such as Plutarch. This latter chronicle is also distinguished by its hostile account of the reign of Michael III, but especially by book 5, composed in a different style and genre. It is a life of Basil I the Macedonian based on the rhetorical principles of the *basilikos logos* (imperial encomium – and as such owes much to Leo VI's own *Epitaphios* on his parents), and, argues Jenkins (1954), inspired by the panegyrical *Life* of Augustus by Nicholas of Damascus. This section of the work has often been attributed to Constantine VII himself, though, as Ševčenko has pointed out, the title indicates that, although Constantine amassed the material, an unknown author was entrusted with the task of writing the *Life*.

Other works are also linked with Constantine. It is thought that he began the scholia on recent legislation, and that he encouraged the reappearance of medical treatises and veterinary science. Various works with religious themes have been linked with him, characterized by their commemoration of the translation of relics. Two exhortations to the army also exist in Constantine's name.

The sheer bulk and breadth of all this material can often blind one, but Ševčenko does not dodge the question of Constantine's own abilities. Pointing to a letter of Constantine to Theodore of Cyzicus as the only true example of the writing and literary ability of the emperor, Ševčenko doubts that Constantine wrote any of the texts associated with his name, and nominates ghostwriters. It is clear that texts could appear to be written by Constantine, with his name attached to them;

he became symbolic of the trend, if not the instigator behind it, which indeed had already begun in the 9th century. Further, it is important that the issues of Constantine's personal role or the quality of the product should not obscure the significance of the ideological impulse behind these texts. The desire to preserve and harness past knowledge for presentday use is very telling for the specific mood of Byzantium in the 9th and 10th centuries, and marks a stage in Byzantium's recovery of the past before its own flourishing in the 11th and 12th centuries.

SHAUN TOUGHER

Biography

Born in 905 and crowned co-emperor in 908, Constantine did not succeed as emperor until 945. A palace-based emperor like his father Leo VI, he contributed most to the systematization of knowledge and supported the compilation of (if he did not personally compile) such works as the *Book of Themes*, the *Book of Ceremonies*, and *On Governing the Empire*. He died at Constantinople in 959.

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Constantine IX Monomachos *c.*1000–1055

Emperor

Born into a noble family around 1000, Constantine IX Monomachos (1042–55) was a prominent figure at court during the reign of Romanos III Argyros (1028–34), but he was exiled to Mytilene by Michael IV (1034–41) as being politically suspect. After public loyalty to the Macedonian dynasty had forced Michael V from the throne in 1042, and the subsequent joint rule of Constantine VIII's elderly and mutually antagonistic daughters Zoe and Theodora had rapidly proved a complete failure, Zoe in the same year recalled Constantine Monomachos to become her third imperial husband. Because she was well beyond childbearing age, and probably 22 years her husband's senior, she made no objection to the recall also of his mistress Maria Skleraina (the niece of his late second wife who had shared his exile) nor to the increasingly public role and elevated status as *Sebaste* (Augusta) that he gave her at court ceremonies. Skleraina died probably in 1044 (her position passing, after a series of paramours, to an Alan princess) and Zoe in 1050, while Constantine survived until 1055, when he was buried next to Skleraina in his church of St George of Mangana and was succeeded by his now very ancient sister-in-law Theodora.

During Constantine's reign both the strength of the army and the safety of the empire, which had been built up very successfully, especially by Basil II, were severely weakened. The army suffered from a series of revolts, most notably that of its leading general George Maniakes, when Constantine, at the very outset of his reign, had foolishly recalled him from southern Italy, siding with Maniakes's rival Romanos Skleros, a relation of his mistress. In 1047 he had to put down another, equally serious rebellion from his second cousin Leo Tornikios. His disbanding of certain *thematic* border armies was dictated not only by their often inadequate performance and his need for financial retrenchment, but also by a radical change of policy. Whereas Basil II had established well-defined frontiers defended by military strength, Constantine attempted, as had so often been done successfully in the past, to create more flexible frontiers by cultivating friendly relations with neighbouring states. To this end he initiated or strengthened alliances with the papacy, the German emperor Henry III, Serbia, and Hungary, while he made conciliatory gestures to the Seljuk Turks and even sent a large quantity of corn to help relieve a famine of their rivals, the Fatimids of Egypt.

Constantine's main military achievement was the destruction in 1043 by Greek fire of a major naval force of the Rus in the Bosporus, an interruption of the generally peaceful relations between Byzantium and the Rus that probably marks the latter's growing assertion of independence. This seems to have been acknowledged by Constantine in his willingness to pay reparations for damage and injuries suffered by the Rus during the war, in betrothing in 1046 a close relative (probably his daughter Maria to Vselevod, younger son of Yaroslav the Wise, and in permitting Yaroslav to appoint the first Russian- (rather than Byzantine-)born metropolitan in 1051. However, the effectiveness of the Kievan Rus as allies once more of Byzantium was reduced by the creation of a barrier between them when, by a series of miscalculations and military failures,

Constantine was forced to accept the settlement of Pechenegs south of the Danube. In the east the seemingly promising annexation of Ani in 1045, which had been willed to Byzantium by John-Smbat III but claimed by his nephew Gagik, removed a buffer between Byzantium and the Seljuk Turks who, after the latter's capture of Baghdad in 1055, confronted each other from the Caucasus to Syria. In the west Maniakes' gains in eastern Sicily were soon lost to the Arabs after his recall, and the Byzantine hold on southern Italy was increasingly threatened by the Normans.

The iron fist of Basil II had restrained the fissiparous elements in the state. Constantine, a member of the civil aristocracy, attempted to do the same by balancing their powers. In this he was aided by a group of youngish intellectuals who included Constantine Leichoudes, John Xiphilinos (both later patriarchs), John Mauropous, and Michael Psellos. Constantine lessened the strength of the urban aristocracy by creating new senators from a broad spectrum of society. He curbed the military aristocracy by creating a new judicial ministry (*epi ton kriseon*) to coordinate provincial administration by putting the *thematic* judges under its supervision, thus ensuring their complete independence from the military governors. At the same time he attempted to improve the paltry legal knowledge of the judges (Psellos had been appointed a *thematic* judge before he was 20 without any formal training) by establishing a law school in 1047 with Xiphilinos as its head (*nomophylax*, "guardian of the laws"); his duties included not only teaching but also supervising the examination of lawyers. Shortly afterwards Constantine established a parallel position for Psellos to teach rhetoric and philosophy and supervise the capital's schools. Partly out of piety and partly also to encourage another balancing force, Constantine lavishly patronized the Church. The most notable instance of this was his building of the monastery of St George Tropaiophoros, for which he prescribed the Typikon, in the region of Mangana on the eastern slope of the acropolis of the capital, but he also made a huge donation to Hagia Sophia, and helped lavishly in the restoration of the church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, while there still survives today the monastery of Nea Moni on Chios with the magnificent mosaics of its *katholikon* (main church).

Despite his efforts Constantine lost support for his policies and his counsellors slipped away or were forced out. A year before his death the emperor effectively lost his ability to govern when he was worsted in a power struggle with his patriarch Michael I Keroularios. Constantine was negotiating for a papal alliance to curb Norman infiltration into southern Italy, but his patriarch was feuding with the papacy over its use of unleavened bread (*azymes*) in the Eucharist. In July 1054 (the very year in which the emperor began an annual donation to the Benedictine mother-house at Monte Cassino) the papal legate Humbert and the patriarch excommunicated each other, and Keroularios's affectation of purple imperial buskins now symbolized his victory over Constantine as well as an effective end to any surviving notion of a single Church. The emperor's loss of popular support was due both to a worsening military situation with the Pechenegs and to growing economic difficulties. Tactical indulgence of the expensive pious whims of the imperial sisters, his own tax exemptions and lavish donations to monasteries, his selling of salary-bearing titular offices at ludicrously low prices, or even the granting of them as gifts, his cash payments to demobilized soldiers, the subsequent necessity of paying mercenaries, and above all the expense of the wars against the Pechenegs were all serious drains on the imperial treasury. The inevitable result was the first major devaluation of the Byzantine *nomisma* (gold coin) from a nominal 24 carats to 18, since its introduction in 309, nearly 750 years before: the days of the *nomisma* as the respected international currency were over.

Constantine was Psellos's favourite emperor, but even he criticizes him for his indolence, extravagance, and sexual laxity. Later Byzantine historians (e.g. Zonaras, *Epitomae Historiarum*, 17. 16–21, edited by M. Pindar, vol. 3, Bonn, 1897) attribute most of the empire's woes to his frivolity, generosity, subservience to womenfolk, and above all his disbanding of frontier armies. Most modern historians follow suit. However, in the early period of his reign Constantine showed that he could be assertive, and his indolence was at least in part due to a muscular disease that left him in great and constant pain in his later years. Even then, Psellos relates how he would take his part in processions and, supported on his horse by attendants, conceal his agony by means of his facial expression and demeanour in order to carry out his public responsibilities. He was affable, kind, a patron of the arts, a builder (e.g. of the complex at Mangana, which included a hospital and a palace in addition to the church of St George), and an ardent if somewhat impatient landscape gardener. Above all, his military, diplomatic, and political actions were (as Angold points out) the direct result of carefully thought-out policies aimed at a genuine *renovatio* of the Roman empire: not all were obviously misguided without the benefit of hindsight. He thus contrasts favourably with his immediate predecessors and most of his successors who merely reacted to events.

Constantine's portrait may be seen in a mosaic in the south gallery of Hagia Sophia, Constantinople, showing Christ, Zoe, and Constantine (head only; the body was originally that of Zoe's first husband, Romanos III); in the frontispiece (together with Zoe and Theodora) of a copy of the homilies of St John Chrysostom (Sinai gr. 364, fol. 3r); on an enamel plaque now in Budapest from a crown believed to have been given to Andrew I of Hungary or his wife as an instrument of diplomacy; and probably in the features of the mural of king Solomon on the south wall of the *katholikon* of Nea Moni.

A.R. LITTLEWOOD

Biography

Born *c.*1000 to a noble family, Constantine was exiled to Mytilene by Michael IV. Recalled to marry Zoe as her third husband in 1042 and crowned the next day, Constantine curbed the power of the urban and military aristocracy and patronized the Church and the arts. Despite a notable victory over the Rus in the Bosporus in 1043, both the army and the empire were weakened during his reign. He died at Constantinople in 1055.

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Constantine XI Palaiologos 1405–1453

Emperor

Constantine was the fourth of the surviving six sons of the emperor Manuel II Palaiologos (1391–1425). His mother was the Serbian princess Helena Dragaš, and he alone among her sons took the name of Dragases as well as Palaiologos.

As a dynastic younger son he bore the title of despot (*despotes*). Although such younger sons were also normally given territorial appanages, during his father's lifetime Constantine never received any youthful assignment comparable to those of his elder brothers, Theodore (the Morea) and Andronikos (Thessalonica). Instead, he grew up in the capital, where he became particularly close to his eldest brother, the heir and successor to the throne, John VIII (1425–48). During their father's incapacity in his last two years, Constantine became his brother's trusted deputy. Thus, when John travelled to Venice and Hungary to plead for western aid, the 18-year-old Constantine served as his regent (1423–24), and it was he who signed a treaty (February 1424) that ended the recent outbreak of hostilities with the Turkish sultan Murad II.

The discontent of their brother Theodore prompted John to designate Constantine as his replacement, but Theodore, who was contemplating retiring to a monastery, suddenly changed his mind. Instead, after the death of their father (July 1425) and the formal accession of his brother, Constantine was given a small appanage of coastal territory around the capital extending from the Black Sea to the Sea of Marmora. But by 1427 he was transferred after all into the volatile sphere of the Morea, the one region in which Byzantium's arms were successful (against remnants of Latin rule in the Peloponnese) and its culture was flourishing. In concert with his brothers, Constantine participated in the seizures of Glarentza (1427) and Patras (1429–30) from their Latin lords. In the process, he acquired a Latin bride, Maddalena Tocco, as his first (if short-lived) wife. His youngest brother Thomas, by inheriting in 1432 the lands of his own Latin father-in-law, completed the Byzantine recovery of virtually the entire Peloponnese. Thereafter, Theodore, Constantine, and Thomas shared the rule of this region in an unstable division, which nearly dissolved into fighting in 1435 as a result of jealousies between the first two brothers.

In 1437 Constantine was summoned back to Constantinople as the emperor's most trusted deputy. While John VIII was in Italy (1437–40) attending the Council of Ferrara-Florence in order to negotiate Church union, Constantine served ably as his regent. After his brother's return, he contracted a second (and again short-lived) Latin marriage, to Caterina Gattilusio of the ruling family of Lesbos. He returned to the Morea in 1441, but was recalled to Constantinople the following year to help John resist an attempted coup by the most unstable and untrustworthy of their brothers, Demetrios. In the aftermath, newly shuffled assignments allowed Theodore – jealous of Constantine and anxious to be closer to the capital – to take up the Marmora appanage, while Constantine assumed control of the Byzantine Morea.

In 1443, therefore, Constantine took up his post in Mistra, sharing the Peloponnese with Thomas, who was ensconced in his Latin legacy in the northern regions. In the face of both internal and external difficulties, Constantine did his best to keep his territories secure from the Turks, though not always with success, while presiding over the one Byzantine region where cultural vitality and a new stirring of proud Hellenism were in full cry. Meanwhile, disillusioned by the stalemate of Church union and by the failure of hoped-for western aid, worn down in spirit and body, the emperor John died in October 1448. Ironically, his eldest brother, Theodore, who was awaiting the event nearby, himself died four months earlier, in June. Agitations in the capital on behalf of the irresponsible Demetrios were kept in control by their mother, the respected dowager empress Helena, thus clearing the path for the successor whom John himself had preferred. When the news of John's death reached Mistra, Constantine was secure in his rights. Nevertheless, he had himself crowned emperor at Mistra on 6 January 1449, before proceeding to the capital, deliberately avoiding the traditional rite of proper coronation in Hagia Sophia that would have involved his taking a stand on the divisive issue of union with Rome.

Accepted as the new – and, to be the last – Byzantine emperor, Constantine faced the suspicions of the increasingly outspoken opponents of union by pursuing mediation and postponing any commitment to it, allowing its formal proclamation only at the eleventh hour, in December 1452. His immediate task was to find allies and aid among Christian powers both eastern and western, which involved much busy but largely futile diplomacy. The urgency increased with the accession in 1451 of the new Turkish sultan, Mehmet II, whose determination to achieve the long-anticipated conquest of Constantinople soon became evident.

With ludicrously outnumbered forces and only token help from western Christian powers, Constantine prepared for the Turkish onslaught, which began on 6 April 1453. For more than seven weeks the attackers battered at the walls, which the defenders manned with stubborn courage. Constantine resisted all temptations to make terms or seek his own advantage and did his best to keep the disparate elements of Byzantines and Latins, of pro- and anti-unionists, reasonably united. When the final assault broke through on the morning of 29 May, Constantine flung himself into the last fighting and died as a common soldier.

For all our sources on the fall of Constantinople, there is no indisputable account of Constantine's death. Stories vary as to whether or not his body was ever found and, if so, what became of it. Almost immediately, however, tales began to

circulate about his fate, embellished over the ensuing centuries: reports of a secret tomb, of his preserved possessions (especially a sword), and of his sleeping until a miraculous day of awakening to reclaim his realm. Both during and after the Tourkokratia, he became a symbol to be conjured with by Greek leaders who sought to revive Hellenic sovereignty and avenge the Turkish conquest.

Constantine's melodramatic death as the martyr of expiring Byzantium has inevitably coloured any objective assessment of his character. With no reliable image of him surviving, we do not even know what he looked like. His friend and retainer, the historian Sphrantzes, praised him liberally, and less biased observers seem to have found him an honourable man, a brave soldier, and a dutiful leader, perhaps not very sophisticated, but pragmatic and earnest. His personal feelings about Church union are unknown, but he seems to have viewed the matter in practical terms, with little concern for theological partisanship, if with presumed Orthodox loyalty. Although he was a genealogical mix of Greek, Serbian, and Italian strains, his ethnic sensibilities would probably be different from our own, and he would have regarded himself as a "Roman" (*rhomaios*). He has inevitably become, however, a symbol for latterday Greek national pride and mythology, a paragon of Hellenic heroism – as witness the fanciful statue of him, of which copies today stand in a square in the new town of Mistra and before the metropolitan cathedral of Athens.

JOHN W. BARKER

See also Constantinople (Fall of), Palaiologos Family

Biography

Born in Constantinople in 1405, the fourth son of the emperor Manuel II, Constantine grew up in the capital and deputized for his brother, the future emperor John VIII. In 1427 he moved to the Peloponnese which he ruled jointly at first with his two brothers Theodore and Thomas and after 1443 with Thomas alone. In 1448 John VIII died, predeceased by Theodore, leaving the throne to Constantine. He was the last Byzantine emperor and died fighting as the city fell to the Ottomans on 29 May 1453.

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Constantinople

The city of Byzantion or Byzantium, later called Constantinople and then Istanbul, was founded on a peninsula immediately south of the Golden Horn on the European side of Bosporus. Although this peninsula is bisected by the river Lycus, it is not well provided with water supplies. However, the narrow straits upon which the city was located were, and remain, an important trade route and enable control of sea traffic between the Aegean and the Black Sea.

Nearly a millennium after its founding in the 7th century BC (see the article on Byzantium), the city rose to new prominence in the early 4th century AD. In AD 326 – after considering several alternatives – the emperor Constantine I ("the Great") chose Byzantium as a new capital for the Roman empire. The city was then rapidly developed on a scale befitting a Roman capital, and once again new walls (the Constantinian walls) enclosed a much larger area. The city also now encompassed an area across the Golden Horn opposite the old Byzantium, Galata. This new city, formally established in AD 330, was the "New Rome" or "Constantinople" – the city of Constantine.

During the 4th and 5th centuries Constantinople continued to grow in size, and walls enclosing a much larger area were erected under Theodosius II in the 5th century (the Theodosian walls). These rendered the city virtually impregnable to land attack, and remained the principal defences throughout the Byzantine period.

Byzantine Constantinople reached a height of prosperity and sophistication between the reigns of Anastasius and Justinian I in the late 5th and 6th centuries. This phase of the city's development may serve to give an impression of its Byzantine topography, although of course the city was continually changing. Even within Justinian I's reign large areas of the city centre had to be rebuilt following the Nike riots in 532.

The principal imperial residence in late 5th- and early 6th-century Constantinople was the Great Palace. This was a sprawling complex of courtyards, halls, pavilions, and gardens, occupying much of the southeast of the city. Immediately to its north stood Hagia Sophia, the cathedral, with the palace of the patriarch (the head of the Byzantine Orthodox Church) adjacent. To the southwest of the Great Palace was the public chariot-racing arena known as the Hippodrome, and to the north of Hagia Sophia stood the city's original cathedral, Hagia Eirene. The Augusteum, a paved

Constantinople: the Golden Gate and Seven Towers Gate on the walls of Theodosius, the principal landward defences of the city

square, stood between the main entrance of the Hippodrome and Hagia Sophia, with the Senate House on its east, adjacent to the Great Palace. From a monumental milestone (the Milion) in this square, the city's main street (the Mese) ran westward through a series of four large paved fora, on the Roman model. The Mese was lined by porticos, and the fora were surrounded by porticos and adorned with monumental columns (notably the columns of Constantine and Arcadius), elaborate entrances, and statues.

As it approached the Constantinian walls, the Mese divided into a Y-shape, with branches heading for the northwest and southwest of the Theodosian walls. The northerly branch passed by the cruciform church of the Holy Apostles, the second most important church in the city and the burial place of the early Byzantine emperors, including both Constantine the Great and Justinian I. The branch to the southwest may have divided again in a Y-shape, to pass through the Second Military Gate in the Theodosian wall, and through the Golden Gate, the city's ceremonial entrance.

Outside the Theodosian walls, in addition to numerous suburbs, rural palaces, and monasteries, were the long aqueducts which fed the city's water supply. In the city, water was stored in both open and underground cisterns, of which the most famous is the underground Basilica Cistern (Yerebatan Saray) close to the Augusteum. Three large open cisterns – those of St Mocius, Aspar, and Aetius – were situated between the Theodosian and Constantinian walls. Another defensive wall (the Long Walls) enclosed the city's immediate hinterland.

Early Byzantine Constantinople contained numerous churches (some of which survive as buildings today, such as Sts Sergius and Bacchus) and monasteries, such as that of St John Stoudios, whose church is the oldest standing Christian religious building in the city. There were also the public buildings which one would expect of a major Roman city in the long-urbanized east Roman provinces, such as the baths of Zeuxippus near the Hippodrome, and Christian charitable institutions, such as the hospital of St Samson adjacent to Hagia Eirene. In addition to the Great Palace, there were other imperial palaces in the city, notably that at the Blachernae in the extreme northwest by the Theodosian walls.

There were also palatial houses belonging to aristocrats. Some were as grand as the most elaborate Roman villas of the 4th century AD, as is shown by the excavated buildings usually identified as the palace of Antiochus and Lausos close to the Hippodrome. Aristocrats also endowed churches and monasteries: the most lavish known example being the excavated church of St Polyeuktos (Saraçhane). Thus, while Constantinople was a major population centre – with perhaps half a million inhabitants in the early 6th century – and a trading port, its urban topography must have been dominated by public buildings, churches, monasteries, and palaces, at least within the Constantinian walls.

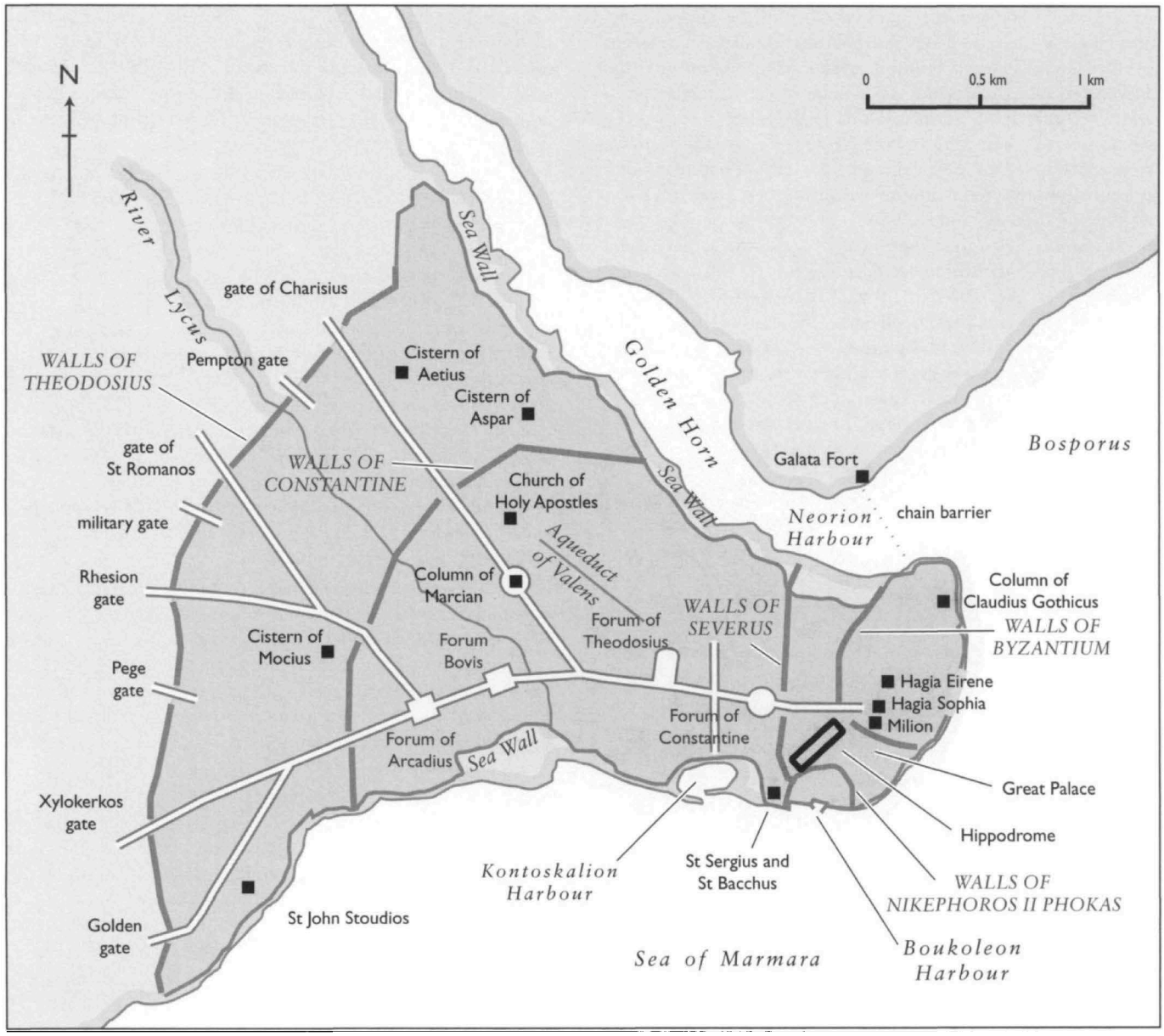
This magnificent phase of the city's history is thought to have come to an end in the 7th century. An intermittent, but devastating, plague beginning in the 530s – combined with increasing military, social, religious, and economic problems – led to dramatic urban decline. The exact extent to which these factors brought about the desertion and dereliction of the city and its public buildings is unclear, not least because of the difficulties in reconstructing urban change in 7th- and 8th-century Constantinople in general. Nevertheless, throughout almost all of this period Constantinople remained the seat of imperial government, and was both the centre of the Orthodox Church administration and the principal Byzantine trading centre. Some building certainly continued, as is evident in the 8th-century reconstruction of Hagia Eirene.

Constantinople seems to have recovered after the late 8th century. Populations from the Balkans were relocated in the city and building projects initiated. Under emperor Theophilos in the 9th century, for example, new palace buildings and churches were constructed and the walls refurbished. The middle Byzantine city once again was a flourishing centre of intellectual and artistic life and commerce, and probably grew in size. It was adorned with a large number of churches, many of which still survive as buildings today. But the city remained somewhat smaller than it had once been and had lost some of its early Byzantine facilities. Nevertheless, new buildings of this period, such as the Myrelaion (Bodrum Camii) and the Nea Ekklesia, now lost, attest to the vigour of activity in the 9th-century city. This was maintained into the 11th century, with churches such as St Mary Peribleptos and Christ Pantepoptes being built on imperial commission.

In the 10th century Western (notably Venetian) trading communities were established inside the walls. This led to the city's trade coming under the control of non-Byzantines. The Genoese acquired concessions in Galata, which later developed a semiautonomous character with its governor sent from Italy. These developments were to play a central role in the later Byzantine history of Constantinople.

Constantinople remained in Byzantine hands continuously until 1204, when it was captured and sacked by the Fourth Crusade. Like all Byzantine lands captured by the crusaders, the city was divided among the westerners. The Venetians took three-eighths of the city, the remainder going to Count Baldwin of Flanders. The burned and ruinous shell of the city was recaptured in 1261, when it once again became the capital of the, now much reduced, Byzantine empire.

After the reconquest the Byzantine emperors and aristocracy attempted to restore and rebuild the city, as is well evidenced in the magnificent 14th-century decorations at St Saviour in Chora (Kariye Camii). But, while Hagia Sophia survived, many of the grandest buildings of the past – such as the Great Palace and Hippodrome – were abandoned and in ruins. The late Byzantine imperial palace was located on the walls, in the area of the earlier Blachernae, and new structures, such as that today known as Tekfur Saray, were added. Imperial burials were no longer made at the church of the Holy Apostles but in churches elsewhere in the city, notably at the church of the Pantocrator (Zeyrek Camii) and the monastery of Constantine Lips (Fenari Isa Camii). However, most of the city lay beneath fields and the rubble of collapsed structures, while occupation centred on much smaller areas. Thus, late Byzantine Constantinople was not merely a much smaller city, but one which bore little resemblance to the city of Constantine or Justinian – except in the survival of churches and the misunderstood monuments of earlier generations. Even so, late Byzantine Constantinople was the centre of Greek-speaking culture, as well as of Byzantine architecture and art.



13. Constantinople

In 1453 the Turkish army led by Sultan Mehmet II (often called "the Conqueror") began an extended siege of Constantinople. Using batteries of large cannon – a weapon against which the Theodosian walls offered only limited protection – a sustained bombardment of the city was combined with continuous land and sea attack. The inhabitants of Constantinople, both Byzantine and Genoese, fought heroically against overwhelming odds. Despite appeals, no other western help arrived and the city came under attack from all sides. On 29 May Turkish troops entered the land walls and Giustiniani, the Genoese commander, was fatally wounded in the ensuing fighting. The Byzantine and Genoese resistance began to fail and many fled the city by sea as the Turkish army entered in ever greater numbers. Although the emperor Constantine XI Palaiologos was last seen fighting at the walls, no convincing account of his death was recorded and his body was never recovered, giving rise to much speculation about his fate. Whatever the fate of the emperor, the siege was over within hours and by afternoon the city was in Turkish hands.

Sultan Mehmet rode to Hagia Sophia and gave orders that it was to be converted to a mosque. This was carried out in time for him to attend the first Muslim service in the Byzantine cathedral the following Friday. The capture of the city was followed by several days of extreme brutality, in which the city was stripped of its remaining treasures, its able-bodied inhabitants enslaved, and many atrocities committed against them.

The city was now even more ruinous and depopulated. This presented Mehmet with a problem, as the Turkish sultan wished to be seen as heir to the Caesars. He therefore set about repopulating Constantinople with groups from other parts of the Ottoman empire – including Greeks, Armenians, and Turks. He restored the Orthodox Patriarchate, both for symbolic reasons and as a means of governing the Orthodox citizens of the Ottoman empire. With Hagia Sophia in use as a

mosque, the Patriarchate was located at the church of the Pammakaristos (Fethiye Camii) until 1586, before moving in 1601 to the rebuilt and much smaller church of St George in the Phanar district, where it still remains today.

In the following centuries of Ottoman rule, the urban topography was further Islamicized by the confiscation of many remaining churches and the construction of monumental imperial mosques, religious buildings, palaces, and tombs. The Greeks initially had only their churches as centres for communal life, although only one of these (the late Byzantine St Mary of the Mongols) remained continuously in Greek hands since before 1453. Nevertheless, during the Ottoman period specifically Greek-language schools and cultural institutions developed. Although under Ottoman rule the Greeks were only one of numerous population groups in the city, there were many of them. About 40 Greek churches existed in 18th-century Constantinople, and through the Patriarchate and the activities of scholars and clerics a sense of national identity and the continuity of Byzantine culture were maintained in the city. The wealth of merchants and officials, especially those of the Phanar district surrounding the Patriarchate, formed the core of the lay community. During the 19th century, in particular, the Greek-speaking community of the city was a vibrant cultural and intellectual centre within the broader Hellenic world.

This situation continued until the 20th century. The lot of the Constantinopolitan Greeks changed after World War I, first due to the Graeco-Turkish war of 1919–23, and later due to Greek emigration, and the Turkish immigration into the city, which has grown rapidly in size since 1900. The secularization of Turkey under Atatürk enabled the Byzantine heritage to be partially claimed by the state: for instance, Hagia Sophia was changed from a mosque into a museum. One other notable 20th-century development has been the change of the city's official name from Constantinople to Istanbul. Overall, while both the Orthodox Patriarchate and Greek-speaking community remain up to the present, the Greek community of the city is now reduced to just a few thousand people.

KEN DARK

See also Patriarchate of Constantinople

Summary

Originally founded as Byzantion by colonists from Megara in the 7th century BC, the city was of no particular significance until AD 326 when the emperor Constantine the Great chose it as the site of a new capital for the Roman empire. Perhaps at the height of its prosperity in the late 5th and 6th centuries when the population numbered about 500,000. Venetian trading communities were admitted in the 10th century. It was sacked by the Fourth Crusade in 1204 but reconquered in 1261. Fell to the Ottomans in 1453 but remained a cosmopolitan city and seat of the Orthodox Patriarchate, as it still is today.

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Constantinople, Fall of 1453

Menaced and attacked time and time again, Constantinople had stood firm over the centuries – protected, its inhabitants believed, by no less a person than the Virgin Mary herself. Though its territories might be overrun, so long as the capital could hold out and the attackers be repulsed, the Byzantine empire could be safely reconstituted. The brutal storming and capture of the city in 1204 by the forces of the Fourth Crusade badly jolted Byzantine confidence. But, in a reversal of the past

Fall of Constantinople: 19th-century view of the siege of 1453 by Panayiotis Zographos, one of a series of scenes depicting the War of Independence commissioned by general Makriyannis in the 1830s

situation, the Byzantine world survived the loss of its capital. Out of its fragments came the successor state of Nicaea, which in 1261 was able to recover the battered city from the Latins and thereby vindicate Byzantine integrity.

Recovery of Constantinople in fact involved a burden of imperial pretension that could not be sustained by a regime of limited resources and weakened position in a rapidly changing world. Under the dynasty of the Palaiologoi the restored Byzantine state became a minor local power, ever more at the mercy of its neighbours. Losses first to the expansionistic Serbians and then to the aggressive Ottoman Turks reduced Byzantium during the 14th century to a rump state, holding a few islands and the Peloponnesian Morea but otherwise only small areas around Constantinople itself. The Turks even began a desultory siege of the city in 1394, which was broken only by the unexpected defeat and captivity of the Turkish sultan Bayezid I by Tamerlane at the Battle of Ancyra (1402).

Constantinople's ensuing breathing spell ended when sultan Murad II (1421–51) launched an attack on the city in the summer of 1422, during which cannon were first used to attack the walls. Byzantine diplomacy caused Murad's distraction and withdrawal, but stories of miraculous appearances by the Virgin strengthened anew popular convictions of the city's inviolability. Busying himself thereafter with rounding out the Turkish conquests in both Europe and Asia, Murad II made no further attempts on Constantinople. It fell to his son and successor, Mehmet II "the Conqueror" (1451–81), to claim the city that was the necessary guarantee and capital of the empire that the Turks had been recreating out of the old Byzantine world.

Emperor John VIII (1421/25–48) had sought help from the Latin west, even at the terrible cost of submitting the Orthodox Church to papal domination and doctrinal compromise, but such efforts had proved futile, only leaving his population embittered and disillusioned. There was considerable sentiment among the clergy of Constantinople against resisting the Turks, not only out of hatred for the Latins but also out of a logical desire to reunite their ecclesiastical world now largely in Turkish hands – "better the turban of the Turk in the City than the Latin mitre" went a slogan of the day.

When Constantine XI arrived in Constantinople in March 1449 to become the last Byzantine emperor, the city was in wretched state, many of its areas desolate and its population reduced perhaps to fewer than 50,000 souls. Staving off any commitment to the divisive issue of Church union with Rome, Constantine conducted stumbling diplomatic efforts to win help. Meanwhile, carefully securing himself from any other distractions, sultan Mehmet took the provocative step of building a massive new fortress (Rumeli Hisar) up the Bosporus on the European side, as a staging point from which to menace the city.

Constantine found the Venetian community willing to cooperate, but the neighbouring Genoese colony of Pera on the Galata side of the Golden Horn remained officially neutral.

Despite promises from the pope and others, contributions of aid from the Latin west were pathetically minimal. A small troop of archers accompanied cardinal Isidore of Kiev, who arrived in December 1452 in order to proclaim Church union. A private force of some 700 under the Genoese adventurer Giovanni Giustiniani Longo arrived in late January 1453 and he was given command of the defences by Constantine.

Mehmet finally began his attack on 6 April 1453. His forces have been reckoned as numbering between 80,000 and 100,000 men, plus a fleet of 120 galleys, and augmented by a set of fearsome new cannon and bombards. The Byzantines had fewer than 7000 warriors both domestic and allied, and some 26 warships, plus a few small cannon on the walls – themselves unevenly maintained but still formidable.

Despite preliminary battering by the sultan's cannon, the walls held against the first Turkish assault, and all hands settled down for a prolonged and bitter siege. Concentrated on a vulnerable area of the land walls in the Lycus valley, the Turkish artillery inflicted terrible damage, which the defenders desperately repaired as best they could. The Turkish fleet failed to penetrate the harbour of the Golden Horn or to block the arrival of some Genoese grain ships, which brought hope to the defenders. But then, on 22 April, the Turks secured access to the Golden Horn upstream by the bold feat of hauling ships overland from the Bosporus. Turkish efforts at undermining the land walls were detected and neutralized by countermining. The fighting dragged on, ever more ferocious as successive Turkish assaults failed. The incessant artillery pounding sapped morale as well as the fortifications, while the hoped-for relief never came.

There was, in fact, a real possibility that the siege would fail, and some of Mehmet's advisers counselled withdrawal. That would only have postponed Constantinople's fate, not altered it, but it would have humiliated the sultan. He decided on one final effort, planned for 29 May. The night before, the Greek and Latin defenders shared a last communion in Hagia Sophia. The attack began in the earliest hours of the morning, with successive waves of assault driven back until, by dawn, Mehmet sent in his crack Janissaries. As they began to break through, first in the Blachernai area and then at the St Romanos Gate, Giustiniani Longo received a fatal wound and had himself carried away. This spread panic among the defenders as the Turks began to pour into the city. Constantine bravely led the final resistance and was killed in the fray. By midday the city was in Turkish hands, and there began three days of pillaging and violence allowed his troops by the sultan.

Now capital of the new empire on the Bosporus, that of the Ottoman Turks, Constantinople was once again to be a great ruling city, but no longer a Greek one. The event officially ended the moribund Byzantine state, of course, even though it was not until 1461 that Mehmet's final reduction of the Morea and his capture of the separate Greek regime of Trebizond completed the conquest of the Hellenic world. But the great (and extensively recorded) drama of 1453 readily assumed symbolic status.

In grand terms Constantinople's capture is sometimes taken to mark the terminal point of the Middle Ages. For the Hellenic tradition in particular, it initiates the long ordeal of the Tourkokratia and a new phase in the defining of Greek identity. Long a subject of enduring lamentation and pain in Greek expression, the fall of Constantinople became a verdict to be reversed some day. A strong neo-Byzantine dimension of the modern Greek mentality nurtured the so-called Great Idea (*Megali Idea*) which, well into the 20th century, imagined the Greek recovery of Constantinople as the ultimate goal and fulfilment of Hellenic destiny. This mentality still lurks below the surface of enduring Graeco-Turkish frictions down to the present.

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Constantinople, Sack of 1204

The sack of Constantinople by forces of the Fourth Crusade took place on the three days following the capture of the city on Monday, 12 April 1204.

The decision to divert the crusade to Constantinople had been taken at Zara on the Adriatic in early 1203 and had been confirmed in May when Alexios Angelos, the son of the deposed emperor Isaac II Angelos, had joined the army at Corfu. The decision had led to disputes within the crusading army, but the arguments for the diversion were sound, if some of the difficulties were skated over in the debates. Alexios had promised the sum of 200,000 marks, a Byzantine reinforcement of 10,000 men for one year, and thereafter, for the term of his life, a garrison of 500 men to defend the Holy Land. In addition, on ascending the throne, he would bring the Greek Church into canonical obedience to Rome. The crusading army had arrived at Constantinople in July 1203 and effected the restoration of Isaac Angelos and made Alexios joint emperor. Alexios was unable to fulfil his extravagant promises and Graeco-Latin relations had deteriorated. In August and November 1203 two fires started by Latins had caused much damage to residential property in the city, including the destruction of the mansion owned by Choniates. In March 1204 the Crusaders were in desperate straits, able neither to go on their way nor to stay without Greek support and provisioning. It was desperation that led to the plan to attack the city and on 12 April, much to their surprise, they managed to capture Constantinople, an enterprise that substantial Arab, Russian, and Varangian attacks in the past had failed to achieve.

As was traditional with a city captured by attack, the victorious forces were allowed three days of pillaging, but on this occasion it was to be looting limited by rules. Details of the horrendous events involved are given by the Greek civil servant and historian Niketas Choniates in his moving account of his own and his family's experiences in those three days. Western eyewitness accounts largely ignore the accumulated hatred and greed, the pillage and rape that accompanied their capture of the city. As the victors, surprised by their own success and seeing in it the hand of God judging the arrogant Greeks, the crusaders rapidly ran out of control and blatantly ignored the guidelines laid down by the crusading leadership prior to the assault on the city that women and churches should be left inviolate. The Latin commentators were clearly ashamed of the acts of their fellows. The crusading leadership took firm measures to re-establish control on 15 April by hanging looters, but it took some months before the details were reported to the pope in Rome. No Latin source even hints at rape and only one source mentions the looting of churches. The chronicle of Robert of Clari suggests that churches were indeed spared, yet he himself donated ecclesiastical spoils to the abbey of Corbie on his return to France. The sacking of the city was almost immediately condemned by Greek and Latin authorities in terms that were subsequently used to characterize the crusade itself and later Greek and Latin relationships in general. Niketas thought it better if Constantinople had been captured by the infidel rather than by these western Christians, drawing unflattering comparisons between the crusaders in 1204 and Saladin's restrained behaviour in Jerusalem in 1187. Innocent III, although his first letters referred to the capture of the city as an act of God, when he learned of details of the sack, condemned it: "those who should have used their swords against the infidel have covered them with Christian blood."

There has been much scholarly controversy as to what was taken and how much, a debate best summarized by Queller and Madden. Robert of Clari stated that neither Charlemagne nor Alexander had seen so much booty in one city and that there was more wealth in Constantinople than the world's 40 next richest cities combined. The plunder was to be gathered under guard into three churches in the city, but it was clear that much was held back by individual looters. The chronicler Geoffrey de Villehardouin records that a total of 300,000 silver marks was thus collected together, although he estimated that the total booty pillaged from Constantinople was in the region of 800,000 marks, a good 63 per cent kept by individuals. Most of these escaped detection and only a few were caught and hanged, like the unnamed knight recorded as belonging to the retinue of the Compte de Saint-Pol. For the poor among the crusading hosts expecting much from the wealthy city of Constantinople this was a source of great disappointment. In the final division each knight received 20 marks, each sergeant and cleric 10 marks, and each soldier 5 marks.

Constantinople was the richest repository of Christian relics, housing the Crown of Thorns, pieces of the True Cross, the hair of the Virgin, the head and arm of John the Baptist, as well as various parts of the apostles and other saints. These were unashamedly looted by western ecclesiastics such as Martin, abbot of Halberstadt, and others eager to endow a church or monastery back home.

Libraries did not escape the general destruction and some Classical texts read by Greek scholars before 1204 and otherwise unknown today were lost for ever at this time including works by Callimachus and Hipponax. Apart from precious gems and metals and relics, much damage was done to Classical statuary, which had been brought from all over the ancient world to adorn the city. Most of this was melted down to provide currency; other items, such as the four bronze horses from the Hippodrome, were taken west to adorn the entrance of San Marco in Venice.

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See also Crusades

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Constitution

Greece's political history is inextricably linked with its constitutions: ever since the War of Independence the constitutional texts have been a powerful symbol embodying the principles of the organization of Greece's political life as well as an image of the balance of power within society.

Among the first acts to be undertaken by the insurgent Greeks, once the military situation had somewhat stabilized,

was the drafting of a constitution: as early as January 1822 representatives from different parts of revolutionary Greece voted for the first constitution in an assembly near the site of ancient Epidaurus. This first constitution was followed by another two, in 1823 and 1827 respectively. The constitutions of the revolutionary period were very liberal in their provisions. They drew from the French tradition, but were also influenced from pre-independence works, such as the writings of Rigas Velestinlis and the anonymous work *Elliniki Nomarchia* (The Greek Prefecture). The constitutions of the War of Independence provided (among other things) for an independent judiciary; power sharing between the legislative and executive branches of government; freedom of press, religion, and expression; they outlawed torture and slavery and declared that slaves arriving on Greek soil would be automatically considered free; and declared that no hereditary titles were recognized or conferred by Greece. They also declared that all Greeks living permanently in Greece as well as non-Greeks who had fought in the War of Independence would be entitled to Greek citizenship. Their most striking feature, however, was that they were republican, a practice contrary to what was the norm for European government at the time. The 1827 constitution was probably the least liberal, as it provided for a voluntary though temporary transfer of power from the legislative branch to Ioannis Kapodistria, the head of the executive, who had the title of Governor. Between the assassination of Kapodistria in 1831 and 1844 Greece did not have an operative constitution; the 1832 Convention of London declared Greece a monarchical and independent state; and a constitution was not a priority for either the regency or King Otho himself. However, in September 1843, an uprising in which the Athens garrison participated forced Otho to grant a constitution. The 1844 constitution, apart from the separation of the executive, legislative, and judiciary branches, also provided for a two-chamber assembly (the Boule and the Gerousia); it also provided for almost universal male suffrage (some property requirements were included).

After the fall of Otho and the election of George I, another constitution was drafted, the lengthy proceedings of the Constituent Assembly being speedily concluded at the insistence of the king. The new regime was one of *vasilevomeni dimokratia* (literally "a democracy under a king"); the king's role was to reign but not to rule; this was rather misleading, as the king had substantial powers, especially in the foreign-policy field. Nevertheless, to be valid the sovereign's actions had to be countersigned by the minister(s) responsible. The 1864 constitution was more liberal than its predecessor, providing for a single-chamber assembly (the Gerousia was abolished) elected by universal male suffrage; the members of the Assembly, it was declared, represented the nation (as opposed to their local constituencies). The new constitution further strengthened the popular rights and liberties; it also included provisions for local government. The 1864 constitution has been the longest-lasting to date, almost half a century elapsing before its revision in 1911.

The 1911 constitution was (as in 1844) the indirect result of another coup. Following the 1909 Athens garrison pronunciamento at Goudi, Eleftherios Venizelos was invited to assume government. At his insistence the 1864 constitution was revised, though not radically. The most radical change was the addition of the principle of *dedilomeni* (literally "declared majority") stipulating that the sovereign has to ask the leader of the largest party of the Assembly to form a government. The principle had operated since 1875, but only in 1911 was it included in the constitution. Other changes included compulsory free education for all; the establishment of a Council of State (*Symvoulio Epikrateias*, high administrative court), tenure for civil servants, a prohibition against serving officers to be simultaneously in the armed forces and in Parliament, and a reduction of the quorum of the parliament (intended to reduce filibustering). Another change in the wording of the article regulating the conditions under which the state had the right of compulsory purchase of property in cases of public need (rather than for "public benefit" as in the text of the 1864 constitution) heralded the break-up of large estates and large-scale land redistribution, measures that would later be used extensively to solve the peasant and refugee problems in Greece.

The 1927 constitution was once more promulgated following an upheaval: the Asia Minor debacle and the antimonarchical movement that subsequently prevailed. It was the first republican constitution since the War of Independence, introducing the notion of *avasilefti dimokratia* (literally "democracy without a king"). The freedoms enshrined in the 1911 constitution were further safeguarded; the parliament became bicameral once more, with a second chamber (Gerousia) reintroduced; the state was provided with greater power to effect compulsory purchases of property in exceptional circumstances, something that made possible the redistribution of the remaining large estates to refugees and other landless peasants; and safeguards regarding the monastic state of Mount Athos incorporated to the Greek state after the Balkan Wars were also included; these latter were repeated almost verbatim in subsequent Greek constitutions.

The period from 1936 to 1952 was one of major turbulence for Greece: the 1927 constitution was suspended in 1936 when General Metaxas took power; war, the Axis occupation of Greece, and the Civil War effectively continued the suspension until 1949. Martial law was in force after 1947 and was only lifted in 1950. It was only in 1952 that a new constitution was drafted. It was more conservative than its predecessor; it formally restored the monarchy, returning to the *vasilevomeni dimokratia*; it abolished the upper house of parliament (Gerousia); and for the first time it gave the vote to women. Though it safeguarded individual rights, the safeguards were often theoretical, given the complexity of anticommunist "compulsory law" legislation in place since the Civil War period. The most serious shortcoming of the constitution was once more the relatively extensive powers of the king; and, in a more general sense, the cavalier way in which the palace dealt with the restrictions the constitution imposed on royal power. It was this rather than the shortcomings of the constitution that led to the instability of 1965 and eventually to the Colonels' coup.

During the 1967–74 period the military junta produced two constitutional texts, the first in 1968, the second in 1973. They were highly authoritarian constructions, institutionalizing the role of the armed forces in politics and according them a say in every important aspect of government. Beyond its undemocratic character, what is notable in the first of the two constitu-

tional texts is a measure of republicanism in the form of the gradual erosion of the powers of the monarchy; however, this was the result of the king's abortive countercoup of December 1967 rather than of the republicanism of the drafters. The 1973 constitutional text actually abolished the monarchy, creating a presidential democracy, in which the president (with a seven-year term of office) held considerable powers and even appointed the three most important ministers and 10 per cent of the members of parliament. Neither of the two texts was ever fully put into effect; both were declared null and void after the fall of the Colonels' regime in 1974.

Upon his return in July 1974 Karamanlis reinstated the 1952 constitution, with the exception of the clauses related to the monarchy, until a plebiscite decided its future. Following the result of the plebiscite in December 1974, the monarchy was abolished and a new constitution was drafted.

The 1975 constitution had the strong imprint of Karamanlis. It declared Greece a *proedrevomeni dimokratia* ("republic headed by a president"). The model followed was to an extent that of the French constitution of 1958, almost creating a twin-headed executive. Though the regime was not presidential, the president (elected by the parliament with a special majority) had considerable powers, even though he could only exercise them in exceptional circumstances: under certain conditions he could call a referendum, grant amnesty for political crimes, even dismiss the prime minister. All these features gave the 1975 constitution in its initial form at least a degree of latent presidentialism. The system was never put to the test. The first president was the self-effacing academic Constantine Tsatsos, a close associate of Constantine Karamanlis, prime minister between 1974 and 1980. After 1981, when a conservative president (Karamanlis) "cohabited" with a socialist prime minister (Andreas Papandreou), the former carefully avoided using the powers given to him by the constitution.

The 1975 constitution was revised in 1986, at the initiative and under the influence of the PASOK government of Andreas Papandreou. The 1986 revision abolished almost all the powers of the president, making him simply a figurehead; it also proportionately strengthened the office of the prime minister, moving the constitution towards a more orthodox republican parliamentary system.

There have been a number of criticisms levelled at the 1975/1986 constitution. Its critics say that it failed to disestablish the Church; that it has not limited the number of members of parliament (currently 300), judged by some as excessive for a country with a population of 10 million; and more importantly that it has not enshrined the electoral law in the text of the constitution, allowing successive governments to change it according to what they expect to be the most beneficial model for them. All these, as well as the redefinition and strengthening of the role of the parliament, are being debated in view of another projected revision of the constitution.

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See also Government

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Contraception

Ancient and medieval Hellenic peoples employed contraceptive drugs administered topically and orally as one of a variety of means of birth control. Soranus (*fl.* AD 98–117) said that "a contraceptive (*atokion*) differs from an abortive (*phthorion*), for the first does not let conception take place, while the latter destroys what has been conceived." Even though the Greek language distinguished conceptually between contraception and abortion, writers often mixed the two actions, according to modern scientific nomenclature. Generally the pharmaceutical actions were hormonal, usually stimulating or decreasing either oestrogen or progesterone, resulting either in contraception or disruption of implantation. The latter we call an abortifacient, but to early Hellenic people the distinction was not so sharp. In ancient and Byzantine times it was thought that the sperm remained in the womb for a period of weeks before acceptance and foetal formation.

Plato and Aristotle regarded population control as a function of the state, whereas Polybius and other Hellenistic figures thought that a decline in Greek influence was attributable to decisions by families to have fewer children. Medical sources regarded contraception as preferable to abortion because of the relative safety of the former. A Homeric hymn, for example, thought that Zeus permitted the Trojan War because the earth had too many people. In the Greek myth, Persephone was told not to eat anything but she disobeyed by eating a pomegranate, a widely used contraceptive in Greek and earlier Near Eastern cultures.

The most famous contraceptive was silphium, the name given to a small tree of the *Ferula* genus, whose contraceptive qualities were discovered and marketed by Greek colonists in Cyrene. The Cyreneans enjoyed a virtual monopoly because attempts to transplant and cultivate it failed. By the 1st century AD the plant was very scarce and expensive. The last reference to it occurs in a letter by Synesius of Cyrene (4th century) who reported that his brother had some growing on his farm. The plant is known to have been an effective contraceptive because plants of related species that later Greeks substituted for the extinct silphium have been proven to be effective contraceptives in animal and human testing.

Coitus interruptus was seldom employed as a contraceptive measure to judge by the paucity of references to it. Those few references, however, indicate that the procedure was known. Barrier methods were not known. Some pessaries prepared as drug prescriptions with specific ingredients and administered on wool pads could possibly have resulted in mechanical blockage of sperm progression. The Hippocratic work *On Generation* (5. 1) said that the practice was for women who did not wish to have a child to expel "the sperm from both partners". Contrary to a number of philosophers, Aristotle regarded males as the sole providers of sperm, and hence the source of life, with women supplying only nourishment.

Magical devices in the form of amulets, talismans, and incantations were employed as contraceptive means. Soranus, the gynaecologist of the early 2nd century, ridiculed such means, although Galen and other Greek medical writers sometimes included these devices among the contraceptive prescriptions. The anomaly is that from the standpoint of modern pharmaceutical knowledge the drug prescriptions were to some degree effective. For example, Aetius of Amida (*fl.*AD 502–25) attested to the efficacy of wearing weasel liver, this among otherwise perfectly rational medical lore.

The existence of male contraceptives was known but seldom were details related. Dioscurides (*fl. c.*AD 50–70) related that a plant called *periklymenon* was a male contraceptive, but this plant has never been identified. In Talmudic sources there are references to unspecified root poisons that prevent conception when used by both males and females. Galen said that the chaste tree (*Vitex agnus-castus* L) was employed by athletes and certain priests to prevent erections. Recent tests using an extract of the plant show that in dogs its action is to disrupt sperm production. The paucity of references to male contraception, however, probably indicates a seldom-employed practice.

Christianity did not make a great distinction between contraception and abortion. It is not until the 19th century, with developments in embryology and instrumentation, that the distinction between a quickened (a formed, hence, ensouled) foetus and an unquickened (unformed, no soul) foetus was dropped in the West. The Eastern Churches, however, were more definitive about early abortions. Generally, the Churches were against any form of human interference with fertility. Contraceptives and fertility-enhancement drugs all were condemned. Even so the medical records in Greek during the Byzantine and early modern periods continued to have information about contraceptive and fertility-enhancing drugs.

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See also Abortion

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Conversion to Islam

Conversion to Islam is deceptively simple: it is by attestation and circumcision. It is absolute and, under sharia law, the penalty for reversion is death. This entry is limited to examining the conversion of Orthodox Christians within the former Byzantine empire to Sunni Islam between 1071 (when the Seljuk Turks, themselves relatively recent converts to Islam, entered Anatolia) and 1839 (when apostasy from Islam ceased to carry the death sentence under Ottoman civil law). It omits cases, particularly during the 14th century, of conversion from Islam to Orthodoxy, of conversion to Judaism (which both St Gregory Palamas and a mullah agreed heartily to condemn in Nicaea in 1354, the Muslim position being that only conversion in the forward direction of the "sequence of revelation", from Judaism to Christianity to Islam, was acceptable), and of conversion through ecstasy or revelation (converts such as St Paul who was granted light on the road to Damascus are statistically insignificant, although their subsequent evangelism should not be overlooked). Most convert through external factors, yet without overt coercion, for social and economic reasons. Given that generalization, further factors may be considered as to how Christian Anatolia became Muslim Turkey. They are that Islam is a culture as well as a faith; that while conversion is a matter of a moment, subsequent acculturation may take generations; that in the early Ottoman state there was a demographic problem in that there were too few Muslims and of these too few were Turks; that converts try harder but are least appreciated by their new community; that in the folk religion derived from local and ancient cults there was a no man's land between the official orthodoxies of the Church and Islam over which a common Anatolian peasant culture could stray (few actually "converted" from either); that official Orthodoxies were associated with the secular rulers of Constantinople (which is why local Churches, such as the Armenian, might fare better under Islam than an imperial or *Melkite* Church); that while it cannot be demonstrated that Ottoman *defters* (tax registers) are any more reliable than most medieval registers, their classification of households by religion offers the first statistics of conversion that we have (though they were made for secular purposes, which in some respects makes them more trustworthy).

These questions may be illustrated within two major phases, of symbiosis and transition up to about 1520, and of consolidation thereafter. In the first phase Christians lost their daughters, their official faith, and their demotic language –

usually in that order. In intermarriage the Greek dowry and Turkish bride-price were directly opposed, and in such situations the bride-price usually won. But both were a luxury except among the extensive sequence of marriages between Orthodox princesses and Muslim rulers from 1297 to 1461, in almost all of which the bride kept her faith, at the price of none being regarded as a marriage under Orthodox canon law, or the bride became senior consort (*ulu hatun*), unless converted. The position of these women was part hostage and part protector of Christians in Muslim lands, and ended in 1476 with the death of Mara Brankovich, Sultan Mehmet II's revered Christian stepmother, when there were no further Orthodox rulers to take notice of. Of the more extensive seepage of women into Turkish hands there is less record. The Ottoman invasions of Europe from 1354 required manpower. The system of *devshirme* ("recruitment" in Turkish) or *paidomazoma* ("harvest of children" in Greek), in which children were brought (and converted) into Ottoman service, was in place by 1395. A dynamic of the self-perpetuating Ottoman Balkan expansion of the next century consisted of first-generation converts conquering the next, turning east only to take Byzantium before dealing with older Muslim powers in Anatolia – a repetition in miniature of the original expansion of Islam. The shockingly swift collapse of the Orthodox Church in Anatolia after 1071 followed the loss of imperial patronage, while its economic base passed to successive Muslim states, usually as *waqf* (charitable foundation). The collapse of the imperial Church with its state was halted only by its adoption as an instrument of government by the Ottomans after 1453. In Anatolia conversion was eased by Bektashi, dervish, or seductive Sufi teaching of many ways to truth, and of syncretistic texts, such as the so-called Gospel of Barnabas – a twilight world in which the Anatolian peasant could find his way around.

Although there were still exceptions, the basic social and economic distinction between Christians who paid head-tax and Muslims who entered military or administrative service was well established by 1453, which made it crucial for the state to identify who were Muslims and who Christians. Marriage and *devshirme* added to natural conversion to Islam, but they were not enough. Mehmet targeted cities and used resettlement (*surgun*), encouraging Muslim settlers and moving the former Christian elites elsewhere. By 1477 Constantinople was 58 per cent Muslim, but was restored to its position as the largest Orthodox city in the world; few of its citizens had known the capital before 1453 and local mosques, such as Rum Mehmed Pasha's of 1471 in Chrysopolis (Üsküdar), were built by converts.

Two other cities raise questions of population and conversion. When Mehmet II took Trebizond (Trabzon) in 1461, it had a notionally 100 per cent Christian population of about 4,000. By *surgun* he brought in Muslims, some evidently Albanian converts, with the result that by 1486 the Muslim to Christian ratio was 19:81 per cent. But it did not work. By 1523 the ratio was 14:86 per cent. The place was in danger of becoming wholly Christian again. There was a second *surgun*. In 1553 the Muslim to Christian ratio was 47:53 per cent and by 1583 had turned tables to 54:46 per cent, when the city had a population of more than 10,500 and still more Christians than there were to start with. The critical time is when the Muslim/Christian ratio reaches about 45:55 per cent, when whole parishes, paying fixed levies, convert in landslides. Two points may be made. First, by 1583, 43 per cent of the Muslims of Trabzon are identifiable as first- or second-generation converts, which suggests that (unlike Constantinople) more than 70 per cent of its citizens were linked to its population of a century before. One may convert overnight, but it is more difficult to wake up speaking Turkish in the morning. Thus some Pontic people speak conservative Greek and are, or become thereby, conservative Muslims. The second point is that from the reign of sultan Suleyman the Lawgiver (1520–66) those who were going to convert did so. But nothing is typical.

One case is Thessalonica (Slav Solun, Turkish Selanik, Hebrew Slonki), which was conquered in 1430. From 1478 to 1519 it tripled in population to around 30,000 souls, but they were different tenants of the same Macedonian city. In 1478 the Christian element had an absolute majority of 59 per cent; by 1500 the Muslim population had grown to a simple majority of 42 per cent, when a third category appears, of Sephardic Jews, expelled from Spain after 1492 and astutely welcomed by the Ottomans to Thessalonica to make a demographic balance, where in 1519 Hebrews are registered with an absolute majority of 54 per cent, which they maintained in the largest Jewish city in the world until 1666. In that year a Thessalonian Jewish false Messiah, Sabbatai Zavi (1625–76), converted to Islam. He had been a nuisance to the Ottoman civil order, but that was not a solution, for he took large numbers of his flock with him, creating further problems of identity.

The followers of Sabbatai, called *dönme* in Turkish, are a common enough phenomenon in a world of secret, or dual, faiths and simple misregistration. When in 1571 the Ottomans took Cyprus and restored the economic and political status of its Orthodox Church, Roman Catholics had no recognized status. There was the theoretical choice of Orthodoxy or Islam. Some at least became *linobambakoi*, crypto-Christians, and preferred to remain so long after it was safer to conceal one's faith. Dual faiths had political and economic advantages, depending on whether it was a head-tax collector or a recruiting officer who asked the questions. Eighteenth-century Albanian transhumants traditionally changed their faith by season. Politically the great Druse emir Bashir II Shihab (1788–1840) of the Lebanon found that the best way to square the demography of that country was to become a Maronite Christian as well. But the largest group of crypto-Christians, perhaps seeking the best of both worlds, were from the Pontus, and "came out" in 1867. They were Christians indentured to the silver-mining economy of Gümüšhane, who were excused head-tax in return for a corvée. When the mines were exhausted after 1829, they declined either to pay Christian tax or to undergo Muslim military service. Significantly the Orthodox Church was slower to recognize them as Christian than the Ottoman state, which had always been reluctant to carry out the penalties of sharia law. Martyrs are troublesome and after 1839 apostasy was no crime. But this is not to question faith. The last recorded Neomartyr of the Orthodox Church was St George of Ioannina, also known as Hasan,

who, accused of apostasy from Islam, died steadfast in his faith on 17 January 1838.

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Copais, Lake

Drained lake in Boeotia

Lake Copais is the fourth in a series of basins in a great valley running with the river Kiphisos from west–northwest to east–southeast for some 130 km. The corridor is separated from the Gulf of Corinth to the south by the ranges of Mount Parnassus and Mount Helicon, the latter directly south of Lake Copais. The lake was formed through crustal disturbance and enlarged through erosion and dissolution of the surrounding limestone. It was fed by the waters of the Kiphisos, which then progressed towards the sea through limestone ridges and the lakes Iliki and Paralimni. Sedimentation in the lake bed led to an increasing shallowness of the water; before 1886, seasonal changes in temperature caused an alteration between lake in winter and swamp in summer.

Archaeological survey and excavation have revealed Palaeolithic and Neolithic occupation around the lake, and shown that the region was relatively densely inhabited in the Bronze Age. Tradition recorded by Strabo (9. 415) and by Pausanias (1. 9. 3, 8. 33. 2, 9. 38. 7) held that the "Minyans" (after the mythical king Minyas) had drained the lake and cultivated the plain. The archaeological evidence for the drainage of the lake rests on two bases: observations of dykes, drainage, and canal works in and around the lake, and an apparent system of fortified enclosures or settlements encircling the lake.

The known ancient drainage works include two immense canal projects: one canal was created on the south and east side of the lake, the other on the north side; these were united at Agia Marina, in the northeast corner of the lake and about 1 km north of Gla. These canals are breathtaking examples of Mycenaean hydrological engineering works. With a combined length of over 50 km, they seem to have been designed to channel the waters of the Kiphisos and Melas rivers, and perhaps of smaller tributaries, away from the central bed and towards the north and east, where natural sink holes take the water to the sea. The canals are massive, in correspondence to the volume of water involved. At one point on the southern route the channel is 41 m wide and enclosed on one side by a dyke 19 m thick. Where the two routes meet, the channel is as much as 60 m wide. Archaeological investigations have been sporadic, but where observations have been possible the dykes have been revealed to be stone-built constructions.

Gla is the largest of a series of Mycenaean fortified sites around the lake. In the northeast section alone three other fortified sites overlook the plain, and elsewhere they include a fort at ancient Haliartos overlooking the southern channel and several sites on the north side. Although Gla is the only one of these sites to have been seriously investigated, the indications are that, with Gla, all of these sites were founded in the Mycenaean heyday and their period of use did not extend much beyond the end of the Mycenaean palace period. This suggests very strongly that the entire system of fortified sites and drainage projects formed a cohesive unity in draining, maintaining, and protecting the lake bed.

Gla is by far the largest of Mycenaean fortified sites, enclosing an area ten times that of Mycenaean Athens or of Tiryns, and seven times that of Mycenae itself. A massive Cyclopaean wall generally 3 m thick runs for 2.8 km around the perimeter of a rocky outcrop that would have been an island before the lake was drained. It is pierced by four gates, one of them double; from two of these gates, roads have been traced for some distance into the plain, further proof of the effectiveness of the drainage operations. The enclosed area, nowadays barren rock and scrub, appears to have been relatively open in Mycenaean times: only a central portion in front of the southern gate and running to the north wall was built upon. Part of this appears to have been taken up with stables and storerooms. Towards the north, where the rocky islet reaches its summit, an L-shaped block of rooms forms what is assumed to have been the administrative and perhaps religious centre of the site. These rooms, generally small, were plastered and painted and show some of the refinements of Mycenaean palatial architecture. The built area occupies less than one quarter of the enclosed area of Gla; it may be that temporary structures occupied the rest of the area, especially during the construction phase of Gla itself and the drainage projects in the lake.

Important Mycenaean sites are located at Thebes to the southeast and Orchomenus to the west. Recent fieldwork suggests that hydrological works extended as far as Orchomenus in the form of a small artificial lake created in the vicinity of the town. Orchomenus is thought to have been the site of a Mycenaean palace and certainly boasted the greatest of all tholos tombs, the Treasury of Minyas, which was modelled on the Treasury of Atreus at Mycenae. It seems logical to assume that the drainage of Lake Copais was orchestrated from there, and that, beginning with Gla, a number of fortified settlements were constructed to maintain and control the drainage system and the agricultural land that resulted from it. If Thebes were in any way a hostile centre, that would further explain the fortifications.

By the historical period the drainage system seems largely to have collapsed, probably in the wake of the collapse of Mycenaean political structures *c.*1200 BC. Sporadic attempts were made either to repair the system or to undertake new drainage projects, some of which may well have been smaller-scale but nevertheless successful. Crates of Chalcis, under the tutelage of Alexander the Great, is supposed to have attempted to drain the lake; perhaps the most striking remnant of this

period is a tunnel at the northeast end of the lake, unfinished but destined to carry the waters off to the sea in much the same direction that the (presumably blocked) sink holes had done in previous years. Other repairs were undertaken in the Roman period, but it appears that the lake was never again drained in any systematic manner; instead small-scale, localized projects were undertaken.

In 1873 the Anglo-Hellenic Copais Company was formed to undertake a project of drainage at the invitation of the government, after an unfulfilled attempt in 1865 by a French company. The drainage was complete by 1886, at which time 25,000 hectares of land were reclaimed. The drainage was achieved by a system of canals converging on a tunnel which leads to Lake Iliki, whose consequently raised level enabled the waters to flow to Lake Paralimni and thence to the sea. The fertile basin, divided by canals and roads into a flat patchwork of cotton and wheat fields, contrasts with the otherwise variable Greek countryside. Settlements have remained strung around the lake, so that the basin is largely uninhabited.

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Summary

Lake Copais in Boeotia was, before being drained, the largest lake in Greece. Two canals with a combined length of 50 km were built in the Mycenaean period to channel the waters to the sea. Fortified sites around the lake include Gla. The system seems to have collapsed at the end of the Mycenaean period. The lake was drained again in the 19th century.

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Copper and Tin

Copper was one of the earliest metals to be exploited, partly for its metallurgical qualities, but also because, like gold, it can occur in nature in its native form. However, the native metal was never a major ore in antiquity and it was an important step when it was realized that copper could be produced from other disparate-looking materials. The earliest copper production probably began in the Sinai peninsula, but the most important source of copper in the Bronze Age was the island of Cyprus. There were no major sources of copper in mainland Greece that were exploited in antiquity, although recently it has been mined on the Chalcidice peninsula. Other minor sources were in Anatolia and Palestine.

Initially, copper was used in its pure state to make tools and weapons. However, the usefulness of this material was limited by its relative softness. It was only when it was discovered that the hardness could be increased by alloying with arsenic, and later tin, that bronze became widely used, principally in armour, weapons, bowls, tripods, statuary, and tools. It was always an expensive material as all the ingredients had to be imported. It was eventually partly supplanted by iron and steel, possibly in response to a shortage of tin.

Copper production started on Cyprus in the Chalcolithic Age, 3800–2500 BC, but only reached its peak during the late Bronze Age, 1600–1100 BC. The predominance of Cyprus was due to the richness of the ores, and their early discovery. The earliest ores to be exploited were from colourful altered zones on the surface – iron and copper-rich rocks called gossan. However, the early Cypriots discovered that beneath many of the gossans lay rich deposits of primary sulphide ore, that were easier to work than the deposits on the surface. Every gossan on the island was explored for copper at this time. Production was at its maximum in the early 13th century BC, when the characteristic "oxhide" ingots were produced. The coming of the Iron Age reduced the importance of copper, but exploitation continued until the end of the Roman empire. The only ancient description of copper exploitation was given by Galen, the Roman physician, in AD 162.

The ancient mines and smelters were centred around Skouriotissa and Kalavasos. The volume of the slag heaps indicates that about 200,000 tonnes of copper was produced, mostly before Roman times. The mining was mostly underground, at depths of 185 m. Water pumps have not been found, hence the mines must have been constructed to drain naturally.

The copper deposits of Cyprus formed on the ocean floor, which was lifted up to form the Troodos mountains during the convergence of Africa and Europe. The upper part of the ocean floor was formed by volcanic eruptions of basalt. Ocean water circulated through these piles of hot lava and dissolved some of their minerals. Where these hot springs debouched, underwater cooling caused precipitation of the dissolved minerals to build chimneys and mounds – these are the well-known hydrothermal vents, or "black smokers", still to be found at mid-ocean ridges, particularly in the Pacific. These chimneys are rich in sulphide minerals, such as pyrite and chalcopyrite, the main copper mineral. The copper ore of Cyprus always contains a little gold, but not usually enough to be exploitable. However, some gold was concentrated during weathering of sulphide deposits on the sea floor to produce ochre. This was exploited for gold in antiquity, but was never a major source of the metal.

The copper ores were smelted in several steps. The sulphide ore was roasted in air to convert it to the oxide. This was mixed with a flux of quartz and iron-manganese oxides (umber), to increase the fluidity of the molten material, and charcoal to react with the oxygen and convert the oxide to the metal. The raw metal was refined by remelting and cast in "oxhide" ingots weighing about 20 kg.

Copper has many useful qualities, but it is not a hard metal. This is why the discovery that the hardness of copper could be improved by alloying with other metals was so important. The first alloys were with arsenic. This occurs with copper at a few

deposits in Cyprus (Pevkos, Laxia tou Mavrou), and smelting would have made a natural alloy. Later it was found that the addition of tin made the best bronze. This discovery was long in coming, partly because tin and copper occur together so rarely.

Most deposits of tin are associated with granite. The main ore mineral is the oxide, cassiterite, which crystallizes in the granite itself or from watery fluids released during crystallization. This heavy, resistant mineral is released when the rock is weathered and can be concentrated in river sediments in the same way as gold. Such placer deposits were easily exploited once the value of the mineral was determined. There are no major sources of tin in the Aegean region. A minor source in eastern Turkey was exploited in the Bronze Age, but most tin must have come from much more distant sources. There are minor deposits of placer tin in the Eastern Desert of Egypt, but tin-bronze was not used there before 2000 BC, and there is no evidence that it was exported. One possibility is that tin came from Malaysia, a region still rich in tin today. Later on, the Iberian peninsula became an important source. Southwest Britain may have been another source – it was certainly exported from there by Roman times. Cassiterite was smelted by heating with charcoal.

Another important copper alloy is brass. This copper-zinc mixture seems to have been known in Greece from about 700 BC, possibly by the name *oreichalkos* (copper of the mountain). Early brass may have been made by smelting natural mixed copper-zinc ore, possibly in Cyprus or Asia Minor, but it is difficult to get much zinc into the copper by this process. Later on, high-zinc brass must have been made by deliberately alloying zinc and copper. This is difficult as zinc boils at a lower temperature than copper metals. It is possible by heating copper metal, zinc ore, and charcoal powders in a closed crucible at 920° to 1000°C.

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See also Geology, Metalwork

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Copts

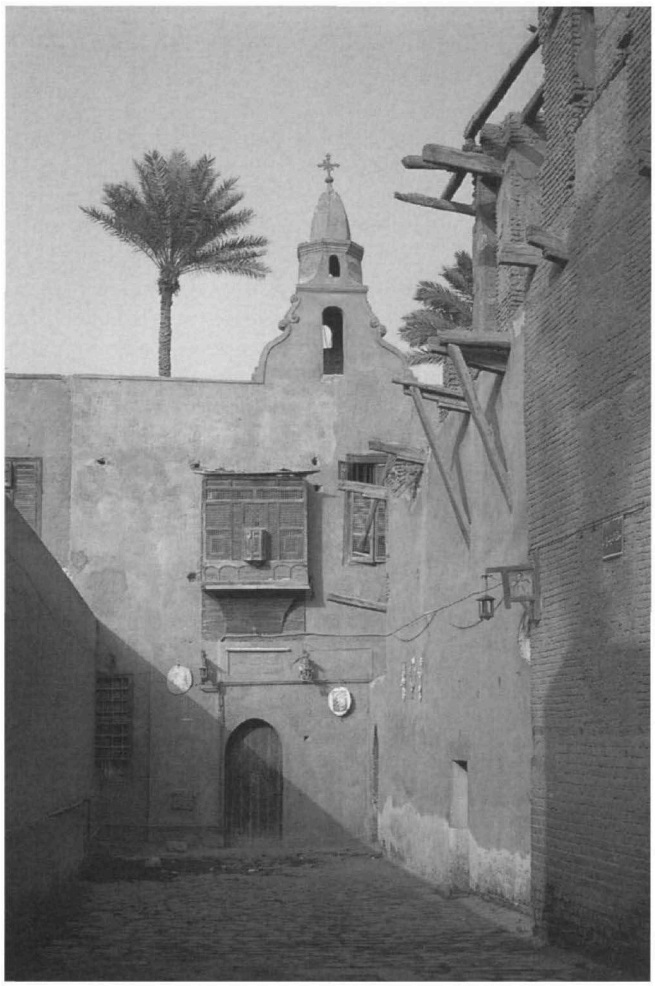
The term "Copts" was first used to identify the native Egyptians (as opposed to the Macedonian-descended Alexandrians) possibly as early as the Ptolemaic period, but from the 4th century AD it was applied predominantly to Egyptian Christians. It was in all likelihood associated with *Aigyptios* (Egyptian), but reduced to the root consonants *KPT* and pronounced "copt".

The Coptic language, however, seems to be older than the Ptolemaic era, appearing in demotic and on some later hieroglyphic monuments. Under the Ptolemies, the Egyptians began to adopt the Greek alphabet, to which they added seven new letters to express sounds that were entirely Egyptian. The earliest "proto-Coptic" manuscript is Papyrus Heidelberg 414 dating from the 3rd century BC.

In the Roman period Coptic probably existed alongside Greek as the normal language of the Egyptian peasantry, much as Berber was used alongside Latin among the north African native population. It was Christianity that brought Coptic into prominence as the language of native Christians. In 270 St Antony heard the gospel preached in Coptic and obeyed the injunction to "sell all" and devoted himself to Christ (*Vita Antonii*, 2). In the 4th century Coptic was the language of the Pachomian monasteries, and Alexandrians, i.e. Greek-speakers, were obliged to become familiar with it.

The language would have been Sahidic Coptic, but at this time there were other Coptic dialects in the Nile valley, and probably in use in the monasteries. Thus, many of the items in the Nag Hammadi library were written in Subakhminic or Lycopolitan, and some Manichaean works were also compiled in this dialect. Sahidic Coptic, however, dominated the scene between 450 and 700. During the first two generations of the Arab conquest (642–*c.*700) the free Coptic (Monophysite) Church was flourishing, sustained by the Coptic language. Thereafter, however, decline was slow but continuous. One of the early blows was the decision in 706 of the emir Abd el-Malik that Arabic would be the sole language of his emirate's administration. With this decree began a steady seepage of educated Copts to Islam and a corresponding weakening of the Coptic language. At the end of the 10th century the emir al-Hakim (996–1026) tried to forbid the use of Coptic even as the language of the Christian liturgy. This failed, but, combined with the decline of monastic institutions at this time and the general use of Arabic among the people, the Coptic patriarch Gabriel II was induced to permit the use of Arabic in the liturgy (12th century). However, the commendation (Letters Testimonial) sent with bishop Timotheos of Ibrim in Nubia after his consecration by Patriarch Gabriel IV (1372–80) was written in Coptic on the finest paper with an Arabic translation. It shows the continued use of Coptic as a church language to the end of the 14th century. The text was not only written in the patriarchate but was witnessed by four bishops from Upper Egypt who also wrote their commendations in Coptic. By this time Bohairic, originally the dialect of the people of the Nile delta, had replaced Sahidic as the language of such Copts as had survived. Even this became extinct as a written and spoken language, probably in the course of the 16th century.

Coptic culture was expressed in art, pottery, and sculpture as well as in devotion to the one-nature, "Monophysite" understanding of the person of Christ. From the 4th to the 8th century practically all art forms in Egypt may be characterized as Coptic; some of the best examples of Coptic art come from the monastery of Apa Apollo at Bawit, which included two churches in which were carvings and frescos, one of the latter being a full-length painting of St George. Tombs of the monks



Copts: Coptic church of the Virgin in Old Cairo

buried generation after generation often contained paintings of Christ enthroned in glory with the Apostles and the Virgin standing in intercession for the soul of the deceased.

French cultural initiatives and the archaeological policies furthered during the British occupation of Egypt (1882–1922) helped to bring about a revival of Coptic studies and the consequent consolidation of the Coptic Christian minority. Notable in the development were Amélineau's studies of the Coptic Church and its martyrs and W.E. Crum's *A Coptic Dictionary* (Oxford, 1939). The discovery of the library of Coptic-Gnostic documents at Nag Hammadi has given a further impulse to Coptic studies, particularly in American and German universities. The Coptic heritage will not be allowed to perish.

WILLIAM H.C. FREND

See also Monophysites

Summary

The Copts are the descendants of the original inhabitants of Egypt in pharaonic times. From the 4th century AD the term has applied mainly to the Egyptian Christians. The language predates the Ptolemaic period, but under the Ptolemies the Egyptians began to adopt the Greek alphabet. The Coptic Church follows the Monophysite understanding of the person of Christ.

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Corfu

Ionian island

Corfu (Corcyra in Latin, Kerkyra in Greek) has never been as "far from the busy haunts of men" as the Scheria of the *Odyssey* with which, by Classical times, it was commonly identified. Its advantageous position on the main trade route between Greece and Italy attracted Corinthian colonists (probably in 734 BC, certainly by about 705), the Eretrians from Euboea whom the Corinthians apparently expelled, and their many successors.

The main Corinthian settlement was on the Palaeopolis peninsula and included, by about 600 BC, an Archaic temple to Hera. Corfu prospered rapidly and as a result became even more independent of the mother city than most Greek colonies; in about 664 BC it inflicted a naval defeat on the Corinthians. Nevertheless, the history of founder and colony continued to intertwine: they were co-founders of the colonies of Epidamnus (*c.*625 BC; Roman Dyrrachium; modern Durazzo and Durrës) and Apollonia (*c.*600 BC) in Illyria; for a time Corfu was controlled by the Corinthian tyrant Periander (d. 586 BC); and conflict between the two states was a prelude to and a cause of the Peloponnesian War.

In 435 tension between Corfu and Corinth, the result chiefly of the islanders' perceived lack of respect for the Corinthians and lack of interest in Greek affairs more generally, became an open quarrel over the affairs of Epidamnus. Broadly speaking, Corinth supported the *demos* (ordinary citizens) of Epidamnus and Corfu reacted by supporting the oligarchs. Again the Corinthians were defeated at sea. Epidamnus was taken and Corfu, for the time being at least, was established as the dominant power in the region. The islanders could not, however, afford to stand alone, given the place of Corinth in a pattern of powerful alliances, notably with Sparta. Therefore, in 433, they formed an alliance with Athens. To avoid breaking the existing Athenian entente with Corinth this was conceived as "defensive". But later, in 433, Athenian reinforcements played a crucial role in averting the defeat of the islanders by a Corinthian armada of 150 ships; the larger war – which broke out in 431 – became more likely.

In 427 BC Corfu was riven by complicated civil war. Oligarchs and their supporters fought elements of the *demos*, who were themselves subject to internal feuding, and Athens, Corinth, and Sparta were involved both as aggressors and as mediators. When the Peloponnesians, having ravaged the south of Corfu, had withdrawn, massacres of their supporters began; the Athenians, who had 60 ships offshore, did nothing to interfere. According to Thucydides, the victims "were

accused of conspiring to overthrow the democracy, but in fact men were often killed on grounds of personal hatred or else by their debtors. ... There was death in every shape and form. ... Men were dragged from the temples or butchered on the very altars." For Thucydides these events provided a paradigm of the moral degeneration, cyclic violence, and collapse of law which would increasingly afflict all participants in the Peloponnesian War. In Corfu the fighting continued; there was a new Athenian expedition in 425 and further massacre.

The alliance with Athens was eventually ended in 410 BC but was re-established in response to Spartan activities in the Adriatic in 375. Interventions by other powers continued to be frequent; the Illyrians seized Corfu but were expelled by Rome, whose overlordship the island perforce accepted, in 229. The island served as an important bridgehead for subsequent Roman campaigns in Illyria, Macedonia, and Greece.

Under late Roman and Byzantine rule the island continued to attract the attention of outsiders. It was raided, between the 5th and 9th centuries, by Huns, Vandals, Ostrogoths, Bulgars, and Slavs. More sustained assaults came from the Normans of southern Italy and Sicily (1081 and 1147–49), seeking a stepping stone to their Greek fiefs (or intended fiefs). Later it passed to Venice (1204), the despots of Epirus (1214), Manfred of Sicily (1259), and the Angevin kings of Naples (1267). Under Angevin rule feudalism was introduced to the island; the maintaining of the rights and lands of the nobility was one of the Corfiotes' conditions for the acceptance of de facto rule by Venice in 1386 (formalized in 1402).

Through all these changes of overlord – and those that were to come – the Greek language and Orthodox religion maintained the Corfiotes' sense of Hellenic identity. (In the mid-17th century this was reinforced by the arrival of refugees from Crete, including the painters Emmanuel Tzanes (1610–90) and Theodoros Palakis (1622–92).) The Angevins had vigorously promoted the Catholic rite, but failed to make much headway against their subjects' Orthodoxy. Venice, by contrast, adopted, as in its other Greek outposts, a policy of prudent toleration. Both the Catholic and Orthodox Churches participated in public ceremonial and the Venetian republic encouraged the cult of St Spyridon, the patron saint of Corfu whose remains arrived there in 1456 and who has ever since remained central to Corfiote tradition and identity. (The basilica of St Spyridon dates from 1589.)

Venetian rule kept Corfu from Ottoman occupation. Its position on the eastern Adriatic made it valuable to the republic in both trade and war (increasingly so after the loss of mainland Greek outposts in the 15th century). Well-maintained fortifications together with a huge storm beat off the Ottoman siege of 1537; the New Citadel was completed (at enormous cost) in 1588 and further work on defences continued until 1645; in 1716 renewed fortifications, a daring sortie, and another violent storm raised a second Ottoman siege.

But if outside attacks were repelled, within Corfu the administration became increasingly corrupt; the affairs of the Council of 150 and inner oligarchy of 12 were dominated by bribery, violence, and feudal privilege. When the French took the island in 1797, soon after the fall of Venice itself, major reforms were promised and begun, but the liberators' irreligion and general failure to understand local traditions and sentiments soon lost them their initial popularity. Under the Septinsular Republic, which replaced French rule in Corfu after a long siege by Russia and Turkey in 1798–99, various constitutions were tried out. Noble privileges were restored, again removed, and again restored. (The definition of nobility was, however, broadened.) Modernization was achieved in a number of areas – especially education – under the lead of one of the republic's most active ministers, the future president of Greece, Count Ioannis Kapodistria. But heavy taxes were levied and increasing Russian domination went far to undermine the autonomy of Corfu and the other islands of the Septinsular Republic.

Greater stability was at last achieved when the French regained control of Corfu between 1807 and 1814. This time religious sensibilities were treated respectfully. The nobility retained many of its privileges but public administration and justice became somewhat more efficient and considerable progress was made with agricultural reform. Newspapers in French and Italian were printed and in 1808 the first Ionian Academy was set up.

The British protectorate (1815–64) provided roads, fine architecture (including the palaces of St Michael and St George and of Mon Repos), and an enduring tradition of playing cricket. For many Corfiotes this was a period of frustration as the movement for Greek independence and then for *enosis* (union) grew. Successive Lord High Commissioners ruled essentially as autocrats, allowing on the whole only token involvement of the Senate and Assembly; favoured Corfiotes were offered membership of the grand but powerless Order of St Michael and St George established by the first Lord High Commissioner (1815–24), Sir Thomas Maitland. Nevertheless Greek culture did flourish under the protectorate. Inspired by the struggle across the water but safe from war (and civil war) and spared the birthpangs of the troubled new state, Dionysios Solomos and his followers produced the first modern demotic Greek poetry. (Solomos, attracted by the opportunities for social and literary life, moved to Corfu from Zakynthos in 1828 and died there in 1857; Andreas Kalvos – also a patriotic poet and in part a demotic one – lived in Corfu from 1826 to 1851.) Also important in the raising of Hellenic consciousness was the setting up in 1824, by Frederick North, Earl of Guilford, of a new Ionian Academy. Andreas Kalvos and the historian and diplomat Spyridon Trikoupis taught for a time at this, the first modern Greek university. (The Academy, by then ailing, fused with the University of Athens in the 1860s.)

Some concessions in the direction of greater local autonomy were made in 1849. Continued agitation for *enosis*, together with the coming in Greece of a constitutional monarchy acceptable to Britain, finally resulted in the union of the Ionian islands with Greece in 1864. Contacts with the west, however, remained frequent through trade and increasingly through tourism, especially in the second half of the 20th century. Until the end of communism in Albania Corfu, between East and West, retained its strategic and symbolic importance. Mussolini found a pretext (the assassination of his border commissioner on the mainland) temporarily to seize Corfu town in 1923; in 1941 the Italians returned and unsuccessfully attempted "re-Italianization". They were displaced by the

Corfu: view of a street in Corfu town where vestiges of Venetian influence are still apparent

Germans, who were removed only after a heavy Allied bombing campaign in 1944.

MARTIN GARRETT

See also Ionian Islands, Venetokratia

Summary

Most northerly of the Ionian islands, Corfu (Latin Corcyra, Greek Kerkyra) was first settled by colonists from Corinth in the 8th century BC. For much of the Classical period it was allied with Athens. It served as a valuable stepping stone for any power anxious to make a bridgehead across the Adriatic. It was therefore often under attack and changed hands frequently during the Middle Ages and later. Finally incorporated in the kingdom of Greece in 1864.

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Corinth

City in central Greece

The importance and fortunes of Corinth derive in the first instance from its position at the isthmus which bears its name; as Thucydides commented, not only did this mean that Corinth controlled the only land passage from southern Greece (the Peloponnese), to central and northern Greece, but it also gave the city access to the seas, to the Aegean and the east, via the Saronic gulf, and to the west, to the Adriatic, Italy, and Sicily, via the gulf of Corinth, thus placing the city in a most favourable position for trade.

There are prehistoric settlements in the vicinity, but none seem to be of any particular significance, and certainly do not compare to the main Mycenaean sites in the Argolid. Following the collapse of the Late Bronze Age systems, Corinthia was another area into which Dorian settlers migrated, forming a small community below the conspicuous hill of the Acrocorinth, where the spring Peirene, with others, provided an abundant water supply. The place remained small until the 8th century BC, when it began to develop rapidly under the control of its principal Dorian clan, the Bacchiadae, a closeknit group who adhered more or less strictly to a custom of endogamy. Corinth then took over nearby communities, incorporating their land and sending part, at least, of their populations overseas to colonies, the most significant being Syracuse, founded probably in 733 BC. This Bacchiad supremacy lasted, according to later authors, for a period of 90 years (i.e. three generations) after which they were overthrown by a tyrant, Cypselus, the son of a female Bacchiad, Labda, and a member of another group called the Lapiths (who may have been non-Dorians): the breaking of the tradition of endogamy puzzled later Greeks, who explained it by guessing that Labda was physically unattractive. Whatever the reality, Cypselus and his son Periander consolidated the state in a reign lasting 70 years; the last of the dynasty, Psammetichus (significantly, an Egyptian name), was overthrown after ruling for only three and a half years. Thereafter Corinth had a restricted form of government, in which control was exercised by the landed well-to-do, almost certainly only a minority in the population, who therefore turned to Sparta, whose similarly restricted constitution made it the natural friend of states like Corinth. From this time Corinth was an important but essentially second-rate city. It continued its naval interests, forming in effect the fleet of Sparta. Later, in the early 4th century BC, the Corinthians turned against Sparta and in the process almost certainly broadened their constitution.

After the Battle of Chaeronea (338 BC), and following the defeat of Athens and Thebes, Corinth, or more particularly its extramural sanctuary of Poseidon at Isthmia, was chosen by Philip II of Macedon as the locale for the great conference he called to decide the future relationship between the Greek cities and himself; the result is popularly known as the League of Corinth. Probably in reality an instrument of Macedonian control, the organization lapsed in the wars of the Successors of Alexander, but was revived in 306 BC by Antigonus Monophthalmus who was the most powerful of them. For the whole of this time, and for much of the 3rd century, the Acrocorinth was held by a Macedonian garrison; part of the fortifications built by Antigonus' son, Demetrius the Besieger, are still visible, incorporated into the later medieval and Turkish walls. Corinth was one of the "fetters of Greece" and its liberation by Aratus of Sicyon, who incorporated the city into his Achaean League, was a serious blow for the Macedonians. The freedom of Corinth was finally secured by the Roman defeat of Philip V: the Roman commander, Titus Quinctius Flamininus, ironically – and knowledgeably – proclaimed the freedom of Greece at Isthmia, in the very sanctuary where Philip II had effectively ended it. The later disloyalty of Corinth, which took the Roman freedom too literally and participated in an Achaean counteraction against Roman domination in Greece, led in 146 BC to the destruction of the city by Mummius, and the ransacking of its works of art.

Yet the site was too important to be obliterated, and a century later the city was refounded by Julius Caesar, but as a Roman, Latin-speaking colony. Some of the buildings of the Greek city survived, such as the 6th-century BC temple to Apollo, built shortly after the downfall of the tyrants. Others, such as the ruined long portico or stoa, to the south of the temple, were refurbished to serve as public buildings in the new city. The area between temple and stoa, which had been a gymnasium complete with a running course, became the forum of the Roman colony, with Roman-type temples constructed at its western end. The Roman colonists were presumably allotted estates, but it is clear that a Greek population still survived – St Paul wrote his epistle to the Corinthians in Greek, and in the course of time Greek ousted Latin. The city flourished. Although Athens was the academic centre of Roman Greece,

Corinth: Temple of Apollo, dating from the mid-6th century BC

Corinth was its political capital. This continued into the Byzantine period; one of the largest basilical churches in Greece was constructed at Lechaeum, Corinth's harbour on the gulf of Corinth. This prosperity persisted well into the middle Byzantine period, after which it suffered a sharp decline. There was a revival in the 10th century AD, and subsequently. Corinth was occupied by the Franks, and recent excavations are beginning to reveal good-quality buildings of this period. The final decline came with the Turkish occupation (1460). Acrocorinth, still a strategic key to the control of Greece, was refurbished and occupied by a Turkish garrison until the Greek War of Independence, but the town dwindled to an insignificant village. The revived Corinth of modern times was shifted to a more convenient location by the sea, on the gulf of Corinth.

Corinth's contribution to Greek civilization was considerable. Its trade links in the late 8th and 7th centuries BC both with the Near East and with the west not only brought it prosperity, so that its wealth was proverbial – "not everyone is fortunate enough to sail to Corinth" – but were also responsible, to a large extent, for the development of oriental motifs and forms in Archaic Greek art. Its painted pottery of this period seems to have been prized over a wide area (perhaps for the contents of the perfume flasks as much as their decoration) and is found ubiquitously. Less well preserved, but certainly more highly valued in antiquity, was Corinthian bronze ware. Much of this was buried in graves at Corinth itself, and after Mummius' sack of the city created a taste for Corinthian metalware in Rome. Nekrokorinthia – funerary items plundered from the graves–were highly prized by the wealthy Romans who could afford to collect them. Perhaps the most lasting contribution of the Corinthians was the creation, in the early 7th century BC, of the Doric order of architecture, for which the earliest evidence is at Corinth and Isthmia (the Corinthian order is later and developed elsewhere). All this impetus came in the crucial Archaic period. Though Corinth was less important later, its contribution to later civilization has endured to the present day.

R.A. TOMLINSON

Summary

Situated at the isthmus between the Peloponnese and central Greece, Corinth flourished as a trading city. Prosperity came early under the Bacchiads (8th century BC) and continued under the tyranny of the Cypselids (*c.*657–585 BC). For much of the Classical period Corinth sided with Sparta. Freed from Macedonian control by Rome, the city was destroyed in 146 BC. Rebuilt, the city flourished again and became the political capital of Greece during the Byzantine period. Decline set in with the Turkish period.

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Corinth, Sack of 146 BC

The sack of Corinth was the event that symbolized the end of Greece's autonomy in antiquity. Its destruction had its roots in the declaration of Greek independence made by the Roman general Titus Quinctus Flamininus at the Isthmian Games in 196 BC. After defeating Philip V, king of Macedon, in the Second Macedonian War, the Romans decided not to cripple the Macedonian kingdom because they had no imperialistic ambitions in Greece; rather, they wanted Macedonia to serve as a buffer against the powers in the east, the barbarians in the Balkans, and even Greece itself. The Romans thus granted Philip favourable terms, with the stipulation that he withdraw completely from Greece, and decreed that all Greek cities were to be free and governed by their own laws. The Greeks and Romans had conflicting views on what freedom (Latin: *libertas*; Greek: *eleutheria*) meant, however. The Greeks interpreted their newly bestowed freedom as complete autonomy and the absence of Roman interference in their affairs. The Romans, on the other hand, expected the Greek states to give them their loyalty and support. As Ernst Badian has shown, foreign policy was a microcosm of the patron–client relationship in republican Roman society, and the Greeks failed to perceive this. Whereas Rome expected cooperation and a sense of loyalty, the Greeks displayed a callous disregard for them and continued to carry out their centuries-old internecine wars and struggles.

Many Greeks resented Rome's settlement with Philip. Sparta, for example, was angry that it had lost the city of Argos, while the Aetolian League was embittered when it did not receive, as it had hoped, all of Thessaly but instead saw most of the territory divided into four separate confederate states. Relations between Rome and Greece quickly deteriorated, proving the folly of Rome's hands-off policy expressed by Flamininus at Isthmia. The Aetolians invited into Greece Antiochus III, king of Syria, who was quickly taken care of by the Romans in 191 BC: Antiochus' forces were overwhelmed at Thermopylae, forcing him to beat a hasty retreat to Asia Minor. The Third Macedonian War (171–168 BC), waged by the Romans against Philip's son Perseus, proved disastrous for Greece. Although few Greek cities actually sided with Perseus, Rome's anger did not fail to fall on Greece. One thousand Achaeans were deported to Rome because of suspicious loyalty; 500 Aetolians were executed after a farcical trial; 70 Epirot cities were destroyed, with 150,000 of the population sold into slavery; and the island of Rhodes was economically crippled by the establishment of Delos as a free port.

The end of Greek independence was the result of the actions of the Achaean league. In 150 BC the surviving 300 of the original 1,000 Achaean detainees returned and found the League in conflict, yet again, with Sparta, this time over a boundary dispute. The Spartans, although members of the league, appealed to Rome for arbitration. The league, which could not tolerate such insubordination by one of its members, decided to punish Sparta; because Rome had not previously interfered with how it conducted its business, the league felt at liberty to bring Sparta forcibly back into its political alliance. Embassies from Sparta and the Achaean League went to Rome on three occasions, yet Rome did not respond, its hands too occupied with a revolt in Macedonia (150–148 BC) led by Andriscus, a pretender to the throne. In 148 BC Sparta declared its secession from the Achaean League, which then went on the offensive, quickly reducing Sparta to the brink of surrender. At this point a Roman embassy, led by Lucius Aurelius Orestes, arrived at Corinth to ask the league to see reason; Orestes even threatened (although he was probably bluffing) to dissolve the league by removing from the alliance the cities of Sparta, Corinth, Argos, Arcadian Orchomenus, and Heracleia-ad-Oetam. The reaction was furious, and a second Roman embassy, led by Sextus Iulius Caesar, failed despite conciliatory overtures. In the spring of 146 BC Quintus Caecilius Metullus, the Roman general in Macedonia, sent yet another embassy to the league, which had assembled at Corinth. The envoys were rudely treated by the assembly, heavily composed of lower-class workers who, traditionally, were hostile to Rome because of its policy of supporting local aristocracies. The League then officially declared war on Sparta, although this was tantamount to war on Rome. The Roman Senate reacted by instructing Metullus to march south from Macedonia and the new consul, Lucius Mummius, to set sail for Greece with a fleet. As Erich Gruen has convincingly argued, the league was shocked and stunned by this development: in the past the Romans had not interfered in Greek internal struggles, and so the league had assumed that it was free to punish a city that had defected from its membership. But Rome's patience had worn out and foreign policy was no longer in the hands of men like the Scipios and Flamininus; more importantly, Rome could not tolerate a war in the Peloponnese at the very time that it was settling affairs in northern Greece.

The league struck first by marching against Heracleia-ad-Oetam. Metullus soon arrived and cut the Achaeans to pieces in three separate battles. The league then ordered 12,000 slaves freed to serve as reinforcements to a ragtag army raised to defend the isthmus. Meanwhile Mummius had assumed command of the Roman army and met the Achaean army at Leucopetra on the isthmus. The Achaeans were annihilated, and Corinth was captured without resistance. Rome decided to make an example of it. All survivors were sold into slavery. The city was sacked, burned, and levelled to the ground, and its land declared *ager publicus* ("public land") and handed over to the neighbouring town of Sicyon to till. Anything that could be carried off was taken to Rome. Stories circulated of Mummius taking out "insurance policies" on priceless art treasures in the event of their being lost on the voyage home, and of soldiers playing dice on masterpieces of Greek sculpture. Greece itself was subjected to a "final solution". All leagues were dissolved, democracies were abolished and replaced by aristocracies, and the whole of Greece was put under the responsibility of the governor of Macedonia. Later, in 27 BC, the province of Achaea was established to govern southern Greece, although this merely formalized Greece's existing total

subservience. Individual cities achieved varying levels of prosperity during the empire, but mainland Greece as a political concept no longer existed. Greek independence had come to an end, but so had hundreds of years of internal strife and war.

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Coronation

The silence of literary sources about any ceremony of investiture of a new Greek ruler before the beginning of the Hellenistic period, when eastern influences began to be felt, attests to the simple assumption or seizure of power, perhaps celebrated by a banquet at which laudatory speeches could be delivered. The exception is Macedon, since at least theoretically the king was elected there by acclamation of the army. A vestige of this practice persisted in Ptolemaic Egypt where, certainly until its severe ethnic adulteration in the early 2nd century BC, the Macedonian royal bodyguard retained the right of approval of new sovereigns.

Crowns (at least in the form of garlands) did exist in Classical Greece, but they were worn by priests in the exercise of their rituals, orators, and especially symposiasts. Initially vegetal, they came to be made of gold, and some delicate funerary examples of this latter type have survived. The awarding of crowns for excellence at athletic and dramatic festivals encouraged their increasing use as symbols of merit in other spheres (the most famous example is Ctesiphon's proposal that Demosthenes be crowned at the Dionysia for his sage political advice). Such crowns could be awarded also to a whole state and were so frequently expected and received by rivals in the Wars of the Successors after the death of Alexander the Great that their value was often demanded in cash in lieu of the actual artefacts, a practice which by the Byzantine period had been formalized as a tax. As symbols of their position Hellenistic monarchs held a sceptre and wore purple garments and a diadem consisting of a white cloth knotted behind with free-flowing ends (this last was first assumed by Alexander, probably to advertise his conquest of Asia since Greeks had hitherto not worn diadems to indicate kingship, while Persians had).

Early Byzantine emperors naturally followed Roman tradition, since they were Latin-speaking and nobody recognized any break in the continuity of the empire despite its new orientation. Augustus' fiction of the re-establishment of the republic meant that in theory emperors were chosen simply as "first citizens" by the will of the people, which in practice ensured that after they had taken power peacefully or by violence they were begged to assume that same power by a compliant senate. Frequently they were first acclaimed *imperator* by their soldiers, a practice that evolved from this title being temporarily bestowed upon triumphing generals by their troops. Acclamations of welcome are first documented at Trajan's accession in AD 98 and thereafter were an increasingly ritualized part of these (and numerous other) imperial occasions. An important act at accession became the distribution of largesse to soldiery and populace. The diadem, famously refused by Julius Caesar in 44 BC, was not worn by the early emperors, but in radiate form it had become the chief imperial numismatic *insigne* by the 3rd century AD.

Roman and Byzantine usurpers were regularly acclaimed initially by the army, but from the time of Julian (361) to Phokas (602) two foreign customs were frequently observed. As a ceremony of accession the soldiers would raise the new emperor in Germanic manner on a shield, an act that may have been invested with solar symbolism. They also placed upon his head a torque, which was originally a (probably Scandinavian) protective collar but whose numerous types, some heavily bejewelled, came to be worn in the Byzantine period by slaves and various military officers and civil servants.

Christianization of the ceremony of investiture was slow except in one crucial detail: the appointment of an emperor (now the vicegerent of God rather than a deity in his own right) was deemed to be made by God, whether it came about through the approval of a reigning emperor's or widow's choice by one or more of the senate, army, and people or through an actual election by one or more of these bodies. Legal and other texts, moreover, claim that emperors were crowned by the hand of God, and middle Byzantine depictions – notably a few ivory plaques – show Christ as officiant. Nonetheless, in the 4th century the site was often the Hebdomon, an army camp in the suburbs of Constantinople, and when the ceremony was transferred in the 5th or 6th century it was to the Hippodrome, a move that still emphasized its popular if not completely secular importance. Although Constantine VI was crowned in the latter as late as 776, the coronation of Constans II in the ambo of Hagia Sophia in 641 marks the increasing role of the Church, which is emphasized by the scheduling of coronations to coincide with major feasts of the ecclesiastical year. Notwithstanding, co-emperors (in Hagia Sophia) and empresses (in the Augustaion or at the church of St Stephen of Daphne) were crowned by the senior emperor, rather than the patriarch (apart from one instance in 748); and on the less usual occasions when there was no senior emperor available, the patriarch probably acted more as the leading citizen than specifically as a churchman. Furthermore, emperors remained standing during the actual coronation, as they did during the preceding and following acclamations. Accessions continued to be celebrated with banquets, chariot-racing, and the distribution of largesse. The *Book of Ceremonies* compiled by or at the instigation of Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos (913–59) exhaustively details receptions by courtiers and the factions, the actual coronation, the acclamations, and the emperor's

ascent of the throne to receive *proskynesis* (gestures of submission and reverence).

During the period of the Nicene emperors (1204–61) the coronation of co-emperors was abandoned and shield-raising reinstituted. The anonymous 14th-century *Treatise on the Dignities and Offices* (Pseudo-Kodinos) describes shield-raising outside Hagia Sophia by the patriarch and important officials in order of rank before the anointing. Pre-13th-century mention of the latter in connection with the accession of Byzantine emperors may have been just metaphorical, instigated by frequent reference in the Septuagint and reaffirmed by the Byzantine iconography of Davidic kingship, but from 1205 at the latest it was certainly actually practised immediately before the coronation itself. The inspiration may have been initially western, but Byzantines invested it with the Christomimetic symbolism of the Holy Spirit.

The Palaiologans (1259–1453), in addition to restoring the coronation of co-emperors, made a major addition in the emperor's profession of Orthodoxy that began the ceremony. This was now thoroughly integrated into the Eucharistic liturgy, but culminated in a *prokypsis* (manifestation) in which the removal of a curtain suddenly revealed on a platform the brilliantly lit emperor, who then received acclamations from an assembled throng of courtiers and clergy.

It is not clear whether all the imperial insignia were real objects (when not in use kept safe in the palace by court eunuchs) or merely iconographic (and especially numismatic) symbols. The most important was the crown, in origin the Hellenistic diadem which by the time of Constantine I had taken the form of a purple band fitted with pearls and jewels; it later developed *prependoulia* (hanging ornaments) and a superimposed cross. Late crowns (known as *kamelaukia*) contained a golden covering of the head. They were all personal, not hereditary, and were of different forms for different occasions. Remains of two 11th-century Byzantine crowns (both now in Budapest) survive. One, with enamel plaques of Constantine IX and his sisters, dancing women, and personifications of Humility and Truth, may have been made for the coronation, or wedding, of an empress. The other is the lower part of the Hungarian "Crown of St Stephen" which was given, in accord with common diplomatic practice, to Géza I, and displayed plaques to demonstrate his subordination to Michael VII and his son (or brother). The *sphaira* (orb) shown in one hand of an emperor was probably only an artistic symbol. It was of Roman origin and signified mundane dominion, but the substitution by Theodosius II (408–50) of a cross for its superimposed imperial eagle demonstrated that this power was only for and through God. The eagle- and, by the 8th century, cross-capped sceptre was a survival of the Roman consular symbol of authority which emperors assumed: it probably existed as a tangible object only at certain periods of Byzantine history and became important mainly in and after the 10th century. The *akakia*, held usually in the emperor's right hand, was a pouch of purple silk containing dust to signify the transience of temporal power. The throne was not only an imperial but also a divine symbol already in pagan antiquity, but in Byzantium, where it was regularly furnished with a foot-stool, it became even more potent through association with the biblical throne of Solomon.

The emperor wore a wide variety of vestments for different stages of different ceremonies, but they were all marked by a chromatic monopoly of imperial purple. At his coronation he usually wore a purple *divetesion* (a long, belted silk tunic, probably later replaced by the somewhat similar *sakkos*), over which was laid during the actual rite a purple *chlamys* (a cloak bordered with gems or pearls) with two attached golden *tablia* (richly embroidered rectangular or trapezoidal pieces). In 14th-century coronations the emperor donned a golden *mandyas* (cloak), probably instead of the *chlamys*. Ornamented red *tzangia* (high boots) became by the 10th century at the latest an imperial symbol and a sufficiently important part of the coronation ceremonial that their use by a subject signalled attempted usurpation of the throne. The *loros*, a stole with a long Byzantine history which was taken to symbolize either the cross or the winding-sheet of Christ, adorned Byzantine emperors on various festive occasions but not at their coronation. It was, however, worn by the Latin Baldwin of Flanders when he was crowned in Hagia Sophia in 1204.

Although a crown was made for the Bavarian Otho, when he accepted the throne of the newly independent Greek state in 1832, there was no actual coronation; and his successor George I did not even possess a crown since there was no constitutional use for one. Nevertheless, the Byzantine coronation ritual, regalia, and vestments survived with only minor changes up to the early 20th century in Russia. Western European coronations have also been indebted to Byzantium, most notably still at the end of the 20th century in Britain. There the crowns of Saxon kings had already been copied from early Byzantine exemplars and the English coronation order was modelled on the Byzantine by the 10th century, while most of the ceremonial and regalia at the coronation of Elizabeth II in 1953 derived from Byzantium, even to the extent of the the *loros* and the *chlamys* or *mandyas* surviving respectively in the Stole Royal and the Robe Royal of Cloth of Gold.

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Corruption

The 1997 European Union convention on corruption involving officials of the European Community or of member states (OJ No. C195, 25.6.1997, p. 2) defines corruption as the deliberate, direct, or indirect action of requesting, receiving, or accepting a promise on the one hand (passive corruption), or promising or giving on the other (active corruption) an advantage, to act or refrain from acting in breach of official duties.

This definition, which has been reiterated in the EU joint action on corruption in the private sector (OJ No. L358, 31.12.1998, p.2), reflects the perception of corruption as the occult exchange between the political and administrative and the economic and social market, violating public, legal, and ethical norms and sacrificing the common good to private interest (Della Porta and Meny, 1997). Such a broad definition is necessary in order to embrace the many different aspects of corruption, which are closely interrelated to parallel phenomena of clientelism and maladministration.

In his analysis of the causes of one of the main manifestations of the phenomenon, of political corruption, Paul Heywood (1997) provides a useful overview of the various approaches to the topic. The "structural" approach focuses on the nature of state development, examining variables such as administrative organization, efficiency, and the institutionalization of the political order. The "economic" approach associates political corruption with growing state intervention. And the "institutional" approach focuses on the function and financing of political parties and factors such as longevity in power.

The applicability of these approaches to instances of corruption in the Classical and Byzantine world is limited, due to the differences in the structure of state and polity. The preceding definition of corruption is inextricably associated with the development and specific characteristics of contemporary state organization and social structures. The conceptualization of corruption is considerably different in both Classical and Byzantine times, when characteristic types of political organization led to a broader perception of the term. The Classical period is thus characterized by a series of corruption claims, mostly linked with political disclosure. Corruption was thus a weapon to be used against political opponents, usually as part of a moral crusade aimed at the demonization of the opponent. Similar claims in the Byzantine period were triggered not by the purchase of offices and titles – largely held to be legitimate at the time – but rather by arbitrary administrative actions in the pursuit of profit.

All three approaches have, however, been employed in analyses of political corruption in the modern Greek state. The structural and economic approaches are interrelated in assessing corruption in the development of the Greek polity during the 19th century. Foreign interference and the emergence of a powerful and omnipresent state are viewed as significant factors, related to the immaturity of political institutions and parties, clientelism, and the "oscillation between authoritarian and democratic regimes" (Lyrintzis, 1984). Such articulation of powers in the "procapitalist" Greek society, between weak social and economic forces on the one hand and a very strong state machinery on the other, is critical in strengthening family and clientelistic networks and contributes towards a defensive perception of the role and function of politics, its aims being the protection of the individual from social conflict (Diamantouros, 1983). In this manner clientelistic networks compensate for the absence of strong social classes (Koutsoukis, 1998).

The situation changed with the military coup of 1909, which signalled the end of the 19th-century oligarchic parliamentary system of government (Mouzelis, 1987). The emergence of class interests and their articulation through better-organized political parties gave rise to more centralized forms of "party and state-oriented patronage". According to Mouzelis, the years up to World War II, notwithstanding the increasing significance of ideology, social division, and political conflict, did not witness the eclipse of the patron–client system, but rather the transition from oligarchic/traditional to state/ bureaucratic forms of patronage.

The end of the war and of the Greek Civil War brought about a further turn in the political situation of the country. Emergency legislation, increasing state control in the – in any case – limited exercise of social and political rights, and the proscription of the Communist Party and harassment of its followers made the development of participatory political structures impossible and paved the way for a political system dependent on recourse to patron–client relationships (Gravaris, 1998). Instead of being influenced by local notables, however, clientelism in this period witnessed the pivotal role of the central party leadership in distributing favours. The central role of the state apparatus in the development of clientelistic networks marks further the transition from "party-directed patronage" to a system of "bureaucratic clientelism". This term denotes the infiltration of state institutions by the supporters of the dominant political party, along with phenomena of favouritism, inextricably linked with the expansion of the public sector.

A genuine trend towards bureaucratic clientelism did not appear, however, until after the junta, coinciding with the emergence of well-organized political parties. The persistence of clientelistic phenomena in this period renders the "institu-

tional" approach a useful analytical tool. Notwithstanding the important steps taken towards the consolidation of parliamentary democracy, New Democracy, the conservative party in power between 1974 and 1981, continued to rely on the personal influence and clientelistic networks of its leading members. The socialist government of PASOK on the other hand, in its first period in office from 1981 to 1989, in spite of the elaborate party organization, maintained clientelistic networks due to the overextension of the public sector and the emergence of the state as employer. The new "public ethic" endorsed by the socialist government led Koutsoukis to refer to the appearance of a form of "structural corruption" taking the form of scandals.

The 1990s witnessed an attempt to resolve such complex issues through recourse to the judiciary. The outcome of the corruption trials was of dubious significance for the elimination of the structural roots of corruption in the political system. The economic changes associated with the narrowing of the public sector, along with changes in party organization and perception, may add novel variables to the evolution of the phenomenon in Greece. At the same time, different forms of corruption are highlighted, such as police corruption, public corruption related to organized crime, and corruption in the private sector. In the Corruption Perceptions Index of 1998 issued by Transparency International, Greece holds the bottom position among EU countries after Italy (Transparency International and Göttingen University, 1998).

This and other findings led to an anti-corruption drive by the Greek Supreme Court, modelled on the recent "mani pulite" initiative in Italy (*To Vima*, 4 April 1999, article code B12539A501). At the same time, Greece has introduced a law ratifying the OECD convention on combating bribery of foreign public officials in international business transactions and, as a member of the European Union, implements the EU anti-corruption initiatives. The effectiveness of such legislative and judicial attempts to eliminate the structural roots of corruption remains to be seen.

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Corydalleus, Theophilos *c.*1574–1646

Philosopher

Theophilos Corydalleus was the most eminent philosopher of the Greek world after 1453 until the period of the Enlightenment and his influence persisted even down to the 18th century. He was born in Athens where he completed his first studies. Between 1604 and 1608 he was educated at the Greek Catholic College of St Athanasios in Rome. Afterwards he enrolled in the University of Padua to study philosophy and medicine and obtained his doctorate on 5 June 1613. There he met Cesare Cremonini and was influenced by Neoaristotelianism, a predominant philosophical current of the day. Its intention was not to interpret Aristotle as a means of corroborating Christian doctrine, as was the case earlier with medieval Scholasticism and Averroism. Rather it aimed at liberating Aristotle from ecclesiastical control and apologetic objectives and considering his works in their own terms. Such a perspective rendered Neoaristotelians suspicious to Church authorities, because they were thought of as professing non-Christian and even atheistic views.

Despite these shortcomings, Corydalleus's Neoaristotelianism was rather carefully articulated and avoided any serious confrontation with Orthodox doctrine. Aside from his teaching activity in Venice (1608–09), in Athens (1590, 1613–19, 1643–46), in Cephalonia (1619–21), and in Zakynthos (1621–22, 1628–36), Corydalleus was distinguished as director of the Patriarchal Academy in Constantinople (1622–23, 1625–28, 1636–40). He was initially appointed there through the intervention of patriarch Cyril Lukaris. Corydalleus restructured the entire curriculum along the Neoaristotelian model, which contributed to the relative emancipation of philosophy from theology. His teaching was characterized by a methodical, systematic, and clear exposition of his ideas. Corydalleus's impact was long-lasting, for he had many admirers among his students. Some of his works have been republished for didactic purposes. Numerous manuscripts of his writings also survive today in various libraries, a fact attesting to the wider dissemination of his ideas.

Corydalleus was a major scholiast of Aristotle's main works and contributed immensely to the reorientation of the Greek world towards Aristotelian philosophy. Aristotle's authority

thus became established at that time so that he was referred to generally as "the Philosopher". Corydalleus's works, both published and unpublished, contain commentaries on Aristotle's philosophical and scientific texts as well as other writings (see Tsourkas). Corydalleus helped also the development of free thought in the Balkans by liberating Aristotle's interpretation from religious expediencies. To avoid potential conflicts with the Church, he supported the Neoaristotelian doctrine of the "double truth", namely that there existed two separate truths, one based upon the Bible and the Christian doctrine, and the other upon Aristotle. Corydalleus was neither anti-metaphysical nor anti-religious. He adhered to the Christian faith and considered it superior to philosophy. But he also intended to remain faithful to Aristotle, and the doctrine of the "double truth" provided a useful outlet. The latter theory, however, was severely criticized as unfounded and erroneous by other Christian Aristotelians, such as Nikolaos Koursoulas, who tried to prove the full coincidence of Christian and Aristotelian opinions.

Though Corydalleus was ordained as presbyter under the name Theodosios in 1622 and served as archbishop of Arta and Naupactus (1640–42), he was not a truly ecclesiastical man, for his scholarly and didactic activities held priority in his scale of interests. This was probably the reason why he abandoned his priesthood as early as 1625 and later his archbishopric in order to devote himself to his teaching goals. Corydalleus was even met with opposition and criticism from his contemporaries for theological reasons. In some cases, he was suspected and accused of atheism, materialism, and even Calvinism – the last being the accusation brought against patriarch Cyril I Lukaris too.

Corydalleus represented an important moment in the post-Byzantine philosophical tradition of southeastern Europe. His Neoaristotelianism found unexpected fertile ground in the educational tradition of the Orthodox east. This was probably due to the uninterrupted presence of the Aristotelian tradition in the Greek world. Among the consequences of Corydalleus's educational renewal was the relative marginalization of religious and grammatical lessons in school curricula. Corydalleus had numerous students who distinguished themselves at that time, among then patriarch Nektarios of Jerusalem, Ioannis Karyophyllis, Meletios Syrigos, Evgenios Yannoulis, Alexandros Mavrokordatos, and Georgios Sougdouris. Some of them disseminated his philosophical tradition in various parts of the Balkans, such as Germanos Lokros and later Sevastos Kyminitis at the Princely Academy in Bucharest. In this way, Corydalleus's Neoaristotelianism became the most important programme of philosophical education in southeastern Europe in the 17th and 18th centuries. It is no wonder therefore that the libraries of Bucharest and Jassy nowadays house numerous manuscripts containing his works.

In time, however, Corydalleus's influence and authority became so strong and suffocating that they did not allow other systems of thought to develop and flourish. This absolutization of Neoaristotelianism, sanctioned by the Church, became known later as "Corydalism", a term of opprobrium for those who were profoundly attached to and could not look beyond that philosophical system. Whenever Neoaristotelianism was challenged, reactions usually arose both from the teaching staff as well as from the Church. Indicative of such a case was the condemnation of Methodios Anthrakitis in 1723, who had abandoned Aristotelianism and was teaching modern western philosophy. In his reinstatement by the Church in 1725, Anthrakitis was given the order to teach solely Aristotelian philosophy according to Corydalleus's tradition, which was thought to pose no threat to the Orthodox faith. This is evidence of the official sanction of Corydalleus's system by the Orthodox Church, a fact manifested in other cases too (e.g. in the answer of the Eastern Orthodox Patriarchs to the Anglican Nonjurors in 1718). In the first half of the 18th century there were also various debates between Aristotelians (e.g. Dorotheos Lesvios) and non-Aristotelians (e.g. Nikolaos Zerzoulis). The latter tried systematically to undermine Aristotle's authority in ecclesiastical circles by showing the conspicuous and unbridgeable discrepancies between several Aristotelian and Christian views.

The most important challenge for Corydalleus's tradition came from the growing influence of the Enlightenment in the Greek world in the second half of the 18th century, which presented an attractive alternative model of philosophical and scientific tradition beyond Aristotle. As a result, Aristotelian physics as well as Ptolemaic cosmology came under denigrating attack from the proponents of the modern scientific developments in the West. However, Corydalleus still managed to exercise certain influences until the beginning of the 19th century, since his works continued to be taught in several schools. This happened at the Patriarchal Academy of Constantinople too, where Sergios Makraios taught Aristotelian philosophy and science and remained bound to this tradition until his death in 1819. Despite these much later developments, for which he was not responsible, Corydalleus's contributions were of great importance to the development of Greek learning and education in a period of transition from the post-Byzantine era to the age of the Greek Enlightenment.

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Biography

Born *c.*1574, Corydalleus was educated in Athens, Rome, and Padua where he was influenced by the Neoaristotelianism of Cesare Cremonini. After teaching in Venice, Athens, Cephalonia, and Zakynthos, he was appointed director of the Patriarchal Academy in Constantinople by Patriarch Cyril Lukaris. He also served briefly as archbishop of Arta and Naupactus (1640–42) but resigned to devote himself to teaching. His programme dominated philosophical education in southeastern Europe in the 17th and 18th centuries. He died in 1646.

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Cos

Island in the Dodecanese

The island of Cos is the largest of the Dodecanese after Rhodes (although only about one-fifth of its area), and lies close to the coast of Asia Minor; its long, narrow shape, with an area of 282 sq km, extends, at its northeastern end, into the gulf separating the headlands of Halicarnassus (now Bodrum) and Cnidus. It has been known by several names, from the Cos Meropis of Strabo and the Caris of Stephanos of Byzantium to the medieval Lango (referring to its long shape) and the Turkish Istanköy.

The island has two prominent mountain formations, with the two highest points being Oros Dikaios towards the northeast (846 m) and Oros Latra in the southwest (428 m). Most of the rest of the island is quite fertile, with a light, sandy soil, and has always produced much fruit, vegetables, and wine, while its silk was famous in antiquity for its fine texture.

Although populated since earliest times, and later colonized by both Carians from Halicarnassus and by Dorians, the island did not play a part of great importance in Greek history until the mid-4th century BC, with the foundation of the city of Cos. Thereafter it rapidly became one of the main maritime and trading centres of the Aegean, and was later to be the second city of the province of the Islands.

The artist who was perhaps the most famous painter of the ancient world, Apelles, was a native of Cos, and although his renown meant that he worked in many other parts of Greece, Pliny (*Naturalis Historia*, 35. 80) in his account of his life said that he was working at Cos on a painting of *Aphrodite Anadyomene* when "death grew envious of him" and he died with the work unfinished. Also on Cos was a marble statue of *Aphrodite* by the equally famous 4th-century BC sculptor Praxiteles; he had carved two versions, one clothed and one naked, and offered them both for sale at Cnidus; Pliny (*Naturalis Historia*, 36. 20) relates how the people of Cos chose the clothed one, "thinking that this was the sober and proper choice to make".

It was to be the association of the island with Hippocrates, the father of the medical tradition who was born there *c.*460 BC, that lay behind the foundation of the Asclepieum; this was to bring worldwide fame to Cos as a centre of healing. The "Hippocratic oath", named after him, still forms the basis of contemporary medical ethics throughout most of the world, and must be seen as one of the main gifts of the Hellenic world to international medical culture; in revised form it is still actively applied. The Asclepieum was founded after the death of Hippocrates in the mid-4th century BC, and its priests, the Asclepiadai, became known for performing medical cures that followed the teaching of Hippocrates. It developed and prospered over several centuries, eventually reaching the hugely impressive monumental complex that has now been excavated, before major destruction in the 6th century AD. Today it is the island's most visited site.

It may have been the fame of the island in late antiquity that accounts for its importance in early Church history. It was to be one of the three Aegean islands that were represented by bishops at the First Church Council at Nicaea of AD 325 (the other two were Rhodes and Lemnos), and the bishop of Cos, as a suffragan of Rhodes, was present at all major subsequent councils. Several important early Christian basilicas were built on Cos, and those excavated at Hagios Stephanos, Zipari, Mastichari, and in the town of Cos itself all have impressive floor mosaics. During the 11th century the island was attacked by the Arabs, and its position meant that it was sufficiently important to the Byzantines for it to be governed (and defended) directly from Constantinople by appointed officials; in the 12th century members of the imperial family controlled the island. A visitor early in that century, the Russian *higumen* (abbot) Daniil, described it as "large, populous, and rich in cattle".

After 1204 the Deed of Partition allocated Cos to the Latin emperor of Constantinople, but he was never able to exercise control and it was taken over by the Genoese. Around 1225 the navy of the Byzantine government in exile in Nicaea, under John Vatatzes, occupied Cos, incorporating it into the Nicene empire, and after 1261 into that of Byzantium. The hilltop village of Palaiopyli, now deserted, represents well the kind of rural existence that developed during these centuries, with a castle crowning its summit that would have provided shelter for local families.

Cos: view of the Asclepieum founded in the mid-4th century BC

From 1304 until 1947 control over the island was largely lost to the Greek people. It was occupied first by the Genoese, under the Zaccharia family, and then from *c.*1319 by the Turks. They in turn were ousted *c.*1337 by the Hospitallers, who gave the island a period of stability and relative importance that lasted almost two centuries, until they were driven from their home stronghold of Rhodes. The position and size of Cos meant that it was an ideal base from which they could defy, and be seen to defy, the Islamic power such a short distance away across the narrow straits. Besides the large castle of Antimachia that they built inland, the massive fortress that they built overlooking the harbour of Cos was the largest of their fortifications after that of Rhodes, and its latest phases, constructed in the early 16th century, represent the finest achievements of European military building of its day.

When the Hospitallers were forced to leave Rhodes in January 1523, the Turkish power finally completed their occupation of the whole island: they were to remain in control until 1912 when, with the rest of the Dodecanese, Cos was seized by the Italians to ensure that Turkey fulfilled the pledge made that year at the first Treaty of Lausanne. In the Treaty of Sèvres of 1920 the islands were formally made over to Italy, under whom they were to remain, in spite of undertakings to the contrary, until 1947. Only then did Cos formally re-enter Greek tutelage.

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Summary

One of the Dodecanese, the island of Cos lies off the coast of Asia Minor near Bodrum. The city of Cos, founded in the mid-4th century BC, became a major trading centre. It was the birthplace of Apelles and Hippocrates. The Asclepieum became an international medical centre. Cos was occupied by the Hospitaller Knights of St John *c.*1337–1523, by the Turks until 1912, and by the Italians until 1947.

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Cosmology

One of the most significant contributions of Greek civilization to the world is the speculative study of the universe. In the 6th century BC the earliest Greek philosophers made the momentous step of viewing the world as a product, not of divine beings exercising supernatural powers, but of natural substances exhibiting natural powers. Why precisely the Greeks of the 6th century made this step is not clear, but modern science can be identified as the legacy of that tradition.

The mythographers of the 8th century BC, Homer and Hesiod, accepted from tradition a world in which a flat circular earth, bounded at its edge by the ocean, lay between a firmament of heaven (Ouranos) above and gloomy underworld (Tartaros) beneath. According to Hesiod, the world arose when Chaos (a yawning gap) was born, followed by the birth of Earth, Heaven, and other cosmic deities. Rejecting such supernatural explanations as this, the philosophers of Miletus gave naturalistic accounts of the world and how it arose. Little is known about the theories of the first philosopher, Thales, except that he is said to have derived all things from water and conceived of earth floating like a raft on a vast sea. His successor, Anaximander, theorized that the earth was a disk with its diameter three times its height, surrounded by circles of fire veiled in mist. The fire shone through holes like spoke-holes on a wheel, appearing as the sun, the moon, and the stars. The world came to be when something productive of hot and cold separated off from the "boundless" matter of the universe. Anaximander's successor, Anaximenes, pictured a flat earth that rode on a cushion of air. The heavens rotated around the earth like a felt cap, surrounded by a boundless expanse of air.

Challenged by criticisms of Parmenides and his followers that what-is cannot arise out of what-is-not, natural philosophers of the 5th century BC emphasized the construction of the world from pre-existent elements. Empedocles envisaged a universe in which a world like ours cyclically alternates with a perfectly homogeneous sphere in which all of the four elements (earth, water, air, fire) have become completely mixed. Anaxagoras posited a world which arose out of an original chaos when a vortex motion separated the elements into distinct layers. The atomists posited an infinite void in which indivisible particles of matter, the atoms, combined and separated to create multiple worlds and their contents. The early philosophers had learned to distinguish between a world-order or world (*kosmos*), of which there might be many, and the universe (*to pan*) which contained one or more ordered worlds and all unordered matter.

The break from mythological thinking was not complete or sudden. The philosophers of Miletus tended to endow the original stuff of the universe–water, "the boundless", or air–with divine qualities and to view it as an autonomous agent. Empedocles and Anaxagoras posited personified forces alongside their elements: Love and Strife (i.e. attraction and repulsion) for Empedocles, a cosmic Mind for Anaxagoras. The atomists finally did away with personified agents altogether, accounting for all changes merely on the basis of the motions of atoms. Early Greek philosophy had arrived at mechanistic explanations of the natural world.

In the 4th century BC the philosophical tradition turned strongly against such approaches to cosmology. Steeped in Socrates' ethical philosophy, Plato criticized natural philosophers for describing how natural phenomena took place while ignoring the fact that the world is organized for the best. To the scientist, mechanical explanations should be preliminary to teleological explanations. In the *Timaeus* Plato sets out to produce a new kind of cosmology based on his principles. Introducing a divine craftsman, the Demiurge, Plato shows how he must have arranged the world for the best, as a copy of an eternal paradigm. The Demiurge forms the earth as a spherical body enclosed in a heavenly sphere pervaded by soul. Outside the cosmos there is nothing. The traditional gods, who are born later, design the human body as the best vehicle for the human soul. Plato explains the motion of the heavenly bodies as circular orbits carried at uniform speeds; apparently irregular motions of the planets are the result of compound motions of several circles.

Although Plato's theory seems unscientific by modern standards, it was important in several ways. First, it allowed for a synthesis of scientific explanation and human values, which seemed to be undermined by materialistic theories of the early philosophers, and hence prepared the way for an acceptance of scientific explanation by popular opinion. Second, it made teleological explanations central to science, allowing for a flourishing of biological sciences. Third, his account allowed for the possibility of developing mathematical models of the heavens, which would lead to a flourishing of astronomy. Fourth, his theory that the earth is spherical was correct, and would henceforth become the standard view on the shape of the earth.

Plato's student Aristotle devoted much effort to working out the details of a cosmos inspired by Plato. Rejecting the hypothesis of a divine craftsman, Aristotle argued that the world was not created, nor would it be destroyed. Rather it exists forever, repeating its meteorological cycles. The four elements are arranged concentrically, with a spherical earth at the centre, surrounded by a shell of water (the seas), a shell of air (the atmosphere), and a shell of fiery matter. Earth and water naturally travel towards the centre of the universe (located at the centre of the earth), air and fire outwards to the periphery. From the region of the moon outwards the heavens consist of a fifth element that some identify with ether, which naturally moves in a circle, but which participates in no other kinds of change. Hence the heavenly bodies are all changeless except for their daily and yearly motions, while all things below the moon are subject to change along with the four elements of which they are composed, which elements are transformed into one another in daily and annual cycles. The heavens are further composed of concentric spheres and the heavenly bodies that move with them. These bodies move in imitation of a first unmoved mover, which we may identify with God, a being that lives the best kind of life by exercising pure mental activity. In Aristotle's world, as in Plato's, everything is arranged for the best; for Aristotle, however, the order is not imposed from without by a craftsman but achieved by natural processes.

Aristotle provided the standard picture of the cosmos for most thinkers in Europe and the Middle East down to the early modern era. The only serious contender was the conception of Epicurus, who revived atomism with a few modifications *c.*300 BC. But because Epicureans apparently clung to the view that the earth was flat at a time when scientific arguments for sphericity had already been given (by Aristotle) and the

circumference of the earth had actually been calculated by scientists to a fair degree of accuracy (e.g. Eratosthenes in the 3rd century BC), Epicurus' theory was in effect obsolete from the time he propounded it. Meanwhile, Plato's conception of the heavenly bodies moving in circles with uniform speed inspired increasingly accurate mathematical models of planetary motions, culminating in the use of epicycles, small circles drawn from a point moving on the orbits of planets. The use of epicycles and other devices allowed astronomers to describe the motions of planets very closely. But the mathematical models produced another problem: no physical theory (Aristotle's was still the most influential) could account for the epicyclic motions of planets. The more accurate mathematical description became, the less satisfactory physical theory proved to be.

In almost all Greek theories of the cosmos, the earth was at the centre. But there were exceptions: Philolaus in the 5th century BC had posited a central fire around which the earth and all other heavenly bodies revolved. In the 3rd century BC, Aristarchus of Samos put forward the correct view that the planets revolve about the sun. His theory, however, never caught on. In the 2nd century AD Ptolemy combined traditional cosmology with the latest methods in mathematical astronomy and fresh observations to produce the most comprehensive astronomical account of the ancient world as well as the best geography of the earth. His treatises subsequently became the standard textbooks for astronomy and geography.

By the 3rd century AD Neoplatonism was becoming dominant among intellectuals. Mixing mysticism with Platonism, Plotinus saw the ultimate reality as an ineffable One from which emanated a cosmic Mind, in which the Platonic Forms found place, from which emanated soul, from which in turn emanated matter. Emanation was not to be understood as generation in time but as a timeless causation from the higher to the lower. The world, then, did not come to be in time, but always was, conforming to the perfect Forms of Mind. Neoplatonic theory did not so much revise the concept of the cosmos as locate it within a hierarchy of beings. About the same time as Neoplatonism became influential, Christianity began to emerge as a leading religion. Church Fathers sought to ground Christian theology in the dominant philosophy of the time, Neoplatonism, but were forced to modify philosophical theories to accommodate their religious doctrines. The world was not everlasting, but created by God, in accordance with the Forms, which were now understood the be in the Mind of God. The heavenly spheres of Aristotle were now understood to be peopled by angels and the Classical cosmos was Christianized. But essentially the cosmos of the Christian Middle Ages, both in the East and West, was Aristotle's cosmos located in a Neoplatonic hierarchy of beings and populated with demons and angels as well as humans, created and ruled by a transcendent God, who could be identified in different contexts with Plato's Demiurge, Aristotle's unmoved mover, and Plotinus' One.

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Councils, Ecumenical

Ecumenical (or general) councils are those councils of the Christian Church whose decisions are recognized as binding by the entire Church. The precedent for settling controversies within the Church by means of a council is found in the New Testament (Acts 15). In post-Apostolic times councils continued to be held on a local basis. But the era of truly "ecumenical" councils began with the legal toleration of Christianity in the Roman empire during the 4th century AD. As Christianity became the official religion of the empire, seven ecumenical councils (covering the period from 325 to 787) were called for the purpose of preserving Christian unity within the Roman (and later the Byzantine) empire. These councils were convoked by the Roman emperor and held in cities of the predominantly Greek-speaking Roman east. The Roman empire and its satellites were considered coterminous with the civilized world, the *oikoumene*, whence the term "ecumenical" is derived. The councils produced creeds, or definitions of faith, in response to particular controversies that arose in the life of the Church. In the formulation of these doctrinal statements Greek philosophical terms were redefined to help explain the mysteries of the Christian faith. While only the first seven councils are recognized as ecumenical by the Orthodox and some Protestant Churches, the Roman Catholic Church recognizes 21, the last being Vatican II (1962–65). Two of these later councils dealt with the question of reuniting the

Christian Church after the schism between the Orthodox and Roman Catholic Churches in 1054.

Nicaea I, 325

The emperor Constantine I (324–37) called the first ecumenical council, at Nicaea in 325. The need for a council was precipitated by the teaching of an Alexandrian priest, Arius, who promoted a rigidly monotheistic concept of God. Arius taught that Jesus (the Word) was not God, but was created by him to serve as an intermediary between God and his subsequent creation; there was a time when the Word did not exist. At the incarnation the Word took the place of the rational soul in the person Jesus and became a man. Arius conceded that Jesus was called God, but argued that Jesus was God only by participation in divine grace, not by virtue of his own nature. The question of the nature, essence, or being of God and the relationship between God the Father and God the Son therefore became the point of debate at Nicaea. The council promulgated a statement of faith, the basis of what we now call the Nicene creed. In this statement the Greek term *homoousios* (of the same essence, or substance) was used to describe the relationship between the Father and the Son in the Trinity, thus safeguarding the full divinity of Jesus and his role in the salvation of mankind. The use of *homoousios* in the Nicene creed is evidence of the ongoing redefinition of Greek philosophical terms in a new Christian context. The council also dealt with various disciplinary matters and the administrative structure of the Church. The bishops of the greatest cities of the empire, Rome, Alexandria, and Antioch, were given supervisory powers over other bishops. The bishop of Jerusalem was to be held in honour next to these, because of the city's association with the earthly life of Christ.

Although the Nicene council had produced a creed endorsed by the majority of the bishops and supported by the emperor, the Arian controversy refused to die easily. The recognition of Nicaea as an ecumenical council took another 50 years and the confirmation of its status by the Council of Constantinople in 381. As the example of Nicaea shows, regardless of any declarations of ecumenicity at the outset, the ecumenical status of a council depended most of all on its subsequent recognition and confirmation.

Constantinople I, 381

In 381 the first Council of Constantinople was called by the emperor Theodosius I (379–95) to endorse the theology of Nicaea. Although it was convoked as an eastern regional council, Constantinople was recognized as the second ecumenical council by the Council of Chalcedon in 451. The fathers at Constantinople ratified the faith of Nicaea and further developed its creed. In response to a controversy over the deity of the Holy Spirit, this council confessed belief in the "Holy Spirit, the Lord and Life-giver, Who proceeds from the Father, Who is worshipped and glorified together with the Father and the Son, Who spoke through the prophets". Constantinople defended the Holy Spirit as God, just as Nicaea had defended Jesus as God. Also as at Nicaea, the Council of Constantinople dealt with the administration of the Church. The city of Constantinople had replaced Rome as the capital of the empire in 330. In recognition of its status as the "New Rome", the council decided to honour the bishop of Constantinople as second in rank only to the bishop of Rome. Although no western bishops were present, the Roman Church confirmed the decisions of Constantinople I at the Council of Chalcedon, with the exception of the canon regarding the rank of the bishop of Constantinople. This foreshadowed the growing rivalry between the two sees that eventually led to the schism between the Orthodox and Roman Catholic Churches.

Ephesus, 431

After dealing with the doctrine of the Trinity at Nicaea and Constantinople, theology in the 5th century turned to the question of Christology – in what way was Jesus Christ both God and man? Nestorius, bishop of Constantinople, and Cyril, bishop of Alexandria, were the primary figures in this controversy. Nestorius was trained in the Antiochene theological tradition, which tended to emphasize Jesus' humanity. He declined to call the Virgin Mary *Theotokos* (One who gave birth to God), a term in use since the 2nd century, preferring instead the term *Christotokos*. His reasoning was that while Mary did bear the person of Christ in her womb, she was mother only of his humanity, not his divinity, and so could not properly be called *Theotokos*. Although Nestorius attempted to do justice to both Jesus' humanity and his divinity, his position implied a separation between the two that threatened to make two persons out of Jesus rather than one. Cyril, representing the Alexandrian theological tradition, stressed the unity of Jesus' person (*prosopon/hypostasis*) in the incarnation as expressed in the Gospel of John: "The Word was made flesh" (John 1:14). This controversy was addressed at the Council of Ephesus in 431. Cyril led the attack on Nestorius in the church of the Virgin Mary. Nestorius himself refused to attend the council because Cyril had set himself up as both the prosecutor and the presiding judge. Not surprisingly, Cyril triumphed and Nestorius' position was condemned. A countercouncil was held by John, bishop of Antioch, in support of Nestorius; in the end, both sides appealed to imperial intervention. An agreement was reached whereby Nestorius resigned his see and was sent back to his monastery in Antioch, while Cyril and John worked out a compromise formula of union. The statement endorsed the term *Theotokos* and acknowledged Jesus Christ as "perfect God and perfect man ... For of two natures a union has been made. For this cause we confess one Christ, one Son, one Lord". The Council of Ephesus provoked the first lasting schism in the Christian Church – Nestorianism spread among the Christians of the Persian empire and survives today among the Assyrians of northern Iraq.

Chalcedon, 451

The declaration of the unity of Jesus' person at the Council of Ephesus provoked a strong reaction against any hint of Nestorianism. Eutyches, a monk in Constantinople, took Cyril's theology to an extreme. Eutyches taught that before the incarnation Jesus was of two natures, but afterwards only of one, in which the divine nature in effect swallowed up the human one. This "one-nature" theology is the origin of the term Monophysite (*physis* = nature) that is used to describe the

theology of Eutyches and his sympathizers, which included Dioscurus, bishop of Alexandria. At issue were the use of the Greek terms *physis*, *hypostasis*, and *prosopon*, to explain the humanity and divinity of Jesus. For Eutyches and the Alexandrians, these terms were essentially synonymous – to be one person Jesus had to have one nature. Those who professed two natures seemed to fall into the error of the Nestorians, dividing the person of Jesus. Another council was held at Ephesus in 449, which supported the Alexandrian position. But the decisions of this council were overturned by the Council of Chalcedon in 451. Here an attempt was made to be true to Cyril's Christology while maintaining the reality of both Jesus' divinity and his humanity. This council accepted the explanation articulated by Leo, bishop of Rome, in his *Tome*: Jesus was "to be acknowledged in two natures ... in one person, and in one hypostasis". Unfortunately, this formula did not satisfy the Alexandrians, who while rejecting the heresy of Eutyches preferred to retain Cyrillian terminology. Thus began the schism between the Monophysites and the Orthodox Catholics. The Monophysite (also known as the non-Chalcedonian or Oriental Orthodox) Churches exist to this day, among the Coptic Egyptians, Ethiopians, Jacobite Syrians, Armenians, and Malankar Indians. Currently, ongoing theological discussions between Oriental Orthodox and Eastern Orthodox hierarchs have affirmed that the separation between the two Churches is one of terminology rather than theology, and they hope to achieve full communion in the near future.

The assembly at Chalcedon ratified the decisions of Nicaea I, Constantinople I, and Ephesus, thereby recognizing them as the first three ecumenical councils. The council also solidified the structure of Church government by granting the bishops of Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem the title of "patriarch" and jurisdiction over all churches in their territories.

Constantinople II, 553

The Council of Constantinople II, held in 553, was an effort to reconcile with the Monophysites. Justinian I (527–65), like other Roman emperors before him, was interested in maintaining religious unity among his subjects. The council condemned the so-called Three Chapters – the writings of three theologians, Theodore of Mopsuestia, Theodoret of Cyrus, and Ibas of Edessa, whose work was considered by the Monophysites to be Nestorian. The council also tried to answer Monophysite objections to the definition of Chalcedon by explaining more concretely how two natures unite as one person in Jesus Christ: "For in saying that the only-begotten Word was united by hypostasis [personally] we do not mean that there was a mutual confusion of natures, but rather we understand that the Word was united to the flesh, each [nature] remaining what it was." The Council of Constantinople II also condemned the teachings of the 3rd-century theologian Origen, whose philosophical speculations were popular among certain eastern monks. Despite the efforts of the council and the emperor, the Monophysites were not reconciled and remained in schism.

Constantinople III, 680–81

The sixth ecumenical council, Constantinople III (680–81), condemned the Monothelite heresy. Monothelitism was a doctrine that proposed that while Jesus had two natures, he had only one will, the divine predominating. This formula, promoted by the emperor Herakleios (610–41), was yet another attempt to reconcile with the Monophysites. The Church as a whole rejected the doctrine of the "one will" as contrary to the faith as defined by the previous ecumenical councils – if Jesus had two natures, he must have two wills, both divine and human. With this affirmation, the council provoked another schism – the Maronites, a group of Syrian Christians, would not renounce Monothelitism. The Maronite Church later joined in communion with the Roman Catholics in 1182, and they exist today as an Eastern-rite Catholic community.

Nicaea II, 787

The seventh ecumenical council was called in response to the iconoclast controversy. Emperor Leo III (717–41) began an attack on the Christian practice of venerating icons, pictorial representations of Jesus and the saints. Apparently, he believed that God was angry with the Christians for their "idolatry" and was punishing them. This was at a time of natural disasters and the loss of imperial territory, especially to the Muslims, who abhorred the use of religious images. Iconoclasm was primarily an imperial heresy, in that it was imposed by the emperors on the Church. It was enforced in two stages, from about the years 726 to 780, and then again from 815 to 843. The first restoration of the icons occurred under the empress Irene (797–802, regent from 780), who convoked the second Council of Nicaea in 787. This council rejected the ecumenical claims of the iconoclastic Council of Hieria (753), and set forth the theological argument in favour of the veneration of icons. It made it clear that icons are useful in teaching the faithful and that the images are venerated or honoured, not worshipped, as worship properly belongs to God alone. The honour due to the icon is bestowed upon the person it represents, not the material out of which the icon is made. Most importantly, icons of Jesus expressed the truth of the incarnation. In the words of John of Damascus: "Of old God the incorporeal and uncircumscribed was not depicted at all. But now that God has appeared in the flesh and lived among men, I make an image of the God who can be seen." After a return to iconoclasm under a series of emperors in the 9th century, another empress, Theodora, presided over the final restoration of icons in 843. This event is commemorated in the Orthodox Church as the "Triumph of Orthodoxy", celebrated on the first Sunday in Lent. This liturgy affirms the faith of the seven ecumenical councils.

After Nicaea II the western Church, under the leadership of the pope of Rome, and the eastern Church, under the patriarch of Constantinople, grew increasingly apart, culminating in a schism that is conventionally dated to the year 1054. After this date one may speak of separate Roman Catholic and Eastern Orthodox Churches. The Roman Church continued to recognize its own councils after the schism as ecumenical; two of the most notable were the council of Lyons II (1274) and Ferrara-Florence (1438–39). These councils attempted to heal the

schism between the two Churches, but because they enforced the Roman tradition over the Constantinopolitan, the East found it difficult to agree to any lasting reunion.

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See also Heresy, Iconoclasm, Schism

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Crates of Mallus

Stoic philosopher and literary critic of the 2nd century BC

Mallus in Cilicia, in southeast Asia Minor, lay in an area that was an important centre of Stoic studies from the 3rd century BC until at least the 2nd century AD. Exactly when Crates, son of Timocrates, was born there is unclear; however, we learn from the *Suda* that he was a contemporary of Aristarchus of Samothrace (*c.*216–144 BC), from Strabo that he was also a contemporary of Demetrius of Scepsis (born *c.*214 BC), and from Suetonius that he was sent from Pergamum to Rome on a diplomatic mission at about the time of the death of Ennius (169 BC). All of this suggests that he moved to Pergamum at the time of Eumenes II (197–158 BC), the most culturally ambitious and the most tireless promoter of scholarship and the arts of all the Attalid dynasty. Crates had followers (we hear of "Cratetians"), but these may simply have been students in the Stoic tradition (the most distinguished was Panaetius) rather than members of a "school" deliberately established in Pergamum to oppose the scholarship produced in the Museum and Library at Alexandria.

Crates is much quoted in scholia, lexica, and collections of "opinions" generally (in Mette's two volumes (1936, 1952) there are 18 items of "testimonia" and 86 "fragments" – rather more voluminous than what is meant by this term in other collections – covering a total of 313 pages of printed text; see also Mette's indexes of sources). Of his works on literature only two titles appear reasonably certain: the first (*?Diorthotica*) seems to have been a commentary with textual criticism of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* in nine books, while the second (*Homerica*) may have dealt with problems of geography and even cosmology. We have, however, no idea of the total range of Crates' writings on literary topics: there may have been many other works, since we have "fragments" citing his opinions on Hesiod, on Alcman, on Euripides, and on Aratus, for example; but these may simply be obiter dicta to his works on Homer.

What seems fairly certain, however, is that Crates' approach to literary studies was primarily Stoic and this determined the type of scholarship that he produced. Cicero tells us that Chrysippus, another native of Cilicia, the third head of the Stoa and the person who, in his voluminous writings, gave the definitive statement of the principal Stoic doctrines, had "wanted to harmonize [*accommodare*] the myths in Orpheus, Musaeus, Hesiod, and Homer with his own views ... about the immortal gods, so that even the earliest poets, who had not the slightest idea about these views, would appear to have been Stoics" (*De Natura Deorum*, 1. 41). Given this manner of proceeding, it became possible for a literary critic of the Stoic persuasion to elucidate the "true" meaning that lay behind the words of an early poet, as Crates did for Homer most spectacularly (and bizarrely) when he interpreted the shield of Agamemnon (*Iliad*, 11. 32–40) as a representation of the cosmos and the shield's ten circles of bronze (line 33) as standing for the ten cosmic spheres and so on, with every detail "explained" by means of allegory (Eustathios on *Iliad*, 11. 32–40 = Mette, 1936, fr. 23a; Mette also argued for the same interpretation by Crates of the shield of Achilles, famously described at *Iliad*, 18. 463–608: cf. Mette, 1936, pp. 36–42). Likewise, a person with a good understanding of Stoic doctrines (the "truth") could see where the essential message had been corrupted, either because the poet had failed to apprehend it correctly or because errors had crept into the manuscript tradition: in either case the text could now be properly emended. This somewhat circular reasoning does not explain every emendation of Homer proposed by Crates, but it does go some way towards accounting for the remarkable freedom with which he, and other scholars, expounded the text.

Crates' great rival among literary critics was Aristarchus of Samothrace, who became chief librarian in Alexandria around 153 BC. Their differing approaches to a problem are well exemplified in a lengthy passage in the *Geography* of Strabo (1. 2. 24–28), where they are described as "the leading figures in this field of knowledge [sc. literary criticism]"; where Aristarchus is replying to an emendation of *Odyssey*, 1. 24 and a hypothesis of Crates about the Ethiopians; where Strabo dismisses the arguments of both as wrong (because, in his view, each has misunderstood what Homer is saying); and where Aristarchus, whose reading is the one found in standard texts today, is described as "also indulging in a petty and pointless discussion of the text"! Overall, one has the impression not so much of a clash of "schools" but of a personal rivalry between leading scholars, such as is still found today: they do, of course, agree on some things but disagree about much more.

Neither Crates nor Aristarchus was in any sense a narrow specialist and the passage just cited shows their interest in cosmology and geography. In Crates' case this led to what seems to have been a major innovation: according to Strabo (2. 5. 10), since the known, inhabited part of the world (that is, Eurasia and the northern portion of Africa) occupies but a small part of the total land mass of the globe, anyone who wishes to represent it accurately must make a large globe of the world (no less than 10 feet in diameter) "just like that of Crates".

There is another area, the study of the formal structure of language, where Crates and Aristarchus are contrasted in our sources. In Alexandria principles of regularity in the declension of nouns had been analysed and described, and to this principle the term *analogia* had been applied; by contrast, the Stoic Chrysippus had argued that words and the things they described frequently did not stand in any sort of harmonious relationship, and this situation he called *anomalia*, writing four books on the subject. By the time of Crates this area of study was being called *grammatike* (sc. *techne*), and Aulus Gellius tells us that "two distinguished Greek *grammatici*, Aristarchus and Crates, made a habit of defending with the utmost vigour, the former analogy, and the latter anomaly" (*Noctes Atticae*, 2. 25. 4). Obviously both ideas can be observed in declensions and conjugations; moreover, it was the Stoics in Crates' day who made the greatest contributions to the study of *grammatike*. It should, however, also be noted that Crates preferred to call himself *kritikos* (a critic), regarding criticism as "a master-science of language, comprising grammar, linguistics, and literary criticism" (Asmis 1992, p.139).

Finally, in his work *On Grammarians* Suetonius states that in his view, it was Crates of Mallus who introduced the study of grammar to Rome: during his embassy from Pergamum he had the misfortune to fall into a sewer opening and broke his leg, so that the public lectures and seminars that he had already been giving were continued into the period of his convalescence (*De Grammaticis*, 2). It is highly unlikely that Crates could have discussed grammar without at least some mention of basic Stoic ideas; accordingly, it may not be unreasonable to see in Crates one of those Greek philosophers who presented Stoicism, possibly in a somewhat simplified form, in Rome in a manner both accessible to, and welcome among, upper-class Romans – with enormous consequences for Roman conduct in the future.

In the 20th century our knowledge of Crates' activities and importance has been greatly enhanced by the work of H.J. Mette; some of his theories, however, especially the connection posited between the close scrutiny of anomaly and the ideas of the "empirical" school of medicine, remain controversial. More recently, E. Asmis, in an important and carefully argued paper analysing the discussion of Crates in book 5 of Philodemus' *On Poems*, has attempted to reconstruct Crates' theory of poetry; in addition, and more surprisingly, she concludes that he was not a Stoic philosopher, but as a "critic" simply adopted some Stoic principles and rejected others (p.161).

CHARLES L. MURISON

Biography

Born at Mallus in southeast Asia Minor *c.*215 BC, Crates seems to have moved to Pergamum from where he was sent on a mission to Rome in 169 BC. As a literary scholar he worked mostly on Homer and was the rival of Aristarchus of Samothrace. Suetonius says that he introduced the study of grammar to Rome. He took his linguistic principles from Stoic philosophy. His date and place of death are unknown.

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Crete

Aegean island

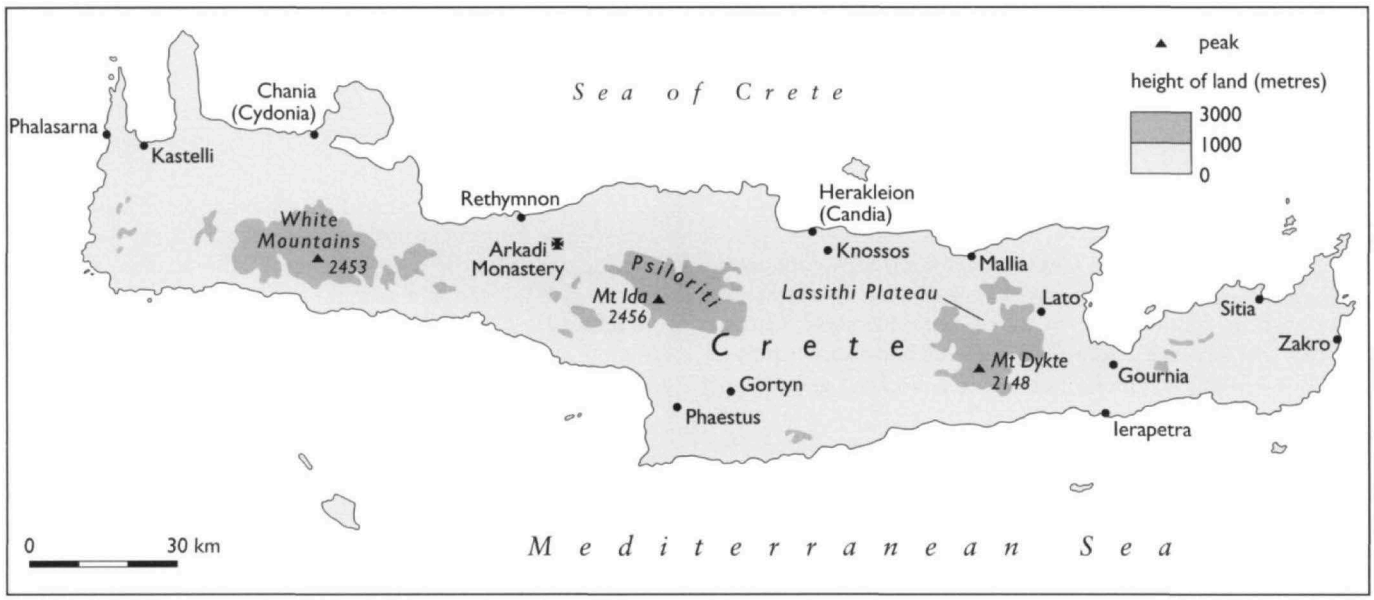
"Out in the dark blue sea lies a land called Crete, rich and lovely land, washed by the waves on every side, densely peopled and boasting ninety cities. Each of the several races of the isle has its own language. First there are the Achaeans; then the genuine Cretans, proud of their native stock; next the Cydonians; the Dorians with their three clans; and finally the noble Pelasgians. One of the ninety towns is a great city called Knossos, and there, for nine years, King Minos ruled, and enjoyed the friendship of almighty Zeus" (*Odyssey*, 19. 172ff., translated by E.V. Rieu). Thus Odysseus described this Aegean island which has often played an important and intriguing role in the history of the Hellenic world, especially in pre- and protohistoric times – a pre-eminence which may be partly reflected in the fact that Crete is the home of many famous Greek myths and legends, from the story of Zeus' birth in one of the island's numerous caves to Theseus' slaying of the Minotaur, Minos' stepson, a creature half man and half bull, the offspring of the union between the king's unfaithful wife, Pasiphae, and a handsome bull.

Crete is the largest Aegean island. It is approximately 250 km long and its width ranges from 58 km at its widest point, across the Psiloriti massif, to 12.5 km at its narrowest, across the isthmus of Ierapetra; it lies across the southern Aegean basin, between the southeast tip of the Peloponnese and the island of Cythera (to the west) and the Dodecanesian islands of Kasos, Karpathos, Rhodes, and the southwest coast of Turkey (to the east); the Libyan Sea separates it from the north coast of Africa (about 300 km to the south) while the Aegean Sea and the Cyclades lie to the north.

Crete is now divided into four "nomes" or prefectures grouped around the main urban centres of Herakleion, Chania (ancient Kydonia), Rethymnon, and Sitia. About 20 per cent of the present population (a little over 500,000) reside in Herakleion.

The wild, rugged, and varied landscape is largely dominated by chains of limestone mountains forming the island's backbone. The main ranges are the White Mountains (2453 m) in the west, Psiloriti or Mount Ida (2456 m) in the centre, and Lassithi or Mount Dykte (2148 m) in the centre-east. The smaller Sitia mountains lie at the eastern end of the island, beyond the isthmus of Ierapetra, and the Asterousia Mountains are situated in the centre-south, between the Mesara plain and the Libyan Sea.

Crete's main mountains slope more gently towards the north coast, where there are several small coastal plains, but the largest piece of flat land is the Mesara, in the centre of the island, on the south coast. A characteristic feature are the small



14. Crete

high upland plains, of which the best known are the Lassithi plateau, Nida (on Psiloriti), and Omalos (in the White Mountains), from which starts Samaria, the longest (17 km) and most spectacular of many gorges scarring the Cretan landscape.

There are few rivers, often reduced to little more than a trickle in the summer, such as the Kairatos near Herakleion, and the Ieropotamos in the Mesara, which is believed to have been partly navigable in antiquity. There is also one small freshwater lake, Kournas, a short distance inland from the north coast between the modern towns of Rethymnon and Chania.

Crete has been renowned since antiquity for its wild plants and flowers, of which over 100 are exclusive to the island. Among the fauna it is worth mentioning the wild goat (*agrimi* or *kri-kri*), often depicted in Minoan art and still surviving in the wild.

Crete is most famous for its long-lived Bronze Age civilization, called Minoan after the mythical king Minos, but the whole of the island's history is equally intriguing, as varied and rough as the landscape.

The earliest traces of human habitation go back to the Neolithic period (*c.* 7000–3500 BC). The first inhabitants were probably a small group of farmers from Anatolia, who crossed the Aegean Sea and settled at Knossos, sometime before the end of the 8th millennium BC. In the following millennia their first settlement expanded, more or less steadily, and from there groups of settlers spread to the rest of the island.

Knossos, the first as well as the largest Neolithic settlement on Crete, maintained its pre-eminence also during the following Bronze Age (*c.*3500–1100 BC), which saw the emergence and demise of the Minoan civilization. What language (or languages) the Minoans spoke is unknown, for their surviving documents were written in two scripts, known as Cretan Hieroglyphic (or Pictographic) and Linear A, which, so far, have not been convincingly deciphered: all one can say is that these scripts do not represent a form of Greek. (Indeed, a non-Greek language continued to be spoken in the east of Crete as late as the 3rd century BC, as shown by surviving inscriptions found at Praisos). The Minoans, however, had a significant and lasting influence on the population of the other Aegean islands and on the Greek-speaking population of mainland Greece, the Mycenaeans, before eventually succumbing to their power.

When exactly the Mycenaeans gained political supremacy in Crete is still a matter of debate, but most scholars believe that this may have happened towards the end of the Late Minoan IB period, that is around 1450 BC (low chronology) or 1550 BC (high chronology). That at some point during the second half of the 2nd millennium BC Mycenaean Greeks gained control in Crete is demonstrated by the Linear B tablets found by Sir Arthur Evans at Knossos at the beginning of the 20th century. Linear B, which is a development of Linear A, was deciphered as Greek by the British architect Michael Ventris in 1952.

Crete continued to flourish until the collapse of the Mycenaean palaces on mainland Greece (*c.*1200 BC), which heralded a period of insecurity and movements of people throughout the Aegean. In Crete this is indicated by the emergence, in the 12th century BC, of settlements on naturally defended high ground, such as Kastri, Vrokastro, and Karphi. The following period, the Early Iron Age (Geometric and Orientalizing periods, *c.*1100–700 BC) witnessed the gradual infiltration of a Dorian population as well as the emergence of the polis or Greek city state. The Dorians eventually came to dominate the island, building substantial cities, such as Lato and Dreros, often at war with each other. Throughout these changes, several Minoan cult places – such as the sanctuary at Syme, and the sacred Dyktean and Idean caves – continued to function as places of worship. Some of the finds from the Idean cave, namely the famous votive bronze shields with figurative relief, together with lively local pottery production, show that the island was one of the earliest centres in the Hellenic world to adopt the new orientalizing fashion. Crete is also the likely home of the Daidalic style of sculpture which had an important influence in the artistic development of the Archaic period throughout Greece.

In the Classical period Crete seems to have been relatively untouched by the momentous events occurring on the mainland and in the rest of the Aegean. Plato, however, admired Crete's ordered and conservative society, of which the famous inscription of the laws of Gortyn (dating from the first half of the 5th century BC) offers some picture; the Cretans also enjoyed a certain reputation in the Greek world at least as pirates and mercenary archers.

In the Hellenistic period Crete's advantageous position over sea routes brought new prosperity, despite the constant state of petty warfare among its city states, with Knossos, Lyttos, Gortyn, and Kydonia as the main contenders for supremacy.

Rome, after its conquest of mainland Greece in the mid-2nd century BC, became increasingly involved in Cretan affairs. In 68–66 BC Quintus Caecilius Metellus (who later gained the name of Creticus) led a successful expedition to conquer the island. Under Roman rule (67 BC–AD 330) the town of Gortyn became the capital of a province which also included Cyrenaica in north Africa. To judge from the abundance and type of settlements (e.g. isolated farmsteads reappeared for the first time since the Minoan age), this was one of the most prosperous periods for the island. Titus was sent by St Paul to spread Christianity, and he eventually became the island's patron saint.

The triumph of Christianity and the foundation of Constantinople in AD 330 mark the beginning of the early Byzantine era. In the division of the Roman empire in AD 395 Crete, naturally, was included in the eastern part and for centuries shared its fortunes. The island's wealth and stability during the early Byzantine period are reflected in the remains and sites of about 70 Christian basilicas, most dating from the mid-5th to mid-6th centuries AD. The most impressive example is that of Hagios Titos at Gortyn, while that of Vizari, in the Amari valley, is notable for it dates in the late 8th century, that is shortly before the Arab conquest of the island.

Crete had already been attacked by Arab raiders in 673 and 715, and in 824 fell into the hands of a group of Arab marauders based in Alexandria, but originally from Spain. Led by Abu-Hafs-Omar, they set up a fortified camp on the site of modern Herakleion, and surrounded it with a huge ditch – in Arabic el-Khandak, from which the name of Candia, frequently applied to both the town and the island until this century – was derived. Arab rule (824–961) lasted well over a century, but little has been recovered from this period.

Crete was recaptured by the Byzantine general Nikephoros Phokas in 961 and remained in Greek hands until 1204, when the Venetians gained control of the island, after negotiations following the Latin sack of Constantinople, and a brief war with rival Genoese forces. During the middle Byzantine period several basilicas were rebuilt and the Christian ruling class, the Archontopouli (Sons of Nobles), was drawn from 12 aristocratic families sent out from Constantinople.

Venetian administration (1204–1669) left many traces on the island, such as the impressive fortresses at Herakleion and Rethymnon as well as several other fine buildings. The Venetians, however, were unpopular masters, and their rule was punctuated by rebellions. The most serious was in 1363, when the Cretans declared the short-lived republic of St Titus. Throughout the period of Venetian rule, the Greek population maintained its links with Constantinople through language and religion, for the Venetians left the Orthodox Church virtually untouched. The Cretan Archontopouli remained strong and continued to build their own small churches and chapels. A fine example of 13th- and 14th-century wall painting survives in the church of Panagia Kera near the village of Kritsa.

With the Turkish capture of Constantinople in 1453, Crete became an important asylum and staging post for Greeks fleeing to the west. This brought new vitality to the cultural life of the island, creating a sort of Cretan Byzantine renaissance: monasteries such as Arkadi, Gonia, and Angarathos became notable centres of manuscript copying and learning, with Hagia Aikaterini in Herakleion gaining particular distinction in the 16th century.

This renewed intellectual atmosphere also produced interesting paintings, exemplified in the works of Mikhail Damaskinos and Domenikos Theotokopoulos (El Greco) as well as some literary efforts, of which the most notable is Vintsentzos Kornaros's long poem, the *Erotokritos* (probably written in the mid-17th century, but published in Venice in 1715).

Crete eventually succumbed to the Turks in 1669, when Candia (Herakleion) capitulated after a siege of over 20 years. Like their Venetian predecessors, the Turks were detested masters, and their period of rule (1669–1898) was marked by several insurrections, such as those of 1866, which ended with the blowing up of the Arkadi monastery, and of 1878, which inspired the powerful novel *Freedom and Death* by Nikos Kazantzakis (1883–1957), one of Crete's best-known writers. Further violent uprisings eventually forced the great powers to intervene, and in 1898 Crete was granted autonomous status under nominal Ottoman suzerainty, with prince George, the heir to the Greek throne, appointed as High Commissioner. Union with Greece seemed very close, but the island became part of the Greek state only in 1913, a few years after an ambitious lawyer from Chania, Eleftherios Venizelos, became Greece's Prime Minister.

During World War II, in 1941, Crete was invaded and briefly occupied by Germany, before being liberated by the Allied forces – the island's wild mountains and the fiery independent character of its inhabitants once again playing an important part in the organization of the resistance.

Today Crete is one of the most prosperous regions of Greece, thanks to greatly improved – and largely EU-subsidized – agriculture and tourism. Since the 1980s, however, this prosperity has also brought a massive amount of hideous building, which has ruined large tracts of land, especially on the north coast.

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See also Arabs, Dorians, Linear B, Minoans, Mycenaeans, Renaissance (Veneto-Cretan), Venetokratia

Summary

The largest Aegean island, Crete is best known for its Minoan civilization which flourished during the Bronze Age until overtaken by Mycenaeans *c.*1500–1200 BC. A backwater in the Classical period, Crete prospered again in the Hellenistic and Roman periods and was an early centre of Christianity. Held by Arabs from 824 to 961, then Byzantine again until 1204, it was a Venetian possession until 1669

enjoying a cultural flowering after 1453. After 230 years of Turkish rule Crete gained autonomy in 1898 and was united with Greece in 1913.

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Crimea

The Crimea is a lozenge-shaped peninsula roughly 250 × 150 km in size on the northern Black Sea. Successively known as the Tauric Chersonese, Gothia, and Khazaria, it served as the historic interface between the western Greek and northern "barbarian" worlds, represented in turn by Scythians and Mongols. As a sort of ethnic sump, the Crimea long retained communities of invaders, traders, and refugees who passed through: for example, it was a "Little Armenia" in the late Middle Ages, while fundamentalist Karaite Jews outlasted the last metropolitan of Gothia, who died in 1786. Even today the Crim-Tatars, who arrived in the 13th century, are making a notable come-back, only to find their home is in the Ukraine but full of Russians. Of all the Crimea's peoples, the Greeks have been, until recently, the most persistent.

Despite such ethnic diversity, the Crimean interface is marked precisely by geography and economy. A sharp mountain range, topped by high summer pastures, runs along the southeastern coast from Cherson (ancient Chersonesus), near modern Sebastopol, to Pantikapaion, near modern Kerch, on the Cimmerian Bosporus at the entrance to the Maiotic Sea of Azov. The mountains hem the sea to a coastal strip which with its high rainfall, viticulture, and fish pans attracted colonists from the south and west to trading and listening posts. Behind the mountains most of the Crimea is steppe: grazing land when in the hands of Scythian, Pecheneg, or Tatar pastoralists, but at other times rich enough to become in turn a granary of ancient Athens (reflected in Euripides' play *Iphigeneia in Tauris*, which puts the near-sacrifice of her brother Orestes at Fiolente near a place of commercial importance); a granary of Genoa from the 1270s to the closing of the Black Sea by the Ottomans in 1475 (when the Genoese colonial capital was at Caffa [Theodosia, Feodosiya which in the 1340s also exported both slaves and

the Black Death to the west); and finally in the 19th century when, just before the Crimean War, its grain won a gold medal in London at the Great Exhibition of 1851.

The Greek sequence begins with the meeting of Carian adventurers with Tauric Scythians long before the establishment of an Ionian colony at Cherson in the 6th century BC. As a self-consciously Greek entrepot and grain exporter, Cherson was especially prosperous in the Hellenistic, Roman, and early Byzantine periods and remained a pivotal and sometimes semi-autonomous place thereafter, depending on the relative influence of Constantinople and Bosporan, Khazar, and other powers. Pope Martin I (d. 655) and Emperor Justinian II (d.711) were exiled there, and after it became a 9th-century Byzantine theme, it played an essential part in the evangelization of Kievan Russia: by tradition Prince Vladimir I was baptized in Cherson in 988/9.

After 1204 centres of importance moved east. The Grand Komnenoi of Trebizond claimed the Byzantine inheritance in the Crimea in theory and were closely related to the Greek princes of Sts Theodores (Mangup) in practice, reviving the political links that were first established between the Crimea and the Pontus when Mithridates VI, king of Pontus, died old and in despair at Pantikapaeum in 63 BC. Italian merchants and missionaries revived most of the ancient Greek commercial colonies of the coast and traded with the Golden Horde, the last of the sequence of steppe powers. This period came to an end in 1475 when the Ottomans concluded their conquests of Constantinople (1453) and Trebizond (1461) by taking Caffa and Mangup and making tributary the Giray khans of Crim-Tatary, who governed from north of the mountain divide at Bahchesaray, near the Karaite centre at Chufut Kale and not far from Mangup. The Armenians moved on up the Danube.

After the Russian conquest of the Crimea from 1783 under Catherine the Great, ancient Greek colonies, Italian trading posts, and Tatar fishing villages entered a new lease of life: for example, Symbolon (Italian Cembalo) is today better known as Balaclava, Kalamita as Inkerman, and Yalita (Tatar Dzalita) as Yalta, a resort twinned with Margate in England, which has today resumed more ancient commercial ties with Sinope (Turkish Sinop). After 1783 Pontic Greeks began a further migration north to the new towns of Odessa, Mariupol, and Rostov. But in the Crimea excavations of the vast Classical sites, of Cherson and Pantikapaeum especially, begun in the 19th century, continue to yield evidence of a continuity of settlement and economy. Genoese Caffa awaits further serious investigation.

ANTHONY A.M. BRYER

Summary

First colonized by Greeks in the Archaic period when it was known as the Tauric Chersonese, the Crimea was important chiefly as a source of grain. It was especially prosperous in the Hellenistic, Roman, and Byzantine periods. Italian merchants moved in from 1204 to 1475 when it fell to the Ottomans. Greek contact was revived after the Russian conquest in 1783.

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Croatia

Today an independent South Slav state in the northwestern Balkans, Croatia emerged from the disintegration of Titoist Yugoslavia, within which it had constituted a federal republic until 1991. Croatia is properly regarded as the region that follows the state borders with Slovenia, Hungary, and Bosnia, is blocked off from the Adriatic coast by the mountains of Velika and Mala Kapela (Gvozd), and fuses to the southeast with the adjacent Slavonia – the region between the Drava and Sava rivers – into one natural but not always historical entity. Historically, from the 13th century onwards, the lands of Croatia proper were called Slavonia, while the name Croatia (and Dalmatia) designated the littoral region between the Gvozd mountains and the Adriatic.

In Roman times the region corresponded roughly to the lowlands of the province of Pannonia below the Drava river, which was named after its ancient inhabitants, the Paeones, a heterogenous Illyrian-Celtic tribe who succumbed to the Romans at the time of Octavian, in 35 BC. There emerged in time one of the two medieval Croatian principalities, namely Pannonian (Great or White) Croatia, after Croat settlers massively infiltrated this pagan area around the Drava and Sava rivers (Pannonia Savia) in the 6th and 7th centuries during the South Slavic migrations. In fact, Croatian infiltration and eventual establishment in the northwestern Balkan borderlands of Byzantium are believed to have been encouraged by the emperor Herakleios (610–41) who sought to use the Croats to contain Avar incursions. Because of the Slavonic descent of the settlers the region was to be called Slovinje and later Slavonia. Another branch of Croats was directed to and populated the Adriatic littoral, the so-called Coastal or Dalmatian Croatia extending along the seaboard from the Raša to the Cetina rivers. Its core area was the triangle formed by the towns of Šibenik, Nin, and Knin, where there gradually evolved a matrix Croatian state which, in the 10th century, was to unify the two principalities into a strong and expanded Croatian kingdom.

Like Dalmatia, Croatia proper occupied a position that formed a channel for both communication and confrontation between peoples and cultures, a factor of major significance for Croatian history. Situated astride the route to and from central Europe, and at the same time a natural continuation of the wide Pannonian plain, Croatia formed a part of a broader geopolitical entity. This exposed the Croats to foreign influences, and in particular directed their orientation towards the Roman/western sphere of culture; but it also left them vulnerable to the multifarious rivalries that developed in the Pannonian basin, and this explains why the Croats experienced difficulty in attaining lasting national statehood.

Initially allotted to the western half of the Roman empire, the lands later inhabited by the Croats were transferred to Constantinople following the collapse of the West in 476 in the wake of the Germanic invasions. Nevertheless, both the inland regions and the coastal Roman towns remained culturally attached to Rome. This cultural tradition proved sufficiently resilient to survive latently the disruption of Illyrian-Roman civilization brought about by the South Slavic colonization. In the Dalmatian towns, in particular, there still lived a large number of Romanized Illyrians who were vehicles of Latin

culture. Centuries later this heritage would prove an asset to Rome in preserving the universality of Latin Christianity in the Croatian lands in opposition to the Byzantine cultural influence promoted through the Slavic script and liturgy.

The first two centuries of the Croats' history after they settled in the Drava-Sava area are obscure – apparently a transitional period in which their social organization must have remained sketchy. At the end of the 8th century Charlemagne extended Frankish sway over Croatian Pannonia, but left it to be administered by local Croat dignitaries. At this time the Croats were won over to Christianity, and Charlemagne assigned their ecclesiastical jurisdiction to the Aquileia patriarchate. In this way the Franks became the harbingers of Latin Christian culture to pagan Croatian Pannonia.

Now for the first time all the Croat-inhabited lands (both Pannonian and Dalmatian Croatia) were brought together under Frankish suzerainty, a fact that produced nascent movements for a Croatian polity. In 819 prince Ljudevit, a Croat nobleman, gave expression to such aspirations in the revolt he led of Pannonian Croatians against the Franks; but his movement was defeated and Frankish control was restored. In the ensuing years Croatia experienced unrest generated by the Frankish–Bulgarian struggle in the Drava and Sava area. When the Frankish state was eventually divided by the Verden treaty of 843, inland Croatia was subordinated to the eastern state (Germany), which was soon plunged in internal feuds. Coastal Croatia, on the other hand, was annexed to the western state (Italy), achieving de facto independence in the second half of the 9th century.

Once more, a foreign presence induced the Croats to pursue a state organization of their own. This time it was the Magyars, whose massive arrival in the Pannonian plain placed the adjacent Croats under threat. The latter reached an accord with their kindred in Dalmatian Croatia under prince Tomislav (*c.*910–28) who, after he fought wars with the Magyars as well as the Bulgarians, effected the unification of inland and coastal Croats in the first Croatian state extending from the Drava to the Adriatic coast. A former ally of Byzantium in Dalmatia, Tomislav turned later to Rome, which in 925 acknowledged him as king – the first in Croatian history.

This was a crucial stage in the papacy's campaign to ensure the dominance of the Latin Church among the Croats. The Dalmatian towns always represented bastions of Latin culture, while the Pannonian Croats espoused Latin Christianity through Franco-German influence. But after 863, when Byzantium embarked on its mission to convert the Moravian Slavs to Christianity by means of the Slavonic language, the trend towards Slavonic liturgy (which meant that church services were conducted in the native language of the congregation and not in Latin) made inroads into the Croatian lands, especially among the common people. To suppress its appeal, the Latin bishops of the Dalmatian towns sought to extend inordinately the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the papal archbishopric of Split over the unified Croatian lands. This policy was pursued at the cost of the bishopric of Nin on the Croatian Adriatic which, under its bishop Gregory, represented the Slavonic-Croatian ecclesiastical movement. The mutual interests of the Croatian ruling elite and Rome effected the subordination of the Croatian lands to the spiritual jurisdiction of the archbishop of Split and the establishment of the Latin liturgy in Croatian churches. The Slavonic liturgy was banned (in fact it was marginalized in peripheral churches) and the bishopric of Nin was abolished. By these decisions, taken in two ecclesiastical synods in Split in 924 and 928, the Croats were placed firmly in the Roman-Latin cultural orbit.

Tomislav's successors struggled to sustain the Croatian state despite incipient Venetian antagonism on the eastern Adriatic. Croatia reached its height in the reign of king Petar Kresimir IV (1068–74) who annexed the Dalmatian towns as integral territory to his state, suppressing any residual Byzantine presence even as nominal overlord. In the ecclesiastical domain Kresimir, who had been brought up in Venice, encouraged an intensification of the role of the Latin in Croatia. As a result of new synods convened in Split (1060 and 1074) a purist campaign was launched by the Latin Church to discard any eastern elements in worship surviving from the earlier alternation of ecclesiastical authority between Constantinople and Rome over the Adriatic provinces. True, in the face of reactions among the people and the lower clergy, a more indulgent attitude was adopted following the synod of Split in 1079, and both the Church Slavonic language and the Glagolitic script (the first Slavonic alphabet devised by St Cyril) were permitted in central Dalmatia. In fact in some areas of Croatia the Glagolitic alphabet was adopted by Latin monks as a bulwark against surviving Greek Orthodox influences, to the point that it became known (falsely) as a Croatian script. Be that as it may, the final incorporation of the Croats into the Latin Church was a reality, and the Latin Christian faith became the vehicle of the Croats' accession to the culture of the western world.

In 1102, following a phase of instability, Croatia was united with Hungary in a "personal union", with the Hungarian king being separately crowned as king of Croatia too. Although this special coronation was omitted in the 13th century, the Croatian lands retained the status of annexed (*partes adnexae*) and not conquered lands (*partes subiugatae*). This settlement was to invite divergent interpretations as to the nature of the relationship between Hungary and Croatia, and the latitude of Croatian sovereignty it implied; the Croats, at any rate, never regarded this union as annulling the distinct status of their state.

Thenceforward Croatia was permanently removed from the Greek-Byzantine world, to which it had only briefly and half-heartedly subscribed. A brief restoration of Byzantine control in the mid-12th century over a large part of Croatia by the emperor Manuel I Komnenos was strictly a political episode with no cultural consequences. Following his death, Hungary acquired all the Byzantine possessions in Croatia and Dalmatia. There the Roman-Byzantine judicial tradition survived in the statutes of the coastal cities, which ensured their autonomy whether under Hungarian or Venetian rule. In modern times, from the early 18th to the mid-19th century, certain cities in Croatia (Zagreb, Karlovac, Osijek, and Slavonski Brod) accommodated some of the flourishing Greek colonies that were scattered in the ex-Yugoslav lands during Ottoman rule in Greece.

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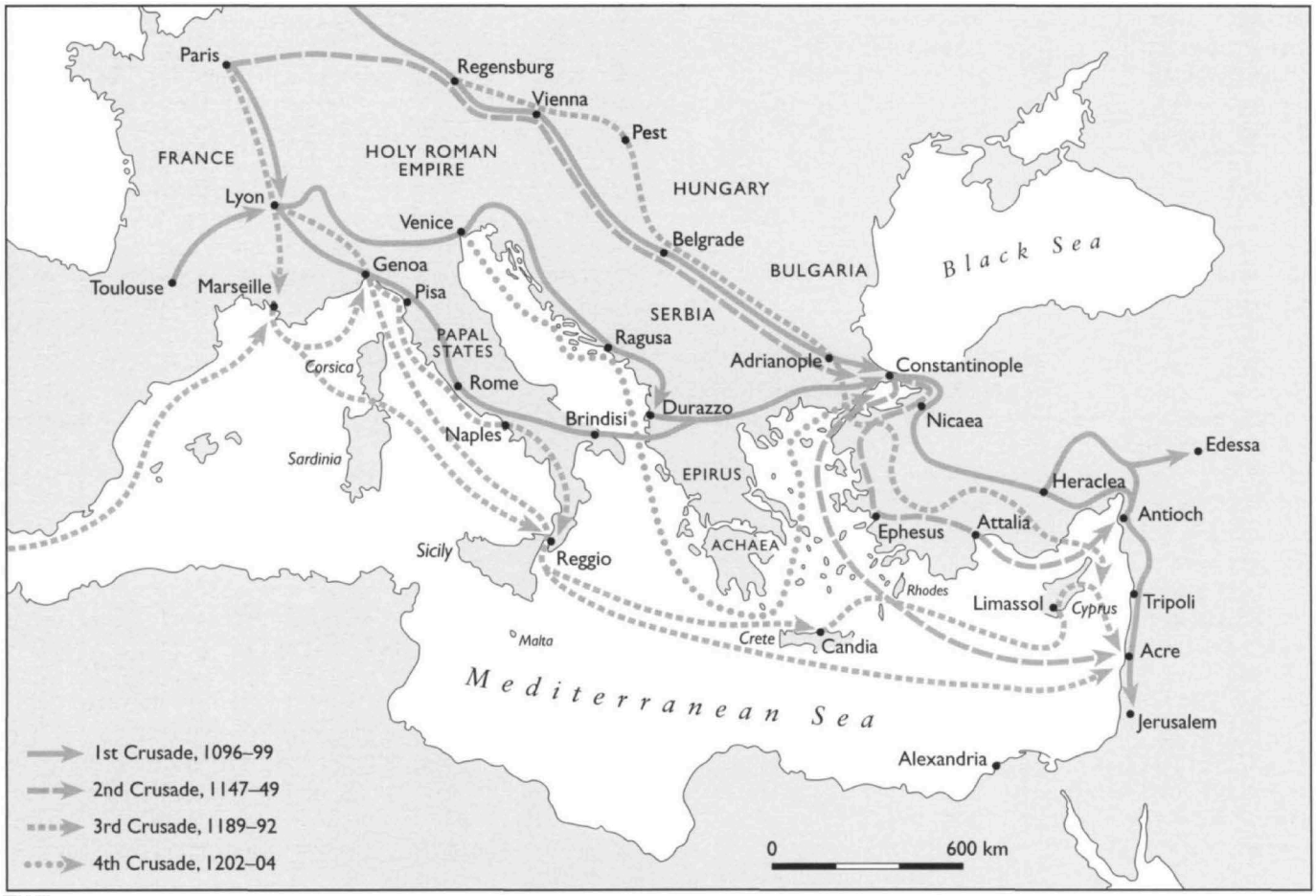
Crusades

The crusades were a military movement first launched by pope Urban II in 1095. They were directed against the enemies of the Church – initially the infidels who had occupied Jerusalem and were then threatening the Christians of the Byzantine empire. In conception the crusades were seen as a sort of armed pilgrimage undertaken at the behest of the pope and attracting certain privileges for participants, in the form of the protection of their family and property while they were away, and remission of their sins on the completion of their crusading vow. The response to Urban's appeal in the West was far beyond his expectations and reflects the heightened religious mood of the 11th century marked in part by increased pilgrim traffic following the millennium of Christ's birth. There was no

Crusades: Byzantine relief icon of the Archangel Michael, probably 11th century, looted by crusaders in 1204 and now in the Treasury of San Marco, Venice

one generally used term for crusading and for the crusader in the medieval period. By the early 13th century crusading had come to embrace expeditions directed not just to the recovery and defence of the Holy Land but also to the Iberian peninsula and northeastern Europe against heretics and schismatics and against other Christian lay powers dubbed the enemies of the popes. Quite when crusading came an to end is a matter for debate: the seizure of Malta from the Knights of St John by Napoleon in 1798 is a generally convenient terminal date, providing as it does seven centuries for the existence of the crusading movement.

With the coming of the crusades the period 1095–1204 witnessed the increasing presence of the Latins and their influence in the Greek east. As a result of the crusades in the 12th century knowledge and awareness of Byzantium were to be more widespread in the west and its wealth and commercial potential were to act as a lure to many. At the end of the 11th century the Byzantine empire was internally weak and surrounded by external enemies. The emperor Alexios I Komnenos (1081–1118) looked to the West for help and in that sense was responsible for bringing about the unhappy relations between Byzantium and the crusaders. There is no real evidence that he actually asked for a crusade. The letter written in Latin (not Greek) to Robert of Flanders stating that the empire was doomed if the faithful Latins did not help is almost certainly a forgery. The presence of Greek envoys at the



15. Routes of the first four crusades

Council of Piacenza on 1–7 March 1095 establishes that Alexios asked for help, but not what sort of help he wanted. On 27 November 1095 pope Urban II proclaimed the crusade at Clermont. What he actually said does not survive, but only garbled accounts written down from memory after the fall of Jerusalem which place the speech at the beginning of an inevitable process of triumph. It appears that Urban appealed for the relief of Christians in Palestine just as much as for the relief of eastern Christians within the former territories of Byzantium.

The West was already familiar with the idea of holy war or at least the idea of waging war with God's help, as is evident from the correspondence of pope Gregory VII (1073–85), the Norman invasion of England in 1066, and the case of El Cid in Spain. In many ways for the Greeks all wars were holy wars since they were fought in defence of the empire and for God's anointed, the emperor. It was the military aspect of the crusades that distinguished them from pilgrimages, and the idea of a penitential war-pilgrimage was something distinctly new in the late 11th century.

The crusaders had a mixed reception in Byzantine territory. In general, Byzantine organization stood up well to the demands for food made by these large contingents of crusaders passing through their territory. There were clashes brought about by hunger, the demands for markets, and cultural and linguistic differences. The Pecheneg cavalry, sent to escort some of the crusading contingents, often provoked a hostile reaction and villagers thought to be holding back much-needed food supplies or to be overcharging incited violence and plunder on the part of the crusaders. There was the baggage of history too to cope with. Anna Komnene reacts with suspicion and dislike of Bohemond, who just 10 years before had been campaigning in Thessaly against her father. For his part too he carefully stayed clear of areas with concentrations of Byzantine troops and was at pains to pick a route to the south and east of Durazzo that had not suffered from his depredation in 1085. In the hinterland of Constantinople Peter the Hermit's contingent, which arrived on 1 August 1097, reacted to food shortages by pillaging and, despite the friendly reception and advice that Alexios gave to Peter, he was relieved when this first army crossed over to Asia Minor. Nevertheless he sent a flotilla to rescue survivors of Peter's army after the disaster at Xerigordo. In December 1097 the troops with Godfrey of Bouillon ravaged the area around Adrianople in response to false rumours that numerous western leaders had been imprisoned by Alexios. There was suspicion and fear on both sides, which come through both in the pages of Anna Komnene and in western accounts of the crusade written after the capture of Jerusalem and in the perceived lack of support given to the cause by Alexios. The Greeks are stigmatized as treacherous and crafty, the westerners as untrustworthy, impulsive, violent, and rapacious.

At no time did Alexios seek to place himself at the head of this western army. Instead he persuaded the crusading leader-

ship to take an oath to return all cities and territories formerly in Byzantine hands, he offered advice on fighting the Turks, and he sent along his trusted general Tatikios (*fl.*1057–99) together with a small Byzantine force. Tatikios received the surrender of Nicaea in 1097. The events surrounding the siege revealed that western and Byzantine views of Islam differed markedly. The westerners had had little contact with Islam except in Spain and Sicily and their approach was based on ignorance and intolerance. Their crusading mission was to kill the enemies of God, while the Greeks kept their relations with Islam on a political level. All of this reinforced suspicion of the Byzantines in western eyes. Tatikios remained with the crusading army until February 1098 when during the siege of Antioch (December 1097–June 1098) he was forced to withdraw to Cyprus due to disagreements with Bohemond. In mid-June 1098 Alexios arrived at Philomelion in eastern Turkey with the intention, according to Anna, of marching to the assistance of the crusaders at Antioch. The distance between the two towns is more than 600 km and it is unlikely that this was the case. Western sources do not mention this intention and instead concentrate upon the treachery of Stephen of Blois and the other deserters from the camp at Antioch who are said to have spread false rumours of the crusader surrender to the Turks. The withdrawal of Tatikios and the non-appearance of Alexios at Antioch were conveniently taken by the crusading leadership to mean that their contract with Alexios made in Constantinople was at an end and that anything they conquered was their own. According to Anna, Alexios saw this failure of the crusaders to return Antioch as proof that the empire had gained nothing from the toil and expense of supporting the crusade. As a result the relations between Byzantium and the northernmost crusader states were uneasy. In 1108 (Treaty of Devol) Bohemond of Antioch swore allegiance to Alexios and acknowledged him as his suzerain. In 1158–59 the emperor Manuel I occupied Antioch and forced its ruler (Renaud de Chatillon) to acknowledge imperial overlordship and to accept an Orthodox patriarch. The relations between Byzantium and the other crusader states was far less clear cut.

The crusades of the 12th century were marked by western concerns to secure the route to Jerusalem by occupying the city of Constantinople. This concern surfaced early as Alexios was accused of sabotaging the crusade of 1101. In 1107–08 Bohemond launched an attack on Albania from Apulia; he captured Avlona and besieged Durazzo. Alexios blockaded Bohemond and forced him to agree to the Treaty of Devol (September 1108) by which Bohemond took an oath of vassalage for his principality of Antioch in western style and agreed to return to Italy. The Second crusade, called on 1 December 1145 as a response to the fall of Edessa the previous year, brought out into the open Byzantine fear of a crusader attack on Constantinople and the intention on the part of the crusading leadership to mount such an attack. The passage of the armies of both Conrad III and Louis VII had witnessed the usual tensions between Greeks and Latins. Manuel I had strengthened the defences of Constantinople. In September 1147 Conrad arrived at Constantinople ignoring Manuel's request that he bypass the city and cross over to Asia at Sestos. The two rulers never met, and it is said that Conrad eyed the defences of the city with interest with a view to returning the following year to capture it. He and his army moved off to Asia Minor, leaving room for the arrival of Louis VII in October. Again there were those in the French army who urged an attack on Constantinople either on their own or in alliance with Roger II of Sicily. Nothing came of these aggressive proposals, but they had been voiced. Roger II had declined to take the cross and during 1147 had captured the islands of Corfu and Cephalonia and sent raiding expeditions to attack Thebes, Corinth, and Euboea. Manuel had tried to raise German and French troops from the crusading armies at Constantinople to attack Roger, but without success.

In the run up to the Third crusade in 1188 Isaac Angelos was rumoured in the west to have received payment from Saladin to delay the crusading armies. This rumour may have played some part in the preference of both Philip Augustus and Richard I to go by sea to Palestine. Only Frederick I Barbarossa used the land route through Constantinople and his relations with the Byzantines led to serious fighting in Thrace and preliminary negotiations with the Hungarians and the Bulgarians to join in an attack on Constantinople. The re-establishment of the Bulgar kingdom in 1186 had damaged the Byzantine empire close to its capital. The breach between Byzantium and the west caused by Frederick Barbarossa was not healed, and the occupation of the city by westerners so that the approach to Jerusalem would be in reliable hands was now definitely on the agenda. The crusades had raised awareness of Byzantium and its wealth in the west, while at the same time Byzantium had lost much face in western eyes by its perceived treachery and its vacillation in the face of western aggression. The diversion of the Fourth crusade to Constantinople in July 1203 was in many ways the logical outcome of the crusading movement; the tensions and animosity had been there right from the start. The capture and sack of Constantinople on 12 April 1204 are generally regarded as the great tragedy of the Middle Ages because so many books and works of art were destroyed.

Following the Fourth crusade a number of crusader states were set up around the Aegean, nominally acknowledging the suzerainty of the Latin empire of Constantinople. Surrounded on all sides by hostile neighbours – Bulgarians, Greeks in Nicaea, and Greeks in Epirus – this empire had a short and threatened existence (1204–61). The papacy was prepared to issue crusading indulgences in defence of the empire both as a means of maintaining a secure avenue of approach for the recovery of the Holy Land and as a means of fostering Church union between the Greek and Latin communions, and this happened on numerous occasions between 1223 and 1320. Constantinople and the Aegean lacked the appeal of Jerusalem as a crusade destination and the response was poor except for those rulers such as the Montferrats and the Angevins with crucial political interests in the Latin empire.

During the latter part of the 14th century the advance of the Turks into the Balkans and the Aegean focused western attention on the defence of Constantinople as a bastion of western Europe itself in the face of Turkish attack. Despite scepticism in some quarters as to the efficacy of crusading, it still had much support and no shortage of new ideas both as to strategy and as to tactics. Alongside conventional land crusading such as the expeditions to Nicopolis (1396) and Varna (1444), there developed a variety of naval crusades such as the attacks on

Smyrna (1344), Lampsacus (1359), Alexandria (1365), Vonitsa (1378), Lepanto (1571), the continued resistance to the Ottomans mounted by the Knights of St John from their naval bases on Rhodes (1309–1523) and Malta (1530–1798), and the campaigns mounted by the Venetian Republic in the Aegean and Peloponnese down to 1718. Crusading as a movement and as an idea lasted for more than seven centuries and in each of those centuries left its mark on Greek lands: first in cooperation, then in opposition, and finally in defence. Indeed it is debatable just what role crusading ideology played in the philhellenism that recruited support for the Greeks in their War of Independence: perhaps the battle of Navarino on 20 October 1827 was the last naval crusade.

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See also Constantinople (Sack of), Normans

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Cult

This article deals exclusively with pagan antiquity, because the change in the nature of belief and ritual with the coming of Christianity was so marked that it would be misleading to treat any aspect of Christian practice as having developed out of a pagan forerunner. Within the context of ancient Greek religion, "cult" refers to the rites and ceremonies of worship.

Most of the evidence for cult activity concerns official, public, service to the gods (*latreia*, *therapeia*). Participation in communal worship was one of the responsibilities of the citizen: at his trial, Socrates attempted to defend himself against the charge of not believing in the gods of the state by pointing out that he had been sacrificing regularly at the common festivals and on public altars (Xenophon, *Apology*, 10–11; cf. Plato, *Apology*, 26c).

But already in the Classical period, not even mere presence at ceremonies could be enforced, and at Athens at least, recourse was made to the "theoric fund", which provided the working poor with compensation for lost income so that they could attend public festivals. During the Hellenistic period it was not uncommon to declare public holidays during festivals, when businesses shut and people were adjured to take part. Schoolboys were often required to participate by marching in sacral processions.

The purpose of ritual was manifold: to avert the wrath of the deity, to obtain her or his goodwill, above all to establish a rapport between god and worshipper. The forms – more or less strictly adhered to – were based where possible on Homeric precedent. Thus the sacrifice performed by Nestor in *Odyssey*, 30. 418–63 served as a model for full-scale public sacrifices throughout antiquity, just as Odysseus' visit to the underworld (*Odyssey*, 11. 23–50) was the model for the worship of heroes and other ground-dwelling deities. In this sense, of being mined for guidance to correct procedure, the Homeric poems were the nearest the Greeks came to having a "Bible".

Invocations of and prayer to the deity were less important in themselves than they were to worshippers in the Judeo-Christian traditions; rather, they were integrated into the central act of public worship, that is, the donation of gifts in the form of sacrifices or votive offerings.

Animal sacrifice is the most spectacular example of this transaction. It is a procedure that the ancient Greeks had in common with peoples of the Near East (well summarized by West). Depending on the nature of the deity, the animals sacrificed were entirely consumed by fire, or were shared as food by both gods and men. Sacrifices of the first kind (*sphagia*, *enagismata*) were made to heroes and gods who were believed to reside underground. Heroes were dead humans whose mortal remains were worshipped, usually at the place of their burial. The purpose of sacrifice in these cases was to rejuvenate and/or revive the heroes so that they might come to the aid of the worshippers. Heroes were usually bound to a restricted geographical area. The standard method of sacrifice was to lay a fire in a pit (*bothros*), slaughter the animal over it, catch the blood and pour it or other liquids into the ground at or near the "tomb", and burn the whole carcass up. The invocation of the spirit of Agamemnon in Aeschylus' *Choephori* (84–164) is a good example of the procedure, with, in this case, a liquid offering (*pelanos*) poured out at the tomb.

The status of hero was accorded to a wide variety of persons: distant ancestors, founders of colonies (oecists), figures from epic; but in many cases the names, if they ever had them, are unknown to us. Generally speaking, when a hero's parents were known, one was divine, the other mortal (usually the mother: Achilles is a noteworthy exception). Two such – Heracles and Asclepius – became famous well beyond their original spheres, and reached the status of hero-god.

Gods, particularly those whose conventional abode was on Mount Olympus, received *thysiai*, the sacrifice of parts of animals burned on a raised altar (*bomos*). Here the model is Hesiod, who tells the "just-so" story of how the Titan Prometheus – a friend to mankind – duped all-knowing Zeus into accepting as his share of the sacrifice the fat and bones of the beast, leaving the edible meat and hide to man (*Theogony*, 538–42). In this kind of sacrifice the animal is consumed jointly by god and worshipper alike, and usually within the sanctuary itself. The valuable hides normally formed one of the perquisites of the priest.

Sacrifices often, but by no means always, took place within the context of a formal festival. There were also bloodless offerings, often occasional, such as the first fruits, and objects (ranging from items of clothing or armour to full-sized statues) symbolizing the dedicator or their achievements, offered as gifts. Some were thank-offerings for favours received (good crops, successful delivery from life's crises, such as illness or war); others were supplicatory.

The rituals of the cult were performed by "doers of sacred acts", *hiereis*, a term usually translated as "priests", which is misleading to us, because these people were functionaries rather than members of a discrete caste, the only exceptions being those officiants who introduced initiates into various mysteries, and who usually belonged to a hereditary priesthood. But even they were not set apart from their fellow citizens, except in the actual performance of their duties: for example, Callias son of Hipponicus, torchbearer of the Eleusinian mysteries and one of the richest men in Athens in the 5th century BC, negotiated the peace settlement with Persia that bears his name. Even the transmitters of the god's will at oracular sanctuaries were not priestly in our sense. Occasionally a priesthood might be restricted to a man or woman of a certain age, whose term of office might be measured in lifetimes. Most often, however, priesthoods were annual magistracies like any other.

Cult activity normally took place in a sanctuary, an area cut off (*temenos*) from the secular world and consecrated to the deity involved (*hieron temenos*, conventionally abbreviated to *hieron*). The seclusion could be marked by a wall or a series of boundary stones. It was rare for a sanctuary to be deconsecrated (there are examples in Greek settlements in Italy). The only essential feature was a space where people could gather. Most sanctuaries had an altar for the sacrifice, and many, but not all, had a structure, the temple (*naos*, dwelling place) to house the cult image and objects dedicated to the god. The sanctuary might also include semisecular structures, such as dining rooms for the consumption of the sacrificial meals. The cult image itself represented the god as his or her proxy: the Greeks were well aware of the fact that their gods were not to be tied to any one place, and that they would favour now one, then another.

Most public cults were open to all comers. Some, however, limited their clientele depending on the nature of the ritual. The Thesmophoria, for example, were restricted to women, while some sanctuaries of Heracles barred women altogether. Mystery cults, after initial screening for ritual purity, accepted almost anybody, but the central rites themselves remained a close secret known only to initiates. It is a measure of the respect in which the ancient Hellenes held their gods that to this day we know almost nothing about these rites. This is a salutary lesson to anyone who may think that the ancient Hellenes were not serious and pious believers.

ALBERT SCHACHTER

See also Religion, Sacrifice, Sanctuaries

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Cyclades

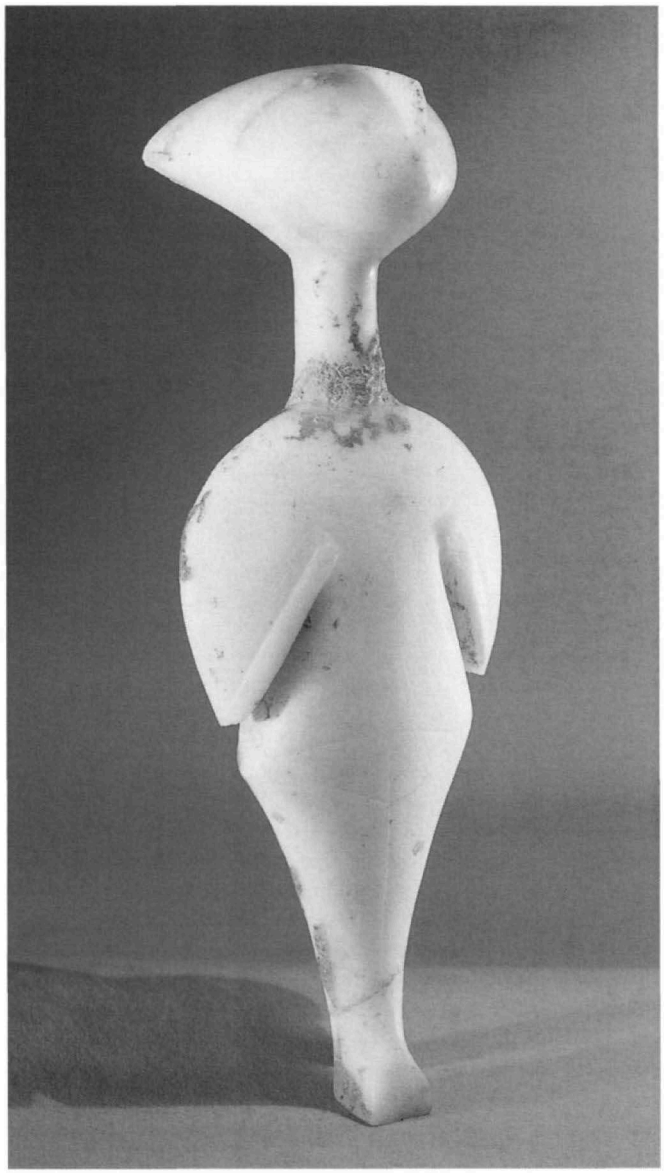
The Cyclades were named from their clustering in a rough circle round the ancient sacred island of Delos. In antiquity 12 to 15 islands were counted as part of the group. In the modern *nomos* (prefecture) there are a total of about 30 islands and islets, with the capital on Syros. The name is used in Byzantine sources with a quite different significance (see below).

Throughout prehistory people were drawn through the Cyclades, to Melos, at the southwest of the group, in quest of obsidian – a dark volcanic glass that was highly valued for cutting edges for tools and weapons. In the Early Bronze Age (mid-4th to late 3rd millennium BC), the culture of the Cyclades was distinct from that of the rest of the Aegean. During the ascendancy of the Minoan and Mycenaean palaces (2nd millennium BC), the islands shared in their cultures and were probably subject to their authority. The Cyclades were presumably part of the "Thalassocracy of Minos" mentioned by Thucydides. Their main contribution to Aegean culture of the time may have been as middlemen and experienced seafarers.

During the period of movement and change which followed the decay of Mycenaean civilization (11th century BC) new settlers arrived, mainly from Ionia (the coast of Asia Minor), but also from mainland Greece. Several of the communities which they founded then and in the following centuries grew into important centres. In the Archaic and Classical periods Naxos and Paros played important parts in the development of monumental architecture and sculpture, and various islands (Mykonos, Melos, Thera) had their own distinctive styles of pottery decoration. Several islands (Naxos, Paros, Thera, etc.) were active in the colonial movement and thus in the spread of Greek culture, especially to Italy and Sicily.

In the Persian Wars they were at first overrun by the enemy. Subsequently they joined the Delian League and became subject to Athenian control. In the late-Classical and Hellenistic periods they were controlled by the Macedonians and the Ptolemies, then by Rhodes, and finally the Romans.

From the Archaic period, or possibly earlier, the important sanctuary of Apollo on Delos drew people and wealth into the Cyclades. In Hellenistic and Roman times the island also



Cyclades: a "star-gazer" figure of the Louros type, made by people of the Grotta-Pylos culture, *c.*2800-2700 BC, private collection

became an important commercial centre, further stimulating activity in the area.

The remains of early Christian basilicas show that Christianity had taken hold in the Cyclades between the 4th and 6th centuries AD. In the early years of the Byzantine empire the Cyclades suffered at the hands of raiders from both east (Arabs) and west (Slavs etc.). Later they were divided between different areas of the Byzantine military command. At one time they belonged to a Province of the Islands. In the late 11th century the theme of the Cyclades included such islands as Ikaria and Karpathos not normally thought of as part of the group. In the 12th century Naxos may have been the base of a province called the "Dodecanese". Church construction suggests renewed prosperity at this time.

Following the establishment of the Latin empire at Constantinople in AD 1204, the Cycladic islands were assigned to Venice and by it to individual families, resulting in the establishment of local island or regional dynasties. Their castles and strongholds can still be seen on many islands. During the following centuries some of the local population became Catholic, and Catholic communities still flourish on some islands (e.g. Tinos, Syros) and survive on others (e.g. Naxos). Contacts have been maintained with western European Catholic countries. Naxos became an educational centre in the 17th century, when a French school and an Ursuline convent were founded. Earlier western connections were initially the result of the trading activities of the Italian maritime states in the Aegean; later, Greek traders were resident in Ancona (early 16th century). The islands were torn by the Veneto-Genoese wars in the 13th and 14th centuries and, ravaged by pirates, were depopulated in the 15th century.

After the fall of Constantinople in 1453 the islands were gradually (Tinos not until 1714) taken over by the Turks, who did not much interfere, though they levied taxes which were sometimes high.

In the 17th century the sanctuaries on Delos, Melos, and other places were looted of antiquities by English adventurers including the agents of Charles I and of Lord Arundel – a process which began the establishment of substantial collections of Greek antiquities in foreign countries. After 1770 some of the islands were annexed by Russia in the course of its war with Turkey.

After the Greek wars of independence, in which the islanders played their part, Syros became an important commercial centre (1829). Its capital Ermoupolis was founded by refugees and endowed with extraordinarily fine public buildings and houses for an island town. One sign of the wide external contacts is the Syrian commemorative plates (Syriana) which were manufactured in Britain for the island market in the 19th century. Other evidence of the commercial importance of the islands comes from Melos whose pilots had a high reputation, going back at least to the 16th century, and where there were resident consuls in the 19th century. One, the Frenchman Louis Brest, was responsible for the removal of the Venus di Milo to the Louvre.

After the discovery of the famous icon on Tinos in 1822 the island, and thus to some extent that part of the Cyclades, became one of the most important focuses for pilgrimage in the Greek Orthodox world.

In the 19th century travelling potters from the island of Siphnos operated throughout Greece: some settled in Athens (Maroussi). Many other islanders emigrated to Athens, attracted by work available in the new capital. The quarter of Anaphiotika, high on the slopes of the Acropolis, takes its name from settlement by people from the island of Anaphi, and other Athenian street names bear witness to migration, both then and later.

Since the Cyclades were hardly more than an artificial grouping, their contribution to the Greek tradition lies rather in the special circumstances which prevailed on specific individual islands from time to time, and the extent to which they were subjected to similar political or economic pressures because of their geographical situation. Thus, in the Bronze Age many of them were on trade routes between the mainland and Crete (and further south and east) and Melos was visited for its obsidian products. In the Dark Ages they provided secure refuges for the establishment of refugee communities.

Their natural affinity with the sea and interest in commerce and foreign settlement to augment their meagre resources chimed in with the preoccupations of other Greek states in the Archaic period. In later antiquity they shared in the fortunes of the wider Aegean. The presence of the Italian dynasties has left its mark on the Cyclades, not only in defensive fortification, but also in helping to establish Catholicism as the religion of a significant number of the local population. Pilgrims have been attracted to the area in antiquity by the sanctuary of Apollo on Delos, in modern times by the icon of the Virgin on Tinos.

ROBIN L.N. BARBER

Summary

Group of originally 12 to 15 islands that encircled Delos, the modern province includes about 30 islands and has its capital on Syros. Obsidian on Melos attracted visitors throughout prehistory. Part of the Delian League after the Persian Wars. Commercially important in the Hellenistic and Roman periods. Assigned to Venice after 1204 when some islands became (and remain) largely Catholic. Tinos is a major centre of pilgrimage today.

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Cynics

The epithet "Cynic" ("doglike") was first applied to Diogenes of Sinope (?403–?321 BC), as a comment on the shamelessness with which he engaged in acts that were abhorred by other Greeks. Diogenes pursued a life of unqualified self-sufficiency, with only a barrel for warmth and a club for protection, styling himself a cosmopolitan or "citizen of the world". Arguing that actions which are based on natural impulses can never be unnatural, he defended even cannibalism and incest, and practised sexual intercourse in public. Freedom of action and freedom of speech were his watchwords, and he believed that he had found a way to make these common to everyone, not merely to the holders of civic privilege. It is said that when Alexander the Great, admiring his fortitude, asked if he could do anything for Diogenes, the latter asked him simply to "stand out of my way, because you are blocking the sun". Plato too was a victim of his calculated insolence, and the lost *Republic* attributed to him was evidently a riposte to Plato's dialogue of that title. For all that, Diogenes was regarded by many ancient writers not as a pure innovator, but as a "Socrates gone mad". The bridge between the ascetic of the 5th century and the fanatic of the 4th was Socrates' pupil Antisthenes (*fl.*400 BC), who held up self-denial as the chief principle of the philosophic life. Though never called a Cynic in his lifetime, he was regarded by some later commentators as the true founder of the school.

Most notable of Diogenes' early followers was Crates of Thebes (*c.*368–288 BC), who differed from other Cynics in his willingness to curtail his freedom by marriage; he and his wife Hipparchia are reported nonetheless to have shared Diogenes' indifference to prevailing sexual customs. Crates was for a time the teacher of Zeno, who is usually regarded as the founder of the Stoics. While the Stoics could not condone the licentiousness of Diogenes and Crates, there were some, like the slave Epictetus (*fl.*AD 100), who represented the better kind of Cynic as an imitator of Heracles and a model of virtuous living. Epictetus is one of many moralists who adopted the homely and trenchant style of the Cynic diatribe. This form was devised to bring philosophy to the masses by Bion of Borysthenes, who taught around 315 BC in Athens, and does not seem to have adhered uniquely to any sect. In his ethics, which was the whole of his philosophy, he reduced all goods to pleasure and all knowledge to sense-perception in the manner of another Socratic school, the Cyrenaics; while he looked back to a golden age of virtuous frugality in which each man was his own governor, he did not dispute the present rights of kings. The diatribe was adapted to new purposes in the pseudo-Platonic *Clitophon*, the *Hermetica* (Treatise 7), and above all in the polished works of the orator Dio of Prusa (Dio Chryososstom, 1st century AD), who composed fictitious speeches for Diogenes and Socrates, but reserved his most obsequious and eloquent precepts for the emperor Trajan.

Another form which the Cynics bequeathed to literature is the medley of prose and poetry known as Menippean satire, named after its originator Menippus of Gadara (3rd century BC). Its most prolific exponent was probably Oenomaus, a Hellenized Jew of Gadara (*fl.* AD 120), whose works, like those of his fellow townsman, have not survived in any quantity. Menippus, however, figures frequently in the dialogues of the 2nd-century satirist Lucian. Famous for his ridicule of philosophers, society, and the gods, Lucian repudiates the more disgusting habits of the Cynics while expressing admiration for their ideals. Nevertheless, when others praised the sacrifice of Proteus Peregrinus, who threw himself on a pyre of his own construction at the Olympic Games of AD 169, Lucian denied that he could be called a second Heracles or even a genuine Cynic; he undertook to demonstrate instead that he was a renegade from the Church.

Though Lucian need not be believed, the hypothesis that Jesus was a Cynic has been entertained by a number of recent scholars, especially those who hold that the common source of

Luke and Matthew ("Q") is the most authentic record of his teaching. Evidence is found in the aphoristic sayings of Jesus (reminiscent of Diogenes and Lucian's teacher Demonax), and the poverty of his disciples, who carried only a staff and a wallet in their mission to the Galilaean cities. It must, however, be emphasized that Cynics worked no miracles, did not live in communities, did not commend humility, and (whatever they thought of kings) never promised anyone a kingdom. The manner of Jesus is evidently different from that of Paul, yet it has been maintained that the latter was indebted to the diatribe as a model for his letters. The arguments for this position, while copious and occasionally impressive, are always vitiated by the difficulty of determining what ought to count as a specimen of the form.

Popular opinion in antiquity, noting that Christians held aloof from sacrifice and occasionally from marriage, appears to have equated them with Cynics and to have suspected them of similar or worse atrocities. Perhaps it was the desire to maintain a distance that led Justin Martyr into his fatal feud with the Cynic Crescens; yet Tatian's pupil Justin has been suspected of adopting Cynic tenets when he founded a community of "encratites", who eschewed both meat and sexual intercourse. In fact, though some later Cynics may have practised vegetarianism, the dietetic axiom of Diogenes and Menippus was that nothing is forbidden; and when Cynics avoided marriage, it was only because they wished to maintain the right to promiscuity. When Christian writers speak of Peregrinus as a paradigm of fortitude, it is not because they regard him as a Christian; and even if the dirtiness and illiteracy of Christian monks reminded pagan observers of the Cynics, their cenobitic lifestyle and the worship of God were practices which that antisocial movement could not share. It was the emperor Julian "the Apostate" who proposed the loftiest interpretation of Cynicism, arguing that the vices of Diogenes concealed a profound critique of human laws (*Orations*, 6–7). The Church itself did little to foster the sect, which disappeared in the 6th century AD. As its legacy to Greek culture it left the adjective "cosmopolitan" (adopted by the Stoics and applied to Abraham by Philo, the Jewish precursor of Christian allegory), and the works of Dio and Lucian, the latter of whom can still be read for amusement, as well as for the elegance of his style.

MARK EDWARDS

Biography

Cynics were followers of Diogenes of Sinope (?403–?321 BC) who was called *kyon* ("dog") for his rejection of social conventions, though some regarded Antisthenes (*fl.*400 BC) as the true founder of the school. Diogenes' most notable successor was Crates of Thebes. The sect survived until the 6th century AD.

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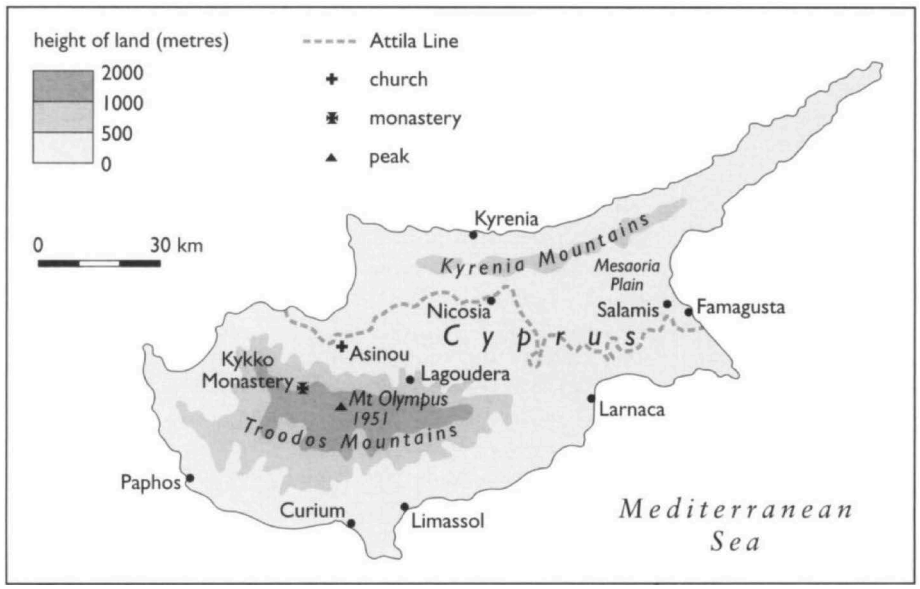
Cyprus

The island of Cyprus is the third largest in the Mediterranean and lies in its northeastern corner, just 70 km from the Turkish coast to the north and 103 km from Syria to the east. The nearest Greek island is Castellorizo, 270 km to the west, followed by Rhodes at 386 km to the west. Cyprus itself has a maximum length from east to west of 222 km, and a maximum width of 95 km. Geographically, it is dominated by the igneous Troodos mountain range in the centre of the island, rising to a height of 1951 m at the pineclad Mount Olympus, and by the long Kyrenia (or Pentadaktylos) range stretching along the north coast. Between them and extending to the east coast is the fertile Mesaoria plain. The west and northwest areas of the island are mountainous and often rugged; the south and east coasts depend on the rivers coming down from the Troodos mountains; the coastal plains in the north are fertile and well watered. The climate is semi-arid, and throughout its history human settlement has been heavily influenced by the need for water.

The first contacts with the Aegean world date from the Middle Bronze Age (*c.*2000–1600 BC), with a series of vases imported from Crete, mostly found in tombs along the north coast. The first large-scale contacts came during the Late Bronze Age (*c.*1600–1050 BC). During much of this period Cyprus had a complex urban civilization based on agriculture and copper production, with extensive trade links throughout the eastern Mediterranean. Important cities such as Enkomi on the east coast and Hala Sultan Tekke and Citium on the south coast near Larnaca clearly controlled large parts of the island both economically and politically, and one or more of them seems to have been the "Alashiya" mentioned in Near Eastern texts. The Cypro-Minoan script of this period, so-called because of its apparent similarities to Linear A on Crete, was probably used for bureaucratic purposes in large administrative buildings in the main cities. Although it has not been deciphered, it is clearly not Greek.

During the 14th century BC there was a great increase in the amount of Aegean pottery coming to Cyprus, mostly from Mycenae, and by the 13th century BC Mycenaean-style pottery was being manufactured on Cyprus. Pottery alone is insufficient evidence for the arrival of a Greek-speaking population on the island, but it is abundantly clear that by the Iron Age most Cypriots were speaking a dialect of Greek. The most plausible occasion for this demographic change is in the upheavals of the 13th and 12th centuries BC, when the "Sea Peoples", migrants and refugees from the west, were travelling, raiding, and settling across the eastern Mediterranean. The first known Greek inscription in Cyprus was found in an 11th-century BC tomb in Palaipaphos in the west, a bronze spit with the name "Opheltes". Although clearly a Greek name, and using a grammatical form characteristic of the Arcadian dialect of Greek, this is written in the Cypriot syllabary, a development of the Cypro-Minoan script adapted for the use of the Cypriot dialect of Greek.

The earlier part of the Iron Age (*c.*1050–475 BC) seems to have been characterized by a low population and simple social structure. In the 8th century BC the characteristic city kingdoms began to develop, with local elites maintaining their power using elaborate ceremonial and luxury goods imported from



16. Cyprus

the east. During this period there is an increasing number of inscriptions in Greek, written in the Cypriot syllabic script. This culminated in the 6th century BC, when a significant number of people were literate enough to write names on tombstones or dedications at sanctuaries. At the same time there was a considerable increase in imported pottery from Greece, particularly from east Greece and Athens, and Greek styles of sculpture had a strong influence on local Cypriot traditions, as seen in the many dedications in rural and urban sanctuaries.

From the beginning of the 5th century BC Cyprus appears regularly in the Greek written sources. We have an account in the pages of Herodotus about the participation of most Cypriot cities in the Ionian Revolt against the Persians in 499 BC, though they were retaken by the Persians in the following year. In political terms the 5th and 4th centuries BC were largely taken up with struggles against the Persians. The Athenian general Cimon led an expedition to Cyprus in 450 BC, but he died the next year, and his forces, after failing to take Salamis, returned home. A local player who acquired major influence in these power games was Evagoras I, king of Salamis from 411 to 374/73 BC, whose reign was vividly though uncritically described by his eulogist, the Athenian orator Isocrates. Resolutely pro-Athenian, he used his political and diplomatic skills to resist the Persians, increase his own power over the other city kingdoms of Cyprus, and disseminate Athenian art and culture. It was during his reign that the Greek alphabet began to displace the ancient Cypriot syllabary.

When Alexander the Great laid siege to Tyre in 332 BC, he was aided by 120 Cypriot ships, and although he never actually came to Cyprus, he made it clear that he was the island's master by issuing coins in his own name. At his death in 323 BC Cyprus, like most of his empire, was fought over by his successors, particularly Ptolemy and Antigonus. The city kingdoms aligned themselves on each side of the dispute; when Ptolemy sent an expedition there in 312 BC, the cities that had opposed him were punished and, in the case of Marion, destroyed. From this time until the Roman annexation in 58 BC, apart from one brief interlude, Cyprus was part of the Hellenistic empire of the Ptolemies of Egypt, sharing in the common Greek civilization and culture of the eastern Mediterranean.

Cyprus was annexed by the Romans in 58 BC, ostensibly because of the island's support of pirates. After being restored to Cleopatra of Egypt, it was taken by the future emperor Augustus in 31 BC, and transferred to the Senate in 22 BC. Apart from the Jewish insurrection in AD 116 and several earthquakes, this was a peaceful period in the island's history. The cities of the island boasted the usual trappings of the Roman provinces of the Hellenized east: bath houses, theatres, gymnasiums, temples, villas, honorific statues, inscriptions in Greek, and also local elites who benefited greatly from their role in the Roman administration of the province. In the countryside there was a considerable population, which supported itself through agriculture and produced wine, olive oil, flax, timber, and copper in sufficient quantities for export. Most famous of the works of art of the Roman period are the mosaics from villas in Paphos and Curium, which depict a wide variety of scenes from Greek mythology.

In AD 45 St Paul and the Cypriot St Barnabas visited the island, and according to the Acts of the Apostles they converted the Roman governor in Paphos. There was little sign of the spread of Christianity in the island until the 4th and 5th centuries, when considerable numbers of basilican churches were built in towns and cities across the island, and Cypriot bishops attended the great ecumenical councils and synods at Nicaea and elsewhere. The long campaign by the Cypriot Church to be independent from the patriarchate of Antioch was finally won in 488, when the remains of St Barnabas were discovered near Salamis and as a result the emperor Zeno gave the archbishop of Cyprus full autonomy. Treasures such as the 6th-century mosaics from the church of Panagia Kanakaria and the 6th- and early 7th-century gold and silver vessels from Lambousa bear witness to a rich artistic tradition during this period.

The large population and rich culture of the early Byzantine period were interrupted by the Arab invasions, which began in 649. For more than three centuries Cyprus existed uneasily under a condominium of the Byzantine emperor and the Arab caliph. Conditions improved in 965 when the island was reoccupied by the emperor Nikephoros Phokas, and during the 12th and 13th centuries there was an increase in population and a flowering of Byzantine ecclesiastical art and architecture. The frescos of mountain churches such as that of Panagia tou Arakou at Lagoudera (*c.*1192) are as fine as any in the Greek Orthodox world.

The political status of Cyprus changed abruptly in 1191. When part of the fleet of Richard I of England, on his way to the Third Crusade, was blown off course, it landed in Limassol and was opposed by the semi-independent ruler, Isaac Komnenos. When Richard himself arrived, he postponed his

crusade for long enough to campaign against Isaac, who finally surrendered later in the year. Because of the expenses of the crusade, Richard attempted to sell Cyprus to the Knights Templar for 100,000 byzants, but in spite of their oppression of the local people the knights could not raise this sum. Richard repossessed the island in 1192 and gave it Guy of Lusignan, the recently ousted king of Jerusalem. So began a period of Frankish rule that lasted for almost 300 years.

Cyprus under Lusignan rule was organized in a classic feudal system. Land was owned either by the state or by Frankish feudal barons. The Greek subjects were divided into serfs, those who paid an extra annual tax to give themselves a modicum of independence, and those who held their land by free tenure. Serfs had to pay a tithe usually amounting to a third of their produce and a heavy poll tax, and owed two days of forced labour a week. For most Greek Cypriots under Lusignan rule life was a matter of hard and unrewarded agricultural labour. The Orthodox Church fared little better. In 1196 a Latin archbishopric and three bishoprics were established, fully endowed with land and tithes from the Greek subjects, and before 1220 no Orthodox prelates were permitted at all. According to the *Bulla Cypria* of 1260, the Orthodox archbishop and bishops were made formally subordinate to their Latin equivalents.

A slight improvement in general conditions for the Greek populace of Cyprus came in 1432 with the accession of John II, whose wife Eleni Palaiologina was the daughter of the despot of the Morea in the Peloponnese. For all her severity towards her husband (and his mistress) she was a strong supporter of the Orthodox Church and the Greek language in Cyprus, and it was during the 15th century that the use of Greek spread to the upper classes as well as the peasantry. John II's daughter and successor, Charlotte, was another Greek-speaker, but in the characteristic machinations of the period she was usurped by her father's bastard son James II. James was succeeded by his Venetian wife Caterina Cornaro, who in spite of her liking for the people of the island was unable to resist the power and greed of her compatriots, and in 1489 she was forced to abdicate in favour of the Venetians.

Conditions under Venetian rule were, if anything, worse than before, since Cyprus was now merely a distant province of the imperial city. Venice's main interest was to increase its own wealth, both that of the state and of its aristocratic families, by means of heavy taxation, the control of monopolies such as salt, and large estates producing crops such as sugar for export. An uprising in 1562 was led by two Greeks, a teacher and a cavalry officer, and supported by many local noblemen, but was betrayed and its leaders executed. The protests by the Greek populace following this demonstrated the widespread antipathy to Venetian rule. Only the Orthodox Church fared better during this period, and apart from its low revenues it had more equable relations with the Latin Church. Clear western influences can be seen in the Orthodox Church architecture and icon painting of the period.

The Venetians' lack of interest in developing and protecting the island meant that defences against the growing Ottoman threat were begun too late, and it was only in 1567 that work was started on the fortifications of Nicosia and Famagusta. In 1570 the Ottoman sultan Selim II demanded that the Venetians cede Cyprus to him; the Venetians naturally refused, but their relief expedition never reached the island. The Ottomans landed in July, and took Nicosia in September after a six-week siege. Famagusta held out for longer, but finally fell in August 1571, its defenders starving and vastly outnumbered. The Venetian officers were massacred, and their commander, Marcantonio Bragadino, was flayed alive.

In many ways Ottoman rule was a welcome relief to the Greek Cypriots. Taxation was reduced and rationalized, with tithes being set at one-fifth and forced labour reduced. With the expulsion of all Frankish Catholics, the Orthodox Church was reinstated as the principal Church of the island. Under the Ottoman *millet* (community) system, it was responsible to the authorities for the political control of the Orthodox Greeks, as well as for the extraction of taxes from them. This gave the archbishop and his prelates genuine power, particularly since they could appeal to Constantinople over the head of the Ottoman governor. By the 18th century the Greek *dragoman* or "interpreter" who managed the administration of the Greek *millet* was often a rich and powerful figure in his own right, as for example was Hadjigeorgakis Kornesios at the end of the century.

A system that should have worked well in theory was less successful in practice. Governors were keen to recoup what they had spent on bribes to gain their appointment, and with frequent corruption and extortion at many other levels, the peasant farmer was hard put to produce enough to pay the necessary taxes and bribes as well as supporting himself and his family. These difficulties were compounded by the frequent droughts, locust attacks, and plagues, and during the 17th century the population of Cyprus dropped dramatically, owing to deaths through plague or starvation and to emigration. Another reaction to excessive taxation was a series of "tax rebellions", for example that against the governor Chil Osman Agha in 1764, when Greeks and Turks together protested against his extortions. When the Greek War of Independence broke out in 1821, the governor Küçük Mehmet called for reinforcements from the sultan and began executing Christians. In July 1821, in spite of no further actions against the authorities, the archbishop was hanged and the three bishops beheaded. Further massacres continued, Church property was plundered, and a considerable number of Greek Cypriots fled the island.

As the 19th century wore on, desultory attempts at reform and greater economic contacts with Europe brought about a general improvement in conditions. A more radical change came in 1878, when according to a deal struck behind the scenes at the Congress of Berlin, the sultan agreed to allow the British to administer Cyprus in return for their support against Russia. In July the British fleet anchored off Larnaca, and the remaining Turkish authorities handed over power without argument. The Greek Cypriots initially welcomed this change in status, even though they had not been consulted about it. The British cession of the Ionian islands to Greece in 1864 was taken as an indication of a similar attitude towards Cyprus, and in 1882 the new Liberal government in Britain allowed the Greek community to teach in Greek and control its own educational system. In spite of this, the British gave no genuine political participation to the Cypriots, and spent little on the development of the island, particularly as every year they extracted a sum of £92,800 as "tribute" to the sultan (or rather to his

creditors). During the 1920s and 1930s demands for *enosis* or union with Greece grew, and they culminated in a demonstration in October 1931 at which Government House was burnt to the ground. The British governor suspended the constitution, disbanded the Legislative Council, which was never to be reinstated, and outlawed the flying of the Greek flag.

Apart from a significant Greek Cypriot contribution to the Allied war effort in World War II, relations between the Greek Cypriot community and their British rulers remained poor. The governor's proposals in 1947 for an elected legislature were rejected, and in 1950 a plebiscite of Greek Cypriots showed 96 per cent in favour of *enosis*. In April 1955 the National Organization of Cypriot Fighters (EOKA) began its armed campaign to expel the British and win *enosis* with Greece. A series of bombs exploded, and leaflets proclaimed that with God's help and the support of all the forces of Hellenism, the struggle to throw off the British yoke had begun. This struggle took four years, during which many more bombs were thrown, archbishop Makarios was exiled to the Seychelles, civilians and policemen were killed, and nine Greek Cypriots hanged. After long-drawn-out negotations a compromise among Greek Cypriots, Turkish Cypriots, and the British was agreed: instead of *enosis*, Cyprus would become an independent state within the Commonwealth, with a Greek Cypriot president and a Turkish Cypriot vice-president. This came into effect with the raising of the flag of the Republic of Cyprus on 16 August 1960.

The new constitution was complex and artificial, and turned out to be unworkable. At the end of 1963 president Makarios's proposals to alter it were rejected by Ankara, and intercommunal fighting quickly broke out. A mission from the United Nations arrived in 1964 to try to maintain peace between the two communities. After further intercommunal clashes in 1967, the new military junta in Athens withdrew its Greek forces, and the island was in political terms almost entirely divided. On 15 July 1974 the right-wing Greek junta orchestrated a coup against the more moderate president Makarios, during which the presidential palace was shelled and destroyed. On the pretext of protecting Turkish Cypriots from an extremist Greek regime, the Turkish army invaded Cyprus, with its first landings on the north coast taking place on 20 July. By the time the ceasefire line was drawn across the island on 18 August, 200,000 Greek Cypriots had been made refugees, 1619 were listed as missing, and the Turks had captured 37 per cent of the island's territory, including the fertile Mesaoria plain.

Since the invasion there have been sporadic intercommunal meetings and UN-sponsored negotiations, but little or no progress has been made. The island is divided by the "Dead Zone" and its minefields and observation posts, while through the centre of Nicosia runs a scar of barbed wire, sandbags, and weed-choked streets. In the occupied areas the names of streets and villages have been changed from Greek to Turkish, while churches have been closed, abandoned, or turned into museums. In the government-controlled areas new settlements house the refugees, while road signs still point hopefully northwards to Kyrenia and Famagusta. In spite of this catastrophe, however, an awareness of Cyprus's long and rich history, especially its distinguished Hellenic heritage, is very much alive in contemporary Greek Cypriot society, and plays a powerful role in the country's education system and in its cultural and political life.

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See also Enosis, Venetokratia

Summary

The third largest island in the Mediterranean, Cyprus has had close contact with the Aegean since the Bronze Age. Mycenaean-style pottery was made on Cyprus by the 13th century BC. The earliest Greek inscription dates from the 11th century BC. City states began to develop in the 8th century and by the 6th century Greek artistic styles were prevalent. War with Persia dominated the 5th and 4th centuries. After Alexander Cyprus was ruled mostly by the Ptolemies until taken by Rome in 31 BC. From 649 to 965 the Byzantines shared rule with the Arabs. In 1191 Richard I of England took Cyprus and gave it to Guy of Lusignan. Taken by Venice in 1489 and by the Ottomans in 1570/71, Cyprus was a British possession from 1878 to 1960 when it became a republic. Since 1974 northern Cyprus has been under Turkish occupation.

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Cyrenaica

Region of north Africa

Cyrenaica forms the eastern territory of modern Libya. There are two distinct areas of occupation — the uplands and the fertile coastal plain. The account of the Greek colonization of Cyrenaica is provided by Herodotus (4. 150–59). The Delphic oracle directed Grinnos, the king of the island of Thera (modern Santorini), to go and found a city in Libya. This advice was ignored, and after a seven-year drought on the island, the oracle reminded the islanders that they should send a colony to Libya. The Therans sent to Crete for advice about Libya, and as a result they came to the island of Platea (the site of which is disputed) and left a Cretan fisherman there while they returned to Thera. The Therans then sent out a group of colonists selected by lot under the leadership of Battos, and a settlement was established on the island. After further inter-

Cyrenaica: view of the 6th-century basilica at Apollonia, the port of Cyrene

vention from the oracle, a mainland settlement was established opposite the island of Aziris in eastern Cyrenaica. The site itself has been plausibly identified by the presence of Protocorinthian, East Greek, Cretan, and Greek pottery at the mouth of the Wadi el-Chalig. Eventually a settlement was established at Cyrene, and the numbers of Greek settlers in Cyrenaica were supplemented after a further oracle from Delphi.

Details about the establishment of Cyrene are recorded on a 4th-century BC inscription which gave the people of Thera honorary citizenship in recognition of the earlier links with the city. A section within the decree purports to be a record of the original decision of the Therans. There were apparently conditions about staying in Libya for five years before being allowed to return to Thera if the colony did not succeed.

After the foundation of the Greek colonies during the 7th century BC, Cyrenaica came into increasing contact with its eastern neighbour Egypt. The Egyptian pharaoh Apries marched against Cyrene in 570, but this attacked was foiled and led to the fall of Apries and his succession by Amasis as pharaoh. Amasis, who according to Herodotus established the Greek trading establishment of Naucratis in the Nile delta, fostered links with the Greek world, and in order to establish a link with Cyrene, married Ladice, a member of one of Cyrene's leading families. In 525 Egypt was annexed by Persia, and Cyrenaica soon became part of its larger empire following a Persian invasion which reached as far as Euesperides. Cyrene regained some independence during the 5th century BC.

Cyrenaica supported Alexander the Great and subsequently became part of the Ptolemaic kingdom. This period is reflected in the way that some Cyrenaican cities were renamed in honour of the Ptolemies: Euesperides became Berenice, Taucheira became Arsinoë, and Barca became Ptolemais. Evidence from Apollonia shows that the walls of Apollonia were constructed in the late 2nd to early 1st century BC according to an Egyptian unit of measurement. Cyrenaica was finally bequeathed to Rome on the death of Ptolemy Apion in 96 BC.

As part of the Roman world, Cyrenaica was initially a joint province linked with Crete. The status of the Greek community is reflected in the edicts of Augustus, dating to 7/6 BC and 4 BC, which demonstrate the perceived tension between Greeks and Romans in the province. It is not clear how far the Greek constitutions of the Cyrenaican cities continued into the Roman period. One decree from Tocra, dating to the 1st century BC, seems to suggest that the citizen body had diminished, though a number of villages across Cyrenaica probably retained their Greek identity into the imperial period. Through the 1st century it is clear from a number of inscriptions that Jews were being allowed to take part in Cyrenaican civic life. The rivalry between the two parts of the population led to a

revolt in Cyrenaica and Egypt under the Roman emperor Trajan when, as Eusebius (*Ecclesiastical History*, 4. 2) described it, the Jewish population "broke into factious strife against their fellow Greek citizens".

Cyrenaica's identification in the Greek world was re-emphasized by the inclusion of Cyrene in the Panhellenion established in Athens by the emperor Hadrian; indeed one citizen of Cyrene served as an official of the Panhellenion in 157. Hadrian's patronage of Cyrenaican cities in the aftermath of the destruction of the Jewish revolt placed an emphasis on Cyrene's origins in the Greek world and the colonists from Thera.

Cyrene had a number of major sanctuaries including temples of Apollo and of Zeus Ammon, the latter a cult linked to the famous Egyptian oracle in the Western Desert. Both seem to have been constructed in the 6th century BC. Outside the city was a major sanctuary of Demeter. Analysis of the bones from the sanctuary shows that pigs were a favoured sacrifice, as might be expected in a sanctuary of Demeter. Archaic sculpture from the city included *kouroi* and *korai* of a type found elsewhere in the Greek world. Cyrene itself issued silver coinage, probably from the late 6th century BC onwards.

Barce, on the west side of the Cyrenaican upland, was next to be established, apparently during the reign of Arcesilas II, perhaps in the 560s. This was followed by expansion in the coastal areas, with the creation of Apollonia (later renamed Ptolemais as the harbour for Cyrene, and the city of Euesperides (later replaced by the Hellenistic city of Berenice, and now the modern Benghazi) in the west. Excavations at Euesperides have revealed a carefully planned city; the earliest grid and settlement can probably be dated to at least the middle of the 6th century BC, though some deep excavations on the Sidi Abeid indicate an earlier settlement is likely. A further settlement was located on the coast at Taucheira where part of the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore has been excavated. Both Apollonia and Taucheira are recorded as being foundations of Cyrene, though Herodotus (4. 171) records that the latter was a polis of Barce.

Cyrenaica was well known for its agricultural produce. For example, probably during the 320s BC, Cyrene sent grain to some 41 Greek cities in response to a severe food shortage; Athens alone received the equivalent of 6000 tonnes, and the total gift was around 50,000 tonnes. Cyrene's prominence in the second half of the 4th century BC is perhaps also reflected in the construction of a Doric treasury at Delphi, probably in the 330s. Cyrenaica was also the source for silphium which was used for medicinal purposes among other things. The plant was used as an emblem on the coins issued by Cyrene. Members of the Cyrenaica elite enjoyed the benefits of horse rearing; a number of Pindar's odes (Pythian 4, 5, and 9) celebrate victories by Arcesilas IV and Telesicrates in the Pythian Games.

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Cyrene

City in north Africa

Cyrene was the most important of the Greek colonies founded in north Africa during the 7th century BC and later. The region (to which Cyrene gave its name, Cyrenaica) was reasonably well watered and therefore fertile, but had the Sahara to the south, and was separated from Egypt by the Western Desert, with further difficult country to the west isolating it from Tripolitania (which in antiquity was a region of Phoenician and Carthaginian settlement). Cyrenaica was thus in effect a self-contained region, eventually divided among a number of Greek foundations. Contacts with the Aegean world preceded the period of colonization, and must already have existed in the Bronze Age. The Minoan harbour town of Kommos, on the south coast of Crete, with its great built shipsheds would have served for maritime links with the coastal regions of Africa immediately to the south. Even in the 1st millennium BC the coastal waters of Cyrenaica were visited by Greeks (the area produces excellent sponges) before Greek settlement took place.

Cyrene is important in the history of Greek colonization not only for the detailed account of the circumstances of its foundation in Herodotus (4. 145–50) but also for the inscription,

Cyrene: view of the ancient city which was colonized by Greeks from Thera, *c.*630 BC

found in Cyrene itself, which gives the text (perhaps a later edited version) of an oath supposedly sworn by the founders. The colony was sent out, around 630 BC, by the Aegean island of Thera (modern Santorini) after consultation of the oracle at Delphi. The reason was overpopulation, and the Therans had to order the colonists to stay for at least five years after the first attempt at settlement in Africa proved unsucessful. They eventually settled on a small offshore island, then on the mainland, eventually moving inland to the site of Cyrene itself. Most Greek colonial foundations in overseas, non-Greek districts remained adjacent to the coast and safety. Cyrene was unusual in being situated well inland, 25 km away from the sea, on the edge of the inland plateau that stretches southwards to the Sahara. It is not clear how this was achieved in the presence of an indigenous population; either they were too few to resist, or, for some reason, they welcomed the Greek settlers. The latter is more likely, since the settlers themselves would not have been that numerous, and a non-Greek stratum persisted in Cyrene throughout its history.

The settlement was led by a man called Battos. He and his descendants ruled Cyrene as kings until their overthrow in the 5th century BC. The city prospered considerably. It produced corn on a large scale (at one critical moment in the late 4th century BC, when there was a failure of the harvest in mainland Greece and Egypt withheld supplies of corn in order to boost the price, Cyrene was able to provide an alternative source of supply, an act recorded with gratitude in Greece itself). Equally important was the product of a plant called silphium, which seems to have been a form of drug much prized in Greece, and which was so important to Cyrene that it is represented on its coins. There is an important Greek vase, a cup made in Laconia, which depicts King Arcesilas II of Cyrene supervising the loading of bales (of silphium? or more prosaically wool, another export) into the hold of a ship. The choice of subject suggests that Sparta had close contacts and hence, a very real knowledge of Cyrene. Indeed, so much Laconian pottery has been found in Cyrenaica that it was originally thought to be of local origin.

Cyrene grew up round an abundant spring of the nymph Cyrana, who gave her name to the city. Below the spring was the central sanctuary of Apollo which, though later rebuilt, contained an important example of an early Doric temple. The main part of the town lay above and to the south of the temple. A road led up to the agora, which included the tomb of the founder Battos (though the actual structure of the tomb is 4th-century BC in date). Beyond this was the greatest of the city's temples, an early 5th-century dedication to Zeus. The city itself, like most colonial foundations, was laid out to a grid plan.

Cyrene remained largely aloof from the mainstream history of Greece: its retention of a monarchy until well into the 5th century is in some respects an indication of this. With the

conquest of Egypt by the Persian king Cambyses, Cyrene became attached (loosely, again because of its geographical position) to the Persian empire. Similarly, after Alexander the Great had added Egypt to the area of his rule, the Cyrenaicans deemed it prudent to make their submission to him. With the break-up of Alexander's empire Cyrene was once more independent, but eventually became part of the kingdom of the Ptolemies based on Egypt and Alexandria. Ptolemy III married a Cyrenaican, Berenice, as his queen, and other prominent Cyrenaicans (such as the poet Callimachus) were attracted to the court at Alexandria. With the decline of the Ptolemies, Cyrene became a separate kingdom, ruled by a branch of the Ptolemaic royal family. The last of these, Ptolemy Apion, bequeathed his kingdom to the Romans on his death in 96 BC.

Under the Ptolemies a substantial Jewish population established itself at Cyrene, as at Alexandria. In the 2nd century AD the Jews of Cyrene joined in the widespread Jewish rebellion against the Romans, and Cyrene was badly damaged in the resulting turmoil. Subsequently the city revived, but the temple of Zeus, though reroofed, did not have its fallen colonnade re-erected. Cyrene continued to flourish in the late empire. There are (as in the other Cyrenaican cities) important early Christian churches there, but the main centre seems to have shifted to the harbour town of Apollonia. Cyrene itself gradually withered, and with the Arab conquest ceased to be a place of any significance.

Paradoxically, this withering away resulted in a remarkable degree of preservation of its ancient remains. With the Italian occupation of Cyrenaica much excavation was carried out and was continued after the war by the Libyans under their Director of Antiquities, Richard Goodchild. Much was restored. The great gymnasium, turned by the Romans into a Caesareum, which had fallen in an earthquake, was re-erected. But the most poignant survival (now less well preserved) was the surrounding environment with its ancient roads, lined with monumental cemeteries and running out into the hinterland through a field system which still retained its ancient boundaries.

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Summary

Colony founded on the north African coast by Greeks from Santorini *c.*630 BC led by Battos. His descendants ruled Cyrene until the 5th century BC. Ptolemaic Cyrene produced Callimachus and Berenice, queen of Ptolemy III; it also housed a large Jewish population. Christianity was established at nearby Apollonia. Cyrene was taken by the Arabs in the 7th century and lost its significance in the Greek world.

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Cyril I Lukaris 1570–1638

Patriarch of Constantinople

Cyril Lukaris, ecumenical patriarch of Constantinople (1620–35 and 1637–38), was a prelate of distinctive character, who strove to secure the enlightenment of the Greek people, and particularly the Orthodox clergy. His activities belong to a period when the Catholic Church was waging war on the Reformation, and he played a pioneer's role in the project to establish a Greek press in the East, with the aim of spreading the faith, which was threatened by the proselytizing policy pursued by Rome.

Konstantinos Lukaris was born in Herakleion, Crete, in 1570, and took the name Kyrillos (Cyril) when he became a monk. Descended from a well-known family, he studied in Crete under the theologian Meletios Vlastos, and went on to complete his studies in Italy with the aid of his uncle and mentor, Meletios Pigas, patriarch of Alexandria. He perfected his knowledge of Greek, Latin, Italian, and theology in Venice under the famous scholar Maximos Kargounios, and also availed himself of the opportunity to attend the lectures given by Cesare Cremonini in Padua. It was at this time, moreover, that he began to correspond with David Hoeschel and Friedrich Sylburgius, both of whom were men of letters, reformers, and publishers of important works of Greek literature.

In 1592 he broke off his studies and entered the service of the patriarch of Alexandria. He was swiftly appointed *protosynkellos* (chancellor) of the patriarchate by his uncle, who assigned to him the mission of travelling to Poland as exarch in order to avert the unification of the Orthodox Ukrainians and White Russians with the Catholic Church. Lukaris left Poland in January 1601 without achieving this aim; he began to realize, however, that the two Churches should come together again in the interests of Christendom. This same year Meletios Pigas died, and was succeeded by Lukaris on the patriarchal throne of Alexandria.

Little is known about Lukaris's activities as patriarch of Alexandria, except that he worked strenuously to restore the finances of the patriarchate. During a visit to Constantinople in 1611, he became acquainted with the ambassadors of England, Thomas Rowe, and of Holland, Cornelius Haga, who played leading roles in countering Jesuit propaganda in Turkey. In 1604, moreover, a close alliance had been created between England, Turkey, Holland, and Sweden, with the aim of checking the ambitions of the Catholic Church.

In 1612, Lukaris was appointed "Overseer" of the ecumenical throne, and in the same year Timotheos II became ecumenical patriarch (1612–20). From this time on, Lukaris' enemies began to defame him in every way possible, judging him from his ideas and actions to be a Lutheran. Lukaris did not change his views, however, and continued zealously to enter into relations with Protestant theologians, church dignitaries, rulers,

Cyril I Lukaris: 17th-century portrait

and kings, who were using all possible means to oppose the Roman Church and its proselytizing methods.

After the death of Timotheos II the Holy Synod elected Lukaris as patriarch of Constantinople on 4 November 1620. Immediately after his installation, he turned his attention once more to the Union of Brest, which for two and a half decades had caused disquiet in the Eastern Church, and particularly in the patriarchate in Constantinople, despite the fact that the Greeks of Constantinople had made clear their hostility to the Polish king, Sigismund III. In 1610 the Polish armies captured Moscow and Sigismund's son was elected Catholic tsar of Moscow.

In his anti-Catholic arguments Lukaris sought to implement views adopted by the Orthodox tradition, many of which were apparently of a reforming nature. Certainly, the ecumenical patriarch continued until his death to believe that the Calvinists and the Orthodox should unite forces against Rome, at the same time aiming at a gradual rapprochement with the teaching of Calvin. Lukaris believed that in this way he would purify Orthodoxy of distortions, perversions, and the influence of Rome, and eventually arrive at the point when the "true" Orthodoxy would be identical with the Reformation.

The main reason that impelled Lukaris to atrempt to establish a printing press in the Phanar was his concern at the fact that it was impossible for Orthodox clergy to be educated in anything other than Catholic schools and universities, such as the theological school founded by the Jesuits in Constantinople. In 1616 he entered into a correspondence with George Abbot, the archbishop of Canterbury, asking that some gifted students of theology be admitted to higher education in English universities. One of those who benefited from Lukaris's policy was Nikodimos Metaxas, who studied in London from 1622 to 1626.

Lukaris's great desire to found a Greek press was one of the main reasons for sending Metaxas to London, where, in addition to his theological studies, he could become initiated in the printer's art. Lukaris had already attempted to found a Greek press some time previously. When he was in the town of Lvov in Poland, as emissary of Meletios Pigas, he had succeeded, in cooperation with Arsenios, archbishop of Elasson, in printing four books between 1591 and 1593, with Greek texts and parallel Slav translations.

After Metaxas had worked in London as an apprentice printer, he assembled the necessary printing materials and in June 1627 embarked on the ship *Royal Defence*, bound for Constantinople, accompanied by two assistant printers. On his arrival in Constantinople in 1627 he printed a book with the title *Of our most Blessed and most Wise Father*, written by the patriarch Cyril Lukaris. This initiative by Lukaris alarmed those opposed to his intentions, who were urged on mainly by the Jesuits and the French ambassador, and the Turks raided Metaxas's home on 22 June 1628, impounded all the printing materials, and expelled Metaxas. This brought an inglorious end to the first attempt to establish a Greek printing press in the East.

Lukaris's administrative activities, his struggle against Catholic propaganda, and the foundation of a printing press were not in conflict with the Orthodox tradition, and only a few who kept his company or corresponded with the patriarch were in a position to know of his reforming programme. Lukaris desired to come into contact and become acquainted with the official representatives of the Reformation Church, and his close colleague Mitrophanis Kritopoulos travelled to Germany, England, and Switzerland to examine the *Confessio Helvetica* and the *Confession* of Basel, in order to assess how far these views were consistent with Orthodox beliefs.

Beginning in 1628, the Propaganda Council in Rome had begun to publish a large number of books in the Greek language supporting unification, many of which were distributed free to the Orthodox population. The Dutch ambassador Haga sought to convince Lukaris that the time was right to publish his own *Confession*. The Patriarch intended publishing it on the press in the Phanar. After the violent closure of this press, however, the Latin text of the *Confession* was printed in 1629, possibly in Geneva, containing an explicit confirmation of its authenticity by the Dutch ambassador.

The work shook public opinion in both the West and the East as few others have done, and provoked a savage reaction, fuelling an impressive number of publications, for in his *Confession* the ecumenical patriarch declared openly that he embraced the teaching of Calvin. Most of the Orthodox prelates were naturally opposed to the views expressed by Lukaris in his *Confession*, but he also had his supporters, including Theophilos Corydalleus, who in 1639 wrote that the *Confession* was in conformity with the teaching of the Greek Church. Strong doubts were immediately expressed about the authenticity of the work, and within a short space of time

Lukaris's *Confession* saw several reprints and translations, and there were written criticisms calling into doubt the authorship of the text generally. Whatever the truth of the matter, the authenticity of the *Confession* has continued to be a vigorously disputed issue down to the present day.

From as early as 1618, Lukaris had planned to write a catechism in the demotic language; in the end, what he succeeded in doing was to make the Bible generally accessible through his translation of the New Testament into demotic Greek. With the fervent support of Antoine Leger, parish priest at the embassy of the Netherlands in Constantinople, the work was published in Geneva, at the press of Pierre Aubert, in 1638. The difficult task of editing the text was assumed by the monk Maximos Rhodios from Galipoli, who died in 1633 leaving the work unfinished; at this stage a large number of uncoordinated proofreaders took over who were not Greek, and when the book was eventually published it contained a great many serious linguistic errors.

The publication of Lukaris's *Confession* exercised a decisive influence on the development of the doctrines of the Orthodox Church and the position of the Patriarch within it, as well as on foreign relations. In March 1635 the Jesuits succeeded, after long efforts, in having Lukaris dethroned. He was replaced by Kyrillos Kontaris. About two years later, in March 1637, Lukaris was restored to his throne.

Lukaris's enemies were not disheartened, however, and, led by Kyrillos Kontaris, they wove a tissue of false accusations against him to the vizier Vayram Pasha during the absence of the sultan, Murad II, as a result of which the patriarch Cyril Lukaris was put to death by strangulation on 27 June 1638.

KONSTANTINOS STAIKOS

Biography

Born Konstantinos Lukaris in 1570 in Herakleion, Crete, he took the name Cyril on becoming a monk. He was educated in Crete and in Venice and Padua. In 1592 he joined the staff of the patriarch of Alexandria and was sent on a mission to Poland. In 1612 he became Overseer of the ecumenical throne and in 1620 was elected patriarch of Constantinople. Publication of his *Confession* in 1629 in which he accepted Calvinist doctrines made him many enemies, and in 1638 he was strangled.

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Cyril, St 826/27–869

Missionary to the Slavs

St Cyril (Constantine the Philosopher) was, together with his older brother St Methodios, the inventor of the Slavic Glagolitic alphabet and a prominent Byzantine diplomat. His baptismal name was Constantine; Cyril was the monastic name that he adopted shortly before his death in Rome on 14 February 869. The seemingly interminable dispute as to the ethnic origins of "the Apostles of the Slavs" has not been resolved. Born in Thessalonica in 826 or 827 to a Byzantine army officer of middle rank and a mother who some scholars have hypothesized was Slavic, Constantine went to Constantinople to pursue studies that would lead to a career in the imperial service. The main source on his career, the *Life* written (in Old Church Slavonic) at the instigation of his brother Methodios shortly after Cyril's death, mentions that St Cyril studied in Constantinople with the future patriarch Photios (858–67 and 877–86), one of the greatest Byzantine intellectuals and an imperial adviser. In addition to receiving a broad grounding in secular and religious subjects, Constantine the Philosopher showed an extraordinary talent for languages, which equipped him admirably for diplomatic missions. After a short service in the chancery of the patriarch and an intermittent academic career, he went on a diplomatic mission (851 or 855–56) to the Arab caliph Mutawakkil (847–61). Later he joined his brother in a monastery on Mount Olympus in Asia Minor. Photios soon called on him to participate in a mission to the Khazar court (860–61), where he again demonstrated his abilities in religious polemic, this time against Jewish and Muslim proselytizers.

The historically most significant mission of SS Cyril and Methodios was the one to Moravia (862–63), where the "Apostles of the Slavs" introduced for the first time an Old Church Slavonic liturgy written in the Glagolitic alphabet. It is unknown when they devised the Glagolitic alphabet, which was derived partly from the Greek minuscule script, partly from Syriac and Coptic, and partly an original invention of St Cyril. The statement in a 13th-century Bulgarian *Life* of St Cyril that he had introduced the Slavic liturgy into southern Macedonia before the Moravian mission appears to be groundless. In any case, when the Moravian prince Rastislav (846–70) requested Christian missionaries acquainted with the Slavonic language, the patriarch Photios chose the two brothers from Thessalonica. Political and religious motives seem to have converged both in Rastislav's request and Byzantium's response. Moravia, which historical scholarship has traditionally located in the Czech and Slovak lands, had already begun to be incorporated into the Frankish ecclesiastical structures, but Latin was an incomprehensible language to the Slavs of central Europe. In addition, both prince Rastislav and the emperor Michael III seem to have considered a Frankish–Bulgarian alliance threatening. The patriarch Photios had his own reasons for favouring the introduction of a vernacular Slavic liturgy, because he was competing with the papacy for the spiritual allegiance of the Slavs. The Cyrillo-Methodian mission proved a short-term success in Moravia, although its long-term consequences lay elsewhere. A Slavic Church was set up in Moravia, and Cyril translated the gospel

and liturgical texts, such as the liturgy of St John Chrysostom, from Greek into Old Church Slavonic. He thus laid the groundwork for the development of Old Church Slavonic as a written literary language.

Cyril's and Methodios's mission in Moravia stumbled, however, over the strong opposition of the Frankish bishops supported by the eastern Frankish emperor Louis the German (817–76). The Byzantine missionaries fervently opposed the "three-language heresy" of the Franks, who claimed that the divine liturgy was permissible only in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin. In this way, Byzantium showed a more flexible attitude towards the formation of "national" churches under the spiritual aegis of Constantinople. A temporary support for the Slavic cause was found in the papacy. At the invitation in 867 of pope Nicholas I, who was interested in reducing the influence of the local Frankish bishops, Cyril and Methodios journeyed to Rome. There they received the blessing of the new pope, Hadrian II (867–72), who solemnly authorized the use of the Slavonic liturgy and ordained their disciples. After the death of St Cyril in 869, the furtherance of a Slavonic Church devolved on Methodios.

The momentous long-term consequences of the Moravian mission lay not in central Europe, but in the Balkans and in Russia. Moravia fell out of the Byzantine orbit in the 880s, while the Glagolitic alphabet was supplanted almost entirely by the Cyrillic (apart from Croatia, until the late 20th century). Nevertheless, the translations prepared by St Cyril were the first steps in the emergence of a Byzantine-Slavic Commonwealth bound by a common religious and cultural heritage. After their expulsion from Moravia the disciples of SS Cyril and Methodios successfully introduced the Slavic liturgy into Bulgaria which had been converted to Byzantine Christianity in 864. Bulgaria salvaged and expanded the Cyrillo-Methodian heritage, especially during the culturally productive reign of king Symeon (893–927). From here, Slavic writings and the alphabet spread to Serbia and Russia. New translations of Byzantine theological, literary, and legal texts were prepared by Bulgarian scholars working at Symeon's court. The Cyrillic alphabet was a result of an attempt by St Cyril's and St Methodios's disciples in Bulgaria to adapt the Greek uncial script to the phonetic peculiarities of the Slavonic tongue. The process of transliteration of Glagolitic texts into Cyrillic was almost entirely completed by the 11th century. To the present day the modern alphabet of the Orthodox Slavs – the Bulgarians, the Serbs, and the Russians – is a simplified version of the Cyrillic script introduced into medieval Bulgaria.

Another long-term effect of St Cyril's work of translation was the emergence of Old Church Slavonic as the lingua franca of the Orthodox Slavs. Because St Cyril managed to render masterfully in Slavonic the rich variety of Greek vocabulary and syntax, and because Slavic languages were relatively close to each other at that time, Old Church Slavonic established itself as the third literary language in Europe. A trained Byzantine diplomat sent on an imperial mission, but also a person sympathetic to the fate of the Slavs, St Cyril left a double-sided legacy: he drew the Orthodox Slavs irreversibly into the orbit of Byzantine civilization and contributed to the development of their own cultural identity.

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Biography

Born in Thessalonica in 826 or 827 and baptized Constantine, St Cyril (the monastic name by which he was later known) was educated in Constantinople, where he was a pupil of the future patriarch Photios and perhaps of Leo the Mathematician. He taught philosophy at the Magnaura school (whence his soubriquet "the Philosopher"). But he is best known for his mission, undertaken in 863 with his brother St Methodios, to the Slavs for whom he devised both an alphabet (the Glagolitic) and a liturgical language (Old Church Slavonic). He died in Rome in 869.

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Cyril of Alexandria, St *c.*378–444

Patriarch of Alexandria

Cyril of Alexandria is one of the most important of the Christian Greek theologians, and was a major protagonist in the great Christological crisis of the 5th-century Church. The conciliar debate that he initiated at the Council of Ephesus (431) went on to determine the agenda of three following ecumenical councils up to the 7th century. To this extent he is rightly regarded as the chief architect of Byzantine Christology, even though his work was built upon important predecessors (especially theologians in the Alexandrian tradition) and was frequently modified in its later reception. The longterm politi-

cal implications of these complex and often bitter Christological arguments, allied with the Arab invasions of the 7th century, had the effect of disconnecting important Christian Churches in Syria and Africa from Byzantine and Latin currents, and made severe divisions in the ecclesiastical polity of the East (the so-called Monophysite schism) that have remained active to this day.

Cyril was born some time around 378. His uncle Theophilus became Archbishop of Alexandria in 385, and brought Cyril to Alexandria to be educated. From his youth, then, he observed the ascendant power of the Christian Church in one of the most volatile cities of the empire. His education is apparent from his mature works, and shows that he received rhetorical training, as well as a substantial grounding in biblical exegesis and the theological tradition of the previous Fathers, especially the writers of the Alexandrian school. His Classical allusions (in his *Contra Julianum*) are derived from earlier Christian literature. He himself probably thought that his great biblical commentaries would have earned him lasting fame, but it was his Christological apologetic writing that achieved this result.

At the end of his studies, around 403 when he was 25 years old, Cyril was ordained lector of the Alexandrian Church, and was closely attached to his uncle's court. In the same year he attended Theophilus at the notorious Synod of the Oak, which deposed John Chrysostom. Cyril had learned his craft of leadership from a turbulent master, and when his uncle died on 15 October 412, the Byzantine administration of the city tried to pre-empt his election as a successor. The governor's office pushed forward the candidacy of the archdeacon Timothy, but it was Cyril's party that won the day. The clash between the ecclesiastical factions caused grave disturbances in the city. Cyril was consecrated as archbishop on 18 October 412; he was 34 years of age. The historian Socrates recounts the troubles of his early administration: his confiscation and seizure of the Novatianist churches (continuing in a milder manner the "aggressive" policy of his uncle Theophilus as permitted by a wider policy of the Theodosian dynasty); mob violence involving attacks on Jewish elements who had purportedly fired a Christian church; the infamous murder by Church factions of the philosopher Hypatia; and increasing friction with the Christian governor Orestes. In 416 an imperial investigation into Alexandrian affairs determined to restrict the guild of *parabalanoi* (the unofficial bodyguard of the archbishop), but within two years the number was again increased to more than 600 and officially placed under Cyril's personal direction, a mark of high imperial confidence. During this earlier period of Cyril's administration, he was also engaged in the active process of the evangelization of an Egypt still strongly devoted to the old religions, especially the cult of Isis. Fragments of sermons and discourses survive from 427 relating his establishment of a new healing shrine of the Unmercenaries Cyrus and John adjacent to the famous shrine of Isis at Menouthis. In this deliberate attempt to undermine the old religion Cyril portrayed himself as both "holy seer" and strong power. His policy of active, and sometimes aggressive, evangelization was advanced by marauding monastics, such as those communities under the control of Shenoudi of Atripe.

After 428 Cyril's life changed dramatically. In that year the patriarchal throne of Constantinople was taken by Nestorius, a monk from Antioch. Nestorius assumed office in a city that had been wracked by disputes, and unsuccessful parties to the election gave him a hostile reception from the start. In his early days he was asked to adjudicate in a seemingly minor semantic problem about whether Mary could be rightly called the Mother of God (*Theotokos*). He tried an eirenic compromise by suggesting that she would be more correctly called "Mother of Christ". The local dispute flared from that point and it soon emerged that what was really at issue was a major collision between the Antiochene Christological tradition (that of Diodore of Tarsus and Theodore of Mopsuestia) and the Alexandrian school (Athanasius and Didymus) of the previous generation.

Cyril was well aware of all the ramifications of the argument from the outset, by means of his political staff in the imperial city, but he did not intervene directly until after Christmas 428, when Nestorius had been publicly denounced by enemies in his own cathedral. In the spring of 429 Cyril composed a paschal letter to his own extremely large archdiocese, insisting that Christ must always be regarded as a single divine person, and that the reality of his humanity must not distract the Christian mind from that fundamental position. It is, though embryonic in exposition, the base of all his detailed arguments that were to follow. By 430 Cyril had prepared the ground well, and sent for the information of the Roman Church a dossier of damaging information about his opponent. He was laying the basis of a formal charge against Nestorius. Rome reacted quickly, putting the matter on the agenda for a synod to be held later that same year. In Constantinople Nestorius pushed ahead, now teaching that only Antiochene theology should be regarded as the normative discourse of the imperial Church. The city was much disturbed by his agenda and, though the emperor seemed to be on his side, the Augusta Pulcheria, many monks, and several sections of the aristocracy were becoming increasingly hostile. In 430 Cyril composed his five-book *Against Nestorius*, which engaged battle directly. In August 430 the Roman synod announced that it condemned Nestorius' teaching, and supported that of Cyril. In response, Cyril summoned a synod of his own Church and sent off a demand that Nestorius should recant. Trying to disarm matters, the emperor Theodosius II called for the whole dispute to be settled by an international synod, which met at Ephesus in the summer of 431. Cyril manoeuvred the complex and confused proceedings and took the role of president himself. Nestorius refused to appear on such terms, and objected to matters beginning before the (late) delegation from the Antiochene Church arrived. By a significant majority, Nestorius' teaching was rejected, but a few days later, when the Syrian bishops finally arrived, they held a minority countersynod anathematizing the first. All the chief parties were then held under house arrest by the frustrated imperial officers, while the emperor called a series of meetings at Chalcedon to resolve the impasse. On 25 October 431 a new archbishop was elected in Nestorius' place. Nestorius himself was sent back in disgrace to his monastery in Syria; Cyril was freed to travel back in triumph to Egypt.

During the following years, between 432 and 444, there was a slow healing of the breaches between Alexandria and the Syrian Churches, patiently presided over by imperial negotiators. Eventually in 433 a compromise was reached in which the

important points of the Antiochene position (Christ had two authentic natures – both human and divine) could be reconciled with Cyril's insistence that Christ was a single reality, one divine person. But the precise ramifications of that agreement still needed much clarifying debate, and without this it was inevitable that the intellectual argument would soon break out again with even greater force. It did so with greater bitterness in the following generation. In his later years Cyril continued a relentless attack on Antiochene theological traditions, but by then he had reached an acclaimed international status as a theologian, and ever afterwards his works became a kind of standard for the majority eastern Christian tradition, setting the agenda (though not unopposed) for the councils of Ephesus (449 – not regarded as ecumenical), Chalcedon (451), and Constantinople (553 and 680–81). He died on 27 June 444, a little short of his 70th year.

Cyril's role as one of the most powerful brokers of ecclesiastical power in the Theodosian dynasty has commanded much scholarly attention. His formative impact on Christian theology concerning the person of Christ and the effects of salvation (especially later Byzantine "deification theory") and his exegetical works remain of enduring importance.

JOHN A. MCGUCKIN

See also Monophysites

Biography

Born *c.*378 at Mahalla in Egypt, Cyril was educated in rhetoric and biblical exegesis at Alexandria under the tutelage of his uncle, Archbishop Theophilus. Ordained *c.*403, he succeeded his uncle as patriarch in 412. His early administration was marked by conflicts of factions in a turbulent city, but he was an active evangelist and after 428 campaigned vigorously and successfully against Nestorius, Patriarch of Constantinople. He died in Alexandria in 444.

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Cythera

Island off the southern Peloponnese

Throughout its history Cythera, renowned in antiquity as the island sacred to Aphrodite (hence the title "Cytherean" Aphrodite), was involved either with the course of events in the Peloponnese or with Crete. During the Byzantine period it became closely linked with developments in the southern Peloponnese, while during the Venetian period Cythera became more closely associated with Cretan affairs. This double orientation of Cythera was naturally a result of its position, midway between the Peloponnese and Crete.

Cythera is mentioned in Ptolemy's *Geography* and in the *Geography* of the Anonymous of Ravenna, as well as in the *Tabula Peutingeriana* and the *Synekdemos* of Hierokles. A coin from Kastri identified as depicting the emperor Constantius II suggests that travellers were coming to the shores of Cythera in the mid-4th century AD. People may still have been coming to the island in order to worship Aphrodite; or fishermen may have come to gather the highly prized purple-yielding shellfish from which the island had acquired a second name, Porphyrousa. In the subsequent early Byzantine centuries no known written sources refer to the island. It is only thanks to archaeological excavations at Kastri that we know, from numismatic and ceramic evidence unearthed there, that the island was inhabited in the 7th and 8th centuries.

After the Arab conquest of Crete (*c.*824) the rocky indented coastline of Cythera served as a shelter for Saracen pirates. The 10th-century life of St Theodore describes the island as deserted and unapproachable because it was a "haven for the godless Agarenes" (Saracens). St Theodore, who subsequently became patron saint of Cythera, was born in Coroni in the southern Peloponnese. During the reign of the emperor Romanos I Lekapenos he came from Monemvasia to the island of Cythera in order to become a hermit. With the reconquest of Crete by the Byzantine emperor Nikephoros Phokas in 961, piracy in the region declined markedly. It is at this time that Cythera was settled anew. The governor (*gastaldo*) of the island in the following period was a certain George Pachys of Monemvasia. Towards the end of the 12th century the island was granted to the powerful family of Eudaimonoyannis of Monemvasia. Cythera now entered a period of relative tranquillity and prosperity, and it was probably at this time that the fortified settlement of Hagios Dimitrios was built. In 1238 Nicholas Eudaimonoyannis, realizing that the Venetians would eventually gain control of the Aegean, seems to have engaged in a policy of *realpolitik* in order to retain a measure of influence in Cythera: he married his daughter to the Venetian lord of Crete, Marco Venier, including the island of Cythera in the dowry. In effect this marriage marked the beginning of the period of Venetian rule in Cythera.

The participation of the Venier brothers in the unsuccessful uprising of the lords of Crete against Venetian rule in 1363 – the so-called St Titius rebellion – prompted Venice to deprive the Venier family of all authority and to impose direct control on Cythera from Crete. Apart from a very brief period of Turkish occupation (1715–18), Cythera – referred to in the Venetian sources as Cerigo or the Isola di Venere – remained under Venetian control until the final fall of the Venetian

republic in 1797. Since then it has shared the fortunes of the Ionian islands.

Throughout the course of the Venetian period Cythera was divided into five administrative districts (*distretti* or *territori*): Fortezza-Borgo, Livadhi, Kastrissianika, Potamos, and Mylopotamos. Until the middle of the 16th century Cythera had three castles: Hagios Dimitrios, Kapsali, and Mylopotamos. The castle of Hagios Dimitrios, which guarded the Byzantine city of the Eudaimonoyannis family, was destroyed in 1537, after the invasion by Khayr al-Din Barbarossa. The district subsequently came to be known as Paliochora (Old Village), a toponym often used in the Greek language to indicate deserted villages or towns.

Two social strata developed on the island: the peasants (*popolani*) and the town dwellers (*cittadini*). The early centuries of Venetian domination in the island do not appear to have provoked substantial animosity or opposition, in contrast to nearby Crete. The long Venetian presence seems rather to have led to gradual convergence of habits and traditions.

After the Turkish conquest of Canea (modern Chania) and Candia (modern Herakleion) in Crete many families fled to Cythera, either settling there permanently and thus influencing many aspects of Cytheran life, or moving on from there to the Ionian islands of Zante or Corfu. Among those refugees from Crete were Frangiscos Salamon and his wife Anesina Podocataro, ancestors of modern Greece's national poet Dionysios Solomos.

CHRYSSA A. MALTEZOU

Summary

Lying off the south coast of the Peloponnese, Cythera was sacred to Aphrodite in antiquity. It was a source of *murex* (used to make purple dye), whence its alternative name Porphyrousa. After the fall of Crete (824) it was a haven for Arab pirates. Piracy declined after the Byzantine reconquest of Crete (961) and the island flourished. It was ruled by Venice from the mid-13th century until 1797. Since then it has shared the fortunes of the Ionian islands.

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D

Dalmatia

Today a region of the Republic of Croatia, Dalmatia is the strip of land that hugs the indented eastern coast of the Adriatic from Zadar to the bay of Kotor, separated from the Balkan hinterland by the massif of the Dinaric Alps. A coveted region, which witnessed a succession of settlers, invaders, and conquerors in its history, Dalmatia was for several centuries a battleground for conflicting influences between East and West. Not surprisingly, its geographical position made it attractive to cultural forces emanating from across the Adriatic rather than the interior of the Balkans.

Named after the ancient town of Dalmion or Dalminion, the region was first populated by Illyrians. Scattered Greek settlements ensued. From the mid-2nd century BC the Romans extended their sway over a part of Dalmatia, but not until AD 23 did they definitively subdue its contumacious inhabitants and incorporate the region into the Roman province of Illyricum. Rome destroyed the ancient civilization of Illyria; still the latter gave Rome 13 rulers and defenders (*restitutores orbis*) of whom the emperor Diocletian (284–305) was the greatest. Latin was the language most commonly spoken, but Christianity had not much infiltrated the region by the time the capital was transferred to Constantinople. With the division of the Roman empire in 395, Dalmatia constituted the easternmost region of the western Roman state until it collapsed in 476.

Briefly dominated by the Germanic ruler Odoacer, and in turn overrun by waves of Ostrogoths, Dalmatia was restored to Byzantium in 535 in the reign of the emperor Justinian, at the start of his 20-year struggle to restore the empire to its ecumenical extent. A proconsular province, it was composed of the Istria–Kotor coast and the offshore islands. Throughout the migrations of the 5th and the 6th centuries people from the disrupted northern provinces of the state fled as refugees to the Dalmatian coastal towns.

Among the peoples who ravaged the Roman world, during the 6th century the Slavs, whose social organization was similarly embryonic, flooded the Danubian basin causing depredations in the Balkan lands. In Dalmatia, specifically, the massive influx of Slavs shattered the foundations of Christian culture, at that time under the supervision of the papacy, and ruined urban life; Salona and Epidaurus, the major coastal centres, were destroyed in the early 7th century. Yet, unlike the other barbarian tribes pursuing principally marauding purposes, the South Slavs firmly bound their lot with these provinces and established themselves as permanent settlers. Dalmatia acquired its Slavic ethnic character, and new centres – Ragusa (Dubrovnik) and Zara (Zadar) – in time replaced the ruined Roman ones. In fact, if credence is to be given to the writings of the emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos (*De Administrando Imperio*), the South Slavs (Serbs and Croats) who infiltrated Dalmatia and other Byzantine regions did so with the agreement of the emperor Herakleios (610–41). They were allowed in as settlers to populate and defend the Byzantine borderlands, having first acknowledged the emperor's suzerainty. To Herakleios also is attributed the first attempt to Christianize the South Slavs.

In contrast to the confused background, and to the overall trend of urban decay characterizing Byzantine provinces after the Avaro-Slavic invasions, in Dalmatia intercourse between east and west favoured conditions for social organization. The region with its nearby islands remained a Byzantine province with its capital at Zara, administered by an *archon* (prior), probably a Byzantine dignitary or a local nobleman. But its ecclesiastical authority alternated between Rome and Constantinople; and in 732–33 the emperor transferred the spiritual jurisdiction of Illyricum (together with the southern Italian provinces of Calabria and Sicily) to Constantinople. This happened at a time when the iconoclast controversy was at its height, and Lombard and Frankish raids on the Italian peninsula caused an irreparable rift with Byzantium's European provinces. The Byzantine east emerged progressively as a clear-cut political and cultural entity following the collapse of Byzantium's sway over the greater part of Italy by 751. Yet Dalmatia's engagement with Constantinople's sphere was mainly political and never able to strike roots. The region's position on the Adriatic fringe of the empire and a lingering memory of its Roman-Latin heritage in the towns kept it culturally attached to Rome.

Charlemagne sought to extend Frankish sway over the Adriatic dominions of Byzantium, and, after he conquered Venice in 810, he subjugated Dalmatia, which was administered briefly by a Frank *dux Jaderae* (duke of the Adriatic). Although by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (Aachen/Akyisgranon) of 812 Byzantine authority over Dalmatia was restored, it remained nominal. In practice Dalmatia was independent in the first half of the 9th century, and the South Slavic

tribes of the region established close bonds with their kindred in the Balkan hinterland who at the time were attempting to set up an inchoate political entity. But in the face of Arab raids on the Adriatic littoral, the Dalmatians called for Byzantine help. In response, the emperor Basil I, on ascending the throne in 867, sent the Byzantine fleet and recovered Dalmatia, which was organized as a Byzantine theme according to the new administrative system of the empire, already in existence in the European provinces since the 8th century. Ecclesiastically, it constituted a metropolis dependent on Constantinople.

Despite Dalmatia's integration into the Byzantine thematic system, especially under the centralist Macedonian dynasty, it remained one of the few exceptions enjoying a de facto autonomy, along with Venice and Cherson (in Crimea). At a time when most provinces saw their local immunities suppressed, Dalmatia retained its local privileges and municipal franchises, which ensured broad self-rule in the maritime urban centres. The theme of Dalmatia was placed under the administration of a Byzantine general, but the towns had their local notables and dignitaries. This status was further strengthened by a renewed flourishing of urban and commercial life in the empire, which had been suspended in the wake of the Avaro–Slavic disarray. Byzantine overlordship in the Dalmatian theme steadily diminished to a nominal authority. By 880 Croatian Dalmatia, extending southwards as far as the Cetina river, freed itself entirely under prince Branimir from Byzantine control. Along with a spirit of urban autonomy, most of Dalmatia became increasingly receptive to non-Byzantine influences, namely Croatian and Venetian.

Dalmatia was still recorded as a Byzantine theme in the 11th century, shortly after a revision of the Byzantine administrative system took place in the Balkan provinces; but the region itself was irretrievably lost to foreign administrations in later medieval times. The Byzantine presence was principally threatened by the ascendancy of Venice as a maritime power, and by the strong Croatian state, reaching as far down the Dalmatian coast as the Neretva river in the mid-11th century. Croatian control of Dalmatia from the time of king Tomislav (*c.*910–28), and a short-lived Venetian domination around 1000, already marked the decline of Byzantine influence. The latter, apart from being politically diminished, was culturally displaced by the Latin Church, whose bishops in the Dalmatian towns were encouraged by the Croatian rulers to ensure Dalmatia's incorporation into the sphere of Roman-Latin culture. Soon the role of Byzantium was eclipsed, despite an ephemeral restoration in the reign of the emperor Manuel I Komnenos (1143–80) who pompously assumed the title "ruler of Dalmatia". With Manuel's death Bela III of Hungary (1172–96) subjugated all the Byzantine possessions in the region.

In the 13th–14th centuries Dalmatia experienced complicated changes of overlord; characteristically, at one stage the southern half belonged to Serbia, the northern to Croatia-Hungary, the Adriatic islands and littoral sites to Venice, and Ragusa (Dubrovnik) constituted an independent city state. In cultural and economic terms this territorial fragmentation was tantamount to Dalmatia's irrevocable transfer to the Roman-Latin sphere. Even within the medieval Serbian state, whose Orthodox rulers may have grown politically combative but remained culturally receptive to Byzantium's civilizing impact, Serbian Dalmatia represented a channel of Latin influence, which included Italian art. The long Venetian-Hungarian rivalry over Dalmatia, which spanned three centuries, culminated in the victory of Venice in the early 15th century.

In early modern times, when Ragusa emerged as a flourishing maritime republic, Greeks and Dalmatians came into close contact since Ragusan ships traded at Greek ports, and also as naval crews in the ships of Venice.

Historically, Dalmatian culture was heavily characterized by Italian influences, both Latin and Renaissance, but blended with a native Slavic element. Greek-Byzantine culture had a markedly secondary impact, though archaeological and architectural evidence bears witness to its presence. Diocletian's magnificent palace in Split (Spalato), a site already occupied by a Greek settlement (Aspalaton), was erected by builders invited from the East who echoed eastern palace architecture. More evident is the early Christian architecture, the basilicas of the 6th and 7th centuries. Later, Andrija Buvina, a great sculptor of the 13th century, drew partly on the Graeco-Roman heritage and the Byzantine tradition in creating his well-known reliefs on the doors of Diocletian's Mausoleum in Split. In Dalmatian literature, Classical Greek lyrics inspired some poets in Dubrovnik through Italian humanism, such as Dinko Ranjina (1536–1607) who in his lyrical poetry imitated Moschus and Theocritus. Lastly, Romano-Byzantine law had a remarkable effect on the statutes of the Dalmatian coastal towns and islands, which outlived Byzantine rule in Dalmatia.

RENNOS EHALIOTIS

See also Croatia, Illyrians, Serbia, Slavs

Summary

Dalmatia is the eastern shore of the Adriatic Sea from Zadar to the bay of Kotor. Isolated Greek settlements were made from the 6th century BC but the region was Latinized by the Roman conquest. Restored to Byzantium in 535, Dalmatia remained a Byzantine province until the 11th century. Venetian influence was strong thereafter.

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Damaskinos, Michael *c.*1530–*c.*1592

Painter

Michael Damaskinos was an important figure in the 16th-century renaissance of Cretan painting. He appears to have been born in Candia (Herakleion), the flourishing capital of Crete under Venetian rule, where previous generations of painters had established a solid artistic tradition. He certainly served his apprenticeship there, possibly with a painter of the circle around Theophanis Strelitzas-Bathas, and produced his first mature works between about 1555 and 1565.

A bearer of the Byzantine painting tradition, Damaskinos was also receptive to new trends in western European painting. Following the example of his fellow Cretan Domenikos Theotokopoulos (El Greco), he went to paint in Venice, at a time when some of the most brilliant Venetian painters (most notably Titian, P. Veronese, Tintoretto) were at their height. In Venice he signed a contract in 1569 to work for two years in Sicily. From 1574 to 1582/83 he was again in Venice. Working within the Greek Orthodox Confraternity of Venice (of which he was a member, with contributions registered in the years 1577–82), he painted icons for the church of San Giorgio dei Greci, many of which are still in situ today, in the sanctuary and on the iconostasis. On two occasions he sought election to the council of the confraternity, but without success. During these years he also worked for Catholic institutions and executed private commissions. In Venice he made the acquaintance of the sculptor Alessandro Vittoria, to whom, in 1581, he sold a collection he had amassed of drawings by Italian artists, particularly by the Mannerist Parmigianino. He also met the painter Palma Giovane and probably had some contact with the workshop of Tintoretto, whom he followed in some of his works.

When he returned to Candia (1583) he gave his only daughter Antonia in marriage to the painter Ioannis Mavrikas-Mandouphos and continued his professional career in a climate of general appreciation of his work but also, paradoxically, of financial difficulties. He undertook a variety of commissions and produced some of his finest works, now in Crete and Corfu. In 1588 he was invited most insistently by the Greek Orthodox Confraternity of Venice to return and paint the dome of San Giorgio dei Greci, but declined the invitation, citing family and financial reasons. The last references to his activities date from 1591, and he probably died in 1592, while still at a productive age.

The unconfirmed tradition that Damaskinos became a monk in the Vrondisiou monastery in the province of Kainourio in the southwest of the prefecture of Herakleion seems to derive from the fact that there was formerly a series of six icons by him in the monastery (now in the collection of St Catherine of the Sinaites, Herakleion). As a painter, he was much in demand during his own time, both in Crete and elsewhere. He also gained considerable posthumous fame: Panayiotis Doxaras, the painter and theorist of early modern Greek painting, in his *Art of Painting* (1720), considers Damaskinos to be one of the most important Greek painters.

Works by Damaskinos are to be found in many parts of Greece (Mount Athos, Athens, Corfu, Crete, Galaxidi, Patmos, and Zakynthos) and the rest of Europe (Italy, Switzerland, for example), on Mount Sinai, and in private collections in the United States. According to recent estimates, his known works amount to about 100. More than half are unsigned but are securely attributed to him on the basis of historical evidence or stylistic criteria; conversely, several works that falsely bear his signature have been removed from his oeuvre. Only two of his works bear a date: the *Beheading of John the Baptist* (1590; Municipal Cemetery of Corfu) and the *First Ecumenical Council* (1591; St Catherine of the Sinaites, Herakleion). A few more, executed in Venice, may be dated on the basis of archival evidence. In most cases, however, it is difficult to date Damaskinos' work, particularly since his style exhibits considerable differences, often during the same period.

The demands of his profession and the broad spectrum of his clients in Greece and Italy (Orthodox and Catholic churches and monasteries, private individuals of both creeds and from all social classes, Venetian noblemen, and Cretans from the lower and middle classes) undoubtedly influenced his work. His output was always of a high standard and exhibits great variety in terms of the genre, technique, style, and iconographic schema. He executed large-scale works for public places of worship and monasteries (despotic icons, iconostases for churches, and western-type altarpieces), and also small

icons and triptychs designed for private piety. With unrivalled skill, he created individual devotional figures of saints in an imposing monumental style, and also complex narrative scenes of a miniature character. A large number of his works are in a traditional style, based on late Palaeologan models and Cretan painting of earlier generations. He never rejected this style, though towards the end of his career he added to it a distinct element of plasticity and a barely perceptible misty chiaroscuro. Many of his works also reveal the influence of western European art, sometimes confined to details, and sometimes more pervasive, using as models foreign Renaissance and Mannerist paintings and engravings. They retain a unity of style, however, thanks to the use of a single medium (normally traditional egg tempera, probably with an admixture of oil), and a uniform range of colours.

From a technical point of view, Damaskinos generally showed a preference for a brown underpaint, using pinkish flesh tones with a few greenish shadows, and lighting prominent points of exposed flesh with discreet white brushstrokes. Drapery sometimes retains the geometric character and rhythmical arrangement of early Cretan painting and sometimes acquires the soft folds and fluidity associated with western taste. The predominant colours in his work are red and green, with a rich tonal scale ranging from pale rose-red to deep purple, applied in successive thin layers.

In works whose iconography is of purely western origin Damaskinos adopted the appropriate style, strongly influenced by Titian and Tintoretto. It is to these painters that his preferences incline, along with others of the Venetian school, such as J. Bassano and P. Veronese, and other central and north Italian painters of the High Renaissance and Mannerist periods (Raphael, known mainly to Damaskinos through engravings by Marcantonio Raimondi, Parmigianino, and Andrea Schiavone), and more rarely from northern Europe. For a single work he gleaned elements from different sources, rarely copying figures or groups in their entirety.

Damaskinos's artistic aspirations find tangible expression in compositions which, while retaining their Byzantine core, distance themselves from the established schemes of that tradition. This results in multifigural works, with the main subject framed by other related episodes executed in miniature, revealing his assimilation of western influence. These works, which exhibit some originality with regard to the tradition in which they are set, and justify the painter's signing them with the word *Poiema...* (Creation of...) instead of the traditional *Cheir...* (Hand of...), are in accord with the mixed nature of Cretan society in the Venetian period. The most important of them are the six icons now in the collection of St Catherine, Herakleion, and a number in Corfu.

Among the artist's innovations, particular interest attaches to the use of linear perspective (an issue of serious concern to Renaissance art theorists and painters), the use of genre elements rendering details from everyday life, the incorporation of Renaissance features and semi-naked bodies of Mannerist taste, the correct perspective rendering of objects, architectural decoration, and the contorted *figura serpentinata*. Some of his works also reflect the concerns of the day, such as debates on doctrinal issues.

Damaskinos made a highly important contribution to the renewal of the traditional iconography of post-Byzantine painting. Many of the new iconographic compositions that he created were copied by known 16th- and 17th-century painters, such as Emmanuel Lambardos, Victor, Frangiskos Kavertzas, Philotheos Skouphos, Emmanuel Skordilis, Ioannis Moskos, and others – and also many anonymous painters. Though they fall short of the quality of their models, they indicate the esteem in which Damakinos' work was held by his fellow artists and the wide circulation of his drawings. With their excellent quality, their original treatment of their subjects, and the strong physical presence of the figures depicted, his works are also used as models by modern religious painters. Indeed, given the vast increase in the publication of books illustrating original icons in recent years, as well as a new interest in icon painting, they are now being copied more frequently than ever.

MARIA CONSTANTOUDAKI

Biography

Born *c.*1530 in Herakleion (Candia), Crete, Damaskinos served his apprenticeship in his native city, perhaps under a painter of the circle of Theophanis Strelitzas-Bathas (Theophanes of Crete). He moved to Venice in the 1560s and with a two-year break in Sicily stayed there until *c.*1582, working mainly for the Greek Orthodox Confraternity. In 1583 he returned to Herakleion and continued to paint. About 100 of his works are known. He died probably in 1592.

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Dance

From the evidence of both literature and art, it is clear that in ancient Greece dancing – the art traditionally dedicated to Terpsichore, one of the Muses – was widespread and important, whether as part of private entertainment or public ceremonial. Attendance at dancing classes in the tribal divisions of society was an obligatory part of the education of young Athenians. Spontaneous or formalized dancing in groups, usually of the same sex (since many ritual occasions demanded segregation of the sexes), and solo dancing of an expressive or imitative nature, with attention to movements of the hands (*cheironomia*), are both well attested; but, surprisingly to us, dancing together in pairs of opposite sexes, as in western ballroom dancing, seems to have been quite unusual.

In the description of the scenes on the shield of Achilles in *Iliad* 18, however, youths and maidens dance in adjoining lines, accompanied by two tumbling acrobats, and the dance floor is compared to the one made by Daedalus for Ariadne at Knossos. Crete was in fact thought to have made the major contribution to the development of dance, going back to the very birth of Zeus, when the leaping, foot-stamping, and weapon-clashing of the Curetes, fertility demons, concealed the child from the cannibalistic intention of his father Cronus. A late fragmentary hymn describing the occasion, with the theme of leaping to promote fertility, was found in excavations at Palaikastro. The lively dance called *hyporchema* was also believed to have been a Cretan invention, and was occasionally introduced into the choreography of Classical Attic tragedy. Plutarch (*Theseus*, 21) also describes a dance called *geranos* ("crane"), said to have been danced by Theseus and other youths on their escape from the labyrinth of Minos, and the agility in battle of a minor warrior of the *Iliad*, the Cretan Meriones, was attributed to his dancing skill.

The association of dancing with warfare – called "fierce Ares' dance" in *Iliad*, 7. 241 – and the manipulation of weapons are highlighted in the so-called Pyrrhic dance, also said to have derived from a divine birth, this time not of Zeus, but from his head, when Pallas Athena leapt out vigorously, fully armed. The motif of the dramatic emergence of a warrior continued to be a feature of the Pyrrhic, which was performed particularly at the Panathenaic festival by youths, naked but armed with helmet, shield, and spear, like the goddess. Socrates (Athenaeus, 628f.) is said to have declared that "those best at dancing are also best at war", and Plato (*Laws*, 815) described how this dance imitated defensive and offensive postures of combat. The Pyrrhic was alternatively attributed to Achilles' son Neoptolemus (also called Pyrrhus), whose desperate self-defence against Delphians is likened to the dance in a memorable passage of Euripides' *Andromache* (1129ff.). Aristophanes (*Clouds*, 988–89) complained that the effete younger generation in Athens could not adequately perform the shield-twisting movement in honour of Athena, and it seems that a sophisticated stereotype in the dance might replace the actual shield, with a folded cloak covering the left arm to mimic the true armed pose. The Pyrrhic is the dance most often represented in art, both in sculpture and in vase painting. A pose showing sideways or backward turning of the head is another motif, sometimes associated with another exploit of Athena, when she instructed Perseus how to avoid the fatal glare of the Gorgon in their famous combat, or even herself performed the slaying of the monster. Armed dancers were popular elsewhere in Greece, especially Sparta with its prominent tradition of military training, and an elaborate account by Xenophon (*Anabasis*, 6) gives a detailed description of these in entertainments provided by different Greek mercenaries during Cyrus' famous march through Asia Minor. Included are a Persian dance featuring crouching and jumping, and one named *karpaia*, in which a farmer takes arms to protect his property against rustlers. The Pyrrhic is here danced as a solo by a young girl.

In *Laws* 815 Plato declares that there are two desirable types of dance, the warlike (as described above) and the peaceful, among which the stately and graceful *emmeleia* is singled out. *Iliad* 16. 183 refers to maidens dancing in the choir of Artemis, and a feature of Attic ritual was the chorus of young girls dressed as bears dancing in her honour in the township of Brauron. Dances imitative of animals and birds were widespread throughout Greece. When Odysseus is entertained at the Phaeacian court (*Odyssey*, 8. 256) he watches a pair of local youths dance, where jumping and throwing balls to each other are featured. The maiden songs (*partheneia*) with choral dancing of Alcman were notable, often celebrated at a night festival (*pannychis*). *Paeans*, mostly associated with Apollo, were composed by poets like Pindar, along with processionals (*prosodia*), marriage songs (hymeneals, epithalamia), dirges (*threnoi*), and the victory odes (*epinicia*) for which he is most famous. Ecstatic dancing was a feature of the cult of Dionysus and his crazed maenads (most memorably featured in Euripides' *Bacchae*). Other deities of oriental origin, such as Cybele, Attis, Sabazius, and their acolytes the Corybants, were also worshipped with the sort of dancing to musical accompaniment performed by ecstatic votaries which aroused apprehension about the disruption of civic order in some communities.

The dance particularly honouring Dionysus was the dithyramb. Whether Aristotle was right to see Attic tragedy (certainly associated with that god, and performed in his theatre) as developing from the dithyramb remains controversial, and the latter continued to be danced independently in a circular group of 50 in inter-tribal competitions, while the tragic chorus was danced in more formal rectangular patterns of 12 or 15 performers. Having entered by the *parodos*, they performed in the dancing place (orchestra) and remained on stage during the acted portions which were punctuated by their stationary songs (*stasima*), before marching out, usually to an anapaestic rhythm, in the *exodos*. Sophocles was himself said to have been an elegant dancer, and to have written a handbook *On the Chorus*. The group of three tragedies (trilogy) was followed by a satyr play, where the chorus, sometimes in

Dance: female dancers depicted on a *krater* in the Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Ferrara

the guise of attendants of Pan or Silenus, indulged in grotesque parodies of the statelier tragic dances, and we hear too of frankly indecent dances like the *sikinnis* and *kordax*. The chorus in Aristophanes' comedies performed the energetic dances appropriate to revelry (*komos*). Dancing was a popular feature of symposia in Athens and elsewhere, and Xenophon's *Symposium* in particular describes a typical party. Courtesans (hetaerae) were frequently called upon for these entertainments, with the music of the double *aulos* and castanets.

When Greek culture began to penetrate southern Italy, the so-called *phlyakes* plays, of similar hilarious type, became popular, and the dances that accompanied them are represented on vases. It was in the Roman era that the craze for virtuoso dancing by Greek *pantomimi*, interpreting different mythical roles, not only spread in theatrical performance, but attracted the favour of the imperial courts. Nero's own patronage of dancing, and his taking the stage himself, were notorious. Moralists and satirists such as Cicero, Seneca, and Juvenal may have expressed their disgust at the lewdness of much professional dancing, and in the Christian era the suppression of such exhibitions was sought. Nevertheless in the 6th century the notorious dancer Theodora became Roman empress through her marriage to Justinian.

In the pantomime the same dancer acted out a series of roles, representing either sex, and changing masks accordingly, with the mimicry of a dumbshow in steps, postures, and gestures. Although in the Byzantine period stage performance declined, pagan festivals and carnivals such as the Kalends and Brumalia survived and continued to be celebrated, while more decorous dances were performed at weddings and court ceremonials. In spite of theatrical censorship, low-class dances were still to be seen in taverns, accompanied by wind instruments and percussion.

The popularity of mythological themes in French *tragédie lyrique* and opera-ballet in the 17th–18th centuries revived interest in Greek theatrical dancing. A notable example of a famous Attic tragedy restaged (in translation) in the following century was Mendelssohn's *Antigone* at the Prussian court in Potsdam in 1841. Though it was a great success, when it reached London four years later, *Punch* magazine reviewed it with facetious contempt for the costume, singing, and dancing of the chorus! A century later, staging Attic tragedy attracted the attention of Carl Orff. His *Antigonae* (which has been performed in the Athenian theatre of Dionysus) and *Oedipus der Tyrann* were set to German translations, but his later *Prometheus* was staged to Aeschylus' Greek text.

In modern Greek society, folk dancing is ubiquitous, with dances such as the *tsamikos*, *zeibebiko*, *hasapiko*, *kalama-*

tianos, and *syrtos* – a dance actually attested as early as the 1st century. In the 20th century attempts have been made to reconstruct for performance elements of what is known of ancient Greek dance from art and literature (especially Lucian's essay *On the Dance*); and mention could be made of the eurhythmic movement of Jaques-Dalcroze and the dancing of Isadora Duncan, who derived ideas from depictions of dancing in Greek art, and of Martha Graham. Now that the staging of Greek drama, either in the original Greek or in translation, has been revived, and performances are more frequent – those by the Greek Art Theatre of Karolos Koun, and the London Festival of Greek Drama have been successful, and even the stylized Japanese theatre has turned attention to Greek tragedy – producers have come to decisions as to how best to represent the choral interludes and dances of the ancient theatre.

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See also Music, Theatre

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Dark Age 1200–700 BC

The term "Dark Age" is a relatively recent coinage of modern scholarship, applied to the period that intervenes between the collapse of the Mycenaean palaces around 1200 BC and the emergence of a new state form (the polis) in the course of the 8th century BC. Ancient writers seem to have been unaware of any major disjuncture between the heroic age and the historical period. Hesiod, writing around 700 BC, paints a gloomy picture of a gradual decline, symbolized by the successive "five ages" of gold, silver, bronze, heroes, and iron (*Works and Days*, 109–76). Conversely, Thucydides' conception of early Greek history (1. 1–18) is predicated on the notion of a steady evolutionary growth of resources and power; although the period immediately following the Trojan War is characterized by instability and migration (1. 12), there is no real sense of a cultural or economic "trough" that stands in stark contrast to conditions before the Trojan expedition, nor again of a "renaissance" associated with the rise of the polis – in fact, most Greeks believed that poleis had existed from time immemorial.

Up to the 1870s, most scholars accepted – at least in principle – Thucydides' general schema of early Greek history, though many (George Grote in particular) believed that the lack of contemporary written evidence made it impossible to construct a properly historical narrative of Greece before 776 BC (the traditional date for the foundation of the Olympic Games). However, Heinrich Schliemann's excavations at Troy (1870–90), Mycenae (1876), and Tiryns (1884) made it clear for the first time that an earlier, civilized culture had flourished on the Greek mainland; it also soon became evident that the palaces associated with this "Mycenaean" civilization had experienced an abrupt end. Following Flinders Petrie's publication in 1890 of Mycenaean pottery in Egyptian contexts of the 18th and 19th Dynasties and his conclusion that the Mycenaean palaces had been destroyed around 1200 BC, it became evident that there was a gap of approximately five centuries between the collapse of the palaces and the first extant literature as represented by Hesiod and the lyric poets of the 7th century BC. The sheer paucity of evidence for this intervening period had already by the last decade of the 19th century led historians to term it a "Dark Age" or "the medieval epoch of Greece".

It is sometimes stated today that the Dark Age is simply a "subjective" perception in the mind of the modern historian, generated by the lack of any contemporary literary evidence, and that archaeological investigation is revealing the period to be anything but obscure in "objective" terms. In fact, if anything, the opposite is more correct. It is certainly true that direct and contemporary literary evidence is lacking for the period. The Linear B tablets, which offer precious testimony for economic, social, and military conditions in the Late Bronze Age, disappear with the destruction of the Mycenaean palaces as the bureaucratic necessity for scribal literacy evaporated; literacy – this time in alphabetic form – is not attested again in Greece proper until the middle of the 8th century BC (though a possible example of the Greek script of the early 8th century BC is claimed at Osteria dell'Osa to the east of Rome). Nor has Moses Finley's argument that the Homeric epics reflect the social conditions of the 10th and 9th centuries BC

met with much scholarly consensus. Nevertheless, while recent decades of archaeological exploration have certainly served to illuminate our knowledge of the Dark Age and to trace certain low-level continuities throughout these centuries that should urge caution against too rigid a periodization, it is still the case that our increased understanding of this period ultimately confirms that settlement patterns, interactions between communities, religious behaviour, and artistic and technological traditions were indeed somewhat different from the situations that had existed earlier and were to exist subsequently.

The collapse of the Mycenaean palaces seems to have instigated certain population movements, revealed by the occupation of new areas such as eastern Attica, Lefkandi on Euboea, Emborio on Chios, Ialysus on Rhodes, Cyprus, and the north Aegean. Yet many of these sites were short-lived and by the first half of the 11th century BC the number of known settlements in Greece is less than half the 220 sites attested for the period 1200–1150 BC. This may indicate overall demographic decline but there is also the possibility that new sites were occupied on a more temporary or seasonal basis (thus potentially escaping archaeological retrieval) and it is often suggested that instability and insecurity were both the cause and effect of a shift from sedentary agricultural practices to a more pastoral lifestyle. From the 10th century BC the number of known sites begins to rise again but it is not until the 8th century BC that a sharp increase in site numbers and evident signs of urban nucleation signal a return to more settled conditions – a phenomenon that may have been triggered by, but would certainly help to foster, demographic growth.

The communities of this period were also far more isolated than had been the case earlier when the Mycenaean cultural koine had embraced much of the Mediterranean and the Near East littoral; one apparent indication of this new isolation is the increasing regionalization of pottery styles. Nevertheless, not all contacts were severed entirely: imported grave goods are still attested – albeit in smaller quantity – at sites in both central and southern Greece, while the diffusion of iron metallurgy should suggest some continued contact with the east – almost certainly with Cyprus as an intermediary. Crete in particular maintained links with Cyprus and possibly even Italy and Sicily. One of the most important "type-sites" for the period is Lefkandi on the island of Euboea where, from the 1960s onwards, excavations have brought to light part of the settlement (whose ancient name is unknown) and its cemeteries. The mid-11th-century BC tombs at Lefkandi contained artefacts from Cyprus and the Levant, though there followed a period of apparent isolation until the middle of the 10th century BC, when an imposing peripteral building, constructed from timber and mudbrick and erected over a "princely" burial, testifies to the emergence of a hierarchy within this newly prosperous (but still fairly small) community. Immediately afterwards the building was surrounded by a number of elite burials whose grave goods indicate renewed contacts with Athens, Thessaly, Macedonia, Cyprus, and the Near East. It is fair to say, however, that Lefkandi is very much the exception to the rule: at other Greek sites it is generally not until the 9th and 8th centuries BC that more distant links are resumed as a prelude to the colonization of the west.

While the appearance of many recognizably Greek divinities in the Linear B tablets points to some continuity in religious traditions, archaeological evidence that might suggest a continuity in ritual behaviour is more elusive. A few sites certainly attest a continuity of cultic enactment from the late Mycenaean period throughout the Dark Age (Kalapodi in Phocis, Kato Syme Viannou on Crete, and possibly the Polis Cave on Ithaca), and several sanctuaries were already functioning by the 10th century BC (Munychia, Brauron, and Mount Hymettus in Attica; Olympia and Kombothekra in Elis; Amyclae in Laconia; the Heraion on Samos; Tegea in Arcadia; and Isthmia in Corinthia), but there is little or no evidence for cultic activity much before the 8th century BC at some of the more famous sanctuaries of the historical period, such as Eleusis, Delos, and Delphi, and this is also the period that witnesses the earliest cultic buildings, even in sanctuaries that had been functioning for several centuries.

Finally, the period witnesses the disappearance of certain technological and artistic traditions such as ivory working, figured pictorial representations on pottery, and monumental stone architecture. It is the apparently seamless resumption of these techniques from the 9th and 8th centuries BC onwards that has suggested to some scholars that the Dark Age is nothing other than a scholarly mirage, produced as a result of synchronizing the Mycenaean ceramic sequence with faulty Egyptian dates; it has been argued that a recalibration of the Egyptian sequence yields a destruction date for the Mycenaean palaces of 950 BC rather than 1200 BC, thus halving the five-century "gap" that troubled earlier scholars. The thesis has little to recommend it, though it provides a salutary reminder as to the fragility of pottery chronology in the ancient Mediterranean and Near East.

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See also Political History to 490 BC

Summary

The period from the destruction of the Mycenaean palaces *c.*1200 BC to the emergence of the polis as a state form *c.*700 BC. Archaeological evidence of settled communities and cultic activity is slight before the 8th century BC. Traditions of ivory working, figured decoration on pottery, and monumental stone architecture disappeared. Type-sites such as Lefkandi testify to the isolation of the society.

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Dead, Cult of the

Although Homer represents the dead in Hades as devoid of physical and mental power, and Hesiod credits the disembodied spirits of the golden race with being altruistically beneficent, the common Greek belief was that the behaviour of the dead was influenced by the conduct of the living. They behave beneficently when propitiated, but maleficently when neglected or spurned. Being capable of doing good or evil, they had to be gratified with pious attentions in order to induce them to do good. Accordingly, a ritually correct burial or cremation, costly grave gifts, and periodical offerings of food and drink were vital elements in the tendance of the dead.

The history of the Greek cult of the dead is to some extent related to the prevalence of the two chief modes of disposal, namely cremation and inhumation, although they do not reflect different eschatalogical beliefs. Whatever the method of disposal, it was essential to cover the body with earth, and three handfuls were sufficient to fulfil the requirements for a ceremonial burial. Thus in Sophocles' *Antigone* (255–56) the heroine scatters a thin coating of dust over Polynices. This covering cut the dead off from the sight of the heavenly gods, to prevent them from being offended and their altars polluted (cf. Sophocles, *Ajax*, 589, *Antigone*, 1716f.). It was also an act of kindness to the departed, because they could not enter the underworld unless their mortal remains were buried (Homer, *Iliad*, 23. 71ff.). To grant burial to a dead person, be he friend or enemy, was therefore universally recognized as a pious act. However, burial was denied to executed criminals, traitors, and occasionally to suicides.

When the body had been bathed, it was dressed in clothes such as the deceased might have worn in life, and laid on a couch (*prothesis*). Laments were made by the relatives and others present, and moderation in this respect (as well as in the elaborateness of funeral pyres and the amount of grave goods buried or burned with the body) was recommended, and sometimes required by law. Finally, the body was carried to the place of burial or cremation accompanied by a crowd of mourners (*ekphora*). Only the *prothesis* and *ekphora* are depicted on geometric vases, but the Athenian white-ground lekythoi frequently depict tomb cults. In the case of cremation, the ashes were placed in a vessel whose shape, size, and material varied according to place, time, and circumstances. Coffins were normally used for burials, while elaborately carved sarcophagi became fashionable among the well-to-do in later times. It was customary to hold a funeral even in the absence of a body, and dummies may have been used occasionally. Family rituals for the dead were held at the tomb not only after the burial, but also at intervals thereafter.

Although Minoan and Mycenaean tombs show variations in size, elaboration, and the number and value of their grave offerings, we know little or nothing of their funerals. Homer describes elaborate funeral ceremonies, such as those in honour of Patroclus in *Iliad* 23. The funeral was followed by elaborate games in which every contestant received a prize of some sort. Some of these were the property of the dead person, and it has been suggested that the prizes may represent a compromise between burning all the dead man's goods with him and allowing them to be inherited. During the Archaic period the funeral became an occasion to display aristocratic wealth, power, and prestige, and laws were passed to limit extravagance.

Greek literature frequently refers to the need for burial rites and the insult to human dignity if they are omitted. Though the dead themselves had no power, they had access to infernal powers, notably Hades and Persephone. Accordingly, *katadesmoi* or folded lead plaques inscribed with curses bearing the name of the person to be "bound down" were occasionally placed in graves. The dead person's journey to the next world was effected by elaborate ritual conducted by relatives, primarily women. Priests were not allowed at funerals for fear of incurring pollution, and there was no "burial service" as such. No tomb cult was practised in early times, but in Classical Athens women paid regular visits to the grave. Offerings included cakes and libations, mainly of pure water. Aeschylus has dramatized such visits in the *Choephori* and the *Persians*, but with differences of time and place. It was considered so important at this time for the dead to receive the attention of the living that it constituted a reason for adopting an heir (Isaeus, 2. 36. 7, 30).

From Classical times we have descriptions of magnificent public funerals (complete with orations honouring the dead), especially those given at Athens to citizens killed in war (Diodorus Siculus, 11. 33. 3; Thucydides, 2. 34). Their magnificence is matched by the sculptured gravestones of Classical Athens with their restrained expression of grief. The dead are often depicted performing some familiar act for the last time. The brief inscriptions usually record only the name and parentage, and sometimes the word "farewell" is added. Those who died unmarried at marriageable age received special sympathy, their pathos being underlined by a stone grave marker in the form of a *loutrophoros* or vase used in the nuptial bath. According to Plutarch (*Aristides*, 21), the heroic dead were so powerful that even in his own day (*c.*AD 46–*c.*120) they received blood sacrifice. Those who visited a funeral underwent some defilement, so water from another house was provided on leaving for cleansing: see Hesiod's advice not to make love on returning from funerals. Cypress branches were fixed to the door to indicate a death within.

Sacrificial offerings were made to the dead from the time of the burial and at the grave. Solon expressly forbade sacrifice of oxen at the grave. Burial was followed by a funeral feast. The soul of the dead man was thought to be present, even to be the host. On the third and ninth days after the funeral, meals were given to the dead man at his grave; the ninth day ended the period of mourning (in Sparta the eleventh). On the fifth day of the month of Boedromion a general *genesia* (birthday) was held by the entire Athenian public for their dead relatives; we also hear of a feast called *nemesia* probably to avert their anger.

At Athens the chief festival was held at the close of the Dionysiac feast of the Anthesteria, in spring, of which it formed the concluding day. On this day the dead swarmed back to the world. Each family made offerings to their own

dead. Hermes, on behalf of the dead, was offered cooked vegetables and seeds in pots (hence the name Chytrai). After the feast the souls were asked to leave.

We learn from Plato (*Republic*, 2. 365a) that during the 4th century BC there were many Greek manuals attributed to Orpheus, Musaeus, and other sages, full of mythology and formulas for initiations. They also contained instructions for calling up the dead for consultation, Hermes being the intermediary. Such formulas are also found in the magical papyri.

In spite of philosophical discussions on reincarnation and the transmigration of the soul, it is strange that such views have left hardly any trace on Greek tomb inscriptions: there are no prayers for a better life at the next birth or for a safe return to old haunts. The doctrines of the religious and philosophical teachers in this regard apparently had little influence on the life and thought of the common people.

Quite different was the case of the Christian teaching of a purgation of the dead, as borne out by Paul's discovery that at Corinth some Christians were undergoing a second baptism on behalf of dead relatives (1 Corinthians 15:29). Similarly, Byzantine Christians, believing in the power of the living to influence, through prayers and intercessions, the destiny of the souls of the departed, made lavish donations to churches and monasteries in order to guarantee the proper commemoration of their dead relatives.

Death was viewed by both Christians and Neoplatonists as a liberation from captivity. Nevertheless, both laid greater emphasis on the positive aspect of death as the beginning of a new life. Loud and excessive mourning over the dead was therefore criticized by theologians such as Basil the Great and John Chrysostom, while some radical monastic circles even objected to a special burial service.

Christianity transformed in a special way the rites of the funeral liturgy and certain representations of the hereafter that derived from pre-Christian customs and beliefs. Among the beliefs thus taken over and transformed by the Church Fathers were the soul's journey after death escorted by the *psychopompoi*, a role now ascribed to the angels; Charon's ferry, whose role is now taken by the Church – the ship of souls; the *ephodion* or sustenance for the journey, now provided by the Eucharist or "Holy Viaticum". This last concept is sometimes given a wider meaning to include faith, baptism, or the monastic life. Meanwhile, the traditional funeral meal conducted by relatives at the tomb of the deceased gave rise to the custom of distributing *kollyva* (small round cakes). This practice was unanimously opposed by the Western Church as a pagan superstition, but it survived in the Byzantine Church. The 3rd, 7th (or 9th), and 30th (or 40th) days after death were specially commemorated by the distribution of *kollyva* and the offering of liturgical prayers, which were thought to accompany the dead person on his or her journey, these dates being regarded as marking important stations on the soul's journey either to the final vision of, or banishment from, God. The dead were also commemorated on the anniversary of their death and on the Saturday before Meatfare Sunday.

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See also Afterlife, Burial Practices, Death

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Death

In ancient Greece death was an everyday occurrence, being prevalent among people of all age groups whether as a result of disease, accident, childbirth, or warfare. Furthermore, it was a far more immediate aspect of the life of the community than is the case in many modern societies. Since there were no hospitals, most deaths occurred either at home or on the battlefield. If death occurred at home, it was the duty of the relatives of the deceased to prepare the body for burial, transport it to the burial ground, and lay it in the earth. Since funerals provided an opportunity for the display of wealth and prestige, many communities, including that of Athens, introduced legislation designed to limit their scale and magnificence.

The most striking evidence of burial practices in Bronze Age Greece is provided by the so-called shaft graves at Mycenae. These graves, dated to the 16th century BC, are cut into the living rock to a depth of several metres. They have yielded some of the richest finds ever discovered on the mainland. In the 15th century a different style of burial developed, in the form of beehive tombs, so named because of their domed appearance. Recent excavations at Lefkandi on Euboea dating to the 10th century BC have yielded evidence of the ritual slaughter of a young woman and four horses on behalf of a warrior, presumably so that they could accompany the warrior to the underworld.

In Homer death is characteristically described in terms of the departure of the psyche "lamenting its fate", from either the mouth or a gaping wound. However, it is worth noting that, of the 240 deaths in the *Iliad*, only four are described in this way. The psyche is, moreover, a biologically indistinct entity which is rarely referred to except at the moment of death. No other Greek writer gives any explanation as to why the human organism dies, except for Aristotle, who claimed that it was caused by loss of vital heat. Mythologically the idea of a painless death was epitomized by the gentle arrows of silver-bowed Apollo.

Because a corpse was believed to be highly polluting, relatives were required to take elaborate precautions to prevent the pollution from seeping out of the house and into the community. Solon legislated that only close family members and women over the age of 60 were permitted to enter the house of the dead and take part in the funeral. In order to contain the pollution, a bowl of water was placed outside the house so that visitors could purify themselves, and flasks containing olive oil were placed around the couch on which the dead was laid out. In addition, a cypress branch was hung on the door to warn passers-by of the presence of contagion within.

Death was handled almost exclusively by the relatives of the deceased, who were under a sacred obligation to ease transition "from here to there", as the Greeks phrased it. Though there are occasional references to undertakers in ancient sources, their duties were confined to transporting the corpse from the house to the grave and preparing the ground for burial. It is a reasonable assumption that the Greeks would have regarded the idea of handing over the corpse of a dead relative to strangers as both incomprehensible and inexcusable. This had much to do with the belief that in the period between death and burial the deceased was in a dangerous liminal condition and needed help from his or her relatives in order to secure entry to Hades.

Greek culture not only tolerated but expected extravagant manifestations of grief. Both men and women tore out their hair, rent their garments, beat and lacerated their breasts, and rolled on the ground in the dust. In part this behaviour was prompted by the belief that the deceased took pleasure in witnessing the exaggerated displays of grief that their death occasioned.

As soon as death occurred, the corpse would be prepared for the *prothesis*, or "laying out", which took place in the house where the deceased lived. First, the eyes and mouth were closed. Female relatives washed the corpse, anointed it with olive oil, clothed it, and then wrapped it in a winding sheet. Finally they laid it out on a couch with the head on a pillow and the feet facing the door. Visitors then came to view the body and dirges were sung in its presence. On the day of the funeral the bereaved accompanied the corpse to the burial site. If the family could afford it, it would be placed in a simple wooden coffin, though owing to the scarcity of wood it might only be covered with a few branches. The corpse was either borne by pall-bearers or transported in a cart.

Little is known about what took place at the burial service itself, other than the fact that ritualized laments were delivered. Though both inhumation and cremation were practised with varying degrees of popularity in antiquity, cremation was generally regarded as more prestigious, in part because this is how the bodies of Homeric heroes were disposed of. (The most detailed description of a cremation burial is that of Patroclus in Homer's *Iliad*, book 23.) After cremation the ashes were placed in an urn, which was then buried. Once the grave had been filled in, a grave marker was erected. The mourners then returned to the house of the deceased for a commemorative meal. Lastly, the house was ritually purified. Inscriptions from various parts of the Greek world indicate that it was customary to debar relatives from participating in the life of the community for several weeks.

The Greeks did not have cemeteries as such. Those who dwelt in rural areas buried their dead on their estates, whereas city dwellers buried them beside major roads. From around 500 BC the practice of burial within the city of Athens abruptly ceased, perhaps due to a law introduced by the politician Cleisthenes. The ban was no doubt connected primarily with the fear of pollution, but it may also have been due in part to the need to conserve as much residential space as possible. The busiest roads henceforth provided the most popular burial spots for wealthy families, as is indicated by the large number of tombs outside the Dipylon and Sacred Gates on the west side of the city in the neighbourhood known as the Ceramicus, or potters' quarter. In the final decades of the 5th century BC family plots became extremely popular among the wealthy. These were large rectangular spaces walled along the front and at the sides, access being gained from the rear. The popularity of this style of burial may be connected with the belief that members of the family could be reunited in the hereafter if they were buried together.

In Classical Athens concern for the well-being of the dead did not cease after burial. On the contrary, relatives continued to maintain a close attachment to the deceased long after death had occurred, since their welfare in Hades was believed to be dependent upon the attention they received from the living. The anniversary of the day of death was especially important. The dead were believed either to dwell close to the grave or at least to be capable of visiting it when summoned. For this reason a variety of gifts were deposited on the steps of the tomb, including jars of olive oil, myrtle branches, wreaths, cakes, and wine. In addition, the gravestone was anointed with olive oil and coloured sashes were wound around it. In Classical Athens the care of the dead was considered to be so important that it constituted a reason for adopting an heir.

Festivals in honour of the dead were major features of the sacred calendar. One such was the second day of the Anthesteria festival, which was equivalent to All Souls' Day, since the dead were thought to leave Hades and wander abroad. Most spectacular of all was the annual ceremony in honour of the war dead, which took place in early winter at the end of the campaigning season. An account of the ceremony conducted on behalf of those who died in the first year of the Peloponnesian War was provided by Thucydides (2. 34ff.), who also included the speech delivered by Pericles on that occasion. Only the most courageous war dead were accorded the privilege of being interred on the field of battle. They included the 192 Athenians who fell at the battle of Marathon, around whom a cult was established. The most revered dead were heroes such as Theseus, Oedipus, and Orestes, who were believed to be capable of exerting considerable power within the vicinity of their graves. Their services could be invoked by

animal sacrifice. A clay pipe was sometimes inserted into the grave to enable the blood to reach the hero directly. Other important categories of the dead who received special rites include those who had been murdered, suicides, and those struck by lightning.

The Greeks felt particular sympathy for those who died at a marriageable age but who were unmarried. To underline their sad plight, a stone marker in the form of a *loutrophoros*, the vase used for the nuptial bath, was placed over the grave. Generally, however, Greek funerary art is remarkably reserved in its depiction of death and all sentimentality is eschewed. Sculpture depicts the deceased in a domestic setting in the company of family members. A particularly common image is that of two people, either standing or seated, shaking hands. In such cases it is usually impossible to discern which is the deceased and which the living, and we are left wondering whether the handshake is one of farewell between the living and the dead or one of greeting between the newly arrived in the underworld and those less recently arrived.

By definition death separates the world of mortals from that of the gods. Though the Olympian deities occasionally mourn the passing of a favourite, for the most part they are indifferent to human loss. Their removal from the physiology of death was due to the fact that proximity to the dying and the dead exposed them to risk of pollution caused by death. As Artemis observes in Euripides' *Hippolytus* (1437f.), it is not permitted by divine law for a deity "either to look at the dead or to sully their eyes with the expirations of the dying". For the same reason no priest or priestess was allowed to enter the house of the dead or attend a burial.

There are a number of parallels between modern and ancient Greece in regard to the treatment of death. Modern Greeks, like the ancients, tend to accept the physiological aspect of death as a natural fact of life. They are also much more likely to die in the comfort of their own beds than is the case in either Britain or the USA. When death is imminent the Orthodox priest performs the sacrament known as the Anointing of the Sick, or Unction. The belief still persists that the soul leaves the body through the mouth. Women continue to play the leading role in the care of the dead. A young woman who dies unmarried is sometimes buried wearing the bridal dress and crown that she was unable to wear in life. Fondling and kissing the corpse frequently occur, as they did at an ancient *prothesis*. Laments are sung by women both in the house of the deceased and at the graveside. Coins are placed in the coffin before it is lowered into the grave. On returning from the burial, those who have come into contact with the deceased are required to wash in order to purify themselves. *Kedeia*, the ancient Greek word for "funeral", which literally means "caring for", is still in regular use. The soul of the deceased is believed to linger on earth for 40 days before ascending to heaven.

The Greek Orthodox Church permits only inhumation, not cremation. The wealthy favour costly marble monuments to the dead. In addition, a glass case containing an oil lamp and a photograph of the deceased may be placed at the head. Periodic visits to the cemetery take place up to three years after burial. Close relatives of the dead remain in mourning throughout that period, observing dietary restrictions and wearing black, though a widow may wear black for the rest of her life, especially in rural areas. Partly for economic reasons, after three years have elapsed it is customary to exhume the dead and transfer the remains to the community ossuary, though the wealthy may elect to leave the dead in a family plot. By this time the flesh has usually disintegrated. Its failure to do so is sometimes interpreted as a sign that the deceased was evil. So ingrained is this belief that an extension is often granted in the case of those who underwent medical procedures, such as chemotherapy, that may delay the rate of decay.

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See also Afterlife, Burial Practices, Dead (Cult of the)

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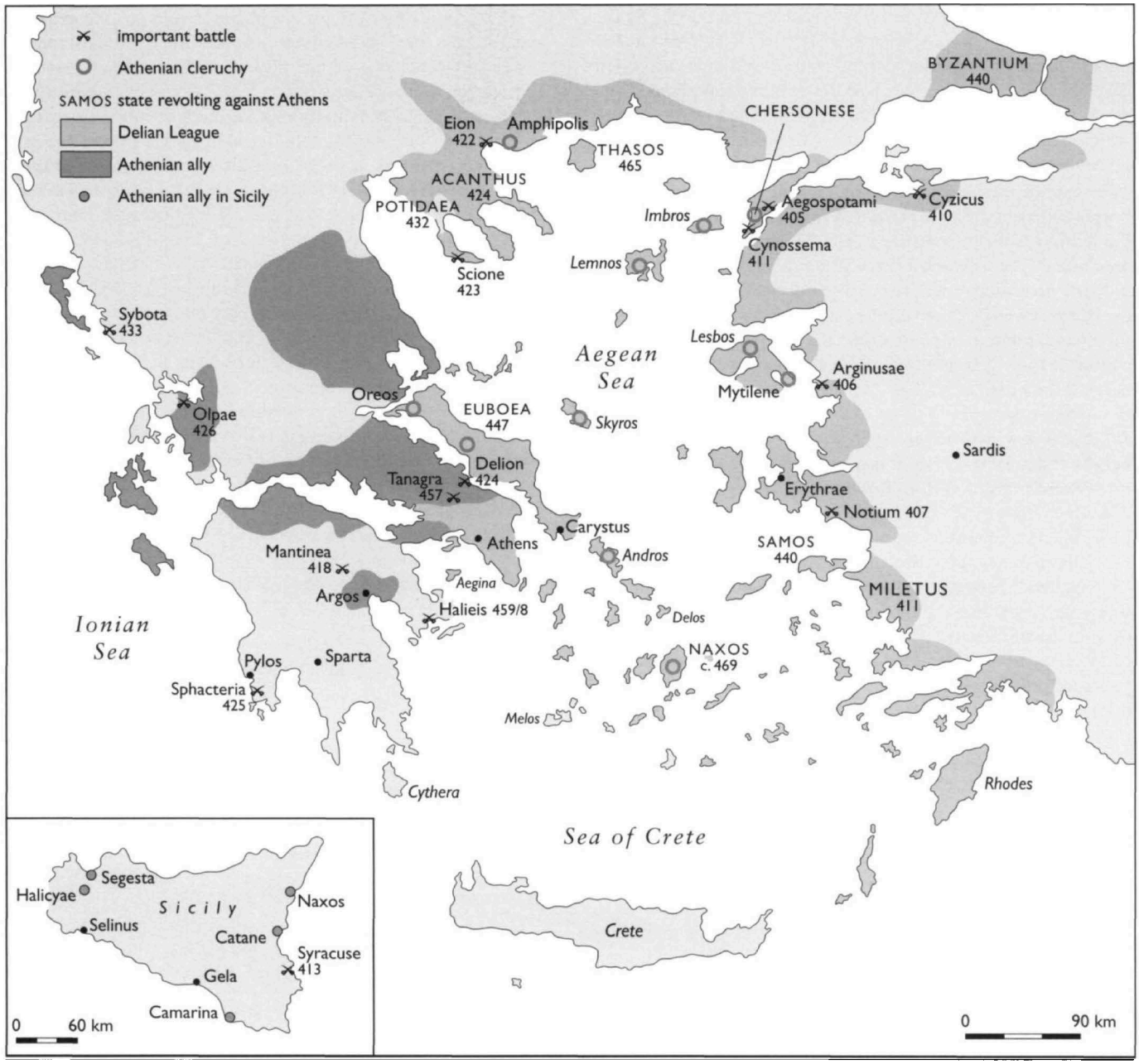
Delian League

Major source of Athenian power in the 5th century BC

The Delian League, a modern name for what was originally called "the Athenians and their allies", was established in the winter of 478/77 BC and lasted until the defeat of Athens by Sparta in 404 BC. It arose from discontent with Spartan leadership of the Greek war effort against Persia in the aftermath of the great victories in 480–479 and, particularly, with the conduct of the regent Pausanias in 478. According to Thucydides, the non-Peloponnesian allies, and especially the Ionians and those recently freed from Persian rule, approached the Athenians to lead them and they decided to take advantage of the situation (1. 95. 1–2).

The Athenians quickly settled on the contributions to be paid by members of the new alliance, either ships fully equipped for a campaigning season or money in lieu of personal service (*phoros*, usually translated as "tribute"), and arranged for a council (*synodos*), at which each member had one vote, to meet at Delos, where the treasury was established. Alliances at this time usually had a specific duration, but here the allies threw lumps of iron into the sea to bind everyone, including the Athenians, for ever.



17. The Delian League and allies of Athens, 460–446 BC

Several aspects of the alliance remain controversial, including its purpose, its extent, and the size of its revenues. Regarding its purpose, Thucydides says that the "pretext" (*proschema*) was to punish Persia for damage done (and to liberate any Greeks still enslaved: 1. 96. 1; cf. 3. 10. 3; 6. 76. 3); so this was not really a *symmachia*, an alliance whose members swore unconditionally to have the same friends and enemies (the word "pretext" may refer to later Athenian practice, when the league had become an Athenian empire and its resources were used for general Athenian purposes). As for its extent, there is no specific information about its membership at the beginning, though it seems likely that most non-Dorian islands of the Aegean plus coastal cities in northern Greece/Thrace, the Hellespontine area, Aeolia, and Ionia quickly joined; ultimately, there were over 200 members (cf. the Athenian tribute lists for 447–446 BC). With regard to finance, Thucydides states that the "*original* tribute" was 460 talents (1. 96. 2), which implies subsequent adjustment; and indeed, in speaking of Athens' finances at the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War in 431 BC, he says that 600 talents of *phoros* came from the allies each year on average, exclusive of other revenue; there was also a reserve of 6000 talents, which had once been as large as 9700 talents. However, the detailed records of league monies entrusted to Athena for safekeeping after the transfer of the treasury from Delos to Athens (probably in late 454 BC) suggest that the revenues deposited in Athens rarely, if ever, exceeded 400 talents per annum in the period 454–426 BC. Various attempts to explain this seeming contradiction include failure to pay/late payment by the allies, reduction of the tribute after *c.*467, and error on Thucydides'

part: none of these suggestions is satisfactory and probably the best that can be done with this problem is Unz's suggestion (1985) that the amounts deposited in Athens represent surpluses from fleet operations, costs of maintaining bases and garrisons, and possibly shipbuilding in allied yards, all of which items were paid for on the spot from local or district revenues.

It cannot be denied that the league fulfilled its initial purpose: Persian bases in the north Aegean area were captured, the Dorian cities of southwest Asia Minor were liberated, an apparent Persian invasion force was intercepted and smashed in battle near the mouth of the river Eurymedon in Pamphylia, expeditions were sent to Cyprus on at least two occasions, and there was a major attempt to detach Egypt from the Persian empire (459–454 BC), all of which resulted in either a formal peace ("the Peace of Callias") or an agreed informal cessation of hostilities in *c.*450–449 BC. At the same time, however, the Athenians saw and seized upon opportunities for their own benefit and power: certain states were forced to join the league, many were prevented from leaving, and those that fell foul of Athenian rigour in insisting on punctilious fulfilment of membership obligations found themselves reduced to the level of "subjects" through the imposition of separate, bilateral "agreements" between themselves and Athens. The results of this were often humiliating – surrender of warships, dismantling of fortifications, obligations to submit certain types of court case to Athens for final judgement, acceptance of garrisons and overseers, imposition of "democratic" constitutions, provision of troops over and above the payment of *phoros*, adherence to Athenian standards in weights and measures, enforced participation in Athenian religious festivals, and, finally, a requirement that all adult citizens swear various oaths proclaiming loyalty, goodwill, and even love towards Athens.

The conversion of an originally free and voluntary alliance into an Athenian *arche* (empire) was well under way by 450 BC, and after this empire had received formal acknowledgement in the Thirty Years' Peace (446/45 BC), the Athenians would refer to it as such, quite casually, and even argue that they had a perfect right to it. This attitude gave rise to increasingly severe punishments for rebellion, as in the case of Mytilene in 427 BC, outrages such as the destruction of Melos for refusing to accept Athenian control (416/15 BC), and the culminating *hubris* of the Sicilian expedition of 415–413 BC.

Throughout history, assessments of the significance of the Delian League have tended to be ambivalent. The radical democracy of the Periclean age owed much to the cash from the league, which made possible many of the benefits widely available to Athenians, while the stored-up surplus (see above) paid for the great building programme undertaken on the Acropolis after 450 BC. However, Pericles was criticized at the time for "decking out the city like some vain woman ... with thousand-talent temples" (Plutarch, *Pericles*, 12. 2; cf. the witty and sarcastic oligarchic pamphlet known as Pseudo-Xenophon, *Athenaion Politeia*), and although Athenian opinion in the 4th century regarded Periclean democracy as a class system whereby the "many" exploited and bullied the "few", there was, especially after the humiliating "King's Peace" of 387 BC, great pride in the power that Athens had wielded through the Delian League.

In modern times the period of the league has always been regarded as the "golden age" not only of Athens but of Classical Greece as a whole. However, even attitudes towards the league itself are still hotly debated: for example, in the 1950s and 1960s the question of whether or not the Athenian empire was "popular" among its subjects became an issue of Cold War rhetoric, with an English Marxist scholar arguing that it represented a liberation movement for oppressed masses in the various member states, while a US historian denied this with mutterings about "these days of 'People's Democracy'". Though this debate was conducted in somewhat simplistic terms, deeper consideration of the reality of the Delian League serves to remind us of two important truths: first, when Pericles describes the Athenian empire as a "tyranny" and when Cleon echoes this and describes its subjects as "disaffected conspirators", these are *politicians* attempting to persuade people to do something which they would not normally wish to do: politicians do not always tell the truth; second, given the polarization of Greece in the 5th century BC between Athens and Sparta, the average small state, although possessed of a typical Greek love of autonomy, was faced with a disagreeable choice: it is possible to *prefer* one of two options without particularly *liking* either of them (cf. the thoughts of Phrynichus described by Thucydides at 8. 48. 5–6).

CHARLES L. MURISON

See also Imperialism, Political History 490–318 BC

Summary

The Delian League is the modern name for the alliance that the Athenians established in 478/77 BC. Originally intended to punish Persia for damage done in the recent wars, it became the chief source of Athenian power in the 5th century BC. Its members numbered more than 200. The treasury was moved from Delos to Athens probably in 454 BC. By 450 the league had turned from a voluntary alliance into an Athenian empire. It lasted until the defeat of Athens by Sparta in 404 BC.

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Deliyannis, Theodoros 1826–1905

Statesman and prime minister of Greece

Theodorus Deliyannis was the son of Panagos Papayannopoulos, scion of a family of notables from Langadia in the Peloponnese who had made their fortune during the last five decades of Ottoman rule in Greek lands and who had become leaders in the War of Independence. It was during these years that the family name was changed to Deliyannis.

After studying law at Athens University Theodoros Deliyannis entered the civil service and in 1859 became general secretary of the ministry of the interior. During these years as a civil servant he acquired an expertise in the running of government, which distinguished him from other contemporary Greek statesmen.

Deliyannis first became involved in politics as representative of Gortynia, his constituency, in the Second National Constitutional Assembly in 1862 which followed the overthrow of King Otho. His first ministerial post was that of foreign minister in the Roufos cabinet (1863) and the Kanaris cabinet (1864). Between 1867 and 1868 he served as Greek ambassador in Paris and brought about Greek participation in the 1867 international exposition there.

On his return to Greece he resumed his ministerial career at the foreign ministry and the finance ministry in the shortlived cabinets of Thrasyvoulos Zaimis that were so characteristic of the first years of King George's reign. His cabinet positions, and his cultivation of the patronage networks that were already in place through his family's long-standing influence, permitted him to strengthen his political leverage with his constituents. Supported by a small group of deputies, Deliyannis was therefore able to maintain a relatively independent attitude towards all the other party leaders.

His political importance was acknowledged in 1877 during the crisis which developed into the Russo-Turkish War. Deliyannis was invited to join the all-party cabinet under admiral Constantine Kanaris as minister for education. Alexandros Koumoundouros then chose Deliyannis as his foreign minister in his cabinet of January 1878 and appointed him Greek delegate to the Congress of Berlin to present Greek national claims. After 1880 Deliyannis openly opposed Koumoundouros, accusing him of a conciliatory attitude towards the Great Powers on the issue of the future annexation of new lands.

After Koumoundouros' death in March 1883, Deliyannis became leader of the parliamentary opposition and by the end of the year had given unity to its diverse forces. By targeting his rhetoric on attacks against the policies of Charilaos Trikoupis, and by promising the electorate to undo Trikoupis' reforms, Deliyannis won the elections of April 1885 and became prime minister.

In his first term Deliyannis accomplished very little as his party was divided on financial issues and was soon faced with an international crisis. The annexation of eastern Rumelia by Bulgaria in 1885 was once again destabilizing the Balkans. Impatience for the fortune of Greek claims to Macedonia created tensions within Greece. The government mobilized the army but the Great Powers, fearing a Greek attack on the Ottoman empire, blockaded Greek ports to force the government to demobilize. Deliyannis was compelled to resign in May 1886.

He returned to office in November 1890, having won election on an anti-Trikoupis programme. His financial policies, however, created tension with the country's foreign creditors and with king George, who dismissed his cabinet in March 1892 amid antiroyalist popular protests; but Deliyannis returned three years later after defeating Trikoupis at the 1895 elections, which marked the end of Trikoupis's career. In December 1893, however, Greece had defaulted and its creditors were pressing for a settlement of its international debt that would permit them to control public revenue earmarked to service the loans. Both Trikoupis and Deliyannis resisted these pressures as restrictions upon national sovereignty. Finally Greece was forced to yield after its defeat in the Graeco-Turkish War of 1897, a war which had been forced upon Deliyannis's weak government by public nationalist excitement. In April 1897 Deliyannis was once more forced to resign. Deliyannis became prime minister on two further occasions, in December 1902 and December 1904. He was assassinated in June 1905 by the owner of a gambling club as a result of the legislation against gambling that he had put into effect.

Deliyannis's policies favoured financial retrenchment and distribution of patronage through government appointments. He also paid special attention to educational reform and to the economic hardships of the landless tenant farmers of Thessaly. Unlike his opponent Trikoupis, Deliyannis was conservative in his estimates of Greece's capability for rapid economic development. He was furthermore unwilling to encourage Greek and European bankers in search for capital to stimulate material development. He expressed his political views through *Proia*, his party newspaper. His party was kept together in opposition by patriotic, populist, and, at times, anti-western rhetoric but when in power proved incapable of implementing a consistent policy. His inability to withstand pressures from within his own party and from public opinion seriously impaired his international standing. These shortcomings contributed to the demise of the Greek two-party system, which had emerged in the 1880s and 1890s.

KATERINA GARDIKAS

See also Political History since 1832

Biography

Born in 1826 to a Peloponnesian family, Deliyannis studied law at the University of Athens. He first entered parliament as deputy for Gortynia in 1862–64. In 1867–68 he was ambassador to Paris and in 1878 he led the Greek delegation to the Congress of Berlin. He was prime minister of Greece in 1885–87, 1890–92, 1895–97, 1902–03, and 1904–05. He was assassinated in 1905.

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Delos

Aegean island

Delos is a small island, surrounded by a circle of larger islands known collectively as the Cyclades. It is largely waterless and with little agricultural land. Its importance in antiquity therefore derived primarily from its religious significance, as one of the principal and international sanctuaries of Apollo. Greek mythology related that when Leto, pregnant by Zeus, was about to give birth, no place would receive her in case it incurred the wrath of Hera. Delos, which was then an unfixed, floating island, was the exception, and sheltered Leto, who gave birth there to Artemis and Apollo. In gratitude, Apollo fixed the island in its present location. Like most myths, this is a preposterous story, but there is no clear material reason why the island should have assumed its sacred character.

Evidence for activity on Delos dates at least as far back as the Late Bronze Age. Mycenaean remains, traces of walls and deposits of objects including figurines have been found in the area of the later Classical sanctuary. A revival or redevelopment of the island came with the general reawakening of the Greek world in the 8th century BC, and as a result of interest from the surrounding Cyclades. Particularly significant was the island of Naxos. By the end of the 7th century the Naxians had built a simple rectangular structure, its ridge supported eventually by a single row of thin marble columns, and later referred to as their Oikos, or house; it is very likely that this was in fact the first temple dedicated to Apollo. The marble for the columns was quarried on Naxos and shipped to Delos. Also of Naxian marble, and very spectacular, was a colossal statue of Apollo erected around 600 BC at the side of the Oikos. Only fragments survive, but they give an indication of the statue's original size. It stood on a single enormous block of marble, *c.*5 × 3 × 0.82 m, estimated to weigh about 32 tonnes; the statue itself was about four times life size, and therefore larger than the colossal statue in the sanctuary of Hera at Samos (much better preserved), which is about three times natural size. The Apollo statue copies the pose of the colossal statues of Egypt but, unlike them and like the Samian statue, was probably nude.

Towards the end of the 6th century Naxian influence waned, and eventually Delos came to be dominated by Athens, a domination that was to endure, with intervals of independence, for much of the island's history. During this first period a limestone temple was dedicated to Apollo; the building technique is similar to that of Athenian buildings. Delos was treated with respect by the Persians, with the intention of securing the sympathy of the Greek states, but after the defeat of Xerxes in 479 BC Delos became instead, under the protection of Apollo, the centre of the Delian League dominated by Athens with the purpose of keeping the Persians out of the Aegean and liberating the east Greek cities. Twenty years later, with the renewal of the Persian threat, the treasury and control of the league were transferred to Athens. The festival of Apollo continued and was of great significance still to the Athenians, who would dispatch each year one of the state triremes, the oared warships which had won the battle of Salamis. In 426 BC the Athenians went even further. Concerned that the plague which had decimated the population of Athens indicated that they had incurred the wrath of Apollo, the god of healing, the Athenians "purified" the island. Because of its sacred character laws prohibited birth and death on the island: pregnant women, and all those about to die, had to leave for the neighbouring island of Rheneia. Despite this there were many graves there (many perhaps dating to the prehistoric period). These were cleared and the contents shipped to Rheneia. The Athenians also built a new, marble temple to Apollo, in the Doric order: uniquely, it shows in its design the influence of the Parthenon.

By this time the island certainly had its own resident population, though as yet there is little archaeological evidence of the settlement they inhabited. With the defeat of Athens in the Peloponnesian War they attempted to reassert their independence, only to have the Athenians return in 394 BC. It was not until 80 years later, in the very changed world that followed the Macedonian conquest and the confusion that resulted from the break-up of Alexander's empire, that Delos became independent. All the same, it was used by the various successors of Alexander, particularly Ptolemy I and then Antigonus Gonatas, as the centre for their own island leagues by which they hoped to control the Aegean. This domination also meant patronage. The kings founded festivals (in their own honour, as much as Apollo's); they also had buildings constructed in and around the sanctuary, particularly porticoes (stoas). Most intriguing is a long narrow building east of the temples, the so-called Monument of the Bulls, because of the bulls' heads that rise above two internal half-columns. It was probably the Neorion, a ship shed in which one of the Hellenistic kings – almost certainly an Antigonid since these kings used the bulls' head motif elsewhere as in the Stoa of Antigonus – dedicated a ship in consequence of a naval victory; either Demetrius Poliorcetes, after the crucial battle of Cypriot Salamis in 306 BC, or his son Antigonus Gonatas, after the battle of Cos in the mid-3rd century BC.

In many ways the heyday of the island was in the 2nd century BC, particularly the years after the final Roman defeat and dismemberment of the Macedonian kingdom. The Romans restored the island to Athenian control, but this was a much weakened Athens, and the reality was Roman domination under a suitable disguise. Delos was declared a free port, and as such seriously interfered with Rhodian trade when that island, an erstwhile loyal supporter of Rome, displeased the Romans through half-hearted support in the war against Macedon. The island received an influx of Roman and Italian settlers, along with traders from other places, such as Berytus (modern Beirut). Under the settlers and the Greek inhabitants the area of the town increased considerably, with many luxurious houses, typically with splendid (though later robbed)

Delos: view of the sanctuary of Apollo, focus of political institutions as well as religious activity on the island

mosaic floors, marble columns round courtyards (beneath which were deep storage cisterns to alleviate the perennial water shortage), and walls built of local stone which were plastered and decorated with elaborate painted designs. Trade was vigorous; Delos, despite its religious significance, was an important place for the sale of slaves, many derived from the hinterland of Anatolia.

In the disintegrating political conditions of the 1st century BC, after the kingdom of Pergamum was bequeathed by its last king to the Romans, piratical raids from the harbours of southern Anatolia grew in intensity. Delos, a small island with no defensive system, was particularly vulnerable. In 88 BC it was seized by the troops of Mithridates king of Pontus in his war against the Romans, and pillaged. The destruction was completed by his allies, the pirates of Athenodorus, in 69 BC. Even the special centre sections of the mosaic floors were removed, and the town abandoned.

Thereafter, though the island continued to function religiously, activity was on a small scale. There are indications of a Christian population in the 3rd century AD, but the island was finally sacked in the 8th century AD, and then awaited its rediscovery by western scholars, beginning with Cyriac of Ancona who visited the island in 1445.

R.A. TOMLINSON

See also Delian League

Summary

An island in the Cyclades, Delos is traditionally the birthplace of Apollo and Artemis. After the Persian Wars Delos became the centre of the Delian League, which was dominated by Athens and designed to protect Greece from further Persian aggression. Independent from 314 BC, the island prospered especially in the 2nd century BC as a free port and centre of trade. Sacked in 88 BC by soldiers of Mithridates and in 69 BC by pirates, it never regained its prosperity.

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Delphi

Ancient sanctuary of Apollo in central Greece

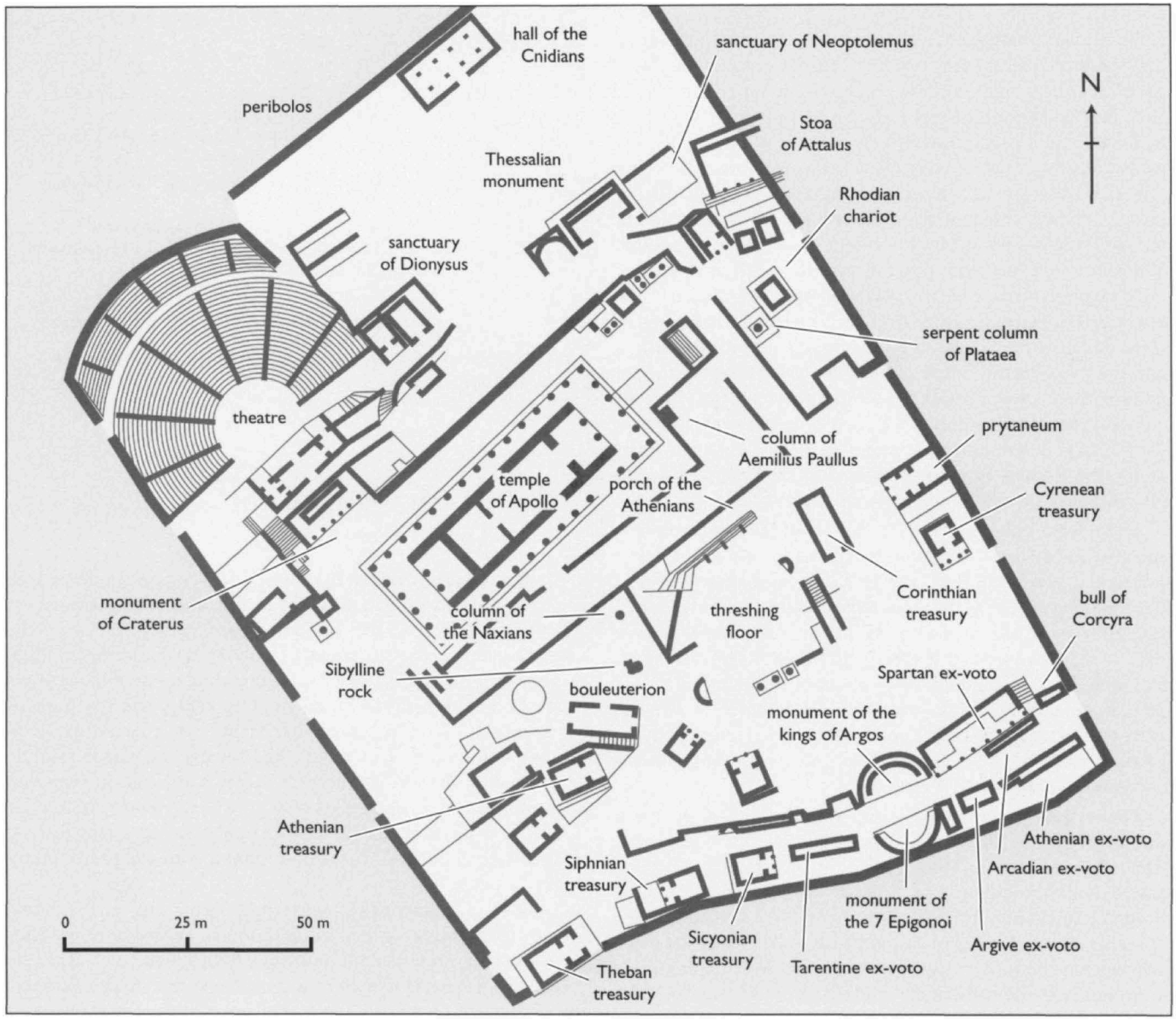
Delphi was the principal sanctuary of Apollo on the Greek mainland, situated on a shelf of land on the southern slopes of Mount Parnassus, and looking out to the sea at Itea and the gulf of Corinth. It was therefore accessible from the Peloponnese by sea across the gulf. Land routes linked it with the isthmus of Corinth and Athens by way of Thebes in

Delphi: tholos of the sanctuary of Athena Pronaia, built *c.*390 BC

Boeotia, while another route passed directly to the north, to the back of the mountains above Thermopylae and down to the plain of Lamia. Geographically it belonged to the district of Phocis (whose most important city, Amphissa, was only a short distance away), but such was its religious importance that it was controlled rather by a special international body, the Amphictyonic Council, the council of "those who dwell around", i.e. the surrounding communities which had a special interest in the religious significance of the place. In addition to the sanctuary there was a small adjacent town, but this was little more than ancillary to the religious function.

The reason for its religious significance (outside the mythology attached to it) is nowhere stated, but it was probably a combination of its generally awesome character, with the towering cliffs of the mountain immediately above, and the abundant supplies of water from its springs, including what was probably the most renowned spring in Greece, Castalia. Delphi originated in prehistoric times, and there are traces of walls and the usual deposits of figurines from the Late Bronze Age. According to myth, Apollo took over the sanctuary from its previous owner, Gaia. This may represent a change of presiding deity during the period that followed the political and cultural collapse of the Late Bronze Age communities, but everything seems to have been on a small scale, and there are no significant remains until the 6th century BC.

From the religious point of view, Delphi was most famous for its oracle. Pilgrims to the sanctuary could present their enquiries to the Pythia, the priestess, who mounted the sacred tripod in order to respond: the belief that she would go into a trance and rave is now discredited. Most famously, the enquiries were for predictions of the future, many of which are recorded by Herodotus, most notoriously the reply given to the non-Greek king of Lydia, Croesus (who was a great supporter of the sanctuary, showering it with expensive dedications, having been impressed by its efficacy). His last consultation was to enquire what would happen if he engaged in war with Cyrus, king of Persia. The oracle replied that a great empire would be destroyed, but omitted to say which. Croesus thought it meant the Persian empire, so went to war: in the event, it was his own empire that was destroyed. Most of these apparent oracular responses were probably inventions, and actually postdate the events they were meant to predict. They



18. The sanctuary at Delphi

tended to obscure the true nature of the questions and responses, which was to seek guidance concerning the proper course of action to be followed in given circumstances. These could be for an interpretation of religious behaviour—what was right and proper – where the oracle was believed to have specialist knowledge and status far removed from mere fortune telling. The oracle, and its representatives, must have acquired a fair general knowledge of the world in which the Greeks lived, practical as well as religious. Advice was given on whether to send out a colony, or where, and what procedures would be desirable. The oracle was not above being influenced by others. In the last quarter of the 6th century BC a splendid new temple was built to Apollo, surrounded by a complete peristyle of Doric columns. It was to be built, as was most Delphian architecture, in the local limestone. The Athenian politician Cleisthenes undertook the contract (which meant he was financially liable if the work did not come up to the required standard), but for the east front and its pediment sculpture he provided at his own expense costly imported white marble from Paros. This was not altruistic; in return, the oracle responded to consultations by the Spartans by putting pressure on them to intervene and secure the return of Cleisthenes from exile to Athens. It worked.

The sanctuary consisted of a series of terraces, rising one above the other and linked by a "sacred way", a processional route which zigzags from the lowest terrace to the front of the temple at the middle level. Cleisthenes' temple was destroyed by a fall of rock in the 4th century BC, but was rebuilt to the same plan and design, the funds this time being collected by contributions solicited from the whole of Greece. Lining the sacred way were dedications to Apollo given by cities which had cause to be grateful to him. These included statues, or groups of statues set on bases of various forms and elaboration, up to complete buildings, the so-called treasuries (a misleading translation of the Greek term *thesauros*) some of which were elaborately decorated miniature temples. The most

elaborate example was that given by the Cycladic island of Siphnos in gratitude for the discovery of a rich vein of silver on the island. Female figures (usually called Caryatids) replaced the more usual columns of the porch, which in this case would have been in the Ionic local to Siphnos, not the Doric of the mainland. Lavish sculpture also decorated the frieze and pediments. Nearby is the treasury of the Athenians, which perhaps celebrated Cleisthenes' return and the restoration of democracy at Athens, though many scholars believe it was a thankoffering for the victory at Marathon some 20 years later. Another famous offering was the tripod, a bronze cauldron supported on a column formed by intertwined snakes of bronze. This celebrated the Greek victory over the Persians at Plataea. The commander of the Greek allies, the Spartan regent Pausanias, boastfully put his own name on it. This caused offence, and the name was removed; instead the column was engraved with the names of the Greek states which had fought together against the Persians. It was eventually removed in the early 4th century AD by the Roman emperor Constantine, who took it to his New Rome, Constantinople, where part of it still survives.

There were many more memorials, and the sanctuary was enlarged in stages to accommodate them all. Round it was a substantial perimeter wall, the *peribolos*, also extended and improved over the ages, but which eventually, in the Hellenistic age, burst its seams with some buildings, such as the Stoa of Attalus, being constructed over it. In addition, several buildings were built below the main sanctuary including a second, smaller sanctuary, with a succession of temples of Athena, more treasuries and the circular Tholos, a Doric building of the 370s BC, the purpose of which, and, indeed, proper name, is uncertain. Nearby stood a gymnasium.

The sanctuary continued to flourish in the Hellenistic age. It was consulted by the Athenians early in the 1st century BC, when they wanted to restore religious practices which had ceased with the passage of time. It was supported by the Romans, and continued to be consulted and respected into the 2nd century AD. In the confusion of the 3rd century AD it fell into decline and evident disrepair. Attempts were made to tidy it up, but with the conversion of the empire to Christianity its purpose was lost. The emperor Julian tried to revive it as part of his restoration of paganism in the 360s, but the authorities had to make the sad reply "Tell the emperor that my hall has fallen to the ground. Phoebus no longer has his house, nor his mantic bay nor his prophetic spring: the water has dried up."

Parts of the sanctuary and some buildings were converted to Christian use, but Delphi never regained the same importance. By the 19th century, the site was covered by a squalid village, which was rebuilt on an adjacent site so that the French School at Athens could begin excavations.

R.A. TOMLINSON

See also Oracles, Sanctuaries

Summary

Delphi is the site of a major sanctuary of Apollo, best known for its oracle. As a shrine of supranational significance, its political independence was vital. It was therefore administered by a confederacy known as the Amphictyonic Council. There are no significant remains from before the 6th century BC. The oracle continued to be consulted into the 2nd century AD and was finally closed by Theodosius I in AD 390.

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Demetrius, St d. *c.*300

Patron saint of Thessalonica

Demetrius is one of the Byzantine military saints, and as such is often depicted as a warrior, in full armour, sometimes on horseback, often in the company of St George, from whom he can sometimes be distinguished only by his hairstyle (less full, and seldom covering his ears). Like several other military saints (Procopius, for instance), his military career is a posthumous invention. So too, most likely, is his association with Thessalonica, of which city he had became the patron saint by the end of the 6th century. His earliest association was with Sirmium, and it is here that he was probably martyred and his cult first established. The cult of St Demetrius seems to have been transferred to Thessalonica along with the prefecture of Illyria in the mid-5th century.

In the accounts of his martyrdom Demetrius' fate is bound up with a young man called Nestor. The oldest account seems to be that preserved by Photios (*Bibliotheca*, cod. 255), in which Demetrius is martyred by the emperor Maximian as a result of the emperor's anger after the death in the arena of his favourite gladiator Lyaeus at the hands of Nestor. Other accounts make a closer link between Demetrius and Nestor: Demetrius becomes a teacher of Christianity, with Nestor as one of his pupils, who dies calling upon the "God of Demetrius". Still later accounts make Demetrius a noble senator and military commander, in this reflecting Demetrius' posthumous military career.

We know more about the cult of Demetrius than about his earthly life. Already by the end of the 6th century a series of miracles were attributed to him, in which he shows his care for the people of Thessalonica. This earliest collection of miracles was put together by John, archbishop of Thessalonica, shortly after 610. From this it is clear that there was no tradition in Thessalonica as to the whereabouts of his relics: the cult was focused on the icon of the saint (which does not survive) in a shrine, surmounted by a ciborium, in the church dedicated to him. It is only in the last 3 (out of 15) of these miracles, which concern the siege of Thessalonica by the Slavs in 586, that Demetrius appears in a military capacity, leading the resistance to the siege. A second, anonymous collection of miracles

St Demetrius: icon in enamel, 12th century, Museum of Islamic Art, Berlin

concerns Demetrius' care for the city of Thessalonica during the episcopate of John (*c.*605–20), especially during the Slav attack on the city of 614, and in the defence of the city against siege by the khagan of the Avars at harvest-time in 618, during which John rallied his fellow citizens on the city walls, after a premonitory dream in which St Demetrius appeared, assuring him of the city's safety. Demetrius' care for the city continued and there are several later accounts of his miracles. Perhaps, in part, because of the role played by the saints of Thessalonica, Constantine/Cyril and Methodios, in the beginnings of Slav Christianity, the cult of St Demetrius became widespread among the Slavs.

Thessalonica itself became a centre for pilgrimage because of the cult of St Demetrius. The first basilica of St Demetrius, in the central part of the city, was built in the last quarter of the 5th century. This church was damaged by fire in the early 7th century and immediately restored; it was again virtually destroyed by fire in 1917 and rebuilt, so far as was possible, from the original materials. The focus of the cult was the icon, from which issued, from time to time, healing oil, hence the saint's epithet, *myrovlytos*, "oil-gushing". The church itself was decorated with mosaics and frescos: some of the surviving mosaics date from the late 6th and late 7th centuries, and, since they depict the patrons who commissioned them, give valuable evidence for the changing balance between secular and ecclesiastical power in the 7th century. *Encolpia* (pendents), depicting the saint lying in his tomb, were made as souvenirs for pilgrims.

Demetrius has remained a popular saint, in both the Greek and the Slav worlds, as is evidenced by the popularity of the name (in its Slav form, Dmitri).

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See also Thessalonica

Biography

Little is known of the life of Demetrius except that he was a teacher in Sirmium who was executed by the emperor Maximian (286–305). His cult seems to have moved to Thessalonica in the 5th century where as a soldier saint he was credited with many miracles, notably in defence of the city. His icon (now lost) became a focus of pilgrimage.

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Democracy

When the Athenians finally settled on "democracy" to describe their characteristic form of government, the term won out over several competitors: *iso-kratia* (equality of power), the Ionic word *is-egorie* (equality of expression), perhaps also *iso-moiria* (equality of sharing). Originally, "demos" meant the whole people, including aristocrats, but by the 5th century BC it came to imply, if not actually connote, the common people, the plebs. *Demo-kratia* means "power (*kratos*) exercised by the whole people (*demos*)", and it was used in explicit contrast to other more restricted forms of government such as *aristo-kratia* (power held by "the best") and *olig-archia* ("rule by a few").

Democracy had roots and antecedents. Already in Homer's day (perhaps 725 BC) rulers had lost, or were losing, whatever autocratic power they may have once possessed. The Greek high command at Troy felt it prudent, if not necessary, sometimes to summon assemblies to hear proposals and – ideally – ratify them without significant opposition. In *Iliad* 18 Achilles' shield is described as depicting some kind of popular gathering engaged in judging conflicting legal claims. At the end of the *Odyssey* the Ithacans assembled to debate alternative courses of action in response to Odysseus' slaying of the suitors. "Dark-Age kingship", a shadowy and poorly documented period, gave way in most Greek cities to oligarchic rule by a fairly wide circle of aristocratic families. Best attested is the

government of the Bacchiadae at Corinth, and in many states, e.g. Thebes, this was the form that prevailed, with variations, through the historical period.

Sparta was an exception to this pattern. Here, in the mid-7th century, there occurred an experiment in a kind of proto-democracy. A document known as the "Great Rhetra" records a brief interval around 650 BC when the assembly of all Spartan citizens had the right to "speak in opposition" and make modifications to legislation introduced by their two kings and council of elders. The privilege lasted a generation at most, after which the legislative process reverted to the system familiar from other oligarchies in which the popular assembly served as little more than a rubber stamp of proposals put to it by the ruling council. Also of interest is an inscription from the island of Chios dated 575–550 BC that details a judicial procedure involving "(legislative) enactments of the *demos* [people]" and a "council of the *demos*" to hear judicial appeals.

First moves were made towards democracy at Athens when Draco produced a law code about 621 BC. Although it was remembered as having been extremely harsh, the very fact that it was written down was a step towards justice for the ordinary citizen, who now had some recourse against arbitrary decisions by the aristocrats. A reasonable claimant to the title "Father of Athenian Democracy" was Solon, a far-sighted and imaginative individual who revamped the Athenian law code in 594 BC. Athens was on the brink of class warfare brought about in part by an antiquated system of land tenure that allowed wealthy landowners to take over smallholdings and reduce their former owners to the status of indentured serfs. One of the slogans attributed to Solon was "equality breeds no war", but what he brought about was equality not of possessions – he resisted demands made by the poor to redistribute the land – but rather equality before the law. He is reported to have said, when asked what he considered the best city to live in, "the one in which those people who are not wronged, no less than those who are, come forward and punish the wrongdoer". From now on anyone who wished could seek legal redress on behalf of one perceived to have been a victim of injustice, and magistrates' decisions could be appealed to a jury court. According to Aristotle, "Solon appears to have set up the democracy by constituting the jury courts from all the citizens" (*Politics*, 1274a1ff.).

The period after Solon was marked by civil unrest and a spell of "tyranny" by Pisistratus and his sons. Luckily for the Athenians, their lawcode was left intact; the Pisistratids merely manipulated it in such a way that their own supporters were usually in positions of authority. After the tyrants were driven out in 510 BC there was a danger that matters would collapse into a melee of aristocratic infighting, but one of the contenders, Cleisthenes the Alcmeonid, swung the balance in his favour by promising the *demos* reforms. Cleisthenes effectively cut through and dismantled local fiefdoms based on the aristocrats' control of religious and political activity within their own regions. Cleisthenes regrouped the citizen body along national lines. Voting on important matters and serving in the army were henceforth to occur within a complex and artificial system of ten newly created tribes, whose distinctive feature was that they were composed of members from widely disparate districts of Attica. Moreover, Cleisthenes either created a legislative council for the first time or drastically refashioned an earlier and more primitive *Boule* (council) instituted by Solon. As will be seen, the Boule was the pivot around which the whole democratic legislative apparatus functioned.

A further important step towards democracy was made by the reform of the Areopagus, Athens' senior council, by Pericles and Ephialtes in 462 BC. Most of the judicial functions of this venerable body were distributed among the Council of 500, the Assembly of the people, and the lawcourts. Probably at this same time Pericles also introduced a bill that provided a daily allowance to members of the juries. This made it possible for poorer citizens to put their names forward to serve on the juries, and gave substance to the claim that an Athenian brought before a court of law was given a trial before a "jury of his peers". It was a characteristic of the full-blown democracy that payment was subsequently instituted for other kinds of public service: discharge of duties as a councillor, infantry duty, rowing in the fleet, and, finally, attendance at meetings of the Assembly and, for citizens who could demonstrate financial need, admittance to the major dramatic festivals.

What made Athenian "democracy" truly democratic in practice was the ubiquity of the lot as an instrument of selection. Certain officials were elected: the ten generals, one from each of the (Cleisthenic) tribes, and other officers whose functions were rather specialized, like treasurers. Otherwise, allotment to office was the rule, from the annual archons down. This system of allotment was all-pervasive. There are references to boards of "contractors", "market supervisors", "weight-and-measure superintendants", "inspectors of dockyards", and so on, so that the figure of 700 for such annually rotating officers, preserved in the *Constitution of Athens* but sometimes doubted, seems entirely believable.

If sovereign power rested with the *demos* collectively assembled, which had responsibility for war and peace, taxation, foreign affairs, and other important matters touching on the welfare of the body politic, what assured relatively smooth functioning of the whole apparatus was the Boule or Council of 500, ten tribal contingents of 50 chosen annually by lot and known as *prytaneis* (with the tenth part of the year in which they served known as a "prytany"), who took it in turn in a sequence decided by lot at the end of the preceding prytany to prepare the agenda for the Assembly. The 50 *prytaneis* met daily and actually lived together for their 35 or 36 days in a special building, the Tholos. Effectively, the day-to-day running of the Athenian state fell to them. They had the further duty of selecting, also by lot, one of their number to preside at their own meetings and at the meetings of the Assembly, which were held normally four times each prytany, that is, 40 times a year. On a famous occasion the lot fell to Socrates, whose tribe held the prytany at that crucial juncture, to act as president of the Assembly when the motion was brought to try as a group the generals who had been charged with dereliction of duty for failing to rescue survivors after a naval battle off Lesbos in 406 BC. Because he was unwilling to contravene a law requiring defendants to be tried individually and not as a group, Socrates refused to have any part in the proceedings. He was replaced by someone (whose name is not recorded) more willing to compromise his principles and connive at illegality.

No councillor could serve more than twice in his lifetime, and then not for two years in succession. Thus, there was no possibility of a cadre being formed, or the development of any

continuity of interest, especially covert. Figures for the total population of Athens in the Classical period can only be guesses, and estimates of the percentage of male Athenian citizens who would have served on the Boule at least once in their lifetimes range between one-third to one-half (J. O'Neil) and 70 per cent (R. Osborne). The whole system was one of absolute equality. Men of varying interests, abilities, and backgrounds served together, on a temporary basis, and because of the transregional nature of the tribal membership noted above, it was the city as a whole whose needs were being served, not those of individual districts, nor of segments or interest groups within the population.

There is evidence of a cult of Demos, the Athenian populace conceived of as a collective abstraction, on the Hill of the Nymphs near the Pnyx at Athens from before 450 BC. Before the end of the 5th century the abstractions Demokratia and Oligarchia appear as personified opponents, and a cult of Demokratia is attested on inscriptions from the 330s. In this period also Boule, the personified Council, appears as a parallel abstraction. A surviving relief sculpture on a decree dated 337/6 from the Athenian Agora shows Demokratia crowning a dignified-looking, sceptred Demos who is seated on a throne. Athens was not alone in iconographically honouring Demokratia, for a statue of the goddess is depicted on a coin of Cnidus dated 300–190 BC.

Democracy defined the Athenian political ethos as at no other ancient Greek city, but there are traces of democratic periods elsewhere: Syracuse, Mantineia, Argos, Corfu, Rhodes, Thurii, Tarentum, Heracleia on the Pontus, Thasos, Epidamnus, and possibly Megara. When at the height of their imperial power, the Athenians tried to impose their democratic system on various dependent states, among them Boeotia and, in Ionia, Erythrae and possibly Miletus.

Aristophanes in *Knights* and Plato, the comic writer, in a play whose title is not preserved made fun of Demos as a cantankerous old man all too willing to be flattered, duped, and led astray by wily but unprincipled politicians. Other critics, such as the historian Thucydides and the philosopher Plato, were more scathing. What such critics feared was the tendency of an electorate to disintegrate into an unruly mob, like (in Plato's vivid image) a raging beast, unwilling to take direction from enlightened (i.e. aristocratic) leaders and yielding instead to the self-serving cajolery of (plebeian) demagogues. This continues to be the paradox of any modern democratic system, where large populations and an inflated governmental apparatus seem to require some kind of representation rather than the direct democracy of ancient city states: since election to office today depends upon heavy financial outlay by candidates, who, if elected, must then spend much of their time trying to divine the voters' sometimes only vaguely formulated and often inconsistent desires, the term "politician" has become more a label of disparagement than a job description.

Long after Athens had lost any claims to importance on the world stage or independence of political action, it maintained the forms of its democratic past: a decree survives from about AD 220 mandating a revival of the Eleusinian festival that opens with the characteristic formula, "It was decreed by the Demos". Such associations with popular government, however, gradually lost favour during the Roman period. By the 5th century AD the word "democracy" had acquired distinctly adverse connotations and for the Byzantines it came to mean a popular disturbance or riot.

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See also Government (Theories of)

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Demography

Demography as a scientific study of the size, distribution, and composition of human populations did not exist among the ancient Greeks. Moreover, in studying the population of ancient Greece and the relations between its component parts (such as old and young, male and female, slave and free, etc.), modern demographers are hampered by the lack of reliable figures and statistical information.

After the rediscovery and spread of the art of writing, and at least from the 6th century BC, the Greek states must have kept records concerned with the status and duties of citizens or with financial obligations and benefits, but such records would have applied to free men rather than slaves, and to adult men rather than women and children except in so far as these latter were involved in matters of citizenship. There are more inscriptions from the 4th century BC onwards, but these are generally religious, social, or honorific and it is uncertain to what extent local figures of population levies were consolidated and recorded in any permanent fashion.

Due to the emphasis that ancient historiography placed on warfare, most available data relate to the size of military forces or to the manpower available for military purposes. In other words, they refer only to adult male citizens. From such numbers attempts have been made to estimate the size of the entire population including women, children, and slaves. For example, Gustave Glotz's estimate (in *Ancient Greece at Work*) of the population of Attica during the Classical period is based on the number of Athenian hoplites at the beginning of the Peloponnesian War, as stated by Thucydides: according to this calculation there were then some 40,000 adult Athenian citizens of all classes, making with their families a total of 140,000, with about 70,000 metics and probably between 150,000 and 400,000 slaves.

Censuses of citizens were rare in the ancient Greek world. Only one census is recorded for Classical Athens, the one carried out by Demetrius of Phaleron in the late 4th century BC, whose results are preserved by Athenaeus (6. 272c). No results for Greece or any other region are preserved from the Roman censuses mentioned in the Gospel story of the birth of Christ (Luke 2: 1–2).

Information regarding changes in settlement patterns in ancient Greece, probably connected to population fluctuations, is supplied by intensive archaeological field surveys. Although there are local variations during all periods, the general pattern is of a sparsely populated landscape in the 11th and 10th centuries BC, followed by a substantial increase in most areas from the 9th century BC, culminating in the period from the 5th to the 3rd centuries BC and declining in the last two centuries BC and during the Roman empire. It is thus possible to accept the growth of population as at least a partial cause of Greek colonization from the 8th century BC onwards, as it undoubtedly was after the time of Alexander the Great. It is, however, difficult to say whether the colonizing activity of the Archaic period led to a long-term reduction of population in mainland Greece. This activity continued until the 6th century BC, after which there was opposition in the West from the Carthaginians, Etruscans, and Illyrians; and the suitable sites around the Aegean Sea were all occupied. Cities then began to grow, and to produce goods, with the help of captured slaves, partly in order to pay by exports for the corn they now had to import.

There were no birth or death certificates in ancient Greece and, consequently, ages given in literary sources are generally unreliable. However, a study of the relationship between the age and sex of a skeleton and particular grave goods can be useful in the investigation of prehistoric social organization (Halstead, 1977). Study of the skeletal remains of male individuals of the Early, Middle, and Late Helladic periods from the Greek mainland and the islands reveals a morphological homogeneity of the population throughout the Bronze Age (Xirotiris, 1980).

A high level of infant and child mortality in Classical Greece is suggested by excavations of cemeteries. There is even less evidence for fertility rates than mortality rates, but fertility levels must have been much higher than in advanced modern societies. For, although family limitation measures such as infanticide or abortion may have been practised in some social classes, religions, or periods, the high infant mortality must have encouraged large families to ensure that some children reached adulthood to inherit the property, provide additional farm labour, and support the parents in old age. A very important factor influencing fertility levels is the average age of marriage, particularly for women, and the few references in literary sources (e.g. Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 695–98) suggest a pattern of late marriage for men (around 30) and early marriage for women (mid- to late teens), the latter making high fertility rates possible. In their ideal states both Plato and Aristotle provided that parents should breed only when in their prime. Plato puts this for women at from 20 to 40 years of age, for men from the end of their prowess at racing until 50 (just like stud horses). Aristotle wished women to marry at 18, men at 37: they were then in the prime of life respectively, and the decline in the powers of both would coincide.

On the other hand, the emancipation of women in the Hellenistic age was accompanied by a revolt against wholesale motherhood, and the limitation of the family became the outstanding social phenomenon of the age. Abortion laws became more lenient, and exposure of children more common. In the old cities families raising more than one daughter would be one in a hundred: according to Poseidippus, "even a rich man always exposes a daughter". Sisters were a rarity, but one-child or childless families were common. Around 200 BC, out of a total of 79 Milesian families, 32 had one child, 31 had two; altogether they had 118 sons and 28 daughters (Gustave Glotz, *Ancient Greece at Work*, 1965, p.298; W.W. Tarn, *Hellenistic Civilisation*, 1927, p.86). At Eretria only one out of 12 families had two sons, and hardly any had two daughters. Infanticide received the approval of some philosophers (though not of Socrates/Plato in the *Republic*, who recommends only the separation of inferior children from the guardian class: cf. Mulhern, 1975) as a means of reducing the pressure of population; but the practice spread among the masses to such an

extent that the death rate overtook the birth rate. The extent of family limitation may be gleaned from the fact that by forbidding it Philip V of Macedon raised the manpower of his country by 50 per cent in 30 years (Tarn, p.88). Around 150 BC Polybius (36. 17) lamented the desertion of the cities and the unproductiveness of the land resulting from a low birth rate and a general decrease in the population. He ascribed this to selfishness and indolence, and to a desire to give one's children too high a standard of living. But it may equally well have been due to demoralization and reluctance to bring children into a world of incessant war, revolution, banditry, and violence in general, with a high chance of poverty, enslavement, or early death. And if it is true that Aemilius Paullus, after defeating king Perseus of Macedon at Pydna in 167 BC, carried off 150,000 into slavery from the region of Epirus alone, there we have an example of one cause of depopulation, and of demoralization among the remnants (Wilkinson, 1979, ch.1).

It has been suggested that some 10 per cent of females may have been exposed at birth in order to avoid an excess of marriageable women (Golden, 1981). But this hypothesis cannot be demonstrated, and would require the unwarranted assumption that the Graeco-Roman era had a sustained surplus of births over deaths. It has been pointed out that a high rate of female infanticide was impossible for any ancient population since it would cause a decline in a nearly stable population (Engels, 1980, 1984).

Our extant evidence is mainly concerned with Athens and largely confined to the 4th century BC. It consists of fragmentary sources such as lists of *epheboi* (young men undergoing military training), *bouleutai* (councillors), and *diaitetai* (elderly men serving as arbitrators). It is not clear whether these groups were recruited from the entire body of adult male citizens or from only among the hoplites and the upper classes. According to Hansen (1989) ephebic rosters cannot be used to calculate accurately the total number of Athenian citizens during the 4th century BC. Every Athenian boy of 18 was registered in the deme of his father, and the total of these deme registers formed the list of those entitled to take part in the assembly. Similarly there were lists of 18-year-old boys eligible to become *zeugitai* liable to hoplite service and *thetes* liable to service in the Athenian navy. Both boys and girls were enrolled in their phratries, but there were no other records of citizen women. Demetrius' census enumerates 21,000 citizens, but it is uncertain whether this figure includes all citizens or merely those liable and fit for hoplite service. The number of metics, which is given as 10,000, is the only figure for this status group that has come down to us. Metics were required to pay a tax and were registered in their deme of residence.

The suggestion of Herodotus (5. 97. 2) that there were about 30,000 Athenian citizens in the early 5th century BC has sometimes led to the indiscriminate assumption of this figure for the rest of the Classical period as well. However, evidence of the size of Athenian military forces during the 5th-century BC empire suggests that by the middle of that century there were at least 50,000 or possibly even 60,000 citizens, thus indicating a substantial growth since the early 5th century BC. This level was maintained until the beginning of the Peloponnesian War, when it began to decline as a result of the plague and the heavy casualties in battle, especially during the expedition to Syracuse in 415–413 BC. Moreover, after the introduction of Pericles' citizenship law of 451 BC, the Athenian citizen population was doomed to be stationary or to decline. Any significant increase in the number of citizens was ruled out by the strict rules for accepting new citizens combined with the continuous emigration from Attica (Hansen, 1982).

Most uncertain of all is the number of the slave population. The Athenian census of Demetrius records their number as 400,000, and similar incredibly high figures are given for Aegina and Corinth as well in sources of varying reliability. Thus, around 350 BC, Aristotle calculated that Aegina had a population of half a million, of whom 470,000 were slaves (Calhoun, pp.30–31). Nevertheless, there may have been considerably more slaves in the time of the 5th-century BC Athenian empire than there had been earlier.

Although Laconia had much of the richest land in Greece, it was thinly populated. According to Herodotus (7. 234. 2; 9. 10. 1), Sparta had 8000 potential soldiers in 480 BC, and in 479 BC 5000 actually took part in the Battle of Plataea. However, by Aristotle's time the citizen population seems to have come down to fewer than 1000 and the causes of this decline have been much debated: such diverse factors as the structure of Spartan society, casualties in war, inheritance patterns, and the earthquake of *c.*464 BC have been invoked to explain it. In the opinion of Aristotle (*Politics*, 1270a29–34) this serious problem of manpower shortage was the reason for Sparta's downfall. Yet we must remember that the citizens comprised only a small proportion of the total population. Although figures for the number of Spartiates between the ages of 21 and 50 and *perioikoi* ("dwellers round") in the army are given, their proportion to the total number of Spartiates or *perioikoi* can only be conjectured. The number of helots is still less well known, except that they were relatively more numerous in proportion to the free population than were serfs in any other state. At all events we know that at some time Sparta introduced severe penalties for celibacy as well as rewards for child-bearing. It was seriously concerned even about the loss of the 124 Spartiates trapped by the Athenians on the island of Sphacteria in 424 BC. By the time of its debacle at Leuctra in 371 BC it had only 1000 of these; whereas Aristotle calculated that its territory could have maintained 30,000 infantry and 1500 cavalry. An unwillingness to breed because of a decadent obsession with personal wealth seemed to be the chief cause of the population decline. Nor was there, as in Athens, a strong religious cult of ancestors to motivate perpetuation of the family.

The citizen population of Argos and Boeotia during the 4th century BC may not have been dissimilar to that of Athens, to judge from their military strength, but they probably had fewer resident aliens and slaves. Corinth, which in the 5th and 4th centuries BC had less than half the hoplites of Athens, may have had half as many inhabitants as Athens, if not fewer. The poor and mountainous country of Arcadia produced many emigrants; and yet it had 6000–7000 hoplites in the 4th and 3rd centuries BC. By comparison with Attica this would mean a citizen population of about 80,000–90,000. On the other hand, the prosperous Greek colonies of Sicily and Italy were densely populated and, despite the lack of evidence, we may assume that the size of their populations exceeded that of virtually every state in mainland Greece. To take just one example,

according to Diodorus Siculus (3. 9) the wealthy and prosperous city of Sybaris had 300,000 inhabitants.

Sources for demography in the Byzantine age are also fragmentary. Apart from some judicial compilations that provide insights regarding the size and stability of litigant families, one has to depend on physical evidence or surviving government records. From the size and number of excavated houses A. Jakobson (in *Vizantijskij Vremennik*, 19 (1961): pp.154f.) estimated a population of 5000 for the average 10th- or 11th-century city. Evidence for births and mortality from funerary inscriptions is often insufficient or unsuitable for statistical analysis. The most important sources are the *praktika* (tax records), primarily of 14th-century southern Macedonia. Many offer detailed listings for members of peasant families dwelling on the estate; since a number of areas were assessed repeatedly, their *praktika* give some indications concerning household stability. However, being fiscal documents, they tend to omit what is considered not essential for taxation. Thus the ages of the population are not recorded, and it is not certain at what age a child was first enrolled. It is also possible that women, when not acting as heads of households, were persistently undercounted, and insufficient account appears to have been taken of newly arrived families or those who no longer worked on the estate but might remain in the same (or a neighbouring) village (D. Jacoby, review of *Peasant Society in the Late Byzantine Empire* in *Speculum*, 61 (1986): pp. 677f.). Isolated population figures for individual cities during particular periods are provided in literary sources.

The population of Byzantium grew steadily during the 4th and 5th centuries AD but declined precipitously during the 6th and 7th under the recurring impact of famines, plagues, and foreign invasions; this was followed in turn by a period of slow recovery. The empire lost a large portion of its population with the territorial losses of the late 11th century; and from 1200 onwards the population in the remaining areas appears to have dropped continuously. During the 14th century this downward trend was accelerated by civil wars, the Black Death, and the disruptions caused in Macedonia by marauding mercenaries of the Catalan Grand Company.

Modern Greece has a total area of 131,990 sq km, of which the mainland constitutes 81 per cent (106,821 sq km) while 19 per cent (25,169 sq km) is taken up by the islands. In 1861 there were 1,096,810 inhabitants, 567,334 male and 529,476 female, with a density of 23.08 per sq km. By 1991 there were a total of 10,264,156 inhabitants (77.78 per sq km), 5,029,710 of whom were male and 5,234,446 female. By 1996 the population had risen to 10,475,000 with a density of 79 persons per sq km. The urban population was 65 per cent in 1994 as opposed to 43 per cent in 1960.

The urban network of Greece is structured as a whole around two poles of different importance, Athens (population 3,096,775) in the south and Thessalonica (739,998) in the north. The periphery of these metropolitan centres is occupied by a series of satellite cities of varying size. The only other cities with a population of more than 100,000 are Patras (172,763), Volos (106,142), Larissa (113,426), and Herakleion in Crete (127,600). Like the rest of Europe, Greece has low birth rates and a rising trend in the average age of the population. Life expectancy is 77.8 years, and adult literacy 96.7 per cent.

In the recent past migration (both internal migration and emigration) was a significant feature of Greek demography. Internal migration was high before the 1980s and was reflected in the falling population figures for the mountainous areas and the islands. However, this trend has stopped since the 1980s so that these regions now show an increase of population. Emigration to America has been going on since the end of the 19th century while emigration to Australia, which began after 1945, has been supplemented since the 1960s by labour migration to Western Europe in general and to Germany in particular. However, the process of emigration has more or less come to an end, and remigration is stronger at present than outmigration, which remains steady at quite a low level. In fact, the faster growth in population when compared with the rest of Europe is due less to fertility than to high immigration and remigration.

Although Greece has on average a low population density, there are sharp regional variations. Attica is the most thickly populated area, while the mountainous regions and the islands have a low population density. Regarding fertility, there are no significant regional variations: the fertility rate in all regions is below the European average, and is now below replacement level. The mortality rate is also very low, and life expectancy is rather high, despite the low expenditure on health by the government. The infant mortality rate is somewhat higher than Europe on the average, but there is no fundamental difference in the age structure. Central Greece, Crete, and the Aegean islands have a smaller active age group and a higher proportion of elderly than the rest of the country, reflecting the consequences of internal migration processes, with the active persons migrating to the big urban centres while the young and the old stay behind. Compared to the rest of Europe, the female activity rate is lower (by more than 10 per cent), youth unemployment is much higher (except in the islands), and the annual growth-rate of the population is still somewhat higher (0.1 per cent) and on the increase although, as mentioned above, this last may be due to a much higher net migration.

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See also Emigration, Family, Slavery

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Demons and Spirits

Our word "demon" comes from the ancient Greek *daimon*, from the verb *daiein*, "to distribute". In the Homeric and Classical periods *daimon* could be used as a synonym of *theos* to mean simply "god". More frequently, however, *daimon* referred to "divine power" in the abstract as opposed to the personified deity denoted by *theos*. In a wide range of Classical sources *daimon* could mean "the power controlling the destiny of individuals". It carried overtones of "a portion" (*moira*) in the sense of "fate". A *daimon* was both the distributor of destinies and the destiny itself.

In contrast to the Olympian gods, the *daimones* were not honoured by any cult or shrine within the polis. Nor were they represented in myth, drama, vase painting, or sculpture. They were a nameless, ill-defined plurality of supernatural beings, yet this semantic vagueness suited them for new applications in the course of time, especially in the area of psychology.

A productive set of meanings for *daimon* derived from Hesiod, according to whose *Works and Days* the souls of men from the golden age became good *daimones* who watched over and protected mortal men. In the *Timaeus* Plato allocated them to the *aither* (upper air), above the *aer* (lower air) where heroes and departed souls resided. Souls and *daimones* alike were physically composed of *aither*, a mysterious fifth element (*quinta essentia*). The *daimones*' position between heroes and gods was not, however, stable, and Plato elsewhere equated all fallen soldiers with *daimones*, while during the Hellenistic period any deceased person could be called a *daimon*. In this sense *daimon* came close to the ideas of soul (*psyche*) and spirit (*pneuma*).

Daimones also had associations with human emotions, beginning with the *Symposium*, where Diotima introduced Eros as a *daimon*. Plato furthermore (*Timaeus*, 90c) considered that humans should pursue learning and true thoughts in order to achieve "happiness" (*eudaimonia*) – a state in which the good internal *daimon* comes to the fore. It was Plato's pupil Xenocrates who conceptualized demons as dark, lustful forces, thereby initiating the shift of the *daimones* from elements of a scientific, philosophical cosmology to elements of a moral one. This would be a slow and uneven transition lasting centuries and not definitively finishing until the rise of Christianity. During the Hellenistic period *daimones* continued to be treated as intermediaries. For example, it was thought that they sent dreams. In Neoplatonic magic, as represented by the Chaldaean Oracles, the *daimones* could be addressed and their aid enlisted through elaborate rituals involving the spinning of a top, or *iunx*. Alternatively, messages enlisting demonic help against an enemy could be written on lead tablets and buried along with the dead. Or the *daimones* could be appealed to, or controlled by resort to more powerful gods, through elaborate spells recorded on magical papyri.

The Christianization of the Greek-speaking world did much to polarize the demons as exclusively evil spirits located on, or in, the earth. The already many-stranded traditional conception of *daimones* was reorientated by the Judaeo-Christian story of Satan who, in an act of hubristic jealousy, attempted to place his throne higher than God's. In recompense he was cast down from the heavens, along with his conspiring angels who became demons – a word that, through phonological

changes in the language, was now pronounced *demones* (as indeed it still is in modern Greek). Demons in the Christian world were unequivocally evil, associated with matter, sin, corruption, and the body, as opposed to the values of Christian purity, restraint, and spirituality overseen by God and Christ.

"The gods of the gentiles are demons", the early Church Fathers exhorted. Thus, in the baptismal ceremony that converted pagans into Christians evil spirits were exorcized from the body of the initiate who was then instilled with the Holy Spirit. Finally, in the act of chrismation, his or her sensory organs and bodily orifices were symbolically "sealed" against future demonic incursions. Possession by demons was nonetheless still a danger and the priesthood retained the power to perform exorcisms just as Christ did in the New Testament. One of the primary techniques in Greek Christian exorcism was, and still is, to learn the name of the demon. If one can name a demon, one can control it, and this is accomplished either by verbally abusing the demon, or by reciting long lists of demonic names in the hope that one of these may be correct.

Christianity called for spiritual refinement as a means to ultimate union with God. This meant constant combat with dangerous passions and desires that threatened moral perfection. The monastic tradition, beginning with St Antony in the 4th century, offers many detailed accounts of how the Devil, or demons, tempted monks to stray from the path of goodness. The "deadly sins" – stabilized at seven in the Catholic west, but fluctuating between seven and eight in the Greek east – were conceptualized as demons that attacked one and had to be fought off by ascetic cultivation of the appropriate Christian virtues. Monastic texts such as those compiled in the *Philokalia* developed a chain-effect explanation of the emotions whereby submission to a particular demon "of the first rank" brought increased vulnerability to certain other demons in its wake. These demonologies were precursors of contemporary psychology.

The Orthodox Church oversaw a standard, or doctrinal, conception of demons according to which the Devil's helpers were fundamentally immaterial, powerless, and plural. This perhaps explains why the iconography of demons and the Devil did not begin much before the 7th century. That such an iconographic tradition did finally begin might be taken to indicate the pressure that alternative traditions exerted on the Church. Local popular beliefs attributed more independent power and specific characteristics to demons than Church doctrine would allow. Different views on this matter were at the root of high medieval dualist heresies such as Bogomilism, which asserted that the entire earthly world was demonic.

In modern Greece folklorists and anthropologists have uncovered a wide range of Greek beliefs in demonic supernatural beings such as the *neraides*, dangerous female spirits, or the *gelloudes*, child-snatching demons. Some of these, such as the above, bear names that connect them to ancient Greek supernatural beings. If they were not initially demons, then the Church has succeeded in demonizing them over the years. Demons in contemporary Greece – not uniformly believed in by a late 20th-century population exposed to modern science – form a large category comprising 30 or more differently named spirits known generically as *xotika* (things from outside), *aerika* (air spirits), or *demonika*. They account for illness or misfortune in terms that make them morally intelligible at the personal level, something universal science is unable to do. Throughout Greek tradition demons have always served as a labelling and categorizing principle enabling people to chart and comprehend the unknown, whether in outer space or in the recesses of the human psyche.

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See also Folklore, Spells

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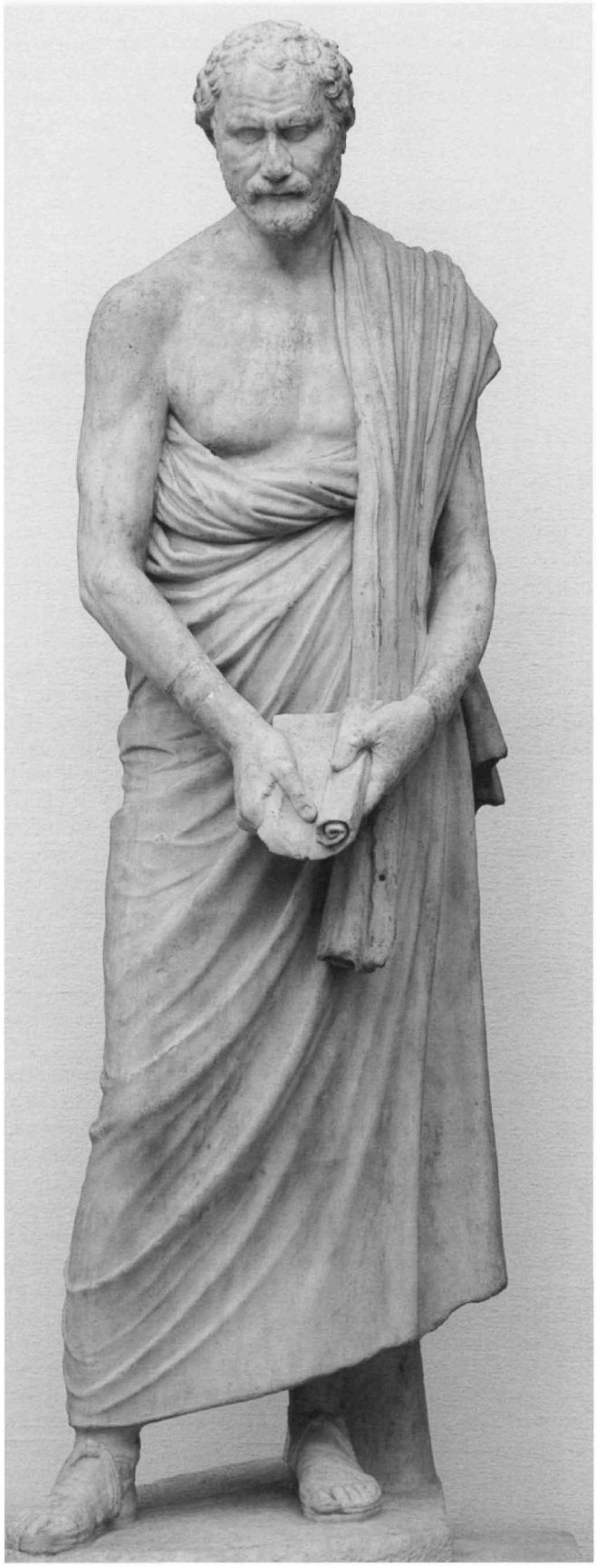
Demosthenes 384–322 BC

Orator

Demosthenes was the son of a wealthy Athenian manufacturer of swords and cutlery. His father died when he was 7 years of age, leaving him under the control of three guardians who embezzled most of the inheritance. After studying rhetoric with Isaeus, Demosthenes began a series of prosecutions against his former guardians and recovered some of the lost money (364 BC), but more significantly, gained a reputation as a speech writer. He also taught rhetoric, but he had grander ambitions and overcame a speech impediment by practising declamation with pebbles in his mouth and shouting above the noise of the waves at Phalerum.

Demosthenes' political career began in 355 BC, when he was commissioned to write *Against Androtion* for a political trial. In the early period he may have opposed the policy of Aristophon, who was advocating war with Persia, and he attacked Eubulus in *On the Syntaxis* (353/52 BC). By 351 BC he recognized the dangers posed by Philip II and delivered the unsuccessful *First Philippic*, followed by the three *Olynthiacs* (349 BC). In the third of these Demosthenes alludes critically to Eubulus' policies, which in 348 BC led to costly Athenian intervention in Euboea. In the same year he became involved in liti-



Demosthenes, the great Athenian orator, Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek, Copenhagen

gation against Meidias, a leading supporter of Eubulus, who slapped Demosthenes' face at the Dionysia. The *Against Meidias*, however, was never actually delivered, since the two reached an out-of-court settlement.

In 348 BC Demosthenes successfully defended Philocrates, when he was prosecuted for proposing negotiations with Philip, but soon afterwards Olynthus fell, and Demosthenes helped to secure the Peace of Philocrates (346 BC). Aeschines attacked Demosthenes for the poor part he played in the negotiations, and it was Aeschines who championed the treaty before the assembly, which knew that Philip was already threatening Phocis. It is unclear what Demosthenes tried to propose at this meeting before being shouted down, but he subsequently worked to undermine the peace, gathering supporters to strengthen his anti-Macedonian position, including Hyperides and Lycurgus. He was also plotting his revenge on Aeschines, claiming that he had been bribed by Philip, but his attack on him through the agency of Timarchus was a failure. This was, however, only a temporary setback. In 344 BC, with Philip interfering in Thessaly and rumours circulating about his proposed intervention in the Peloponnese, Demosthenes persuaded the assembly not to renew the peace by his *Second Philippic*. Hyperides successfully prosecuted Philocrates (343 BC), while Demosthenes prosecuted Aeschines with *On the False Embassy*. Demosthenes' case was weak, but despite the support of Eubulus and the prominent general Phocion Aeschines was only narrowly acquitted.

In 342/41 BC Philip turned his attention to the Chersonese, threatening Athens' corn supply from the Black Sea, and his supporters in Athens demanded the recall of Diopeithes from Thrace. Demosthenes supported Diopeithes in *On the Chersonese* and the *Third Philippic*, one of his finest speeches, in which he spelled out Philip's designs on Greece and urged the Athenians to defend the Chersonese and Byzantium. An alliance was formed with Byzantium (341/40 BC), and although Philip seized Athens' corn fleet, his advance on Byzantium was checked. Demosthenes was now supreme in Athens and had the allocation of surplus revenues to the Theoric Fund suspended, but could not prevent Aeschines fomenting a Sacred War in 339 BC. Philip marched into Phocis and took Elatea, and Demosthenes persuaded the Athenians to make an alliance with their old enemy, Thebes. The allies met Philip at Chaeronea, but were crushed (338 BC).

Demosthenes continued to work energetically on the city's behalf after the Macedonian conquest and delivered the public Funeral Oration of 338 BC. In 337/36 BC he was theoric commissioner, and Ctesiphon proposed that he be honoured with a gold crown at the Great Dionysia for his services to Athens. Aeschines immediately indicted Ctesiphon for making an illegal proposal, but let the case drop because the political climate in Athens changed with the death of Philip. After Alexander had reestablished Macedonian control and defeated Persia, Aeschines resumed his attack (330 BC), blaming Athens' troubles on Demosthenes, but Demosthenes' masterpiece, *On the Crown*, easily won the day. He remained a prominent figure in Athens until the Harpalus affair (324 BC). Alexander's treasurer Harpalus arrived in Athens with a vast sum of money, and Demosthenes proposed that he be imprisoned and the money stored on the Acropolis. Harpalus escaped, and it was discovered that some of the money was missing. The

Areopagus cited Demosthenes, who was prosecuted by Dinarchus and Hyperides; fined 50 talents, he retired into exile. He returned to Athens after Alexander's death (323 BC) and advocated renewed resistance to Macedon in the Lamian War, but the Greeks were defeated at Crannon by Antipater (322 BC). Demosthenes, Hyperides, and their supporters fled; Demades proposed that they be sentenced to death, and Demosthenes committed suicide on the island of Calauria.

Judgements of Demosthenes' leadership have inevitably been affected by the brilliance of his speeches, and his championing of liberty tends to be seen in too simple a contrast to the servile acceptance of Macedonian rule by his opponents, whom he constantly accused of being bribed. In truth, other politicians were probably making proposals that stood a greater chance of success in maintaining Athens' freedom, particularly the uniting of the Greek states in a common peace. Athens alone lacked the resources to resist Philip in the way Demosthenes advocated, and his policy of fighting a war in the north was not popular with other Greek states, who realized that a successful outcome would result primarily in the greater glory of Athens. But this is not to deny Demosthenes' stature as one of Athens' greatest leaders.

From the literary point of view Demosthenes has been recognized by both ancient and modern critics as the best of the Attic orators. One of his outstanding qualities was the ability to vary his style to suit the occasion of the speech. There is some evidence that the speeches, always carefully prepared, were revised for publication, but Demosthenes creates an impression of spontaneity by mixing long periods with shorter, simpler sentences. He tended to avoid hiatus and also runs of more than two short syllables. There is disagreement over how far this was a conscious rather than instinctive practice, but its effect is one of solemnity and dignity. Demosthenes writes in pure Attic Greek, and in narrative passages he regularly employs a plain style of writing; but elsewhere his sentences can be quite complex. He uses repetition, bold metaphors, and colloquialisms, varies his tone, and indulges in the vulgar personal abuse that was popular in his day. It was the combination of simplicity and complexity into a "middle" style that the Augustan critic Dionysius of Halicarnassus regarded as producing the most effective oratory.

The Demosthenic corpus comprises 60 speeches, an *Erotic Essay*, a collection of 56 proems (prefaces, written as models for imitation by his pupils), and six letters; but a number of the private orations, the *Funeral Speech*, and the *Erotic Essay* are spurious. His earliest forensic speech, *Against Aphobus I*, already displays the hallmarks of Demosthenic oratory, with its forcefulness and variety, and a somewhat imperious ethos. Demosthenes continued writing speeches for wealthy clients throughout his life, though he did not appear in person in private cases after the late 350s BC but even private suits might have their political side. He composed *Against Stephanus I* (349 BC) for Apollodorus, when he was prosecuting Stephanus for perjury on behalf of Apollodorus' stepfather, the banker Phormio. He attacks Phormio bitterly, yet at the original trial in 350 BC he had written *For Phormio*, in which he bitterly attacked Apollodorus. Demosthenes probably changed sides because Apollodorus had begun, like Demosthenes, to advocate the use of the Theoric Fund to finance the struggle against Philip, but centuries later Plutarch criticized his morality.

Demosthenes' forensic speeches cover a wide range of subjects in both private and public cases, and demonstrate a talent for character portrayal and logical argument. One of his best private orations is *Against Conon*, an action for battery brought by Ariston. In a vivid narrative Ariston tells how he first met Conon's permanently drunk sons and describes the fight in which he was nearly beaten to death, though the decent youth cannot repeat the abusive language used by his brutal attackers. Demosthenes is an unashamed patriot, and national character is the underlying theme of many of his most famous speeches, both political and judicial. In *On the Crown* he gives an extended account of his public services and conceals the fact that his policy had failed at Chaeronea by emphasizing Athens' greatness – and his own role as the city's greatest champion.

Demosthenes' patriotic stance against Philip and his judicial defeat of Aeschines laid the foundations for his reputation in the later Classical world and beyond. A full-length biography was composed in the 2nd century AD by Plutarch, who paired Demosthenes with Cicero in his *Parallel Lives*; an extensive life is found in the pseudo-Plutarchan *Lives of the Ten Orators* of the same period; while briefer notices were written by Libanius and Zosimus (one of various scholars of that name living in the 5th–6th centuries AD). In the 9th century Photios wrote a biography based on pseudo-Plutarch, and further biographical details may be found in the *Suda*. This material is generally favourable, and St Nicholas of Myra regarded Demosthenes as the embodiment of virtue, in stark comparsion with Aeschines. But a hostile tradition is represented by Tzetzes, who perversely makes Demosthenes rather than Aeschines the venal politician. Theodore Metochites (1270–1332) similarly compared Demosthenes in part unfavourably to Aelius Aristides, though he regards Demosthenes as the greater rhetorician. Finally, a statue of Demosthenes was placed in the Baths of Zeuxippos in Constantinople and described by the 5th /6th-century poet Christodorus of Coptus.

Demosthenes' speeches were, in the eyes of most critics, the supreme models for imitation. Already in the 2nd century AD they were being drawn on extensively by rhetoricians such as Hermogenes, who calls Demosthenes "The Orator". Hermogenes' use of Demosthenes is highly significant, since later rhetoricians were in turn deeply influenced by him. Tiberius wrote *On the Figures of Demosthenes* in the late 3rd or early 4th century AD; Epiphanius the Syrian, a candidate for the chair of rhetoric in Athens after the death of Julian of Caesarea (*c.*AD 330), wrote a commentary on Demosthenes; and, most famously, in the 4th-century AD Libanius of Antioch wrote *Hypotheses* to the speeches in Constantinople. The *Suda* attributes another commentary to Zosimus. In the 6th century AD Choricius used Demosthenes as a model for his speeches; the curriculum in the schools of rhetoric in this period included the Attic orators, especially Demosthenes, as well as Isocrates and Aeschines, and extensive use of Demosthenes is attested by the numerous scholia – and by the abuse of Demosthenes, along with Homer, Plato, and Aratus, in the hymns of Romanos. The earliest manuscripts of Demosthenes are datable to the 9th and 10th centuries AD, when the revival of interest in the Classics led to further activity by scholiasts. Numerous papyri have also been recovered from Byzantine Egypt (they indicate the position of Demosthenes alongside Homer, Euripides, and Menander as one of the central

Classical authors), and Demosthenes' position as the greatest Classical Greek orator and the best source of suitable material for quotations was maintained throughout the Byzantine period to the 15th century. In the 11th century Michael Psellos compared Demosthenes with Gregory of Nazianzus, who synthesized Classical rhetoric and Christianity; while in the 12th century Gregory of Corinth recommended Demosthenes among his models for deliberative and judicial oratory. His rousing *Philippics* in particular have ever since been seized on by politicians: during the War of Independence the *Appeal to the French People* recalled the place of Demosthenes in Greece's glorious past, while in 1827 Lord Cochrane quoted the *First Philippic* to Kolokotronis in an exhortation to unity.

MICHAEL J. EDWARDS

See also Rhetoric

Biography

Born into a landowning Athenian family in 384 BC, Demosthenes studied rhetoric under Isaeus and became a professional speech writer. His political career began in 355 BC when he initially advocated peace, against the policy of Aristophon. By 351 BC he recognized the threat to Greece posed by Philip II of Macedon and devoted the rest of his career to warning aginst it. Despite the defeat at Chaeronea (338 BC) Demosthenes remained in office until 324 BC when he was charged with corruption. In 322 BC he fled and committed suicide on the island of Calauria.

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Dialectic

Dialectic is variously a practice, a method, and a science in Greek philosophy. The basic precept of dialect is based on conversation – and perhaps disputation – between at least two distinct parties. Dialectic lies at the very heart of all Greek philosophy and represents one of its most characteristic contributions to the sum of human thought.

The modern English word is a near-transliteration of the Greek word *dialektike*, meaning "the art or skill of discussing". Conversational encounters, as the ancient Greeks knew, may consist of unproductive pleasantries, or be hostile confrontations, or serve as mutually productive exchanges between two minds concentrating on the same issue from different initial perspectives. Serious dialectic concerns the latter; but Greek philosophers realized that without proper regulation the exercise could degenerate into one of the other forms of encounter. The more pressing danger came from the tendency to ill-disciplined disputation, which was given the pejorative title of "eristic", or contentious argument.

We learn about dialectic mainly from the practice of Plato's dialogues, where there occur specimen dialectical exchanges interspersed with some comments on sound and unsound method, and more thoroughly from Aristotle's *Topics* and *Sophistici Elenchi*, which describe the practice of dialectic and set out his thoughts on its philosophical purpose and value. Dialectic continued to be studied after Aristotle, particularly by such early Stoic logicians as Chrysippus. However, by this stage dialectic had come to be included in the study of logic, with specific reference to the more pragmatic aspects of the theory of argument; there is little evidence of the actual practice of dialectic from this period. On the other hand, philosophers after Aristotle continued to exhibit a dialectical style in their handling of problems; and to that extent dialectic is an enduring feature of all Greek philosophy, not merely a dominant aspect of its seminal period in the 5th and 4th centuries BC.

In a dialectical exchange there is a clear division of function between two participants – the questioner and the answerer. An issue is proposed: for example, *Is virtue teachable or not?* or *Should we return to people what is their due or not?* The answerer chooses one of the two possible responses, and thereafter answers questions which are designed to lead him to say something incompatible with his original answer. The questioner holds the initiative, but the answerer is at liberty to respond at any stage as he sees fit. Rational insight, and even logical dexterity, are needed if the questioner is to elicit an answer which fails to cohere with the answerer's original response.

Dialectic hinges on winning or losing a contest, and its purpose is to advance the pursuit of truth. These aims were articulated as the exercise progressed, and a sense of their significance always imposed discipline and regulation on its conduct. For example, questions must be clear cut; they must not leave open a plurality of responses beyond a straightforward yes or no. Measures must be taken to avoid or expose ambiguity, whether in a single word or in a larger unit of language; otherwise the value of any particular dialectical response will be uncertain. By these means, those who practised and theorized about dialectical exercises came to assist the creation and development of logic. But all such dialectical rules or sanctions were themselves subject to appraisal and acceptance or rejection within the context of the particular philosophical encounter. Everything was subject to considera-

tion, save perhaps for the very freedom of enquiry which the exercise presupposed.

Plato had a strong insight into the potential of dialectic for the advancement of understanding. He understood that the open-ended, autonomous nature of the exercise made it an ideal method for securing knowledge which was based on deep and sustained conviction. The practised dialectician is able to defend his insights against every kind of attack; and how could there be a better basis than this for anyone to support a claim to have genuine knowledge?

Yet Plato was simultaneously developing stringent criteria defining what was to count as knowledge – for example, that it be not subject to revision, and that it be based on rational reflection. Thus he proposed that dialectic should be a science rather than merely a method. This revision was secured by placing dialectical method on a foundationalist basis; effective practice of the method was to be dependent on a grasp of the truth conveyed by an intuition of the nature of goodness. By using value as the fundamental concept of the science, Plato preserved a Socratic insight into the pervasive philosophical significance of matters of value, whatever particular topic might be under consideration. Nevertheless, the progression of dialectic from a method to a science transmutes an essentially open-ended sceptical stance into a commitment to the pursuit of certainty and truth.

Aristotle sought to restore dialectic to its earlier role as a training exercise and at the same time to establish its connection with the distinct spheres of science and philosophy. The philosophical value of dialectic resides both in its capacity for training and, above all, in its role in the examination of the scientific axioms. Dialectic can help those who wish to discover first principles; it provides an essential preliminary phase to the operation of axiomatic scientific demonstration. Scientists then take over the task of demonstrating the deductive consequences of these axioms.

Aristotle's practice when engaged in philosophy diverges somewhat from this official position. He begins almost every discussion – both of general topics and of detailed problems within them – with a review of previous views on the given question and an elaboration of the difficulties which are generated if we try to combine them. However, dialectical method dominates the entire discussion of these problems. It is not a preliminary, which will give place to a less tentative phase of enquiry in the subsequent examination. Instead, the teasing out of problems forms the very substance of Aristotelian philosophy, and in this sense philosophy is dialectical through and through.

In Aristotle the theory of dialectic is linked to the studies of logic and of fallacies. Many of the concepts of dialectic – such as argument, deduction, premise, and reduction – are also used in his theory of the syllogism. But logic is independent of the context of investigation, while dialectic is not. The study of fallacies, which Aristotle inaugurates in *Sophistici Elenchi*, is unintelligible without reference to dialectic. For example, the fallacies of many questions and begging the question arise essentially in a question-and-answer context, as their names make clear.

Many philosophers after the ancient Greeks have assigned philosophical significance to dialectic; perhaps the most notable in this company are Kant, Hegel, and Marx. Their very different interpretations and valuations of dialectic all owe much to the accounts of the matter in Plato and Aristotle. Moreover, the cut and thrust of dialectical method is still very apparent in the problem-oriented style of modern analytical philosophy. The original inspiration for this very fertile philosophical idea is firmly rooted in 5th- and 4th-century Greek thought, and it repays study in that context.

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See also Aristotle, Plato

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Dialects

Those Indo-Europeans who arrived in the Balkan peninsula in the late 3rd or early 2nd millennium BC – whom we may call the Proto-Greeks – were themselves members of a dialectal subgroup of the Indo-European family of languages and peoples. Common linguistic innovations suggest that the ancestors of the Greeks, Indo-Iranians, and Armenians spoke related varieties of late Indo-European. We would expect that even among that body of Proto-Greeks penetrating into the Balkans there was dialectal heterogeneity (if only on the sociological level), since all speech communities are linguistically heterogeneous. Beyond this, however, documentary evidence clearly reveals that by the mid- to late 2nd millennium BC, and much more so in the 1st millennium BC, the Greek language was characterized by distinct dialectal forms.

Before Michael Ventris's decipherment of the Linear B script in the 1950s, scholars had long been classifying the already known dialects of ancient Greek into several groups. With the decipherment of the Mycenaean tablets, yet another dialect was revealed – one that showed close similarities to certain of the post-Mycenaean dialects, though not complete identity with any. As analysis of the Mycenaean texts progressed, an awareness developed of the existence of not one, but two dialects preserved in the Linear B corpus (see Risch 1966; Nagy 1968; Woodard 1986). Moreover, folding the Mycenaean evidence into the analysis of Greek dialectology of the 1st millennium BC gave rise to speculation that no fewer than four distinct dialects of Greek must have existed in the Mycenaean era (see Cowgill 1966).

Those two attested varieties of Mycenaean Greek have been commonly dubbed "Normal Mycenaean" (since it is the more frequently occurring dialect) and "Special Mycenaean". There are at least four linguistic differences (or isoglosses) which distinguish the two dialects. Normal Mycenaean is character-

ized by each of the following features: (1) the third declension dative singular ending *-ei*; (2) the development of Proto-Indo-European syllabic nasals into the vowel *o*, in the vicinity of a labial consonant; (3) the change of **e* to *i*, also in the environment of a labial consonant; (4) the "assibilation" of inherited **ti* to *si*. Special Mycenaean, on the other hand, shows a distinct set of developments: (1) the corresponding dative ending is *-i*; (2) syllabic nasals become *a*; (3) **e* is preserved; (4) also preserved is the sequence **ti*. Of the four dialect features characterizing Normal Mycenaean, only one is attested among the known Greek dialects of the 1st millennium BC (the change of **ti* to *si*); otherwise it is the Special Mycenaean isoglosses alone that have survived.

19. The dialects of ancient Greece

The Greek dialects of the 1st millennium BC are divided into five major groups: Attic-Ionic, Arcado-Cypriot, Aeolic, Doric, and Northwest Greek. Of these, the most familiar to modern students of Greek is Attic-Ionic, consisting of the closely related dialects of Athens and surrounding Attica, and of the Ionians of Anatolia (East Ionic), of the Cyclades (Central Ionic), and of the region of Euboea (West Ionic). Distinct linguistic features of the Attic-Ionic dialect include the change of **ā* to *ē* (the vowel of *eta*), except after *e*, *i*,and *r* in Attic; and the process of "quantitative metathesis", whereby certain sequences of *long vowel* + *short vowel* become *short vowel* + *long vowel* (e.g. *ēo* gives *eō*).

Of the Greek dialects of the 1st millennium BC, the one most closely related to the language of the Mycenaean Greeks is Arcado-Cypriot. Though far-flung geographically – its speakers ranging from the central Peloponnese to the island of Cyprus in the eastern Mediterranean – the dialect is internally quite homogeneous. Its uniformity is plainly the consequence of common ancestry: Mycenaean peoples who, on the one hand, remained or settled in mountainous Arcadia and who, on the other, came as émigrés to Cyprus with the eclipse of the Mycenaean civilization of Greece. The Greek language of Pamphylia in southern Anatolia shows some similarity to this same dialect group. Arcado-Cypriot is characterized by a peculiar development of early Greek labiovelar consonants when they occur before the vowel *i*. Thus, Proto-Greek **k^{w}is* "anyone" gives Cypriot *sis* (*tis* in other dialects); Arcadian writes the sound with a special symbol (a form of *san*) – Ͷ.

The Aeolic dialect group, like the Ionic, consists of members separated by the Aegean Sea. Lesbian is the dialect of the Aeolian islands and the Aeolian region of Anatolia. Boeotian and Thessalian were spoken in Boeotia and Thessaly respectively; the latter dialect itself is composed of two distinct varieties – Pelasgiotis and Thessaliotis. The Aeolic dialects are characterized by a bilabial development of the labiovelar consonants occurring before *e*-vowels; thus Proto-Greek **penk^{w}e* "five" gives Aeolic *pempe* (cf. Attic *pente*, with the common dental reflex *t*). Within Thessalian, Pelasgiotis and Thessaliotis exhibit two salient differences: (1) the genitive singular of the second declension is *-oi* for the former and *-ō* or *-ou* for the latter; (2) the present infinitive of the *omega*-conjugation is formed with *-emen* in Pelasgiotis, but with *-en* or *-ein* in Thessaliotis.

Doric is that group showing the greatest number of constituent dialects. Distinct varieties from the Peloponnese include Laconian, Messenian, Argolic, Sicyonian, and Corinthian. From the isthmus of Corinth comes Megarian. Greek islands attesting distinct Doric dialects include Crete, Thera, Cos, and Rhodes (with Doric also spoken on the associated Anatolian coast). The various Doric dialects show numerous unique linguistic features as well as features common to both Doric and Northwest Greek, discussed immediately below. Cretan, the best attested of the Doric dialects, shows several specific dialect characteristics, such as a particular propensity for consonant assimilation.

The remaining dialect group, Northwest Greek, is closely related to Doric. Dialects of this type are attested from Phocis, Locris, and Elis. Characteristic of both Northwest Greek and Doric is the preservation of the sequence **ti* (as in Special Mycenaean), without the development to *si* found in other dialects. Elean is interesting in displaying the shift of long *ē* (*eta*) to *ā* – the very reverse of that vowel change distinctive to Attic-Ionic (see above). Also common to Northwest Greek and Doric (Cretan excepted) are the nominative plural articles *toi* (masculine) and *tai* (feminine), rather than the *hoi* and *hai* of other dialects.

Modern scholars have conventionally divided these various dialects into two major groups, East Greek and West Greek, implying some sort of bifurcation in evolutionary descent from Proto-Greek. East Greek subsumes Attic-Ionic, Arcado-Cypriot, Mycenaean, and Aeolic. West Greek is then made up of those two dialects we have already seen to be closely related, Doric and Northwest Greek. The adequacy of this interpretation was, however, called into question by Ernst Risch in 1955 in a careful and probing re-examination of the dialect features that distinguish and bind the regional dialects ("Die Gliederung der griechischen Dialekte in neuer Sicht", reprinted in Kirk, 1964). In summary, Risch argued that the relative antiquity of the various dialect features (isoglosses) must be taken into consideration when determining genetic relationships among the dialects. Those features that place Aeolic within East Greek are relatively late in origin and are characteristic of Lesbian, not Thessalian and Boeotian. Contending that Lesbian acquired these innovating characteristics in conjunction with their development in neighbouring East Ionic, Risch realigned Aeolic, placing it with Doric and Northwest Greek. The resulting dialect structure is then one of South Greek (Attic-Ionic, Arcado-Cypriot, Mycenaean) versus North Greek (Aeolic, Doric, Northwest Greek). The proper genetic grouping of the ancient Greek dialects awaits resolution.

The literary language of pre-Classical and Classical Greek, in its various forms, likewise displays linguistic features that are characteristic of the geographic dialects of the 1st millennium BC. However, the literary dialects are for the most part linguistically artificial. That is to say, they are contrived from elements of different regional dialects and are not themselves identical to any single dialect of spoken Greek – the products of local literary expression that have spread beyond their regional boundaries and have been fused by adapting literary artists. The language of Homer and Greek epic consists chiefly of East Ionic and Aeolic elements, along with bits of Arcado-Cypriot vocabulary. Lyric poetry is composed in several linguistic forms. The Lesbian poets Alcaeus and Sappho write in their Aeolic dialect, but preserve elements of epic language. Archilolochus, Solon, and others write in epic dialect, tempered with their own native Greek dialects. The language of choral lyric is fundamentally Doric, though generally unlike any single regional Doric dialect, mixed with Aeolic and epic. Tragedy's dialect is Attic, with elements of Doric, Aeolic, and epic woven in; choral passages are more heavily Doricized (achieved often by the use of long *ā* where Attic has *eta*). Herodotus and earlier prose authors wrote in Ionic. By the end of the 5th century BC, Attic had become the language of prose, though marked Atticisms (such as *-tt-* where Ionic has *-ss-*) tended to be avoided for a time. With the rise of Athenian political prominence, Attic was the widely used prestige dialect throughout the Greek-speaking world; it remains the dialect of the 4th-century prose authors.

Philip II, a Macedonian, chose to install Attic Greek as the official language of his realm. Greek culture and the Attic dialect trailed in the conquering footsteps of Philip's Greek-educated son, Alexander; Attic Greek thus became the lingua franca of Alexander's vast empire. The particular form which this lingua franca developed is that of a modified Attic, usually called Attic Koine or simply Koine Greek. This is the language of the Greek New Testament and of the Egyptian papyri.

Attic Koine displaced regional dialects within Greece, with the result that almost all modern Greek dialects appear to trace their roots to Attic. The notable exception is the dialect of Tsakonian. In response to Slavic incursions into the Peloponnese in the 6th and 7th centuries AD, the Greeks of Laconia are reported to have fled into the rugged mountains of Tsakonia. The modern dialect that developed in this remote area appears perhaps to be a descendant of Laconian, or at least of some form of Peloponnesian Doric which had resisted the influx of Attic Koine.

Modern Greek dialects have not been as carefully catalogued and analysed as either the ancient Greek dialects or the modern dialects of other European languages. A noticeable dialect difference is one that roughly divides the speech of contemporary Greece into a northern–eastern group and a southern–western group (see Browning, 1983 pp. 120–23 for a detailed description). The former, in contrast to the latter, is characterized by loss of the unaccented high vowels *i* and *u*, and an upward shift of unaccented *e* and *o* to become *i* and *u* respectively. The result is the occurrence of a great many consonant clusters in the northern–eastern group that are not found in the more conservative area.

The spoken vernacular of modern Greece is commonly called demotic. In contrast, there exists the artificial, cultured speech called katharevousa, a self-consciously archaizing official dialect that looks to antiquity for its inspiration and validation. Its use has declined precipitately since the mid 1970s.

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See also Language

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Diaspora

From the first period of Greek colonization in the early 8th century BC to the recent emigration movements to the "new worlds" the Greek consciousness has been profoundly marked by the experience of the diaspora. The reality of wandering in faraway places, whether for trade, expedition, settlement, or exile, is coterminous with the dawn of Greek literature and it has permeated both poetry and myth with symbolic representations of alienation, separation, and reunion, as well as with questions of identity, which are linked to the classical theme of the hero's quest. The *Odyssey*, the Argonautic legends, Io's wanderings in the Middle East, the founding of cities on sites identified with the transformation of Nymphs, point to a quasi-metaphysical understanding of the experience of diaspora engraved since time immemorial in the Greek consciousness.

Although the first colonization stories are enveloped in mystery, the wish of the settlers to maintain a more than symbolic link with the *metropolis*, their original mother-city, points to a willingness to see themselves as a people dispersed, as *apoikoi*, from their initial geopolitical centre. In the Hellenistic era their close contacts with the Judaic civilization contributed to a new understanding of the reality of diaspora. This notion of being scattered "abroad upon the face of all the earth" is first developed in the Genesis story of the tower of Babel, where it is linked to the theme of confusion, dispersion, and estrangement from God (Genesis 11: 9). The subsequent Judaic understanding of dispersion emphasizes the experience of exile from Jerusalem as a result of falling captive into the hands of Israel's enemies. However, the dispersed community may reconstitute itself in a *synagoge*, that is a congregation of its scattered members. The institution of the synagogue as a substitute for the Temple worship found its fullest expression among the dispersed Jews in the Hellenic world. It is noteworthy that the dispersed members of Israel formed their synagogues within the communities of the diasporas of the Greeks in the Hellenistic cities of the east.

The Stoics had already prepared the ground for a particular acceptance of a newly worked notion of diaspora by stressing the cosmopolitan nature of the Hellenistic civilization. Just as the Stoic *spermatikos logos* orders rationally the spiritual faculties of men, so the cosmopolis is an image of a rationally ordered natural world composed of a universal commonwealth of men and women dispersed throughout the Graeco-Roman world. The empire is held together spiritually by the operation of the *spermatikos logos*, whose seeds (*spermata*) are scattered throughout the universal dominion, the *oikoumene*. It is to this diaspora of the *Logos*, a metaphysical principle elaborated by Philo Judaeus in Alexandria, that the empire owes its internal cohesion. These doctrines, expressed in an embryonic form by Zeno and later developed by Posidonius, had been influenced to a great degree by the Semitic origins of the founders of the Stoa.

By the 1st century AD the communities of the diaspora, which had been established as *apoikiai*, that is as settlements "away from home", had become autonomous entities within the political administration of the Roman empire. However, the Semitic notion of the diaspora had struck a responsive chord among the Christians, who viewed their existence in this world of the secular kingdom as a temporary exile from their true home, the eternal kingdom of God. It is to these *parepidemois diasporas*, resident aliens in the diaspora of the world, that Peter addresses his First Epistle (1:1).

These assemblies, *ekklesiai*, which had been former synagogues, would now constitute themselves into *paroikiai*, parishes, retaining the diasporic notion of being away from home. Nevertheless, an important element transcended the temporal character of the local assemblies of the Church and constituted them into ecclesial communities: by being called together in one place to partake and be members of the body of Christ they experienced a remarkable sense of unity (1 Corinthians 10:16). Even though strangers and sojourners in the world, Christians formed a local *paroikia* thanks to their unity in Christ; they were already experiencing eschatologically the kingdom of God here on earth. In this spirit the author of the letter to Diognetus (6. 8) mentions the Christians dwelling here on earth "as aliens in the corruptible world, awaiting heavenly incorruptibility". The Eucharistic presence of Christ in the *paroikia* conferred on the community a total (*katholon*, catholic), integral, and internal universality, which had ultimately transcended the limitations of the exilic, diasporic existence. The centre was no longer Jerusalem but the universal, catholic, total experience of life found within Christ in the local assembly, the *ekklesia*, the living body of Christ formed by the individual members of the *paroikia*. If there would be one Jerusalem to return to, this would clearly not be the Jerusalem of this world, "for here have we no continuing city, but we seek one to come" (Hebrews 13: 14).

The Christian Roman empire had provided its citizens with the political frame of a coherent, ecumenical structure based on metaphysical convictions regarding the universal brotherhood of humanity; within that mutual consistency of its members, allowed to come into play by common Orthodox dogmas, the various diasporas had been absorbed by the all-embracing ecumenicity of the empire. This social mode of coexistence of the various ethnic diasporas had certainly been influenced by the message of the Church, which sought to unite all the scattered members of the body of Christ into one body. The Eucharistic experience, which made this union possible, occupied the central place in the ecclesial life of the Christian citizen.

Viewed in this light all former notions of diasporas had become obsolete; the only one still persisting in its old ways was associated with the messianic expectation of the eschatological *synagoge* of the elect people of God, the final assembly at Jerusalem, when the Messiah will abolish the divisive dispersion of his people.

The meaning of diaspora remained inoperative in the Greek world until the Ottoman conquest. As the seat of the Roman empire and the centre of medieval Hellenism fell into the hands of heterodox masters, an increasingly large number of Greeks took the road to exile. Since the seat of the patriarchate, the Great Church, was in unredeemed captivity, a profound hope for the restoration of the empire to its legitimate Romaic and Orthodox masters became widespread and was gradually enshrined in the consciousness of those who had fled to the centres of the Greek diasporas abroad. This profound hope was invested with a messianic vision of an eventual return to the lost imperial and metaphysical centre of modern

Diaspora: news report on a Greek parade in New York

Hellenism. The legend of the last emperor who turned to stone in Hagia Sophia, when the divine liturgy was interrupted as the Turks entered the city, and will be revived at the repossession of the city when the liturgy will be completed, points poignantly to the messianic hopes of the Greeks who had fled the city to seek protection in Christian lands.

The refugees who had settled in Venice, Florence, Padua, Budapest, Vienna, and in other European cities formed the modern communities of the diaspora and appropriated biblical notions of dispersion while nurturing eschatological ideas for an eventual *synaxis* (gathering) in the redeemed centre of their cultural, religious, and political identity. For the Hellenism of the diasporas the heavenly Jerusalem was replaced by Constantinople, which had now become the Polis, the city par excellence, with its Temple, Hagia Sophia, held by the infidels.

This intense longing to return to one's homeland was ever present in Greek literature, in folk songs, traditional tales, and in the popular imagination, constantly fed by the ancient, Odyssean craving for *nostos* (return). However, this primeval desire for *nostos* is now checked by the harsh reality of *xenitia*, life in foreign lands imbued with an unredeemed sense of political impotence. Although the theme of *xenitia*, wandering away from home, had been extensively used by the Church Fathers (the third chapter of St John Climacus' *Ladder* is titled "On Xenitia") to indicate an important spiritual trait in the life of the anchorite, the theological implications of *xenitia*, when elaborated by Church Fathers living under foreign occupation, begin to take on an increasingly secular meaning which is closer to worldly notions of diaspora.

The earliest transfer of meaning from the practice of *xenitia* as a longing for the heavenly home (*en Edem patris*) to a longing for the earthly homeland (*epigeios patris*) comes from a poem of the Cypriot saint Neophytos the Recluse, written in the latter part of the 12th or the early 13th century, when the island was ruled by Guy Lusignan. The wish to be released from the "enemy's bondage" and to regain the "ancient homeland" is expressed in such terms that it becomes ambivalent whether Neophytos is speaking of the dominion of Satan who prevents him from reaching his original home, the garden of Eden, or of the foreign master who has forced so many of his compatriots to experience *xenitia*, to flee from their island in order to live abroad; however, some verses lean towards the political situation that has forced so many Cypriots to live as strangers abroad. In this the poem is similar to other popular works written to lament the unenviable position of the Greeks living in the diasporas of Europe. As in Neophytos's poem, the various *Peri tis xenitias* (On Exile) or *Alfavitos xenitias* (The Alphabet of Exile) poems mainly deal, in a dirge-like manner, with the plight of strangers living in the diaspora: "The stranger is always sorrowful, unceasingly is he crying, the stranger always laments, having no consolation." This theme is increasingly reproduced in folk songs and traditional tales in the 15th and 16th centuries as the Turkish occupation of the Greek world spreads far and wide; nevertheless, it must be noted that it had begun to develop in Cyprus under Frankish, and later on in Crete, under Venetian occupation.

The notions of diaspora and *xenitia* began to loosen their firm hold on the Hellenic consciousness as the Greeks abroad showed signs of recovery from the initial shock of conquest and began to form communities within and through which they would exercise some rudimentary political rights. The Confraternita dei Greci founded in 1498 in Venice, the Greek Company of Sibiu in 1636, of Brasov in 1678, of Vienna, which secured its political rights at the treaty of Karlowitz in 1699, the political presence of the Phanariots in the Danubian principalities beginning in 1709, constitute some examples of a robust mercantile and political presence which, by the middle of the 18th century, had evolved into a full-fledged institution. It must be noted that the above dates mark the maturing point of the Hellenic communities of the diaspora and they should not be interpreted as a terminus a quo of their existence. The Hellenic community of Trieste obtained its official charter from the empress Maria Theresa and built its church and school in 1783, but it was settled by Greeks at least two centuries earlier, since there are accounts of Greeks leaving Pola (Pulj) for Trieste at the arrival in the former city, in 1562, of 180 families fleeing from the Turkish sack of Nauplia. The same remark applies to the Hellenic communities in Venice or

in Pisa, which were in existence at least since the granting of trade privileges to those cities by the Byzantine emperors in the 12th century, and which were invigorated by the arrival of new waves of settlers in the 18th century.

An important line of distinction should be drawn here between the permanent settlements of Greeks outside the borders of the modern Greek nation and recent settlements receiving successive waves of settlers who had fled from their land as a result of foreign occupation. Whereas Paomia, and later Cargese in Corsica were settled in 1676 and 1775 respectively by Maniot Greeks, and may be qualified as centres of diaspora, the same cannot be said of Bulgarian Sozopolis, which was uninterruptedly inhabited by a Greek indigenous population. Neither the ancient cities of Asia Minor nor Constantinople itself could in any sense be portrayed as centres of the diaspora, since they had always been inhabited by Greeks and they were established as cultural and economic cradles of a larger Hellenism, which had survived there since antiquity.

By the beginning of the 19th century, when the Hellenic communities of the diaspora had achieved a satisfactory degree of self-government, the seeds of resistance against the oppressor matured into a full-scale uprising which, appropriately enough, was initially orchestrated from the Danubian principalities. When the descendants of the most prominent Phanariot families, Alexander Mavrokordatos and Dimitrios Ypsilantis, joined the war of liberation in Greece, their ambitions were motivated by the long-held aspiration of restoring the centre of Hellenism, Constantinople, to its rightful owners, the Greeks who had been dispersed in the diasporas of the world. When it became obvious that modern Hellenism was to be restricted within the small enclave of the Greek mainland, leaving the Hellenism of the periphery outside its borders, the Greeks of the centres of the diaspora began to pour into the liberated segment of Greece, thus precipitating the end of the age of the diaspora.

The wave of immigration to the Americas, Australia, and parts of Africa also had its great periods, especially as an aftermath of major national disasters such as the massive exodus of Greeks from Asia Minor in 1922, but it was totally deprived of the metaphysical or messianic motives that had conferred of old on the theme of the diaspora its mythopoeic qualities.

LAMBROS KAMPERIDIS

See also Colonization, Emigration

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Digenis Akritis

Hero of a Byzantine romance

Digenis Akritis is the hero of an epic-romance of Byzantine date and of ballads in 15-syllable verse collected in the 19th and 20th centuries. According to the romance, an Arab emir abducted, then married, the daughter of a Roman (i.e. Byzantine) general in the frontier area between Cappadocia and Syria. Their son Digenis ("of two races") proved a youthful prodigy in skirmishes with bandits (*apelatai*) and in hunting wild beasts. He too abducted a bride, another general's daughter, and defended her honour against bandits (including the female warrior Maximou) and supernatural beings. He imposed law and order in the region, acquiring the name Akritis ("frontiersman"). He then settled down with his wife on the banks of the Euphrates, to pass the rest of their lives in peaceful isolation in the magnificent castle he had constructed. This was not to be: Digenis succumbed to a fatal illness and, unable to bear the grief, his wife expired with him. Mourners came from far and wide to honour the youthful couple and to inter them in a conspicuous tomb.

This romantic story, which has epic overtones in its battle scenes, survives in six manuscripts dating from the early 13th century to 1672. All follow a similar plot but with considerable variation in wording. The two primary versions are those in manuscripts now kept in the Grottaferrata monastery near Rome (G, 13th century) and in the Escorial Library near Madrid (E, late 15th century). G's text, divided into 8 books, is written in an at times poorly controlled form of the Byzantine Koine. However, the narrative is reasonably well organized and coherent. E, an undivided yet episodic narrative, is less convincing as regards its plot, and its more popular language is seriously disturbed in the manuscript. There is much dispute over the relationship between these two versions: did G change into E or was a text like E rewritten to form a text like G? Recent work suggests that neither case is likely. Both versions probably draw loosely on a common original poem, the outline of whose plot can be perceived from close similarities between G and E but the details of which cannot now be reconstructed. The remaining four manuscripts represent versions of an early 16th-century compilation, made possibly in Venice for a printing which was never executed. The compilation was made on the basis of a text like G and the actual manuscript E.

The original poem that lies behind G and E had probably been composed in the mid-12th century, during the literary renaissance at that period when experiments were made with the literary use of vernacular Greek and there was a revival of interest in the novels of the ancient world. Reflections of the ancient novels and their Komnenian counterparts can be seen in *Digenis Akritis*, especially in G. There are also many historical allusions which hark back to the Byzantine–Arab wars of the 9th and 10th centuries, loosely reflecting the administrative structures of that period. It is very likely that the 12th-century poem was written in Constantinople, its narrative constructed from lays or ballads that had been circulating for many years in Anatolia, some concerned with the now legendary members of the Doukas family.

No doubt there were Byzantine folk songs on Digenis, but no direct signs of their existence are known before the mid-17th century. More surviving examples were collected in Pontus from around 1870 onwards, at about the time of the first rediscovery of a manuscript of the Byzantine romance in the Soumela monastery of Trebizond. The subjects include the abduction of Digenis' bride, the building of a castle, and his encounters with strange beasts. Variants on one of the most dramatic ballads, on Digenis' struggle with Charon, have been recorded throughout Anatolia and the Greek islands. It has been suggested that the ballads are the remains of the lays out of which *Digenis Akritis* was constructed, but it is more probable that the similarities are due to a common pool of traditional folk material. They continue to be sung to this day.

A number of ceramic plates, some, it seems, of 12th-century date, have been found in places such as Constantinople, Corinth, Athens, and Sparta, depicting scenes that arguably represent episodes from the epic or the ballads: these include a soldier in a pleated kilt (Digenis' traditional garment), a dragon pierced with darts, and a female warrior (Maximou?).

When the manuscripts of *Digenis Akritis* were brought to light at the end of the 19th century, this poem was hailed as Greece's medieval equivalent to Homer and to the European *Beowulf* and *Chanson de Roland;* its hero was claimed as a powerful national symbol, despite his explicitly mixed ancestry. Literary resonances from the epic can be found in the work of 20th-century writers, especially that of Kostis Palamas.

ELIZABETH M. JEFFREYS

See also Poetry (Epic, Antiquity)

Biography

Digenis Akritis is the mythical hero of an eponymous Byzantine epic-romance, compiled perhaps in the 12th century. Six manuscripts of the poem survive, of which two are early but display considerable variation. Episodes from the life of Digenis also feature in folk song and as illustrations on early ceramic plates. When the MSS first appeared (late 19th century) the poem was hailed as a medieval equivalent to the work of Homer.

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Dimaras, K.T. 1904–1992

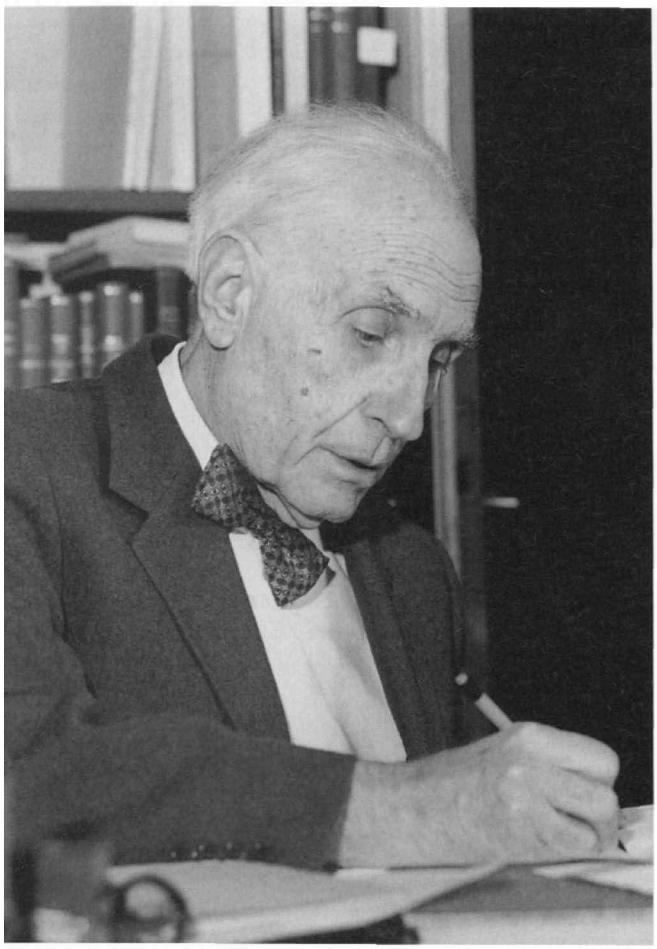
Historian of ideas

Konstantinos Thiseos Dimaras was one of the most important Greek thinkers of the 20th century. He was one of the leading representatives of the "1930s generation" and befriended many of them, including George Theotokas and George Seferis. He was one of the founders of comparative literature in Greece, focusing his research mainly on the "history of ideas". Although his whole work emits a universal and transcendental feeling of Hellenism from antiquity to the present, he is considered to be the first, as well as the most important, scholar of the Modern Greek Enlightenment. Besides, it is he who established this term.

As he himself effectively put it, both his parents' families "were merchants, and for this reason they loved education". He had his father's and maternal grandfather's large libraries at his disposal. He grew up in a loving, scholarly environment: Nikolaos Dimaras, law professor, was his father's brother, while Constantine Raktivan, a great jurist, was his mother's brother. Prominent personages of the time frequented his house, including the Delta family, Dimitrios Balanos, and the linguist Manolis Triantaphyllidis, a distant relative who introduced the young Dimaras into the conflict over the predominance of demotic Greek. After that, Dimaras maintained a stable and, at the same time, critical relationship with the demotic Greek movement. He attended the Makris school where his contact with the strong personality of Ioannis Apostolakis was crucial, since it was to this scholar that he owed his introduction to "idealism". In 1926 Delmouzos and Apostolakis invited him to contribute to *Ellinika Grammata* (Greek Literature), which was edited by Kostis Bastias.

The philosophical quest of his youth was very strong, hence his registration at the Faculty of Philosophy of the University of Athens in 1921, where he was significantly influenced by Theophilos Voreas. He concluded that he had to study the sciences in order to "philosophize". As a result he studied physics and mathematics for four years and subsequently registered as a student at the medical school. This period left its mark on him, as it equipped him with many of the methodological tools that he would later use in his historical and philological research. He returned to the Faculty of Philosophy in 1925, where Constantine Amantos steered him towards the history of literature.

In retrospect, Dimaras later revealed his first serious readings: "I read incessantly ... I read many of the ancient authors ... the Presocratics, as well as Philostratus, Diogenes Laertius, and minor authors of ancient Greek literature." As for modern literary production, he was fascinated by Adamantios Korais and Kostis Palamas. Dimaras was a genuine representative of the "1930s Generation"; he retained close and fertile contact with European, particularly French, culture. He was attracted by the religious philosophy of Abbé Brémont; he read Maritain, and René Guénon, with whom he also corresponded. He studied the New Testament, Plato, Aristotle, Spinoza, Pascal. He included in his lectures authors who were ideologically conservative, like Charles Maurras, Léon Daudet, and the circle of Action Française. He described André Gide as "a great master of virtue" through his *Nourritures Terrestres*,



K.T. Dimaras, historian of ideas

and when Gide visited Greece, he met him in person. He also mentions Julien Benda. He was considerably influenced by Albert Thibaudet as well; it was from him that Dimaras adopted the use of the term "generation", which seriously preoccupied him, and which he consistently elaborated in his work.

A freelance period started in 1926. Dimaras contributed articles to several philological periodicals of the time, *Ellinika Grammata* (Greek Literature), *O Kyklos* (The Circle), *Eos* (Dawn), *Idea, Nea Estia* (New Hearth), etc., sometimes under an alias like "KONST(antinidis)", "Philonous", "P. Raphael". He later contributed articles to *Philologiki Protochronia, Aggloelliniki Epitheorisi, L' Hellénisme Contemporain, Epoches*, etc. He also contributed entries to the *Megali Elliniki Egkyklopaideia*. These articles were followed by his "Opinions" in the daily press, *Proia*, and *Politeia*. As of 1936, an important stage in his career began with his regular, weekly collaboration with the *Eleutheron Vima* (the later *Vima*), in which he wrote the column "The World of Culture". However, he did not confine himself to literary criticism and book reviews for long. His opinions "gradually turned from literary criticism towards the history of literature and ... methodology". There are more than 2000 of these articles which date from 1936 to 1987, when he stopped his collaboration with *Vima*, and cumulatively they function as a "national inventory", in sympathy with Dimaras's aims. At times, they carried programmatic aims, as in the case of his opinions of June–August 1942, particularly the one entitled "Means and Ends". In this article Dimaras outlined "a programme for the study of Modern Greek literature, particularly during the period of the Turkish Occupation". Through the number and variety of these publications one can discern what the critic Alexandros Argyriou justly called "a free thinker". In his publications Dimaras expressed his philosophical and aesthetic tendencies, his "eusebism", which, during his mature period evolved into "adiaphorism", his curiosity, as well as his gradual passage through the various stages of the Greek literary tradition from antiquity to the Middle Ages and the modern period. His first two treatises, that were forgotten for many years, presented a particular interest: *Treatise on the Physical Theology of the 5th-century* BC *Sophists* (1926), which stemmed from a course of Theophilos Voreas. It dealt with the much-discussed subject of the Sophists' atheism. In his 1927 treatise entitled *Parmenidis: Introduction to the Philosophy of Parmenidis and Translation of his On Truth* Dimaras advocated the idea of the separation of philosophy from science.

In 1933 he published in *Nea Estia* a short comment entitled "Memorial for Korais", thus inaugurating a long period of study of the man and his work, which resulted, among other things, in the definitive edition of the voluminous correspondence of Adamantios Korais in six volumes (Athens, "Group for the Study of Greek Enlightenment", 1964–84).

Dimaras expressed his interest in poetry very early. In 1932 he published his study "Some Sources of the Art of Cavafy" in the journal *O Kyklos*, while in 1934 he published an anonymous review of the first collection of George Seferis entitled *Strophi* (Turn) in the journal *Vivlia* (Books). The following year he published the important theoretical treatise "Seven Chapters on Poetry" in the journal *Nea Grammata*. Among his later contributions, were his monograph *Kostis Palamas: Hi poreia tou pros tin techni* [Kostis Palamas: His Road to Art] (1947), and the translation of Constantine Cavafy's poems into French, in collaboration with Marguerite Yourcenar in 1958 (2nd edition 1978).

However, his detachment from aesthetic evaluations, as well the influence that his thinking received from the methods of comparative literary history, took place around 1940. The influence of Kostis Palamas, and the intellectual debate of the "1930s Generation" also contributed to this development. Dimaras believed that modern Greek studies "belonged to a large context which not only involved chronological antiquity, but also involved the geographical west". The great compositions of Daniel Mornet, Paul Van Tieghem, Paul Hazard, etc., expanding the field of research, relationships, and coincidence (*coincidences, simultanéités*), fitted his psyche, and he consequently adhered to the emerging "history of ideas". Dimaras followed the so-called French School, which was based on the literary history of Gustave Lanson. He did not adhere to the various innovative trends which flourished from the 1950s on. By totally emphasizing the "empirical" character of phenomena, the tracking of "multiple causes", and the practice of "successive approaches", and by declaring the absolute supremacy of historical continuity, he believed that literature or history (including historiography) can only be comparative. He based this theory on the fact that "one cannot isolate a

cultural phenomenon in one area, and cannot avoid continuously correlating different cultures". By using comparativism as a tool, a science of convergence, as well as "a science of differences", one is able to penetrate the specificity of Hellenism.

From the end of the 1930s it is possible to discern an evolutionary course and, most importantly, duration in Dimaras's work. Comparativism was present in its various aspects as the study of literary movements and genres; as the stamp of the "prerequisites" for their entrance into Greek cultural life; as a tracking of "sources" and "influences" (*Romantika Simeiomata* [Notes on Romanticism], 4 vols., 1944–46, *Phrontismata 1: Apo tin Anagenisi ston Diaphotismo* [Phrontismata, Part One: From Renaissance to Enlightenment], 1963 etc.); as an interpretative approach to "social" and "cultural" groups; and as the crystallization of new ideas and concepts. Dimaras's trajectory can be summarized as follows: from the "history of ideas" he moved to the "history of culture" (from the period of the German occupation on), and then to the "history of conscience".

During the period of the German occupation Dimaras gave a series of ten courses that formed the first kernel for his history of literature. He was encouraged by Konstantinos Amantos, the lectures of 1946 at "Athenaeum" followed, and, last but not least, he received a commission to write a history of literature from Ikaros Publishers. Dimaras's most important work, the *Historia tis neoellinikis logotechnias* [History of Modern Greek Literature], was published in 1948 and 1949 in two volumes. It was reprinted many times (eight to date), as well as translated into other languages (French, Romanian, Bulgarian, and English). It constitutes a fundamental tool which respects the totality of Hellenism and "attempts to define the term Modern Greek". By juxtaposing it to the term "post-Byzantine", which survived in various sectors, including art and law, Dimaras traced the formation of a "pre-Modern Greek" element in the Byzantine civilization, already present in the 13th century BC. This work is a synthesis that also identifies multiple causes while attempting to define the "character" of Hellenism within the greater geographic area of southeast Europe, where it developed. Its history is not based on extraordinary cases, on the aesthetic evaluation of a certain number of masterpieces. In the succession of phenomena, average works, minor thinkers, translations, the non-literary, scientific discourse occupy an important interpretative position, next to the "peaks".

In his later years Dimaras concentrated more on aspects of lexicography and ideology, as is obvious from the important Introduction to the reprint of the *Synagogi Neon Lexeon* [Collection of New Words] by Stephanos Koumanoudis (1980). He also dealt with aspects of the historiography of modern Hellenism, a subject which he treated in his studies, several of which were included in the volume *Ellinikos Romantismos* [Greek Romanticism] (1982). He was occupied by the individual factor in history, the relationship of the individual to collective bodies in great national or international affairs. He oriented himself to a renewed view of biography, as is evident in his important study entitled *Constantine Paparigopoulos: His Time, His Life, His Work* (1986), as well as his study of educational institutions and his treatise on the founding of the University of Athens entitled *Athens, 3 May 1837: A Historical and Philological Study.*

Dimaras has been recognized as the scholar of the Modern Greek Enlightenment par excellence. He already made use of the term in his 1945 article entitled "The French Revolution and Greek Enlightenment" in the journal *Dimokratika Chronika* (Democratic Chronicles). In a multitude of articles and studies, in which the work of Dimitrios Katartzis was discovered and made known, and which culminated in the publication of *Euriskomena* (Extant Opus; 1970), Dimaras dealt with all aspects of the phenomenon. In 1965 he published a small volume entitled *Symposiaka (Symptoseis–glossa–genees)* [Symposiaka (Coincidence–Language–Generations)], while in 1969 he published a small, though essential, compilation of studies in French which was entitled *La Grèce au temps de Lumières* (Geneva, Droz). In 1977 he published his compilation entitled *Neoellinikos Diaphotismos* (Modern Greek Enlightenment), which was reprinted many times. In his introduction he mentions several key concepts that are crucial in his work: the quest for "collective or national characterology"; the prosopographical and psychographical interest that preoccupied him after his youth; a need to "measure"; and the "statistical conscience" which is indispensable to the history of ideas, mentalities, and of conscience.

Dimaras was a scholar who was dedicated to his work, although he also happily contributed to public affairs, in his own way, by creating and establishing important and, in their time, pioneering institutions. In 1951 George Papandreou, then Minister of Education, asked him to organize and direct the Foundation for State Scholarships. Already in an opinion dated 1946 Dimaras had underlined the need for such an institution. In 1959, aided by Leonidas Zervas and Ioannis Pesmazoglou, he contributed to the founding of the Royal Foundation for Research, currently the National Hellenic Research Foundation (NHRF). He became the first Directing Adviser and Director of the Centre for Neohellenic Research (CNR) which was founded in December 1960. In the CNR, which was his spiritual child, he laid the foundations for his research strategy through the compilation of seminal works for the "national census" of later Hellenism. He held this position until 1970, when he was removed from it by the April dictatorship. In 1961 he founded, together with Dimitrios Ginis and a group of scholars, the "Group for the Study of Greek Enlightenment", which was one of the earliest of such societies in Europe. He also laid the foundations for the series "Nea Ellinika Keimena" (Modern Greek Texts), and for the journal of this group entitled *O Eranistis*. After his removal from the NHRF, he was invited to assume the direction of Neohellenic Institute of the Sorbonne, where he also occupied the chair of Modern Greek Literature. He retired from that position in 1978. After that he did not hold any office and dedicated himself to writing. Although Dimaras reluctantly accepted his professorial position, he acquired, directly and indirectly, many disciples. Through his methodology, as well as his long career in Greek letters, he exercised a considerable influence on his contemporaries, as well as on the following generations.

ANNA TABAKI

See also Enlightenment

Biography

Born in Athens in 1904 to a family of merchants, Dimaras studied physics, mathematics, and philosophy as well as the history of literature at the University of Athens. He became a leading representative of the "1930s generation", contributing to various periodicals and newspapers. His *History of Modern Greek Literature* appeared in two volumes in 1948–49. He was Director of the Centre for Neohellenic Research in Athens from 1960 to 1970 before becoming professor of Modern Greek Literature at the Sorbonne, 1970–78. He died in Paris in 1992.

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Dio Cocceianus *c.*AD 40–112

Orator and philosopher

The life and career of Dio Cocceianus not only form the background to his literary work, but also provide valuable insights into the situation of the Greeks under Roman rule during the so-called "high" empire (1st and 2nd centuries AD). Born into an influential family in Prusa in the province of Bithynia (northeastern Asia Minor), Dio first attained a prominent position as a well-educated Greek intellectual in Rome under the Flavian emperors. When, however, he (apparently) became implicated in the disgrace of a prominent Roman, Flavius Sabinus, under Domitian, he was banned from Rome and his home province; suddenly destitute, he took up the life of a wandering philosopher with Cynic affinities, roaming as far as the very outposts of Greek culture on the northern shore of the Black Sea. With the accession of the emperor Nerva (and his adoptive son Trajan) in AD 96, Dio was able to return to Prusa, where he regained his family's leading position and apparently played a major (though not uncontroversial) role in local and provincial politics until his death. Most of Dio's so-called *Bithynian Speeches* were written during this time and give valuable insights into the numerous rivalries not only within Greek provincial cities but also among them, and into their relations with Roman authorities.

Dio did not confine his public appearances to his home province, but also exhorted a number of other cities in Asia Minor (and even Alexandria in Egypt) to remain true to their former ideals and to keep the peace with each other and within themselves. He also addressed four speeches *On Kingship* to the emperor Trajan, with whom he developed a relationship marked by mutual respect and friendship. Apart from such speechmaking, Dio's oeuvre comprises an astonishing variety of themes and literary forms: essays on moral themes (*On Servitude*, *On Liberty*, *On Fate*, *On Philosophy*, etc.); lively dialogues that often feature the colourful figure of Diogenes the Cynic; treatises on literary subjects (e.g. a comparative study of the three Philoctetes plays written by the great Classical tragedians); a guide to suitable literary models for rhetorical imitation; and even writings on art (the *Olympic Discourse* is centred on Phidias' magnificent statue of *Zeus* at Olympia and the religious awe it conveyed). An especially entertaining part of this production consisted in so-called "sophistic" display rhetoric and treatments of paradoxical themes (the *Praise of the Parrot* is lost, and of the *Praise of Hair* some excerpts were incorporated by Synesius in his *Praise of Baldness*); an impressive tour de force is the *Trojan Discourse To Show that Troy Was Not Captured*, directed against the monumental work of Homer himself (but not really meant seriously, because Dio in many other essays quite happily accepts Homer as a model and teacher). Not all of this enormous production (the transmitted corpus contains 80 items, including two false attributions; but a number of works have been lost, some of which are still cited by their title in the late 10th-century *Suda* lexicon) can be securely dated. A number of works certainly go back to the time before Dio's exile, but the greater part was probably written afterwards (in exile he collected material for a now lost *Getica*, a historical description of this Scythian people).

The wide range of Dio's literary work prompted a lively debate about his exact position within the cultural currents of his times: was he to be reckoned more as a philosopher or as a rhetorician? This debate started soon after his death, and its long duration was one of the marks of his continuing influence: the philosopher Epictetus judged Dio to be only a rhetorician, more intent on form than on content, but Dio's pupil Favorinus regarded him – more positively – as a guiding moral authority even after his death, even seeing him in dreams. Lucian – in *De Morte Peregrini* – placed him beside the philosophers Musonius and Epictetus himself, both of whom suffered exile for their persuasions. In the 3rd century AD the "historian of sophists" Philostratus gave two pictures of Dio not wholly consistent with each other: in his *Life of Apollonius*

he made Dio participate in a momentous (but fictional) "Constitutional Debate" with Euphrates of Tyre and Apollonius of Tyana, in the presence of the future emperor Vespasian; in the *Lives of the Sophists* he characterized him as a philosopher-sophist, whose philosophical disposition was clothed in the rhetorical abilities of a Sophist. In the latter part of the 4th century the philosopher-rhetor Themistius mentions Dio within a series of philosopher-advisers of Roman emperors; in the *Lives of the Philosophers and Sophists* of Eunapius, he is similarly ranked as a philosopher. A few years later, a more discriminating and in later times very influential picture of Dio was outlined by the Neoplatonist (and later bishop) Synesius of Cyrene: according to him, Dio set out as a clear-cut sophist, who even wrote strident tracts against philosophy, and only turned philosopher during and after his exile, so that his writings should be carefully divided into pre- and post-exile productions.

The other enduring aspect of Dio's influence was the style and content of his various works which provided stimulants and stylistic models until the end of Byzantium. Already in Lucian's writings many features of Dio's work reappear. In the 3rd century AD Menander of Laodicea (who was the first to record Dio's later canonical name "Chrysostomus") cites Dio as an example of an easy-running and graceful style, and as such he continues to be read. Our first witness for the importance of Dio in Byzantine times is – as so often – Photios, who in a detailed account in his *Bibliotheca* (Codex 209) not only discusses Dio's life and style of writing but also gives an item-by-item outline of the corpus of his works as it was extant in his day (this, incidentally, is identical with what is still preserved). Soon after, Arethas of Caesarea (though he strangely misplaced Dio by making him a contemporary of Nero and Vespasian and even more strangely explained his surname "Chrysostomus" as a euphemism for "stinking-mouth") not only ensured the ongoing transmission of Dio's works, but also added numerous and rich explanatory notes to the manuscript that was produced on his initiative. Arethas especially commented on those writings of Dio that were to be at the centre of the Byzantines' interests for centuries to come: the speeches *On Kingship*, the *Euboean Discourse* (a charming picture of the simple rural life on Euboea combined with moral advice for the urban poor), the *Borysthenitic Discourse* (a vivid description of Dio's visit to Olbia on the Black Sea and the cosmological myth he told there), and the *Trojan Discourse*. In the 11th century John Mavropous wrote a speech for the emperor Constantine IX that drew on Dio's *Borysthenitic* and kingship speeches; the latter also provided a model for the address to Constantine X written by Theophylact, archbishop of Ochrid. In the 12th century Dio's *Troicus* aroused the ire of John Tzetzes, who severely condemned every attempt *not* to take Homer's *Iliad* allegorically. Even Eustathios, the indefatigable commentator on the Homeric poems, seems to have taken Dio's anti-Homeric tour de force seriously. The last major witness to the Byzantines' unflagging interest in Dio is the essay on him by Theodore Metochites (1270–1332), wherein he subtly compares him to Synesius, Dio's most prominent admirer in late antiquity, and stresses the artfulness of his seemingly simple style. Because, however, even this simplicity moved within the confines of a long since obsolete literary language (the Attic of the 4th century BC), Dio's literary influence ended with the Byzantine empire.

HEINZ-GÜNTHER NESSELRATH

Biography

Born *c.*AD 40 at Prusa, Dio moved to Rome as a rhetorician, but was banished for political intrigue and spent many years wandering about the Greek-speaking world. In 96 he was able to return to Prusa where he played a part in local politics until his death *c.*112. His surviving works, a total of 78, include speeches, essays, and dialogues on philosophical as well as rhetorical topics.

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Diocese

Unit of administration

The term diocese refers to various administrative units, all of which suggest divisions or subdivisions for the purposes of organized management. The use of the term for administrative units is Hellenistic in origin. It had a profound conceptual influence on forms of imperial and ecclesiastical administration, even as the term itself took on various meanings in different contexts. The early uses of the term refer to the responsibilities of treasury officials; later it was used to refer to different types of territorial divisions within Roman and Byzantine imperial and/or ecclesiastical structures. Through a process of

linguistic generalization, the term also came to be used for an ordering by Christ, the angels, the Church, etc. The history of the term begins in the Hellenistic period with reference to the *dioiketes*, a Ptolemaic official responsible for the financial and interior matters of the king (see Bagnall, 1976). Early in the Roman empire the term was used synonymously with *conventus*, a provincial subdivision that defined a community for the purposes of administration. The sense of diocese as *conventus* would persist in some areas of the Roman empire into the 4th century AD and perhaps beyond, even after Diocletian divided the empire into 12 dioceses for centralized administration in the late 3rd century AD. Diocese also became a territorial unit of ecclesiastical administration, in which capacity it persisted, in concept, in the Byzantine Church into the 12th century. The more recent division of church diocese is related to these earlier divisions, but only in the sense of the organized territorial division of a larger entity, not literally in terms of the geographic areas of these older divisions.

The first territorial use of the term diocese, apart from the implications for financial administration suggested by the Ptolemaic *dioiketes*, occurs in Greek writings describing the Roman administration system of *conventus*. Strabo, for example, describes dioceses as units of territorial and legal division in the same areas that other authors describe as *conventus* (*Geography*, 3. 4. 19–20). The *conventus* as a subdivision of a province is attested most notably in Spain, Dalmatia, Asia, Cilicia, and Sicily. The *conventus* functioned as an administrative unit for taking assizes and later formed literal divisions of provinces in some areas for the purposes of legal administration and as a subdivision of the imperial cult. Some scholars have argued that the *conventus* system itself was borrowed from a Pergamene institution, although this explanation has been challenged convincingly (see Burton, 1975). In most areas, *conventus* divisions appear to have been obviated early in the empire as older provinces were subdivided into newer, smaller provinces; but in some areas, such as Spain, they persisted. Cicero describes as dioceses the divisions known by Pliny the Elder and others as *conventus*, thus further suggesting that the term diocese was the Greek term for the Latin *conventus* (see Albertini, 1923). It was the Greek term rather than the Latin that would be more prominent in the later administrative structures of the empire and, with it, the Church.

With Diocletian's restructuring of the empire in the late 3rd century AD the term diocese was used to refer to the larger supraprovincial divisions of the empire presided over by a *vicar*. The Verona List (*c.*AD 297) records 12 such dioceses: Africa, Asia, Britain, Gaul, Italy, Moesia, Oriens, Pannonia, Pontus, Seven Provinces, Spain, and Thrace. Some of these were subdivided later – Italy was divided in two with capitals at Rome and Milan; Moesia became Dacia and Macedonia; Oriens became Egypt and Oriens. According to some historians, the division of provinces sounded the death knell for the few remaining *conventus* dioceses remaining in the empire, since their usefulness was challenged by the smaller administrative units. Some *conventus* divisions continue to appear in the sources, however, such as the 5th-century *Chronicle* of Hydatius and the Council of Toledo (*c.*400). Nevertheless, Diocletian's division did incorporate the lines of some of the earlier *conventus* dioceses in the few areas they are still attested. Diocletian's diocesan system stopped working effectively during the 5th century (Jones, 1964, p.374). More than one emperor during this century and after deemphasized the role of the vicar and diocese in the administration of the empire. References to the diocesan system disappear during the 7th century.

Ecclesiastical dioceses followed the lines set out by Diocletian's redivision. Church councils and other writings of the 4th century (First Council of Constantinople, John Chrysostom, Socrates) refer specifically to most of the Diocletianic dioceses as basic units of church administration. The bishops of dioceses became known as exarchs and/or patriarchs. Ecclesiastical dioceses were subsequently divided into episcopal provinces, known as *eparchiai* and *paroikia*. The *eparchia* was associated with the metropolitan bishop, and the *paroikia* with those in surrounding areas. In its capacity as a unit of Church organization in the East modelled loosely on the provincial organization, the term diocese persisted into the 12th century, when it appears in the writings of canonists. Some canonists suggest that the term had undergone changes in exact administrative usage since the 4th century. Balsamon (*Patrum Graecorum*, 137. 420) specifically suggests that the privileges and powers of metropolitans vis-à-vis exarchs had changed somewhat in favour of the metropolitans, who appear to be no longer under the authority of exarchs. After the 12th century the term diocese in this sense no longer appears in reference to Church administration. The hierarchy of patriarch / metropolitan / bishop, however, became permanently written into the Byzantine Church, and has affected subsequent Church organizations.

As a Greek term and inspired by Hellenic and Hellenistic adminstrative structures and concepts, the diocese had an important influence. Administrative structures in the Roman and Byzantine empires as well as in the ecclesiastical administration of the Byzantine Church and its progenies were shaped, if only by homology, by the diocesan concept of administration and organization.

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Diodorus Siculus

Historian of the 1st century BC

One seldom encounters a figure so wrapped in the Greek tradition as Diodorus Siculus. Neglected by his contemporaries and often discounted by modern scholars, his work preserves priceless portions of Greek history and historiography. His *Library of History* claims to trace the history of the entire world from creation up to Diodorus' own days, formally ending with Caesar's consulate in 60 BC. Of Diodorus himself we know little, except for what we can glean from this work, which he claims was 30 years in the making. He was a native of Agyrium in Sicily, visited Egypt around 60–56 BC, and had some familiarity with Latin and Rome. The last event he mentions seems to be from 36 BC. Apart from ethnographic excursions in the early books, Diodorus' focus is almost entirely on Greece, Rome, and Sicily. Of the *Library*'s 40 books only 15 survive intact (1–5, 11–20), as well as substantial fragments from the remaining 25. These remains form the largest corpus of Greek history to survive from antiquity to our own day.

Diodorus' *Library* provides an intriguing glimpse into many varieties of Greek historical writings that would otherwise be largely unknown to us. The *Library* incorporates – relatively faithfully and relatively uncritically – a vast amount of otherwise lost literature in abridged form. After a brief account of the creation of the world, he gives an ethnography of Egypt, mostly from Hecataeus of Abdera; a legendary history of Mesopotamia, from Ctesias; and an account of India from Megasthenes. He then gives copious summaries of myths, canonical and deliberately outrageous, relying on Dionysius Scytobrachion and several others. In subsequent books he preserves tales about the Seven Sages, legendary lawgivers, and Themistocles, giving us a window into Greek traditions. His version of the Peloponnesian War and its origins, based on Ephorus and possibly Philistus, provides an interesting contrast to Thucydides. Diodorus provides our only continuous narrative of the history of 4th-century BC Greece, including book 16, which is devoted entirely to Philip II of Macedon. Book 17 is the earliest continuous surviving narrative of the campaigns of Philip's son Alexander, an account possibly adapted from Cleitarchus. Books 18–20, based on the work of Hieronymus of Cardia, are our best source for the wars of Alexander's successors. In addition to all of this material, Diodorus often shifts the scene and discusses contemporary developments in his native Sicily, using the histories of such fellow Sicilians as Timaeus and Philinus. It has been aptly said that a history of that island would be impossible without Diodorus. Later fragments, including a large narrative of the Sicilian Slave War of *c.*136–132 BC, may ultimately derive from the work of Posidonius. In addition to many historical works, mythographies, and ethnographies, Diodorus summarizes at least one novel, *The Islands of the Sun* by Iambulus.

Diodorus' intent was to produce an all-encompassing, chronologically accurate, handy compendium of world history. He was neither a deep historical thinker nor an adept prose stylist. He avoids elevated language and overtly strives for a monotonous consistency in style. These considerations – combined with the patently derivative nature of his work – kept him from gaining acclaim or respect among his Augustan contemporaries. He is first mentioned in a backhanded compliment from Pliny, who notes that the *Library* of Diodorus, unlike most second-hand anthologies, has an honest title. However, generations of Greeks found his compendium so useful that it was preserved, while almost all other Hellenistic prose literature – stylistically out of fashion – was consigned to oblivion. Aelian was apparently familiar with him and Athenaeus cites him. He receives copious praise and use from chronographers and writers from Eusebius in the 4th century AD to John Tzetzes in the 12th. These writers valued utilitarian history over good style or subtle theories of causation. Chronographers clearly also appreciated Diodorus' original integration of Roman and Greek chronology: even today he remains our earliest and most important source for the Roman *Fasti Consulares*. Diodorus was not always successful at synchronizing the Roman calendar with the Athenian one, and his work suffers from the embarrassing lapses one would expect from such a vast, self-published encyclopaedia. In the *Library* events are rigidly divided annalistically by archon and consular years, often interrupting the narrative and resulting in doublets and confusion.

In the Byzantine empire Diodorus' vision of a historical reference book seems to have found kindred spirits. Diodorus was summarized by Photios (Codex 70) whose praise is particularly effusive, complimenting his clear and unaffecred style as well as his historical acumen. Another index of Diodorus' later popularity is the note in the *Suda* that Diodorus lived past the reign of Augustus, which possibly indicates a posthumous continuation of his work. Large fragments of lost books of Diodorus are preserved in the excerpts compiled under the direction of the emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos (913–59), divided into convenient sections ostensibly for the purpose of ready reference by statesmen and scholars. The rediscovery of Diodorus in the west was also greeted with enthusiasm by a Renaissance reading public eager to learn more of the Greek past. This enthusiasm became muted in the following three centuries as Diodorus' intellectual poverty, his often compressed and muddled narrative, and frequently faulty chronology became more apparent.

Increasingly scholars are exploring the complex relationship between Diodorus' text and his sources. Even where it can be shown that Diodorus is rewriting earlier narratives, simply abridging and changing the style, he also adds his own interpretations and emphases. These interpretations, as well as the grand design of the work, provide an interesting picture of one Greek's view of history from a small town in Sicily during the Augustan era.

KENNETH MAYER

Biography

Born at Argyrium in Sicily, Diodorus "the Sicilian" wrote a world history from the creation down to his own time, ending in 60 BC. He visited Egypt *c.*60–56 BC after which he may have settled in Rome, completing his history *c.*30 BC. Of its 40 books only 15 survive intact, plus fragments of the rest. Despite many inaccuracies his work remains of value.

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Diogenes Laertius

Biographer of the 2nd or 3rd century AD

Diogenes Laertius is the author of an extant compendium on the lives and doctrines of ancient philosophers that comprises ten books. In addition to this work, he wrote epigrams and he implies (1. 39) that he published a separate collection of them entitled *Pammetros* (Poems in Various Metres) in at least two books. Some of these epigrams on various philosophers are quoted in his historical work. Nothing is known about the author himself and the few references to himself in his work do not reveal much. There is no secure dating either of him or his work. The usual practice is to date him on the basis of the philosophers that he mentions (and does not mention). The latest figures that Diogenes refers to are Sextus Empiricus and Saturninus, both of them Pyrrhonian sceptics usually dated in the late 2nd century AD, while he does not mention any Neopythagorean or Neoplatonist philosopher. He probably lived in the late 2nd or early 3rd century AD. We know nothing of Diogenes' education, where and with whom he studied philosophy for instance, and his philosophical allegiance is a matter of speculation. Neither do we know anything about the composition of his work except that it was apparently dedicated to a lady who had an interest in Plato (3. 47).

Diogenes begins with a general introduction in which he deals with some elementary questions such as the rise of philosophy, the spread of philosophy among the Greeks, and the main philosophical divisions. He advocates the idea that philosophy was a Greek and not a barbarian invention, despite certain intimations of wisdom among barbarian nations. More importantly, in his prologue Diogenes introduces two notions that are crucial for the arrangement of his entire work, namely the notion of succession (*diadoche*) and that of a philosophical sect (*hairesis*). He arranges philosophers in two main successions, the Ionian and the Italian. The Ionian succession starts with Anaximander (going back to the Seven Sages) and goes down to the Stoics through Socrates, Plato, and the Peripatetics (it covers books 1–7), while the Italian succession starts with Pythagoras and continues with the Eleatics and the Atomists to end with Epicurus (books 8–10). Diogenes also distinguishes between dogmatic and sceptic (ephectic) philosophies. Then, following ancient doxographical literature, he gives us a list of the various philosophical sects and the names of their founders. Philosophers who do not belong to a sect and are only part of successions, like the Presocratics, are dispersed in various parts of the work.

The work seems finished as we have it (cf. 10. 138) but book 7 appears incomplete in the existing manuscripts, which leave off in the middle of a title in the list of Chrysippus' works. Each section in Diogenes' works has two main components, the biographical and the doxographical. Diogenes tends to follow a certain order in the arrangement of his material (origin, education, place in succession, sayings, anecdotes, works, doctrines, documents, other men with the same name). His usual practice is to give only the doctrines of the founder of the school, ignoring the additions and variations brought up by the successors. The sole exception is the Stoic school (book 7). The idea is that the founder's doctrines determine the philosophical point of the entire sect. Plato and Epicurus occupy one book each; Zeno the Stoic also enjoys an extensive presentation. The account of Plato presents clear similarities with Middle Platonist treatises of the 2nd century AD such as Albinus' *Isagoge* and Alcinous' *Didaskalikos*. The lists of works that Diogenes gives are invaluable since they tend to be quite comprehensive. Nevertheless Diogenes himself is unlikely to have consulted the original works of the philosophers he discusses, though in the case of Epicurus he cites three original Epicurean texts.

Diogenes' treatment of the various philosophers and philosophical schools is very uneven, and this obviously reflects the state of his sources. As far as the biographies are concerned, some of them consist of just anecdotes and apophthegms (Thales 1. 22–44, Polemo 4. 16–20), some contain only doxography (Anaximander 2. 1–2, Leucippus 9. 30–33), some are very long and well informed (Plato 3, the Stoics 7), others are very short (e.g. Aristotle 5. 28–40). As far as his doxography is concerned, the Stoic one is clearly the best of his whole work, whereas Aristotle's doxographical section is very poor in extent as well as in quality.

The problem of Diogenes' use of the sources is a complicated one. He does not seem to follow any one principal source in his work, and in most cases he uses more than one authority, which he usually names. His principal sources are Antigonus of Carystus, Sotion, Hippobotus, Hermippus, Favorinus, Apollodorus of Athens. Like his sources, Diogenes' technique is to combine and excerpt various authorities (cf. 4. 1, 10. 29). This, however, does not mean that his book is

merely patchwork. There is a clear structure behind the whole work, and there are also certain features that characterize his authorship. Yet the use of sources often determines Diogenes' reliability, which varies considerably from book to book and from section to section.

Diogenes' work is definitely a bad history of philosophy by our standards. The author is uncritical about the doxographical material that he reproduces; he does not venture any personal comments; the quality of his information varies considerably; and he has little sense of history. Yet Diogenes did not mean his work to be a history of philosophy in the modern sense. His intention was to present philosophers rather than their philosophy or the historical development of philosophy. His work is chiefly indebted to the genres of successions (*Diadochai*) and of philosophical sects (*Peri haireseon*) that provide the main components of his work, namely the historical-biographical part and the systematic doxographical part respectively. Yet it is difficult to classify Diogenes' work under a specific genre since, for all we know, no earlier work is exactly like his.

Diogenes' work is invaluable today because it is so rich in material from sources that have been lost. This is the only work of its kind that has survived intact from antiquity. Many Hellenistic sources are principally or solely known from Diogenes. His account of Stoic logic, for instance, is important for the reconstruction of Stoic logic. His work is not mentioned by later ancient sources. It seems, however, that it was used by the Byzantines. Stephanos of Byzantium (6th century) quotes Diogenes. The Byzantine lexicon of the *Suda* (10th century) draws heavily on his work for its philosophical entries. Furthermore the compiler of the *Anthologia Palatina* also knows and makes use of Diogenes.

GEORGE E. KARAMANOLIS

See also Biography

Biography

Diogenes probably lived in the late 2nd or early 3rd century AD but nothing is known of his life or background. He wrote an extant work in 10 books entitled *The Lives and Opinions of Eminent Philosophers*. He also wrote a (lost) collection of epigrams, some of which are quoted in the *Lives*.

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Diogenes of Sinope

Philosopher of the 4th century BC

The oddest group of philosophers in ancient Athens were the Cynics, the dogs of philosophy, whose best-known representative was Diogenes of Sinope. It is not merely that people found (and still find) it easy to make fun of their way of life, for Athenians also poked fun at Socrates (most notably portrayed as a woolly-minded thinker and teacher of sophistries in Aristophanes' *Clouds*), Plato (also a target of comic poets), and Epicurus (whose moderate hedonism was exaggerated beyond recognition). Their oddity lies in the fact rather that they were considered philosophers at all, given that their odd way of life was based on a kind of return to nature that seems antithetical to the reasoned arguments of philosophy such as were found in Plato's Academy, Aristotle's Peripatos, Epicurus' Garden, and Cleanthes' Stoa. As Antisthenes, the first Cynic, said, "Virtue lies in action, not arguments or learning", requiring nothing more than "Socratic strength". Ideology, then, or movement, rather than philosophy, better describes ancient Cynicism.

Humankind is not only unique among creatures in being capable of advance through intellect and technology, but in also being capable of arguing that it has gone too far and should regress and, to quote a Cynic, "live in accord with nature". One finds the germ of this implicit in the general Greek belief that life need not be luxurious and that one can be happy without the fancy clothes, perfumes, and food of the Persians and Lydians. Socrates, Aristotle, and others specifically argued that wealth contributes nothing of essence to true happiness. It was the Cynics, however, who set out the results of their animal studies showing that mice and dogs seem happy without clothes, fancy food, and any but the most primitive housing, and, perhaps most significantly, with little in the way of social niceties. If dogs can snarl, why should humans gloss over the truth with social pieties?

The Cynics' status as philosophers was maintained, presumably on the basis of their arguments for their way of life, but none of their undoubted philosophical writings are extant (except for some spurious letters). What we have instead is primarily a series of telling, Zen-like, anecdotes designed to demonstrate in summary fashion the Cynics' attitude towards themselves and their fellow humans. Anecdotes of this sort are usually to be treated with great distrust, since all conform to the new Hellenistic fondness for literary biography; if used cautiously, however, they probably do paint a generally true picture of the Cynics' manners and teaching technique. Many of those anecdotes ascribed to Diogenes, moreover, depend upon a wicked (i.e. cynical) love of verbal play (almost always lost in translation) which grants them greater credence. In front of two badly painted Centaurs, for example, Diogenes asks "Which of them is Cheiron?", the famous Centaur whose name can also be read as *cheiron*, "worse".

The origin of the school was traced to Antisthenes, a follower of Socrates who was present at his death. It may well

have been that the Cynosarges (White Dog) gymnasium where Antisthenes taught originally suggested the name Cynic for the school associated with him, but the association with dogs was one that the Cynics themselves would happily embrace. From Socrates, Antisthenes learned to emphasize the teaching of virtue for man's happiness; he also learned to emulate Socrates' endurance of physical hardship, raising this, as Socrates did not, to a tenet of his moral philosophy. Diogenes extended this to such an extent that he was said to be "Socrates gone mad".

Whether Antisthenes actually called himself a Cynic and whether others so regarded him is disputed. There is no doubt, however, that Diogenes, from the town of Sinope on the Black Sea, became and remains today even in popular belief the Cynic par excellence: living in a pithos (a large ceramic vessel) which he chilled in winter and heated in summer, eating without utensils, and snarling in mock canine fashion at all who approached him civilly, he outdid Timon of Athens in misanthropy. A particularly apt biographical anecdote has him forced to flee Sinope for having debased the coinage, erroneously having taken an oracle of Apollo too literally: it was rather the metaphorical coinage of civility that he was meant to debase. In Athens, the natural place for a philosophically inclined youth to visit, he fell in with both Antisthenes and Plato. With the former he developed his cynical ideas; to the metaphysical and political views of the latter he developed a marked antipathy which shows up in many of the stories. When, for example, Plato defined man as a featherless biped, Diogenes held up a plucked chicken as something that met the two criteria. Plato's theories of Ideas came in for even harsher criticism. It is usually assumed that Diogenes' *Republic* was written to counter and doubtless to mock Plato's *Republic*.

Whether Diogenes did in fact write this or any other work is a matter of dispute, however. Whereas some sources specifically say that he wrote nothing, others not only list the genres in which he was said to have written, they also quote passages from them. In addition to philosophical dialogues and epistles, Diogenes is credited with tragedies in which he seems to have defended strange positions. In the *Atreus*, for example, the eating of human flesh was shown in a favourable light, just as Diogenes seems to have argued in his prose.

It is understandable that anyone who called himself a Cynic would regard Diogenes as a model. Suitably tempered, however, Cynic ideas of endurance, self-sufficiency, living in accord with nature, and deriving pleasure from the bare necessities of life proved attractive to other schools of philosophy, especially the Megarians, Stoics, and Epicureans. Diogenes' skilful manipulation of words, moreover, provided a model for such Cynical writers as Menippus, Meleager, and Cercidas among Hellenistic Greek writers, and, among the Romans, Seneca, whose *Apocolocyntosis*, a biting satire in both prose and poetry on the emperor Claudius, was modelled on Menippus' satires.

DAVID SIDER

See also Cynics

Biography

Born towards the end of the 5th century BC in Sinope, Diogenes was the archetypal Cynic philosopher. Exiled some time after 362 BC, he moved to Athens where he associated with Antisthenes and Plato. Living as close to nature as possible, he took shelter in a *pithos* and behaved like a dog. His writings have not survived. He died in the 320s BC.

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Dionysios of Phourna *c.*1670–after 1744

Painter and writer

The Hieromonk (priest-monk) Dionysios, who was also a painter and writer, was born *c.*1670, the son of the village priest of Phourna, a remote village in Eurytania, central Greece. He was orphaned as a child, and at the age of 12 travelled to Constantinople, probably to complete his education. At the age of 16 he went to Mount Athos, and from the early 18th century became established as a painter there; in 1711 he carried out the fresco painting of what may have been his first extant work, the *kellion* (small monastic settlement) that he had dedicated to St John the Baptist in Karyes. He continued working as a painter throughout his life, and his known oeuvre contains a number of other paintings, both frescos and portable icons; among the latter are six icons which are still kept in the church of his native village of Phourna. Wall paintings attributed to him include those on Mount Athos in a *parekklesion* (minor church) of Vatopedi and in the *katholikon* (main church) of Docheiariou; the painting of the interior of the village church at Phourna, dedicated to the Transfiguration, which was destroyed in 1821, was also by him.

Dionysios was also the author of two liturgical works, *akolouthies* (rites) of the holy martyr Seraphim, metropolitan of Phanarios, who was martyred in 1611, and of the Virgin of the *Zöodochos Pigi* (Lifegiving Spring). He died some time after 1744, but the date and place of his death are unrecorded.

Although he had a number of pupils, Dionysios' fame rests almost entirely on a text which he wrote probably during a second visit to Mount Athos in the years 1730–34; he called it the *Hermineia tis Zographikis Technis* (Explanation of the Painter's Art). While the work can be seen in the long tradition of medieval artists' manuals, which were largely technical in their approach, its scope is far wider than any previous compilation of this kind. Its importance for the Hellenic tradition lies in two separate aspects of the text and its treatment. The first

aspect concerns the way that its content and approach are related to the historical conditions against which it was produced. By Dionysios' lifetime Greece had for over two centuries been occupied by a foreign, Muslim power, with no apparent prospect of liberation, and to a large extent Dionysios probably saw his task as one of codification of the long tradition of Byzantine and post-Byzantine artistic practice as it had developed down to his day. The second is due to the wide dissemination of the *Hermineia* in the Eastern Orthodox Church, which took place mostly after his death, but which had the effect of transmitting the practice of what he wrote to a much wider audience than he could have anticipated.

The *Hermineia* is divided broadly into three parts. After initial instructions regarding the artist's preparations for his work, the first part deals exclusively with instructions of a technical nature, including the making of brushes, the mixing of different colours, the preparation of varnishes, and the correct proportions of the human figure. In this respect the *Hermineia* follows the medieval or late medieval tradition of artists' manuals, the best known of which are those by the 12th-century monk Theophilos and the 14th-century Italian painter Cennino Cennini; passages from both these authors are traceable in Dionysios' work.

It is in the second part, which forms more than half the text, that Dionysios gathers together and presents the iconographic traditions of a wide range of Byzantine art as they had developed in the post-Byzantine period. This remains the most significant and widely used part of the *Hermineia*. Major episodes from the Old and New Testaments are covered here, including sections devoted to the life and parables of Christ, the life of the Virgin, and the whole of the Revelation of St John, with the *Akathistos Hymn*, the Ecumenical Councils, and miracle cycles of individual saints. Dionysios includes a martyrology for the whole of the ecclesiastical year and lists many groups of biblical and post-biblical figures: the ancestors of Christ, the holy women of the Old and New Testaments, the prophets with their relevant texts, the apostles, the bishops with their texts, the stylites, deacons, martyrs, hymnographers, and many other saints are all mentioned. He also describes at length how large-scale compositions only began to appear in post-Byzantine art such as the *Pasa Pnoi* ("Let everything that hath breath") and the *Anothea i Prophitai* ("Prophets from above").

Dionysios' method is to describe the essential elements of each scene, or the characteristics of each individual, in a way that provides an artist with sufficient basic information to depict the subject. A few sources that Dionysios must have used have been identified; the sequence of scenes of the Apocalypse is based on an early 16th-century series of woodcuts published in Basel, and the group of hymnographers that he calls The Poets derives from the title-page of a Greek service book published in Venice in 1600 by a Greek bishop, Michael Margounios. For the most part, however, this section of the *Hermineia*, in which the practice of post-Byzantine artists working in Greece at that period is gathered and codified, must have been substantially compiled by Dionysios himself. Indeed, he wrote that his work had been one of lengthy assemblage and compilation.

The third part of the *Hermineia* concerns the distribution of the canon of Byzantine subject-matter, as described in the second part, within the various buildings of an Orthodox monastery: the *katholikon*, refectory, and fountain (the scenes within a *katholikon* can of course be found in any post-Byzantine church).

Although Dionysios' text could never have had the force of ecclesiastical law, its importance lies in the way that it seems to have been adopted by artists of that and subsequent periods as representing an accepted tradition which should be followed when any subjects within the normal canon of post-Byzantine art were to be depicted. The fact that it appears to have fulfilled a need that was widely felt at the time is shown by the large number of versions of the text which were produced in the later 18th and 19th centuries. There are seven manuscript versions in the monastic libraries of Mount Athos, and further examples in public collections elsewhere in Greece. A translation into Romanian in the early 19th century, of which several versions are preserved in Bucharest, disseminated the text further in that area of the Orthodox world. A number of manuscript versions remain in private hands. All extant versions differ from each other in some degree.

The autograph of Dionysios' text has never been located, and the most complete manuscript is in St Petersburg; it is this version which was edited and published in 1909. This edition was inaccurate in a number of ways, and in 2000 a revised text was published giving the corrected form of the St Petersburg manuscript.

PAUL HETHERINGTON

See also Painting

Biography

Born at Phourna in Eurytania *c.*1670, Dionysios was orphaned young. He was educated in Constantinople and went to Mount Athos at the age of 16. From the early 18th century he worked there as a painter. His best-known written work is the *Hermineia tis Zographikis Technis* (Explanation of the Painter's Art) which represents the accepted tradition of Byzantine iconography. He died after 1744.

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Dionysius I *c.*430–367 BC

Tyrant of Syracuse

The most significant Greek ruler before the great Macedonians, whom he prefigured in many respects, Dionysius belonged to the upper class of Syracuse in Sicily. The most powerful of western Greek cities, Syracuse resembled Athens in some ways, except for the political instability that characterized it in common with most other Siceliot cities – constitutional government tended to alternate with lengthy periods of tyranny. A number of factors were responsible for this, the most important being the ever-present danger of conquest by Carthage. The establishment of Dionysius' autocracy was the direct outcome of the large-scale Carthaginian invasions of Sicily of 409 and 406 BC. His rise to power was a classic instance of how tyranny could be achieved through demagogy, and it is cited as such by Aristotle in the *Politics*. Threatened by the complete collapse of Greek Sicily in the face of the advancing Carthaginian army, the people of Syracuse elected Dionysius first as a general and then as sole general with full powers to deal with the danger that threatened. Shortly afterwards he tricked the army into providing him with a bodyguard, and instead of a saviour Syracuse found itself saddled with a master. Some time passed, however, before Dionysius was firmly in control and during this time he withstood two revolts, the first by the aristocratic cavalry and the second by the people in general. The latter revolt was suppressed, it would appear, with the help of Sparta. This marked the start of close cooperation between Sparta and the tyrant that served the interests of both, but gained Sparta much opprobrium. Between the revolts Dionysius signed a treaty with Carthage whereby the Carthaginians were left in control, whether direct or indirect, of most of Sicily, including all the Greek cities they had captured, while the tyrant was confined to little more than Syracuse (405 BC).

During the next few years Dionysius first extended his rule in eastern Sicily and then embarked on a programme of massive rearmament aimed against Carthage. Clearly he had not intended the settlement of 405 BC to be of any permanence. We hear of new types of warships and war engines being invented at this time. Launched in 398 BC, his attack on Punic-controlled Sicily met with initial success, including the capture of Motya, the Punic stronghold in western Sicily. He was then, however, forced to retreat after a counter-attack and, when his fleet was defeated off Catane, he found himself besieged at Syracuse. At this critical juncture a plague killed many of the besieging forces. Attacking, Dionysius destroyed most of the Carthaginian fleet and then, as a result of a secret deal (or so we are told), allowed the Carthaginians themselves (as opposed to their allies and mercenaries) to sail away with what remained of their navy (396 BC). Though seriously weakened by his reverses, he recovered quickly and was able to check another Carthaginian campaign initiated in 393 BC. A stalemate having been reached, a new peace treaty was concluded (392 BC) which was much more favourable to the tyrant: all Greek Sicily was to be under Dionysius, and Carthage retained only the western corner of the island.

It was now the turn of Greek Italy. By a combination of military victories and clever diplomacy Dionysius soon succeeded in weakening the Italiot League and, having come to terms with it, in capturing Rhegium, a bitterly hostile city. He thus gained control of the strait of Messana, and annexed to his territories the whole of the toe of Italy. By 387 BC he was free to send to the Aegean a strong naval squadron to assist Sparta and Persia in imposing on Greece the infamous King's Peace. The 380s BC also witnessed the expansion of Dionysius' empire into the Adriatic, where he planted colonies and formed an alliance with the Illyrians. His main aim must have been the acquisition of vital resources in men, but above all of materials. A punitive raid in strength against the Etruscans (*c.*384 BC), traditional allies of the Carthaginians against the Greeks, must also have been motivated by a wish to improve his finances further, in preparation for another war with Cathage.

The Third Carthagianian War broke out in 383 BC and continued well into the 370s BC. It was fought by Dionysius on two fronts, in Sicily as well as in Italy, against both the Carthaginians and the Italiots who made common cause with Carthage. It is unfortunate that our main source for Dionysius (Diodorus Siculus) chose to give only a very brief and vague summary of what clearly was a major conflict. Victory went to Carthage. In the treaty that ended the war Dionysius was forced to recognize Himera as well as all Greek land west of the river Halycus as belonging to Carthage. He also had to pay a heavy indemnity. There was to be yet a Fourth Carthaginian War. Carthage, weakened by plague and a revolt of its subjects, invited attack by Dionysius in 368 BC. By then he had recovered sufficiently to be able to send mercenary forces to aid the Spartans (hard pressed after the disaster at Leuctra in 371 BC) at the same time as fighting Carthage. As in 398 BC, initial success was followed by reverses. Having concluded a truce in the winter, Dionysius died in the following year (367 BC). His son and successor Dionysius II subsequently made peace with Carthage on the same terms as his father in the 370s BC.

Though clearly a tyrant in the traditional Siceliot mould, characterized above all by disregard for convention and in holding life cheap, Dionysius nevertheless was a military despot on an altogether grander scale. In the level and range of his activities he bears comparison with the Hellenistic rulers, not least in the way he prepared for and waged war, on both land and sea. Here he was way ahead of his time. Brave, energetic, ambitious, cultivated (he was a poet of some ability), resourceful, with few scruples to inhibit his actions, Dionysius exercised absolute control over a much larger area and population than any other Greek before him. In an age when oligarchy and monarchy were viewed with ever-increasing favour by the Greek intelligentsia at the expense of democracy, Dionysius' one-man rule could not fail to attract attention. No less a thinker than Plato took the trouble to visit the tyrant, and the influence that Dionysius exerted on Greek political philosophy, for better or worse, is one of his main, if rather intangible, legacies. On the one hand Dionysius can be said to have stemmed, temporarily at least, the advance of Carthage in Sicily. His policies, on the other hand, all calculated to increase and maintain his power, especially his reliance on (mostly barbarian) mercenaries and the wholesale destruction of Greek cities and the transplantation of their populations, undoubt-

edly undermined the morale and sapped the stamina of western Hellenism.

P.J. STYLIANOU

Biography

Born *c.*430 BC, Dionysius came to power in Syracuse in 405 BC as a direct result of Carthaginian attacks on Sicily in 409 and 406 BC. Consolidating his position with the help of Sparta, he made himself master of all Greek Sicily, confining Carthage to the western corner. He then (387 BC) extended his influence into south Italy as far as the Adriatic and was active against the Etruscans. After further fighting with Carthage he died in 367 BC and was succeeded by his son Dionysius II.

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Dionysius of Halicarnassus

Historian of the 1st century BC

In the second half of the 1st century BC a literary trend developed which was to have the greatest impact on the future course of Greek literature down to the Byzantine age and even beyond. It was the time of the quite spectacular breakthrough of Atticism, according to which speeches and literature should be modelled after the great authors of Classical, i.e. pre-Hellenistic, times. Most prominent among the initiators of this movement were the rhetoricians and historians Caecilius of Caleacte and Dionysius of Halicarnassus.

When Dionysius arrived in Rome in 30/29 BC, the capital had already become a centre for Greek intellectual activity. Dionysius does not seem to have had any difficulties in finding Greek and Roman friends and patrons, among whom Caecilius was the most remarkable literary figure and Quintus Aelius Tubero, jurist, annalist, and father of two consuls, the most influential political personality. Dionysius wrote many rhetorical and critical treatises for these friends and was a private teacher to their sons. But he devoted most of his time to composing his monumental work on early Rome, the *Roman Antiquities*.

In the preface to his study *On Ancient Orators* – a singular manifesto-like text – Dionysius unfolded a tripartite conception of history: the heyday of the "old philosophical rhetoric", he declared, was followed by a period of decay after the death of Alexander the Great, but the time in which he lived saw a powerful revival of the time-honoured "Attic" rhetoric. Dionysius attributed this change to the influence of Rome and its well-educated elite. In this conception, the orators and authors of the good, older time were regarded as classical models with normative power, whereas the whole literature of the Hellenistic period he rejected as "Asianic". In order to produce good speeches and literature, so Dionysius argued, one had to turn to the classics and imitate them. In his rhetorical and critical studies Dionysius attempted to show which authors were worthy of imitation (*mimesis*), how imitation should work, and which qualities in particular should be espoused, and which mistakes avoided. Dionysius thus proposed an eclectic procedure combining the good qualities of several Classical authors and at the same time avoiding all their flaws. By this means one could hope to rival the classics or even to surpass them. Dionysius took it for granted that the Classical authors had already proceeded in this way themselves: most successful of all the Attic orators, according to Dionysius, was Demosthenes, whose "mixed style" he therefore preferred.

The tremendous success of Atticism is clearly illustrated by the fact that, whereas Hellenistic literature was for the most part lost (except for some more technical works handed down because of their content), the works of the Classics (as well as those of the Classicists) have been preserved to a remarkable extent. This was possible only because Classicism was readily embraced and disseminated by the rhetorical schools. As far as we can see, it is in Dionysius' treatises that literary criticism is for the first time pursued not primarily as a means to explain a given text or author but almost exclusively in order to provide material for imitation. It is obviously for their practical value that these critical studies have often been read and thus have mostly been preserved. In the 1st century AD they were cited several times by the Roman rhetorician Quintilian, and the unknown author of *Peri Hypsous* (On the Sublime) clearly knows them, although there is no explicit reference. For instance, the latter used the critical device developed by Dionysius of rewriting a certain passage in order to show how important its rhythm is. The unknown author of the pseudo-Plutarchean treatise *On the Ten Orators* uses many passages from Dionysius without indicating his source, whereas an anonymous commentator on book 2 of Thucydides replies to some of the criticism made by Dionysius in his study *On Thucydides* (P.Oxy. 853; 2nd century).

In the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD Atticism became increasingly concerned or even obsessed with the purity of language. Purists of the time would accept only the vocabulary and the syntactical formations found in the Attic authors. For Dionysius and Caecilius, Atticism had been primarily a matter of style, but clearly the purism of the Second Sophistic would not have been possible without the success of stylistic Atticism. Indeed, in the 9th century the patriarch and scholar Photios was to criticize Dionysius' use of neologisms (cod. 83), which were, of course, profoundly antipathetic to purists. Nevertheless, Dionysius' treatises continued to be used – for example, by the rhetorician Hermogenes, still in the 2nd century – although direct references are rare, and even more extensively with many direct citations by his commentators, namely Syrianus (4th/5th century). As the Hermogenic corpus became the standard rhetorical textbook for the whole Byzantine period and was still much in use in the Renaissance,

Dionysius' authority remained unquestioned throughout the centuries. He was read by the rhetorician Libanius and the sophist Lachares (4th/5th century). An anonymous rhetorician, perhaps John Doxapatres (11th century), was a particularly fervent admirer, as he calls Dionysius "the master and good father of our art". Another anonymous rhetorician of the 10th/11th century, who wrote a commentary on Hermogenes, cited passages from many different treatises and seemed to know the whole of Dionysius' critical work. John Sikeliotes (12th century), a better-known commentator on Hermogenes at the time, refers directly to Dionysius. Epitomes have been made of the studies *On Imitation* and – probably in the 10th century or perhaps by Maximos Planudes (13th century) – *On Stylistic Composition*. The latter work was also widely used by Psellos (11th century), whose study *On the Composition of the Parts of Speech* consists to a large extent of extracts from it.

Of the 20 books of the *Roman Antiquities*, books 1–10 have been preserved entirely and book 11 partly. Books 12–20 survive only in excerpts, about one half of them from the collection made of Classical and later historians by order of the emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos (10th century), and the other half from an epitome preserved in a 15th-century manuscript. According to Photios, who could still read the complete work (cod. 84), Dionysius had himself made an epitome in five volumes. The history extends "from the oldest myths ... to the beginning of the First Punic War" (1. 8. 1f), i.e. the year 264 BC, with which Polybius' history begins. Dionysius designed the *Antiquities* as a model for what can be produced by eclectic *mimesis*, but he also had a political message and an educational aim: he attempted to show that Rome was in fact a Greek foundation, Latin a Greek dialect, and the early Romans indeed Greeks – not only ethnically, but also in terms of their high moral standards. Dionysius thus justified Roman rule over the Greeks and at the same time presented Roman statesmen of the past as models for those of the present. Dionysius wished to be an educator like Isocrates, aiming to teach both good behaviour and good speaking.

The *Roman Antiquities* seems to have been quite popular, although direct references are few. Josephus' *Jewish Antiquities* in 20 volumes is obviously modelled on it, as are some aspects of his style. Plutarch used it for some of his *Lives*; in some cases (e.g. for the *Coriolanus*) it was his main source. Appian and Cassius Dio also seem to have referred to the *Antiquities*, though perhaps through an intermediary source. As a note by an anonymous writer in the earliest manuscript of Appian makes plain (cod. Vat. graec. 141; 11th/12th century), the account of Italian history and the earliest history of Rome were the most popular parts (hence perhaps the loss of the later books). In the Byzantine period the *Roman Antiquities* was used by Constantine Manasses, who drew on it for his *Chronike Synopsis* (12th century), as did John Kanabutzes (15th century) for his little geographical-historical miscellany *In Dionysium Halicarnassensem Commentarius*.

Over the last 200 years Dionysius has often been criticized and even despised for his hated Classicism and his positive approach to Rome. It should be borne in mind, however, that his Isocratean ideal of education (*paideia*), based on a sound knowledge of the Classical authors, proved to be one of the most important and persistent factors of Greek elite identity for many centuries.

THOMAS HIDBER

See also Rhetoric, Second Sophistic

Biography

A native of Halicarnassus, Dionysius moved to Rome in 30 BC where he taught rhetoric for many years. He also wrote many works of literary criticism, notably on Thucydides and the Attic orators. But his principal work was entitled *Roman Antiquities*, a history of Rome from its beginnings to the start of the First Punic War (where Polybius begins), in 20 books, of which books 1–10 survive intact, book 11 in part, and the rest only in excerpts. His thesis was that Rome was a Greek city, Latin a Greek dialect, and Romans really Greeks.

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Dionysius the Areopagite, pseudo-

Author of a corpus of Christian writings of *c.*AD 500

The Dionysian corpus includes ten letters and four treatises, which most manuscripts arrange in the following order: the *Celestial Hierarchy*, the *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*, the *Divine Names*, and the *Mystical Theology*. The author purports to be the Dionysius who was converted by Paul's speech on the Areopagus (Acts 17: 34), and was subsequently identified both with the first Athenian bishop and with St Denis of France. The Renaissance scholars Lorenzo Valla and Erasmus, however, proved to the satisfaction of most Protestants that the ascription is pseudonymous, and since the work of Josef Stiglmayr and others in the early 20th century, even Roman Catholics have generally admitted that Dionysius wrote under the influence of the Neoplatonist Proclus, who died in AD 485. Since the first external attestation of his work occurs in 532, it is plausible to suggest that he wrote between these dates; the conjecture is confirmed by his assumption that the Nicene Creed is a regular part of the Eucharistic liturgy, which was not true anywhere before 476. Most scholars assign the author to a Syrian (though not Syriac-speaking) region, and since his doctrine of the Incarnation seems to dwell on Christ's divinity at the expense of his humanity, it is generally supposed that he was trying to lend an apostolic colour to the Monophysite position after the Council of Chalcedon of 451. At the same time, the philosophical elements in his work suggest that he hoped to make his own religion credible to pagans, or else to make philosophy more palatable to Christians in the years before Justinian's closure of the Athenian schools in 529.

The apogee of Dionysian thought is reached in the *Mystical Theology*, which asserts that every positive or kataphatic statement about the Deity is bound to be inadequate, and his nature is best apprehended through the negative or apophatic language that denies him every mundane attribute. Even the negations are alleged to partake of falsehood, since no phrase will suffice to comprehend the divine infinity; a simultaneous denial of every predicate, transcending all particular negations, would appear to be our closest approximation to the majesty of God. Nevertheless, Dionysius knows that scripture and tradition allow us to say that God is good, wise, just, and even beautiful; according to the *Divine Names*, it is possible to credit him with these properties (and goodness first of all) because he is the cause of them in us. In his own being God has them "superessentially"; in a single act they constantly proceed from and revert to his inner nature, so as to be at once imparted to us and recognized as his. In a passage ascribed to one "Hierotheus" this benevolence is said to express the love that is of God's essence; the biblical word *agape* is regarded as interchangeable with *eros*, which in the Neoplatonic vocabulary denotes the yearning of the soul to be like God (*Divine Names*, 4. 13–17). The Neoplatonic influence is most marked in the subsequent digression on the origin of evil (4. 18–35), which is said to stem not from God but from his creatures and to be nothing but a deficiency of good.

Affirmation descends from what is most like God, negation ascends from what is most unlike him. From symbols such as light or rock, we ascend to reflective knowledge, then from knowledge to an awareness of our unknowing. Knowledge of God is both conveyed and symbolized by the ninefold order of angels and the threefold order of clergy, which constitute the celestial and ecclesiastical hierarchies. The purpose of the clergy is to purify and illuminate the soul, which is thus made perfect for communion with God. There is a threefold order of laymen (including monks) to match the clergy, and in all the ranks of being it is a rule that the higher is present in the lower, but not vice versa. The consequence is that people can receive true knowledge of God through various symbols, according to their capacity for reception; such material sacraments as baptism and the Eucharist are always efficacious, though only when their meaning has been fully understood can they accomplish the perfection of the soul. The letters, addressed to fictitious correspondents, introduce the thought of the writer, and supply historical details to corroborate his pretensions. Reference is also made to a *Symbolic Theology*, which (if it ever existed) is now lost.

From the first discovery of his writings, Dionysius was suspected of being more Platonist than Christian; even in the latter guise, he appeared to show undue favour to the Monophysites and to be deficient in knowledge of the Trinity. The commentary of John of Scythopolis dissipated most of the objections, and the advocacy of Maximos the Confessor, who was certainly no Monophysite, secured Dionysius' place among the Fathers of the Eastern Church. Where the careless author had cited Clement of Alexandria (*Divine Names*, 5. 9, thus according to this late-2nd-century writer his true deserts as the founder of the apophatic tradition), Maximos pretended that he meant the 1st-century bishop Clement of Rome. It is all the more remarkable that when Maximos composed a mystical commentary on the Liturgy, he put the Incarnation at the centre, and made little use of the author whom he believed to have been a friend of the apostles. John Damascene treats him as a sure authority, and during the hesychast controversy both Palamites and their adversaries took refuge in his name. Even now, many monks would be unwilling to accept that "Dionysius" is a pseudepigraphic title.

Just as he transcended the division between Monophysites and Chalcedonians, so Dionysius was able to bridge the schism between the Eastern and Western Churches. The West first learned of him through John Scotus Eriugena (*c.*900), who translated the commentary by John of Scythopolis, together with some works by Maximos; from this time on, despite the heterodoxy of Eriugena, it was difficult to join a debate within the Roman Church without deferring to the Dionysian writings. Protestants have until recently portrayed him as the archpriest of the "*eros*-type" theology, which exaggerates our natural worth and puts our own self-seeking love of God in place of his sacrificial love for us. Yet the God of Dionysius is never so impersonal as the One of the Neoplatonists; the symbols of procession and reversion express his loving condescension to humanity, and *eros* in the Dionysian writings, as in Origen and Ignatius, is an appellation of Jesus on the cross. Modern scholars, stressing his use of scripture, his belief in the Incarnation, and his devotion to the sacraments, have generally agreed that Dionysius was a Christian before he was a philosopher, and that his churchmanship is more than a veneer.

MARK EDWARDS

Biography

Although in his writings he purports to be the Dionysius who was converted to Christianity by Paul's speech on the Areopagus, it is now generally agreed that the attribution is pseudonymous and that this anonymous writer wrote *c.*500. He stressed that the nature of God can only be defined by negatives, and was much influenced by Neoplatonism.

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Dioscurides fl. *c.*AD 45–75

Physician

Pedanius Dioscurides of Anazarbus in Roman Cilicia (south-eastern Asia Minor) wrote *On Materia Medica*, one of the more influential pharmacological works of the pre-modern period. The preface suggests that he studied under Arius in Tarsus and that he travelled extensively to collect information on the medicinal uses of plants, animal products, and minerals. His journeys probably took him to many of the places mentioned in his work, including much of Asia Minor, the Greek mainland, northern Egypt, Syria, Crete, Cyprus, and the Nabataean capital Petra. Following earlier traditions, he also described exotic substances from more remote areas (including Britain, Gaul, Iberia, Ethiopia, Armenia, and India), few of which he is likely to have visited. His explicit association of his pharmacological odyssey ("traversing much of the earth", Preface 4, an echo of *Odyssey*, 4. 268, 2. 364, etc.) with a "military" or "soldierlike life" prompted later writers to draw the controversial inference that he had been a physician in the Roman army.

Several other extant Greek texts are attributed to Dioscurides by later ancient writers and by Byzantine authors and scribes. These include *On Noxious Drugs*, *On Venomous Animals*, and *On Simple Drugs* (also transmitted as *Euporista*, "Readily Accessible Remedies"). A modern critical consensus has, however, rendered their authenticity doubtful.

In scope, thoroughness, and detail, Dioscurides' *On Materia Medica* probably exceeded its many ancient predecessors. He discussed the medicinal properties of more than a thousand natural substances (about 800 of these botanical, the rest mineral and animal), and recorded well over 4,000 uses for them, whereas the works attributed to Hippocrates, for example, had referred to fewer than half as many substances. In his preface Dioscurides criticizes different predecessors by name for different flaws: omitting useful substances, imprecision, false information, second-hand knowledge, and poor structure, resulting in works that are impossible to memorize. His own work, he promises, will be superior in its completeness, accuracy, organization, systematicity, and detailed personal observation, with careful attention to topography, climate, seasons, and local botanical variations, as these pertain to the collection, cleaning, preparation, preservation, and storage of drugs.

Dioscurides' predecessors had listed pharmacological substances under individual disorders (e.g. Hippocratic Corpus) or alphabetically (Crateuas) or according to external, often morphological characteristics (Sextius Niger), whereas the sequence adopted by Dioscurides in his five books is as follows: (1) aromatics, oils, ointments, trees, shrubs; (2) animals, animal products (honey, milk, fat), cereals, vegetables, garden herbs; (3) roots, botanical juices, further herbs, seeds; (4) further roots and herbs; (5) wines, other potables, minerals. The organizational principles that prompted this arrangement are far from transparent, but a recurrent structural device might be grouping together substances according to affinities displayed by their *dynameis* (usually translated "properties"), i.e. by their "powers" to act upon something, for example, by having a heating, softening, astringent, diuretical, drying, cooling, "ripening", somniferous, relaxing, dispersing, aphrodisiac, or antaphrodisiac effect. In all, he identifies more than 300 kinds of qualitative medicinal effects. Yet Dioscurides never explicitly claims such similarities in the "power to effect" as the principle that informs his overall arrangement, and some later readers, not recognizing any consistent, clear structure, reorganized his text to give it a more accessible arrangement. An alphabetical version, probably produced between the 2nd and 4th centuries AD, is extant in a 6th-century manuscript (the "Vienna Dioscurides", see below) and in later manuscripts.

A subsidiary ordering sequence, discernible in the botanical sections, is testimony to Dioscurides' attempt at thoroughness. One chapter is devoted to each plant, and within each chapter the following pattern tends to be maintained: name of the plant; synonyms; typical location; botanical description, medicinal properties; preparation and application; occasional references to harmful side effects; dosage; collection, processing, and storage; forgeries and how to detect them; at times, veterinary, magical and non-medical uses; sometimes geographic distribution.

Each botanical chapter was probably also accompanied by an illustration of the plant, as in the earliest surviving Greek manuscript, the "Vienna Dioscurides". Now in Vienna (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek) this manuscript preserves an alphabetical version of Dioscurides' work. Copied in AD 512–13 in Constantinople for Princess Anicia Juliana, daughter of Placidia the Younger and of the western emperor Olybrius, the Vienna Dioscurides is the most lavishly produced of extant Byzantine scientific manuscripts, preserving almost 500 miniatures, mostly full-page paintings of plants. Different visual traditions are, however, discernible in the manuscript tradition, and it is unclear which, if any, of these derive from Dioscurides' original work. In the Vienna Dioscurides art historians have differentiated between a more abstract group of illustrations and a more naturalistic group, and a Neapolitan manuscript of

the 7th century AD (now in the Biblioteca Nazionale, Naples), containing 403 plant illustrations of an inferior quality, also appears to represent more than one visual tradition. Illustrated pharmacological and other medical works none the less are well attested at least from the Hellenistic period and, modern expressions of doubt notwithstanding, it is likely that Dioscurides' original text, too, was illustrated.

The high regard in which Dioscurides' *On Materia Medica* was held in the Greek world until the early modern period is evident from the frequency with which later Greeks referred to him, quoted him, annotated his text, copied it, and plagiarized it. Dioscurides' contemporary Erotianus quoted him in his Hippocratic lexicon, and in the next generation two great Greek pharmacologists of the Flavian period, Asclepiades the Younger ("Pharmakion") and Andromachus the Younger, took ample account of Dioscurides' work. At the time of the emperor Trajan, Rufus of Ephesus explicitly acknowledged Dioscurides as an eminent authority, and under Hadrian another Ephesian, Soranus, drew on him in his Hippocratic glossary (fragments of which seem to survive in Hesychius' 5th-century lexicon of rare words). In the last six books of his work on simple drugs Galen by and large adapted Dioscurides' views to his own pharmacological system. In the 4th century AD Oribasius (*Collectiones Medicae* 11–13) recorded many lengthy verbatim excerpts from Dioscurides, arranged alphabetically. Writers of the 6th and 7th centuries who drew on (or knew of) Dioscurides' work include Aëtius of Amida (who offers excerpts), Alexander of Tralles, Stephanus of Byzantium, and Paul of Aegina. In the 9th century Photios seems to have had direct access to the *Materia Medica*, which he held in very high regard (*Bibliotheca*, cod. 178).

An impressive copy of the Vienna Dioscurides (New York, Pierpont Morgan Library) was produced in the 10th century. At about the same time Romanos II (emperor 959–63) sent another illustrated version from Constantinople to the caliph of Cordoba. Further evidence of Dioscurides' popularity throughout the Byzantine period is provided by the numerous comments entered in manuscripts of his text by physicians and others. Greek monks in the monastery of St John Prodromos in Petra, for example, made many annotations in the Vienna Dioscurides in the 14th and 15th centuries. A further measure of Dioscurides' influence was the active reception of his work both by the Latin west and by medieval Islam. Early Latin, Syriac, and Arabic translations ensured that for centuries Dioscurides served as a paradigm and source for three major cultural areas: the eastern Greek culture of Byzantium, Islamic civilization, and the western Christian Latin realms.

HEINRICH VON STADEN

See also Botany, Galen, Health, Hippocrates, Nicander

Biography

Born at Anazarbus in Cilicia, Pedanius Dioscurides (*fl. c.*AD 45–75) studied under Arius of Tarsus and travelled widely in the eastern Mediterranean to gather information about medicinal uses of plants, animal products, and minerals. His work *On Materia Medica* in five books is an extensive and influential study of the uses of drugs in medicine. Several of its surviving manuscripts are beautifully illustrated.

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Diplomacy

Diplomacy is the peaceful conduct of relations between recognized political entities by means of negotiations. The word "diplomacy" is derived from the French *diplomatie*, which is in turn derived from the ancient Greek *diploun*, "to double". The Latin word *diploma*, so called because it consisted of two sheets of metal shut together like the leaves of a book, denoted important legal documents such as passports, licences to travel, or certificates conferring privileges. Renaissance humanists, perhaps a trifle pedantically, applied the term to all acts of sovereign authority; and eventually the term came to embrace all medieval documents. The word "diplomacy", according to Dr Murray's *New English Dictionary*, was first used in the Anglophone world as late as 1796, by Edmund Burke. Indeed, diplomacy as a uniform system guided by generally recognized rules and conventions is of comparatively recent date, with the rights and privileges of diplomatic agents being defined in a binding manner at the Congress of Vienna of 1815. The

growth of the practice of diplomacy, however, goes back to ancient times. The contribution of the Hellenic world to the evolution of diplomacy is that of ancient Greece and the Byzantine empire.

Ancient Greece

Whether extant evidence of diplomatic activity in Mesopotamia and pharaonic Egypt points to the existence of a diplomatic system is still the subject of academic debate. Evidence of such a system in the case of ancient Greece, by contrast, is abundant and undisputed. Significantly, however, the practice of diplomatic exchanges was confined almost entirely to the Greek world. By virtue of its geographical position ancient mainland Greece was for long periods of its development free from external pressure (although this was of course not so in the case of settlements in the eastern and western peripheries of the Greek world). Under such conditions a cluster of small states emerged, often misleadingly referred to as "city states". The rise of the polis, the "self-governing state", was no doubt aided also by these states' relative isolation in the mountainous terrain of the mainland, which could not easily be traversed. Thus separated by topography, but connected by sea routes, the states needed to develop a means of regular communication. A further incentive for the growth of this protodiplomatic traffic was the fact that no single polis was powerful enough to establish some form of hegemony over the others. The relative equilibrium that resulted and the absence of external pressure meant that individual states dealt with each other on a basis of equality. Their common cultural background and a shared language obviously facilitated the transaction of diplomatic business. Yet, it is also true that Greek diplomacy possessed no conception of norms and rules of proper diplomatic conduct. So intense was the citizen's loyalty to his polis, and so deep was his suspicion of the *xenoi*, the foreigners from beyond the boundaries of his state, that inter-polis relations were highly quarrelsome. But while this characteristic tended to increase the frequency of diplomatic exchanges, it also prevented the emergence of a recognized uniform diplomatic system. What, however, did emerge was a pattern, both administrative and behavioural, that bore surprising similarities to modern international diplomacy.

The modern practice of maintaining permanent diplomatic missions in foreign capitals was, of course, unknown to the Hellenic world. Indeed, this did not become established practice until the heyday of Venetian diplomacy in the 15th century. The hallmark of ancient Greek diplomacy, by contrast, was the frequent dispatch and reception of temporary, or *ad hoc*, legations. The Greeks dealt with foreign-policy issues as and when they arose. The ancient equivalent to the modern ambassador or envoy was the *presbys*, or elder. Chosen for his known respectability and his knowledge of political affairs, he was appointed to a temporary mission to negotiate the settlement of a specific problem with a foreign state.

To the modern observer the most striking feature of Greek diplomacy is its relative openness and the suspicion with which the *presbeis* were often regarded by their own people. Greek ambassadors were generally chosen, by the assembly of their polis, not so much for their skills as negotiators but rather for their representative qualities. The policy to be pursued by the envoys was debated publicly by the assembly, and the negotiating strategy laid down in detailed, and usually restrictive, instructions. The modern practice of furnishing ambassadors with plenipotentiary powers seems to have been virtually unknown in ancient Greece. Such was the suspicion of their own diplomats that the Greeks tended to send missions on a large scale, usually composed of several *presbeis*, not infrequently as many as ten. This practice served a dual purpose. The large number of usually highly skilled orators as envoys was meant to increase the weight of the sending state's case. But, most importantly, it was a device to address domestic needs. Different envoys represented different factions at home. A large mission was therefore broadly representative of the different points of view entertained by the assembly at home. The accommodation of domestic animosities was, however, not conducive to diplomatic effectiveness. Instead of conveying an impression of unity of purpose, a large mission suggested to the receiving polis domestic strife in the sending state. An often quoted example of this was the Athenian mission to the court of Philip of Macedon in 346 BC, which was remarkable more for the strictures uttered by the celebrated rival orators Aeschines and Demosthenes against each other than for its negotiating success. Such personal animosities in large, mixed embassies were thus liable to be exploited by the receiving state. It is indeed remarkable, as Harold Nicolson noted, "that intelligent people should have permitted so bad a diplomatic method to survive".

The openness of Greek diplomacy extended not only to the appointment and dispatch of embassies but also to the transaction of their business abroad. Equipped with credentials issued by their own assemblies, the *presbeis* were led on their arrival to the assembly of the host state. Diplomatic negotiations were conducted orally and, it seems, publicly. The individual members of the mission each delivered a set speech along the lines fixed by their home assembly; open negotiations would then ensue. If an agreement resulted, its terms were engraved in a tablet, to be displayed in public. The ratification of any such agreement was by public exchange of oaths. The public nature of Greek diplomacy may also account for the frequent censuring of the returning mission by its own polis. Occasionally the returning ambassadors were even prosecuted, as for example was Aeschines, whose character had been tarnished by his accepting a bribe from the Macedonian prince, and who was consequently banished to Rhodes.

Another important feature of Greek diplomacy was the evolution of the office of *proxenos*, which was roughly that of the modern consul. In contrast to his modern successors the *proxenos* was a native of his polis, in which he resided while acting on behalf of another state and protecting the interests of the latter's citizens; it did not, however, include conducting diplomatic negotiations. Although the post of *proxenos* was one of honour, and many distinguished men strove to obtain it, the *proxenoi* were also often the leaders of the political faction which was favourably disposed towards the state they represented.

Its ad hoc nature and its public character, the lack of any administrative structure and of record keeping no douht hampered Greek diplomacy. It was largely inconsistent, and the lack of domestic unity often rendered it ineffective. But the

constancy and intensity of diplomatic exchanges, the recognition of diplomatic immunity, or the accepted principles of declaring war and concluding peace all indicate that the Greeks had developed a sophisticated and elaborate diplomatic apparatus. The Amphictionic Council, the leagues, and alliances demonstrate that the ancient Greeks understood the importance of the combinations of forces. The Delian League, for instance, organized and maintained under the hegemony of the Athenians for the better part of the 5th century BC, brought together 200 states in an anti-Persian combination. Without a sophisticated web of diplomatic exchanges such a feat would have been impossible.

Byzantium

Whereas the diplomacy of ancient Greece dealt largely with intra-Greek matters, the later Roman empire at Byzantium developed its diplomatic methods almost exclusively in response to external pressures. Surrounded on all sides by nomadic tribes, and faced with the prospect of frequent incursions by the barbarians, the effective protection of imperial possessions was of vital importance. In this, diplomacy was as important a weapon as traditional military means. Indeed, in view of the ephemeral nature of the "barbarian" political organizations and the protean nature of the threat they posed to the empire, military success often proved elusive. In maintaining peace on the frontiers, the Byzantine government relied not so much on strong defensive installations but above all on the skilful management of the frontier peoples. Especially under the emperor Justinian (527–65) Byzantine diplomacy was developed into "the science of managing the barbarians" (J.B. Bury, writing in the 11th edition of *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 1911).

The primary objective of Byzantine diplomacy was thus to divide its enemies and to neutralize them by fomenting rivalries among them. It was an elaborate system of keeping one people in check by another, thereby preventing potential adversaries from invading the empire. Given the preoccupation of the Byzantine court with the barbarian world, it is not surprising that one of the bureaux of the central chancellery was the *Skrinion Barbaron*, or "barbarian bureau". The Byzantines were the first to organize a separate government department for external affairs, though very little evidence has survived as to the exact organization of the Byzantine diplomatic service. The foreign office was presided over by the *Logothetes ton Dromon* (the central tax collector), who also controlled the communications between other ministers and the emperor, whom he saw daily. In the 11th and 12th centuries he was principal secretary of state, under the name of Grand Logothete. The Logothete was responsible for the conduct of imperial diplomacy; and, as the latter was primarily concerned with the barbarians, the Logothete's chief responsibility was the collection and organization of information on imperial neighbours so as to facilitate the subtle manoeuvres involved in managing the barbarians. Occasionally the Logothetes also issued general statements on the principles of imperial foreign policy, such as that contained in *De Administrando Imperio* (*c.*950) by Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos.

Among the Logothete's other responsibilities was the reception and formal introduction of foreign envoys to the emperor. Throughout their visit to Constantinople the foreign representatives remained under the strict supervision and constant surveillance of the Logothete; for this purpose they were confined during their stay in the imperial capital to the *Xenodochium Romanorum*, a special government residence for visiting dignitaries. The object of such attention was to ensure that the visitors returned home deeply impressed by the power and riches of Byzantium.

Arguably the most striking external feature of Byzantine diplomacy was its stiff formality, again designed to enhance imperial dignity and to impress foreign representatives. Emperor Constantine Porphyrogennetos' *De Ceremoniis*, a long treatise on the subject of protocol and ceremonial, seems to have served as a manual for his successors. The conjunction of secular and spiritual powers in the hands of the emperor facilitated that task for Byzantine diplomacy. While the foreign representative remained prostrate before the impassive emperor in the sumptuous surroundings of the palace, automata were set in motion to heighten the dazzling effect of glamour and mystery: golden lions began to roar, golden birds sang in trees, and the emperor's throne was lifted heavenwards.

Equally efficient in the manipulation of the frontier peoples was the liberal use of Constantinople's wealth. Ample subsidies were paid to the frontier tribes; and in return they undertook to defend that section of the imperial frontier adjacent to their own territory. The object of such "wise investment" (Steven Runciman) was that of all Byzantine diplomacy: it was to bring the barbarians under Roman influence, thereby eliminating them as a threat to imperial security. Often their chiefs were showered with Byzantine decorations and honours; barbarian princes were married to Roman brides. And the pretenders to the thrones of hostile frontier tribes were always welcome at Constantinople. Once under Byzantine influence, they were then foisted upon their own peoples.

Under the emperor Justinian a new facet was added to Byzantine diplomacy: the close intertwining of religion and politics. Christian propaganda complemented military conquest. The Christian missionary proved an excellent agent of imperial diplomacy, aiding the expansion of Byzantine influence through conversion to Christianity. Subsidies and the sword bought or forced the offering of barbarian support. But Justinian's religious diplomacy engendered their transformation through the penetration of Byzantine ideas. Although this new diplomatic strategy was successful, as for example in Nubia, Ethiopia, southern Arabia, the Caucasian region, and the coast of the Euxine, it was not without risks. Concessions on the part of the imperial power revealed the riches of the empire, and often led to renewed demands from its neighbours. Such a system could not be permanently successful unless it was supported by financial resources and backed up by military power. Byzantine diplomacy involved enormous expense. It flourished for as long as Constantinople's treasury was full. The city's decline as the commercial and financial centre of the Western world also meant the decline of Byzantine diplomacy.

In the 10th century imperial foreign policy was once more reformed and placed on a new basis of carefully formulated principles. Faced with a new powerful threat from two northern nomadic tribes, the Magyars and Bulgars, the science of managing the barbarians reverted to its old technique of creating an artificial equilibrium among its enemies. Each hostile

people had its own potential enemies that could be used as a check and counterbalance. This strategy was set out in detail by Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos in his *De Administrando Imperio*. To be successful, however, Byzantine diplomacy as the art of keeping one enemy in check by another needed to be systematic and well organized. It required above all the constant collection and evaluation of information. Arguably this is the lasting legacy of Byzantine diplomacy. The system of regular reports by ambassadors sent to barbarian peoples or by imperial agents within the empire was adopted by the Venetians in their famous system of the *Relazioni*. "It was the Byzantines who taught diplomacy to Venice; it was the Venetians who set the pattern for the Italian cities, for France and Spain, and eventually for all Europe" (Harold Nicolson).

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See also Ceremony

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Disease

The earliest aetiological explanation of disease (*nosos*, *nousos*) in Greek literature is found in Hesiod's mythical description of the Golden Age of man in his *Works and Days* (90–105), a text dating from the 8th century BC. Hesiod envisages a purely masculine society free from the adversities that beset men nowadays – women, toil, and, significantly, disease: only when the first woman, Pandora, opens the jar are diseases released into the world as a punishment to men from Zeus. Henceforward, diseases roam the earth of their own accord, a constant bane to mortals.

This ancient notion of disease, that they are divine in origin and may be a symptom of divine displeasure at mortal misdeeds, was a persistent feature of Hellenic thinking from Homer onwards: at the very beginning of the *Iliad* Apollo sweeps a terrible plague through the ranks of the Achaeans because Agamemnon has insulted one of his Trojan priests (1. 10f.); the plague that devastates Sophocles' Thebes is a result of the religious pollution (*miasma*) brought upon the whole community by Oedipus; "the Sacred Disease", epilepsy, was attributed in antiquity to divine visitation; in the medieval period illnesses such as leprosy could be interpreted as divine retribution.

Yet just as diseases were thought to be inflicted by the gods, so their remedy was sought in prayer and sacrifice. In Greek antiquity many gods and heroes had the power to send and relieve sickness – for example, Artemis was invoked as a healer of women, but Apollo in particular was both the bringer and healer of disease, given the epithets of "doctor" (*iatros*) and "saviour" (*epikourios*). Both Homer's Achaeans and Sophocles' Thebans find a cure for their communal sickness by supplicating Apollo, while in 430 BC at the end of the great plague of Athens a shrine was dedicated to Apollo the Helper at Bassae.

Also important as a healer of disease was Apollo's son Asclepius, the father of Hygeia (Health) and the exemplary physician of the earliest Greek poetry (Homer, *Iliad*, 11. 833; *Hymnus Homericus ad Apollinem*, 210; Hesiod, fr. 50), whose staff with a snake coiled around it is a symbol of the medical profession still. Asclepius had many cult sites throughout Greece, the largest of which was established at the end of the 6th century BC at Epidaurus; there were important sanctuaries too at Pergamum and Cos. The sick sought a cure for their disease through purification, sacrifice, and, above all, the practice of incubation – the patient slept in the sanctuary in the hope of being granted a direct cure or at least of receiving helpful instructions from the god in a dream.

Such appeals to the supernatural for relief from sickness reflect the paucity of defences available in antiquity against disease of often epidemic proportions. Thucydides' account of the Athenian plague in the late 5th century BC (2. 47ff.) is a powerful reminder of the despair and social devastation that such widespread and uncontrollable attacks of disease could produce, while Sophocles' *Oedipus Tyrannus*, produced during the same plague, dramatized the helplessness of a city ravaged by disease. Such epidemics raged through the Hellenic world on a regular basis: in AD 542 devastating bubonic plague gripped Byzantium and the whole Levant; in AD 744–47 plague resulted in the serious depopulation of Constantinople; and outbreaks of plague recurred throughout the medieval period. Whole populations were affected by other diseases too; there was an epidemic of leprosy at the beginning of the 3rd century BC in Alexandria and the disease was endemic throughout Europe in the 11th and 12th centuries, perhaps spread by the Crusaders, while malaria (which was said to have killed Alexander) was rife in the Classical period and again after the fall of Byzantium. Poor sanitation and urban overcrowding, especially in times of war and its aftermath, contributed to the spread of contagious diseases as did travel and trade within the Mediterranean and beyond to the East, to Africa, and to central Europe. Thucydides reports that the great plague of Athens started at the Piraeus.

Yet alongside supernatural ideas about illness which persisted into the Christian era, when saints took over the role of the ancient gods and heroes as healers of the sick, the Greek thinkers of antiquity sought natural explanations for the origins of disease. From the 5th century BC onward in Greece, Ionia, and Sicily there developed a body of knowledge about diseases, their classification, diagnosis, origins, treatment, and even prevention. Theories of disease were linked with contemporary scientific and philosophical doctrines and indeed writers outside the medical profession were interested in the nature of sickness and health; Plato gives a detailed

account of the origin of disease in the *Timaeus* while Aristotle often discusses disease and may have written a work on the subject.

The most important extant collection of writing on disease from the ancient Hellenic world, however, is the Hippocratic corpus, which comprises about 60 treatises, most of which were written between 430 and 330 BC and which was assembled as a body of work probably by Alexandrian scholars in the 3rd century BC. This collection, the first systematic investigation and analysis of diseases and their treatment, takes its name from Hippocrates, the most famous member of a 5th-century BC guild of doctors from Cos who claimed Asclepius as an ancestor. However, no treatise of the corpus can be attributed directly to Hippocrates – the works are anonymous, written by an assortment of medics from Cos, Cnidus, and elsewhere who express a variety of opinions on diseases and their treatment. Some of the treatises are lectures on physiology and anatomy (*On the Nature of Man*, *On the Nature of the Child*, *The Heart*); some deal with the diseases of women in particular (*On the Diseases of Women 1 and 2*, *On the Diseases of Young Girls*); and some offer theories of the influence of environment on disease (*Airs, Waters, Places*) or advice on the treatment or prevention of disease (*Regimen in Acute Diseases*, *A Regimen for Health*). One significant and influential feature of the corpus is the emphasis given to the systematic observation of patients' symptoms – seven books of the collection consist of case notes (*Epidemics 1* and *3* are the earliest and most interesting) and, while retrospective diagnosis can be problematic, many specific diseases from diphtheria to tuberculosis can be identified from these detailed accounts.

Various theories regarding the origin of diseases are put forward by the Hippocratic writers and their ideas are sometimes at variance. There are, however, several unifying features, the most significant of which is an insistence that all diseases are natural rather than supernatural in origin, that "each disease has a natural cause and nothing happens without a natural cause" (*Airs, Waters and Places*, ch. 22; cf. *Science of Medicine*, ch. 6). Even epilepsy is given a natural aetiology by one medical writer who devoted a whole treatise (*The Sacred Disease*) to a discussion of the cause of the sickness and who attacks the "witch doctors and charlatans" who attribute epilepsy to a divine element.

The Hippocratic corpus contains several theories of the natural causes of disease. Environmental factors such as climate and water supply were thought to be responsible when many people in a locality exhibited common symptoms, and the concept of contagion was recognized by Thucydides at least; but a variety of diseases in a population indicated that the cause lay in the individual, specifically in relation to his or her diet and habits. Perhaps the most influential aspect of Hippocratic nosology is the common theory that diseases resulted from an imbalance in the constituents of the body. This idea can be traced back to a follower of Pythagoras, Alcmaeon of Croton, who was influenced too by the theories of the Presocratic philosopher Empedocles who posited that everything consists of four primary elements – air, fire, earth, and water. Alcmaeon claimed that "health is the mixture of the qualities in the proper proportion" (fr. 4 Diels-Kranz, from *c.*500 BC) and that, if this equality of influence (*isonomia*) were disturbed, disease would result. Alcmaeon and many of the Hippocratic writers suggested that imbalances between "primary opposites" such as hot and cold, wet and dry, were responsible for diseases, while other pathological theories were based on an imbalance of humours, in which deficiencies or excesses of the body's "juices" (*chymoi*), particularly bile and phlegm, gave rise to diseases (see for example *Diseases 1*, ch. 2; *Affections*, ch. 1; *Epidemics 1* and 2). The writer of the treatise *On the Nature of Man* added two additional humours, black bile (choler) and blood, to this scheme, and this doctrine of four humours formed the basis of Western medical theory throughout the medieval period and beyond. Physical imbalances that caused disease could result from environmental factors such as geographical location or climatic conditions which rendered individuals "phlegmatic" or "bilious" and thus susceptible to particular pathological conditions (*Airs, Waters, Places* deals with this theme), while an overindulgence in food, drink, and sex was considered especially deleterious to the health – the Apollonian maxim "nothing to excess" exemplifies the Greek attitude to unrestrained behaviour and its consequences in matters of health as elsewhere.

The medical writers of antiquity recognized the importance of preventative medicine as a factor in the avoidance of disease; the treatise *A Regimen for Health* in particular offers advice on diet and exercise. Indeed the typical Greek diet of fruit and vegetables, whole grains, olive oil, and fish, combined with few animal fats and refined food, which remained largely unchanged until the very recent past, may have conferred some protection against many pathological conditions such as heart disease and various cancers.

In the ancient and medieval Hellenic world, prevention was most certainly better than a cure for disease, if indeed a cure could be found. Doctors (*iatroi*) regularly bled and purged their unfortunate patients and, while the efficacy of plants in the treatment of sickness was recognized at least as long ago as Homeric epic and drug therapy may have provided some relief from the symptoms of illness, prescriptions from the ancient pharmacopoeia supplied few if any effective cures for disease. Patients were treated at home. The first civilian hospital was founded in the middle of the 4th century AD by St Basil the Great, bishop of Caesarea, yet hospitals benefited only a few and attempts to prevent and treat disease were largely inadequate until the very recent past; as recently as the 1960s one study of health and disease in the population of rural Greece discovered a remarkable similarity to the nosology of the Hippocratic texts of the 5th century BC (see Blum and Blum, 1965). During the second half of the 20th century, however, there has been a revolution in the knowledge and treatment of diseases with regard to scientific advances and the development of effective drug therapies, vaccination, and surgical procedures, and, perhaps even more importantly, improved sanitation and access to health care – the provision of clean drinking water and the alleviation of poverty are the most effective weapons against disease.

One particular chronological and geographical continuity that links the Hellenic societies of the past to those of the present is that of hereditary disease. The medical writers of antiquity recognized that conditions such as epilepsy and strabismus could be passed down from parent to child, but there are two pathological conditions of particular interest, both of which can be traced back to ancient Greece and both of which

still affect the Greek population and Greek communities overseas: favism and thalassaemia.

Favism, or lathyrism, describes an acute haemolytic anaemia (the decomposition of red blood cells) which results when an individual suffering from a hereditary deficiency of the enzyme glucose-6-phosphate dehydrogenase (G6PD) eats fava beans (*Vicia faba*, or broad beans). The Mediterranean or beta minus variant of G6PD deficiency (which itself has many minor variants classified by region – Athens, Attica, Corinth, and so on) is prevalent in Greece, in areas of ancient Greek colonization, and in individuals of Greek descent throughout the world. The disease was not recognized in antiquity, although one Hippocratic treatise links a diet high in pulses to symptoms characteristic of the pathological reactivity which the defect can induce (*Epidemics* 2, ch. 4), and the current geographical distribution of G6PD deficiency, present in all of the oldest Greek settlements (more than 12 per cent in Athens, the Peloponnese, Epirus, and Thessaly and even higher in Cyprus and Rhodes), suggests that the defect was present in the population of archaic Greece.

Thalassaemia, another anaemia, compromises the production of haemoglobin; the predominant form of the defect in individuals of Greek descent is beta-A2. The thalassaemic trait is widespread on mainland Greece where 5–10 per cent of the population are carriers of the defective gene, while on the Ionian islands and Rhodes the figure rises to 14–16 per cent and on Cyprus reaches 16–20 per cent. Like G6PD deficiency, this defect too was present in the ancient Greek world (see Grmek, 1989, ch. 10, for a discussion of the evidence). In its minor form (when one parent of the affected individual is a carrier of the defective gene) the defect produces only a mild anaemia and there is usually no clinical disability. In its major form, however (when both parents are carriers), the disease has severe and frequently fatal effects – crippling anaemia, often followed by heart failure; a foetus with the major form of the disease can now be identified by DNA analysis and termination of the pregnancy may be advised.

Both G6PD deficiency and thalassaemia are serious and sometimes fatal diseases, yet the genetic defects that produced them have persisted in the Greek population from the very ancient past to the present. The explanation as to why such potentially damaging defects have continued through time lies in recent research that suggests that the common link between the diseases is the protection they afford against malaria: the G6PD defect provides increased resistance to malaria and indeed there is selection for a more severe trait if it provides greater protection, while the thalassaemic trait is most common in places where malaria was a particular problem in ancient Greece. The interrelationship between disease and its effect upon a population through time is a complex one; in this case the distribution of a contagious disease in Greek antiquity, malaria, together with the geographical, meteorological, and social environments that produced it, has affected the pattern of disease and even the genetic make-up of the Greek population three millennia later.

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See also Health, Medicine

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Dithyramb

The dithyramb was a choral song performed in honour of Dionysus. The original meaning of the word itself is obscure; the root *-amb* may be pre-Greek, but it nonetheless suggests a kinship with *iambos*, *thriambos*, and *ithumbos*, all terms for songs with early connections with Dionysus. Surviving evidence seems to indicate that the history of the genre can be divided into three phases: dithyramb as pre-literate cult song, the incorporation of choral dithyramb into formal competi-

tions in the 6th century BC, and the drastic renovation of the genre at the hands of the poets of the "new music" in the latter part of the 5th century.

Earliest evidence of the dithyramb comes from Archilochus of Paros in the 7th century BC. Although the passage in question does not itself appear to be dithyrambic, Archilochus speaks of knowing how "to lead off the dithyramb of lord Dionysus" when his "wits are thunderstruck with wine" (fr. 120 West²). Archilochus' use of the verb *exarchein* ("to lead off") finds a parallel in a number of early texts describing the formal conduct of communal songs such as the lament and wedding song (*Iliad*, 24. 723; *Odyssey*, 4. 15–19), and Archilochus himself also used it of the paean (fr. 121 West²). These passages suggest a kind of song in which a leader engages in exchanges with a chorus, although the precise nature of such songs and the kind of Dionysiac occasion in which the dithyramb was performed remain uncertain. Aristotle seemed to be thinking in similar terms when he recorded that tragedy originated "from those leading off the dithyramb", just as comedy arose from the leaders of the phallic song (*Poetics*, 1449a10). Similarly Proclus finds the origin of the dithyramb in "rustic play and festivities at drinking parties" (*Chrest.* 51 [320b21]). Aristotle also adds that drama came into being from an "improvisatory beginning", and this may be taken to indicate that early dithyrambs were not formal poetic compositions that were preserved in writing. In this light it is hazardous to make inferences concerning this period from the later dithyramb, especially since the genre underwent significant change in the 5th century BC. It is particularly important to note that the frequent assertion that the early dithyramb was a vehicle for myth, detailing the nature of Dionysus and his history, is not directly supported by the evidence, but is an uncertain inference drawn from later practice.

Herodotus records that Arion of Methymna "was the first man that we know of to compose a dithyramb and so name it and produce it in Corinth" (1. 23). This statement has aroused considerable controversy, especially concerning the precise implications of *onomasanta* ("having named it"). In light of the earlier evidence of Archilochus, it is very unlikely that Arion can have invented the genre itself. Accordingly, it has been plausibly suggested that Herodotus is referring to the formal introduction in Corinth of a choral song performed by a trained choir, to which the name "dithyramb" was given. The alternative view, that *onomasanta* means "entitled", has been widely held, but it unconvincingly pushes back into the 7th century BC the practice of applying titles to dithyrambs, a practice that is only securely attested for the 5th century BC.

Arion's activities in Corinth should be understood within the broader context of the initiatives of the early tyrants in numerous Greek cities, where local pride was fostered and civic ideology promoted through the establishment of poetic contests. Such contests were regularly part of religious festivals, and attracted competitors from across Greece. Little is known of the details of Arion's activity at Corinth, but it seems to have been well known to later practitioners of the genre. When Pindar asks in a victory ode composed for a Corinthian victor, "Whence came the delights of Dionysus with the ox-driving dithyramb?", the ancient commentators tell us that he is referring to Arion, and we can make the further inference that the dithyramb is called "ox-driving" (*boelatas*) because oxen were the prizes in the dithyrambic competition and they were sacrificed as part of the festival. There were no doubt strong similarities between such dithyrambic contests and the better-attested tragic competitions in Athens.

As is regularly the case, more is known about Athenian practice. Lasus of Hermione (b. 548/4 BC) is said to have established the dithyrambic competitions at Athens. We have some idea of the way in which the contests were organized: each of the ten Athenian tribes competed with one chorus of men and one of boys, and the size of these choruses was fixed at 50 in each case. As in the case of the dramatic competitions, a producer, called a *choregos*, presided over the performance, not only seeing to the equipping of the chorus, but also providing fees for the poet, the choral trainer (*chorodidaskalos*), and the accompanist, the *auletes*, who played the *aulos*, a double-reed instrument. There is evidence for dithyrambic performances at a number of Athenian festivals: the City Dionysia, Thargelia, Panathenaea, Prometheia, and the Hephaestia. Hypodicus of Chalcis, who is now little more than a name, was the first victor at the Dionysia in 509/8 BC, and this may imply that the dithyrambic competition postdated the formal institution of the tragic competitions, an event traditionally assigned to *c.*535 BC. The poets are never mentioned in inscriptions commemorating victories, and this suggests that the contests were a competition among the tribes, who commissioned dithyrambs from distinguished poets from around the Greek world. The victorious *choregos* typically set up in the Street of Tripods a tripod with a dedicatory inscription.

In the first part of the 5th century BC the most successful poets of the dithyramb were Simonides, Pindar, and Bacchylides. An anonymous epigram, usually dated to the Hellenistic period, mentions that Simonides won 56 victories in dithyrambic contests, but there is only a single mention among the ancient sources of a Simonidean dithyramb: Strabo (15. 3. 2) refers to a dithyramb entitled *Memnon*, which was part of Simonides' *Deliaca* (possibly poems composed for the Delians). Thanks largely to papyrus finds, we have a better impression of the poems by Pindar and Bacchylides collected together as dithyrambs by Alexandrian editors. The remains of Pindar's dithyrambs (frr. 70–88 Maehler) are noteworthy for the prominence of Dionysiac elements, and this suggests a conscious acknowledgement of the Dionysiac roots of the genre. As in the case of Pindar's victory odes, there are also passages that treat the occasion of the poem and the polis that commissioned it, as well as mythic narrative (including myths that do not appear to be connected with Dionysus). In sharp contrast to Pindar's dithyrambs, those by Bacchylides (15–20, possibly frr. 21–22 Maehler) betray no interest in Dionysiac myth or religion, nor do they appear to give any clear indication of the occasion for which they were intended; they are simply lyric narratives of a variety of myths. It is possible that Bacchylides' poems indicate the degree to which the dithyramb had moved away from its Dionysiac roots, but it is not at all certain that these poems are in fact dithyrambs. There is little firm evidence for the criteria employed by Alexandrian scholars for classifying such poems, and there is some suggestion that the situation was anything but clear, even when scholars were working with complete texts. A scholium (P.Oxy. 2368) preserves traces of an ancient dispute between Aristarchus and

Callimachus over the classification of the *Cassandra* (fr. 23 Maehler), and that debate has been echoed by modern scholars, especially concerning *Dith.* 17.

Many of the uncertainties concerning the nature and character of earlier dithyramb arise from the fact that in the latter half of the 5th century BC the dithyramb became a favourite vehicle for the musical experiments of the poets of the "new music". The comic poet Pherecrates provides a list of offences committed against Music by the leaders of the movement (fr. 155 *PCG*), among whom he names Cinesias, Melanippides, Timotheus, and Philoxenus. In particular, the *Persae* by Timotheus provides an extended example of "dithyrambic" style, although that poem is technically a *nomos*. A number of other extant passages give us a glimpse into the nature of a genre in which the traditional rigour of triadic structure has been replaced by astrophic form, and words have been subordinated to music. Accordingly, the emphasis seems very much to have been on the music, and there are reports of outrageous instrumental effects. Elaborate vocabulary and complicated imagery rendered the texts obscure to many, and these poets were much criticized on such grounds by later writers. In fact, the obscurity of dithyrambic poets became proverbial: "You make even less sense than a dithyramb", runs a proverb quoted by a scholiast to Aristophanes (*Birds*, 1393). This "dithyrambic style" was regularly pilloried by comic poets in the 4th century BC.

Dithyrambs continued to be performed in the post-Classical world. There is evidence for such performances on Delos in the Hellenistic period, at both the Delia and the Apollonia, and in Athens at the City Dionysia, at least until the 2nd century AD. The fragments from this period offer no firm basis for speculation, and it is tempting to suppose that activity of the poets of the "new music" so undermined the character of the dithyramb that the genre never fully recovered.

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See also Poetry (Lyric), Song

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Divination

Divination, the supposed ability to acquire knowledge of the future or of other normally inaccessible matters by supernatural means, has always found a place in the Greek tradition from antiquity to the present day, but while some forms have enjoyed cultural approval, others have been condemned.

All the methods of divination in the Greek tradition, from the most sophisticated to the most crude, operate on the same basic principle: the belief that supernatural forces (whether gods, angels, demons, or spirits of the dead), endowed with greater understanding than humans, may reveal part of their superior knowledge through the phenomena being experienced or observed. Scholarship, following distinctions drawn in antiquity, has traditionally divided the methods of divination known in the Greek world between the "natural" or "intuitive" (those based simply upon direct inspiration in a natural or dream state) and the "artificial" or "inductive" (those involving deliberate observation, manipulation, and intervention on the part of the diviner). Such groupings, however, tend to be confusing since, even in the most apparently intuitive methods, some manipulation may be thought possible or necessary; they also impose a distinction not perceived by the great majority of actual participants, and have further been understood in different ways by different scholars. They are thus avoided here.

Oracular prophecy undoubtedly enjoyed the highest cultural esteem in the ancient Greek world. It was conducted at all manner of holy places, some of which transcended state boundaries and were highly institutionalized, although most were very local, catering to small communities and individuals. It also encompassed a broad spectrum of techniques, ranging from ecstatic utterance or frenzied behaviour to the interpretation of the rustling of leaves in a sacred tree or ripples in a sacred pool. The most famous site was probably Delphi, where Apollo was believed to speak through an inspired individual, the Pythia, but there were a number of other major oracles of similar standing, that of Zeus at Dodona for example. At these important centres a variety of complex rituals of consultation were conducted in correspondingly elaborate physical surroundings to produce the oracular response; questions were often posed by the representatives of cities and other such groups and concerned important matters of state policy and law, although individuals might also make enquiries. Another type of oracle, operating at a high cultural level and best exemplified by the tradition of Sibylline ecstatic prophecy, did not offer answers to specific questions but rather spoke generally about the future.

Closely related to oracular prophecy was the interpretation of dreams, which were taken to be inspired by supernatural powers. At some major sites, and at a great number of lesser ones, a god was believed to inspire the sick who slept there with dreams that either healed directly or told how a cure might be effected (incubation); most notable perhaps was the shrine of Asclepius at Epidaurus. People also commonly interpreted their own dreams as predictions of the future, or else they might employ professionals who had training and access to the many textbooks of dream interpretation (*oneirokritika*) that developed over the centuries and, in some cases, incorporated material from outside the Greek tradition. Dream interpretation illustrates quite clearly the problems of drawing sharp distinctions between "natural" and "artificial" forms of divination, for although it might appear to be a purely intuitive technique, in many cases there was an obvious perception that dreams might be *induced*, either in the self or another, and the powers producing them manipulated. Related to this notion, indeed, was a whole range of other divinatory techniques that

involved the inducement of inspiration. Thus in practices such as hydromancy, lekanomancy, and katoptromancy (where the behaviour of objects or substances in a vessel of water was observed or where, in more complex forms, a medium saw visions on the surface of water or some other shining or reflective material) it was believed that supernatural powers could be induced or forced by a diviner or sorcerer to reveal hidden knowledge; often these powers were thought to be the spirits of the dead and hence such techniques were perceived to be forms of necromancy.

Other common and highly developed methods of divination in the pre-Christian period include augury, in which the behaviour of birds was noted, and hieroscopy, in which the behaviour of sacrificial victims and, even more importantly, the formation, development, and marking of their various organs, such as the liver or shoulder blades, were observed. Also subject to interpretation were the chance utterances of people and involuntary movements of the body (such as twitching, sneezing, itching, and the like), as well as the patterns found on various parts of the body, like the palms (chiromancy). Natural signs were thought to predict coming weather, while heavenly events, from thunder and lightning to the appearance of comets and shooting stars, were believed to be very significant. From Hellenistic times the sometimes immensely complex and "scientific" technique of astrology developed under eastern influence; using observation of the regular and irregular movements of heavenly bodies, this either predicted the future or determined the most appropriate course and timing of action. Other simple, and consequently very common, techniques involved reading the pattern in which cast objects, such as dice, grain, knuckle bones, or other lots, fell, or the order in which they were extracted from a container. The point at which spinning objects stopped was believed to be revealing, for example of the identity of a thief, and significance might be derived from passages determined by some random method of selection in written texts.

With the rise of Christianity to dominance in the Greek world, the old officially sanctioned forms of divination ceased to be culturally acceptable; most had been formally banned by the 4th century AD and gradually fell into disuse. Oracular prophecy thus almost completely disappeared as a result of the Church's need to preserve the authority of its canon, despite having enjoyed some prominence in the form of directly inspired utterance in primitive Christianity and in some heretical sects; the various types of divination related to animal sacrifice also vanished along with the sacrificial rituals themselves. But although the new Christian orthodoxy claimed that all forms of pagan divination were evil and nothing but vehicles of demonic deceit, practice at the popular level dictated that some at least would continue relatively unchanged. In the public sphere incubation, for example, carried on without interruption, churches taking the place (sometimes quite literally) of pagan shrines and Christian holy figures substituting as the source of inspiration. There is also abundant evidence throughout Byzantine times and down to the modern period that very many of the more private and individual forms of divination continued to be practised, not only at the local level but sometimes even in such places as the imperial court.

It is thus clear that people in the Byzantine and early modern Greek world still engaged in the whole diverse range of minor divinatory techniques: taking note of unusual bodily sensations or markings on the skin, watching the behaviour of birds and animals, studying the patterns in which scattered barley, beans, bones, or stones would fall, extracting lots from jars of water (*klidonas*), and so forth. The use of icons for divination, for example by noting apparent changes in their colour, found acceptance due to their role in culturally approved Christian religious practice; the same is true of bibliomancy where random consultation of the Bible and particularly the Psalms was valued. Astrology also flourished and, indeed, was developed in intellectual circles, despite periodic bouts of condemnation, and the old techniques of dream interpretation, along with their manuals, continued to be employed at all levels of society: the emperor Manuel II Palaiologos is known to have had an interest in the subject and is even credited with a book on it. Also popular among professional diviners were versions of the ancient methods using a shining, reflective surface. In their more sophisticated forms these involved elaborate rituals of invocation and manipulation of spirits (usually thought to be evil) and perhaps the souls of the dead. Information was channelled through a child (hence virgin and pure) medium, and the ritual, which might involve considerable knowledge of complex astrological and cosmological theory as well as the deliberate manipulation of sense perception, usually took place within the confines of a magic circle.

Although it evidently continued almost unchanged into the early years of the 20th century, the serious practice of divination has diminished considerably since then, but some traditional forms still continue and these have been supplemented by methods imported from other cultures. Thus incubation regularly takes place at churches with a particular reputation for healing, and other dreams are analysed for what they may predict of the future; in some cases, rituals are performed, for example on the first Saturday in Lent, to induce dreams of a future spouse. Common rituals for determining affliction by the evil eye are often closely related to older types of divination involving oil and water (*lekanomandia*), while as recently as the 1970s more complex forms of this art were still being attributed to professional sorcerers thought capable of providing information about such things as lost objects or appropriate courses of action. Divination by icons continues and some memory of simple forms of augury persists. Another of the old practices still appearing in places is the *klidonas* ceremony in which personal objects are drawn from a jar of water, usually to predict marriage partners, while divination by means of the observation of markings on the shoulder blades of sheep (scapulomancy) is known from many regions, as is that which looks at the patterns made by dropped beans or grain. Closely related, and perhaps the most common of all modern practices, is reading the patterns made by the grounds in the bottom of coffee cups. Astrology, in the form of horoscopes, is found as widely in Greece as in any modern western country, while other types of divination that do not belong to the Greek tradition, such as tarot or playing-card reading, are also known.

The credibility and efficacy of divination were certainly accepted by most people in the ancient world and, although Christianity condemned it as implying a separate source of inspiration from that controlled and approved by the Church, it did little to challenge the underlying notion that information

could be obtained by such means, hence its persistence in the Greek tradition. This is not to say that there were no sceptics in antiquity or Byzantine times and some certainly preferred rational explanations to the supernatural ones usually offered for the operation of divination, or else dismissed most, if not all, such practices as the work of charlatans. The Church's constant criticism of divination during Byzantine and modern times has meant that ordinary people have often regarded it with some ambivalence, though this has often had more to do with the question of its sinfulness than its efficacy. Professional divination has tended to be viewed with particular suspicion, and even its practitioners have understood themselves to be working with evil powers, but minor types have been considered far less dangerous, especially by those unaffected by the niceties of theology. Thought to operate through the power of either neutral, natural forces, or else those of Christianity itself, such divination has been seen as a relatively legitimate activity. In recent times, however, as in most developed countries, all divination has increasingly come to be regarded with what has been described as a mixture of curiosity and mockery. Even among those who are still happy to engage in some of the rituals, the great majority are no longer prepared to accept the basis of belief in the supernatural required for their explanation. An example may be found in the practice of *klidonas*, deliberately revived by folklorists in some parts of Greece to preserve cultural heritage, or in the consultation of coffee cups or shoulder blades, prediction by which is not totally dismissed, but not taken particularly seriously by anyone either.

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See also Astrology, Dreams, Oracles

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Divorce

Greek attitudes to divorce and the practicalities of its execution have undergone radical revision since antiquity and these revisions are revealing, reflecting as they do upon the changing roles of state and religion within the institution of marriage and indeed of the perceived nature and function of marriage itself. Evidence from Classical Athens suggests that divorce was common and simple to accomplish, requiring state authorization in only a few particular cases, a situation that mirrors the concept of marriage as an essentially private matter between individual families in which the state played no formal role. We possess less evidence for areas outside Athens, but the Gortyn law codes of Crete and the apparent flexibility of the marriage bond at Sparta suggest that divorce was easily obtainable throughout Greece.

At Athens there were, broadly, three categories of divorce, the defining characteristic of each being the agent who effected the separation. First, the husband could send his wife away (*apopempsis*), an action that required no justification and so was a potential area of insecurity for women. However, it is likely that such divorces were discouraged by social and family pressures and by the convention that demanded the return of the dowry to the wife's natal family in all cases of divorce, whatever the reason. There was however one circumstance in which the sending away of a wife was compulsory on pain of the loss of civil rights (*atimia*) for her husband, that of the wife's adultery (for an example, see Lysias, 14. 28).

Second, the wife could leave the marital home (*apoleipsis*). Plutarch claims that Hipparate, the wife of Alcibiades, registered her intention to divorce her errant husband with the archon (Plutarch, *Alcibiades*, 8), suggesting that Athenian women lacked the requisite authority to effect a divorce personally and so, unlike their husbands, required the ratification of the state. The evidence for wives initiating divorce is problematic, however, since no other text describes such an event, although Euripides, in the context of the possibility of a woman leaving an unhappy marriage, suggests that divorce brought women a bad reputation (*Medea*, 236–37), while the children of a marriage belonged to their father and remained in

his household, perhaps another disincentive for wives to seek divorce.

The third and perhaps most common category of divorce was that of *aphairesis*, the dissolution of marriage by the wife's natal guardian (*kyrios*). A woman's father and brothers had the right to insist upon her divorce and the return of her dowry, and the reasons that motivated them to do so highlight several functions of marriage in antiquity (and beyond). Childlessness is attested as a reason for divorce and the wife who did not provide her husband with heirs faced being sent back to her father's house. However, two lawcourt speeches voice a concern for the wives of infertile husbands; in one a husband unselfishly asks his wife's father to retrieve her and remarry her to another man so that she might have the chance to bear children (Isaeus, 2. 7–8), while in another a speaker criticizes the brother of a married but childless woman for not effecting her divorce and finding her another husband (Isaeus, 8. 36). The fate of the adulteress, compulsorily divorced, reflects too upon the notion that the primary purpose of marriage is the provision of legitimate children; the seduced woman can no longer be relied upon to fulfil this wifely function and so must be dismissed.

Marriage was important too as a site for social and interfamilial alliance, engendering and cementing kinship ties between and within families. Conversely, when conflict arose, divorce could result (Demosthenes, 4. 4), while social and financial ambition could also lead to the dissolution of an unprofitable marriage; in one text a daughter begs her father not to divorce her from the husband she loves to marry her to a richer man (Menander, Papyrus Didot 1). The case of the *epikliros* is particularly instructive here. The estate of a man who died without sons could be claimed by his nearest male kin, who was constrained also to marry any daughter of the deceased, the *epikliros*, who thus pertained to the estate. Such claims were legally adjudicated in a special court hearing (*epidikasia*). Significantly, a married woman who became an *epikliros* was divorced from her present husband in the interests of inheritance and the production of legitimate heirs for her natal family and thus, as the speaker in a 4th-century BC court case insists, "many men are deprived of their wives" (Isaeus, 3. 64).

Such pragmatic concerns about the legitimacy of children and socio-economic factors continued to inform marital alliance and separation in the Hellenic world, but the new perspective on marriage introduced by Christian teaching produced a pronounced change in attitudes to divorce. While the early Church's view on wedlock was divided, on the whole it promulgated the sanctity of marriage which thus was accorded an extra religious dimension and status. Furthermore, in marked contrast to the easily dissoluble marriage ties of antiquity, Christian marriage was regarded as a bond for life, and divorce was thus anathema. A further disincentive to divorce lay in the Christian notion that remarriage constituted adultery, even in the case of widowhood and especially with regard to divorce.

Today, while Orthodoxy regards marriage as a holy sacrament, the Church does permit divorce, although theoretically Orthodox canon law allows divorce and remarriage only in cases of the wife's unchastity, referring to the authority of Matthew 19: 9, an interesting parallel to the law of Classical Athens. In practice, however, the Church may make exceptions and will allow divorce for other reasons. Divorce ratified by the state may be easily obtainable in Greece and for the many Hellenic communities overseas, but for remarriage within the Church a divorce granted by the state is insufficient.

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See also Adultery, Dowry, Marriage

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Dodecanese

Aegean islands

Today the "Dodecanese" (literally "group of 12 islands") includes Astypalia, Chalki, Cos, Kalymnos, Karpathos, Kasos, Kastellorizo, Leros, Leipsoi, Nisyros, Patmos, Rhodes, Symi, and Tilos, as well as a few other small islands, one or two of which are inhabited but do not have independent (deme) status. That is a total of 14 islands. The original 12, which included Ikaria but excluded Rhodes and Cos, got their group status following a collective protest in 1908 at the proposed removal of privileges which they had enjoyed from the

Dodecanese: view from Rhodes, the largest island of the group of 14

Ottoman authorities since the 16th century. These were taxation at a modest level and by community not by individual, and freedom from the permanent presence of Ottoman officials. The very importance of Rhodes and Cos was of course the reason why they were, from the start, excluded from privileged status. In fact the term "Dodecanese" was used as early as the 12th century AD but in a quite different sense. In this article it is used with the meaning it bears today.

Although the Dodecanese are geologically, and in details of climate and fauna and flora, more closely related to continental Asia Minor than to the Aegean archipelago, and in early prehistory were close in culture to Asia Minor, from the time of the Minoan palaces (*c.*2000 BC) they were part of Aegean spheres of influence (which included coastal Anatolia).

Both Minoan and Mycenaean remains have been found widely in these islands and it is clear that the Dodecanese belonged, in succession, to these cultural areas. Their history in the early Iron Age and down to *c.*600 BC is not known in much detail but they certainly received settlers from various parts of Greece and acquired their Dorian character. The islands (especially the three cities of Rhodes – Ialysus, Camirus and Lindus) were prosperous in the Archaic period (6th century BC) and the Rhodians participated in the establishment of the Greek trading emporium of Naucratis on the Nile delta and founded colonies abroad, contributing substantially to the spread of Greek culture. In the Persian Wars of the early 5th century BC, the colonies were squeezed between the opposing sides, not least because of their geographical position. In the Classical period there were synoecisms, accompanied by the foundation of new urban centres, on both Rhodes and Cos. The smaller islands were subordinate to them and were sometimes formally incorporated into their administrative structure. Rhodes and Cos were especially prosperous and important artistic centres in the Hellenistic period, when they were subject to the Ptolemies of Egypt. Rhodian sculptors were responsible, inter alia, for the works in the Cave of Tiberius at Sperlonga in Italy, and played an important part in the transmission of Greek stylistic influences on Roman sculpture. After the advent of the Romans, Rhodes was punished for its support of the anti-Roman Macedonian king Perseus, and lost its economic and maritime influence when Delos was made a free port in AD 166.

When Constantinople became the capital of the Christianized Roman empire in AD 330, geography again determined the allegiance of the Dodecanese as is clear from the remains of numerous early Christian basilicas in the islands. In the 7th and 8th centuries AD they were plagued by Arab raiders, who may even have established a base on Karpathos (Sokastro). Under Byzantine administration the islands later belonged to the themes of Cibyra and the Aegean Sea. The

monastery of St John on Patmos was founded in 1088 and other ecclesiastical architecture reflects the islands' prosperity in the Middle Byzantine period (843–1204).

In the 11th and 12th centuries, with the advent of the Crusaders, and of Genoese and Venetian traders, contacts were established with the west which were to be so important in the history of the Dodecanese. In 1309 Rhodes was captured by the Hospitaller Knights of St John who had been expelled from the Holy Land (and later from Cyprus). The knights, who remained until 1523, rapidly established control over most of the Dodecanese. During their ascendancy local culture was maintained, most effectively by the Church, but material culture was somewhat diluted by the introduction of western elements in art and architecture.

In the 14th and 15th centuries many of the islands were attacked by the Ottomans and in 1523 the knights were expelled from Rhodes after a long siege. This event inaugurated nearly 400 years of subjection to Ottoman Turkey. Although the smaller islands were largely untouched by the Ottomans, Rhodes and Cos were much more closely controlled – a fact which is substantiated by their architectural history. Only on those islands are there widespread signs of Ottoman presence, with purpose-built mosques, schools, bath houses, etc., as well as churches converted for Muslim worship. Nevertheless the two communities were not integrated: no Greeks, for instance, were permitted to reside within the walled old town of Rhodes; churches in Byzantine style continued to be built and decorated in traditional fashion and Greek customs were maintained. The problems of 1908 are however symptomatic of greater interference by the Ottoman authorities in the 19th century.

The islanders took part in the wars of independence, with notable contributions from the sailors of Kasos and the shipbuilders of Symi but, although they were originally assigned to the new Greek kingdom of 1833, they were subsequently exchanged for Euboea, which was initially to go to Turkey.

Italy took the Dodecanese in 1912 in the Italo-Turkish war. Under the first and second Treaties of Lausanne the islands were first destined for Turkey, then Italian possession was confirmed (1924). This situation lasted until 1947. In the years before World War II strenuous attempts were made to impose Italian language and culture, leading to riots and bloodshed, especially on Kalymnos. Under the Italians there was a governor in Rhodes and a regent on Cos. In both these towns, and on Leros where there was an important naval base, the grandiose public buildings of the period are strikingly un-Greek. There are occasional examples too on other islands (the police station on Patmos). The architecture of the Greek churches was not affected, however, that of private houses only occasionally and in minor details.

During the war the Germans took over some of the islands which later came under British military administration. The German surrender of the Dodecanese was signed on Symi on 8 May 1945.

Although there was considerable emigration from the Dodecanese in the 19th century, the islands mostly maintained substantial populations (Kasos – only 1100 today – had 11,000 until 1824, when it was ravaged by Egyptians) up to the Italian period when their main industry (sponge fishing) was hard hit by a ban on working off the coast of North Africa, which was exploited by other Italian colonies. One result of the subsequent emigration was the Dodecanesian colony of sponge fishers at Tarpon Springs in Florida.

Three points should be emphasized in considering the contribution of the Dodecanese to the Greek tradition. First, the three periods of substantial foreign interference introduced some significant non-Greek elements into local culture, but these were material rather than spiritual. Secondly, while these elements may superficially have enriched that culture, they have done nothing to affect its essential Greekness (and close affinity with the rest of the Aegean) which was energetically maintained. Thirdly, both in antiquity and in more recent times, Dodecanesian emigrants have played an important part in establishing Greek culture in other parts of the world. In recent times this has helped maintain the viability of small local communities by remittances.

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Summary

Group of "12" (now redefined to include 14) islands in the southeast Aegean. Rhodes and Cos became especially prosperous during the Hellenistic period. The 11th and 12th centuries brought contact with crusaders and traders from the west, and from 1309 to 1523 Rhodes was held by the Hospitaller Knights of St John. After four centuries of Ottoman rule, the islands became Italian from 1924 to 1947. Their Greek culture was however maintained throughout.

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Dodona

City in Epirus

Dodona was the site of reputedly the oldest oracle in ancient Greece and dedicated to the worship of Zeus. Located at the head of the valley of Tsarkopvitsa at the foot of Mount Tomaros, the ancient site is 22 km south of Ioannina. In Classical times pilgrims reached the site from the south, up the valley of the river Louros to the town of Kopani. In Roman times Dodona lay directly on the inner main Epirote road heading north from Nicopolis; its centrality explains the revival in the 2nd century AD of the Zeus Naia festival and games and the establishment of a bisphoric two centuries later.

In the 3rd millennium BC Dodona saw continuous habitation in the form of primitive shepherd communities. No build-

Dodona: view of the theatre, built in the 3rd century BC to seat 18,000 spectators

ings survive from this period, although numerous stone tools, loom weights, pottery, and a clay hearth have been found. Seasonal habitation is suggested, that is, shepherds brought their herds to Dodona each summer to take advantage of the pastures, springs, forests, and cool temperatures. These non-Greek-speaking shepherds are identified in Greek tradition as Pelasgians. At the end of the Early Bronze Age or shortly thereafter, Greek-speaking peoples moved into the area, perhaps bringing with them the worship of Zeus. (Some scholars hypothesize that an original cult to the mother-earth goddess, Gaia, was supplanted by Zeus' cult; Gaia then became Zeus' consort, only to be replaced ultimately by Dione Naia, who is known from numismatic and inscriptional evidence to have shared the sanctuary with Zeus in the historical period.)

Dodona appears in both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. In the *Iliad* (16. 233ff.) Achilles mentions priests called Selloi who had unwashed feet, slept on the ground, and acted as interpreters of Zeus; some scholars explain the unparalleled behaviour of unwashed feet and sleeping on the ground as indicative of an earlier Gaia cult, wherein priests strove to stay in communication with mother earth. Odysseus (*Odyssey*, 14. 327–28) travelled to Dodona to hear the will of Zeus uttered from a sacred oak tree. It is not clear from the text whether Zeus spoke from the oak, the oak itself spoke, or the priests interpreted the rustling of the oak's leaves or the moving of its branches. Hesiod (fr. 240, 319M-W) goes further, stating that Zeus spoke through doves within the oak; this may refer to the birds' cries or to their flight. Herodotus (2. 55) mentions the presence of three priestesses, whom he calls "doves"; his silence on the Selloi suggests that the male priests of Homer had been supplanted by priestesses sometime during the Archaic period. Scholars explain the move to priestesses as Dodona's attempt to emulate the oracular practices at the more famous sanctuary of Delphi. Whatever the reason for the change, the priestesses now assumed charge of the oracle, which had come to consist of consultation by lots. (Plato's assertion in the *Phaedrus* that the priestesses underwent ecstatic trances is a fantasy.) The use of lots would be logical if the sacred oak tree, which by now would have been 600 years old, had begun to die; moreover, the oracle at Delphi occasionally resorted to the use of lots, and so Dodona may have copied that practice.

The method of consultation was quite simple. The enquirer wrote his query onto a ribbon strip of lead and folded it over three or four times. The folded lead was marked on the outside for identification purposes and placed in a jar. A priestess then pulled from the jar an enquiry at the very time that she drew from another jar one of several responses, either a "yes" or "no" answer or the name of a deity to whom proper sacrifices needed to be made. These responses may have been written on oaken tablets (thereby perpetuating the tradition of the prophetic oak), although the use of other materials such as beans cannot be precluded. Over 150 enquiries have been discovered, the majority now housed in the Ioannina Museum. Only a few enquiries dealt with state affairs; the rest came from private individuals, most of them local, who wanted to receive foreknowledge about such matters as marriage, children, health, and employment. The lead tablets date from 500 to about 250 BC, when the oracle fell into disuse.

The city of Dodona flourished even after the oracle declined. Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, made it the religious centre of his kingdom and transferred there the mint of the Epirote alliance. With the subsequent establishment of the festival of Zeus Naia honouring the god, Dodona saw its first major building programme. Previously the site had consisted of only a small, early 4th-century temple to Zeus, a stone circuit wall that enclosed the temple and sacred oak, and a temple of Dione; in as much as the oracular cult required no elaborate structures (other than a few tables, jars, and consulting area), the sparse remains are wholly expected. During Pyrrhus' reign, the temple of Zeus was enlarged, two temples (to Heracles and to Aphrodite) were constructed, and a vast theatre was built on the hillside. The theatre's large seating capacity (up to 20,000) can be explained only by its connection with the Naia festival. The city was also fortified by an extensive circuit wall, with towers on three of its sides. The city proper, located on the acropolis north of the theatre, is mostly unexcavated. In 219 BC the Aetolians, under the generalship of Dorimachus, invaded Epirus and ravaged the site. The site was immediately restored by Philip V, king of Macedon. The temple of Zeus was further enlarged; also erected were a new temple of Dione and, in conjunction with the festival of the Naia, a council house, guesthouse, and a stadium to the southwest of the theatre. The oracle had by now fallen silent, as evidenced by the dearth of votive offerings and enquiry tablets. In 167 BC the Romans under Aemilius Paullus sacked Dodona to punish the Epirotes who had assisted the Macedonian king Perseus in his revolt. Dodona never recovered from this destruction. A ravaging in 88 BC by troops of Mithradates VI, king of Pontus, only exacerbated the situation. The Naia did continue on, however, until at least the mid-3rd century AD. The oracle remained silent, although Roman and Christian Greek writers penned fanciful descriptions of mantic activities like the banging of bronze cauldrons or gongs and the presence of oracular springs. The Naia ceased with the establishment of Christianity. A Byzantine basilica was built in the sanctuary in around 400, and the Council of Ephesus (431) records a bishop from Dodona in attendance.

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See also Oracles

Summary

City in Epirus, site of the oldest oracle in Greece, dedicated to Zeus. Ritual is described by Homer, Hesiod, and Herodotus. Enquiries were later written on strips of lead, of which some 150 are preserved, dating from c.500 to 250 BC when the oracle fell into disuse. There are remains of various other buildings including a vast theatre used for the celebration of the Zeus Naia festival.

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Dorians

Ancient ethnic group

The ancient Greeks believed that the Hellenic people was constituted by the totality of various ethnic subgroups, of whom the Dorians (along with the Ionians, Aeolians, and Achaeans) were considered to be the most important. By the Classical period, various cities in the Peloponnese (Sparta, Argos, Corinth, Sicyon, Megara), Crete and the southern Cyclades (Melos, Thera), the Dodecanese (Rhodes, Cos), southwest Asia Minor (Cnidus, Halicarnassus), North Africa (Cyrene), Sicily (Syracuse, Megara Hyblaea, Gela), and south Italy (Tarentum) claimed that they were Dorian foundations on the basis of perceived similarities in dialect, rituals, customs, and common origins.

According to ancient authors the Dorians had originally lived in central and northern Greece but had, towards the end of the heroic age, migrated south to the Peloponnese in the company of the Heraclidae (descendants of Heracles); a second migratory wave carried Dorians across the southern Aegean to Asia Minor, while the period of colonization from the 8th century BC onwards resulted in the Dorian foundations in Italy, Sicily, and Libya. The tradition for the so-called "Dorian invasion" of the Peloponnese is most fully attested in the universal history of Diodorus Siculus (1st century BC) and in the early imperial work known as the *Library* which was erroneously ascribed to Apollodorus of Athens. There are, however, earlier references: in the 5th century BC Herodotus (9. 26) mentions the first (unsuccessful) assault on the Peloponnese by the Heraclidae and Thucydides (1. 12) notes the second (successful) invasion by the Dorians and Heraclidae – an event which he places 80 years after the sack of Troy – while the 7th-century BC Spartan poet Tyrtaeus (fr. 2) proclaims that Sparta was granted by Zeus and Hera "to the Heraclidae, with whom we [Dorians] left windy Erineus and arrived in the broad island of Pelops". Despite the fact that his subject matter ostensibly deals with the premigratory phase of the heroic age, Homer (*Odyssey*, 19. 177) remarks on the presence of Dorians in Crete, alongside Achaeans, Eteocretans, Cydonians, and Pelasgians.

Although attempts were made in the 19th century to find archaeological confirmation for the Dorian invasion in the destructions of the Mycenaean palaces, it is now generally believed that the collapse of the palatial system was due to natural disaster, internal conflict, or economic failure rather than to external enemy action. Furthermore, apparent innovations in cultural forms and artifacts that were once attributed to the arrival of the Dorians (e.g. iron working, protogeometric pottery, cremation, burial in cist tombs, and new types of weapons and jewellery) have proved to be either earlier than the palatial destructions or first attested in areas such as Attica and Euboea which did not claim to be Dorian.

Similar scepticism concerning the tradition has recently been expressed by linguists who note that while the "Doric" dialects spoken in various cities share certain structural correspondences, no single linguistic innovation can be isolated that is not also found in at least one other non-Doric dialect and that therefore the Doric dialects need not derive from one proto-Doric idiom once spoken in central or northern Greece. In addition some Dorian cities seem not to have used the Doric dialect: by the 5th century BC, Halicarnassus was apparently employing the Ionic dialect for its official inscriptions.

Thucydides (6. 4. 3; 6. 5. 1) implies the existence of recognizably Dorian customs, though these are not explicitly identified. They may have concerned issues of constitution, law, political subdivision into the three "Doric" tribes of the Hylleis, Dymanes, and Pamphyloi, calendars, and religious festivals (for example, the festival of the Carnea), but it is far from clear that such customs were universal to all Dorian cities. Similarly, despite its origins in Corinthia, there is no reason to regard the "Doric" order of architecture as exclusively Dorian; the same is true of the "Doric" mode in music. Finally, various versions of the tradition appear to attribute to the Dorians different ancestors (Dorus, Aegimius) and different primordial homelands (Doris, Hestiaeotis, Thessaly, Macedonia) which might suggest that the legend of the Dorian invasion was in fact a compilation of earlier traditions that evolved towards the end of the Dark Age.

The earliest mobilization of Dorian identity for extrapolitical purposes would appear to be the Dorian Hexapolis—a league which, according to Herodotus (1. 144), was centred on the sanctuary of Apollo Triopios on the Cnidian promontory and which included the Rhodian cities of Lindus, Ialysus and Camirus together with Cos, Cnidus, and Halicarnassus (later expelled). If, as seems likely, the league was a Dorian response to the Ionian Dodecapolis (centred on the Panionion at Cape Mycale), then its origins should date back to at least the beginning of the 6th century BC. By contrast, Herodotus' account of Cleisthenes of Sicyon (5. 67–68) seems to imply that appeals to Dorian ancestry in the Peloponnese may have been restricted to the ruling elites.

In the 5th century BC appeals to a collective Dorian identity became more frequent in mainland Greece, particularly at Sparta whose evocation of Dorian kinship served to justify its intervention in the central Greek region of Doris in 457 BC (Thucydides 1. 107). The exploitation of Dorian solidarity reached its apogee, however, in the course of the Peloponnesian War as Sparta employed the motif of common kinship with its Peloponnesian and Sicilian allies in opposition to Athenian appeals to an Ionian heritage: on several occasions, Thucydides has his Spartan or Syracusan speakers contrast the freedom and courage of the Dorians with the enfeebled slavishness of Athens' Ionian allies (e.g. 5. 9; 6. 77).

From the 4th century BC onwards fewer appeals were made on the basis of Dorian identity, although renewed interest in Dorian origins accompanied the emperor Hadrian's foundation of the Panhellenion in AD 131/32 when adduced proof of being a Dorian foundation was frequently the prerequisite for admission into the league (both Cyrene and Synnada in Phrygia guaranteed their admission by these means). In the same period, Sparta attempted to revitalize its prestige by capitalizing upon its earlier status as an archetypal Dorian city and reviving its ancient customs in an archaizing form (including a "hyperdoricization" of its dialect). In general, however, the ethnic, cultural, and religious connotations of the term "Dorian" became gradually less significant compared with the linguistic definition as grammarians sought to identify a literary Doric dialect (alongside Attic, Ionic, and Aeolic) on the basis of the Doric idiom employed by earlier poets such as Tyrtaeus, Alcman, and Pindar. While the Dorians have figured prominently in the historiography and ideology of western Europe (particularly among German romantics of the 19th century and later the Nazi party), their role within the Hellenic tradition has been less significant, although it is often claimed that the modern dialect of Tsakonian (spoken in the northern Parnon range of the eastern Peloponnese) attests linguistic archaisms that find parallels with the ancient Doric dialect of Laconia.

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See also Dialects, Hellenes

Summary

One of the main ancient ethnic groups of the southern Balkans, thought in antiquity to have moved south into the Peloponnese at the end of the heroic age (*c.*1200 BC) and then on into the south Aegean and Asia Minor. There is no archaeological or linguistic evidence to support this; but Dorians felt a shared racial identity in the Classical period which was often exploited for political purposes, especially by Sparta.

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Doukas family

Doukas, or Doux, probably a Hellenized form of the Latin military rank *dux*, occurs as a family name in Byzantium from the mid-9th century onwards. Bearers of the name eventually became widespread at all levels of Byzantine society from the emperor downwards, but not all seem to have belonged to the same family or clan (unlike the Komnenoi, for instance). Origins in Armenia have been suggested for some Doukai, but this is unprovable and rather unlikely. In his history (written before 1138) Nikephoros Bryennios claims for the first Doukas an anachronistic rank and relationship with Constantine the Great, saying that he had been appointed Dux of Constantinople by Constantine. The 11th-century imperial Doukai seem to have had connections with Paphlagonia, perhaps the seat of the family estates and the source of their wealth.

Three groups of Doukai can be distinguished in the period before 1204. Around 855 a "son of Doux" was involved in the persecution of the heretical Paulicians. Some 50 years later, and possibly related to this Doux, there appear Andronikos Doux (d. *c.*908), his son Constantine (d. 913), and Constantine's three sons, military commanders who were successful against the Arabs in Asia Minor. Andronikos was drawn into rebellion, defected to Islam, and died in obscurity. Constantine, apparently a charismatic personality, was reinstated in his military position and became involved unsuccessfully in schemes to make him co-emperor and guardian of the young Constantine VII Andronikos and Constantine became the subject of legend.

The second group, Andronikos Doux Lydos (d. *c.*979) and his two sons, probably unrelated to the earlier Doukai, were prominent under Basil II and were involved in the revolt of Bardas Skleros and the magnates of Asia Minor.

The third group, again probably unrelated to the above, are the Doukai who became emperors and high imperial officials in the late 11th century, emerging from among rival aristocratic clans in the confused years following the demise of the Macedonian dynasty. Constantine X Doukas (emperor 1059–67), a representative of the civil administration rather than the military, owed his promotion as emperor to a network of court contacts. He was marked more by piety, restraint, and financial prudence than incisive activity. His sole military venture, against the invading Uzes in 1064–65, was an abject failure. During his reign little attempt was made to respond to the increasing Turkic penetration into Asia Minor. On his

death the military party put forward the general Romanos Diogenes, whose imperial status (as Romanos IV Diogenes, 1068–71) was legitimized by marriage to the widow of Constantine X, Eudokia Makrembolitissa. When Romanos fell into Turkish hands following the battle of Manzikert (1071), Constantine's son Michael was proclaimed emperor as Michael VII Doukas (emperor 1071–78; d. *c.*1090). A pupil of the statesman-philosopher Psellos, Michael was an unsatisfactory personality, perhaps simple-minded, with little taste for the military activity which circumstances demanded. Partly as a result of the Turkish devastation of Asia Minor, Byzantine coinage was seriously devalued during his reign; his nickname, Parapinakes, derives from the diminution of corn measures by the fraction known as a *pinakion*. He was eventually deposed in favour of the general Nikephoros Botaneiates and lived out his last days as a monk. Lively biographies of both Constantine and Michael are to be found in Psellos' *Chronographia*.

During and after the reign of Constantine, Michael's brother John (d. 1088), known as the Caesar John, played a prominent role both as a military commander and a schemer. Having engineered the disastrous retreat at Manzikert and the subsequent blinding of Romanos IV, he was instrumental in ensuring the eventual succession of Michael VII, his nephew. He became involved in the subsequent jockeying for power between the Doukas and Komnenos families, ultimately falling from his nephew's favour and becoming an adherent of the Komnenos faction. He set up a marriage between his granddaughter Irene and the rising young Alexios Komnenos, later emperor Alexios I. Like his brother and nephew, he seems to have exerted influence more as a result of his social position and wealth than through force of personality.

Of the numerous Doukas progeny, who formed a dense network of marriage alliances with other aristocratic families, the last with a serious chance of becoming emperor was Constantine (d. after 1094), the son of Michael VII. Though deprived of his right of succession on his father's fall from power, he was in 1083 betrothed to Anna Komnene, the eldest child of Alexios I and the future historian. Until the birth of John Komnenos in 1087, Constantine was acclaimed with Anna as future ruler.

Irene Doukaina, granddaughter of the Caesar John and wife of Alexios I Komnenos, united the two major aristocratic clans of the late 11th century and, by giving birth to seven children, themselves all with numerous offspring, did much to ensure the dynastic dominance of this family grouping. Accepted at first only with reluctance by Alexios, she came to be a valued and influential counsellor. She played an important cultural role as the patroness of such writers as her son-in-law Nikephoros Bryennios and the poet-scholar Theodore Prodromos. She endowed a monastery, of Our Lady Full of Grace, whose foundation document survives as an invaluable source of information on monastic practices as well as the prosopography of her family.

From the mid-12th century onwards the Doukas family became inextricably intermingled with other aristocratic groupings and the name Doukas appears increasingly only in combined form, such as Komneno-Doukas, attached to other families (such as Kamateros or Vatatzes), or in strings such as Michael Doukas Angelos Komnenos Palaiologos (Michael VIII, died 1282).

Later prominent bearers of the name include the historian Doukas (*c.*1400– after 1462), who recounted the last days of Byzantine rule in Constantinople. In the service of the Genoese Gattilusio family in Lesbos, he was an eyewitness to many of the events that he described. He supported the union of the Orthodox Church with Rome and viewed the Turkish conquest as God's punishment for Byzantine sins, though he was under no illusions about Turkish cruelty.

Such was the fame of the 10th-century Doukai that it would seem that reflections of their deeds have lingered on in stories and songs that have influenced the epic-romance *Digenis Akritis*. The personal roles of both Constantine and Andronikos are discernible in the epic, and especially in more recent Akritic songs, while the name of Doukas itself is part of the family background of both the hero Digenis and his bride.

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Dowry

The institution of dowry (*proix*) has been a significant feature of marriage within the Hellenic world from antiquity until well into the 20th century as a material marker of both socio-economic status and interfamilial alliance; and, while the abolition of the dowry system was part of a relatively recent parcel of legal reforms relating to marriage and the family in Greece (Family Law Act 1983), there is evidence to suggest that the practice persists, in rural areas at least (see Kourvetaris and Dobratz, 1987).

In antiquity, dowry in the form of money, goods, livestock, or land represented the bride's family's contribution towards the establishment of the new household and, while not legally obligatory, was a normal and expected element of prenuptial negotiations, fixed at the time of betrothal. Indeed, since marriage was a private matter between individuals, the provision of a dowry was one indication that a sexual relationship was equivalent to marriage (Isaeus, 3. 78). Dowry was an important expression of social standing and wealth; at Athens in the Classical period dowries for women from rich families

could amount to 5–10 per cent of the paternal estate, while for poorer families the proportion of the family property may have been greater still. Dowering the females of the family could represent an onerous financial burden, especially where there were many daughters, and the system may have contributed to the ancient practice of selective female infanticide (Golden, 1981, suggests a 10 per cent rate of female infanticide for Classical Athens). Nevertheless, particularly where women had little if any financial and legal power, dowry was an arrangement that worked to protect women's interests within marriage and to maintain links with their natal families; as such, it must be distinguished from the giving of "bridewealth" where the groom pays money to the bride's family.

Athenian women did not themselves take possession of their dowries; dowry was given by the bride's guardian (*kyrios*, usually her father or brother) to her husband and he administered it, dowry being essentially a transfer of property from *kyrios* to *kyrios*. Yet this transfer was, crucially, conditional; the husband's control of the dowry depended upon his continuing control and support of his wife and, if the marriage failed, the dowry was returned to the woman's original *kyrios*. The return of dowry on divorce was compulsory, including those cases when the wife's natal family instigated the separation and even when divorce was enforced legally upon a husband by his wife's adultery. Failure to return dowered property constrained the husband to pay interest on the original amount at a rate of 18 per cent per annum and failure to do this could result in a legal prosecution. In the case of large dowries, a mortgage (*apotimima*) equivalent to the value of the dowry was a common prerequisite to ensure repayment in the event of divorce. The destination of the dowry in the event of the death of either spouse depended upon the existence of children: if the wife died childless, her dowry was returned to her father; if the husband died childless, his widow was returned together with her dowry which could be used to redower her for a second marriage. If there were sons, however, they inherited their mother's portion (*metroia*) when they reached the age of majority, yet were obliged to maintain her for life.

A returnable dowry had several important implications. First, it reduced the likelihood of husbands divorcing their wives for trivial reasons and perhaps provided them with a financial incentive to treat their wives well; several texts attest to the power over her man that a large dowry could confer upon a wife through the threat of divorce (Menander, fr. 333 Koerte; Plato, *Laws*, 774c–e). Second, a widowed or divorced woman could return to her father's house with her dowry as a means of support, while the same property in the form of a second dowry could provide an opportunity for remarriage, a frequent occurrence in antiquity. Indeed, the role of the dowry system in the protection of women's interests in marriage is recognized by a legal speech from 4th-century BC Athens which suggests that the rich man who marries a poor girl ought to provide a fictitious dowry that he would be obliged to return in the case of divorce (Isaeus, 3. 35–36). Thus in a society such as Athens, where women did not inherit, dowry can be seen as a daughter's share in the household patrimony, the counterpart of (although not equivalent to) a son's inheritance and, as a form of security, a maintenance fund that attached to a woman throughout her life and which her sons would inherit.

In later Hellenic societies dowry retained its importance within the marriage contract, yet its uses underwent subtle changes. Where women exercised greater financial control, they are found disposing of and bequeathing their dowries in the form of a maternal inheritance, for example, in Hellenistic Egypt, where a daughter's dowry could equal a son's inheritance and could be provided by mothers as well as fathers, taking the form of money and personal property, although not of land. One Alexandrian marriage contract from 92 BC in which the dowry settlement is the crucial component insists that, if the wife voluntarily leaves the marriage, her husband must return her dowry within ten days and, failing this, must forfeit the amount plus one half (Tebtunis Papyrus 104). In the Byzantine period bridegrooms contributed an amount equal to that specified in the bride's dowry contract (*proikosymbolia*) and, while husbands administered the marital funds, the alienation of their wives' dowries was subject to considerable legal restrictions.

Christianity provided a new role for dowry as a means of financial support for women wishing to embrace monasticism – a woman was expected to bring money to the Church, just as she would on marriage. While often a father's approbation was required (and denied), an 11th-century ruling decreed that married women wishing to enter convents were allowed a six-month trial period, after which they were granted their dowries (Peira, 25. 4).

Well into the late 20th century Greek families have worked to finance sons' educations and daughters' dowries and the provision of dowry has been often a joint enterprise to which the whole family contributed, the strength of the obligation being such that Greek emigrants commonly sent home money to dower their daughters, sisters, and nieces. Yet this very Hellenic institution which has persisted from antiquity to the very recent past has now largely disappeared from Greece, a development informed by the radically changing role of women in the second half of the 20th century. Education and a career are now the concerns of girls as well as boys; married women contribute financially to their households and do not need a maintenance fund for their support. Furthermore, women no longer need to receive their share of patrimony in the form of dowry since they can inherit directly. Significantly, the abolition of the dowry system in 1983 was part of a reform package designed to encourage and recognize female equality and is a reflection of the enhanced social, legal, and economic status of women in modern Greek society.

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See also Children, Divorce, Inheritance, Marriage

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Doxiadis, Constantinos Apostolou

1913–1975

Architect and planner

Constantinos Doxiadis was an architect and planner who played a central role in the reconstruction and development of Greece after World War II. During the 1950s and 1960s his theory, teaching, and practice resonated beyond the architectural culture of Greece, and constituted a primary reference on development around the world.

Doxiadis was born in Stenimachos, in Bulgaria, and grew up in Athens. He received a degree in architecture and engineering from the National Metsovion Technical University of Athens (1935) and a Ph.D. in planning from the Berlin-Charlottenburg University (1936). His dissertation contended that the seemingly disordered layout of ancient Greek religious communities was derived from angles of vision, radial distances, and mathematical and philosophical principles of human cognition. Originally published in German in 1937 and soon translated into Greek, this first major study by Doxiadis was highly acclaimed for its originality, but some architects and archaeologists in Greece criticized its rationalist leanings.

Doxiadis began his professional career in 1937 as a chief town planner for Greater Athens. In 1939 he became chief of the Department of Regional and Town Planning in the Ministry of Public Works, where he was instrumental in promoting research for large-scale regional planning. When Greece entered World War II in 1940, Doxiadis was sent to the Albanian front, where he was decorated for bravery. During the Nazi occupation of Greece, he returned to his job at the Ministry of Public Works and coordinated a team effort to evaluate war damage in Greece looking towards future reconstruction; at the same time, he joined the resistance and led a team which gathered information on military objectives and passed it along to the Allies. This direct exposure to the devastation of the war intensified his position that the problems of shelter in Greek towns and villages called for an all-encompassing plan of action. As Doxiadis acknowledged, his experience during the war years was instrumental in the crystallization of his planning theory.

With the end of the war, Doxiadis came to the forefront of the efforts for the rehabilitation of the country, putting to test some of his ideas. As early as November 1944 Doxiadis organized a large exhibition which mapped the destruction of Greece and outlined a plan for its regeneration. The scope of the exhibition impressed Greek officials and foreign representatives as a pioneering effort. The exhibition later travelled to Paris, London, and San Francisco at the founding of the United Nations, where Doxiadis represented Greece seeking foreign aid. Soon afterwards he was assigned the Ministry of Reconstruction and then he became Associate Minister for Coordination. Between 1948 and 1951 he supervised the handling and distribution of American aid to Greece through the Marshall Plan and he represented his country at many international meetings on postwar reconstruction and development. Doxiadis became actively involved in all aspects of Greece's recovery programme – the restoration of transportation and communication networks, the rebuilding of the rural economy, the rehabilitation of fisheries and harbours, the provision of housing and education. His efficiency and resourcefulness in addressing the country's needs quickly and with limited means were often praised inside and outside Greece, while some criticized the boldness and assertiveness of his work. In 1951, while the implementation of the Marshall Plan was approaching completion, Doxiadis's cabinet post was abolished by the Greek parliament as a result of political rivalry. The abrupt and disappointing interruption of his work for the government lead Doxiadis to establish a private enterprise, Doxiadis Associates, which was the first private office in Greece that supported research in addition to design and building.

The practice of Doxiadis Associates was in large part based on the planning principles of "Ekistics", or the "Science of Human Settlements". The term Ekistics was coined by Doxiadis and was derived from the Greek word *oikos* meaning "house". It emerged as a rejection of customary architectural

and planning practices – which, being the product of individual experts, Doxiadis argued, were inadequate to cope with the rapid increase of global population, the chaotic expansion of cities and regions, the immense demands of transportation and space, and the environmental problems that accompanied modern technology. Ekistics proposed the synthesis of all branches of knowledge, so that economic, social, political, administrative, technical, environmental, and aesthetic aspects of the built environment are all coordinated in a comprehensive manner to encompass all scales of human settlements from the individual neighbourhood to the global environment.

During the 1960s Doxiadis Associates grew to be one of the largest development consulting firms in the world. Doxiadis's Greek identity allowed him to take up many jobs in nations freed from colonial rule, because—unlike his western counterparts who carried an imperialist stigma—he gained the confidence of many local governments who struggled to cope with new urban needs. A charismatic speaker and a skilful coordinator, he worked as a consultant for the United Nations, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the International Cooperation Association, the Ford Foundation, the Redevelopment Land Agency of Washington, DC, and for the governments of Ghana, India, Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, Pakistan, Spain, the Sudan, and Syria. Within Greece his projects included, among others: a redevelopment project for the Saronic coast (1959); Aspra Spitia, Antikyra – a housing project for the personnel and workers of a large aluminium plant (1965); feasibility studies for highways (1963); feasibility studies for tourist development for the western Peloponnese and the Ionian islands (1964); and the Apollonion Vacation Development, Hagios Spyridon, Porto Rafti (1970–81). Doxiadis Associates also designed industrial plants and made surveys for the Greek Government regarding infrastructure development. In the late 1950s Doxiadis Associates made a master plan for Athens which was based on Doxiadis's generic scheme for the future city, "Dynapolis", which had a dynamic core that would expand along a controlled axis.

Along with his practice, Doxiadis also established the Athens Technological Institute which trained specialized assistants and technicians both from Greece and from abroad. In 1963 he became a lecturer in town planning at the Technical University of Athens. (He was also a visiting lecturer at many prestigious universities in the United States.) At the same time, he was a prolific writer and produced many books and articles on Ekistics. One of Doxiadis's most significant ventures was the Delos symposium in July 1963 to which he invited 30 thinkers, planners, architects, sociologists, anthropologists, geographers, lawyers, economists, geneticists, physicists, and administrators on a cruise around the Greek islands to discuss the problems of urban explosion in the world, an event which further increased the international profile of Ekistics.

Doxiadis continued his work until his death in 1975. With the theoretical shifts in the architecture and planning of subsequent decades, Doxiadis's large-scale interventions came under scrutiny for overlooking cultural particularity; but the contributions of his theory of Ekistics to the realms of architecture, planning, and policy making in the period after World War II have not yet been sufficiently explored.

PANAYIOTA PYLA

Biography

Born in Stenimachos, Bulgaria, in 1913, Doxiadis was educated in Athens and Berlin and began his career in 1937 as a town planner for Athens. His experience of the devastation caused by World War II led him to believe that a concerted plan of action was required for the problems of shelter in Greek towns and villages. He supervised the administration of US aid to Greece in 1948–51. He developed a science of human settlements based on "Ekistic" principles which involved a synthesis of all branches of knowledge. He died in 1975.

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Dreams

Dreams are a universal human phenomenon. Everyone dreams, although not everyone is able to remember their dreams. It is, therefore, unsurprising that people in Greece have always dreamt. What is interesting is the unusually detailed historical record of dreams from Homer to the present day. This textual span allows one to study the cultural history of dreams in Greece in a manner possible in only a few other places such as China and India.

Dreams had begun to be used for divining the future already in ancient Mesopotamia and Egypt. Indeed, the Greeks may well have borrowed from these two great civilizations. The earliest Greek dream on record is Agamemnon's in book 2 of the *Iliad*. It is a false dream sent by Zeus counselling Agamemnon that he will achieve victory if he launches an immediate all-out attack on the Trojans. Homer describes this as an *oulos oneiros*. Although scholars have always translated this as "destructive dream", the adjective *oulos* could also mean "woolly" or "kinky". In the *Odyssey* (book 19) Penelope explains that there are two kinds of dreams: those that come down to mortals through a gate of ivory are false; those that pass through a gate of horn are trustworthy. One speculative commentator ventured that this symbolism arose because ivory is always opaque while horn, if sliced thinly and polished, can be translucent.

The dream in Homer was generally conceived as a personified force that travelled from the realm of the gods to the beds of humans. This view was debated in the Classical period as can be seen in Herodotus' account of the dreams that came to

Xerxes, encouraging him to attack Greece. Convinced that these dreams were sent by the gods, Xerxes persuaded his adviser, Artabanus, to impersonate him and sleep in his bed to verify this momentous dream. Artabanus at first protested that dreams are purely products of the inner self: "nearly always these drifting phantoms are the shadows of what we have been thinking about during the day". Yet when he slept in the king's bed, the same dream not only appeared to him, but recognized him as the king's adviser and threatened to burn out his eyes with iron rods if he did not approve the plan to wage war. In later historical periods dreams came to be viewed more as internal states. Although grammatical gender does not necessarily reflect a real-world perception of animateness, it is interesting to note the sex change undergone by the word for dream. It began as a neuter form *to onar*, developed a personified masculine form *ho oneiros*, freely alternated for a long while between masculine and neuter forms, but then exclusively assumed the neuter noun form – *to oneiro* – that it possesses today.

The recognition that dreams were products of the human imagination did not exclude the possibility that they could also be prophetic. Aristotle addressed just this question in his tract *On Prophecy in Sleep* where, like Artabanus, he sceptically contended that dreams were just representations of personal wishes or stimuli felt during sleep; they could only be prophetic in minor ways such as predicting the onset of illness in the dreamer. Dreams were, indeed, embraced as a diagnostic tool by the Greek medical tradition as attested by the Hippocratic texts and by Galen.

Aristotle's sceptical views notwithstanding, the general population continued to hold that dreams could be interpreted to forecast the future. Artemidorus' 2nd-century AD text, *The Interpretation of Dreams*, attested to this public conviction. Artemidorus was a professional interpreter of dreams and the latter portion of his book was dedicated to his son who would succeed him. His instructions are extremely valuable for, unlike dream-interpreting keys (*oneirokrites*) that simply matched symbols to interpretations in dictionary fashion, Artemidorus explained how and why he reached his interpretations of dream symbols. Artemidorus thought it important to travel to understand the customs and cultures of the people whose dreams he was asked to interpret. He also thought that the meaning of symbols varied depending on the individual. One man reported the same dream of himself without a nose at three different moments of his life. The first time meant that he would lose his perfume business; the second time that he would be disgraced (lose face); and the third time, that he would die (since a skull has no nose).

In a gesture towards Aristotle, Artemidorus differentiated so-called "state dreams" (*enypnia*) – produced by current worries, feelings, or wishes – from prophetic dreams (*oneiroi*) that could literally or allegorically tell the future. It was only this latter category of *allegorikoi oneiroi* that required the services of a dream interpreter, although it must have been difficult for anyone to know in advance exactly which kind of dream had been had. Subsequent dream interpreters, including the 4th-century AD Neoplatonist Latin writers Macrobius and Chalcidius, proposed similar divisions of dreams into four or five classes, depending on whether they were true or false, divine or physical, interpretable or not. In denying the significance of "state dreams", ancient dream interpretation dismissed the very sorts of dreams to which Freud would later attach the most significance.

The first response of Christianity to dream interpretation was to outlaw it – a step formally taken at the Council of Ankara (AD 314). In the Christian view the future belonged to God alone to decide and reveal. Prophecy was neither an appropriate nor a feasible endeavour for lay dream interpreters to engage in. One particular cult the early Church was eager to eradicate was that of Asclepius which boasted hundreds of shrines up and down Greece. Asclepius was a healing god and one of his modes of operation was through a practice that scholars have labelled "incubation". This involved pilgrims attending these Asclepian shrines, and sleeping in the inner sanctuary. There the god would appear to them in dreams, sometimes in the form of a snake, and he would either prescribe a remedy or else directly cure the ailment. The chronically ill 2nd-century AD rhetorician Aelius Aristides presented, in his book *The Sacred Tales*, a record of the dreams he saw and the cures Asclepius recommended he undertake.

The Church realized that it could not wipe out popular beliefs in healing dreams and so adopted a strategy of appropriation. The shrine of Asclepius at the foot of the Acropolis, for example, was converted into a church dedicated to St Andrew, patron of the sick, where people continued to practise incubation. New healing saints and Christian sites for incubation arose throughout the Middle Ages, an example being the church of St Artemios in 9th-century Constantinople where men went to be cured of hernias. Books of dream-interpreting symbols continued to circulate in Byantium, some with titles such as the *Oneirokritikon of Achmet* that related them to the East. This was not just because the East was a place where the prophetic arts were more advanced. Some of these were originally Greek dream books such as that of Artemidorus, that had been translated into Arabic, and then back into Greek.

The proliferation of such texts attests to the popular interest in dream-interpretation through the Byzantine and Ottoman periods up to today. *Oneirokrites* circulate in cheap editions in Greece today, and many households possess a copy of one and/or a family member skilled in the predictive interpretation of dreams. The Church still maintains that lay people lack the faculty of discernment necessary to separate demon-inspired false dreams from divine-sent true dreams. Clerical guidance should be sought.

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See also Divination

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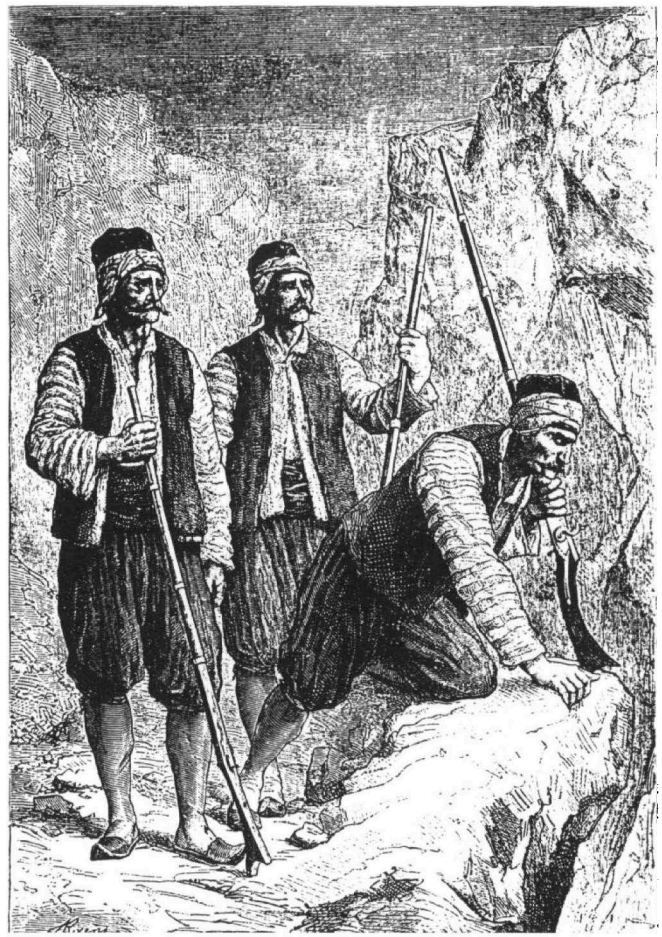
Dress

Dress reveals much about society and culture. Generally, the further one goes back in time, the more difficult it is to establish an accurate history of dress. Greece's climate is detrimental to the preservation of textiles, so scholars must rely on visual and written evidence to determine the dress worn in Greece before modern times.

The earliest evidence for Greek dress dates from the Middle and Late Minoan periods (2100–1150 BC). Frescos, statuettes, vases, sarcophagi, and seals from Crete, Thera, Mycenae, Tiryns, and Tanagra help historians to reconstruct a general picture of Minoan dress. Substantial amounts of gold jewellery survive, including necklaces, earrings, rings, diadems, bracelets, and belts.

The snake goddesses from Knossos in Crete are famous in dress history for their bare breasts. These figurines, made of faience, wear fitted bodices that fasten just below the bustline. Some scholars believe that only goddesses and priestesses wore such revealing bodices since other artwork shows women wearing close-fitting tunics that cover the breasts. Women of all ranks wore bell-shaped tiered skirts, curved apron-like garments that covered both front and back, and belts that cinched their waists. They wore crowns, festoons of pearls, and diadems over dark, curled tresses. A fresco of a woman with reddened lips and accentuated eyes known as La Parisienne makes Minoan women out to be quite glamorous. Women who participated in bull riding wore the same attire as male participants – double aprons with narrow rolled belts and protective coverings around the ankles – suggesting an egalitarianism that women in Greece have not enjoyed since then.

Men appear less frequently in Minoan art than women. Frescos at Knossos and Thera depict men wearing either loincloths or patterned loin skirts decorated with tassels in front. Sometimes men wore tunics edged with decorative bands. Men's hair, like women's, was long and curly. Some images of men, such as the Prince of the Lilies at Knossos, have exceptionally narrow waists, possibly a result of rolled leather or metal belts placed on their bodies in childhood. From the frescos at Thera, it appears that boys wore little more than strings around the waist, or even nothing at all. Children's heads were partially shaved, possibly to prevent ringworm. When not barefoot, Minoans wore sandals or soft pointed shoes.



Dress: inhabitants of the Mani, dressed to kill, French engraving from 1881

Minoans had a love of colour and pattern. Clothes were decorated at the edges with patterned bands. Barber (1991) argues that the patterns were woven, but such designs could also have been embroidered or painted on cloth. Remains of a linen tunic discovered in a bronze amphora dated 1000 BC from Lefkandi in Euboea reveal edges decorated with woven and embroidered bands. Ornaments on such bands and in jewellery include rosettes, lilies, birds, saffron flowers, butterflies, double axes, bull's horns, and bees. Minoan dress reveals knowledge of sophisticated cutting and fitting that is atypical of the time. Draping cloth around the body was the norm for contemporaries of the Minoans as well as a mark of civilization. Scholars believe that among early civilizations tailored clothes derived from the wearing of skin garments which were fitted and stitched to accommodate the size and shape of skins.

After the decline of Crete and the destruction of Thera around 1450 BC, Mycenae achieved dominance over Greece. Archaeological finds from Mycenae, Tiryns, and Tanagra show that dress on the mainland was indistinguishable from that worn on Crete and Thera during the Middle and Late Minoan periods. Mycenaean soldiers are shown wearing fringed tunics,

Dress: officials of the *epistasia* on the streets of Karyes on Mount Athos, wearing the official foustanella for a ceremonial event

helmets, and protective coverings for their shins. During Greece's Dark Ages the fitted bodices, tiered skirts, and loin cloths disappeared along with the elaborate patterned fabrics. By the time the Archaic period began, the Greeks had donned uncut rectangles of cloth draped on the body. The cloth came off wide, warp-weighted looms, and required no cutting or stitching for use as garments.

The basic piece of clothing for both men and women was the chiton, a tunic-like garment that fastened at the shoulders. It could be long or short depending on the wearer's gender and age. Women generally wore ankle-length chitons while active males and youths wore short ones. The chiton was draped in one of two basic ways – Doric or Ionic – so-called today because each resembled the capitals on architectural columns. The wool Doric chiton was folded over at the top and pinned once at the shoulders with large straight pins. The overfold, which often ended in a patterned band, extended to the waist. This style, termed *peplos*, originated during the Archaic period. The Ionic chiton, an innovation adopted from Ionia, had no overfold. The fabric, either linen or lightweight wool, was fastened several times at the shoulders and along the arms with stitches or small brooches called fibulae, creating a sleeve effect. Belts or loose stitching kept the garment, which was open down the side, in place. Belts with tassels apparently had a seductive quality about them. In the *Iliad* Homer tells of Hera's tasselled belt which Zeus found irresistible.

The chiton has an interesting social history. According to Herodotus, during the Persian Wars the Athenians outlawed the Doric chiton after Athenian women killed the lone survivor of a military campaign by stabbing him with the pins from their dresses. It was replaced with a foreign innovation, the softly pleated Ionic chiton. After the Persian Wars ended, the patriotic Greeks returned to the older indigenous form of dress, the Doric chiton. The Ionian style returned during the Classical and Hellenistic periods. During the Hellenistic period the chiton was belted high, creating an "Empire" waistline. The changing preferences in chitons are evident in sculpture. Artists took great pains to render the details carefully, as seen in the *Charioteer* at Delphi, who wears a long Ionic chiton, and the Caryatid maidens at the Acropolis, who sport Doric chitons.

Greeks wore a variety of wraps, most commonly the himation. In wide use by the late 6th century BC, it was almost always worn over the chiton. The most common method of draping the himation allowed the right arm to be free. Women used their himations as veils when outside the house, since respectable women would cover themselves. Other coverings included the smaller *diplax* and the square chlamys, a cloak preferred by travellers and soldiers since it doubled as a blanket.

Male athletes sometimes performed naked, at other times in a simple loincloth. Greeks prized athletic bodies, grooming and

anointing themselves with fragrances and oils. Working-class men and slaves wore a short, rectangular garment called *exomis* which fastened at the left shoulder. Both men and women wore sandals. Jewellery included necklaces, earrings, rings, and pins.

Although we know that the ancient Greeks wore coloured clothes from the paint remaining in the crevices of sculpture and from written sources, our knowledge of colour from visual sources is limited because vase painting does not reveal colour, and the pigment has worn off statues. Pliny mentioned the "flowered colours" of women's clothes. Men and women sported a variety of hairstyles and headgear. Men were bearded with long hair during the Archaic period, but during the Classical period short haircuts and a clean-shaven look prevailed. A broad-brimmed hat called a petasus offered protection from sun or rain. The popular Phrygian bonnet, a brimless peaked cap, reappeared in the Middle Ages, and again during the French Revolution as a symbol of democracy. Women wore their hair long during the Archaic period but bound it in knots and chignons in the Classical and Hellenistic periods with bands, nets, cloth, and metal filets to keep the hair in place.

The dress of Classical Greece has had widespread influence throughout history. During antiquity Greek dress spread to other Mediterranean areas including the Etruscan and Roman worlds. Centuries later, whenever Greek politics, art, or philosophy was ascendant, fashionable dress took on the lines, colours, and details of ancient Greek dress.

Actual garments survive from as early as the 3rd century AD to inform us about the fabrics and construction of clothing during the Graeco-Roman period. Whole tunics come from the Copts, a Christian religious sect living in Egypt who buried their dead fully dressed in the desert. Initially woven of linen on wide vertical looms, the tunic (a Roman innovation) was seamed only at the sides. With the adoption of horizontal looms, the Copts (and presumably others in the Mediterranean) started piecing tunics from narrower widths of fabric and sewing on sleeves. Skilled weavers added colourful tapestry-woven stripes (*clavi*), squares, and roundels of wool. These tunics display motifs typical of the Hellenistic period including detailed portraiture. Gradually, the motifs took on Christian symbolism or changed to Christian imagery.

The inhabitants of the Byzantine empire wore similar tunics with mantles and cloaks. The difference lay in the fabrics. Extant mosaics and statuary show garments embellished at the hems and seams, sometimes with jewels. The Byzantines were avid consumers of complex patterned silks woven in Near Eastern textile centres and eventually established their own thriving silk industry. The colour purple was highly desirable in dress, although its use was limited to the most wealthy. Byzantine silks survive in church treasuries throughout Europe, particularly in the Vatican.

With the collapse of the Byzantine empire in 1453, much of Greece fell under the control of the Ottomans. Italian city states controlled some islands and parts of the mainland. Albanians and other ethnic groups in flight from the Turks settled in parts of Greece. This complex cultural landscape left a multilayered sartorial history that is evident in Greek traditional dress of the 19th and 20th centuries. Regional customs dictated dress practices and served to locate the wearer geographically. Clothing also signalled ethnicity during this period, especially on the mainland where each ethnic group had its own distinctive attire.

By the 19th century the inhabitants of mainland villages wore Byzantine-inspired dress. Men wore simple tunics over woven or knitted leggings. Women wore white chemises, woollen coats or jackets, headscarves, and belts. Female dress denoted age, marital status, and social rank. Some clothing had magico-religious connotations, particularly when associated with women of childbearing age. The colours red and black, embroidered hems and seams, and fringes had symbolic connotations that figured prominently in the most conservative forms of village dress.

In areas under Italian influence, such as the Ionian islands, some of the Aegean islands, and parts of Crete, local dress was inspired by the styles of Renaissance Europe. Chemises cut with full sleeves and skirts gathered at the waistline reflect western European influence. Conversely, in areas under Turkish rule, women donned caftan-like garments and undertrousers of Turkish fabrics. Their chemises were cut like those found in the dress of Turkish women. Turkish influence continued to be strong in areas that remained under Ottoman rule until the 20th century. Island men wore knee-length *vraka* (Turkish-style breeches) while the Vlachs and Sarakatsans on the mainland wore ankle-length trousers.

During the Greek War of Independence, resistance fighters adopted the dress of the Albanian soldiers that consisted of a white pleated skirt called a fustanella (one of the few examples of men in skirts in modern times), wide-sleeved shirt, waistcoat, fez, knitted stockings, and tasselled shoes. After the war, fancy versions of this costume became the official attire as established by Otho, Greece's first king. Lord Byron was painted in this costume. Village Greeks of Albanian heritage wore the fustanella or the *poukamiso* (an elongated shirt) on a daily basis well into the 20th century. Soldiers guarding the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier in Athens wear the fustanella today. Greek schoolboys dress up in a fustanella for holidays, for it has become the national costume. The corresponding costume for females is the Amalia costume, so named after Greece's first queen. It consists of a tight-fitting embroidered jacket, long silk skirt, and fez cap.

After Greece's liberation from Turkish rule, traditional dress was gradually abandoned. The first to give it up in favour of fashionable French styles were the inhabitants of the main towns and cities. Next came islanders with commercial ties to European cities. The inland villagers retained their customary dress longer. The Arvanites in Messoghia, for example, wore their traditional dress until after World War I, while the Karaghounes in Thessaly kept theirs until the mid-20th century.

The dress of Classical Greece influenced fashionable dress outside Greece at numerous times in the 18th, 19th, and 20th centuries. With the excavation of Pompeii in 1719 and Herculaneum in 1748, Europeans rediscovered the ancient Mediterranean world. Artists portrayed sitters in Classically draped fabrics. Aristocratic women in England and France, including the French queen Marie Antoinette, wore white cotton dresses for informal wear. After the French and American revolutions of the late 18th century came a renewed appreciation of Greek and Roman Classical drapery as visual

representations of democracy and republican ideals. Women throughout Europe and America wore classically inspired white gowns, hair arranged *à la grecque*, and himation-like wraps. Such Neoclassical styles dominated fashion during the French Directoire and Empire periods.

Neoclassicism in dress eventually gave way to Romanticism which inspired the tight corsets and voluminous skirts of the mid-19th century. In the 1870s and 1880s exaggerated, fussy styles replete with bustles, drapes, and swags brought forth critics who recalled the elegance and simplicity of ancient Greek dress. Artists such as Frederick Leighton and Edward Burne-Jones who were associated with the Aesthetic Movement in Britain painted women in Greek chitons in soft ethereal colours. The Classical styles depicted by these artists influenced the dress designs of women in artistic circles. Dress reformers also idealized the uncluttered lines of ancient Greek dress, promoting it in their publications and exhibitions.

Not until the first decade of the 20th century did a Paris couturier incorporate Classicism in dress, eventually influencing mainstream fashion. The Frenchman Paul Poiret, who designed from 1903 to 1926, is credited with freeing women from the corset by garbing them in simple Empire-waisted tunics. A dress of 1910 called "Pénélope" consisted of an overblouse printed with Greek-inspired motifs and a finely pleated white skirt. The Spanish-born designer Mariano Fortuny, who worked in Venice, incorporated ideas from Minoan and Classical Greece into his designs. His Knossos veil used motifs inspired by Minoan frescos while his most famous creation, the Delphos dress, consisted of a tube of finely pleated silk either draped with an overfold like the Doric chiton or clasped at the shoulder with Venetian glass beads in imitation of the Ionic chiton. Fortuny stated that this dress, named after the *Charioteer* of Delphi, was "derived from the Classical robe".

Other 20th-century dress designers inspired by the Hellenic tradition include Alix Grès and Mary McFadden. Mme Grès, who opened her Paris couture house in 1934, specialized in beautifully draped gowns of neutral-coloured silk jersey. Beginning in 1976 in New York, McFadden used the thermoplastic nature of polyester to create permanently pleated evening gowns. Fashion critics consider the designs of Grès and McFadden to be classics, lending credence to the longevity and timeless appeal of the Hellenic tradition in dress.

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See also Jewellery, Silk, Textiles

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Dyrrhachium

City in modern Albania

Dyrrhachium (now Durres in Albanian, Drasch in Turkish, Durazzo in Italian), situated on the Albanian coast, was founded in 627 BC by the Corcyreans and Corinthians (Thucydides, 1. 24) and remained an important port and commercial town in antiquity and medieval times; the coins of the town show a cow suckling its calf, symbolizing the dependence of the colony on the mother city. The Greeks named the town Epidamnos; but the Romans preferred the Illyrian name of Dyrrhachion/Dyrrachium (which at first was used only for the upper part of the town), probably because they regarded the second part of the Greek name (recalling the Latin word *damnum*, "damage") as a bad omen.

The Greek town Epidamnos had an oligarchic constitution; trade with its Illyrian neighbours soon made it so prosperous that it could afford to build a treasury at Olympia (Pausanias, 6. 19. 8). Inner conflicts in the 430s BC which then involved Corcyra (modern Corfu), Corinth, and Athens were one of the triggers of the Peloponnesian War. In 314 BC the Macedonian king Cassander took the city, but lost it soon afterwards to the Corcyreans who gave it to the Taulantian king Glaucias. In later Hellenistic times Epidamnos had the reputation of being a dissolute sea port.

As for the buildings of Greek times, several temples are mentioned in inscriptions, among them one of Athena/Minerva and another of Artemis/Diana. Only the sanctuary of Aphrodite has been excavated, bringing to light about 6 tons of mostly late Hellenistic votive figures in terracotta varying greatly in size. Many of them wear Illyrian costume, as also do many people depicted on the numerous grave stelai found in nearby cemeteries, which are often a source for Illyrian names. Although Albanian scholars used to stress the continuity of Illyrian traditions from ancient times until today, there can be no doubt that by the 4th century BC, at the latest, the Greek element dominated the country surrounding Dyrrhachium; many centuries later, Albania's national hero Skanderbeg not only received the inspiration for his name from Alexander the Great (Skanderbeg derives from Alexander bey), but also his helmet with two horns (a copy of which is preserved) was modelled on a similar helmet worn by Pyrrhus of Epirus in 287 BC.

At the end of the First Illyrian War (229 BC) Dyrrhachium came under Roman protection. A *civitas libera* already in republican times and a *colonia* under Augustus, Dyrrhachium was important because of its geographical situation: from the

1st century BC onwards the town was the starting point of the Via Egnatia leading to Thessalonica and then on to Byzantium; it was also the usual port for ships coming from Italy (Brundisium, modern Brindisi) and therefore played a significant role in the Roman civil wars; in 48 BC Pompey had his camp there and was besieged in vain by Caesar.

Dyrrhachium's apogee came after Augustus had stabilized the Roman empire; many remains of imperial times have been found, though modern Durres, with about 80,000 inhabitants and the second largest city after Tirana in Albania, covers most of the ancient city, thus making excavation nearly impossible. In the northern part of the city the Roman amphitheatre (already mentioned in 1510 in Marinus Barletius' biography of Skanderbeg) has been excavated to reveal a typical Roman building, a very rare occurrence in the Greek east but to be explained by the settlement of Roman army veterans. Constructed during the reign of the emperor Hadrian (117–38), the huge, oval ampitheatre measures of 127 × 103 m (arena 63 × 39 m) and could seat about 15,000 spectators; people moved in and out by way of subterranean stairs and galleries, which are well preserved in places, while the animals and gladiators entered the arena through big gates in the north and south of the building; an inscription records that 12 gladiatorial fights were given to celebrate the inauguration of a new library. In the western part of the amphitheatre a little chapel was later inserted (probably in the second half of the 6th century); on its southern wall one of the very few preserved wall mosaics of the early Byzantine era (the only one in Albania, in fact) shows the Virgin Mary as queen of the heavens in imperial garb, accompanied by Michael and Gabriel, and nearby St Stephen praying. During the reign of Hadrian a 15-km aqueduct was also built (restored by Severus Alexander 222–35) of which leaden water pipes with inscriptions mentioning the emperor and the officials in charge of the water supply have been preserved; great baths of the 2nd century AD with floor heating and sumptuous floor mosaics have been partially excavated. It is still unknown where the Greek and Roman fortifications were located.

Dyrrhachium was destroyed by earthquakes in AD 314 and 522, and in 481 it was besieged by Theodoric the Ostrogoth; nevertheless the town flourished as an episcopal see and capital of the province Epirus Nova, later a theme of the Byzantine empire. The emperor Anastasius I (491–518), who was born in Dyrrhachium, erected a new city wall (built of bricks and fortified by pentagonal towers) after the destructions caused by earthquakes and the Gothic invasion; it is well preserved in the western part of the town. There are also foundations of a large 6th-century church, whose donor Martinia is commemorated in a floor mosaic. There must have been several other impressive buildings (mainly churches) in the 5th and 6th centuries of which few traces are left.

More sieges followed: by the Bulgarians in the 10th and 11th centuries, and by the Normans in the 11th and 12th centuries, as Dyrrhachium lay on their route for advancing into the Balkans; it was taken by Robert Guiscard in 1081 and by William II in 1185. Although the town still prospered in these times and sources mention numerous churches, almost nothing of its medieval architecture has survived; there are, though, some reliefs and the fragment of an ambo dating from the 11th and 12th centuries. During the Latin empire Dyrrhachium was the capital of the despot Michael of Epirus; his successor Theodore renewed the town walls (one of the mighty wall towers bears an inscription with his name and the date 1235).

In 1273 another earthquake started an irreversible decline that continued during the reign of the house of Anjou and the Venetian empire (1386–1501); under the Ottoman empire the town dwindled to 1200 inhabitants. It recovered, however, and in 1912 it was for a short time capital of the newly founded Albania.

BALBINA BÄBLER

See also Epirus

Summary

Now Durres, city in modern Albania on the Adriatic Sea, founded in 627 BC by Greek colonists, Dyrrhachium was later a Roman colony and flourished as a free city in the 2nd century AD. It remained strategically and commercially important as a port throughout ancient and medieval times. Decline set in from the 13th century. Today it is the second city of Albania.

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E

Eagle, Double-Headed

Emblem of the Byzantine empire

The mythological presentation of the eagle with two heads and its possibly apotropaic, and protective, character was a common figure among the prehistoric cultures of Mesopotamia, Syria, Asia Minor, and Egypt. Its appearance in the Hellenic tradition goes back to the period of the Mycenaean civilization, as suggested by finds from Mycenae and the south Peloponnese.

The reappearance of the double-headed eagle on Greek soil takes place in the Byzantine empire during the reign of the Palaiologan family in the 13th century. One of its first representations in Byzantine art can be found on the chapter of the iconostasis at the Porta Panagia church (1283) in Thessaly as well as on the founder's inscription at the Paragoritissa church (1294/6) in Arta. From the archaeological evidence it would seem that the symbol of the double-headed eagle was introduced into the Byzantine empire not by the Komnenian dynasty, as some scholars believed in the past, but by the Palaiologan emperors. During the Byzantine period and until the fall of Constantinople in 1453 the double-headed eagle was used as an emblem of the empire and definitely not as the coat of arms of the ruling Palaiologan family. That it was also used by the Kantakouzenos family among others, as well as by some merchant ships of the Italian peninsula to show their tax-exempt status, supports this thesis.

The double-headed eagle is depicted on a variety of icons, frescoes, illuminated documents, ceramics, jewels, and reliefs, while most Byzantine leather bindings of manuscripts that have survived from the 15th century are stamped with this motif. Its representation varies: it can be crowned (with one, two, or three crowns) or not and occasionally it is found carrying a sceptre and the imperial orb. Similar representations, mainly on wall paintings in neighbouring kingdoms (e.g. Serbia, Bulgaria), demonstrate the attempt to imitate Byzantine imperial ritual and symbolism.

After 1453 the double-headed eagle was adopted by various rulers of the Greek islands and Venetian colonies, who were interrelated with the Byzantines, either in order to legitimize their power or in order to declare their dominion as the legitimate successor to Byzantium; for the same purpose a double-headed eagle decorated the throne of Ivan III of Russia after his marriage to the last Byzantine princess Zoe.

The Ottoman empire passed on to the Orthodox patriarch of Constantinople many of the former emperor's functions and insignia including the double-headed eagle which was adopted by the patriarch as the symbol of the Orthodox Church. As the prosperity of the semiautonomous principalities of Walachia and Moldavia grew, their rulers, who became great benefactors of the Orthodox churches and monasteries, also imitated the Byzantine style and decorated their clothes and arms with the double-headed eagle. During the Tourkokratia, the double-headed eagle was used in church decoration and was often depicted on the carved iconostasis or in the middle of the floor as an *omphalion* (centrepiece) as well as in private homes on doors, embroideries, and on furniture.

The question of its meaning cannot be answered with absolute certainty. In the prehistoric period the double-headed eagle was probably a protective, magical, or apotropaic symbol; in other cases, it personified the "multiplied wisdom" of the god. Its representation on coins, seals, and manuscript illuminations in medieval Europe from the 12th century onwards relates to its heraldic meaning as a symbol of a city or as a coat of arms of a noble family. In imperial iconography it was also used in order to distinguish the emperor (double-headed eagle) from the king (one-headed eagle). As for Byzantine iconography, apart from some miscellaneous information about its significance as an imperial emblem, most of the references derive from Tourkokratia and from western sources. According to them, the two heads of the eagle symbolize the claims to both eastern and western halves of the Roman empire and refer either to the eschatological elements of the emperor cult based on the apocalyptic eagles of Ezekiel's prophecy or to the temporal and spiritual power of the emperor. However, during the Tourkokratia the double-headed eagle acquired the significance of the restoration of the Byzantine empire; and nowadays the black double-headed eagle on a yellow background is used as a symbol of the Orthodox Church all over the world.

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EAM and ELAS

EAM (*Ethniko Apelevtherotiko Metopo*, National Liberation Front) and ELAS (*Ellinikos Laikos Apelevtherotikos Stratos*, Greek Popular Liberation Army) were respectively the largest political and military resistance organizations in occupied Greece during the period 1941–44.

EAM was founded on 27 September 1941, following the Seventh Plenum of the Communist Party (KKE) Central Committee earlier that month. It was formed and dominated by the KKE, although another three much smaller parties (SKE, Socialist Party of Greece; ELD, Union of Popular Democracy; and AKE, Agrarian Party of Greece) also participated in it, even signing the charter of EAM.

In April 1942 EAM formed ELAS as its military branch (later ELAN, the navy equivalent, and EtA, *Epimeliteia tou Antarti*, the commissariat, were added); it was also complemented by branches in other fields, such as the EEAM (*Ergatiko Ethniko Apelevtherotiko Metopo*, National Workers Liberation Front), EPON (*Eniaia Panelladiki Organosi Neon*, a youth movement), and the EA (*Ethniki Allillengyi*, National Mutual Aid). By 1943 EAM and its subsidiary branches had in effect formed an alternative government organization, controlling large parts of Greek territory that were not occupied by the Axis; this was complemented in March 1944 by the PEEA (*Politiki Epitropi Ethnikis Antistaseos*, Political Committee of National Liberation). Throughout the period of German occupation EAM remained the only truly nationwide resistance organization, and ELAS the most powerful military resistance group. EAM and ELAS were singularly successful in recruiting and mobilizing large sections of the population and by October 1944, when Greece was liberated, claimed (probably not without justification) a joint membership of 2 million, almost a third of the total population of Greece. As it was in effective control of large parts of Greece, EAM enacted a series of wide-ranging reforms, including granting women the vote and allowing justice to be dispensed by local committees.

Despite their appearance as umbrella organizations composed of several parties, both EAM and ELAS remained firmly under communist control; however, the vast majority of rank-and-file members of EAM were neither communists nor even necessarily leftists. Similarly in ELAS the majority of professional officers were of liberal (Venizelist) leanings; control was exercised by allocating key posts to Communist Party cadres and, in the case of ELAS, by attaching to the military heads of guerrilla units political "commissars", usually communists.

EAM/ELAS almost from the outset attempted to remain the only resistance organizations, going to considerable lengths to discourage or destroy any rival groups. After October 1943 EAM and ELAS attempted to eliminate all other resistance organizations by force of arms, in what was later to be named the first "round" of the civil war; they were successful in that by the end of the occupation only Zervas' EDES (*Ethnikos Dimokratikos Ellinikos Syndesmos*, National Democratic Hellenic Union) and some small nationalist groups in eastern Macedonia and Thrace had managed to keep armed bands in the field, all others (including Psaros' EKKA) having been destroyed and/or dissolved. Subsequently, in an attempt to prevent the complete domination of the resistance movement by EAM/ELAS, the British cut off material support from it. However, with the collapse of Italy in 1943, large stocks of arms and war material had fallen into the hands of EAM/ELAS, making it largely independent of this support.

Following the sudden volte-face of July 1944, EAM agreed to participate in the coalition government of G. Papandreou; EAM ministers continued to serve for a brief period after the liberation of Greece in October 1944; however, disagreements over the question of demobilization of ELAS and the other armed groups in Greece led to the withdrawal of EAM from the coalition government. The demonstration organized on 3 December 1944 led to the outbreak of fighting in Athens and its area, the Dekemvriana, in the course of which ELAS forces fought British and loyalist Greek forces. During the fighting

EAM sided openly with the Communist Party despite dissenting voices from the junior partners in the nominal coalition, including Svolos, the former president of the PEEA.

The end of hostilities in mid-January 1945 (when an armistice was signed) and the Varkiza Agreement of February 1945 also marked the end of ELAS, which was demobilized and handed in a substantial part of its arms (though some were hidden). As a political force, EAM survived for a while longer. Indeed it was reinvented in April 1945, as a complementary political movement to KKE, a movement that would retain the wider support that EAM had enjoyed during the occupation. Needless to say, EAM was under almost complete KKE domination. Probably its last momentous political act was the decision to urge its members to abstain from the elections of March 1946, following the policy adopted by the KKE; again dissenting voices from junior partners were not heeded. At least some EAM supporters along with the hard communist core of ELAS fighters subsequently formed the basis for the Democratic Army of Greece (*Dimokratikos Stratos Elladas*, DSE), the communist insurgent force that fought the Civil War. However, the refusal of the non-KKE participants to join the communists in forming the provisional government in 1947 virtually broke the new EAM. It faded into obscurity, especially after the leftist newspapers were banned in October 1947; EAM was later itself outlawed and largely ignored by the communists for the duration of the Civil War.

During the period from the end of the Civil War until 1974, participation in EAM or ELAS was enough to colour one as a communist sympathizer (or even a communist), with all the disadvantages this had. The EAM and ELAS wartime resistance remained formally unrecognized in Greece until the early 1980s, when the PASOK government passed a bill in parliament rewarding the resistance activity of both organizations' members.

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See also Civil War, World War II

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Earthquakes

The Aegean region has the highest incidence of earthquakes (seismicity) in Europe. This has had an important effect on both the civilizations and the landscape of the region. Most of these earthquakes were produced by forces connected with large-scale movements of the earth's crust and mantle (plate tectonics).

ΑΚΡΟΠΟΛΙΣ

ΠΡΩΤΗΝΗ ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΗ ΚΑΙ ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΚΗ ΕΦΗΜΕΡΙΔΑ

ΙΣΧΥΡΟΙ ΜΕΤΑΣΕΙΣΜΟΙ, 200 ΕΓΚΛΩΒΙΣΜΕΝΟΙ ΚΑΙ ΤΕΡΑΣΤΙΕΣ ΖΗΜΙΕΣ ΑΠΟ ΤΗ ΣΦΟΔΡΗ ΔΟΝΗΣΗ

5,9 Ρίχτερ

Κλίμα Τουρκίας ώς αύριο

Ξαναγύρισε ο εφιάλτης

Η ΕΠΟΜΕΝΗ ΗΜΕΡΑ ΤΟΥ ΠΑΝΗΜΑΤΟΣ

Κατάσταση έκτακτης ανάγκης

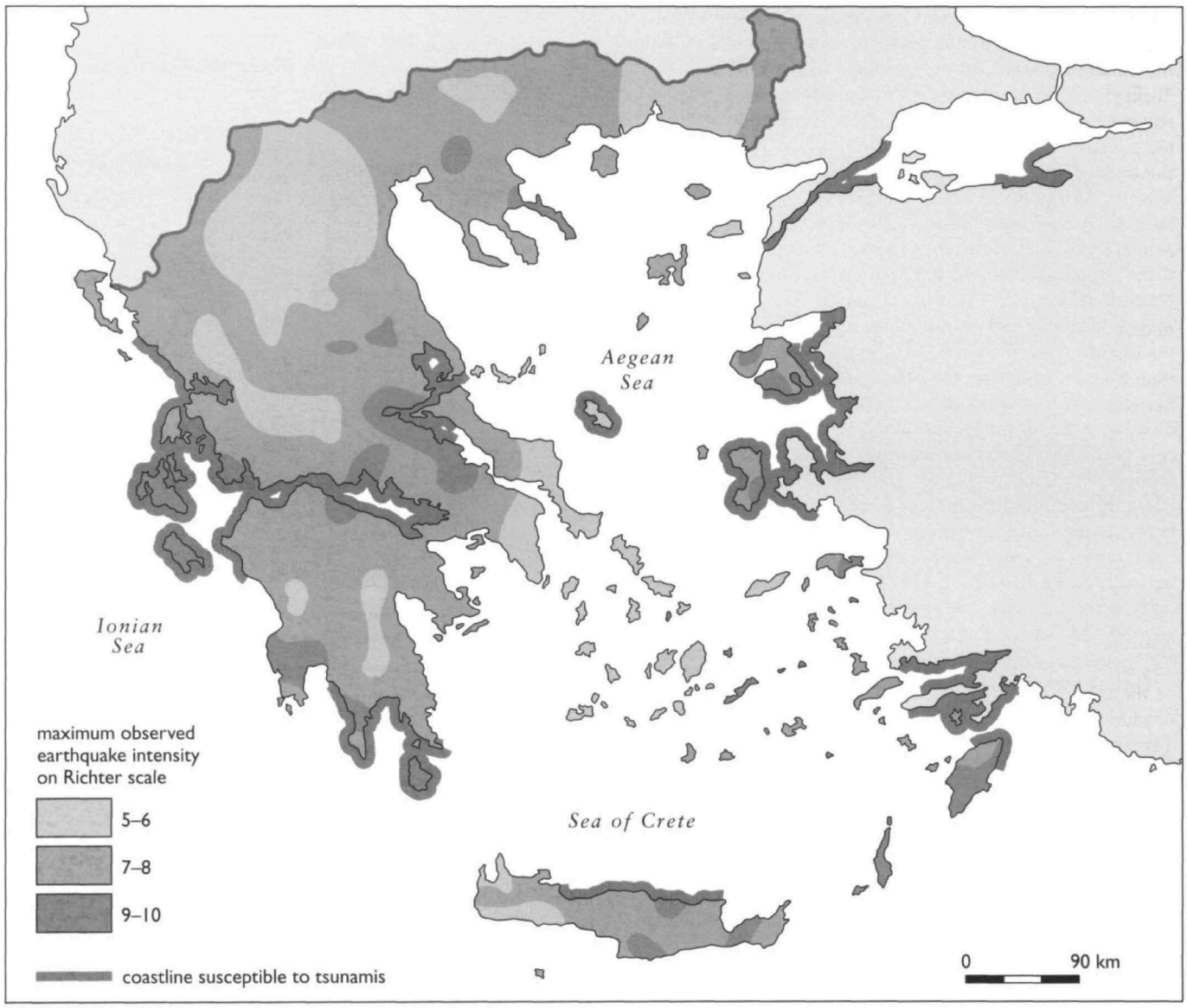
Τι δεν πρέπει να κάνετε

Δράματα και πρωτιαρί με τους εγκλωβισμούς

Ο σεισμός στο Μέγαρο Μουσικής

Earthquake: front page of *Akropolis* on 8 September 1999, the day after an earthquake measuring 5.9 on the Richter scale struck Athens

Earthquakes are vibrations of the earth that are produced when rocks juxtaposed across a fault slide past each other. Some faults slide very easily, so stress on the fault is dissipated continually. However, many faults are "sticky" and the stress can build up to much higher levels before the energy is released in an earthquake. The magnitude of an earthquake (the well-known Richter scale) is not a measure of destructiveness but merely indicates how much energy is released. It varies according to the amount of movement of the rocks (from a few centimetres to several metres) and the surface area of the fault that moved (from a few square metres to tens of square kilometres). The amount of vibration felt at a particular place on the earth, and hence the local destructiveness of an earthquake, is called the intensity. It is measured on the Modified Mercalli scale and varies with location. Therefore, each earthquake has only one magnitude but many intensities. The intensity depends on the distance to the centre of the earthquake, its depth, and the local geology. Many sediments, especially those in recently drained lakes, can amplify considerably the earthquake vibrations and increase the intensity.



20. Maximum earthquake intensity in Greece and the Aegean region

Underwater earthquakes or landslides can produce extraordinary waves on the sea called tsunamis (or less correctly, tidal waves). In the open sea tsunamis are typically less than 50 cm high, travel at speeds of up to 200 km per hour, and have a wavelength of the order of tens of km: hence they are not noticed generally by people in boats. Near to the coast their character changes dramatically – as the sea becomes shallower the wave height increases to up to 50 m. Such waves can be extremely destructive in coastal communities.

The movements associated with an earthquake will generally produce changes in the height of the land across the fault of up to several metres. Along the coast these changes in height will appear as local changes in sea level. Such changes have submerged coastal cities and quarries and left harbours dry. Such local effects should be distinguished from global long-term sea-level rises caused by melting of the ice caps since the peak of the last glacial period 20,000 years ago.

Just before an earthquake there are often changes in the environment, some of which have been used to try to predict the timing of the earthquake. Among these are changes in the water level in wells and in the discharge of springs. The general level of ground noise (very small earthquakes) may also change before an earthquake. Lastly, many people have noticed unusual animal behaviour before an earthquake. If true, this may be related to any of the effects listed above or to changing magnetic and electrical fields. As yet, there has been little success in the prediction of earthquakes.

Seismic risk can also be measured in several different ways, but the most important from a cultural point of view is the maximum intensity or destructiveness of the earthquake. The maximum intensity is much higher in some parts of the Aegean because they lie close to the edge of tectonic plates. The high maximum intensity of the Ionian islands and southwestern Peloponnese is due to the subduction of the ocean floor (albeit thicker than normal) beneath the Aegean Sea. The ocean floor has to bend in order to go down the subduction zone, and this movement causes the earthquakes. High maximum intensity on Crete and Rhodes is also related to the same plate motions,

but here the direction of movement is almost parallel to the Hellenic arc (now the Ionian islands, the western Peloponnese, the islands of Crete, Karpathos, and Rhodes, and southeastern Turkey), and hence the two plates slide past each other along transform faults. A zone of earthquakes associated with a tectonic plate boundary extends from the northern Aegean through the Sea of Marmara and across northern Turkey. Most of the other zones of high maximum intensity are related to crustal extension north of the Hellenic arc: this has produced a series of approximately east–west grabens (tectonic valleys). There are still important movements on the Corinthian and Euboean gulf grabens, hence their high maximum intensity. The high maximum intensity of many of the islands in the eastern Aegean is probably related to grabens that stretch from the Aegean Sea itself deep into the Turkish mainland.

There were many earthquakes in antiquity, but few have been identified and studied in detail. The earliest has been only identified by the effects of the accompanying tsunami. This was an earthquake, or possibly a landslide, associated with the great Minoan volcanic eruption of Thera (modern Santorini) in 1650 or 1450 BC. The tsunami deposited sediments on the adjacent island of Anafi up to a height of 40 m and was still 7 m high when it reached Israel. It must also have devastated settlements on the northern shore of Crete. The earthquake of 464 BC that destroyed Sparta was an important historical event of the Classical period. It was a medium to large earthquake produced by vertical movement on the fault at the base of the Taygetus Mountains. The earthquake and tsunami of 373 BC in the gulf of Corinth were responsible for the destruction of the city of Helice, remains of which have not been located. It was probably 7 km west of Aigion, on the western gulf. Contemporary writers noted that wild animals and insects left the city during the five days preceding the earthquake, and this has often been cited when premonitory animal behaviour is discussed. The city was submerged by movements on the fault, and its destruction was completed by the tsunami and further earthquakes along this fault. The earthquakes that toppled the Colossus of Rhodes in 222 BC caused parts of the land to rise almost 4 m, which was one of the largest earth movements in the region during the last 10,000 years. The harbour at Phalasarna in western Crete has been lifted up by over 7 m since antiquity. This must have occurred during several earthquakes, including the devastating earthquake of AD 365 centred south of Crete. The ensuing tsunami caused the loss of thousands of lives and extensive damage throughout the eastern Mediterranean. Another earthquake in AD 551 is known to have caused drastic damage further east, and may have also contributed to the uplift. A recent tsunami associated with a volcanic eruption was that of the Colombo Bank volcano in AD 1650 that produced waves 20 m high on the coast of Thera. Devastating earthquakes occurred even more recently in the Cyclades in 1956, Corinth in 1961, and Kalamata in 1986.

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Ecology

Greek ecosystems go back to the Tertiary period, several million years ago, when the climate was much wetter than today and the predominant vegetation was probably evergreen forest. These subtropical "laurisylvan" forests perished in the cold, drought, and fire of the Quaternary period, but their rustle and scent still faintly echo and breathe in the laurel and arbutus jungles on the north sides of west Cretan mountains.

Mediterranean ecology is determined partly by its history. For most of the last two million years Greece was colder and drier than it is now, the local effect of the glaciations of higher latitudes. Mediterranean-type plants retreated to favourable localities. The predominant vegetation was steppe-like grassland, sometimes with scattered trees. Forests were very local. Endemic plants – those confined to Greece – had nowhere to retreat to, and presumably sat out the glaciations on or near the mountains and gorges where many of them now grow. Significantly, very few endemics are forest plants.

Hundreds of thousands of years of cold and drought were interrupted by periods of thousands of years of climate more like the present. The present such interglacial began some 14,000 years ago. In the first half, Greece was populated mainly by deciduous trees like those of central Europe today: deciduous oaks, lime, alder, hazel, and even such a northern tree as birch. These indicate a wetter, probably less seasonal climate. From the 5th millennium BC onwards, the climate changed to approximately the semi-arid present. Middle European trees died out or retreated to unusually cold places and what are now thought of as Mediterranean plants became dominant.

The soils of Greece are varied, but mostly rich in lime. Soils come from three sources: weathering of the underlying rock; material eroded and washed in from elsewhere; and wind-blown dust from the Sahara. Weathering and erosion have been more active at times in the past than they are now. Erosion has washed material off hillsides and out of gullies and the resulting deposits have built up most of the basins and river deltas which are the best agricultural land. Lack of soil precludes most agriculture but not wild vegetation: many forests in Greece, and some olive groves, grow out of pockets and fissures in bare limestone.

Greece has always had browsing animals. Elephants and other great tree-breaking beasts were probably exterminated

by Palaeolithic men, and do not appear in this interglacial. Deer, wild oxen, wild swine, and smaller herbivores such as hares survived into historical times. From the Neolithic onwards, people have replaced wild herbivores by domestic livestock. Each species of animal has its likes and dislikes: goats, for example, are fond of prickly-oak (despite the prickles) but will not eat pine unless they have to. How the impact of wild beasts differed from that of domestic animals is not known: we do not know how many deer there were in aboriginal times, still less what they ate.

Crete, and probably the other islands, tells a different story. It had tiny elephants, mini-hippopotamuses, and slow deer, but no carnivore fiercer than a badger. Lacking predators, these animals would have produced a state that a modern ecologist would regard as excessive browsing. The transition after human settlement to an island dominated by sheep and goats may have had less effect than on the mainland.

Fire is a major ecological factor. Every summer there are countless wildfires in Greece, which are regarded as an abnormality and a tragedy. In reality trees and plants are combustible not by misfortune but by adaptation. They burn because they make flammable oils and resins; it is their business in life to catch fire (by lightning or otherwise) and burn up their less fire-adapted competitors. Some survive a fire by their thick bark or well-insulated growing points; others perish but come again from seed.

During the Neolithic and Bronze Ages the landscape was affected both by increasing human activity and by a change to a drier climate. People grubbed out (uprooted) forests on good soils to create farmland; on the remaining roughland they replaced the native mammals by goats, sheep, and cattle. Forests retreated to places with moisture or good root penetration, being replaced by maquis or savanna. Undershrubs benefited from the changes to establish areas of phrygana. The date, nature, and consequences of deforestation are controversial, but there is no good evidence that Classical Greece was more wooded than Greece is today.

These changes had more effect on some groups of plants than others. Cliff plants were little affected. Plants requiring deep soils were almost annihilated by agriculture, which changed the balance of the vegetation. Part of the reason why Greece is now thought of as a land of evergreen trees is that deciduous trees, especially oaks, grew on soils suitable for cultivation and were thus subtracted from the landscape: in recent decades, as cultivation has retreated, they have recovered some of the lost ground.

By Classical times the ecological changes were largely completed. Mostly the landscape looked not very different from Greece today, leaving aside urbanization, road making, and bulldozing. One important difference is the disappearance of fens, mostly destroyed in the 19th century. Another factor that the modern visitor may not appreciate is the great historic importance of woodcutting. Most Greek trees (even some conifers) sprout when felled and form coppice stools. In many areas wood was scarce, and even on cliffs trees were repeatedly cut down, and repeatedly sprouted, down to the mid-20th century.

In the last few decades, as land uses have been concentrated and intensified, much land that was once farmland or pasture has been abandoned. Woodcutting has almost disappeared: such firewood and charcoal as are still used come mainly as a by-product from an increasing area of olives and walnuts. Greek vegetation is very resilient, and the result is a great increase in the quantity of natural vegetation. Terraces become roughland, maquis grows up into forest, rivers are lined with jungle, and savanna becomes infilled into forest. One consequence is an increase in fires, since much of the new vegetation consists of pines and other fire-promoting plants.

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See also Climate, Forestry, Plants

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Economy

The modern concept of a national economy is far removed from the origins of the term itself. Modern economists have developed abstract and analytic concepts and built up mathematical models to measure and quantify economic activities. Gross national product, inflation, and levels of employment are all criteria which are used today to analyse a country's economy. Such criteria cannot easily be applied to ancient Greece, so that economic quantification often proves controversial or elusive.

The discipline of ancient and modern economists differs in many ways. Modern study of the ancient Greek economy was transformed by the publication of M.I. Finley's *Ancient Economy* in 1973. To understand the economy of ancient Greece, and to consider the economy in the Hellenic tradition, we must embrace the changing attitudes towards our understanding of the Greek economy.

The word "economy" derives from the ancient Greek term *oikonomia*. In antiquity *oikonomia* had a meaning different from that of "economy" as we understand it today. *Oikonomia* was far more closely associated with the organization and management of the household (*oikos*). The use of the word later extended beyond its strict application to the household but there is only limited evidence to suggest that the "national" economy was considered. The ancient Greeks had no developed literature on or theory of economics. Xenophon's *Oeconomicus* is concerned with running the household and estate of a wealthy citizen; his *Poroi* (Resources) discusses ways of increasing revenue for the city, but is limited in explaining the means by which such improvements might be made. The *Oeconomicus* attributed to Aristotle is a collection of anecdotal stories about fundraising and the use of money, with minimal analysis of economic systems. Finley sought in vain for discussions and conscious theorizing about economics in ancient literary sources.

In ancient Greece the principal economy was that of the household. This was predominantly a rural economy. Agriculture was supplemented by the raising of livestock and in some areas by fishing. Other spheres of economic activity are also discernible. The Greek ideal of self-sufficiency (*autarkeia*) was aspired to but rarely achieved. Not all communities were able to provide all their own produce from their local rural environment. As a result, produce, among other things, was traded over varying distances in order to provide communities with the goods that they required. This trade existed on different geographic scales – local, regional, and international. Not all communities needed to rely on long-distance trade or had populations large enough to make demands beyond their immediate region. In this respect, Athens was exceptional among Greek communities not only for the large size of its population but also for its need to supplement its large domestic produce with the import of agricultural produce from abroad.

The primacy of the rural economy in ancient Greece appears as only one dynamic element in what is emerging as a complex picture of the economies of ancient Greece. The function of slaves and of non-slave labour, the role of money and coinage, the social behaviour and value systems of the urban elites in ancient Greek communities, the role of religion and temple economies, the importance of natural resources (mineral, geological, and timber), the dependence on maritime transport, and the significance of war, are all essential factors to be taken into account in understanding ancient Greek economies.

The ways in which the economies of ancient Greece have been approached in recent years have changed, and the different methods of analysing them have shed light on their nature. The established views of the past are being rejected in favour of more contextualized views of economic activities in ancient Greece.

Distinctive spheres of activity in ancient Greece can be labelled "economic" in so far as they related to the use of money, affected the finances and distribution of resources in the community, or dictated or involved the role of wealth. But understanding these spheres of activity is now seen as impossible unless their social, political, and cultural context is also taken into account.

Traditionally, students of the ancient Greek economy have been divided into "primitivists" and "modernizers". The primitivists have concentrated on the wider activities of society, paying less attention to the small minority, the elite, who have tended to dominate the surviving source evidence. The modernizers, by contrast, have tended to overestimate the importance of the elite and neglected the interaction of the numerically greater sectors of society. This polarization of approaches makes it impossible to see how all levels of Greek society interacted.

Another feature of the debate on the ancient Greek economy has been a distinction between the approaches of the substantivists and the formalists. The substantivists believe that the ancient Greek economy, while not as sophisticated and developed as the modern economy, betrays features and rationales which can be isolated and analysed independently of their socio-politico context. By contrast, the formalists believe that the ancient Greek economy was not only less developed than the modern economy, but was embedded within society. The ancient economy can be understood only in terms of social and political relationships. Movement of goods, for instance, may not have been motivated by economic gain, but by considerations of reciprocal gift-giving.

There has been a move away from these two sets of polarized approaches towards a more comprehensive and pluralistic understanding of the ancient Greek economy. It is more accurate to speak of ancient Greek economies, since there was no monolithic Greek economy. Greece never existed as a single cellular entity but consisted of many different communities which interacted individually with the communities and peoples of the Mediterranean and beyond. The economy of ancient Greece should therefore be seen as numerous interrelated dynamic economic activities. These activities sometimes involved only some segments of or groups within a community, and at other times affected the whole community.

The central importance of agriculture to Greek communities led to the movement, often over large distances, of both essential and luxury items. Trade in grain in antiquity is a feature of political and economic history. Athens in the 5th and 4th centuries BC had developed such a large population that there was no guarantee that the large supplies of grain from Athenian territory, including the important islands of Lemnos, Imbros, and Skyros, could provide for the city. In some years a shortfall in domestic production would have signalled shortages in Athens. The demand for grain stimulated an increase in the movement of merchants to Athens. Virtually all the grain supplied to Athens arrived by sea. This ensured that the Piraeus, Athens' harbour, prospered and attracted numerous foreigners and traders. While it would be unfair to say that the economic prosperity of the Piraeus grew out of the trade in grain, the movement of staple crops obviously provided an essential commodity to a highly demanding market. In the 5th century BC the growth of the Athenian empire had the important effect of providing considerable security for maritime transport in and around the Aegean. The loss of its empire by the end of the 5th century BC forced Athens to rely much more heavily on foreign alliances and institutional or legal reforms to regulate and control the movement of grain to the city.

For Athens, the most developed of the Greek polis economies, much more evidence exists for the use of credit and the role of banks and moneylenders than exists for any other ancient Greek community. Banking played an important role not only in financing maritime commercial enterprises but in all kinds of economic activity. Financial confidence was often entrusted to ad hoc groups of individuals who would act as guarantors of capital. Many surviving documents, the majority in the form of inscriptions on stone, provide information us about the use of security and capital.

Unlike many communities, Athens had the advantage of enormous wealth in its silver mines. The extraction of silver from the hills of Laurium provided the city with the raw material with which it manufactured its famous silver coinage, characterized by the owl stamped on the coin. The Athenian owl became a symbol of a guaranteed high-quality silver coinage. Its circulation during the 5th and 4th BC centuries was greater than that of any other Greek coin. The silver mines of Attica therefore played a huge role in promoting the economic welfare of the city.

The extraction of silver from Laurium depended on slave labour. Many Greek communities relied on unfree labour for their workforce. The very different and almost exclusively agrarian-based economy of Sparta was founded upon the peasant workers, the helots, who were subordinate to the Spartans. In Athens too the slave labour force which worked in the Laurium district was an essential part of the mining economy. Slaves played an important role in other areas of life. In Athens, however, it is less than certain that all farms would have used slave labour. Unlike Sparta, with its subjugated helot workforce, the typical Athenian farm was probably a small-holding providing at least sufficient produce for the household. Slaves worked in many other areas – in industries such as shieldmaking,or in crafts such as painting pots, for example, and in construction, such as on the building projects of the Acropolis in the 5th century BC.

But the economies of Greek communities also exploited a more fluid population of non-citizens: foreigners. In Athens, resident foreigners were designated as "metics" and would pay a special tax. In other commercial centres also foreigners played an important role, such as on Delos, Rhodes, and in Corinth. It was normal that only citizens could own land in a Greek city; foreigners were sometimes granted the right to do so, but only as a reward for services to the city. The non-citizen population of the Greek city was highly fluid and transitional. Warfare and economic depression would probably see falls in this mobile population. Some cities, including Athens, had sufficiently large foreign populations to establish foreign cults and maintain a more permanent community.

Religion and warfare were of central importance to the economies of the Greek world. Religion, centred on the worship of gods in temples, encouraged the rise of temple economies. The built temple often served as a storehouse for the wealth and dedications offered to a god. The temples of Apollo at Delphi and Athena at Athens contained vast amounts of wealth at the heights of their success. Revenue from the cities of the Athenian empire was hived off as offerings to Athena in her temple on the Acropolis, and the monies dedicated to her from Athens' allies were recorded on stones and displayed outside the temple (the so-called Athenian tribute lists). The role of the temple in the movement of wealth and as a repository for wealth which could be used by a Greek city is best illustrated by Pericles' statement of the Athenian financial reserves at the opening of the Peloponnesian War (Thucydides, 2. 13. 2–6).

One of the greatest drains on the economic resource of a Greek community, and particularly a city, was warfare. The citizens of the polis in the Archaic and Classical periods typically provided the main infantry fighting force for the army. This minimized the expenditure a community had to meet for sending out a military force. The expense of warfare put an immense strain on many communities. In the 5th century BC Athens spent more on warfare than any other city. The cost of running a navy of 100 or more ships was huge. The services that the wealthiest Athenians were required to perform on behalf of the city included trierarchy – providing for the equipping and manning of warships – which helped to reduce the cost to the city of maintaining a fleet. For many Greek cities such expenditure was impossible. The other great expense of warfare was the cost involved in building and maintaining the defences of a community, in particular the cost of building city walls. Emergency taxes were sometimes required to meet the cost of military operations; special taxes were on occasion imposed if defences were required hastily. Expenditure on civic defence was large, as was the cost of providing patrols and mobile defence forces such as cavalry. Cavalry power was often provided by the wealthiest citizens of any community; the cost of maintaining a horse throughout the year was high. Despite the dependence on the wealthy elite to defray some of the expenses of warfare, it was inevitable that many cities relied on their own finances to pay for military activities. The use of the financial reserves of temples was central to providing money to the city.

The economy of the Greeks in later periods, such as the Byzantine era, continued to be based on agriculture. Even in times of wider economic depression, the supply of agricultural produce was often sufficient to support a local economy. The Byzantine state played a major role in the economy of this period, raising money through taxation and paying out vast sums for its army and bureaucracy. On a local level signs of continuity are visible, but overseas trade was vulnerable to the fluctuations of the political world.

It becomes clear that the economic organization of ancient Greek communities differed in many respects from those of a modern state. Individuals and households were essential to the shaping of ancient Greek economies. In the same way, the community depended to large extent on the household and the individual for financial support of the city. Over time the smaller-sized community of the polis was overtaken by the much more richly endowed political systems of the kingdoms which dominate the Hellenistic period. The Roman domination of the Mediterranean illustrates the rise of an even greater power than the Hellenistic kingdoms. Despite the changing shape of the political world, the economies of the Greek communities which made up the ancient world remained remarkably consistent and dependent on the household economy and the wealth of the richer individuals or elites within the community.

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See also Agriculture, Banking, Coinage, Finance, Slavery, Taxation, Trade

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Ecumenism

Although a definitive lexical study of the words *oikoumene* and *oikoumenikos* has not yet been written, it is possible to distinguish, from antiquity to the present, at least seven meanings in them: (1) pertaining to, or representing, the whole (inhabited) earth; (2) pertaining to, or representing, the whole of the (Roman) empire; (3) pertaining to, or representing, the whole of the Church; (4) that which has universal or ecclesiastical validity; (5) pertaining to the worldwide missionary outreach of the Church; (6) pertaining to the relations between and unity of two or more Churches (or of Christians of various confessions); (7) that quality or attitude which expresses the consciousness of and desire for Christian unity.

The term, derived from *oikein* (to inhabit), has been used since Herodotus; and in the Hellenistic period it found application in secular contexts, where it referred politically to the realm of the Graeco-Roman empire or to the civilized world in cultural contradistinction to the lands of the barbarians.

Biblical writings generally follow the secular usage, taking *oikoumene* as a synonym for "earth" (Ps. 23: 1, LXX), yet without giving particular prominence to the term. In the New Testament its political connotation is observable in Luke 4: 5–7 (cf. also Luke 2: 1; Acts 17: 16) and in the Apocalypse (esp. 16: 14). For the writer of Hebrews, the expected reign of God can be called the "*oikoumene* to come" (2: 5).

The subsequent, much more widespread, ecclesiastical use of the term is linked with the extension of the Greek-speaking Christian community across the entire Roman empire. By the 4th century the *oikoumene* had become the "Christian world", with the double (political and religious) meaning of the "Christian empire" and the "whole Church". The adjective *oikoumenikos* refers to everything that has universal validity. Thus, "ecumenical" is a quality claimed for particular councils and their dogmatic decisions. It is also used as a title of honour for specific patriarchal sees or for respected teachers of the whole Church. In the Orthodox tradition, which preserved the memory of the early link between Church and empire, the term remained in use, though its meaning became more and more specific. Today it serves to describe the new reality of the organized ecumenical movement, as represented in particular by the World Council of Churches (established in 1948), and the different ways of reacting to this reality.

The Orthodox Churches have participated actively in the ecumenical movement from the beginning. Indeed, an encyclical from the ecumenical patriarchate to the sister autocephalous Churches in 1902 inaugurated the journey of Orthodoxy towards dynamic dialogue, conciliation, and cooperation in order to respond more fruitfully to the urgent need of reuniting fragmented Christianity. This encyclical was the first document to raise at an official level the issue of relationships, first, between Constantinople and the Oriental Orthodox Churches and, secondly, between Orthodoxy and Western Christendom, in an ecumenical perspective.

A second, landmark encyclical, issued in January 1920 from the Phanar and addressed to "all the Churches in the *oikoumene*", introduced a fundamental programme of contemporary ecumenism and called for the formation of a "league of Churches", to be modelled on the newly established League of Nations. The document laid down two essential conditions on which rapprochement and fellowship could be achieved: (1) the elimination of "mutual distrust and bitterness between the different Churches", and (2) the rekindling and strengthening of love among them. This letter signified a departure from the usual cautious attitude of the Orthodox towards the West, and showed the desire of some at least among their hierarchs to take the lead in the movement towards closer fellowship.

As an outcome of this remarkable change of mind, a large delegation came to Geneva (12–20 August 1920) to the preparatory Conference of the Faith and Order movement. Three of these delegates were also present at the preparatory

meeting of the Life and Work movement, which took place in Geneva at the same time. For many of the Orthodox delegates, this was the first occasion of meeting with representatives of non-Orthodox Churches, and the initial contacts were not always easy. Some of the Orthodox were particularly troubled by the proselytizing missions supported by certain American and British groups, and made the cessation of all such activities the condition for their further cooperation. In spite of these tensions, the impression produced upon the Orthodox by the leaders in Faith and Order was highly favourable, and convinced a number of them of the sincerity and genuine desire for unity animating many representatives of these new endeavours towards reconciliation.

Two major attempts at achieving reunion between the Greek East and the Latin West took place at the Second Council of Lyons in 1274 and the Council of Florence in 1438–39. But in both cases, although a formal union was promulgated, it was ultimately rejected by the general Orthodox population. Centuries of mutual isolation and hostility ensued, with each Church de facto denying the ecclesial reality of the other.

The situation began to improve only in the 1960s, when important changes in attitude took place within both the Catholic and the Orthodox Churches. From the Catholic perspective, the convocation of the Second Vatican Council with its Orthodox observers marked a greater openness to the East. From the Orthodox perspective, the third Pan-Orthodox Conference (Rhodes, 1964) encouraged the local Orthodox Churches to engage in studies preparing for an eventual dialogue with the Roman Catholic Church.

Two other notable events took place in the same decade. In January 1964 pope Paul VI and the ecumenical patriarch Athenagoras met for the first time, in Jerusalem. In a common declaration issued by them on 7 December 1965 the mutual excommunications of 1054 were "erased from the memory of the Church". In 1967 the pope and the patriarch exchanged visits in Rome and Constantinople. Between 1980 and 1990 six official meetings of the Joint International Commission for theological dialogue between the Orthodox Church and the Roman Catholic Church were held. This dialogue is still in its early stages, but progress is being made in the effort to establish a common foundation, on the basis of which the more difficult issues, especially the role of the Church of Rome and its bishop among the local Churches, can be most fruitfully discussed.

The first official international dialogue between the Orthodox Churches and the World Alliance of Reformed Churches took place in 1988 in Leuenberg, Switzerland, under the leadership of the metropolitan Panteleimon Rodopoulos (ecumenical patriarchate) and Dr Lukas Vischer (World Alliance). The second was held in Moscow in 1990.

Behind these meetings lies a long history of Orthodox and Protestant contacts. The earliest exchange of letters took place between the Lutheran theological faculty of the University of Tübingen and the ecumenical patriarch Jeremias II from 1573 to 1581. For the Calvinists, the first Orthodox–Reformed discussions centred on the stormy debate over the "unorthodox" confession of faith of the ecumenical patriarch Cyril Lukaris (ruled 1620–38). In the light of this history both groups consider it essential to establish firm grounds on which both traditions can confess the essentials of their Christian faith in common. Hence the decision for the official international dialogues to focus on the doctrine of the Trinity, based on the Nicene Creed.

DIMITRI CONOMOS

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Education

The poems of Homer depict aristocratic youths attending their seniors much in the manner of esquires attending the knights of the western Middle Ages. There was doubtless a similar educational purpose, both in teaching skills of warfare and in inculcating heroic *arete* (valour). Apart from the long list of the centaur Cheiron's students (which gave rise to the lost Hesiodic *Praecepta Chironis*), the tale of Phoenix's instruction of Achilles (*Iliad*, 9. 432–619) involves the employment by a father of a private tutor. His noble birth possibly foreshadows (unless it is a later ad hoc invention) a formal institution known among the aristocracy of some states in the Archaic and Classical periods, when it involved a strong pederastic element. In this institution an older man courted (in Crete abducted) a youth whom he initiated into all aspects of civic life.

Other poets too were a major early source of education for the Greeks but although they did give practical information they, like Homer himself, were regarded chiefly as teachers of ethical ideals. Although their position was assailed by philosophers (first as early as the 6th century but most notably by Plato), it survived to the end of the Classical period. Thereafter the poets were read more for their artistry. Homer's paramountcy (and longevity) is marked by the commentary of

Eustathios, a 12th-century bishop of Thessalonica, which is the lengthiest commentary ever written on any ancient author.

The earliest formalized education in the Greek world was probably the Spartan *agoge* (training). Though attributed to a single early enactment, this was probably a gradual development resulting from the need for internal self-defence by the vastly outnumbered Spartiates. By the Classical period it certainly involved the compulsory, state-run education of males from the ages of 7 to 29. Since the aim was military preparedness, it gave minimal attention to literacy and maximum attention to training for war through sport and dancing as well as mock fighting and hunting. Toughness was attained through starvation, inadequate bedding in winter, and sleeping rough (excesses of severity, such as the whipping competitions that could lead to death, belong to the Roman period). Girls were given a similar but less rigorous training. A gentler and briefer Athenian analogue was the 4th-century *ephebeia*, which gave primarily military instruction to youths who entered barracks (as at Sparta) in their eighteenth year. No longer compulsory by 305 BC, the two years of service were reduced to one in 282 BC, and thereafter the *ephebeia* became increasingly pacific. Except in Macedon, where ephebes continued with strictly military training until 168 BC, parallel institutions in other cities degenerated into young gentlemen's associations, but in places lasted until the 4th century AD.

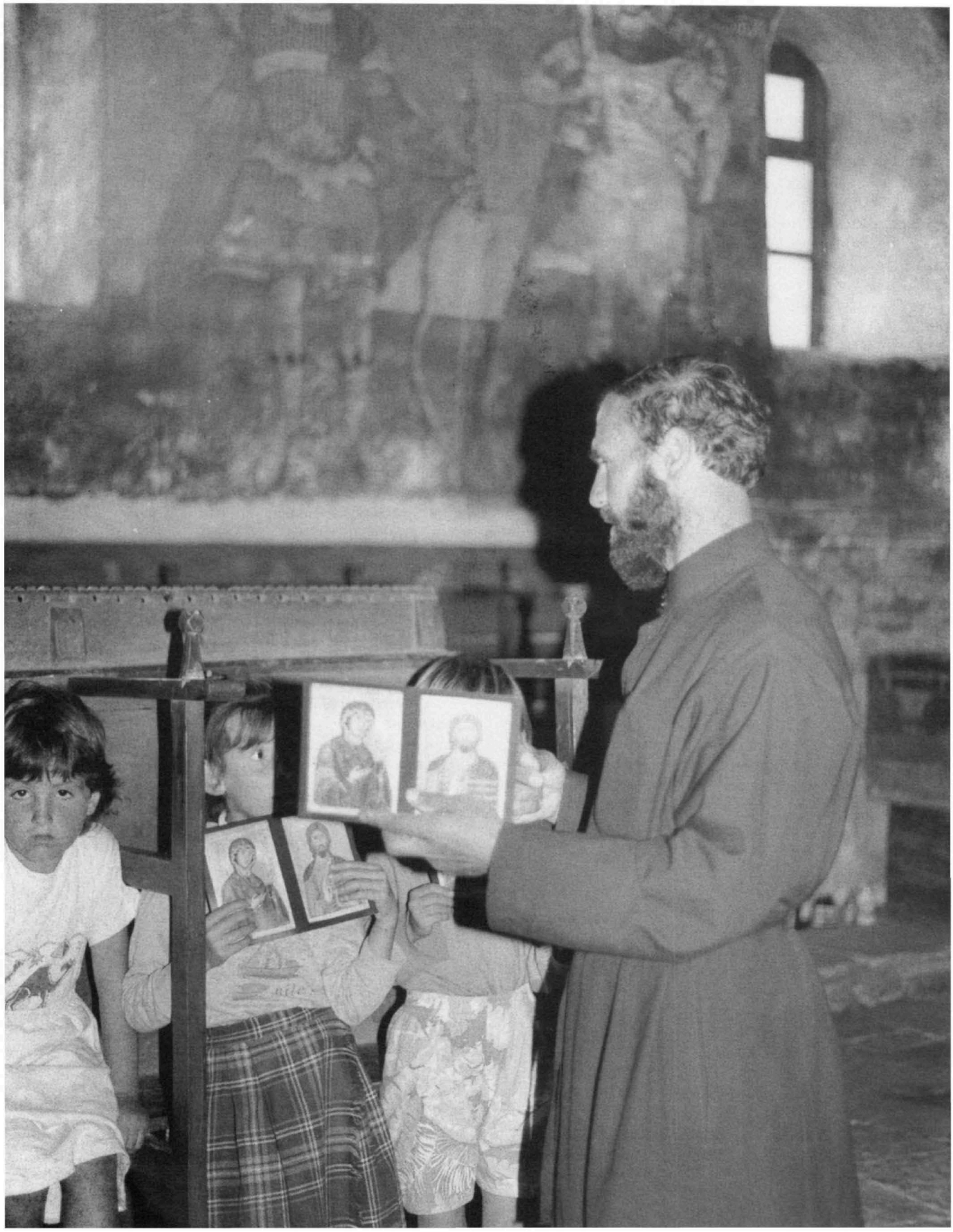
It is not known when private group schooling came into existence. The earliest schools reliably mentioned were at Chios (Herodotus, 6. 27) and Astypalaea (Pausanias, 6. 9. 6) in the 490s BC and at Troezen (Plutarch, *Themistocles*, 10) in 480 BC. The number of schools grew throughout the Classical period even in small cities (Boeotian Mycalessus must have possessed at least three schools in 413 BC, because Thucydides [7. 29. 5] reports the slaughter by Thracian mercenaries of all the boys in "the largest one"). The early, aristocratic emphasis was on gymnastics and music, the latter constituting poetry, dancing, singing, and the playing of an instrument (by the early 4th century BC the lyre had ousted the *aulos*). It is not known if there were any schools for literacy in the early part of the 5th century, but by its end these predominated.

Most of the information known about Classical education is 4th-century BC Athenian. Boys (and girls according to the evidence of vase painting) attended – but not necessarily all of – the usually separate schools of the *paidotribes* for gymnastics, the *kitharistes* for music and lyric poetry, and the *grammatistes* for reading, writing, other literature, and arithmetic. At the end of the Classical period Sicyon introduced drawing into the artistic curriculum. Teachers were freemen, sometimes with slaves as assistants, poorly paid and held in low regard. Boys were accompanied to school by a *paidagogos*, a trusted slave responsible for behaviour and moral upbringing. Lessons were learned largely by rote and encouraged by the cane and regular public competition (Plato (*Laws*, 819b–c), approvingly mentions arithmetical games). Holidays coincided with festivals.

Higher education was provided in the last third of the 5th century BC by sophists, itinerant teachers who lectured for a fee on a wide range of subjects. Hippias' professed expertise in arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and music is the origin of the western medieval quadrivium, while Gorgias' instruction in Sicilian techniques of rhetoric transformed prose writing and ultimately the future direction of education. In the 4th century BC Isocrates and Plato opened schools, the former to all who could pay the fee, the latter only to chosen students. Both men were influential educational innovators (Plato in part through the utopian theories of his *Republic* and *Laws*). Isocrates' aim was to produce future political leaders, primarily through rhetoric, a subject that Plato was late in allowing at his Academy, where philosophical and mathematical studies were supreme. Plato's insistence on propaedeutic courses in geometry and his use of specialist teachers may be seen as the origin of secondary education, while his scientific interests inspired Aristotle, his pupil of 20 years, to open a school of his own (the Lyceum) in 335 BC where the natural sciences were vigorously pursued.

During the Hellenistic period there was both a huge expansion and a definitive formalizing of education that extended to the introduction of examinations. Whereas Diodorus Siculus' claim (12. 12. 4, 12. 13. 3–4) that Charondas deemed literacy so important that he legislated for universal education at public expense is a muddled retrojection (to the 6th century BC, and a transplantation from Catana to Thurii that was founded in 444/43 BC), Teos, Miletus, and Rhodes now certainly received huge benefactions that made universal education (for boys) a possibility, while elsewhere schools were regularly subsidized by the municipality that itself contracted the teachers. Education for girls definitely expanded, and evidence suggests that even slaves were occasionally allowed schooling (there is firm later documentation from Graeco-Roman Egypt). All children's educational activities, including gymnastics and music, were now concentrated into a single building. The age of entry to primary school varied: the Stoic Chrysippus, who emphasized the pedagogic importance of well-spoken nursemaids, suggested three, Aristotle five, and Plato six, but seven was more normal. Writing materials were more readily available and tablets with copied exercises survive. Literacy was taught through letters, syllables, words, and finally short continuous passages that were always difficult to read for lack of word division. Memorization was still dominant. Arithmetic involved little more than counting. Secondary education was largely for the study of Classical literature under the *grammatikos*, but a general education (*enkyklikos paideia*) of mathematical subjects, astronomy, and music played a minor role. Higher education in literature, rhetoric, and philosophy was available in many larger centres, but most of the best teachers worked in Alexandria, Athens, and Pergamum. Medicine was taught chiefly at Alexandria, Cos, Ephesus, and Pergamum.

Roman education was closely patterned on Greek: any Roman with cultural pretensions was bilingual; Roman aristocrats employed Greek-speaking tutors for their children; some if not all of the earliest Roman schools taught Greek; and the curriculum of the Latin schools was based on the Greek. The main changes in the Greeks' own education was the introduction of the study of grammar in its own right in the 1st century BC through the influence of Dionysius Thrax, the deliberate choice of an archaizing form of the language increasingly distinct from that which was spoken, and an increasing emphasis upon rhetoric. This latter involved training in often extemporary forensic and epideictic oratory, the analysis of numerous kinds of speeches, and the formulation of strict rules for them. During the Second Sophistic (*c.*AD 60–410) declamatory



Education: Vlach priest giving religious instruction to some Vlach children at Voskopoje in eastern Albania

displays became a major form of entertainment (and tool for the recruitment of students).

Christian emphasis on God's written revelations and the need for their interpretation fostered literacy in the Byzantine world (Maximos Planudes' complaint that it was not lucrative is satirical). Despite periodic monastic attacks, pagan literature continued to form the base of secular education: its defenders claimed that it was allegorical, foreshadowed Christianity, or that its resplendent form should be imitated even if its content was rejected (see St Basil's *Address to Young Men*). Persecution for paganism (most notably of John Italos in the 11th century) was remarkably infrequent and mild. Scientific subjects, however, were not usually encouraged.

In the early centuries of the Byzantine empire there was little change in education, schools being largely a municipal responsibility. Privatization after the 6th century AD resulted, however, in a drastic reduction in their number. Although the occasional small elementary school still existed, most children were taught reading, writing, arithmetic, and some knowledge of the Bible by their parents, or by priests, notaries, or other literate persons (Michael Psellos praises his mother for the rudiments of his own education). Monastic schools satisfied the needs of illiterate novices and sometimes accommodated lay children. Formal secondary education was also rare and usually a matter of private arrangement. At this level the emphasis was upon Classical literature and grammar (though not of the spoken language) with occasional forays into subjects of the quadrivium. With the revival of learning in the mid-9th century a school was opened at the Magnaura Palace and later emperors sometimes subsidized private schools. An illuminating collection of letters by an anonymous Constantinopolitan teacher of the 10th century deals with the school programme, teaching methods (including the use of older boys to instruct younger ones), truancy, behavioural problems, and struggles to extract from parents the fees that he was forced to supplement by the copying of manuscripts. Thomas Magistros in the early 14th century emphasizes the importance of choosing teachers both knowledgeable and of good character.

Institutional higher education was sporadic and information on it is both vague and occasional. The Neoplatonic Academy of Athens was the centre of pagan studies (apart from a brief period of Alexandrian superiority around AD 500) and survived, albeit probably for only a few decades, the ban imposed by Justinian I in AD 529 on the teaching there of philosophy and law. Theodosius II established (or reorganized) at Constantinople in AD 425 a "university" with 31 chairs, mainly in Greek and Latin but including philosophy and law. Its demise, probably in the late 6th century, is obscure. Constantine VII's school in the palace in the mid-10th century may have involved higher as well as secondary education. In 1047 Constantine IX established a law school and shortly thereafter one for the teaching of rhetoric and philosophy that was headed by Michael Psellos, from whom survive various short works addressed to his students. In 1107 the Patriarchal School was organized (its possible earlier existence is a contentious issue) in Hagia Sophia for the teaching of theology, but by the middle of the century rhetoric had been added. In the 1440s the scholars Michael Apostoles and John Argyropoulos, both of whom were interested in rhetoric and philosophy, are known to have taught at a school attached to the Xenon of the Kral of the Petra monastery in the capital. Medical schools were sometimes attached to hospitals. In addition up to *c.*1300 many Byzantines and foreigners sought higher education from private teachers mainly, but not exclusively, in Constantinople.

Outside the Greek-speaking areas Byzantine culture and education were exported, largely through churchmen and with profound effects still very evident at the end of the 20th century, to the countries of the Caucasus, throughout the Balkans, to the Kievan Rus, and later to Moscow. Many foreigners, most notably Symeon the future tsar of Bulgaria, were educated in Constantinople itself. Arab courts openly solicited Byzantine scholars and were far more receptive to their knowledge than Byzantines were to the Arabs'. Many aspects of both Seljuk and Ottoman cultural life were modelled on that of the Byzantines. Scholarly émigrés mainly from Constantinople, beginning with Manuel Chrysoloras in the last decade of the 14th century, had more to do with the Renaissance than westerners usually admit.

In the first few decades after the fall of Constantinople in 1453, poverty was primarily responsible for the small number of schools for the Greek inhabitants of the Ottoman empire; but the situation was never as dire as some intellectuals thought, who went so far as to question the very survival of the language (some Greeks in Asia Minor, the so-called Karamanli Christians, did, however, adopt Turkish, though writing it in the Greek alphabet). Even higher education did not entirely disappear, because the Patriarchal Academy was restored by Gennadios II Scholarios, and taught rhetoric and philosophy in addition to theology, while there are hints of private individuals teaching at Thessalonica, Adrianople, and elsewhere. Most children in rural areas, and even in many towns, gained what knowledge they did orally at home and at church. Schooling was rudimentary and available in many areas only at the local monastery where many of the monks were themselves illiterate (Athos, nevertheless, enjoyed several genuine intellectual revivals). In time, however, a few communities benefited from schools and libraries financed by natives who had improved their lot elsewhere. All Greek education was the responsibility of the Greeks themselves and not of their Turkish overlords. Indeed there was sporadic Turkish oppression of Greek education, dependent increasingly upon the whims of local pashas and beys; and until the late 17th century many of the more intelligent (and good-looking) Christian boys were taken away at an early age through a levy (*devshirme* or *paidomazoma*) to be trained as soldiers or civil servants. Outside the areas of Ottoman rule the situation was better, especially in the Venetian-ruled Ionian islands and Crete, from which the sons of the wealthy flocked to Italy, and in particular to the medical school at Padua, where they were joined in the 16th century by Phanariots whose commercial activities had by then brought considerable economic success.

When Jeremias II reorganized the Patriarchal Academy in 1593 the various departments, which included some sciences, were all headed by Padua-educated Phanariots, whose acquired contempt for Byzantine traditions and collaboration with the Ottoman government created permanent distrust and antipathy between them and Greeks elsewhere under Turkish rule. To the north further centres of Greek culture, though

influenced by current western European trends, were established through the School of the Three Hierarchs at Jassy and the Bucharest Academy (founded in 1644 and 1679 respectively), which were made possible by the Phanariots' monopolization of the position of *hospodar* (prince) in Moldavia and Wallachia. After about 1750 the increasingly apparent decline of the Ottoman empire encouraged a revitalization of education among the Greeks, most dramatically shown by the astonishingly large number of books published (albeit mainly abroad). Intellectuals, most notably Adamantinos Korais, proclaimed that national consciousness entailed linguistic identity, a belief that engendered even an artificial language (katharevousa, literally "purifying") that rejected Turkish loan words and reverted to many Classical grammatical forms. Diglossia, which for the Byzantines had been purely cultural, was now, therefore, politicized (the Epirot Alexandros Pallis's demotic translation of the New Testament caused riots in the streets of Athens when it was published in 1901) and bedevilled education until the late 20th century. The peasantry, meanwhile, formed so many so-called "secret schools" for the preservation of both the culture and the language that at the outbreak of war in 1821 rudimentary literacy was fairly widespread.

For nearly a century and a half after independence was achieved few children advanced beyond elementary education, since the *gymnasia* (secondary schools), accessible only through examination, maintained rigorous academic standards with an emphasis upon arts subjects – and especially ancient Greek – and were primarily intended as preparatory to university. Eleftherios Venizelos (who in 1911 had made primary education free and compulsory) even reduced the number of *gymnasia* with a corresponding decrease of enrolment from 96,000 in 1928 to 57,000 in 1932. Moreover, instruction, until 1917 even in the elementary schools, was in the rarely spoken katharevousa rather than the *dimotiki* (demotic) of the majority of the population. All education was underfunded, highly centralized, and, partly through the influence of the Church, conservative.

The most important reforms of the late 1950s concerned the creation of both parallel technical-vocational schools and a separate and far less popular scientific stream for the fourth to sixth years of the *gymnasia*. Major reforms were made in 1964, largely at the initiative of the Minister of Education E.P. Papanoutsos, who had studied education (and philosophy) in Germany and France. Although these were swept away three years later by the military junta (which also purged atheist teachers and abolished corporal punishment in schools as "contrary to modern educational principles"), they were largely reintroduced at its demise in 1974. *Dimotiki* now became the medium of instruction at all levels, and three years' attendance at *gymnasia* (for a total of nine years of schooling) became compulsory, with ancient literature being taught only in modern translation. The final, optional, three years of secondary schooling involved two parallel streams at the General or Technical-Vocational *Lykeia*, of which only the former could lead to university, where education was now free. In 1981 the school week at both elementary and secondary levels was changed from six to five days, but with minimal diminution of hours. Subsequent reforms by socialist governments introduced greater democratization rather than structural changes. The OECD report of 1995 emphasized the need to dilute the rigid centralization of all educational policy-making.

In 1991 only 37.4 per cent of the population aged 25 and over had progressed past the elementary school level. Although total expenditure on public education was low at 3.7 per cent of GNP (1995), the student–teacher ratio at elementary schools dropped most encouragingly from 50:1 in 1955–56 to 24:1 in 1980–81 to 17:1 in 1993–94 with a large associated diminution in the number of single-teacher rural schools. In 1993–94 there were also 5588 non-compulsory pre-primary schools serving about 45 per cent of children aged between three and a half and five and a half.

The first modern tertiary-level educational institution on Greek soil was the Ionian Academy, opened under the British Protectorate at Corfu in 1824 (after an aborted attempt in Ithaca) largely through the instigation of Frederick North, 5th Earl of Guilford, who became its first chancellor (the earlier French Ionian Academy was a society of savants). It finally closed after a chequered history in 1864, having served mainland as well as Septinsular students. The oldest university established in independent Greece is the National and Capodistrian University in Athens, which from 1837 was the sole university in the country until the Aristotelian University of Thessalonica was opened in 1925. Since 1964, with one at Patras, small universities have been created elsewhere in Greece in addition to various other institutions of which some have university standing (in 1995 there were 18 universities, 12 technological educational institutions, and 61 higher professional schools).

Keen competition for places gave rise to numerous *phrontisteria* (expensive private tutorial schools), and still in the 1990s only one out of four applicants attained a place at university. Total enrolment at all institutions of tertiary education, however, increased from just over 120,000 in 1980–81 to nearly 300,000 in 1993–94, with almost half of 18-to-21-year-olds in some form of education, despite the labour market's inability to provide employment appropriate to qualifications. Efforts were made to combat the Greek predilection for arts subjects, which had surprised foreigners as early as the mid-19th century, by changing emphases at both secondary and tertiary levels. Nevertheless in 1993 there were still only 774 scientists and engineers and 314 technicians per million of the population, while Research and Experimental Development accounted for a mere 0.6 per cent of GNP.

A.R. LITTLEWOOD

See also Literacy, Rhetoric, Schools, Sophists

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Egypt

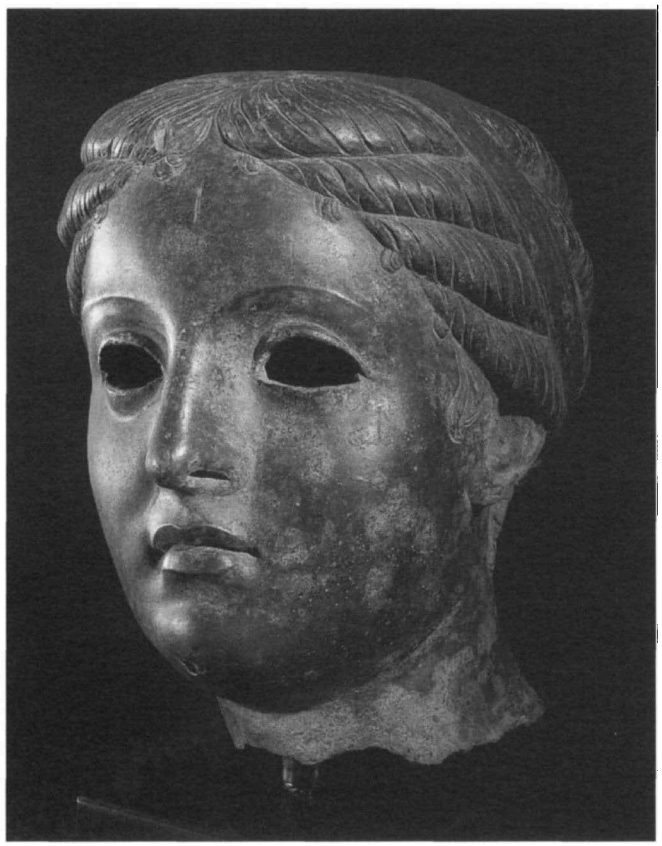
It was from the time of the New Kingdom (1550–1069 BC) that contact between Greece and Egypt became established. By that time Egypt was already a land of great antiquity with a flourishing native civilization. Over the years the Greeks established trade and political links with Egypt. Parts of the country gradually became famous centres of Greek civilization, coexisting alongside the ongoing native culture.

After a period of internal political instability in the 7th century BC, Egypt was reunited and stabilized during the reign of the pharaoh Psammetichus I (664–610 BC). Needing economic resources to make of Egypt the great nation that once it was, he developed a large-scale policy of trade relations with the Greeks and with the Phoenicians in the Levant. One very important result was the foundation of the Greek colony of Naucratis in the Nile delta, some 80 km southeast of the later Greek city of Alexandria, on the Canopic (or Rosetta) branch of the Nile. Naucratis was an important town in antiquity, though very little of it remains today. Excavations there have produced important finds of closely datable Greek pottery. In the 6th century BC the pharaoh Amasis permitted the Naucratites to levy taxes on imports and exports from river traffic, thereby ensuring their prosperity, and the Greek historian Herodotus, who wrote about Egypt in his *Histories*, mentioned various Greek temples in the city. During the reign of Amasis, the Hellenion, a Greek shrine, was established at Naucratis jointly by Ionian, Dorian, and Aeolian Greeks from the Greek islands and Asia Minor. The most famous native of Naucratis was the Greek writer Athenaeus (*fl. c.* AD 200), the author of the *Deipnosophistai* (*The Learned Banquet*), a highly important work relating supposed conversations at a fictional banquet lasting several days. It contains a wealth of antiquarian information and excerpts from a vast number of earlier, largely disappeared Greek texts. Greeks from all over the Greek world also came to live elsewhere in Egypt at this early period, many enrolling as mercenaries in the pharaonic armies.

Egypt was conquered by the Persian great king Cambyses in 526/25 BC and, though there were periods of revolt and independence, it remained an uneasy, far-flung province of the Persian empire (as such becoming a theatre of minor operations in the Peloponnesian War when Persia became involved in this Greek conflict) until the arrival of Alexander the Great in 332 BC. Alexander invaded and conquered Egypt in the course of his campaign to subdue the Persian empire. He was welcomed as an alternative to the hated Persian rule. Either before or after his legendary trip to the Siwa oasis in the Western Desert, where he visited the oracle of Ammon and allegedly sought recognition as the god's son, Alexander founded his first city named "Alexandreia", on the Mediterranean coast on the western branch of the Nile delta. It is at this point that we can meaningfully begin to speak of a Greek Egypt, although Alexander did not live to return there.

After Alexander's death in Babylon in 323 BC and the subsequent division of his empire, the satrapy (province) of Egypt came under the control of his Macedonian boyhood friend and later general, Ptolemy, son of Lagus. Ptolemy diverted the funeral cortege of Alexander (en route to Macedonia) to Egypt, burying the coffin first at the old dynastic capital Memphis (south of Cairo) and then in a magnificent tomb in Alexandria which later became the burial place of the Ptolemaic kings and the focus of their ruler cult. The site of the tomb has not been discovered.

Alexandria had functioned as a Greek city from soon after its foundation and, after Ptolemy declared himself king of Egypt in 305/04 BC, became the glittering capital of the Hellenistic empire, called Ptolemaic after his name. Over time Alexandria replaced Athens as the greatest city of Greek culture. The city was endowed with splendid buildings aligned on a grid system with wide thoroughfares, and it was proverbially wealthy in the works of contemporary authors. The Ptolemies actively encouraged Greek immigrants to Egypt. Many were merchants lured by the economic prospects of Alexandria (which soon became a great trading centre); others were professional soldiers given ownership of allotments of land (known as cleruchic land) throughout Egypt in return for their military service. The early Ptolemies actively fostered the development of the famous library of Alexandria, to which we can credit the preservation, copying, and transmission of much ancient Greek literature, and the Mouseion (literally "the shrine of the Muses"), a residential study centre for scholars which acted as a magnet for the greatest Greek writers and thinkers of the day.



Egypt: bronze head of queen Arsinoe III, sister and wife of Ptolemy IV, late 3rd century BC, Antiquarium Gallery, New York

Greek cities, many with Ptolemaic dynastic names such as Ptolemais, or Greek theophoric names such as Apollinopolis, grew up throughout Egypt. Important collections of Greek documents written on papyri (a writing material made from joined strips of the papyrus plant, native to Egypt and used for native Egyptian hieroglyphic writing for millennia) attest to a vibrant Greek lifestyle in many provincial areas of Egypt. The desert environment of much of Egypt is ideal for the preservation of papyrus, although little remains from the city of Alexandria or the rest of the Nile delta because of its comparatively moister climate. The Zenon, Tebtunis, and Oxyrhynchus collections of papyri, to name but a very few, have greatly increased our knowledge about the Greek way of life in Ptolemaic Egypt, and the interaction between Greeks and Egyptians, a very important subject for the question of the Hellenization of Egypt. Occasionally the papyri contain political insights, and fragments of hitherto lost Greek literature, most notably large sections of the plays of the 4th-century BC Greek comic poet Menander of Athens (which attests to his considerable popularity in Egypt). There are also private letters, wills, contracts, marriage agreements, and financial accounts, written both in Greek and in the native language known as demotic, with the result that we know much more about the private lives of the Greeks living in Ptolemaic Egypt than we do about Greeks elsewhere in the Hellenistic empires. It appears that the Greeks remained largely Greek, although many native Egyptians tried to assimilate themselves by learning the Greek language, and adopting the veneer of a Greek way of life in order to ascend the social and professional ladder. Archaeology shows that Egyptian decorative motifs were adopted by Greeks living in Egypt from early on, but these tended to be grafted on to identifiable Greek structures. The current excavations in the harbour of Alexandria may well extend our knowledge in this area.

Ptolemaic Egypt grew into arguably the most powerful of the Hellenistic empires in the 3rd century BC. At that period it was characterized by good kings and relatively stable government, and the development of the most powerful ancient navy of all time under Ptolemy II Philadelphus (ruled 285–246 BC) meant that Ptolemaic Egypt became a major player on the Mediterranean stage. Its navy took on the protection of the Greek islands against the scourge of pirates in the Aegean (attested through honorary inscriptions at Delos and elsewhere). Egypt also established hegemony over Cyrenaica (which had been colonized by the Greeks since the 7th century BC) and Cyprus, and developed a flourishing commercial relationship with the independent Greek island of Rhodes. Military outposts were established in several places, and Egypt was always an active observer of, if not always an active participator in, political events in Greece and Asia Minor. There is evidence of some involvement against the Macedonian Antigonid kingdom in mainland Greece, and several wars were fought in the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC against the Seleucid empire of Syria over the area known as Koile ("Hollow") Syria, roughly the area we consider as the Levant, or Middle East.

Greek relations with Upper Egypt (the area known as Nubia) were not always happy, and native revolts and even temporary secession are attested at the end of the 3rd century BC. Perhaps as a means towards internal cohesion, the Greek kings allowed, or possibly ordered, themselves to be depicted in Egyptian garb in statues and temple reliefs for native consumption, many examples of which exist today. Several took pains to foster the ancient native religion of Egypt and generously endowed various non-Greek cults and temples, such as those of the Apis bulls at Saqqara, near the old dynastic capital Memphis. During the Ptolemaic period, huge temples very much in native style were built at Kom Ombo (Ombos in Greek), Edfu (Apollinopolis Magna), and Dendera (Tentyra), and Ptolemy V had a coronation ceremony in which he was crowned pharaoh, a fact to which the famous Rosetta Stone refers. Ptolemy I is usually credited with the creation of the hybrid cult of the Graeco-Egyptian god Sarapis, perhaps intended to appeal to both nationalities, who was worshipped at important shrines at Memphis and Alexandria. Still, it appears that the Greek kings remained very much Greek in their upbringing, outlook, and personal behaviour, and the ancient evidence attests that the last Ptolemaic ruler, Cleopatra VII, was the first monarch to speak native Egyptian. From the time of Ptolemy II, the kings with a few exceptions (i.e. marriages to politically useful Greek princesses from other Hellenistic empires) practised brother–sister marriage, and this remained the norm until the end of the dynasty. As a result, the family line remained Greek, despite occasional evidence of adulterous liaisons.

In common with the other Greek empires of the east, the Ptolemaic dynasty could not ignore the growing might of Rome, which from the 2nd century BC onwards gradually

incorporated the Hellenistic kingdoms into its own territory. Roman power was invoked on one or other side of disputing Ptolemies, and by the beginning of the 1st century BC the Greek throne of Egypt was secure only through the intervention of Rome. After her famous liaisons with Julius Caesar and Mark Antony, and the defeat of her forces and Antony's by Octavian (later to be Augustus, the first emperor of Rome), Cleopatra committed suicide in 30 BC and the Ptolemaic dynasty ended. Her sons by both Romans were soon killed. Egypt passed into the possession of Rome and soon became the personal property of the Roman emperor of the day, governed for him by an equestrian prefect.

The Greek population of Egypt, however, remained and carried on with their lives much as they had always done, with the exception that there was now a foreign overlord. But Greek language and administrative procedures were retained for another 300 years. The flourishing economy created by the Ptolemies over centuries meant that Egypt's prosperity was a jewel in Rome's crown, and the huge grain ships which sailed from Egypt every year were a vital source of food for the Roman people. Alexandria grew into one of the largest cities of the Roman empire, and continued the tradition of Greek scholarship (both pagan and Christian) championed by it since the 3rd century BC. At the end of the 3rd century AD Egypt passed into the control of the Greek Byzantine empire based in Constantinople, but it was too far away from the political centre for much effective involvement on the part of the imperial government. In AD 642 Egypt was conquered by the Arabs who were gradually eroding the fringes of the Byzantine empire, but still Greeks continued to live there under yet another foreign ruler. There were large communities of Greeks in Cairo and Alexandria well into the 20th century, who contributed greatly to the commercial success of Egypt, and who, in common with other resident foreign enclaves, created the cosmopolitan and exotic mixture of peoples and atmosphere which characterized these cities. During World War II and against the backdrop of severe political turmoil in Greece, king George II of the Hellenes and the Greek royal family were forced to flee Greece, and established their court in Cairo for five years (1941–46).

E.E. RICE

See also Africa, Ptolemies

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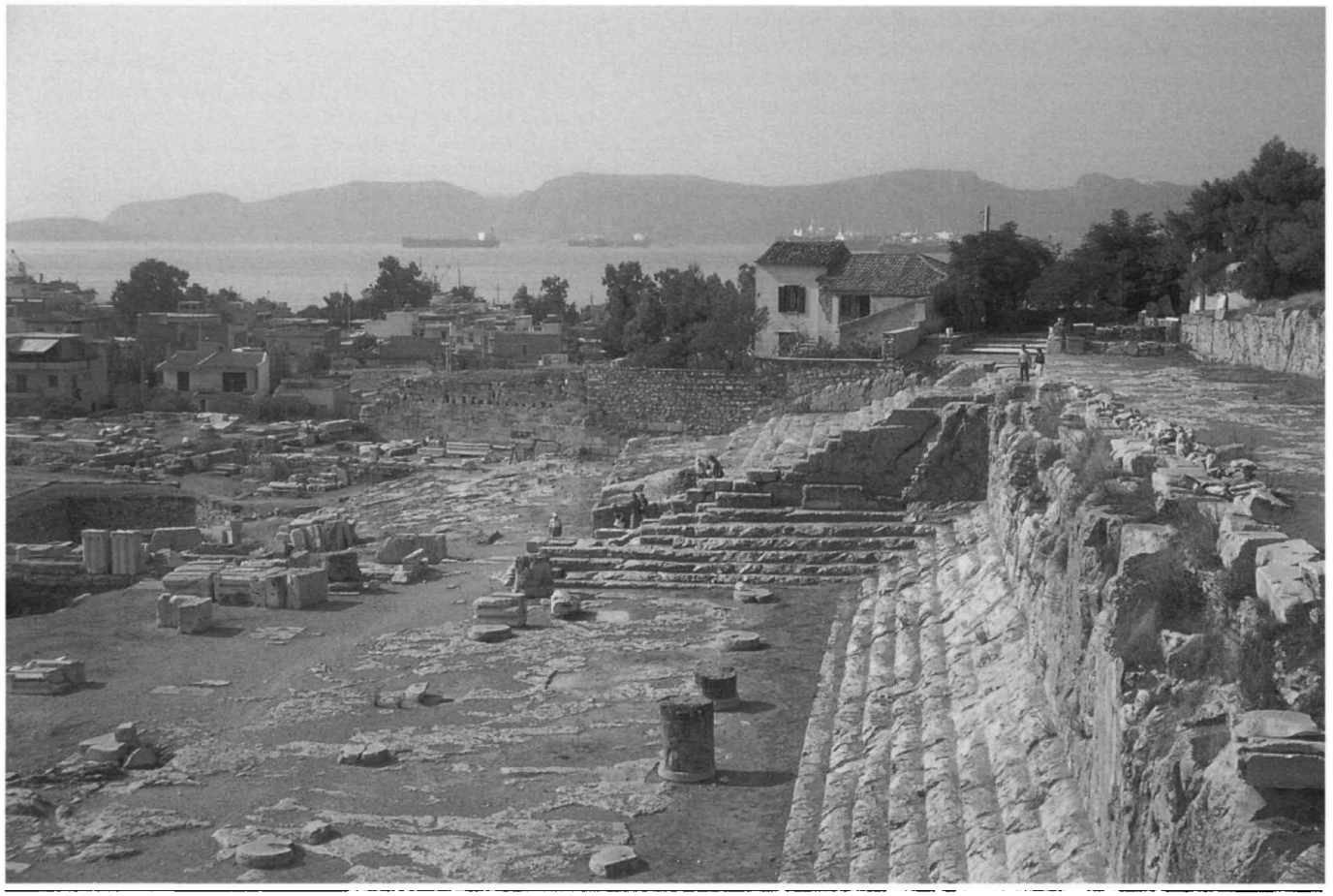
Eleusis

City in Attica

The most important town in ancient Attica after Athens and the Piraeus, Eleusis is located 24 km northwest of Athens on a landlocked bay and at the head of the fertile Thriasian plain, in antiquity the region's main wheat and barley grain producer. In Greek mythology the Thriasian plain was the first to be sown with seed and to yield crops. Eleusis was strategically placed, as it lay opposite the island of Salamis and at the junction of the trade routes from Attica, central Greece, and the Peloponnese. Eleusis, Panacton, and Phyle served as border forts for the western defence of Attica.

The site dates back to at least the Early Bronze Age. Current excavations have revealed on the west slope of the acropolis a small deposit of Early Bronze Age remains, Middle Bronze Age



Eleusis: looking south over the Telesterion or Hall of Mysteries, the large square building in the foreground, with the island of Salamis in the distance

house walls, and Late Bronze Age walls; in the 15th century BC a porched hall (megaron) was built on the site of the Hall of Mysteries, the main cult site of the ancient city. The relationship between Athens and Eleusis during the prehistoric period is not clear, although Athenian legends speak of wars between Athens and Eleusis during the Late Bronze Age, until Theseus unified Eleusis and 11 other Attic towns under the hegemony of Athens. All that can be said with certainty is that, on the basis of archaeological and historical evidence, Eleusis was subject to Athens at least as early as the 8th century BC. In subsequent centuries Eleusis grew ever greater in size and importance, thanks to its Panhellenic Mysteries of Demeter and Persephone. Eleusis was devastated in 480/79 BC by the Persians (whose breach of the walls is still evident), but was almost immediately rebuilt by the Athenians. The city enjoyed prosperity throughout the Classical and Hellenistic periods. Later on, Roman aristocrats and emperors like Hadrian built up the sanctuary. After the Sarmatian Costobocs invaded and sacked the city in AD 170, the emperor Marcus Aurelius restored the site upon his initiation (in 176 he had become the only lay person to enter the "Holy of Holies" in the sacred Hall of Mysteries). Eleusis suffered irreparable damage at the end of the 4th century: in 391 Theodosius I proscribed all pagan cults, including the Eleusinian Mysteries, and then four years later the Visigothic army of Alaric destroyed the site. Eleusis was the victim of further attacks, but this time at the hands of Christians, and was deserted in the Byzantine era, remaining so until the 18th century. Modern Eleusis is an industrial city of cement, chemical, and steel factories. The bay is home to shipbuilding, oil tankers, ship repair docks, and a naval training academy. Pollution is heavy, the traffic unbearable, and many refineries and factories are in need of modernization.

Eleusis's fame rested on the Mysteries of Demeter and Persephone, the most renowned and important of Greek mystery cults. According to the ancients, the rites were established in the 15th century BC; however, there is no firm archaeological evidence for Late Bronze Age cult activity. It is clear, though, that the rites were known throughout Greece by the time of the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* (650–550 BC), according to which the mysteries were established to celebrate the return of Persephone to her mother Demeter, the goddess of grain. According to the legend, Persephone was raped by Hades and carried off to his underworld realm. In her grief Demeter wandered the earth, searching for her daughter. She came to rest at Eleusis, where she befriended the king and promised to teach the Eleusinians her rites and mysteries. Demeter refused to allow crops to grow until Persephone was released, and so humankind was brought to the brink of starvation and sacrifices to the gods were in danger of ceasing. Hades yielded to the entreaties of Zeus and released Persephone who, however, since she had eaten food (a pome-

granate seed) in the underworld, could not be fully restored to the upper world. Thus, although Persephone could spend eight months a year with her mother, she was compelled to spend the rest of the year in the underworld. This arrangement explains the growing cycle: during the reunion of mother and daughter, crops grow and lush vegetation spreads throughout the world, but on Persephone's return to Hades, the growing season comes to an end.

The *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* states that, after Persephone was first returned to her mother, Demeter revealed her mysteries to the leading citizens of Eleusis. Many of the sacred rites that form the essence of the Eleusinian Mysteries are not known, as disclosure of the rites was punishable by death; for a millennium and more that secrecy was preserved. (The great tragic poet Aeschylus, a native of Eleusis, was nearly lynched by an angry mob because the audience at one of his plays thought he had revealed some of the rites, while the famous Athenian general Alcibiades was condemned to death, in absentia, for conducting a parody of the mysteries.) What transpired in the mysteries may be reconstructed as follows. The cult was run by the city of Athens, although two families from Eleusis, the Eumolpidae and Ceryces, controlled the priesthood. Candidates for initiation (*mystai*) came to Athens in the early spring for the ritual called the Lesser Mysteries, the purpose of which was to prepare the candidates for initiation into the Greater Mysteries. Anyone who could speak Greek and was free of blood-guilt was eligible; the inclusion, in a Greek cult, of women, slaves, and Greek-speaking foreigners was remarkable. The *mystai* returned to Athens for the Greater Mysteries, a nine-day festival in the month of Boedromion (September/October). After six days of purification, washing, fasting, and sacrifices, a procession of priests and *mystai* left Athens for Eleusis via the Sacred Way. Stopping frequently for sacrifices, dancing, and singing, the procession arrived at night at the sanctuary. (A 35-m stretch of the Sacred Way has been unearthed near the 2nd-century AD bridge over the Cephisus river outside the city.) That night in the Hall of Mysteries the *mystai*, about 2000–3000 strong, were initiated into the mysteries and became *epoptai* ("those who have seen"). The ritual probably included a sacred meal, the revealing of the sacred objects of the cult, a re-enactment of the story of Demeter and Persephone, and dancing and sacrifices. Ancient sources relate that the *epoptai* were guaranteed a better life on earth and the promise of an afterlife. *Epoptai* could participate in the ritual as many times as they wished, and many did because of the intensely emotional spiritual experience. The personal communion with a deity, the promise of immortality, and the intensity of a shared bond with other worshippers made the mysteries a sharp contrast to state cults. The mysteries fulfilled spiritual yearnings in ways that mythology, legends, and official cults could not.

The archaeological remains at Eleusis are connected for the most part with the mysteries. The entire site is enclosed by magnificent fortifications from the Archaic to late Classical periods; the west wall, with its round and square towers, is perhaps the finest example of 4th-century BC fortification. The sacred precinct, lying on the south slope of the acropolis, was entered through two propylaeas: the Greater Propylaea, built by Marcus Aurelius in imitation of the Propylaea on the Athenian Acropolis, and the Lesser Propylaea, erected in the mid-1st century BC by the Roman aristocrat Appius Claudius Pulcher and his two nephews. Just inside the sanctuary, to the immediate right, is a cave with a small 4th-century BC temple dedicated to Hades; the cave was believed to be the entrance to the underworld. Just to the west is the Temple of Demeter or the Hall of Mysteries (Telesterion). A megaron from the Mycenaean age was built here, but it may not have had any cultic significance. The Telesterion had ten different building phases. In its final phase the hall was 56 m ¥ 66 m, with eight tiers of seats on each side. Forty-two columns supported the wooden roof. In the centre was the *anaktoron* ("Holy of Holies"), which contained the cult's sacred objects, and the high priest's chair. Except for the doors on three sides, the walls were solid, creating a dark, mysterious atmosphere. To the west of the Telesterion are remains of the council house, a 7th-century BC hero shrine, a Roman cult building dedicated to the sun god Mithras, and a gymnasium. On the acropolis are remains from the Bronze Age and the Hellenistic period. Immense Roman bath complexes have been found around the sacred precinct and in the modern town. To the south of the ancient site are a stadium and theatre; these should be understood in connection with the Eleusinia, which were games held every fourth year (that is the third year of the four-year cycle of the Olympiad) and to a lesser extent two years later. For Athenians, the Eleusinia ranked behind only the Panathenaic games in prestige.

Eleusis may have lost its importance after its destruction in the 5th century AD, but the mysteries and the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* continued to exert influence. The rape of Persephone proved popular in literature, and the legend and the Mysteries have attracted scholars in such fields as psychoanalysis, religion, feminism, gender studies, folklore, comparative mythology, and sociology. Moreover, the mysteries, with their promise of an afterlife and intense intense emotional transformative experience, tapped into the spiritual cravings of the ancient Greeks and Romans, and so paved the way for religions like Christianity and Mithraism.

STEVEN M. OBERHELMAN

See also Afterlife

Summary

City in Attica, 24 km northwest of Athens, Eleusis was strategically sited at the junction of trade routes from the Peloponnese, central Greece, and Attica. There are remains from the Early Bronze Age but no evidence of cult activity from that time. Eleusis is famous for the mystery cult of Demeter and Persephone which was well known by the Archaic period and attracted initiates from all over Greece. The cult was proscribed by Theodosius I in AD 391.

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Elytis, Odysseus 1911–1996

Poet

Odysseus Elytis was born in Crete of parents from Lesbos. He published his first poems in 1935 and established himself as one of the leading figures in the "1930s Generation", which also included Greece's other Nobel laureate, George Seferis. He travelled widely and, after World War II, lived in France for long periods, associating with leading poets and artists of his generation. He published 17 collections of poetry, a number of translations from ancient Greek and modern European poets, and two large volumes of prose writings. He was also an accomplished artist. In 1979 he was awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature.

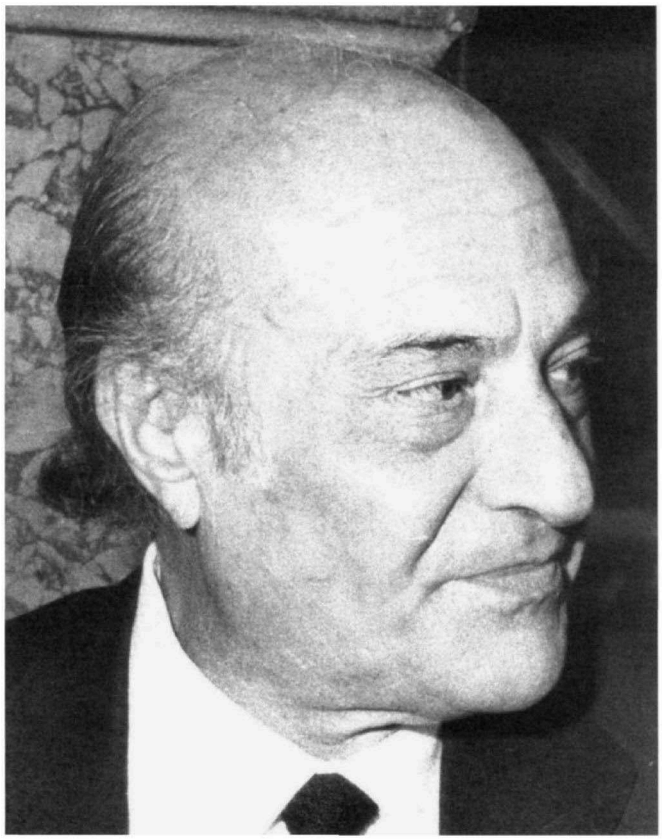
Elytis began his poetic career clearly influenced by French Surrealism, and by Éluard in particular. Less emphasized by critics is the influence in his later works of the German Romantics, notably Hölderlin. However, he was always keen to emphasize his link with what he considered to be the genuine Greek tradition, in which he included poets such as Homer, Pindar, Sappho, the ancient lyric poets, Romanus the Melodist, Dionysios Solomos, and Andreas Kalvos.

It is indicative that he translated Sappho and Crinagoras (both poets from his native isle of Lesbos), and referred to Sappho as "a distant cousin", in the sense that they both worked with the same concepts and words. Similarly, he wrote extensive studies of Romanos and Kalvos, and often expressed his adulation for Solomos, whom he referred to as "one of the greatest lyric poets throughout the world and throughout the ages". And elsewhere, he spoke of his debt to Solomos, the poet who, together with Hölderlin, followed Elytis "with a watchful eye". Less obvious, though equally genuine debts are due to the ancient philosophers Heraclitus, Plato, and Plotinus. Elytis referred to them regularly in both his poetic and his prose works. Many of Elytis's poetic utterances, particularly in his later works, could be almost "presocratic" in their obscurity and polysemy, and the assertion by Georgousopoulos that "Elytis descends directly from the presocratic logos" is certainly justifiable.

In his address to the Swedish Academy on receiving the Nobel Prize in 1979, Elytis set out his views on the Greek poetic tradition. He stressed that he wrote in a language that is spoken by only a few million people, yet one that has been spoken for two and a half thousand years without interruption and with a minimum of changes. He went on to point out the difficulties that a poet faces when he uses for the things most dear to him the same words used, for example, by Sappho or Pindar – without, however, his having the same impact that they had throughout the then civilized world. It must not be forgotten, he said, that over a span of 25 centuries there was not one century when poetry was not written in Greek and that every Greek poet has to face the great weight of tradition borne by the Greek language.

Elytis maintained that the sphere formed by modern Greek poetry has, like every sphere, two poles. At one end he placed Solomos, who, he believed, from the point of view of expressiveness, succeeded – before the appearance of Mallarmé in European letters – in formulating with complete consistency and rigour the idea of a *poésie pure* with all its consequences: subjugating sentiment to intellect, refining expression, and making full use of the instrument of language in moving towards the miracle. At the other pole he placed Constantine Cavafy, who, like T.S. Eliot, had arrived at extreme economy of expression, at the greatest possible precision, eliminating all form of turgidity in the expression of his personal experiences. Between these two poles, some nearer to one, some nearer to the other, he placed other major Greek poets: Andreas Kalvos, Kostis Palamas, Angelos Sikelianos, Nikos Kazantzakis, and George Seferis. This schematic representation of Greek poetry is important as it provides an insight into how Elytis saw the Greek poetic tradition and his place in it.

He elaborated on this even further in his essay entitled *Romanos O Melodos* (Romanus the Melodist), in which he distinguished and contrasted two types of poetry which he termed "prismatic" and "plane". The terms are novel, as is the classification of Greek poetry that is put forward. What is of concern is not the question of the objective validity of this distinction, but its importance for understanding Elytis's poetics. The features of these two types of poetry may be summarized as follows. In prismatic poetry, words are never on the same plane but *undulate*. The poetic text is organized around certain "nuclei" which stand out like peaks within the poem and which, in retrospect, can be seen to hold the poem together. These "nuclei" are not necessarily images, but are rather phrasal units with a self-generating radiance, in which the combination of the word's image and sound coincides with the cognitive meaning to such a degree that it is impossible to decide whether the poetic effect comes from *what* the poet says or the *way* he says it. The repetition of this feature gives a prismatic form to the poetic expression. Poems containing this feature affect the reader not only as a whole, but also in their parts, precisely because of these peaks, these concentrated and laconic crystallizations of the poetic spirit. They are utterances, Elytis maintained, in which the cast of the language and the images produced are fused and in which the formulation of a truth gives rise to another perception of the world as apprehended through the imagination. The test of this type of poetry is to imagine that 90 per cent of the poetic text has been lost and to examine whether the fragments that remain still function as poetry. Here, he cited the case of Sappho. Prismatic poetry, according to Elytis, is that feature which characterizes



Odysseus Elytis, poet and Nobel laureate

the true Greek poetic tradition, and is a feature of Homer, Pindar, Sappho, and the ancient lyric poets, Romanos, Kalvos, and, by inference, Elytis himself.

Plane poetry, on the other hand, is characterized by a flat, linear form of expression. It is narrative in style and has a poetic value not in its parts but only when taken as a whole. If such poetry is fragmented, all that remains is "plain statements". As exponents of this kind of poetry, he mentions Seferis and Cavafy. He attributed the appearance of this kind of poetry in the Greek (prismatic) tradition to the excesses of the other kind and to the influence of foreign, particularly Anglo-Saxon, poetry. Elytis did not reject this poetry but considered it as being outside the true Greek tradition. Without explicitly saying so, Elytis makes it clear that he favoured the tradition of prismatic poetry, his description of which corresponds entirely to the features of his own poetry. As one critic rightly remarked: "In this contrast [between prismatic and plane poetry], we find the clearest expression of his own poetics."

His views concerning a particular poetic mode of expression are, of course, linked with his views as to the deeper function of poetry. Poetry, for Elytis, was not a pastime but a mission. It "rises up at the point where rationalism lays down its arms for poetry to take them up and advance into the forbidden zone". And it is perhaps not without significance that here too he took issue with the Western conception of poetry, just as he did with Anglo-Saxon poetry in terms of poetic expression. He understood poetry as having come about "to correct God's mistakes; or, if not, then to show how mistakenly we perceive His gift" and he asserted that the pile of materials that constitute this world could, with a different method of assembly, dictated by our sentiments, produce a more inhabitable dwelling. Yet, in trying through poetry to reassemble the elements of the world, to make a Heaven out of a Hell, "we came up", he says, "against an unbreachable wall: the Western perception of art, that because of its inability to move on a mythical level, has come to confine itself to observation and analysis, transferring the area of a poem from a nucleus of mysterious radiances to a simple melancholic confessional".

It can be seen from the above that Elytis set himself firmly within the Greek poetic tradition (as he defined it) and outside the 20th-century Anglo-Saxon tradition, which may partly explain the relative lack of acceptance of his work in the English-speaking world, at least in comparison with Cavafy and Seferis.

DAVID CONNOLLY

Biography

Born in 1911 in Crete of parents from Lesbos, Elytis published his first poems in 1935 and established himself as one of the leading figures in the "Generation of the 1930s", which also included Greece's other Nobel laureate, George Seferis. He travelled widely and, during the postwar years, lived in France for long periods. He published 17 collections of poetry, a number of translations from ancient Greek and modern European poets, and two large volumes of prose writings. In 1979 he was awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature. He died in 1996.

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Emigration

Emigration is the act of moving from one country or region to another as a place of abode. The very making of Greece was the result of emigration of Greek-speaking tribes from the north into the Greek peninsula during the Bronze Age. In the centuries between the penetration and diffusion of the Greek-speaking tribes into the Greek peninsula and its conquest by the Romans, emigration was practised as an answer to various

kinds of problems: war, famine, demographic pressure, poor standard of living. Emigration, constantly present in ancient Greek society, is a complex phenomenon addressing in different sociohistorical circumstances different needs. This article covers the great migratory movements of ancient Greek history through to the emigrations of Greeks in medieval and modern times.

The first extensive emigration took place between 1125 and 800 BC. There occurred three types of emigration during this period: (*a*) of Greeks who had previously settled in mountainous parts of the mainland and whose development lagged considerably in comparison to the tribes who participated in the Mycenaean civilization; once the decline of the Mycenaeans set in, these mountainous Greek tribes moved to the sites of the Mycenaean acme; (*b*) of refugees created by the first type of migratory movement; and (*c*) of early colonization of the east Aegean.

During the Archaic and Classical periods emigration was almost exclusively conducted by poor citizens of the city states. The majority of peasants owned small plots of land which were often insufficient for their sustenance. The situation was aggravated by inheritence rules, which prescribed the equal distribution of land among all male heirs, and which led to considerable land fragmentation. In addition, within the city states mechanisms of wealth transfer from the peasants to the city were also at play. In such a situation poor citizens often emigrated in search of a better life.

The character of emigration was profoundly changed in the time of Macedonian splendour. The annexation of territory in Egypt and Asia Minor by Alexander the Great gave rise to extensive emigration to these new lands. All through the 4th century BC large numbers of emigrants were drawn to the east in the hope of a career in the administration or the army, or even in the hope of acquiring land. As it was required of administrators and various officials to master the Greek language, the annexed territories offered great opportunities for career advancement to those Greeks who emigrated there.

In Byzantine times wars and the search for resources were the major causes of emigration. Invasions by enemy troops created a climate of instability in the countryside leading whole families to emigrate to areas or cities considered safe. Towards the end of the 6th century AD, when the northern borders of the empire collapsed, there was an emigration wave westwards to the Ionian islands and Italy. Although emigration was usually practised by the most needy members of the population, the economic pressures exercised on peasant households forced even wealthy peasants to emigrate. A different kind of emigration emerged just before the fall of the Byzantine empire. After the defeat of the crusaders at Nicopolis in 1396 many intellectuals fled west to Italy and north to the states of the Dunav. Here Greek emigrants formed sizeable communities which later played an important role in the formation and development of the Greek nation.

Emigration was not halted by the Ottoman conquest of the Byzantine empire. On the contrary, the hardship of Ottoman rule often forced Christians to emigrate. Thus, by the 17th and 18th centuries Greeks had formed dispersed communities in the Mediterranean countries – especially Romania, Russia, and Egypt. The Greeks who emigrated during this period were predominantly peasants who moved from small villages to urban centres of central Europe and Egypt, and from agriculture to trade and services. The transition from peasant status to city-based occupations was viewed as a step up the social ladder. This upward social mobility was desirable not only to the emigrant as an individual, but also to his family in Greece, as the family of origin gained both materially and in prestige by the emigrant's new elevated status. In this sense, emigration during the 17th and 18th centuries was largely part of a family policy which aimed at individual and family upward social mobility.

The wave of Greek emigration to the cities of central Europe was halted by the weakening of the Ottoman empire and the Greek War of Independence in the 19th century. Equally important was the rise of nationalism in the young Balkan states and the formation of a local middle and enterpreneurial class; as a result, outsiders, such as Greek emigrants, were excluded from these positions in the social and economic hierarchy.

Shortly after the establishment of the Greek nation state in 1830 there was a new emigration wave. The economy of Greece was largely based on agriculture, the structural problems of which were clearly felt very soon after the establishment of the state. The typical small-scale independent agricultural holding which resulted from the distribution of lands formerly belonging to Turks proved devoid of potential for further development and unable to sustain the growing village population. The beginning of the 20th century saw a demographic boom in the Greek countryside. At the same time, inheritance rules precluded the accumulation of land; on the contrary, they led to its further fragmentation, thus posing serious obstacles to the development of the rural economy. This provided the basis for the ensuing manpower surplus in Greek villages and the underemployment of Greek peasants. Under these conditions emigration emerged as a means not for social mobility, but for securing employment.

The rapid development of capitalism in the USA in the early 20th century, and the need created there for working hands to support the industrialization of the country, attracted the first big emigration wave from the young Greek nation state: from 1900 to 1920 over 400,000 Greeks emigrated, most to the USA and Australia. The numbers of Greek emigrants directed to other countries of reception, such as Brazil or Canada, were insignificant. Most of these emigrants were men of working age, between 19 and 45 years of age.

Once the link with the USA was established, Greek emigrants formed networks of reception for newcomers from Greece. This allowed new emigrants to organize better their transition to the country of reception. Furthermore, the existence of these networks of relations and the accumulated knowledge of the society and its market enabled Greeks in the USA to move from manual work to the sector of services and trade.

The emigration wave towards the USA was seriously halted after 1922 for a number of reasons. In the USA the Act on "quotas", which was passed in 1922, posed limitations on the number of emigrants accepted from each country of origin. It was, therefore, only possible for a certain number of Greeks to emigrate to the USA. At the same time, the situation created in Greece by the annexation of new territories, the process of urbanization, and the attraction exercised by the new urban

centres within the country created hopes in Greeks that they could attain a better standard of living within their own country.

The promise of development, however, was not carried out and, in the aftermath of the two successive wars – World War II and the subsequent Greek Civil War – Greece was faced with extensive poverty. The problems of Greece as a dependent country on the periphery of Europe became more pronounced after the wars as investment in the productive sectors of the economy was minimal. In the cities unemployment grew, while the rural sector remained stagnant. Agricultural holdings were to a great extent maintained through money transfers from abroad. The problems associated with land fragmentation and the low mechanization of agriculture continued and were aggravated by state policies which often proved a hindrance to agricultural development. Low productivity and the underemployment of peasants resulted in stagnation in rural Greece and, in turn, drove large numbers of peasants to migration, internal and abroad. Added to the above was the climate of insecurity in postwar Greece, characterized by political instability and the persecution of left-wing citizens, which, again, drove people out of the villages and to the cities of Greece and Europe. The late 1950s and 1960s were decades of modernization, rural exodus, and rapid urbanization for Greece. City life became an ideal, while villages presented an image of abandonment; emigration under these conditions provided the opportunity for a desirable life-style and the acquisition of goods not available in the villages.

Under these conditions there was a resurgence of emigration in the postwar period. This new emigration wave was most pronounced between 1955 and 1975. What differentiated this new emigration wave from that at the beginning of the 20th century was that, along with the USA, Australia, and other overseas destinations, the countries of northern Europe emerged as major recipients of Greek emigrants. After World War II the countries of northern Europe entered a phase of rapid industrial development and were therefore in need of working hands. The surplus manpower in Greece and other countries of southern Europe supplied the labour which made possible the development of northern Europe.

The first European recipient of Greek emigrants in the 1950s was Belgium, where emigrant workers were employed in the coal mines. It was West Germany, however, which later developed into the major recipient of Greek emigrants. The years subsequent to World War II saw the rapid development of West Germany, often referred to as a miracle. In order for this "miracle" to take place, emigrant workers, known as *Gastarbeiter*, were employed in German industries as unskilled labourers in positions largely considered inferior by the German citizen.

Emigration towards West Germany shared most of the characteristics of the earlier emigration wave to the USA. Emigrants were again recruited from the productive age groups – between 19 and 45 years of age – as well as from the healthier and more energetic among the population. Indicative of the situation of emigrants is that only 4.3 per cent of the Greek emigrants in West Germany in 1971 lacked formal education while the relevant percentage of those remaining in Greece was 12 per cent. Once the first emigrants settled in Germany they acted as attraction poles for their friends and relatives in Greece. In this way whole communities of emigrants from the same town or village of origin were formed in Germany. The geographical proximity of West Germany to Greece allowed for more frequent visits of emigrants to their home country, helping the maintainance of close ties with the country of origin.

The influx of Greek emigrants in West Germany followed the fluctuations of its economy, emigrant numbers falling in times of economic depression and rising again in times of prosperity. In 1973, however, the German emigration recruitment office in Greece was closed, causing a serious cutback on Greek emigration. The waning of emigration to Germany signalled the end of mass emigration movements from Greece and attention shifted to the problems associated with repatriation.

GABRIELLA-EVANGELIA ASPRAKI

See also Diaspora, Urbanization

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Empedocles *c.*492–432 BC

Philosopher

A native of Acragas (modern Agrigento) in Sicily, Empedocles was a leading philosopher of his time. He is difficult to classify

because of the complexity of influences he manifests. He is at once a philosopher and a medicine man: while he constructs a rational cosmology, he also claims to have magical powers to raise the dead and change the weather. In his thought he both preserves Pythagorean religious teachings from the western Greeks and continues the scientific research of the eastern Greeks in Ionia. He accepts Parmenides' denial of coming to be, yet propounds a philosophy of natural change. Though a philosopher, he writes epic verse in a florid style; appealing to the authority of reason and argument, he also presents his theory as a revelation from the deities of Greek religion.

The most immediate philosophical influence on Empedocles is Parmenides. Empedocles adopts from him both the device of using epic conventions and diction to express his views, and some of his views as well, echoing Parmenides' own language. Most importantly, he accepts the principle that nothing can come to be from what is not. Furthermore, he agrees with Parmenides that the senses are suspect, though he ultimately accepts the testimony of the senses if they are used properly. But Parmenides seems to go on to use his principle that nothing comes from what is not to argue that there is no change at all, and that what our sense experience presents us with is no more than illusion. Empedocles, to the contrary, offers a positive account of how change is possible.

While there is no coming to be or perishing, strictly speaking, there are elements that can combine and separate to present the appearance of things coming into being and changing. The many substances of the world are on this theory mixtures of elements. Empedocles uses the simile of artists painting with a set of colours. By combining a few colours and drawing appropriate shapes with them, the painter may represent the infinite variety of things in the world. So nature produces the world with a few elements. Empedocles presents four elements, which he call "roots" (*rizomata*): earth, water, air, and fire, as combining in whole-number ratios to form compounds. For instance, bone consists of two parts earth, two parts water, four parts fire. The elements are acted upon by two forces, which he personifies as Love and Strife, or, roughly, attraction and repulsion.

The elements and forces take part in an elaborate cosmogony. At one time, in the present cosmos, the elements were separated out into concentric layers of earth, water, air, and fire, while Strife played an important role. But gradually Love comes to dominate in the world, combining the elements more and more until at last all the materials of the world are completely harmonized into a homogeneous sphere (*sphairos*) pervaded by Love. In the sphere there are no differences manifest, and hence no living things, no world as we know it. But at some point Strife attacks the sphere from the periphery and causes the elements to separate from one another, whereupon the cosmos begins to form. This alternation between the sphere and the cosmos forms a never-ending cycle of cosmic change.

Empedocles' theory of soul is deeply influenced by Pythagorean thought. The soul falls into a body as a result of the influence of Strife. It undergoes a cycle of reincarnations in plants, animals, and humans until it is purged and purified. The evils of mortality are compounded by the shedding of blood; Empedocles compares the eating of meat to cannibalistic consumption of one's relatives. Souls may progress to higher forms of plant and animal life and eventually to human life and its highest manifestations, from which they return to the status of gods. Empedocles announces that he "goes about as a mortal god, no longer mortal, honoured by all" (fr. 112. 4–5). He seems to be claiming to have achieved a state of purity that precludes further reincarnations, one that confers on him the magical powers to which he pretends. His philosophy thus forms part of a larger religious vision. Empedocles recognizes traditional gods, but calls them "long-lived" rather than "immortal", suggesting that they are beings subordinate to the cosmic cycle who will eventually be absorbed into the sphere. In his anthropology he looks back with longing to a primitive golden age in which humans and animals lived in harmony under the rule of Love, and worship was carried on without animal sacrifices.

Empedocles' views on nature, including specific discussions of biology, influenced Greek medical writers from the 5th century BC onwards, some of whom criticized him, but in doing so recognized his influence on medical studies. His great contribution to the scientific tradition was the theory of a finite set of elements forming an unlimited number of compounds by their combinations in whole-number ratios – a theory that has become the basis of modern chemistry. His specific set of four elements became standard by the following century and remained the basic substances of physical theory in both the Greek world and the west until the beginning of the modern era. Empedocles' religious ideas became part of the Neopythagorean and Neoplatonic traditions of later centuries.

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Biography

Born *c.*492 BC at Acragas in Sicily, Empedocles came from an aristocratic family which had taken part in the Olympic Games. He himself seems to have been a doctor and to have been active in politics as well as in religious and philosophical circles. He was clearly influenced by Pythagoreanism as well as by the thought of Parmenides. He wrote two poems, one physical (*On Nature*), the other religious (*Purifications*), of which only fragments survive. He died in 432 BC.

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Enamel

Enamel is essentially coloured glass. When heated to its melting point, glass fuses with the metal with which it is in contact, and craftsmen have long exploited this property by decorating metal with boldly coloured opaque or jewel-like translucent enamel. It may well have been a Mycenaean invention: the earliest occurrence is thought to be on gold-relief beads from chamber tombs at Mycenae of *c.*1400 BC (Athens, National Archaeological Museum, Mycenae graves 88, 103). Blue enamel was fused into depressions in the repoussé-work, sometimes ringed by tiny spheres of gold.

The earliest cloisonné enamel to have survived is probably that on finger rings found in a tomb of the 12th century BC in Cyprus (Nicosia, Cyprus Museum, Kouklia Evreti grave 8/33). The design was created, and the different colours of glass separated, with strips of gold set on edge in glass disks, which were then mounted on the bezels of the rings. The fully developed cloisonné technique, in which the metal strips are attached to a metal backplate, is found on the bezel of a ring from a Minoan tomb of *c.*1425–1400 BC near Knossos (Herakleion, Archaeological Museum, Sellopoulo grave 3, J 6) and on the famous Kourion sceptre (Nicosia, Cyprus Museum, J 99); however, the vitreous material on the ring may not be enamel, and the sceptre may belong to a later culture.

There is little further evidence for the use of enamel in the Greek world before the 6th century BC, when filigree enamel – glass fused to the surface of an object inside loops of decorative wire – seems to have come into fashion, with blue and green the most common colours; it remained popular during the Classical and Hellenistic periods. Between the 3rd and the 1st centuries BC small pendants to be attached to jewellery were enamelled in the round, probably by being heated and dipped in molten glass, which was almost always white.

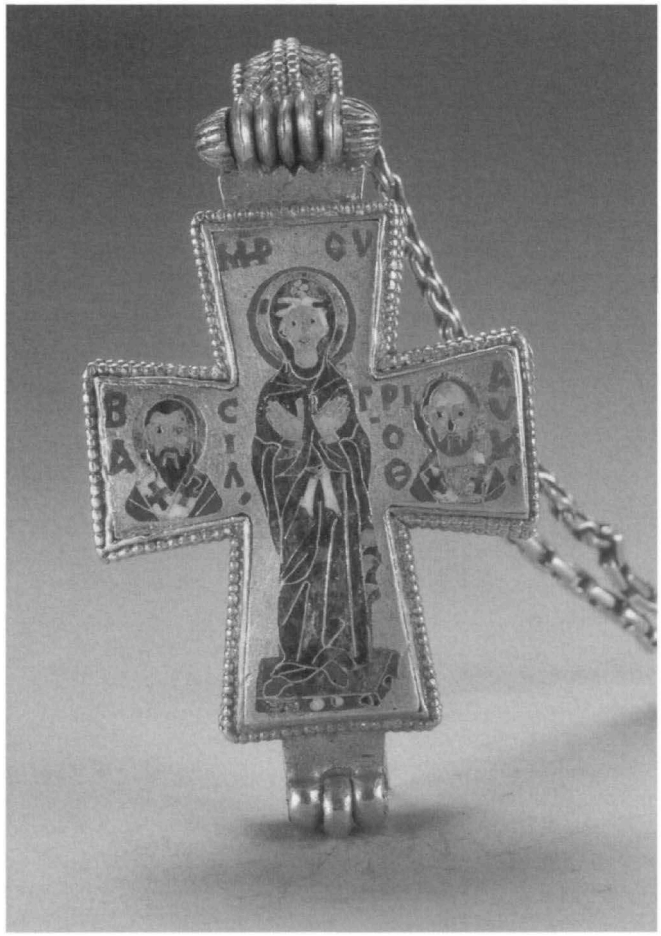
Late-antique and early-Byzantine goldsmiths may well have carried on the tradition of filigree enamel, but evidence is lacking: a medallion (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles, M 1688) with a bust of Licinia Eudoxia, daughter of the eastern Roman emperor Theodosius II (408–50) and wife of the western emperor Valentinian III (425–55), was almost certainly made by the goldsmith responsible for another filigree enamel medallion, depicting a cross and two orbs (Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, 44. 304), which has been shown to be of recent manufacture (post-17th, and probably late-19th century).

The only incontrovertibly late-antique or early-Byzantine enamel is on jewellery characterized by isolated motifs, typically birds, standing proud of the surfaces of the objects. A pendent cross (Washington, D.C., Dumbarton Oaks Collection, 58. 40) comes from a hoard of the late-6th century AD said to have been found in Syria; another example is part of a Byzantine necklace (Mainz, Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum, O 37809) with components stylistically datable to around 600. The whole group is therefore likely to date from the late 6th or early 7th century. The enamel on this jewellery is contained within a gold strip hard-soldered edge-on to the surface of the object. There is no enamel outside the main outline, where details are executed in round-section wire; both these features belong to the tradition of filigree rather than cloisonné enamel.

The technique of cloisonné enamel was reintroduced from western Europe at the end of the iconoclast period in 843 (the Poitiers triptych, once believed to have been commissioned by the Byzantine emperor Justin II (565–78), is now dated to the 11th or 12th century). In the 9th and the first half of the 10th centuries Byzantine goldsmiths produced western-style cloisonné enamel, with the figures and busts of saints, as well as other motifs, in backgrounds of translucent enamel, which was almost always green; reasonably securely dated examples are on the votive crown of an emperor Leo (Venice, San Marco, Tesoro, 116), who can almost certainly be identified with Leo VI "the Wise" (886–912). Later, from around the middle of the 10th century, the cloisonné enamel subject, instead of having a background of translucent enamel, was set into and surrounded by the metal of the plaque; this development produced what is popularly regarded as the "typical" Byzantine enamel – representations of saints silhouetted against gold, a technique that has become known as *Senkschmelz* (German: "sunk enamel"), in contradistinction to the earlier *Vollschmelz* (German: "full enamel"), where the subject or motif had a background of enamel. The earliest strictly datable *Senkschmelz* appears on a staurotheca (a reliquary for a fragment of the True Cross) commissioned by Basil the Nothos (*Proedros* from 963 to 985) and now in the Limburg an der Lahn, Domschatz. However, comparisons between the staurotheca and two chalices with inscriptions mentioning an emperor Romanos (Venice, San Marco, Tesoro, 65, 70) make it virtually certain that this emperor is Romanos II (959–63). If this is the case, the earliest evidence for *Senkschmelz* is around 960. Allowing time for development, a mid-10th-century date for the introduction of the technique seems reasonable.

Late in the 12th century there was a return to *Vollschmelz*, but, instead of translucent enamelled backgrounds, as in the 9th and the first half of the 10th centuries, the backgrounds are now opaque. Dated examples of this type of enamel are found on an enkolpion (Budapest, Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum) that belonged to Béla III (1172–96) and a cross (Copenhagen, Nationalmuseet, 9088) found in the tomb of the Danish queen Dagmar (died 1212) or that of her sister-in-law. *Senkschmelz* was not replaced by this later *Vollschmelz* but coexisted with it.

The three-dimensional face of St Michael on a famous icon of the saint depicted full length (Venice, San Marco, Tesoro, 6) is executed in relief enamel, the precursor of the *émail en ronde bosse* of the Gothic period in western Europe. The technique is also used on an equestrian icon of St Demetrius in the Guelph Treasure (Berlin, Kunstgewerbemuseum, W 3), which is probably to be dated to the middle of the 13th century.



Enamel: 10th-century Byzantine enamelled pendant cross, showing the Virgin flanked by St Basil the Great and St Gregory Thaumaturge, British Museum, London

A different sort of relief enamel, sunk instead of raised, decorates a copper funerary censer (Athens, Benaki Museum, 11469) of a type used in the 13th and 14th centuries. The technique imitates western champlevé enamel, but the metal is actually embossed copper sheet. Genuine champlevé enamel in a late-Byzantine context is found on a pair of copper candlesticks (Riggisberg, Abegg-Stiftung Bern, 8.185.72, 8.186.72). With the revival of *Vollschmelz* in the late 12th century, when an opaque enamel background obscured the metal of the substrate, the use of gold may have been considered something of a luxury; certainly there was an upsurge in the use of copper cloisonné enamel in place of gold, most examples belonging to the 13th and 14th centuries. The use of the cheaper metal, which could of course be gilded, removed one of the constraints on size, and some of the enamels on copper are considerably larger than their earlier gold counterparts.

Revived or reinvented by the Venetians in the 14th century, the technique of filigree enamel was practised in the Balkans by the 15th or 16th century, becoming the characteristic enamel of the post-Byzantine Greek world. While painted and champlevé enamel were used (for instance in the pendant and pastoral staff of bishop Parthenios of Caesarea, 1738, now in the Benaki Museum), it is filigree enamel that customarily decorates book-covers and liturgical objects. On the Greek islands earrings and pendants often took the shape of sailing ships decorated with filigree enamel. The types of ship can be used to date such jewellery to the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries, inscriptions on some of the later examples suggesting manufacture by Greek goldsmiths working in Venice (Athens, Benaki Museum, no. 7669).

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See also Glass, Jewellery

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Enlightenment

The Neohellenic Enlightenment cannot be restricted to the confines of a national – let alone geographical – definition. It is the reflection of a complex interweaving of currents of renewal in the Balkans under Ottoman rule, where the Greek language took on the role of a *langue véhiculaire*, a lingua franca, but was also the language of learning, particularly in some specific cases such as, for example, in the Danubian principalities. It had an influence in the broader geopolitical area of southeastern Europe, and indeed the eastern Mediterranean basin, not to mention the strong cores of learning which appeared (as a result of the convergence of favourable trading conditions) in the Greek communities of central Europe, southern Russia (Odessa), and western Europe (Venice, Vienna, Paris, etc).

From the 18th century onwards, the crisis in the social structures and political institutions of the Ottoman empire provoked the diverse national groups which made up the social and cultural mosaic of the Balkan peninsula to seek a new social model, based on a system of values oriented towards the west. Through a series of social changes and a process of cultural osmosis, the Enlightenment was introduced into southeastern Europe by the rising urban merchant classes. Over time this led to the formulation of national demands, and culminated in the creation of nation states. Changes to the way of life were adopted gradually, and were assimilated in the face of considerable resistance. It is possible to detect them in many areas of society, both economic and intellectual, and in the transition undergone by the natural environment as the system of urban planning was being developed. The result was the emergence of new symbols and images which attempted to transcribe and to explain the innovations taking place in society.

With regard to the major western movements, modern Hellenism became receptive to the influence of the Italian Renaissance relatively late, during the 17th century. This cultural phenomenon took root not in mainland Greece but in Venetian-ruled Crete, from where it radiated out to other strongholds of Italian culture, particularly the Ionian islands. Consequently, the major part of Greece experienced the Enlightenment without having come under the influence of the Renaissance. Neohellenic culture before the Enlightenment was thus dominated by the Orthodox Christian ethic: education was based on Aristotelianism, as well as on a fixed, stereotyped choice of texts from Classical and Byzantine literature. However, from an early stage it is possible to detect the coexistence of two decisive elements: tradition and renewal. It has been said that in Greek intellectual life the development of ideas from the 16th to the 19th century is distinguished by a continuous "assimilative capacity", by a living tradition capable of receiving new elements and embracing modernity.

The first attempts to trace the development of the Neohellenic Enlightenment date from as long ago as the early 19th century, by scholars who were themselves vehicles of the movement (Adamantios Korais, Iakovos Rizos Neroulos, etc.). The Greek term for the Enlightenment, *Diaphotismos*, was coined much later, however, its appearance dating to around 1862, and probably derived from the German term *Aufklärung*. Its use is first recorded in the writings of Dimitrios Vernardakis.

The Greek *Diaphotismos* is considered to be an offshoot of the main European Enlightenment. If this neologism was created in connection with the corresponding European terms (*Lumières*, *Aufklärung*, and *Illuminismo*), the expressions of *phota* (lights), lights of Europe (*lumières de l'Europe*), enlightened nations (*nations éclairées*), which lead us to the connotations of the French term *lumières*, do not belong to the field of neologisms. The symbolic meaning of light belonged to a centuries-old linguistic arsenal, from Classical rhetorical models and humanistic learning, to the vocabulary of "religious humanism" of the 17th century (where the exhortation for the Enlightenment of the *genos* (race) led to a symbiosis of Classical learning with Byzantine tradition). In the 18th century the term was incorporated into a new frame of reference and was enriched with new, dynamic semantic connotations. The alignment with the achievements of western thought is clear; but this process presupposes a rehabilitation of values, from antiquity through the western Renaissance to an enlightened Europe, and from there to modern Hellenism, a course which leads, in a term later coined by Korais, to the *metakenosi* (expulsion) of western knowledge and to the recovery of a traditional heritage of Classical learning.

The Byzantine "ecumenical" idea survived through the ecclesiastical edifice and in many ways through the Phanariot ideology, while the national awakening gradually taking place was based to a large degree on the recovery of the ancient heritage. The idea of orthodoxy continued to be identified with that of the *genos*. In the collective memory of the peoples of southeastern Europe, in popular tradition, and in legends, the

lost Christian empire was present. Moreover, the expectations for Russian intervention in the east were founded on the common religion. On the other hand there is the reconnection with antiquity. The "Classical vision" and its revival, a commonplace of European Classicism since the Renaissance, acquired greater force with the outbreak of the French Revolution – "heroic Neoclassicism" became a social experience. To a great extent, the Greek Enlightenment embraced these models.

The Neohellenic Enlightenment gave rise to a number of secondary phenomena which demonstrate not only its internal dynamics and development but also its individuality. According to the original division of Dimaras, we can speak of a period of 50 years, from 1770 to 1820, with a backward margin of 20 years, to include the events of the 1750s, and reaching to the 1830s, when the Enlightenment met the spirit of Romanticism. The disintegration of the Enlightenment began to be seen during the 1830s, although some cores of resistance remained until the 1850s, and even later.

However, in southeastern Europe the period from 1700 to 1750 can be equated with the "early Enlightenment" (*Frühaufklärung*). The Mavrokordatos family is a good example. Polyglots, and extremely cultivated, the family aligned themselves with the moderate ideals of enlightened authoritarianism (*despotisme éclairé*). They were exceptionally well informed about literature, maintained a much-envied library (their collections prompted the interest of Louis XIV and Colbert), and had contact with western men of letters such as Jean Le Clerc. They were without doubt equal citizens of the ideal Republic of European Letters. The family included Alexander "*o ex Aporriton*" ("Minister of the Secrets"), the head of the dynasty, and Nicholas, the first Phanariot prince of Moldavia (1709), who acted as vehicles for new ideas in ethics and political thinking (such as the theory of natural law) and knew the French *moralistes* (La Rochefoucauld). In Nicholas's novelistic work *Philotheou Parerga* (1713), we can see the influence of the great philosophical discussions of the age: "the *Querelle* of the Ancients and the Moderns", the morality of the spectacle, historical criticism, etc. Nicholas, breaking away from the established neo-Aristolenianism, turned towards Plato and makes reference to the philosophy of his contemporaries (Locke, Hobbes, Bacon). It is through the hegemonic Mavrokordatos family that the first signs of interest in modern western narrative forms, literature, the novel, and the theatre can be seen (Fénelon, Cervantes, Molière, Gracian y Morales, etc).

Theophilos Corydalleus, the 17th-century neo-Aristotelian philosopher, dominated the educational system of southeastern Europe for a long period, since his writings in the fields of logic and philosophy and his rhetoric were widely disseminated as teaching handbooks, and were in use until around 1827, when the Greek state was founded.

At the beginning of the 18th century can be seen the first faltering steps marking a rift, a gradual distancing from the absolute spiritual leadership of the Church, doubts over Aristotelianism, a turning towards the outside world and observation, the desire for historical knowledge, familiarity with the natural world, the environment, ultimately a faith in experimentation and empiricism. These changes are anticipated in *Introduction to Geographics and Spherics* (1716) by Chrysanthos Notaras, the patriarch of Jerusalem, although he disputes the position of Copernicus. The first examples of rationalist thought are encountered in the works of Vincentios Damodos, Methodios Anthracites, and Theodoros Cavalliotes. Damodos, without deviating from Orthodoxy, accepts the Cartesian theory concerning the genesis of the passions. The works of Methodios Anthracites were influenced by Malebranche. He expresses the movement towards mathematics and the natural sciences as well as an early eclecticism which would later prove to be one of the most fundamental features of the Greek movement. His teaching was condemned as heterodoxy in 1721. Finally, Theodoros Cavalliotes, from Moschopoli, was a student of Evgenios Voulgaris (1716–1806) in Ioannina. In his writings he refers to Descartes and Leibniz. The influences of the German *Frühaufklärung* on Greek culture later become more noticeable, particularly through the popularization of the writings of Leibniz and Wolff, Baumeister and Heinecke. After 1760 modern Hellenism began to become familiar with Italian thought: Muratori, Genovesi, Soave, Beccaria, and Vico.

As far as education is concerned, the 18th century was for the most part dominated by the coexistence of Classical and Byzantine learning: lyric and dramatic poetry, Classical and ecclesiastical rhetoric, admonitory texts, etc. This was characteristic both of the humanistic and of the exact sciences. The teaching of astronomy, of mathematics, and of geometry was dominated by the influence of 17th-century religious humanism. Theophilos Corydalleus, Chrysanthos Notaras, and Methodios Anthracites continued this Greek-Byzantine tradition, enriching it with new elements. They gave way to new, more radical generations, firmly oriented towards western thought. The desertion of tradition, the acceptance of a spirit of renewal and of modern scientific theories introduced from the west filtered through during the final third of the 18th and the first decades of the 19th century. However, it is rare to find serious examples of Christian dogma being disputed, and even rarer for cases of atheism to appear. The clash with the official Church would take place later, after the outbreak of the French Revolution.

Between 1750 and 1770 the characteristic features of the Greek movement were taking shape. There was a strong increase in publishing activity, the decline of ecclesiastical and service books, the cultivation of a systematic interest in history (ancient and modern), and the development of translation from foreign, western languages. It is then that we can observe the introduction of the exact sciences by Nikephoros Theotokis and of modern philosophy by Evgenios Voulgaris, who introduced the thinking of John Locke with his *Logic* (1766) and was the first to translate Voltaire with *Memnon* (1766) and *Essay on the Discord in the Church of Poland* (*Essai sur les dissensions des églises en Pologne*, 1767) to which he added his *Treatise on Religious Tolerance*, inspired by the French philosopher's famous *Traité sur la tolérance* as well as by the thinking of John Locke. He left us with the neologism *anexithreskeia* (religious tolerance). Vulgaris was attached to the model of enlightened authoritarianism, particularly during the time he spent as librarian in the court of Catherine the Great (1772–74). It was then that he translated a number of Voltaire's political pamphlets, with the aim of

increasing Russian influence in the eastern Mediterranean basin.

The appearance of Voltaire breathed new life into Greek intellectual life. Josephos Moisiodax also appears at this stage. He exemplifies the Hellenized Balkan scholar whose interests, including moral philosophy, geography, physics, mathematics, and pedagogics, reflected a vital curiosity. Among his writings, the *Apologia* (1780) is particularly important. He refers in his works to Newton and Locke, and in 1765, during a public lesson at which the prince of Moldavia was also present, he referred to Voltaire.

The second period of the Neohellenic Enlightenment thus extended from 1750 or 1760 to 1800. The first decades of the second half of the 18th century were distinguished by an increased occurrence of interrelated events. Contact with western thought became regular and more continuous, and changes in the way of life and in the way of thinking began to be noticeable and were manifested more strongly in urban centres. Renewal, as represented by the ascending urban merchant class, began to crystallize. Publishing strategies aimed mainly at education and the scholars (Moisiodax, Katartzis) who were the vehicles of the Enlightenment gave absolute priority to educational matters.

A number of innovations were applied in educational institutions, which began to multiply in widely disseminated centres of Hellenism, and reached their greatest number in the early 19th century, even if conservatism often coexisted with renewal: the Hegemonic Academies in Bucharest and Iasi, the Athonias, the Patriarchal School, schools in Epirus and western Macedonia (Ioannina, Arta, Metsovo, Kastoria, Kozani, Moschopoli, Siatista); Patmos; Ambelakia and Tyrnavos in Thessaly; Milies and Zagora in Pelion; Dimitsana, Chios, the School of Kydonies, the Evangelical School and the Philological Gymnasium of Smyrna, the Ionian Academy, etc.

The spirit of French encyclopedism gained ground. The second period, according to Dimaras, was characterized by the influence exerted by the French *Encyclopédie* in southeastern Europe. One of its most typical representatives was the Phanariot Dimitrios Katartzis (*c.*1730–1807) together with some of his students such as Rigas Pheraios, otherwise known as Velestinlis (1757–98). Information and theories were drawn from the French encyclopedia regarding the natural language, the general grammar, and the practice of translation (Katartzis); on the definition of the philosopher and the content of philosophy (Christodoulos Pamblekis, *On Philosophy*); and even on natural sciences (Rigas, *Physikis Apanthisma* [Physics Anthology]). The renewal of geography as a science was confirmed in a major work of the Neohellenic Enlightenment, *Modern Geography* (1791) by the Peliots Daniel Philippides (*c.*1755–1832) and Grigorios Konstantas (1758–1844), who took Marmontel's *Encyclopédie méthodique* as a model. This period of maturity gave clear priority to the exact sciences, to experimentation, which was considered a driving force, and the liberation of the individual from the shackles of ignorance and superstition. Finally, in the field of historiography, a long tradition of chronography was left behind, giving way increasingly to a developing interest in antiquity as well as the interpretation of the modern period (Rollin, Domenico Caminer, etc.). The modernization of structures, both social and intellectual, also began to spread at this time, and remained the dominant demand of the Enlightenment.

The French Revolution had its repercussions in the Balkans. Its outbreak and development allowed a radical spirit to be articulated, in which three focal points of expression can be discerned: the liberation movement of Rigas, the centres (Greek communities) of the diaspora, and Ionian radicalism (presence of French republicans in the Ionian islands, overthrow of the old feudal system, burning of the *libri d'oro*, manifestos, trees of freedom, Jacobin clubs, etc.). In 1791, in the *Ephimeris* of the Markidon Pouliou brothers, the *Manifesto of the Rights of the Individual and of the Citizen* was published. On the other hand, the revolutionary events and the excesses in France (the Terror, the regicides, etc.) would cause somewhat delayed negative protestations on the part of the official Church, or rather of the patriarchate, which reacted in 1797 or 1798 with a fulmination condemning the blasphemous philosophy of the French atheists Voltaire and Rousseau (*Patriki Didaskalia, Christianiki Apologia* [The Teaching of the Fathers: A Christian Defence]).

The practice of criticism, one of the fundamental demands of European thinking of the time, was articulated in Greece in three fields: cultural criticism, which already existed in texts such as *Modern Geography*; criticism of social structures, which was channelled into satirical texts at the beginning of the 19th century (*Rossanglogallos* [Russanglofrench], 1805) or into texts full of ideas of the Enlightenment or of national revolution (*Helliniki Nomarchia* [Greek Prefecture], 1806); and finally, criticism of the Church and of traditional religion. Of course, the Greek Enlightenment – as elsewhere in Europe – was not anti-Christian. The question of religion was for the Christian population of the multiethnic Ottoman empire, whether Orthodox or not, an extremely sensitive point, since religious diversity was a legal right, recognized by the Turks, which distinguished them and made them an entity in the face of authority. It was also a cohesive link with a single cultural tradition. There are very few examples of real religious dispute (*Anonymous*, 1789, *Peri Theokratias* [On Theocracy] by Christodoulos Pamblekis). Criticism was for the most part confined to anticlericalism, and demanded the purge and rationalization of religion, and a return to evangelical love and faith (e.g. Adamantios Korais).

In the field of ideas, the final decade of the 18th century focused on the search for a new ethic. If, during the period of the early Enlightenment, ethical questions had offered rich and fertile ground to the Mavrokordatos family, who followed the lead of the widespread form of the *Mirror of Princes* (the link of the ancient Graeco-Roman with the Christian sophiological tradition), from 1760 the search for a new moral philosophy was a serious concern of the modernizing men of letters. In 1760 Josephos Moisiodax translated Muratori's *Moral Philosophy*. Yet only in about 1790 did this process break away from the remaining theocratic morality and make its aim an earthly, anthropocentric happiness. Its natural, deterministic search and the harmonious symbiosis of the individual and his environment in a civil society are at the very centre of the issue raised by a host of books on ethics and behaviour (*True Path to Happiness*, *Handbook to Benevolence*, *Flower of Virtue and Knowledge*, etc.). Writers who used their works to popularize the new social ideal were published in adaptations

and translated extracts: Restif de la Bretonne, *Les Contemporaines*, which inspired the novellas of *School for Delicate Lovers* by Rigas (1790); the Utopian Louis-Sébastien Mercier, *L'An 2440 ou rêve s'il en fut jamais*, from which Stephanos Dimitriadis drew selections for his book, *Apanthismata* (Florilegium, 1797); or even the revolutionary *Catechism* of La Chabeaussière. In the final years of the century translations increased the number of works dedicated to the exact and natural sciences, and writers such as Montesquieu and Jean-Jacques Rousseau also appeared for the first time. But the recovery of antiquity, a process which assumed an ideological load and led to national awareness, was realized in many ways through the dissemination of the famous work of the Abbé Barthélemy, *Voyage du jeune Anacharsis*. The first volume was published in a translation by Georgios Sakellarios, while the fourth was translated by Rigas and Georgios Ventotis.

Between 1800 and 1830 the movement of the Enlightenment completed its course. This stage was the most dynamic, as it became involved with the ideological preparation for the national revolution of 1821. There was one aim: the enlightening of the *genos*, which would lead to national awakening and liberation. The exhortation of Korais for "the lights of Europe to be decanted" (*metakenosi*) was applied in a consistent and methodical manner. The colossal oeuvre of the grand old man of letters Adamantios Korais (1748–1833), particularly through the editions of ancient classics (the famous *Helliniki Bibliothiki* [Greek Library]) and the extensive annotations, is the most irrefutable evidence of the dialectical relationship which united the conquest of learning with the regaining of freedom. A moderate visionary of the national renaissance, associated with the French Ideologues and an adherent of their analytical theory, he represents a cohesive image of the final phase of the Greek movement through his writings and his famous linguistic and political proposal of the "middle road". The reading of ancient writers in the light of the social thinking of the Enlightenment constituted what has been termed the intellectual matrix of his political theory.

The admonitory and pedagogical character of the Neohellenic Enlightenment was at its peak. Korais and a host of scholars, including those who travelled in the same direction without their paths meeting, his supporters but also opponents of his theories, played a leading part (Athanasios Psalidas, Neophytos Doukas, Anthimos Gazis, Theoclitos Pharmakidis, Constantinos Kokkinakis, Neophytos Vamvas, Constantinos Oikonomos, Constantinos Koumas, Veniamin Lesvios, Stephanos Doungas, Theophilos Kairis, Panagiotis Kodrikas, etc.). Publications written with the purpose of moral teaching multiplied, as did schools and libraries, while literary journals made their first appearance: *Hermes o Logios*, *The Hellenic and Philological Telegraph*, *Athina*, *Calliope*, and *Melissa*. There was a close relationship between most of the prerevolutionary publications and the journals of the Ideologues. The first public theatrical productions clearly prompted by national revolution took place. The heroic, revolutionary Neoclassicism of the French and the scientific theories of the Ideologues influenced the Greeks to a significant degree: Cabanis, Thurot, Condillac, Lalande, Brisson, Volney, Destutt de Tracy (*Eléments d'idéologie*), and even Daunou's views on history, the Hellenists, Etienne Clavier, D'Ansse de Villoison, the orientalist Silvestre de Sacy, the linguistic theories of De Gérando, the political economy of Jean-Baptiste Say.

Paris on the one hand, Vienna on the other, shaped the "new philology of the Greeks". Nor were German influences by any means insignificant. Increasing numbers of young men from the Balkans studied in German universities at the end of the 18th and beginning of the 19th century. The philosophical spirit of Kant and Schelling, the example of Goethe, and a host of other names entered Greek intellectual life through their writings, which were translated or used for educational purposes: the philosophical ideas of Wilhelm Traugott Krug; the historical views of Johann Christoph Gatterer, Julius August Remer, Mathias Schröck, and Johann Gottfried Gruber; the pedagogics of Joachim Campe; the literary works of Salomon Gessner, Christoph Martin Wieland, and August Kotzebue; the aesthetic ideas of A.G. Suilzer, etc.

The Neohellenic Enlightenment was receptive to and eclectically assimilated different tendencies characteristic of the corresponding western movements. Its end was in fact a beginning in the political history of the Balkans: if the age of Rigas had seen the Utopian idea of a multiethnic Balkan state called the "Hellenic Republic", the Enlightenment concluded in the formation of the modern states. The Balkan century of the Enlightenment exploited the multiethnic Ottoman empire. On this basis, and after a long period of awakening, it acted as a catalyst in the emergence of national traditions.

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See also Humanism, Neoclassicism, Phanariots, Romanticism

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Enosis

The newly formed Greek state, first ruled by Count Ioannis Kapodistria (1828–31) as its *Kyvernitis* (President) and then by king Otho (1833–62), contained only a minority of the Greek people. The majority were still living under Ottoman rule, while the Ionian islanders had been under British protection since 1815. Although the desire for *enosis*, unification (with Greece), led to agitation in the Ionian Islands, unrest in Crete, and repeated infiltration by nationalist armed bands in Ottoman-occupied Thessaly and areas beyond, there was no extension of the country's borders before the reign of king George I (1863–1913). As a gesture of good will towards the new king, Britain ceded the Ionian islands to Greece (1864). Insurgency continued in Crete, most notably in 1866–69, and another revolt broke out during the Russian-Turkish War of 1877–78. Concurrently, Greek irregulars carried out raids in Thessaly and Macedonia, while the Greek army was mobilized. Following the Congress of Berlin (1878), the Great Powers invited the Porte to make some frontier concessions; it was only after Greek mobilization and pressure by the Powers, however, that the Turks agreed to yield Thessaly and the Arta region to Greece (1881). In the wake of another Cretan revolt, in 1895, Greece went to war with Turkey but suffered a humiliating defeat (1897). The one positive outcome of the peace settlement was that Crete was given autonomous status under Ottoman suzerainty and prince George (king George's second son) was appointed High Commissioner on the island. After two more unilateral proclamations of *enosis* (1905, 1908), Crete was formally united with the mainland at the end of the Balkan Wars. Meanwhile, multi-ethnic Macedonia was the scene of guerrilla warfare; largely ignited by Bulgarian expansionist initiatives, it was not so much directed against the Turks, but rather waged between Greek and Slav nationalist bands, reaching its culmination during the years 1904–08.

For many of those Greeks living under Ottoman rule the wish for *enosis* was fulfilled with the Balkan Wars (1912–13) when, under the premiership of Eleftherios Venizelos and in alliance with Serbia, Bulgaria, and Montenegro, Greece declared war on the Ottoman empire. The allies achieved swift and spectacular victories but disputes over the spoils led to a second war, with Bulgaria attacking Greece and Serbia and being defeated by them. Greece emerged from these conflicts having secured most of the territories contained within its present boundaries. After the end of World War I and the Treaty of Sèvres (1920) the dream of a greater Greece extending into Asia Minor, cherished for generations and known as the "Great Idea", seemed briefly realizable. Such hopes were abruptly ended by the Asia Minor Catastrophe (1922). Over a million Greeks were forced to leave their native land and flee to Greece. Following the end of World War II, with the Treaty of Paris (1947), Italy was obliged to give up the Dodecanese, which it had seized from the Ottoman empire in 1911. A year later, in 1948, these islands were formally united with Greece.

After the Asia Minor Catastrophe, the subsequent exchange of populations (1923), and the Dodecanese settlement, the largest remaining area predominantly peopled by Greeks outside the confines of the Greek State was Cyprus. Here, too, the call for *enosis* had a long history. In August 1828 the archbishop, the bishops, and other notables of Cyprus sent a letter and a deputation to Kapodistria asking for his help. This led him to recommend to the British, French, and Russian ambassadors to the Porte, soon to meet on Poros to consider proposals for the frontiers of Greece, that Cyprus and Rhodes be included within the national boundaries. In 1830 an agent was again sent to Kapodistria, this time to persuade him to annex Cyprus to Greece. As he was obviously unable to do anything about it, the enterprising Cypriots took it upon themselves to turn the island into "a Greek colony". The relevant section from a report (1831) the British consular agent in Cyprus sent to the consul-general in Constantinople reads:

> In several of my reports I have called your attention to the emigration of these islanders; the bulk of them go to Greece and return to their native country with Greek passports, which are accorded easily and without delay. Thus they enter again into possession of their goods and their houses, exempt from all tribute and with the privileges of the Franks. To such an extent has this process been adopted by peasants and persons of all conditions, that, were it to continue the island would shortly become a Greek colony, and the Sultan be left with the empty title of suzerain (*padrone*). An order has therefore been issued that these persons must revert to the category of *rayah* [subjects]; several have already been arrested, and it appears that rigorous measures will be taken to check this practice.
>
> (Luke, 1921, p. 169)

By the Cyprus Convention of 1878 the Ottoman government agreed to British occupation and administration of the island; the sultan was to retain his sovereignty over it and the

Enosis: demonstration in Pirgos in the Peloponnese in support of Cypriot demands for unification with Greece, 1955

British undertook to pay to the Porte the surplus of revenue over expenditure. This change of administration, ending three centuries of Ottoman rule, was particularly welcome to the Greek Cypriots both in its own right and because they saw it as the first step towards unification with Greece – the ceding of the Ionian islands was still very fresh in everybody's mind. Writing in the late 1940s, the island's historian George Hill devoted a whole chapter to "The Movement for Enosis". He offered an apology for tracing its history at such length and sought to forestall any criticism by the reader: "The constant repetition of the same cry may be tedious, hut it proves the persistence of the movement, and gives some impression of what the administration had to face. ...Hardly a year has passed since the [British] Occupation without the 'Hellenic idea' finding expression in some form or other" (Hill, 1952, 4. 495–96).

In 1914, with the Ottoman empire entering World War I on the side of the Central Powers, Cyprus was formally annexed to the British Crown. A year later Britain offered to cede the island to Greece if the latter were to enter the war on the side of the Entente powers. Divided as it was at the time on the issue of war, the Greek government refused the offer. In 1923, by the Treaty of Lausanne, Turkey recognized British sovereignty over Cyprus, which was proclaimed a Crown colony two years later.

In October 1931 pro-*enosis* agitation, coupled with resentment over newly imposed duties and taxes, led to violent demonstrations which, in Nicosia, resulted in the burning down of Government House. The administration, already hardening its position since the late 1920s, adopted a series of repressive measures which were only partly relaxed at the beginning of World War II. As in World War I, thousands of Greek Cypriots once again enlisted voluntarily in the British forces. The conviction grew that, if the Allies were successful, their participation in the Middle East campaigns and Greece's role in the war effort would bring the reward of *enosis*. Yet, the attempts made by the Greek government to raise this issue, during and just after the war, fell on deaf ears. The Cypriots were told that there would be no change in the status of the island, which was to remain under British sovereignty, and were offered instead constitutional reforms, the re-establishment of the Legislative Council (dissolved since 1931), and a ten-year programme of social and economic development. These proposals were welcomed by the Turkish minority (representing 18 per cent of the population) and rejected by the Greek majority (representing 80 per cent of the population), who insisted on their demand for union with Greece. In January 1950 a plebiscite organized by the Orthodox Church among Greek Cypriots produced a 95.7 per cent vote in favour of *enosis*.

Towards the end of 1952 Archbishop Makarios (1950–77) asked the newly elected Greek prime minister, field-marshal Alexandros Papagos, to take the Cyprus question to the United Nations. Favouring a direct approach to the United Kingdom first, Papagos raised the matter with the British foreign minister, Anthony Eden, but was rebuffed. His attempt, moreover, to

bring the question of Cypriot self-determination before the General Assembly of the United Nations in 1954 was unsuccessful. A serious consequence of this failure was that on 1 April 1955 the armed struggle began in Cyprus under the banner of EOKA (*Ethniki Organosis Kyprion Agoniston*, the National Organization of Cypriot Fighters) headed by George Grivas, a retired colonel of the Greek army, who adopted the codename "Digenis". The British government responded by sending troops and field-marshal Sir John Harding as governor and commander-in-chief. Emergency laws were imposed, imprisonments, torture, and executions took place. It would be idle to deny the effectiveness, courage, and heroism of the EOKA fighters. It would also be idle to deny that during the period they were active (1955–58) innocent people were killed. Moreover, intercommunal strife became inevitable with the formation of TMT (*Türk Müdafaa Teskilati*, the Turkish Defence Organization), an anti-EOKA Turkish Cypriot underground organization.

The year 1955 also saw Turkey being brought into the picture. According to the historian Richard Clogg (p. 172), "The British authorities sought to use the Turkish community on the island as a counterweight to the demands of the Greek Cypriots and the Turkish government, which had hitherto been rather indifferent to the fate of the Turks on the island, was encouraged to consider itself as having an interest in the island comparable to that of Greece." In June the British government invited Greece and Turkey to a tripartite conference to discuss a qualified degree of home rule in Cyprus. On 6 September, a day before the discussions ended in failure, an organized outburst of violent "popular anger" broke out in Istanbul; it was aimed at the then 100,000-strong Greek minority. Negotiations between Harding and Makarios likewise broke down in the following year; the latter was deported to the Seychelles, not to be released until April 1955, and even then he was forbidden to return to Cyprus. During 1955 the question of Cyprus was discussed at the United Nations and a resolution was passed expressing the wish that a settlement be reached in accordance with the principles of the UN. Yet, with the Greeks insisting on *enosis*, the Turks on partition, and the British pressing for a seven-year-long period of transition during which the three countries would "partner" each other in the administration of the island, the situation was at an impasse. In September 1958 Makarios indicated that he was prepared to accept independence instead of *enosis*. After that events moved swiftly: talks in Paris between the foreign ministers of Greece and Turkey were followed by talks in Zürich between Constantine Karamanlis, the successor of Papagos (who had died in 1955), and his Turkish counterpart Adnan Menderes. A draft agreement resulted. This was finalized in London, ratified by the prime ministers of the United Kingdom, Greece, and Turkey, and presented for signing to the leaders of the two Cypriot communities, Makarios and Dr Fazil Kutchuk (February 1959). Accordingly, Cyprus was established as an independent republic on 16 August 1960 and admitted to the Commonwealth in March 1961.

It soon became clear that the constitution of the new republic was unworkable, and in November 1963 president Makarios presented 13 proposals for amending it to vice-president Kutchuk; he rejected them, but only after the Turkish government had done so. Amid mounting frustration and mutual distrust, intercommunal fighting broke out on 21 December. The months that followed saw further conflict between the two communities, the return of General Grivas to the island, Turkish air raids, an increase by Greece and Turkey of the number of troops officially permitted to them in Cyprus, and Turkish Cypriots concentrating in enclaves. British troops from the bases at Dekelia and Akrotiri (over which the United Kingdom retained sovereignty) were sent to Nicosia as peacekeepers, to be replaced in March 1964 by a UN peace-keeping force, and the American president, Lyndon Johnson, twice intervened to warn the Turkish government against invading the island. Moreover, Johnson entrusted the former secretary of state, Dean Acheson, with the task of reporting on Cyprus and its future. The solution Acheson proposed was a kind of double *enosis*: the republic would be dissolved and most of the island would be united with Greece, but its northern part would become a Turkish military base as well as a political canton. A number of other Turkish cantons would exist autonomously within the Greek part of Cyprus and, in addition, Greece would cede to Turkey the small island of Kastellorizo. The Turkish government accepted the plan only as a basis for negotiations; Makarios rejected it outright and, after some initial hesitation, so did the Greek government led by George Papandreou. Nevertheless, in its essential features, the Acheson plan continued to exert its influence on subsequent developments.

In the polarized atmosphere of the cold war, Makarios's increasingly neutralist foreign policy and independent line were not to the liking of the West. He had rejected the Anglo-American proposal for a NATO peace-keeping force insisting on a UN one, he was prepared to appeal to the Soviet Union, and he sought the support of non-allied countries; by rejecting the Acheson plan, moreover, he effectively kept Cyprus out of the reach of NATO, of which both Greece and Turkey were members. The Americans were suspicious of him and the Greek government itself, though siding with him over the Acheson plan, had allowed Grivas to return to Cyprus and help organize the Cypriot National Guard. Ready to fight for *enosis* in any form, Grivas was thought of as a counterweight to Makarios.

With the Greek coup d'état of 1967 the situation deteriorated. At a conference between the Greek and Turkish governments in September of the same year the Greek side proposed *enosis* based on a modified version of the Acheson plan; but this was rejected by the Turkish delegation. An attack by Grivas on two Turkish Cypriot villages shortly after brought about an ultimatum from Turkey. The Colonels capitulated over the Turkish demands and recalled Grivas and all Greek troops exceeding the 950 laid down by the Zürich and London agreements.

Although relations between the Greek junta and the Republic of Cyprus remained formally (if frigidly) correct, the Colonels became convinced that *enosis* could only be achieved if Makarios was removed from the scene. Allegedly behind an attempt on his life in 1970, in the following year they also helped general Grivas to return to Cyprus clandestinely and organize EOKA-B, an extremist right-wing, pro-*enosis*, underground organization. There followed, on 15 July 1974, a coup against Makarios inspired by the junta and staged by the Cypriot National Guard. Nikos Sampson was installed as pres-

ident, but contrary to the conspirators' plans, Makarios had managed to escape and was flown, via Malta, to London. The Turkish government urged the British to take joint action in order to restore the status quo, but as they declined, Turkey acted unilaterally under the 1960 Treaty of Guarantee and invaded Cyprus from the north on 20 July. The UN Security Council passed a resolution calling for a ceasefire which became effective on 22 July and was broken a few days later.

Meanwhile, following mobilization which also proved a fiasco, the Greek junta collapsed and with it the Sampson regime. In Makarios's absence, Glaphkos Clerides, president of the House of Representatives, took over as acting president of Cyprus. Karamanlis was invited from his self-exile in Paris to restore democracy to Greece. He arrived in Athens in the early hours of 24 July, was sworn in as prime minister, and formed a government of national unity. The foreign ministers of the three guarantor powers (the United Kingdom, Turkey, and Greece) met in Geneva and, on 30 July, signed a ceasefire. Talks at the second Geneva Conference, convened to seek a political solution, collapsed on 14 August. Within hours the Turkish forces went on the offensive, advancing until they reached their objective, the so-called Attila Line. After repeated UN Security Council resolutions calling for the termination of the military operations, the withdrawal of all foreign troops in the island, and the resumption of talks, a new ceasefire was signed on 16 August; it proved more lasting, but by then the Turkish army was in control of almost 40 per cent of the island and some 180,000 Greek Cypriots had fled that area.

President Makarios returned to Cyprus in December, and in January 1975 talks began between Glaphkos Clerides and Rauf Denktash, representing the two communities which were becoming increasingly concentrated in the south and the north, respectively. The following month Denktash proclaimed the Turkish-occupied north the "Turkish Federated State of Cyprus" and, in November 1983, the "Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus". In either case, Denktash's state has not been recognized by the international community (with the exception of Turkey and Pakistan). In November 1975 a resolution had been passed by an overwhelming majority of the UN Assembly calling for the withdrawal of all foreign troops in Cyprus, the return of the refugees to their homes, and the resumption of peace talks under the aegis of the Secretary General. The years that followed have been marked by talks and UN resolutions, by fresh initiatives and further negotiations; yet little progress towards a solution has been made to date.

Enosis was specifically excluded by the 1960 settlement, but hope for an eventual *enosis* was too deeply rooted to be abandoned so easily. It persisted for another 14 years affecting individual actions and national policies. It is true to say, however, that although Greece remains the natural ally and traditional advocate of the Greek Cypriots, since the tragic events of 1974 the *enosis* dream has been laid to rest.

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Epaminondas

Theban statesman of the 4th century BC

Epaminondas, son of Polymnis, sprang from a venerable family, distinguished by birth but not by political accomplishments. His date of birth is unknown, but he received an excellent education in music and dance, rhetoric, and especially philosophy. During his early adult life he participated in the liberation of Thebes from Spartan occupation, but played no conspicuous role in the years of subsequent fighting. Epaminondas came to the fore in 371 BC when at a Panhellenic peace conference he defied the authority of Sparta and its king Agesilaus. When the Spartans invaded Boeotia later that year, he commanded the Theban army. At the Battle of Leuctra he crushed the enemy by a combination of brilliant tactics and superbly trained troops, destroying Sparta's ascendancy in Greece. In its place he established the Theban hegemony, which lasted until 362 BC, and made possible Theban predominance well into the Sacred War of 355–346 BC.

Anger over Spartan policies had long alienated many of the Peloponnesian states, and the victory at Leuctra released this pent-up animosity. Elis, Arcadia, and Argos allied with Thebes in 370 BC to oppose Sparta, and Agesilaus' ineffectual efforts to disrupt Arcadia provoked a military campaign by the new allies. Epaminondas and Pelopidas led the combined army on a massive invasion of Laconia. They assaulted Sparta unavailingly, but immediately turned their attention to ravaging unspoiled Laconia. Epaminondas next led them to Messenia, which they liberated from Sparta. The emancipated Messenian helots joined the allies, and together they encircled Sparta. Epaminondas directed the building of Messene, the capital of the new polis, in 369 BC. Next year he helped the Arcadians to build their new capital at Megalopolis.

On their return to Thebes, both Epaminondas and Pelopidas were tried by envious political opponents, but won easy acquittal. Reassembling the army, Epaminondas again in 369 BC penetrated the Peloponnese, but this time his target was Corinth and its surrounding allies. Although he devastated Corinthian territory and attacked the capital, his army were unable to do the well-fortified city any real harm. He was more successful in assailing neighbouring Sicyon, Epidaurus, Troezen, and Pellene. Though hardly spectacular, Epaminondas' gains deprived Sparta and Corinth of additional allies and denied them a portion of the northeastern Peloponnese.

Epaminondas' Peloponnesian policy had achieved remarkable results in a short time, but events in 368 BC proved that his work was inadequate. Athens had concluded an alliance with Sparta the previous year, but as yet was more of a nuisance than a threat. Of greater urgency was a serious dispute between Elis and Arcadia over the border territory of Triphylia. The two states were the warders of Sparta, and enmity between them threatened to undo all of Epaminondas' work. The quarrel also underlined a fundamental flaw in his system of alliances, from which he cannot be absolved. At the creation of the alliance, all members tacitly but actually acknowledged Theban hegemony. Yet this understanding was never formally endorsed. Nor was there any joint body or *synedrion* to resolve differences among the allies. In this diplomatic arena the Theban army was of little use, for armed intervention against any of the city states would disrupt the entire alliance. An additional fault was Epaminondas' failure to apply diplomatic pressure in order to obtain a peaceful solution to the problem. As a result, the quarrel split the alliance. Mutual and antagonistic ambitions did more damage to the united front than Sparta could ever have done. Thereafter, Epaminondas faced the relatively easy problem of Sparta and the far thornier matter of his allies.

Further diplomatic failure confronted Thebes in 366 BC, when Pelopidas won the approval of the Persian king for a new general peace, only to see its wholesale rejection in Greece. The affair ended in deep embarrassment. Epaminondas tried to recover Theban fortunes by another military expedition, this one aimed at Achaea, but the effort was pointless, because Achaea had hitherto neither supported Sparta nor opposed Thebes. Achaea fell easily, but unpopular Theban measures soon goaded a strong group of Achaeans to throw off its authority. Moreover, Achaea immediately joined Sparta, which additionally weakened the Theban position within the Peloponnese.

One of the oddest episodes of the Theban hegemony is Epaminondas' naval programme, which grew out of the Theban–Persian accord of 366 BC, and was aimed at Athens, despite the fact that Thebes had suffered virtually nothing at Athenian hands, and the project was of little strategic value to its ambitions. The Persian king subsidized the construction of 100 triremes and in 364 BC Epaminondas put to sea. At the end of the summer he returned to Boeotia without results – and nothing more is heard of his fleet.

The final crisis for both Epaminondas and Thebes stemmed from the breakdown of their system of Peloponnesian alliances. By 362 BC the Peloponnesians were at open war with one another, Theban leadership disregarded, and Spartan resurgence a distinct possibility. Realizing that Thebes had virtually lost control of the situation, Epaminondas intervened to re-establish its authority. He led an army of 25,000–30,000 men against a coalition of Sparta, Athens, Elis, and some Arcadians, numbering some 22,000 soldiers. Epaminondas encamped at Tegea, his enemies at Mantinea in the Arcadian plain. The Spartans were late to arrive, so he seized the opportunity to attack the unprotected city of Sparta, but was repulsed. He retraced his steps without hesitation, and with his cavalry made a surprise stab at Mantinea, which also failed. Pitched battle was now the only option. He confronted the enemy south of Mantinea; and, as at Leuctra, drew up his striking force on the left with his allies on the right. Opposite him were the Spartans under Agesilaus. Epaminondas' men charged and cut through the Spartan line easily, but at the height of the action Epaminondas fell, mortally wounded. This effectively ended the battle: Epaminondas died on the field, and with him died the Theban hegemony.

Epaminondas had raised Thebes to the height of its power, but he alone could not sustain its position. The Theban hegemony proves rather that no one state could bring political unity to Greece. None the less, Cicero considered Epaminondas first among the Greeks, and most Greeks considered him the architect of the hegemony. The western intellectual tradition has uniformly held him as the model of the noble, far-sighted, and virtuous philosopher-statesman. He was also the paradigm of the cultured gentleman and man of action. A modern statue of him still stands in Thebes.

JOHN BUCKLER

Biography

Epaminondas, whose date of birth is unknown, came from a noble Theban family and received a good education. In 371 BC he represented Thebes at a Panhellenic peace conference at Sparta and made his mark by defying Sparta's king Agesilaus. Re-elected a Boeotarch, he led the Thebans at the Battle of Leuctra which destroyed Spartan supremacy and established Theban hegemony. He was killed in the Battle of Mantinea in 362 BC and Theban hegemony of Greece died with him.

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Ephesus

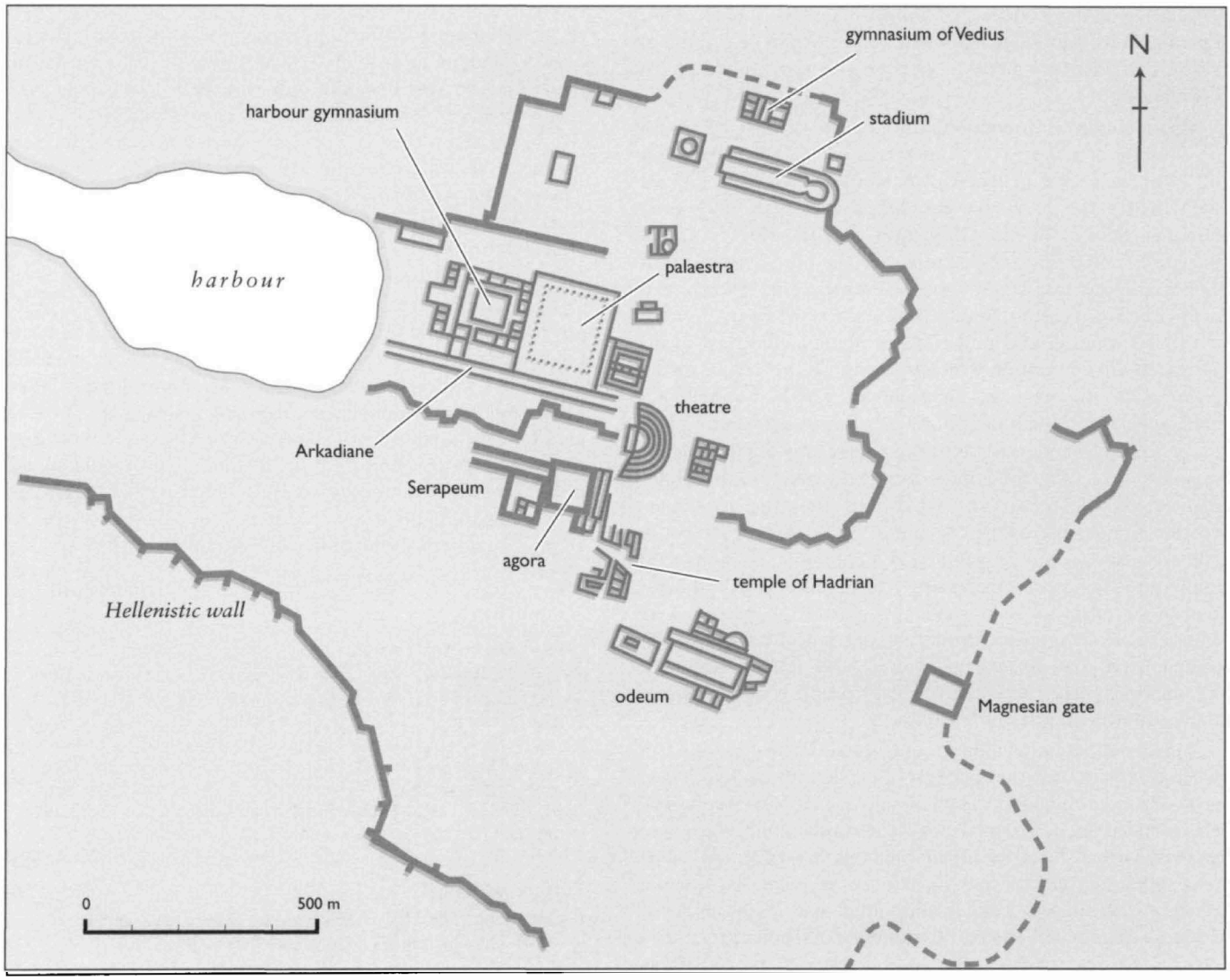
City in western Asia Minor

Ephesus, which became the greatest city of Asia Minor, was a centre of Hellenism for over 2,000 years. According to tradition it was founded by Androclus, son of the king of Athens, in the 10th century BC. He chose a defensible site on a gulf near the mouth of the Cayster river. Ephesus thrived as an independent city through the Archaic period, becoming a centre of the Ionian renaissance. It adopted the worship of a local goddess identified with Artemis, whose images and priests, however, retained distinct local characteristics. Her first temple was destroyed by the Cimmerians in the 7th century BC.

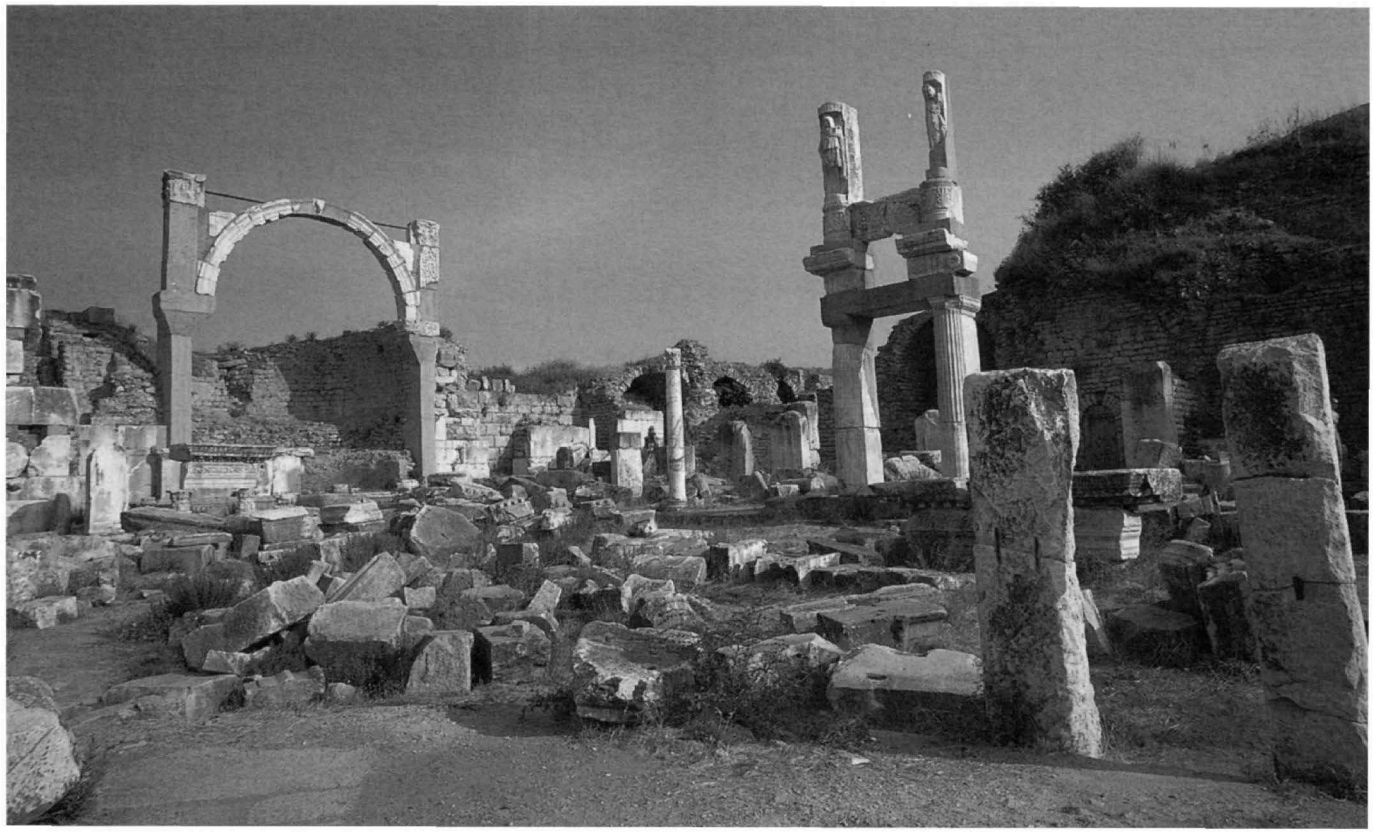
Croesus of Lydia conquered the city in 560 BC, and moved its inhabitants to a new site near the new temple of Artemis, which he adorned with elaborate columns. Despite its incorporation into the Persian empire in 547 BC, the city retained considerable autonomy and flourished as a centre of Greek culture. Its most famous sons were the philosopher Heraclitus and the satiric poet Hipponax.

Ephesus supported the Ionian revolt of 499 BC, and in 478, now independent, joined the Delian League, where its high tribute marked it as one of the richest members. The Persians took it again in 387 BC, and held it until its capture by Alexander the Great in 334. Alexander made generous gifts to the temple of Artemis which had been burned in 356 BC, on the night when he was born. The new temple, built on an even grander scale, was soon recognized as one of the seven wonders of the ancient world. It functioned as a financial centre, and had the right of asylum.

Because of silting of the harbour, Lysimachus, who controlled the region from 287 to 281 BC, moved the city to a new site, where it flourished until the Middle Ages. The new Ephesus had a rectangular street pattern, with a great theatre and agora in the centre. The major remains of his work are the



21. Ephesus



Ephesus: remains of the city centre which was the greatest Roman city of Asia Minor

massive fortifications, 10 km long. Ephesus was subsequently ruled by the Seleucids and Pergamum until it became Roman in 133 BC. Despite joining Mithridates in 88 BC, the city remained a major centre, receiving the visits of Cicero and Mark Antony, who made a dramatic entrance in the guise of Dionysus.

Ephesus reached its height under the Roman empire, when it was the residence of the proconsul of Asia (the most famous was the future emperor Antoninus Pius), and seat of the imperial cult. Surviving remains illustrate the growth that made it one of the three largest cities of the eastern half of the empire. They include four huge gymnasia, the theatre, stadium, agora, library, civic centre, temples, lavish houses, and streets paved with marble and lined with colonnades. The greatest monument was still the temple of Artemis, on the ancient site. Building activity was most intense in the 2nd century AD.

By that time, Ephesus had become a centre of Christianity and home of some of its most sacred sites. St Paul visited in a famous and well-documented scene (Acts 19). An ancient tradition had St John and St Timothy buried here and a legend associated the last years of the Virgin Mary with the city.

Although a Gothic attack in AD 262 destroyed much of the centre, late antiquity brought revival and continuing prosperity. The Roman city was maintained but transformed. Temples were destroyed and used as quarries, churches were added to the urban fabric, and bazaars grew up along the colonnaded streets. Mosaics and wall paintings produced a colourful impression. Ephesus took on a distinctly Christian appearance, most notably in two great churches. St Mary's, built into the ruins of the precinct of Hadrian's temple, was the seat of two church councils, the Third Ecumenical Council of 430 which established the adoration of the Virgin, and the so-called Robber Council of 449, not recognized by the Orthodox Church. These meetings brought an influx of visitors and widespread public disturbance as the various doctrines were debated and fought over. The church of St John, built over the apostle's tomb on the hill above the temple of Artemis, was rebuilt in the 6th century on a grandiose scale by Justinian I. It soon became the seat of the metropolitan bishop, and the goal of pilgrims from every part of the empire. The 5th century had added another holy site, the tomb of the Seven Sleepers, youths who had survived persecution by miraculously sleeping for 200 years. This, too, became a goal of pilgrimage.

Large parts of the city were destroyed in the early 7th century, probably by the Persians. They were followed by the Arabs, who occupied it in 654. Ephesus never recovered. The medieval city was confined to a small part of the ancient centre, surrounded by new walls built from the remains of earlier buildings. Although this site had remained an important port and seat of a large regional fair, silting of the harbour caused the centre to shift to the heavily fortified community around the church of St John by the 11th century. Consequently, medieval Ephesus is usually called Theologos, a title of the saint. Pilgrims continued to visit the apostle's tomb through the Byzantine period, especially to collect the sacred dust, or manna, that issued from the tomb and supposedly had miraculous powers.

Byzantine (and Hellenic) Ephesus flourished for the last time under the Laskarids (1204–61) when it was an important centre of education and home of the greatest scholars of the

time. The Turkish conquest of 1304 introduced a period of renewed prosperity, the greatest since the 6th century, but Ephesus was now a Turkish city. The Greek population rapidly disappeared or was converted, and the church of St John became a mosque. It was finally destroyed in civil wars in the early 15th century. In the Ottoman period, only a few Greek Christians remained in a declining town that suffered from malaria and nomadism. The arrival of the English archaeologist John Wood in 1863 introduced a period of revival. His discovery of the temple of Artemis was the prelude to the extensive excavations that the Austrians have been carrying out successfully since 1895, revealing the ancient city.

CLIVE FOSS

Summary

A city on the west coast of Asia Minor, Ephesus was a great centre of Hellenism for over two millennia, from the 10th century BC to the 13th century AD. It was best known for the temple of Artemis which was one of the Seven Wonders of the Ancient World. It flourished in the Classical and Hellenistic periods and reached its height under the Romans, prospering until the 6th century AD. As a centre of Christianity it was the site of the Third Ecumenical Council and the tomb of St John. Though devastated in the 7th century, it remained Greek until the early 14th century.

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Ephorus

Historian of the 4th century BC

Ephorus was a major historian of the 4th century BC who came from Cyme in Aeolis (Asia Minor). The tradition is unanimous that he studied at Athens under Isocrates, and in fact the surviving fragments and that part of the text of Diodorus Siculus that is based on Ephorus (Ephorus' own works are all lost) preserve an unmistakable Isocratean flavour. Equally in evidence is a strong admiration for Athens. Apart from his main work, the *Histories*, we hear, *inter alia*, of a local history of Cyme, a book on literary style, and one on discoveries.

The *Histories* were a general, or universal, history from the Dorian invasion up to Ephorus' own day that, while concentrating on the Greeks, tried also to include the actions and achievements of non-Greek people, to the extent at least that these impinged on Greece. In this respect he was following in the footsteps of Herodotus rather than Thucydides; and not only in this, but also in his broader interpretation of history and its scope. For instance, two whole books were devoted to geography, and in the early books necessarily, but in the later historical books as well, whenever appropriate, he related much that was known in the 4th century BC about Greek colonization and the foundation of cities (reputedly an Ephoran speciality), ethnology, religion, culture in general, and science. According to Polybius, Ephorus was the only historian (apart from himself of course) to have attempted a universal history. Herodotus had been inspired to write what he did by the titanic clash between east and west, Europe and Asia, Greeks and barbarians (led by Persia), which culminated in the crossing of Xerxes from Asia to Europe in 480 BC where he met with defeat and disgrace. The unification of Greece under Philip of Macedon and the reverse crossing of Alexander the Great from Europe to Asia in 334 BC, which resulted in the conquest of the Persian empire, a stupendous event, would appear to have provided Ephorus with his main theme: he had intended to cover the period of Greek (and related barbarian) history from the return of the Heraclidae (the Macedonian royal house claimed descent from Heracles) in the 11th century BC to 334 BC, but he was forced (by old age or illness) to stop with the year 341/40 BC, having written 29 books. A 30th book was added by his son Demophilus, which still did not complete Ephorus' original purpose.

Ephorus was above all a didactic historian. In line with most contemporary historiography he wrote primarily for the purpose of instructing. The moral appraisements of public men (praising the good and censuring the bad) that we find in books 11 and 15 of Diodorus Siculus had their origin in Ephorus, who in turn applied to historical writing Isocratean theory on the subject. Rhetoric and a fine style, whether in writing or in speaking, were not ends in themselves for Isocrates, but merely tools to be employed, along with anything else that could be so utilized, for the attainment of correct, virtuous conduct, above all by political leaders. Writing at a time when Greece had succumbed to Macedon, Ephorus, naturally enough, sought to explain the collapse of the leading states of Greece and the rise of Macedon: ethical and pious conduct, whether by individuals or by states, in private no less than in public life, was Ephorus' (and Isocrates') recipe for success, one entirely in keeping with conventional Greek morality. For Ephorus, therefore, the failure of Greece was essentially a moral matter, as was also Philip's corresponding success.

Conventional in his outlook, as a historiographer Ephorus was nevertheless highly innovative and influential. He appears to have been the first writer to divide his work into books, providing each with its own preface. Within books events were narrated, in so far as it was possible, from beginning to end without interruption, and they were grouped together so as to form a thematic unity. There can be little doubt that this was a conscious attempt to improve on the annalistic presentation of Thucydides and the Oxyrhynchus historian, both of whom Ephorus employed as sources. The belief, almost universally held by scholars, that, always and as a matter of principle, each book was devoted exclusively to the history of one of the four major regions with which the *Histories* were concerned, that is, mainland Greece, the west, the east (Persia), and (after 360 BC) the north (Macedonia), can be shown from the fragments and the text of Diodorus Siculus to be wrong. Ephorus' method was not inflexible. Events from different regions were often

related in close sequence in the same books, with any connections between them highlighted.

Often uncritical in the use of his sources, prone to exaggeration (for example, he habitually inflated figures for barbarian forces, even when he knew better), and to smoothing over difficulties, Ephorus falls short of the high standards of the greatest of the Greek historians. Even so, his achievement in composing for the first time a general and systematic history of the Mediterranean world was considerable, and the *Histories* remained canonical reading for as long as the ancient world was able to handle works on such a scale. Its popularity is indicated by the extent to which it was used and imitated by other writers. Diyllus, the Athenian historian, made the year 340 BC (where Ephorus broke off) the starting-point of his own general, Greek and barbarian, history. Strabo, the eminent geographer, made extensive use of Ephorus, quoting him on numerous occasions; and of course much of the surviving work of Diodorus Siculus is in essence Ephorus, abridged and paraphrased. We would have a much poorer understanding of the 4th century but for Ephorus, as he has come down to us in Diodorus.

P.J. STYLIANOU

Ephorus

Born c.400 BC at Cyme in Aeolis in Asia Minor, Ephorus seems to have been a pupil of Isocrates at Athens. His principal work was the Histories in 30 books, a universal history from the Dorian invasion to his own day (the last book was written by his son). He also wrote a local history of Cyme, a book on style, and a book on discoveries. All his works are lost, but the Histories was an important source for other historians, notably Diodorus Siculus. He died in the 320s BC.

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Ephraim the Syrian, St *c.*306–373

Poet and theologian

The Syriac poet and theologian Ephraim lived most of his life in Nisibis, a border town on the eastern frontier of the Roman empire (modern Nusaybin, in Turkey), serving as a deacon under St James, bishop of Nisibis (died 338) and his successors, until 363, when the town was ceded to the Persians following the death of the emperor Julian. Ephraim moved to Edessa (modern Urfa, also in Turkey), where he spent the last ten years of his life (he died on 9 June 373). Although he was often described and portrayed in later tradition as a monk, he was not a monk in the later sense, but a member of the *bnay qyama*, which can variously be translated as "members of the covenant", or "sharers in the pact, or promise", who undertook certain ascetic promises (probably at adult baptism) but continued to live and work within the urban (or village) Christian community. His extensive Syriac writings consist of: (1) lyric poems (*madrashe*), some 500 of which survive; (2) narrative poems (*memre*; the authenticity of many of these is uncertain); (3) artistic prose (a homily "On Our Lord" and a letter to Publius); and (4) ordinary prose (works against Marcion, Bardaisan, and Mani; commentaries on Genesis, part of Exodus, the Diatessaron, Acts, and the Epistles, the last two of which survive only in Armenian translation). Although many of these works already feature in the great 18th-century edition of Ephraim's works in both Syriac and Greek, it is only in the last half-century that reliable editions of the Syriac texts have appeared.

Ephraim lived in a milieu that was probably largely bilingual, though he himself belongs primarily to the Syriac cultural world and it is uncertain whether he read Greek; nevertheless he has some awareness of the Greek cultural world: in his prose works Plato, the Stoics, Hermes (Trismegistus), and Albinus all receive mention, while in his poetry he alludes to Greek mythology on at least two occasions.

Ephraim's fame was already known to Jerome, who devotes a chapter on him in his *On Famous Men* (written in 392), and notices on him subsequently feature in a number of Greek 5th-century works, notably in Palladius' *Lausiac History* (chapter 40) and in the *Ecclesiastical Histories* by Sozomen (3. 16) and Theodoret (4. 29); Sozomen accords him the highest praise, describing him as "the greatest ornament of the Catholic Church", and as someone who "comprehended with ease the most abstruse theorems of philosophy", and whose "style of writing was so filled with splendid oratory ... that he surpassed the most approved writers of Greece". The Syriac *Life* of Ephraim, of which a Greek adaptation also survives, can hardly date before the mid-6th century, and it simply expands upon material to be found in the earlier Greek sources. The *Life* further contains the famous episode of the saint's visit to St Basil in Caesarea, which features in the Greek encomium on St Basil falsely attributed to St Ephraim himself, pseudo-Amphilochius' *Life* of St Basil, and pseudo-Gregory of Nyssa's Encomium on St Ephraim. The seeds of this legend go back to the mistaken identification of "a Syrian", mentioned by St Basil, as Ephraim (this "Syrian" is now known to have been Eusebius of Emesa).

Less than 20 years after Ephraim's death Jerome reports that he had read a work on the Holy Spirit by Ephraim in Greek translation. Although this particular work cannot be identified for certain, more than 250 texts in Greek attributed to Ephraim do survive. Much work on sorting out the many problems connected with this large corpus, however, still remains to be done: thus attributions in the manuscripts and versions are often at variance (Macarius and John Chrysostom are quite frequent alternatives), and many works come down in multiple forms. Critical editions are absent except in a few cases, and so for the most part the 18th-century edition by J.S. Assemani remains the standard (it serves as the basis for the recent new edition by K.G. Phrantzolas). In general terms, the Greek corpus can be divided into four main categories: (1)

texts for which a Syriac original, probably by Ephraim himself, can be identified; this applies to the long verse homily on *Jonah and the Repentance of Nineveh*, where the Greek translator adopts the seven-syllable metre of the original; (2) texts for which a Syriac original exists, but is not by Ephraim: examples of this are the influential *Sermo Asceticus*, which is built up from several different Syriac sources, the *Testament of Ephraim*, and the *Life of Abraham and his niece Mary*; (3) texts in syllabic metre (suggesting a Syriac origin), for which no Syriac survives; some of these may go back to lost Syriac originals, but more often they seem to be Greek compositions; thus the homily on Abraham and Isaac uses the Septuagint text of Genesis, and the Greek homily on Elijah is quite different from the Syriac one, which is also attributed to Ephraim; (4) prose texts that were certainly written in Greek. A few of these may well belong to the 6th-century Ephraim, patriarch of Antioch, while others will belong to that large throng of unknown authors of (especially) the 5th and 6th centuries whose works came to be attributed to more famous names. The famous Lenten prayer of St Ephraim, beginning "O Lord and Master of my life", seems to belong to this category, for no trace of a Syriac original is to be found.

Of Ephraim's poetry it was only the narrative poems, in seven-syllable couplets, that were translated, and the Greek translations of these, which reproduce the syllabic metrical pattern of the originals, may well have helped to introduce into Greek this new metrical form, so different from Classical Greek metre. Although none of the lyric poems appears to have been translated, it is very possible that their poetic form may have provided some of the inspiration for the creation of the kontakion, the oldest examples of which go back to the late 5th century; the kontakion, however, introduces a new element, in the form of homotony. It is also quite possible that Romanos, a 6th-century native of bilingual Syria and the greatest exponent of the kontakion form, would have been able to read Ephraim's *madrashe* and so borrow some of his motifs.

Ephraim's discourses were often prescribed for Lenten reading in monasteries, and excerpts from them feature prominently in a number of monastic florilegia, such as the *Synagoge*, or *Evergetinos*, of Paul (d. 1054) of the monastery of the Theotokos Evergetis. Many of the Greek texts attributed to Ephraim were subsequently translated into a wide variety of other languages – Latin, Coptic, Georgian, Armenian, Arabic, Ethiopic, Christian Palestinian Aramaic, and Slavonic.

Descriptions of the Second Coming in a number of the Greek works have influenced the iconographical tradition. The earliest portrayal of St Ephraim himself is on a mid-10th century icon in St Catherine's Monastery, Sinai: the upper two panels of the icon portray the apostle Thaddaeus and king Abgar of Edessa with the Mandylion, while the lower two have St Paul and St Antony on the left, and St Basil and St Ephraim on the right. A popular theme in the post-Byzantine period is the death of St Ephraim: 16th-century examples can be found in icons in Jerusalem, Patmos, and the monastery of Iviron (Athos), and in paintings in the *katholikon* of the monastery of Docheiariou (Athos) and elsewhere. St Ephraim's liturgical commemoration is on 28 January.

SEBASTIAN BROCK

Biography

Born *c.*306 at Nisibis (modern Nusaybin) where he spent most of his life, Ephraim was ordained a deacon. After the Persians occupied Nisibis in 363, he moved to Edessa (modern Urfa) where he died in 373. His copious writings, composed in Syriac, include lyric and narrative poetry as well as exegetical, dogmatic, and ascetic prose works. Several were translated into Greek (where many more were attributed to him) and had a significant impact on the subsequent tradition.

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Epicurus 341–270 BC

Philosopher

Though an Athenian by citizenship, Epicurus was born and brought up in Samos, after his father Neocles emigrated to the Athenian cleruchy there. He was educated in Athens by the Platonist Pamphilus and the Democritean Nausiphanes. After a period teaching philosophy in Mytilene and Lampsacus he returned to Athens (307/06 BC) and bought a house with a

garden (on a site between the Dipylon Gate and Plato's Academy) where he set up his own philosophical school (sometimes referred to simply as "the garden"). He created scandal by including both slaves and women in the community of followers who gathered around him.

Philosophically, Epicurus was a hedonist, in that he believed that pleasure was the goal of all activity, but his conception of pleasure was a very austere one. The supreme pleasure, he claimed, could be enjoyed only in the absence of all pain (and indeed in some sense pleasure consisted of the removal of pain, as in drinking when we are thirsty, or eating when we are hungry). Since an unfulfilled desire is a pain, then the happy life can be achieved only if we restrict our desires to those that are related to natural, satiable, appetites (e.g. for food or drink), and remove those that spring from unnatural appetites (for gourmet meals, for example, or wealth, fame, and power); such desires, being unnatural, have no natural limit, and so can never be satisfied. He recommended, then, a simple life of unambitious obscurity. To the objection that uncontrolled pain in this life, and punishment by the gods in the life to come, might overbalance any pleasure we may achieve, he responded that death was our guarantee that no pain could become so great as to overcome pleasure entirely; death limits the amount of pain we can suffer, because it is the end of all sensation: "Death is nothing to us, for when we are death is not, and when death is we are not." So far as the gods are concerned, they would not be able to live lives of perfect pleasure if they bothered themselves with the running of the world, and so, he argues, like perfect Epicureans they enjoy an existence of eternally undisturbed blessedness, taking no interest in us or our activities. He supported these positions by adopting a modified form of the atomism of Democritus, which enabled him to explain the creation and existence of the world in purely mechanical terms, as the result of random collisions of atoms, without having to bring in a divine creator. Since the human soul also consisted of atoms, which dispersed at death, there could be no afterlife, and death need no longer be feared. His principal modification of Democritus' system was the introduction of an uncaused swerve that some atoms made at random times; this seems to have been Epicurus' attempt to escape the risk that Democritus' purely mechanistic universe would rule out human free will, but the fragmentary nature of the evidence makes it difficult to be certain how he thought of this as working. He went on to develop a sophisticated theory of perception (sight, for example, being caused by thin films of atoms that are constantly being cast off by physical objects, and which are brought into contact with our soul-atoms through our eyes), and on the basis of this a theory of knowledge that rested on the absolute reliability of all sense perception (but not of our interpretation of it).

Though Epicurus was reputedly a prolific writer, very few of his works survive. Diogenes Laertius' *Lives of the Philosophers* preserves three "letters" (really short essays) on ethics, astronomy, and physics, together with a collection of 40 sayings, the *Principal Doctrines*. Another similar collection is preserved in a manuscript found in the Vatican in the 19th century. In addition, in the 18th century, scrolls of his major work, *On Nature*, were discovered preserved by volcanic ash in the Villa of the Papyri at Herculaneum; attempts to unroll and read them have been successful only recently. Otherwise we are dependent on an account in verse of his physics written by the Roman poet Lucretius, and summaries of his doctrines by writers such as Cicero and Plutarch, given from the point of view of his philosophical opponents.

Unlike many ancient philosophical schools, the Epicureans were enthusiastic proselytizers, and made an effort, with popularizing accounts of their doctrines, to make a wide appeal, and their success attracted the hostility and contempt of the followers of more conservative schools. A striking example of the degree of enthusiasm that the school could arouse in its followers is shown by a massive inscription (covering a wall about 80 m long) put up in the Lycian city of Oenoanda in the 2nd century AD by the Epicurean Diogenes for the edification of his fellow citizens, and containing among other things treatises on ethics and physics, and a collection of maxims. There is no evidence that the school survived into the 3rd century AD.

Though Epicureanism, with its emphasis on community and moderation, its enthusiasm for proselytizing, and its hostility to conventional religion and superstition, might be thought to have many points of resemblance to Christianity, Christian writers treat it on the whole unsympathetically. Although some Epicurean teachings (that the soul is a physical thing, for example, and that the world had a beginning and an end) gave welcome support to the Christian position in controversies with other philosophical schools, so that in these contexts Epicurean views could be cited with approval, Christians in general were unsympathetic to Epicureans. Their denial of a life after death, their belief that the gods did not concern themselves with what happens in the world, and their elevation of pleasure as the ultimate goal of all activity made them the representatives of all that was wrong with non-Christian thought. A very few Christian writers saw their virtues (Gregory of Nazianzus, for example, praises Epicurus for his moderation), but in general they do no more than repeat anti-Epicurean polemic picked up from the writings of rival philosophers, and played a great part in perpetuating the caricature of Epicureans as vulgar hedonists.

RICHARD WALLACE

Biography

Born in Samos in 341 BC, Epicurus was educated in Athens where he was a pupil of the Platonist Pamphilus and the atomist Nausiphanes. In 309 he began teaching and opened schools in Mytilene and Lampsacus. In 307/06 he returned to Athens and opened a school called "the garden" which continued to teach Epicureanism until the 2nd century AD. Apart from some surviving fragments his writings are best known through the *De Rerum Natura* of Lucretius. He died at Athens in 270 BC.

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Epidaurus

City in the eastern Peloponnese

Epidaurus is a typical small Greek city, hardly bigger than an English village, situated on the coast at the south side of the Saronic gulf. It is important for one reason only, the existence in its southern hinterland of the remains of the ancient sanctuary of Asclepius the healing god, the most significant of his sanctuaries in mainland Greece.

Asclepius was something of a parvenu among the Greek gods. According to his mythology, he was the son of Apollo and a mortal woman Coronis; originally a mortal, he was only subsequently deified. There is no real trace of his cult in the early Greek tradition, and his sanctuary at Epidaurus was grafted on to an existing sanctuary of Apollo. At first it was completely nondescript, an altar and a small adjacent building. Apollo himself had little more, and the whole is typical of the modest sanctuaries that were sufficient for and all that could be afforded by the less wealthy Greek communities. It is thus possible to trace its deliberate conversion, the reason and means whereby this was achieved, into one of the major sanctuaries of Greece.

The cause seems to have been the great plague which struck Athens during the early years of the Peloponnesian War, when the rural population was evacuated into the area defended by the walls that linked Athens to Piraeus, in squalid conditions with no sanitation. At this time, the last third of the 5th century BC, Greek medicine was developing along scientific – certainly pragmatic – lines. It is the time of Hippocrates the "father" of Greek medicine. But parallel to this was a firm belief, certainly among the mass of the population, in miracle cures brought about by the intervention of a deity. Asclepius, through his father, was the appropriate focus for such beliefs, and duly acquired divine status. Since conventional doctors had no cure for the plague, anyone who recovered, or any community which escaped, could only credit this to the intervention of the god, and the reputation of Asclepius was thereby greatly increased. A small sanctuary (again, grafted on to one of Apollo) was established in 416 BC on the south slopes of the Acropolis at Athens; but it was Epidaurus (which seems to have escaped the spread of the plague) that benefited the most.

The sanctuary was supposedly at the place, or, rather, one of the places, where it was believed that Asclepius was born. During the 4th century BC the amount of patronage attracted

Epidaurus: view of the theatre, built in the 4th century BC to seat 14,000 and still in use today

to the sanctuary, and, by implication, the amount of revenue it raised for the cult, enabled a substantial building programme to be carried out. The contracts for the various necessary building projects were recorded by inscriptions on stone. Many of these have survived, and record the progress of the sanctuary's development, and the means by which this was achieved. The work was under the control of an official board of commissioners, who were entrusted with, or more likely actively collected, the necessary funds. They appointed roving ambassadors who visited cities up and down the Greek world asking for financial support. They let the contracts, to quarrymen, to transporters, and to craftsmen. They appointed the architect. They also appointed guarantors, wealthy citizens of Epidaurus, who would be liable to financial penalties if the work was not carried out to the satisfaction of the commissioners. These inscriptions record the cost of materials and their transport, the wages of the craftsmen, and the salary paid to the architect (he got double the rate of an ordinary workman, which suggests that his pay was regarded basically as expenses only). It is possible to calculate, when the inscriptions are well enough preserved, the actual cost of the buildings, and these make clear that figures given in later literary sources for other building projects, particularly those on the Acropolis of Athens, are grossly exaggerated.

The first essential in the building programme was the Doric temple of Asclepius, in limestone, brought mostly from Corinth, and with Pentelic marble for the sculptural decoration. In front of this was the altar, and to the north a long enclosed building, the Abaton, which was the place of healing: in this the patients slept, and during the night were supposedly visited and healed by the god. Next came the most ornate structure, a circular Doric building called the Thymele. It once had important painted wall decoration, described by Pausanias but now irretrievably lost. The circular cella had a decorative interior colonnade of Corinthian columns. (There were probably Corinthian columns also in the temple but these have totally vanished.) It all rested on a maze of circular foundations, each ring accessible to the next through doorways. Its purpose is enigmatic, but it is probably best interpreted as a cenotaph, representing the burial place of the human Asclepius before he was deified. The inscriptions for this building cover a period of over 30 years, in the second half of the 4th century BC, a time when, it is clear, funds were coming in erratically. Another important building of this period is the great theatre, the best preserved in mainland Greece, attributed by Pausanias, together with the Thymele, to Polyclitus, who he seems to have thought was the famous Argive sculptor. But the dates are wrong, and unless this is a total mistake, the architect was probably a descendant of the sculptor.

Construction work continued well into the 3rd century BC, buildings often being paid for by single donors. They include a large courtyard building, with an elaborate ramped entrance for processions, and surrounded by rooms equipped for ritual feasting in the Greek manner, the participants in the sacred meals reclining on simple couches. There is a propylon, or gateway building, not an effective barrier, since it can be bypassed to either side. Its function is to mark the entry into the sanctuary; there was a rule that all the sacrificial meat had to be consumed within the boundary. There was quite elaborate provision for water supplies; the abundance of water, still a feature of the site, is undoubtedly the reason the sanctuary developed at this particular spot. There is a stadium for athletic contests. There are also temples and altars to other deities, to Apollo's sister Artemis, and to other gods whose identity is not recorded.

The sanctuary flourished throughout the Hellenistic period, when many of the cures effected were recorded on inscriptions ("publication promised"). It was ransacked in the disturbed times of the 1st century BC, but revived and flourished again under the Romans, when buildings were repaired and a bath building added. The last recorded cures date to the 4th century AD, but the whole cult, its beliefs and practices, had such close parallels to Christianity (which was certainly influenced by this and similar cults) that it was regarded as a blasphemy, and ceased to function. The buildings fell into ruin, except for the theatre the seats of which were covered by earth slips. In the late 19th century the theatre was excavated and now plays an important role in the continuity of the Hellenic tradition, as a venue for the modern production of classical Athenian drama.

R.A. TOMLINSON

Summary

City in the eastern Peloponnese, Epidaurus is best known at the principal sanctuary of Asclepius in mainland Greece. The cult, associated with the birthplace of the god, seems to have originated at the time of the plague in Athens (430 BC). Most of the surviving buildings, including a well-preserved theatre, date from the 4th century BC.

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Epigram

Originally an epigram (from the verb *epigrapho* – "I write upon") was an inscription on an object or a monument. Its original application determined the characteristic features of what was to become a literary genre; it was brief and in verse, while its content was usually dedicatory or funereal. The literary genre of the epigram in its non-inscriptional form was developed and cultivated intensively in the Hellenistic and imperial periods. The epigram is perhaps the sole ancient literary genre that has been practised unremittingly down to modern times. Although the genre underwent considerable changes in the Byzantine period, the basic characteristics remained the same, while its original association with inscriptions was not entirely lost.

Archaic epigrams are inscriptions. The earliest known (8th century BC) are in hexameters but very soon the predominant metre became the elegiac couplet which was to become the classic metre of the epigram. The epigrams of the Archaic

period are mostly epitaphs or inscriptions on an object, and they consist largely of formulas.

Many inscriptional epigrams from the Classical period are anonymous. The first known epigrammatist was Simonides of Ceos (557/56–468 BC) who wrote funeral epigrams on the fallen in the Persian Wars. Yet only a few of the epigrams attributed to him are certainly his. Some renowned figures such as Aeschylus, Euripides, Plato, and Aristotle also composed epigrams which now became increasingly elaborate in form and content. Their aim is often to edify, but human feelings are also given expression.

The beginning of the Hellenistic age marks a turning point in the history of the epigram. Two important changes raised it into a literary genre: it became less factual as it gradually lost its association with actual events and objects, and thus served no practical function; and it was published mainly in book form. The epigram now became a vehicle for the expression of personal feelings, assuming the role traditionally played by lyric and sympotic poetry. Allusiveness, conciseness, density of expression, wit, and a constant search for variation now became characteristics of the genre. Two schools of early epigrammatists may be distinguished: the Dorian-Peloponnesian and the Ionian-Alexandrian. In the first the leading figure was Leonidas of Tarentum, as well as the female poets Anyte, Nossis, and Moiro. They show a preference for the traditional inscriptional epigram, i.e. dedicatory and funereal. The ordinary and idyllic replace the heroic aspect, but the style is often ornate or even pompous. Callimachus, Poseidippus, and Asclepiades are eminent figures of the Ionian-Alexandrian school. Witty language and the art of allusion are skilfully used to describe the pleasures of life, wine, love, song, women, boys. In the 1st century BC the epigram blossomed with Antipater of Sidon and Meleager of Gadara (Phoenician school). The latter compiled the first anthology of epigrams known as "Garland" (*Stephanos*). It became a characteristic of the literary epigram to appear in anthologies. The most important were the *Garland* of Philip (*c.*AD 40), the *Cycle* of Agathias (6th century AD), and later the *Palatine Anthology* (*c.*980) and the *Planudean Anthology* (1301).

The epigram flourished in the imperial age and was taken over by Roman poets. There is a noticeable change not only in the themes of epigrams but also in their tone. Ecphrastic and epideictic epigrams for various occasions – epigrams on events of everyday life, to accompany gifts, to console or to congratulate, to thank or invite now predominate – and satirical epigrams also became very fashionable. Many Greek epigrammatists, such as Philodemus, Crinagoras, and Antipater of Thessalonica, frequented Roman high society. In the 2nd century AD the epigram went through a classicizing phase; and the erotic epigram was revived with Rufinus and Strato, who wrote pederastic ones.

The epigram was cultivated widely during the Byzantine millennium. In the first two centuries of the empire epigrams were still written in Classical metres, in an archaizing language and on Classical themes. This manner of epigrammatic poetry was to be fashionable again in the last two centuries of the empire, when nostalgia for the Classical past revived classizing tendencies. Yet relatively few Byzantine epigrams are written in the ancient metres: the Greek language had long since lost its ancient prosodic features and was now based on stress. The most fashionable metre was the iambic in 12 syllables (with the penultimate stressed) and later in 15 syllables ("political verse"). The Byzantines also developed the sacred epigram, i.e. the epigram on Christian themes (icons, saints, Church festivals), although dedicatory or satirical epigrams were also popular.

In the 4th century the literary epigram enjoyed a revival in the hands of a pagan and a Christian poet, Palladas and Gregory of Nazianzus. Palladas wrote a number of satirical epigrams as well as laments for the decline of paganism. The profane epigram was cultivated with remarkable success up to the 6th century by such skilled poets as Agathias and Paul Silentiarius who, though Christians, followed the model of the Hellenistic epigram. George of Pisidia (7th century) did much to establish the sacred epigram and became a model for future generations. The most important period for the Byzantine sacred epigram came with the end of iconoclasm (843). At this time the Byzantine epigram began to detach itself from classicizing models and to form its own distinct characteristics. Theodore of Stoudios (d. 826) channelled his theological views into epigrams, aiming both to instruct and to edify. In the 10th century the popularity of the epigram combined with the revival of interest in Classical antiquity led to the compilation of anthologies. Constantinos Kephalas compiled a substantial anthology (now lost) that served as the basis for the *Palatine Anthology*; the latter contains 3,700 epigrams from the 6th century BC to the 10th century AD arranged in 15 books. (A shorter anthology was compiled in 1301 by Maximos Planudes). The genre continued to be practised on a wide range of topics in the following centuries and reached its golden age with poets such as John Geometres (10th century), John Mavropous, Christophoros Mytilenaios (11th century), and Theodore Prodromos (12th century). In the last two centuries the number of epigrams in Classical metres increased, while the epigram in Byzantine metres declined in the hands of Manuel Philis (14th century).

The revival of Classical learning during the Italian Renaissance is clearly reflected in the flourishing of classicizing epigrams in ancient metres and archaizing language. The genre was first practised by Greek émigré scholars such as Janus Laskaris, the first editor of the *Planudean Anthology* (1494), but soon it became very fashionable among western humanists who gave an enthusiastic reception to the *Planudean Anthology* (the *Palatine Anthology* – Vatican Library cod. Palatinus Gr. 23 – remained unknown until 1607). Yet this was more a scholarly than a poetic enterprise. Epigrams of this kind were *pièces d'occasion*, mostly dedicatory or complimentary, usually placed in the prefaces of books rather than separately published. Poliziano (1454–94) was one of the first western humanists to write such epigrams. In the 17th century polymaths such as J. Auratus, J.J. Scaliger, I. Causabon, and M. Crusius were prolific practitioners of the genre, also cultivating the bilingual epigram (i.e. in Greek and Latin). Notable Greek scholars who wrote classicizing epigrams were M. Mousouros, E. Portos, M. Margounios, and J. Kottounios.

Epigram is a rather ambiguous term in modern European literature since it lacks distinct formal characteristics; short, witty poems often qualify as such. Yet it is difficult to talk about a clearly distinct genre of epigram in modern Greek literature. Short poems with or without rhyme striving for point

were composed by many poets. The poems of Christopoulos (1772–1847) and Valaoritis (1824–79) could be regarded as epigrams, and also the work of poets of the generation of 1880 (Drosinis, Vizyinos, Polemis, and Pallis).

GEORGE E. KARAMANOLIS

See also Anthology

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Epiphanius of Salamis, St

Theologian of the 4th century

Epiphanius occupies a prominent place among the Church Fathers of the 4th century because of his theological writings. He is also considered an important saint of the Church in Cyprus, where he lived for nearly four decades as a miracle-working bishop.

His biography, which has to be patched together from different sources, can be traced as follows. He was born sometime between 310 and 320 near Eleutheropolis in Palestine. That his family were Jews is affirmed by the *Life of Epiphanius*, composed in the 5th century, and later repeated by Byzantine theologians such as the patriarch Nikephoros (808–15). Orphaned at a very young age, he was taken into the household of a rabbi who provided him with a traditional religious education. Soon after the rabbi's death, Epiphanius converted to Christianity under the impression of a divine vision. He travelled to Egypt where he became acquainted with the monastic life of the Desert Fathers and on his return to Palestine founded a monastery in the vicinity of his birthplace.

In 367, while visiting the island of Cyprus, he was ordained bishop of the see of Constantia (ancient Salamis, modern Famagusta), which had recently fallen vacant. Under Epiphanius' energetic guidance, Christianity established a firm hold among the largely pagan population of this wealthy and thriving port. In order to accommodate the growing number of Christians, he initiated the construction of a large five-aisled basilica – today in ruins – which eventually became the resting place of his relics.

Epiphanius played an active role as a defender of orthodoxy in the theological controversies of his time. In the Meletian schism that afflicted the Church of Antioch, Epiphanius lent his support to bishop Paulinus, on whose behalf he went to Antioch, lobbied at the Second Ecumenical Council in 381 in Constantinople, and even travelled to Rome in 382. His disapproval of the teachings of Origen prompted him to take a stand against John, patriarch of Jerusalem, who was known as an Origenist sympathizer. As the crowds were gathered for the feast of Encaenia in Jerusalem in 383, Epiphanius and John each delivered a sermon attacking the other. In the following year the rift between them deepened when Epiphanius ordained to the priesthood Paulinian, the younger brother of Jerome, within the jurisdiction, but without the explicit permission, of the patriarch.

Epiphanius had also offended the patriarch John on an earlier visit to Palestine, as they were both passing through the village of Anablatha. When he noticed in the church a curtain with the representation of a human image, either of Christ or of a saint, he immediately tore it down, declaring that it would be fit only for a burial cloth. John was offended at this rash gesture at first, but later mollified by Epiphanius' promise to replace the curtain at his own expense. This episode, first attested in Letter 51 of Jerome, was exploited more than four centuries later, for the first time in 815, in the iconoclast controversy when the iconoclasts adduced it in support of their anti-iconic stance. Although the iconophiles, such as John of Damascus, the patriarch Nikephoros, and Theodore the Stoudite, attempted to question the authenticity of this story,

they were nonetheless eager to admit that "we recognize the holy father as a teacher of the universal Church".

The third and last involvement of Epiphanius in large-scale ecclesiastical politics was again prompted by his fervour for orthodoxy. John Chrysostom, the patriarch of Constantinople, had fallen under suspicion of harbouring Origenist sympathies. Spearheading the international coalition that was forming against him and that would eventually bring about his deposition and exile was Theophilus, the patriarch of Alexandria, who urged Epiphanius to become involved. Epiphanius first obtained the condemnation of Origen's teachings from a synod in Cyprus, and then, despite his advanced age, travelled to Constantinople where he made contact with the enemies of John, while refusing the patriarch's hospitality. He was on his way to deliver a public sermon against John when the latter alerted him to the imminent danger of riots in the capital. Thereupon, Epiphanius departed in great haste. He died aboard the ship that was carrying him to Cyprus, in the spring of 403, and was buried with great honours in the basilica of Constantia/Salamis. His feast day is 12 May.

Within two generations of his death, a saint's *Life* was composed in his honour, based in part on the eyewitness account of his disciples John and Polybius. It was translated into Coptic, Syriac, Georgian, and Latin, thus attesting to his fame throughout Christendom. The first translation of the *Life of Epiphanius* into modern Greek was the work of Kaisarios Dapontes, a monk on Mount Athos, in 1780.

Many miracles were attested at Epiphanius' tomb before the mid-7th century when Cyprus was invaded by the Arabs. The emperor Leo VI (886–912) eventually arranged for the transportation of his relics to Constantinople, but their subsequent history is unknown. Next to the apostle Barnabas, who was martyred by the Jews of Salamis, Epiphanius is the most prominent saint of Cyprus and is frequently depicted, dressed as a bishop, in local church decoration. His able and energetic administration of the episcopate not only helped to establish the city of Constantia as the location of the metropolitan see of the island, it also provided a forceful precedent when the autocephaly of the Church of Cyprus from the patriarchate of Antioch was debated and affirmed at the Council of Ephesus in 431.

Epiphanius' reputation as a Church Father rests upon his prolific literary production. He wrote several smaller treatises (*On Gems*, *On Weights and Measures*, *Catalogue of the Apostles*) that enjoyed enormous popularity even beyond the Byzantine empire. His most original works are the *Ancoratus* and the *Panarion*. The *Ancoratus* was completed in 374, seven years after his accession to the episcopate. Epiphanius had composed it at the request of the Church of Syedra in Pamphylia as an "anchor" (hence the title) of faith in the adverse winds of heresy. It gives a systematic treatment of Christian dogma. In some manuscripts it contains the earliest version of the Nicaeno-Constantinopolitan Creed. A few years later he published the *Panarion*. This work was intended as a "medicine chest" (the literal meaning of the title) against various heresies. Epiphanius deals with 80 heresies, comparing them to poisonous animals, expounding their teaching in some detail, then providing the antidote by refuting their doctrines and denouncing their religous practices. In gathering his material, he spared no effort to obtain relevant and reliable information. This, combined with the fact that he is the only author to discuss many of them in detail, makes the *Panarion* a very significant source of information about dissenting groups within the early Church.

It was Epiphanius' ardent defence of orthodoxy, in his writing as well as in his life, that attracted the attention of Catholic scholars of the Counter-Reformation. The first edition of his works was published, in Latin, in Basel in 1571. At around the same time cardinal Sirlet, the cardinal librarian of the Vatican Library who had also attended the Council of Trent, showed his interest in Epiphanius when he noted down, in his own hand, excerpts from his saint's *Life*. Finally, it was a Jesuit scholar in Paris, Denis Petau, who produced the first edition in Greek of the *Ancoratus* and the *Panarion* in 1622, highlighting in his preface the importance of Epiphanius' work for the present struggle against the Protestants.

CLAUDIA RAPP

Biography

Born at Eleutheropolis in Palestine in the second decade of the 4th century to a Jewish family, Epiphanius was educated by a rabbi, but converted to Christianity soon after the rabbi's death. He spent some time in Egypt with the desert fathers and returned to Palestine where he founded a monastery *c.*335. In 367 he became bishop of Salamis on Cyprus, defending orthodoxy in his teaching and his writing until his death in 403.

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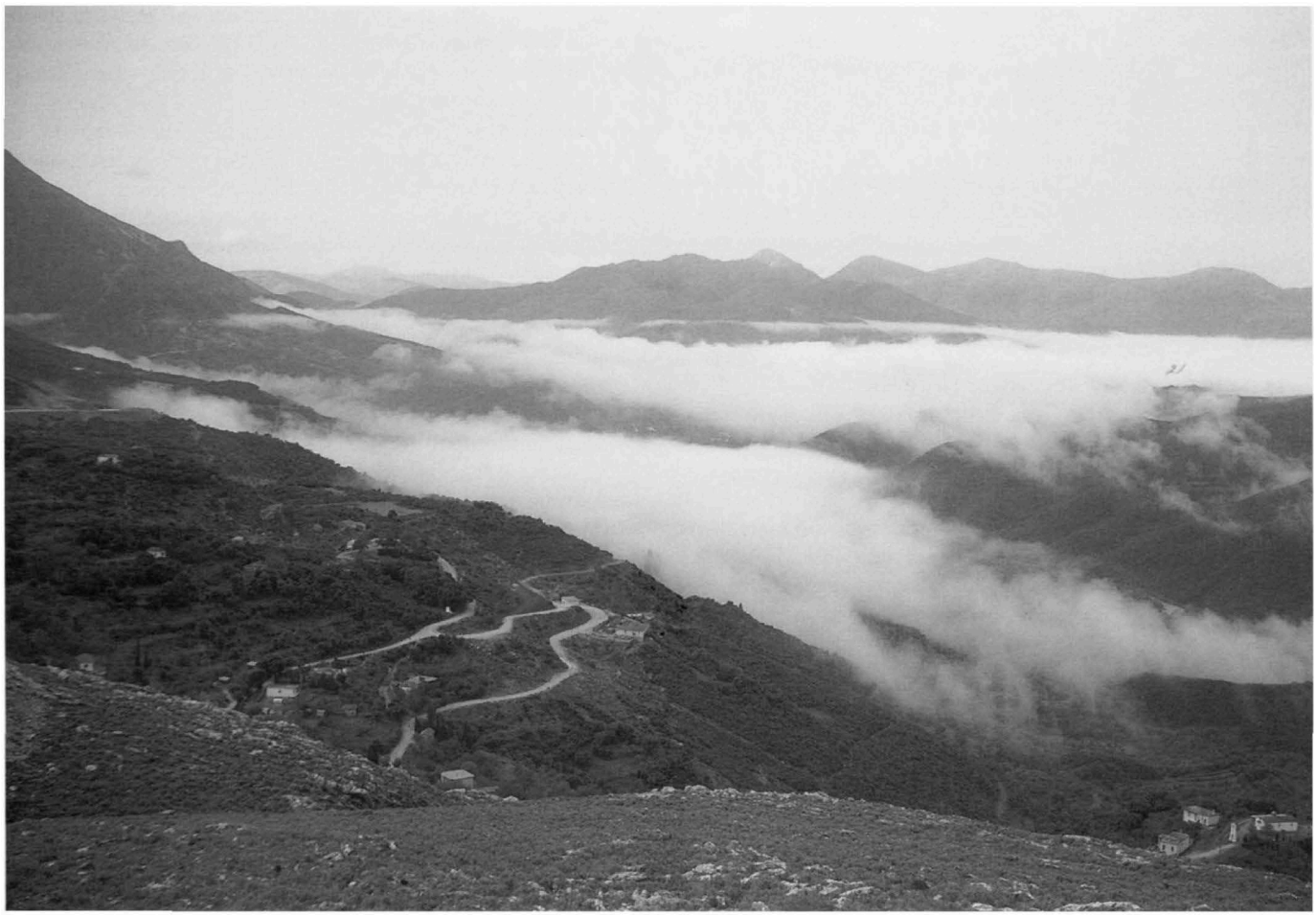
Epirus

Region in northwest Greece

Epeiros means "mainland" in ancient Greek. At first sight this seems rather a vague term, but the western coast of Epirus is the mainland opposite the northern Ionian islands of Corfu and its outliers. The eastern border is formed by the central Pindus massif running like a spine through northern Greece. To the north, the central Albanian plain beginning near Vlorë marks the end of Epirus, basically a mountainous region, while to the south the Gulf of Arta and the comparatively low-lying areas of Aetolia and Acarnania form a similar barrier. Three



Epirus: "Dark Suli's rocks ... robed half in mist" – the mountains between Ioannina and the sea

parallel high limestone ridges running from north to south dominate the landscape and make the area curiously enclosed, since invaders coming from the north can climb up the valleys of the Aoos (Vijosë) river and its tributaries, but eventually these lead nowhere. The alluvial valleys are quite fertile, but flooding is always a danger. There are few natural harbours, and these are liable to silting. Rainfall by Greek standards is plentiful, although winters are harsh, and melting snows cause deforestation.

Unlike Macedonia, Epirus is a compact, well-defined, and reasonably homogeneous entity, but both areas have caused controversy by their position half inside and half outside the Greek world. Thus in Classical times Epirots and Macedonians were seen as semibarbarians, and, whereas the territory of Classical Greece was independent in 1830, it was not until the Balkan Wars of 1912 and 1913 that Epirus, like Macedonia, was freed from the Ottoman yoke. In the early Middle Ages most of Epirus passed from Byzantine control, and for much of the later Middle Ages it was ruled by a Greek-speaking dynasty, but one different from that reigning in Constantinople. At all times the ethnicity of Epirus has been in dispute, with Greeks and Illyrians in ancient times, Greeks, Albanians, and a few other races in modern times, sharing the territory between them. At present Greeks still call southern Albania "northern Epirus", and it is possible to find Greek-speakers as far north as Vlorë. Up until World War II it was still possible to find Albanian-speakers as far south as Preveza. The history of Epirus in ancient and medieval times is distorted by the wish to prove the antiquity of Greek or Albanian claims, although most of the evidence points to considerable movements of population, the infiltration of other ethnic groups, notably Slavs, Turks, and Latins, and a generally mixed population.

The *Odyssey* refers to Epirus as the mainland and to the possibility that Odysseus may have sheltered in Thesprotia, the area opposite Corfu which is still known by this name. Homer in the same poem talks of the oracle of Dodona, second only to Delphi in fame and to none in antiquity, situated in the mountains of eastern Epirus. Herodotus mentions Epirus as the home of the ancient Dorians and refers to the oracle at the mouth of the river Acheron in southern Epirus. The Persian and Peloponnesian Wars do not seem to have impinged much on Epirus, although the Persian invasion to the east, the conflict between Corcyra (modern Corfu) and Epidamnus to the west, and the campaigns of Demosthenes in Aetolia to the south must have made some mark.

In the 4th century BC the Greek world widened. Philip of Macedon was married to the sister of Alexander, a powerful king of the Molossians, who seems to have established hegemony over the rest of Epirus. He and his more famous cousin Pyrrhus tried to expand westwards in the same way that Alexander the Great had expanded the power of Macedon to

the east, but both perished in the attempt. Nevertheless, the 3rd and 2nd centuries were prosperous times for Epirus in which powerful cities like Antigoneia and Amantia were built. Modern Albanian historians tend to see these as Illyrian foundations, but 4th-century inscriptions show the tribes of Epirus, including the Molossians, writing in Greek. The Molossian monarchy fell in 232 BC and was replaced by a federal republic with an assembly at Phoenice (modern Finiq) in the Greek-speaking part of southern Albania. In Rome's war against Macedon, Epirus changed sides and was punished for its faithlessness by the Roman sack of many Epirote towns and the enslavement of 150,000 captives in 168 BC.

Not surprisingly, Epirus fell into decline under Roman rule. Cicero's friend Atticus had rich estates at Buthrotum (modern Butrint) and Latin settlers and traders may have brought some prosperity to the coast near Italy, although both branches of the Via Egnatia passed further north. Augustus founded Nicopolis near Preveza and Hadrian Hadrianopolis near Gjirokastër. Roman foundations in Greek lands soon lost their Latin speech, but the influence of Latin should not be discounted as a factor in west Balkan ethnology, as it would help explain both the presence of large numbers of Vlachs in Albanian and Greek Epirus and the survival of Albanian, not giving way to Greek or Latin because neither was the dominant lingua franca.

Writing in the 1st century AD, Strabo gives a picture not only of Epirus in his own day, but also, apparently drawing on the 6th-century BC geographer Hecataeus, of conditions in the past. Tribes like the Chaones and the Molossians had long vanished by Strabo's time, but interestingly he describes them as neither Illyrian nor Greek, but Epirot. The ambiguous state of Epirus did not become any clearer when Roman authority collapsed. Alaric and his Visigoths occupied Epirus for quite a long period at the beginning of the 5th century before proceeding westwards. The revival of the east Roman empire in the 6th century under Justinian I, himself of Illyrian stock, temporarily revived the fortunes of Epirus, now divided into Vetus Epirus in the south and Nova Epirus in the north. According to the 6th-century historian Procopius, Justinian built or rebuilt extensive fortifications in both districts. Some of them may have been the work of Anastasius. But the fortifications proved useless in checking the Slav invasions which had already begun at the end of Justinian's reign. At the beginning of the 7th century Byzantine authority over the whole of the western Balkans would seem to have been lost. The extent and nature of the Slav invasions are a matter of dispute, particularly among Greek and Albanian historians who in minimizing the Slav presence point to the undoubted survival of the Greek and Albanian languages. On the other hand, the melancholy testimony of the few written records, the abundance of Slav placenames in Epirus, and the archaeological evidence with almost no churches being built between the 6th and 9th centuries, do suggest a hiatus in the Greek presence.

By the 9th century Byzantium was recovering. It still occupied southern Italy, and had a strong navy. Themes of Nicopolis and Dyrrhachium were established in southern and northern Epirus, although it is uncertain how far these themes extended inland. When in 1016 Basil II defeated the Bulgarians he recaptured the whole of the Balkans, and Epirus remained in the Byzantine empire for most of the next two centuries. The last Italian possession of the empire fell to the Normans in 1071, and towards the end of the 11th century Epirus was frequently invaded from the west by leaders like Robert Guiscard and his son Bohemond.

Manuel Komnenos was the last Byzantine emperor to harbour Italian ambitions and to control the western Balkans. Shortly after his death, the Serbs under Stefan Nemanja became independent, the Bulgars revolted, and the Albanian tribes of the interior, never exactly subservient, followed suit. The Fourth Crusade of 1204 divided what was left of the empire with Epirus falling into the hands of the famous Doukas family, also known as Angelos, related to the Komnenoi. For the next century the fortunes of this family and of Epirus waxed and waned. Sometimes, as when they occupied Thessaly and even Thessalonica, it looked as if they might succeed in recapturing Constantinople. After the Battle of Pelagonia in 1259 it was clear that the empire of Nicaea was the stronger and the last years of the despotate of Epirus were sad ones with the dynasty being propped up by the Angevins and the succession passing through the female line to the Italian family of Orsini.

The capital of the despotate was at Arta. In spite, or perhaps because, of its precarious political position Epirus saw much church building in the 13th and 14th centuries. In southern Albania, the great fortress church of Mesopotam is a 12th-century foundation. The last despot of Epirus was defeated in 1340, and momentarily Epirus passed into the hands of the incompetent Byzantine emperor Andronikos III. He built, or restored, churches in Epirus, but within a few years the province had been lost to the Serbs under Stephan Dushan. On Dushan's death in 1355 his empire fell apart, and Epirus was ruled in part or as a whole by a succession of different nationalities, Florentine, Albanian, and Serb. It was clear that with the collapse of any central authority Epirus was an easy prey to invasions from the north of Albanians and Vlachs, both of whom have left their mark in the modern era. The anonymous *Chronicle of Ioannina* gives a good account of the complicated history of these times.

Eventually the Ottomans, with surprising speed, conquered virtually the whole of Epirus. Although Venice held isolated outposts on the coast, and Scanderbeg kept up resistance in Albania during the 15th century, most of the land was Turkish for over 500 years. It was, however, not a time of complete stagnation. The presence of Venice and the proximity to Italy meant some degree of trade and cultural interchange with the west. As a backward province remote from the capital, Epirus was not liable to much Turkish immigration, although Ioannina began to look like a Turkish town. When the central authority grew weak, warlords like Ali Pasha could carve out virtually independent realms of their own. But, although Ali Pasha and his savage bands of Albanians destroyed some villages, his rule over a mixed Greek and Albanian domain stretching from Tepelenë to Preveza was not entirely harsh. The poverty of mountain districts drove many Epirots overseas, where engaged in trade they became rich, sending part of their wealth back to their native villages. The district was wild and uncivilized, and western travellers were baffled by the medley of different races and the presence of brigands or klephts, who sometimes combined their role with that of *armatoloi* or keepers of law and order.

With the death of Ali Pasha in 1821 and the establishment of Greek independence in 1830, Epirus became even more lawless. As in Macedonia, there was a series of gallant but not always scrupulous Greek heroes fighting for liberty with the advantage that there were no rival Slav bands. Albanians and Vlachs, though present in large numbers, were less nationalistically inclined, with most Vlachs being on the Greek side. Before meeting a martyr's death in 1779, the heroic St Kosmas had travelled the length and breadth of Epirus preaching Greek nationalism and founding new churches.

Turks and Albanians in Epirus put up a stiff resistance in the First Balkan War, and Ioannina was one of the last places to fall to Greek troops. The Great Powers found it hard to draw the Greek– Albanian frontier which eventually left many Greek speakers in Albania and Albanian speakers in Greece. Before, during, and after World War I Greece briefly occupied southern Albania or northern Epirus, as the Greeks liked to call it. After the peace treaties there was a bad feeling between the two countries with violent incidents and a great deal of lawlessness on both sides of the frontier. The educational rights of Greeks in Albania were curtailed; there were no Albanian schools in Greece. Italy first fomented trouble, and then in World War II invaded Greece in 1940, only to have its forces thrown back as far as Tepelenë. The German invasion of 1941 left the Greek army stranded on this advanced line.

During World War II both Greek and Albanian Epirus saw a different pattern of resistance from that followed by the rest of Greece and Albania. In Greece the forces of EDES (*Ethnikos Dimokratikos Ellinikos Syndesmos*, the National Democratic Hellenic Union) under Napoleon Zervas were able with difficulty to keep themselves free from the control of the communist ELAS (*Ellinikos Laikos Apeleftherotikos Stratos*, the Greek Popular Liberation Army). The Greeks in Albania tried to organize resistance in broad agreement with Zervas, but found it difficult to resist the nationalist, Muslim, and vaguely pro-Axis Balli Kombëtar or the equally nationalist, atheist, but fervently anti-Axis partisans under Enver Hoxha. Hoxha, an inhabitant of the northern Epirot town of Gjirokastër, prevailed. Under his authoritarian regime the Greek minority was allowed limited educational rights, but no contact with their fellow Greek-speakers in southern Epirus. In Greece Albanian-speaking Muslims, the so-called Tsams, were accused of favouring the Axis and expelled to Albania where Hoxha planted them in such a way that the Greek element in the population was diluted.

After the war Greek Epirus, though a mountainous area difficult of access without anything much apart from Dodona in the way of Classical sites, shared the benefits brought by tourism: Igoumenitsa became an international port and resorts like Parga were made more accessible. The collapse of communism in Albania in 1992 could have led to the equally beautiful coastline of Greek-speaking Albania being developed, perhaps in a more sensitive way, but in fact there was massive emigration from Albania to Greece. Consequently, the Greek villages of northern Epirus are now sadly neglected and suffering from the general lawlessness that followed the collapse of president Berisha's government in 1997. Greece has now formally renounced its claim to northern Epirus, and showed remarkable restraint when some Albanian Greeks were found guilty of plotting against the state, but is naturally interested in the future of what, with some reason, it regards as part of its people.

T.J. WINNIFRITH

Summary

A mountainous region of northwest Greece, Epirus—like Macedonia—has always been ambivalent about its membership of the Greek world. There were ancient oracles at Dodona and Ephyra. The reign of king Pyrrhus (319–272 BC) initiated a period of prosperity for Epirus which ended with the arrival of the Romans in 168 BC. Huns and Slavs interrupted periods of Roman/Byzantine rule. After 1204 Epirus became an independent despotate but from 1340 ownership was disputed between Florentines, Albanians, and Serbs until the Ottoman conquest in the 15th century. Epirus became Greek again in 1913 but the border with Albania has remained a running sore.

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Epistolography

Epistolography (from Greek *epistole* "letter" and *graphia* "writing") is letter writing. The term is used for a literary genre in which works are written in the form of letters. Such letters are known as literary letters – as distinguished from private and official letters – if they were either primarily destined for publication by their author or if they were published posthumously for the sake of their contents and what they reveal about the personality of the author (or of the addressee). A sharp line, however, cannot be drawn between literary and private letters. Private letters published afterwards should be assigned to epistolography if they are autobiographical and contemporary documents. In this case they are called literary private letters.

In Classical times folding wooden boards were used for correspondence. They were covered inside with wax to be written on and were used for answering letters after the initial message had been erased. Papyrus was also used – demon-

strated by the large number of private letters written on papyrus – and, later on, parchment and paper. Since there was no public mail service, letters were sent by messengers who had to be privately hired in each case; another possibility was to send letters with travellers.

Letter writing is not a Greek invention: in the 2nd millennium BC the Egyptians were already collecting correspondence. A theory of letter writing was gradually developed by the Greeks during the Classical period around the 5th century BC, at a time when the contents and functions of literary forms were the subject of analysis. Moreover, the art of rhetoric became increasingly important. Since epistolography was regarded as an aspect of rhetoric, basic rules and principles for writing letters were developed. Some of the thoughts and general considerations about style of one of the oldest theoreticians, Artemon of Cassandreia (1st century AD), were indirectly passed on to us through statements of a late Hellenistic author, pseudo-Demetrius (*c.*1st century AD). In the 2nd century AD a certain Philostratus established a system of rules that classified the most important items for a cultivated and refined style. Here readers learn that a letter should be an image of the writer's soul. Letters are considered to be identical in character to conversation, hence great value is attached to forms of salutation and direct address in the text. The style should be distinguished by brevity and clarity; the language should be elevated but understandable. All this can be achieved by a moderate use of Atticisms and by avoiding rarely used words. Rhetorical ornamentation is allowed in principle but should be used with moderation. Metaphors, for instance, should be avoided, but the insertion of narratives and myths, literary allusions, quotations, and proverbs is encouraged.

In later centuries these theoretical principles were taken up and described repeatedly, but observed less and less in practice. Practical examples accompanied theoretical considerations. Pseudo-Demetrius, for instance, gives a survey of different letter forms (he mentions 21), quoting a sample letter for each type. In the Renaissance this author was still in demand in the Latin west, as revealed by occasional references to him by the famous humanist Erasmus of Rotterdam in his guide to letter writing.

Literary letters appear in various forms, and theoreticians who have tried to classify them strongly disagree over their number. Both the didactic epistle, which is often used in philosophical discussions, and the dedicatory epistle, used as a preface to literary works addressed to a specific person, are found, for example. Faked letters, which first became popular during the Hellenistic period and which were sometimes compiled as epistolary novels, were used for rhetorical exercises. In addition, there are private letters concerning friendship, comfort, requests, thanks, recommendation, praise, and reproach.

When writing a letter, certain conventions had to be observed. Letters usually consisted of three parts: the introduction or *praescriptum*, the actual text, and the final clause. The *praescriptum* originally contained only the salutation of the addressee, according to the scheme "A greets B", but this could be extended to a greater demonstration of friendship in the introductory and final parts, especially if the addressee's health became the main topic.

More or less private collections of correspondence are known for almost all famous people (though many only through references in other works), beginning with the Classical authors. In the Hellenistic period the writing of letters increased and gradually gained in importance over the following centuries. The extensive correspondence of the rhetorician Libanius (4th century AD) contains more than 1500 letters written to or by Libanius, some of them addressed to famous contemporaries. It is important to note that collections of private letters not only contain letters received by the respective addressee, but also letters written by him. When a letter was composed it was usual – especially with regard to later publication of the correspondence – to make a duplicate and retain it in a private archive. Before publication letters were sometimes subjected to a second rhetorical and stylistic revision. A letter was not only an instrument of communication, but a real literary product. A letter that was carefully drafted according to the rules of rhetoric was, naturally enough, enthusiastically received by the addressee. Many inspired passages were almost literally reproduced in subsequent letters of the recipient's own; this was not regarded as reprehensible but, on the contrary, as desirable. It was called *mimesis*, imitation. Moreover, it was customary to read elaborate letters aloud to interested circles in order to enjoy collectively a writer's language and expression.

Epistolography was also influenced by Christianization. The epistles of the apostle Paul to early Christian communities, for instance, had a partially didactic, partially encouraging purpose; they stand at the beginning of the tradition of the pastoral epistles and encyclica of the Christian Church. The letter was also an important instrument for the Fathers of the Church in the discussion of dogmatic, exegetical, and philosophical problems. Christian influence is evidenced by stereotyped phrases, modesty demanding that the sender – independent of his social position – assume an attitude of humility and place himself on a lower level in relation to the addressee. The form of salutation here is: "it is B that A greets" or "B is greeted by A".

In the Byzantine period epistolography remained within the tradition of the Classical and late-Classical as well as early-Christian periods. The Byzantines took particular delight in this literary genre. Almost every well-known personality in public life – writers (e.g. Michael Psellos, Maximos Planudes), emperors (e.g. Theodoros II Laskaris, Manuel II Palaiologos), clerical dignitaries (e.g. the patriarchs Photios and Nikolaos Mystikos) – left a collection of letters. There is no real Byzantine theoretical treatise before the 14th century, when Joseph Rhakendytes devoted one chapter of his rhetorical manual to letters, taking up the instructions on style known from antiquity. However, there was a large gap between theory and practice in Byzantine times. The inherited theoretical requirements were familiar but rarely taken into account. The epistle as a literary work was composed according to the principles of rhetoric and *mimesis*, because a written work would be accepted (which means that it would be copied and passed on to other readers) only if it contained an abundance of ornamentation with rhetorical figures and hidden allusions to Classical authors. On the other hand, the elaborate style and linguistic profuseness that often appear mannered led to a strong deconcretization (that is, lack of a concrete topic). As a

result, the external form became more important than the content. Modern readers undeniably find this exaggerated or even repulsive. But for Byzantine intellectuals – and these were precisely the people to whom literary letters were directed – it became a social game: they enjoyed decoding a letter, that is, identifying Classical quotations and allusions and discovering rhetorical figures. Reading out a letter in front of an interested and competent audience could become a real performance (Greek *theatron*). If the listeners applauded the work, the writer's reputation and fame were enhanced. Byzantine epistolographers – like their Classical predecessors – collected duplicates of their letters so that they could rework them for possible publication. Such revised correspondence in turn was well received by other writers, who used it as a model or copied whole parts of it. The preface (*prooimion*) of a letter, being the rhetorically relevant part, was the most popular. The subjects of the letters were also modelled on Classical examples, and it has to be said that epistolographers insisted more on matters of style than on thematic variation. Because letters also had a social function, such topics as friendship and, in relation to this, the separation of penfriends, were prominent. A letter was then meant to provide comfort and encouragement, which although not replacing a personal meeting, was at least regarded as a certain makeshift. If requests were related to the writer himself, they sometimes articulated specific material wishes. This often led to begging letters of which there are numerous unpleasant examples from the Byzantine period. However, if a request was associated with a third party, it could be a letter of recommendation; the protégé then often acted as a messenger. Frequently, presents (e.g. books, works of art, food, or objects of daily life) were sent along with the letter. There was not necessarily a specific purposes to the many of the hymns of praise contained in such letters, which simply seem to be flattering: the writer often degraded himself, while the addressee was exalted. The exchange of compliments was also of great importance. The attempt to gain a correspondent's benevolence (*captatio benevolentiae* – a term that comes from forensic rhetoric) through adulation was a means of achieving some purpose. If a correspondent did not reply for a long time, he might be accused with reproachful formulations, often expressed in terms derived from legal language. In spite of their stereotyped manner and of the difficulties involved in puzzling out their precise contents, Byzantine letters offer rich material for research into the various fields of history and culture of the period, provided that the modern reader is not discouraged by the flowery diction or by the many allusions, which may appear rather mystical.

After the fall of the Byzantine empire many Greek scholars emigrated to western Europe, mainly to the centres of humanism in Italy. Acting as teachers, writers, and editors of Classical texts, they brought the knowledge of Greek language and literature into the Latin west; consequently, the antique and Byzantine traditions were never interrupted. Most of these intellectuals left series of letters among their works (e.g. Constantine Laskaris and Markos Mousouros in the 15th and 16th centuries) that provide important historical and cultural evidence of their time. Between the 15th and the 19th centuries precepts for a good letter-writing style (according to the theory of letters current in the late Classical period) were widespread. Most letters were written in the vernacular language – due to the gradually changing state of the Greek language – and directed to the general public. Furthermore, compilations of specific aphorisms and expressions were produced for use in letters, to meet the increasing demand for popular and generally understandable letter-writing manuals.

A change in epistolographic style, i.e. the abandonment of rhetoric and the adoption of a more individual style, reflects the general development of European literature in the period between the 16th and the 19th centuries. Modern Greek epistolography, however, still continued to adhere to the models adopted from the Byzantines, although more specific and personal themes were dealt with in letters. It was only in the 20th century that the old patterns were gradually abandoned. In most cases correspondence is now an essential component of a writer's complete works. In addition to autobiographical information, it often contains statements that are essential for the interpretation of an artist's works.

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Erasistratus *c.*315–*c.*240 BC

Physician

Erasistratus is known as the father of physiology. Born into a medical family in Iulis on the island of Ceos, educated in Athens in the peripatetic philosophy of Aristotle and Theophrastus, he later learned medicine on the island of Cos. Aristotle's son-in-law Metrodorus taught him medicine. Around 293 BC he was a court physician to Seleucus I Nicator and worked mostly in Antioch in medical practice. By tradition, he became a member of the Museum in Alexandria. Later writers, such as Celsus, associated Erasistratus and Herophilus as colleagues in research in the Museum, but some modern scholars are sceptical that Erasistratus was actually in residence in Alexandria. More likely he conducted his anatomical research there, since it is doubtful that dissections could have been conducted elsewhere.

The leisurely research environment of the Museum and his previous philosophical and medical practice enabled Erasistratus to examine the physiology of the body in a comprehensive system. He provided original and important observations on the functions of blood, air, digestion, and nerves that were probably explained in his work *Oi Katholou Logoi* (*General Principles*). None of Erasistratus' works is extant, but, because later authors, especially Galen, referred to him extensively, his ideas are preserved. Although Erasistratus

influenced physiology, medicine, and, to some degree, philosophy, his major influence was confined to specific contributions.

Erasistratus' system combined a mechanistic system of bodily functions influenced by his Stoic teacher, Chrysippus, and by his anatomist colleague at Alexandria, Herophilus. Also influential on his thinking were the peripatetic teleology of causation and an abiding commitment to empirical verification, perhaps derived from Strato. Dissection of human cadavers was conducted at the Museum. The Roman medical writer Celsus (early 1st century AD), attributed vivisection of condemned criminals to both Herophilus and Erasistratus. Later Christian writers (Tertullian and Augustine among them) repeated the accusation. Many modern scholars are sceptical because Galen, who employed Erasistratus' works extensively, made no mention of the practice, but he described Erasistratus' vivisection experiments with animals. However, Erasistratus himself did say that the examination of dead bodies can be deceptive in terms of what we may learn about the functions of live bodies.

Erasistratus wrote on abdominal pathology. Gargilius Martialis (*fl.* 3rd century AD) referred to Alexandrian deep autopsies for the cause of death. In particular he spoke of an examination of death by lice-induced typhus where death was detected by changes in cardiac tissue. Whereas Gargilius did not specifically name Erasistratus, he is the only one at Alexandria whose name is associated with autopsy.

Erasistratus' assertion that the heart was central to both the venal and the arterial systems has led some modern scholars to claim that he foresaw the circulatory system, but this is not the case. Erasistratus thought that the heart pumped blood through the venal system to all the parts of the body to convey nourishment. The liver transforms nutriments from the digestive tract. Galen would later assign a greater role to the liver because he did not accept Erasistratus' assertion that the heart completes the process started by the liver. To Galen the liver was the beginning of the venal system, not the heart. According to Erasistratus nourishment in the form of blood reaches its destination in tiny particles through very fine pores. The arterial system delivered vital spirits in air (*pneuma*), and some of the vital spirits in blood pumped by the left heart ventricle are transformed by the brain into psychic spirits (another *pneuma*) and subsequently conveyed through the nerves to all body parts. Each form of *pneuma* from veins, arteries, and nerves ultimately was delivered through such fine networks as to be invisible. Thus the organism was a combination of three mechanisms: appetites (*orexeis*), energies or forces (*dynameis*), and substances (*hylai*).

According to Erasistratus, the process which supplies nutriments in the form of blood from its production centre in the liver pumped by the heart to all parts, is analogous to the function of water in the garden. Just as in the garden, the water is consumed and so is the blood. The observation that a severed artery spurts blood is because of a vacuum created by the outflowing air. The vacuum's action (*horror vacui*) also causes the flow from the veins and nerves throughout the body. Perhaps Erasistratus' mechanical action was derived from or inspired by Strato.

Erasistratus demonstrated the metabolic process in a famous experiment with birds, the details of which are preserved in the tract *Anonymous Londinensis* of the 6th century AD. A bird or similar animal would be deprived of food for some time, then it would be weighed, as well as its excrement, over a period of time. The postulate is the loss of weight of the combination of excretions and the animal is accounted for by the equivalent consumption of nourishment.

He wrote in a lost work, *On Fevers*, that fevers resulted from inflammations, a theory rejected by Celsus and Galen. He regarded as a main cause of disease an excessive flooding of the blood, because excessive nourishment ultimately compresses *pneuma* in the extremities of the arteries, thereby causing inflammations. Like Herophilus, he thought that men and women had the same diseases, none being peculiar to a single sex. Both Erasistratus and Herophilus saw the differences between sensory and motor nerves. Erasistratus rejected most therapeutic uses for bloodletting, again supplying the rejection by later medical writers who knew his works.

Although many late Greek and Roman writers cited Erasistratus' works, especially Galen, none adopted his medical system, and yet all were influenced by Erasistratus' specific contributions about the body's functions.

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See also Anatomy

Biography

Born *c.*315 BC at Iulis on Ceos, Erasistratus was educated in Athens at the peripatetic school of Aristotle and Theophrastus and later in medicine on Cos. Then he moved to Alexandria and joined the Museum where he worked with Herophilus. None of his writing is extant but he had a great influence on subsequent work in physiology and medicine. He died *c.*240 BC.

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Eratosthenes

Scholar of the 3rd century BC

Eratosthenes, son of Aglaos, was a renowned scholar, poet, and scientist. His family was Cyrenean and was probably not of substantial means, although it could afford to send him to Athens for his education. His birthdate cannot be established

with certainty. The *Suda* places his birth during the 126th Olympiad (276/275–273/272 BC), but this is too late and scholars now put his birth in the mid-280s BC. Eratosthenes did not receive his education at nearby Alexandria, but rather went to Athens to pursue philosophy. He studied with Zeno, founder of the Stoic school, Arcesilaus, head of the Platonic Academy, and Ariston of Chios, who had established a new branch of the Stoa. His varied philosophical studies reflect the eclecticism that consistently informed his life's work.

In 245 BC, at the age of about 40 and on the strength of his growing reputation in the fields of poetry, mathematics, and geography, Eratosthenes was invited by Ptolemy III Eurgetes, king of Egypt, to come to Alexandria. After the retirement of Apollonius of Rhodes, he assumed the directorship of the Library of Alexandria, one of the most prestigious positions in the ancient world. He remained there until he was succeeded by Aristophanes of Byzantium. His death, which occurred during the reign of Ptolemy V Epiphanes, may be dated to between 205 and 195 BC.

Eratosthenes was an expert in philosophy, grammar, poetry, chronology, mathematics, astronomy, and geography, and the breadth and the versatility of his intellect were both praised and censured in antiquity. Admirers called him a "second Plato". Others preferred to call him *pentathlos* ("jack of all trades"), since he was versed in so many branches of learning, or *beta* ("second best"), since he never specialized in any one area but showed enough brilliance to be considered the second leading authority in many disciplines. Each term was used in both derogatory and complimentary contexts. Eratosthenes himself coined the term *philologos* ("scholar" or "lover of learning") to describe his scholarly activities.

His works are known only by title or through fragments. No comprehensive edition of the fragments exists, although fairly good editions of individual areas have been published. His three-volume work *Geography* and his *On the Measurement of the Earth* epitomize his scientific spirit. Eratosthenes broke from his predecessors in rejecting Homer and mythology as trustworthy sources of geographical information and relied instead on his training in mathematics and astronomy and on the immense resources available in the Library at Alexandria. The *Geography* was intended to describe the entire inhabited world. In book 1 he attacked the use of Homer in geographical studies and pointed out the flaws of previous geographical works, which had now been rendered obsolete by the extensive information garnered from the military expeditions of Alexander the Great. In book 2 he fixed the world's breadth and length, and in book 3, he used his measurements to construct a map of the world. Eratosthenes' anthropology, set forth in book 2, is remarkable, in so far as he rejected the traditional categories of "Greek" and "barbarian", preferring to regard people on the basis of good and bad qualities. In *On the Measurement of the Earth* he used his mathematical skills to calculate the earth's circumference, which he fixed at 252,000 stades or 24,662 miles (accurate to about 1 per cent).

Eratosthenes is accredited with establishing the field of scientific chronology. He revised the existing Olympic victor lists (widely used for determining dates) and published his revision in two books. Using those Olympic lists and, for prehistoric events, the lists of Spartan kings, he wrote his own *Chronology*, which established a timetable from the Trojan War (which he dated to 1184/83 BC) down to the death of Alexander (323 BC). Eratosthenes divided this 860-year period into 10 epochs, with events listed in the form of chronological tables.

Eratosthenes was eclectic in his approach to philosophy. He received his training from the Platonist Arcesilaus and the Stoic Ariston; he also heard the teachings of the Cynic Bion of Borysthenes. Eratosthenes' philosophical writings, which survive only in a few fragments, probably predate his arrival at Alexandria. The *Platonicus*, penned in the traditional dialogue format, dealt with Platonic astronomy and mathematics. Other works, such as *On Freedom from Pain*, *Ariston*, and *On Good and Evil Qualities*, have been lost. Many later writers heaped scorn on Eratosthenes' philosophical treatises, but their attacks are heavily flavoured by sectarian biases.

Eratosthenes was considered one of the great mathematicians of his day; Archimedes dedicated a book to him and corresponded with him on mathematical problems. Little remains of his works, however. He developed a method for determining prime numbers, the so-called Sieve of Eratosthenes, which in modified form (needed, since the system does not work with high numbers) is still critical for number theory research; he wrote on progressions and proportions; he solved the problem of how to double a cube, for which he designed a mechanical instrument; and he discussed musical scales. He applied his learning in geometry to the fields of astronomy and mathematical geography. For example, he measured the distance to the sun as 804 million stades (= 78 million miles, versus the actual 92.9 million) and to the moon as 780,000 stadia (= 76,500 miles, versus the actual 239,000). The tilt of the earth's axis was calculated, with great accuracy, as 23 degrees, 51 minutes, 15 seconds. A lost treatise, *On Means*, has not survived, but it did form part of the Hellenistic edited collection *Treasury of Analysis*, which contained works by such famous mathematicians as Euclid.

In the field of literary criticism, Eratosthenes' most important work was *On Ancient Comedy*, in 12 books. This work was very highly regarded in antiquity. Evidently he wrote essays on a wide variety of topics, such as textual criticism, authorship of plays, dialectology, dates of performances, historical issues, and the interpretation of individual passages. Although he published no editions of the plays, Eratosthenes did collate available manuscripts to fix textual readings.

Very little of Eratosthenes' poetry survives. Traces of Callimachean Alexandrinism are evident. For example, Eratosthenes' short epic *Erigone*, dealing with Icarius and his daughter Erigone and her dog, evokes with its style and form Callimachus' *Hecale*. His didactic poem *Hermes*, which describes the god's ascent to the heavens, recalls the didactic poems of the 3rd century BC, especially when Eratosthenes describes the eight spheres of the universe. Otherwise, Eratosthenes displayed in his poetry his usual independence of thought. For example, he rejected Homer and mythology as useful sources of poetic material – a view that was severely criticized, since the Greeks generally believed in the centrality of Homer in culture, history, and literature; he also insisted that the purpose of poetry was to entertain, not to instruct (a principle he called *psychagogia*).

Eratosthenes was vastly unappreciated in antiquity. He had few disciples, and his writings were often subjected by later writers to scathing attacks. The nickname *beta* was an ingenious but unwarranted term for someone who was truly brilliant in so many areas. He was one of those rare people for whom the sciences and the humanities are complementary. Applying his powerful intellect to fields as diverse as mathematics, chronology, literary criticism, geography, and philosophy, Eratosthenes had few equals in his or any other era.

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Biography

Born perhaps in the mid-280s BC in Cyrene, Eratosthenes was educated in Athens where he was a pupil of Zeno, Arcesilaus, and Ariston. At the invitation of Ptolemy III Eurgetes he moved to Alexandria in 245 BC where he succeeded Apollonius Rhodius as director of the Library. He made distinguished contributions to philosophy, grammar, poetry, chronology, mathematics, astronomy, and geography but was too versatile to be appreciated by his contemporaries. He died *c.*200 BC.

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Eretria

City in Euboea

Eretria is the second principal ancient city on the island of Euboea, the first being its immediate neighbour to the north, Chalcis. In 498 BC the Eretrians joined the Athenians in sending help to the east Greek Ionian cities in their rebellion against their Persian overlords; the Eretrians contributed 5 triremes and the Athenians 20, which Herodotus says were the cause of evil for both Greeks and Persians alike. Though this achieved little enough on behalf of the Ionians beyond sacking sanctuaries at Sardis, when the Persians in their turn attacked mainland Greece in 490 BC Eretria was one of their first targets. After forcing the surrender of the southernmost Euboean city, Carystus, the Persians disembarked at Eretria without opposition and put the walled city under siege. The city was betrayed to them after six days' resistance; they burnt and plundered the sanctuaries, in revenge for the burning of the sanctuaries at Sardis, and deported at least part of the population (they were settled by Darius near Susa, and they or their descendants were still there in Herodotus' time continuing to speak Greek, as he notes with some surprise). Doubtless more were left at Eretria following the surprise defeat of the Persians at Marathon, since there was no interuption in the continuity of the city.

The geographer Strabo, writing in the 1st century BC, mentions, in addition to the existing city of Eretria, the ruins of "Old Eretria", which he believed was the city destroyed by the Persians; the remains of houses were still visible there. Excavations at Eretria itself have demonstrated that this was not correct, that the walled city captured and plundered by the Persians was the same one that existed in Strabo's time, and which, indeed, had been the location of the city since much earlier, at least as early as the 8th century BC. What Strabo saw as "Old Eretria" was elsewhere. The most likely candidate is situated to the north of the Classical city, closer to Chalcis, on a promontory site known by its modern Greek name of Lefkandi. Here an earlier settlement and, adjacent, an extensive cemetery have been excavated going back to the turn of the 2nd and 1st millennia BC, including one extremely rich grave in a large apsidal structure surrounded by wooden posts. This site seems to have been abandoned gradually, at the same time that the site of Classical Eretria developed. Whether or not there is a direct connection, the movement of inhabitants from the one to the other, Lefkandi must be significant to the early history of the Eretrians.

In general, this area, including Chalcis, had benefited from its geographical position, facing on to the sheltered waters between Euboea and the mainland and the sea route to the southeast, past the islands of Andros and Tenos (which are a continuation of the Euboean land-mass) into the central Aegean and beyond, encouraging direct trade links through to the eastern Mediterranean (while Chalcis, situated at the narrows of the Euripus, also controlled the sea routes to the north). The link with the central Aegean had been important even in the Early Bronze Age, while the evidence from Lefkandi proves the existence of overseas contacts even at the beginning of the Iron Age when mainland Greece apparently survived in isolation. After this, Eretrian involvement in the Greek trading

post at al-Mina in Syria and the distribution, to both east and west, of the Euboean pottery drinking cups decorated with suspended groups of semicircles (the "pendant-semicircle *skyphoi*") demonstrate the importance of overseas links. Both Chalcis and Eretria, possibly in conjunction, played a major role in the early colonization movement, such as the colony on the island of Ischia in the bay of Naples. Eretria is also credited with the earliest colonization of Corfu, though this was soon supplanted by a Corinthian foundation.

What the later Greeks remembered of this period was a war between Eretria and Chalcis, over possession of the Lelantine plain which was situated between them. Herodotus points out that the reason the Eretrians helped the Ionians in 498 BC was not support for the Athenians but because Miletus had earlier helped them in their war against Chalcis. Thucydides also mentions grand alliances, with the "rest of Greece" divided into supporters of one or other of the Euboean cities. Whether these alliances are a historical reality, or a projection back into the unrecorded early period of later political links, cannot be resolved. It may well be that defeat at the hands of Chalcis forced the Eretrians to abandon the site at Lefkandi and move to the Classical site of their city.

The early significance of Eretria is demonstrated by the archaeological discoveries there. The principal sanctuary in the city, that of Apollo Daphnephoros, boasted a major limestone Doric temple of the late 6th century BC with high-quality sculptural decoration in marble, fragments of which survive. It was sacked by the Persians. Its earliest antecedent was a small apsidal structure of the 8th century BC, one of the oldest temple buildings to be found in Greece. Other shrines included a heroon of the 7th century BC, and a Thesmophorion, also sacked by the Persians, where the finds include a deposit of drinking vessels, presumably used in the cult rather than left as offerings. Links with Athens were close: the arrangement of the late Archaic temple of Apollo Daphnephoros seems to anticipate the hexastyle Athenian temples such as that of Hephaestus (the "Theseum") and of Poseidon at Sunium, where the original construction is dated before the Persian Wars. At the time Eretria joined Athens to help the Ionians, the Athenians had just fought a successful war against Chalcis, seized a substantial part of Chalcidian territory, and placed Athenian settlers on it, a move that must have benefited Eretria – Herodotus, perhaps, is being a shade too knowledgeable when in effect he denies this as a reason for Eretria's support of Miletus in the Ionian revolt.

The city recovered from the Persian attack, and became part of the Athenian alliance, along with Chalcis and the other Euboean cities. Their importance was such that their rebellion in 446 BC forced the Athenians to make a quick deal with the Spartans so that they could suppress it. We have an inscription that details the harsh terms then inflicted on Chalcis, with enough evidence to show that similar conditions were meted out to Eretria. Part of Eretrian territory may have been occupied by Athenians; certainly, there was an Athenian stronghold there (but outside the city) in 411 BC, and the discovery at Eretria of large numbers of Athenian "white-ground" vases (*lekythoi*), of the sort favoured as burial offerings in Athens in the latter part of the 5th century BC, suggests the presence of an Athenian population. Eretria finally broke away from Athens in 411 BC, after the Syracusan disaster, but in the succeeding century joined the second Athenian alliance. Philip of Macedon took the city into his sphere of interest – a Macedonian presence is subsequently attested by two vaulted Macedonian chamber tombs, one at Eretria itself and another by the road to Amarynthus to the south. During the Hellenistic period the strategic importance of this area was emphasized by the continued presence of a Macedonian garrison at Chalcis, one of the three vital strongholds, the so-called fetters of Greece. Eretria, under the shadow of this presence, seems to have had its own Macedonian garrison, at least at the time of the final war between the Romans and the Macedonian king, Philip V. During this, in 198 BC, the city was attacked and sacked by the Romans. After this, despite a short involvement in the subsequent war with Antiochus III, Eretria regained its freedom, and enjoyed a subsequent uneventful history as a small town of the Roman empire.

There are interesting architectural remains. The city walls, originally constructed in the 7th century BC (the date of the first west gate), have been partly uncovered. Sections of the early (pre-Persian) walls survive on the acropolis, while the existing traces of the walls of the lower town are probably late 4th century BC, with later repairs and additions. There are early Hellenistic houses, some of which have good-quality pebble mosaics. Most interesting of all is the theatre. Unlike most Greek theatres it was constructed on level ground, by hollowing out the orchestra and banking earth up against a surrounding support wall for the cavea. There is also an underground passage, of uncertain purpose, running from the stage area to the centre of the orchestra.

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Summary

A city in Euboea, Eretria, like its neighbour Chalcis, played a part in colonizing Italy, Sicily, and the north Aegean. The two cities fought over possession of the Lelantine plain in the late 8th century BC. Eretria was a member of the Delian League and the second Athenian confederacy. It was sacked by the Romans in 198 BC.

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Estates

Much of the history of the Greek countryside has been characterized by the struggle between state, wealthy landowner, and peasant for control of the productive agricultural land. Given the very varied nature of the Greek landscape, it was often advantageous to produce a particular cash crop on a large scale and export it to less suitable areas. This mode of production tended to favour the wealthy landowner who controlled large estates.

The first evidence for estate agriculture, as opposed to communal or individual subsistence production, comes from the Bronze Age. During the 17th and 16th centuries BC a series of large rural structures in eastern Crete, generally termed "villas", shows evidence for mass storage, high-status residence, and administration. These were presumably involved in the production of the wine, olive oil, and wheat mentioned in the Linear A texts. In the Linear B tablets from the Mycenaean palace of Pylos, dating to about 1200 BC, many individuals are listed as owning estates. The king's estate, which may have been one of several royal estates, was 1800 times as large as the smallest one on the list, and three times as large as those of his most senior subordinates.

The Archaic and Classical periods were characterized by widespread small landholding, often by tenant farmers who were very vulnerable to their landlords and creditors. Archaeological survey shows a wide distribution of small structures and intensive cultivation during this time. In the course of the Hellenistic period this gradually changed, with small farmsteads being abandoned and larger landowners, often based in the cities, gradually controlling more of the land. By the early Roman period much of the Greek countryside was dominated by large estates. Few of these were actually owned by Romans; in general there is little evidence for imperial estates, colonies of veterans, or estates owned by Roman aristocrats. The pattern was more one of large estates owned by rich local families who favoured and were favoured by Roman rule. Often they were based on villas sumptuously decorated with mosaics and equipped with bath houses. This was just one aspect of the increasing social stratification and economic polarization that characterized the period.

Estates were also an important part of the Byzantine landscape, though in many cases landowners owned a series of small dispersed plots, or several estates in different areas. The tenant farmer or *colonus* was very much tied to the land and heavily taxed, as well as paying rent to his landlord. A typical large estate would include some sort of mansion, demesne land as well as land let out to tenants, and a whole series of productive assets termed *autourgia*, such as olive groves, watermills, salt pans, and pottery workshops. The estate often encompassed all or part of a village where hired workers or tenants would live. Many monasteries increasingly had their own estates, with *metochia* or branches of the monastery to house the monks who supervised them.

The advent of the Ottoman empire caused major changes in landholding and the rural economy. Each Ottoman *spahi* or cavalryman was allotted a fief of varying size according to his rank. Usually this would consist of an entire village, but rather than managing it as an estate he would merely extract a proportion of the villagers' produce, and this would constitute his income. Other villages were estates owned by a *waqf* or Islamic endowment, or else by members of the imperial family.

In Asia Minor, from the end of the 16th century, there was a general process of appropriating the land of peasant farmers, either by force or because of debt. This land was amalgamated into *çiftliks* or estates, originally referring to the amount of land that could be worked by a *çift* or pair of oxen. By the end of the 18th century the *çiftlik* system had arrived in northern Greece. Typically estates would consist of a manor, often fortified with a tower, huts for hired workers, stables, large storerooms, a bakery, a smithy, and a watermill. Usually they were associated with a village of tenant farmers.

During the 17th and 18th centuries the Church and individual monasteries acquired considerable amounts of land, usually by bequests from Greek peasants who wanted to avoid their property being taken by the Ottoman authorities. In Cyprus by 1844, for example, the Church owned some 16.4 per cent of all agricultural land. As with the secular estates, they were mainly concerned with the production of cash crops on a large scale, as well as a range of subsistence crops for local consumption. The export trade in commodities such as cotton and wheat greatly favoured an estate that had a large labour force, controlled the necessary water rights, and could produce on a large scale.

The end of the estate system came after World War I, following the land law passed in 1917 by Venizelos's government. Large estates were broken up and redistributed to each family that had been tilling the land as hired hands. This expropriation extended to many of the monastic estates, including those of the Mount Athos monasteries. After the Asia Minor defeat in 1922 many of these confiscated lands were given to incoming rural Greeks from Anatolia as part of the refugee settlement process. To some extent this meant that agriculture and landholding remained fragmented and often less efficient. It did, however, allow for a strong landowning rural class, as opposed to a dissatisfied and oppressed rural population of serfs and hired labourers, which throughout Greek history has so often been the end result of the estate system.

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Ethics

Although ethical precepts of a rudimentary nature are found scattered throughout early Greek poetry and the surviving fragments of the Presocratic philosophers, there was no real attempt to formulate a coherent ethical system before the time of Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle. The Delphic maxims and the sayings attributed to the Seven Sages, epigrammatic lines from Hesiod and the gnomic poets, and early philosophical fragments, such as those of Xenophon and Heraclitus, provide early examples of attempts to collect and codify ethical wisdom gathered through the experience of many generations. Even the Homeric epics, with their professedly recreational objectives, came to be treated as storehouses of advice on human conduct.

Pythagoras (*c.*580–*c.*500 BC) founded a brotherhood which (probably under Orphic influence) appears to have advocated vegetarianism associated with the belief in transmigration of the soul. The brotherhood's rules emphasized simplicity in speech, dress, and food; for Pythagoras believed that the intellectual nature is higher than the sensual, and that the best life is one devoted to mental discipline.

A note of scepticism was sounded in the 5th century BC when the Sophists questioned moral absolutes. Their common theme was that the traditional opposition of good and bad, or just and unjust does not reflect any objective fact of nature but is rather a matter of social convention. Protagoras of Abdera taught that "man is the measure of all things: of the things that are that they are, of the things that are not that they are not", meaning that human judgement is subjective, and that one's perception is valid only for one's self. The particular content of moral rules may differ, but rules of some kind are necessary, he argued, if life is to be tolerable.

But even this attempt to set up a new standard for interpreting moral actions fell before the onslaught of that very scepticism which Protagoras himself initiated. The laws and codes of society were shown to be themselves a perversion of the natural state of man. Society was depicted, as by Glaucon and Adeimantus in Plato's *Republic*, as the product of a social contract in which *physis* (i.e. natural law that "might is right") was prevented by *nomos* (i.e. established laws of society and the state) – an artificial code made by the weaker many to suppress the stronger few. Tyrants and suchlike were those who broke through these codes and asserted the primeval right of might. True justice was the interest of the stronger. It was better to do evil than suffer evil, and having done evil, it was better not to pay the penalty than to pay the penalty. The possible consequences of such a doctrine, if translated into action, can well be imagined if one reads its representation by Thrasymachus and Callicles in the *Republic* and *Gorgias* of Plato.

Despite his ruthless criticism of the Sophists, Plato was well aware that it was by countenancing their destructive criticisms that Socrates (470–399 BC) was able to establish ethical values on the sound basis of knowledge. Socrates' contribution to ethics is best described as a way of inquiry rather than a way of life. He would ask for a definition of a virtue such as justice, courage, piety, or temperance and then, through questioning, he would demonstrate the inadequacy of the definition as a complete account of the virtue in question, and suggest the need to reformulate the definition. This method of inquiry was bound to undermine the security of conventional beliefs, and Socrates was therefore tried on a charge of corrupting the youth of Athens and was put to death. He did not subscribe to the moral relativism of the Sophists, but maintained that virtue could be known and that the good person knew what constituted virtue or justice. However, he himself did not claim to have such knowledge. Nor did he distinguish sharply between the good and the advantageous, but maintained that those who knew what good was would in fact be good. If anyone did what was not good, it was because he was ignorant of the nature of goodness. Thus, a person can become good through education.

Socrates' life and teaching gave rise to many later schools of moral philosophy. Four such schools originated among his immediate disciples: the Cynics, the Cyrenaics, the Megarians, and the Platonists. The Cynics held that self-control was the essence of virtue and that it could be taught. This was, in particular, the view of Antisthenes. The Cyrenaics were hedonists: for them pleasure was the highest good, provided it did not dominate one's life. Pleasures could not be ranked by superiority; they could only be measured by intensity and duration. The best-known member of the school was Aristippus of Cyrene. The Megarians (founded by Euclid of Megara) maintained the unity of goodness despite its equation with wisdom, god, or reason. It is the final secret of the universe, and can be revealed only through logical inquiry.

For Plato (428/27–348/47 BC), goodness is an essential element of reality. It is the common element by which all good things are good, in other words, the pure form of goodness. Not only good things, but all other forms too (being themselves good) depend on the form of the good for their sustenance and manifestation, just as all things in our world depend on the sun. Evil has no independent existence; it is an imperfect reflection of the good reality. The virtue of anything depended on its function, and human virtue lies in the fitness of a person to perform that person's proper function in the world.

Plato believed in a tripartite soul (and its "bigger" version, the state) consisting of the rational, the emotional, and the appetitive, each with its corresponding virtue: wisdom, courage, and temperance. Justice, the fourth virtue, consisted in the harmony between these three elements, when each part of the soul kept to its appropriate place and function: intelligence must rule, emotion must obey, and the two together must control the appetite. While the unjust man lives in a state of internal strife, the just man, whose soul is thus harmoniously ordered, finds true satisfaction in the pursuit of knowledge. Plato doubtless saw in the life and death of Socrates the concrete embodiment of his ideal of the just man.

With Plato, just as with Socrates, the basic problem of ethics becomes a problem of knowledge. He who knows that moral virtue leads to happiness will naturally practise virtue. This is different from the view of many Christian thinkers who feel that the fundamental problem of ethics is one of will, since a person may know what is morally right, but may not have the willpower to carry it out.

Plato maintained that it is worse to do evil than to suffer it, because immoral conduct is symptomatic of a sick soul. Once a person has committed an unjust deed, Plato believed that it

is better for him to be punished than to go unpunished, because punishment serves to cure the soul of its most serious ills.

For Aristotle (384–322 BC), the aim of life was happiness, which he defined as activity that accords with the specific nature of humanity. Although such activity is accompanied by pleasure, such pleasure is not its principal aim. Happiness results from the activity of reason (an attribute unique to mankind) functioning in harmony with human faculties.

While accepting the four-fold virtues of the Platonic system, Aristotle maintained the importance of other traits such as friendship, liberality, gentleness, truthfulness, and wit. But the most important was prudence (*phronesis*), i.e. the ability to discern the right course of action that leads to a good life. For him, virtues are essentially good habits acquired by constant practice, and he makes a distinction between moral and intellectual virtues. In connection with moral virtues, he introduces the famous doctrine of the mean. A moral virtue is a mean between two extreme vices, one of excess and one of deficiency. Thus liberality is a mean between avarice and profligacy, and courage is a mean between cowardliness and foolhardiness. Intellectual virtues such as knowledge lead to contemplation, which is the highest human activity. Both these kinds of virtue are only a means towards the attainment of happiness, which results from the full realization of human potential.

Aristotle makes a distinction between instrumental goods (which are good only because they lead to some other thing that is good) and intrinsic goods (which are good in themselves). He also distinguishes between distributive justice and remedial justice, as well as between theoretical wisdom and practical wisdom. Practical wisdom, the knowledge which leads people to right action and a happy life, is the subject of both politics and ethics.

Like Aristotle's other works, his *Nicomachean Ethics* prompted commentaries, glosses, and paraphrases from scholars of late antiquity and the Byzantine age. Two sets of scholia are known, the first and more ancient being anonymous, and the second by Aspasios. Partial commentaries by Michael of Ephesus, Eustratios of Nicaea, and an anonymous Byzantine scholar are preserved in a Latin translation by Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln (1253). A paraphrase was copied for the emperor John VI Kantakouzenos. This exegetical material gave rise to summaries of ethics such as those by John of Damascus, Michael Psellos, and Joseph Rhakendytes.

The chief Stoic philosophers in Greece were Zeno of Citium, Cleanthes, and Chrysippus of Soli, while the development of Stoicism under the Roman empire is represented by Epictetus and the emperor Marcus Aurelius. There were also a number of popular moralizing anthologies, and a treatise *De Virtutibus et Vitiis* is attributed to Andronicus of Rhodes. Stoic impact on Byzantine writers is evident in works such as Plethon's treatise *On Virtues*. According to Zeno, the true end of man is an active life in conformity with nature, in other words, a life according to virtue, which is the will of God and hence the law of the universe. Happiness is produced by right conduct. Originating from the views of Socrates and Plato, Stoicism taught that nature was rational and orderly, and that the only good life was one led in harmony with nature. Since life is influenced by material circumstances, one should free oneself from them as much as possible. This freedom could be achieved by cultivating certain cardinal virtues such as practical wisdom, fortitude, discretion, and justice.

Whereas Plato believed that human passions and physical desires must be regularized by reason, the Stoics rejected passion altogether as a basis for deciding what is good or evil. Although one cannot completely eliminate physical desires, a wise person can appreciate the difference between wanting something (which is caused by our desires) and judging it to be good (which is caused by our reason). The wise man identifies himself with reason, not with desires, and will neither expect the fulfilment of physical desires nor be anxious about failing to attain them. Living in a state of wisdom and virtue is the only real good, and the efforts to attain it are not hampered by external circumstances as is the search for material wealth and bodily pleasure, since wisdom and virtue are intellectual matters and therefore are within our control.

The Stoics believed that all human beings have the capacity for reason, and therefore held a notion of equality much broader than the Greek sense of equal citizenship: common reason makes all individuals fellow citizens, observed Marcus Aurelius. From this followed the Stoic concept of a universal moral law appealing to all people. This universality of reason provided a basis for rejecting ethical relativism as taught by the Sophists. The pursuit of wisdom and virtue is open to all human beings irrespective of the external circumstances of their lives, and it is not surprising to find that the two principal exponents of Stoicism in the 2nd century AD were a slave and an emperor. Stoicism also exerted considerable influence on Byzantine monastic circles.

Plotinus (born *c.* AD 215), the founder of Neoplatonism, enjoined purification by self-discipline, with the object of ascending to the spiritual world and pursuing the divine out of love and enthusiasm. Some idea of the ethical theory of the Neoplatonists may be gained from its formulation in the *Sentences* of Porphyry. According to Proclus and Ammonius, evil is not a substance, but a privation of good; in particular, it was a moral turning away from God. This theory of evil and its reconciliation with free will and divine providence were adopted by Psellos and Isaac Komnenos. The Neoplatonists identified happiness as union with God. This was to be achieved in contemplation through purifying the soul of its corporeal existence by virtue. Through the Cappadocian fathers, this identification provided a fundamental structure to Byzantine moral theology. Psellos believed that Aristotelian ethics could be integrated into this structure in that "political virtue", which is the lowest type, concerns the rationally ordered and harmonious life of man as a union of soul and body, a life formulated by Aristotle and including practical wisdom and political action. To this, Porphyry had added purificatory and contemplative virtue, and Psellos saw in them the path that leads man as immortal soul to transcend the world and reach greater union with God. A similar integration of Stoic ethics (which prescribes the ideal life of man as he is) with the Platonic (concerned with life beyond this world) was proposed by Barlaam of Calabria in his *Ethics According to the Stoics*.

Epicurus (341–270 BC) taught that the only ultimate good was pleasure (being the only good known to the senses) and that the only ultimate evil was pain. The best pleasure, that

which is accompanied by no painful want, is a perfect harmony of body and mind to be sought in plain living and in virtue. Intellectual pleasures were the more refined, and were higher than the coarser physical ones purely in terms of their quantity and durability. Tranquillity (*ataraxia*) is the highest pleasure obtainable, and comes from the removal of all emotional disturbances resulting from unsatisfied wants, through the elimination of all but the simplest needs which are then easily satisfied even by those who are not wealthy. What the Epicureans advocated, therefore, was a temperate, even ascetic, existence devoted to contemplative pursuits. If something increased pleasure and reduced pain, it was good as a means; otherwise it was not good at all. Justice was good only as a way of preventing mutual harm; but injustice brought pain and anxiety only through the perpetual fear of being discovered. The Epicureans placed high value on friendship and were famous for the warmth of their personal relationships; but friendship was good only because it tended to increase pleasure. It was believed that immediate pleasures should be postponed in order to attain more secure and durable satisfaction in the future. Therefore, the good life must be regulated by self-discipline. Religious beliefs and practices were considered harmful because they preoccupied men with disturbing thoughts of death and the uncertainty of life after death.

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Etruscans

The Etruscans, a culturally unified people who settled in central Italy (between the Arno and the Tiber rivers) from around the beginning of the 1st millennium until the 1st century BC, were referred to by the ancient Greeks as the *Tyrrhenoi* (Tyrrhenians), a name that they also gave to the sea off Tuscany, still known today as the Tyrrhenian Sea. Undoubtedly, this name was given to the Etruscans because many Greeks believed that they had emigrated to Italy from the east, specifically from Lydia in Asia Minor, and were led away from a devastating famine by the son of the Lydian king, who was called Tyrrhenus (Tyrsenos). This story is preserved by the Greek historian Herodotus (1. 94. 2), writing in the 5th century BC, and is typical of traditional Greek explanations of the origins of people or city states, i.e. they began as the result of a migration under the leadership of a mythical founding hero. Other Greek historians (e.g. Hellanicus and Anticleides) had similar beliefs about the eastern origins of the Etruscans and connected them with the Pelasgians, an ancient wandering people who eventually settled on the coast of Italy. The one ancient exception to this view is the Greek historian and rhetorician Dionysius of Halicarnassus (1. 25–30), writing towards the end of the 1st century BC, who argued that the Etruscans were autochthonous. This, according to Dionysius, was the Etruscan view of the matter. Indeed the Etruscans did not call themselves the Tyrrhenians at all, but referred to themselves as Rasenna or Rasna. This is also the view of most modern scholars who, as the result of decades of archaeological study, now believe that the Bronze Age inhabitants of central Italy (from *c.*3000 to 1000 BC) should be considered the ancestors of the Iron Age inhabitants, i.e. the Etruscans.

Unfortunately, because Etruscan civilization was relatively short-lived and because their once extensive literature was either obliterated by the Roman conquest or else simply failed to survive the process of transmission during the Middle Ages, very little is known about the internal events of Etruscan history. The archaeological record and the incidental references to the Etruscans by contemporary Greek and Roman writers are not complete or always reliable sources of information about Etruscan culture. However, these sources do yield considerable information about the trade relations between Greeks and Etruscans. For example, the early Euboean colonies at Pithecusae and Cumae were deliberately well situated for trade with Etruria and, by the end of the 8th century BC, Etruscan culture was largely transformed and Hellenized by Greek and other eastern objects and techniques that were introduced by the colonists. In the 7th century BC many Corinthian and east Greek vases made their way to Etruria, and by the 6th century BC the market was dominated by fine Athenian wares. There is also evidence that in the 6th century BC many Greek potters worked with Etruscan taste in mind. For example, the class of pottery known as "Tyrrhenian amphorae" features especially colourful narratives with nonsensical inscriptions that were unlikely to be recognized as such by the Etruscan buyers. Other ingenious potters, such as Nicosthenes, began supplying the brisk Etruscan market with types of vases familiar to the Etruscans from their own native *bucchero* pottery (e.g. the so-called Nicosthenic amphorae and *kyathoi* or wine ladles), but decorated in the popular Greek black-figured style.

In exchange for Greek pottery and other imported objects (Near Eastern seals, bronzes, etc.) it seems that the Etruscans mainly traded raw materials (metals). During the 8th and early 7th centuries BC, however, some Etruscan objects do begin to appear in the votive deposits at several international Greek sanctuaries (e.g. Delphi, Olympia, Dodona, and Samos). These objects are not trade goods but typical Italic votive offerings such as bronze helmets, shields, horse bits, and other ornaments. In fact, according to Pausanias (5. 12. 5), it was the Etruscan king Arimnestos who made the very first dedication (a throne) at Olympia. During the 6th century BC Etruscan merchants seem to have circulated more widely, since their native *bucchero* pottery has been found at nearly every major site in Greece except for the international sanctuaries of Delphi, Olympia, Isthmia, and Nemea, which instead attracted finer Etruscan donations, such as bronzes, art objects, and war

trophies. Most of the *bucchero* vases found in Greece are tall stemmed cups with two vertical handles – a shape that inspired the development of the *kantharos* (large-handled cup) in Boeotia and Athens. The Athenian Agora has produced a few examples of Etruscan *bucchero*, although the bulk of Attic trade with the Etruscans occurred later than the production of this type of pottery. So, in the later 6th and 5th centuries BC, the Etruscans probably traded other goods such as bronze utensils, candelabra, tripods, and spouted pitchers (known today as *Schnabelkannen*) which were widely admired by the Greeks.

The influence of Greek imports on Etruscan art is easily recognized as well. Native artists copied the Euboean Geometric and early Orientalizing styles as well as all the Corinthian styles down to the middle of the 6th century BC. Greek shapes were introduced into *bucchero* pottery. Athenian black- and red-figured pottery was also imitated by local artists, and Greek subjects and styles were introduced into Etruscan tomb painting. Greek influence is additionally apparent in Etruscan metalworking (particularly in the production of certain fibulae) and in the Etruscan art of architectural terracottas which was developed as the result of trade relations with the Peloponnese.

There is also evidence of Greeks who actually lived and worked in Etruria. For example, according to Pliny (*Naturalis Historia*, 35. 152), Livy (1. 34), and Dionysius of Halicarnassus (3. 46), one Demaratus of Corinth emigrated to Tarquinia (with three Greek artisans) in the middle of the 7th century BC, carried on a prosperous business, married a local noblewoman, and sired the fifth king of Rome (Tarquinius Priscus). Tarquinia was also home to a significant school of Etrusco-Corinthian vase painting that has been linked to Corinthian immigration. In addition, the port city of Tarquinia, Gravisca, had a wealthy Greek quarter that included a sanctuary with Greek-style temples where a syncretism of Greek and Etruscan cults took place. The Etruscan city of Caere also seems to have been partly settled by Greeks, who called it Agylla and dedicated a treasury at Delphi. At Caere an itinerant Greek artist named Aristonothos produced an interesting and unusual hybrid *krater* (mixing bowl) depicting a naval battle and the blinding of the Cyclops Polyphemus by Odysseus and his men (Paris, Louvre).

Etruscan culture was influenced by the Greek imports and immigrants in other ways as well. For example, the Greeks brought to Etruria the alphabet and the art of olive cultivation. Greek-style hunts and athletics are depicted in many Etruscan tombs, although it seems unlikely that the Etruscans accepted the social ideals that went along with these sports in Greek culture. Etruscan weapons and warfare, including the use of warships as well as the organization of the cavalry and infantry (phalanx formation), also seem to have been influenced by Greek practice. In addition, Etruscan dress was closely related to Greek models, although the Greeks were known to have admired the native Etruscan sandals with their hinged wooden soles. The Etruscan elite also adopted the practice of banqueting on couches with drinking equipment of the type used at the Greek symposium. But unlike the Greeks, the Etruscans reclined together with their wives – a practice that the Greeks thought was barbarous.

Despite this apparent cultural dependence, Greek–Etruscan relations seem to have worsened after the large Etruscan fleet was defeated at Cumae in 524 BC by the Greeks and the Latin alliance. At this time, the Greeks controlled the overland routes into Campania and soon after they gained control of the seas as well. By the end of the 4th century BC, trade with Greece had declined considerably and very few dedications were made by Greeks in the sanctuary at Gravisca. Some Greek trade with Etruria continued in the 3rd century BC with areas as remote as southern Russia receiving a few Etruscan objects. In this small way, before they were conquered by the Romans, the Etruscans contributed to the *koine* (shared culture) of Hellenistic civilization.

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Summary

A people settled in central Italy for most of the 1st millennium BC, the Etruscans were believed in antiquity to have originated in Asia Minor, though this now seems unlikely. Trade with Greece began early and Etruscan culture was largely Hellenized by the 8th century BC. Relations with Greece cooled in the late 6th century and trade declined after the 4th century BC.

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Euboea

Island in the Aegean

Euboea is the second largest Greek island after Crete and runs for about 180 km along the eastern coast of mainland Greece. It is separated from the mainland by a strait, known as the

Euripus, that narrows at the mid-point along the west coast. Euboea is separated into three geographical areas, each region defined by a major peak. The well-watered and forested north is dominated by Mount Pyxaria (1341 m). The central, most fertile, region is south of Mount Dirfis (1745 m), the highest point on the island, and boasts forests of chestnuts and pines on the north side. Surrounding plains produce grains, vines, figs, and olives. The southern region of the island sits below Mount Ochi (1394 m). The island has substantial mineral wealth as well, including quantities of lignite and magnesite (now being exported), marble and asbestos. The marble (cipollino) of Carystus was widely popular in antiquity, particularly in Rome during the imperial era.

From the 5th century BC bridges across the Euripus have joined Euboea to Boeotia allowing access to the western portion of the island from the mainland. With the exception of the reasonably good port located at Kymi along the rocky east coast, Euboea was most accessible by sea at Chalcis and Eretria, also on the west coast and on the southern tip at Carystus. Important modern ports are still located at Chalcis and Carystus.

Throughout the history of Euboea, environmental and geographic divisions of the island were paralleled by sociopolitical divisions. According to tradition, Euboea was originally settled by people from Thessaly – the Ellopians in the north, the Abantes in the centre and west, and the Dryopes in the south. Each region included, and still includes, a major town. Histiaea-Oreos, the modern village of Orei in the north, is located on the coast. The town was important from the Bronze Age until Classical times when it became known as either Histiaea or Oreos (perhaps an old deme name). Histiaea-Oreos controlled a fairly large and fertile plain and was described by Homer as "rich in vines" (*Iliad*, 2. 537).

Chalcis, in the centre, is located at the narrowest part of the island, facing Boeotia. The town was a trade centre for pottery and metalwork and was important during the Dark Ages. Chalcis flourished despite losing its independence, first to the Athenians, then to the Macedonians, and then to the Romans. Carystus, in the south, is located on the coast below Mount Ochi. On top of Mount Ochi is an example of the famous "dragon houses" of Euboea – ancient structures whose use is unknown. Carystus' importance stems from its control of the southern entrance to the Euripus and of maritime traffic through the Andros straits as well as from its cipollino marble and asbestos. (Still visible in the ancient quarries are abandoned, but worked, columns from the Roman period.) Carystus suffered destruction at the hands of the Persians when its inhabitants were the first to try to oppose the invaders in 490 BC; it later came under Athenian control and may have had an Athenian cleruchy settled there. Near Carystus is Geristos, the site of a sanctuary of Apollo (first mentioned by Homer) and the one safe harbour on the southeast coast of Euboea. It was the first good stopping point for merchant ships travelling from the east and it is possible that this was the main port for Carystus in Classical times.

According to tradition, the original Euboeans were later joined by Ionians from Attica, Aeolians from Phthiotis, and Dorians from the Peloponnese. Because the textual record for the settlement and activities of early Euboea is limited, the site of Lefkandi and its rich material remains play an important role in recreating a picture of Late Bronze-Age and Dark-Age Euboea. At Lefkandi, located between Chalcis and Eretria (explored in 1965–66, 1969–70, and again in the 1980s by the British School at Athens), was found extensive early evidence for occupation from the Early to the Late Helladic and the Geometric periods, and in particular the site sheds light on the transition from the Mycenaean period to the early Dark Age. Of particular historical importance for an understanding of post-Mycenaean economic, social, and architectural developments in Greece is a cemetery found on Toumba hill (about 200 m north of Lefkandi village). At this site is the largest building known from Dark-Age Greece (*c.*1000 BC). It was an apsidal building, about 10 m wide and 45 m long, built of mud brick on top of a stone foundation. There was a double grave in the main room, one grave containing the richly adorned remains of a cremated male warrior and an inhumed woman. The other grave held four inhumed horses. The material remains show clear contact with other areas in the Mediterranean (such as Crete and Attica) and, more surprisingly, the existence of this structure testifies to a much more active economic role for Euboea than had been previously suspected for this early period.

During the 8th century the inhabitants of Chalcis and Eretria were among the first Greeks to found colonies and trading posts on the coasts of Sicily, Italy, Thrace, the islands of the Aegean, and possibly Syria. In fact, at Eretria, mentioned in the Homeric catalogue of ships and located about 18 km south of Chalcis, the earliest physical evidence dates to the Geometric period, when Eretrians established colonies abroad. Currently it is believed that in the late 8th century competition for land and power between these two cities led to the Lelantine War, named after the rich Lelantine plain. The victor in this war is unknown, but the war is reputed to have involved numerous Greek states. Herodotus says that Miletus supported Eretria and Samos supported Chalcis and Thucydides implies that other states were involved, but further details remain stubbornly elusive.

Euboea played an important role in many of the major historical events of the Archaic and Classical periods. For example, Hippias, the former tyrant of Athens, fled there after his expulsion from power. Indeed, after his arrival in Euboea, the Chalcidians allied with Boeotia against Athens, partly in an attempt to restore him. As a result, in 506 BC, the Athenians attacked and defeated the Chalcidians, then took their land for the settlement of 5000 cleruchs. Similarly, the inhabitants of Eretria angered the Persians because of their support of the Ionian revolt, so that in 490 BC the Persians attacked and burned Eretria, and then enslaved the citizens. Off the cape of Artemisium, a promontory on the northwest coast of Euboea, the Greeks and Persians fought one of their first important sea battles in 480 BC. (The statue of Zeus or Poseidon hurling a thunderbolt was also found there and is now located in the National Museum at Athens.)

Euboea joined the Greek forces to defeat the Persians and became a member of the Delian League until 411 BC. However, the Euboeans came to resent Athenian rule and revolted from the league in 446 and in 411 BC. The first revolt was put down by Pericles, who expelled the inhabitants of Histiaea-Oreos and settled at least 1000 cleruchs there (though after the Peloponnesian War the Spartans drove the cleruchs out and

recalled the refugees). The second revolt, probably led by Eretria, was more successful, since the Athenians had been weakened by internal troubles and war with Sparta. Also in 411 the Chalcidians and Boeotians built a bridge over the Euripus, partly to interfere with Athenian maritime trade. Yet, between 378 and 376, due to dramatic changes in the balance of power in Greece, the Athenians induced most Euboean cities voluntarily to join a new maritime league. Thereafter, the populace of Euboea vacillated in their support between the Athenians and the Macedonians.

The Euboean alliance with Athens was not long lived. After the Battle of Leuctra in 371 BC, control of Euboea passed to the Thebans. In 358 the Euboeans were liberated by Chares, who restored the alliance with Athens. In 341 a Euboean confederacy was established, though after the Battle of Chaeronea (338) the island was incorporated under Macedonian control (Philip of Macedon recognized the strategic importance of Euboea and, indeed, claimed that the "master of Euboea is the master of Greece"). Chalcis sheltered at least one important refugee in this period – Aristotle died in Chalcis in 321, at the age of 62, after fleeing there because of persecution by an anti-Macedonian faction in Athens.

Roman interference in Euboean affairs began in earnest during the 2nd century BC. The Romans captured Histiaea in 199 and then in 198 captured and ransacked the city of Eretria, and in 87 BC Eretria was utterly destroyed and deserted. In 194 Euboea, as a whole, was taken from Macedon by the Roman general Flamininus, who briefly restored the Euboean confederacy. In 146 BC Chalcis was nearly destroyed for fighting with Macedon against Rome. The island was next attached to the province of Macedonia, until 27 BC when Greece became the province of Achaea. Though Euboea's political fortunes declined after incorporation into the province of Achaea, the island was still economically viable. Greek lands, including land in Euboea, became an important source of economic power and prestige for Roman elites and archaeological investigations reveal villas and other signs of wealth. Thus, for most of the period under Roman rule, Euboea did not show signs of serious economic decline, at least until early Byzantine times, in part because of its marble and in part because of its favourable position in the trading networks used by the Romans.

The early Byzantine period was one of profound social, religious, political, and economic transitions in the Graeco-Roman world. The now-Christian empire was more clearly divided into eastern and western sections (Euboea was in the east). A series of migrations and invasions from the north, to which Euboea was subject, changed the nature of land use and settlement on the island (people were more likely to cluster in defensible towns than remain on their unprotected rural homesteads). Pagan cult places were replaced with Christian monasteries and churches. During the 7th century AD the territories of the empire began to be reorganized into themes in an attempt to create a better system of defence. The development of the theme system probably had an immediate economic impact, even on Euboea, because local soldier-farmers were allotted lands in return for their military service.

By the end of the 9th century silk was nearly as important to the economy of the provincial Byzantine nobles in Euboea as the quarrying of marble had been in Roman times. During the Second Crusade in 1147, Roger II, king of Sicily, used his army to abduct silk workers from Thebes and Chalcis, because silk was considered so desirable in the west. Mulberry trees, food for silk worms, can still be found in abundance in some areas of the island (especially Carystus).

In 1209 Euboea was divided into the triarchies of Chalcis, Carystus, and Oreos, which were governed by Franks, who ruled from dramatic newly built castles, and who later recognized Venetian overlordship. The Venetians controlled Euboea for more than 200 years. (Above the modern town of Carystus sits Castel Rosso, a well-preserved Venetian fort – named after the reddish colour of its stone.) It was the Venetians who gave the island the name of Negroponte, "Black Bridge", which is a corruption of the Greek *ston Evripo*, "on the Euripus", already changed to *Egripo*, and additionally refers to the bridge (*ponte*) over the Euripus. Since Negroponte ranked as a "kingdom", its flag was one of three raised in St Mark's Square.

When in 1453 the Turks conquered Constantinople, it was only a matter of time before Euboea became part of the new Ottoman empire. So it was in July 1470 that the island fell to the Turks, after a brutal battle at Chalcis led by Sultan Mehmet II. Despite continued fierce resistance in the cities, rural Euboeans may have benefited under the new rule since villagers were no longer serfs (as when they were under the control of Byzantines and Venetians) and could even own property. Agricultural production began to improve as early as the 16th century, although the area around Eretria declined in productive capacity and became swampland until 1824, when a refugee settlement (Nea Psara) was located there. There is now an important regional museum located at Eretria which displays many antiquities including the well-known terracotta centaur of the 10th century BC from Lefkandi.

In the 19th century Euboea was finally released from external rule. Following the Greek War of Independence (1821–30) Greece became the first Balkan state to achieve independence from the Ottomans. Fighting in Euboea appears to have been limited and sporadic, and for three years after most of Greece became independent Euboea remained in Turkish hands. But on 22 February 1833 Euboea was finally declared part of the new Greek state.

The modern island flourishes and is a popular destination for European and Athenian travellers, partly due to its lovely beaches. Modern Carystus, for instance, a town of about 5000 inhabitants, founded after the War of Independence, receives numerous Athenian visitors throughout the summer, ferry services permitting. Many local ancient customs have been preserved, which can be seen in the numerous celebrations held in mountain and coastal villages and at monasteries throughout the year.

CYNTHIA K. KOSSO

Summary

Second largest island in Greece, Euboea was settled by the Neolithic and played a central role in the era of Greek colonization of the 8th and 7th centuries BC. Throughout Classical times it was often controlled by Athens. It remained central to Greek politics well beyond the Classical period because of its location and relative wealth.

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Euclid

Mathematician of the 4th–3rd centuries BC

Hardly anything is known about Euclid's life (even in antiquity he was sometimes confused with the Socratic Euclides of Megara); even his dates are uncertain. Proclus (5th century AD) knew only that he was later than the pupils of Plato and earlier than Archimedes (which could be inferred from the surviving works of Euclid and Archimedes, and so probably does not rest on independent evidence). Proclus' guess that he lived in the reign of Ptolemy I Soter (305–282 BC) is a reasonable one, but is based only on anecdotes; his claim that Euclid's goal in pursuing mathematics was to give support to Platonism is certainly no more than an attempt to include the best-known mathematician of the ancient world within Proclus' own school.

A number of mathematical works by Euclid have survived. The *Data* defines and discusses what must be "given" in a geometrical proof; *On Divisions* (surviving only in Arabic) deals with problems about dividing figures into parts that have a given ratio to one another; the *Phaenomena* concerns the astronomical applications of spherical geometry; the *Optics* is on the geometrical aspects of optics. Another work attributed to him, the *Catoptrica*, which deals with the geometry of reflection, seems not to be by Euclid in its present form, but may contain much Euclidean material.

These works establish that Euclid was a substantial creative mathematician in his own right, but there is no doubt that he is most renowned not for this, but for a work that is a compilation and systematization of the work of his predecessors, the *Elements*. Euclid was not the first to compose such a work. The first attempt to compile and systematize geometry appears to have been made by Hippocrates of Chios in the late 5th century BC, and this may have been the basis of much of the earlier books of Euclid's work. It is unclear which (if any) parts of the *Elements* are Euclid's own. He certainly made use of Theaetetus' work on irrationals, and Eudoxus' on the theory of proportion (and he uses extensively the mathematical method devised by Eudoxus and usually called "the method of exhaustion"), and there is clear evidence that other sections of the material incorporated in the *Elements* predate him (for example, Common Notion 3, "if equals are taken from equals, the remainders are equal", is cited by Aristotle in a form very close to that of Euclid's own).

The *Elements* is in 13 books (the alleged 14th, on dodecahedrons and icosahedrons inscribed in a sphere, was written by Hypsicles in the 2nd century BC, and the 15th, on the regular solids, is a compilation of the 6th century AD or later). Book 1 begins with a statement of definitions and of the axioms of mathematics, the unprovable and allegedly self-evident assumptions that are the starting point of mathematical proofs (though even in antiquity some of them, e.g. Postulate 5, were controversial). It then goes on to deal with elementary theorems on triangles, intersecting straight lines, and parallelograms. Book 2 deals specifically with rectangles (the view once held that the theorems in this book constitute a kind of "geometrical algebra", that is a geometrical method of solving quadratic and other equations, is now no longer thought to be probable). The subject of books 4 and 5 is the geometry of the circle and inscribed and circumscribed rectilinear figures. Book 5 is devoted to the theory of proportion; it is probably dependent on the work of Eudoxus, and constitutes one of the most sophisticated and elegant surviving pieces of Greek mathematics. In book 6 the conclusions of book 5 are applied to plane geometry. Books 7, 8, and 9 are on number theory, and book 10 deals with irrationals. Finally, books 11, 12, and 13 deal with solid geometry, with a series of propositions parallel to those on plane geometry in the early books. Though the individual sections are impressive in isolation, Euclid's real achievement is to bring together a mass of mathematical material and to articulate it into a coherent and ordered system, based on the minimum of axioms.

Euclid's *Elements* subsequently became the basis of all mathematical education, not only in the Roman and Byzantine periods, but right down to the mid-20th century, and it could be argued that it is the most successful textbook ever written. His clear and logical exposition of mathematics facilitated the process by which geometry became an essential part of the educational syllabus, and a familiarity with its principles an indispensable accomplishment for every educated man. Certainly it helped to establish mathematics as one of the foundations of Hellenic culture, and the discovery of formal proof as one of Greece's most valuable and enduring legacies. A series of commentaries on the *Elements* demonstrates its continuing importance. The most important of them (on book 1) was written by Proclus in the 5th century AD. Proclus was primarily a philosopher rather than a mathematician, and his commentary stresses the significance of Euclid's geometry for Neoplatonism. Though the work was undoubtedly designed for students of philosophy who were beginners in mathematics (and may have been based on a series of lectures given by Proclus), there are signs that a general readership was also

envisaged, which, if true, would be evidence of a continuing interest in Euclid's work among a wider educated public.

Like most school textbooks, the *Elements* was adapted by teachers to fit their own needs, and before the 19th century the text universally used was not Euclid's own, but an adaptation of it devised by Theon of Alexandria in the late 4th century AD. Theon corrected what he believed (often wrongly) to be errors in Euclid's mathematics, tidied up his diction, and introduced material (including whole propositions) with the intention of making the argument clearer. There are signs that some of the additions were not Theon's own, but were taken over from earlier adapted texts. It was only with the edition of F. Peyrard, completed in 1818 (and made possible by Napoleon's looting of manuscripts from Italian libraries), that a good text close to Euclid's own was made available. The *Elements* was first translated into modern Greek in 1820.

RICHARD WALLACE

See also Mathematics

Biography

The most famous Greek mathematician, even though almost nothing is known about his life. He may have lived in the reign of Ptolemy I (305–282 BC) in Alexandria. Surviving mathematical works include the *Data*, *On Divisions*, *Phaenomena*, *Optics*, and *Catoptrica*. His best-known work is undoubtedly the *Elements* in 13 books. It remained the standard textbook of geometry for 2000 years.

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Eudoxus *c.*390–*c.*340 BC

Mathematician and astronomer

Though he is reported to have taught at Cyzicus and studied in Egypt, most of Eudoxus' activity is associated with Plato's Academy in Athens, where he was working in the middle of the 4th century BC. None of his writings survives, and so we must reconstruct his work through reports in later writers. He was clearly a man of very broad interests. Aristotle (*Nicomachaean Ethics*, 10. 1172b) reports that in ethics he held that the supreme good is pleasure, on the grounds that pleasure is what all creatures desire; Aristotle remarks that his view attracted support, not from the cogency of the argument, but because of Eudoxus' own reputation for moral rectitude. He is also said to have done work in geography, and to have written a code of laws for his home city Cnidus.

Eudoxus is, however, best known for his work in astronomy. He did a good deal of detailed observational work. He appears to have been influential in marking the sun's annual movement in terms of the 12 signs of the zodiac, and to have introduced the practice of identifying individual stars in constellations by letters of the alphabet. He is the first Greek astronomer of whom we can say with reasonable certainty that he had access to the ancient astronomical knowledge of the Babylonians (though his supposed study in Egypt left no discernible trace); for example, in the placing of the solstitial and equinoctial points in the middle of the appropriate signs of the zodiac (rather than at the beginning), and in equalizing the lengths of the seasons, he is following Babylonian rather than standard Greek practice. His main contribution, however, was to apply contemporary mathematics, and particularly the geometry of the circle and the sphere, to astronomical problems. Both the fixed stars and the sun seem to move round the earth in circular orbits on the surface of a sphere. The moon and the planets, however, appear to move in much more complex ways (indeed the planets sometimes appear to move backwards). Eudoxus' system is an attempt to explain these movements mathematically in terms of combinations of circular orbits, the axes of which were not fixed but rotated around different axes – or, in other words, complex arrangements of concentric spheres. He believed that the movements of the moon and the sun could be explained by using three such spheres for each body, while the five visible planets needed four each, making, with the sphere of the fixed stars, 27 in all. The apparent retrograde movement of the planets is accounted for by having their third and fourth spheres rotate in opposite directions to one another, and around axes at an angle to one another, which produces movement in something like a figure-of-eight; Simplicius tell us that Eudoxus called this figure a *hippopede* (horse-fetter). Despite the mathematical sophistication of this system, it failed to account even for those movements that were well known to astronomers of his time (perhaps the most striking example being the inequality of the seasons). It soon had to be modified (and complicated) by Callipus of Cyzicus, a version of whose system was the one used by Aristotle, and it was later superseded by the more accurate systems of Eratosthenes, Hipparchus, and Ptolemy. Nevertheless, Eudoxus was the first to make a serious attempt to create a mathematical model of the movement of the heavenly bodies, and so can claim to be one of the founders of scientific astronomy. His system was an entirely mathematical one, and he made no suggestion that we know of as to the mechanism whereby the mathematics could be converted into actual moving bodies.

Important though his astronomical work is, however, there is no doubt that it was his contribution to mathematics that had the most permanent and creative influence. He is said to have been largely responsible for the material on proportion contained in book 5 of Euclid's *Elements*. He is credited with the discovery of a method of handling both commensurable and incommensurable magnitudes, which meant that it became possible to simplify and clarify proofs in a number of important areas, and opened up the way for significant new developments in geometry. Eudoxus seems also to been responsible for one of the most powerful and characteristic strategies for proof in Greek mathematics, the so-called "method of exhaus-

tion". The name by which it is now generally known is seriously misleading. It is used to relate the areas or volumes of figures bounded by curves to those of figures bounded by straight lines, and its purpose is to avoid the difficulties posed by infinite division; for example, although a polygon can be inscribed in a circle as closely as you like to the circumference of the circle, it can never be inscribed so closely that another polygon cannot be inscribed between the first polygon and the circumference of the circle, and the space separating the two can never be entirely exhausted. Eudoxus' method avoids this problem by proving that, for example, a given polygon encloses an area that can be neither bigger nor smaller than that enclosed by a given circle, and so must be equal to it. This ingenious strategy enabled the solution of many problems (including those arising from attempts to square the circle) and is the basis of much of the geometry of Euclid and Archimedes.

RICHARD WALLACE

Biography

Born *c.*390 BC at Cnidus, Eudoxus was taught geometry by Archytas and medicine by Philistion. He is said also to have visited Egypt, Cyzicus, and Halicarnassus before settling in Athens to teach, where he was acquainted with Plato. None of his writings survive, but he made important contributions to mathematics and astronomy. He died *c.*340 BC.

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Eunuchs

"Eunuchs" may seem at first sight a jarring entry in an encyclopaedia of Greece and the Hellenic tradition, for eunuchs are primarily associated with the Orient. Indeed the Greeks of the Classical world linked them especially with Persia, where court eunuchs were prevalent, as on the Assyrian model. Herodotus alludes casually to the eunuchs to be found at the Persian court, but also to those in Median and Egyptian circles; in the *Acharnians* (91–122) Aristophanes has the Great King's Eye report to the Athenian assembly, flanked by two eunuchs; famously, Xenophon in his *Cyropaedia* presents an elaborate justification of the use of eunuchs by king Cyrus; while Ctesias' *Persica* is full of tales concerning eunuchs at the Persian court.

Yet eunuchs and castration did have a closer proximity to the Greeks. Castration was as much a part of Greek mythology as that of other Near Eastern religions. Hesiod in his *Theogony* (178–200) describes the castration of Uranus' genitals with a sickle by Cronus, the blood from which was received by Earth who bore the Erinyes, the Giants, and the Meliae nymphs. The genitals themselves were thrown into the sea, from which grew Aphrodite. The effect of the castration of Uranus was disempowerment, and he was replaced by his son Cronus as the supreme deity. Castration also found a place in Greek epics (e.g. the mutilation of Melanthius in the *Odyssey*, 22. 474–77). In the real world, eunuch priests had their part to play in the Anatolian cults of goddesses, notably that of Cybele.

It is clear that eunuchs also impinged more directly on the Greek world. Herodotus records that Periander the tyrant of Corinth sent 330 boys of the leading families in Corcyra (modern Corfu) to the Lydian king Alyattes at Sardis to be castrated, though the people of Samos saved them. Perhaps more reliably, Herodotus states that during the Ionian revolt the Persians threatened to eunuchize Ionian boys, a threat which the historian says came to pass. Herodotus also relates the history of Hermotimus (the most favoured of Xerxes's eunuchs) who came originally from Pedasus east of Halicarnassus. He was bought as a prisoner of war by a Chian, Panionius, who castrated him as part of his regular trade in eunuchs, whom he would sell at Sardis and Ephesus. Plato even asserts that Callias, a wealthy Athenian in late 5th-century BC Athens, had a eunuch doorkeeper, though it is vital to remember that Plato was writing a century later. Other evidence for eunuch slaves in Athens is found in Terence's *Eunuch*, which was based on a work of the Athenian playwright Menander; in the extant Roman version the plot revolves around the fact that an Athenian woman has a eunuch slave whose place is taken by an uncastrated male so that he can gain access to the house and seduce a girl. In the 4th century BC Aristotle certainly seems very familiar with eunuch physiognomy, discussing for instance their impotency, gender status, and voice, though his knowledge may be based on the Hippocratic corpus (itself problematic) rather than on personal observation.

With the advent of Alexander the Great, the Greek world came into even closer contact with the tradition of political eunuchism. For when Alexander conquered the Persian empire he did not simply replace it with an extension of the Macedonian kingdom, but sought to present himself as the legitimate ruler of Persia. This entailed his adoption of the Persian royal style and its trappings, including the use of court eunuchs. In all the subsequent Hellenistic kingdoms (with the exception of Macedonia, which maintained its character undiluted) eunuchs are to be found. It is well known that the decision to murder Pompey after his flight to Ptolemaic Egypt following his defeat in the civil war with Julius Caesar was primarily encouraged by the eunuch Potheinus, a key figure in the regency of Ptolemy XIII. Eunuchs feature prominently in the stories of Mithridates VI, king of Pontus. A more unusual case marks the principality of Pergamum; the establishing figure of this was Philetaerus, said to have been eunuchized as a child when crushed in a crowd at a funeral.

With the shift of power in the Mediterranean to Rome, Greek political power took a back seat, but the Hellenistic court style, based on the Persian model, eventually triumphed at the Roman court of late antiquity; as a result of this eunuchs are a striking feature of the history of the later Roman empire. This development is associated primarily with Diocletian (284–305), who seems to have enhanced imperial status and

ceremony to promote the authority and security of the emperor.

The phenomenon of the court eunuch, introduced to the Roman empire in late antiquity, reached an apogee in the Byzantine empire. One of the curiosities of the Byzantine system was, however, the internal production of eunuchs. Rome had expressed vehemently again and again that no Romans themselves were to be made eunuchs, or indeed that castration was not to occur within the empire, preferring to rely on the importing of foreign eunuchs, but in Byzantium there is clear evidence for the internal production of eunuchs. The 10th-century Arab historian Masudi states baldly that the Byzantines, like the Chinese, practised the castrating of their own children, while a hagiographical anecdote points to Paphlagonia as a region particularly given to the production of eunuchs. This latter story seems to find confirmation in the appearance in middle Byzantine history of a large number of Paphlagonian eunuchs, such as Constantine, Bringas, and John the Orphanotrophos. Undoubtedly this fact was due to the high demand for eunuchs at the imperial court, but also the high rewards that could be achieved. Another striking feature of Byzantine eunuchs, however, is the existence of a substantial group as free individuals, beyond imperial service. Eunuchs are met as actors, teachers, prostitutes, singers, monks, and clergy; some even became patriarch of Constantinople. In the case of Ignatios (patriarch from 847 to 858 and again from 867 to 878), he owed his eunuch state to the fact of his castration as a youth which was carried out to block him from imperial power, for he was a son of the deposed emperor Michael I (811–13).

Castration seems to have been a more general form of punishment also – rapists and homosexuals could expect to be castrated. There is no doubt then that in Byzantine times castration and eunuchs were a full part of the Hellenic tradition, but one that did not remain uncontroversial. Indeed, in the 12th century Theophylact of Ohrid wrote a defence of eunuchs, at the instigation of his eunuch brother.

A decline in the phenomenon of powerful court eunuchs occurs from the 11th century onwards, and is variously linked with the establishment of the aristocratic regime of the Komnenoi, the disaster of 1204, and the westernization of Byzantine society. Yet it seems that the general presence of eunuchs continued, and the system certainly provided a stimulus, if not a model, for the succeeding Ottoman empire. Here, this striking aspect of the Hellenic tradition continued to flourish.

SHAUN TOUGHER

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Euripides *c.*480–c.407/06 BC

Tragedian

Euripides spent the last two years of his life as a guest of Archelaus in Macedonia. He won his first victory in 441 BC and three others in his lifetime (including one with the trilogy that contained *Hippolytus* in 428 BC, and an additional one for the posthumous performances of *Iphigenia in Aulis* and *Bacchae* in 405 BC). Although he later became the most popular Greek tragedian, in his own lifetime Euripedes was less successful than Aeschylus and Sophocles.

Nineteen of his plays, out of some 90, survive (one of which, *Rhesus*, is probably by a later poet), including our only complete satyr play, *Cyclops*. In addition to the ten plays that survive because they were the most commonly read in the Hellenistic and Roman periods, a further nine survive through a lucky accident: they were preserved in a manuscript that presents them in a quasi-alphabetical order (they evidently formed one part of a collection representing *The Complete Euripides*). In addition, there are extended fragments of the *Antiope*, *Alexander*, *Archelaus*, *Bellerophon*, *Cresphontes*, *Cretans*, *Erechtheus*, *Hypsipyle*, *Captive Melanippe*, *Wise Melanippe*, *Phaethon*, and *Stheneboea*.

The dates of performance for nine of Euripides' surviving plays are known, and others are tentatively proposed on the basis of evidence provided by the scholia or other writers or of his own developing metrical practice: *Alcestis* (*c.*438 BC), *Medea* (*c.*431), *Heraclidae* (*c.*430), *Hippolytus* (*c.*428), *Andromache* (*c.*425), *Hecuba* (*c.*424), *Suppliant Women* (*c.*424–420), *Electra* (*c.*422–416), *Troades* (*c.*415), *Heracles* (*c.*415), *Iphigeneia among the Taurians* (*c.*414), *Ion* (*c.*413), *Helen* (*c.*412), *Phoenissae* (*c.*409), *Orestes* (*c.*408), *Cyclops* (uncertain), *Iphigeneia at Aulis* (*c.*405, posthumous), *Bacchae* (*c.*405, posthumous), and *Rhesus* (possibly post-Euripidean).

Euripides has been called the first psychological playwright. Longinus praised his depiction of madness and love (*On the Sublime*, 15. 3). Aristotle says that Sophocles claimed that he depicted men as they ought to be and Euripides as they were (*Poetics*, 1460b33ff.). Whereas in Aeschylus god confronts god, and in Sophocles man confronts god, in Euripides man confronts man, or woman, and often himself or herself. Only Medea can stop Medea: her main debate is with herself. In the works of other playwrights the traditional heroes are endorsed; Euripides focuses instead on women, children, and slaves. He shows us women doing noble acts (e.g. Iphigeneia, Macaria), children acting nobly (both characters just mentioned, and Menoeceus in *Phoenissae*), and the figure of the noble slave (e.g. in *Helen*).

Euripides questions traditional beliefs and attitudes, and his plays feature debates that were also popular among the Sophists of his time. In these debates both strong emotions and strong intellectual positions are expressed; examples are Hippolytus' confrontation with Theseus (*Hippolytus*) and Hecuba's with Helen (*Trojan Women*). This bothered many critics in the 19th century who would have preferred inspired emotionalism without philosophical debate (see Nietzsche's condemnation of Euripides for just this rationality, which he considered a debasement of the noble goals of tragedy).

Aristophanes' *Frogs*, which highlights a contest between Aeschylus and Euripides, shows the latter as an innovator and an iconoclast. It is from Aristophanes that we get the dubious impression that Euripides was a misogynist. He was instead a scientist of the emotions and focused on unconventional, passionate women. It may have been his idea to have Medea kill her children, the ultimate revenge against the husband she hated. His psychological characterization is outstanding; he gave the first instance of a guilty conscience (*Orestes*, 395–96), described as an internal disease rather than an externally imposed punishment as we find in Aeschylus and Sophocles.

Euripides' language is accessible, and at times colloquial. His structure varied from the most organized and conventional (*Bacchae*, *Iphigeneia among the Taurians*) to loose and episodic (*Trojan Women*, *Iphigeneia at Aulis*). He specialized in arias to enhance emotional states; he also excelled in debate (*agon*) as a revelation of character. His choruses can range from being integrated with the plot, to the less relevant. This may reflect a trend of the time.

There were regular revivals of Euripides' work after 386 BC. Around 330 BC the Athenian politician Lycurgus prescribed that copies of the texts of the plays should be deposited in the official archives, and that future performances should conform to these texts. The purpose was to safeguard the plays from adaptation and interpolation by actors and producers, of a kind to which they had already become vulnerable. These copies were lent to the Egyptian king Ptolemy I Euergetes, and will have passed into the Library at Alexandria, to form the basis of the critical edition made by the librarian Aristophanes of Byzantium (*c.*257–180 BC). Aristophanes divided the lyrics (previously written as continuous prose) into metrical cola. He also added brief introductory comments, probably making use of Aristotle's lost *Didaskaliai* (production records). Part of these comments survive in the *hypotheses* (plot summaries) that were prefixed to the plays by later scholars in the Roman period. The composition of commentaries (scholia) on the plays was began in the Hellenistic period (by scholars such as Aristarchus of Samothrace, ?217–145 BC, and Didymus, ?80–10 BC). Further scholia were added in the Byzantine period.

The Romans prized Euripides, and Ennius (239–169 BC) wrote adaptations: *Andromacha*, *Hecuba*, *Iphigenia*, and *Medea*; Pacuvius (*c.* 220–130 BC), *Antiopa*; and Accius (170–?86 BC) *Alcestis*, *Bacchae*, *Hecuba*, *Medea*, and *Troaïdes*. Half of the plays by Seneca (?AD 1–65) are from Euripides: *Hercules* [*Furens*], *Troades*, *Phoenissae*, *Medea*, and *Phaedra*.

The selection of the ten "school edition" plays that we possess was probably done in the 2nd or 3rd century AD, and scholia were included. After parchment gradually replaced papyrus (around the 4th century AD) the unselected plays gradually passed out of use. Stobaeus' anthology (5th century) of gnomic sayings often quotes lines from Euripides, including many from the lost plays. After the Athenian Academy was closed in AD 529, the Classical texts disappeared from sight for several centuries and did not re-emerge until the revival of learning in the middle Byzantine period, when they were copied from the uncial into the new cursive script. Among the scholars who wrote commentaries and handled the texts of the plays the most important are Thomas Magister (late 13th century), Manuel Moschopoulos (*fl.*1300), and Demetrios Triklinios (early 14th century). Triklinios brought a new metrical awareness to the amendment of the text, in particular the lyrics.

The nine alphabetical plays mentioned above are preserved only in two 14th-century manuscripts, L and its copy P. The earliest manuscript is the Jerusalem palimpsest from the 10th or 11th century and it includes the school selection. The Euripidean plays most commonly read in Byzantine times were *Hecuba*, *Phoenissae*, and *Orestes*. *Christus Patiens* was a play written in the 11th or 12th century on the passion of Christ using lines from Euripides, Aeschylus, and Lycophron, and some of the ending of the *Bacchae* has been reconstructed from it.

Medea, *Hippolytus*, *Alcestis*, and *Andromache* were first printed in Florence about 1494; an edition of 18 plays followed in 1503; *Electra* was not published until 1546. For the next 400 years there were revivals and reworkings of Euripides' plays in Europe, most notably by Racine, Goethe, Schlegel, and many others. In the 20th century Euripides is the playwright of social protest par excellence.

There have been many performances of Euripides' plays in modern times in Greece. A few of the most notable are: *Alcestis* in 1901 (music by Gluck, direction and translation by Constantinos Christomanos) and 1934 (Karolos Koun, director, and set by Giannis Tsarouchis); since 1868 *Medea*: 1942 (Takis Mouzenidis, director, music by Manos Hazidakis), 1956 (Alexis Minotis, director, music by Hadzidakis, starring Katina Paxinou), and 1989 (Aspasia Papathanasiou, director and star); *Hippolytus* since 1897: in 1937 (Dimitris Rondiris, director, Dimitris Mitropoulos, Alexis Minotis as Hippolytus, and Katina Paxinou as Phaedra) and 1965 (Dimitris Rondiris, director, music by Dimitris Mitropoulos; Aspasia Papathanasiou as Phaedra); *Bacchae* was notably done in 1962 (Alexis Minotis, director, music by Hadzidakis, Alexis Minotis as Kadmos, Basilis Kanakis as Pentheus, Katina Paxinou as

Agave), 1977 (Karolos Koun, director), and 1986–88 (Theodoros Terzopoulos, director, with his Attis theatre). Mikis Theodorakis's opera *Medea* (1991) is a parable of the history of Greece.

There are many films based on Euripides; Cacoyannis's *Trojan Trilogy* is based entirely on his work, with *Electra* (1961), *Trojan Women* (1971), and *Iphigeneia* (1976), all protesting in their own way against unjust oppression; Mikis Theodorakis composed the music for these films. Jules Dassin filmed *Phaedra* (1962) with a social message, contrasting the mass tragedy of loyal workers with the personal tragedy of dissolute jet-setters; he also based his *Dream of Passion* (1978) on *Medea*. Pasolini's *Medea* (1967) dealt with the myth behind the play in psychological and anthropological terms.

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See also Tragedy

Biography

Born *c.*480 BC in Phyla, Euripides moved to Athens in childhood and first competed in the city Dionysia in 455 BC, winning his first victory in 441. He won four other victories (including one posthumously in 405). Of about 90 plays written, 19 survive (one of them spurious), including our only complete satyr play. He was less successful than Aeschylus and Sophocles in his lifetime but more popular than them later. He died in Macedon *c.*407/06 BC.

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European Community and European Union

On 1 January 1981 Greece became a full member of the European Community (EC), which metamorphosed into the European Union (EU) when the Maastricht Treaty came into force on 1 November 1993. Greece was thus a "second generation" EC member. However, as the first state to apply for an Association with the European Economic Community, Greece had participated in the economic integration process from the early years.

The EEC, founded in 1957 by West Germany, France, Italy, the Netherlands, Belgium, and Luxembourg, initially entailed the creation of a common market based on the "Four Freedoms" – freedom of movement of goods, capital, labour, and services – plus a Common Agricultural Policy (CAP). From an economic viewpoint, the Greek application to the EEC on 8 June 1959 can be seen as the logical extension of the switch to an export-led development strategy adopted in 1953. By the end of the 1950s the EEC-6 already constituted the main outlet for Greek exports (over 30 per cent), and association facilitated access to Community markets. However, the motivation of Constantine Karamanlis's National Radical Union (ERE) government also appears to have been political, with the aim of consolidating Greece's links with its west European allies during a period of Cold War. Like European integration itself – which can be summed up as the quest by west European states to achieve "ever closer union" politically via an economic route – the Greek association pursued political ends through economic means.

Official negotiations began in March 1960, culminating with the signature of the Athens Agreement on 9 July 1961 and its coming into effect on 1 November 1962. The basis of the association was a customs union between Greece and the EEC-6, to be completed over a 22-year period ending in 1984. Reflecting the disparity in economic development levels, the dismantling of tariff barriers was to take place more rapidly on the EEC side, so that Greek products would gain access to European markets before the domestic economy opened up fully to foreign competition. Clauses not subsequently implemented provided for free movement of labour and the progressive harmonization of Greek agricultural policy with the CAP. A financial protocol attached to the association offered $125 million in subsidized development loans from the European Investment Bank – a significant recognition of the EEC's responsibility to support the economic development of its weaker partner. The association also declared that, when Greece could assume all the obligations of full membership, the contracting parties should "consider the possibility" of accession. While hardly a binding legal commitment, this can be regarded as a clear indication of intent by both parties. Thus, the association acknowledged this developing country, with a per capita GDP around 40 per cent of the EC average, as a potential full participant in the influential Community club.

This prospect seemed to be threatened when the military coup of 21 April 1967 resulted in the EC limiting the association to its "routine administration". While tariff dismantling continued on schedule, agricultural harmonization talks were suspended, free movement of labour was not implemented, financial aid was frozen, and political contacts significantly reduced. The unbalanced functioning of the association continued following the junta's fall in July 1974. Although the association was formally reactivated five months later, the EC declined to discuss free movement or agricultural harmonization, while agreement on the Second Financial Protocol required tough negotiation.

Greece's relative marginalization coincided with a rapid advance in European integration. In 1968 the EEC merged its institutions with those of the European Coal and Steel Community (founded in 1952) and the European Atomic Energy Commission (1957) to form the European Communities or, more simply, Community. In the early 1970s the EC expanded from six to nine members with the accession of the United Kingdom, Ireland, and Denmark; made an explicit move from the economic to the political sphere with the first timid steps towards foreign policy coordination (European Political Cooperation – EPC); and embarked on an ill-fated first attempt at Economic and Monetary Union (EMU).

The EC's rapid development, combined with the unbalanced functioning of the association, made full membership desirable sooner rather than later. The official application was submitted on 12 June 1975. Karamanlis's New Democracy government hoped accession would consolidate domestic democracy and enhance national security vis-à-vis Turkey, while regarding the challenge of the EC market combined with CAP support as an optimum framework for economic development. In the aftermath of the Turkish invasion of Cyprus and temporary Greek withdrawal from NATO's military wing, EC membership was also expected to restabilize Greece's links with its western allies, while simultaneously permitting the adjustment of the postwar patron–client relationship with the United States. On a symbolic level, Karamanlis's description of accession as Greece's "new *Megali Idea*" defined EC entry as the route to national regeneration – to be achieved, not through the pre-1922 dream of territorial expansion, but by Greece's transformation into a modern state in the contemporary European mould.

Accession was a controversial policy choice. Advocated by the right-wing New Democracy, the Centre, and (rather more critically) by the small Eurocommunist party (KKE-Esoterikou), it was adamantly opposed by the Panhellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK) and the orthodox Communist Party (KKE). While the two anti-EC parties promoted different

alternatives – closer economic links with the Third World in the case of PASOK compared to the KKE's support for increased trade with the eastern bloc – their analyses of the EC were remarkably similar. Both parties regarded the Community as an imperialist creation and warned that accession would result in economic subordination to multinational monopolies, the distortion of democracy, and the betrayal of national foreign policy interests. While the dispute was clearly shaped by Cold War dynamics, on another level it represented a new phase in the long-running debate about Greece's cultural identity and relationship to Europe. The EC's supporters saw "Europeanization" and "modernization" as both synonymous and desirable, and regarded accession as a homecoming to the area where Greece rightfully belonged. In contrast, its opponents, continuing a tradition which viewed western Europe as an alien region inimical to Hellenism, warned that Greek culture was endangered by accession. On occasion, there appeared to be a curious convergence of views between the two anti-EC left-wing parties and Church circles which feared entry to the "Catholic" EC threatened the spiritual values of Orthodoxy.

The path to accession was not especially smooth. The European Commission's initial proposal for an extended pre-entry period was rejected by the Council of Ministers. But the negotiations, which formally opened in July 1976, were then threatened by the 1977 Spanish and Portuguese membership applications. The subsequent threat of "globalized" entry talks, delaying Greek admission, was apparently averted by the dynamic personal diplomacy of prime minister Karamanlis. He was clearly assisted by west European concerns to reestablish unity on NATO's southeastern flank and to ensure Greek accession before the election of an anti-Western government. The membership treaty, signed on 28 May 1979, included a five-year transitional period before the full application of the CAP (extended to seven years for certain products, including peaches and tomato paste, and seven years for free movement of labour). Opposition claims that Greek entry occurred on particularly onerous terms later seemed to be disproved when Spain and Portugal finally entered the EC five years later than Greece and with longer transition periods.

Despite 18 years of association, neither the economy nor the administration was well prepared for accession. The government's strategy appeared to be summed up by Karamanlis's famous remark to the Greek industrialists, that he was throwing them into the sea, confident that they would learn how to swim. Nor did PASOK's electoral victory ten months after Greek accession facilitate adjustment to membership. In particular, the party's first term in office (1981–85) saw intense ideological conflicts in the field of foreign-policy cooperation, frequent attempts to delay economic integration by seeking postponements and exceptions from EC rules, and adamant opposition to proposals for deeper political integration. A formal request for a special status, made in the Greek Government Memorandum of 1982, was rejected by the EC. However, the Community's offer of substantial funding through the Integrated Mediterranean Programmes provided the justification for a subsequent change of heart. In 1985, after a period of prevarication, prime minister Andreas Papandreou, claiming that PASOK had improved the terms of participation, announced that Greece was in the Community to stay.

Subsequently, PASOK moved towards an increasingly pro-European stance. Public opinion was already convinced: from the mid-1980s polls showed clear pro-EC majorities. By the 1990s opposition to integration was no longer a mainstream political position. But by this time Greece had acquired an unflattering image among its partners, owing to its weak economic performance, foreign policy incompatibilities, and generally non-*Communautaire* stance. This picture only began to change during the premiership of Kostas Simitis after 1996.

Meanwhile, after the mid-1980s, the EC had acquired a new momentum: expanding from 10 to 12 and then 15 members; moving from the customs union to the single market and subsequently to EMU; enhancing supranational decision-making; and acquiring an explicitly political content with the adoption of the Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) and Justice and Home Affairs Cooperation as the two new "pillars" of European Union alongside the existing economic Community. Membership of the current EU clearly has more far-reaching implications than the more limited Community which Greece initially joined. Over a historically brief period, accession has already had a deep and wide-ranging impact on Greece's economy, international standing, and domestic political system, which can only be schematically indicated here.

For instance, participation in the customs union has encouraged trade reorientation towards the EU, which by the 1990s accounted for over 60 per cent of both imports and exports. A growing trade deficit has been accompanied by the decline of industry's share in GDP. Increasing import penetration has stimulated significant lifestyle changes, including a startling growth in consumerism. For example, the rapid rise in meat imports, of which the EC accounted for almost 90 per cent by 1985, has been a notable factor in altered eating habits. On the other hand, it could be argued that such change was inevitable anyway, while EU membership provides some defence against the ubiquitous effects of globalization.

Membership has also promoted economic liberalization, encouraged by the single market programme and reinforced by the drive to meet the strict entry criteria for EMU. The consequences include the ending of state monopolies in many sectors, ranging from air transport and telecommunications to match production, and the stimulation of economic restructuring, e.g. in the banking sector. The overall effect has been a significant erosion of the Greek state's previously dominant economic role, upgrading the importance of market forces.

Net transfers from the EC/EU budget grew from 0.5 per cent of GDP in 1981 to over 6 per cent by the late 1990s. The lion's share (around 60 per cent) came from the CAP, accounting for over 35 per cent of national agricultural product by the late 1990s. This brought a visible new prosperity to the Greek countryside, narrowing the urban–rural divide in living standards; the CAP and tourism together stemmed the tide of the postwar rural population exodus. Meanwhile, by the mid-1990s, the Structural Funds (Regional, Social, and Agricultural Guidance) provided about one-third of total public investment. The Greek state's regional development policy, almost in its entirety, is now conducted in partnership with the EU. Sadly,

the inflow of funding has failed to achieve real economic convergence: Greek GDP per capita as a proportion of the EC/EU average has actually declined since 1981.

Participation in EPC/CFSP has brought closer foreign-policy alignment with the EU partners. A prime example was diplomatic recognition of Israel, overturning Greece's previously pro-Arab stance. Traditionally an object rather than a subject of international power politics, Greece has acquired a greater voice in global affairs through its ability to influence EC/EU policy. Membership has also provided a powerful weapon in bilateral relations with the Balkan neighbours; this proved controversial when used to block international recognition of the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia or EU financial aid to Turkey.

The implications of European integration for national sovereignty and democracy remain a topic of heated debate; but they are clearly not the same for Greece as for the former imperial powers. Since independence in 1830 Greece, as a small, weak state occupying a strategic position, was frequently an object of Great Power intervention, often with unsettling effects on domestic democracy. Membership of western Europe's most powerful club helped to break the pattern of dependence on foreign patrons, providing a stable framework for consolidation of the post-1974 democracy. While the transfer of legislative responsibilities to "Brussels" has undermined the role of the Greek parliament, the latter was traditionally weak anyway. Although not one of the more powerful players, within EU institutions Greece is now a policy-making participant with some decision-making influence.

Meanwhile, it has been argued that integration may be producing a more diffuse power distribution among different levels of government: for example, by effecting shifts in centre-periphery relations. Thus, EC/EU structural policy has broadened the horizons of Greek local government, and necessitated the creation of administrative regions as the basic units for EC/EU-funded programmes.

Despite entrenched resistance, "Europeanization", in the sense of the internalization of values, norms, and practices prevalent within the EU, is increasingly apparent throughout the political system. Examples range from the ideological and programmatic convergence of Greek political parties with their west European counterparts, to the introduction of new principles of planning and monitoring public works projects in response to the rules of EU-funded programmes. Meanwhile, public policymaking is increasingly driven by the constraints and opportunities of EU membership. For example, Greek environmental policy – still in a rudimentary phase at the time of accession – has essentially taken shape under the twin stimuli of the EU's legislative framework and financial inputs.

Thus, after two decades of Association and two of full membership, the European Union has essentially become the focal reference point for Greek economics, politics, and international identity. The extent and range of future EU influence will depend not only on how the Union itself evolves, but also on how well Greece responds to the continuing challenge of European integration.

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Eusebius *c.*AD 260–339

Ecclesiastical historian

In his native Caesarea Eusebius was a pupil of the great Origenist Pamphilus, whose martyrdom he celebrates in his *Ecclesiastical History*, and whose name he honoured by adding it to his own. Like Pamphilus he admired both the theology and the scholarship of Origen, whose library must have furnished him with materials for his apologetic work, the *Preparation of the Gospel*. Written after AD 313, this was in response to the Neoplatonist Porphyry, who had written a damaging work against Christianity. The *Preparation*, far excelling both Origen and Pamphilus in its knowledge of and sympathy with Greek literature, remains our most abundant source of passages from the authors whom we now call Middle Platonist. With his monograph *Against Hierocles* (*c.*300) Eusebius refuted another disputant, who had argued that the miracles attributed to the pagan saint Apollonius of Tyana were both holier and greater than those of Christ. He completed his apologetic task with the *Demonstration of the Gospel*, which set out what he understood as the elements of theology, supporting them from scripture and drawing the first of many illegitimate comparisons between the Christian Trinity and the "three hypostases" (One, Mind, Soul) of Neoplatonism.

The most original of Eusebius' many talents were devoted to historical inquiry, which invariably led to the discernment of God's providential will in the affairs of his chosen people(s). More serviceable to later generations than his commentaries on Luke and Matthew were his *Onomasticon*, a glossary of the Hebrew names in scripture, and his (lost) *Chronicle*, which in Jerome's Latin adaptation supplies the modern historian with many of his dates. Eusebius' reckoning is by Olympiads, since his object was to match the biblical record with the events of secular history; in this, as in his concordance of the gospels, his success was not so great as he supposed. His most important labour was the *Ecclesiastical History*, the first seven books of which may have been complete before the persecution of Diocletian in 303. Taking the fall of Jerusalem in AD 70 as a proof that Christianity had supplanted Israel in the plan of God, he reckoned up the bishops of all the major sees, alluded to works by previous apologists, commemorated the lives of outstanding churchmen, and showed how the integrity of both scripture and the episcopate had been maintained against the assaults of heresy. His practice of quoting written sources, typical of Greek oratory but not of historiography, is a further indication of his apologetic motive. But if his purpose was (as one suspects) to be the Josephus of the Church and win the Romans to his party, he was undeceived by the years of persecution (303–13) which he recounts in his last three books and in the associated history of the Palestinian martyrs. The final version of these, however, was published after the Christian warlord Constantine assumed the throne of a united empire in 324, and Eusebius saw his reign as the consummation of God's purpose in the world.

He now had the opportunity to set out his optimistic view of history more fully in the second of his two *Theophanies*, which treats the supersession of the Jews as an accomplished fact and predicts an imminent judgement of the world. In his *Tricennalian Oration* of 336 he endows his sovereign with a benevolence, perspicacity, and promptitude of action scarcely inferior to those of the Almighty. The *Life of Constantine*, more a panegyric than a biography, was finished after its hero's death in 337, and credits him with a thoroughgoing policy for the conversion of the empire, which he never executed and may never have entertained. This work also preserves an embellished narrative of Constantine's conversion and the fifth book is an appendix that contains the emperor's one surviving sermon, the *Oration to the Assembly of the Saints.*

That this work is not a forgery by Eusebius is clear from several passages that contradict the teaching of the theological treatises that he was forced to write in the aftermath of the Council of Nicaea in 325. As bishop of Caesarea, he reluctantly put his name to the Creed that imposed the word *homoousios* ("being of one essence") on the clergy; but, as he showed in a letter to his own flock, he did not construe this term to mean that God and Christ were equal or identical. He set out the scriptural basis of his position in his writings against Marcellus of Ancyra, who, according to him, denied that the incarnate Christ possessed his own identity (*hypostasis*) and made him only a temporal emanation of the Father. Eusebius was prepared to speak of Christ as the second member of a triad, who existed with the Father before the ages and brought the cosmos into being, but he never calls him eternal or consubstantial with the Father. Following Origen, he held that the Father was God by nature (*ho theos*, *autotheos*), whereas Christ was only God by derivation (*theos*; cf. John 1: 1); in so far as he was equated with the Wisdom of Proverbs 8: 22, he could even be called a creature. At first it seemed that his position, upheld as it was by the Council of Antioch in 341, was likely to triumph over that of Athanasius, who maintained that all three persons of the Trinity were equally divine. The orthodox position after 381, however, was that Christ could not be called a creature (whatever we make of Proverbs 8: 22) and that the Father's priority in the order of generation does not entail the subordination of the Son.

Eusebius' theology thus became obsolete, but his scholarship did not. No historian undertook to do his work again, though some of his continuators offered a different view of Constantine. His narrative was taken up in Greek by Socrates, Theodoret, Sozomen, Gelsasius, and Philostorgius, and in the West by Rufinus, another Origenist. His enduring reputation is attested in the West both by Rufinus' Latin version of the *Ecclesiastical History*, and by the name of Rufinus' great contemporary Hieronymus Eusebius, better known to us as Jerome. His celebration of Constantine as God's vicegerent, with power to summon councils, to dictate a creed, and even to unseat religious dignitaries, strengthened the hands of later Eastern sovereigns in their dealing with the Church. Most of his works survived in Greek, for all Athanasius' efforts to portray him as an Arianizing heretic. This he was not, but rather a conservative and peaceful ecclesiastic; no doubt he spoke from the heart in his *Life of Constantine* when he alluded to Athanasius, without naming him, as one who had gratuitously sown discord in the Church. The consequence was that he, like his sympathetic master Constantine, failed to

achieve the rigorous orthodoxy that enabled many worse men of his epoch to be recognized as saints.

MARK EDWARDS

Biography

Born *c.*AD 260 in Caesarea, Eusebius was a pupil of Pamphilus who gave him access to the library of Origen. Elected bishop of Caesarea *c.*313, he attended the Council of Nicaea in 325 and the Council of Tyre in 335. Of his many works the most important are his *Ecclesiastical History*, the model for all subsequent histories of its type, and a *Life of Constantine*. He died in 339.

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Eustathios *c.*1115–*c.*1195

Archbishop of Thessalonica and scholar

Eustathios was a commentator on ancient literature and a composer of brilliant speeches. He belonged to a circle of learned men at the end of the 12th century that included famous scholars such as Michael and Niketas Choniates, Euthymios Malakes, and Gregory Antiochos.

He was born around 1115 in Constantinople, where he was a pupil of Nikolaos Kataphloron, who was a well-known rhetorician and perhaps also his uncle. He spent some time with other colleagues such as Euthymios Malakes, later the metropolitan of Neopatras, at the Euphemia monastery in Constantinople. Eustathios mentions his education only twice: he speaks about his severe teacher and an expedition with him into the outskirts of Constantinople to visit the broken column at Pinakidion.

Eustathios started his career as a scribe at the patriarchate and soon became deacon with responsibility for the sacred treasures during the reign of patriarch Luke Chrysoberges (1157–69/70). Thus he was attached to the group from which the higher ranks of the clergy were chosen. After 1166 he is mentioned as master of the rhetoricians (*magistros ton rhetoron*), the highest teaching position at the patriarchal school, which he held until he left Constantinople. Following in the footsteps of his teacher Kataphloron, Eustathios became a very successful teacher and continued teaching after his move to Thessalonica. Sons of distinguished Constantinopolitan families were even sent to him there for lessons.

Eustathios rose up the ecclesiastical hierarchy and held several posts of a juridical and fiscal nature. During the patriarchate of Michael III Anchialos (1170–78) his career stopped for some time: he lost his post as a deacon at Hagia Sophia, because the deacon who had been dismissed by Luke Chrysoberges was reinstated. He complained about this in a short document (a so-called *hypomnestikon*) and sent a petition asking for support to Michael Hagiotheodorites, the powerful minister of transport and internal affairs (*logothetes tou dromou*). He was successful and was nominated for the see of Myra, but within a short time he was assigned on the orders of the emperor to Thessalonica, where he arrived around 1179. In 1185 the Normans conquered Thessalonica. Defending his diocese, Eustathios was captured but well treated. The occupation did not last long, and the Normans were soon routed by general Alexios Branas.

Eustathios had some problems with the local clergy and he published some critical remarks about the monks' lifestyle (e.g. his pamphlet *On the Improvement of Monastic Life*), which provoked his temporary expulsion from Thessalonica. In February 1191 he delivered a speech in front of Isaac II Angelos (1185–95) in Philippopolis and by the end of April he was back in Thessalonica. After his reinstallation by the emperor Isaac II a new conflict arose, but this time the patriarch Georgios II Xiphilinos personally acted for him and it seems that he lived the rest of his life without troubles until his death in 1195/96.

Eustathios, one of the best-known scholars, commented on a wide range of ancient literature. Two fragments of his commentary on Pindar are preserved. He wrote voluminous commentaries on the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* of Homer citing many ancient authors (some fragments are preserved only in Eustathios). And he did further philological work on Aeschylus, Dionysius Periegetes, and Strabo.

In his official capacity he composed a few speeches for the emperor Manuel I Komnenos (1143–80), whom he supported politically and sometimes dared to criticize. He delivered speeches on various subjects, including a shortage of water in the capital, on the marriage of Alexios II, son of Manuel, to Agnes of France (1179), and on the wedding banquet in the city. In 1180 he delivered the funeral sermon (*epitaphios logos*) for the emperor Manuel. Later he glorified Isaac II Angelos in several speeches.

The capture of Thessalonica (1185) by the Normans was a traumatic event for all its inhabitants. Eustathios's account (the *Capture of Thessalonica*) is in two parts: the first deals with

the reign of Andronikos I Komnenos (1183–85); in the second part the author describes the capitulation of the city and his own capture. A collection of 47 of his letters also survives. Eustathios provides the modern scholar with valuable insights into ancient literature and also a window into the learned culture of the late 12th century.

MICHAEL GRÜNBART

See also Education, Homer, Manuel I, Pindar

Biography

Born *c.*1115 in Constantinople, Eustathios was a pupil of Nikolaos Kataphloron, who may also have been his uncle. He served as a scribe at the Patriarchate, was ordained a deacon, and subsequently became master of the rhetoricians (after 1166). Nominated first as bishop of Myra, he was sent instead in 1179 to Thessalonica as archbishop. Taken prisoner by the Normans in 1185, he was later released. He wrote extensive commentaries on ancient literature and a number of sermons and panegyrics. He died *c.*1195/96.

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Evagoras *c.*445–374/73 BC

Ruler of Cypriot Salamis

For much of the 5th century BC Cyprus was a bone of contention between the Greeks and Persia. When in 449 BC Athens, the leading Greek maritime power, and its alliance (the Delian League) were forced to come to terms with the Great King (the so-called Peace of Callias), whereby Cyprus was conceded as belonging within the Persian sphere of influence, the Greeks of Cyprus were effectively left to fend for themselves. The Persian-backed Phoenician minority quickly gained the ascendancy and Phoenician kings were imposed on a number of Greek Cypriot cities, including the most important, Salamis, which had been ruled by the Teucrid dynasty since the city's foundation at the close of the Bronze Age. A member of this dynasty, the youthful Evagoras, was forced to flee, but he returned a few years later (possibly in 415/14 BC), perhaps with Athenian help, expelled the Phoenicians, and restored Greek royal rule. It is commonly believed that Evagoras immediately submitted to Persia and paid tribute, but this is unlikely. At any rate his actions in helping Athens, an enemy of the Great King, do not point to such a conclusion.

The evidence for the career of Evagoras is none too plentiful and much of it is equivocal, but on balance it seems to point to his having been from the very start fixed on the policies we see him pursuing in later years. The development and strengthening of Salamis was the first and indispensable step to unifying the island under his rule and wresting it from Persian control. Close ties with Athens, the heart of Hellas, and the full Hellenization of the island went hand-in-hand with this aim. It should be stressed that Hellenization in the Cypriot context meant (for the Cypriot Greeks at least) a process of catching up with their fellow Greeks. Having lived in relative isolation for many centuries, the Cypriots still adhered to older ways of living and thinking.

By 412 BC Evagoras had rendered Athens, locked as it was in a life-and-death struggle with Sparta (the Peloponnesian War), services sufficiently important for both him and his sons to be rewarded with the city's citizenship. In 405 BC, when the Athenian fleet was destroyed by Sparta, the Athenian general Conon, with a number of warships and many hundreds of Athenians, took refuge with Evagoras in Cyprus. Together Conon and Evagoras planned the defeat of Sparta and the restoration of Athenian power. Because Persian money and resources were necessary for this, Evagoras made his peace with the Great King and agreed to be his tribute-paying vassal. In 394 BC at Cnidus the Spartan fleet was decisively defeated by a Persian-financed force led by Conon. The Spartan naval hegemony was over. A grateful Athens heaped honours on the two men, including the setting up of their statues in the Agora next to the image of Zeus Soter, an unprecedented and extraordinary gesture, extended only to two other men, Timotheus, the son of Conon, and, centuries later, Hadrian, the great Roman emperor and philhellene.

Evagoras now turned his attention to the unification of Cyprus, which meant the subjection of the other city kingdoms of the island, all of them tribute-paying clients of Persia. He seems to have been well on the way to achieving this when the Great King, fearful and suspicious, resolved to strike first and restore the status quo. War broke out around 390 BC and lasted for some ten years. Allied with Athens, who repeatedly sent ships and troops to the island, and Egypt, Evagoras initially went from success to success. He captured Tyre and caused much of Phoenicia and Cilicia to revolt against Persia. Citium in Cyprus, the main Phoenician stronghold on the island and always strongly pro-Persian, nevertheless held out, and the tide definitely turned against Evagoras when Sparta and Persia enforced the King's Peace in Greece in 386 BC. A central clause of the peace recognized Greek Asia and Cyprus as belonging to the Great King. Athenian forces evacuated the island and Evagoras stood alone, bereft of his vitally important Greek support. A mighty Persian armada invaded the island, probably in 385 BC, and though Evagoras fought well and bravely, and with considerable initial success, in the end he found himself besieged in Salamis and was forced to come to terms. He was still strong enough, however, to resist complete subjection to Persia and to insist instead on being granted his previous status of an autonomous, but tribute-paying, client king. He died a few years later, assassinated with his eldest son, in rather mysterious circumstances in 374/73 BC.

One of the most eminent of British historians summed up the career of Evagoras thus: "There are few more striking demonstrations in Greek history than the attempt ... of Evagoras of Salamis, with the limited resources of a small island, to challenge the great Persian empire and to make Cyprus more Greek than Greece" (J.B. Bury in *A History of Greece*, edited by Bury and R. Meiggs, 3rd edition 1951, p.73). That contemporary Greece, and in particular Athens, whose honorary citizen he was, would have concurred fully with this judgement is proved not merely by the high praise of the prominent Athenian orator Isocrates (above all in his pioneering oration, the *Evagoras*), but also by two new fragments (identified in 1979) of the stele bearing the decree voted in honour of Evagoras by the Athenian assembly in 393 BC (D.M. Lewis and R.S. Stroud, *Hesperia*, 48 (1979): pp. 180ff.). It would appear that the public herald was to proclaim on the occasion of a dramatic festival, *inter alia*, that Evagoras had done his duty by Greece and Greek freedom as a Greek ought.

While Evagoras' policy of the further Hellenization of Cyprus met with much success (the wholesale importation of Athenians and their culture left an indelible mark on the island), his political aims failed. After so many years of war, which exhausted the resources of Salamis, he was at the end no nearer his purpose than when he began. Nevertheless, his goal of a united island that would moreover form part of the wider Greek world, and the tenacity with which he pursued it, lived on to inspire the modern Greek Cypriots in their own equally long struggle for national rehabilitation.

P. J. STYLIANOU

Biography

Born *c.*445 BC as a member of the ancient Teucrid dynasty of Cyprus, Evagoras was at first forced to leave the island but returned *c.*415/14 to expel the Persian-backed Phoenicians and restore Greek rule. Allied with Athens, he united most of Cyprus. After the King's Peace (387/86) he defied the Persians and secured honourable terms. He was assassinated in 374/73 BC.

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Evagrius of Pontus *c.*345–399

Monk and theologian

Judging from the sophistication of his works, it is clear that Evagrius received a fine Classical education. His theological formation was with the Cappadocian Fathers – he was ordained a reader by St Basil and a deacon by St Gregory of Nazianzus; Evagrius described Gregory as the one who had "planted" him. After accompanying Gregory to the Ecumenical Council of Constantinople in 381, Evagrius fled for fear of causing scandal, first to Jerusalem and then to the Egyptian desert. There he came into contact with the great elders of the day, and particularly with St Macarius of Egypt and St Macarius of Alexandria. From the living experience of the Egyptian desert, Evagrius drew the substance of his teaching on the ascetic life.

Evagrius' genius lay in his ability to systematize what he had learned in the desert, and to present it in a form that was intelligible to the educated reader. His systematization of the spiritual life is presented in three major works: the *Praktikos*, 100 chapters on the ascetic struggle; the *Gnostikos*, 50 chapters on the proper conduct of the true gnostic; and the *Kephalaia Gnostika*, 6 centuries, each of 90 chapters, dealing largely with the more speculative aspects of his thought. In this last work Evagrius reproduces and reifies the cosmological speculations of Origen. He posits the pre-existence of a Henad of pure intellect, engaged in the contemplation of God. A rupture is produced by the fall of these rational beings from contemplation, due to satiety or negligence and occasioning the second, physical, creation, in which each intellect is given a soul and body so that it might return, by way of contemplation, to the original unity.

Evagrius' work is chiefly concerned with the stage of return. The path back to God shown by Christ requires a conscious turning from materiality, both in body (the struggle against the passions) and in intellect (the divestment of forms). One begins with the practical struggle that produces love. The intellect must then turn to the contemplation of nature, perceiving the inner realities of creation and then passing on to essential knowledge, true theology, the contemplation of the Holy Trinity. Each of these stages requires a proportionate divestment of the intellect from all forms, material and immaterial, until it is perfectly "naked" and reunited to unoriginate intellect. Thus the original state of all things is restored and the *apokatastasis* (restoration) is accomplished.

Evagrius died just before the outbreak of the Origenist controversy in Egypt. It is, however, clear that it is largely his brand of Origenism that was condemned at the Fifth Ecumenical Council of 553. This black mark against his name did not, however, put a stop to his influence. The Church tradition took the eminently sensible course of discarding his metaphysical speculations and keeping much of his spiritual teaching under a pseudonym, usually that of Nilus. Evagrius' work was simply too valuable to be lost for the sake of his overenthusiasm for metaphysical speculation. He had crystallized much of what was best in the Egyptian desert, not only in his *Praktikos* but also in other works, such as his *One Hundred and Fifty-Three Chapters on Prayer*, *Ad Monachos*, and *Texts on Discrimination*. The *Kephalaia Gnostika* disappeared from the Greek tradition, being preserved only in the Syriac.

Evagrius has often been criticized for giving a disproportionate role to the intellect. There is a great deal of truth in this observation, but it has to be nuanced. He had no antipathy to the material order – the body and soul are there to help the intellect, not to hinder it. Moreover, intellect, soul, and body form a whole, the soul forming the bond of unity. On the Last

Day, soul and body are to be raised to the level of intellect. Evagrius allows a certain role to the heart in the spiritual life, linking it to knowledge and wisdom and treating it as the locus of the spiritual struggle. He was certainly not a dualist, although it is true that his anthropology lacks balance.

Evagrius was a crucial figure in the shaping of the monastic spiritual tradition. St John Cassian and Palladius were early disciples, and did much to propagate his teaching. His work rapidly entered into the mainstream. His influence is palpable in the works of St Diadochus of Photice and St John Klimakos. St Maximos the Confessor made extensive use of Evagrian structures and terminology, noticeable throughout his work but especially in the *Chapters on Love*. His influence is also discernible in the *Centuries* of Thalassios and Hesychios of Batos. There is a significant section of Evagrian material in the *Philokalia*, ascribed to St Nilus in the original editions, but restored to Evagrius in the recent English translation. While his attempt to integrate the Christian philosophical tradition with the wisdom of the Desert Fathers was not entirely successful, it has been remarkably fruitful.

MARCUS PLESTED

Biography

Born *c.*345 at Ibora in Pontus, Evagrius was ordained a reader by St Basil the Great and a deacon by St Gregory of Nazianzus. With Gregory he attended the Council of Constantinople in 381 and then fled into the desert of Egypt to become a monk. He wrote a number of works on the ascetic life of which the most important are the *Praktikos*, the *Gnostikos*, and the *Kephalaia Gnostika*. He died in Egypt in 399.

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Evil Eye

Many elements of belief associated with commonly held ideas of the evil eye are evident throughout the Greek tradition from antiquity to the present day. While the basic notion of the evil eye, that harm or damage may be caused by a glance, is found unequivocally at many points in this tradition, it is probably more helpful to see it in the context of a larger group of beliefs evident in Greek thought, which involves the idea that change in physical or emotional condition may be effected in humans, animals, and inanimate objects by means of the power of sight alone and without obvious physical contact. The ability to cause such change is not confined to human beings, for it is also attributed to various supernatural powers and forces; nor is the change thought to be necessarily evil, although it is without question most commonly associated with bad effects and the fear that an envious, jealous, or perhaps hateful glance may cause serious harm is particularly prominent. Care is to be exercised in relating the Greek tradition concerning the evil eye to superficially similar but often significantly divergent ideas found in a broad range of cultures around the Mediterranean and beyond.

Firm literary evidence for the existence of many elements within this complex of ideas goes back at least to the early Classical period, while cross-cultural comparison and archaeological evidence may well suggest that such beliefs were present in some form from the very beginnings of a recognizable Greek culture. Phrases directly equivalent to the term "evil eye", such as *vaskanos ophthalmos* or *ophthalmos poneros*, are attested only from later antiquity, but writers throughout the pagan tradition such as Aeschylus, Plato, Theocritus, Callimachus, Apollonius Rhodius, Libanius, and Heliodorus allude in a wide variety of contexts to the closely related idea of the malignant and communicable power of envy (*phthonos*) or jealousy (*vaskania*); indeed, it is probable that the verb *vaskainein* in ancient Greek is to be taken primarily as meaning "to bewitch", very much in the sense of casting the evil eye through jealousy. Kindred notions are also found in the powers attributed to the gorgon and basilisk of Greek myth. Plutarch (*Quaestiones Convivales*, 5. 7. 680–83) provides the fullest discussion of the topic in antiquity and proposes that the eyes of a jealous person emit a stream of particles that strike the victim and so transmit harm, a theory of explanation close to one suggested by Democritus (to which he alludes) and followed by several later writers. As Plutarch also reveals, the notion of malignant envy or the evil eye was sometimes treated with suspicion and scorn in antiquity, but nevertheless its persistence in the Greek tradition as a whole attests to its general acceptance.

A number of passages in the New Testament (e.g. Matthew 20: 15, Mark 7: 22, and Galatians 3: 1) are connected with this tradition and Church Fathers, such as Basil, John Chrysostom, and Eusebius, discuss the belief and its implications for Christianity. All conclude that the apparent power of the evil eye is to be attributed to the activity of the Devil, but all fail to deny completely the validity of the idea. Given the inability of such intellectual early Christian authorities to do so, it is not surprising that the literary and material record from the Byzantine period down to the present day indicates a widespread popular belief in the power of the evil eye and in apotropaic practices associated with it, many of which are scarcely Christianized.

Belief in the evil eye is thus very widely attested, though not universally accepted, in the popular culture of modern Greece. The term generally used is *kako mati* (evil eye) or simply *to mati* (the eye), although there are many other local and regional expressions, most derived in some way from the *ophthalmos* (eye) of ancient Greek (e.g. *thiarmos* in western Crete). Symptoms associated with "the eye" tend to be ill defined, since specific indications will normally suggest a more

conventional diagnosis, but in general everything thought to have been affected by it will show signs of sickliness and loss of function. Symptoms in adults commonly include a feeling of malaise or depression, yawning, chronic feverishness, nausea, or headache; young children may sleep badly, lose their appetites, or cry constantly; animals will display signs of weakness, lethargy, and infertility; crops will fail to grow or will wither; and machinery will cease to function properly. Despite its vague symptoms the evil eye is thought to be very serious and, if left untreated, potentially fatal.

Explanations of the cause of the evil eye focus most usually on perceived jealousy or envy. It is commonly associated either with over-zealous admiration to the point at which the thing admired is actually coveted or else with the expression of insincere admiration. Some individuals are thought particularly likely to cause it, perhaps because of their social situation (e.g. elderly spinsters) or their unpleasant demeanour, while physical characteristics, such as blue or green eyes (usually an indication of foreignness), may also be thought to be signs of danger. Occasionally it may be thought to have been deliberately induced by magic. The view that the evil eye may be cast unknowingly and without any deliberate intent is, however, also widespread, making both detection of origin and prevention very difficult.

Practices to avert the evil eye are numerous and varied. Among the most common objects employed are cloves of garlic, blue beads or thread, the image of a staring eye (usually blue), and Christian symbols and objects such as the cross or an amulet containing holy material; these are either worn or placed in contact with whatever is being protected. Other techniques involve such things as spitting after making a compliment, or the invocation, either aloud or silently, of a spell or prayer.

Diagnosis and cure of the evil eye are also performed in a wide variety of ways, many of which show strong regional and local characteristics. Healers, often women, are to be found and openly acknowledged in most villages and towns. Among the commonest methods of diagnosis and cure, which usually form a single ritual, are those that involve dropping a substance or object (often oil but perhaps salt, incense, charcoal, or a cross) into a vessel of water. Affliction is determined through the behaviour of the material in the water, and, in the curative phase of the ritual, victims will drink some of the water or have it sprinkled on them; sometimes the healer will exhibit the victim's previous symptoms. The rituals, whatever their precise nature, are accompanied throughout by spells or prayers that almost always involve at least some overtly Christian elements, although these are often used in ways that are far from orthodox. Indeed, the Church, doctrinally speaking, disapproves of the popular notions of the evil eye since these tend to challenge the central Christian principle of the omnipotence and goodness of God. Nevertheless an acceptable explanation is found by seeing the supposed power of evil eye as a manifestation of the familiar activity of the Devil or his demons operating through humans, and the Orthodox Church has available, at least at a local level, a fully Christian ritual for removing it.

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See also Magic, Spells, Superstition

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Execias

Potter and painter of the 6th century BC

Execias worked as a vase painter from about 545 to 530 BC, but his career as a potter started earlier: his signature is recognized on an amphora representing Heracles and Geryon (now in Paris, Louvre F 53, from Vulci), which is assigned to the so-called Group E, as well as on a number of cups (e.g. Munich, Antikensammlungen 2044, from Vulci). He signed a neck amphora (Berlin, Staatliche Museen 1720, from Vulci) and a type A belly amphora (Vatican Museums 344, from Vulci) as both potter and painter: "Execias painted and made me". Execias' great contribution to the Athenian black-figure tradition lies in his potting as well as his painting. Although the number of vases attributed to him is not large, the range of shapes is very wide, including amphorae (type A and type B), neck amphorae, a Panathenaic amphora, a *dinos* (goblet), a *pyxis* (box), cups, a calyx crater, and funerary plaques. He was responsible for the development of the type A cup and the type A belly amphora – both vases are of large size, around 60 cm high – and probably invented the calyx crater since the earliest surviving example was decorated by him (Athens, Agora Museum, from the Acropolis north slope). He demonstrated a preference for amphorae, especially of the neck type and of

type A, identified by its decorated flanged handles and a stepped foot.

The influence of the earlier Group E has been observed in his work, especially in his painting style as well as in his choice of ornaments and shapes. His scenes are simple, including only the essential elements of a composition. He demonstrated, however, an interest in the detailed representation of armour, manes, hair, and drapery, and experimented with the rendering of three dimensions. His workmanship is characterized by precision and his scenes of action by originality, since he seldom used standard motifs or compositions. He preferred to interpret well-known scenes anew, such as Ajax carrying Achilles, or invent others, such as Dionysus in his ship.

Execias has been considered a master of narration; by eliminating extraneous figures from his scenes, he focused on just those essential for his story. Despite the limitations of the black-figure technique, he often attempted to render some degree of emotion on the faces of his figures without distorting them, as on the mourners' faces on his funerary plaques. He preferred scenes that displayed strong tension in a subtle way, while occasionally depicting the moment before the action, as in the scene of Ajax's suicide (on a belly amphora, Boulogne Museum 553, France). In these respects Execias could be considered the forerunner of the Classical style.

Just as Execias had a liking for certain vase shapes, he also favoured specific patterns framing his pictorial scenes. Chains of lotuses and palmettes with separated and finely drawn leaves ornamented the neck or framed the panels of amphorae. The handles of his type-A amphorae are decorated with a tendril of ivy leaves.

His originality is also expressed in other forms. He broke the Attic convention of a tondo in the interior of cups and painted Dionysus sailing across the interior of a *kylix* (wine cup, Munich, Antikensammlungen 2044, from Vulci). Both the "coral-red" background of the scene and the pair of eyes decorating the exterior of the cup seem to be his inventions. Moreover, he was the first painter to depict ships sailing around the rim of a *dinos* (Rome, Villa Giulia Museum 50599). Execias often named not only his heroes but also their horses, the representations of which are classified among his favourite subjects.

Execias' iconographic repertoire is based on mythological scenes, especially those related to the Trojan War, but few of them followed established patterns. Unlike his contemporaries, he showed a lack of interest in the secular *komos* (revel) and the symposium, while the sole scenes from everyday life that he depicted are the *prothesis* (laying out) and the *ekphora* (carrying to burial) of the dead on funerary plaques. His Trojan scenes are devoted to episodes from the lives of Ajax and Achilles or to the events leading to their deaths and do not follow the versions of the myth found either in the *Iliad* or in any other of the known literary texts. Thus, Execias depicted Ajax and Achilles playing a board game – the scene appears here for the first time in Greek art and was repeated numerous times in vase painting thereafter – Ajax's suicide, Achilles killing Penthesilea, Ajax lifting the dead Achilles from the ground, the dead Patroclus fought over by Hector and Diomedes, as well as scenes with Memnon. Although Execias does depict the heroes Heracles, Theseus, and the Dioscuri, it was the two Trojan heroes that prevailed in his scenes. It has therefore been suggested that Execias countered the heroic virtue that other artists portrayed through Heracles by his use of Ajax and Achilles.

Although Execias' interest in Heracles was not remarkable, the scene with Heracles wrestling with the lion introduced to Athenian vase painting the composition of the lion fight in a prone position. His treatment of the Dioscuri is also innovative: he represented the homecoming of Castor before Polydeuces and their parents, Leda and Tyndareus. Previously the two heroes had appeared either at the Calydonian boar hunt or at the wedding of Menelaus and Helen. Execias was less interested in the depiction of a specific mythological event than in the heroes themselves.

ELENI ZIMI

Biography

Execias of Athens was active as a painter and potter from about 545 to 530 BC. He signed two amphorae as both potter and painter and his contribution to Athenian black-figure vase decoration is recognized as combining both activities. He departs from convention to depict both the character of his subjects and the tension of the moment.

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Exile and Detention

Myth repeatedly describes individual banishment, usually for murder, but also for incest and other forms of sacrilege, as religious purification of a whole community. The outcast, interdicted from fire and water, deprived of ancestral worship, and cursed with all his issue, was deemed legitimate prey for any man. His only possible safety came from supplication at alien shrines or courts, and mere sufferance was often his most ambitious hope. Survival of this religious element of banishment into the time of the city state can be illustrated by *inter alia* a historical event and a festival at Athens. Some years after Megacles, the head of the Alcmaeonidae, had in 632(?) BC sacrilegiously allowed the suppliant supporters of the defeated Cylon to be slain, not only was the whole clan exiled but the

bones of its dead were exhumed and cast beyond the borders of Attica. At the purificatory festival of Thargelia in honour of Apollo, Athens still included in the Classical period the practice of beating and driving beyond its borders two *pharmakoi* (scapegoats) who at least theoretically took the evils of the city with them.

Banishment in the Archaic, Classical, and Hellenistic periods could be suffered by whole communities, groups, and individuals. Inhabitants of conquered cities were at the mercy of their victors, who sometimes chose to drive them out. That they could often then keep a sense of communal identity was due to allies who gave them shelter within their walls or found them land to settle, and they often later managed to regain their homes (all three of these fates befell the Plataeans driven out by the Thebans at the beginning of the Second Peloponnesian War). The survivors of the citizens sold as booty when Philip II sacked Olynthus in 348 were settled 32 years later by Cassander in his new foundation of Cassandreia.

Greek historians frequently do not make clear whether groups (or individuals) were exiled or fled voluntarily. In most cases their removal was due to governmental change in the struggles between tyrants, oligarchs, and democrats. Nearly all these exiles were from the upper classes, and could stay with sympathizers or had connections in other states, and frequently returned home at a change of government (that they themselves sometimes engineered) or upon an amnesty.

Individual exile was largely a political weapon. Most victims were politicians or generals, who suffered for real or alleged treason, military failure (as in the case of the historian Thucydides), or just unpopularity. The punishment, that was for either life or a set number of years, could be severe because it usually entailed deprivation of civic rights and confiscation of property. An exile returning illicitly ran the risk of summary execution; anyone harbouring an exile became himself liable to expulsion. Individual recalls and general amnesties were not, however, uncommon: Diodorus Siculus states (18. 8. 5) that according to Alexander the Great's decree in 324 BC, 20,000 Greek exiles were permitted to return to their homes. Voluntary exile could be chosen to avoid trial and even after the sentence of death had been passed (Socrates famously refused his friends' request to go into exile). In the 5th century BC the Athenian *ekklesia* was enabled to vote in favour of holding an ostracism, whereby if at least 6000 citizens took part the man whose name was recorded on the highest number of *ostraka* (potsherds) was exiled, without loss of citizenship or property, for ten years. Aristotle claims (*Athenaion Politeia*, 22) that the law was introduced by Cleisthenes in 508/07 BC, but the first ostracism was not held until 487. The last man ostracized was the demagogue Hyperbolus between 417 and 415, after which the *graphe paranomon* (indictment for offence of proposing an illegal law or decree) became the preferred means of attacking politicians. Forms of ostracism were employed also at Argos and at Syracuse – at the latter it was called *petalismos* ("leafing") since the names were written on olive leaves.

Information on detention is scant and largely Athenian. Non-productive long-term incarceration was extremely rare, its function served by deprivation of civil rights. Short-term incarceration, however, was occasionally used, sometimes in addition to a fine: otherwise the prison in Athens, under the supervision of the Eleven, held men on remand for certain crimes (e.g. maltreating parents or failing in military duties), men delinquent in the payment of some categories of fines, and men awaiting execution. Soldiers captured in battle were usually executed, taken or sold into slavery, exchanged, or ransomed. Occasionally they were held in detention as hostages, sometimes later to be exchanged (e.g. the Spartiates held by the Athenians in the city and elsewhere in their empire for nearly four years after their capture on Sphacteria in 425 BC). In contrast, the survivors of the Athenian expedition against Syracuse in 415–413 were imprisoned for life in nearby stone quarries, where some years later the dithyrambist Philoxenus, temporarily imprisoned for adversely criticizing the poetry of the tyrant Dionysius I, wrote one of his more famous pieces.

The most innovative penal theorist was Plato, who in his *Laws* prescribed varying terms of imprisonment and exile for different classes of criminals (citizens, metics, visiting foreigners, and slaves) and different crimes. More revolutionary, in addition to a large general and a purely punitive prison, he envisaged a reformatory (*sophronisterion*), where suitable offenders convicted of impiety were to be subjected to at least five years of counselling before being reintegrated into society (recidivists were, however, to be executed). Plato's ideas were largely ignored in antiquity.

Greeks under Roman rule were subject to Roman law, which, with modifications, survived in the Greek world until the Ottoman sack of Constantinople in 1453. Exile in the Byzantine empire was occasionally imposed upon economic offenders, but mostly upon the emperors' political opponents (often ecclesiastics). *Exoria* involved permanent or temporary exile without confiscation of property, *periorismos* restriction to a prescribed area with loss of property. Places of exile varied from remote borderlands and islands to monasteries and even personal estates. Conditions similarly differed, as can be seen from a wide range of letters written from confinement with complaints ranging from torture, starvation, and squalor to lack of books and nostalgia for life in the capital. Some politicians (e.g. Michael Psellos) voluntarily became monastic exiles until they deemed it safe to return to an active life.

In law prisons were regarded as remand centres, but in practice stay there was not always brief and, unlike in ancient Greece, they were common (there were five or six prisons within the complex of the Great Palace in Constantinople alone). They housed traitors, murderers, thieves, forgers, adulterers, magicians, and, if they could not be looked after at home, the insane, but only males since women were confined in convents to avoid risk of abuse from gaolers. Prisons fell into two types: those containing unchained and those containing chained inmates. In the former there were even some relatively comfortable single rooms, but conditions were particularly bad in the latter which were notoriously dark and cold and where food was scant and poor. According to legend one widow was so appalled that she offered her house for use as a prison, an offer accepted by the emperor Phokas (602–10), who nevertheless paid her the full price. Although the official in charge of prisons was subject to punishment if he illegally alleviated the lot of prisoners, some legislation attempted to ameliorate conditions, as did emperors, the nobility, churchmen, monks, and the pious with visits and donations of money

and food. References are numerous also to emperors, the Church, and rich individuals paying the ransom of prisoners of war (and those held by bandits), who stood a far better chance of rescue than in antiquity. Constantinople had a prison specifically for Muslims: a letter from the early 10th-century patriarch Nikolaos Mystikos to the caliph Al-Muqtadir claims that there Arab prisoners suffered only the deprivation of their friends and family since, among other comforts, they enjoyed spacious quarters, clean air, and even an oratory set apart for their devotions. Although private prisons were banned by law, monasteries were frequently so used.

After the War of Independence (1821–29) the new state of Greece established its own prisons for both short- and long-term stay for a wide variety of crimes. Conditions varied, but stimulus towards reform was hampered by the frequent changes of governors consequent upon changes of government.

Modern prisons are divided into several categories: in 1998 there were 28 in all, of which 12 were for those serving light sentences or awaiting trial, 7 were closed prisons for those sentenced to over 5 years of incarceration, 4 were rural prisons where inmates did agricultural work during the day, 2 were medical/psychiatric prisons, 2 were closed prisons for minors (the minimum age was 12) and the last was an open prison where bread was baked for hospitals and other prisons in Athens. Although the last execution took place in July 1972, capital punishment was not abolished until 1993. The average custodial sentence in 1998 was from 2 to 5 years, with a "life"-sentence of at least 16 years.

The percentage of the population incarcerated fluctuated greatly, some regimes even resorting to internal exile. In 1970 Greece had one of the lowest rates among the member states of the Council of Europe at 0.0409 per cent of the population, but this rose rapidly to 0.0607 per cent by the end of 1997 despite minimal numbers of females and minors. Over-crowding (approximately 50 per cent above capacity) was a growing problem, but legislation aimed at alleviation was being thwarted mainly by a reluctance of judges to grant bail (in 1997 over 30 per cent of those incarcerated were awaiting trial) and a rapidly growing number of foreign convicts (in mid-June 1998 over 40 per cent of a total prison population of 7021), largely for drugs-related offences. Moreover, poor conditions in prisons, shortage of qualified educational and therapeutic staff (approximately a third of prisoners were on drugs-related charges) and low morale of both warders and prisoners were fostering increasing recidivism.

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See also Ostracism

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F

Fable

A fable (*ainos*, *logos*, *mythos*) can best be defined as a fictitious, metaphorical narrative. It has been asserted that fables typically are about animals and have a moral purpose, but these restrictions do not take into account the genre's historical multiformity: fable collections traditionally include stories with rational as well as irrational characters, and the genre's functions may vary widely, notably from persuasive to satirical, from moral to explanatory, from didactic to illustrative. It is to this flexibility that the genre owes its remarkable, millennia-long vitality.

Throughout ancient literature fables are used in a variety of other literary genres. The oldest extant Greek fables occur in Archaic Greek epic (Hesiod) and lyric poetry (Archilochus, Semonides, Stesichorus, Ibycus, Simonides). In the Classical period fables are adduced in both prose and poetry; they are applied not only by tragedians (Aeschylus, Sophocles), satyric playwrights (Achaeus), and comedians (Aristophanes), but also by historiographers (Herodotus), rhetoricians (Aristotle), orators (Demosthenes (allegedly)), and philosophers (Socrates (allegedly), Plato, Xenophon). From the Classical period onwards fables are typically connected with the name of Aesop, the legendary fabulist. By then, already, fables were apparently so popular that authors could confine themselves to mere allusions, obviously presupposing the audience's knowledge of the rest of the story.

At the beginning of the Hellenistic period Demetrius of Phalerum compiled the first fable collection, probably an anthology of fables excerpted from the works of Archaic and Classical authors, made up as a repertory for orators looking for a fable that could appropriately be used in some speech or situation in accordance with the advice given by Demetrius' teacher Aristotle in what is the oldest extant treatise on fable as a genre (*Rhetoric*, 2. 20). Regrettably enough, Demetrius' collection has been lost but for its title (*Collections of Aesopic Fables*), preserved by Diogenes Laertius.

The extant fable collections all date from the imperial period of Greek literature. Most are in prose. Of the oldest one only fragments of 14 fables remain (*Rylands Papyrus* 493; early 1st century AD). The verse collection by Babrius (late 1st or 2nd century AD) has also been incompletely preserved, but 144 fables have come down to us in their original form, whereas knowledge of what has been lost may be gained from prose paraphrases. The largest collection is the so-called *recensio Augustana* (see below), consisting of 231 allegedly Aesopic, but really anonymous, prose fables concluded by *epimythia* (less felicitously called "morals"). In addition, we have three small prose fable collections, probably used in rhetorical education. One, by Aphthonius (4th century AD), includes 40 fables, all equipped with both a *promythion* (an introductory moral, serving as title) and an epimythion; another, by his contemporary Libanius, has only three fables; a third, anonymous collection (*Codex Brancatianus*) contains 14 fables with iambic *epimythia*.

At the same time, fables continued to be used in other literary genres. In the Hellenistic period fables are adduced not only by poets such as Callimachus and Nicander and by epigrammatists (Leonidas), but also by historiographers (Theopompus, Diodorus Siculus) and philosophers (Philodemus). In the imperial period fables occur not only in traditional genres – notably historiography (Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Flavius Josephus), oratory (Aelius Aristides, Dio of Prusa, Themistius), and philosophy (Philo) – but also in new genres such as epistolography (Julian, Libanius), romance (Aesop romance, Alexander romance, Achilles Tatius, Heliodorus), and biography (Plutarch).

Simultaneously, the theory of the fable was also studied. Of great importance is the treatise on fable by the rhetorician Theon (late 1st century AD), who formulated the oldest extant – and, according to some, the best possible – definition of the genre: "a fable is a fictitious story that gives the semblance of reality."

The polytheistic background of the ancient fables, traditionally featuring "pagan" gods, did not prevent the early Christian writers from using them in their own works, witness references in poems by St Gregory of Nazianzus, in epistles by St Basil the Great and St Gregory of Nyssa, in homilies by St John Chrysostom, and in apologetical works by Epiphanius of Salamis and Theodoret.

Byzantium preserved the heritage of the ancient fable tradition. On the one hand, the fables from antiquity were copied and paraphrased; on the other, they inspired Byzantine fabulists to write new versions or original fables of their own. The anonymous prose fables must have been very popular, demonstrated by the great number of manuscripts that regularly combine the "Aesopic" fables with the *Life of Aesop*. The fable collections can be subdivided into three classes, named after

the library where its principal manuscript was found, or after its editor: the ancient *Augustana* (Augsburg); the Byzantine *Vindobonense* (Vienna; 127 fables); and the *Accursiana* (Bonus Accursius; 130 fables). They are also called, respectively, *recensio* I, II, and III: II is mainly based on I and Babrius, III on I and II. The exact date and purpose of these collections are still under debate.

Two other Byzantine collections also predominantly derive from ancient Greek models. The 89 *Tetrastichs* attributed to Ignatius (9th century) are mainly inspired by Babrius. The collection of 62 prose fables ascribed to Syntipas (the legendary Sindbad the Sailor) and translated from the Syriac possibly by Michael Andreopoulos (*c.*1100) largely goes back to Babrius on the one hand and to the *Augustana* on the other; all of these fables have *epimythia*. Both the pseudo-Ignatius and the pseudo-Syntipas collections contain some fables that have not been preserved elsewhere.

Throughout the Byzantine period fables were, as in antiquity, frequently used in other literary genres, both in poetry (John Tzetzes) and in prose, particularly by epistolographers (Theophylaktos Simokattes), lexicographers (Photios, the *Suda*), philologists (Eustathios), historiographers (Nikephoros Gregoras, John Kantakouzenos, John Zonaras), paroemiographers (Apostolios), orators and rhetoricians (Michael Psellos, Theodore Prodromos).

Typical of fables are easy transitions from and to other genres and forms of imagery. Thus, fables are often reduced to, or based upon, proverbs and comparisons. Conversely, fables can also be elaborated into beast epic, whose function is typically satirical. Famous examples are the ancient *Batrachomyomachia* (Frog-Mouse-War; 1st century BC/AD) and the late Byzantine *Legend of the Ass* (early 16th century).

In Byzantine times the Classical fable tradition was further enriched with fables of Indian provenance. Greek versions of two frame stories served as vehicles for this influx of oriental fables. First, the Christian romance of *Barlaam and Joasaph*, adapted from a Buddhist prototype by St John of Damascus (8th century), contains a number of fables. Second, the book of *Stephanites and Ichnelates*, translated from the Arab *Kalila wa Dimnah* (which in its turn goes back to the Sanskrit *Panchatantra*) by Symeon Seth (late 11th century, at the instigation of Emperor Alexios I Komnenos), is interspersed with fables. Both books were widely read, as is clear from the numerous medieval manuscripts.

The *Stephanites and Ichnelates* remained so popular that it was twice paraphrased into modern Greek by superior order: first by Theodoros Zygomalas, protonotary of the patriarch of Constantinople, in the 16th century; later by Demetrios Prokopios (1721), commissioned by John Nikolaos Mavrokordatos. Both modern Greek versions were, in their turn, copied several times.

The first translation of ancient fables into modern Greek prose was by the Corfiot Nikandros Noukios (Venice, 1543; 150 fables). It was to be followed by many others (e.g. by Ioannis Patousos, Venice, 1752). More original, but clearly also modelled on the Classical fable tradition, are two modern Greek verse fable collections (*Mythoi*), one by Georgios Aitolos from Corinth (1525–74; 144 fables), the other by Jannis Vilaras from Ioannina (1771–1823; 20 fables). The former's rhyming political verses may be considered to be a predecessor of the elegant versions by the famous 17th-century French fabulist Jean de la Fontaine, who is one of the latter's sources of inspiration.

In modern times the text of the ancient fables was published. A milestone along the road was the edition by the erudite scholar Adamantios Korais (Paris, 1810); typically enough for a man who contributed so much to the consciousness-raising of the Greeks, the title of Korais's *Collection of Aesopic Fables* referred back to the prototypical collection by Demetrius of Phalerum mentioned above. The first edition of the *recensio Augustana*, by Schneider, was to follow suit (Bratislava, 1812).

That the fable tradition from the golden age of Hellas continues to be popular without abatement in today's Greece is evident not only from the inclusion of a fable in the famous *Life and Works of Alexis Zorba* by Nikos Kazantzakis, but also from two really modern media: the edition of a series of stamps and comic strips with *Fables of Aesop*. The latter may therefore without exaggerating be said to embody the Hellenic tradition.

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Fairs and Markets

Periodic markets take place monthly or more frequently, typically once a week. Fairs are less frequent, typically annual, and often serve multiple purposes: religious, political, social, as well as economic. Both are worldwide phenomena.

"Landings, sailings, numbers of people and goods and ships: these prove the merit of a fair, a harbour, or a market", said Dio of Prusa in the 1st century AD. Evidence of Greek fairs and markets is scattered and piecemeal. Demosthenes and Aristophanes are among sources for the Classical period; Hellenistic inscriptions supply details of trade regulations at fairs; in Roman times, special coin issues, commemorating local festivals, imply busy economic activity there.

The agora was the central public space of an ancient Greek city. The word also denoted the activity of a market, whether it took place in that public space, at a fair, or at a harbour.

In Classical Greece fairs (*panegyreis*) were chiefly religious festivals, but trade was a part of almost every *panegyris*. Thus, at a festival at Andania, "the priests shall indicate a place for all sales. The city *agoranomos* [market supervisor] shall ensure that sellers sell fairly and cleanly and use the city's weights and measures. He shall not restrict the sellers as to volume of sales, or as to time, or charge them for the site" (no. 65, lines 99–107 in *Lois sacrées des cités grecques*, edited by Franciszek Sokołowski, Paris: Boccard, 1969). An Amphictyonic decree of the 2nd century BC prescribes currency equivalents to be operated by "the money changers who sit in the cities or at the *panegyreis*". Fairs, often lasting several weeks, could be interrupted by a city's periodic market. At Oenoanda, in western Asia Minor, the quadrennial festival was suspended on the sixth of the month, the regular market day.

Some fairs attracted dealers and customers for a range of merchandise: in Roman times the twice-yearly fair near Tithorea in Phocis sold "slaves, cattle of all kinds, clothes, silver, and gold" (Pausanias). Other fairs too, including the Pylaea at Delphi, were noted for slaves. Domestic animals are mentioned in several sources as a typical purchase at an annual fair.

Fairs often attracted tax-free status, *ateleia*. Some fairs were held in cities or just outside them; others traditionally took place far from any centres of population, like the mountain-top fairs still known in the Balkans and first mentioned in a work attributed to Aristotle (*On Marvellous Things Heard*, 104).

The great religious festivals were major commercial events. According to the Roman historian Livy: "The Isthmian Games had always been well attended ... because of their excellent location, which enabled the Isthmus to deal in all kinds of commodities imported over two different seas. The market there was a fair for Asia and for Greece" (*Ab urbe condita*, 33. 32. 1–3, abridged).

In the Hellenistic period the regular political gatherings of the Aetolian and the Achaean Leagues were accompanied by some kind of commercial fair or market. Under Roman rule a provincial governor's judicial progresses attracted trade: "the courts are in session every year, bringing together a numberless throng – litigants, jurymen, orators, nobles, attendants, slaves, pimps, muleteers, hucksters, whores, and craftsmen. Those who have any goods to sell can get the highest prices; nothing in the city is out of work, neither the draught animals nor the households nor the women. This contributes noticeably to prosperity", Dio observed. But the most important fairs continued to be the religious ones. We hear of the struggles of conscience that Christians faced in attending them. "A believer must not go near a fair, except in order to buy a slave (and thus save his soul) or to buy one of the necessities of life", according to the *Apostolic Constitutions* of the 4th century AD. Yet they attended; and Christian festivals slowly replaced pagan ones as the occasion for fairs. In Byzantine Greece the fair that began six days before St Demetrius's Day at Thessalonica attracted traders from Catalonia, France, and Italy. The Ottoman traveller Evliya Çelebi described the annual fair of the salt beef merchants, "infidels of Moldavia and Wallachia", held outside the walls of Constantinople for 40 days beginning from St Demetrius.

Thus fairs have a long history in Greece. Periodic markets, weekly to monthly, are less talked of. In Roman times there may have been such markets in northern Greece. Certainly they existed near the Aegean coast of Asia Minor, where inscriptions record ten-day markets around Magnesia and monthly markets elsewhere.

Cities of some size certainly supported daily markets in Classical times, as they do now. Written sources refer to various specialized markets: a cattle market at Sparta; a covered market (stoa) specializing in spices at Megalopolis.

Classical sources are most informative about the market at Athens. This occupied a considerable area, centring on the Agora. It included sections such as *eis tous ichthyas*, the fish market, and *eis toupsa*, delicatessen. There was a distinct women's market: maids could be hired there. Characters in Athenian Middle and New Comedy spent a good deal of time boasting of their success at market or complaining of the price of fish. Athens also held a monthly fair or market on the day of the new moon (*noumenia*) at which slaves and animals were sold: a slave acquired on that day might be named *Noumenios*.

Fairs and Markets: The Central Market in Athens, successor to the ancient Agora

In coastal cities, and in the Greek islands, periodic markets are not recorded in ancient times and are not common nowadays. Trade here has been seaborne, dependent on sea conditions, and thus unsuited to a market timetable. Instead, the practice is for a market to be set up at the harbour when ships arrive. This is seen in many places today when a ferry puts in, often signalling its arrival with a blast on the foghorn. The evidence in Classical texts is of the arrival of fishing boats being announced by a harbour bell. Early sources, beginning with Homer and Herodotus, tell stories that depend on this practice of impromptu harbour markets.

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Family

Throughout recorded Greek history, the family has functioned as the central social unit. In ancient Greek there is, however, no word for "family" in today's sense, and the nearest equivalent, *oikos* or "household", refers not only to the human members of the family group but also to its property, be that house, land, tombs, slaves, or animals. This is evident as early as Homer's *Odyssey*. Crucial, therefore, to the continuation of the *oikos* was the production of legitimate heirs to whom the family property could be passed. Ancient Greek society was patriarchal, as indeed it has been until almost the present day. However, whereas in Homer the male hero stood alone at the head of his *oikos*, the *oikos* of the Archaic and Classical Greek polis, or city state, was tied closely to the social, military, civic, and religious structure of the city. While the polis provided protection from enemies to the *oikos* and its property, the *oikos* provided the polis with its citizen soldiers. The *oikos* of the Archaic and Classical periods therefore functioned on both a public and a private level. Although patriarchal, the *oikos* nevertheless laid great value on the woman's role as wife and mother. Proper and chaste behaviour was highly prized, indeed expected, by Greek society as a means of ensuring legitimate family succession and inheritance. The woman also played a central role in household management, and in the conduct of proper death ritual (preparation of the corpse and mourning) for deceased family members.

Marriage in ancient Greece, and throughout subsequent Greek history, was based on the principle of monogamy and, as again until recent times, was an arranged affair involving agreement between the bride and groom's families; this included agreement on the dowry, usually a sum of money, that the woman would bring to the marriage. At Athens during the Classical period the bridegroom was generally aged around 30 while, in order to ensure her virginal status, the bride was usually half his age. Following the wedding, the bride moved from her father's house to that of her husband. There, although sharing the family house and concerns, man and wife led distinctly different lives, for while the adult male participated daily in the public citizen life of Athens, the female remained at home, leading a private existence concerned only with domestic matters. In the case of an unsatisfactory marriage divorce was possible and could be instigated, in theory at least, by either husband or wife. Athenian law required that on divorce a woman's dowry be returned to her; this protected her from becoming destitute and made her an attractive candidate for remarriage. Procreation of children within marriage was highly important, not only to safeguard the inheritance of family property, but also to provide care for the parents in old age: indeed the nuclear family was often extended to include elderly relatives within the household. The production of children, furthermore, ensured that the older generation would receive the appropriate death ritual and proper burial when the time came, and that the family tomb cult would be maintained. Since inheritance of family property operated through the male line, sons were especially desired; daughters, by contrast, had to be provided with a dowry. It has therefore been suggested that infant exposure, which is known to have occurred, involved more female than male children, though hard evidence for this is not forthcoming. It is also worth noting that, since all sons had an equal right to share in their father's property, the production of a number of male children could also be considered problematic. Inheritance matters were protected by complex legislation, necessary since the polis was founded on an agrarian basis; where, for example, a family lacked a male heir, a son could be adopted or, alternatively, property could pass through a daughter to her sons.

As a result of a bias in our evidence, most of what we know about the family in Classical Greece relates to the Athenian upper class. It is, therefore, interesting to compare the case of Sparta, where the state claimed a much greater degree of involvement in the family and household matters of the Spartan upper class. The underlying reason for this was the maintenance at Sparta of a professional standing army. Following marriage, which was compulsory, the groom returned to a communal military life until he was 30. Consequently, husband and wife did not live together for a number of years, resulting in Spartan women leading more public and active lives than their Athenian counterparts, and being able to exercise a degree of control over family property matters. They were, furthermore, able to own property and wealth independently. Unlike Athenians, Spartan women were not married until they were fully grown, and then generally to a man of similar age. According to Xenophon, a Spartan man could have children with the wife of another consenting Spartan male, and a young wife married to an elderly husband might also produce children with another man: these arrange-

ments probably operated to combat cases of infertility, adoption of children also being practised. The decision to expose a child rested not with the parents, but rather with the tribal elders who had always in mind the military requirements of the Spartan community. Furthermore, the education of male children was not determined by their parents but by the state, which removed boys in their seventh year to communal barracks where they received a military, as well as traditional, education.

The Hellenistic period in Greek lands witnessed, as seen in the plays of Menander and others, a shift of focus towards the family's and individual's private affairs. This occurred as the polis structure weakened and the relationship between polis and *oikos* changed. For example, whereas in the Classical period at Athens one's membership of the polis depended on membership of an Athenian citizen family, in the Hellenistic period some states were happy to bestow citizenship on individuals descended from non-citizen parents. Furthermore, women in many states gained the ability to own and manage wealth and property in their own right, resulting in a new emphasis on their individual, as well as family, identity and worth.

During the Roman period the family underwent further evolution due, in part, to the introduction of Christianity. The most profound change revolved around the alternative roles now open to women. In the 4th century AD the emperor Constantine decreed that a woman did not have to marry, but could rather devote herself to the Church as a bride of Christ. This in turn impacted on inheritance law, for such women could now also bequeath property to the Church instead of to relatives. For the first time, priestesses aside, women could reject marriage and childbearing: either they could continue to live in their paternal home, or choose solitude, or reside within a community of women. This increase in celibacy and non-family life in the early Christian period applied equally to men as to women. Most men and women did, however, continue to marry and produce children. Marriages, as before, were arranged and contracts, recording financial agreements, were drawn up. As earlier, most girls were married by the time they reached 16, and a legal minimum of 12 years was set for brides. Now for the first time, Christian teaching established the requirement of fidelity within marriage for men as well as for women; further, in AD 326 Constantine went so far as to outlaw the ancient practice of concubinage, that is a stable sexual liaison between a married man and a woman not his wife. Many subsequent emperors, however, regarded this practice with greater tolerance. Divorce law, particularly relating to the grounds on which divorce was permitted, changed many times during the early Christian period, due perhaps in part to the influence of Christian teaching. Nevertheless, even though Christian belief stressed the indissolubility of human marriage as a reflection of the union between Christ and the Church, divorce continued to be a legal option. In the event of divorce, a woman's dowry had to be returned to her as before, while the children officially remained under their father's authority although they did not necessarily live with him. Abortion and infant exposure were now regarded with strong moral disapproval, though again the legal response was more liberal. Encouraged by the Church, some provision of care for orphans developed through private and local charity.

Throughout the Byzantine period the *oikos* comprised an essentially nuclear family. As earlier, however, no precise word for "family" exists in Byzantine Greek and the nearest equivalent, *syngeneia*, refers to both the nuclear family and the wider kinship group. Beginning in the late 8th and 9th centuries, these kinship groups began identifying themselves by adopting family names which were then passed to the next generation. Indeed, by the end of the 11th century these lineages were becoming, at the aristocratic level, the basis of political organization, giving rise to a "feudal" family network possessing great economic and political power. Marriage, therefore, represented an important family strategy for social and political advancement. By the 8th century the Christian marriage ritual was developing a definite form, with the exchange of rings, prayers, and blessings and the crowning of the couple with a floral wreath or later a metal diadem. Nevertheless until at least the end of the 9th century the marriage contract was a civil agreement, without any involvement of the Church in the legal aspect of the union. Gradually thereafter, however, the Church's marriage rite became the only acceptable way of joining man and woman in wedlock. Whereas in ancient Greece intermarriage between blood relatives had been commonplace, now incestuous marriage was severely prohibited, laws being passed as early as the late 3rd century AD: by the 11th century marriage was forbidden to any couple related up to the seventh degree. Furthermore, from the 6th century onwards, such prohibitions on marriage applied not only to blood relatives but also to those linked by the spiritual kinship of godparenthood. Although divorce continued to be a legal option, the grounds on which it was granted were strictly limited and remarriage was discouraged for both divorced and widowed spouses. Celibacy, on the other hand, claimed a higher moral status than marriage for both sexes, and individuals entering a monastery or convent were required to renounce their blood family in favour of spiritual kin. Except for the celibate, however, marriage, childbearing, and household management remained the prime female roles and, with the exception of a few women from imperial and aristocratic circles, the place of women generally remained confined to the secluded sphere of family life. In this context, the female as wife and mother commanded considerable prestige, enhanced by the all-important spiritual model of the *Theotokos*, Mary, as Mother of Christ. In the event of divorce, moreover, the children now no longer remained under the father's sole legal authority, the parental rights of mother and father having been balanced by the 8th century AD. Under Leo VI (886–912) a law was also passed to allow women to adopt children: consequently women who were virgins, or those who were barren, did not have to remain childless. Unadopted children were cared for in monasteries or orphanages, some having been abandoned in infancy even though infant exposure, like abortion, was legally forbidden. Regarding inheritance, the equal division of wealth and property among the family's children continued as earlier.

The centuries of Ottoman rule in Greece have thus far received relatively little study and have left scanty historical documentation relating to family life. Nevertheless, we can at least observe that, as long as the Greeks remitted the required Ottoman taxes and maintained a peaceful profile, matters of everyday domestic life were allowed to remain essentially

under the authority of the Orthodox Church. This ensured a large degree of continuity in Greek family custom and inheritance law. A rare example of the involvement of the Ottoman state in the Greek family concerned the selection every four years by Ottoman officials of promising Christian children who were then removed from their families: these children were converted to Islam and brought up in the service of the state to become skilled administrators or members of the military elite. This practice continued until the mid-17th century.

Following the liberation of Greece from Ottoman rule and the establishment of the Greek nation state in the early 19th century, the factor which had perhaps the most profound effect on the Greek family was urbanization. Gradually the power of the old endogamous land-based "archon" families, which had grown and flourished under the Ottomans, was replaced by a developing merchant middle class. Marriage dowries for both men and women in the form of property, land, livestock, and cash, and a trousseau of fine clothes, jewellery, and household goods for women, all underwritten by a matrimonial contract, now provided a channel for the transmission of wealth and therefore the means of achieving social mobility. The institution of godparenthood was also strategically employed in the formation of desirable family alliances. As in antiquity a strong desire for the production of sons persisted, as also did the separation of male and female roles into public and domestic spheres respectively.

Since the end of World War II and the Greek Civil War, numerous changes have taken place in Greek family life, at least in the ever-growing urban centres. The amassing of increasingly large cash and property dowries, particularly for women, was brought to an end in 1983 by a new family law which abolished the age-old practice of dowry exchange. This, however, does not mean that unofficial dowry agreements are no longer made: the most common practice is for the bride to bring to the marriage a house or apartment. This has contributed to a trend for the newly wed couple to establish their own independent nuclear family unit, in contrast to the previous traditional arrangement under which the bride was transferred to the groom's family. Nevertheless, the modern Greek word for "family", *oikogeneia*, can refer either to the nuclear or the extended family, and much moral value is set by Greek society on the family caring for elderly or sick parents. Increasingly in the cities young people now choose their own marriage partners, representing a major departure from the time-honoured custom of arranged marital unions. Developing alongside this can be seen the growing social and economic power of women, many of whom now contribute to the family not only in domestic terms, but also as paid employees working outside the home. Further, though Greek society has traditionally strongly disapproved of divorce, current rising urban divorce rates suggest changes in the perception and expectations of married life. In recognition of this, the law of 1983 endowed both parents with equal rights in respect to their children. Greece's current low birth rate is a cause of considerable concern for the country's leaders. This results from a number of factors, not least the improved education of women. Effective birth control, in particular the use of abortion, though still contrary to the doctrines of the Greek Orthodox Church, is widely practised. Also significant for the relationship of Church and family is the law of 1983 which made a civil wedding ceremony a legal, though still not widely popular, alternative to the Orthodox marriage ritual. Nevertheless, both family and Church still represent powerful forces in Greek life, with marriage and the production of children being greatly desired, expected, and morally respected.

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See also Children, Divorce, Dowry, Inheritance, Marriage

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Fascism

The word fascism derives from the *fasces*, bundles of elm or birch rods tied round a battleaxe and carried ahead of consuls as a symbol of state authority in ancient Rome. However, the term acquired its current usage in the 20th century. The ideology of fascism is the product of the economic and social crisis in Europe after World War I. Nevertheless, elements of fascism can be detected in the 19th century and beyond, as its roots reach back to the reaction of the ruling classes to the French Revolution.

Specifically, fascism refers to the 1919 movement formed by Benito Mussolini in Italy. The same movement brought him to power in 1922. Generically, fascism is an authoritarian movement, founded as Nazism in Germany, the Falanges in Spain, the Iron Guard in Romania, or the British Union of Fascists of Sir Oswald Mosley. Fascism was never a coherent ideological and social system comparable to Marxism, for example. In addition, fascist movements in various countries reflected their different national backgrounds.

In the case of Greece, the presence of fascism may be considered only in a broader sense. There has not been a fascist movement similar to those mentioned previously. On the contrary, the movements and politicians labelled fascist in Greece generally rejected the characterization as infamous. In fact, the term fascism was used against opponents of right-wing parties, against nationalists, and even sometimes against centrist-liberals. There is no doubt that during the era of dictatorships, such as that of Metaxas in 1936 or the colonels in 1967, fascist methods of violence and oppression were used. That happened also during the Greek Civil War (1944–49) and the era that followed it. However, these are methods used by a dictatorship or authoritarian regime whether civil or military.

The historical context of the development of what has been labelled Greek fascism remains linked to World War I and the catastrophe of Asia Minor in 1922. The brutal end to the long history of Hellenism in Asia Minor changed the whole social and political spectrum of Greece as two million refugees were suddenly added to the population. The destruction of national ideals had inaugurated a new era, a time of political and social crisis. In March 1924 the monarchy was abolished and the republic established. There soon followed political instability, coup d'état, social and economic crises, re-establishment of the monarchy, and finally the Metaxas dictatorsip in 1936 which marked this troubled period of modern Greek history.

The socialist and communist movements appeared simultaneously and the reaction against them soon followed in the form of nationalistic and authoritarian discourse. In May 1936 political disillusionment and depressed living conditions among workers and peasants led to strikes and social unrest, especially in Thessalonica. The refugees of Asia Minor reinforced the liberal and left labour movement. Within this context of domestic crisis, reinforced by an international economic and social crisis, fascist ideas appeared in Greece.

The Metaxas dictatorship was formally established on 4 August 1936, hence it has always been known as the regime of 4 August. It was an authoritarian regime using fascist methods against its opponents, especially left-wing liberals and communists. However, one should also remember that the Germanophile Metaxas, whose regime was sometimes considered fascist, was partly the creation of the Anglophile Greek monarch, king George II.

In one way or another, the regime of 4 August 1936 opened a long era of authoritarian government including the German occupation and the terrible Civil War, a struggle which in practice ended only with the fall of the colonels' dictatorship in July 1974. Yet authoritarian regimes are not synonymous with fascist regimes. For example, the colonels' regime, also labelled fascist, was a military dictatorship which had the acceptance and support of the USA, if not its blessing.

The real fascist movements in Greece after World War I remained as marginal as they were during the Civil War and the era following it. Nevertheless these marginal movements not only supported the dictatorships but also provided people who could be used by the regime and even by right-wing parties to carry out the oppression of the Greek public. This fact and, in a sense, the liberty of action allowed to small fascist groups gave the impression of a great fascist movement in Greece. In addition, both the communists and the left in general misused the term fascism as a weapon against their opponents. This linguistic abuse lent credence to the idea that dictatorships and right-wing authoritarian governments were in essence fascist.

However, from a sociological point of view, fascism never was a real political or ideological force in Greece. At this point it is useful to review the main traits of fascism: relatively coherent militaristic ideology, presence of a unique political party of the masses and a charismatic leader, significant popular support for the regime (e.g. the fascism in Italy or the nazism in Germany). Other traits of fascism are nationalism, populism, anti-communism, anti-liberalism, anti-democracy, monopoly of power, and the heavy use of propaganda and terror.

Greece has never had either a coherent fascist ideology or a unique fascist party of the masses and, of course, no significant popular support for dictatorships. Other traits of fascism observable in Greece, such as anti-communism, nationalism, anti-democracy, or the use of propaganda, are common characteristics of authoritarian regimes and even some liberal regimes (e.g. anti-communism or nationalism).

On the other hand, Greece, unlike France and a few other European countries, had no intellectuals developing fascist theories and ideas. Certainly there were nationalist intellectuals and some of their themes gave the impression of a fascist approach to Greek social problems. Indeed, some intellectuals were compromised hy their links to dictatorships. However, they produced nothing in terms of fascist ideology and even proclaimed their faith in democracy and justified their support of dictatorships as necessary under the "special" circumstances in which the country found itself at that time.

In conclusion, it appears that dictatorships, reactionary, authoritarian, and right-wing parties or movements were generally lumped together and called fascist in Greece by their opponents. Nevertheless, one should recognize that at times this conservative front did use methods of fascist inspiration and did oppose liberal reforms and liberal visions of Greek society, thus amalgamating communism with liberal and progressive ideas and using the army as a barrier against these visions and ideas.

STEPHANOS CONSTANTINIDES

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Fasts

The Greek word *nisteia* (fast) has the general meaning of "not having eaten" or "being without nourishment". Most often, however, it is used in a religious context to denote the total or partial abstention from particular foods at certain periods of the year or on certain days of the week.

The act of fasting in antiquity was prevalent among the Greeks and was primarily associated with rites of mourning. Its main purpose seemed to be an apotropaic one; the mourning fast was seen as a powerful medium of warding off demonic spirits that could enter the body through eating and drinking. Fasting was also considered by the ancient Greeks to be a means of expiation and purification that rendered the faster fit for union with the deities. In the festival of Thesmophoria, an Athenian cult in honour of Demeter, a one-day fast was demanded of women. In the Eleusinian mysteries fasting was imposed on the initiate in order to render them worthy of receiving the sacramental drink. Another context in which abstinence from food was required in antiquity was that of manticism. It was believed that the one who fasted was more receptive to divine revelation. Thus, preparation by austere fasting was a necessary precondition for the dream oracles through which the gods unveiled the future to their devotees and made promises to them. Yet, fasting in antiquity, apart from its ritual functions, had also therapeutic ones. The Greek philosophers often praised self-restraint for hygienic purposes and recommended fasting for the sake of philosophy. Notwithstanding such philosophical ideas, fasting in antiquity did not seem to have an ethical pertinence.

In early Christianity the position adopted towards fasting was different and exceptional. Jesus had criticized the ritual formalism of the Pharisees because it assumed precedence over ethical action. Jesus, however, did not eliminate fasting for he spent 40 days in the desert praying and fasting and he suggested that both could be used as effective means against the devil, a view which is reminiscent of ancient practices. Yet, because of the association of fasting with mourning, Jesus regarded fasting in his Messianic presence as meaningless (Mark 2: 18). Early Christianity, therefore, broke away from Jewish customs regarding fasting. Dietary restrictions were considered redundant by Christians since they were signs of the old Covenant. Hence, in the 1st century, Christians did not observe any voluntary fasts. Fasting at that period was connected only with the preparation for the revelation of the Holy Spirit to the Apostles for guidance in their decision making.

In the post-apostolic period, however, Christianity imposed its own rules with regard to fasting, which seem to have developed from Jewish ones. In the 2nd century the Easter fast was established. The duration of this fast was analogous to the period of time that Christ spent in the tomb. However, it was not associated with mourning, but rather was viewed as a preparatory period for the celebration that lasted from Easter to Pentecost and as an outward sign of the anticipation of spiritual fulfilment. During the course of the 4th century this fasting period was extended to 40 days in commemoration of Jesus' 40-day fast in the wilderness; from then onwards it was known as the Great Fast (Lent). Also, by the 3rd century, Wednesdays and Fridays were designated as fasting days for Christians (in contrast to Mondays and Thursdays, which were fasting days for Jews). These days were chosen because they were days of mourning: Wednesday in remembrance of the betrayal of Jesus and Friday in remembrance of his death. To fast on Sunday, the day of Christ's resurrection, was prohibited since fasting and joy were regarded as antithetical. Three other main fasts were subsequently introduced, observed first in monastic communities and much later being commonly kept by clergy and laity also. These were the Apostles' Fast (ranging for one to six weeks before 29 June – the feast of SS Peter and Paul – depending on the year), the Assumption Fast (1–15 August), and the Christmas Fast (15 November–24 December). Apart from these four main periods of fasting, some one-day fasts were also established in the Orthodox Church: that of the Exaltation of the Cross, the Beheading of St John the Baptist, and on the eve of the Epiphany. It is worth noting here that in the first centuries of Christianity fasting became a necessary practice for neophytes before baptism. Finally, a complete abstention from food and drink is required by Orthodox Christians before receiving Holy Communion.

The Orthodox fasts are of two types (cf. Schmemann 1969): ascetic fast and total fast. The first refers to the abstinence from particular food and to a drastic reduction in food intake. It is a means of eschewing physicality in an attempt to achieve spirituality. Its purpose is to subject the body to privation so as to free the spirit from bodily desires, which are seen as the tragic consequences of the Fall: sin entered into the world through the act of eating and it is abstinence from food that would allow us to be redeemed. Thus, physical hunger and thirst should be redirected to a continuing hunger and an unquenchable thirst for God. Of all the ascetic fasts the most severe and the most rigorously observed by the laity is the Lenten fast. During this period one should abstain from meat, fish, all dairy products, oil, and wine. Unlike ascetic fast, which is long in duration, "total fast" lasts only for a day or even half a day and involves total abstinence from food and drink and from sexual relations. Total fast is the last and ultimate preparation before one is fed on Christ. It is a state of spiritual concentration and waiting that precedes the coming of the Kingdom of God. Fasting may also be viewed as a sacrifice. By

dying to bodily needs one symbolically offers one's body as a gift to God with the hope of salvation.

Fasting was also regarded by the Church Fathers as a necessary preparation for real prayer. Because of this connection with prayer, its rejection of bodily sensations, and its eschatological meaning, fasting seems essentially linked with monasticism. The dietary restrictions observed by monastics are more rigid than those imposed on the laity. There is a permanent abstention from meat. Apart from Wednesdays and Fridays, Mondays are also fast days for monks and nuns, on which only one meal, free from all animal products, oil, and wine (*xerophagia*, eating "dry food") is permitted. Athonite monks practise a total fast for the first three days of Lent, and take only a single meal (*monophagia*) on other fast days. As far as the laity is concerned, women normally fast more often and for longer periods than men, especially as they progress in age. In doing so they believe that they strengthen their own and their family's relationship with God.

Fasting in Orthodoxy is an act of unification and time-reckoning. It unites the soul with the body, the one who fasts with the divine, and also all Orthodox believers in the world in a shared action of alternate fasting and feasting.

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Fate

The Greek words for fate – *moira*, *moros*, and *heimarmene aisa* – mean "portion". Apportionment is often said to be the work of gods, but the relation between fate and the other divine powers presented an acute problem to Greek thought. Usually a daimon is held responsible for an individual's allotted fate but often *moira* is the work of Zeus, the highest divinity of the Greek pantheon. Equally often *moira* appears to be determined independently of Zeus, and any interference with it amounts to upsetting the natural order of things (*Iliad*, 8. 70ff., 16. 435f., 22. 174f.). In this sense fate is regarded as being arbitrary and irrational, and therefore inexplicable and more powerful than the gods. A power closely similar to fate was fortune (*tyche*), and often, especially in later literature, the distinction between fate and fortune is vague. Although fortune can crucially affect somebody, originally its realm is that of chance, whereas the realm of fate is that of (godly) determination and strict necessity (cf. Aristotle *Nichomachean Ethics*, 1099b10–12). Throughout the history of Greek culture fate is seen as determining both sad and happy events with a power of universal law. Fate determines first and foremost death, and sometimes (e.g. in inscriptions) it is identical with death. The belief in the inevitability of man's allotted fate is of fundamental importance in Greek tradition and permeates Greek literature and thought from the Homeric age through the Classical and Hellenistic era up to modern times. It is striking to see that formulaic phrases and such terms as *moira* and *tyche* pervade all periods of Greek cultural history.

In the Homeric poems fate, *moira* or *aisa*, is neither a person nor a god or goddess but a fact. *Moira* appears in two forms: as a synonym for death, but also as signifying what is seemly or fit for someone, e.g. a share of honour. In its first form, *moira* is often found in formulaic phrases as the cause of death and destruction (*Iliad*, 4. 517, 19. 409–10, 23. 119). The hero frequently begs the gods for a reversal of fate (*Iliad*, 19. 287–302, 315–39) and often is able to reverse it or to worsen it by his own deeds (*Odyssey*, 9. 32f.), a situation described as *hyper moron* (beyond fate). In its second form *moira* reveals an ethical significance. One has to act and speak in accordance with one's own *moira*, taking into account social hierarchy, social and religious values, understanding of one's place and role in the social context.

Already in Hesiod fate becomes personalized in the figures of three old women spinning, the Moirai, the children of Night (*Theogony*, 219f.) or of Zeus and Themis (Righteousness) (*Theogony*, 904ff.); they were considered goddesses, able to "assign mortal men at their birth both good and ill" (*Theogony*, 217). Their functions are indicated by their names: Clotho spins the thread of life, Lachesis apportions destiny, Atropos makes final decisions. The Moirai appear in Greek iconography as early as the 6th century BC, and we know of the existence of their statues in various Greek cities, witnessing the cult of the Moirai. The power of Moira is stressed in the victory songs of Pindar and especially in tragedy. Aeschylus reserves a highly prestigious position for the Fates in the pantheon (*Eumenides*, 956f.), making even Zeus their dependant (*Prometheus Vinctus*, 511). The tragic heroes Ajax, Oedipus, Antigone, Philoctetes, and Alcestis lament their own fate and sing their own dirges. In Aeschylus'*Agamemnon*, Cassandra, endowed with the ability to prophesy, knows and laments her own fate and Agamemnon's.

The notion of *moira* plays a major role in funerary inscriptions and in the tradition of the literary epigram as well as in the magical papyri. A number of different formulae, many of them Homeric, are employed in funerary inscriptions to describe the work of Moira. Sometimes the deceased or the mourner directly addresses and reproaches Moira as the agent of their death. In funerary epigrams sentiments of grief are expressed for the inevitable action of Moira, especially when concerning premature death. From the 4th century Fortune

appears to supersede Moira, especially in some genres, such as comedy. The role of Moira and Fortune is highlighted in the stories of love and adventure of the Hellenistic and late antique novels. Fortune plays an active role in these novels as a personified agent, and dramatic tension is created by the innumerable reversals of fortune against which the heroes and heroines often protest.

The problem of fate appears from very early on in Greek philosophy. Parmenides maintained that fate determines that nothing exists but the being (fr. 8. 36–38). The problem of fate is first seriouly addressed by the Stoics. For them the way the world evolves is determined by a divine plan which includes our choices and decisions. Yet the divine plan is contingent on our own choices. Something can be dependent on us and still fated (but not necessitated) since a person's soul, together with external circumstances, is part of the network of fate. The human agent has power only over his or her own impressions. One may choose freely among them but whether one succeeds in realizing them is a matter of divine providence. Thus one is free if one does not desire anything beyond one's power (Epictetus, *Dissertationes*, 4. 7. 9). For the Stoics one exercises one's free will only when one gives assent to the right impression, but to act rightly or virtuously is not in one's power. The Stoic notion of fate was highly influential but was also polemicized by the Epicureans who denied the existence of a godly imposed fate (*D.L.X.*, 133–134). They argued that to the extent that men are rational their actions are voluntary, in the sense that they are under rational control. Later Alexander of Aphrodisias in his *On Fate* (*c.* AD 200), which argues that the Stoic view seriously restricts freedom.

In late antiquity the problem of fate and predestination was much debated among pagans and Christians alike. Gnostic sects, for instance, maintained a strict determinism, holding that salvation is reserved only for the chosen ones. The Christian Fathers were opposed to the pagan notion of fate, and the pagan view of astral determination. They maintained that everything is directed and guided by God's will and there is no room for an impersonal force like fate or fortune to be the agent of anything. The difficulty of this position is twofold, namely that God is the cause of evils and also that God is responsible for discriminating among humans, endowing some of them more and some of them less. From very early on, Christian Fathers stressed the human free will and Origen argued that man is created free by a just God who made all humans equal. The Christian notion of free will, like the Stoic one from which it springs, is shaped by a particular notion of freedom. Our freedom consists of acting in the way that God wishes us to act. Acting against God's will, we do not display our free will but our subordination to passions.

In the Byzantine period the image of fate has an important presence in both literature and philosophy. Fate remained a philosophical problem to which the Byzantines devoted special attention. The question of the extent to which human life is predestined, what is the realm of free will, and how this is compatible with God's foreknowledge of everything was vividly discussed by Maximos the Confessor and John of Damascus. Photios (9th century), Nicholas of Methone (12th century), and Nikephoros Gregoras (14th century) also dealt with the problem. In the Byzantine novels of the 12th and 13th centuries the picture is very much the same as in the ancient novels. At the same time a folk image of fate makes its appearance. In *Kallimachos and Chrysorrhoe* (1329–46) Tyche appears in the guise of a beggar woman dressed in black, a picture occurring also in folk tales. We also encounter the idea of the thread woven by Fate the Spinner or the decree of Fate, written down at the birth of a child, the *moirographema*, as it is called in *Kallimachos and Chrysorrhoe*, *Belthandros and Chrysantza*, and *Libistros and Rhodamne*, and other novels. Folk tales mention the records of *moira*, and even today Greeks use the expression "it was written" to indicate the inevitability of an event. In the 15th century the philosophical discussion of the problem of fate was revived. Plethon in his treatise *On Fate* maintains a strong determinism, arguing that God's will was a fixed law. In reply Theodore Gaza attacked Plethon, arguing that both Plato, whom Plethon invoked, and Aristotle allowed for human free will.

In modern Greece the belief in fate survives despite its obvious contradiction of Orthodox Christian doctrines. The role of fate is crucial in folk poetry. In folk tradition the Fates are depicted as three old women, of whom one at least is engaged in spinning, another holds a book with records of the decrees of people, and the third carries a pair of scissors to cut the thread of life. In many fables the Fates are said to present themselves after the birth of a child to determine its destiny, a motif which can be traced back to antiquity (e.g. Pindar, *Olynthian Odes*, 6. 42, Plato, *Symposium*, 206d). We also find the belief that the Moirai can change their minds if they are offered various gifts and prayers. A widespread popular tradition has been that of *Moirologia*. These are songs lamenting the dead, sung by women over the dead body or the tomb, recounting and blaming the work of the merciless Moira.

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See also Death

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Federal States

The federal state was a major form of organization of the ancient Greek state. Its main characteristic was the union of various city states or tribal communities to form a single entity, which exercised certain political powers on behalf of its member states. By definition, the constituent parts of federal states enjoyed a specific degree of autonomy, including local government and the use of local citizenship, while the federal authorities were genuinely concerned with foreign policy. Political participation of the member states was achieved by the means of equal or proportional representation. Federal states were always founded on the basis of earlier Greek tribes – for instance the Boeotians, Arcadians, Achaeans (see below) – as a consequence of which tribal cults and ceremonies continued to play a prominent role in federal affairs. There is no single term to denote a federal state in ancient Greek. In the 5th and 4th centuries BC the term *koinon* is predominant, while in the Hellenistic period *ethnos* and *sympoliteia* are found.

One of the earliest – and one of the most important – federal states was the Boeotian League. Its chief officials, the Boeotarchs, appear to have been established by 519 BC, when Boeotian troops tried to incorporate Plataea into the Theban-led confederacy. Due to Theban Medism (support for Persia) in 480, the federal state was weakened after the Persian Wars. There was no official dissolution, but its political influence seems to have perished, and Boeotia came under Athenian domination in 457. A new confederacy was founded after the liberation from Athens a decade later, its polity being the best-attested form of representative government in antiquity. All Boeotia was divided into nine (in 427 extended to 11) electorate units, each of which provided one Boeotarch, 60 councillors, 1000 hoplites, 100 horsemen, and a certain number of jurors to the federal government. Active citizenship was confined to those who served in the federal troops (eligibility established by a so-called hoplite census). The constituencies were shared among the poleis according to their population. Both Orchomenus and Thebes were permitted two districts in 447, while smaller cities administered one or sometimes only a third of a district. In 386 the Spartans dissolved the federation on the grounds of the King's Peace. The League was soon re-established in the aftermath of the Theban revolution in 379. Its main political institution was the board of Boeotarchs, now reduced to seven. The representative councils were not revived. Instead, decision making rested with the primary democratic assembly in Thebes, which was open to all Boeotian citizens. Theban leadership soon became overwhelming. After the destruction of several poleis (most notably Orchomenus in 364), Boeotia was dominated by the Thebans alone. The sources tend to speak of the league in terms of a Theban *synteleia* (subordinate group), which indicates an amalgamation of polis structures and federal institutions. The confederacy was maintained in the Hellenistic age (despite the destruction of Thebes by Alexander in 335 BC), though its constitutional outline profoundly changed. At the head of government stood a board of seven (sometimes eight) Boeotarchs, who now were confined to one representative from any specific city. Next to them, the office of a military *strategos* (general) and a federal *synedrion* (council) were introduced. Another important improvement was the practice of taking the vote in the federal *synedrion* by cities. Effectively, no single polis seems to have dominated the federation until it was dissolved by Rome in 146 BC. In later periods the Boeotian *koinon* obtained cultural functions, such as hosting religious festivals.

In the north the Thessalian League was the leading federal state. It seems to have been established by the beginning of 5th century BC, emerging from the feudal kingdom of Thessaly. Its proper territory was divided into four tetrads (Thessaliotis, Phthiotis, Pelasgiotis, Hestiaeotis), each headed by a tetrarch. Initially, the office was monopolized by local aristocratic families (for instance the Aleuads of Larissa), who owned the vast majority of the Thessalian *kleroi* (land lots). Of these, each *kleros* was required to furnish 40 horsemen and 80 hoplites to the federal troops. With the growing importance of the *koinon*, the tetrarchs were replaced by four annual polemarchs. They were elected by the federal primary assembly of all free Thessalians. Like the polemarchs, the *tagos* (the head of state), was elective. His office embodied the supreme sovereignty of the league. However, the sources attest certain *atageiai*, which implies that there were substantial periods without a *tagos*. In the 4th century several tyrants of Pherae, most prominently Jason, sought to establish a lasting *tageia* over Thessaly. In resistance to their attempts, the league appealed to Philip II of Macedon, who was elected as federal archon and defeated the Pheraeans in a pitched battle in 352. Under his archonship the Thessalian League soon became a Macedonian protectorate. The tetrarchy was reintroduced, its officials being appointed by Philip. Further, he initiated a system of "decarchies" (boards of ten) in each of the cities, to anchor Macedonian interests. The next major reform was enforced by Flamininus in 194. The league, now detached from Macedon, obtained representative government, including a federal *synedrion* of city delegates. Apart from judicial and deliberative activities, its main objective was the annual election of the head of government, the *strategos*. Unlike most confederacies, this polity was officially maintained throughout the Roman empire, affiliated to the province of Achaea.

The Arcadian League presents a much shorter history. Founded after the Battle of Leuctra in 371, it was brought about by Mantinaean and Tegean democrats, who sought to unite their poleis against Sparta. To prevent rivalries between these prominent member cities, Megalopolis was founded as a new federal capital. The central political body was the primary assembly, the *myrioi* ("ten thousand" – that is, "all") in Megalopolis. This assembly was attended to a large extent by members of the federal army, the *eparitoi*, a mercenary force paid by the confederacy. At the head of the troops stood the *strategos*, the federal commander-in-chief. The most interesting institution was the federal *boule* (council) of 50 *damiourgoi* (councillors), who represented the cities approximately in proportion to their population. Despite this sophisticated combination of direct and representative bodies, the Arcadian League was soon crushed by internal civil strife and disintegrated in 364/63.

More successful was the Aetolian League, which – as well as its great opponent, the Achaean League – played a major role in the politics of Hellenistic Greece. Its origins can be traced back to the late 5th century BC, when Aetolia initially established some sort of federal government. The *koinon* had both tribal and city members. Foreign policy was in the hands of the

federal state. The confederacy held two annual meetings (*Thermika* and *Panaitolika*), to determine the league's policy and to elect military commanders. As early as 327, a federal *boule* is attested, and it is clear that this council served as the administrative body. This constitutional framework was the basis for further development of the federal state in the 3rd century, when its territory expanded considerably. While maintaining a remarkable degree of local autonomy, new members (such as the Lokrian district) were conceded an equivalent status to the genuine Aetolian tribes and cities. More distant members were granted the status of *isopoliteia* (state with reciprocal civil rights). Consequently, the federal council soon grew from its original extent to a size of possibly up to 1000 representatives. For practical reasons, a certain number of these served as executive councillors (*apokletoi*). The chief magistrates were the *strategos* and the *hipparchos* (cavalry commander), both elected by the federal primary assembly in Thermon. In the 2nd century BC the Aetolian League increasingly came under Roman power. After the reduction of its territory to Aetolia proper in 167, the federal state lost its sovereignty and was finally incorporated into the province of Achaea under the principate.

The federal constitution of Achaea goes back to the 5th century BC. The early confederacy appears to have been divided into 12 *merea* (units), each of which sent a contingent of delegates to the federal board of *damiourgoi* and to the oligarchic assembly at Aigion. By 389 the league had adopted a system of double citizenship: in that year the *koinon* incorporated Naupactus on the north coast of the Corinthian gulf by granting federal citizenship to its inhabitants. After 324 the league seems to have been broken up by Demetrius, but it was revived in 281/80 on the initiative of four Achaean cities (Pharae, Dyme, Tritaea, Patrae). The newly established federal state soon rose to great prominence. From 251, when Sicyon joined, the league gradually expanded and finally embraced the whole of the Peloponnese. Its main political body was the representative council, the *synodos*, assembling at Aigion. Additionally, there existed a federal primary assembly, the *synkletos*, which was concerned with extraordinary business. In both the *synodoi* and the *synkletoi*, votes were taken by individual cities. The league's executive rested with the annual board of ten *damiourgoi* and two *strategoi* (after 255 BC reduced to one). Election took place in the *archairesiai* (election meetings) of the Achaean citizens. With Roman support, the federal state became the most important single power in mainland Greece in the 2nd century BC. However, economic crisis and class struggle soon led to strained relations and to open resistance against Rome. In 146 the Achaean federal state was dissolved by Lucius Mummius. Like the late Boeotian *koinon*, it continued to serve as a community for cultural and religious ceremonies, until the province of Achaea was established in 27 BC.

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See also Boeotia, Orchomenus, Thebes

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Festivals

Antiquity

In a society that did not have the modern system of weeks – and accordingly, weekends – regularly recurring festivals offered opportunities not only for repose and entertainment, but also for maintaining contact with one's fellow citizens, and, on a more practical level, for eating meat. It is estimated that more than 60 days out of the Athenian year of 360 days were given over to festivals, when normal business – at least of an official nature – was suspended (the equivalent of our bank holidays). This compares well enough to modern western practice.

The Greek word for festival was *heorte*, which was used for most communal celebrations with a religious component. This would involve a sacrifice, conducted usually in the deity's sanctuary. This meant that the sacrificial beast had to be brought to the place of sacrifice, a requirement that easily developed into

a procession (*pompe*), sometimes very elaborate, in which the beast was accompanied by the priest, the butcher, other cult and public officials, and the public. The Heraia of Argos, for example, began with a procession that led from the city across the Argive plain to the Heraion, which served to demonstrate to the people of the Argolid, and remind them of the fact, that the Argolid belonged to Argos.

The essential feature of any festival was the actual gathering of people to participate, and, depending on the nature of the celebration, to watch. The supposed birthdays of gods and heroes were marked by celebrations, monthly and/or annual. Many festivals marked stages in the agricultural cycle. Such was the basis of the various Dionysiac rites celebrated during the late winter and early spring, to signal – and in some cases to stimulate – the reawakening of plant and animal life after the rigours of winter: Lenaia, Dionysia, Thyia, Agrionia. Similarly, the successful growing of grain was the goal of a whole series of rituals focused on Demeter and Kore Persephone, the most notorious of which were the Thesmophoria, a rite restricted to women.

There were other rites in which participation was restricted. These included festivals devoted either wholly or in part to the initiation of new members into a relatively closed community. Mystery rites – *teletai* – are one example of this kind of festival. The best known were those at Eleusis and Samothrace, which admitted initiates regardless of citizenship. Then there were the various rites of passage from one age group to another in the course of progression from childhood to full citizenship, which were part of larger local festivals. Thus at Athens one day of the Apatouria was given over to the admission of ephebes to the status of manhood, while something similar lies behind the confused rituals of the Spartan *agoge* (education system).

Festivals might range from relatively simple commemorations to full-scale celebrations, with formal procession, sacrifice, competitions (*agones*), and an attendant market and fair (*agora*). The inscription that sets out the arrangements for the festival connected with the celebration of the mysteries at Andania in Messenia is a mine of information. It dates from 92 BC, when one Mnasistratos, to whose family the operation of the mysteries had been entrusted in the past, turned over the operation of the cult to the state. We learn that, in addition to the initiatory ceremonies proper, there were extensive public celebrations. The sanctuary was out in the countryside, and arrangements had to be made to house, feed, water, bathe, and police the multitude who came. All we are really told about the mysteries is that new initiates were sworn in by former initiates – male and female – and that all of them had to dress in specific kinds of clothing. The "open" festival included a procession in which all the officiants as well as the priests and priestesses of other sanctuaries in the region took part, and in which sacrificial beasts were escorted. There was a sacred feast from the meat of the sacrificed animals, and performances of music and dancing. Close attention is paid to the regulations for the market, which was clearly an important feature of the festival. The whole – festival, mysteries, market – was open to men, women, children, free or servile (indeed, an area was set aside for slaves to seek refuge).

The term *panegyris* (an Aeolic form meaning literally "gathering of all") is reserved for festivals with a wider than purely local appeal. It appears in a fragment attributed (possibly falsely) to Archilochus, which refers to a *panegyris* of Demeter and Kore (fr. 322 West). An early description of such a festival – although it does not employ the actual word – is the gathering of Ionians with their children and wives on Delos, where, according to the author of the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*, they regularly delighted the heart of the god with competitions in boxing, dancing, and song. The festivities also included hymns sung by the girls of Delos in honour of Apollo and Artemis and their mother Leto.

From the other end of antiquity we have a long inscription from Oenoanda in Lycia, dating from the reign of Hadrian, which records the foundation of a *panegyris* by a local tycoon (Caius Julius Demosthenes). The document gives a detailed account of the programme of events of a musical and theatrical (thymelic) agon. The festival was spread over 22 days beginning on the first day of the month (in high summer) with a competition for trumpeters and heralds (essential features of any festival: the victorious trumpeter would summon the multitude, the herald would announce the programme and dispense other information). The second to fourth days were reserved for public business: meetings of the council and assembly of the polis. The first competitions proper (the sequence and range of competitions are more or less identical in surviving victors' lists from all over the Greek-speaking world) were held on the fifth, when composers of prose encomia (probably in honour of members of the imperial family and important local people) competed. The sixth day was given over to the market. On the seventh day epic poets competed, on the eighth and ninth aulos players with chorus, and on the tenth and eleventh comic poets. On the twelfth day of the month there was a sacrifice to Apollo Patroos (patron god of the polis), followed on the thirteenth and fourteenth by the competitions of tragic poets, and on the fifteenth by a second sacrifice to Apollo Patroos. Singers with cithara accompaniment competed on the sixteenth and seventeenth days, and the agon proper ended on the eighteenth with a final open competition for all (perhaps all the victors in preceding competitions). For all these, prizes were awarded, in most cases to those who finished second as well as first. From the nineteenth to the twenty-first, hired mimes, singers, and other entertainers performed, but not in competition, and finally on the twenty-second day there were gymnastic events open to citizens (the inclusion of a few athletic competitions in musical festivals – and vice versa – is not unusual under the empire). During this *panegyris*, which took place in the theatre, the agonothete (president of the competition), priests, functionaries, civic dignitaries, and representatives from surrounding towns and villages processed through the theatre, and each individual group sacrificed according to a fixed schedule. There were penalties for non-participation.

The earliest competitive festivals (*agones*) we read of are the funeral games in honour of Amphidamas of Chalcis, presumably a real person (Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 650–59), and the fictional games for Amaryntheus of Epeia (*Iliad*, 23. 629–45) and Patroclus, the last vividly described in *Iliad*, 23. 297–897. Such games would naturally have been casual occasions, but they provided the model for games celebrated annually in honour of heroes. The Herakleia were celebrated at about the time of the winter solstice, when the people of Boeotia

performed public rites in honour of those who had died in the service of the state.

The best-known ancient Greek festivals were the four great Panhellenic gatherings at Olympia, Delphi, the sanctuary of Poseidon at the Isthmus of Corinth, and the sanctuary of Zeus at Nemea. Each of these sanctuaries was well placed to be a centre for an interstate festival: Olympia was at the confluence of the rivers Cladeus and Alpheus, and, as its name reveals, it was at the southern end of a land route used by rranshumant hersdmen, linking the Peloponnese with the north and north-east of the Greek mainland, where Mount Olympus looms. Similarly, Delphi is at the southern end of an overland corridor joining the north to the Gulf of Corinth. Both Olympia and Delphi were also easily accessible by sea to the Greek settlements in the west, a fact that greatly accelerated the pace and extent of their growth from local to interstate/Panhellenic meeting place. Isthmia is at the southern end of the portage across the Isthmus, which linked the gulf of Corinth and the Saronic gulf. Nemea, although at first glance of lesser importance, in fact lies astride a major north–south land route in the Peloponnese.

All of these festivals – Olympia, Pythia, Isthmia, Nemea – began as purely local operations. The first to attract a wider clientele was Olympia, where the list of victors in the stadium race begins at 776 BC, a date that more or less matches the archaeological record. The Olympian games probably began relatively simply, with the foot race, other competitions being added as time passed. During its early years the Argives and Spartans were major patrons; in the early Classical period much interest was shown by rich and powerful Hellenes from Sicily and southern Italy. The Pythian games traditionally began with a single competition, the performance of a hymn in honour of Apollo. By early in the 6th century BC (traditionally after the so-called First Sacred War), the Pythia, which had originally been celebrated at intervals of eight years, had become, like the Olympic games, pentaeteric, that is, they were celebrated every four years (every five by the inclusive reckoning used in antiquity). Furthermore, athletic contests were added to the musical ones (the Olympic games, on the other hand, remained strictly athletic). Delphi too attracted the patronage of Sicilians and Italians. At about the same time – *c.*582 BC – the Isthmian games became Panhellenic, to be followed a few years later (*c.*573 BC) by the Nemean games. Both the Isthmian and the Nemean games were trieteric, celebrated every second year. The Isthmia were originally athletic only, with musical competitions being attested from the 3rd century BC. The Nemean games included both musical and athletic contests. The games of the cycle – the *periodos* – were preceded and followed by a Sacred Truce, so that competitors and visitors might have safe passage to and fro (not so much a "truce" as we know it, rather an agreement not to seize the persons or property of people travelling to and from the site of the festival: in later antiquity these arrangements were not limited to the Periodic games). Olympic and Pythian games were held at the same time of year (late August/early September) with a two-year interval between them; the Isthmian games were held in April/May of every Olympian/Pythian year, and the Nemean games in July of every off-year, giving, for example, the following sequence for an Olympiad: 488 BC Olympia and Isthmia; 487 BC Nemea; 486 BC Pythia and Isthmia; 485 BC Nemea; 484 BC Olympia and Isthmia.

These contests were what was later called *stephanitai*, that is, the prize for victory was not monetary, but in the form of a wreath (*stephanos*), of wild olive for the Olympia, bay leaves for the Pythia, pine, later dry celery for the Isthmia, and fresh celery for the Nemea. Victors in these games could count on receiving more material rewards at home, in recompense for the glory they brought their communities: at Athens, for example, victors at the Olympic games (at least those well enough off to have entered a horse or chariot) were fed at public expense in the Prytaneum. The glory of such victories is also reflected in the epinician odes commissioned from such poets as Simonides, Bacchylides, and Pindar.

The polis of Elis was responsible for the Olympic games. The Pythian games, like the Delphic oracle, were governed by a genuine interstate body, the Delphic amphictyony. The Nemean games seem to have begun as a festival shared between the towns of Cleonae and Phlious, but eventually came under the control of Argos. The Isthmian games were Corinthian, except during the period 146–44 BC when Corinth lay in ruins and the direction of the games was assumed by Argos. (Argos became one of the two headquarters – the other being Thebes – of the guild of actors and musicians called the "Isthmian and Nemean Artists of Dionysus": these Hellenistic guilds – the other major associations were the Athenian guild and the guild of artists of Ionia and the Hellespont – ensured the participation of professional competitors at agons great and small.) Despite the fact that three out of four of these festivals were run by a single state, all four reached and held the status of interstate, Panhellenic festival, probably because they were clearly tied to the rural sanctuary in which they were held, rather than to the state itself. By contrast, the Panathenaia of Athens, founded or expanded in the 6th century BC, which included both musical and athletic contests, and for which huge amphorae were given as prizes, never reached true Panhellenic status. This was probably because they were too closely linked with Athens: the name itself was a form of propaganda.

A significant change in the world of Greek competitive festivals came with the institution of the Soteria at Delphi, first founded to celebrate the defeat of the Gallic invasion of 279/78 BC, and in the mid-3rd century BC refounded as a pentaeteric festival of Panhellenic pretensions by the dominant Aetolian League. This started a veritable flood of new festivals, many of them pentaeteric, throughout the Hellenistic world, whose organizers sought acceptance of their new or enhanced status from the Aeolian-controlled Delphic amphictyony, as well as from any other political power that would grant it. The main attraction of these games for competitors was the prizes, usually in the form of wreaths of gold or silver. The holding of such a festival and its acceptance became an important feature of international relations during the Hellenistic period, and it is probably true to say that these festivals were one of the most powerful instruments in fostering and maintaining Hellenic identity in late antiquity.

Modern Times

The festivals of the modern Greek year reflect the needs of the changing seasons, as did many in antiquity, but now within the framework of the Orthodox Church. Again, as in antiquity, there are many local variations, as well as celebrations that might truly be called Panhellenic. A good example is the series of rites over the 12 days of Christmas, which include mummers' shows and rituals aimed at averting evil spirits. Many of the festivals are concerned with ensuring the fertility of crops, kine, and mankind, and there are numerous occasions on which the graves of the dead are visited and adorned. These rites and others recall ancient practice, and it is possible, in specific cases, to identify a modern festival with an ancient predecessor; here and there even animal sacrifice survives. But all this is at a local level, and it would be wrong to posit any system of direct survival. What has survived are not the individual festivals, but the underlying Hellenic preoccupations with physical well-being in a difficult environment, spiritual comfort in an uncertain world, and survival of the *ethnos* (nation). The Church has been the great unifying factor, both at the Panhellenic level and locally, where a multitude of saints (many of them multi-faceted) has assumed the age-old function of local heroes.

The modern festival year follows the agricultural seasons, beginning with St Demetrius' Day (26 October), which coincides with the opening and tasting of the new wine. This precedes the sowing of the main cereal crops, the midpoint of which is marked on 21 November by the festival of the *Eisodia tis Theotokou* (Entry of the Virgin). The festivals of the *Dodekameron* (the Twelve Days), from 12 December to 6 January , include feasting on Christmas Eve, special tending of the graves of the dead, rites to avert the evil spirits (*Kallikantzaroi*), and others to welcome the new year under the auspices of St Basil. It ends with Epiphany, the day of Christ's baptism, which signals a new beginning and is in many places accompanied by the opening of new wine.

The three-week period preceding Lent is the season of Carnival (*Apokreos*). There is much feasting, and the performance of masquerades by wandering groups of players, which recalls the rustic *komoi* of ancient Attica. The 40 days of Lent are punctuated by rites to honour the dead and commemorate the triumph of the faith. At the same time, the beginning of March is regarded in many places as the real beginning of summer and so celebrated, and of course 25 March, Independence Day and Feast of the Annunciation, is a special national festival throughout the Greek world.

Easter rites abound from the day before Palm Sunday over Easter itself and throughout the entire following week. Another Panhellenic day of celebration is 23 April, St George's Day, marked not only by the usual festivities but also by athletic games. May Day is celebrated as a festival of spring, symbolized in many places by a maypole procession. But the most important festival in May is the *Anastenaria* (21 May), the feast of SS Constantine and Helena: among the highlights are processions, dancing, and the sacrifice of bulls and rams.

The month of June is given over to the harvest, and consequently there is little time for elaborate festivals, although rituals aimed specifically at the harvest are conducted: 24 June, the birthday of St John the Baptist, is celebrated by the lighting of bonfires. July is the month of threshing, and this too has its special rites, but the major festival is that of the Prophet Elijah on 20 July. Many of his rites take place on mountain tops, and it is clear that the prophet has inherited characteristics of Zeus (the farmer's god) and Helios (the sun god). The main festival of August is the Dormition of the Virgin Mary (15 August), a time of pilgrimage, while September brings both the vintage and the Exaltation of the Cross (14 September), which is the turning point from one agricultural year to the next.

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See also Fairs and Markets, Fasts, Games and Sports, Sacrifice

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Finance

Finance is the process by which individuals or groups collect and expend funds. This article focuses on governmental revenue and expenditure.

The earliest preserved financial documents from Greece are records of inventories and payments dating to the Mycenaean period (*c.*1600–1100 BC). Mycenaean Greece was organized into kingdoms staffed by officials who collected mandatory contributions from the king's subjects. Payments were made "in kind", i.e. in the form of produce such as grain or objects such as axes. Some of this revenue was used to support the royal household and the military. The remainder was redistributed to the kingdom's subjects in proportion to each individual's position in the political hierarchy.

After the collapse of Mycenaean civilization, both government and finance were greatly simplified. A king with strictly limited powers drew revenue from a piece of public land called a *temenos*, the produce of which was given over to him as long as he held power. Significant gains were also won through war and piracy. The king's financial responsibilities included funding military and religious activities and the entertainment of local nobles and foreign visitors.

Around 800 BC more complex state forms emerged. A sense of the different kinds of financial arrangements which were found in Greece thereafter can be had by looking at three

examples: Sparta, Athens under Pisistratus, and Athens under democratic rule.

The Spartan state was controlled by a military elite, the members of which neither worked nor paid taxes. They were supported by serfs called helots who tilled the estates of the elite and who were required to provide specified amounts of various foods to their master's household. No other regular taxes existed except for small gifts made to the kings. This remarkable absence of taxation was possible because governmental apparatus was minimal. The lack of revenue sources was, however, a problem in wartime when military expenses had to be met, sometimes only with difficulty, from the contributions of Sparta's allies, from the sale of booty, and from voluntary offerings by Spartan citizens.

Athens under Pisistratus presents a very different picture. Pisistratus became sole ruler (tyrant) of Athens in 546 BC. The primary source of revenue for his government was a tax on agricultural produce. State expenditures included the maintenance of police and military forces, the completion of a substantial building programme, and the celebration of religious ceremonies. A key feature of this financial system was the imposition of a direct tax on all inhabitants of Athens. (Direct taxes are levied on an individual's income or personal wealth. Indirect taxes are levied on services or transactions. Income taxes are an example of the former, sales taxes of the latter.) The obligation to pay direct taxes was seen as a form of subservience and thus as a sign of despotic rule.

The democratic government which came to power in Athens in 514 BC kept elaborate records, many of which are preserved. These, along with contemporary literary sources, provide unusually detailed evidence about financial practices.

The revenue of the Athenian state in the mid-5th century BC came from five sources: rents on state property, indirect taxes, direct taxes, tribute, and liturgies (see table). While indirect taxes were paid by all Athenians, direct taxes were normally paid only by resident aliens, each of whom was required to pay a yearly fee (a "head tax"). The Athenian state also derived revenue from the tribute it extracted from its allies. (Liturgies are discussed below.)

Revenue Source	*percentage of Revenue Supplied*
Rents on State Property	15
Indirect Taxes	15
Direct Taxes	5
Tribute	50
Liturgies	15

The revenues of the Athenian state were expended as follows. About 35 per cent of the total was used to support the military. Public works, particularly the massive building project which produced the Parthenon, consumed another 20 per cent. The internal administration of Athens involved the paid participation of thousands of citizens and thus resulted in heavy expenses for jurors (12 per cent) and for various other officials (7 per cent). Expenditures for religious ceremonies (10 per cent), for the support of orphans and invalids, and for the police force (about 6 per cent each) made up most of the rest.

In wartime, expenses increased significantly; this frequently put Athens in a difficult financial position, and upon occasion an emergency property tax (*eisphora*) was levied on all residents including citizens.

The administrative machinery which organized Athenian finance was quite simple. Governmental budgeting – projecting and adjusting total future revenue and expenses – did not make its appearance in Greece until the 19th century AD. All earlier governments administered their finances through "earmarking"; the proceeds of individual sources of revenue were kept in separate funds each of which was used to pay for one or more predetermined types of expenditure. This union of taxing and spending is reflected in the institution of liturgies. Many tasks of the Athenian state, including such items as the maintenance of warships, were carried out by assigning the task to a wealthy citizen. The liturgist was legally bound to supply all necessary expenses to complete the assigned project.

Of the three financial systems discussed above, the one used by Pisistratid Athens proved to be the most durable. The financial organization of the kingdoms which ruled most of Greece after the 4th century BC closely resembled that of Pisistratid Athens, despite obvious differences in scale. Revenues came from a direct agricultural tax on the entire population and were spent largely on maintaining the military and the leader's entourage.

This pattern of taxation and expenditure was remarkably persistent, existing well into the 19th century AD in spite of numerous changes in Greece's political situation. The revenues of the Byzantine empire were drawn primarily from direct imposts in the form of a land tax and a head tax. Of this revenue 80 per cent was expended on the military with most of the rest going to pay for public buildings, ceremonies and games, and the upkeep of the royal court. The Ottoman Turks made only minor changes in the system which they found in operation when they seized control of Greece in the 15th century. The same can be said of the various parties who ruled Greece in the first years of independence.

It was only in the 19th century that substantive changes in patterns of revenue and expenditure were implemented. The establishment of a national government organized along western European lines led to more thoroughgoing oversight by the state, beginning with a board of financial control (created October 1833).

In spite of the fundamental changes in the financial system of Greece which took place after the end of Turkish rule, a strong element of continuity with ancient practice is observable today. With the achievement of independence, a distaste for direct taxation resurfaced. The close parallel to the cessation of direct taxation on citizens in Athens after the establishment of the democratic government is significant. Direct taxation was associated with Turkish rule and was largely suppressed in favour of indirect alternatives. This predilection for indirect taxation continues to influence the financial practices of the Greek state. About 65 per cent of the national budget (excluding social insurance) is provided by indirect imposts whereas most European states derive the majority of their revenue from direct taxes.

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See also Taxation

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Fire, Greek

Although "Greek fire" was never called by that name by its Byzantine originators, who referred to themselves as Roman, this appellation was adopted centuries ago (though exactly when is uncertain) to describe the Byzantine naval superweapon, used from the late 7th century until the empire fell in the 15th century, that consisted of a flame that was "thrown" from a pipe at the front of a ship. Although its exact composition is unknown, sources agree that – like modern-day napalm – Greek fire was capable of burning on water and would cling to any available surface, and that it was virtually inextinguishable except by means of sand, vinegar, or urine (which contains phosphates).

J.R. Partington, the foremost 20th-century authority on Greek fire, has suggested that the liquid used to produce this effect was probably rectified petroleum or volatile petrol, with resins or solid combustibles dissolved in it to thicken it to a jelly. Thickening increased the range of projection and the stability of the flame when it was shot through a leather or bronze hose. Sources disagree about its exact nature, but either the liquid ignited spontaneously upon contact with water or a small flame at the hose's mouth would light the material as it streamed past. A double-action pump on board the ship would keep the stream moving steadily.

Incendiary weapons were well known to the ancient world, and were often used in land warfare. Naphtha (naturally occurring petroleum) was contained in breakable containers, set alight, and tossed at the enemy, though this procedure does not seem to have enjoyed common usage until after the time of Alexander the Great. The first hint of something similar to Greek fire was described by Aeneas Tacticus around 360 BC. He described a mixture of pitch, sulphur, pine shavings, and incense or resin, and mentions that pots of the material were often thrown on to the decks of wooden ships. Pliny the Elder was struck by the fact that a mixture of quicklime with an inflammable substance such as naphtha will inflame spontaneously when wetted. In fact, anhydrous quicklime is a compound that can bind chemically with water to make another compound, forming molecular bonds to make up a crystalline structure called a hydrate. In the process of hydration it gives off heat. When the hydrate form is heated, energy is absorbed in breaking down the chemical bonds, and when the dehydrated form is again wetted, heat is given off when the crystalline structure reforms. The heat could then ignite the petroleum. This reaction may be the base of the story of Medea's assassination of the Corinthian princess Glauke by offering her a garment that burned her to death when she put it on: Medea's homeland, Colchis, has abundant naphtha resources.

Theophanes claims that the inventor of Greek fire as a naval weapon was Kallinikos, a Syrian from Damascus who sold the secret to the Byzantine emperor Constantine IV sometime around 672. Sources disagree about exactly what it was that Kallinikos sold; it might have been the formula for the mixture, or the method of shooting the mixture out of a siphon mounted on a ship's prow. When Muslim forces besieged Constantinople in 673, they were met with this devastating new weapon. In the year 680, at the Battle of Cyzicus, the Byzantine navy burned the entire flotilla of Syrian and Egyptian ships, and the seven-year siege was broken: the Muslims signed a 30-year truce. As the historian Aziz S. Atiya puts it, "The spell of the invincibility of the Arab broke down at the gates of Constantinople."

Both Arab and Greek sources agree that this weapon surpassed previous incendiaries in its destructive and demoralizing capacities, and the powerful effect of its introduction has been compared to the introduction of nuclear weapons in 1945. Since there are records of the Muslim forces using some form of Greek fire with catapults in combat as early as the year 683 (by the general Ibn 'Uqbah, at Mecca) and throughout the crusades, the military secret clearly applied to its use in naval combat only.

It might seem surprising that a Syrian would be willing to sell out his own country to the Byzantine empire until one remembers that Damascus had been a part of the empire until the city was taken by the Arabs in the year 635, and Syria itself was not conquered until the following year. Public accounts were still kept in Greek until the dawn of the 8th century, and Syrian society, after 1000 years of Graeco-Roman domination, remained very Byzantine in flavour. Muslim incursions into Byzantine territory began in 633, in the wake of several years of war between Byzantium and Persia. Persia had taken Antioch and Damascus in 613, Jerusalem in 614, and Egypt in 619; the Byzantine emperor Herakleios defeated the Persians in 630 and took back the territory, but both empires had been severely weakened by the struggle. The Byzantine army in Syria, led by Herakleios's brother Theodore, was exterminated by Muslim forces six years later. Jerusalem became Muslim in 637–38, and Egypt followed in 641. In 655 the Muslim forces enjoyed naval supremacy, having trounced the Byzantines off

the coast of Asia Minor and captured the young Byzantine emperor Constans II. Constantine IV was Constans II's son, and thus was acutely aware of the need to strengthen Byzantium's naval forces when he purchased Kallinikos's invention.

Throughout the existence of the Byzantine empire the secret of Greek fire was guarded obsessively. The emperor Constantine VII (913–59) wrote to his son:

> If you are ever asked to divulge information about the making of liquid fire discharged through tubes, you must reply, "This was revealed by God through an angel to the great and holy Constantine, the first Christian emperor. And we are assured by the faithful witness of our fathers and grandfathers that it should be manufactured among the Christians and in their capital city and nowhere else."

In 941 Constantinople was again defended, this time against the Russians. According to Liutprand of Cremona, whose nephew was then an ambassador to Constantinople, the Russian flotilla of several thousand ships was defeated by 15 "semifracta chelandria" which threw liquid fire from prow, stern, and sides. The Russians hurled themselves from the burning ships; those weighed down by their armour were drowned, and those who could swim were burned.

To add to the awesome effect, Byzantine shipmakers designed the prows of the ships to look like the heads of ferocious animals, from which the Greek fire would issue. It has been suggested that its use against Viking invaders in the 10th century in this manner led to northern tales of fire-breathing dragons.

Because of its originators' obsession with secrecy, Greek fire was long thought to be a lost art. It seems, however, to have adapted into other forms and to have found its way into artillery and gunpowder. In the earlier stages of development Greek fire and cannon were sometimes used together. By projecting flammable substances instead of cannon balls, fires were started within the walls of siege targets. It was used in some form in almost all wars, up to and including World War I in 1917.

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See also Warfare

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Fishing

The Mediterranean is an enclosed sea, consisting of deep basins with poor water circulation and therefore limited distribution of nutrients. Annual evaporation rates exceed replacement from rivers and as a consequence the sea is saltier than waters of the north Atlantic. Sea temperatures are lower and the important commercial fish stocks of the Atlantic, such as cod and herring, are absent. In general, the Mediterranean is lacking in fertility and, although evidence is not conclusive, this appears always to have been the case despite changes to sea level in the Pleistocene–Holocene transition.

Although the seas of the Aegean and eastern Mediterranean are less fertile than the waters of the north Atlantic, they support a wide range of species. Over 1500 species of marine invertebrate are reported for the Mediterranean as a whole, and around 100 of these are edible. In Greek waters 447 species of marine fish have been recorded, comprising important pelagic species such as tuna, mackerel, and anchovies as well as a great variety of demersal species including the important families of Serranidae (grouper), Sparidae (sea bream), Labridae (wrasses), Mugilidae (mullet), and Scorpaenidae (scorpion fish). Numerous species of edible shark and ray exist, and turtles and marine mammals are also present. The variety of species means that fishermen are able to engage in diversified fishing and are not dependent on single species, whose stock levels may fluctuate annually and interannually.

A variety of fishing methods are recorded for antiquity, and archaeological evidence suggests that many of these methods go back into prehistory. Many of these fishing methods are still in use today. In the 2nd century AD the writer Oppian described four methods, namely the use of hooks, nets, weels (wicker basket traps), and tridents. Line fishing using hooks can employ a stationary line (as with the set line, the *paragathi*), a trolling line pulled behind a moving boat, or involve the use of a rod. Nets include simple nets (gill nets, cast nets, drag nets, and seine nets) or complex nets such as the three-walled *manomena*, a trammel net. The madrague (or *tratai*) is a specialized fishing method employed for catching tuna. A lookout alerts fishing boats to the arrival of a shoal of tuna and the fish are chased through a series of nets placed parallel to the coast until they reach a death chamber where they are gaffed. In the ensuing melee, many fish are killed by others in a frenzy. Aeschylus compared the slaughter of the Persians at Salamis to this fishing method. Weels, baskets, and pots are used to catch a range of fish and shellfish. Tridents were often employed at night with lights.

The earliest evidence for marine exploitation occurs at the littoral zone. Eels are generally caught by trapping and these

Fishing: fisherman mending his nets, one of 13,000 Greeks still fishing by non-mechanized methods

and demersal and littoral species dominate the earliest evidence during the Final Palaeolithic and Early Mesolithic. Evidence for the use of boats corresponds with the appearance of tuna remains, together with obsidian from the island of Melos, in Upper Mesolithic levels at Franchthi Cave in the southern Argolid. The two key sites for the prehistoric period are Franchthi Cave and the Cave of Cyclops on the island of Youra in the north Aegean. Youra has produced the largest known collection of bone fish hooks and fish gorges for any period in Greece. At both sites the proportion of fish remains in the total food refuse declines dramatically at the beginning of the Neolithic.

Iconography during the Bronze Age is an important source of information about fishing and marine exploitation. The Minoans and the residents of Akrotiri (Thera, modern Santorini) were fond of marine imagery and the fresco of the fisherboys at Akrotiri shows a mixed catch of dolphin fish (*Coryphaena hippurus*) and mackerel (*Scomber sp.*). The extraction of purple dye from the shellfish *Murex brandaris* occurs from Middle Minoan times. The set line or *paragathi* is also attested from Middle Minoan times, and lead weights that could well have been used for trammel nets date from the Late Bronze Age.

Homer's heroes did not eat fish, but whether this reflects a common practice or is simply an indication of the social status attached to various foods is unclear. The poems do, however, make mention of spears, nets, rods, and handlines which suggests that fishing was widely practised. The low status of fishermen is apparent in later periods, as they are commonly the object of jokes in comic theatre.

Classical Greece, or more particularly Athens in the 5th century BC, imported a broad range of foodstuffs, and expensive fish were part of the conspicuous consumption of the urban wealthy elite. Greek food consisted of staples like bread (*sitos*), drink notably wine (*poton*), and *opson*, the relish that accompanied these staples. The term *opson* survives in modern Greek as the word for fish, *to psari*.

Some of the most important "relishes" that accompanied food were fermented fish products such as *tarikos*, known to the Romans as *garum* or *salsamentum*. The earliest mention of salted fish is in the Hippocratic Corpus and the first mention of fish sauce is in Dioscurides, but Greeks no doubt ate salted and preserved fish well before these literary references. A 5th-century BC house at Corinth produced Punic amphorae, the sherds of which have preserved fish attached. Various species of fish and shellfish could be used in the process and the result is comparable with the modern Vietnamese fish sauce, *nuoc-mam*. No fish-processing centres have yet been excavated in Greece, although salting factories are known for the Roman period. Roman fish tanks are found in eastern Crete at Siteia,

Chersonisos, and Mochlos. Such facilities could have been used to breed or store fish, but at none of these sites is there evidence for associated salting facilities.

Greece continues to have the most artisanal of all the fisheries of the European Economic Union. In 1990 full-time professional fishermen numbered around 20,000. Of these, 13,000 were involved in small-scale and local fishing, employing mainly artisanal, non-mechanized fishing methods. Besides these statistics on professional fishermen it is important to note that since 1970 catch and employment statistics have not included vessels with a motor of 19 horsepower or less, yet such boats are estimated to number approximately 12,000 and have an average monthly production of 150–200 kg per vessel. Accurate catch data are therefore difficult to obtain, but for the official statistical group of fishermen the total catch for 1990 was 112,202 metric tons. Key species in this catch included anchovies (14,668.6 metric tons) and pilchards (11,053 metric tons). Although 55 species were identified, 11,451.7 metric tons of the annual catch is simply recorded as "other species".

In terms of fish landed, the most important fishing grounds in Greece today are the Thermaic gulf, the gulf of Chalcidice, the Strymonian gulf, the gulf of Kavala, the gulf of Lamia, and the gulf of north and south Euboea. The Argolid and Saronic gulfs, the seas around the Cyclades and the islands of Lesbos, Chios, Samos, and Icaria, and the seas of Crete also produce significant catches.

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See also Food and Drink

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Florina

City in western Macedonia

According to the 14th-century memoirs of John Kantakouzenos, while Byzantium was facing a Serbian invasion in Macedonia in 1334, a notable from Constantinople, Sphrantzes Palaiologos, was appointed to the command of a province consisting of four small towns in western Macedonia, Chlerenon, Soskos, Staridola, and Debre. The first-mentioned among them, Chlerenon, can be safely identified with Florina, being the original Slavic name of the town, which is still known as Lerin in Slavonic languages. Florina is the later, Ottoman, name of the town which was also adopted by the Greeks.

The mention of Florina in the text of Kantakouzenos is the earliest record of the town which had remained in obscurity until then. The town's insignificance is also reflected by the absence of any high ecclesiastical authority there. Florina remained under the jurisdiction of the bishop of Prespa until the late 19th century when it was transferred to the diocese of Moglena. However, efforts were made by the Bulgarian exarchate to establish a metropolitan see of its own in Florina in the late 19th century.

The town is described for the first time in an Ottoman fiscal register of 1481. According to the data it provides, Florina had a population of approximately 1201 people (981 Christian, 220 Muslim). The Christian element of Florina's population was of a mainly Slavic ethnic character, as suggested by the personal names recorded. The same register points to an economy based on agriculture, as most of the town's fiscal revenue was of an agrarian provenance. In later centuries the town retained the agrarian basis of its economy, with commerce and handicrafts catering for local demands. Yet, the proximity of Florina to the principal land route which followed the course of the Roman Via Egnatia facilitated its contact with adjacent and more distant regions. Florina had grown bigger by the second half of the 17th century when it is described by Evliya Çelebi as having 1500 houses (which corresponds to a population of about 7500 people), 14 mosques, three religious colleges (madrasas), and one dervish convent (*teke*).

The Christian population of Florina and the surrounding area was primarily Slavic, though the Vlachs had a considerable presence, and other ethnic groups, such as Greeks and Armenians, were no doubt represented during the Middle Ages and the centuries of Ottoman rule. The people of Florina were receptive to Greek cultural influences, first from the Greek-dominated Orthodox Church, then through the establishment of Greek schools during the 19th century. The intensification of Greek cultural influence coincided with the age of nation-building ideas. As a result, the adoption of Greek cultural features, including the language, first bilingually then exclusively, was accompanied by the building of a Greek national identity among people of different ethnic backgrounds, including a percentage of the Slavs, in the district of Florina. Bulgarian reaction in the late 19th century led to strong rivalry in the areas of religion and education as the Bulgarians established their own institutions in order to counteract Greek progress in shaping local national sentiment. This Graeco-Bulgarian confrontation culminated in fighting which was particularly intense in the district of Florina between 1904 and 1908.

After Florina was incorporated into Greece in 1912, the Hellenization of the local Slavs progressed rapidly as there was no alternative for educational and ecclesiastical purposes, while the arrival of Greek settlers including refugees from Turkey enforced the already existing Greek or Hellenized element. Nevertheless, a considerable proportion of the Slavic

population strongly resisted the processes of assimilation and made the district of Florina one of the very few regions in Greek Macedonia where the presence of a minority created serious problems (31 per cent of the population in the district of Florina are recorded as Slavic speakers in the census of 1928). The Slavic communities of the district of Florina finally disappeared after the Greek Civil War (1946–49), as most of them sided with the leftist Democratic Army of Greece and had to flee the country facing defeat. The rest were completely assimilated to the virtual extinction of Slavic ethnicity in this region of Macedonia where it had been particularly strong. The recent history of Florina demonstrates the effectiveness and success of Greek policies and processes of assimilation.

KONSTANTINOS P. MOUSTAKAS

Summary

The city of Florina in western Macedonia is first recorded in 1334, and by 1481 it had a population of about 1200. Proximity to the Via Egnatia encouraged commercial expansion in subsequent centuries. Its Christian population was largely Slav and by the late 19th century there was serious rivalry between Greeks and Bulgarians for cultural influence. Slavs remained a significant minority until after the Civil War of 1946–49.

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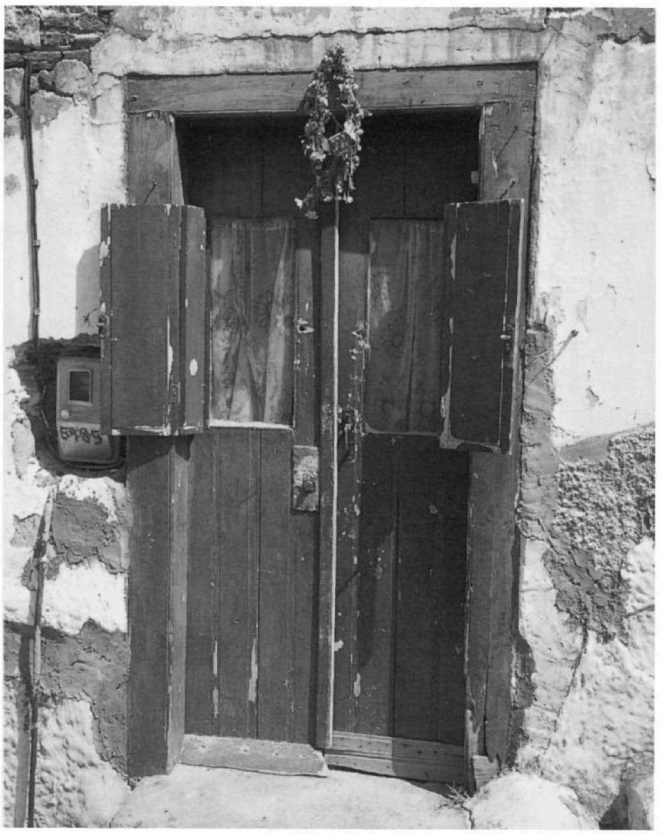
Folklore

Laographia is the term coined in 1884 by Nikolaos Politis, the noted Greek folklorist, to denote the systematic and scientific study of folk traditions, beliefs, customs, and oral literature, as he noted in his definition of the term published in the journal *Laographia*. Politis arrived at the term after thorough and careful consideration of the terms already available in the European academic vocabulary. He was interested in creating a term that would encapsulate the breadth of the English word *folklore* along with the thoroughness of the German term *Volkskunde*. To this end he engaged in extensive correspondence with leading European folklorists, primarily Bernard Schmidt. Politis had followed the European debates surrounding the establishment of folklore as a discipline, the appropriate terminology, and its contents. The English term "folklore" appeared in 1846 in the journal *Atheneum*, coined by the folklorist William Thoms who, writing under the pseudonym Ambrose Merton, proposed that a "good Saxon compound, Folklore" be used to replace the terms "popular antiquities" and "popular literature". Thoms proposed that the new term encompassed both the *study* (the discipline) and the *content* (the lore of the folk) of folklore, which he conceived of and defined enumeratively and specifically as a people's manners, customs, observances, superstitions, ballads, proverbs, and so on. Thoms's work, like Politis's, lay resolutely within the romantic and nationalist intellectual context that interfaced with the archaeological and philological projects of 19th-century epistemologies, which were supported by and themselves supported the struggle for national and ethnic definitions and legitimations that appeared with the dissolution of the Ottoman empire and the attempts at unification by European states (especially Germany and Italy). These nationalist movements, which sought to establish the legitimacy of new sovereign states based on claims of historical continuity with the past, also concerned themselves with proving the continuity of the people's *spirit*. To this end exhaustive research was carried out in Germany, initially, in 1812, by the Grimm brothers (the famous fairy-tale tellers), in Italy by Giuseppe Pitré, and in France, Spain, and Greece by Claude Fauriel, among others. In every case, the study of folklore was meant to show, on a basis of scientific truth (as the term was understood at the time), the validity of the claims made by various ethnic groups as to their historical and unbroken presence at a specific place, which thus acquired ancestral status. This ancestral status became the cornerstone on which the emergence of new national states came to be established, often (as was the case in both Greece and Italy) through war and revolution. The continued intimate relationship between folklore (as a discipline) and national discourses can be found in a "cursory definition" of folklore given by the Greek folklorist Dimitrios Loukatos in 1978, as "the discipline that observes and interprets the spiritual, psychic, and artistic expressions of the life of the people, the ones that constitute the civilisation of the people and the nation" (p. 21). As to any possible claims of folklore to "objective research", Alki Kyriakidou-Nestoros (the late professor of Folklore at the University of Thessalonica) noted that

> if we cannot innocently claim, any longer, for any of the social or even the positivist sciences, "objectivity" of knowledge and scientific lack of bias, I am afraid that we have to admit that folklore, even more so, is a discipline inherently biased ... because the notion of the "people" is particularly fluid and one that is easily susceptible to ideological manipulations and misuse. (p. 10)

Loukatos classified the aims of folklore as follows: scientific, national, humanitarian, and internationalist. As *scientific* aims he identified the historical and cultural information provided about the past and current life of that segment of the population that generates "folk" culture. "We have the duty to know about our past just as a family has the duty to know about its ancestors", he notes. The second scientific aim is the correct contextualization of Greek cultural development alongside the development of neighbouring peoples. The last scientific aim is the contribution of folklore to neighbouring disciplines. As *national* aims Loukatos classifies national self-knowledge which will lead to national self-discipline and self-inspiration. Self-discipline, he suggests, would combat many of the national shortcomings, while self-inspiration would contribute to the continued production of a Greek tradition. Under *humanitarian* aims he mentions the possibility of in-depth knowledge of the human psyche, which in turn would



Folklore: a garland of wild flowers gathered on 1 May and nailed to a front door in Nauplia to welcome the arrival of spring. The discipline of folklore in Greece was initiated by Nikolaos Politis to describe and account for such customs as this.

lead to the deeper love and appreciation of the psyche of the "simple people", something which, in its own turn, could aid the state in its designing and implementing a social welfare system that would be based on folk models of understanding and actions. Finally, through comparative folklore one could prove the internationalist nature of humanity and of the commonality of the human folk experience and goals.

Despite the fact that a well-articulated theory of the discipline of folklore has been in existence since the mid-19th century, its study has been practised by both trained and amateur folklorists in close collaboration with each other. This is especially the case in Greece, where a long tradition of local historians has greatly facilitated the development of a parallel study of local folklore. As Dimitris Loukatos noted in 1978, the contribution of these local, amateur folklorists, who assume the cost of research and publication and make their findings available to trained folklorists for a more complete and methodical classification and taxonomy of the material, has been invaluable. With the firm establishment of folklore as part of the university curriculum and the parallel establishment of university chairs for the study of folklore, research has expanded from the confines of rural, non-literate traditions to include the study of urban and professional material (such as the practices of taxi drivers, urban housewives, hairdressers, truck drivers, schoolchildren, football, card-playing clubs, etc.).

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See also Politis

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Food and Drink

The food and drink of Greece show a surprising degree of continuity from classical times, and even before, down to the present day.

Prehistoric evidence comes from archaeology and also from the Greek language. The Greek names for many plant foods, and for nearly all fish, cannot be paralleled in other Indo-European languages, suggesting that many of the foodstuffs of Greece were unfamiliar to the speakers of prehistoric Greek before their arrival in the Aegean region. But for cereals (emmer, barley, perhaps millet) and for some important food animals (oxen, swine, sheep, goats, ducks, and geese) the names used in Greek are of Indo-European origin, which indicates that the earliest Greek speakers of the region had brought a knowledge of these species with them.

Archaeologists find evidence of the use of deer and wild goats, of tunny, of shellfish and snails, and of a range of fruits and other plants at sites in Greece from about 10,000 BC and even before. Emmer and einkorn (primitive forms of wheat), barley, oxen, swine, sheep, and goats were farmed in Greece and Crete by 6000 BC. In subsequent millennia grapes, accumulates for a range of seafood. By 2000 BC wine and cheese were certainly familiar. Probably olive oil was already well known: the extent of olive cultivation in prehistoric times has aroused controversy, but quantities of oil are recorded on Linear B tablets. Coriander, dill, cumin, fennel, mustard, and parsley are among the early aromatics of Greece. The world's oldest-known man-made beehive comes from Akrotiri (Thera, modern Santorini), demonstrating that domesticated bees were kept there before the volcanic eruption that destroyed the town, and thus that honey was valued as a food.

For Classical and later Greece, literature becomes the main source. Although in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* there is no evidence of any elaborate methods of cookery, by the 5th century BC a highly developed cuisine was practised in many Greek cities – partly under overseas influence. Some recipes were said to be Lydian (from the rich and civilized kingdom in western Asia Minor) or Ionian (from the Greek settlements in and near Lydia). Others derived from the prosperous Greek colonies in

Sicily; Sicilian cooks were famous. Growers of fruit and vegetables developed varieties that varied in quality, time of ripening, and soil and water requirements. Athens, rapidly expanding, depended on imports even for staple foods such as wheat.

The staple foods of Classical Greeks, when leading a settled life, were wheat and barley. At home these were baked into loaves in clay ovens or under ashes; travellers and soldiers probably more often boiled them as gruel or porridge. Poor people supplemented this diet with little more than fruit, mushrooms, and vegetables gathered from the wild. Many could afford to add olive oil and flavourings such as cheese, onion, garlic, and salt fish (e.g. anchovy, goby). On the tables of the wealthy the variety of fish and meat dishes and the many savoury and sweet confections were still typically preceded by wheat and barley loaves.

Much cooking was probably done out of doors, and took the form of grilling, roasting, frying or boiling over a fire, or baking in hot ashes; *klibanoi*, baking cloches or clay ovens, were used for bread. Cooks depicted in Athenian comedy of the 4th century BC happily list the methods they preferred. At least one cookery book, by Mithaecus, had been written; others would follow. The humorous gastronomic poem of Archestratus, now known only in fragments, shows that travel and trade were encouraging the appreciation of local produce and regional cuisine.

Comedy cooks sometimes list the range of ingredients they would expect to have at hand. These lists include thyme, oregano, fennel, dill, sage, rue, parsley, fig leaf, coriander leaf, and other herbs; raisins, olives, capers, and sumach; onions, garlic, and leek; cumin and sesame seed; almonds; olive oil, vinegar, grape juice; eggs, pickled fish, salt. Favourite kinds of wine, oil, and luxury foodstuffs criss-crossed the Aegean, but the only commonly used ingredients that had to come from far away were *silphion*, the now extinct aromatic from Cyrene; dates from the Levant; *horaion* and other forms of salted tunny, and *garos* (fermented fish sauce), both of which came from the Black Sea ports, as did much of the wheat that Greece imported.

Greeks commonly ate two meals a day, a lighter *ariston* at the end of the morning and a heavier *deipnon* in the early evening. Among the leisured classes, dinner might lead into a *potos* or *symposion* (drinking party). In Sparta and on Crete the typical meal in Classical times was a communal one, served in a public hall. In Athens and other cities private dinners were often held, at which guests reclined to eat, an eastern fashion. At the beginning of the meal a small table, freshly scrubbed, was placed in front of each diner or of each couch. Food from the serving dishes might be taken directly on to the table, or on to bread, and eaten with the fingers.

An elaborate dinner of the 4th century BC began with the serving of loaves in baskets. A relatively light first course consisted of appetizing relishes, *paropsides*, to eat with the bread. A selection of more generous fish, poultry, and meat dishes formed the main course. Fresh meat was spit-roasted or grilled, and required to be slaughtered and prepared by a professional *mageiros* (butcher-cook) with appropriate religious ritual. Dessert was called *deuterai trapezai* (second tables) because clean tables were brought in at this point. It consisted of cakes and sweetmeats, cheese, nuts, fresh and dried fruit. Between main course and dessert, wine was first served: it was normally mixed with water. Wines of Chios, Lesbos, Thasos, and the coast of Macedonia had lasting popularity. "Water is best", said Pindar, but the drinking of water "unmixed", without the addition of wine, was discouraged by many doctors.

Food was a medium of patronage and dependence. The dependants (*parasitoi*) of powerful Athenians and the courtiers (*kolakes*, "flatterers") of Hellenistic monarchs were fed by their masters, and paid for their food with more or less tangible services. Cities honoured their guests with dinner in the *prytaneion*, a public building containing dining rooms.

The Hellenistic cuisine of the eastern Mediterranean, after Alexander the Great's conquests, took on a new style influenced by Macedonian, Persian, and other cuisines and customs. Trade within the Mediterranean area continued to grow; crop varieties were exchanged and tested in new environments. New fruits (peaches, cherries, lemons) were introduced from the east; spices began to be imported from Persia, India, and beyond. Thus the Hellenistic menu differed from the Classical Athenian menu in many ways. New kinds of bread became popular, some apparently native to Cappadocia and Syria. Oven-roasting of meat was introduced from the East, allowing the development of large and elaborate stuffed meat dishes, which afterwards became typical of Roman cuisine. Macedonians liked to drink wine earlier in the meal and with less admixture of water (this, some said, killed Alexander).

No sudden change occurred when most of the region became part of the Roman empire. In the arts of luxury Rome deferred to Greece. The cookery of Rome came under strong Hellenistic influence – Greek cooks were in heavy demand – and Latin is full of Greek loanwords for food terms. From Roman times (about AD 200) comes the single most important source text for ancient Greek food and dining, the *Deipnosophists* ("professors of dining" or perhaps "professors at dinner") of Athenaeus of Naucratis. A second important text (not yet translated into English) is Galen's dietary survey, *On the Properties of Foods*.

Byzantine cuisine grew out of Greek and Roman influences, but Byzantium did not cease to innovate. Dried meat, a forerunner of the *pastirma* (preserved salted meat) of modern Turkey, became a delicacy. Among favoured game were gazelles and wild asses. The Byzantines appreciated salt roe, *oiotarichon* (literally "egg pickle": hence the modern term *botargo*); they were to taste caviar, *kabiari*, and kippered herrings, *rengai*. Fruits unknown to the Classical menu included the aubergine, *melitzana*, and the orange, *nerantzion*.

New flavours multiplied. It was probably the Byzantines who first tried rosemary as a flavouring for roast lamb, and who first used saffron in cookery: both these aromatics, well known in the ancient world, had not previously been thought of as food ingredients. Nutmeg was sprinkled on the pease pudding that was a fast-day staple. It is among spoon sweets and sweet drinks that the distinctive flavour of Byzantine cookery is best sensed. The increasing availability of sugar, *zachar*, assisted the confectioner's inventiveness: rose sugar, a popular medieval confection, may well have originated here. The flavoured soft drinks (required on fast days) and flavoured wines of Byzantium, distant ancestors of the mastikha, vermouth, absinthe, and pastis of the modern Mediterranean, were fine-tuned to give a healthy diet month by month: they

Food and Drink: woman kneading dough (5th century BC), an activity still performed by many women in rural Greece, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford

called for such ingredients as spikenard, gentian, yellow flag, stone parsley, gum benzoin, ginger grass, chamomile, and violet.

Medieval travellers to Byzantium did not always like the strange flavours they encountered. Fish sauce was still much used and was an acquired taste; so was squill vinegar. Most foreigners and even some Byzantines disapproved of retsina: "undrinkable", said the supercilious Liutprand of Cremona in the 10th century. But even strangers were seduced by the confectionery, the candied fruits, and the sweet wines.

The food of the poor of Constantinople was no doubt limited, though cheese, olives, and onions made up for a scarcity of meat. *Timarion*, a satirical poem of the 12th century, offers a salt pork and cabbage stew as a typical poor man's meal, eaten from the bowl with the fingers just as in contemporary western Europe. Inns and wine-shops generally provided only basic fare: though it is a 6th-century Byzantine source, the *Life* of St Theodore of Sykeon, that contains the earliest reference known anywhere in the world to an inn that attracted customers by the quality of its food.

Descriptions of the food of early Ottoman Greece display continuity with that of Byzantium, but by the 18th and early 19th centuries travellers were noting the relative poverty of Greece. Constantinople, still a Greek city but also the capital of a great Muslim empire, continued to attract the long-distance trade that it had always done. Its spice market was one of the wonders of the world, and the Seraglio consumed luxury foods from all over the eastern Mediterranean.

Modern Greek food and wine are the products of a long tradition. The importance placed on fine seafood recalls the preoccupations of Classical Athens. Cheese is still often stored in brine, as it was in ancient and medieval times. The aroma of Chian mastic, the world's first chewing gum, still used by many to freshen the breath, is as distinctive as that of the honey-soaked patisserie the ancestry of which can be traced in recipes preserved by Athenaeus. The EU hierarchies of *appellation contrôlée*, favouring local distinctiveness, are appropriate to the wines of modern Greece, grown in terrains that have not been ravaged by phylloxera, where local grape varieties tend to do better than the fashionable ones.

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Foreigners

Homer's Trojans are not markedly different in character from his Greeks. As knowledge of foreign peoples penetrated the Greek world, however, increasingly the Greeks came to define their own character in opposition to that of foreign peoples. Pindar spoke of how the man without a wagon was a nomad among the (nomadic) Scythians: the Greeks, by comparison with the archetypally rootless Scythians, saw themselves by definition as city dwellers. The lyric poets of the Archaic age already identified luxurious living and tyrannical government as characteristic of Asia. The contrast between Greeks and "barbarians" and the accompanying sense of a common Greek identity were given a new emphasis in the aftermath of the Persian Wars between the cities of the Greek mainland and the Persian kings Darius and Xerxes (490–479 BC). Herodotus famously encapsulated this common identity by making the Athenians deny a charge of betrayal by pointing to their "sharing the same blood and the same language, with common shrines to the gods and sacrifices, and the same way of life".

The common blood of the Greeks is, among these criteria of Greek identity, perhaps the one given least emphasis in our sources. However, the differences in way of life between Greeks and foreigners are often seen as dictated by innate characteristics. The Greek version of the origins of the monarchy of the Medes, for example, describes how, living in villages with no form of common organization, the Medes gradually turned for the settlement of disputes to the authority of a single man, their future king Deioces, who then imposed his own terms and conditions. The Medes, the story implies, naturally gravitate to a strong leader; the peoples of Asia – by contrast to the freedom-loving Greeks – are natural slaves.

Greek polytheistic religion was, at least overtly, a universal religion. The Greeks equated their own gods with those of foreign peoples, saying, for example, that Dionysus was the Greek name for Osiris or that the Ethiopians worshipped Zeus and Dionysus "alone of the gods". There was no duty of evangelizing in ancient Greek religion. The Greeks could even espouse an ideal that to mock the religion of another people was "madness". However, there were other more subtle ways of distancing the religion of foreigners. Toleration of foreign gods rarely – and only with great caution – led to the institution of those gods' cults. (Though there were "Panhellenic" sanctuary sites such as Delphi and Olympia, different Greek cities likewise had their own distinct cults of common Greek gods.) Some foreign gods proved untranslatable: the grounds are difficult to discover, but probably include the barbaric nature of their rites. Ironically also the intolerance of other peoples was itself the subject of disapproval. The Persians were (in some instances unfairly) charged with gross acts of sacrilege; a number of stories from the Persian Wars relate, with apparent relish, the come-uppances of the perpetrators of such crimes. The Greek destruction of foreign temples was, by contrast, accidental. The practice of *proskynesis* – probably the blowing of a kiss while leaning forward – offered by the Persians to their kings was inaccurately but persistently believed by the Greeks to represent a form of worship. While the Greeks often saw foreign lands, especially Egypt, as the privileged source of religious wisdom and the land from which (in the distant past) their own knowledge of the gods largely

derived, it is noticeable that by their own time they had overtaken the Egyptians in the number of gods in their pantheon.

It was the incomprehensible babble of foreign languages that led to the Greeks terming foreigners *barbaroi* or barbarians. Greeks travelled widely for trade; Greeks served as mercenaries in Egypt in the Archaic period and as administrators and builders in the heart of the Persian empire at Persepolis. But though there must have been Greeks who were fluent in foreign languages, stereotyped caricatures of foreign languages continued; there is also little sign that the ability to speak a foreign language was given any status in the Classical period. The Athenian commander in the Persian Wars, Themistocles, was said to have learnt the Persian language within a year of exile in the Persian court, but there is little suggestion that this was a cause of admiration; rather it seems to have been adduced as another example of his extraordinary cunning. The story, recorded by Plutarch, that a Persian interpreter was killed for daring to express barbarian commands in Greek, is one of a number of anecdotes suggestive of a Greek chauvinism concerning their language. Similar chauvinism attached itself, however, to individual Greek "dialects" – the distinction of language and dialect is essentially a modern one – as to Greek as a whole.

In general also, a sense of national identity by contradistinction to foreign peoples was far less dominant in the ancient world than in the age of the modern nation state. Self-definition could take place as much by opposition to other Greeks, in terms of belonging to a city state (or polis) or to family and kinship groups, as in opposition to "barbarians". Nineteenth-century historians envisaged Greek history as a failed process of national unification. But though Panhellenism proved a convenient slogan for those resisting Persian conquest or for Alexander the Great in his expedition into Asia, any such sense of common purpose was fragile.

The modern Greek identity which emerged from under Ottoman rule was to a large extent dependent upon an imagined continuity between ancient and modern Greece. As Grigorios Paliouritis put it, the Greeks were awaking from a deep lethargy of ignorance of their own past. The resurgence of Greek nationalism in the early 19th century saw the revival of ancient names in preference to Orthodox Christian names. Many of the most prominent public buildings of the newly independent state were built in an ostentatiously Neoclassical style (associated particularly with the Danish architect Theophilus Hansen). Arguably the greatest contribution to this revival of a sense of Greek identity was made by the Austrian scholar J.P. Fallmerayer, who in the 1830s challenged the assumption that the Greeks were the lineal descendants of the ancients. This provoked an enormous reaction. Folklorists such as Nikolaos Politis or Dora Stratou were determined to prove the affinity between modern songs, folk-tales, or dance and ancient practices and rituals. The rawness of feelings on such questions, and the way in which ancient evidence is adduced, are well illustrated by the recent dispute aroused by the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, and in the common Greek claim that Macedonia has been Greek for 2500 years.

The main battlegrounds in the definition of modern Greek identity are certainly familiar. Already in the first decade of the 19th century there was dispute over the proper form of the Greek language: the spoken or "demotic" Greek, or katharevousa (literally "purifying"), a form of the language designed to enhance the similarities with ancient Greek. A middle course proposed by the intellectual Adamantios Korais was to purify demotic of foreign traces. Korais regularly compared Turks to wild beasts. The religious definition of the independent Greek state was also problematic. The term Hellenes initially denoted non-Christians. Many of the Orthodox citizens of the new state, even the inhabitants of Attica, Hydra, and Poros, spoke *arvanitika* (Albanian) rather than Greek; others in the Macedonian north spoke Bulgarian, although the later schism between the Orthodox and Bulgarian churches ensured that religious and ethnic distinctions ran in parallel. At the same time, the new identity of the Greek state tended to highlight the ancient past at the expense of the intervening Christian period. Before independence, Korais expressed his contempt for the religious obscurantism of the Byzantine past. It was only gradually, with the publication for example of a new study of Greek history by Paparrigopoulos, that this period of national history was reintegrated.

There were other difficulties in defining who was Greek and who foreign. There was considerable tension between the inhabitants of the Greek state (or autochthons) and the heterochthons, those who lived abroad, generally better educated and so given a greater share in the offices of the new state. The arrival of approximately one million new Greek citizens, many of whom could not speak Greek, at the time of the transfer of populations between Greece and Turkey in 1923 resulted in similar problems. The idea that a Greek can live (in the words of John Kolettis in 1844) "in any land associated with Greek history or the Greek race" is still sustained by the common practice of living in foreign lands, or *xeniteia*.

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See also Identity, Metics, Nationalism

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Forestry

"Forestry" is a term not really applicable to pre-modern Greece. Modern forestry is a specialized art, concerned with growing trees merely as a timber crop. Usually it is done on the basis that trees begin by someone planting them and die when they are cut down. In earlier traditions of woodmanship, in contrast, trees are wild creatures, arising spontaneously, and many species survive being felled, and sprout from the stump. Modern forestry has been practised in Greece for over a hundred years, but has not come to dominate the landscape nor to supplant earlier, more complex relations between people and trees.

Trees grow in most parts of Greece, but in the drier eastern half of the country they are getting near the limit of their range and grow slowly, especially when close together. By modern standards they often make poor-quality timber: typical Mediterranean oaks are short, hard, crooked, and difficult to work.

In Classical Greece woodland was of rather limited extent and was to be found mainly in the mountains. Then, as now, the abundant trees were evergreen and deciduous oaks, juniper, various species of pine, fir at high altitudes, and (in Crete) cypress and plane. Trees had many uses: besides timber, they provided fuel, stakes for vineyards, leaves to feed animals, acorns, resin, stocks of pear and olive on to which to graft fruit-bearing varieties, oak bark for tanning leather, osiers for basket-making, fruit, drugs, etc. Fodder could be supplied by trees that, because of constant browsing, never grew larger than shrubs, as happens with the common Greek prickly-oak and many others. Firewood and some timber came also from olives and other cultivated trees.

Most trees in Greece other than pines and firs can be coppiced: when cut down (or burnt), they sprout from the base and yield further crops of produce. Regrowth is delayed and hindered by browsing animals. In modern Greece many trees are pollarded (cut at 3 to 4 m above ground) to protect the young shoots from browsing animals.

Ancient Greeks apparently managed their woods, though not by modern forestry methods. On Chios leases written on tables of stone mention coppice-woods attached to farms, which were expected to produce so much weight of wood each year for ever, either for consumption on the farm or by way of rent. The quantities, a ton or two per year, were quite small. One clause has been interpreted as meaning that the farmer was forbidden to let livestock browse on growing trees, but the text is damaged and the sense unclear at this point. Some big woods had names. The wood Skotitas in the Peloponnese, described by Pausanias, which also had its own god, is still extant. Wood in various forms was regularly imported to islands like Delos that were without woodland.

Athens, giant of Greek cities, was relatively well supplied with woodland, with pine and evergreen oak on Mounts Parnes and Cithaeron and in the Isthmus. Some of it was private property: a list of the lands of condemned criminals, graven in stone in 414 BC, includes an oakery and probably a pinery. Athens was apparently self-sufficient in wood and charcoal, supplied by professional woodcutters. Demosthenes, for example, mentions a farm where six donkeys were working all the time carrying wood to market. Woodland was probably less extensive and certainly less well grown than it is today.

Attic vegetation fuelled production from the silver mines at Laurium, whose output paid for imports of corn and timber. At a rough estimate, Laurium could have kept going indefinitely on the growth and regrowth of maquis on at most 30,000 ha of land. The Athenians were using perhaps one seventh of their land area as a fuel supply for what was by far their biggest industry.

Timber for shipbuilding or big construction came from far away. According to Theophrastus, the sources were Macedonia (the best quality), the Black Sea, Thessaly, Arcadia, Euboea, and Mount Parnassus (from which came the worst). Other documents and inscriptions record minor supplies from all over the Aegean and even Sicily. Athenian foreign policy had to maintain access to the timber of Macedonia: if the Athenians failed in this they had to do without a fleet. The quantities were not great, for a trireme was a huge, lightly-built racing rowing-boat; but specially long timbers were needed for keels and masts.

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France

Greeks have lived in France since at least 600 BC. Finds of pottery from Marseilles and Hyères indicate that there were trading links as early as 700 BC, but the first colony, at Massilia

(Marseilles) was not founded until around 600 BC. The attraction of the area was the Rhône river which provided a trade route across France to the English Channel whence tin from Britain could be imported. This incidentally contributed to the development of the Celtic cultures of Hallstatt and La Tène, many of whose hillforts demonstrate Greek influence in their art, architecture, and fortifications. The Greeks were also responsible for introducing cultivation of the vine and olive to France. The Phocaean colony at Massilia prospered during the 6th century BC and established a string of settlements along the coast from Nicaea (Nice) to Emporion (Ampurias) in northern Spain. It also maintained close links with Greece and set up a treasury at Delphi. During the 5th century BC there was a shift in the balance of power in central Europe and the Greek trade route across France was broken. But the colony at Massilia survived and retained its reputation as a centre of Greek culture and learning well into the Roman period.

After the fall of the western Roman empire links between Byzantium and France were broken, but the Byzantines came to see the Franks as potential allies against the Arian Goths and later the Lombards in Italy. The coronation of Charlemagne, however, as "emperor of the Romans" in AD 800 was a severe blow to Byzantine prestige and brought the two empires into political and ideological competition with each other. Nevertheless, cultural and religious links with Byzantium persisted, particularly in Provence, and the emperor Manuel I Komnenos (1143–80) married his son Alexios II to Agnès of France in an attempt to forge an alliance against the Holy Roman emperor Frederick I Barbarossa. The French played a large part in the crusades and it was a Frenchman, Baldwin of Flanders, who became the first Latin emperor in 1204. After the Byzantine restoration in 1261 the emperors frequently appealed to France for support against the Ottoman threat but little help was forthcoming.

In later Renaissance and afterward, Greek communities were also established in France, more distant and with fewer political and commercial connections with Constantinople. In the 16th century, the nucleus of a Greek colony seems to have existed in Lyons, at which time silk-workers were settled, apparently to establish a silk industry in competition with the Italians. Greeks also appeared relatively early in the French capital, Paris. With the beginnings of interest in Greek studies in France in the later 15th and 16th centuries, a number of Greek savants, especially Cretans were to be found there. They included Janus Lascaris, who had firmly established Greek studies in Paris and became the French ambassador to Venice; George Hermonymus, who was a capable copyist of texts despite Erasmus's and Budé's denigration of his abilities; further the expert calligrapher Angelos Vergikios, who was official scribe to the French King and was awarded the post of royal librarian. Furthermore, some modern scholars believe that the original letters cut for the royal Greek press in France by Claude Garamond and by Henry Stephanus were modelled on Vergikios's handwriting. His son Nicholas wrote competent French poetry and mingled with the famous literary group called the Pléiade. Another Greek who appeared in Paris was Antonios Eparchos from Corfu, who presented a number of Greek manuscripts to Francis I, which were to constitute the nucleus for the royal library at Fontainebleau and later the famous Greek collections in the Bibliothèque Nationale, which were also enriched during the reign of Louis XIV by the efforts of the writer and librarian Athanasius the Orator (1571–1663).

During the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, the study of Hellenism in France was the pursued by scholars who were interested in all aspects of Greek civilisation and had contributed generally both to the advancement of scholarship and the spread of Classical ideas. This aim was achieved in three important periods of France's subsequent intellectual history: humanism in the 16th century, classicism in the 17th and 18th centuries, when intellectuals discussed whether ancient or modern writers were more important, the "Querelle des Anciens et des Modernes", in which the ancient world provided an alternative to the present. Meanwhile the search for Greek manuscripts persisted at the French court of Louis XIV and his ministers Colbert and Mazarin organized missions to the Aegean to collect rare Greek manuscripts from monastic libraries.

Up to the 18th-century education in France meant a Classical education, but with the emphasis on Latin rather than Greek. Classical authors were studied and taught with didactic and ethical preoccupations in mind. For moral examplars and heroic prototypes, the mind of an educated 18th-century Frenchman turned naturally to Greece and Rome; their history and literature were regarded as a vast treasurehouse of moral precepts and exemplary attitudes.

Hellenism as a concept was first introduced in French by Montaigne in 1580 in his *Essays*. Hellenists were, at that time, absorbed by the scolastic study of texts and their philological problems. Books such as the *Antiquité Expliquée* by Montfaucon (1719) the *Recueil d'Antiquités* (1750–67) by the Comte de Caylus, along with works of Winckelmann opened up a broader vision of Hellenism as a human reality. At the same time, Byzantium was also studied by French scholars: in 1648 P. Labbe's book *De Byzantinae Historiae Scriptoribus ad Omne per Orbem Eruditos Protreptikon* appeared, and a century later Charles Le Beau published an unfinished work in 21 volumes, the *Histoire du Bas-Empire* (Paris, 1757–1786). Difficulties of interpretation were resolved and there was increased specialization in Classical learning among professional scholars; minds shaped by the reading of Greek literature, were ready to welcome the new ideas.

The Enlightenment, which was a turning point in the apprehension of antiquity did not consciously cling to the past and could not ignore the differences produced by time. Among the Greek states it was not Athens with its pure form of democracy that was venerated by the French, but rather Sparta. Both Montesquieu and Rousseau judged Sparta to be a model of freedom and order, its people distinguished by public virtue, simple lifestyle, patriotism, vigour. Jean Schweighaeuser, D'Ansse de Villoison, and A.J. Letronne gave an impulse to the editing of Greek texts and tried to present some interpretations on the problems of the Greek world. Pierre-Charles Lévesque dedicated his whole life to Thucydides. New disciplines such as archeology, ethnology and cultural anthopology began to examine the cultural evolution of Greek antiquity. An idea that prevailed in France and which was expressed by Condorcet in his *Esquisse d'un tableau historique des progrès de l'esprit humain* (Paris, 1795) was that the history of ancient Greece is a microcosm of the history of human race. Jean-Pierre de

Bougainville wrote in 1764: "Il est certain que l'histoire de la Grèce, se peuplant et se poliçant par dégrés, est moins le spectacle des destinées d'une nation qu'une perspective où le genre humain se peint en raccourci dans différents états." ["It is certain that the history of Greece, which was progressively inhabited and civilized, is less the spectacle of a single nation's destiny than a perspective in which the human race is seen in a succession of different states."] Nevertheless, the works of such Hellenists as Chardon de La Rochette, Millin and Choiseul-Gouffier was not only important for understanding ancient Greece but more for modern Greece. Nor were Greece and its literature absent from the work of Madame de Staël, Ginguené, Sismondi and Fauriel.

Up to the end of the ancien régime modern Greece as a province of the vast Ottoman Empire, was considered in France as a phenomenon of degeneracy. For the French people, Ottoman rule was a paradigm of lawless tyranny, of a hierarchy of oppression in which each man lorded it over those beneath him. C.-F. Volney, for instance, who was a ideological believer in the primacy of reason, and equally opposed to the cult of feeling and absolutism, in his *Considérations sur la guerre actuelle des Turcs* (London, 1781), considered the question of Greece's survival to be identified tather with the restoration of antiquity; a similar aspiration underlay another work of the French Enlightenment, the *Voyage du jeune Anacharsis en Grèce*, (Paris, 1788) written by the abbé Barthélemy, who was followed by many French liberal writers who supported the emancipation of Greece such as the great philhellene René de Chateaubriand. However, the fervour of the Revolutionary France was also characterized by an awareness of a return to the civic virtues of Classical antiquity – in oratory, in painting and sculpture, in the decorative and applied arts, in design. Some years later the philhellenic movement took place, which had been nourished and strengthened by Romanticism and in which humanism and the ideas of the Enlightenment played still a major role. What is remarkable is that the French philhellenes who went to liberate Greece and took part in the war for Independence, such as Persat, Fabvier and Jourdain, were chiefly Bonapartists who wished by their success in Greece to show that their party was no mere relic of the past but a living force.

On the other hand, Napoleon's designs on the eastern Mediterranean were well received in Greece and it was a sign that French revolutionary fever had reached Greece when, in June 1797 a French expeditionary force took over the Ionian Islands. The principles of French Revolution were preached. It was an important moment for Greek political thought which, in the wake of Rigas Velestinlis, was progressing towards a broader conception of liberty and human rights. On the other hand, in Constantinople a strong opposition movement was represented by the traditionalists who fought French republican ideas and saw in the French Revolution the coming of the Antichrist. A typical example of this attitude is to be found in a well-known passage of a satire against Francophilia the *Moral Versification* of Alexandros Kalphoglou of Constantinople; the author characterizes the enlightened Frenchman as "an impious libertine"and says of the Greek intellectuals of that time that "they boast of being the pupils of Mirabeau, Rousseau, and Voltaire, even if they do not understand them, and have never read them".

By the second half of the 18th century the Greeks had made considerable economic and intellectual progress. A Greek colony was founded in the cosmopolitan port of Marseilles by merchants who came mainly from Smyrna and from the islands of Chios and Hydra. This Greek merchant colony of Marseilles provided an important channel for the transmission of republican political ideas to the Greeks. In this connection, wealthy families of merchants as the Zizinia, the Rodocanachi, the Prassacachi, the Agelasto, the Vlasto, the Ralli, the Schilizzi, and many others showed great interest in the achievements of the Greek War of Independence and together with the French formed philhellenic committees. The most important of these, was the *Association Philanthropique* which was first formed in Paris by personalities from political and intellectual life.

A few years before the outbreak of the War of Independence, the Greek community in Paris became of great importance for Greek diaspora and Greek intellectual life: Adamantios Korais, Constantine Nikolopoulos, Panayotis Kodrikas were residents there and contributed to the intellectual emancipation of modern Hellenism. Greek students were attending French universities as well as the newly founded Ecole Polytechnique; they studied medicine, mathematics, physics, and chemistry, liberal arts (Dorothéos Proïos, Benjamin of Lesbos, Néophytos Vamvas, Theophilos Caïris), and they carried back French scientific thought and literature to Greek schools. Greek books were printed by Firmin Didot and Greek magazines were published such as *Athena*, *Melissa*, *Mousseion*, and *Le Polyglotte*; in 1828 the *Société Hellénique* was founded.

After the emergence of the Greek state, French education and language played an important role as vehicles of cultural change. The translation of literary works and the adoption of cultural styles constitute a good index of this process of reception. Leading Greek figures attended French universities during the 19th and the 20th centuries. The Greek presence also made its mark in the cultural and artistic life of Paris; in the later 19th century Jean Moréas became a leading figure in French poetry, and Yannis Psycharis also played a part in French and Greek literary life; these cases can easily be multiplied for the twentieth century, for example with the painters Dimitris Galanis, Giorgos Gounaropoulos, Marios Prassinos, Thanassis Tsingos who lived and worked in Paris.

Following the expulsion of the Greek population from Asia Minor in 1922 many Greeks settled in France and strengthened the Greek communities. During the period of the military junta (1967–974) 20,000 Greeks lived in France, many of them active political exiles, sharing the ideas of the Greek progressives forces. Today Greek communities number 5000, and cultural relations between Greece and France include not only state-sponsored exchanges and festivals of the arts, but unrestricted communication and dialogue.

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See also Enlightenment

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Freedom

W.G. De Burgh reiterates a cliché of Classical scholarship when he calls the ancient Greeks "the people who created science, who first grasped the meaning and worth of freedom in thought and action". Denys Haynes echoes the claim that "the relationship between freedom and necessity is the fundamental theme of Greek art", and adds that the idea of human freedom is "the highest achievement of Greek thought, distinguishing it from that of all the other peoples of the ancient world and laying the foundation of our modern Western civilization". Gilbert Murray goes further still, asserting that "of all peoples known to us in history, the Greeks were far and away the freest thinkers", and that (despite China and India) "there is no philosophy except in Greece or derived from Greece." In science, art, philosophy, and of course politics ancient Greece (especially Athens) has long been celebrated as the birthplace of freedom.

Recent critics have cited factors that complicate or contradict this traditional picture. The cultural authority of the West, of which Greece is supposed to be the foundation, has itself been called into question. Greek anti-barbarian sentiment is reconceptualized as the prejudice of "orientalism". Athenian democracy is scrutinized for its exclusions and oppressions (for example, women and slaves). Greek claims to priority in science, and even science's claims to intellectual pre-eminence, are challenged, in the name of multicultural fairness. In response, defenders of the traditional view insist that the challenges themselves rely on unacknowledged appeal to aspects of the Greek intellectual legacy. Such disputes are made more difficult by the fact that freedom is a complex and contestable concept to begin with. In a brief discussion it must suffice to sort freedom into three rough categories: practical, political, and philosophical. Greek thought and practice have made significant contributions to understanding all three.

Freedom in the practical sense is the power to live as one chooses. This notion of freedom is tied to the idea of self-rule (autonomy). Individuals are *un*free in so far as their lives are determined not by themselves (that is, by their values, desires, and beliefs) but by what is other than themselves. Since human beings do not appear to be immortal, let alone omnipotent, and since one person's power must often limit the power of another, this sort of freedom can only be possessed to a degree. One may hope to see such power expanded to more people, to more kinds of people, to more aspects of human life. The intellectual project of expanding human freedom through expanding human power runs from the ancient Greeks down to 14th-century "humanism" and the 18th-century "Enlightenment", and so on to the present. On the traditional account, Greek rationality was the enabling precondition for the subsequent development of western scientific inquiry; some recent critics, however, view this as naive and ethnocentric. In any event, one human's power is another's vulnerability, so the quest for freedom is not merely an intellectual or technological undertaking, but requires adjustment in social forms. Except in ideal circumstances, practical freedom requires social and political support (though the demands of political freedom can be viewed as themselves impinging on one's practical freedom).

Freedom in the political sense is the power to participate in a suitable way in the processes that determine the political structure in which one lives. Freedom in society requires limits, and therefore the transformation of external constraints into self-rule (*sophrosyne*). By incorporating aspects of social reality into the self, one can see regulations as expressions of the "civilized" self, which is a creation of the polis. In classical practice, this political conception of freedom can be praised for its natural affinity with notions of democracy, equality, privacy, and individual self-expression, or criticized in view of the restrictions on membership in the polis. To modern readers, Plato's attack on democracy and Aristotle's defence of slavery strike sour notes. Whether the cultural achievements of Athens' golden age "required" the material foundation of slavery on which it in fact relied, and whether such a requirement could serve in any measure to "justify" that society's abridgement of freedoms, are uncomfortable questions still often debated. Several scholars (for example, M.I. Finley and

Orlando Patterson) have suggested that the existence of slavery contributed conceptually to the development of the idea of freedom, which grew out of the very exclusions of Athenian democracy.

If the opposite of political freedom is slavery (and other forms of oppressive dependence), the opposite of philosophical freedom is determinism. The notion of fate or destiny (*moira*) colours early Greek religious thought, and connects to familiar philosophical questions about freedom of the will. Later, Stoic sages advise restricting desire to the sphere in which one is able to exert some control. While one may not have the power to live as one chooses, one can still choose to live one's life in conformity with the power that one does have. Freedom in this philosophical sense consists of adjusting expectations to the realities of one's situation; freedom requires acquiescing in necessity. This viewpoint is expounded in Greek by both slave (Epictetus) and emperor (Marcus Aurelius), with enduring influence on western thought. In the koine Greek of the New Testament, St Paul (whom Gilbert Murray called "one of the greatest Greek writers") adapts the paradox that true freedom consists of acquiescence in being bound by (religious) truth. Paul's frequent references to himself as the "servant" (*doulos*) of God and of Jesus, along with his exhortation to servants "to be obedient unto their own masters" (Titus 2: 9) – though these are part of the transvaluation of values that Nietzsche would later complain about – help to define a religious notion of freedom for Christianity, which plays a dominant role during the Byzantine period of Greek history and after. This religious version of the philosophical notion of freedom also has metaphysical concerns about the place of human action in a non-human world (ruled by God), and it raises political questions, particularly in connection with the idea of a Christian polity, whether that of an empire, like Byzantium, or that of a quasi-secular, henotheistic nation, such as modern Greece. (Additional religious and political complexities characterize the long interval of Turkish domination and the struggle for independence and national self-determination.)

The often expressed (but misleading) idea that Greek civilization was "centred on the individual" may serve to unite the three sorts of freedom, for the individual is a participant in the struggle to survive in nature and in society, as well as the subject of that play of power and desire whose rational articulation comprises the substance of philosophical freedom. Some will find the important expression of human freedom in the expansive, pleasure-seeking, Epicurean (even "Dionysian") approach, while others will hold that a realistic sense of human freedom is best discerned by the restrictive, desire-limiting Stoic (and, in terms of Nietzsche's influential dichotomy, "Apollinian") approach. In this sense, the debate about freedom is not likely to reach either an answer or an end, and it may well be that, in the words that E.R. Dodds quotes from T.H. Huxley, "A man's worst difficulties begin when he is able to do as he likes."

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See also Democracy, Fate, Slavery

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Fundamentalism, Orthodox

The term "fundamentalism", coined in the US in the 1920s and referring to conservative Protestants reacting against liberal trends, was later used more broadly to describe a variety of different sociocultural phenomena. Though widely used, the term still retains a clear connection to the religious sphere, to which it was originally applied. Another related term is "integrism", referring to analogous phenomena within the Roman Catholic Church. Generally, the main fundamentalist intentions are the purity and authenticity of the doctrine; the emphasis on the "fundamentals" of a religious system; the improvement of practice and its consequential relationship with theory; and the return to a past, glorious epoch, in which the principles of the ideal society had been realized.

There exist numerous reasons and causes, both endogenous and exogenous, which may give rise to fundamentalist currents as protest movements in various socio-cultural contexts worldwide. Usually, fundamentalists react against modernist trends within their religious bodies and to radical changes in their social environments. The fundamentalist mentality must be

distinguished generally from a full-fledged fundamentalist movement. While we may find aspects of a fundamentalist attitude in earlier periods too, fundamentalism is basically a modern phenomenon. Moreover, fundamentalism should not be equated simply with fanaticism, radicalism, extremism, reactionism, zealotism, traditionalism, conservatism, and other similar phenomena. Though in many cases closely related to them, fundamentalism points to a more inclusive attempt to reinterpret and incorporate such features into a wider protest movement.

Fundamentalist movements can also be observed within the Orthodox world in modern times (e.g. in Russia). This holds for Greece too, though the term "fundamentalism" has not been successfully rendered into Greek so far. In the Greek case, due to the apparent religious homogeneity of the country, the most marked feature of the fundamentalist movements is their distancing from the official Church, either through a schism (e.g. the Old Calendarists) or through the founding of an independent organization (e.g. the religious brotherhoods). In both cases, serious or milder criticism is exerted on the "pseudo-Orthodox" policies of the official Church, which is accused of playing a solely decorative role in Greek society and of allowing serious compromises with regard to its time-honoured traditions. Orthodox fundamentalists want to purify the Church by imposing certain therapeutic measures and by bringing it closer to a past and idealized golden age (e.g. the Patristic period).

Greek Orthodox fundamentalism is a multiform and multidimensional phenomenon. It cannot be reduced to one single group. Nowadays it is mainly represented by various groups of Old Calendarists, who call themselves the "true Orthodox Christians", and affiliated organizations (e.g. the Greek Orthodox Salvation Movement); by the religious brotherhoods (e.g. *Zoe*, *Sotir*); by various other independent organizations, such as the Panhellenic Orthodox Union with its journal *Orthodoxos Typos*; by numerous monks on Mount Athos and in other monastic communities, who are usually subsumed under the loose category of Zealots; and finally by some small political parties and movements, such as Christian Democracy, founded by N. Psaroudakis. Although there is often tension between them, these groups, which are not hermetically separated one from the other, occasionally collaborate on issues of common interest against the policies of the official Church and the state. It is worth mentioning, however, that several priests and sometimes even bishops of the official Church (e.g. metropolitan Avgustinos Kantiotis, who in 1952 founded in Athens the Orthodox Militant Association "Athanasios the Great") are in close relationship with such movements and share some of their principles and ideals.

The sociohistorical background of Greek Orthodox fundamentalism should be principally sought in late 18th-century Greece. On the eve of its independence Greek society under Ottoman rule underwent far-reaching changes under the impact of western ideas (e.g. of the Enlightenment and the French Revolution), which seriously affected its traditional Byzantine Orthodox culture. This process continued after the foundation of the Greek state, when the Church was subjected to state control and its overall condition deteriorated in many respects. Thus the protest movement of the Kollyvades in the 18th century as well as the cases of Kosmas Flamiatos and Apostolos Makrakis in the 19th century, who were in serious tension with the official Church, can be considered as antecedents of contemporary fundamentalist trends.

The main and common characteristics of Greek Orthodox fundamentalists include a sense of exclusivity in possessing the sole true faith; a strong feeling of elitism (as being the elect or a faithful remnant); a spirit of self-righteousness and self-sufficiency that leads them to isolation, separatism, and tension with the official Church and the surrounding secular culture; anti-pluralist trends and a totalitarian mentality; a persistent enemy syndrome and conspiracy mentality, imbued with an apocalyptic spirit, that drive them to suspect dangers for Orthodoxy everywhere, initiated by the "Powers of Darkness" (e.g. Roman Catholicism, Protestantism, Freemasonry, Zionism, the ecumenical movement, the European Union) in the contemporary world system; fanaticism, militancy, and even violence (e.g. against beauty contests and carnivals, against the film *The Last Temptation of Christ* and Nikos Kazantzakis's works, the Rotonda incidents in Thessalonica in 1994–95) in implementing their ideals; a special emphasis on moral issues and promotion of their own puritanical, patriarchal ethics and lifestyles; a social activism in order to transform the Church and the world; hyper-Orthodox trends that finally force them to suspect each other of deviations from Orthodoxy; a total rejection of certain scientific (e.g. the theory of evolution) and technical developments; an opposition to intellectualism, freedom of thought, and academic theology; and a strong correlation between Orthodoxy and nationalism concerning the God-determined future glorification of Greece.

Although Greek Orthodox fundamentalists have not yet been very active in politics, they are still greatly interested in playing a more significant role in this domain. To this end, they are also approached by some politicians who occasionally support quite extreme fundamentalist demands and try to profit from the social influence that fundamentalists are able to exercise on certain social strata. The violent conflicts between fundamentalists of varied provenance and the official Church, supported by the state, in the diocese of Larissa (1989–98) over the election of a new bishop have demonstrated the effective structure, the considerable vigour, and the mobilization power of the fundamentalists. This has provoked a determined reaction from the official Church, which fears the long-term impact of such activities upon the wider Church body and the increased appearance of similar phenomena in the future. To this purpose, the Church has issued official encyclicals condemning fundamentalist views and actions as non-Orthodox and anti-ecclesiastical. It also threatened to consider them as schismatics and heretics (see the encyclical no. 2564 of 25 October 1993 against the Panhellenic Orthodox Union and its journal *Orthodoxos Typos*).

Generally speaking, Orthodox fundamentalism is not the most salient characteristic of Greek society as a whole. Yet it does constitute a specific feature of Greek religious life, is able to exert some pressure on official Church and state policies, and, as recent events have shown, may demand more access to positions of power and influence in the future.

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See also Old Calendarists, Religious Brotherhoods, Zealots

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Furniture

The human activities of sitting, eating, lying down, and storing objects required furniture in the homes of ancient Greece. The development of hierarchic sociopolitical structures in the Bronze Age gave added impetus to furniture development, in the multiplicity of forms and decorative embellishments, as seen in the decorative ivory and gold inlays from the Mycenaean period.

Stationary furniture, such as dining couches, and outdoor furniture, such as benches in a theatre, was often sculpted out of bronze and stone. But furniture construction was generally within the province of carpenters, because wood was the typical material, being relatively lightweight, durable, and easy to fashion. Wood varieties mentioned by ancient Greek authors include maple, beech, oak, willow, cedar, cypress, yew, juniper, poplar, fir, lime, olive, elm, and pine. By the 6th century BC Greek carpenters had most of the possible hand tools for working wood – the adze, axe, saw, plane, hammer, chisel, borer, screwdriver, file, rule, level, plummet, and lathe. Joinery techniques depended on wood constructions of dowel and tenons, socket and tongues, butterfly cramps, and complex mitre joins rather than metal hardware. Steamed bent wood is seen in the chair backs of the 6th and 5th centuries BC. Finishing techniques included veneer, painting with geometric decorations, and oil polish.

The earliest references to Greek furniture are from the Mycenaean culture. The original 13 Linear B furniture tablets found in the palace at Pylos in 1939 (now in the National Archaeological Museum, Athens) record elaborate chairs, footstools, and tables made out of stone, crystal, yew, boxwood, or ebony inlaid with ivory decorations depicting cattle, lions, stags, trees, men, shells, and rosettes. Ivory ornaments have been found at several Mycenaean sites that are probably the inlaid remains of such furniture, from which the wood has disintegrated. Additional evidence comes from the miniature, crudely painted terracottas found in graves that portray low, simple beds and three-legged, sling-back chairs. Clay benches were common and found at Pylos, as was a big clay bathtub. A fresco from Pylos shows tall three-legged wooden tables carried by votaries.

Evidence for furniture from the Greek historical period consists largely of literary sources and images on pottery and sculpture, and consequently, our knowledge is limited primarily to Classical Athens. The types of ancient furniture included chairs and stools, benches, beds and dining couches, tables, and chests. Round metal or pottery oil lamps, which held a wick in the spout, provided light and could be placed on the floor, a shelf, or on tall bronze, single-legged stands. Personal possessions remained few, and clothing simple. Most household objects were stored by hanging them on the wall or placing them in chests (*kibotoi* or *larnakes*) or small boxes. Clothing in particular could be folded flat, since it was made of rectangular pieces of cloth, and stacked in large chests with a top lid. Thrones (*thronoi*) and footstools (*thrinyes*) were manufactured with animal legs, which had been popular in Egypt and Mesopotamia; lathe-turned legs, which become common in Greece only after the 7th century BC; rectangular legs; or solid sides extending to the floor. Thrones had a hierarchic meaning in that they elevated and enlarged the stature of the nobility and, of course, deities. The popular, lightweight chair (*klismos*) with curved back and legs was an extraordinarily graceful Greek invention that was used for domestic purposes; it was easy to lounge in while draping one arm over the back. Four-legged (*diphros*) or folding stools (*diphros okladias*) were also used for seating. Tables, usually three-legged (*trapezai*), were lightweight due to dining customs. Food was carried on these low portable tables from kitchen to dining-room and removed afterwards or pushed under the dining couches so that the space could be used for entertainment. The dining couches (*klinai*), on the other hand, were stationary, often the only permanent furniture in the house, and so could be solidly made and heavy, sometimes constructed of bronze. Eating while lying down was practised in the ancient Near East on waist-high couches, mounted by means of a footstool, but the long bow-curved end of the Assyrian couch was not adopted in Greece. Instead, the Greek couch extended two of its legs higher than the seat to support the arm-rest pillows. Dining couches carried specific social connotations, in that well-born men used them for sleeping or dining. They usually shared a couch with another man or a courtesan. Wives, however, dined in separate quarters, upright on chairs.

There is less evidence for furniture from the Byzantine era. Thrones are the predominant furniture shown in mosaics, ivories, and manuscripts, due to the prominence of saints and

kings being portrayed. They were elaborately carved as seen on the ivory Harbaville Triptych in the Louvre of *c.*AD 950 or studded with jewels, as on the throne on the mosaic of the Virgin and Child enthroned in Hagia Sophia, of *c.*850.

Simple one-room houses with a ground floor and upper level were typical throughout the medieval era in Greece. The furnishings were sparse with wooden screens carved with vegetal motifs to hide the sleeping areas, built-in wooden cupboards with carved doors, low round tables, chairs, chests, and stools. Wooden furniture from Skyros and Crete was particularly well known for its high quality. The quality of wood carving remained high as carpenters were continually occupied by carving wooden iconostases and other church furnishings, particularly in western Macedonia and the islands.

By the 18th century a wealthy merchant class arose in Greece who built large homes in western Macedonia, Epirus, the Peloponnese, and the islands. Influenced by western European fashions, elaborate reception rooms were covered with wood panelling of open fretwork, carved flower panels, and complex mouldings, as can be seen in the room of such a house, built in Kozani in the late 17th century, and now on exhibition in the Benaki Museum in Athens. Furnishings in these merchant houses remained simple, with cupboards, armchairs, stools, and low tables.

Greek furniture has continued to follow European furniture styles from Neoclassicism to Modern and finally Postmodern design. Most furniture today comes from Athens and Thessalonica.

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See also Woodworking

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G

Galen AD 129–?208/16

Physician and philosopher

Galen, a prolific Greek physician and philosopher born in Asia Minor (Pergamum), became the dominant influence on European medicine from the Roman empire until the Renaissance. The son of a prosperous architect, he was educated in rhetoric and studied philosophy under Platonists, Aristotelians, and Stoics in Pergamum before taking up the study of medicine. The effects of this early training on his thought and style remain amply visible in the more than 170 fully and partly extant treatises attributed to him (a substantial majority of which are of undisputed authenticity). After continuing his studies under distinguished physicians in Smyrna and Alexandria, Galen returned to Pergamum in AD 157, where he apparently became a spectacularly successful physician to wounded gladiators. In AD 162 he went to Rome, returning to Asia Minor in 166, only to be called back by Marcus Aurelius in 169 to serve the Roman imperial court, in whose service he remained thereafter.

Galen attempted to give a comprehensive, detailed account of all aspects of medicine: anatomy, physiology, nosology, aetiology, diagnosis, prognosis, pathology, therapeutics, dietetics, pharmacology, surgery, deontology, ethics, psychology, medical education, medical history, theory of scientific method, and so on. He constantly wove conceptual, doctrinal, epistemological, and methodological links between the different branches of his comprehensive enquiry, thus lending his project the appearance of a systematic, monumental, and scientific whole. Furthermore, he had many impressive prognostic, surgical, and other therapeutic successes (for example, removing a suppurating breastbone and often succeeding where all other practitioners had failed), proving that he was not merely a brilliant theorist but also an accomplished clinician.

Galen's public anatomical demonstrations, at which he dissected and vivisected various animals, appealed to the theatrical sense of a 2nd-century audience attuned to the "display" culture of the Sophists' public declamations. Unlike Herophilus and Erasistratus, he never performed systematic dissections of human cadavers, and his use of comparative anatomy at times led him to attribute non-human features to the human body. His meticulous dissections of monkeys, apes, pigs, goats, etc. (recorded in *On Anatomical Procedures*) nevertheless allowed him to correct numerous observations and theories of his predecessors.

A voracious reader, Galen eagerly displayed his encyclopedic knowledge of the works of his precursors and contemporaries, and, for the most part, he was unsparing in his criticism of them. Even to Plato and Hippocrates, whom he revered more than all others – and whose views, he argued at length, are essentially in agreement (*On the Doctrines of Hippocrates and Plato*) – Galen at times responded with independence and originality. By constantly incorporating the history of medicine and of philosophy in impressive, if often self-serving, critical detail, he positioned his treatises as superseding all others. An invaluable, if unintended, benefit of this Galenic strategy is that he is an invaluable source for the history of medicine between the Hippocratic Corpus and the 2nd century AD, providing numerous quotations from the lost works of Diocles, Herophilus, Erasistratus, Asclepiades, and others. He likewise preserves significant evidence concerning lost philosophical works (e.g. of Posidonius) and many fragments of Greek poetry.

Galen used his keen philosophical ability to lend his work the authority of a sophisticated logic of scientific demonstration. He viewed medicine as a completable axiomatic science. Any gaps, errors, and inaccuracies in scientific medicine arise, he believed, not from the nature of the medical *techne* itself but from human cognitive or linguistic failures or from quantitative imprecision. His mastery of logic – to which he made original contributions – as well as his teleology and his treatment of many psychophysical questions rendered Galenic medicine appealing to numerous philosophers, too, in subsequent centuries.

Anatomical investigations and physiological experiments provide scientific proof of the providentiality of nature, Galen insisted. "Nature does nothing in vain": on this point he agreed with Aristotle, but he defended a stronger version of teleology than perhaps any of his predecessors. In his principal work on physiology (*On the Usefulness of the Parts*), Galen attributes the pervasive purposiveness visible in the body to a divine, craftsman-like "Nature", evoking many echoes of Plato's *Timaeus* (on which he wrote a commentary). Though reserved on issues such as the immortality of the soul, Galen adapted the Platonic version of a tripartite soul to his anatomical discoveries, locating its three parts in the brain, the heart, and the liver, respectively. From the brain, he argued, psychic

pneuma, derived from the vital *pneuma* in the arteries, is distributed through the nerves (making sensory and motor activity possible). All the principal physiological activities – respiration, heart-beat and pulse, ingestion and digestion, sensation, and voluntary motor activity – are interdependent and interactive, brought together in a single, coherent, teleological model. In pathology Galen appropriated the four-humour theory of the Hippocratic treatise *On the Nature of Humans*: the relative proportions of four juices or liquids in the body – phlegm, yellow bile, black bile, and blood – determine health and disease.

The medical authority of Galen's vast corpus was rarely challenged in the millennium after his death. Already in the 3rd century AD he was recognized as surpassing all other physicians. In the 4th century Nemesius, bishop of Emesa, made extensive use of Galen in his *On the Nature of Humans*. Galen's fervent advocacy of teleology made him acceptable to many Christians, and he was admired by a heretical sect, the Adaptionists, who tried to provide a rational, philosophical basis for Christian doctrine, perhaps prompted in part by Galen's criticisms of Christians and Jews. In the mid-4th century Oribasius initiated a long tradition of excerpting and summarizing Galenic texts. Aëtius of Amida and Alexander of Tralles (who was not uncritical of Galen) continued this tradition in the 6th century, as did Paul of Aegina in the 7th. In Alexandria physicians and Neoplatonists alike lectured on Galen throughout later antiquity; the Christian Neoplatonist John Philoponus (AD 490–570s) had high praise for Galen's original contributions to logic and science, as did his contemporary Simplicius.

The Alexandrian iatrosophists of late antiquity selected a canon of perhaps 16 Galenic writings to be read in schools, to be summarized, and to be commented upon. The first four treatises in the canon were *On Sects for Beginners*, *The Medical Art*, *On the Pulse for Beginners*, and *To Glaucon on the Method of Healing*. For the most part, the Alexandrians' selection and sequence do not correspond to Galen's own propaedeutic recommendations, but they became a decisive step in the Alexandrians' scholastic transformation of the Galenic oeuvre into a medical system that was to dominate European and much of Arabic medicine for centuries.

Among numerous other Byzantine writers who drew extensively on Galen, whether directly or indirectly, are Stephanos of Athens (who wrote a commentary on Galen's *To Glaucon on the Method of Healing*), Meletios the Monk, Theophilos Protospatharios, and John (Zacharias) Aktouarios.

A rare Byzantine attempt at refuting Galen occurs in a treatise by the 11th-century scientist Symeon Seth, who was equally familiar with Greek and Arabic traditions. Tensions between Aristotelians and Galenists grew as Aristotle and Galen came to be recognized as the two greatest representatives of a science rooted in logic and in systematic philosophy. Numerous translations, summaries, commentaries on Galen's treatises, and adaptations of his work in a variety of languages (e.g. Latin, Syriac, Arabic, and Hebrew) attest to his stature both in the East and in the West. Even when his authority began to be challenged, especially after the resumption of systematic human dissection in the early modern period, Galenism remained a powerful force in European medical thought for several centuries.

HEINRICH VON STADEN

See also Anatomy and Physiology, Dioscurides, Health, Herophilus, Hippocrates, Nicander

Biography

Born in Pergamum in AD 129, Galen was the son of an architect. He studied rhetoric and philosophy in Pergamum before turning to medicine. After further study in Smyrna and Alexandria he returned to Pergamum in 157 and went to Rome in 162. Returning to Asia Minor in 166, he was recalled by Marcus Aurelius in 169 and remained in imperial service until his death in 208 or 216. He was a prolific writer on all aspects of medicine; more than 170 surviving works are attributed to him.

Writings

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Games and Sports

Influenced by the Minoans, and possibly also by the Egyptians, the Mycenaeans almost certainly engaged in athletic activities. Myth suggests the purposes as honouring a god (e.g. Zeus at the Olympic Games) or a dead hero (e.g. Patroclus' funeral games in book 23 of the *Iliad*) or just as entertainment (e.g. the Phaeacian games in book 8 of the *Odyssey*). By the classical period they were both an essential part of the school curriculum for boys and a pursuit for youths and men of all classes at the public gymnasia and the private palaestrae. The Greek attitude to them is most succinctly encapsulated in the famous phrase of Juvenal (10. 356), *mens sana in corpore sano* (a healthy mind in a healthy body), which does not, however, come from an athletic context. Alexander the Great's subjugation of the Near East in the 4th century BC spread this attitude to non-Greeks, most surprisingly, perhaps, to young Jewish priests who in the 2nd century BC forsook their duties in the temple for the delights of the discus (2 Maccabees, 4. 7–17). Even 300 years after Alexander's more evanescent conquests deeper into Asia, an Indian prince was throwing the discus and the javelin in an especially laid-out area of his palace. Athletic sports did not, however, have much appeal to the Romans, whose gladiatorial atrocities were in turn generally despised by the Greeks.

Although girls, especially in Sparta, participated in some athletic events including on occasion even wrestling, adult women were denied the opportunity. From the 6th century BC all males (except in equestrian events) competed naked, their bodies, to prevent dirt entering the pores, covered in olive oil which was later scraped off with a strigil. Homer describes chariot racing, boxing, wrestling, running, an armed joust, the throwing of a stone and of a piece of metal, and archery. In the classical period the events that comprised the competitions at the public games fell into four groups: running, the pentathlon, fighting, and equestrian events.

Apart from relay races with a torch for a baton, which were rather part of religious cult than athletically competitive, there were four running-races: the *stade* and the race in armour were one length of the stadium and the *diaulos* two, while the *dolichos* was a long-distance race. As the lengths of stadia differed, so did those of these races, but they approximated to a furlong (200 m), a quarter of a mile (400 m), and three miles (4.8 km) (the marathon is a modern commemoration of Phidippides' run from Marathon to Athens to announce the victory over the Persians in 490 BC). The *stade*, the original event in the Olympics, traditionally founded in 776 BC, carried the most prestige. In all races runners first started, at the sound of a trumpet, from a *gramme* (scratch-mark) in the sand, but in the 6th century BC this was replaced by a *balbis* (stone sill) with grooves for the toes, to which was added in the 5th century a *husplex* (starting gate). This last was operated by a man behind the runners releasing simultaneously cords which were attached to horizontal bars on vertical posts in front of each runner (the remains at Isthmia provide the best archaeological evidence). Turning-posts were used in the *diaulos* and *dolichos*, but it is not known if each runner had his own post or if, more likely, they all turned round the same post. There was no finishing-tape, and if the judges could not distinguish a winner a rerun was held. Heats were used when more than the 16–20 runners that the varying widths of stadia could accommodate competed.

The pentathlon, first devised probably for the Olympic Games of 708 BC, comprised five activities: a jump, a discus throw, a javelin throw, a *stade* race, and wrestling, for the first three of which there were no separate competitions. The winner was the first athlete to win three events: running and wrestling presumably took place only if no clear winner had already been determined. Despite the pentathlon's popularity on vase-paintings, Plato's comment (*Amatores* 135e) that it was the opportunity for the second-rate athlete, and the small prizes for winners known from the Hellenistic period, suggest that it ranked low in prestige.

The jump was performed to the sound of pipes as a rhythmic aid by athletes who held *halteres* (jumping-weights) of 1.8 to 3.6 kg in their hands. Since the only three recorded distances are between 15 and 17 m, the jump is most likely to have been a multiple jump, perhaps the modern hop-step-and-jump or triple jump which was introduced as an interpretation of the ancient event. Aristotle claims (*De Incessu Animalius* 705a17) that the athletes jumped further with *halteres*, and modern athletes have found that weights can improve distance in the long jump (and, if they are released, even in the high jump), but it is difficult to see how this could be possible in a multiple jump unless they were released in the first segment. The evidence of both literature and vase-painting, however, points unanimously to their retention.

The discus was usually made of bronze in the Classical period. Surviving examples vary in diameter from 16 to 34 cm and in weight from 1.3 to 6.8 kg. Although the athlete threw forwards from an area demarcated in front and at the sides, and could consequently make a preliminary run, he is unlikely to have done this. Vase-paintings and sculptures show reversed feet, probably indicating at least a partial turn of the body, and a rope-like pull with the right arm. The only recorded throw is of 29 m.

The javelin was generally made of cornel wood tipped with bronze. It was thrown, after a run, by an athlete holding it roughly horizontal above his head, with a thong wrapped round the shaft and looped over the first or first two fingers of the throwing hand. This perhaps gave added leverage, but certainly enabled the javelin to spin on its own axis, thus being steadier in flight and, in its military equivalent, boring into its target like a bullet. It had at least to nick the ground on landing.

The three fighting events were wrestling, boxing, and the *pankration* with no weight divisions, rings, or rounds. Judges attended the fights and beat with canes those who infringed the rules. The longevity of some fighters was remarkable: Milon, a boxer from Croton in the 6th century, must have been a cham-

Games: terracotta figures playing knucklebone, *c.*340-330 BC, from southern Italy, British Museum, London

pion for at least 21 years since he won six Pythian crowns (and five Olympic). Weightlifting must largely be considered as a form of training for these fighting events rather than as a sport in its own right.

Wrestlers, who had to make their opponents' shoulders touch the ground three times in order to win, were not allowed any leg-holds, although their legs could be used to sweep opponents off the ground. Vase-paintings and sculptures show numerous holds, upon which the modern Graeco-Roman style is based.

The aim of the boxer was to incapacitate his opponent (there are only two recorded deaths, both the result of fouls), or to force him to submit by raising an index finger. As was probably the case in Minoan boxing, the head was the sole target, and vase-paintings frequently show boxers (always right-handed) with head held back and chest thrust forward. In the 1st century AD a remarkable athlete from Caria named Melancomas displayed a completely different technique by skipping out of the way of his more ponderous opponents until they gave up in exhaustion. He is reputed never to have been hit and to have engaged in one bout that lasted two days. In training, shadow boxing was practised and fighters wore earguards and, to avoid hurting each other excessively, padded gloves, but in competition they bound *himantes* (thongs) round the knuckles for self-protection: the nickname *murmekes* (ants), applied to these *himantes*, indicates how they stung .

The *pankration*, which had the same aim as boxing, was a fight in which everything was allowed except gouging and biting. To judge from the number of poems commissioned from Pindar by pankratiasts and the magnitude of Hellenistic prizes, this was an event which both carried considerable prestige and appealed to the upper class.

Chariot-racing was for aristocrats, owners rather than competitors receiving the prizes. Despite the pride of place given to it by Homer, it did not feature in the Olympic Games until the 25th celebration in 680 BC. Light chariots were pulled by teams of two or four horses, or two mules or two foals, completing up to 12 laps between two markers. Hippodromes varied enormously in size from about 275 m to one in Athens that allowed a race of about 1.6 km without a turn. At Olympia the track was about 550 m long, and at the sound of a trumpet a rope barrier across stalls set in a convex line was removed in such a way as to give all teams a fair start, each driver having a flying start on his inside rival. Over 40 teams

are known to have taken part in a single race. Bareback riding was far less popular, but appeared at Olympia as early as 648 BC.

Although not recommended by medical practitioners, most Greeks could swim according to Herodotus (8. 89), who attributes the large number of survivors from the Battle of Salamis in 480 BC to this fact. The 6th-century Sicilian Olympic boxer Tisander used long-distance swimming for training. References are found to both breaststroke and front crawl, while beginners had the help of cork lifebelts and a fresco of the 5th century BC from Paestum shows a youth diving from what appears to be a diving-tower. There is literary evidence for occasional swimming races, while regattas for rowing were certainly held in the Imperial period.

Ball games were apparently aimed at healthy exercise (in the 2nd century AD Galen, in his *De Parvae Pilae Exercitu*, is particularly enthusiastic) and pleasure rather than serious competition, but they were important enough to form the subject of a lost treatise by the Laconian Timocrates (Athenaeus, 1. 15c). Homer describes Nausicaa and her attendants throwing a ball to each other, a late archaic bas-relief from Athens depicts what looks like a bully-off in hockey between two players while others with curved sticks look on, another bas-relief shows a throw-in in a team game, a black-figure vase shows a game in which an old man leaning on a stick is throwing a ball to three pairs of youths piggyback in front of him, a 5th-century relief has a youth bouncing (or balancing) a ball on his thigh (Spartan youths in the Roman period played a ball game with teams of 14 a side), and in the 2nd century AD Pollux describes (9.4) the game of *episkuros* that sounds a little like rugby football without any kicking.

Other games included hoop bowling (for youths as well as children), marbles, and, for the more sedentary, dice, knucklebones, and draughts, which last was played on a board of 36 squares with a "sacred line" down the centre to separate home from enemy territory. The most frequently mentioned game is *kottabos*, in which inebriated symposiasts, while reclining on their left elbows, threw with their right hands the last drops from their wine cups at varied targets such as saucers floating in water and objects that could fall when struck.

In Byzantium sport suffered from its pagan associations and Christianity's contempt for mundane activities. The most popular spectator sport was chariot-racing, but its style and organization of factions were Roman rather than Greek. With the waning of Roman influence it survived after the 7th century only in Constantinople and even there only as a part of imperial ceremonial. A total of 66 days' racing a year with about 24 races a day in the 5th century dropped to fewer than 12 days of only eight races by the 10th century and after 1204 the sport disappeared completely. It was to some degree supplanted by *tzykanion*, a Persian version of polo that resembled mounted lacrosse. It was introduced as early as the 5th century AD by Theodosius II, but was popularized in the 10th century by the Armenian-born John I Tzimiskes, and was the cause of a fatal injury to John I Komnenos Axouch at Trebizond in 1238. As military training John Tzimiskes introduced one cavalry game in which a horseman had to avoid or catch the blunted javelins of four opponents, and another in which galloping horsemen shot arrows at hats that they had hurled into the air (these games survive in Georgia as *isindi* and *kabakhi* respectively). Western influence brought to Constantinople the *tournemen* and the *dzoustra*, the massed tourney and the individual joust. Horsemanship was displayed also by aristocrats in the hunting of boar, bears, and deer both in the wild and, especially from the 10th century, in imperial game parks. The principal weapon was the spear, while dogs and even cheetahs were trained for the hunt. Most popular among smaller game were hares and quails. Fowling was always a method of supplying the table, but falconry became an aristocratic enthusiasm chiefly under the Komnenoi.

Although under Christian influence gladiatorial combat ceased in the 4th century, canon law did allow wrestling, boxing, running, jumping, and discus throwing. Archery was primarily for military training, while juggling and gymnastics were spectator sports in the hippodrome. Board games were frowned upon by the Church both for the associated gambling and the role of *Tyche* (chance). Dice, knucklebones, and chequers were, however, all known and Alexios I (1081–1157) played chess with members of his family.

As in most of the rest of the modern world, the favourite team sport of Greeks today is association football (soccer), in which their national and leading club sides enjoy fanatical support and have occasionally beaten more powerful sides without having ever won any European or world competitions (Greece did reach the finals of the World Cup in 1994, although it was well beaten in all its three matches in the first round). Basketball and volleyball come next in popular support. Most international success has been won in the individual sports of wrestling and weightlifting, which only in part explains the preponderance of successful male rather than female Greek athletes. In one sport Greece has enjoyed a fame quite out of proportion to its importance in the country. After Corfu was declared a British protectorate at the Congress of Vienna in 1815, soldiers of the British garrison played cricket on the Esplanade (until recently merely gravel), and in 1855 the first two local clubs of Greeks rather than expatriates began to play the game with a unique medley of Greek, English, and Italian terminology: official recognition came 140 years later when the International Cricket Council granted Greece affiliate membership. The most distinctive Greek game today, however, must be *tavli* (a form of backgammon): the clatter of its counters is the instantly recognizable sound of every *kafeneion*.

Greece's sporting legacy to the modern world is incalculable. Its emphasis upon athletic activity for young and old was a major impetus during the 19th century, first in England and thence elsewhere, in the introduction of sport into the educational curriculum and its acceptance as a respectable activity for adults of all classes. The modern Olympic Games are the abiding memorial of the Greek devotion to athletics.

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See also Hippodrome, Olympic Games

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Gardens

Finds of plant pots of clay or faience with holes at the base attest to the cultivation of flowers or herbs in the Aegean area in the 2nd millennium BC. The art of the Mycenaeans shows a persistence of floral motifs which is probably due to the non-Greek but associated and culturally influential Minoans, in whose frescos, glyptic art, metalwork, and painted pottery floral landscapes figure prominently. Although there is as yet no evidence that the Mycenaeans actually cultivated pleasure gardens, it is probable that the Minoans, under Egyptian inspiration, may have done so. A restored fresco of the Middle to Late Minoan period from a villa at Amnisos northeast of Knossos appears to show lilies arranged in a formal setting reminiscent of a garden. Excavation suggests the possibility of terraced gardens leading off porticoes in some Minoan palaces. At Phaestus in central Crete a rocky outcrop in the southeast area of the palace was not only cut back but also furnished with round holes, most likely once filled with soil and planted with flowers to create a tiny garden for the associated court and portico. The flowers in vases depicted in several frescos are, however, probably not growing but cut and wild.

The epics attributed to Homer, which frequently reflect the culture of the dark age rather than the preceding Mycenaean period, contain descriptions of gardens. Although these are mainly kitchen gardens and orchards providing grapes, olives, figs, apples, pears, pomegranates, and vegetables, there is also mention of groves associated with the shrines of gods and the graves of heroes. The almost lyrical delight in the beauties of nature shown in these poems is in sharp contrast to the harsh realities of practical agriculture in the roughly contemporary *Works and Days* of Hesiod.

Private gardens in the Classical period were again almost entirely utilitarian, even flower gardens having profit as their primary purpose in the sale of their produce for garlands. Unlike the situation in the Persian and the later Roman empires, horticulture and even agriculture were not considered gentlemanly pursuits in Greece. Urban houses were simple and small with no surrounding land but a central courtyard that rarely measured more than about 50 square metres, was usually paved, often contained a well and an altar, and served for many everyday domestic activities: it could have accommodated at best only a few potted herbs. The sole common private non-utilitarian gardens were the so-called Gardens of Adonis, but these were merely pots of fast-growing plants that died quickly and thus symbolized the life and death of the divine Adonis.

Public gardens in the Classical period were largely groves of trees (especially cypress, plane, and laurel) around shrines and were chosen for cultic reasons and to give shade. These sanctuaries sometimes also included stands of trees and fields of crops for commercial purposes. Two of the best-known groves were at the shrines of Aphrodite outside Athens and of Zeus and Aphrodite at Cyrene. The only one hitherto excavated surrounded the temple of Hephaestus in the Athenian Agora, but its date is as late as *c.*300 BC. Excavation of square pits dug into the bedrock indicates two straight rows of shrubs or small trees on three sides of the temple and small flowerbeds against the precinct wall. The pits contained deliberately broken pots used for the method of propagation known as layering by circumposition. Groves were planted also at gymnasia, which were themselves often associated with sanctuaries. Such is the origin of the schools of Plato and Aristotle, the Academy and Lyceum respectively, which set the pattern for later philosophical gardens, most notably that of Epicurus, which he left at his death to Athens as a public park.

The changes in the Hellenistic period are primarily due to two factors: the creation of new cities, most notably Alexandria in Egypt, enabled a more generous disposition of buildings with extensive open areas available for sanctuaries and public parks; and the substitution of autocracy for democracy or oligarchy encouraged rulers to spend public revenues on grandiose works that enhanced their prestige, these works including gardens in imitation of oriental monarchs. The most outrageous of these works was a ship designed by Archimedes in the 3rd century BC for Hieron II of Sicily that included a gymnasium with bowers of vines and numerous irrigated flowerbeds, while in the 2nd century Attalus III of Pergamum grew drugs on the deck of his flagship. Terrestrial parks often had artificial grottoes, fountains, sculptures, and an increasing range of plants, an interest attested by botanical treatises such as those of Theophrastus. Private homes, although often larger and more luxurious than earlier because of an increase in wealth, still tended not to include gardens, the central courtyard being often floored in mosaic.

Gardens in the Greek world under Roman rule were Roman in inspiration. The paved Greek courtyard became a peristyle garden with artistic fountains and formally arranged shrubs and flowerbeds. When space was cramped, roof gardens were created and walls were painted in the verisimilitude of gardens complete with birds. Grandees owned numerous villas that were single entities incorporating buildings, porticoes, terraces,

arbours, shrubberies, and flowerbeds and occasionally included even a game park. Landscaping, topiary work, sculptures, elaborate fountains, grottoes, and fish ponds all became regular features and garden dining rooms were not uncommon. All cities boasted public parks and temple gardens. Excavation, especially around the Bay of Naples, has revealed a vast amount of information.

The Byzantine Greek world shows a continuation of the Roman tradition, but precise information is hard to glean. Archaeology has hitherto unearthed virtually nothing. Frescos and mosaics in churches and manuscript illustrations, though frequently showing vegetation, do not provide a single picture devoted even primarily to a garden. The literary sources are very imprecise, while the most detailed descriptions, inserted for their sexual connotations in 12th-, 14th-, and 15th-century romances, are of imaginary (though not unrealistic) gardens. The single surviving treatise that deals with horticulture, the 10th-century *Geoponica*, is largely antiquarian, but does include some specifically Constantinopolitan information. Byzantine delight in gardens is nonetheless evident everywhere, churches being liberally adorned with vegetal decoration, manuscript illuminations frequently including flowers and trees (even when quite inappropriate, as in desert scenes), and literature being permeated with horticultural imagery. This delight was both inherited from the Romans and encouraged by a religion which emphasized the natural world as the work of God and saw the garden as a pale reflection of the heavenly paradise – it is no surprise that the monks of Mount Athos claim their peninsula to be "the garden of the Mother of God". Health was also a consideration: a house would be rendered salubrious by "the circumambient air since it is infected by the exhalations of the plants", while the emperor Theophilos (829–42) hoped that fresh air and lovely views would wash away "the baneful lusts" of former prostitutes. For emperors gardens were often a matter of prestige and associated with the symbolism of imperial renewal.

In the Late Antique period increasing barbarian incursions, especially in the western part of the empire, necessitated more defensible country villas and a corresponding decline in the number, size, and elaboration of their attached gardens. There is only meagre evidence for extensive examples after the 6th century AD except in the immediate vicinity of Constantinople. The gardens of villagers and monks were almost exclusively utilitarian. Market gardens supplied the cities with a wide range of vegetables and fruits which generally enabled the Byzantines to enjoy a healthier diet than did their western European counterparts (the produce was often transported over considerable distances). Urban houses of the middle class contained small gardens that could contain fruit and decorative trees: two descriptions of such a garden (his own) by the 10th-century writer John Geometres survive. Manuscript illuminations suggest also a fondness for roof gardens. Urban churches were frequently surrounded by gardens of shady trees, flowerbeds, and paths for the enjoyment of the general public. The most extensive and elaborate pleasure gardens were those associated with the palaces of the emperors and, to a lesser extent, of high court officials. Some of these were suburban, often by the sea, designed to combat the heat of the summer and sometimes connected with a game park, but the most important was undoubtedly the Great Palace in Constantinople. This was not a single building but an agglomeration, dating from the 4th to the 12th centuries, of residential quarters, public reception- and dining-rooms, churches, chapels, baths, pavilions, pleasure and vegetable gardens, an orchard, a fish pond, and sports grounds all set on terraces descending from the Hippodrome to the Sea of Marmara. The literary sources dwell on the lush vegetation of the gardens and especially on the highly elaborate fountains and a golden tree with mechanically warbling birds. The gardens described in the romances, based on palatial exemplars, emphasize also artwork in the form of statues or paintings and mosaics in pavilions and bath houses, water-driven automata in the form of birds and mammals on the fountains, and, above all, the sound of the wind whispering through the leaves of intertwining branches.

Among the trees and shrubs, both useful and ornamental, found in literary and visual sources are pine, fir, cypress, black and white poplar, alder, cedar, willow, tamarisk, oak, ash, elm, beech, plane, maple, bay, myrtle, mastich, terebinth, arbutus, box, juniper, olive, apple, pear, sorb, peach, apricot, citron, quince, damson, sloe, cherry, pomegranate, fig, date-palm, jujube, medlar, carob, mulberry, hazelnut, walnut, pistachio, sweet chestnut, and the ubiquitous vine which frequently festooned trellises. Orange and lemon appeared late. The range of flowers, because of the problems of irrigation, was far more restricted. Pride of place was taken by the rose, grown in rows, spiralling up trees, and in pots. Violet, narcissus, lily, crocus, pimpernel, and, for ground cover, periwinkle are also found, while ivy too was used for decorative effect. Herbs include basil, marjoram, savory, coriander, saffron, dill, rue, fenugreek, cress, mallow, mint, borage, costmary, squill, tarragon, parsley, cumin, smilax, salsify, mustard, and monk's rhubarb. Illustrated copies of Dioscurides' extensive medicinal herbal of the 1st century AD continued to be produced and used and were even sent as gifts to Muslim rulers.

Trees were planted individually, in clumps, in straight rows and crescents, and to create arbours; flowers in separate and mixed beds and often between trees to take advantage of their shade and water channels. Topiary work seems not to have followed the extravagances of its Roman inventors but to have been restricted to a few favourite configurations. Landscaping was vigorously pursued, since gardens were designed to be enjoyed not only from buildings but also by strollers who appreciated ever-changing vistas. Particularly enthusiastic as a landscape designer was Constantine IX Monomachos (1042–55), whom Michael Psellos gently mocks for impatience and changes of mind in mid-course. Horticultural experiments in grafting, improving colour and fragrance, and enabling flowers to bloom out of season were laudable occupations of the upper class.

During the Tourkokratia Greek gardens, both private and monastic, were largely utilitarian, although arbours of vines and pots of fragrant herbs such as basil had an added aesthetic function. Since independence no distinctive Greek style has emerged. Towns and cities usually contain small and formal squares with shady avenues and sometimes geometric parterres. The Esplanade in Corfu is exceptional, but its large size (*c.*550 × 230 m at its widest point) is due to its origin as a Venetian parade-ground: it is unique too in Greece in that its northern part constitutes the famous and, until recently, grav-

elled cricket "field". Among palatial gardens that at Tatoï, outside the capital, is noteworthy in that the afforestation in unpromising soil is a scientific triumph. Although from 1836 queen Amalia designed the Royal Gardens (now known as the National Garden) in Athens, the few interesting gardens in Greece have been designed by foreigners, mostly British. Thomas Mawson was responsible for the initial landscaping in Athens on the Acropolis, Lykabettus, and the Philopappos Hill (his other plans for urban parks and royal gardens were unfortunately never carried out); Robert and Marina Adams between 1965 and 1982 encouraged the integration of gardens into the Greek landscape by the use of native materials. In more recent years Greek landscape-architects have done some good work, although they have been hampered by the lack of any modern gardening tradition beyond that of basic skills.

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See also Dioscurides, Geometres, Plants

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Gatsos, Nikos 1916–1995

Poet and translator

Regarded as a great innovator and an inventive revolutionary wit, Nikos Gatsos was undeniably a legend before the facts of his life were established or his texts had been thoroughly edited. Gatsos was said to be an obscure, private, and bizarre poet, the hyper-realist before hyper-realism who demonstrated an extraordinary ability to move freely between a hyper-realism that shrank from no sort of sordidness and a surrealism that was not to become a programme until half a century later. Gatsos was the erudite mind who, more than anyone else, clung to the inexhaustible stock of the Hellenic literary tradition and attempted to reinvigorate it by blowing on it the daring winds of European surrealism. In this way, he shed light on the hyper-realist elements of the Hellenic tradition that, although always present in it, had remained unknown, silent, and undiscovered. Thus Gatsos not only regenerated the Hellenic tradition and imparted a substantial knowledge to his own generation as well as the previous poetic generation but, most importantly, he was responsible for changing the momentum and transforming the course of modern Greek poetry.

Gatsos's poetic work includes only one collection published under the title *Amorgos* which circulated in two editions (1943 and 1964). Nevertheless, Gatsos composed a limited number of individual poems intended to be set to music as songs by famous Greek composers. He also translated dramatic texts and plays that were performed by numerous Greek theatrical companies. Among his most renowned translations were Federico García Lorca's *Blood Wedding*, and Tennessee Williams's *A Streetcar Named Desire* and *Something Cloudy, Something Clear*, through which he instilled his creative, original, and revolutionary ideas and transferred his poetic qualities to the modern Greek theatre. Thus he had an immense influence on the way of thinking of modern Greek dramatists, playwrights, and directors.

Gatsos was born in a village in Arcadia (Peloponnese) and attended the University of Athens where he completed his studies in Greek literature. Gatsos's dedication to poetry was never that of a potential professional writer or a man of letters. He was the poet who never encouraged a critic to delve into his poetry and analyse it or to approach him personally. This is evident from the limited amount of Greek critical bibliography relating to his work. After publishing just one collection, Gatsos never returned to poetry but instead he embarked on an enduring, extremely personal, intellectual, and philosophical adventure. It is no exaggeration to say that Gatsos's silence is comparable to that of Dionysios Solomos. This is because Gatsos never tried to be a prolific poet, but the real artist, able to communicate his presence and influence to a whole generation, to spell out his visions and truths, to enlighten the next generation through a single collection. Gatsos was able to maintain the delicate balance between the critical and the imaginative, idealistic elements in his poetry. When he sensed the balance tilting towards the critical element and his contemplative mind overtaking his visionary mood, he immediately denounced his art and suspended his writing.

Gatsos was destined to be compared in many respects with Andreas Kalvos. Although they made their appearance at different moments in time, both provided the Hellenic literary tradition with a large vision, a big idea. Although both were considered to be among the less productive of modern Greek poets they were able to renew the Hellenic tradition not by simply adopting external models but rather by incorporating the antithetical elements and uncovering new ones.

In evaluating the contextual framework of Gatsos's poetry and its overall effect, one could say that he derived his inspiration from the broader pantheon of Greek and European tradition and an amazing plethora of stimuli. By following in the

steps of Alexandros Papadiamantis, Takis Papatsonis, Georgios Sarandaris, Odysseos Elytis, and George Seferis, he sought a connection with European philosophical thought and literature.

The unique phenomenon of Gatsos was not a purely surrealistic one like that of Egonopoulos or Andreas Embirikos. Gatsos employed several hyper-realistic elements but always remained conscious of his cultural and ideological context. He was not only an expert of the Hellenic tradition but he also succeeded in sheltering it in his work and renovating it from within. He made the first consistent attempt to prove that the Greek tradition contained important hyper-realistic elements. He relied on the tradition without exploiting it, while at the same time he incorporated the whole of Western thought produced between the two World Wars. As a result Gatsos has proved to be a two-dimensional poet: both deeply Greek and deeply European.

Also remarkable is the number of ways in which the Hellenic tradition functioned in his verse. Gatsos could converse with the characters of folk songs, flirt with the rhythms of ancient Greek poetry, and, at the same time, call upon an epigrammatic adage from Heraclitus. Following the example of Max Jacob, he constructed a vision strong enough to be expressed through the most unpoetic, flat, and solid expressions.

Having devoured the works of T.S. Eliot, García Lorca, Kafka, Sartre, and Valéry, as well as Cavafy and Solomos, Gatsos responded to the history of world literature according to his own perception of it. He discovered the tradition in the chorus of ancient tragedy, the hymns of Byzantium, and the popular songs of his ancestors. In this way, he taught the robustness of the organic function of rhyme, the aesthetic and moral quality of the Greek language. Gatsos was an "alchemist of the word" and an inventor of "the colours of the vowels". Sometimes in his poetry an expert reader can detect the pure magic of freely floating images and sounds operating more powerfully than Gatsos's acute intelligence and unabashed eye. His imagery is always as daring and surrealistic as it is in popular songs or in the texts of Cretan theatre. It evokes the past without any hint of nostalgia and it fluctuates incessantly. His obsession was to use the right words in the right order in his verse. Like Solomos he was a perfectionist. He attempted to convey his thoughts through a synthesis of traditional sounds, odours, colours, and images.

Gatsos's concentration on the hyper-realistic element in the Hellenic tradition made possible his transition from poetry to song writing. His songs are complete, self-sufficient, and independent. They are like one-act plays and they enabled him to popularize traditional surrealism among the Greek public. He also showed an extraordinary talent for translation. All his translations are direct, pure, and lyrical. Moreover, either through his translation of theatrical plays or by his attempt to adapt the theatrical text to the needs of the staging, Gatsos exercised a profound influence over the dramatists and directors with whom he collaborated.

It is no accident that Gatsos's poetry – which first appeared in the year of the German occupation of Greece (1943) – became the landmark for a whole generation of poets and the standard against which the next generation rebelled. He influenced every single aspect of Greek intellectual and cultural life. He questioned all the conventional associations of poetry without neglecting the traditional element. Gatsos wanted to substitute a new meaning to all the things he saw – the Hellenic literary tradition as a whole – not as seen by human conventions but as they really are. His contribution is enormous since without him modern Greek poetry might have followed completely different directions.

MARIA ROUMBALOU

See also Elytis, Kalvos, Seferis, Solomos

Biography

Born in Arcadia in 1916, Gatsos studied Greek literature at the University of Athens. He published only one collection of poetry, *Amorgos*, in two editions (1943 and 1964), though it became a landmark for a whole generation of poets. In addition he wrote songs and translated the plays of Lorca and Tennessee Williams. He died in Athens in 1995.

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Gaza

City in Palestine

Gaza, on the route from Egypt to Palestine and situated a few kilometres from the sea, and its port, Maiuma, have a long history. Gaza appears in the Bible as a centre of the Philistines. Hellenization began after the city was captured by Alexander the Great in 332 BC. It was ruled by the Ptolemies, and destroyed by the Jewish ruler Alexander Jannaeus in 96 BC, only to be rebuilt by the Roman governor Gabinius on a new site. It received Roman settlers when it became a Roman colony in the reign of Hadrian, perhaps in AD 129. The city worshipped Greek gods, but these were probably Semitic deities whose names and cult had been Hellenized. This is clear in the case of Zeus Marnas, the principal god of the city. As late as 395 the majority of Gaza's inhabitants still adhered to paganism.

Mark the Deacon's account of how Bishop Porphyry with the support the empress Eudoxia and local imperial forces destroyed the Marneion and the other pagan temples in 402 and so inaugurated the conversion of the population to Christianity is remarkably vivid and informative. In the 5th

and 6th centuries, Gaza was an important centre of education with a succession of distinguished teachers representing a Christian humanism, combining traditional rhetoric with Alexandrian philosophy and study of the Bible. Procopius (*c.*465–528) wrote a panegyric of the emperor Anastasius, rhetorical descriptions of works of art, and commentaries on a number of books of the Bible. He was one of the creators of the genre of catenas. His pupil Choricius was a Sophist in the tradition of Libanius. Choricius' orations give a vivid impression of Gaza in the first half of the 6th century. The *Theophrastus* of Aeneas of Gaza describes how Theophrastus, a pupil of Aristotle, is forced to accept Christian arguments concerning immortality and the Resurrection. Dorotheus of Gaza (500–60) was the author of the influential *Didaskaliai* (Teachings) of monastic life which were to be translated into Syriac, Arabic, Georgian, and Church Slavonic. The city was captured by the Arabs in 635.

J.H.W.G. LIEBESCHUETZ

Summary

An ancient city on the coast of Palestine, Gaza was first Hellenized after its capture by Alexander the Great in 332 BC. Paganism prevailed until the end of the 4th century but conversion to Christianity was initiated in 402. In the 5th and 6th centuries it was an important centre of scholarship whose teachers included Procopius, Choricius, Aeneas, and Dorotheus. It fell to the Arabs in 635.

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Gaza, Theodore *c.*1400–1475/76

Scholar

Theodore Gaza was one of the most prominent of the Byzantine émigré scholars who found refuge in Italy during the mid-15th century. In his activities as a teacher, translator, philosophical writer, and copyist of manuscripts, he helped not only to transmit classical Greek literature, especially the works of Aristotle and the ancient rhetoricians, to the Italian humanists but also to influence both their interpretation and their place in humanist education.

Throughout his career in Italy, Gaza was a popular teacher. He gave lessons in Greek to some of the foremost Italian scholars and humanists, including Ludovico Carbone, Ermalao Barbaro, the German astronomer Johannes Regiomontanus, and the Sicilian poet Antonio Beccadelli Panormita. Some insight into his teaching methods is given by his *Introduction to Greek Grammar*, which he wrote in the 1440s and which became the standard textbook for learning Greek. Erasmus regarded it as the best of the Greek grammars, and used it as the basis of his teaching at the University of Cambridge. In 1495 it was printed in Venice by the publisher Aldus Manutius and it remained in use well into the 16th century.

In his teaching Gaza laid stress on the Byzantine tradition of rhetoric drawn from the Greek orators of antiquity. In 1446, when he was appointed to the chair of Greek and Eloquence at the University of Ferrara, his first lecture series seems to have been on Demosthenes' oration *On the Crown*. His teaching of Greek rhetoric was undoubtedly helped by his mastery of Latin, a rare accomplishment among Byzantine scholars, which he had attained by studying under Vittorino da Feltre in Mantua between 1440 and 1446. Such was his proficiency that he was able to translate the orators Cicero and Claudian into Greek. Yet Gaza also appears to have believed, like his contemporary John Argyropoulos, that the whole of Greek Classical literature, and not only the rhetoricians, was worthy of study in humanist education. He used the occasion of his inaugural oration, entitled *On the Importance of Greek Studies*, to argue this point, stressing the role of Greek learning as a preparation for effective participation in political life.

It was, however, as a translator and paraphraser of Greek texts into Latin that Gaza was to make his name, especially in the work he produced in the years 1449–55 and 1464–73 when he resided in Rome, at the invitation of the humanist popes Nicholas V and Sixtus IV, and was one of the leading members of the Academy that met in the house of cardinal Bessarion. He produced Latin versions of Theophrastus' *On Plants*, Aristotle's *History of Animals* and *Problems*, and the pseudo-Aristotelian *Problems*, attributed to the Hellenistic commentator Alexander of Aphrodisias. He appears to have followed the method of translation adopted by Manuel Chrysoloras, abandoning a word-for-word rendering in favour of one that conveyed the spirit of the text. His translations were generally highly praised, but did not meet with universal approval; both Angelo Poliziano and George of Trebizond believed that his versions were too free.

In the process of translation, Gaza also made a significant contribution to the establishment of correct Greek texts: while translating the *History of Animals*, he noticed that in the

THEODORVS GAZA RHE,
TOR & GRAMMATICVS.
Altrix Roma, parens cui Græcia, Græcia Magna
Fit tumulus: linguæ Gaza vtriusq; vocor.
THEO-

Theodore Gaza, a 16th-century engraving

manuscript tradition books 7 and 9 had been transposed and he realized that book 10 was spurious. Both these judgements are accepted today. He was also active in the copying of manuscripts, which in the mid-15th century was still the only means of reproducing a text. A number of manuscripts survive in his elegant hand, including a copy of Homer's *Iliad*, made for the Milanese humanist Francesco Filelfo, now in the Bibliotheca Medicea Laurenziana in Florence (MS 32.1).

Gaza's contribution to the interpretation of Aristotle had less immediate impact but was to be influential well beyond his own lifetime. In 1459 he wrote his *On Fate*, a treatise in defence of Aristotle against George Gemistos Plethon and other admirers of Plato. The work was notable for its conciliatory tone, in sharp contrast to that adopted by George of Trebizond, and for its attempt to reconcile the philosophies of Plato and Aristotle rather than to emphasize the differences in their teachings. However, *On Fate* was written not only against the rising tide of admiration for Plato but also against the late scholastic interpretations of his work, based on the 12th-century Arab commentator Ibn Rushd Averroes, which still held sway in many Italian universities. Instead Gaza referred to the interpretations to be found in the early Byzantine commentators Simplicius, John Philoponus, Themistius, and Alexander of Aphrodisias. His pupil, the Venetian Ermalao Barbaro, and others were converted to Gaza's belief that the truest interpretation of Aristotle was to be found in these writers rather than in Averroes, and, as a result, the Greek interpretation gained ground, especially in Venice. In 1497, some 20 years after Gaza's death, the Venetian senate appointed Nicholas Leonicus Tomaeus to lecture on the Greek text of Aristotle at Padua, an appointment sometimes seen as marking the eclipse of Averroism.

JONATHAN HARRIS

Biography

Born in Thessalonica *c.*1400, Gaza moved to Italy by 1440 where he taught Greek in Ferrara, Naples, and Rome. His pupils included some of the foremost scholars of the day – Ludovico Carbone, Ermalao Barbaro, and Johannes Regiomontanus. His *Introduction to Greek Grammar* became a standard textbook and his Latin translations of Aristotle and Theophrastus were highly praised. He died in Policastro (Calabria) in 1475/76.

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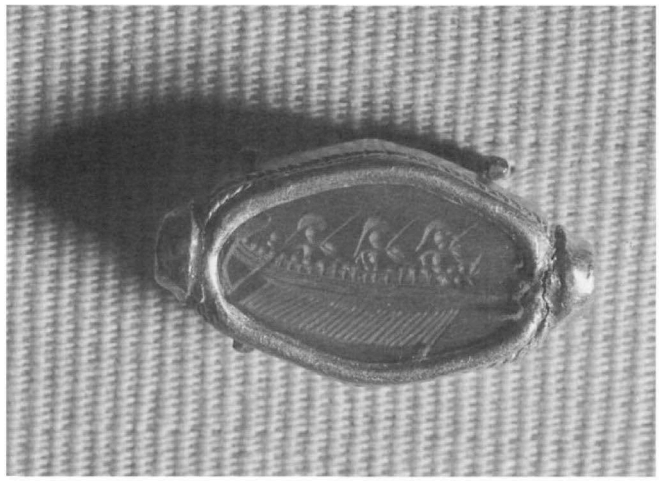
Gems and Seals

The use of seals fashioned from engraved semiprecious stones (normally cornelian and other quartzes) has a long history in Greek lands. Their primary purpose was to secure valuable commodities with a mark of ownership or to guarantee the authority of a letter or contract. They comprise much of the best miniature art produced during the Aegean Bronze Age and over a period stretching from Archaic Greece to Roman times, and were certainly valued for their artistry. Apart from the gems themselves, clay sealings survive from destroyed archives such as those of Hellenistic or early Roman date at Delos, Edfu, and Cyrene. Only from the 4th century AD did it become the custom in the Byzantine empire to affix to documents and



Gems and Seals: gem with a representation of a Greek warship, British Museum, London

packages double-sided sealings, normally of lead and made with a pincer-like *bulloterion*.

Seal motifs used in Cretan palaces of the 2nd millennium BC, such as Knossos, were generally engraved on one side of a pierced bead which could be worn on a string around the wrist or neck. Subjects comprise much of the standard repertoire of Minoan art, including marine creatures, bulls, and ritual scenes, such as the bull-leaping attractively rendered on an agate flattened cylinder (Ashmolean Museum, Oxford). Seals are quite common as finds and there are also many examples of sealings fired in various conflagrations, which attest to the highly organized and bureaucratic nature of Bronze Age society. The use of seals spread to mainland Greece, and fine examples are recorded from all the major sites, including Mycenae, Tiryns, and Pylos. The collapse of high culture, and with it the decline of literacy, at the end of the 2nd millennium BC brought the use of seals to an end.

From the 9th century BC there was a tentative revival of seal-cutting on the Greek mainland, though the stamp seals that were produced are rather schematically carved, on ivory or soft stone. In the 7th century BC seals of much higher aesthetic quality, often imitating Minoan prototypes, were engraved in the Cyclades. The major revival in gem-cutting came only in the second quarter of the 6th century BC when the Greeks adopted the Egyptian custom of carving seals in the form of scarab beetles. These were worn on a swivel-ring, and the devices engraved on the undersides of these archaic scarabs were thoroughly Greek in character from the start, sometimes orientalizing in style. Popular subjects include satyrs, warriors, lions, and winged figures such as the "mistress of the animals". From about 500 BC the use of the scarab back was largely abandoned and the devices on seals of scaraboid form became more naturalistic, as can be seen in the case of a gem signed by the engraver Epimenes showing an ephebe restraining a horse (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston).

Scaraboids of the 5th century BC are generally larger, and often made of a beautiful grey-blue chalcedony. Classical artists tried to imitate nature meticulously, whether the subject was a nut, a sandal, or an erotic scene. There are many delightful vignettes of animal life, including two studies of herons carved by Dexamenus of Chios (both in the Hermitage, St Petersburg). The same engraver carved a bearded male head (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston) and a delightful scene of a lady with her maid (Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge). During the Classical period the use of Greek-style seals spread in the western satrapies of the Persian empire and far beyond, many Graeco-Persian gems depicting figures in Persian costume and mounted hunts carved in an unmistakably Greek style.

Rings with fixed bezels became usual in the following century and were normal in Hellenistic and Roman times. From the time of Alexander the Great the Greek tradition of gem use was spread throughout the eastern Mediterranean area and, indeed, as far as India. A Hellenistic portrait of Alexander in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, bears an inscription in an Indian language. Moreover it is carved from tourmaline, demonstrating that rarer stones from the east were now available. The typical Hellenistic medium was perhaps garnet obtained from the western Himalayas. The changed nature of society is reflected in Hellenistic glyptics, many seals now showing the portraits of Ptolemies, Seleucids, and other rulers, although deities and genre scenes were always more common.

The incorporation of the Greek world into the Roman empire did not mark any real break with the Hellenistic tradition. The Greek style of gem usage had entered northern Italy as early as the Archaic period, and although the Etruscans and other peoples clung to the scarab back for longer, Greek influence from Magna Graecia and beyond continued to be felt, not least in Latium. By the beginning of the 2nd century BC important Romans were commissioning the best Greek engravers. The emperor Augustus (27 BC–AD 14) employed the great Dioscurides for his signet, as we hear from Suetonius, Pliny the Elder, and Dio Cassius. A number of gems from his hand are extant, including a Hermes (Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge) and Diomedes stealing the Palladium ftom Troy (Devonshire collection, Chatsworth).

Among the many gems from Greek-speaking lands in the empire, a special class of gems cut with figured devices and/or magical texts on both sides was widely distributed, especially in the Levant. These could be used in gems as seals but served mainly as amulets. Otherwise, while the occurrence of the Greek language or a Greek name on an inscribed seal indicates a Greek-speaking owner, the style and subject of "Roman" gems from Scotland to Syria are very similar, demonstrating the dominance of the Greek tradition in this medium.

During Hellenistic and Roman times gems were used in all manner of jewellery, especially by women. Even engraved gems were sometimes simply used decoratively in brooches and rings, especially in the case of cameos, gems carved in relief. The best were works of art, cut in the workshops of Dioscurides and his contemporaries, though others were mass-produced, often love-tokens given by men to their girlfriends. Of especial interest here are those of the 2nd- or 3rd-century AD carved with Greek mottoes, found not only in Greek lands but as far away as Roman Britain.

Byzantine practice marked a break from earlier tradition. The double-sided lead sealing made with the *bulloterion* was more formal in appearance, generally incorporating a religious text as invocation, a portrait of Christ if the seal was imperial, or of the Virgin for the patriarch, while other important people might use a saint or a monogram. Gems were of course still

very much admired but would now normally be worn as jewellery.

Although the Byzantine *bulloterion* was sometimes used in western Europe, notably for papal seals, it was normal in the Middle Ages to use a metal stamp or a finger ring engraved in intaglio, sometimes incorporating an ancient gem or a contemporary copy of it. The ancient Greek practice thus had a tenuous continuity into modern times. From the Renaissance, princely patrons such as Isabella d'Este (1474–1539) and later others such as Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel (1585–1646), collected classical gems as objets d'art. This stimulated artists to emulate their Greek and Roman predecessors. Often completely new subjects were engraved, based on ancient or contemporary statues or paintings, as in the case of the 18th-century English engravers Nathaniel Marchant (1739–1816) and Edward Burch (1730–1814). It was thus by no means unusual for any European of the period of the Enlightenment to seal a letter with the image of Homer or Socrates.

MARTIN HENIG

See also Jewellery

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Gender

In this essay, the term "gender" is to be understood as the social and cultural, as opposed to biological, identification of a person's sex, and the distinctions between the sexes.

Though a social construction, gender nevertheless has its ideological roots in biological differences, real or imagined, between the sexes. This is presented most clearly by the 5th-century-BC doctor Hippocrates, who wrote in his *Diseases of Women* (trans. A.E. Hanson, quoted in Halperin):

> I say that a woman's flesh is more sponge-like and softer than a man's: since this is so, the woman's body draws moisture both with more speed and in greater quantity from the belly than does the flesh of a man ... And when the body of a woman – whose flesh is soft – happens to be full of blood and that blood does not go off from her body, a pain occurs, whenever her flesh is full and becomes heated. A woman has warmer blood and therefore she is warmer than a man. Because a man has more solid flesh than a woman, he is never so totally overfilled with blood that pain results if some of his blood does not exit each month. He draws whatever quantity of blood is necessary for his body's nourishment ...

Women are therefore bound to bleed, notably at liminal points of life: menstruation, defloration, and parturition; it is an essential aspect of the prime female role as giver of life. By contrast, it is the man's duty to bleed in warfare, which was understood by the ancient Greeks as the male counterpart to female parturition. Thus Euripides' Medea proclaims that she would prefer to face battle three times rather than give birth once (*Medea*, 250ff.), and the laws of Lycurgus allow marked burials only for men who died in battle and women who died in childbirth (Plutarch, *Life of Lycurgus*).

This dichotomy of the "soft, weak" female and the "strong" male pervades all aspects of the Greek understanding of gender distinctions. Since the female is weak in will and body, excess and temptation have received feminine attributes. In ancient Greece feminine deities personified strife (Eris) and madness (Lyssa), while in the Byzantine era sins acquired feminine personifications (Neophytos Enkleistos). Nevertheless, this weakness also counteracts the high potential for destruction and disruption, and the feminine is seen to be essentially *passive*, unable to exert active control over the self and often considered to be childlike.

By contrast, the male is understood to be strong in body and mind and is essentially *active* in character. As the strong body makes men fit for warfare, strength of mind gives them the potential for self-restraint, in Greek *sophrosyne*, or temperance. Thus the male is expected to control his appetites for food, drink, and sex along with overweening pride and anything else considered to be excessive (Aeschines, *Against Timarchus*). The male is in active control, stable and competent, while the female is passive but dangerous. This conception of male and female genders has changed little if at all since ancient times.

While the ideology of the strong, active male and the weak, passive female remains constant in Greek culture, there are various inversions of these roles, when men become "as women" and vice versa. In early Greece gender ambiguity is represented by Dionysus, god of wine, madness, and liminality. In the *Bacchae* he is described as fair-skinned, long-haired, and luxurious, and since he is feminine he also causes the youth Pentheus to adopt transvestitism. From the 4th century BC vase painters show Dionysus as beardless. Even greater gender ambiguity occurs with Heracles. While ultimately masculine in his superior strength, Heracles is forced into the feminine role throughout his career. On one occasion he must serve the Lydian queen Omphale, wearing her clothes and spinning thread at her feet, while she bears his cloak and club. In *Trachiniae* (1070ff.) suffering in his death, Heracles proclaims

himself turned into a woman. As there are feminine men, so too are there masculine women in the Greek tradition, notably the maenads and Amazons, both of whom represent inversions of the "natural" order of society and civilization in the ancient Greek arts.

Beginning in the Byzantine era eunuchs also upset the engendered order. Contemporary views varied on the extent to which eunuchs represented a "third sex". The secular opinion was that eunuchs were neither male nor female, but other, while Theophylaktos of Ohrid (12th century), providing Church commentary, argued that they were "neither a third sex nor a third gender; they are simply men" (S. F. Tougher, in James, 1997, p.169). Nevertheless, physical and sexual differences were recognized in eunuchs; Theophylaktos himself noted that sexual purity was their inherent benefit (ibid., p.175); they had feminine voices, glossy skin, and corpulent physiques (Hopkins, 1978, pp.193–94); and the 10th-century Arab historian al-Masudi mentioned that their armpits did not smell (Masudi, 1989, pp.345–46).

Male homosexuality in ancient and modern Greece presents its own subversion of masculine gender. In ancient Greece the man was expected to be the *erastes*, the active lover. Only the female should be able to enjoy sex passively (*eromenos*), and the male who did so was given the derogatory epithet *kinaidos*. In modern Greece male homosexuality is regarded as the union of an active, extra-masculine male and a passive, feminine one known as the *poushtis* (Loizos and Paptaxiarchis, 1991, p.227). The latter is often regarded as subhuman, being of weak moral character and without dignity (ibid., pp.227–28). A lesser, although more commonly heard, insult of the male through likening to the female is the term *malaka*, meaning "soft". It carries inherently feminine overtones, and ranges in insult from casting aspersions on the masculinity of the term's recipient to verbally placing the recipient in the role of the *poushtis*. As in most modern, Western cultures, there is no corresponding insult likening the female to the male.

In all periods of Greek history the house interior is feminine space, while the outdoors, the city or farm, is the realm of the man. The white paint used to render females in Bronze Age and classical art in contrast to the red or black pigments used to colour men has mostly been attributed to this dichotomy. In modern Greece the house is still the proper domain of the woman (A. M. Iossifides, in Loizos and Papataxiarchis, 1991, p.141), and the respectability of (unmarried) females is often dependent on claims of "never leaving the house". By contrast men are expected to remain outdoors (J. K. Cowan, in Loizos and Papataxiarchis, 1991, pp.187ff.), either working in the fields or the city, or relaxing in male company at the *kafeneion* (one humorous aspect of modern Greek village life is the social impropriety of men going home during the day; on slow days they have little choice but to remain at the *kafeneion*).

While interior space is feminine and the civilized outdoors masculine, wild, uncultivated territories are seen as feminine. In the pagan tradition this area is sacred to Artemis, and it is to these regions that the maenads flee when possessed (Euripides, *Bacchae*). Unfortunately, little such territory remains in modern Greece.

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Gennadios II Scholarios *c.*1405–*c.*1472

Scholar and Patriarch of Constantinople

Baptized as George, with the (maternal?) family name of Kourtesis, he was born in Constantinople *c.*1405. His parents, of Thessalian origins, had relocated in the capital. Little is known of his early life, but he clearly received the best education that the intellectual life of Constantinople could allow. His teachers included the philosopher-humanist John Chortasmenos, and the theologians Joseph Bryennios and Mark Eugenikos.

He developed early a love for philosophy and theology, and for their interrelationships. Impatient with the Platonism dominating Byzantine intellectual life – and represented by the maverick scholar George Gemistos Plethon – he became an ardent Aristotelian. Likewise disillusioned with what he considered the shallow level of Byzantine philosophical and theological scholarship, he learned Latin and studied the commentaries of Averroes and Avicenna (in Latin) as well as the works of Latin theologians, especially Thomas Aquinas. Particularly sympathetic to the Scholastic harmonization of Aristotle's thought with Christian theology, he translated some of Aquinas's writings, respecting Thomistic thought even into his own later years of hostility to Church union with the Latins.

George opened his own school of grammar, philosophy, and logic. Accused of being a "Latinizer" – an irony in view of his later ecclesiastical stance – he defended himself with the arguments that Latin philosophy had simply outstripped what the Byzantines knew, and that admiring the learning of the Latins did not necessarily mean accepting their religious doctrines or compromising his firmly held Orthodox beliefs.

George's intellectual activities won him the admiration and friendship of the emperor John VIII Palaiologos, who appointed him to significant court and judicial offices. From a post as the emperor's secretary he took the title of "Scholarios" which became firmly affixed to his name thereafter. His advice was understandably sought by the emperor as plans were made

for a council in the West to consider the union of the Greek and Latin Churches, which at this point he favoured.

He served as an unofficial member of the Byzantine delegation to the union council which, opening in Ferrara in the spring of 1438, was transferred to Florence the following year. He was initially more in tune with the pro-unionist and fellow-student of Chortasmenos, Bessarion of Trebizond, than with his former teacher Mark Eugenikos, the principal opponent of union. In April 1439 he joined Bessarion in pleading with the Greek delegation to reach agreement with the Latins and thus secure aid against the Turks, arguing, in the process, that Latin learning and theological dialectic were now superior to Byzantine skills in these realms and had shown how seeming contradictions in Patristic texts could be reconciled. He attempted unsuccessfully to contribute a compromise position statement of his own, and he expressed a clear acceptance of the principles of the union.

Circumstances prompted his departure from the council before its proclamation of the union, to which he was thus not a formal signatory. Recognition of the hostility towards the union of Byzantine public opinion may already have begun to undermine his affirmative position, while he soon recognized that the hoped-for military aid from the West for which the union had been bargained would be of no consequence. When he returned to Constantinople, Scholarios remained officially a pro-unionist, or at least a favourably disposed neutral, if only out of respect for his master the emperor, on whom his career so much depended. But he became the target of Mark Eugenikos, the outspoken champion of anti-unionism. Apparently by the time of the latter's death (June 1445), Scholarios was won over to the opposition. Still observing caution, but at growing cost to his official status, he began to emerge as the chief exponent of rejecting compromise with Latin doctrines.

John VIII's death (October 1448) removed any remaining restraints. Scholarios joined those who attempted to withhold recognition from the new emperor, Constantine IX, unless he renounced the union. With his old life and livelihood gone, and either expelled or resigning from his remaining court positions, Scholarios became a monk, taking the name of Gennadios, by which he would henceforth be known. He began an active campaign of writing and preaching the cause of Orthodoxy and its preservation from Latin doctrinal perversions, supported by many of the clergy. When the threat of Turkish attack on Constantinople rose and his former schoolmate Isidore of Kiev arrived as a Roman cardinal and papal legate, Gennadios circulated his final denunciations of the union. After its belated proclamation in Hagia Sophia (December 1452), Gennadios isolated himself in his cell at the Pantokrator Monastery, taking no part in the ordeal of the city's beleaguerment until the following spring.

When Constantinople fell on 29 May 1453, Gennadios was captured and carried off to Adrianople among the enslaved prisoners. In already established Ottoman tradition, Mehmet the Conqueror appreciated the value of the Orthodox Church as a focus of Christian identity and, consequently, as an agency through which he might rule its faithful. Recognized by the sultan as a logical figure to reunite the Christian population, Gennadios was brought back to Constantinople and allowed to reconstitute his monastery. Meanwhile, Gennadios made a great impression upon the sultan, and a relationship of mutual respect and even friendship developed between them. Mehmet realized that, with his anti-union leadership and hostility to Rome, Gennadios would be a reliable leader of the Christian *millet* (communities) firmly under Turkish rule. They seem, by June 1453, to have worked out an understanding as to the revival and operation of the Greek Patriarchate of Constantinople. The last Byzantine patriarch had fled the city before its fall, so that new election procedures could be observed and, the following January, Gennadios could be properly and canonically enthroned in that office. He was at first headquartered in the church of the Holy Apostles, from which, however, he soon transferred his seat to the smaller (and safer) church of the Pammakaristos.

The Byzantine Patriarchate had been an agency of a Christian imperial state; it now was easily transformed into a component of an Islamic imperial state. Gennadios was assured, however, that his position, and that of the Church, were to be fully respected. Indeed, the tolerant and intellectually broad-minded sultan enjoyed at least three discussions of religious ideas with him. Gennadios may even have had hopes of converting the sultan when the latter commissioned him to write a concise exposition of Christian belief for translation into Turkish. On the other hand, the new patriarch was sensitive to internal challenges: believing the neo-pagan ideas of old Plethon to be dangerous, Gennadios went so far as to destroy most of the sole manuscript of Plethon's treatise, *On the Laws*. Nevertheless, Gennadios confronted the social strains suffered by his flock with a pragmatic flexibility (*oikonomia*) in interpreting canonical regulations that provoked much criticism from some of his clergy.

Wearied by his uncongenial burdens, after about two years Gennadios was allowed to retire from his office to monastic refuge. But shameful squabbles under his immediate successors prompted the sultan to recall him to the Patriarchate in 1463. He is said to have fled from his tasks after a few months, but he was recalled again for a final term of service (1464–65) before his definitive release. He spent his remaining years in the Monastery of the Prodromos near Serres (in Macedonia), resuming his devotion to theological writing and Thomistic scholarship. The date of his death is uncertain but may have been as late as 1472.

JOHN W. BARKER

Biography

Born in Constantinople *c.*1405, George (as he was baptized) was a pupil of such distinguished scholars as John Chortasmenos, Joseph Bryennios, and Mark Eugenikos. He taught logic and physics at his own school and studied the works of Averroes, Avicenna, and Aquinas. He accompanied the emperor to the council of Ferrara/Florence in 1438–39 but later abandoned his pro-unionist stance. After the fall of Constantinople sultan Mehmet II appointed him the first patriarch under Ottoman rule. He died *c.*1472.

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Genoese

Genoa is a port on the gulf of Genoa in Liguria, some 120 km south of Milan in northwest Italy. It was first mentioned as a *municipium* in the 3rd century BC and had a bishop of its own by the mid-5th century AD. From 958 it was a free city ruled by its bishop. During the 9th and 10th centuries Genoa and the Ligurian coast were subject to Muslim raids from Sicily and Spain. In 1016–17, in alliance with Pisa, Genoa prevented the Muslim conquest of Sardinia and in 1087 raided Mahdia, to the south of Tunis. As part of the peace negotiations with the Muslims the Genoese secured the right to trade along the Tunisian coast. After 1090 and the conquest of Sicily by the Normans, Genoese trade was extended to southern Italy. The Genoese also traded with the Levant. In 1063 Ingulf, abbot of Croyland in Lincolnshire, returned from pilgrimage in a Genoese ship he boarded in Jaffa, and in 1094 or 1095 on pilgrimage to the Holy Land Godfrey of Bouillon sailed out and back in a Genoese ship called *La Pomella*. In 1097 a squadron of 12 Genoese ships took part in the First Crusade and helped capture the city of Antioch. As a reward Genoese merchants were granted a *fondaco* based around the church of St John and 30 neighbouring houses by Bohemond, the new ruler of the city.

Behind the Amalfitans (950?), Pisans (1111), and Venetians (1092), the Genoese did not conclude their first commercial treaty with the Byzantines until 1155. In the following year, partly to wean the Genoese from too close a commercial alliance with Byzantium, William I of Sicily granted them favourable trade concessions in the wheat and cotton trade of Norman Sicily. Nevertheless, the Venetians saw the Genoese as their main rival in Constantinopolitan trade, and in 1162 and again in 1171 attacked the new Genoese quarter. The Genoese inhabitants of Constantinople helped defend the city against the army of the Fourth Crusade, but its success placed trade with Constantinople firmly in Venetian hands, to the detriment of Genoese merchants who sought trade links with the Greeks of Nicaea. In 1261 by the Treaty of Nymphaeum the Genoese gave their support to Michael VIII Palaiologos's successful attempt to recapture Constantinople; in return in 1267 Genoese merchants received very favourable concessions together with a commercial base in Pera (Galata), from where an extensive Black Sea trade was built up.

The 14th century marked the apogee of Genoa's preeminence in Aegean and Black Sea trade. In 1275 Manuale Zaccaria had been granted a monopoly of the alum mines around Phocaea (modern Foggia) in northwest Turkey. Alum was the principal fixing agent used in the west for the dyeing of cloth, and the mineral from Phocaea was the best available outside the Black Sea area. In 1304 the monopoly was extended to Genoese merchants in general, though not before the Zaccaria family had amassed a fortune which elevated it to the ranks of the super-rich. In the same year the Genoese seized the island of Chios, both to protect their investments in Phocaea and to preserve the mastic gardens on the island from Turkish attacks. Mastic was the favoured toothpaste of the wealthy in the Middle Ages and Chios its only known source. The island reverted to Byzantine rule in 1329 but in 1346 was seized by a Genoese adventurer, Simone Vignoso. The Genoese government, unable to repay the cost of this expedition, passed the administration of the island and the exploitation of its resources to a company (*mahonna*) made up of those who had financed the expedition. The island remained in Genoese hands until 1566 and the *mahonna* became the earliest example of a chartered company administering a colonial possession. In November 1354, in return for helping John V Palaiologos to enter Constantinople, the Genoese family of Gattalusi were rewarded with the island of Lesbos and an imperial marriage with the emperor's sister Irene. The family established a ruling dynasty based on Lesbos which lasted till 1462. In the same period the Genoese retained their share of Levantine trade in the face of aggressive Venetian action to regain its own share of the market. Four major naval wars (1258–70, 1294–99, 1350–51, and 1375–81) resulted. With the capture of Constantinople by sultan Mehmet II in 1453 the Genoese rulers and merchants in Chios, Kaffa, Lesbos, and Pera sent embassies to offer their congratulations and to negotiate tribute payments to their new overlord. Thereafter the Genoese lost out to the expanding Ottoman power, which took Pera in 1453, Lesbos in 1462, Kaffa in 1475, and the island of Chios, the last Genoese possession in the Levant, in 1566.

Byzantine/Greek artistic influences were not as evident in Genoa as they were in Venice. They are, however, evident in two major schemes: the frescos in the cathedral of St Lawrence in Genoa painted around 1310 may have been the work of a Byzantine, but this together with a textile depicting the life of St Lawrence sent to Genoa by Michael VIII Palaiologos.

PETER LOCK

Summary

A relative latecomer to the Byzantine world, the Italian city-state of Genoa concluded its first treaty with Constantinople in 1155. The Genoese quickly became the Venetians' main trading rivals. The Genoese had a monopoly of the alum mines around Phocaea: they also ruled Chios from 1304 to 1566 (with a break in 1329–46) and Lesbos from 1354 to 1462.

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Geography

Although the Greeks were the creators of the science of geography and made considerable advances in mathematical and descriptive geography, they were hampered by the lack of good technical appliances and therefore could not obtain technical accuracy. Only a fraction of the world was actually known to them, and what was unknown was the subject of a priori deduction and fanciful speculation. With the exception of mathematics and astronomy, Greek geography did not as a rule rely on other sciences as does geography today.

A considerable appreciation of topography, world order, and theory is displayed in the various Homeric descriptions, some of which are quite elaborate. The catalogue of ships in book 2 of the *Iliad* is a systematic evocation of the homeland of the Greeks. Both Homer and Hesiod conceived the earth as a round land mass surrounded by Ocean and symmetrically vaulted by heaven above and Tartarus below.

It was among the Ionians of Asia Minor that Greek geographical enquiry and writing originated, and their geographical horizons were enlarged by the expansion of their commerce and the colonization movement. In choosing names for their new settlements they repeated place names from their homeland, a habit of thinking which reflects a geographical sophistication. Not only is this practice paralleled from other parts of the world and other ages, but the practice persisted among the Greeks themselves down to Hellenistic, Roman, and even modern times.

The first recorded attempt at drawing a map of the world is that of Anaximander of Miletus (6th century BC). This map probably represented the world as a circular land mass divided into two portions, Asia and "Europe", surrounded by Ocean as Homer described it. The map was corrected and enlarged by Hecataeus (530–490 BC) who also wrote a commentary on it (including descriptions of towns and peoples as well as geographical features), of which some fragments are preserved by Herodotus. Herodotus (traditionally 484–425 BC), the "father of history", carefully recorded his personal observations made during many years of extensive travel, thus combining the geographical and ethnographical perspectives. Following his example, almost all ancient historians regularly included geographical descriptions in their works, and many of them appreciated, though perhaps not adequately by modern standards, the impact of geography on historical events. Ephorus (*c.*405–330 BC) attempted ethnography and historical geography and devoted entire books to descriptive geography, while Timaeus (*c.*350–260 BC) dealt largely with the general geography of western Europe.

Meanwhile, the shape and nature of the earth itself was engaging the attention of the early Greek philosophers. Of the Milesians, Thales (*c.*625–547 BC) declared it to be like a log floating on water, Anaximander that it was cylindrical and that it remained steady due to its central position in respect to other heavenly bodies, Anaximenes (*c.*380–320 BC) that it was like a leaf floating in the air. By insisting that the earth had no limit below and that the air had none above, Xenophanes (*c.*570–478 BC) got rid of both Uranus and Tartarus. The sphericity of the earth was asserted by the Pythagoreans, referred to for the first time in extant literature by Plato (in the *Phaedo*), and proved by Aristotle and Eudoxus of Cnidus (*c.*400–347 BC). The last mentioned is also responsible for the division of the globe into five zones: one of torrid and two each of frigid and temperate climate. Heraclides of Pontus (388–315 BC) declared that the earth revolved round its axis, and Aristarchus of Samos (330–260 BC) believed that it might also be revolving round the sun (prior to this, the Pythagorean Philolaus had taught that the earth, together with the planets, revolved round a central fire).

The earliest surviving work of a purely geographical nature is a description of the Mediterranean coast, the so-called *Periplus of Scylax* (named, doubtless, after Scylax whom Darius sent to explore the Indus), in reality a work of the early 4th century BC. About 330 BC Pytheas of Massilia made his voyage of exploration towards the northwest as far as the northern end of the British Isles and the coasts of Germany.

At about the same time, the eastern campaigns of Alexander the Great opened to Greek research the whole of Asia as far as India, with prospects of further expansion. The work of his companions and followers served, more than anything, to establish a link between formal geography and political dominion. Moreover, through the development in their hands of the ethnographical tradition, these writers gave to geography an analytical content which, while relying on the techniques of description and cataloguing, outlasted them. Thus Nearchus' report on his voyage from the Indus received visual form in a new map by Aristotle's pupil Dicaearchus of Messana (*c.* 320 BC). He was the first writer to treat physical geography in a scientific manner. Though his estimate of the earth's circumference (40,000 miles) was exaggerated, he rightly assumed the existence of a southern hemisphere. His map remained the standard of its kind for a long time.

The southern and eastern parts of India were opened up even further under Alexander's successors, as a result of Seleucid military expeditions and the trips of ambassadors such as Megasthenes. Unlike Ctesias of Cnidus (*c.*400 BC) whose *Indica* has been criticized as being overloaded with fable, Megasthenes has been commended (though not without debate) for giving a good description of the Ganges valley, of which he had personal knowledge. The Arabian and East African coasts became better known as a result of the commercial expeditions of the Ptolemies, and this improved knowledge is reflected in Agatharchides' partially extant description of the Red Sea coast (*c.*120 BC) and in the geographical chapters of Diodorus Siculus (*c.*100–20 BC).

It was Eratosthenes of Cyrene (*c.*285–200 BC) who arranged into a truly scientific system the mass of geographical material

collected up to his time. He rejected the Homeric tradition and insisted on a clear distinction between fictitious wonder-descriptions and the recording of scientific fact. He created a new genre by blending mathematical and descriptive geography. His achievements in mathematics and the physical sciences on the one hand and history and philology on the other equipped him ideally for his task. He was the first to attempt to estimate the earth's circumference by a measurement of degrees carried out over a space of 15 degrees of latitude, but the imperfections of his method caused him to arrive at an exaggerated estimate (by 15 per cent or less) of 25,000 geographical miles. But the estimate which came to be accepted for many centuries to come was that of Posidonius of Apamea (*c.*90 BC) who based his calculation on the measurement of the shortest distance from Alexandria to Rhodes, and arrived at a figure of 18,000 geographical miles.

The true founder of mathematical geography was Hipparchus of Nicaea (*c.*140 BC), for he applied geometrical length and breadth to determine the position of places on the earth's surface. He also replaced the then current (Eratosthenean) rectangular and equidistant projection of parallels and meridians with a projection approximating to modern usage. He represented the parallels by segments of a circle, and the meridians by straight lines or curves in keeping with the portion of surface to be represented, drawn at distances corresponding to the actual distances on the surface of the globe.

The most important surviving Greek work on descriptive geography and ethnology is the 17-book treatise of Strabo published around AD 20. It covers topography as well as physical, political, historical, and (with less enthusiasm) mathematical geography. His object was the edification of political and military leaders. Roman conquests enabled him (as they enabled Polybius and Posidonius) to give a more accurate description of the West than his predecessors. The first two books present a wide-ranging discussion of the aims and methods of geography and review earlier writings on the subject. The remainder is devoted to regional geography. The vanished writings of many of his predecessors are known to us mainly through his criticisms.

The geographical contribution of Claudius Ptolemy (mid-2nd century AD) was the concept of the tabulation of latitude and longitude of places, which could give precision to locations. Its defects are due chiefly to the inaccuracies in his data and his preference for a priori principles over data available from recent reports (which must have included works such as the anonymous *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, a work probably dating from the second half of the 1st century AD and preserved, with other minor geographical works such as the epitome of Strabo, in a 9th-century Heidelberg manuscript). Though most of Ptolemy's geographical data were not actually determined by astronomical observation, he expressed them systematically in reference to curved lines of latitude measured northwards from the equator and curved meridians measured eastwards from the Canary Islands. The special topographical features of Greece were served by Pausanias' *Guide to Greece*, while the didactic geographical hexameter poem of Dionysius Periegetes (2nd century AD) acquired so much popularity down the ages that it was translated into Latin by both Avienus and Priscian, paraphrased by Nicephorus and an anonymous writer, and was commented on by Eustathios, the 12th-century bishop of Thessalonica.

Greek geographical writings after Ptolemy largely consist of compilations and extracts, such as the *Periplus of the Outer Sea* by Marcian of Heraclea (*c.*AD 400) and the *Anonymi Geographi Expositio Compendiaria* attributed to Agathemerus. Both these works were printed by C. Müller in the first volume of his *Geographi Graeci Minores* (1855). Towards the end of the 6th century Stephanos of Byzantium compiled a dictionary known as the *Ethnica* which has preserved a great quantity of geographical information from earlier writers now lost, and which was in its turn utilized by the emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitos in his *De Administrando Imperio* and *De Thematibus* which include historical and ethnographic data. Stephanos's main sources were Strabo and Pausanias. Cosmas Indicopleustes, an Egyptian merchant turned monk, wrote the 12-book *Topographia Christiana* in which he made a vehement attempt to disprove the pagan theory of the earth's sphericity, maintaining that the shape of the world was the same as that of the tabernacle which Moses built to house the Covenant.

Interest in descriptive geography, which had been fashionable in the late Roman period, dwindled after the 6th century, but was revived in the 9th century beginning with Epiphanios Hagiopolites, and with the resurgence of travel literature from the 11th century onwards. The history of Gregoras, covering the period 1204–1359, included a long account of his friend Agathangelos whose letters described his alleged journeys around the Mediterranean during 20 years. He was followed in the subsequent centuries by John Phokas, Andrew Libadenos, and Laskaris Kananos. Within this category of descriptive geography can also be included narrative accounts of ambassadors to foreign lands, such as Priskos of Panium and Nonnosus in the late Roman period, and Constantine Manasses, Nicholas Mesarites, and Theodore Metochites in the 12th–14th centuries.

Although Byzantine scholars, like their Greek predecessors, held various views regarding the shape of the earth (ranging from the domed cube of Cosmas Indicopleustes to the globe of Photios), the centre of their *oikoumene* (world) was the Mediterranean. This was surrounded by the three continents – Asia, Europe, and Libya – while the Ocean surrounded all of them. Britain, China, and Black Africa lay at the extremes of the earth and were generally presented in legendary form. India was either identified with Ethiopia or with the country round the Phison of scripture (identified with either the Ganges or the Indus). The Phison was one of four major rivers which originated in the terrestrial Paradise, the easternmost country of the world.

Byzantine geographical perceptions, like those of the ancient Greeks, were limited by various factors: (1) the need to reconcile observations and empirical findings with preconceived notions based on scripture; (2) the uncritical acceptance of bookish information as true, without reference to current conditions; and (3) the strong impact of folklore on geography, which led to reliable information being often blended with fantastic notions concerning foreign lands and peoples.

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See also Anaximander, Astronomy, Cartography, Constantine VII, Ephorus, Eratosthenes, Eudoxus, Hecataeus, Herodotus, Hipparchus, Metochites, Pausanias, Posidonius, Ptolemy, Strabo, Timaeus

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Geology

Our knowledge of the geological history of the Aegean region starts in earnest 200 million years ago. At that time the North Atlantic Ocean did not exist and both Africa (more correctly Gondwanaland, or Africa plus other continents) and Eurasia (Europe and Asia) were united with the North American continent to form a supercontinent named Pangea. Between the future continents of Africa and Eurasia there was a wedge-shaped ocean, named Tethys (after the daughter of the earth goddess Gaia), which opened out to the east, where it joined the other oceans. The southern part of Tethys was a wide, shallow tropical sea where limestone was being deposited, rather similar to the Bahama banks today. Much of the grey limestone seen today in Greece formed at this time. Low islands on this platform were later to form parts of the mountains of Macedonia, Thrace, and southwestern Turkey. The northern part of Tethys was a deep ocean basin that abutted mountains in southern Eurasia. This state of affairs changed when the North Atlantic Ocean began to form about 190 million years ago.

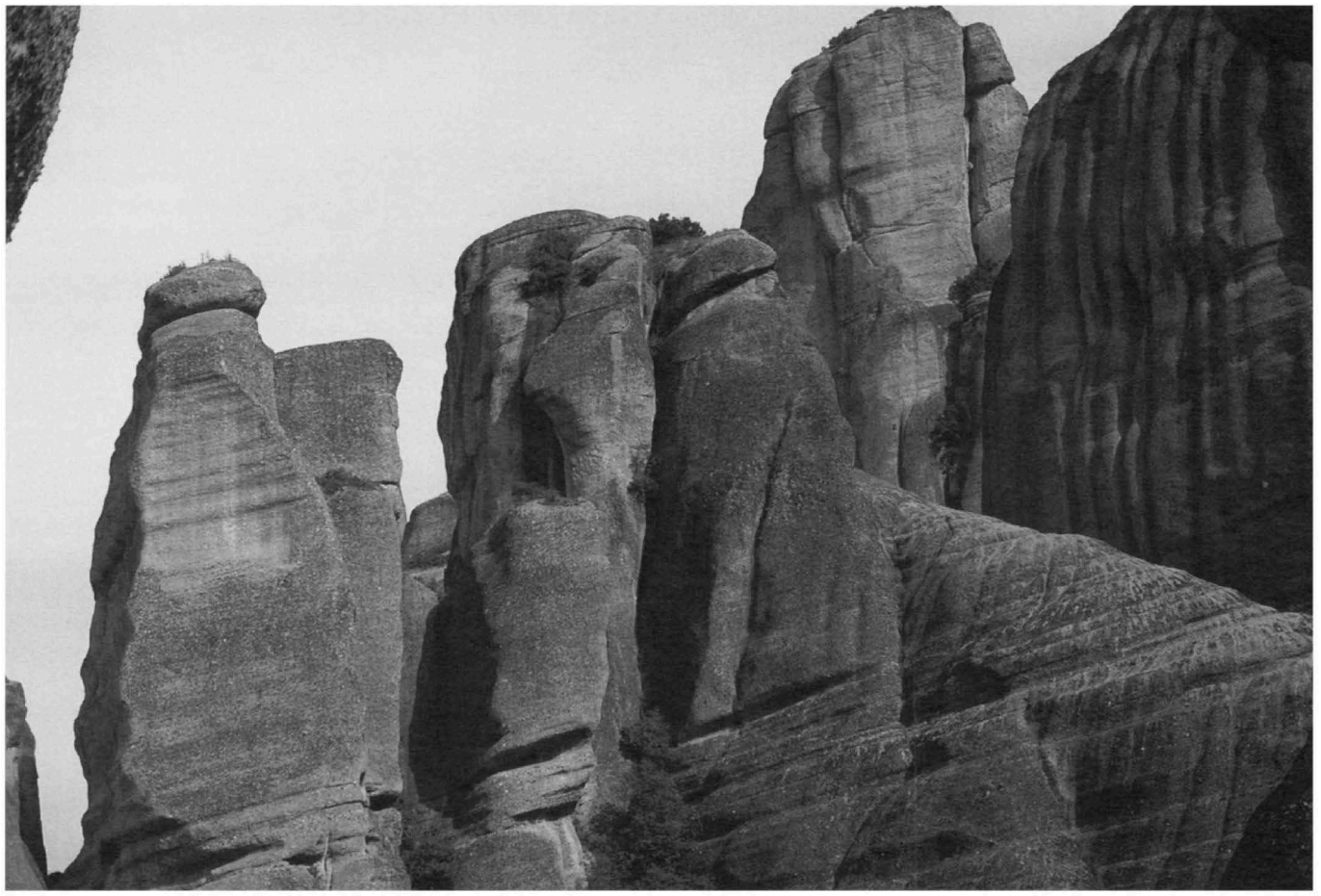
The Atlantic Ocean started to open from the south and a great tear extended northwards. Africa had to rotate anti-clockwise to accommodate the new ocean and the Tethys Ocean started to close up. At the same time, between the wide platform where the limestone was forming and the core of the African continent, a new ocean was opening up, later to become the Mediterranean Sea. These two processes combined to force the limestone platform, with its islands and troughs, northwards towards Eurasia. The deep ocean floor could bend and descend into the deeper parts of the interior of the earth, but the islands and the platforms were too light to go down. Instead they were piled against Eurasia to form chains of mountains. The overall convergence between Africa and Eurasia slowed down after the Arabian peninsula hit Eurasia, but continued expansion of parts of the Mediterranean sea floor continued to force parts of the crust northwards, raising up further mountain ranges. This overall convergence continues today, which is why the Aegean region is so mountainous.

Within the overall Mediterranean context of convergence and compression there are regions where crustal stretching was and is important, such as parts of the Aegean. During crustal stretching the surface of the earth cracks along faults. Parts of the crust descend to form tectonic valleys called grabens (as opposed to erosional valleys formed by rivers) which can also extend under the sea, the intervening blocks remaining as mountains, peninsulas, and islands (horsts). Expansion was directly north–south in Asia Minor, giving major east–west grabens now occupied by rivers such as the Gediz and Büyük Menderes in Turkey. In the Peloponnese and southern Greece expansion produced northwest–southeast grabens, such as the Gulf of Corinth and the Euboean straits. In between these areas stretching was more complex, producing a series of isolated blocks, the Cyclades.

Mention should be made of an unusual event that occurred about six million years ago: the Mediterranean sea almost completely dried up. This happened when tectonic forces closed up the Straits of Gibraltar. Rivers flowing into the basin, principally from the Black Sea, were insufficient to maintain sea-level and the sea dried out, except for a few saline lakes resembling the modern Dead Sea. There may even have been a salty waterfall at Gibraltar, also feeding the lakes. Evaporation of water from the lakes produced deposits of gypsum (alabaster) and other minerals, seen today in Crete and elsewhere.

The climate of the last 1.6 million years has been marked by dramatic fluctuations. Within this period, loosely called the Ice Age, the climate has been generally cool, with warmer conditions typically lasting for about 10,000 years every 100,000 years. During the last glacial period, about 130,000 to 10,000 years ago, the climate of the Aegean was moist and cool. There were glaciers on the highest mountains of the Greek and Turkish mainlands and the island of Crete. Sea level was considerably lower that it is today, by about 120 m, and hence the river-beds were steeper resulting in more rapid erosion. Mountains were deeply incised, and broad, flat valleys were developed. The climate was coldest about 20,000 years ago. Warming began rapidly about 10,000 years ago, but by 8000 years ago the climate was more stable. Since then variation has been less extreme, especially during the last 4000 years.

Global climatic warming melted the glaciers and sea-level rose, stabilizing close to its present level about 6000 years ago. The sea invaded estuaries, drowning many Palaeolithic sites on the old, fertile river plains. The deep, protected bays that formed were useful harbours in antiquity, but many had a short life (e.g. Miletus and Ephesus). Sediments washed down by the rivers were deposited in the bays, commonly filling them almost completely (e.g. Thermopylae and the gulf of Malia). Agriculture increased erosion and hence aided this process. It should be noted that earthquakes can also produce local



Geology: the lofty pillars of the Meteora in central Greece, most of which are topped by monasteries. Made of conglomerates, the cliffs acquired their remarkable shapes by weathering and erosion

changes in sea-level that are superimposed on the global sea-level rise (e.g. Phalasarna and Western Crete).

Geological history is recorded by rocks – sedimentary, metamorphic, and igneous. Sedimentary rocks form on the surface by the accumulation of rock fragments (e.g. sand, mud), biological material (e.g. shells, bones, plant material), or by crystallization of minerals from water (e.g. gypsum, salt). Most sedimentary rocks form under the sea or in lakes. Loose sediments are transformed into hard rocks when minerals crystallize from the water between the grains and cement them together. This process can continue after a rock is quarried, making the rock harder as it dries out. Cementation of sediments commonly occurs on beaches, making "beachrock", which is common throughout the Aegean. Accumulation of the finest rock particles makes clay. There are many types of clay and not all are suitable for making pottery. However, good pottery clay is commonly formed in basins that also contain lignite, a low-grade coal (e.g. Corinth).

When rocks are piled on top of each other, for example during convergence, or in a sedimentary basin, those at the base are heated up and subjected to increased pressure. This is because the temperature increases with depth in the earth by an average of 30°C per kilometre. Many of the minerals that make up the rocks are not stable under these new conditions and will either recrystallize to form larger crystals or transform into new minerals, a process called metamorphism. The most common metamorphic rocks in Greece are marble, schists, and serpentinite, formed respectively from limestone, mud-rocks, and peridotite. Some areas of metamorphic rocks, such as the Cyclades, are considered to be the deeper equivalents of sedimentary rocks elsewhere. Others, like the Menderes massif south and east of Izmir, have a much more complicated history, with much older rocks and several cycles of metamorphism. Sometimes the rocks can become so hot that they melt to form plutonic rocks such as granites.

The geological structure of the oceanic crust is quite different from that of the continents – it is almost completely made of igneous rocks, that is those that were originally molten. Its base is dominated by plutonic rocks such as peridotite and gabbro that solidified deep in the earth, whereas the top is made of basaltic lavas that were erupted underwater. The lavas are in turn commonly covered by chert and limestone. Although there is no true oceanic crust in the Aegean region today, convergence of Africa and Europe has forced former parts of the oceanic crust up on to the land. The peridotites have been converted into the green or black rock serpentinite.

There are many volcanic rocks in Greece and western Turkey, mostly formed during the last 20 million years, and the activity continues today. These rocks formed when the sea-floor was thrust down deep into the earth. As the temperature rose, part of the rocks melted and the liquid made its way to the surface in volcanoes. Volcanic activity is now restricted to

Santorini (ancient Thera) and Nisyros, but in antiquity Methana and Melos were active for short intervals. There have been many different types of eruption. The largest was the "Minoan" eruption of Thera in 1650 or 1450 BC – almost 30 cubic km of volcanic ash was erupted. Since then activity has mostly been non-explosive, with the eruption of lava flows. On Nisyros volcanic activity has been marked by steam explosions with no lava or true volcanic ash.

Most metallic ore deposits, such as those of gold, silver, lead, iron, copper, and tin, are precipitated from hot watery fluids that circulate in the crust. These fluids start as surface water that descends into the crust. There it is heated, and metals, and other elements, dissolve in the water. They are precipitated as minerals when the water rises and cools. The heat necessary to drive circulation is sometimes associated with metamorphism, the emplacement of plutonic rocks such as granite or volcanism. Circulation of sea water into the oceanic crust also produces deposits of copper and other elements where these fluids vent on to the sea floor (e.g. the Troodos mountains of Cyprus).

The most common rocks in the Aegean region today are limestone and its metamorphic equivalent marble. These rocks are more resistant to erosion than other types of rocks and tend to form the hills, in the absence of tectonic movements. Paradoxically, both limestone and marble are soluble in rain water and prolonged erosion gives rise to a characteristic landscape called *karst*, after a region in Croatia. In these regions most drainage is not on the surface in valleys, but instead rain and snow-melt drain directly into swallow-holes (sink-holes). The drainage basins start as small conical depressions and can become quite large, with flat bottoms (there are many in Arcadia). Every swallow-hole is connected to a system of caves or fissures, that tend to be enlarged by continual solution of the rock. The springs can debouch many kilometres away, in some cases under lakes or the sea (e.g. the gulf of Argos). In many areas the fissure and caves system can store sufficient water for the springs to be perennial. Although *karst* caves are formed by solution of rock, precipitation of limestone from waters percolating into caves forms stalagmites and stalactites. This can only occur when there is little flow of water through the cave. A similar process deposits travertine around many *karst* springs. However, much travertine was quarried in antiquity.

Soils form by weathering of the underlying rock. Much of this weathering may have happened during the last glacial period when the climate was wetter, but glaciers were only on the peaks of the mountains. Limestone or marble gives a characteristic red soil called *terra rosa*. Although fertile, this soil is usually too thin on the hillsides for successful agriculture. In antiquity this soil was processed to give a red clay. The soft sediments that fill the grabens weather easily and tend to yield fertile soils. The best soils form on marls – sandy, clay-rich limestones. Soils washed from the hills accumulate in the valleys to form alluvial soils. The abundance of water and the renewal of these soils by material washed from the hills during storms has made these areas very productive. Drainage in antiquity and recently has greatly increased the availability of these soils (e.g. Lake Copais).

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See also Climate, Earthquakes, Volcanoes

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Geometres, John

Poet and prose writer of the 10th century

All that is known for certain about the life of John Geometres (or Kyriotes) is that he flourished in the second half of the 10th century. "Geometres" could refer to a profession as surveyor, to a post in the imperial fisc dealing with land measurement, or to his being a geometrician, but it may also be taken in the sense of "globe-trotter", i.e. a vagabond. "Kyriotes" probably refers to a district in southwestern Constantinople where he may have been born or possibly became a monk. There are a few slight indications that he may have been a member of the civil aristocracy: he refers to his father as an energetic servant of the empire who died in Asia; he himself owned a house on the principal street of the capital; one manuscript styles him *protospatharios*, a dignity that usually conferred membership of the Senate and in the 10th century was still mainly given to commanders of the empire's military and territorial divisions which were known as themes. The belief that he was at one time bishop of Melitene in Cappadocia is without substance. He was well read in the pagan and Christian classics and made important contributions to both prose and poetic genres.

Geometres revived and rescued from its scholastic sterility the genre of the *progymnasma*. This had lain dormant for a few centuries but, probably initially through his influence, became popular again in the 11th to 15th centuries. Designed originally as a preliminary exercise for students of rhetoric, it had speedily become a form of polished essay in its own right

with numerous subgenres and rules. Three lively encomia of the apple and one of the oak and two *ekphraseis* of his own garden (the sole surviving prose descriptions of a private Byzantine garden) survive by him. His originality is shown in his introduction of humour, parody of 4th-century *progymnasmata*, and Christian elements (which on occasion even approach blasphemy, as when the medicinal virtues for physical ailments of a rotten apple are compared with the salvific virtues for spiritual ailments of Christ when he had taken on corruptible flesh). He also mixed subgenres in an unprecedented way, including an imaginary speech and an erotic myth of possibly his own invention in encomia of the apple, while his *ekphraseis* of his garden are addressed as letters to a friend and his encomia of the apple are covering letters for gifts of the fruit. His artistry in the *progymnasmata* is best shown in his encomium of the oak which follows all the hallowed rules of what topics should be included in the encomium of a plant, yet with almost imperceptible subtlety describes the life cycle of the tree in human terms from birth by immaculate conception to the role of grandparent.

Two homilies, on the Annunciation and the Dormition of the Virgin, alone survive (from at least four that he wrote). Though on traditional themes, they exhibit important differences from their simpler predecessors. Less concerned with the narrative of events and the personalities of the characters, they rather comment on stories with whose details their auditors are assumed to be familiar. They are thus more abstract and resemble theological tracts with scholarly and other digressions.

Geometres' rhetorical expertise, evident in both homilies and *progymnasmata*, extended to the theoretical. His commentaries on rhetoricians of the Second Sophistic survive only as lengthy quotations in the works of successors such as John Doxopatres, but in that form they became very influential in Byzantium. He was often more systematic than his predecessors and was one of the first rhetoricians to study the style of early Christian writers (most notably in an encomium on Gregory of Nazianzus and in commentaries on some of his works). He was also sufficiently a realist to reject the theoreticians' condemnation of obscurity, claiming that it is not in "every instance a vice; on the contrary it is often even a virtue".

In verse Geometres virtually invented a new genre, that of political poetry (this must not be confused with the metrical term "political verse"), through a series of compositions ranging from just 2 to more than 100 lines. These were written mainly in the reigns of Nikephoros II Phokas (963–69) and John I Tzmiskes (969–76), but a few probably date from just before 963 and one from probably as late as 989. They describe the achievements of the emperors and other events such as rebellions, a foreign (Georgian?) invasion, and an alliance of the Rus and Bulgarians against Byzantium. His favourite emperor is Nikephoros, whose assassin John he both praises and portrays in Macbethian manner as a lion reduced by his crime to a trembling hare frightened by false dreams. Other poems extol the beauties of nature or one of the defensive towers of the capital, praise saints or, more enthusiastically, ancient philosophers, mock a literary opponent or a man who could not distinguish in pronunciation between *l* and *r*, and mourn the barbarization of language and customs of Greece. In perhaps his most remarkable and innovative poem he describes the natural and human devastation around Selymbria, saddened by which he set out for Constantinople only to hear of the even more lamentable destruction caused there by fire and earthquake. This poem combines *ethopoiia* (character-drawing) with *ekphrasis*, formulaic expressions with personal pathos, high poetry with autobiography.

Geometres' religious poetry includes a panegyric on St Panteleimon written in iambics. Such a thing, though not unique, was very rare and differed from both the usual prose Life and the much shorter poetic encomiastic sermon in the form of a canon (a type of hymn). Four hymns praise the Theotokos (the Virgin Mary) and shorter poems on traditional subjects concern the Annunciation, the Nativity, the Assumption, the individual instruments of the Passion, Lazarus, the Samaritan Woman, the discovery of the head of St John the Baptist, etc. A further collection of 94 quatrains on the monastic life is attributed in numerous manuscripts either, impossibly, to St Nilus or to Geometres. If the latter attribution is correct, they would add to his reputation through their frequently striking imagery, their occasionally original thought, and their sophisticated versification.

Geometres was one of the most attractive and innovative of Byzantine writers. An accurate assessment of his importance must, however, await the literary history of Byzantium that still remains to be written.

A.R. LITTLEWOOD

Biography

John lived in Constantinople in the second half of the 10th century. Little is known of his life except that he served in the army and later became a monk. He wrote essays (reviving the genre of *progymnasmata*) and homilies (on traditional themes) as well as religious verse (panegyrics), epigrams, and political poetry on contemporary events.

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Geometric Period *c.*900–*c.*700 BC

The Geometric period of ancient Greece is normally understood to last from *c.*900 to *c.*700 BC, taking its name from the "geometric" style of pottery decoration found throughout the

Greek world at that time. This style is characterized primarily by the use of rectilinear motifs in various combinations; while it may also include the pictorial representation of both animals and humans, especially in the 8th century, these also follow the prevailing artistic conventions and appear obviously "geometric" in form.

The Geometric period can be said to have begun in Athens, where the characteristic style first emerged *c.*900 BC, evolving from its predecessor, the Protogeometric, which itself developed there around the middle of the 11th century BC. The pottery decoration follows a definite stylistic evolution, so that the period can be divided into three phases, the Early, Middle, and Late Geometric (EG, MG, and LG respectively), each of which may be further subdivided into two phases. The traditional dates for these phases are: EGI 900–875 BC; EGII 875–850 BC; MGI 850–800 BC; MGII 800–760 BC; LGI 760–735 BC; and LGII 735–700 BC. A word of caution is needed, however, when referring to these dates since, strictly speaking, they apply only to Athens. In fact, the whole chronological framework of the period has recently come under attack due to the rather tenuous nature of the evidence supporting it; a heavy reliance has been placed on the stylistic development of the pottery, taken in conjunction with historical accounts, since other methods that might be expected to yield more precise information, such as radiocarbon dating and dendrochronology, have not proved particularly useful. Some confirmation for the dating scheme accorded to the pottery has been possible, for it has occasionally been found in association with Egyptian objects, particularly scarabs, which are datable to the reigns of individual pharaohs. Other information has been provided by relating the ceramic evidence to the traditional foundation dates of the Greek colonies in Italy as given by later writers such as Thucydides, but this is of limited value since it applies only to the last 50 years of the Geometric period; other historical events noted by ancient authors, such as the first Olympiad in 776 BC, have also been used, but in general there are very few fixed chronological points. Given this lack of corroborating evidence, some recent scholarship has suggested that all dates for the early Iron Age, including those for the Geometric period, should be lowered, but this view has itself met with much criticism and has failed to win general approval.

Dating for the various phases of the Geometric period also differs from place to place. The phases in Geometric decoration found in the Argolid and Corinthia match those at Athens very closely in development and date, but further afield the pace of the acceptance of change appears to have been somewhat slower and there is thus often a time lag in comparison to Athens. In Laconia and west Greece, for instance, the Protogeometric appears to have continued to the middle of the 8th century BC, while in east Greece the Early Geometric phase is very difficult to assess, and in Thessaly it is impossible to distinguish the end of the Late Geometric phase. Similar problems and uncertainties are also apparent in other areas, making it clear that the history of the Geometric style must take into account significant regional variation.

When the Bronze Age palace civilization came to an end at some point in the 12th century BC, all the components that had made that civilization what it was collapsed; the Greek world entered a new phase of its history, the Iron Age. The early part of the Iron Age (*c.*1200–900 BC, a period often also called the Dark Age) has traditionally been viewed as a time of poverty, isolation, and depopulation, and even though this picture may be more representative of our own relative lack of knowledge about the period, there is also some truth in the traditional view that the Greeks had, in a sense, to rebuild their civilization. By about 900 BC, however, when the Geometric period begins, some degree of stability appears to have returned. The Geometric period was thus a time of great change, a time when the Greeks finally overcame many of the difficulties associated with the so-called Dark Age, and a time of rebirth characterized by the appropriately named Greek renaissance of the later part of the 8th century BC (LG).

A great deal of information about the period comes from the graves that have been found all over Greece. From the Kerameikos and Areopagus areas in Athens, for example, comes a wealth of information about burial customs and about the pottery used in those burials. Generally cremation was employed, the bodies being burned on a pyre and then placed in a pot which was itself buried in a pit along with various possessions and gifts. The ash urns were different for men and women, and the goods contained in each also seem to have been gender-specific, weapons for instance in male burials, jewellery in female burials. Customs, however, varied at different times, and children were normally inhumed, often with their toys, while for a short time in the Late Geometric period, inhumation was also adopted for most adults. It is at this time that the very large Dipylon amphorae and kraters were used in Athens as grave markers. These pots, named after the area of the cemetery in which they were found, were all made in the same workshop and bear figured scenes representing the *prothesis* (lying in state) and *ekphora* (funerary procession). For many, these pots are the epitome of Greek Geometric art. Burial customs also differed in other areas of Greece, with some regions preferring inhumation, others cremation, while specific practices varied within these two categories. Interpretation of the burials and their contents has thus provided some understanding of social and economic organization among different individuals and groups at this time.

It was during the Late Geometric period, however, that the most significant changes occurred. This is the era of the Greek renaissance, so called because the substantial developments that took place at that time suggest a rebirth after the Dark Age. Some scholars take the very sharp rise in population that occurred in the 8th century BC as the catalyst provoking all the changes; consequent overpopulation, they argue, led to increased pressures on land and resources that in turn led to a growth in political centralization characterized by the emergence of the polis (or city state) ruled by aristocracies. Warfare among these newly established Greek states was also a very common occurrence in this period.

Essential to this renaissance are the contacts with the outside world which, although never entirely lost in the previous centuries, are now seen on a much grander scale. These contacts themselves can partly be viewed as the result of some of the pressures facing the Greeks in the 8th century BC, pressures caused by such factors as overpopulation, a shortage of good land, a need for access to more natural resources, and political dissatisfaction. Partly to alleviate some of these troubles and to find solutions to them, a great colonizing move-

ment began *c.*750 BC. The Greeks from some of the most developed (and hence often most troubled) states, such as Corinth, Megara, and Euboea, sent colonies to south Italy and Sicily. In the east, trading centres were established at places such as Al Mina on the Levantine coast, and trade was extended to other areas that included the Near East, Asia Minor, and Egypt. These eastern contacts in particular would profoundly affect Greece.

In the religious sphere, change is also very noticeable, especially in the sanctuaries. Although some of these existed earlier in the Geometric period, archaeological evidence indicates that there was a strong increase in the level of activity taking place at them by the 8th century BC; masses of votive offerings have been found, particularly pottery and, by the later part of that century, metal goods also appear. By that time temples to the gods were also being constructed, most of rather modest construction, but a few of massive size.

Contact with the east also brought about the adoption of the alphabet, knowledge of which was obtained through the Phoenicians and adapted somewhat by the Greeks to suit their own language. Literacy had finally returned after an absence of more than 400 years. This was a monumental achievement and among its earliest manifestations are the great Homeric epic poems, the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, soon followed by the works of the didactic poet Hesiod.

The adoption of the polis meant that, in this period, the Greeks never developed a real sense of nationality as we would think of it, yet they certainly possessed a great sense of national consciousness and pride, a Hellenism that partly manifested itself in the growth of the great Panhellenic sanctuaries, such as Olympia and Delphi. Indeed, their renewed contacts with the outside world helped to foster their identity – they were Greeks, the others were barbarians. The transformations of the 8th century BC led directly to the significant achievements of the archaic period that followed the Geometric.

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See also Alphabet, Burial Practices, Colonization, Pottery

Summary

The Geometric period, *c.*900–700 BC, is named after the geometric style of pottery decoration that prevailed at the time throughout Greece. Archaeology provides information of burial customs and of religious practices. Population growth inspired the colonization of areas in the central and eastern Mediterranean. From the east came knowledge of the alphabet which enabled the composition of the poetic works of Homer and Hesiod. Adoption of the polis (organization into city states) brought with it a sense of Panhellenic cultural pride.

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George I 1845–1913

King of the Hellenes

King George I was the second son of Christian, Crown Prince of Denmark. Born in 1845 in Copenhagen, he was assassinated in Thessalonica in 1913. Despite his violent death, he was the longest-reigning sovereign of Greece. Throughout his reign he struck a balance between the international and domestic stability of his country.

Prince William George studied at the Danish Naval Academy and was appointed constitutional King of Greece by the three guarantor powers of Greece, namely Britain, France, and Russia, as successor of King Otho, by a treaty signed in London on 1 July (Old Style – OS)/13 July (New Style – NS) 1863. Otho had been deposed by revolution on 10 October 1862 (OS). The appointment of King George was considered to have been influenced by British interests in the eastern Mediterranean, partly because he had been chosen by Lord Palmerston, the British prime minister, and partly on account of the dynastic relationship between the Danish and the British royal families. Indeed, Britain demonstrated its favour towards the young king in 1864 by handing over to Greek sovereignty the Ionian Islands, a British protectorate since 1815. His title "King of the Hellenes" denoted the nation's perception of his role as king also of the unredeemed Greeks.

Upon his arrival in Greece in October 1863, King George faced a suspicious constituent national assembly, whose proceedings he was unable to influence effectively. Regardless of the king's opposition, the 1864 constitution provided for a unicameral political system, in which the country's leading politicians, who had overthrown the Bavarian dynasty, held virtually unlimited power in the name of the nation.

The king's most serious confrontation with parliament occurred during the Cretan insurrection of 1866, when the parliamentary majority endorsed prime minister Alexandros Koumoundouros and his policy of support for the Cretans against the Ottoman empire, a policy also encouraged by Russia. The king first alienated the Greek government by marrying the Russian grand duchess Olga in 1867, without the knowledge of the Greek prime minister, and then dismissed the Koumoundouros cabinet in January 1868, to avert a war with the Ottoman empire over Crete. Such a war threatened to destabilize the whole region. This royal initiative resulted in a long series of minority cabinets, serious tension between the king and the country's political forces, and, ultimately in 1874, a constitutional crisis. The crisis was resolved in April 1875, when king George turned to his radical opponent, Charilaos Trikoupis, and summoned him to form a government and to hold fair elections.

In his inaugural speech to parliament the following October the king pledged his commitment to majority governments; the speech was the work of prime minister Charilaos Trikoupis. The king's overall relationship with the Greek politicians improved thereafter. Once in office, Trikoupis moderated his earlier radical views and for the next 15 years became the king's trusted political leader. The king, on the other hand, saw in Trikoupis a source of political stability, a realistic prospect of modernization, and, not least important, pro-British foreign-policy priorities. Thus between 1875 and 1892 a two-party system functioned with hardly any royal interference. The king's main preoccupation was with Greece's national interests in his annual unofficial tour of the European capitals. Indeed, in moments of international tension, like that of the Eastern Crisis of 1878, he could argue convincingly and for the benefit of Greece's irredentist programme that, if he became unpopular with his subjects, the stability of his throne could be endangered. The crisis ended with the annexation of Thessaly and Arta to Greece in 1881.

In 1887 king George received kaiser Wilhelm of Germany for the wedding of his son, crown prince Constantine, to princess Sophia, Wilhelm's daughter, in Athens. In 1888 the Greek king celebrated the 25th anniversary of his reign. Both occasions were exploited by prime minister Trikoupis to enhance the king's popularity. This popularity however suffered when in February 1892 king George removed from office prime minister Theodore Deliyannis on account of his financial policies, despite his parliamentary majority, in transgression of the 1875 royal commitment to parliament. Greece, through the financial policies of Trikoupis, had borrowed heavily on foreign markets and its creditors were becoming anxious over its ability to meet its obligations. In his efforts to secure a ministry more amenable to the pressures of Greece's foreign creditors, king George unsuccessfully tried to create a third royalist political party by summoning K. Konstantopoulos and S. Sotiropoulos to form cabinets. As a result, the king incurred the hostility of the two dominant Greek political parties. His popularity further suffered after Greece's military defeat in the war with Turkey in 1897, for which the royal family and entourage were held responsible.

After an abortive attempt on his life in February 1898, the last years of his reign were marked by the revolt of the "Military League" in August 1909, whose anti-dynastic dispositions were tempered and channelled by the Cretan statesman, Eleutherios Venizelos, into a revision of the 1864 constitution in 1911. Thereafter, Venizelos and King George cooperated for the military and diplomatic preparation of Greece in view of its confrontation with the Ottoman empire for the acquisition of Macedonia, Epirus, Crete, and the Aegean islands. After the victory of Greece in the First Balkan War in 1912 and the liberation of Thessalonica, King George resided in that city to highlight Greece's legitimate rights to the region in the face of Bulgarian counter-claims. He was assassinated in Thessalonica on 5 March 1913 (OS). The motives of his assassins have remained obscure.

Through his capacity for compromise and his political sagacity, which are in striking contrast to the inflexibility of his successor, King Constantine I, King George secured for Greece a stable parliamentary regime and significant territorial gains.

KATERINA GARDIKAS

See also Constantine I, Deliyannis, Graeco-Turkish War, Trikoupis, Venizelos

Biography

Born in Copenhagen in 1845, George was the second son of king Christian IX of Denmark. After the deposition of king Otho in October 1862, he was chosen by the protecting powers (Britain, France, and Russia) to succeed as "King of the Hellenes". He married Olga, niece of tsar Alexander II, by whom he had seven children. He was assassinated in the newly liberated Thessalonica in 1913.

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George II 1890–1947

King of the Hellenes

George II, son of Constantine I, was born in Athens in 1890. He became king of Greece in 1922 but in 1924 was overthrown after the proclamation of the republic of Greece. He then found asylum in Great Britain. The British strongly endorsed his restoration and he associated himself with British foreign policy. After an unsuccessful *coup d'état* by the Republicans on 1 March 1935, the monarchy was restored and George II returned to Greece. A manipulated plebiscite on 3 November 1935 produced a vote of 97 per cent in favour of the restoration of the king.

As soon as George II returned to Athens he became associated with his old friend General Ioannis Metaxas. After the death of the prime minister, Constantine Demertzis, in April 1936, George II promoted Metaxas from deputy prime minister to the post of premier, despite the fact that his party had only six deputies in parliament.

On 4 August 1936 George II approved Metaxas's right-wing dictatorship and rejected an offer from the leaders of the two major parties in parliament (the Liberals of Themistoklis Sophoulis and the Populists of Ioannis Theotokis) to form a coalition government. He supported all the oppressive measures of Metaxas's regime, including the imprisonment and exile of politicians and trade union leaders and the suppression of freedom of speech. Metaxas even censored Pericles' funeral oration in Thucydides' history.

After Metaxas's death in January 1941, which left Greece in a state of war against Italian fascist forces, George II made no attempt to restore constitutional order. When the German army invaded Greece in April 1941, the king and his government under Emanuel Tsouderos, together with units of the Greek army and navy, escaped to Cairo, where they established a Greek government in exile.

During the occupation of Greece by Axis forces (1941–44) George II lived in exile, moving between Cairo and London. The occupation of Greece and the resistance of the anti-monarchist National Liberation Front (EAM) and its military wing the Greek Popular Liberation Army (ELAS) led to a new constitutional crisis for the self-exiled king.

With the withdrawal of the Axis forces from Greece in the autumn of 1944 and the demobilization of the Greek Popular Liberation Army, the British, who had already brought Greece under their sphere of influence, made every effort to restore the monarchy along with a right-wing government in Athens. On 1 September 1946 a coerced plebiscite permitted George II to return as king. Although the validity of the plebiscite was disputed by the liberal parliamentary opposition and the Left in particular, the king received the support of the British and American Allies who looked upon the Greek monarchy as the sole bulwark against Soviet expansion in the area.

George II died in March 1947 under peculiar circumstances. He was succeeded by his brother, who came to the throne as Paul I. George II was an authoritarian personality who chose not to play the role of a constitutional king. He lost popular support by associating himself with unconstitutional practices and even more by endorsing the various dictatorial and authoritarian measures imposed by Metaxas and other right-wing governments. His successors Paul I and Constantine II (his nephew) continued in the same vein and brought the monarchy of Greece to its inevitable demise.

STEPHANOS CONSTANTINIDES

Biography

Born in Athens in 1890 the eldest son of king Constantine and queen Sophia, George studied at the Military Academy in Athens and in Berlin. He came to the throne in 1922 but left Greece in 1923, the year before a republic was declared. Recalled in 1935, he supported Metaxas's dictatorship. During the German occupation (1941–44) he lived in exile. He returned to the throne in 1946 but died in 1947.

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George of Pisidia

Poet of the early 7th century AD

George is best known for his panegyrical poems in iambic trimeters that celebrate the Persian campaigns of the emperor Herakleios I during the 620s. Probably originally from Antioch in Pisidia, his working life was spent in Constantinople, where he was among the many deacons of Hagia Sophia and pursued a successful administrative career in the service of the patriarch Sergios, reputedly rising to the position of archivist and head of the patriarch's secretariat (*chartophylax*). Hence, as with Agathias's circle half a century earlier, poetry was George's second career; his ecclesiastical environment is an important key to understanding his writings.

George's literary activities formed part of a wider cultural revival promoted by Herakleios to help underpin his unconstitutional and insecure regime. Sergios too played a major role in this revival, and he is as prominent as the emperor in the dedications of George's poetry. The *History* of Theophylaktos Simokattes and the *Chronicon Paschale* (or *Easter Chronicle*, because of its interest in chronology and the dating of Easter) are products of the same era. The transferral of the Neoplatonic philosopher and polymath Stephen from Alexandria to Constantinople and the establishment of a library by Sergios should also be linked with it.

George's works have traditionally been divided into the two categories of panegyrical epics and religious poems, but all have a strong religious flavour: Herakleios's campaigns are justified as an attempt to establish the universal authority of God in the face of the Persian worship of moon, stars, and fire, elements that are God's creations. His one surviving prose work also has a religious theme: it elaborates the *Acts* of the contemporary martyr Anastasios the Persian. Like *On the Resurrection* (?624), George's principal work, a *Hexaemeron* (1900 lines), encompasses the two categories: it encloses an account of the wonders of God's Creation within a framework inspired by the immediate political context of Herakleios's victory over Persia in 628, culminating in a prayer for the emperor and his dynasty put into the mouth of the patriarch Sergios. A more useful distinction can be made between brief poems of 100 or so lines and longer works with a significant narrative element. The former group, transmitted as "impromptu" pieces, evoke the emotional atmosphere in Constantinople at particular moments (for example, *To Bonus*, calling for the emperor's return from campaign in the east to rescue the capital from the Avars in 626, and *On The*

Restoration of the Cross, celebrating the climax of Herakleios's achievement in restoring to Jerusalem in 630 the remnants of the True Cross which had been pillaged by the Persians in 614). The second group are elaborate, doubtless commissioned, pieces such as *On the Persian Expedition* (maximizing the achievement of Herakleios's first campaign in 622), *On the Avar War* (describing the near-successful Avar siege of 626), and *Herakleios* (a survey of the reign composed at the moment of victory). The Constantinopolitan perspective and the prominent religious undercurrent are fundamental to George's *oeuvre*.

By the 7th century Hellenic traditions of education and culture were struggling to survive. Hitherto the hexameter had been the traditional medium of imperial verse panegyric, and George's preference for iambics, while developing a Late-Antique custom of prefacing hexameter panegyric with an iambic prologue, doubtless also represents an attempt to maximize his accessibility. So too does his taste for the inclusion of brief maxims, many of them lifted from tragedy, probably via the compilations that proliferated in this period. But George sustains a high prosodic standard, combining quantitative accuracy with sensitivity to regulation of accent. The maxims have a structural function in articulating thematic transitions and are often combined with first-person interjections, a technique that has its roots in Pindar. Close philological study uncovers subtle and creative allusions to classical texts in both poetry and prose, while the vocabulary incorporates many prose formations (especially medical) and neologisms. Stylistically George is strongly influenced by contemporary taste for elaborate rhetoric and word-play, but deploys the familiar topics of panegyric with originality, often integrating metaphor and narrative with striking novelty. The slide from narrative to image is sometimes barely perceptible, while sustained images can have a daring that anticipates the Metaphysical poets (e.g. a comparison between Sergios and the Virgin, *Avar War*, 130–44). For George the integration of Classical and biblical is unproblematic, even exuberant, an advance upon the apologetic stance of 6th-century literary writers.

George's works were influential in Byzantium in several distinct areas. First for their content: the poems for Herakleios are a crucial source for the Persian wars of the 620s, quoted extensively (including lost works) in the prose chronicle of Theophanes (*c.*810), who may have used a prose/verse compilation produced by George himself. Second, George was greatly admired for his language and style: the 10th-century *Suda* lexicon includes 76 citations, roughly half from poems no longer extant. Most memorably, the 11th-century politician, historian, and academic Michael Psellos composed a brief essay, probably to impress his students, in response to the question "Who was the better poet, Euripides or Pisides?". Psellos's judgement is lost in a lacuna, but his discussion offers invaluable insight into tastes and attitudes to earlier literature among middle-Byzantine literati. Versification and diction and their adaptation to characterization and subject matter, rather than content or context, are paramount: Psellos is as interested in Euripides' lyrics as in his iambics, while it is George's ability to pull out rhetorical stops in vivid description that probably proved his superiority.

The main vehicle for the transmission of George's poems is an 11th-century anthology (cod. suppl. gr. 690, in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris), perhaps compiled in the reign of Basil II (976–1025). The *Hexaemeron*, however, enjoyed a flourishing manuscript tradition (approximately 50 manuscripts, as well as 14th-century Slavonic and Armenian translations), due to a false attribution to Cyril of Alexandria and the wide appeal of a topic that fell within an established tradition. But George's poem is innovative: it focuses on the individual's endeavour to comprehend God through progress in contemplating his created universe and incorporates contemporary Christian Neoplatonic thinking alongside biblical paradigms.

Today the juxtaposition of George with Euripides shocks, but Psellos's essay, together with the extensive interest of the *Suda*, signals George's Janus-position between Classical and medieval literature, as well as providing a salutary reminder of the limitations of modern perspectives.

MARY WHITBY

Biography

Nothing is known of George's time of birth, but he came from the region of Pisidia and was probably born in the town of Antioch there (not to be confused with the more famous Antioch on the Orontes). He lived most of his life in Constantinople where he was a deacon at Hagia Sophia and worked as archivist to the Patriarchate. He was active during the reign of the emperor Herakleios (ruled 610–41), and wrote panegyrical epics in praise of the emperor's campaigns. He also wrote religious poetry, notably the *Hexaemeron* on the wonders of the Creation and *Against Severus*. The date and place of his death are unknown.

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George of Trebizond 1395–1472/73 or *c.*1484

Scholar

George of Trebizond, humanist teacher, rhetorician, and translator, was one of the expatriate Greek scholars whose activities in Italy during the 15th century helped to stimulate the development of Greek studies there. Originally from Crete, where his family had moved from Trebizond, he emigrated to Italy around 1416, and earned his living initially by teaching Greek in Vicenza and Venice, while studying Latin under Vittorino da Feltre and Guarino da Verona. From about 1440 he was living in Rome where he entered the papal curia as a secretary. He soon acquired a reputation for ill-temper: he denounced the scholar Lorenzo Valla as an ignoramus, came to blows with the humanist Poggio Bracciolini, and on more than one occasion was briefly imprisoned in the Castel Sant'Angelo.

In spite of his cantankerousness, his gifts as a scholar were soon recognized. He became the leading lecturer in humanist studies in Rome and, along with his rival Theodore Gaza, one of the greatest Greek teachers in Italy in the generation after Manuel Chrysoloras. He was also a prominent member of the Academy that met at the house of cardinal Bessarion. He was

George of Trebizond, a 16th-century engraving

encouraged by the scholarly pope Nicholas V to make translations of Greek classical texts into Latin, and proved to be a prolific worker, making Latin versions of the works of Plato, Aristotle, Demosthenes, Ptolemy, Eusebius, and the Cappadocian Fathers. Unfortunately, his work was often criticized for inaccuracy by contemporaries, especially by Theodore Gaza and Bessarion. Although George's translations undoubtedly contained mistakes, the criticism seems to have stemmed in part from a difference in method: George himself favoured a literal, word-for-word approach, and if a passage was obscure it was his practice to elucidate the meaning with a marginal note. Gaza, on the other hand, preferred a freer rendering that conveyed the spirit of the text. In the next generation the merits of George's translations were perceived by the humanists Angelo Poliziano and Erasmus. His version of Ptolemy's *Almagest* became standard and was printed in 1538.

Another unfortunate episode in George of Trebizond's career was his estrangement from Bessarion and the other members of the Academy from about 1450, partly as a result of Bessarion's criticisms of his translations, and partly because George became alarmed at the increasing admiration for the philosophy of Plato and for the works of Bessarion's teacher, George Gemistos Plethon. In 1458 George wrote a strongly worded denunciation of Plato, entitled *Comparisons of Aristotle and Plato*, in which he claimed that Plato's ideas led inevitably to immorality and heresy, and denounced any attempt to reconcile Platonism with Christianity. For George, Plethon was a case in point, and he claimed that he had overheard Bessarion's teacher prophesying that Christianity and Islam would soon pass away and be replaced by a new paganism. However, in his strong antipathy to Platonism and its advocate, George found a formidable adversary. His assault

prompted Bessarion to publish his *Against the Calumniator of Plato* in 1469, the "calumniator" being George himself. The controversy raged for more than a decade, with George being joined by his son, Andreas (died 1496) in his attack on the Platonists. Ultimately, however, it was Bessarion's reconciliation of Plato with Christianity that gained ground among the humanists, leaving George of Trebizond increasingly isolated.

Less contentious than his attack on Plato, and more successful than his translations, was his *Five Books on Rhetoric*, which he completed in Venice in 1434 and in which he attempted to provide a synthesis of the Latin and Greek rhetorical traditions. The work was to have a major impact on humanist education, revealing to the Italians for the first time the works of the great Byzantine rhetoricians. By taking examples both from Byzantine authorities such as Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Maximus the Philosopher, and Hermogenes, and from Latin writers, especially Cicero, Livy, and Virgil, George succeeded in producing an authoritative work on the subject that circulated throughout Europe and which remained in widespread use until the late 16th century. So highly regarded was it that the German Protestant theologian and humanist Philip Melanchthon justified his own short book on rhetoric solely because it would save students the expense of buying George's larger one. It was superseded only when translations and epitomes of Hermogenes became generally available.

George of Trebizond was also the author of a prodigious number of other works in Latin on logic, philosophy, astrology, and astronomy, as well as several theological works. His *Introduction to Dialectic*, written in about 1440, summarized Aristotle's teaching on dialectic in an accessible way, shorn of scholastic accretions, and in an elegant Latin acceptable to the humanists. He wrote a massive commentary on Ptolemy's *Almagest*, explaining Ptolemy's astronomic theories on the basis of the ancient Greek commentary of Theon of Alexandria. His *On the Truth of the Christian Faith* (1453), addressed to the Turkish sultan Mehmet II, called upon him to adopt Christianity and to become a universal ruler in imitation of Constantine the Great. Although a convert to Catholicism, George even ventured into traditional Byzantine hagiography in his account of the recent martyrdom of St Andreas of Chios. Yet even in this work he could not resist a jibe at his opponents, ending with a prayer to St Andreas, bidding him to "suppress by your intercession these Platonists rising here in Italy".

JONATHAN HARRIS

Biography

Born in Crete in 1395, where his family had moved from Trebizond, George emigrated to Italy *c.*1416 and taught Greek in Vicenza, Venice, and Rome. Having converted to Catholicism, he worked as a secretary in the papal curia. He translated many ancient Greek texts into Latin (though his versions were much criticized) and produced many works of his own including the influential *Five Books on Rhetoric*. The date of his death is unknown.

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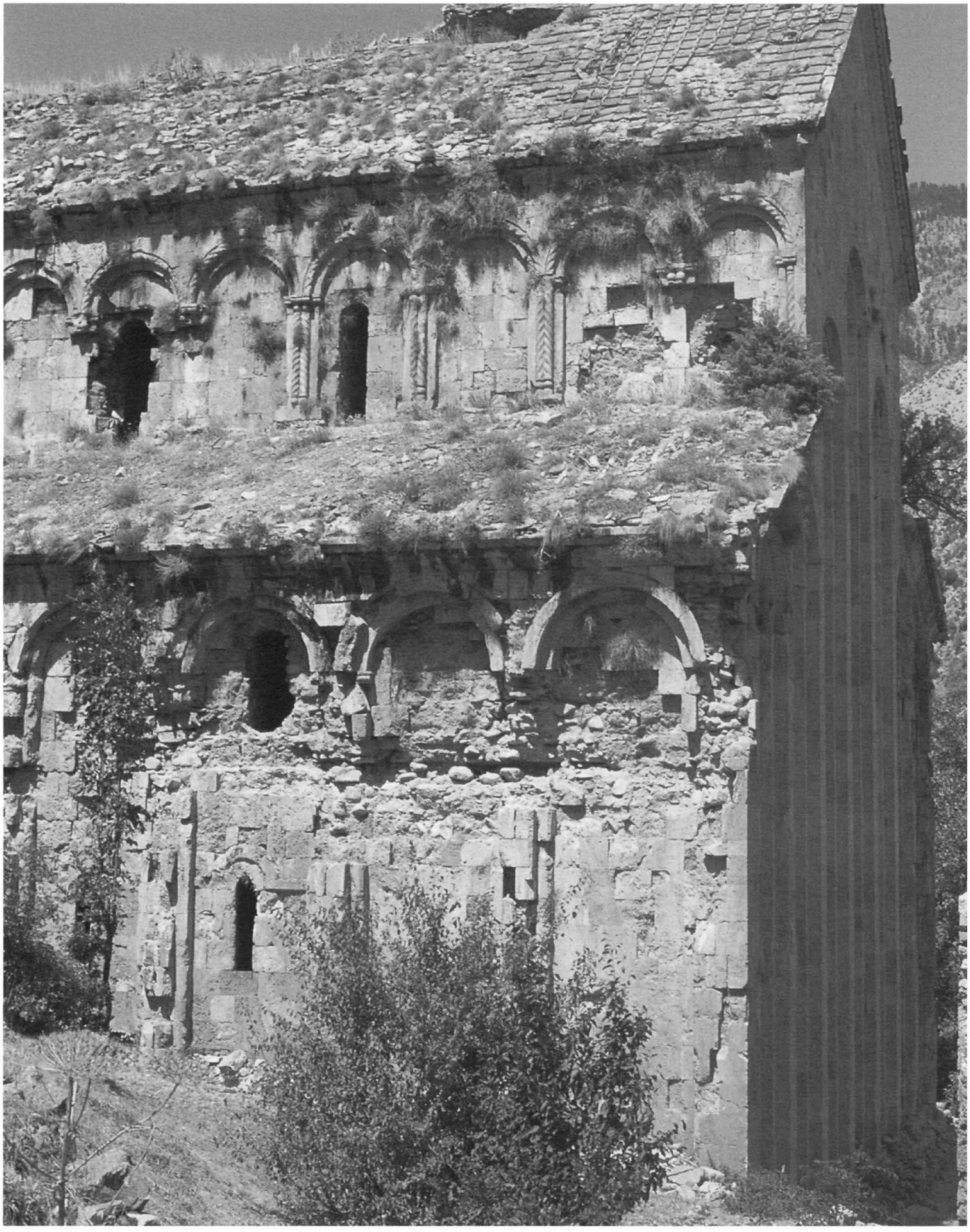
Georgia

The land of Georgia occupies the southern slopes of the central section of the main Caucasus range. To the west it is bounded by the eastern coast of the Black Sea. To the east it stretches to Azerbaijan in the direction of the Caspian Sea. To the south it is bordered by Turkey and Armenia, with a historical claim to a substantial portion of northeast Turkey (the Tao-Klarjeti of the Georgian tradition).

The name Georgia has encouraged the idea that this land was so named by the Greeks on account of its agricultural resources (*georgia* means "farming" in Greek). (Georgians use an entirely different term, *sakartvelo*, and term themselves *kartvelebi*.) However, the apparently Greek name is now taken to be a derivation from an Iranian root, *Gurj*. Greeks in antiquity did not use the term Georgia, but referred instead to western Georgia as Colchis (Byzantine Lazike) and to eastern Georgia as Iberia. The existence of these two Greek names reflects the principal geographical division within Georgia, caused by the so-called Surami ridge. As a result of this ridge, western Georgia looks across the Black Sea towards Europe and the Aegean, while eastern Georgia looks to Iran and Central Asia.

Greek knowledge of western Georgia is firmly attested by 700 BC in the poetry of Eumelus and Hesiod. The myth of the Argonauts, which was known to Homer, gave Colchis a particular significance in Greek culture from earliest times. However, according to archaeological evidence and later literary sources Colchis was not settled by Greeks until about 550 BC. From the 4th century BC Greek texts mention the towns of Dioscurias (modern Sukhumi), Guenos (near modern Ochamchira), and Phasis (near modern Poti) as Hellenic communities. In particular, Dioscurias and Phasis are said to have been founded by Greeks from Miletus, in the latter case led by one Themistagoras. The archaeological evidence also points to a significant Greek presence elsewhere on the coast of Colchis, at Eshera (north of Sukhumi), at Pitchvnari (near Kobuleti), at Tsikhisdziri, and perhaps in the environs of Batumi, which the Greeks of antiquity named Bathus Limen ("deep harbour"), whence its modern name.



Georgia: Byzantine church at Dörfkalise (now in Turkey). Blind arcading with ornate spandrels was a feature of 11th-century Georgian churches.

Greek influence spread up the numerous rivers of Colchis into the hinterland, but not across the Surami ridge into Iberia. When Hellenic culture reached eastern Georgia it came with the Seleucids, who claimed Iberia as part of their imperial sphere. In Iberia Greek culture met not only local culture but also strong influences from further east. In later centuries Iberia was to be the diplomatic and military battlefield upon which the Byzantine Greeks fought the Persian empire, especially in the 4th to 7th centuries AD. Iberia's conversion to Christianity in about AD 337 helped the Greek cause, but Arab conquest in the mid-7th century was conclusive. Ironically, the loss of Iberia followed hard upon the famous Byzantine victory at the siege of Tiflis (modern Tbilisi), captured by the forces of the emperor Herakleios in 627. However, Iberians continued to exert influence at Byzantium: in the 10th century the Iviron monastery was established on Mount Athos by St Evthymios and his father.

By contrast, western Georgia had become an integral part of the Greek world, albeit at its periphery (e.g. Plato, *Phaedo* 109b). Colchis was known in classical Athens as a mercantile destination (Aristophanes, *Holkades*), providing a famous type of linen which rivalled that of Egypt, according to Herodotus (2. 104–05). When Xenophon's 10,000 reached the Black Sea at Trapezus (modern Trebizond) in 400 BC, he saw the potential of Colchis and apparently contemplated settlement in the region of Phasis (*Anabasis* 5. 6. 36). In the Pontic empire of Mithridates VI Eupator, from about 100 BC, Colchis was a principal reservoir of resources, providing quality timber and all else needed for shipbuilding. The Greek geographer Strabo mentions that a member of his family had been Mithridates' viceroy there (11. 2. 18).

Byzantine Colchis was regularly known as Lazike, for the Lazoi had managed to establish an empire for themselves over the other tribes of western Georgia by the 4th century AD. They had done so with the support of the Byzantines, for whom the region was of particular significance because it could offer the Persians access to the Black Sea. The Byzantine historians Procopius of Caesarea and Agathias relate in detail the struggle between the two empires in Lazike in the 6th century AD, when Justinian I founded the new city of Petra at Tsikhisdziri.

A new process of Greek settlement in Georgia began around 1800, encouraged by imperial Russia, newly dominant there. Greek miners, craftsmen, and farmers, largely from the Ottoman empire, were encouraged to settle, not least in eastern Georgia. They were welcome both for their skills and for their manpower, a contribution to Christian resistance to the Turkish threat. On the eve of the World War I the number of Greeks in the Caucasus, most of them in Georgia, was 180,123. In 1920–21 it was therefore natural that many of the Greeks of the Kars region made their way to Greece through Georgia, particularly the old Greek colonies of the Black Sea coast. This can only have encouraged the Greeks of Georgia to join the many Greeks of the Soviet Union who now sought to obtain a new life in Greece proper.

That tendency was further encouraged by the Soviet persecution of Greeks, which began in 1929–35 as a by-product of the collectivization of agriculture, since many Greeks were farmers. However, Greek culture was tolerated and even encouraged until 1936–38, when Greek schools were closed, Greek printing presses stopped, and Greek cultural events obstructed. Subsequently, the Greeks of Georgia suffered again, caught up with others of the region in Stalin's policy of deporting small ethnic groups away from the German front for fear of their treason. During the Gorbachev years (1985–91) and the emergence of the independent Republic of Georgia, the place of Greeks and Greek culture in Georgia was normalized, though the social and economic attraction of migration to Greece continues to exert a powerful influence.

DAVID BRAUND

See also Black Sea

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Germanos I

Patriarch of Constantinople, 7th–8th century

Germanos, who is said to have been more than 90 years old when he died sometime between 730 and 750, was born into a noble Byzantine family that owned property at Platanion, near Constantinople. His father, Justinian, was reputed to have been a kinsman of the emperor Herakleios I (608–41), under whom he held high office. Germanos received a thorough classical education at Constantinople. In 688 his father was implicated in the murder of Constans II and executed, Germanos himself being castrated at the same time. He made his career in the clergy of the Great Church of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople, and eventually became their head. He is said to have been involved in both the Sixth Ecumenical Council held in Constantinople in 680–81, which condemned the Christological heresy of Monothelitism, and in the so-called Quinisext Council of 691–92, which put in hand a major reform and consolidation of the canon law of the Byzantine Church. There would be nothing surprising about his involvement, but there is no clear evidence. In the early years of the 8th century he was appointed metropolitan of Cyzicus. During

the brief reign of the usurping emperor Philippikos-Bardanes, who convoked a synod to restore Monothelitism, Germanos seems to have been compliant. But when he was appointed to the patriarchal chair in 715, after Philippikos's fall, he promptly called a synod that condemned Monothelitism. He was patriarch during the last Arab siege of Constantinople in 717–18, the successful issue of which was attributed to the protection of the Mother of God. When the emperor Leo III (716–41) introduced iconoclasm by edict in 730, Germanos refused to accept the imperial will, resigned his patriarchate, and retired to his estate at Platanion. At the synod of Hiereia in 754, which proclaimed iconoclasm, he was anathematized, along with George of Cyprus and St John of Damascus; their memory was reinstated at the Seventh Ecumenical Council, the Second Council of Nicaea, in 787.

Germanos's literary oeuvre is in a confused state. Some sermons in honour of the Mother of God are his, as well as a certain amount of liturgical poetry, including examples of the newly fashionable "canons" (though it is difficult to know how much of this is genuinely his). From this it is clear that he had a genuine literary talent. There are also some letters, in which he defends the veneration of icons, which belong to his final years as patriarch. In his retirement he wrote a work *On Heresies and Synods*, which is an account of the (then) six ecumenical councils. Most other works attributed to him have been, or ought to be, ascribed to others, but there are two small but important works that are probably his: the oddly entitled *Church History and Mystical Contemplation* (which should perhaps be translated: "what happens in church and its hidden meaning"), and *On Predestined Terms of Life*, a significant example of a popular theological and philosophical genre concerned with the workings of divine providence.

Germanos's significance is threefold: as a stout defender of the veneration of icons against Leo III's iconoclasm; as a notable figure in the development of Byzantine devotion to the Mother of God; as an influential interpreter of the Byzantine liturgy. With St John of Damascus, Germanos represents the initial reaction of Byzantine churchmen to imperial iconoclasm. Although he does not have anything like the theological breadth and depth of the Damascene, he is clear in his repudiation of the iconoclast appeal to the second Mosaic commandment against the making of idols, drawing attention to the use of images in the ceremonial of the Jewish Temple, in his appeal to the Incarnation as inaugurating a new dispensation in which God has manifested himself in visible form, and in his repudiation of the emperor's claim to priestly authority in the defining of Christian doctrine.

In his sermons, and in some of his liturgical poetry, Germanos expresses a developed Mariology. The eight sermons that survive all have Marian themes: three are on the Dormition of the Mother of God, and another, on the *Akathist* hymn and the Dormition, celebrates the lifting of the siege of Constantinople on 15 August 718, the feast of the Dormition. Latin texts of the *Akathist* even ascribe one of the *prooimia* of the *Akathist*, *Tei hypermachoi strategoi* ("To you, Champion and Commander"), to Germanos, but it is probably at least a century older. In his praise of the Mother of God, he lays stress on her complete purity and the universal power of her intercession.

The *Church History and Mystical Contemplation* was to become an immensely influential commentary on the Eucharistic liturgy of the Byzantine Church. With some supplementation (mainly from St Maximos the Confessor's *Mystagogia*), it became a virtually official commentary on the liturgy, and was included in the first printed text of the liturgies of St John Chrysostom and St Basil, as well as in medieval manuscripts of the Slavonic service books. Every part of the church building, the sacred vessels, the vestments, the incense, the processions, and each event of the liturgy from the preparation through to the communion of the people: all are given a symbolic significance, the church building itself being both the temple of God and a miniature representation of the cosmos. The comprehensive decoration of the church with icons, which reached a settled form after the defeat of iconoclasm, finds its rationale in Germanos's understanding of the liturgical action.

ANDREW LOUTH

Biography

Born in the mid-7th century to a noble Byzantine family, Germanos was castrated when his father was executed for involvement in the murder of the emperor Constans II. Joining the clergy of Hagia Sophia, he became bishop of Cyzicus before being appointed patriarch of Constantinople in 715. He resigned in 730 when the emperor Leo III introduced iconoclasm. He wrote sermons and liturgical poetry, an account of the ecumenical councils to date, and an influential commentary on the Divine Liturgy.

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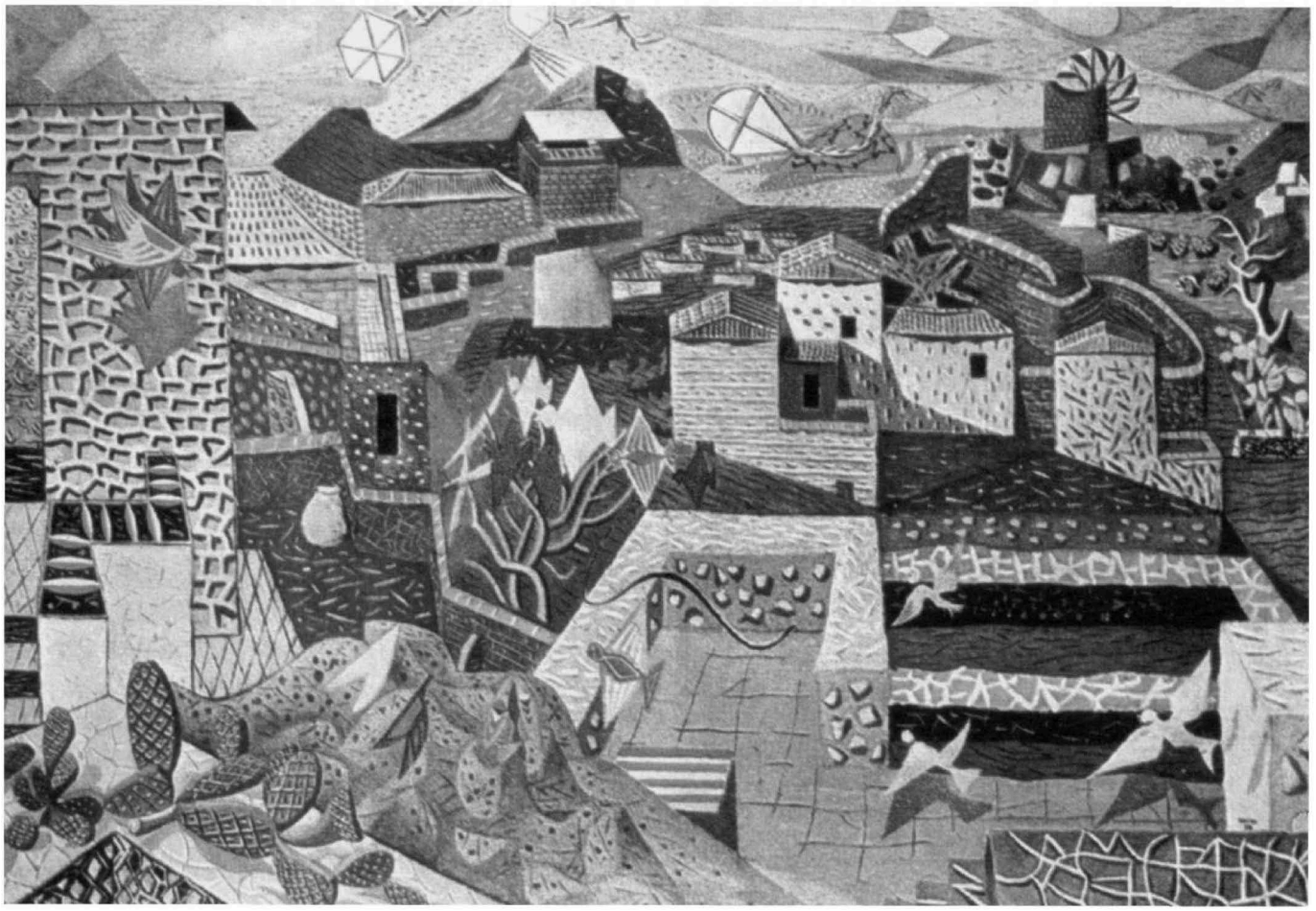
Ghika 1906–1994

Artist

Nikos Hadjikyriakos was the son of a naval officer, whose family from the island of Psara had participated in the War of Independence, and of Eleni Ghika, who was descended from the branch of the well-known Albanian family that had settled on the island of Hydra in 1628 and had contributed substantially to its uprising in 1821. He used his maternal family name when signing his paintings in Paris in the 1920s, and it was by this name, "Ghika", that he became known as an artist both in Greece and internationally.

Ghika's family tradition and his father's continued participation in military and political events weighed heavily on his cultural and artistic formation. The exceptionally talented, socially and financially privileged youngster had a few elemen-



Ghika: *Hydra*, 1948 – a Cubist composition depicting the artist's own island

tary private painting lessons with Constantine Parthenis before going to Paris to study Greek literature. He soon abandoned the Sorbonne for the Académie Ranson, however, where he studied painting for two years under Roger Bissière and engraving under Dimitris Galanis. Ghika effectively came to belong to what is loosely known as the École de Paris and his early work in France shows no trace of Greek influence or so-called traditionalism. His art derived its main precepts from Cubism and a post-Cubist vision of space and objects.

Ghika acquired a more distinct artistic identity and became deeply preoccupied with questions of "Greekness" in the arts following his return to Greece in 1934 and the repair of his maternal family house in Hydra. Some of his most important paintings date from the late 1930s and are landscape compositions based on the barrenness of the rocky island and angular motifs of Aegean architecture. "A cool Hydra breeze often blows in Ghika's atelier", wrote Elytis. "It comes down the deserted streets with the walls and the prickly pears, it hits the heavy relief doors of the island and ends up violet in the distance on the slopes of Dhokos and Hermione." Hydra remained the principal source of Ghika's work until his house was accidentally destroyed by fire in 1960. Some of his most important pictorial inspirations during the next decade came from the similarly barren landscape and linear architecture of the island of Santorini.

Indeed, Hydra and Santorini offered Ghika the ideal visual stimulus and inspiration for the application of the Cubist pictorial rules that characterized his artistic idiom. It is difficult to say whether the principal influence in this happy marriage was that of the Greek traditional and visual impact over the geometrical rules of Cubism, or the other way round. Perhaps Ghika's analytical and systematic thinking, as expressed in his various writings and interviews, makes one inclined to opt for the latter. In any event, it could safely be said that the post-Cubist characteristics of his art were fused into and absorbed by the Greek landscape, by traditional island architecture, and the all-pervading Greek light. Ghika's perception of harmony and rhythm was logical, i.e. humanistic in the ancient Greek sense. That was why he had adopted the language of Cubism, as he himself said:

> My compositions spring from the very rhythm and the very logical synthesis of the Greek landscape. The rock of Hydra and the island stone-walls were for me logical, rhythmical shapes. I stood reflecting and correlating Cubism with the Greek geometrical landscape. The roots of ancient Greek art, as in vase painting, were also geometric, and so was Greek architecture. Logic stood as my guide for the analysis and the reconstruction of Greek space through art.

Ghika applied Cubist pictorial rules to the Greek subjects of his paintings – mainly landscapes pervaded by the extraordi-

nary limpidity of Greek light: "Light here is *par excellence sui generis*," he said; "it shapes and searches the objects, it traces on the ground the exact confines between the illuminated and the dark." In this way he not only acquired a unique artistic idiom but he also effectively renewed the visual conception of "Greekness". By combining western modernity with Greek traditionalism he revolutionized Greek painting and art in general. Indeed, he gave it a completely new orientation, rejecting the predominant influence of the academic teachings of the Munich School. Despite the fact that he did not create a school of followers (he had only a few untalented imitators), Ghika's bold and progressive pictorial idiom opened the way for younger Greek artists to feel free to work in a modern idiom and, in the process, to harmonize Greek art with modern and contemporary artistic movements.

Ghika combined his admiration of ancient Greek civilization and art with a deep knowledge of mythology, history, and literature as well as the means and media of artistic expression. From the Cycladic to the Byzantine era, through the Minoan, the Archaic, and the Hellenistic, he studied the immense variety of art forms and tried his own hand at various techniques (e.g. encaustic) and materials. He once said: « I do not know of any other art of any nation that shows such development and visual multiplicity. For over four thousand years Egyptian art has remained substantially unaltered; and the same applies, to a great extent, to the art of India. » Yet Ghika did not blindly join forces with those who idolized antiquity with an uncritical eye; nor did he ever become totally identified with the so-called 1930s generation of artists who expressed the need for a return to Greek tradition. It was then that the merits of the naive painter Theophilos and of the Karaghiozis shadow puppets were rediscovered and that folk art and traditional architecture began to be appreciated, as the artists of the 1930s generation sought to redefine the character of contemporary "Greekness" by re-evaluating Greek tradition.

Ghika, however, searched deeper and refused to reduce the notion of "Greekness" to the elementary attributes of various forms of popular art. He refused to accept "simplicity" and "functionality" as the foundation of modern theories of art and architecture. As a close friend of Le Corbusier, he knew well about such conceptions, which he considered as having failed. He believed that perfection can be found in simplicity, as in the case of a sea pebble or a clay vase; but this is a totally different kind of perfection from that, say, of the flutes of a Doric column: that sort of perfection presupposes both sensitivity and knowledge. Furthermore, apart from his western cultural and artistic upbringing, Ghika was also interested in oriental art and philosophy (he practised yoga and painted while in India and Japan in the late 1950s) and he did not hesitate to introduce oriental elements in his own painting and sculpture. "My art is essentially Greek", he said, "but with the difference that I tried to create a link between Greek, European and Oriental elements; between elements which, irrespective of their provenance, contain something Greek." In other words, Ghika's "Greekness" was not nationalistic or provincial; it was a free-spirited continuous process of artistic enrichment, an attempt to combine apparently disparate artistic elements, always within the context of a wisely constructed classical synthesis.

Between 1935 and 1937 Ghika financed and published (mainly with his friends Pikionis, Papatsonis, Papaloukas, and Karandinos) the pioneering magazine *To Trito Mati* (The Third Eye). The avowed double aim was to arouse interest in popular Greek art and in the preservation of the Classical architectural heritage. "We failed in both", Ghika admitted later, but *To Trito Mati* gave the culturally somnolent Athenians an invigorating shock, with challenging articles on literature, poetry, philosophy, painting, sculpture, architecture, and mathematics. Almost 60 years later, Ghika still had "many loves", as he said: "painting, architecture, sculpture, literature, love, Greece, history. They are all equivalent for me and they influence each other." At the time of his death in 1994, however, he was disillusioned with the status and the future of the arts in Greece. "Greek society is incapable of appreciating the value of art and the average Greek is more attracted to football", he had said two years earlier. Nevertheless, that was the way it had always been (Egyptian priests had spoken in this vein about the Greeks to Plato, he recalled) and he knew well that football (or its various equivalents) is still far more popular than art, even in the most developed countries of the world.

Until the last years of his life, when his sight progressively deteriorated almost to the point of blindness, Ghika maintained a clean line in his drawing and neat colours in his painting, avoiding the excessive use of shading and chiaroscuro. His work can be divided into three periods: 1921–37, the period of youthful experimentation; 1938–65, the period of accomplishment; and post 1966, the period of maturity followed by progressive decline. Among his main preoccupations were the effect of light on landscape and on the surface of objects, the organization of his compositions, and the combination of straight lines and angles with curves and spherical shapes. Ghika was widely respected and loved, both in Greece and abroad. After 1960 he came to spend long periods of time in London with his second wife Barbara (née St John Hutchinson). He was a close friend of many important personalities in the history of 20th-century art, among them Zervos, Raynal, Laurens, Braque, Le Corbusier, Arp, Cartier-Bresson, Lawrence Durrell, Henry Moore, Walter Gropius, Henry Miller, and many others.

NICHOLAS PETSALIS-DIOMIDIS

See also Painting

Biography

Born on Hydra in 1906, Nikos Hadjikyriakos adopted his mother's maiden name in the 1920s and was known as Ghika ever afterwards. Educated in Paris, he left the Sorbonne for the Académie Ranson in 1924. He exhibited in Paris from 1927 to 1934, when he returned to Athens. He was Professor of Drawing at the School of Architecture, Athens Polytechnic, in 1941–58. He is known primarily as a painter, but also as a sculptor, engraver, designer of theatrical sets and costumes, teacher, and writer on art. He died in 1994.

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Glass

Glass is a man-made material of great versatility. It is made by melting together three main ingredients: soda, lime, and silica. In antiquity silica came from sand that also contained the lime needed to make the glass water-resistant, and soda came either from natron, which occurs naturally in Egypt, or, in the east, from saline plants found in the deserts and marshy areas. If nothing was added to the basic mixture, glass was naturally bluish-green; coloured glass was made by adding specific metal oxides and varying the furnace conditions. Colourless glass, akin to modern crystal glass, used manganese or antimony as decolourizing agents. It seems likely that in antiquity glass itself was made from the raw materials in only a few places, and shipped around as ingots to different glassmaking centres.

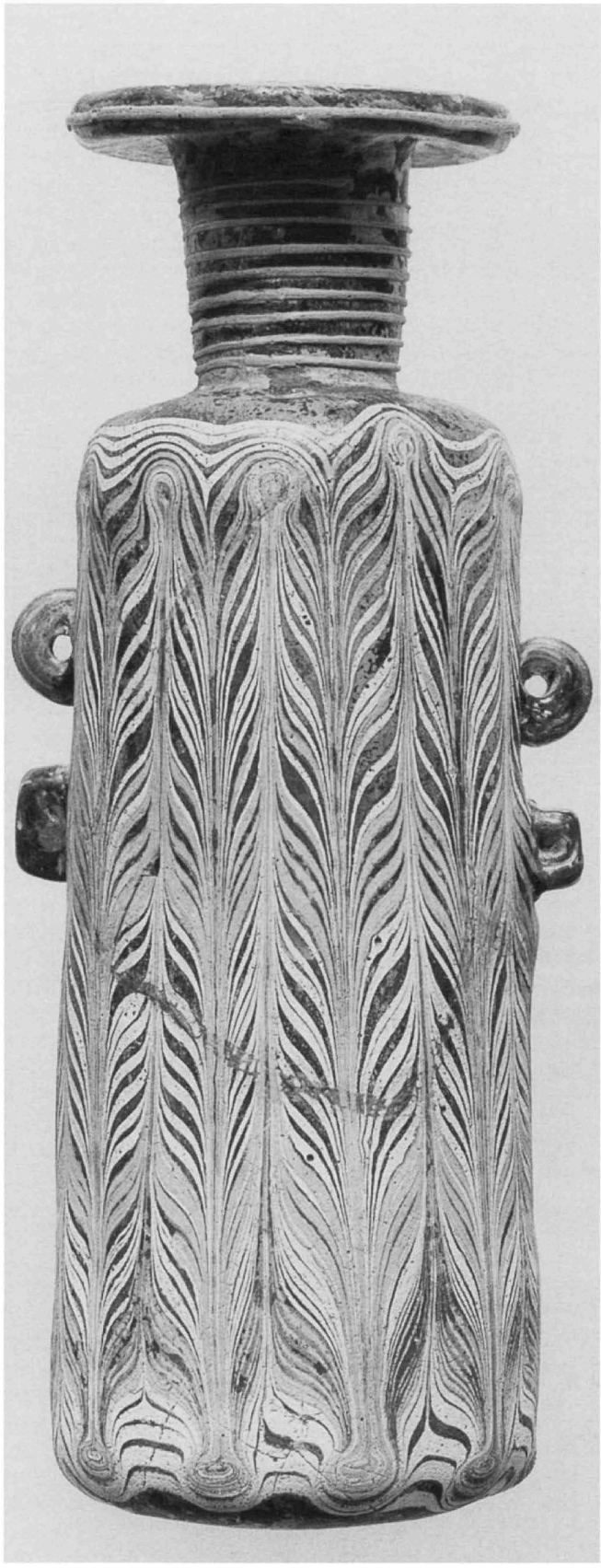
The first glass objects known are from Mesopotamia and date from around 2500 BC. A technological breakthrough some 1000 years later led to the production of the first glass vessels. This was the invention of core-forming, whereby glass was formed around a rod covered by a core of dung and clay mixed with a little water. Decoration was added by trailing soft glass of different colours around the body and combing it into patterns with a pointed tool. After subsequent reheating the shoulders, neck, and rim were formed and any handles added. The core-covered rod was finally removed after the vessels had been annealed (placed in a warm place apart from the actual furnace to cool slowly). The first vessels made by this method seem to have been produced in northern Mesopotamia around 1500 BC. The glass industry was born in Egypt not much later, but core-formed vessels were not produced in any great numbers before the time of Amenhotep III (1390–1352 BC). By 1450 BC Mesopotamian glassmakers were also forming vessels of mosaic glass, made by fusing together slices of monochrome glass or multicoloured canes that were then shaped around a core or, for open vessels, slumped over a form (positive mould). Early Mesopotamian and Egyptian glassmakers were also responsible for a great variety of objects, including pendants and beads of many different varieties. Diplomatic correspondence from the royal archives of el-Amarna, the new capital of Egypt established by Akhenaten (1352–1336 BC), mentions consignments of raw glass being sent from Tyre (modern Lebanon) and neighbouring cities. This speaks already for the importance of this region, credited by the Elder Pliny (1st century AD) with the invention of glass. The same area (the Levant) was responsible for a series of core-formed vessels.

Glass became known to the Greeks in the Late Bronze Age when documents in Mycenaean Greek call it *kyanos*. Imported Egyptian core-formed vessels have been recorded, principally from Cretan sites of the 14th and 13th centuries BC, while from mainland Greece, notably Mycenae and Kakovatos, come some Mesopotamian beads and pendants. The first items evidently made in Greece were a bowl with indented sides similar to metal and stone vessels, a tiny bull figurine, and a hilt for a distinctly Mycenaean type of sword, all of translucent blue glass perhaps of Mesopotamian origin (all three pieces are now in the National Archaeological Museum, Athens). Gaming pieces may also have been made locally. A series of ornaments is exclusive to Mycenaean Greece and evidently made there. Normally of translucent blue glass with flat backs and suspension holes, they occur in many different shapes, the most common being rosettes and spirals, the latter perhaps representing locks of hair. Most date from 1400 to 1200 BC. Moulds of stone, usually steatite, have been found on several sites, suggesting that there were a number of manufacturing centres. Ornaments of gold foil, quite often found with the glass examples, could also have been made in these moulds, the gold and glass sometimes fitting together. Some of the blue glass used by the Mycenaeans evidently came from Egypt, as illustrated by cobalt-blue glass ingots of evidently Egyptian origin that were discovered in the wreck of a merchant ship on its way to Greece that sank off the coast of southwest Turkey at Ulu Burun towards 1300 BC. Very similar ingots have been found at Tell Brak in northeast Syria (Mesopotamia).

In the earlier Iron Age the Greek contribution to the glass industry was a remarkable series of core-formed vessels, initially made principally on the island of Rhodes between about 550 and 400 BC. This Rhodian production was evidently inspired by Mesopotamian core-formed vessels found in 7th-century-BC contexts on the island. These may have been imported or possibly made by migrant Mesopotamian glass-workers. The Rhodian vessels were designed as containers for perfume or scented oils, which were Rhodian products of the time, and take their shapes from the contemporary Greek repertory of vases in pottery and metal. The most common body colour is translucent dark blue, but some are opaque white, brown, red, or olive green. Decoration usually consists of opaque orange, yellow, white, or turquoise trails combed into zigzag, festoon, or feather patterns. Traded far and wide, initially perhaps in the hands of Phoenician seafarers (residents of modern Lebanon), they reached every major site in the Mediterranean and also travelled as far as the Black Sea. Everywhere they are concentrated in areas of Greek commercial activity.

The Rhodian factories ceased production at the end of the 5th century BC and more than two generations passed before core-forming was revived in Mediterranean workshops. This occurred some time after 350 BC, coinciding with the conquest of the Persian empire by Alexander the Great. It marked the beginning of an era of Macedonian supremacy, and it seems likely that some factories were located in Macedonia and supplied northern Greece and Russia. Fewer vessels were now produced and many of the forms were more massive than before. New shapes included jars (*stamnoi*), three-handled flasks (*hydriskai*), and bottles (*unguentaria*).

By the 5th century BC the Greeks had two names for glass, one, *lithos chyti*, meaning "poured (or melted) stone", an apt description of the core-formed vessels. The second, *hyalos*,



Glass: perfume vessel in glass, the variegated colours enhancing the elegance of these dainty vases, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford

signifies "transparency" or "clarity". This could refer to 5th-century BC ornaments of clear yellowish and greenish glass in the shape of three-pointed stars and parts of palmettes and flowers, cast in clay moulds, and found in the workshop of Phidias at Olympia (now in the Olympia Museum). They were evidently drapery decorations, and different-coloured glass insets were used to enhance contemporary Greek architecture.

The second group of core-formed vessels has already brought the story into the Hellenistic period. During this time the glass industry generally flourished as never before, and the Greek world seems to have played a part in production. Excavations on the island of Rhodes revealed the presence of a glass factory operating in the late 3rd or early 2nd century BC making beads, and also vessels formed of two clear glass bowls fitted one inside the other with patterns in gold leaf attached to the outside of the inner bowl, thus appearing "sandwiched". The Rhodian finds are fragments, but more complete sandwich gold-glass bowls with known findspots come from Italy (four examples), Gordium (Asia Minor), and Olbia on the Black Sea. Rhodes may have been a centre of production of these magnificent vessels, but this is still debated. The Hellenistic period in glassmaking was marked by the production of fine vessels of mosaic glass, and finds from the Greek world show the familiarity of the people with such glasses, although it is still not certain where they were made. From graves at Palaikastro, near the town of Karditsa in Thessaly, come two very fine "bottles" of a particularly beautiful type of mosaic glass that imitates agate, a semi-precious stone, showing spiral patterns of white and purple in a brown ground. From another grave came a similar bottle of clear glass. These probably all date from the 2nd to the 1st century BC, and can be seen in the National Archaeological Musuem, Athens. This was the time that a new type of tableware made by the slumping process was being produced in profusion at sites on the coast of Syria and Palestine. Bowls of various shapes were made, usually hemispherical or conical with pointed bottoms and decorated on the inside with grooved lines. Initially they were of clear greenish or brownish or colourless glass, and later sometimes of green, amber, blue, or wine-coloured glass as well. Known as "grooved bowls", they were made with little variation for nearly 100 years between about 150 and 50 BC.

Around 80 BC a ship was wrecked near Anticythera off the southwest coast of Greece. Its cargo included colourless and mosaic glass vessels (National Archaeological Museum, Athens). Among the colourless vessels were two glass *skyphoi* (wing-handled cups), a bowl with bossed decoration, another of the fluted series, and one of similar shape with a finely executed engraved design. Bowls of mosaic glass, on applied ring bases, were hemispherical or had outward-curving sides, new shapes in the repertory. The mosaic pattern included spirals and a network pattern that had been introduced earlier, but new at this time was a true striped effect achieved by fusing together canes of different colours laid side by side (coloured band glass). Similar glasses to these have been found on the island of Delos (and now in the Delos Museum) in a context dating from 125 to 69 BC, together with deep "grooved bowls" of bright opaque colours, known in later contexts of the early to mid 1st century AD at Knossos in Crete (Herakleion Museum). Three small workshops making glass beads were also discovered on Delos.

Whether any of the glasses just described were actually made in Greece is perhaps unlikely, but probably of Greek or specifically Cretan manufacture were cosmetic boxes. These are made of thick glass, green, yellowish-brown, or colourless with a greyish tinge, and most with known findspots come from Crete. In form they compare rather loosely with marble and pottery examples, and the glass is similar to that used for finger-rings, some of which come from 3rd-century BC contexts. The glass cosmetic boxes are perhaps of the same date. The lid was made by the slumping process, while the box was evidently mould-pressed, using two shaped "forms" between which the molten glass was compressed, before being cooled and then cut, ground, and polished. Much of the tableware produced in Italy from the time of Augustus (see below) was made this way.

The discovery that glass could be blown revolutionized the industry. The first evidence for glass blowing comes from a collection of waste dumped in the Jewish quarter of the old city of Jerusalem around 50 BC (Israel Museum, Jerusalem), but blown-glass vessels did not become the norm for another 75 years. Thus in the late 1st century BC and earlier 1st century AD blown vessels are found alongside non-blown examples at Corinth (Corinth Museum) and in a grave group from Macedonia (National Archaeological Museum, Athens). The grave group includes five blown unguent flasks and a slumped shallow thin-walled bowl of a type made from about 25 BC to AD 25 in both brightly coloured and natural-coloured glass and recorded from all over the Mediterranean world. Many fragments of such bowls have been recorded from Knossos in Crete, but they were perhaps imported from Italy, where factories producing a fine series of tableware of monochrome brightly coloured glass and other vessels of intricate mosaic glass were certainly established in the time of Augustus (27 BC–AD 14). They seem to have supplied the Greek market, and to some extent to have reached Greek cities on the coast of Asia Minor as well. The same Italian factories were in part responsible for a series of bowls, often of mosaic glass, with evenly spaced ribs on the outside, known as "pillar-moulded bowls". The type seems to have originated in Syro-Palestinian glasshouses around 25 BC alongside, and in part preceded by, a series with less evenly spaced ribs. Both series are known from the island of Crete, but are rare on the Greek mainland.

Early blown glass, principally small bottles for perfume or oil, is known from the Greek city of Priene on the west coast of Asia Minor and the Greek island of Siphnos, as well as the sites noted above, suggesting that in the age of Augustus the blowing technique was rapidly being adopted in many parts of the Roman empire. Vessels from both eastern and western glasshouses also reached the Greek world in the 1st century AD and, since certain types are common to both areas, it is not always easy to decide their origin. Mould-blown glasses, first made around AD 25, mostly came from Phoenician and Palestinian glasshouses. Typical Italian types such as a large jug with embedded blobbed decoration from one of the Greek islands (British Museum, London), and small ribbed cups with coloured trails found in Crete, were also imported. Hemispherical cups, some with cut and abraded decoration, known from various sites in the Greek world, may also have come from Italy. An enamelled bowl from Greece (British Museum, London), which differs from the typical north Italian group in having a star rather than a rosette on the bottom, is perhaps from an eastern glasshouse that produced enamelled flasks known from sites on the Black Sea and on Cyprus.

By the end of the 1st century AD, when most glass vessels were blown and factories already established in the Syro-Palestinian area and in Italy increased their production, new glasshouses producing utilitarian glass vessels were established all over the Roman empire, no doubt including Greece, though actual evidence for Roman glassworking sites has yet to be revealed. Fine glassware was still imported. From Italy may have come tall beakers with facet-cut decoration recorded from Crete in late 1st- and early 2nd-century-AD contexts, and Italy may also have been the source of mould-blown square (and cylindrical) bottles that were produced from around AD 70 until the late 2nd or 3rd century, as well as jars, which were later used as cinerary urns, between AD 50 and 200. Bottles of the late 2nd century AD from Thermopylae and Corinth have short necks, restricted at the junction with the body, and cracked off rims, and are decorated with fine polychrome trailing. They may have come from a Syro-Palestinian workshop responsible for a series with trailed decoration of flowers and birds. A polychrome bottle of similar shape, but with a taller neck, from Karditsa in Thessaly is decorated with embedded yellow and white trails, and perhaps came from Italy where bottles of this type, but with cut decoration showing Italian landscapes, date from the later 3rd and 4th century. To the same years belong "pipette-shaped" bottles of a type current in both East and West and found on the island of Crete.

Our knowledge of glass of the early Byzantine period in Greece is limited. Roman traditions of glassmaking survived in the eastern Roman empire into the 7th century AD with most vessels being made of thinly blown glass in different shades of green as well as other natural colours. Excavations in Crete have revealed typical early Byzantine stemmed goblets and lamps, and a long-necked flask of the 6th century AD was found in a tomb near Athens. Two tombstones from Athens name glassworkers of the 6th century AD, and it is possible that at least one mould-blown jug was brought back to Athens by a pilgrim to Jerusalem about the same time (National Archaeological Museum, Athens).

By the end of the reign of the emperor Herakleios (610–41) Byzantine civilization was fully developed, but the role of Byzantium in the history of medieval glassmaking is still little understood. However, the products of the glassmakers of Greece, as well as other parts of the Byzantine world, must have played an important role in religious and secular art as well as in everyday life. The cargo of a ship that was wrecked off the coast of southwest Turkey around 1025 included three tons of broken glass vessels and glass cullet (glass fragments for a glassmaker to reuse), suggesting a flourishing trade in recycled glass. Excavations at a site in Constantinople revealed glassware of the 11th to 13th centuries. Predominant were wine glasses and lamps, similar in form to those of the earlier period, but made of fine-quality light blue-green to light bottle-green glass. There were also a few fragments of enamelled glass. The monk Theophilos, writing in Germany in the early 12th century, describes the making of glass goblets that the "Greeks" embellish with gold and silver, but by "Greeks" he simply means those living within the Byzantine empire, and so probably in the capital Constantinople, the most likely source

of fine enamelled glassware. "Greeks" are also described as being responsible for glass wall tiles with gold cruciform decoration made in much the same way as late Roman gold-glass roundels, evidently produced in Rome in the 4th century AD. This was one of the traditions inherited by the Venetians who were to dominate glassmaking from soon after the sack of Constantinople in 1204, though not until the middle of the 15th century did they produce works that could rival the Byzantine in quality.

Little glass of the later Byzantine period has in fact been found in Greece itself. In 1937 two glassmakers' workshops were discovered at Corinth on the site of the ancient agora. One was represented by fragments of furnace pots and debris, but no structures. The other was more complete and included knobbed (or prunted) beakers, of a type that was to dominate German glass production from the 16th century, cups blown in patterned moulds, beakers with vertical mould-blown ribs, and bottles with tall necks and globular or ovoid bodies (Corinth Museum). These products are similar to glass made in Italy in the 13th and 14th centuries, and it now seems likely that this glasshouse at Corinth operated at that time during the Frankish occupation of Greece. The glassmakers, therefore, may well have been Italian. Thus the influence of Byzantine glassmaking in Greece on the glasshouses of medieval Italy and central Europe was nil.

Through the centuries the Greek world had contributed in various ways to the glass industry. However, while local factories must have produced utilitarian glasses for everyday use in more recent years, no specifically Greek traits can be identified in modern glass, whether the mass-produced glass tableware or the hand-made artistic pieces that to this day are blown, just as they were 2000 years ago.

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Gnostics

The term Gnostic is applied by early writers to a number of sects, all purporting to be Christian and to possess either a special revelation or a special understanding of the things revealed to others. These heresies were alleged to originate either with Simon Magus or with the Naassenes of Phrygia. Accounts of the former are largely fictitious, but the so-called Naassene Sermon, which assimilates Jewish and Christian beliefs to pagan mysteries in the course of a commentary on a hymn to Attis, is evidently genuine in substance, and of some antiquity (Hippolytus, *Refutation*, 5. 6–11). It finds the common theme of all religions in the oscillation of the human soul between the realms of spirit and matter, which are merely the upper and lower arms of a bifurcated stream. The Gnostics known to Irenaeus maintained, more pessimistically, that matter was wholly alien to spirit, and that the present world owed its origin to a schism in the Godhead, which imprisoned the divine Wisdom (or at least an offspring or reflection of it) in the underlying darkness. This myth was refined in the school of the Alexandrian Valentinus, which was probably not called Gnostic, either by itself or others, until the 4th century AD. The Valentinians held that even matter was an emanation of the fallen Wisdom, and that the task of the elect in the present world was therefore to liberate the soul from its gross environment, though not perhaps entirely from the body. In this they were helped by Christ and the Holy Spirit, who were brought forth from the fullness or *pleroma* of the Godhead in order to restore Wisdom to her previous state of knowledge. The elect in the present world are seeds of this repentant Wisdom, and the coming of Christ in human form delivered them from the bondage of the Law that the Creator had imposed upon the Jews. The somewhat earlier school of Basilides, another Alexandrian, appears to have taught that the present world is governed by the "third archon", who, in company with the elect, aspires to the spiritual condition of his superiors. The Neoplatonist Porphyry, whose master Plotinus attacked a group of Gnostics around AD 265, describes them as Christian heretics distinguished by the tenet that "the author of the cosmos is malign" (*Enneads*, 2. 9; cf. *Life of Plotinus*, 16). Yet this is not the teaching of either Basilides or Valentinus, both of whom ascribe to the creator a limited knowledge of, and share in, the goodness of the highest principle.

"Gnostic" is thus the name of a tendency rather than of a religion, and modern attempts to construct a unified faith called Gnosticism often rest on careless handling of the evidence. Nor is it true, on the other hand, that the Fathers themselves imposed the word promiscuously on every deviant movement; on the contrary, it was generally denied to those who claimed it, while philosophic Christians such as Clement of Alexandria were happy to apply it to themselves. It is even more tendentious to suggest, in the German manner, that the main Church was consistently opposed to a widespread principle of *gnosis* that was embraced by both the heretics and the pagan schools of the early Christian period; *gnosis* is nothing more than the Greek for "knowledge", which every creed and doctrine, including Christianity, declared to be its own prerogative. Many traits that modern theologians pejoratively characterize as Gnostic are of the essence of New Testament Christianity: the division between the substance of the Creator

and of his creatures is stronger in orthodox teaching than in Valentinian theory, and the propensity to allegorize the Old Testament was most common among those Christians who believed the whole canon to be infallible.

The testimony of sources from the early Christian era has been partly vindicated by a number of texts discovered at Nag Hammadi in Egypt in 1945. The Apocrypha of John and *Zostrianus* contain the tenets denounced by Porphyry and Irenaeus, but the Valentinian writings of the "Jung Codex" show that the sect was less unorthodox than the Fathers made it seem. The central myth is greatly attenuated from the so-called Gospel of Truth, the *Epistle to Rheginus* seems to affirm the resurrection of the flesh, and the Tripartate Tractate substitutes the Logos for Wisdom and traces the creation to divine benevolence rather than to error. There is much to be said for the view that all the Gnostic myths were conceived as allegorical or encoded presentations of beliefs that differed little from those of orthodox Christianity. Of all the great heresiarchs who are said to have maintained that the present world is the creation of a lesser God, Marcion was the one who dispensed with parables, and neither our ancient sources nor the majority of modern scholars regard him as a Gnostic. Critical reflection on the evidence has now dispelled a number of ancient calumnies: for instance, that the Gnostics were determinists, that they practised immorality as a ritual, and that they taught their pupils to lie as a means of evading persecution. When they write as though all human choices were determined by our natures, they are borrowing the idiom of the Pauline and Johannine writings; far from eschewing material sacraments, they seem to have accorded to them a magical efficacy, as we learn not only from the Gospel of Philip in the Nag Hammadi collection, but from Irenaeus' satire on the impostures of Mark the Mage. Many of the Nag Hammadi codices err not in the antinomian direction, but in that of the extreme asceticism that was known as the encratite heresy; for that reason it makes little sense to ask whether such a document as the infamous Gospel of Thomas should be classed as Gnostic, encratite, or a conflation of the two.

The Nag Hammadi codices give little support to the thesis of Rudolf Bultmann and Richard Reitzenstein that the Gnostic myths developed independently of the biblical tradition; in any case, these views were always known to rest on inferences from later Mandaean and Manichaean writings (some no earlier than the 9th century), together with a precarious distinction between indigenous and Hellenized Judaism. It would, however, be equally rash to deduce from the predominance of Old Testament citations that the authors of the new documents were Jewish rather than Christian; Christians might confine themselves to the Jewish scriptures either for apologetic purposes or because they did not yet possess a canonical New Testament. Similarly, the fact that some of the Nag Hammadi texts evince no trace of Christianity may imply that they were meant for a pagan audience, but says nothing of their provenance or date. Pétrement argues plausibly that the Valentinian teaching is a cryptic version of Pauline Christianity, and proponents of a non-Christian or pre-Christian Gnosticism are still looking for an adhesive that would unite their speculations with the facts.

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Summary

Gnostics (derived from *gnosis*, "knowledge") were regarded as heretics by early Christian writers, for being members of sects purporting to be Christian but who believed that they possessed either a special revelation or a special understanding of the revealed religion. The recent discovery of Gnostic texts has partly vindicated this view but also shown that the sects were less unorthodox than the Church Fathers claimed.

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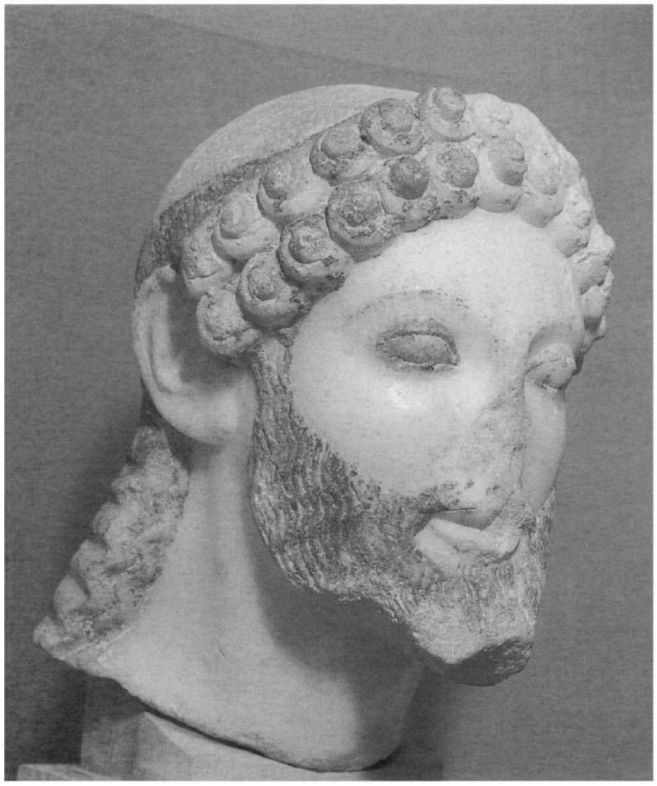
Gods and Goddesses

Ancient Greek religion was not only polytheistic, but also multifaceted, in the sense that there was an evolution in the notion of divinity. Even within the frame of specific divinities certain features changed with time. The crystallization of our notion of the gods and goddesses derives mainly from archaic poetry, and particularly from the Homeric and Hesiodic epics. The ambiguities and contradictions that are observed in the mythic narratives explain the multifaceted character of the ancient gods and goddesses. The ruling divinities were the Olympians, so called from Mount Olympus, which was believed to be their residence. Before them were some primordial beings. In Hesiod's *Theogony* the first beings were Gaia ("earth"), Chaos, Tartarus, and Eros. In the Hesiodic account the world was created essentially by Gaia, who gave birth to



Gods: marble head of Zeus, father of gods and men, from the Archaic period, 6th century BC

Uranus ("sky"), and then, mating with him, produced the 12 Titans, the Giants, and the Cyclops. Some myths are about the fear of losing power and the eventual succession among different generations of divine creatures. Uranus kept his children inside Gaia because he was afraid that they might take his power. Gaia, in order to be liberated from such a burden inside her, made a sickle, which their son Cronus bravely used to castrate his father. In the Hesiodic version the goddess Aphrodite was born out of Uranus' castrated genitals, which fell on the sea's foam. In Apollodorus' version Cronus was persuaded by his mother to kill his father because Uranos had overthrown the Cyclops, the first children he had with Gaia. Cronus, in his turn, swallowed his children out of the same fear that his own father had. He was defeated by his son Zeus, who after the Titanomachy and the Gigantomachy acquired supremacy. Cronus and Rhea had six children, three sons and three daughters: Poseidon, Hades, Zeus, Hera, Hestia, and Demeter.

The notion of 12 gods and goddesses was established early in the consciousness of the Greeks, but the catalogue of them varies. The most common list of the 12 consists of the following: Zeus, Hera, Poseidon, Demeter, Apollo, Artemis, Athena, Hermes, Ares, Aphrodite, Hephaestus, and Hestia. There were local variations according to which Hades or Pluto takes the place of Hermes, or Dionysus takes the place of Hestia. Besides the principal gods, there is also a group of minor deities such as the Graces, the Muses, Eros (not the Hesiodic primordial creature, but rather the son of Aphrodite), Hebe, Eileithyia, Hecate, Pan, the Nymphs, the Horae, Themis, the Moirae, Nemesis, the Erinyes, and others with different degrees of importance. It is uncertain how many were regarded as deities and with what specific role, and how they were worshipped. A general feature that is often pointed out regarding ancient Greek religion is anthropomorphism. Although they were believed to have power over nature and humans, the deities were subject to mortal needs such as food, drink, and sex. Political behaviour was not unknown among them and the Homeric epics present the gods as taking sides and making enemies even among their fellow gods. There is no representative of absolute perfection or absolute evil, but they were immortal, even though subject to mortal feelings as well.

Zeus was thought to be the father of gods and men. The expression "Zeus father" (Zeus *pater*) is equivalent to the Latin Jupiter. Besides the myths of succession that are associated with him, there are other myths related to his birth, the most common being the Cretan one. According to this myth the child was hidden in a cave on mount Ida so as not to be swallowed by his father, Cronus, and was nourished by the goat Amaltheia, while the Couretes danced around him and with their noise drowned his cries. Zeus was the god of weather and the one who makes thunder and lightning. Many of Zeus' Homeric epithets are related to his control of natural phenomena. He was notorious for his erotic liaisons that made him the father of many gods and heroes. By Hera he had Ares, Hebe, and in some versions Hephaestus and Eileithyia. By Leto, a Titaness, he had Apollo and Artemis. By Maia he had Hermes and by Semele, a mortal, Dionysus. In Homer he is also the father of Aphrodite by Dione. He gave birth to Athena, on his own, by swallowing her mother Metis. He was the father of Persephone by Demeter, of the Moirae, the Horae, the Graces, and the Muses. The most famous heroes claimed their descent from him: Heracles was his son by Alcmene, Perseus by Danae, the beautiful Helen by his daughter Leda. His many epithets are revealing of different emphases on various aspects of his divine identity in the mind of his worshippers. He is Zeus Herkeios, family protector, and also the protector of the domestic hearth (Ephesteios). As the god who soothes, especially at the end of the winter, he is worshipped as Meilichios. Freedmen used to worship Zeus Eleutherios in a sanctuary in Athens. As the ultimate lawgiver and bearer of justice he is Zeus Themistios.

Hera, daughter of Cronus and Rhea, was the sister and wife of Zeus. She is the feminine representation of natural forces, and the goddess of marriage and protector of women. In literature she is often depicted as the jealous wife who is constantly after her husband's lovers and offspring by them. In the Homeric *Hymn to Apollo* she delays the birth of Apollo and Artemis. Her persecution of Heracles is a beloved theme in literature and art. She is often referred to as Argeia, since Argos is one of the most ancient places of her worship, or as Zygia due to her patronage of marriage.

Demeter is another goddess closely connected with femininity, and particularly maternal powers. The evident etymology of her name ("earth-mother") has led to research into her relationship with the period of matriarchy in Greece. The main myth in which she features as a central figure is that of the quest for her daughter Persephone, who had been abducted by Hades. She finally finds her and makes the arrangement that Persephone will stay for some months with her husband in the Underworld, the mourning period for Demeter and winter for mankind, and for some time with her mother on earth.

Demeter was worshipped extensively at Eleusis, in the Eleusinian Mysteries in autumn time. The Thesmophoria was a widely celebrated female festival.

Poseidon is most commonly known as the god of the sea. Some of his Homeric epithets refer to him as the "earth-shaker". He was married to Amphitrite, but like his brother Zeus fathered many heroes. Some of his sons have monstrous features, like the Cyclops Polyphemus. He competed with the goddess Athena for the patronage of the city of Athens and lost. Athena, mostly known as the goddess of wisdom and prudence, is a multifaceted figure. She is the personification of feminine virginity combined with a warrior's virility. She was born from Zeus' head after he had swallowed her mother Metis; she therefore incarnates the *metis* (cunning intelligence) of her mother. Athena is an active participant in many myths due to her role as the protector-goddess of many heroes, such as Odysseus, Heracles, Perseus, and others. In Homer she fervently protects the Achaean side in the Trojan War, and accompanies her favourite Odysseus in the *Odyssey*. One of the most glorious ancient festivals, the Panathenaia in Athens, was dedicated to her. In Hesiod she is the one who teaches the art of weaving to Pandora, the first woman. One of her standard epithets is that of *ergane* ("worker"), revealing her relation with many women's works. An intriguing deity, she represents the ferocity of war and is easily recognizable in art by her attributes, a shield, spear, and helmet. She is also the guardian of peaceful community life.

Apollo and Artemis were twins, the children of Zeus and Leto. The first part of the Homeric *Hymn to Apollo* tells the adventure of their birth. Their mother was being pursued by Hera, and Delos was the only place that agreed to receive her; it therefore holds a central position for their cult. The second part of the Homeric *Hymn to Apollo* tells how Apollo came to be associated with Delphi, after killing a huge female serpent, Python. He was the god of divination and Delphi became the most famous oracle in antiquity. His epithet Loxias designates the oblique answers that he gave. He was also the god of medicine, healing, and music. In *Iliad* 1 he is the one who brings the plague. Apollo was also associated with the sun, hence the epithet Helios. He was the leader of the Muses, *Mousagetes*, and the patron of lyric poetry, particularly choric. Since he was the god so directly associated with mankind (through his link with medicine, music, and divination) he held a significant position in cult and was worshipped in many places, particularly Delos, his birthplace, where the Delia festival was celebrated every five years, and in Delphi, where there were many festivals, such as the Pythia and the Theoxenia. Artemis, Apollo's twin sister, was the goddess of hunting and represents untamed virginity. Unlike Athena, the other virgin goddess, she was not a city person, but rather dwelt in wild country, and was known as the lady of the wild beasts (*Potnia theron*). She was worshipped in many places, particularly in Sparta as Artemis Orthia. She was associated with many women's festivals, because she was worshipped with Eileithyia, the goddess who brought relief to pregnant women by granting them fast delivery.

There are two versions of Aphrodite's birth, the goddess of beauty and love. According to Hesiod (*Theogony*, 190–200) she belongs to the most ancient divine generation, before the Olympians ever existed, born from Uranus' castrated genitals that were combined with the sea's foam. In Homer her mother is Dione who mated with Zeus. Her epithets Kypria or Kythereia show her connection with the islands of Cyprus and Cythera, both claiming to be her birthplace. The same conflict arises regarding Eros, who in some versions is one of the primordial divinities, like Gaia, yet in most literary accounts and artistic depictions he is the son of Aphrodite and Ares, incarnating a warlike feature of passionate erotic desire. In Plato's *Symposium* Pausanias makes a distinction between Aphrodite Ourania ("heavenly"), and Aphrodite Pandemos ("of the people", "possessing a vulgar nature"). This difference has shaped the cult of Aphrodite and the reception of the goddess in religious terms.

Ares was the warlike god. Unlike Athena, he represents the passionate and irrational desire and insatiable thirst for war. The spear and the burning torch are his symbols. In Homer he is the lover of Aphrodite. He was worshipped everywhere, particularly in Sparta, Arcadia, and Elis. Hephaestus, associated with fire and artwork, is in Hesiod's version the son of Hera alone, and therefore, as a product of the female only, he is lame. He was the renowned maker of many wonderful objects of which extensive description (*ekphrasis*) is given in literature, such as the shield of Achilles in *Iliad* 18. In some accounts he is married to Aphrodite. He is associated with volcanoes, and was therefore worshipped in Sicily, especially near Mount Aetna, and the Lipari islands where he worked with the Cyclops. There was an annual festival in his honour in Lemnos, and in Athens the festival of Chalkeia in October. There was also a feast with the name Hephaestia.

Hermes and Dionysus were both offspring of Zeus, both involved in stories about coming to power. Dionysus' place of birth was Thebes. He was the son of Zeus and Semele, a mortal princess, the daughter of Cadmus. Semele, having fallen into Hera's trap, asked to see Zeus in all his glory, and was destroyed by lightning. Zeus took the baby Dionysus, who was born some months later from his father's thigh. The general consensus ascribes to Dionysus a Thracian or Phrygian origin. His cult was widespread in northern Greece and had an orgiastic character, adhered to particularly by women in a form that demanded religious ecstacy (*ekstasis*). Women were swept away by his divine nature and abandoned their life to join frenzied dances in the mountains, swinging thyrsi and torches. There are various artistic representations of maenads, as well as literary ones, the most famous being Euripides' *Bacchae*. Dionysus was popular as the god of wine and merriment, although wine does not seem to have had any significant role in the ancient orgiastic cults. The use of a mask was characteristic of his cult. The birth of drama is associated with the cult of Dionysus. The greatest theatrical festivals, the greater and the lesser Dionysia, were in honour of him. He was also associated with powers of fertility in nature, thus his most ancient representations consist of wooden images with the phallus as a symbol of fertility. The name Dionysus appears in Linear B tablets, which suggests that he was not unknown to the Mycenaean civilization. Hermes is another "young" god in myth, although probably quite old in origin. He was born on the Arcadian mountain of Cyllene and proved his characteristics of inventiveness, trickery, and versatility already from babyhood. The stories of the deception of Apollo by the baby Hermes who stole his cattle and of Hermes' invention of the

lyre are found in the Homeric *Hymn to Hermes*. He is associated with the notion of transgressing limits. He is the one who accompanies mortals to Hades, known for that as *psychopompos* ("escorter of souls"). He is also the messenger. Together with Athena he protects heroes in perilous enterprises and is often depicted in art escorting heroes. His characteristic attributes in art are the winged cap and the herald's wand. Much associated with Hermes is Hestia, the representative of home and family life; her name means "hearth". She was closely connected with Zeus, her brother. She took an oath of eternal virginity. She is the least anthropomorphic god of all and is never mentioned by Homer.

It is a commonplace to talk about the fusion between ancient and Christian religion. In some places, such as the southern Mani and remote islands such as Lesbos, popular attachment to ancient religion was so strong that total Christianization did not come before the 9th century AD. The struggle between paganism and Christianity was a common topic for writers on both sides. There is intense scholarly debate as to the relation between Hellenism and Christianity and the mutual influence of the one on the other. Despite many attempts by the Church to eradicate the practice of ancient religion it is still alive today in some folk customs and ideologies. The ancient gods and their spheres of influence have been fused with the cult of the saints: St Nicholas is the protector of seamen; a certain St Demeter was worshipped until recently in the region of Eleusis. Some saints have a specific role as healers or guardians against evil. As Martin Nilsson remarks: "Christianity easily swept away the great gods, but the minor daemons of popular belief offered a stubborn resistance." The belief in Hades, although no longer as the brother of Zeus and Poseidon, has many of the archaic elements that may be seen in Homer. Historians of religion and other scholars interested in great battles, particularly in the period of late antiquity and Byzantium, often take sides according to their personal beliefs and fail to see the periods in question with a sympathetic eye. As is often the case with languages, the mythology of ancient gods has not totally disappeared, but has left its remains in modern beliefs.

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Gold

Although one of the major metals of antiquity, gold was not the first metal to be exploited, even for decorative purposes. This is probably because its extreme malleability made it unsuitable for making tools. The earliest regular use of gold dates from the 5th millennium BC (Neolithic) in Bulgaria, where containers of sheet and cast gold were found, with gold-dust decorated pottery vessels. Two different types of gold deposit were worked in antiquity – those in solid rock (primary deposits) and those in the sediments of rivers (placers). However, in both gold occurs as the native metal and smelting thus largely consisted of melting the separated metal.

Primary gold deposits are of many different types but one of the commonest is the vein deposit. Here the gold occurs as minute metallic grains in veins of white quartz typically up to a few metres wide, commonly with pyrite (iron sulphide or "fool's gold") and other sulphides. Such deposits form from hot circulating watery fluids. The fluids are very dilute and are usually associated with granitic intrusions or metamorphism. Gold deposits of this type were exploited in antiquity, but required much labour because the hard rock had to be crushed before the gold could be extracted.

Placer gold occurs as dust, grains, and nuggets in sands and gravels deposited by rivers. Such deposits form by the weathering and breakdown of the hard rock in which the gold originally crystallized. Lighter minerals originally present in the rock are slowly swept away by the flow of the water in the river, and the heavier minerals, including the grains of gold, are left behind. A placer miner will search for gold in parts of the river protected from the full force of the river current, such as downstream of large boulders or on the inside of bends in the river bed. The gold can be separated from the sand and gravel of the river bed by a number of different methods, such as pans and sluices, all of which mimic the sorting action of the river. Herodotus described gold extraction in the Phasis river (modern Rioni) of Georgia thus: "The mountain torrents are said to bring down gold and these barbarians catch it in troughs perforated with holes and on fleecy skins." This technique no doubt gave rise to the legend of the Golden Fleece. When a river changes course, its placer deposit will become "fossilized", but can still be exploited in the same way.

Although placer gold deposits are mostly produced by mechanical processes of alteration and sorting, there is also a chemical part to the process. Early writers on mineralogy were aware of this and spoke of gold nuggets "growing" in rivers. When a rock is weathered, most of the gold remains in the solid, metallic form, but some goes into solution in the water. In the river bed the chemical conditions are different and the gold in the water is plated out on to gold grains already present. This is why gold grains in placer deposits can be much larger than grains in rocks.

Gold has been mined in Macedonia and Thrace since the Bronze Age, but serious exploitation did not begin until Philip II gained control of the mines in 358 BC. Almost all the rivers in this area had some placer deposits, but most were exhausted in antiquity. About 300 tonnes of gold were extracted in Macedonia and Thrace between 1200 BC and AD 50. In recent times the Axios and Gallikos rivers north of Thessalonica have yielded the most gold. This placer gold originated in the

Gold: stalk of wheat in gold, from Ptolemaic Egypt, the source of most Greek gold, Sotheby's, New York

metamorphic rocks of the region. Some of these primary deposits were also directly exploited by the Thracians on Mount Pangaeum, where the gold occurs in quartz veins with pyrite.

There were several gold mines on the island of Thasos, and those near Kinyra, visited by Herodotus in the 5th century BC, were considered to be the most important. Much of the gold here, and on Siphnos, occurs in primary deposits of quartz veins with pyrite and copper sulphides. However, recently it has been found that the highest concentrations of gold on Thasos occur in sediments filling cavities in the marble host-rock. These cavities form by solution of the carbonate minerals in percolating rainwater, exactly as caves form in limestones. Streams that ran through these passages washed in the gold-bearing sediments to make these underground placer gold deposits.

The most famous ancient gold deposits of the Aegean region were those of Lydia. Exploitation of these very rich placer deposits of the Pactolus river started around 700 BC, but were exhausted by Strabo's time. The gold originated in quartz-gold veins in the metamorphic rocks to the south. Weathering liberated the gold, which was then transported by rivers and laid down in sandstones and conglomerates in the Gediz valley, some of which underlie the acropolis of Sardis. At a later time these rocks were again weathered and the gold redeposited in the beds of the present rivers. It is this two-stage process that gave the unusually high concentrations of gold here.

Much ancient gold used in the Aegean region was probably imported from Egypt. There it was first extracted from placer deposits of the Nile valley. Later, quartz-gold veins in the Eastern Desert were exploited, first from opencast and then from underground mines. Gold was also obtained from Nubia to the south (*Nub* means "gold" in Ancient Egyptian).

Although gold commonly occurs as the native metal, it is not usually pure, but alloyed with silver and copper. The silver alloy was called electrum on account of its colour, which was said to resemble that of amber. On occasion silver was deliberately added to extend the more valuable gold. This process was called *diplosis* ("doubling") by the early Egyptian goldsmiths. The gold content of such alloys was determined by the use of touchstones. These are small smoothed pieces of fine-grained, dark rock, hard enough to abrade gold. The gold was rubbed on the rock and the colour of the streak was used to determine the purity. The best touchstones were said to come from near Sardis, hence the synonym "Lydian stone". Many different types of rock were used, such as chert, siltstone, hornfels, and tuff.

Another impurity in much ancient gold is represented by minute grains of white metal of the platinum group of elements. These metal grains occur in serpentinites and are concentrated in placer deposits. The common presence of these grains attests to the importance of placer, as opposed to primary gold. Such grains could be a nuisance to goldworkers but were rarely removed.

The earliest attempts at refining were probably concerned with the removal of copper from gold. This can be done by heating the molten metal in a stream of air. During this process of cupellation the copper would be oxidized to form a slag. Separation of silver from gold was more complex. It was first developed at Sardis during the late 7th century BC. Electrum was mixed with salt and brick dust in a pot. The pot was heated for a long time without melting the metal, so that all the silver would be converted into chlorides and absorbed into the brick dust.

The Byzantines held gold in high esteem and used it as widely as possible, not only in its pure form but also in alloys with silver and copper. Gold was used for coins, medals, jewellery, and liturgical vessels. Further applications included the use of gold foil in mosaic, icon painting, and book illumination. Emperors dined off gold plates; and the ultimate seal of authority in Byzantium was the imperial *chrysobull* or golden seal.

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Gortyn

City in Crete

The site of Gortyn lies 16 km inland from the south coast of Crete. Originally a Minoan settlement, it was refounded by Greek immigrants from Achaea, Thessaly, and Arcadia (central Peloponnese), followed by Dorians. From the 4th century BC Gortyn seems to have been involved in perpetual feuding with Knossos, each city striving for superiority over the other. When the Cretan cities became involved in war with Rome, Gortyn sided with the Romans in 66–65 BC and was rewarded by the victorious Quintus Caecilius Metellus with the title of *maxima civitas* and the position of provincial capital of the Roman province comprising Crete and Cyrene.

The early history of Gortyn is associated with the Gortyn law code of *c.*450 BC, found built into a wall of the odeum which was restored *c.*AD 100, though the inscription bearing the code may always have been visible. The code deals with a range of private legal matters, including family property, adoption procedures, slaves, mortgages, sureties, and donations. It reveals that slaves had certain rights, including that of permission to marry free women. Rape was a civil offence punishable by a fine, the amount depending on the status of the victim. A magistrate could use his discretion to decide whether a rape had been committed. This most important source of social and legal conditions in the Archaic–Classical period indicates the existence of a highly stratified society in which disputes over property rights and successions played a major part.

In the Roman period Gortyn continued to be the most important city in Crete. Christianity was preached early in the island. In the Pastoral Epistles Paul is represented as sending Titus to Crete "to set in order things that are wanting" and to ordain elders in every city (Titus 1: 5). Gortyn may have been one of these, for by *c.*170 AD we learn from Eusebius of Caesarea (*Eccles. Hist.* 4. 21 and 23) that Philip was bishop of Gortyn. He received a letter from Bishop Dionysius of Corinth praising him for his "many noble acts" and putting him on his guard against heresies. Gortyn had already won a good reputation which Philip was upholding against heresies, suggesting a relatively long-established Christian community there. Gortyn was the metropolitan see of Crete and the remains of seven churches have been found, including one dedicated to Hagios Titos, the presumed founder of the bishopric.

Exploration of the ruins of Gortyn up to World War I revealed the remains of a praetorium, baths, an amphitheatre, and circus as well as the Christian churches. The city, which covered an area of 150 hectares, was abandoned during the 7th century under increasing pressure from Arab raiders.

WILLIAM H.C. FREND

Summary

A city in central Crete, Gortyn was originally a Minoan settlement. It is famous for its law code (*c.*450 BC) which survives as an inscription on a wall of the odeum. In the Roman period it was the capital of the province of Crete and Cyrene. Christianity arrived early and remains of seven churches survive. Gortyn was abandoned in the 7th century AD.

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Goths

Germanic people

Jordanes, a writer of the 5th century AD, gives a southern-Scandinavian origin to the Goths who migrated early in the Christian period to settle around the lower Vistula. Archaeological evidence, however, only supports a migration from the lower Vistula region to an area north of the Black Sea in the second half of the 2nd century AD. In 238 they began raiding the Roman empire, especially the Balkans, Asia Minor, and Greece. Victories by the emperors Gallienus (253/260–68), Claudius (268–70), who won the title Gothicus for his exploits against them, and Aurelian (270–75) largely ended the land and seaborne attacks, but only after one group (later known as the Visigoths) occupied Dacia on the left bank of the Danube, forcing Aurelian to withdraw Roman troops and administrators from the area. Out of an unknown number of groups operating under separate chieftainships, a second major group emerged and established a strong presence in the Ukraine. A large number of these Goths (later they formed the Ostrogoths) were absorbed by the Huns in the early 370s and only rose to prominence after the collapse of the Hunnic empire in the middle of the 5th century.

The westward advance of the Huns, and perhaps tribal conflicts, drove two groups of Goths across to the right side of the Danube into Roman territory, creating a chaotic situation that resulted in the battle of Adrianople (378). The resounding Gothic victory over the Roman army and subsequent devastation of the Thracian countryside temporarily shook Roman confidence but the Goths were unable to exploit their military superiority in any significant manner. The emperors Gratian and, later, Theodosius, realizing that a stable and peaceful Gothic people benefited everyone, arranged treaties by which the Visigoths were allowed to settle as federates with special status within Roman territory: in Pannonia (380) and in Lower Moesia (382).

The terms of the treaties were far from perfect but the Goths maintained peace with the empire until after the battle of the Frigidus river (394) where Theodosius' eastern forces engaged those of the usurper, Eugenius. Here the Goths fought for Theodosius under the command of their own chieftain, Alaric I (395–410), but were subject to other commanders who cared little for them so long as the battle was won. The eastern forces prevailed at a terrible cost to the Goths who had been thrown almost as fodder against the enemy. More than half of their 20,000-strong force was lost. Their enforced idleness the next year at Milan, Theodosius' temporary base, must have produced a tension-filled situation. At least this would help to explain why Stilicho, the commander at Milan after Theodosius' death (395), released the Goths, who then returned east only to discover that their Moesian homes had been raided by the Huns.

Alaric immediately marched his force to Constantinople where he obtained better terms for his people, including high military office for himself. The treaty was satisfactory enough to convince the Goths to depart but did not resolve their needs. Over the next 15 years, led by their king Alaric, the Goths devastated large parts of Greece and the Balkans in an attempt to stabilize their situation. Fighting for their own sake, they sometimes aided the eastern empire, sometimes the western empire. All was done to secure their most urgent objective: a safe and permanent territory for their people.

Before a year had lapsed since the signing of the treaty of 395, changes at Constantinople had made Alaric and his Goths outsiders once again. Moving southward through Greece, they ravaged much of Boeotia and captured the Piraeus. Athens only escaped their depredations by bribing the Goths to bypass the city as they moved southward into the Peloponnese where they remained for over a year (396–97). After a confrontation with Stilicho's forces near Olympia that came to nothing, Alaric moved his Goths first to Epirus and then into Macedonia where, according to a new treaty, territory west of Thessalonica, between the Haliakmon and Axios rivers, had been set aside for the Goths to settle as federates.

More than once during this time the Goths had been at a military disadvantage, but Alaric managed to extricate his forces by employing what must have been considerable diplomatic skills. No doubt, his group's potential as a powerful ally helped in negotiations with both the eastern and western empires, yet Alaric had forged a unified Gothic entity that could, and did, become a serious threat to those who would use them. The lack of secure territory for settlement and the desire to have their own high-ranking commanders within the Roman military structure compelled the Goths continually to break with their imperial allies. Eventually the quest to fulfil these needs led to the Gothic invasion of Italy in 401, which culminated with the sack of Rome on 24 August 410. After temporarily installing their own emperor in Rome, the Visigoths moved into Gaul and Spain where they finally established their own kingdom centred first at Toulouse (418–507) and then in Spain (507–711/725).

The Goths who had remained under Hunnic control until the death of Attila (453) and the battle of the Nedao river (454/5) established themselves in two rival groups on the right bank of the Danube. One group, subdivided under the rule of three brothers, settled as federates of the eastern empire in Pannonia. The other band settled in Thrace, nearer to events in Constantinople.

The most important of these Goths was the son of the chieftain Thiudimir, Theodoric, who was raised in Pannonia until the age of eight. His next ten years were spent in Constantinople as a hostage where he became acquainted with activity at the court and observed barbarian commanders of high rank. At the age of 18 he returned to his people, becoming the leader of the united Goths of his region in 474. The year before, these Goths had moved into Macedonia to establish a kingdom but this was a short-lived venture. No later than 476 they had returned to the Danube in Lower Moesia where they secured a kingdom centred around Novae-Svistov (Bulgaria).

About this time, in 475, the emperor Zeno was driven out of Constantinople, partly through the influence of the Thracian Goths under the command of Theodoric Strabo (son of Triarius), who now became the supreme commander of the imperial army. Theodoric, son of Thiudimir, quickly allied himself with Zeno against their rivals on the promise of increased status for himself and recognition of his Goths.

Now these two eastern Gothic groups came into direct conflict as they competed for the favour of the emperor who attempted to play them off against each other. The following years were filled with chaotic conflicts as the Goths of Theodoric moved across the Balkan peninsula and into Epirus (*c.*479/80) where they established a fourth kingdom. The accidental death of Theodoric Strabo in 481 ended the strife between the Gothic groups, who soon were amalgamated into the Ostrogoths under Theodoric's command.

With this large unified force, Theodoric represented a serious threat to the eastern empire. Greece suffered great devastation in 482 and was only spared further disaster when Zeno made a treaty (483) granting the Goths land and making Theodoric supreme commander and consul-elect for 484. By 487, however, the relationship between the emperor and Theodoric had deteriorated to such a point that the Gothic king led his forces to the walls of Constantinople, forcing Zeno to negotiate once more.

The strategic solution was to send Theodoric and his Ostrogoths against Odovacar to recover Italy. Theodoric set out in 489 and by March of 493 had undisputed control of Italy following his brutal murder of Odovacar and his family. His own kingdom briefly united the Visigoths and Ostrogoths (511–26) before it fell to Justinian's onslaught in the middle of the 6th century.

ANDREW N. SHERWOOD

Summary

The Goths were a Germanic people who originated in southern Scandinavia and settled in an area north of the Black Sea in the 2nd century AD. Driven west by the Huns, they defeated the Romans at the battle of Adrianople in 378. First accommodated and then slighted, the Goths under Alaric continued to harass Greece until 401 when they invaded Italy. These Visigoths (who later moved to Gaul and Spain) and the Ostrogoths (who remained in the east) remained a threat to the empire until the reconquests of Justinian.

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Government, Theories of

The Classical approach to politics and government was concerned both with the institutional features of political regimes and with the question of the relationship between philosophy and government. The polis, the city state which presented the context for the development of that approach, was in many respects unique. From the perspective of the theory of government, the institutions of the polis can be illustrated by taking Athens as a model, since it was mainly Athens that provided the environment and the inspiration for political philosophy. The model, which was characteristic of Athens during the period of the city's greatest power, was based on the constitutional reforms of Cleisthenes (507 BC). Male citizens formed the Assembly (*Ekklesia*), the forum of direct democracy, which met regularly. The elected bodies were the Council of Five Hundred and the courts. But election to these bodies reflected a notion of representation very different from that which developed after the Middle Ages in Europe. The system of filling offices was a combination of election and lot: the townships (*demoi*) of Athens elected candidates and the holders of office were then chosen by lot from those elected. For the Athenians this system was democratic because it equalized the citizens' chances to hold office. The idea of citizenship was deeply participatory and left an unmistakable mark on Greek theories of government.

Political philosophy and the theory of government developed after the end of the Peloponnesian War and the defeat of Athens. The idealized account of the Athenian regime presented by Thucydides (in the Periclean Funeral Oration) emphasized both the civic commitment by the citizen and the confident and relaxed quality of life in Athens. The focus throughout was on the balance accomplished by Athenian political life between participation and freedom, public-mindedness and self-development. The civic greatness of the Periclean age was exemplified in a civilized way of life, in culture, and, characteristically, in the art of the 5th century BC. By contrast, the academic specialization of Athens came with the years of decline. Plato's Academy (385 BC) and, some 50 years later, Aristotle's Lyceum were founded in the aftermath of the humiliation of the model city state.

In the *Republic* Plato sought to define justice and asked whether justice can be found or created in the world of the polis. Plato's sublime exposition of his philosophical ideal in the *Republic* should be considered in conjunction with his account of "a half-way house between the actual and the ideal" (Barker, 1918, p. 183) in the *Laws*, written almost 30 years after the *Republic*. In the *Laws* an Athenian discusses with a Spartan and a Cretan the possible constitutional arrangements of government in a projected colony. Although there are also Spartan influences in Plato's thought, the Athenian model remains central in both positive and negative ways.

But the most important classical influence upon later theory comes from Aristotle, who was a member of Plato's Academy until Plato's death in 347 BC. Aristotle took over Plato's interest in political philosophy but approached its themes from a markedly different perspective. Aristotle's theory of political regimes in *Politics* proposes a classificatory model with three main types of organization of government: monarchy, aristocracy, and constitutional government. There are also three deviations: tyranny, oligarchy, democracy. Actual regimes vary, depending on the distribution of power according to rank and wealth. In addition to the analytical discussion in *Politics*, Aristotle undertook the empirical investigation of the operation of government in contemporary city states. These empirical studies, unarguably the first texts in the history of comparative political science, are lost, with the exception of the *Athenian Constitution*. Of equal significance has been the moral and political philosophy outlined in *Nicomachean Ethics*, a work of immense theoretical and methodological influence. For Plato the quest for truth was an ascent from mere opinions to the light of reality. There was an unbridgeable gap between the two. By contrast, Aristotle (and political science in the Western tradition since then) takes as a starting point common opinions in the polis, aiming to explicate and eliminate the inner difficulties which arise from an analytical consideration of these opinions. Regarding political methodol-

ogy, Aristotle made two main contributions. First, he established political science as a comprehensive social science on the assumption that its comprehensive character corresponds to the comprehensive character of the political community. Other communities (social, religious, and so on) are parts of the political community which regulates them for the common good. Second, starting from the assumption that the choice of method (and degree of exactness) will depend on the subject matter, Aristotle put forward a distinct method of political inquiry, arguing that the objects of political science rest on human convention not nature.

The centrality of Plato and Aristotle for the future development of the theory of government cannot be readily gauged from an examination of the schools of political thought that immediately followed the two great thinkers. The schools of the Epicureans and the Cynics, which began some 30 years after Aristotle, followed new lines of thought which centred respectively on the pursuit of happiness through avoidance of pain and anxiety and on protest against social convention. These lines (which, despite their differences, converged in their withdrawal from the sphere of political activity) were to become influential at a later stage, more so in western Europe than in Greece. In the latter the theory of government evolved in interaction with the kingdoms of the Hellenistic world beyond the Greek peninsula. The most important school of thought in the century that followed Aristotle's death, the Stoics, tolerated and occasionally defended the new monarchies, which were aiming at the integration of Greeks and people living in Asia. The theory of the deified king as a symbol of unity became influential throughout the Hellenistic world and was later partly adopted by the Romans. By the end of the 2nd century BC, however, Stoicism was revised by Panaetius of Rhodes. The revision was meant to recultivate Stoicism's moral philosophical content and in the process began to look back to ideas drawn from Plato and Aristotle. Panaetius worked on a humanitarian and universalist version of Stoicism, according to which justice is the bond that keeps polities together. In so far as a polity becomes unjust, it loses that basis of harmony which makes it a polity. This approach had great influence on Cicero and Roman legal theory, but it also signified a degree of adaptation of Platonic and Aristotelian concerns in the new context of a Mediterranean world which was becoming increasingly integrated economically and culturally (Sabine and Thorson, 1973, pp. 151–52).

Although the role of Roman legal institutions and norms remained significant throughout the years between the inauguration of the eastern capital in Constantinople in AD 330 and its fall in AD 1453, the prevalent model of government in the Byzantine empire combined elements of the deified king of the Hellenistic period and of eastern theocratic traditions. The result was a model that stressed the sacred character of the person of the emperor. Under Ottoman rule the Patriarch of Constantinople was granted the authority of the spiritual and political leader (*Millet Basi*) of the Christians. The role of the Orthodox Church was religious and supranational (ecumenical), that is, the Church guaranteed the institutionalized distinction between Christians and Muslims and was responsible for both the religious and the administrative guidance of the former within the framework of Ottoman rule. But the actual organization of government was complex, varied from region to region, and manifested a variable mix of influences by local notables, the Orthodox Church, and the Ottoman rulers. It must be stressed that Roman (Justinianic) law remained significant in many regions throughout the years of Ottoman rule, thereby providing an important normative thread alongside the other elements of continuity, notably linguistic and religious.

After the establishment of an independent Greek state in 1830 the building of political institutions became the focus of political debate and controversy. During the War of Independence there were declarations by the national assemblies in republican directions, but geostrategic realities, foreign influences, and domestic complications eventually led to the imposition of monarchy. After the 1830s it became evident that different sociopolitical factions championed different models of government. Those who wanted to initiate a process of state-building in the Western tradition pushed for a centralized state with strong executive and rationalized administrative structures. On the other hand, those who wished to retain the power of local notables had a preference for more decentralized governmental structures. At the level of political ideas, the Enlightenment exerted considerable influence on important intellectuals, but the power structure of the new state was based on a conservative coalition that proved inimical to the widespread acceptance of liberalism and human rights theories (Kitromilides, 1994). The establishment of the University of Athens, in 1837, contributed to the cultivation of a Western cultural environment, but its main objective was the training of personnel for the state institutions. In 1833 the Greek Orthodox Church broke away from the Patriarchate of Constantinople, and less than two decades later its status as a state Church had become clear. The weakness of liberal ideas in combination with the establishment of Orthodoxy as a state Church resulted in a persistent democratic deficit in the treatment of other religions (Pollis, 1988).

Despite the power of the conservative local oligarchies, the Western governmental model prevailed. But the state apparatus soon became dominated from within by the so-called *tzakia*, influential families whose origins can be traced to those local notables (*proestoi*) who had played a critical role during the War of Independence. By and large, the *tzakia* increasingly favoured a loose parliamentary model, since the latter, adapted to 19th-century Greek conditions, would simultaneously constrain the capacities and the reach of central authority and assist these patrician families to strengthen their role in the state, based on their local power resources and their extensive presence in parliament. In 1875 the king accepted the parliamentary principle in government formation, although parliamentarism had already been declared in 1844. The balance thus achieved survived until 1909, when the coup set in motion developments that favoured the ascendancy of liberal statesmen and the prevalence of liberal institutions. The formation of a differentiated and operational political system, a rationalized bureaucracy, and a professional army was a slow and difficult process, and it was not before the 1920s that the Greek state can be said to have acquired a modern structure of governmental authority.

The study of government in modern Greek political science and political theory grew out of the study of constitutional law. In this respect the institutions of the Second (1924–35) and the

Third Republic (1974–) have been important as points of reference for the evolution of constitutional theory. The latter remains in continuous interaction with the theory of government, even as the scope of inquiry widens and a number of factors, both domestic and "external", are brought in.

Four different approaches in the study of goverment can be distinguished, which incorporate partly different concepts of government. First, there is the approach which concentrates on the structure of governmental authority and the formal arrangements of the offices of government. This is typical of much work in the field before the 1970s and reveals the legal background of Greek political science. The focus on the formal institutions of government resulted in certain important contributions, along with some descriptive work. It is noteworthy that this approach often combined a legal lineage and an interest in analytical Greek political theory. For example, in this approach classifications of government still rely to a considerable extent on the Aristotelian typology of regimes. Second, there is the approach which examines the executive authority in the state. This signifies a constraining and sometimes confusing identification of government with the executive authority. Again, work that can be grouped in this category reveals a legal background.

The third and fourth approaches distance themselves from the constitutional-legal terrain. It is important at this point to stress that certain influential constitutional theorists in the early decades of the 20th century proved sensitive to the political and social dimensions of government (notably N.N. Saripolos and Alexandros Svolos). But the theory of government in these approaches remained for the most part constrained by its subject matter, the structure and operation of the constitutional edifice. The third approach, then, is concerned with the process of governing, including the various formal and informal aspects of policy making and the ways in which sociopolitical interaction influences and becomes itself influenced by political power. Finally, the fourth approach possesses a philosophical lineage and is concerned with the art of government, the criteria for assessing good government, and the relationship between government and moral values.

The conservative modernization drive of the late 1950s and early 1960s under Constantine Karamanlis was combined with the quest for a strong executive. One particular aspect of the Platonic theory of government, the view of guardianship, resurfaced in the conservative constitutional theory of the 1950s and 1960s (in the work of Constantine Tsatsos), reflecting the efforts to anchor the semiauthoritarian modernization drive in Greek political philosophy. In 1967 a coup installed an authoritarian regime, apparently aimed at blocking the possibility of a centre-left government emerging from the planned elections of that year. The regime tried unsuccessfully to institutionalize itself and collapsed amid foreign policy crisis and domestic upheaval in 1974, changing dramatically the contours of the theory and practice of government. The authoritarian potential in conservative rule having exhausted itself, the new equilibrium which was reflected in the 1975 republican constitution allowed the operation of liberal institutions, lifted the ban on the communist left, and sought to reorient the role of the army in the political system. However, elements of continuity with the situation before the coup were equally significant. The emphasis on a strong executive essentially represented a continuity from political strategies before 1967, only this time the organization of relationships between the head of state, the government, and the parliament revealed the influence of French semi-presidentialism. Also the regime change in 1974 did little to challenge the inherited corporatist structures which govern the participation of organized interests in the making and implementation of policy. The transformation of interest politics was gradual and took place in the 1980s and 1990s through the shifts, abandonment, or step-by-step revision of the structures of policy making and collective action.

Despite its opportunist aspects, the limited constitutional revision of 1986 reflected a shift in the balance of both practical politics and theoretical views. The revision's aim was to enhance further the role of the prime minister and to constrain the president of the republic, whose role became largely ceremonial. To some extent, the revision was consistent with the socialist (PASOK) analysis of the 1975 constitution as arming the president with extensive powers and distorting parliamentarism. But in the precise form it aquired, the revision expressed the immediate political concerns of the then prime minister Andreas Papandreou and the experience of cohabitation between Papandreou and Karamanlis. In this sense, it was an unnecessarily drastic reduction of the powers of the head of state; a more reasoned revision might have resulted in more efficient organization of constitutional relationships. In fact, the revision reflected the populist majoritarian thrust of the PASOK governments' policy in the 1980s. One aspect of that approach was the combination of the strengthening of the executive authority in the state and the promotion of further politicization of the administrative structures (Makridimitris, 1992). Another aspect was a certain impatience with elaborate institutional checks and balances. In this particular respect, A. Papandreou's approach to governing was not very different from the early disregard of Karamanlis for the static quality of intricate politics.

Government changed in both form (governmental and administrative structures) and content (policies) as a result of increased participation in the process of European integration since 1981. The theory of government traces the impact of convergence and Europeanization on policies, institutions, and rules of the game (Lavdas, 1997; Ioakimidis, 1998). Changes in the spatial organization of government have been studied more extensively, concerning not only the growth of local governments but, more importantly, the attempted regionalization of a country which (like Portugal or Ireland) had no inherited regional tiers of government. The emergence of new models of government is closely linked to the emerging pluralism of the centres of policy-making and the multiplication of policy actors at various levels: local, regional, national, transnational, European, global. The overall picture in the 1990s is one of a transitional, mixed, and segmented pluralism, where pockets of corporatist-interest intermediation coexist with pluralist arenas. The possibility of later (after 2001) Greek participation in the euro opens up a rich field of debate on how to approach government and democratic accountability in a multilevel decision-making framework in which European institutional building falls behind developments in monetary and economic unification. In a framework,

that is, in which government currently appears to follow economics.

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See also Aristocracy, Constitution, Democracy, Junta, Monarchy, Oligarchy, Republic, Tyranny

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Graeco-Turkish War 1897

The adverse impact of the 1897 war on the morale of the Greek nation and its delayed after-effects on Greek politics were certainly more significant than the event itself which commenced on 27 March (Old Style; 8 April New Style) 1897 and was terminated with the 7 (19) May armistice of that year.

This accidental conflagration was the undesirable byproduct of an irredentist ideology that had become the hallmark of Greek foreign policy throughout the 19th century. Between 1844 and 1897 Greece pursued its irredentist guerrilla warfare against the Ottoman empire with native irregulars or soldiers of fortune from Crete and Macedonia. Brigand groups were on many occasions granted pardon if they volunteered their services to the patriotic cause.

The culprits responsible for inflaming public opinion on the side of confrontation included the press, the political parties, the government of Theodoros Deliyannis, and the royal family. The most pernicious influence came from a clandestine organization bearing the name the "National Society", founded by young army officers in November 1894. A year later prominent civilians were admitted, but until early 1896 only eight out of 130 members were not officers. It was after the spring of that year that a stream of well-known Athenians began to enter the society.

In spite of the patriotic sound and fury, however, the morale of the Greek officer corps on the eve of the war was sagging. The 1893 default of Greece on its external debt had diminished the military budget from close to 59 million drachmas in 1895 to less than 20 million eight years later. The irredentist fever that seized the country in 1897 was certainly not compatible with the prevailing austerity in public finances. Nevertheless, in January 1897 the Cretans defied Ottoman rule and proclaimed their unification with Greece, while the latter responded by sending a small expeditionary force under Colonel Timoleon Vassos to their rescue. Although the naval forces of the great powers (with the exception of Britain) blockaded the island, Greek public opinion demanded of the government to stand by its decision to annex Crete.

The National Society played a pivotal role in pushing prime minister Theodoros Deliyannis over the brink. The episode that unleashed the dogs of war was the incursion of 3000 Greek irregulars into Ottoman-held Macedonia at the end of March. On 5 April the Sublime Porte severed diplomatic relations with Athens and declared war. From the outset hostilities erupted on two fronts, in Epirus and in Thessaly. The performance of the commander-in-chief, Crown Prince Constantine, left much to be desired. One week after the skirmishes commenced, the Greek forces retreated in disarray.

On 12 April the Turks captured the Thessalian city of Tirnavo, and on 13 April they entered Larissa. Between 14 and 24 April the decisive battle of Velestino was fought and lost by the Greek army. On 26 April the vital port of Volos was taken by the Ottomans and on 5 May the last battle was waged in Domokos.

The Ottoman army, superior in numbers and organized by German officers, found no match in the diminutive Greek forces. Faced with the imminent threat of collapse, Greece hurried to an armistice on 7 May. The peace terms, however, were lenient and, thanks to British intervention, no territorial losses were incurred by Greece. However, since the war indemnity of four million Turkish pounds to the Ottomans could not be paid by an insolvent state, Germany proposed that Greek finances be controlled by an international finance commission,

which would also supervise the servicing of Greece's external debts.

Surprisingly, the apple of the particular discord, Crete, was granted complete autonomy and in 1898 Prince George, the second son of King George I of the Hellenes, became High Commissioner of the island.

One year after the first modern Olympic games, which were held in Athens, the self-esteem of the nation, elevated to heights of romantic delusion, plummeted to the depths of pessimism. The 1897 debacle obliged Deliyannis to step down from the premiership, an attempt was made against the life of King George, and members of the royal family were castigated by the press. Literature and poetry, in hot pursuit of 1897, produced works of despair, anger, and satire. The sarcastic verse of George Souris left neither the royal palace nor the exponents of the war unscathed, while scores of melancholy novels were based on the traumatic event. It was only in 1902 that the poet laureate, Kostis Palamas, with his *Flute of the King*, dared to revive the hope of national resurrection after the humiliation of 1897.

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See also Constantine I, Deliyannis, George I, Palamas

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Grammar

The term "grammar" comes from the Classical Greek *grammatike techne* (later abbreviated to *grammatike*), which simply means "skill of writing" (Greek *gramma*, "alphabetic character", "writing"). Accordingly, the *grammatikos* was someone who knew the alphabetic characters, who was able to read. In Hellenistic times *grammatike* progressively took on the meaning of "linguistic and literary studies", i.e. the present sense of "philology". This was a result of the influence and development of various intellectual movements. Consequently the term *grammatikos* stood for a professional philologist, someone who was concerned with textual criticism and the interpretation of Classical works. In Late Antiquity a semantic narrowing occurred: grammar was now simply understood as phonology and morphology, which still form the central field of grammar. The Romans adopted the terminology together with the contents. The loan translation *litteratura*, however, was not applied in this field, whereas the Greek loan word (*ars*) *grammatica* passed as a technical term into most European languages.

In antiquity the systematic scholarly exploration of language and the development of proper grammatical terms were the work of philosophers. Although they were simply considering their own language and not doing any comparative linguistics in a modern sense, the Greeks nevertheless managed to create a terminology that is still in use by observing and compiling linguistic facts and arranging them into different fields. The first philosophical discussions about language date from the time of the Sophists (5th century BC) with a focus on the relation between word and object. Rather casually, philosophers also touched on grammatical topics: they distinguished for instance three genders of the noun. Plato's *Cratylus*, in which he deals thoroughly with linguistic problems, offers the basics of phonology. Alphabetic characters are distinguished according to vowels and consonants, and words are analysed in syllables. Syntax is also addressed in addition to morphology; for the first time the denotations *onoma* ("noun"), and *rhema* ("verb"), are explicitly introduced as parts of speech. The terminology was taken up and partly refined by Aristotle. He explained that conjunctions and particles are also parts of speech, as are articles and demonstrative pronouns. In his writings we find the technical term *ptosis*, ("case", "inflection"), for the first time as a designation for all morphological variations of word forms, i.e. not only nouns but also verbs. His terminology was extended and concretized by the philosophical school of the Stoa (from about 300 BC), who established grammar as a scholarly field of its own. As to phonology, the Stoics defined a set of 24 alphabetic characters as "elements of words" and they distinguished seven vowels and six consonants. As to morphology, they examined the inflection of nouns and verbs. Moreover, the tenses and gender of verbs were systematically described. In the field of syntax they explained constructions of active and passive voice, and also the role of the nominative and oblique cases. Etymology was particularly studied, as it had been by Plato. Although they pursued it with true passion, the results were obviously rather naive from the perspective of modern linguistic knowledge. The numerous irregularities in word formation and use were interpreted by Stoic philosophers as following from a principle of anomaly prevailing in language. Their method was purely descriptive: they merely stated facts but refrained from finding reasons for inconsistencies.

Grammarians of the Hellenistic period, by contrast, above all the Alexandrians (*c.*2nd century BC) who were leaders in philology at that time, tried to put regularities of language in the foreground, considering irregularities as deviations from normality. Their basic principle of explanation, which they called analogy, has predominated ever since. This method had another starting point: whereas the Stoics proceeded from logical assumptions, Alexandrian philologists dealt with grammar for practical, i.e. didactic, reasons. As Greek civilization spread in the Hellenistic period, they tried to provide tools for non-Greeks to learn Greek language and literature. Morphology especially was understood as a system of analogies. Groups of identically inflecting words could be distinctly classified by corresponding rules so that patterns of declension and conjugation were set up and, at the same time, irregulari-

ties were registered. This method was also purely descriptive. The first systematic description of phonology and morphology was compiled by Dionysius Thrax (*c.*100 BC) under the title *techne grammatike* ("science of grammar": syntax, defined as the composition of words in a sentence, is mentioned but not treated in detail). This work was the first grammatical manual for didactic purposes and consequently achieved wide circulation. From about the 4th century AD it was regarded as a standard grammar for Greek, forming a basis for further research throughout the Byzantine period and up to the Renaissance. Dionysius defines grammar as the "knowledge of what is normally said by poets and prose writers". His work is divided into six parts: reading aloud, explaining literary expressions, commenting on words and knowledge, etymologies, finding regularities, and finally literary criticism. From his explanations it becomes obvious that the eight parts of speech (noun, verb, participle, article, pronoun, preposition, adverb, conjunction) are determined by the sentence as a whole and, consequently, considered as (relative) parts of the sentence. The order of enumeration is intentional: the most important parts of speech, noun and verb, are named first. This is in accordance with linguistic and philosophical reflections from the past, where these two elements were already regarded as determining a sentence. Moreover, the first five word classes are inflectional, the last three are not. Dionysius' classifications and terminology were adopted by Roman grammarians. They adapted the system to the Latin language, also translating technical terms into Latin. These still survive (for instance *ptosis* = *casus* = "case"). Apollonius Dyscolus (2nd century AD), basing himself on the Stoics and on Dionysius Thrax, dealt extensively with syntax in a way that was quite subtle for his time. He defined syntax as a combination of words considering the coherence of the whole sentence. He illustrates the central position of noun and verb in a sentence by remarking that a sentence will become senseless or at least indefinite if these two elements are omitted. He also wrote special studies on pronouns, adverbs, and conjunctions. Furthermore, he introduced the terms transitivity and intransitivity (in relation to verbs). With this grammarian, the separation between grammar and philology was fulfilled, so that the development of an independent discipline could begin.

In the Byzantine period, as the spoken everyday language and the Classicist literary language progressively separated, gradual linguistic changes also modified the demands that were made on grammar. Having been merely descriptive in the Classical period, it now became prescriptive with rules for correct pronunciation, orthography, inflection, etc. Although colloquial language developed in a very dynamic way over the centuries, only the Atticizing language was described in grammars. In the highly developed educational system material was needed both for elementary and for higher instruction in order to explain the language of literature and to assist the reading of classical authors. Thus, numerous commentaries on and compilations of earlier grammatical works exist. The so-called *epimerismoi* became very popular for instruction. These are comments on Classical writers (above all Homer) and on religious texts (e.g. the Psalms), partially written in the form of question and answer in order to underline the didactic purpose. In these Byzantine grammatical writings word-for-word explanations concerning phonology, orthography, prosody, and morphology are in the foreground, while analysis of syntax is only treated marginally. From the 11th century a new technique called *schedographia*, related to that of the *epimerismoi*, comes into fashion. These are small exercises in prose (sometimes mixed with introductory verses) in combination with moral instructions. They were used to practise and apply grammatical rules. This method, however, was controversial among Byzantine intellectuals, since it was overemployed and commercialized by some grammarians so that it was no longer serious.

Michael Synkellos (9th century) was famous for his work on syntax. He is the first grammatical author since Antiquity to devote himself exclusively to this topic. His starting point is the isolated word and not so much the mutual relationships of words in sentences. He treats different verbs and prepositions and corresponding case constructions at length, interlarded with numerous examples. His work is a short and clear manual with instructions for the correct use of language rather than theoretical reflections. On the whole, Byzantine authors concerned with linguistic and/or grammatical problems were not conspicuous for their innovative tendencies or originality. Ideas that came from Antiquity and Late Antiquity were taken up again and again, annotated, and, at best, slightly added to. An exception is the versatile scholar Maximos Planudes (13th/14th centuries) who, within the framework of his works about syntax, developed a theory that may be traced back to Antiquity and the Hellenistic period: the so-called localist theory of case (this, however, being the modern term). Planudes explains that there are three interrogatives asking for the most important parts of speech, i.e. the three oblique cases: "whence" (genitive as the case of origin), "where" (dative for location), "whither" (accusative denoting destination). Greek prepositions governing all three cases demonstrate this theory in a very clear way. The localist point of view in the interpretation of case systems was and still is in use by linguists of the 19th and 20th centuries.

In the 14th and 15th centuries several scholars taught classical Greek in the Latin west, especially in Italy. By so doing they initiated a revival of Greek studies in western Europe. Manuel Chrysoloras, for example, gave lessons in Florence and wrote a grammatical treatise in the form of questions and answers, a method that had been popular since the 12th century. His grammar presented the Classical language of literature (phonology, morphology, syntax) in a vivid manner, with little theory, and it was meant as a practical guide for those who wanted to learn Greek as a foreign language.

The *Introduction to Greek Grammar* by Theodore Gaza (15th century) is probably the most comprehensive grammatical treatise of its time. In addition to orthography, phonology, and morphology, Theodore also devoted a whole book to syntax. The influence of this work was also very great in the Latin west (Erasmus of Rotterdam translated parts of it into Latin). The book was reprinted frequently up to the 19th century.

After the conquest of the Byzantine empire by the Turks many Greek intellectuals fled to the West. One of them was Constantine Laskaris who in the second half of the 15th century worked as a teacher of Greek in different Italian cities. He wrote a Greek grammar, a *Collection of the Eight Parts of Speech*, which in 1476 was one of the first books to be printed entirely in Greek types.

During the Tourkokratia new literary centres were formed outside the Ottoman sphere of influence (Cyprus, Rhodes, Crete, Ionian Islands) in which a daily spoken, popular language, with specific dialectal features, could flourish. At this time descriptions of the current language were gradually developed. The oldest grammar of vernacular Greek is by Nikolaos Sophianos of Corfu (16th century). Girolamo Germano, an Italian who lived in Chios for some time in the 17th century, presented a few grammatical observations as a preface to his Italian–Greek glossary. Simon Portius (17th century) adopted some of Nikolaos's thoughts in his grammar of vernacular Greek written in Latin.

A growing feeling of nationalism among the Greek people, together with the political independence that followed in the 19th century, resulted in the ambition to achieve a homogeneous (modern) Greek language for daily use above regional variations. Out of these attempts, however, different movements developed. Two directions emerged in the course of time that determined the further development of the Greek language down to the 20th century: *dimotiki*, popular language, and *katharevousa*, purified learned language. Accordingly, language manuals and grammars were also coloured differently. With the rise of historical and comparative linguistics towards the end of the 19th century, grammars were increasingly written from the perspective of diachronic linguistic study, i.e. as scholarly treatises rather than school grammars. Examples include the works of Yannis Psycharis (with emphasis on *dimotiki*) and Georgios Chatzidakis (with emphasis on *katharevousa*). In the 1950s André Mirambel wrote a comprehensive analysis of the modern Greek language (phonology, morphology, syntax, vocabulary, stylistics) taking into account both directions of the Greek language.

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See also Language

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Great Idea

The *Megale Idea*, or Great Idea, was the central programme of Greek nationalism in the 19th century. The programme was often vaguely defined and shifting in its emphasis, but its general thrust was irredentist. The Great Idea envisioned the unification of all the Greeks of the Ottoman empire within the borders of a Greek state.

This programme grew out of the disappointing outcome of the Greek revolution of 1821. The revolutionary leaders had aspired to the liberation of all Greeks from Ottoman rule and the replacement of the sultan's rule with some sort of Hellenic authority. The expected borders of this new state were never clearly defined, but they were certainly much larger than those of the Greek state that actually came into being. By the time the treaty of 1832 was signed, regularizing Greece's position in the international community of nations, the new state occupied only the southern tip of the rocky Balkan peninsula, as well as a few Aegean islands. This out-of-the-way area had always been a marginal one within the context of the Ottoman empire as a whole, and it was not an important centre of Hellenism when compared to Constantinople, the west coast of Asia Minor, or the Danubian principalities. The population of the new state was roughly 800,000, no more than a quarter of the total Greek population in the Near East.

The political leader John Kolettis is often credited with the formal articulation of the Great Idea during his speech to the Constituent Assembly in January 1844. But irredentist aspirations were part of Greek political discourse from the very beginning of the kingdom's existence in 1833. At the first celebration of Independence Day (25 March) in 1838, the slogan "To the City!" (Constantinople) spread like wildfire. When sultan Mahmud died a year later, the expectation was high that king Otho was about to depart for the Ottoman capital where he would be crowned emperor. According to a Greek historian writing in the 1860s, he was only prevented from doing so by the fact that the kingdom's one steamship was under repair. Even earlier, in 1834, Kolettis had argued that Greece should not declare a formal capital city, since the real and only capital of the Greeks was Constantinople.

Kolettis's argument brings up the principal interest of the Great Idea for the history of modern Greece. The Great Idea was never seriously pursued in Greek foreign policy, except during the exceptional circumstances of the immediate post-World-War-I years. Greece was far too weak, and Europe far too hostile, for the Greeks to be able actively to pursue the extension of their borders at the expense of the Ottoman empire. Shifts in the international situation did, however, affect which aspects of the Great Idea were emphasized and which downplayed.

The Great Idea was much more important in domestic politics, helped along by the fact that there was virtually no dispute over its validity, just a debate over how best to translate it into actual policy. The policy question was essentially this: given that the national project had been arrested almost at the start, what was the place of the Greek kingdom in the larger framework of the national question, and how should it conduct itself? As John Petropoulos put it, the Greeks simultaneously held two totally different conceptions of statehood. On the one hand, it was felt that Greece, as a new member of the European family of nations, should regularize relations with its neighbours, concentrate on internal development, and, in general, settle down to peaceful pursuits. This was the idea behind the rhetoric of "the model kingdom". The pursuit of a "model kingdom" had the added virtue, according to its advocates, that a prosperous and peaceful Greece would be sure to retain the loyalty of all the unredeemed Greeks living in the Ottoman empire, and would attract the support of Europe as well. Radically opposed to this vision of the state was the conviction that the Greek kingdom was no more than a kind of "temporary and makeshift military base from which the already redeemed Greeks must carry on the national crusade on behalf

of their unredeemed brethren", in Petropulos's memorable words.

Given the universal popularity of the Great Idea, it is not surprising that it was frequently enlisted as a tool in the ideological battles between liberals and conservatives that racked Greece from the very beginning of its national existence. In general, the liberals pulled more strongly in the direction of the "model kingdom" view of the Greek state. They were fervently committed to the development of a Western-style state in Greece, and had little love for the backward, as they saw it, institutions, such as the patriarchate, that were still so important in the Greek communities of the Ottoman empire. Their version of the Great Idea, then, saw the extension of the borders of the Greek kingdom to include all of the Greeks of the Ottoman empire. That way the Greeks would be not only united, but united under the aegis of a state that was properly Western in its orientation. Conservatives, on the other hand, could often barely disguise their scorn for the Western-style reforms that had been imposed on Greece, in their view, by a culturally alien West. The whole point of the Greek kingdom was to help the Greeks regain their ancient capital, Constantinople, where they would resurrect something like the Byzantine empire. These battles, of course, harked back to the revolution of 1821 and even the 18th century.

The Great Idea had a way of erupting into every policy debate in 19th-century Greece. Differences over the nature of the Great Idea were exposed in the 1830s debate on the place of the Church in the new kingdom of Greece. For liberals, it was self-evident that the Church in Greece should be autocephalous, that is, independent of Constantinople (which it did become), because the revolution had been almost as much against the patriarch as it had been against the sultan. It was simply unacceptable to envision an Orthodox Church in Greece that owed ultimate loyalty to the patriarch. The liberals' intent was to extend the authority of the king to Constantinople, not to come under the authority of the patriarch. Conservatives, who very much wanted to preserve the authority of the ecumenical patriarch and, more generally, the primacy of religion in the organization of society, argued that the establishment of an independent Church would fracture the formerly unified greater Greek nation. Thus, it would be an impediment to the realization of the Great Idea. Debates about economic policy often referred back to the Great Idea as well. Backers of the "model kingdom" argued that Greece should do its utmost to develop its existing resources, and in this way it would stand as an example of progress to the unredeemed Greeks. Others argued that the Greek kingdom was too small and too poor ever to become economically viable; the only hope for Greece was territorial expansion. The annexation of Thessaly in 1881 was viewed as a critical acquisition precisely because of its rich agricultural lands.

During the 19th century Greece gained the Ionian islands (1863) and Thessaly (1881) through diplomacy. But on balance its progress was felt to be unsatisfactory and the last quarter of the century was particularly discouraging. To the north an entirely new contender, Bulgaria, began to lay claim to lands just beyond Greece's northern border that the Greeks considered to be rightfully theirs. Mindful of the new Slavic threat, the shape of the Great Idea shifted yet again, this time towards some sort of Greek–Ottoman power sharing within the empire that still remained. Such an arrangement, it was felt, was the best way to protect Greek interests, both within the kingdom and in the Ottoman empire. Such a proposal, however, never got very far, in part because the Ottomans were not interested in sharing power with their former subjects.

It was only in the wake of World War I, with the Ottomans on the losing side and the Greeks just barely on the side of the victors (Greece abandoned its neutrality and entered the war on the side of the Allies five months before the war was over), that Greece finally had the opportunity to make the Great Idea a reality. During the course of the war the two principal Allied powers – Britain and France – had sought to win over to their side various countries by making promises of territorial enlargement once the war was over. Thus Italy, for example, was promised much of Dalmatia and the port of Vlorë in Albania, while Romania stood to gain Transylvania. Greece, for its part, was rewarded with the promise that it could occupy Smyrna and its hinterland on the west coast of Asia Minor, taking these lands, essentially, from the defeated Ottoman empire. The Greek communities in western Asia Minor, and in Smyrna in particular, were the wealthiest and the most illustrious in all the Greek world. Throughout the 19th century the Greeks had debated whether it would be best to try and extend their borders within the context of a general European war, or whether they should strike out on their own and hope that Europe would be forced to intervene. Now, with the prize of Smyrna being dangled in front of their eyes, it seemed that Greece had waited patiently until the day when European diplomacy would award it the territory it coveted. In May 1919 the Greek government began to land troops in Smyrna.

Given the long-standing disagreements over the policy implications of the Great Idea, it is perhaps not surprising that the actual pursuit of greater Greece provoked a profound political crisis. The country was already highly polarized as a result of the difficulties of incorporating the new territories gained during the course of the Balkan Wars (1912–13)and then of disagreement over Greek participation in World War I. When it looked as if the occupation of Asia Minor might actually require military campaigns, a significant portion of the war-weary Greek population began to sour on the entire operation. To the irredentist dream of the "Greece of Two Continents and Five Seas" the opponents of the war held up the concept of a "small hut honourable Greece". In the fateful elections of November 1920 the Greek prime minister, Eleutherios Venizelos, the man who had succeeded in extracting the promise of Smyrna from the Allies, suffered a massive defeat. The royalists came to power. Although during the campaign they had relentlessly criticized the operations in Asia Minor, once in power they found that they could not bring themselves simply to withdraw from the lands that had been promised for Greece. Things rapidly went from bad to worse. Most unexpectedly, a new Turkish army, under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal (later Atatürk), was forming in the interior of Anatolia. In August 1921 he managed to stop the Greek advance and thus began the long process of Greek withdrawal that would end in Smyrna in September 1922. The Allies, watching the spirited Turkish resistance to the terms of the treaty of Sèvres, slowly retreated from their promises to Greece.

The dream of the Great Idea died in the flames that consumed Smyrna in September 1922. The long history of

Hellenism in Asia Minor came to an end. The remains of the Greek army, along with a stream of refugees, straggled back to Greece. The defeat engendered another round of political violence in Greece, as those who had supported Venizelos blamed the royalists for the disaster in Asia Minor. King Constantine was forced to abdicate and a newly formed Revolutionary Committee quickly returned indictments against eight ministers and military advisers. On 28 November 1922 six of the eight were executed by firing squad.

MOLLY GREENE

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Great Palace

The emperors' palace in Constantinople

The Great Palace of the Byzantine emperors was established in the early 4th century AD by the emperor Constantine I in the southeast part of the city of Constantinople. The palace was the centre of Byzantine court life and government, and remained in use until the sack of the city in 1204.

The Great Palace was a complex of structures rather than a single building, and its partly sloping location required the southern and eastern areas of the palace to take the form of a series of artificial terraces above the sea walls. These structures included residential and administrative buildings, reception halls and throne rooms, and numerous churches and chapels. They were very elaborately decorated and furnished and set amid landscaped gardens, containing sculpture and fountains.

The palace was continually modified between the 4th and 12th centuries, although important elements of Constantine's original plan remained. By the time the Turks entered the city in 1453, however, it was already a ruinous shell, although a few of its churches survived. Today very little remains above ground and this naturally makes reconstruction extremely difficult, especially as very few archaeological excavations have been undertaken on the site. By far the most important of these, carried out by British archaeologists in the mid-20th century, revealed the remains of a Roman-style courtyard, with an attached apsidal reception hall decorated with elaborate floor mosaics. There has been little recent excavation at the site and without more direct material evidence one still gains the most clear-cut impression of the character of the complex from written sources.

Constantine I's palace seems to have been relatively modest compared to the structures that were eventually to comprise the Great Palace complex. It was bordered on the north side by the Augusteum, the imperial square, and on the west by the Hippodrome. Each of these was provided with a monumental entrance to the imperial area, a part of the complex that was later known as the Daphne. The entrance to the palace on the Augusteum (the Chalke) was a bronze-doored rectangular structure, decorated with mosaics.

Although modifications were made in the 5th century – such as the addition of the church of St Stephen, close to the Kathisma (the imperial box at the Hippodrome) – the next major phase of remodelling was undertaken by Justinian I in the 6th century. The Chalke was rebuilt, following the Nike riots that had damaged both this entrance and the area reserved for the palace guards immediately inside it. Justinian also ensured that the palace was made more defensible – bakeries, a cistern, and granaries were built to make the court more self-sufficient in the event of another insurrection. By this time the complex had four main areas. The Boukoleon (or Hormisdas palace) was a waterfront complex above a private imperial harbour, decorated with sculptures of animals and close to a lighthouse on the line of the walls. Part of its façade – the most complete remaining fragment of the palace – still survives, at the point where it fronted the sea walls. Along with this and the Daphne, already mentioned, the third complex was the Magnaura. Its exact extent and character are uncertain, but it was to the northeast of this complex near the Augusteum. Justinian linked these buildings with long porticoes, combining what had perhaps been separate imperial focuses into a single larger complex.

After Justinian I further modifications occurred. Tiberios I redesigned the north side of the complex, demolishing buildings and erecting new structures including baths and a stable. Justin II built what was to be the most important imperial throne room, the apsed rectangular building known as the Chrysotriklinos (Golden Hall). Later still, Justinian II built the Justinianos – another major structure – and strengthened the circuit wall of the palace. Thus, the complex continued to be rebuilt and changed during the later 6th and 7th centuries, with important construction projects taking place.

It was under the direction of the emperors Theophilos (829–42) and Basil I (867–86) in the 9th century, however, that perhaps the most ambitious programmes of remodelling were undertaken. This partly involved new work on old buildings but also included the dramatic expansion and elaboration of the whole palace. Written descriptions survive of both projects. Theophilos commissioned a series of colonnaded marble halls on terraces. These included a triconch reception room (aptly called the Triconchos), with a C-shaped courtyard (the Siama) decorated with fountains, other freestanding elaborate buildings such as the Mousikos, and the Margarites, his private quarters. The last comprised a colonnaded marble living room, with a domed summer bedroom roofed with a gold-speckled ceiling supported by dark marble columns. Theophilos also built a winter bedroom nearby, on a terrace on the eastern side of the palace, overlooking the court polo pitch (the Tzykanisterion). It was on the site of this polo pitch that the most important of the structures built under Basil was located. This was the Nea Ekklesia, a five-domed church, set amid

porticoed courtyards and gardens. The southeastern part of the palace already had other important buildings, notably the church of St Mary of the Lighthouse, close to the sea walls, and the Porphyra, a porphyry-clad square structure overlooking the Boukoleon harbour.

Yet more changes took place in the 10th century, especially during the reign of Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos (913–59). Nikephoros II Phokas built a defensive wall around the Boukoleon area. Even in the 12th century the emperor Manuel I commissioned colonnaded halls for the Great Palace, decorated with mosaics. So, the complex was continually being modified and redesigned, and there is also evidence that the function of existing structures often changed. The dynamic character of the Great Palace must, therefore, be borne in mind. Nor was it the only imperial palace in the city. However, for centuries the Great Palace played a central role in both urban and imperial life.

KEN DARK

See also Architecture: palaces

Summary

Founded by Constantine I in the early 4th century AD, the Great Palace of the emperors was the centre of Byzantine court life and government. Located in the southeast part of the city, it remained in use until 1204. Originally built on a modest scale, it was much modified over the centuries and became an elaborate complex of residential and administrative buildings, reception roms, throne rooms, and churches.

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Gregoras, Nikephoros

Historian and scholar of the 14th century

A Byzantine historian, encyclopedic scholar, theologian, and imperial adviser, Nikephoros Gregoras was one of the great intellectuals of late Byzantium. He was born and brought up in Heracleia Pontike in Asia Minor. His uncle and first tutor, bishop John of Heracleia Pontike, sent the young Gregoras to Constantinople to study theology, philosophy, and grammar with the patriarch, John XIII Glykys (1315–19). Subsequently, Gregoras befriended the great scholar and statesman Theodore Metochites, from whom he learned astronomy. Metochites introduced him to the imperial court and Gregoras became an influential adviser to Andronikos II (1282–1328). The emperor entrusted Gregoras with an important mission to Serbia in 1326 during the civil war between the two Andronikoi (1321–28) and was persuaded by him of the need for a calendar reform that Gregoras had defended in a public plea. In spite of Gregoras's superb knowledge of astronomy, the conservative Church opinion of the day prevented the change to the Julian calendar, a century and half before pope Gregory XIII's reforms in 1574.

Although Gregoras was in the camp of the supporters of the elder Andronikos during the civil war, he continued to serve Andronikos III (1328–41) afterwards. In 1331 he defeated in a public dispute the Calabrian monk Barlaam, whose Aristotelian and rationalistic views seem not to have found favour with the Byzantines. After Theodore Metochites' death, Nikephoros Gregoras inherited his enormous library and began to teach in the Chora monastery, which Metochites had splendidly renovated. Andronikos III selected Gregoras to participate in a public debate with two papal legates in 1333, but he declined, convinced that theological debates could not lead to the union of the Latin and the Greek Churches, which he favoured for reasons of political expediency.

Gregoras's involvement in the hesychast controversy in the 1340s and 1350s occupied the later years of his life and proved to be his nemesis. After the synod of 1341 confirmed the orthodoxy of hesychasm, he began to oppose vehemently the teachings of Gregory Palamas and his followers. He tried to persuade John VI Kantakouzenos, his erstwhile friend and victor in the second civil war (1341–47), of the heretical nature of Palamism, but Kantakouzenos remained until his death a steadfast supporter of hesychasm. The Church synod of 1351 reconfirmed the orthodoxy of hesychasm and condemned Gregoras. Furthermore, he was sentenced to house arrest in the Chora monastery for three years (1351–54), where he devoted his time to composing theological treatises and anti-hesychast pamphlets. A substantial part of his history consists of a polemic against hesychasm as well. Gregoras was, however, doomed to be on the losing side of the dispute. In the 15th century the Church of Thessalonica included the name of

Nikephoros Gregoras in the anathemas annually pronounced on the day of the Feast of Orthodoxy.

In spite of his bad posthumous reputation in the Orthodox Church, Nikephoros Gregoras stands out, together with Theodore Metochites and Nikephoros Choumnos, as one of the leading intellectual figures in the culturally productive period of the 14th century, sometimes called the Palaiologan renaissance. Gregoras, like Metochites, was an admirer of Plato rather than Aristotle. His dialogue *Phlorentios, or On Wisdom* is a successful imitation of a Platonic dialogue and presents the dispute between him and Barlaam. The dialogue is an important source for the arguments held by Byzantine proponents of Plato against those of Aristotle. Gregoras also wrote treatises on the construction of the astrolabe and on solar eclipses, on mathematics, on grammar, and on musicology. He was the author of imperial panegyrics and funeral orations dedicated to Andronikos II and Andronikos III. A great deal of his correspondence has survived. His theological works include saints' lives, and he wrote the *vita* of his uncle, John of Heracleia. His polemical treatises (*Antirrhetika*) against hesychasm provide important information on the ecclesiastical disputes of the time.

Gregoras's *Roman History*, covering the period from 1204 until 1358, is a valuable source for Byzantine society in the first half of the 14th century though the historical account is quite unbalanced. Although the narrative begins with the fall of Constantinople to the Latins, the emphasis is mainly on events of Gregoras's own time, with particular attention paid to theological controversy. The last third of the *History* is a polemic against Palamism. Written in a heavily archaizing style in accordance with the cultural currents of the period, the work abounds in quotations from Herodotus and Thucydides and allusions to Classical mythology. Still, the *History* shows that Gregoras was aware of the main political problems of his own day. He recognized that the loss of Asia Minor to the Turks had put the empire in an extremely critical situation. He placed the blame for the empire's straits on the civil wars and on internal divisions, while recognizing the necessity of an alliance between Byzantium and its Balkan neighbours and the need for a union of the Greek and Latin Churches. For the early period Gregoras used primarily, but not exclusively, the histories of George Akropolites and George Pachymeres. The main historical value of the work lies in the account of the two civil wars, which complements the biased autobiographical history of the emperor John VI Kantakouzenos.

DIMITER G. ANGELOV

Biography

Born at Heracleia Pontike between 1290 and 1294, Gregoras was orphaned as a child and raised by his uncle, Bishop John of Heracleia Pontike. He later moved to Constantinople to study theology, philosophy, and grammar with the Patriarch John XIII Glykys and astronomy with Theodore Metochites. A prolific writer, his works include theological treatises against Gregory Palamas and the *Roman History* in 37 books covering the period 1204–1358. He died in disgrace in Constantinople between 1358 and 1361.

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Gregory V 1745–1821

Patriarch of Constantinople

Gregory V is one of the best-known patriarchs of Constantinople from the Ottoman period (Tourkokratia). This is largely due to his execution by the Ottomans following the outbreak of the Greek War of Independence. Gregory was born in 1745 in Dimitsana (Peloponnese) and studied there, in Athens, in Smyrna, and in Patmos. Invited to Smyrna by Bishop Prokopios, Gregory worked there until 1785 when he succeeded Prokopios as Bishop of Smyrna. Through his manifold activities Gregory made a name for himself and was elected to the patriarchate of Constantinople, where he served three terms in total.

His first term (19 April 1797–18 December 1798) was marked by radical developments in the intellectual and political domain. Enlightenment ideas were infiltrating society on a large scale. In the wake of the French Revolution plans for a Greek revolution were at their peak. French activities in the Ionian islands and Napoleon's presence in Egypt triggered hopes among the subjugated Orthodox of eventual liberation. Gregory took several steps to inhibit the spread of these secular ideas. He established a patriarchal printing press with censors, imprimatur, and systematic control intended to protect the Orthodox flock from Western ideas. In 1798 he issued encyclicals condemning Rigas's revolutionary pamphlets and the godless and seditious influence of the French. In the same year a booklet entitled *Paternal Teaching* under the name of patriarch Anthimos of Jerusalem was published in an attempt to provide religious legitimacy for the God-ordained Ottoman empire. Gregory, among others, was suspected of having composed it. Several other anti-Enlightenment texts were published at that time including the *Christian Reply* in 1798. Despite these counter-revolutionary actions, Gregory was dethroned and spent seven years on Mount Athos.

He was re-elected patriarch for a second term (23 September 1806–10 September 1808) and once more faced serious developments, such as the Ottoman war against Russia and England. Gregory showed his loyalty by supporting with 1000 Greek workers the construction of fortifications in Constantinople against the approaching English fleet. In addition, Gregory followed his earlier defensive policy against the Enlightenment and Western liberalism. He took measures (encyclical of March 1807) to control the circulation of books. However, the Janissary revolt against Sultan Selim III and the subequent counter-revolution again brought about Gregory's dethronment. He moved back to Mount Athos, where he stayed for nine years.

His third term as Patriarch (14 December 1818–10 April 1821) coincided with the eve of the Greek War of Independence. It was a critical period when revolutionary plans and anticlericalist currents were at their height. Gregory was aware of the *Philiki Hetaireia* (Friendly Society), but followed a very careful policy vis-à-vis the Ottoman rulers and the Greek seditionists. He organized Orthodox countermeasures against Western ideas, again including the printing press under Ilarion Sinaitis, a churchman who drew harsh criticism for his inquisitorial acts, such as compiling an index of prohibited books, and burning of books. In March 1819 Gregory issued a much-discussed encyclical concerning Orthodox education, which was critical of the teaching of science and mathematics, of new theories about the Greek language, and of the naming of Orthodox children after ancient Greeks. Probably having in mind the "Philological Gymnasium" of Smyrna, Gregory feared that such worldly interests would lead to indifference to or rejection of Orthodoxy and emphasized the value of traditional religious and grammatical lessons. In 1820, through the intervention of Ilarion Sinaitis, a radical text of the Greek Enlightenment, *Kriton's Reflections*, was publicly burnt in the grounds of the Patriarchate. This period was also marked by serious social conflicts within the Greek community in Smyrna due to the rise of a merchant class which intended to undertake a leading role in social matters, such as education, and to marginalize the Church. But in the summer of 1819 the progressive Philological Gymnasium of Smyrna was closed following organized attacks by the guilds and Bishop Anthimos, supported by patriarch Gregory. Similar problems occurred in 1820 in the schools of Kydonies and Chios. Finally, a patriarchal synod, directed against the followers of Adamantios Korais, condemned "philosophical and scientific studies" on 27 March 1821.

The most radical event of the day was undoubtedly the outbreak of the Greek War of Independence. In March 1821 the patriarchal synod issued an official excommunication of Alexandros Ypsilantis's uprising in the Danubian principalities. During that turbulent period, retaliatory measures against the Greeks in Constantinople were quite usual. When news came of the subsequent Greek uprising in the Peloponnese, Gregory was arrested and imprisoned. He was finally hanged on 10 April 1821 from the lintel of the Patriarchate's main gate at Phanar. His dead body was left for three days to public ridicule, dragged through the streets by the mob, and thrown into the sea in the Golden Horn. From there it was recovered by M. Sklavos, who brought it to Odessa. It was then buried with honours by the Greek community there. In April 1871 Gregory's relics were brought to Greece and were placed in a sarcophagus in the cathedral of Athens, while his statue was erected in front of the University of Athens. He was canonized in 1921 and is officially honoured as a national martyr. His symbolic significance for the Greek people remains great. The Patriarchate's main gate has remained closed ever since in memory of his execution.

Gregory has been a controversial figure in modern Greek historiography, for the assessments of his activities vary immensely. Some hail him as an important ecclesiastical personality and as a martyr for the Greek cause. His negative attitude towards the Greek insurrection is considered a clever subterfuge to mislead the Ottoman authorities, who were generally behind Gregory's actions and encyclicals. Others consider him a conservative Orthodox prelate, who wished to preserve the traditional establishment. They also characterize him as a Turkophile and as a staunch opponent of the Greek cause. Gregory was criticized not only by later generations but even by his contemporaries, including Korais.

Gregory undoubtedly opposed all radical changes within Greek society. His oscillation between loyalty to the Sublime Porte and to his Orthodox flock was extremely difficult and risky, and it cost him his life. It is true that he had received orders from the Ottoman authorities to resist the spread of revolutionary ideas in the East. But Gregory had other reasons to oppose the new ideas: for their danger to Orthodoxy and to the Byzantine supranational heritage of the Patriarchate. For Gregory, the time-honoured patristic and ascetic Orthodox tradition took priority in his scale of interests over the pernicious new ideas that could destroy the established order. His behaviour reflects the fact that he was a truly ecclesiastical man devoted to his religious duties. Hence, it is no wonder that his three terms in the patriarchate are noted for numerous anti-Enlightenment policies, which were unsuccessful in the long run. In fact, Gregory captured the underlying spirit of that critical period and foresaw with prophetic intuition the future impact of the Enlightenment upon Church and society. Needless to say, his predictions and fears were realized in many respects in the independent Greek state.

VASILIOS MAKRIDES

See also Korais

Biography

Born in 1745 at Dimitsana in the Peloponnese, Gregory studied in Athens, Smyrna, and Patmos. In 1785 he became bishop of Smyrna. He served three terms as patriarch of Constantinople – 1797–98, 1806–08, and 1818–21. He tried to counter the spread of revolutionary and Enlightenment ideas among the Orthodox subjects of the Ottoman empire, but his efforts were considered insufficient by the Ottomans, who hanged him on 10 April 1821. He was canonized in 1921 and is regarded as a national martyr.

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Gregory of Nazianzus, St *c.*329–*c.*390

Theologian

Gregory was born in Cappadocia, one of the Cappadocian Fathers alongside Basil of Caesarea and Gregory of Nyssa. His posthumously awarded title "the Theologian" was a tribute to his writings on the nature of the Godhead (*theologia*). His father, Gregory the Elder, was bishop of Nazianzus, in south-west Cappadocia. A good deal is known about his life, because Gregory was very, perhaps only too, willing to give accounts of it. These are contained in his autobiographical poem *De Vita Sua*, of 1949 lines; in other poems and orations dealing with phases in his career, often in self-defence or self-praise; and in letters that give a lively picture of his varied preoccupations and the range of his social contacts, some of which reflect a background that, like that of his friends Basil and Gregory, is at once privileged and pious. Like Basil, he was educated to a high standard over a period of 10 years, studying in Cappadocian Caesarea, followed by a period of rhetorical training at Caesarea in Palestine and a time in Alexandria, where he encountered Platonism. Later he went on to Athens, aged about 20, to share in the student life of his friends Basil and Julian; the latter, as the emperor who defected from Christianity ("the Apostate"), was to alienate Gregory on a spectacular scale. The account he gives of this time in his life shows openness to a wide range of academic interests, his teachers including Prohaeresius who was a Christian and Himerius who was not, though tempered by a sobering piety. Gregory's first reaction to completing his formal education was to debate the future course of his life. Should he join Basil in the solitary contemplation and asceticism of a monastic life or follow one of his talents by taking up a career in rhetoric (a choice that Basil had also faced and rejected)? Initially he did neither, acceding to his father's belief that he needed his son to be ordained priest, as he was reluctantly, to help in the day-to-day life of his see of Nazianzus. Basil, having himself left, for the time being at least, the monastic life to become bishop of the important see of Caesarea, had other ideas. He, too, felt in need of assistance and persuaded his friend to be consecrated bishop of Sasima, as support in an ecclesiastical dispute. This turned out to be a severe test of friendship, since Gregory saw himself, not without justice, as being manipulated into accepting a token bishopric that amounted to nothing more than a remote collection of hovels. His disillusionment found expression in a refusal even to visit the place. Instead, he found comfort in a solitary life, before yielding to persuasion and returning to work with his father. The elder Gregory's death in 374 brought renewed pressure, this time to succeed to the bishopric. This he resisted, preferring to live again a life of seclusion, in Seleucia.

That might have remained the pattern for the rest of his life, had he not felt himself summoned to take an active part in the pro-Nicene, anti-Arian, cause of the Church. With the death of the emperor Valens in 378 the Arian party lost a powerful supporter. Gregory, seeing a chance of loosening the Arian hold on Constantinople, took on a preaching campaign in the tiny Anastasia church. His sermons were soon attracting wide attention. The five *Theological Orations* of 380 did much to hearten the Nicene community, reviving under the encouragement of the emperor Theodosius. When the Arians were expelled from the capital by the emperor and he summoned a council to settle the doctrinal issues of the Church, Gregory was perceived to have played a major role in the reversal. This was recognized by his being declared the true bishop of Constantinople, in place of Maximus whose actions over several years in pursuit of power were seen, at best, as equivocal. Not only that, but on the death of Meletius, bishop of Antioch, in 381, Gregory was appointed president of the Council of Constantinople, which was to save for the Church the Creed of Nicaea of 325 and to give to all subsequent generations the form that became known as the "Nicene Creed", a centre point of the Eucharist. The acrimonious nature of the debate that preceded the settlement did not agree with Gregory's temperament and he resigned. Returning to Nazianzus, he stood in as an interim bishop until a successor

could be appointed. Perhaps suffering from the bad health to which he often claimed to be subject, and possibly doubting the suitability of his successor, his cousin Eulalius, he gave the impression of retiring none too soon. From 383 he lived in contemplative and active literary retirement, on his family estates, until his death in 389 or 390.

In character Gregory may be accounted a rather strange mixture. The speaker who could deliver carefully crafted orations based on accepted rhetorical models was clearly aware of himself as a public figure. He shied away, however, from many of the administrative duties that might have gone with that role. Yet in his periods of solitary withdrawal he could never entirely rid himself of anxiety about his reputation in the active life that he claimed to have quit so gladly.

As a man of letters Gregory shows at least competence, and often distinction, in several spheres. The best of the orations have been taken as something of a high point in the harmonious synthesis of Classical and Christian cultural traditions, polished and often telling as they range over topics of central theological importance, events in the Christian calendar, personal statements, and eulogies of heroes such as Athanasius and Basil, or, less commendably, denunciations of the dead Julian. His 250 or so surviving letters, some very personal and others written with an eye to publication (a novelty), are generally models of style, well exemplifying his professed ideals of conciseness, clarity, and grace or beauty (*syntomia*, *sapheneia*, *charis*). Gregory's verse has been variously judged. There are tracts of tedious formal versification, while other poems merit careful reading. The autobiographical *De Vita Sua* contains fine passages, as do other poems written about his experience and variable emotions, while some of his "dogmatic" poems, particularly the *Arcana*, have some claim to stand in the literary tradition of didactic verse.

Showing throughout a good deal of his writing are philosophical influences, most of all Platonic. His theology draws on, among others, Irenaeus, Clement, and Origen. (He collaborated with Basil on the Origen selection in the *Philokalia*.) Of his contemporaries he shows especial veneration for Athanasius and Basil. Yet he emerges with an individual voice, as he vigorously defends the Nicene position, notably against the form of later Arianism that was championed by Eunomius. He was regarded as a foremost opponent of the views of Apollinarius, his opinions being cited at the Councils of Ephesus (431) and Chalcedon (451). Gregory held that, by denying the presence in Christ of a human mind, Apollinarius had deprived him of real humanity and thereby human beings of salvation. In his Trinitarian theology, while following the revered Basil, he achieves insights and modes of expression and emphases that are his own. He stresses the divinity of the Holy Spirit as a natural perception in a developing understanding of the Christian faith, speaking of "procession" from the Father. In Gregory are to be found clear enunciations of belief in the unity, equality, and distinct relationships of the three persons, each preserving individual characteristics.

In what was often the troubled seclusion of his last years, Gregory may well have wondered what his life had achieved. Successors were to prove more positive. Councils accepted his theology and posterity awarded him his title. For John of Damascus in the 7th/8th centuries Gregory is the most favoured of the earlier Fathers for the soundness of his thinking and the clarity of its expression. Translations into Latin by Rufinus brought orations of Gregory's to the West. As an orator, he was widely studied throughout the Byzantine period as a model for the successful union of Christian thought with the high, Attic style of eloquence, doing much to establish the official language of the Greek Church. It is fitting that his pictorial representations should enliven a number of manuscripts.

D.A. SYKES

See also Basil the Great, Cappadocia, Gregory of Nyssa

Biography

Born in Cappadocia *c.*329, Gregory was a close friend of Basil of Caesarea. They studied together in Caesarea in Palestine, and in Athens. Later they both became monks and (less willingly) bishops, Gregory of his native Nazianzus and later of Constantinople. He preached in strong support of Nicene orthodoxy and wrote widely in prose and poetry on (mostly) theological topics. He died in Cappadocia *c.*390 and was awarded the title "the Theologian" by the Council of Chalcedon in 451.

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Gregory of Nyssa, St *c.*330–*c.*395

Theologian

Gregory was a younger brother of Basil of Caesarea and one of the Cappadocian Fathers. We know much less about his life than about that of Basil or their friend Gregory of Nazianzus: probably there is less to know. His writings show the depth of his education, yet there is no account of it to match the detailed curricula of their studies. He himself attributes his education to Basil's tuition, but it is likely that he supplemented this with a great deal of private study. The relatively quiet life that he led would have conduced to his emergence as one of the most scholarly men of his generation. Of the rest of Gregory's personal life only hints survive. A reference to his marriage is cryptic. Conjecture has suggested that his wife may have died or become a nun by the time he took up the monastic life. This meant that he, like Basil and Nazianzus, abandoned the possibility of a career in rhetoric. Unlike his brother, however, he found that elevation to the episcopate brought neither prestige nor personal fulfilment. The see of Nyssa was remote, deriving its little importance from being a subsidiary station in Basil's ecclesiastical territory. When Gregory went there in 372 he would have found little intellectual stimulus, though its minimal demands might have suited a man with small desire to be a bishop, and his removal three years later, on the grounds of staunch anti-Arian views in a period of Arian influence, would have caused as little heartache as his return, following the death in 378 of the Arian-minded Valens, would have produced jubilation. He had a gift for thinking and writing and was glad of any opportunity to exercise it. When, however, events demanded, he did not stand aside from activity. Though his appointment as bishop of Sebaste was no more successful than that of Nyssa, and of very short duration (he was glad to hand over to his brother, Peter), the intensity of his ardour for the Nicene position drove him, no less than Basil and Nazianzus, to powerful writing in its defence. He took part in the Council of Constantinople in 381, having previously written pointedly against the extreme Arianism of Eunomius. Indeed, he appears to have found after the council a new standing within the Church, recognized by the now Orthodox imperial family. He was appointed by the emperor Theodosius to a position of doctrinal supervision and in 385 was invited to deliver funeral orations on the empress and her young daughter. The final decade of his life saw much activity as a preacher and as a creative theological writer.

For Gregory, seclusion, whether of the study or in remote territory, was the condition of his most vigorous and effective activity. Of the three Cappadocians, he was the prime intellectual, wide-ranging in his search for understanding and deeply probing with the instruments of honest inquiry. At home in the traditions of Classical literature, though sometimes in its more contrived forms in his writing, in his fundamental thinking he is able to draw on Platonic lines, particularly in the version mediated by Origen. In his expositions of scripture, he employs aspects of Origen's methods of eliciting mystical senses. Works in which this is most evident include the *Life of Moses*, homilies on Ecclesiastes, the Song of Songs, the Lord's Prayer, and the Beatitudes. Writings of this kind have an affinity with treatises directed towards the ascetic life. *On Virginity* also provides a link with some of the practical issues with which Basil was concerned. While his brother evolved rules for the monastic life, Gregory probed in a different way the principles of the vocation, looking for the theory behind the practice, finding in virginity an essential way into the life of holiness, evoking Platonic notions and Origen's concept of the human soul as the Bride of Christ. Gregory's ability to bring together Classical and Christian backgrounds is seen in the dialogue *On the Soul and Resurrection*, set at the deathbed of his sister Macrina and showing the influence of Plato's *Phaedo*. She is also the subject of a fine Life written by Gregory, very much aware of his family in his admiration for his sister, who is represented as a considerable intellectual force in her own right, no less than in deference towards the dominating Basil. This is widely shown in his work, as in *De Hominis Opificio* (On the Making of Man), seen as a respectful supplement to his brother's writing. Clear theological positions are to be discerned in his dogmatic writings. He is unyielding in his defence of the Nicene position, over against Eunomius, taking his place alongside the other Cappadocians in maintaining the divinity of the Holy Spirit and in developing a doctrine of the Trinity, in works that include *That There are Not Three Gods*. He joins Nazianzus in opposition to what he saw as Apollinarius' failure to give a due place to the human nature in Christ. Gregory's celebrated *Catechetical Oration*, written around 385, is a masterly attempt to set out in summary form, with room for discussion, major tenets of Christianity, and has been seen as a small-scale successor to Origen's *On First Principles*. The approach is to people at an impressive level of philosophical awareness who are willing to explore the relationship of biblical revelation to Platonic thought. It is in this context that Gregory deals with the Incarnation, salvation, and ultimate destiny, following Origen in his envisaging a final restoration of all to life in God. The work also fulfils the function of instructing catechumens in the understanding of the sacraments of baptism and the Eucharist.

Like his fellow Cappadocians, Gregory was notable as a correspondent, though his letters survive in smaller numbers. These testify to his social contacts as well as to his doctrinal interests and questions of Church practice.

Not awarded honorific titles such as "the Great" or "the Theologian", as were Basil and Nazianzus, Gregory has some claim to be thought the most original and most profound of the Cappadocians. Later generations have found in his reflective mind insights that have outlived the controversies of his time.

D.A. SYKES

See also Basil the Great, Cappadocia, Gregory of Nazianzus

Biography

Born *c.*330 in Cappadocia, Gregory was the younger brother of St Basil and the youngest of the "Cappadocian Fathers". Little is known of his life, but he seems to have married early before becoming a monk. Ordained bishop of Nyssa *c.*371 by his brother Basil, and later bishop of Sebaste, he took part in the Council of Constantinople in 381. After the death of Basil in 379 he wrote widely on theological topics and is regarded as the most intellectual of the Cappadocians. He died *c.*395.

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Gregory Palamas, St 1296–1359

Theologian

St Gregory Palamas exercised an enormous influence not only on the development of Byzantine theology but also on the relation between that theology and the Hellenic tradition. Byzantium in the 14th century remained gripped by the debate between sacred and profane learning, between the patristic tradition and incipient humanism. Palamas played a pivotal role in determining the Church's attitude to the wisdom of the Greeks.

Against a series of detractors – the Calabrian monk Barlaam, Gregory Akindynos and Nikephoros Gregoras – Palamas developed a theology that was both creative and traditional. His initial debates with Barlaam were concerned with theological method. Palamas perceived Barlaam's anti-Latin arguments to be potentially dangerous in their apparent relativism. Barlaam claimed that the syllogisms of the Latins were not apodictic, or demonstrative, according to the definition of Aristotle. Citing Dionysius the Areopagite, he argued that no apodictic reasoning was possible vis-à-vis the divine. Palamas felt that this kind of argument equally undermined the Greek as the Latin position on the procession of the Holy Spirit. Furthermore, was God not revealed? Did he not unite himself with the saints? Palamas's *Apodictic Treatises* represent his first counter to Barlaam's theological agnosticism.

With the emergence of Barlaam's criticisms of the psychophysical methods of prayer used by the hesychast monks, the controversy began to heat up. Palamas began with a powerful demonstration of the integrity and wholeness of the human person, and the consequent appropriateness of the body's participation in the spiritual life. Palamas had a weighty patristic and biblical tradition behind him on this point, and was soon able to dispense with this aspect of Barlaam's critique. Barlaam had also defined the light of the Transfiguration, which the hesychast monks claimed to experience in the highest states of prayer, as a created light. Palamas argued, citing several patristic witnesses, that this light was in fact uncreated and divine. It was, in some sense, God. This raised the problem of how man can be said to participate directly in God, while maintaining divine transcendence.

Palamas's solution was essentially to posit a real distinction between the imparticipable and transcendent divine essence and the participable and immanent divine operations or energies. God is one according to essence, three according to hypostasis, and manifold according to energy. It is according to energy that man is united to God. This doctrine was strenuously opposed by Akindynos, and by many since his time. It was, however, received by the Church at the councils of 1347 and 1351, a vindication confirmed by the canonization of Gregory Palamas in 1368, only nine years after his death. His feast falls on the second Sunday of Lent, an exceptional honour that makes of it a second "Triumph of Orthodoxy".

Palamas's oeuvre is extensive. Most of it has now been published. Among his purely spiritual works, his *Life of St Peter the Athonite* should be mentioned. He also produced works on prayer and the monastic life. The bulk of his work is concerned, directly or indirectly, with the hesychast controversy. His most important works are the *Triads in Defence of*

St Gregory Palamas: fresco of the saint in the Chapel of the Hagioi Anargyroi at the monastery of Vatopedi, Mount Athos, *c.*1371

the Holy Hesychasts. Particularly worth looking at are the *Natural, Theological, Moral and Practical Chapters*, found in the *Philokalia*. There is also a substantial collection of homilies, delivered as archbishop of Thessalonica.

Palamas's sources are predominantly biblical and patristic. He cites the Cappadocian Fathers, St Athanasius the Great, St Cyril of Alexandria, and, especially, St Maximos the Confessor to support his case. He makes great use of Dionysius the Areopagite, albeit reading Dionysius very much in the tradition of Maximos. Among spiritual writers, he draws on the traditions of both Evagrius of Pontus and (pseudo-) Macarius, very much as Maximos had done.

More immediately, Palamas was an heir to the very constructive theology of Gregory of Cyprus, patriarch from 1283 to 1289. He was also much indebted to the teachings of Theoliptos of Philadelphia and Nikephoros the Hesychast and exhibited great admiration for patriarch Athanasios I of Constantinople (1289–93 and 1303–09).

One of the most interesting aspects of his thought is his attitude to the Hellenic tradition. Palamas received an excellent education, thanks to his family's connections with the ruling house. He studied under, and apparently greatly impressed, Theodore Metochites, the Great Logothete. He appears to have followed the trivium and quadrivium, which included the study of Aristotle but not of Plato. He gave up his studies and embraced the monastic life at the age of about 20. Palamas never entirely repudiated profane learning, so long as it was restricted to its proper sphere. Barlaam's Aristotelianism appeared to Palamas to be using philosophy to undermine theology, and to deny the very possibility of human knowledge of the divine. Palamas replied by allowing that man has a natural capacity to investigate the things of the world, and even that this capacity is a gift of God, but that such natural knowledge is inferior to the supernatural knowledge granted by God to man through grace. Philosophy never has absolute value in Palamite theology.

Palamas has often been accused of obscurantism, notably by the Byzantine humanist Nikephoros Gregoras. This is unfair, because Palamas did not seek to reject the Hellenic tradition outright, only to stress its inferiority in relation to divine revelation. Adherence to Palamite theology did not inhibit the flourishing of a Christian humanism in Nicholas Kabasilas. Furthermore, Palamism did not determine attitudes to union with the West. Mark of Ephesus, the leader of the anti-unionists at the Council of Florence in 1438–39, was a committed Palamite, whereas his successor as leader of the anti-unionist party, George (later Gennadios) Scholarios, was essentially a Thomist. The victory of Palamite theology is not, therefore, to be regarded as a rejection of the Hellenic tradition, but as the subordination of that tradition to the truths of revealed theology.

MARCUS PLESTED

See also Akindynos, Gregoras, Hesychasm

Biography

Born in Constantinople in 1296, Gregory received a good education as a pupil of Theodore Metochites but gave up his studies in 1316 to become a monk on Mount Athos. Most of his literary output was concerned with the hesychast controversy in which he was famously embroiled against Barlaam of Calabria. But he made a positive contribution to creative theology and was canonized in 1368. He died in Thessalonica in 1359.

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Guilds

Compulsory or free associations of craftsmen or merchants are attested in large cities throughout the late Roman and Byzantine period (4th–15th centuries). Over these centuries, their organization, the extent of government control over their activity, as well as the conditions of admission and functioning, underwent considerable change. Special legislation was drafted for the guilds of Constantinople in the 10th century – *The Book of the Eparch* – which aimed at protecting the guild members from competition by craftsmen outside the guild and at securing better protection from the state.

After the fall of Constantinople to the Ottomans in 1453, there is no evidence of state involvement in the compulsory organization of Christian craftsmen into guilds. Nevertheless, the conditions of foreign conquest created the need for increased solidarity among the conquered peoples, which materialized into various forms of associations under Ottoman rule. The prevailing insecurity in the various manifestations of social life, as well as economic protectionism in the financial policy of the Ottoman empire, led to the creation or reorganization of two predominant forms of association: the community (of a political character) and the guilds (of an economic one). The associations of craftsmen were called *esnaphia* or *rouphetia*; those of the merchants were called "companies", *syntrophies*, or later, *systemata*, while those of the sheep and goat herd-owners *tselingata*, and of the shipowners *syntrophonaphtes*.

Besides the associations of individuals in guilds, there also existed associations of local communities of a given geographical area that jointly produced, processed, and, eventually, traded various products. These associations assumed the form of guilds or, in some cases, that of cooperatives. Examples were the Mademochoria in Chalcidice in Macedonia for cast iron, the Mastichochoria in Chios for the production, collection, and processing of mastic, Ambelakia in Thessaly for spinners and dyers of red yarn, and the village communities around the silver mines in the southern coast of the Black Sea (Pontus). Those associations that were important to the Ottoman economy were granted privileges by the sultans and, in some cases, the monopoly of production, processing, or trade of the product. The development and prosperity of the guilds were encouraged by the Ottoman system of taxation. The guild was a fiscal unit that paid as tax a lump sum, which was proportionately divided among its members; the tax could also be assessed in kind, in which case its members provided the share attributed to each one of them by the guild board. As guilds developed and prospered, they reached a higher level of organization and acquired administrative, police, even judicial jurisdiction.

Probably from the end of the 16th century – and certainly from the early 17th – guilds played a significant part in the organization and life of the Christian community. Representatives of the guilds participated, as a rule, in the administrative council of the Christian communities and their charities (hospitals, schools, etc.). The generous support given by the guilds to the Church and monasteries is also widely witnessed in documents. The importance of guilds in the system of self-government of the Christian communities lasted until the period of the Tanzimat, when the community administration had to comply with the General (or National) Regulations of 1860–62.

The administration of the guilds was based on the internal hierarchy of its members: apprentice, head apprentice, craftsman, head craftsman, master craftsman (*mathitoudi*, *tsiraki*, *paragios*, *kalphas*, *protokalphas*, *mastoras*, *protomastoras*). Promotion from lower to higher rank was open, but depended on craftsmanship which was examined and decided upon by the guild's elected board. Guilds functioned and were governed on the basis of unwritten by-laws well into the late 17th century. From the 18th century onwards, written statutes were often drafted and voted by the members' assemblies; they had to be confirmed by the local Orthodox bishop, usually with no further involvement of the Ottoman authorities. In some towns the guilds had common statutes. The large merchant guilds – "companies" – were a type of association observed among the Greeks outside the Ottoman empire, mostly in the Austrian empire where they traded in oriental goods and formed prosperous communities. Some of these are known to have been granted privileges by the Austrian emperors (in Hungary and Transylvania).

DESPINA TSOURKA-PAPASTATHI

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Gypsies

The first documents recording the presence of the Gypsies in Europe and the Mediterranean region date from the Byzantine period and also provide proof of their presence in Thrace. The Gypsies stayed in Thrace for longer than in many other regions and this had a significant influence on their language. The Life of St George the Athonite, written in Georgian by one of the saint's followers and dating from 1068, is regarded as the oldest known source. In another source dating from 1204, Theodor Balsamon reported on "satanic" people with the ability to predict the future. The Byzantine cleric called them *athinganoi* (*athinganos* in the singular) or *atsiganoi* (singular *atsiganos*), identifying them with followers of the heresy of this name, who were active in Asia Minor during the era of Emperor Michael II (820–29). The word *athinganoi* comes from the Greek verb *thingano*, to touch, and means "the untouchables". Linguists have not yet been able to ascertain whether the word *atsiganoi* is a derivative of *athinganoi*.

Whatever the case, the name *atsiganoi* (and its abbreviated form *tsiganoi*) was the source of names used for this group in several languages, as in the German *Zigeuner*, the Spanish *gitanos*, the Turkish *çingene*, and so on.

Following attacks by Turkish tribes on Thrace and Byzantium in the 14th century, the Gypsies moved from Thrace to Bohemia and then spread throughout Europe. Before this a few groups had emigrated southward to the Peloponnese, to Crete, Corfu, and the Ionian islands. References to their presence in Crete can be found in the stories of Franciscan monks Simon Simeonis and Hugo the Enlightened from 1322.

During the Ottoman empire it seems that a significant number of Gypsies continued to live in Thrace and Rumeli, as attested by official documents of the period (censuses, administrative documents, etc.). After the Graeco-Turkish War and due to the compulsory exchange of population between Greece and Turkey (ordered by the Treaty of Lausanne in 1923), Christian Gypsies joined the refugees from eastern Thrace, Istanbul, and Asia Minor and took up residence in Greece.

The Gypsies did not escape the devastation of World War II. During the German occupation of Greece many thousands of Gypsies were deported to concentration camps: the archives of Ravensbrück concentration camp provide evidence of this.

Today the Greek Gypsies generally call themselves *Tsiganoi*. The name *Gyphtoi* (*Gyphtos* in the singular) is also common, although it tends to be used by non-Gypsies and in a pejorative way. The word *Gyphtos* is an abbreviation of *aegyptios* ("Egyptian") and refers to the belief – current until the 18th century – that Gypsies came originally from Egypt. They are also called *Katsiveloi* (singular *Katsivelos* and feminine form *Katsivela*), a name that is found as early as the 14th century in Byzantine sources. According to linguistic studies the word comes from the Italian *cattivelo* (*cattivo* + *ello*), meaning "captive" and in the figurative sense "impoverished" or "destitute". Alongside these general names, other names are also used, such as *Kalo* (i.e. "the Dark One"), *Malele*, *Manouch*, and so on. Gypsies are also called by names which refer to their occupations or their geographic origin. Thus they can be called *romiogyphtoi* ("Greek Gypsies"), *turkogyphtoi* ("Turkish Gypsies"), *arnavout* ("from Albania"), or *chalkiades* ("smiths"), *demertzides* ("tanners"), *meskarides* ("bear trainers"), *tsabasides* ("cattle dealers"), *laoutarides* ("lute players"), and so on.

Artists have often been inspired by the lifestyle and philosophy of the Gypsies: for example the author Alexandros Papadiamantis with his novel *I Gyphtopoula* (The Gypsy Girl) or the poet Kostis Palamas with his important poetic work *O Dodekalogos tou Gyphtou* (The Twelve Words of the Gypsy). Very little attention has been paid to the Gypsies' contribution to Greek popular culture, although this seems to have been considerable: one needs only to think of their musical contribution to Greek popular festivals (*panigyria*). Unlike their culture, their language and their various dialects have been the subject of a number of studies by Greek and international linguists.

The Gypsies are probably the largest minority in Greece in numerical terms, although they have never been officially recognized. Their present population cannot be given exactly, as no data for minorities is available after the census of 1951. The figure is estimated at around 120,000 to 150,000, taking into account the increasing emigration towards western Europe in recent years. The problem of estimating their population is further complicated by the fact that even today many Gypsies are not registered with the appropriate authorities.

In terms of their political status, the Greek Gypsies (with the exception of the Muslim groups living in western Thrace) were still stateless until a few years ago, as they were denied the right to Greek citizenship. It was not until 1978 that special regulations were introduced by the state, and in 1979 they were finally granted the right to full citizenship.

The Gypsies in Greece should not be regarded as a homogeneous group: they vary widely in terms of religion (Christian and Muslim, although the majority are Christian), in terms of language (mostly Romany but also Turkish and Greek), in terms of their degree of integration in Greek society, and their social status. Gypsies can be found throughout the country, although they live mostly on the outskirts of cities and provincial towns or in villages; generally they live in communities clearly separate from the rest of the population, often in ghettos which are rarely visited by outsiders. Although most of them have fixed places of residence, a significant proportion lead an itinerant lifestyle for financial reasons – because they are employed seasonally (in agriculture, for example) or live by trading. A good example of their heterogeneity can be found in three areas of western Athens: Agia Varvara, Ano Liosia, and Kolonos. Christian and Muslim Gypsies live in Kolonos, although there is scarcely any contact between them. While the Gypsies in Agia Varvara are regarded as the most fully integrated, the groups that live in Ano Liosia suffer from wretched living conditions and marginalization by non-Gypsies.

In general the Gypsies are marginal communities within Greek society: they are among the social groups who are most at risk, frequently living in conditions of great poverty. Illiteracy levels are high, as many studies of their social situation have demonstrated. Child labour is widely prevalent: their children are a common sight on the streets of cities and towns selling trinkets, washing car windscreens, or begging to earn a living.

On the initiative of several municipal councils the Intercommunal Roma-Network was founded in September 1995 in order to implement a nationwide plan to solve the most urgent problems facing the Gypsies. Objectives include the elimination of discrimination and marginalization by state and social bodies, and the support of nomadic or semi-nomadic groups.

SEVASTI TRUBETA

Summary

Gypsies, known in Greek as *athinganoi*, *atsiganoi*, *Gyphtoi*, or *Katsiveloi*, originated in India. In Europe they were first recorded living in Thrace before moving to Bohemia and elsewhere in the continent. They form heterogeneous groups in terms of religion, language, degree of social integration, and social condition. They are the largest minority in Greece and yet have never been officially recognized, though since 1979 they have been able to take Greek citizenship. As social groups they are marginalized and at risk.

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Gyzis, Nikolaos 1842–1901

Painter

Like his lifelong friend and fellow Tinian the painter Nikephoros Lytras, Nikolaos Gyzis belongs to the so-called "Munich school" of Greek painters. But unlike Lytras, who returned to Greece to teach and work, Gyzis is an example of a Greek expatriate whose life and career unravelled entirely abroad without forsaking its distinctive Hellenic character. This character flourished in the context of the dual artistic trends – ethnographic genre and classicizing symbolism – prevalent in German art, especially in Munich, in the second half of the 19th century.

Hellenism was indeed a driving force in 19th-century Bavarian culture. In the first decades of the century, under the enlightened patronage of the philhellenic king Ludwig I, father of Greece's first king, Otho, Munich, the capital of Bavaria, became a lively cosmopolitan city adorned with handsome neoclassical buildings and museums, including Leo von Klenze's Propylaion, a modern echo of the celebrated gateway to the Athenian Acropolis, and his Glyptothek with its important collection of ancient Greek sculptures. By the second half of the century, Munich rivalled Paris as a centre for artistic instruction and lively artistic and intellectual exchange.

It was in Munich's celebrated Academy of Fine Arts that in 1865 the young Gyzis first came to study painting under the academic history painter Karl Theodor von Piloty (1826–86). He settled there permanently thereafter, with only rare trips abroad, to Greece and Asia Minor in 1872–74, and 1877; to Paris, along with Lytras, in 1876; and to Greece again in 1895. He achieved prominence as an artist in both his homeland and in Germany. In 1880 he was elected to honorary membership of the Munich Academy, and two years later was appointed full professor there. In Greece he was decorated by King George I in 1880.

His early works, up to the late 1880s, exemplify the contemporary fashion for sentimental, realistic, and anecdotal everyday-life scenes with a strong ethnographic flavour. In that sense, he followed the direction of contemporary Munich artists of his generation, including Ludwig Lofftz, Wilhelm Leibl, and the early Max Liebermann. Gyzis drew inspiration from a dual source: life during the times of the Greek struggle for independence from Turkish rule; and modern Greek customs and festivals. Among the former, *The Betrothal* (1875, National Picture Gallery, Athens) depicts the custom, prevalent in the rural countryside, of early engagements between children of well-to-do landed families intent to secure and expand their estates through profitable family connections during the uncertain times of Turkish rule. The painting known as *Children Gathering* (National Picture Gallery, Athens) refers to the brutal Turkish practice of abducting the first male offspring of Greek families to be raised as and become part of the fierce Turkish militia, known as the Janissaries. In turn, *The Secret School* (*c.*1885, private collection, Athens) is a scene of Greek resistance to Turkish efforts at cultural and linguistic levelling in occupied Greece. It represents a makeshift class of Greek children surrounding a Greek monk who teaches them how to read their native language in the secluded safety of a church interior, at night. A fully armed chieftain guarding the entrance is seated on a broken Ionic capital, a symbolic reference to the continuity of Greek culture from ancient to modern times.

The persistence of picturesque customs and festivals into contemporary times is the theme of paintings such as *The Grandmother's Tale* (1883, National Picture Gallery, Athens) with its attentively listening children clustering around the tale-telling grandmother. *Carnival in Athens* (*c.*1885, National Picture Gallery, Athens) is a scene of boisterous revelling and good-natured funmaking whose lavish ethnographic decor situates it in the coutryside rather than in urban Athens. These paintings depicted a colourful and highly idealized rural society that would appeal to middle-class Greek urban patrons as well as to an international clientele in a time of revived ethnographic interest throughout Europe.

Sometime in the early 1890s Gyzis gradually abandoned realistic genre for classicizing allegory with symbolist overtones. This redirection of his manner owes a great deal to the turn towards a more idealistic form of art inspired from ancient Greek myths and ancient Greek sculpture among the Munich avant-garde, and in Germany more generally. In Munich, the movement culminated in the creation of the first Munich Secession founded by artists such as Franz von Stuck and Georg Hirth, and the elaboration of the new style known as *Jugendstil*. Other painters included the Swiss Arnold Bocklin, who worked in Germany, and Hans von Marees who spent some time in Munich between 1857 and 1864.

Gyzis's work in that vein is anticipated by his painting *Spring Symphony* (1886, National Picture Gallery, Athens), a fantastic allegory of natural and spiritual renewal brought about by the sister arts of music and painting. His monumental work, *The Triumph of Bavaria* (*c.*1895; destroyed), a ceiling painting for the museum of applied arts in Nuremberg known through preliminary studies only, showed Bavaria in

the guise of the goddess Cybele riding a lion-drawn chariot. Characteristic of his shift to symbolic allegory in a severe, classicizing style is also his painting commemorating the destruction of the island of Psara by the Turks as narrated in a poem of 1825 by Dionysios Solomos. Gyzis envisioned a gigantic, allegorical figure of victory or Nike mournfully surveying the burnt and ravaged island (1898–99; National Picture Gallery, Athens). From this phase, too, date numerous graphic works, posters, advertisements, and illustrated diplomas, including his design for the diploma of the 1896 Olympic Games.

Gyzis's artistic impact may be seen not so much on his immediate circle of Greek pupils trained in the Munich academy, such as the painters George Roilos (1867–1928) and Symeon Savvides (1869–1927), among others. Rather, his classicizing idealism provided the impetus for contemporary 20th-century painters, including Konstantinos Parthenis, George Moralis, and Panayotis Gounaropoulos.

NINA ATHANASSOGLOU-KALLMYER

See also Lytras

Biography

Born in Tinos in 1842, Gyzis studied in Munich under the painter Karl Theodor von Pilory and settled there permanently. Recognized as an artist in both Greece and Germany, he was made an honorary member of the Munich Academy in 1880 and a full professor there in 1882. In Greece he was decorated by King George I in 1880. His classicizing idealism influenced many 20th-century painters. He died in 1901.

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H

Hades

Hades, which in antiquity could denote both the subterranean kingdom of the dead and the god who ruled over it, means "that which is unseen", according to an ancient etymology. In the Classical period, however, "Hades" invariably referred to the god, never to his realm, which is described as "the house of Hades". He was the brother of Zeus, who ruled the upper air, and of Poseidon, who ruled the sea, though he never visited Mount Olympus. Rarely is mention made of any cult in his honour, due no doubt to the fact that he is characteristically described as "implacable" (*adamastos*) and "relentless" (*ameilichos*), and "most hated of all the gods". The most celebrated myth associated with his name involves his abduction of Demeter's daughter Persephone, whom he deceived into becoming his bride. In Greek mythology this is the explanation for the changing seasons, since Demeter, who succeeded in gaining her daughter's release from the clutches of Hades for eight months of every year (spring and summer), grieves and neglects the earth for the remaining four (autumn and winter).

Little is known about the appearance of the mythological kingdom of the dead. Its essential characteristic, however, was its impenetrable darkness. The earliest literary description is to be found in book 2 of Homer's *Odyssey*, where Odysseus visits the bounds of Oceanus in order to consult the denizens of the underworld. In book 24 the messenger god Hermes conducts the gibbering dead past Oceanus, the white rock, the gates of the sun god Helios, and the realm of dreams until they eventually reach the asphodel meadow.

The next literary description of Hades is provided by Aristophanes in his comic masterpiece *Frogs*. Having asked Heracles to describe to him the route by which he descended to the underworld to fetch Cerberus, the god Dionysus is informed that he will first come to a fathomless lake which he must cross in Charon's boat and then to "serpents and beasts in thousands", a "mass of mire", and "everlasting dung". Another important literary source is provided by myths put forward by Plato in his dialogues *Gorgias*, *Phaedo*, and *Republic*. The so-called Orphic gold leaves, which date to the 4th century BC, also provide limited information about the imaginary topography of the region. In addition, underworld scenes frequently appear in a series of Apulian amphorae of the later 4th century BC.

Hades' helpers only gradually assumed an identity and always remained somewhat shadowy. The earliest to emerge was Cerberus, the many-headed dog who acted as warder of the dead. Charon, the ferryman of the dead, did not appear until much later. In the Hellenistic period it became customary to place a small coin known as an obol in the mouth of the dead to pay for their fare across the River Styx. Charon is frequently depicted on Attic *lekythoi* (unguent flasks), waiting while the dead approach his boat.

It was a significant feature of Greek belief that the good and the bad led an equally cheerless existence in Hades. In early times very few were accorded a different destiny. They include the "blessed heroes", who, according to Hesiod (*Works and Days*, 166ff.), inhabit the Isles of the Blessed. Deep in the bowels of Hades was a windy region called Tartarus to which were consigned those who had outraged the majesty of the gods. Among its prisoners was Tantalus, who served his son Pelops to the gods to test whether they could distinguish human flesh from animal flesh. Around the mid-5th century BC a more developed belief in a dualistic afterlife emerged, due largely to the popularity of the mystery religions, which offered ill-defined blessedness in the hereafter for initiates. Principal among these was the Eleusinian Mysteries. Greek religion, however, did not promote anything comparable to the Christian notion of "weeping and gnashing of teeth" for those who failed to secure such blessedness.

The quality of life in Hades is well summed up by Achilles' observation to the effect that he would rather work as a day-labourer for a man who had little property than be lord of all the spirits of the dead (*Odyssey*, 11. 489–91). When encountered in the underworld, the dead appear to be frozen in a time warp. Ajax, for instance, is unable to forget the rancour that he feels towards Odysseus for having been beaten in the contest for the arms of Achilles. Equally pathetic is their preoccupation with the welfare of those who have survived them. The dead were believed to remain at the same age and in exactly the same physical condition that they were at the moment of death. Oedipus, for instance, states that the reason why he blinded himself was so that he would not have to look upon the faces of his parents in the underworld (Sophocles, *Oedipus Tyrannus*, 1371–73). Even so, it was infinitely preferable to enter Hades than to pass all eternity between two worlds. Especially to be pitied were the unburied dead. "Bury me as quickly as possible," Patroclus requests of Achilles (*Iliad*,

23. 71ff.), "so that I may enter the gates of Hades." In Sophocles' *Antigone* denial of burial is represented as an offence against the gods.

The Greek notion of Hades was taken up and developed by the Romans, notably by Virgil in *Aeneid* book 6. In the Septuagint Hades is used to translate the Hebrew word "Sheol". In Christianity the term is sometimes used of the place to which Christ descends after the Crucifixion.

ROBERT GARLAND

See also Afterlife, Death

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Hadjidakis, Manos 1925–1994

Songwriter and composer

Successfully bridging the worlds of popular and classical music throughout his long career as a songwriter, composer, conductor, and arts administrator, Manos Hadjidakis was a central figure in the musical life of Greece after World War II. He was born in 1925 in the northern Greek town of Xanthi, to a Cretan father and a mother from Adrianople. In Xanthi he received his first musical instruction from an Armenian pianist. After moving to Athens at the age of seven, he developed catholic tastes through exposure to the wide variety of popular and classical music to be heard in the capital. Although his decision to undertake advanced musical studies was frustrated by the onset of World War II, Hadjidakis nevertheless began composing music for the theatre in 1943. Emerging from the German occupation and subsequent civil war an enthusiastic autodidact, he embarked on what he later designated as the first of six creative periods: (1) 1946–50 "Theatre, music, and poetry"; (2) 1951–56 "Eros and a bit of music"; (3) 1957–66, dominated by film scores and popular song; (4) 1967–71 "Abroad"; (5) 1972–89 "Return to Greece and a period of maturity"; and (6) 1990–94.

With the piano suite *For a Small White Seashell* (op. 1, 1947–48), Hadjidakis began to assign opus numbers to what he felt were his most significant works, ultimately setting apart 51 of his 179 major compositions in this way. He regularly transcended the stylistic boundaries observed by such older composers as Yiannis Konstantinidis (1903–84), who wrote popular songs under the pseudonym Kostas Yiannidis. Whereas Konstantinidis, Kalomiris, and the other members of the National School employed Greek folk songs as the basis for classical compositions in the Central European manner, Hadjidakis offered an eclectic synthesis of art music and various types of popular song – including the Westernized cabaret song of the capital's bourgeoisie and the *rebetika* of its underclass – analogous to that created in the United States by his contemporary Leonard Bernstein. Hadjidakis announced his novel creative stance to the Athenian public in 1949 in a controversial lecture entitled "The Interpretation and Role of Popular Song". In this talk, excerpts of which were subsequently published, he scandalized many by placing *rebetika* on a par with folk song as an authentic expression of Greek culture and thereby a legitimate source of compositional inspiration. He further challenged inherited wisdom in 1953 with a series of lectures on modern American composers that were of fundamental importance for the development of Greece's postwar generation of classical musicians.

From the beginning of his career Hadjidakis demonstrated a preference for writing texted or programmatic music. In addition to composing film scores and incidental music for modern and ancient drama, Hadjidakis wrote several ballets, including *Six Popular Pictures* (op. 5, 1949–50) and *The Accursed Snake* (op. 6, 1950). Based on the eponymous karaghiozis shadow play, the latter work, for two solo voices and two pianos, was produced in collaboration with the noted puppeteer Evgenios Spatharis. Each of his first two creative periods also produced an important set of songs for voice and piano assimilating his relatively popular melodic and harmonic idiom to the tradition of the European art song: they are *Two Sailors' Songs* (op. 2, 1947), settings of poems by Miltos Sachtouris; and the *CNS Cycle* (op. 8, 1954), dedicated to Carlos Novi Sanchez, with homoerotic lyrics by the composer.

The advent of Hadjidakis's most prolific and financially profitable third period in 1957 was marked by incidental music for three plays: Iakovos Kampanellis's *Paramyhti Choris Onoma* (Nameless Fable, op. 11); a modern Greek translation by Thrasyboulos Stavrou of Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* (op. 12), including the hit song *Ena Mythos tha sas Po* (Let me Tell You a Story); and Odysseus Elytis's translation of *The Caucasian Chalk Circle* by Berthold Brecht (op. 13). With Nana Mouskouri as his primary interpreter from 1959 to 1963, Hadjidakis became, somewhat to his own surprise, a phenomenally successful composer of popular songs. An Academy Award in 1960 for the music he had written for Jules Dassin's *Never on a Sunday* brought him international recognition for his continuing work in the cinema, which peaked during this period with the composition of an astonishing 41 scores to Greek and foreign films. Typically, Hadjidakis took advantage of his new celebrity to advance the cause of contemporary Greek art music, in 1962 underwriting a competition for composers at the Athens Technological Institute that jointly awarded its first prize to Yiannis Xenakis and Anestis Logothetis. Two years later he founded the Experimental Orchestra of Athens, an ensemble which presented 15 world premieres of modern Greek works under his direction during its brief existence (1964–67). At the same time he continued to write many works for the stage, including an unfinished one-act opera aud the musical *Street of Dreams* (op. 20). Successful in rejuvenating the moribund genre of the Athenian revue, the latter was also one of Hadjidakis' first collaborations with the poet and lyricist Nikos Gatsos. Further settings of texts by Gatsos and other noted writers placed Hadjidakis alongside Mikis Theodorakis in the popular imagination as co-creator of the so-called popular art song of the 1960s and 1970s.

In what he described as an attempt to liberate himself from a kind of celebrity he did not want, Hadjidakis moved to New York. He remained abroad for the first five years of the dicta-

torship (1967–72), which he claims to have met with a policy of non-resistance "without acceptance". After writing only four film scores and some chamber music during his self-imposed exile, he returned to Greece and embarked on an ambitious series of subtly orchestrated vocal works beginning with *O Megalos Erotikos* (The Great Lover, op. 30), for two voices, choir, and 12 instruments on texts by Elytis, Gatsos, Cavafy, Solomos, and others. The fall of the colonels' regime enabled Hadjidakis to recommit himself to the advancement of classical music in his homeland through a series of important posts: deputy director of the National Opera (1974), controller of the Greek Radio's Third Programme, and general director of the State Orchestra of Athens (1975–82). Hadjidakis continued balancing composition, conducting, and arts administration in this way until his death in Athens on 15 June 1994. Particularly significant was his founding of the Orchestra of Colours to promote modern Greek composers through performances, recordings, and publications.

ALEXANDER LINGAS

Biography

Born in 1925 in Xanthi, Hadjidakis's family moved to Athens when he was seven. His studies were interrupted by the outbreak of World War II but he began composing music for the theatre in 1943. He also wrote film scores, ballets, and songs. He lived in New York from 1967 to 1972. Returning to Athens, he was general director of the State Orchestra (1975–82). He died in Athens in 1994.

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Hadrian AD 76–138

Roman emperor

In an age of Roman philhellenism, Hadrian, the only Roman emperor (reigned AD 117–38) known to have been honoured with a statue in the Parthenon, was himself unusually actively philhellenic. In youth his interest in Greek studies had earned him the nickname "Graeculus". In AD 112 he was archon at Athens, where his friends included Arrian; he may also have met Epictetus at this time. After his accession as emperor in AD 117 he spent considerable periods in the Greek east; among the many instances of the Hellenic emphasis of his life are his wearing a beard (he was the first Roman leader to do so for many generations), his inclusion of a Poecile, a Tempe, and other Greek elements in his villa near Tibur (Tivoli), his initiation into the Mysteries of Eleusis (to which, according to Aurelius Victor, he continued to devote himself, back in Rome in the 130s, "after the manner of the Athenians"), and his "Greek love" relationship with Antinous (whose cult, fostered by Hadrian after Antinous' drowning in the Nile in AD 130, was particularly popular in Greek lands).

Hadrian – like many contemporary and earlier Romans and Greeks – sought to recover the Greek past. He delighted Greeks including Pausanias by restoring the tomb of Epaminondas. He gave back Mantinea its name after 150 years as Antigonea. In taking the name "Olympios" he associated himself not only with Olympian Zeus, whose temple in Athens he completed, but with Pericles, who had also assumed this name. In basing in Athens the Panhellenion, the all-Greek council established in AD 131/32, as in the honour he accorded to such cities as Sparta and Argos, he emphasized past glories, aiming perhaps, as Spawforth and Walker argue, to redress the balance between Achaea and Asia, between "cultural and historical eminence" and "economic and political muscle". (In Asia too, however, he was a benefactor during his visits of AD 123–24 and 129 to cities including Sardis, Smyrna, and Ephesus; Oresta was refounded as Hadrianopolis (Adrianople); at Cyzicus the emperor began the spectacular completion of the temple; Asian foundations included Hadrianutherae (modern Balikesir) in Mysia.)

Hadrian also, of course, sought to Romanize the Greek past or at least to recreate it, as Swain suggests, "in its idealised form" – "making Greece how it should be". In increasing the power of the Areopagus, for instance, he made the Athenian constitution more archaic – but "to the advantage of Rome and the local elite". Tested loyalty to Rome as well as authentic Greekness were conditions for cities wishing to belong to the Panhellenion; as Spawforth and Walker say, the cities' familiar preoccupation with questions of civic origin was transformed "at least indirectly, into a Roman concern ... encouraging a contemporary perception of the Greek past and the Roman present as complementary rather than mutually exclusive". Whatever the exact nature and functions of the Panhellenion – whether it was a new outlet for the social and political aspirations of upper-class Greeks (Spawforth and Walker) or rather "essentially a religious organisation, devoted above all to the cult of Hadrian and later emperors" (Jones) – it clearly involved a relationship between, negotiation between, Greeks and the empire. Hadrian's gate in Athens links and honours old and new with its inscriptions, on one side "This is Athens, once Theseus' city" and on the other "This is Hadrian's city, not Theseus'".

Similarly the buildings of Hadrianic Athens can be seen as "a stylish mixture of Greek and Roman traditions appropriate to the physical setting of a Panhellenic League founded by a Roman emperor" (Spawforth and Jones). Building went on for many years after Hadrian's visits of AD 124–25, 128–29, and 131–32, but among the first works to be begun may have been the temple of Olympian Zeus or Olympieion (in the *temenos*

(precint) of which the Panhellenion may have met), originally begun under Hippias and Hipparchus in the 6th century BC, and dedicated by the emperor in AD 132. The temple was built on a lavish scale, as is still apparent from its remaining columns. It was particularly renowned for its statues, including the ivory and gold cult statue, "worth noticing", according to Pausanias, "as it exceeds all other statues in magnitude except the Rhodian and the Roman colossi". At about the same time, probably, work began on Hadrian's Library or Stoa. This, says Pausanias, boasted 100 columns of Phrygian marble "and pavilions with gilded roofwork and alabaster, decorated with statues and paintings". Hadrian also built the aqueduct from Mount Parnes to the Agora, temples of Zeus Panhellenios and Hera, a gymnasium – 100-columned again, says Pausanias – a Pantheon, and, in the northeast corner of the Agora, a basilica.

Hadrian's cultural investment in Athens helped to transform it, during the course of the 2nd century, from "a provincial backwater by comparison with the great capitals of the eastern provinces at Antioch, Ephesus, or even at Corinth" (Shear) to a major and increasingly cosmopolitan centre. It became also, perhaps more directly as a result of Hadrian's personal initiatives, what Spawforth and Walker argue was "the agonistic centre of the Greek world": between AD 128 and 132 he founded the Panhellenia, the Hadrianeia, and the Olympieia and made the Panathenaia of equal status with these games. Perhaps even more helpfully, he provided the city with an annual grain supply. Already by AD 124–25 he had done enough for Athens for the city to reciprocate by doing him the unusual honour (last conferred on Attalus I of Pergamum in 200 BC) of creating the new *phyle* (tribe) Hadrianis; although this was possibly prompted in part by Rome or self-interest, it can scarcely have been a controversial decision.

The one area of the empire where Hadrian's Hellenism did not easily achieve the desired results was Judea, where the prohibition of circumcision and the decision to transform the ruins of Jerusalem into the *colonia* of Aelia Capitolina were among the main causes of the rising of AD 132–35 (indicating, for Birley, "that his Hellenism had blinded him to reality"). Elsewhere Greek influence was, increasingly, unopposed; Hadrian made a substantial contribution to this already powerful process, not only within the Greek lands but as the first emperor to "persuade the Greeks of old Greece to enter the Senate" and to appoint Greeks to govern provinces in the Latin west (Birley).

MARTIN GARRETT

Biography

Born in AD 76 in Spain, Hadrian was nicknamed "Graeculus" in youth for his devotion to Greek studies. In 112 he served as archon at Athens. He became emperor in 117 and spent long periods in the east where he sought to recover (and to Romanize) the Greek past, transforming Athens into a great eastern capital. He wore a beard to emphasize his Hellenism; he introduced Greek decor into his villa at Tivoli; he was initiated into the Mysteries of Eleusis; and he enjoyed a "Greek love" relationship with his friend Antinous. He died in 138.

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Hagia Sophia

Former cathedral of Constantinople

The "great church" or cathedral of Byzantine Constantinople was Hagia Sophia – the church of the Holy Wisdom. This was located in the northeast of the city, within the Constantinian walls, north of the Augusteum and close to the Great Palace. The first church of Hagia Sophia on this site was dedicated in AD 360. Little is known, either from texts or from archaeology, of the 4th-century building, although it has been suggested that the domed two-storey structure usually identified as the sacristy of Hagia Sophia (the *skeuophylakion*) may be 4th or 5th century in date.

This first church was destroyed by fire early in the 5th century, and a new church was constructed on the site. The second (Theodosian) church was dedicated by the emperor Theodosius II in 415. There is more evidence for the form of this structure than for its predecessor, although only the west of the building has been excavated. It was a stone basilica with three doors from a narthex, decorated with a sculptural frieze depicting a flock of sheep, and a single line of columns forming a portico, leading down marble steps to an atrium. This building was also destroyed by fire, during the Nike riots in 532.

The emperor Justinian I (527–65) commissioned a new and larger church, to be constructed by Isidorus of Miletus and Anthemius of Tralles. Using marble and other resources from many parts of the empire, the new church was built on a massive scale. This church, dedicated in 537, was an architecturally novel and impressive structure. In plan it was a three-aisled rectangle, with galleries above the aisles. The nave was separated from the aisles by colonnaded arcades, and roofed by a huge dome surrounded by semi-domes. There was an eastern apse and a western narthex, also with a gallery. The galleries were entered by ramps situated in each corner of the church. To the west was an atrium, with a fountain in its centre, of which part (today known as the exonarthex) survives.

Excellent written descriptions of Justinian's church exist, and even today much of its fabric survives above ground. These enable detailed reconstruction of both the interior and exterior, and some understanding of its surroundings. The eastern apse contained a *synthronon* (shared throne) with semicircular steps for seating. The gold- and silverclad altar, positioned in the apse, had an altar cloth of purple embroi-

Hagia Sophia: symbol of Byzantine Christianity, the Great Church was converted to a mosque by the Ottomans and is a museum today

dered in gold and was covered by a ciborium with pyramidal roof. The altar screen was of silverclad marble. The stone pulpit (ambo), located slightly to east of centre of the church, was also magnificently decorated and partly silverclad.

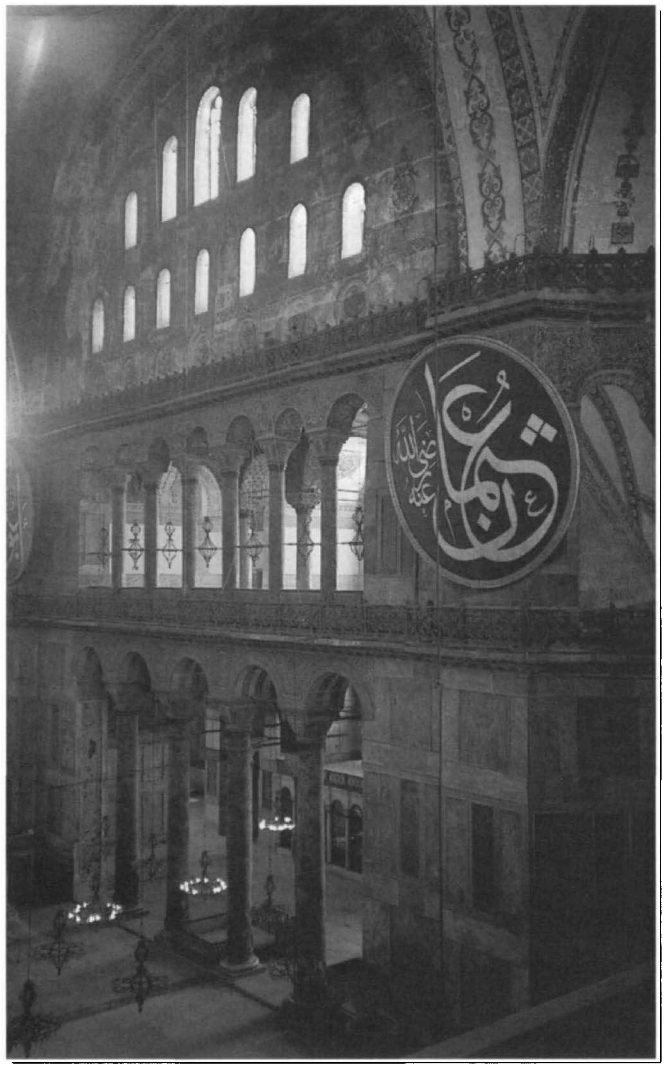
The elaboration of these furnishings was not matched by complex figural or decorative scenes in mosaic. Although parts of the building were decorated with a simple floral design of gold and blue, the ceilings seem to have been covered with simple gold mosaic rather than figural decoration. This gold mosaic decoration must have been especially impressive since the church had a sophisticated lighting scheme, in addition to glazed windows. Glass lamps were suspended from the ceiling, silver lamps hung by the columns at differing levels, lamps on iron stands were positioned both on the floor and above the level of the column capitals, and there was a ring of lamps around the base of the dome.

This church remained the centre of religious activity in Constantinople throughout the Byzantine period. It was used by both the court and citizens of the city, and the nave space was allotted by rank and gender. The church was also well positioned in relation to both religious and secular administration. The Patriarchate was situated immediately adjacent to the church to the southwest, where a very small portion of it survives, and a private porticoed passageway led from the Great Palace to the church.

Written evidence suggests that the 6th-century baptistery may have been to the north of the church, although the structure today identified as the baptistery is a surviving rectangular structure to the south of the church with an octagonal interior plan. As already mentioned, there was also a sacristy, and immediately north of the church were the hospital of St Samson and the church of Hagia Eirene, outside the complex.

Although this church remained in use throughout the remainder of Byzantine history, it was much restored and altered. As early as 558 the dome partially collapsed. This led to a rebuilding and heightening of the dome, with its diameter reduced, the addition of buttresses to the exterior of the building, and other modifications. A cross design was placed in the centre of the dome. The church was rededicated in 562, but was severely damaged in an earthquake in 989 and again restored.

The middle Byzantine church was very different in appearance from its early Byzantine predecessor, and it is from this building that most of the surviving mosaics in the church come. Unlike the early Byzantine cathedral, the 9th-century and later church had very elaborate figural mosaics. These included



Hagia Sophia: Byzantine mosaics and other decorative features survive alongside incongruous quotations from the Qur'an

depictions of the Virgin and Child in the apse, an image of Christ Pantocrator in the dome, and a depiction of the Virgin flanked by SS Peter and Paul on the west arch.

In 1204 the church was sacked by western troops, and subsequently used as a Roman Catholic cathedral during the Latin occupation. It was the coronation and burial place of the Latin rulers, and the tombstone of one of their leaders – Enrico Dandolo – can still be seen. There were a few modifications under Latin rule, notably the construction of a belfry. After the recapture of the city in 1261, the church was again restored. However, the building was damaged by earthquakes yet again, notably in 1346 and 1355, when the main dome was rebuilt on the last occasion and provided with another Pantocrator mosaic, perhaps the last Byzantine mosaic on this scale.

Hagia Sophia was in use for Christian services until the very end of the Byzantine empire. Legends surround the final moments of the church, but it was promptly emptied by Turkish troops immediately after their capture of Constantinople in 1453 and turned into a mosque. The building continued to suffer earthquake and other damage, and was restored many times, notably in the years 1847–49 by the Fossati brothers, when Byzantine mosaics were discovered. After the declaration of the modern Turkish republic the building ceased to be a mosque and was opened as a museum in the 1930s. More mosaics, discovered by Thomas Whittemore in that decade, were placed on display at that time, and these continue to give some impression of the church's middle Byzantine splendour. Today the building remains a museum, and is one of the principal tourist attractions of the city.

KEN DARK

See also Architecture (religious)

Summary

Hagia Sophia, the Church of the Holy Wisdom, was the cathedral of Byzantine Constantinople. The first church, dedicated in 360, was destroyed by fire in the 5th century and a second church was destroyed during the Nike riots in 532. The third, still extant, building was commissioned by Justinian and dedicated in 537. It was the centre of religious activity in the city throughout the Byzantine period. The Ottomans turned it into a mosque in 1453. Today it is a museum.

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Hagiography

Hagiography denotes written documents of all varieties that are relevant to the cult of saints. The purpose of hagiography is to record information on canonized people, thus providing edifying examples of Christian lives.

Hagiographical documents may be schematically divided into two types: the liturgical and the literary. An example of liturgical hagiography are the *Menaia*, in 12 volumes corresponding to the months of the year which include full information (a notice of the life with canons and tropes) about the saints to be commemorated each day; modern versions of a medieval service book, the Menaia, are the *Megas Synaxaristis tis Orthodoxou Ekklisias* (The Great Lives of the Saints of the Orthodox Church). The *Menologion* (Calendar), which is similarily divided by months, gives only the lives of saints. The Menologion was very widely disseminated in the Byzantine world, often with illustrations; the best-known version is that compiled in the mid-10th century by Symeon Metaphrastes, who standardized at a rather formal linguistic level many of the varied texts inherited from the past. The *Synaxarion* gives short notices on saints to be included in the daily office; the *Synaxarion of Constantinople*, probably also compiled in the 10th century, provides a full and interesting collection of material. *Typika*, that is, liturgical calendars giving instructions for each day's services, include notices on saints to be commemorated; from the 9th century three were in general use: that of the Great Church and two monastic types, the Studite and that of Mar Saba.

Many of the notices found in this liturgical material were constructed on the basis of literary hagiographical documents, that is, on the lives of the saints *(bioi* in Greek, *vitae* in Latin. These literary hagiographical documents are several types. In the 2nd and 3rd centuries the early Church had developed an edifying literature in the form, for example, of apocryphal gospels or accounts of apostles' missionary journeys; the journeys of St Paul and St Thekla are well-known instances with more than a hint of the novel. There also developed accounts of mayrtyrdoms (*martyria* in Greek, *passiones* in Latin, often called passions in English) which dealt not with the entire lives of saints but with the process, often gruesome, by which they met their deaths. Collections of sayings *(Apophthegmata Patrum)* are not strictly lives of saints, for they consist of series of gnomic utterances from groups of ill-defined but holy personalities, usually desert hermits, without a narrative structure. Finally there are narrative lives of a sort which would become conventional. There is often a formulaic quality to these: a pious child exhibits early prodigies of asceticism, overcomes temptations of sundry kinds, and ultimately leads a life whose sanctity is fully recognized only at death.

The genre of saintly life owes something to the traditions of ancient secular biography. Eusebius' *Life of Constantine* (written *c.*337–39) is already an example of a biography in which historicity is subordinated to a polemical and didactic purpose. This trend can be seen much more sharply in Athanasius of Alexandria's *Life of Antony* (*c.*356), often taken as the first example of a hagiographical Life; here the miraculous is accepted as normal and the regular passage of chronological time is immaterial. This is a pattern that is found regularly in subsequent lives, such as that of Theodore of Sykeon (d. 613), in which miracles are part of everyday rural life.

From the 4th to the 7th centuries the main centres for the writing of hagiography were Egypt, Syria, and Palestine. Lives of the monks of the desert monasteries, who had withdrawn from city life (and often from communal life also) were written, for example, by Palladius, whose *Lausiac History* on the monks of Egypt was written *c.*419; by Theodoret of Cyrrhus (d. *c.*466),who wrote a *Religious History* on Syrian monks; and by Cyril of Scythopolis (d. *c.*559) who compiled biographies of monks in Palestine.

Between the 7th and 9th centuries, the Byzantine dark ages, few hagiographical texts were produced. From the 9th to the 11th centuries the genre revived. Saintly heroes of this time were much involved with community life, whether founding monasteries, as did Lazaros of Mount Galesios (d. 1053); being the pious mother of a family, as was Mary the Younger (d. *c.*902/3); or playing an active political role, as did Euthymios, patriarch of Constantinople (907–12). It is at this time that the Menologion of Symeon Metaphrastes was compiled. In the 12th century, when interest in secular literature revived, once again relatively little hagiography was written – though what there was came from prominent literary men such as Theodore Prodromos (*Life of Meletios*) or John Tzetzes (*Life of Lucia*). In the 13th and 14th centuries there were a number of prolific hagiographers, such as Constantine Akropolites (d. before 1324), and a variety of approaches, including encomia of past saints and lives of prominent contemporaries, such as the emperor John III Vatatzes (*c.*1192–1254), or the patriarch Athanasios I (d. *c.*1315).

The saints whose lives have been recorded came from many walks of life: they include monks, desert hermits, holy fools, pillar-sitting stylites, military commanders and humble soldiers, empresses and prostitutes (though women are under-represented). The process of acquiring sainthood in the medieval Greek world was informal (the first official canonization in the Orthodox Church appears to have been that of the Patriarch Arsenios in the late 13th century). It depended on a reputation for sanctity and, usually and preferably, for working miracles. From that would develop a cult which would lead to the painting of an icon and the writing of a life.

Many lives are written by named and known authors, some of whom are mentioned above. Other significant hagiographers include Leontios of Neapolis (7th century), author of lives of John the Almsgiver and Symeon of Emesa; John Moschos (d. *c.*634), author of the *Spritual Meadow*, a set of anecdotes about the monastic communities encountered during his travels; Ignatios the Deacon (d. *c.*845), author of a life of the patriarch Tarasios; Niketas David Paphlagon (early 10th century), author of about 50 encomia on saints; and Philotheos Kokkinos (patriarch of Constantinople 1353–55), a prolific writer on his contemporaries. Many lives are anonymous, especially the early *martyria*.

The audience and readership for hagiographical material in the Byzantine world would have been extensive, whatever the extent of literacy, over which scholarly uncertainty continues. Liturgical passages were read out during church services and so would have been heard by entire congregations. Longer lives would have been used for devotional reading, whether as part of monastic discipline or in a domestic environment. Anna

Komnene in the mid-12th century refers to her mother reading lives of saints, and such lives are recorded in the private library of Eustathios Boilas (d. 1059), so that it is possible to think of hagiographical narratives as the recreational literature of the medieval world.

Hagiography has continued to serve devotional purposes up to the present and the lives of post-medieval saints appear in service books. It also has value for the historian, providing useful insights into the thought of its producers and consumers. From hagiography much information can be gleaned about medieval religious beliefs and practices, about the artifacts of daily life, and, with careful sifting, many incidental details on historical events. A very significant role in the scholarly study of the genre has been played by the order of Bollandists, active in Belgium from the early years of the 17th century to this day, and their monumental series *Acta Sanctorum*.

ELIZABETH M. JEFFREYS

See also Biography and Autobiography, Canonization

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Halicarnassus

City in southwest Asia Minor

Halicarnassus (modern Bodrum) was a Greek city in Caria in southwest Asia Minor, traditionally founded *c.*900 BC by the city of Troezen in the Argolid region of mainland Greece. With a superb sheltered position on the Mediterranean coast, the orientation of Halicarnassus was naturally outwards towards the Aegean rather than inwards towards the mountainous areas of inland Caria. The city had close ties with other east Greek cities given its position on shipping routes connecting them. In the Archaic period Halicarnassus was one of the cities of the "Dorian Hexapolis" (a loose federation of six cities of Dorian Greeks, which also comprised Cnidus, Cos, and the three cities of Rhodes, Lindus, Camirus, and Ialysus), but by the Classical period the city was Ionian with strong native Carian elements, although Caria as a whole was ruled by a local dynasty subject to the Great King of Persia. Herodotus, the Greek historian of the 5th-century BC wars between the Greeks and the Persians, was a native of Halicarnassus.

Given Persia's suzerainty in the region, Halicarnassus took part in the Persian Wars on the Persian side. The Carian dynast Artemisia I with five ships accompanied the invasion of Greece by the Great King Xerxes in 480 BC, and played a distinguished part in the sea battle off Salamis (recounted by Herodotus, 8. 88), although the battle was a Greek victory. Later, Halicarnassus became a member of the Delian League under the leadership of Athens, and served as an Athenian naval base at the end of the 5th century.

The 4th century BC was the zenith of Halicarnassus. The dynast Mausolus, who became the Persian satrap after Halicarnassus returned to Persian control in 386 BC, moved his capital there from the inland city Mylasa *c.*370 BC, synoecized (united into one city) neighbouring non-Greek settlements, and embarked upon an ambitious building programme to transform Halicarnassus into a grand city. He built fortification walls, a palace, harbour installations, a Greek-style theatre, various public buildings, and revealed a considerable familiarity with, and appreciation of, Greek culture. He meddled in 4th-century Greek politics in the Aegean to the detriment of the Second Athenian Confederacy, and extended his influence in Asia Minor and the Aegean.

Halicarnassus was justly famous for the great tomb of Mausolus, known as the Mausoleum, probably begun during his lifetime and completed *c.*350 BC after his death. This monument was a major achievement of Greek art and was considered one of the seven wonders of the ancient world in Hellenistic and Roman times. Built in a commanding position overlooking the harbour, the tomb would have dominated the city and served as a landmark to seafarers. Information about the Mausoleum is derived from ancient literary descriptions and extensive excavation, and, although it has been variously reconstructed, it essentially consisted of an Ionic colonnade atop a high square podium, surmounted by a pyramidal roof. The building was adorned with quantities of free-standing sculpture and several relief friezes. Mausolus had the money and influence to employ the leading Greek sculptors of his day (among them Scopas of Paros, Leochares of Athens, Bryaxis, and Timotheus). The pyramidal roof was a striking feature, perhaps inspired by eastern prototypes (the pyramids of Egypt have been proposed as among the Mausoleum's forerunners).

The Mausoleum had many imitators. To name but a few: Alexander the Great (who surely saw the Mausoleum when he besieged Halicarnassus – see below) built at Babylon an immense pyramidal tomb composed of six stepped levels for his beloved companion Hephaistion after his death in 324 BC. Moreover, Alexander's proposed "Last Plans" (if genuine) included a pyramidal tomb for his father Philip II (Diodorus Siculus, 18. 4. 5). Finally, the famous Lion Tomb in the independent Greek city Cnidus, which lies at the tip of a peninsula just south of the Bodrum peninsula, was topped by a stepped pyramid supporting a platform for an enormous recumbent lion.

Halicarnassus: marble frieze showing battle between Greeks and Amazons from the Mausoleum, *c.* 350 BC, British Museum, London

The smooth course of Alexander the Great's progress down the east coast of Asia Minor during his invasion of the Persian empire was interrupted when Halicarnassus offered resistance, but the city finally fell in 334 BC after a difficult siege (vividly described in Book 1 of Arrian's *Anabasis*). After Alexander's death, Halicarnassus – like other Greek cities in Asia – could not escape the power struggles of his successors, and it was subject at various times to the new Graeco-Macedonian Hellenistic kingdoms (the Ptolemies of Egypt, the Seleucids of Syria, and the Antigonids of Macedonia) as well as to the independent Greek island of Rhodes. It became part of the Roman province of Asia in 129 BC.

During the Byzantine period, Halicarnassus was the seat of a bishop under the metropolitan of the city of Aphrodisias in northeast Caria. It faced capture by the Turks, the Crusaders, the Hospitaller Knights of St John (who in the 15th century AD built the magnificent Castle of St Peter in the harbour of Bodrum largely from blocks of the Mausoleum, whence much of it was recovered), and finally by the Ottoman Turks in the 16th century. Its last appearance in Greek history was the unsuccessful rebellion of the city against Ottoman rule in AD 1770, supported by the navy of Catherine the Great of Russia. After the upheavals of World War I and the fall of the Ottoman empire, Halicarnassus became part of the modern state of Turkey.

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See also Mausolus, Persian Wars

Summary

A city in Caria, southwest Asia Minor, Halicarnassus (modern Bodrum) was traditionally founded by colonists from Troezen *c.*900 BC. It was the home of the 5th-century BC historian Herodotus. It reached its peak in the 4th century BC under King Mausolus whose tomb, the Mausoleum, was one of the Seven Wonders of the ancient world. The Castle of St Peter was built by the Knights of St John.

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Harbours

Because the Greeks have been a seafaring people since before recorded history, harbours have always played an important part in their life. Certainly the rocky terrain of mainland Greece, and settlement on the islands of the Aegean, encouraged travel by sea as opposed to travel by land. Yet, as Lionel Casson, the naval historian, points out, it was possible to load and unload ships lying off an open beach without using harbour installations until well into the 19th century AD, so the absence of harbours did not necessarily preclude a city or island from participating in seafaring. In the early days, ships could even be drawn up on to shore, literary evidence of which can already be found in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, presumably composed in the 8th century BC. Nevertheless, the importance of harbours even at this early date may be reflected in the fact that Nestor led to Troy 90 ships, the second biggest contingent of the Greeks after Agamemnon's 100, according to the catalogue of ships in book 2 of the *Iliad*. (Indeed, some scholars have argued that the catalogue of ships may reflect an actual Mycenaean order of battle for some historical event underlying the myth of the Trojan War.) According to tradition Nestor was also associated with the magnificent natural harbour at Navarino bay in the western Peloponnese, while archaeological finds have linked him with the Bronze Age palace found near the bay.

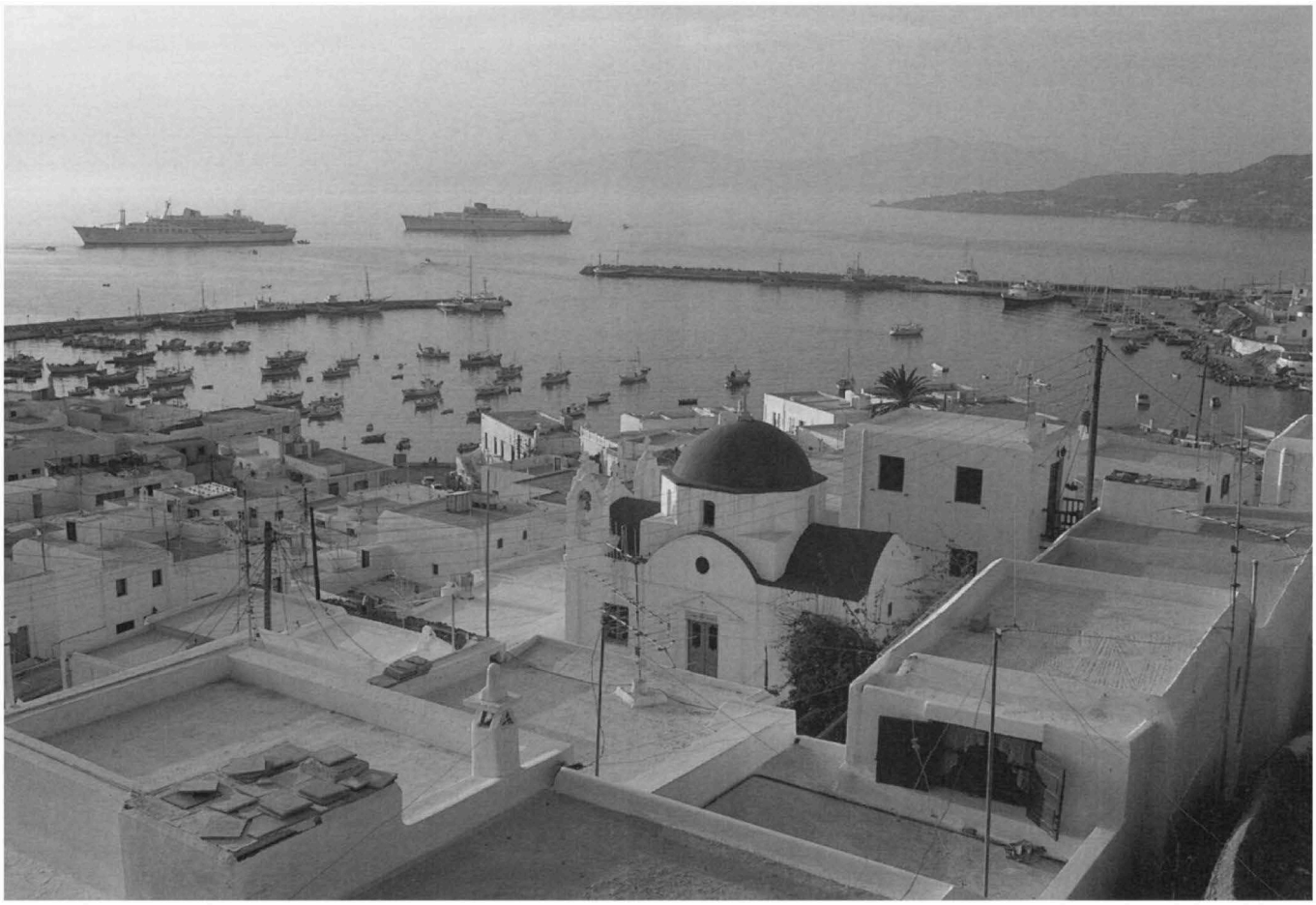
The *Odyssey* depicts the mythical Phaeacians as living almost in a fairy-tale land, and, among their many blessings, endows them with an idealized harbour consisting of a protective bay with sheds for the storage of sails and rigging, stone bollards for tying ships to, work space for sailmakers, riggers, and shipwrights, and a shrine to Poseidon, surrounded by a meeting place (*Odyssey*, 6. 263–69). These features may be taken as the desiderata of a Greek harbour of the Archaic period. Actual harbours did not lag far behind this poetic one, and soon surpassed it, as in the harbour at Delos with its 8th-century BC mole, 100 m long, constructed from rough-hewn granite blocks. The Phaeacians depended on nature alone for a protected anchorage. At the end of the 6th century BC the tyrant Polycrates built a harbour at Samos comprising two moles, one 370 m long and the other 180, and included it within the circuit of the city's defence wall (Herodotus, 3. 60). Also at the end of 6th century BC, according to the pseudo-Aristotelian *Constitution of Athens*, the tyrant Hippias began fortifying Munychia in the Piraeus, even though Athens continued to use the open roadstead at Phalerum as a harbour until about 493 BC.

At the beginning of the Classical period the ideal Greek harbour had moles (*chomata*) to provide a safe anchorage (*hormos*). A commercial harbour (*emporion*) had quays, open sheds (*neosoikoi*), and warehouses, whereas a naval base (*neorion*) had boathouses (*neosoikoi*) and gear sheds (*skeuothekai* or *hoplothekai*). Defence towers stood at the seaward end of the moles and, being brought within the circuit of the town wall, made it a protected harbour (*limen kleistos*). In fact, several cities in the Classical period went so far as to join their harbours to their cities with long walls, most famously Athens and the Piraeus, Corinth and Lechaeum, its port on the Corinthian Gulf, and Megara and Nisea, its port on the Saronic Gulf. In the Piraeus, Pashalimani (ancient Zea) and Tourkolimano (ancient Munychia) in the Piraeus were *neoria*, whereas Megas Limin (ancient Cantharus) served as both an *emporion* and as a *neorion*, as indeed it still does today. The presence of the harbours, and their use as commercial and naval centres for Athens beginning in 493 BC with Themistocles' founding of a navy to repel Xerxes' invasion, led to a lot of construction in the Piraeus. In about 450 BC Hippodamus of Miletus imposed an orthogonal city plan on the Piraeus which is still reflected in the layout of the modern streets.

Pashalimani in the Piraeus has the best-preserved boathouses, served by a stone slip *c.*3 m wide and 37 m long. (From these dimensions Morrison and Coates have derived the size for their recent reconstruction of the trireme.) The boathouses' roof was supported by columns each just under 6 m wide; the use of columns instead of a solid wall allowed for ventilation. The boathouses stored ships and wooden gear (masts, yards, poles, ladders, and oars). Oeneiadae in Acarnania had longer boathouses with bevelled slips to fit the ships' bilges, and they are therefore thought to have accommodated quadriremes or quinqueremes, larger than the triremes presumably housed at Pashalimani. The Piraeus also had an elaborate gear shed, built in the 4th century BC and known as the arsenal (*skeuotheke*) of Philon; considered something of an architectural wonder, its details are known to us from an inscription (*IG* 2^2, 1668). By the end of the 5th century BC, the essential elements of the commercial harbour in the Greek world had been worked out, becoming more elaborate and increasing in size in later centuries.

The harbours of the Hellenistic age were of vast size and integrated plan. The premier harbour of the period was of course at Alexandria, the city Alexander the Great founded in 330 BC and named after himself. Its plan was crowned by the famous Pharos, a lighthouse which was one of the seven wonders of the ancient world and the light of which could be seen from about 50 km away. There were two basins at Alexandria, the Great Harbour, which faced east, and the Eunostos, which faced west. The Great Harbour was formed by two stone moles (one of which was 900 m long), the tips of which were 600 m apart, though underwater obstacles reduced this opening to two entrances, 100 and 200 m wide, respectively. Such a plan, dominated by a lighthouse, probably influenced the Roman emperors Claudius and Trajan in developing the facilities at Ostia for the reception of the grain fleet from Egypt, for, when Trajan had finished with it in the early 2nd century AD, Ostia also had two harbours dominated by a lighthouse.

Also in the Hellenistic age, Delos became a commercial centre for trade in the Aegean, as well as continuing to be an



Harbours: Mykonos, the principal harbour for those visiting Delos. The slavers of the ancient world have been replaced by the cruise liners of today.

important shrine to Apollo. Inscriptions show that it was a centre of the slave trade, and the Romans deliberately fostered it as a trading rival to Rhodes, expelling the Delians in 166 BC and replacing them with Athenian settlers. In 146 BC Corinthian importers moved there from their own city which had been sacked by the Romans, and the religious festival in honour of Apollo on Delos practically became a trade fair. Delos, however, never recovered from the depredations of Archelaus, the general of Mithridates of Pontus, and pirates in the 1st century BC, and went into a slow decline thereafter.

Since, as Lionel Casson points out, Byzantine ships were, if anything, smaller than their Classical counterparts, harbour installations were even less necessary for handling cargoes. Nevertheless, the Byzantines continued to use those harbours, such as Alexandria, which they inherited from the Romans, and built new ones, for example on the Golden Horn at Constantinople. It was the presence of a harbour at Ravenna that partly led to the establishment of an exarchate there following the reconquest of parts of the Italian peninsula by emperor Justinian in the early 6th century AD, even though the port was already beginning to silt up. In addition, ports like Nauplia, the best harbour in the Argolid, fell into crusader and then Venetian hands after the Fourth Crusade of 1204, and became the focus of intermittent struggle between their owners and the Turks during the following four centuries or more.

During the Tourkokratia, many harbours fell into relative disuse, owing to a lack of interest in trade on the part of the Ottomans. Piraeus, for example, was virtually uninhabited in 1834, when the capital of newly independent Greece was moved to Athens. Its growth in population, from 4000 in 1840 to 11,000 in 1870, to 75,000 in 1907, is an index to the revival of the city of Athens, and the tripling of its population in 1922 testifies to a massive resettlement of refugees from Asia Minor. The harbour at Navarino bay played an important part in the War of Independence when, on 20 October 1827, a combined British, French, and Russian fleet of 26 ships trapped and defeated a larger Turkish fleet of 82, sinking 53 of them. Furthermore, Greek predominance in shipping in the modern era has been enhanced by its many fine harbours.

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See also Ships, Trade

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Healing Cults

A genuine human desire to turn towards higher, spiritual forces beyond "scientific" medicine in times of illness and distress manifested itself very early in Greek culture. Already Linear B tablets from Knossos are addressed to "Paieion" ("Pa-ya-wo-ne") who receives votives of limbs in Palaikastro about 1600 BC (Middle Minoan) and is the doctor of the gods also in the *Iliad* (5. 401, 899f.); he will later amalgamate with Apollo. Apollo's son Asclepius is still a mortal in the *Iliad*, but already a "doctor without fault" (4. 194); not only his two sons, Machaon and Podalirius, but also other heroes such as Patroclus act as physicians if the need arises. Likewise the seer (and later healing hero) Amphiaraus was originally a battle hero, participating in the war of the "Seven against Thebes"; when his army was routed, Zeus would not let his seer die, but conveyed him into the underworld alive by splitting the earth before him. Afterwards, Amphiaraus was revered as a healing and oracle-giving hero, with musical and sports contests (Amphiareia) being held in his honour.

The overall increase of hero cults in the 7th and 6th centuries BC also led to an intensified worship of healing heroes. Above all in Attica there existed plenty of healing gods and heroes, among them heroified historical persons (e.g. Hesiod in Orchomenus; in Athens, Sophocles became the hero Dexion, after he had received the god Asclepius). Almost every other god and goddess could assume healing functions, too, above all Apollo; Artemis cared especially for pregnant women, newborn babies, and young children, and Athena was already in the 6th century BC worshipped as "Athena Hygieia" on the Acropolis.

This variety of healing cults was very much reduced when from about 420 BC onwards Asclepius became the most prominent healing god. His cult first seems to have existed in Thessaly (Trikka) and Messenia; his most important place in the later 5th century BC was Epidaurus, whence the cult spread to Eleusis, Delphi, Paros, Corinth, Cos, Pergamum, and in 420 BC (during the plague) to Athens; in these transfers, Asclepius' holy snake was brought by ship or cart to its new place. The only other healing cult that continued was that of Amphiaraus; his main sanctuary was the Amphiareion in northeast Attica, with a branch established in Athens itself near the Theseum between 377 and 375 BC. Iconographically Asclepius is often represented as a bearded elderly man wrapped in a garment and carrying a stick (Amphiaraus is similarly depicted from the 4th century BC) and together with his family: his wife Epione, his sons Machaon and Podalirius, his daughters Hygieia, Aegle, Aceso, Iaso, Panaceia, and later also with a dwarf called Telesphorus ("who brings to a good end") who is either his son or his servant.

In Hellenistic and Roman times, healing cults and Asclepieia spread through the whole Aegean and beyond. The increasing popularity of these cults coincided with the rise of scientific medicine, which may seem paradoxical at first sight. The basic attitude of ancient doctors was different from that of today. According to Hippocrates, a physician has to do three things: first, to describe the case; second, to draw conclusions about the kind of illness; and finally to decide either "I will treat this illness" or "I won't treat it". In the latter case the sick needed an alternative to whom they could turn, and at this point healing gods and heroes came in.

The best-preserved healing places – the above-mentioned Amphiareion near Oropus (not far from the Boeotian border) and the Asclepieia in Epidaurus and Cos – all show the same main elements: the sanctuary of the god, an incubation hall (see below), baths, a theatre, and guesthouses for the pilgrims; most of these buildings were constructed in the 4th century BC, when the importance of healing cults reached a first climax. The famous theatre of Epidaurus has space for 15,000 spectators, a measure of the immense popularity of the cult. Such additional amenities created the atmosphere of a "holiday resort" and may have been important for the well-being and curing of the visitors. Certain rules of behaviour had to be observed; dying people or women giving birth were denied access, for they would cause religious impurity.

Healing was mainly sought by the process of "incubation", i.e. sleeping in the sanctuary. The patients first had to make a purificatory offering, sacrificing an animal at the altar in front of the temple. After physical cleansing in the baths, patients laid themselves down to sleep on the skin of the sacrificed animal in the *koimeterion* or "incubation hall", a long columned hall, which could be partitioned into small compartments. The god then approached people in their dreams by touching them either with his own hand or with one of his holy animals, the snake or the dog (both already companions of oriental healing gods), which bit or licked the spot where the patients were suffering. The healed placed votive offerings – imitations of limbs in various materials and reliefs depicting the healing – in front of the temple; when the more precious items (in gold, silver, and bronze) were later melted down, an inscription noted the shape of the votive, its donor, and its weight. Tales of miraculous healings were preserved on wooden or marble tablets; in Epidaurus they were collected and inscribed on big marble stelai (1.70 ¥ 0.75 m) in the second half of the 4th century BC; three of these, containing 130 healing miracles, are still extant. It is difficult to form an adequate judgement of these "miracles"; but as modern medicine has long since acknowledged the importance of psychological factors in healing, one should not talk of "cheating", as scholars did in the 19th century. Frequently mentioned in these tales are eye complaints (in the *Plutus* of Aristophanes, the god of wealth himself is cured of his blindness in the course of a very funny incubation), paralysis, speech disorders (the god often cures muteness by a sudden shock), ulcers, abscesses, old sores (in the case of which the god often performs spectacular surgery), and everything connected with pregnancy and desire for children. Interestingly, Christian tales of miraculous healings by saints (as found in records from their holy places) are very similar to these pagan ones; even in our time, observation (in places such as Lourdes) has shown that religious ecstasy can induce spontaneous healing.

There was a second flourishing of healing cults in the 2nd century AD, with the Asclepieion of Pergamum being one of their foremost places; even leading intellectuals such as Aelius

Healing Cults: the Asclepieum at Pergamum, where the cult of Asclepius was brought from Epidaurus in the 4th century BC

Aristides eagerly sought their help. Healing divinities preserved their appeal well into the mysticism of late antiquity; by the 4th and 5th century AD, however, they were increasingly superseded by Christianity (with Christ himself often acting as healer).

Not all places of pagan healing cults were destroyed in late antiquity, but often they were transformed into places of Christian cult, with Christian saints taking over the duties of their pagan predecessors. In Byzantine times miraculous healing could still be brought about by incubation in churches at a holy place; other cures consisted of kissing the tomb of a saint, anointing oneself with oil from the lamp that was suspended above a saint's tomb, drinking oil or water that had come into contact with the saint's relics. From the 4th century AD onward, such relics (the mortal remains of holy persons or objects sanctified by contact with them) were often transferred to various local churches and developed a significant role in healing. Another source of miraculous healing was provided by icons. The Second Council of Nicaea in AD 787 laid down certain principles of icon veneration and in particular acknowledged the powers of miracle-working icons, which had already a centuries-old tradition behind them; above all, *acheiropoieta* (images "not made by human hand", but mysteriously found) were regarded as miraculous. There was an exemplary case of this even in more recent times: on the island of Tinos (on which already in antiquity a great festival for a Poseidon with healing powers had existed) a miraculous icon of the Virgin Mary was found in the early 19th century and provided important moral support to the Greeks fighting for their independence; the icon was placed in the church of Panagia Evangelistria (finished in 1830) and quickly became the most important centre of pilgrimage for healing in the Orthodox world; the Panagia Tiniotissa is now the patron saint of Greece.

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See also Medicine

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Health

The standard Greek words for health (e.g. *hygieia, euexia*) do not appear in Homeric and Hesiodic epic, but "disease" (*nousos/nosos*) is a significant theme ever since the tenth line of the *Iliad*, and freedom from disease is depicted as belonging to a faraway land (*Odyssey*, 15. 407–08) or to a lost golden age (Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 90–126). Once the Greeks developed more fully articulated conceptions of "health" in the Classical and Hellenistic periods, they disagreed vigorously among themselves about how to define it, how to achieve it, and where to rank it among the human goods.

1. *Conceptions and definitions of health.* Balance, harmony, due proportion, equilibrium, regularity, and proper mixture or blending ("temperament") were central to the Greek understanding of health in most epochs, but there was no consensus on exactly what constitutes a "harmony", a healthy blending, etc. Furthermore, a significant minority adopted a very different approach to health. The 5th-century BC philosopher-scientist Alcmaeon of Croton might have been the first to claim that the "equal rights" (*isonomia*) of opposing qualitative powers (moist–dry, cold–hot, bitter–sweet) in the body preserves health, whereas a "monarchy" of any single such power causes disease (but the late 1st-century AD doxographic text that attributes this view to Alcmaeon displays suspect, anachronistic terminology). This conception of health recurs in Greek philosophical and medical texts until the Early Modern period. According to the Presocratic Diogenes of Apollonia, for example, health depends on a proper mixture of blood and air in the body, while the Hippocratic treatise *On the Nature of a Human Being* argues that health exists to the greatest degree whenever four juices or humours "that are in the body" – blood, phlegm, yellow bile, black bile – achieve the right quantitative and qualitative proportions relative to one another. For all their strong disagreements about the basic constituents of the human body, several other Hippocratic texts (e.g. *On Ancient Medicine*, *On Regimen*) as well as Empedocles, Democritus, Philistion of Locri, Plato, Aristotle, Galen, and most Byzantine physicians and philosophers shared this fundamental theory that good health is due to a right blending (*krasis*) or balance of constitutive elements or qualities or substances, whereas disease is due to a rupture of such a blending or balance, resulting in a separation or disproportion of elements, etc.

The quantitative implications of balance and proportionality sometimes were given mathematical expression, notably by the Pythagoreans. They not only characterized health as a harmony and an "equality of parts" (*isomoiria*) of opposites but also called their "perfect number" – the decadic *tetraktys* (i.e. 10 as the sum of 1, 2, 3, and 4) – "the principle (*arche*) of health" and referred to their mathematical symbol of identity (a pentagram) as "health". Furthermore, they advocated the use of music, which they viewed as a mathematical phenomenon, to maintain or restore harmony in the body. Some of Plato's theories of due proportion and mixture are not unrelated to the Pythagoreans' mathematicizing versions of health, but Plato perhaps elaborated the moral and aesthetic dimensions of such a conception more fully, closely correlating health, the well proportioned, the good, and the beautiful (e.g. *Timaeus*, 87c–d).

"Health of the soul" (*psyche*) was often explained in the same terms as physical health. Indeed, a number of Greeks, early and late, viewed health as a condition or disposition of a unitary psychosomatic entity. Closely related was the popular association of physical and mental health with moral uprightness (and, correspondingly, the attribution of diseases, including mental disorders, to moral failings, a recurrent notion in Greek popular culture of all epochs, especially when accompanied by the ascription of illness to divine intervention). Many physicians, including some Hippocratics, Aretaeus of Cappadocia, Soranus of Ephesus, Galen, and later writers, explained mental health by reference to relations or interactions between material elements or substances in the body. At times, however, philosophers – including those who, unlike Plato, offered a materialist account of the soul – attempted to draw sharp distinctions between physical and mental or "psychic" health. Some Stoics, for example, defined the health of the body as a good blend (*eukrasia*) or due proportion (*symmetria*) of the four elementary qualities (hot, cold, wet, dry) but the health of the psyche as a good blend of the opinions of the soul.

2. *Attaining and maintaining health.* The theories of balance, harmony, and proportionality are closely related to a broader ideology of moderation. Critias, for example, suggested in an elegy that the moderate drinking practised by the Spartans is fitted beautifully to health and to the works of Aphrodite, sleep, and temperance ("the neighbour of piety"), while Xenophon attributed the extraordinary health of the Spartans to their moderate eating habits. Similarly, in a comic fragment of Eubulus, Dionysus limits those who are healthy in mind to three kraters of wine: the first for health, the second for eros, the third for sleep; with the fourth krater, he says, one leaves the realm of Dionysus and enters that of hubris. Several Hippocratic treatises (e.g. *Affections*, 49) similarly claim that smaller quantities of food are better for one's health. The frequent ancient Greek criticisms of the excesses characteristic of athletes' diets and exercises, and so too the clear distinction drawn by some physicians between steady good health and exceptional physical strength, are further manifestations of a wide-ranging cultural valorization of moderation, even if there often were considerable gaps between belief and practice.

Starting in the 5th century BC a sizeable body of Greek literature developed on the preservation and restoration of health by means of regimen (*diaita*), i.e. by a stable mode of living,

including diet, exercise, bathing, and other regular habits. Herodicus of Selymbria was widely regarded as being among the founders of this tradition, but the 5th-century BC Hippocratic treatise *On Regimen* is the first extant work offering detailed, comprehensive norms for human regimen with a view to health, while also taking account of individual differences in age, gender, season, constitutional type, location, environment, etc. The fundamental tenets of this Hippocratic text remained a cornerstone of much subsequent work on regimen. Many of its prescriptions entail self-control, also in matters of eating and drinking, and this has suggested to modern scholars that its audience – like that of most ancient and Byzantine treatises on health through regimen – was assumed to have an ample food supply. In reality, food shortages were endemic in the ancient Mediterranean, even if not all food crises were severe. The primary audience of the extensive Greek medical literature on regimen therefore probably was a literate socio-economic elite. Palaeopathological analyses of skeletal remains confirm that certain nutritional deficiencies were common throughout antiquity. Not all such deficiencies are attributable to catastrophic food crises (nor are all recurrent congenital diseases, rheumatic ailments, cases of dental caries, etc.), but it is nonetheless striking that evidence of deficiency, also in children, is at least as common as evidence of dietary excess, even at times of economic prosperity.

Other Greek writers on achieving health through regimen include Acron of Agrigentum, Philistion of Locri, Diocles, Mnesitheus, Dieuches, Praxagoras of Cos, Herophilus, Erasistratus, members of the Empiricist "school", Galen, and numerous early and late Byzantine authors, e.g. Oribasius (especially books 1 and 4), Hierophilus the Sophist (*On Nutriment according to the Months*, i.e. the months of the Julian calendar, and *On the Faculties of Nutriment*), and Symeon Seth.

None of these works was more influential than Galen's monumental *Health* (*Hygieina*) 1–6 and *On the Faculties of Foods* 1–3. In *Hygieina* Galen assigned the preservation of health to "hygiene" ("the art of health") but the restoration of health to therapeutics. His *Health* is based on the classical theory of a due proportion and blending of four primary qualities (hot, cold, wet, dry) and of four humours. Not every deviation from the normal humoral proportions results in a disease; like several precursors, Galen adopted the notion of relative health. Health can range from an ideal condition to one just short of disease. This latitude leaves room *inter alia* for the different temperaments or humoral blendings characteristic of different humans in a normal healthy state and for the 40 different normal human constitutions accommodated in Galen's physiopathology. Food, drinks, exercise, rest, bathing, massage, the surrounding air, sleeping, being awake, excretions, and emotions are interactive factors that can be regulated quantitatively and qualitatively by "hygiene" to preserve health in different human types and under different conditions.

3. *Health and human values.* While there was a broad consensus in most epochs that health should be classified among the goods (*agatha*) or among the excellences or "virtues" (*aretai*) of the body, there was less agreement about its value relative to other goods. In popular morality health often is given first place. A drinking song, for example, ranked health first, beauty second, and wealth third (Plato, *Gorgias*, 451e1–452d4). Isocrates' hierarchy was health first, then prosperity, then being honoured as a morally good person; and the comedian Philemon (*c.*368–267 BC) ranked health first, prosperity second, pleasure third, and owing no debts fourth. Among the maxims attributed to Menander is also the transculturally recurring claim that "nothing is better in life than health". It is hardly surprising that Hippocratics agree that health is worth the most to human beings (e.g. *Regimen in Health* [in *Nature of a Human Being*]).

A related but logically different valorization of health is the depiction of health as a necessary condition of all other human goods. In a paean to the goddess Hygieia (Health), Ariphon of Sicyon (5th–4th century BC), for example, sang "without you no one is happy", claiming that Health alone makes possible the joys of wealth, children, political power, and eros. This commonplace is found in a variety of genres, including medical treatises. The Hellenistic physician Herophilus, for example, depicted the actualization of all human goods – those of the soul, of the body, and external ones – as dependent upon health.

Not all Greeks agreed, however, that health should be accorded first place among the goods. Philosophers, in particular, challenged this popular view. Crantor (*c.*340–275 BC) envisioned a Panhellenic theatre in which personifications of four traditional goods vied for first prize in an oratorical contest. The audience awarded first prize to Courage, second to Health, third to Pleasure, and fourth to Wealth. And in Plato's *Republic* (9) Socrates argues that a wise person will not make physical health a chief aim but will rather subordinate the interests of the body to those of the soul; harmony in the body should merely be in the service of harmony in the soul. Similarly, in Plato's *Laws* (1. 631b6–d6) the Athenian stranger ranks four "divine" goods – wisdom, moderation, justice, courage – above four "lesser human" goods, viz. health, physical beauty, physical strength, and prudent wealth. Aristotle, too, proposed a hierarchical distinction between goods or virtues of the soul (which in turn are subdivided into intellectual and moral virtues), goods of the body (health here being valued more highly than strength and beauty), and external goods. The Stoics went further, arguing that health, though preferable, is neither a virtue nor a vice but morally indifferent (*adiaphoron*).

4. *Health and religion.* The remarkable popularity of the cult of Asclepius in all parts of the Greek world did not eclipse the many other divinities associated with health. *Hygieia* ("Health"), for example, appears as an epithet of Athena as early as 500 BC and, slightly later, as the personification of an attribute of Aphrodite, as a divine daughter of Asclepius, and as an independent goddess. Sometimes Health also shared cult sites with Dionysus, Tyche, and other deities. The Greeks' relation to Hygieia and to other gods of health expressed itself in sacrifices and prayers that signalled an expectation not only of health but also of the enjoyment of other physical, mental, and material "goods" (including especially eros and "blameless wealth"). Criticism of the use of religious practices to achieve health was occasionally voiced by philosophers (e.g. Democritus and Diogenes of Sinope), and magicians and charlatans were explicitly denounced by Hippocratics. But many representatives of scientific medicine, including several Hippocratics and Galen, explicitly accepted the therapeutic

role of religion, notably of Asclepius and of prayer, much as some Byzantine writers transmitted scientific theories of health, even while worshipping Christ as Healer and while accepting a Christian body–soul dualism that devalued physical health and privileged Christ as physician of the soul. About paganism in the Roman empire it has been remarked that "the chief business of religion...was to make the sick well" (MacMullen, 1981). Early and Byzantine Christianity likewise recognized the pervasive longing for mental and physical well-being and, by addressing this desire both theologically and practically (e.g. through care of the infirm and "hospitals"), it rendered Christ a victorious successor to Asclepius, even as Byzantine Christians transmitted Galen's science of health.

HEINRICH VON STADEN

See also Anatomy and Physiology, Disease, Healing Cults, Medicine

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Hecataeus of Miletus

Prose writer of the 6th–5th centuries BC

Hecataeus of Miletus, son of Hegesander, the most important of the early Ionian prose writers, was active in the late 6th and early 5th centuries BC. The little that is known of his life is drawn from Herodotus, in whom may repeatedly be detected a tension between unacknowledged exploitation of and polemic against Hecataeus' work. Herodotus introduces Hecataeus in conversation with the priests of Amnon at Thebes (2. 143), an encounter which strongly suggests a symbolic force as the representative of the Ionian enlightenment confronts the custodians of Egypt's ancient wisdom. Hecataeus reappears in a very different context, playing a prominent part in Herodotus' account (5. 36, 124–26) of the planning of the Ionian Revolt (500–494 BC). His prudent opposition, based on geopolitical considerations, suggests a relatively senior figure; he does not forfeit the confidence of the leaders of the liberation movement by his disapproval of their strategy, and his clear-sighted estimate of their chances demonstrates the value of geographical study for those who want to serve their fellow citizens. There is reason to doubt the historicity of Hecataeus' role in both these episodes; the prominence which Herodotus here affords Hecataeus should perhaps be seen primarily as a tribute to one whom he recognized as his intellectual precursor.

Besides improving Anaximander's map of the world, which he envisaged as a flat disc encircled by the river Oceanus, Hecataeus wrote a pioneering work of systematic geography, the *Periegesis* or *Periodos Ges* ("Journey Round the World"), divided into two books, "Europe" and "Asia" (the latter including Africa). The *Periegesis* provides information about the places and peoples to be encountered on a clockwise coastal voyage round the Mediterranean and the Black Sea, starting at the Straits of Gibraltar and ending on the Atlantic coast of Morocco, with diversions to the islands of the Mediterranean and inland to Scythia, Persia, India, Egypt, and Nubia. In addition to the enumeration of peoples and their territorial boundaries, of rivers, mountains, bays, towns and harbours, Hecataeus on occasion notes other items of interest, such as strange customs (e.g. frr. 154, 284, 287) and legendary history (e.g. frr. 76, 129); but if his geographical work could be adequately accommodated in two rolls without further subdivision, he cannot often have gone into much detail. We owe to Hecataeus the familiar description of Egypt as the gift of the Nile (fr. 301; cf. Herodotus, 2. 5. 1, Arrian, *Anabasis*, 5. 6. 5). It is uncertain how far his information was based on his own first-hand observations and inquiries; Miletus, with its extensive colonial network and overseas trade, would have been an ideal environment in which to gather geographical data. We might wonder, too, whether he was indebted to topographical and ethnographical information assembled by the Persian administration. It is difficult to assess how much Herodotus owed to Hecataeus' work, and, though much subsequent

geographical writing probably drew on it, precise debts are hard to identify. Over 300 fragments of the *Periegesis* survive, the two parts of the work being about equally represented; but many are merely citations in Stephanus of Byzantium recording the occurrence of a place name in the *Periegesis*. Callimachus regarded as spurious the text of *Asia* known to him (T 15: Athenaeus 70A, 410E; Arrian, *Anabasis*, 5. 6. 5), presumably the source of citations in later authors; we do not know his reasons, but it is likely enough that a topographical work would be tacitly brought up to date so long as it was felt to have some practical utility, and he may have been troubled by references to places beyond the horizons of a writer active around 500 BC.

We do not know whether Hecataeus' geographical work preceded or followed his mythographic treatise, the *Genealogies* (or *Histories* or *Herologia*). This comprised at least four books, but fewer than 40 fragments survive (and some of those conventionally assigned to the *Genealogies* by reason of their subject matter may belong to foundation legends related in the *Periegesis*). The opening of the *Genealogies* proclaims Hecataeus' intellectual independence, and rather suggests that he was influenced by contact with foreign traditions (fr. 1): "Hecataeus of Miletus speaks thus. I write what seems to me to be true; for the Greeks have many tales which, as it appears to me, are absurd." His subject was the legends of families claiming a divine origin (including, apparently, his own (Herodotus, 2. 143)). It is not clear whether his terminus was the Trojan War, or whether he continued to include material relating to the sons of the Homeric heroes; but it should certainly not be supposed that he regularly attempted to follow genealogical traditions down to his own day. In the *Genealogies* legends of the heroic age are transposed into the sober rationalism appropriate to prose; the methods of Ionian science are applied to the legendary past. As is shown by his treatment of Geryon (fr. 26), who is relocated from the far west to Ambracia, and of Cerberus (fr. 27), identified as a formidable snake, called the hound of Hades because of its lethally poisonous bite, Hecataeus evidently believed that behind the fabulous elaborations of tradition lay historical facts distorted by exaggeration or by literal interpretation of metaphorical expressions. Whether he pioneered this demythologizing approach we cannot tell, but certainly it proved immensely influential; Herodotus' treatment of the foundation of Dodona (2. 54–57) well illustrates its application, and Rudolf Bultmann's work on the New Testament demonstrated that still in the mid-20th century the method retained its attraction not only for journalists but even for serious scholars.

Dissimilar as the subject matter of his works may at first sight appear, both alike serve as intermediaries between Archaic catalogue poetry and the more sophisticated methods of synthesizing information about the *oikoumene* characteristic of the 5th century BC. Here, as with many of the developments associated with Ionian intellectuals, we see the beginning of trends often regarded as characteristic of the sophistic movement. The fragments are too short to give a fair idea of his style; ancient critics regarded it as clear but much less varied and attractive than that of Herodotus.

Heraclitus of Ephesus, the approximate contemporary of Hecataeus, took a severe view of his work, including him with Hesiod, Pythagoras, and Xenophanes in his list of those who showed that much learning did not produce good sense (12B40 Diehls-Krantz).

STEPHANIE WEST

Biography

A native of Miletus, active in the late 6th and early 5th centuries BC, Hecataeus was the most important of the Ionian prose-writers and Herodotus' most significant intellectual precursor. Besides revising Anaximander's map, he wrote a geographical work (*Periegesis*) and a rationalizing mythographic treatise (*Genealogies*), of which only fragments survive.

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Helena, St *c.*AD 255–*c.*330

Mother of the emperor Constantine I

Helena was born of humble stock in Drepanon, Bithynia, probably in the 250s. She was an innkeeper when she met Constantius Chlorus, whose wife (or concubine) she became, and to whom she bore the future Constantine I. When Constantius, as a junior member of the Tetrarchy – Caesar to the Augustus Maximian – married Maximian's stepdaughter, Theodora, Helena was excluded from court, and she did not return there until after Constantius' death. As the mother of the emperor Constantine, Helena's influence rivalled that of Constantine's wife, Fausta. Under her son's influence she embraced Christianity (earlier she may have been Jewish). She became Augusta, together with Fausta, around 325, and may have had a hand in the murder of Fausta, after the execution of her favourite, her grandson Crispus, in 326. In that year she embarked on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, where she discovered several sacred sites, and founded and richly endowed the churches at Bethlehem and on the Mount of Olives in Jerusalem. According to a later legend, it was during this pilgrimage that Helena discovered the True Cross, portions of which were to be found throughout the Mediterranean world, venerated as relics, by the end of the 4th century. Eusebius, in his account of the pilgrimage in his *Life of Constantine*, composed in the late 330s, knew nothing of the discovery of the cross, but in 347 Cyril, bishop of Jerusalem, makes

mention of the "holy wood of the cross". He, however, appears to have known nothing of any connection with Helena. The last of the Church Fathers to be ignorant of the legend of Helena's discovery of the True Cross appears to be John Chrysostom, and the first account of the legend occurs in the panegyric preached by Ambrose, bishop of Milan, at the death of the emperor Theodosius in 395. After her return from the Holy Land, Helena lived, not at her son's court in Constantinople, but in Rome.

Helena's influence is manifest in two ways: in connection with her legendary discovery of the True Cross, and in connection with her son, Constantine. Legends grew up around her discovery of the cross. Already by the time of Ambrose, the legend tells how three crosses and two nails were discovered by Helena. Barely a decade later, around 403, we find more developed accounts in which the True Cross is identified by its miraculous powers, healing a sick lady according to Rufinus in the continuation appended to his translation of Eusebius' *Church History*, and raising from the dead the body of a man, recently deceased, the final form of the legend, according to Paulinus of Nola (*Epistles*, 31). These legends, further amplified into a story that stretched from Adam, by way of Solomon and Constantine, to Herakleios, who recovered the True Cross from the Persians in 629, perhaps had greater currency in the West than in Byzantium, where the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross, celebrated on 14 September, has as much to do with the cross as a symbol of the divine protection of the Christian empire as with the legend of the True Cross itself.

It is in connection with her son, Constantine, that Helena is honoured as a saint; the pair are described as "sovereigns equal to the apostles" (*isapostoloi basileis*) in the *Synaxarion* (short notices on saints to be included in the daily office) for 21 May, the date of their commemoration. As early as the 5th century, the imperial couple Marcian and Pulcheria were hailed as the new Constantine and the new Helena at the Council of Chalcedon in 451; another pair similarly honoured were Constantine VI and his mother and co-regent Irene, at the end of the 8th century. Constantine and Helena are mentioned, somewhat incongruously perhaps, in the marriage service of the Byzantine Church, when their prayers are invoked in the prayer of blessing of the newly married couple.

ANDREW LOUTH

Biography

Born *c.*AD 255 at Drepanon in Bithynia to humble, possibly Jewish, parents, Helena became the wife or mistress of Constantius Chlorus and by him the mother of the future emperor Constantine I. She received the title Augusta *c.*325. In legend she is celebrated for finding the True Cross in Jerusalem. As a saint she is revered in association with her son. She died in Rome in the 330s.

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Heliodorus

Novelist of the 4th century AD

Author of the *Aithiopika* (Ethiopian Story), the last and most sophisticated of the ancient Greek novels, Heliodorus stands at the crossroads of Hellenism. Probably written shortly after AD 350, in the twilight of paganism, the novel itself looks resolutely backwards to Classical Greece, apparently ignoring the existence of both Rome and Christianity. By its scale – ten books – technical flamboyance, and appropriation of the canonical texts of Classical Greek literature, it seems almost deliberately set up as the final authentic masterpiece to round off the Classical tradition. The fact that it was arguably exploited by Julian the Apostate in two of his orations seems to confirm that it shares the emperor's militant nostalgia for the pagan past. And yet, according to our earliest biographical testimony, that of the 5th-century ecclesiastical historian Socrates, Heliodorus went on to become a Christian bishop who enforced strict celibacy on his clergy at Trikka in Thessaly. Whatever the truth of this report, it was instrumental in ensuring the novel's survival in Byzantium and thence its transmission to the Renaissance in western Europe, where Heliodorus was ranked alongside Homer and Virgil as a master of epic narrative. Though it is not quite what modern readers expect a novel to be, it is, within its own terms, a masterpiece. Recent work has explored Heliodorus' innovative narrative technique, which shows rather than tells and conscripts the reader into an active interpretive role, from the enigmatic opening tableau onwards.

Heliodorus locates his novel firmly in the Classical mainstream. Although its plot follows the romantic stereotype of a beautiful young and noble couple (Theagenes and Charicleia) falling in love at first sight and enduring numerous adventures, ordeals, and attempts on their chastity before living happily ever after, the *Ethiopian Story* is both more intricate and less episodic than its predecessors. It presents its familiar story in a radically new way, by beginning in the middle and then filling in the earlier episodes by means of a long retrospective narration by one of the characters, which ends about halfway through the whole. This format is clearly modelled on the *Odyssey*, and indeed Heliodorus has also modified the standard story so that, for one of its protagonists at least, it becomes, like the *Odyssey*, a journey home, culminating in marriage and paternal recognition. Specific episodes, such as a necromancy, also recall the Homeric prototype, while the secondary narrator, an Egyptian priest called Calasiris, begins with a quotation from the *Odyssey* and is a figure of Odyssean cunning and duplicity – characteristics that inform his narrative technique as well as his actions. The novel is also permeated by references and allusions to the Athenian theatre (often in abstruse technical detail), partly as a meta-literary commentary on its own theatricality, partly as a device of characterization to distinguish between the "tragic" protagonists and "comic" secondary characters. Some episodes recall specific tragic models; for example, the subplot of his stepmother's infatuation with the Athenian Cnemon, which he narrates in the first book, rewrites the story of Hippolytus, and the events of the final book, when the protagonists face human sacrifice at the end of the earth and a king proposes to sacrifice his own

daughter for the sake of his community, play on the reader's acquaintance with Euripides' two Iphigeneia plays. For the setting, Heliodorus has ransacked Classical historians and geographers: every detail of his Ethiopia, for example, can be traced to literary sources, occasionally in defiance of known reality.

The heroine of the novel, Charicleia, is an Ethiopian princess, born white to black parents, exposed at birth, and subsequently brought up as a Greek by the priest of Apollo at Delphi. The hero, Theagenes, is a descendant of Achilles and characterized as a true Hellene by his victory at the Pythian games. The couple's adventures lead them through Egypt and an encounter with the corrupt and sensual Persian occupying powers – the story is set in the 6th century BC – to Ethiopia, where the novel ends with their installation as priest and priestess of the Sun and Moon, the Ethiopian national gods. It is difficult not to read this scenario as a coded exploration of the nature of Greek cultural or racial identity and its place in the multicultural world of the Roman empire, especially as Heliodorus, at the end of the novel, reveals himself as non-Greek, a Phoenician from Emesa. Similarly the novel's polemically pagan religious apparatus of divine governance and its basically, but unsystematically, Neoplatonic world view – with an almost abstract pure divinity mediated to humanity by a plurality of lower and often malevolent powers – combined with an untypically ascetic sexual ethic applying equally to male and female, look like a displaced engagement with the issues posed by the rise of Christianity.

If we discount an uncorroborated report by the 14th-century historian Nikephoros Kallistos Xanthopoulos, that the bishop Heliodorus had to renounce his see because he refused to disown his novel, we have no evidence for the reception of the *Ethiopian Story* before the Byzantine period. As early as the 7th century a few of Heliodorus' *sententiae* were included in the *Florilegium* of Maximos the Confessor, and from this and similar anthologies passed into Byzantine paroemiographies. His novel was read and summarized by Photios in the 9th century, discussed from a literary and moral perspective by Psellos in the 11th, and subjected to an allegorizing Christian interpretation by Philippos Philagathos in the 12th. In the same century the basic plot structure of the *Ethiopian Story*, with its beginning *in medias res*, was imitated in the literary Byzantine romances of Theodore Prodromos and Niketas Evgenianos, who also took over details of theme and incident. The *Ethiopian Story* was hugely influential in western Europe after the publication of the *editio princeps* in 1534 and Amyot's French translation in 1547, but much less so in Greece. However, in 1804 Adamantios Korais published a groundbreaking edition with modern Greek commentary, in the introduction to which he claimed the modern novel as a Greek invention.

J.R. MORGAN

See also Novel

Biography

Born at Emesa in Syria and probably writing in the 4th century AD, Heliodorus was the author of the *Ethiopian Story*, last of the surviving ancient Greek novels. According to the 5th-century historian Socrates, he later became a Christian bishop. This has been doubted, but the story no doubt ensured the survival of the text.

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Hellenes

Ethnonym for ancient and modern Greeks

Although the Greek language was already employed by the time of the Linear B tablets of the 13th century BC, the term "Hellenes" is so far unattested for the Mycenaean period. Thucydides (1. 3) notes that in the Homeric poems the Greeks who participate in the expedition to Troy are denoted variously as Argives, Achaeans, and Danaans rather than described collectively as Hellenes – a term which is only applied to the Phthian contingent led by Achilles; on these grounds the historian hypothesizes that the name originally denoted a small tribe in Phthia (southeast Thessaly) before being disseminated more widely to describe all the populations of Greece. Aristotle (*Meteorologica*, 1. 14. 352a), on the other hand, derives the name "Hellenes" from the Selloi who were thought to have lived in the Epirote region of Dodona in northwest Greece, while a fragment of a 6th-century poem, erroneously ascribed in antiquity to Hesiod, describes Dodona as lying within the country of Hellopia.

A strictly empirical analysis of the occurrence of the terms "Hellas" and "Hellenes" in the extant literature of the Archaic period has prompted many scholars to accept the Thucydidean interpretation regarding the diffusion of the name, though with some modifications. In the *Iliad* Hellas is envisioned as adjacent though not identical to Phthia (2. 683; 9. 478) while the Panhellenes seem to have included the Locrians to the immediate south of Phthia (2. 530). The term "Hellenes" is not attested in the *Odyssey*, but on several occasions Hellas is opposed to Argos in contexts which should suggest that the former designated mainland Greece north of the Corinthian isthmus while the latter indicated the Peloponnese (1. 344; 4.

76, 816; 15. 80). Similarly, in Hesiod's *Works and Days* (early 7th century), the terms "Hellas" and "Panhellenes" appear to be limited to central and northern Greece (528, 651–53). It is sometimes assumed that the vehicle of diffusion for the name was the Delphic Amphictiony – a league of (largely) central Greek states and tribal federations charged with the administration of the Delphic sanctuary – though the early historical existence of the Amphictiony and its struggles with the Delphians are controversial.

By the mid-7th century the term "Panhellenes" appears to be applied to all the populations of the Greek mainland and islands: the Parian Archilochus (fr. 97) refers to the Panhellenic colonization of the island of Thasos in which he took part, while a pseudo-Hesiodic fragment (fr. 130) employs the term to describe the various Greek suitors who sought the hands of the daughters of Proetus. In this period it was almost certainly the sanctuary of Olympia and in particular the Olympic games that acted as the focus of Hellenic identity. Herodotus (5. 22. 1–2) describes, in the context of Alexander I of Macedon's attempts to compete in the games in the early 5th century, how the contest was restricted to Hellenes alone and that competitors' qualifications were judged by officials named the Hellanodikai (whose existence is already attested in an early 6th-century inscription). In the mid-6th century the Ionian cities of Chios, Teos, Phocaea, and Clazomenae teamed up with the Dorian cities of Rhodes, Cnidus, Halicarnassus, and Phaselis and with Aeolian Mytilene to found the Hellenion sanctuary at Naucratis (Herodotus, 2. 178. 2).

It would appear that in the Archaic period the Hellenes conceived of their common identity in ethnic terms (that is, in terms of kinship between their constituent subgroups): the 6th-century *Catalogue of Women* (frr. 9, 10a) expressed this affiliation in genealogical form by deriving the descent of Aeolus, Dorus, Ion, and Achaeus (the eponymous ancestors of the Aeolians, Dorians, Ionians, and Achaeans respectively) from the eponymous Hellen. Nevertheless, in the Persian invasion of 480 BC the Greeks of the mainland were confronted for the first time by an external enemy whose language, customs, and religion appeared so desperately alien that it instigated the rhetorical construction of a barbarian "other" in opposition to which the Greeks began to define themselves. A similar polarization seems to have occurred at the same time among the Greek colonies of south Italy and Sicily where confrontation with the Phoenicians of Carthage prompted the colonists to promote their common Hellenic identity above the Dorian, Ionian, or Achaean affiliations to which they had previously subscribed.

Typical in this regard is the definition of Greekness (*Hellenikon*) which Herodotus (8. 144.2) places in the mouth of an Athenian envoy prior to the battle of Plataea (479 BC): the Hellenes are those who share common blood, a common tongue, common sanctuaries and sacrifices, and similar customs. In the early books of his *Histories* Herodotus presents a series of ethnographic excursuses on the Persians, Egyptians, Libyans, and Scythians which serve to highlight the profound cultural differences between Greeks and barbarians and which reflect a growing conceptualization of Hellenic identity in cultural rather than ethnic terms – a definitional shift paralleled also by Sophistic and Hippocratic emphases on environmental rather than biological determinism. Both Herodotus and Thucydides imply that non-Greeks who learned the Greek language and Greek customs could "become" Hellenes and *c.*380 BC the Athenian orator Isocrates proclaimed that the Hellenes were defined by their shared culture rather than their common nature (*Panegyricus*, 50). The word that Isocrates uses for "culture" is *paideusis* (cognate with *paideia*) which denotes a cultural system imparted through education, and throughout the 4th century there is a strong sense that Hellenism is a matter of the correct education – preferably at Athens, which Pericles had already described half a century earlier as "the school of Hellas" (Thucydides, 2. 41. 1). It was this common Hellenic culture that was thought to engender a sense of *homonoia* (unanimity) – a term frequently invoked in the 4th century BC as part of a Panhellenic rhetoric which aimed at uniting the various Greek city states in a common crusade against the Persian empire, purportedly in retribution for the Persian invasions of the early 5th century.

Though contemplated by both King Agesilaus of Sparta and Philip II of Macedon, this Panhellenic crusade was ultimately undertaken by Alexander the Great whose conquests in the East planted Macedonian–Greek garrisons among indigenous populations as well as disseminating elements of Greek culture throughout much of the known world. While it is perhaps inaccurate to say that the East was "Hellenized", regular interactions and intermarriage between Greeks, Macedonians, and indigenes precluded any strict ethnic definition of the term "Hellenes" which was applied more on the basis of common cultural and behavioural traits transmitted through the traditional Greek *paideia*: so, for example, in documents from Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt Hellenes are regularly described as "those associated with the gymnasium".

The Greeks continued to call themselves Hellenes under Roman occupation despite the fact that their conquerors divided them between the provinces of Macedonia, Achaea, and Creta et Cyrene (to say nothing of the Greeks in Asia Minor and the Hellespontine areas) and referred to them as "Graeci" (itself a word of Greek derivation). A sense of a historical Hellenic identity was once again resurrected with the emperor Hadrian's foundation in AD 131/32 of the Panhellenion – a league of cities to which admission was dependent upon the ability to adduce origins from the cities of old Greece – and writers of what is known as the Second Sophistic period reinvoked an archaizing identity predicated on the Classical Hellenic past. In general, however, the term "Hellenes" retained its linguistic and cultural rather than ethnic connotations, with the Atticizing dialect considered the purest form of the Greek language.

With the spread of Christianity "Hellenes" increasingly came to designate pagans – particularly in the writings of the Church Fathers – and continuity with the Hellenic heritage was consciously ruptured through the rejection of naturalistic sculpted representations of the human form, the rectilineal architectural plan of the Hellenic temple, Hellenic philosophy (or at least some elements of it), and most importantly Hellenic religion. The equation between Hellenism and paganism was, if anything, strengthened in the 4th century AD by the apostasy and promotion of "Hellenic liturgy" on the part of the emperor Julian, and even as late as the 12th century AD the Hellenes are described as possessing a wisdom at odds with the real knowledge to be gained through the Christian religion

(Anna Komnene, 2. 34. 12). Most Greeks of the Byzantine period referred to themselves as "Romaioi" (indicating their affiliation to the Christianized eastern Roman empire), though the 12th-century historian Niketas Choniates equated "Romaioi" with "Hellenes" (496. 50) and this double nomenclature became more common during the 13th century in the face of increasing threats from Franks, Venetians, and Turks, as well as with the gradual contraction of the Byzantine empire to include mainly Greek-speaking areas.

The sack of Constantinople in 1453 and the incorporation of Greeks into the Ottoman empire stemmed appeals to a Hellenic legacy. The Greeks were assigned to the *millet-i-Rum* ("Roman Community") – a "sub-nation" constituted on the basis of the profession of Christian Orthodoxy. Both in nomenclature (*Rum* from *Romaioi*) and in the construction of an Orthodox Christian identity which Greeks shared with Albanians, Arabs, Bulgarians, Romanians, Serbs, and Vlachs, the Greeks of the Early Modern period came to regard themselves as the dispossessed inheritors of the Christian Byzantine Romaioi. Furthermore, Ottoman rule effectively insulated the Greeks from the intellectual tide of the European Renaissance in which a new interest in the Classical "Hellenic" past of Greece was rekindled (although the contribution to western interest in Classical Greece on the part of 15th-century Greek dissidents known as the "Neo-hellenes" should not be underestimated). Towards the end of the 18th century – largely as a result of the emergence of a mobile, mercantile elite – Greeks came increasingly into contact with European romantic scholars who regarded Classical Hellas as the font of Western culture; the result was the birth of a new national consciousness based on the Hellenic legacy. In 1827 Count Ioannis Kapodistria was elected the first president of Greece by the assembly at Troezen and established a 27-member assembly named the Panhellenion (after the Hadrianic organization), while in 1863, a year after the deposition of Otho (the first king of independent Greece), the Danish prince Christian William Ferdinand Adolphus George assumed the title of "George, King of the Hellenes". The titular use of the ethnic (Hellenes) rather than a territorial designation (Hellas) reflected the central aspiration of the Great Idea (*megali idea*) which sought to unite all the Hellenes of the former Byzantine empire into one state centred on Constantinople, but after the Asia Minor catastrophe of 1922 and the subsequent exchanges of population between Greece and Turkey, the term "Hellenes" has generally been used to designate the nationals of the modern state of Greece (Ellas).

JONATHAN M. HALL

See also Great Idea, Identity

Summary

According to Herodotus, Hellenes shared common blood, a common language, common sanctuaries and sacrifices, and similar customs. For Isocrates they were defined by their shared culture (*paideusis*) rather than common nature. In the Roman period Greeks still called themselves Hellenes, but Christianity equated Hellenes with pagans, and Byzantine Greeks called themselves Romans. Not until 1863 did a Greek monarch describe himself as "King of the Hellenes".

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Hellenism and Neohellenism in the Greek tradition

The terms "Hellenism" and "Neohellenism" are first and foremost used to designate specific periods of history. By this definition, "Hellenism" is the designator for the pre-Christian civilization and culture of the Hellenes; "Neohellenism" that for the civilization and culture of the Hellenes of the Early Modern and Modern periods. Such definitions, however, both beg the question and are extremely insubstantial. For what, then, are the "Hellenes"? Are they defined by a shared language, a shared culture, a shared religion, or a shared geographic territory? Which of these unifying factors is to be considered dominant is a topic that has long been debated by historians, by non-Greek observers, and by the so-called Hellenes themselves. Clearly, there are Greeks to be found far beyond the geographic confines of the modern Greek state; there are Greeks who do not speak Greek; there are Greeks who are not Orthodox Christians. Conversely, there are Greek-speakers who do not consider themselves Hellenes, just as there are official citizens of Greece who define themselves as members of other nations. Thus it is that a central component of both Hellenism and Neohellenism has been the attempt to define the parameters of the "Hellenic" people.

In addition to the controversy and debate surrounding even these most basic definitions of "Hellenism" and "Neohellenism", there is the confusion arising from the fact that these terms refer also to intellectual movements, schools of historical interpretation, and genres of political rhetoric. Finally, the connection between the two terms is similarly controversial. The clear etymological implication is that "Neohellenism" is simply that – that is, "new" Hellenism. But

whether or not the chronological connection between Hellenism and its modern counterpart is best understood as one of continuity or one of the resurrection, rediscovery, and recreation in the Early Modern and Modern periods of an ancient cultural artefact is hotly debated. And again, this debate is one that concerns not just academics but the Greeks themselves.

Let us first begin with an examination of the most basic definition of the "Hellenic" and "Neohellenic" periods. Roughly speaking, "Hellenism" relates to the pre-Byzantine Greek past, particularly the Classical period, while "Neohellenism" refers to the post-Byzantine period of revived interest in the Hellenic Classical heritage. The Byzantine period, then, is thus regarded in some peculiar way as marking a rupture or discontinuity in the Hellenic tradition. The reasons for this are complex and numerous, but one stands out most clearly: Christianity, whose alliance and blending with Hellenic cultural traditions is the very hallmark of the Byzantine period, was explicit in its rejection of many of the central defining features of Classical Hellenism. First and foremost, Byzantine Christianity regarded Hellenism as a tradition of paganism, barbarism, and heresy. Byzantine Christianity, in short, regarded itself as everything that Hellenism was not. Hellenism was polytheistic; Christianity was the purest form of monotheism. Hellenism condoned and fostered barbaric social customs while Christianity was their enemy. And Hellenism was based on fundamentally heretical philosophical premises, while Christianity understood itself to be the only legitimate philosophical system.

Christianity's hostility towards Hellenism was, during the Byzantine period, explicit and intense. Many of the most famous political, ideological, and religious debates of the Byzantine period found their origins in the conflicting world views of Hellenism and Byzantinism. Church attacks on so-called heresy were in most instances attempts on the part of the Church to do away with the cultural and intellectual remnants of the Classical period.

The official Byzantine hostility to the Classical past, however, was not all-embracing. In fact, in some important regards, the Byzantine Church and political establishments fostered the preservation of the Hellenic cultural heritage. This was most markedly the case with literature of a certain genre – while the religious component of many Classical texts was found to be offensive, others (along with "sanitized" versions of mythological works) came to be regarded as the core curriculum for members of the Byzantine intelligentsia. Part and parcel of this educational curriculum was a reverence for the Classical language, knowledge of which by the 10th century was regarded as essential for advancement through the Byzantine political hierarchy.

The Classical education on which such advancement centred can, in its carefully chosen content, be regarded as a perfect example of Byzantium's ambivalent attitude towards the Classical past. On the one hand, the Classical literary record was revered for the precision, clarity, and complexity of its language, as well as for the well-developed rhetorical tradition that made up a large portion of its contents. On the other, however, the ideologies that this rhetorical and linguistic perfection were used to propagate were viewed as dangerous and heretical religious abominations. The Byzantine love of the Classics, then, should not in any way be misunderstood as being tantamount to a cultural – let alone anthropological – interest in the ancient inhabitants of the Hellenic world. The ancient Hellenes may have been the transmitters of an important linguistic legacy, but they were in all other respects regarded as impure and pagan barbarians. Not until the post-Byzantine period of Turkish rule (or Tourkokratia) did the interest in Classical Greek language and rhetoric expand to include a fascination with the peoples who had first deployed it.

"Neohellenism", then, must inevitably be understood in turn not simply as a benign resurrection of interest in the Hellenic Classical past, but also to some extent as an explicit rejection of many of the most dearly held ideals of Byzantinism. Thus "Neohellenism" is not simply a term used to designate a particular period in Hellenic history, but also indicates a certain polemical stance, an attitude of pro-Classicism, at the expense of Christian Byzantium.

Neohellenism, first, is a term used to designate the Early Modern and Modern phenomenon of revived interest – both "indigenous" and foreign – in the Hellenic Classical past, particularly in contradistinction to the relative Byzantine hostility towards the Classical period. Just when this revived interest began is difficult to pinpoint with any degree of accuracy. Indeed, there are those who would argue that it is misguided to speak of Neohellenism as marking a period of "revived" interest, claiming instead that there has been a continuity of interest in the Classical period throughout all periods of Hellenic history, and thus that the Byzantine period does not in fact mark a point of rupture. While there is some validity in this stance, it is important to note that at the very least the interest in the Classical period characteristic of Byzantinism was a very specific and qualified interest; Neohellenism is best understood as a period of more unqualified and positive regard for Classical Greece. In this latter regard we can safely say that the Neohellenism of the late Turkish period marks a distinctive intellectual trend, a marked departure from the dominant cultural attitudes towards the Classical period that were regnant until the 17th and 18th centuries.

Some historians date the earliest rise of Neohellenism to the final centuries of Byzantium, although the Byzantine interest in the Classical past is perhaps best grouped instead under the designator "Hellenism", so as to distinguish it from Neohellenism, which in its most distinct form is properly dated to the 18th century. The rise of Byzantine Hellenism is attributable to a number of political and cultural factors. The most dominant feature of this period was the unavoidable fact of Byzantine decline – by the early 15th century the city of Constantinople stood isolated, an island of Byzantinism in a vast sea of Ottoman territory. Under such circumstances, visions of Greek geographical, religious, and political dominance were difficult to maintain. In their stead, many scholars began instead to focus on a notion of cultural dominance, a form of dominance linked to linguistic, intellectual, and historical superiority. Quite understandably, faced with a bleak historical present, intellectuals came increasingly to focus on an idealized vision of the Greek past, and gave greater attention to memories not just of Byzantine splendour, but to the cultural forms that had preceded Byzantium.

The dominant thinker in this new attitude towards the past was George Gemistos Plethon, who on the eve of the fall of

Constantinople to the Turks in 1453 argued for the foundation of a new "Hellenic" state, to be situated on the Peloponnesian peninsula and guided by a secularized set of Neoplatonic philosophical principles. This proposal was remarkable on a number of counts. Plethon's suggestion was at heart an anti-ecclesiastical one, proposing as it did that the traditional backbone of society – the Byzantine Church – lacked the philosophical sophistication effectively to shape and rule the polity. Moreover, Plethon's argument that the Peloponnese, rather than the Christian city of Constantinople, should make up the core of the new state, was further indication of his belief that the intellectual and political scope of the Classical period far outstripped that of Byzantium. Just as, symbolically speaking, Constantinople was inextricably linked to Greekness in its Christian form, so too was the Morea (the Peloponnese) connotative of the Hellenic Classical past. Finally, and of greatest symbolic importance, was the fact that Plethon, in his discussion of the new state, was the first to make proud use of the collective designator, "Hellenes", to describe the cultural group of which he considered himself a member.

Hitherto, this term had been regarded as an insult, a designator best eschewed because of its implications of ignorance, barbarism, and heresy. For Plethon (and his fellow *Hellenizontes*) to use it instead as the proud signifier for a group of people whom he regarded as unified not by the Christian tradition but rather by culture, language, and history, was a radical departure from the dominant rhetoric of Byzantium.

Plethon's call for the resurrection of a distinctively "Hellenic" nation was both radical and short-lived. For with the final, official death of Byzantium in 1453, this new intellectual fascination with the pre-Byzantine Classical past was dealt a major blow. Not until some four centuries had passed would Greeks again use such explicitly pro-Classicist rhetoric to frame their self-understanding. It is with this later revival of interest in the Greek people's Classical origins that the term "Neohellenism" is now most commonly associated. It is important to note, however, that it had important predecessors as early as the 15th century.

Just as Plethon's early version of Neohellenism (that is, Hellenism as an intellectual movement) was at heart a response to a state of political and cultural crisis, so too were later 18th- and 19th-century Neohellenist movements. In the case of these latter, however, the impetus was not Byzantine degeneration, but rather the perceived decline of the Ottoman state, which by the close of the 16th century had already passed the zenith of its political, cultural, and economic development.

By the 18th century the imminent demise of the Ottoman empire was widely regarded as an inevitability; the only uncertainly was when the Ottomans might meet their final end. In the face of the impending possibility of liberation from Ottoman rule, Greek intellectuals and revolutionaries became increasingly interested in the question of what form a newly liberated Greek nation might take. The two dominant paradigms were both drawn from the past: some argued that Byzantium should provide the model for modern-day Greek political reconstruction, while others felt that the Greeks should reach still further back into the past, and use a reinterpreted version of the forms and ideals of Periclean Athens as the basis for a new Greek state.

The former was the dominant position within Greece itself, and found strong representation among the general populace, whose experience of "Greekness" during Tourkokratia had been most strongly mediated and propagated by the Greek Orthodox Church. For such Greeks, Orthodoxy and Greekness were inextricably linked: their "national" holidays were one and the same with religious ones; almost without exception, Greeks took their names from those of Orthodox saints; even such distinctive cultural forms as cuisine traced much of their origins to the religious establishment. The latter position, however – that the Greeks should look to the Classical, rather than Byzantine, past in their efforts at national regeneration – came to play the more decisive role in the actual process of Greek liberation from Ottoman rule.

The relationship between this attitude towards the Classical past and the emergence of the modern Greek state was forged in the context of a movement that has been termed the "Neohellenic Enlightenment". This movement, dominant during the Greek revolutionary period (dating roughly from the early 1770s to the mid-1830s), is best understood as a syncretism of, on the one hand, Greek revolutionary aspirations generated from within the territories of the Ottoman empire, and, on the other, the ideals of the western secular intellectual elite. (It is important to note, however, that there was from the start significant overlap between these two categories, for wealthy Ottoman Greeks had for centuries travelled to the universities of Europe to pursue their education, and by the time of the Greek War of Independence there were significant mercantile and intellectual Greek diaspora communities throughout Europe.)

The western intellectual establishment's infatuation with Classical Greece dated at least from the time of the Renaissance, and had by the late 18th century become so widespread that many European intellectuals felt that it was their moral obligation to assist the Greeks in their bid for independence from the Ottomans. At stake, such intellectuals believed, was nothing less than the liberation of the very foundations of Europe's own intellectual, cultural, and political traditions. Thus a heavily political component was injected into the Greek intellectual environment: Greek interest in the Classical past would win a greater chance of European philhellenic support than would an emphasis on the Byzantine past. In the context of plans for armed insurrection – an insurrection that could only hope to succeed with European intervention – the debate between the pro-Classicists and the pro-Byzantinists was no longer merely an academic matter. Political concerns came increasingly to affect the terms and tenor of the debate.

The Neohellenic Enlightement, with its emphasis on the Classical Greek heritage, had as one of its articles of faith that there was a clear genetic and cultural continuity between the modern Greeks and the Hellenes of the Classical period. By this view, the Turkish and Byzantine periods were to some extent responsible for the "contamination" of the Hellenic race, such that many Hellenes were no longer able to recognize themselves as such. Such revolutionary tracts as the *Hellenike Nomarchia* were explicit in their criticism of the Orthodox Church, an institution that many Greeks regarded as the preserver of Greek cultural identity during Tourkokratia. The Neohellenic programme thus had as one of its central components to "teach" Greeks of their true, Classical origins, and to

instil in them a sense of unity, a group identity based on the belief in a cultural continuity stretching back thousands of years. Those familiar with the broad contours of the world-wide nationalist movements of the 18th, 19th, and 20th centuries will recognize that such educative ventures stand at the heart of virtually all of them.

The tension between the pro-Classicist and pro-Byzantinist camps was not resolved with the successful conclusion of the Greek War of Independence. Indeed, there remains to this day in Greece a hybrid nationalist self-definitional stance, one that simultaneously embraces the Byzantine and Classical periods as the twin bases for modern Greek society. While this cohabitation is for the most part harmonious, there has nevertheless been ongoing jockeying to rectify the often paradoxical implications of this bipartite stance. One clear example of this tension can be seen in the language debates of the 19th and 20th centuries, when intellectuals, politicians, and Church representatives argued over whether the pro-Classicist katharevousa or the common demotic form of Greek was to be the official language of the new Greek state. The most prominent politicians and intellectuals of the modern period (Vernardakes, Palamas, Dragoumis, Venizelos – to name but a few) have all grappled with the question of the Greek past and its proper role in the formulation of the modern nation-state.

Because of the myriad connotations of the terminology involved, this discussion of Hellenism and Neohellenism in the Greek tradition is perhaps best concluded on a theoretical note. Clearly, both Hellenism and Neohellenism, as intellectual movements that bore obvious political and otherwise polemical implications, were concerned not simply with "rediscovering" the past, but in "recreating" it, in re-visioning it. That is to say, the "past" was not simply a distant and dead artefact, but something to be constructed and created in the present. The central issue here was not "authenticity" (as if such a thing could ever be successfully arrived at), but rather "usefulness", or social functionality. Students of both the Hellenic and Neohellenic revivals must be aware that the imagined past with which pro-Classicists were concerned was informed as much by their own contemporary circumstances as by the actual "facts" of the Classical past. Even in Plethon's time, the Periclean age of Athens was a good long way in the past, and even the abundant Classical texts still available in the 15th century could provide only the basis for the roughest similacrum of the Classical era.

Hellenism and Neohellenism were intellectual and social movements inspired not just by the past, but by present circumstances as well. They sought to respond to present needs – in the case of the former, the decline of Byzantium; in that of the latter, the formation of the modern Greek state. The richness and subtlety of these movements are based precisely on this fascinating interaction between past and present, and they are rightly understood in this palimpsestic light, which uses thousands of years of Hellenic history as a lens through which to interpret a changing present.

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Hellenism as viewed by visiting artists

Travellers to Greece have in many different regards played a central role in the development and propagation of notions of Hellenism, both within Greece and, especially, in the western European cultural imagination. Many of these travellers have traditionally been artists of various sorts – poets, novelists, painters, and musicians alike have found inspiration in Greece. Even those artists who did not themselves visit the Greek lands used them freely as the backdrop for their work. Underlying this artistic fascination with Greece was a complex set of intellectual and ideological assumptions.

This symbiosis between western artistry and Greece is predicated on what some scholars have termed the "Hellenic Ideal" – that is, as David Constantine (1984) has put it (p. 6), "the admiration of, the longing for those values which the eighteenth century sited in Ancient Greece". Western European travellers have for more than half a millennium been drawn to Greece in the belief that it was a sort of living museum, in which visitors could see nothing less than the living artefacts of Classical Hellenism. It is important, then, to note that travel to Greece was not merely a matter of geography, but also of chronology. Those Europeans who visited Greece were not merely moving eastward through space, but they also felt as if they were in some way moving backward in time. The students who viewed a visit to Greece as an essential part of their educational curriculum were not primarily interested in modern Greece, or even in its Byzantine predecessor. Rather, they regarded travel to Greece as a sort of anachronistic interactive exhibit in which they could find nothing less than the ongoing vestiges of Periclean speech, religion, and philosophy. Thus the so-called Hellenic ideal was intimately connected to Neohellenism's claim of Hellenic continuity, the belief that

there was a direct racial and cultural link between the modern Hellenes and their Classical predecessors. So it is that, while artists did not in number start to visit the Greek lands until well after the Renaissance, they almost all focused in their work not on the contemporary Greek physical and cultural landscape, but rather on the image of Classical Greece. Painters depicted noble, decaying columns and broken statues; poets and novelists alluded to the heroes of Classical mythological tradition; and travel writers patterned their itineraries on the travels of Odysseus, Theseus, and other epic protagonists.

The French and particularly British fascination with Hellenic culture had a long and revered history. This specific, cultural interest in Greece was intimately linked to the Renaissance belief that the Classical civilizations of Rome and, later, Greece in some way provided the foundations – political, aesthetic, and philosophical – of western Europe itself. Indeed, this belief ultimately became so entrenched an ideology in Europe that by the end of the 17th century large numbers of travellers journeyed to Greece for no other reason than the educative benefits that such a trip was thought to offer.

Whereas initially the standard educational trip had Italy as its easternmost destination, by the close of the 18th century Greece came to supplant Italy as the most popular destination of the gentleman traveller. This increased interest in the Classical civilization of Greece was linked both to political concerns (the Napoleonic Wars of 1792–1815, for instance, made travel in France and Italy an impossibility) and to the developing sense that Italian culture was a mere shadow image, a cheap imitation, of the real thing – Greece. As Gustave Flaubert wrote after his first visit to Greece: "The Parthenon spoiled Roman art for me: it seems lumpish and trivial in comparison. Greece is so beautiful."

This belief that travel to Greece had a large educative component both fostered, and was fostered by, philhellenism. On the one hand, the belief in the edifying power of travel propelled students eastward in the quest to see the lands that had given rise to many of their central "canonical texts". On the other hand, travel itself was understood to be a central feature of the lives of the ancient Hellenes whom these scholars studied. Classical tradition glorified travel, and the Hellenes themselves had preserved in their literary record the stories of mythic travellers and the importance of travel for their maturation and education. As Olga Augustinos, a leading scholar of philhellenism and the history of European travel in Greece, writes (p. 57): "[The Philhellene travellers'] greatest heroes, Theseus and Jason among others, as well as their most original thinkers, used the voyage to accomplish their tasks." In undertaking travel to Greece, western travellers were thus engaged in an imitative act. And in most instances, this imitation was both self-conscious and quite literal. Travellers attempted to retrace the steps of Odysseus, locate the mooring place of Theseus' ship on Naxos, find the labyrinth where he had slain the Minotaur. Just as the ancient Hellenes were revered as adventurers and voyagers, such that modern travellers who visited Greece understood themselves to be performing an imitative act that linked them directly to the Classical past, so too was artistic production regarded as an imitative act, an attempt to share in the artistic perfection of the ancient Greeks.

During the course of the 18th century, the visual arts became one of the most important transmitters and propagators of such notions as the Hellenic ideal and the Neohellenic belief in Hellenic continuity. Leading members of the Parisian Academy of Painting and Sculpture argued that the Greeks had, as one French artist put it, "perfect[ed] the Arts, whose object is to please by imitating nature". Thus fledgeling artists were to perfect their craft by making Classical works of art – sculptures, monuments, and architecture – the subject of their own work. Initially, travel to Greece was not considered a prerequisite for such work – artists who stayed at home could rely on the accounts and sketches of others (not to mention the growing numbers of artefacts physically removed from Greece and carried back to Europe) as the basis for their own creations. In the middle of the 18th century, however, influential artists began to go to Greece itself to find material from which to work.

Two European artists in particular found great prominence as a result of the pictures they published following their travels. These were Julien David Leroy and the comte de Choiseul-Gouffier. Leroy travelled to Athens in 1755, with the sole aim of drawing its monuments from an eyewitness perspective. The result was his *Ruins of the Most Beautiful Monuments of Greece*, published in 1758. Choiseul-Gouffier also travelled to Greece, spending a good deal of his time there drawing what he viewed as the living legacy of Classical Greece. In 1782 he published the first of the two-volume *Voyage Pittoresque de la Grèce* (Picturesque Voyage of Greece), which met with instant and immense critical acclaim, wide circulation, and translation into German. Choiseul-Gouffier's was but the most popular of a whole slew of works concerned with the artistic depiction of the Hellenic world. While many of these works, such as those of Leroy and Choiseul-Gouffier, were produced by professional artists, many other books included pictures of Greece drawn by amateurs who jotted down illustrations to accompany their journalistic travelogues.

In their obsessive interest in Greece, these artists were involved in the propagation not just of an ancient aesthetic tradition – a tradition that in their view had reached its consummate expression under the ancient Hellenes – but also in the creation of a new one. Whereas many of the Early Modern and Modern travellers who visited Greece believed that the monuments and historic sites that they saw there were nothing less than the pristine, preserved remnants of noble Hellas, the reality was of course quite different. The images produced by these travellers presented Greece as a land of eerie whiteness, lifelessness, and decay, a landscape littered with colourless statues and columns, the site of beautiful monuments and buildings, but a land apparently bereft of any contemporary vitality and life. Although Leroy, who had as one of his primary interests the interaction between the old and the new, was an exception, many artists clothed what few human figures their images included in the apparel of the Classical past and excised any other markers of modernity from their images.

The unspoken – and largely unconscious – premise on which such modes of representation rested was that the modern, contemporary Greeks, unlike their ancient forebears, were unworthy of careful consideration. The written accounts of the many Europeans who arrived on Greece's shores eager

to see the living legacy of the Classical past testify to the disappointment that these travellers felt on confronting real, living Greeks. Many chroniclers relate their horror at the degenerate appearance, boorish behaviour, and colloquial language of the Greeks they encountered while on their travels. But rather than readjust their image of Hellas and the Hellenes so as to accommodate the obvious changes wrought by thousands of years of history, many simply filtered out whatever they found disconsonant with their idealized vision of what proper Greekness was.

In large part because of such artistic interpretations of Greece, the modern Greeks have, to the present day, been both blessed and burdened by the legacy of the past. On the one hand, the past made Greece a unique destination, and granted the modern Greeks a privileged position as the direct descendants and inheritors of Classical Greek tradition. On the other hand, however, the contemporary Greeks were cursed by the fact that, to the critical European eye, they did not measure up to what was expected of the Hellenes. Indeed, to measure up to such expectations was, by definition, an impossibility, for the contemporary Greeks were being compared not to a reality, but to an imagined ideal. Many European travellers were so certain that they understood Hellenism and the Hellenes better than the Greeks themselves that they did not hesitate to criticize them for their "incorrect" speech and for what the Europeans viewed as their contaminated, ethnically diluted, physical characteristics. Many of the European artists who visited Greece during the 17th, 18th, and 19th centuries were so invested in their imagined version of the Hellenes, and in the belief that by travelling to Greece they were gaining direct, immediate access to the Classical past, that rather than acknowledge the discrepancy between their imagined version of Greece and the reality with which they were confronted they simply blocked the reality out. Thus it is that travelogues of the period are littered with references to Pausanias, Pindar, Hesiod, and Homer, with descriptions of ancient sites and artefacts, but are often relatively bereft of descriptions of the people and contemporary towns with which their authors came in contact.

"Hellenism" was thus both the quest and the construct of the numerous visiting Europeans who viewed Greece as uniquely equipped to inspire artistry. By way of conclusion, it should be noted that it is *their* version of Greece that has managed to persist in the western European cultural imagination right down to the present day. One need only look at the latest glossy travel brochures advertising "Ancient Greece" to realize that the predominant vision of Greece is, to this day, one of solitary slender marble pillars, silent statues, and dramatic, empty landscapes.

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See also Tourism, Travel

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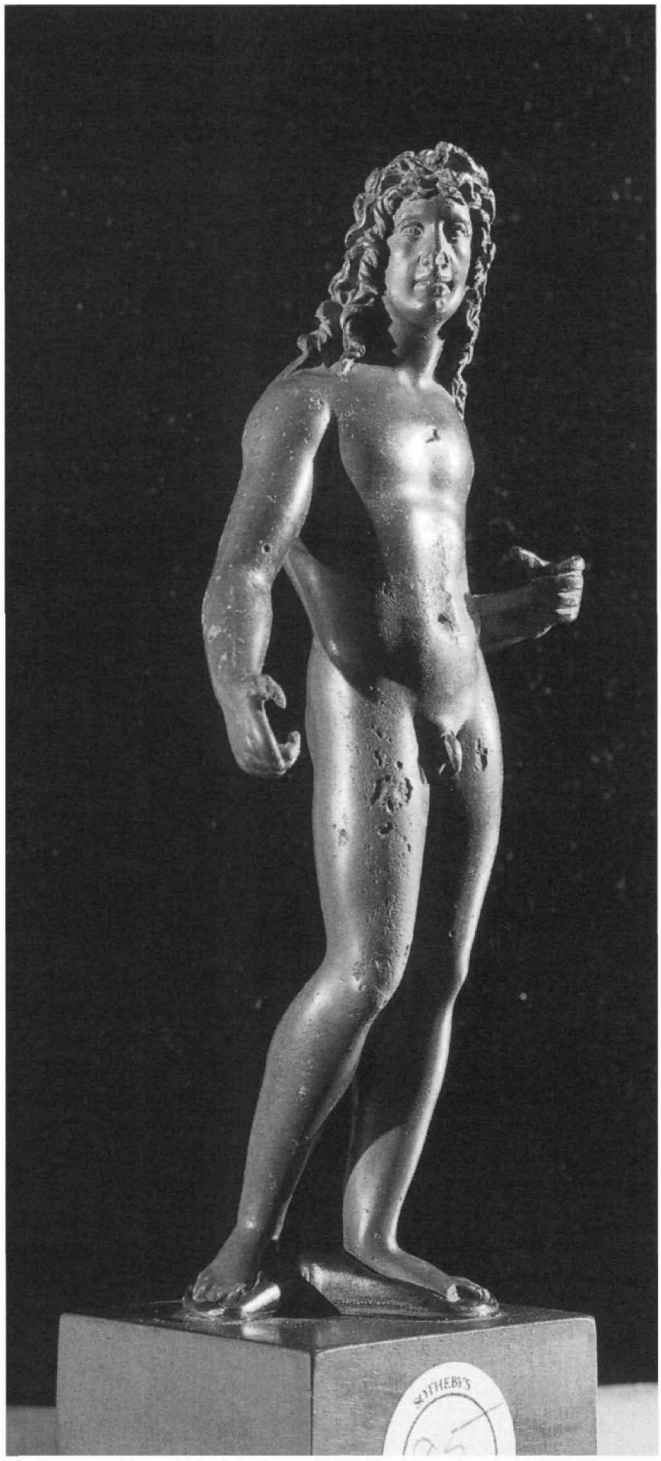
Hellenistic Period 323–31 BC

The Hellenistic age begins with Alexander the Great's conquest of the Persian empire and its incorporation into his vast, Macedonian-controlled state. It ends in more piecemeal fashion with the Roman conquest, one by one, of the various regions, now separate kingdoms, into which his empire had divided after his death, ending with the defeat of Cleopatra VII at the battle of Actium in 31 BC, and her suicide in her palace at Alexandria the following year. Its beginning is marked by a massive change in the fortunes and status of the Greek communities. The end is less marked, since in many ways the Roman empire developed out of the Hellenistic world, and in its system of administration was much influenced by it. There were, however, changes in geographical extent. Only the most powerful of kings could hold intact an empire as vast as Alexander's, and on his premature death in 323 BC, leaving only a halfwit and an unborn infant as his legitimate heirs, the empire had disintegrated into separate kingdoms, each controlled by a new dynasty descended from the Macedonian warlord who had originally seized control of it. It took a Roman emperor to reunite it, and by that time much, in Mesopotamia and further east, had been lost to the Hellenistic world.

Thus the Hellenistic world was never a political unity, though all its constituent parts, and their various rulers, looked back to Alexander as the ultimate source of their existence. Behind this there were often considerable local variations, since it included regions with non-Greek forms of civilization much older than that of the Greek world itself. At the same time, the conversion of all this into Hellenistic shape (the term itself is a 19th-century invention, but accepts the fact of the extension into this wider area of a culture that was essentially Hellenic in origin, in a world that thus became Hellenized) was not merely a matter of military conquest. The defeat of the Persian invader by the Greeks in 480/79 BC, long before the counter-crusade promoted by Philip II and executed by Alexander, had given the Greeks – with their political systems that valued independence, and above all with the military skills of their citizen foot soldier that resulted from this – a prestige that was acknowledged by their non-Greek neighbours, and already used by them for their own purposes.



Hellenistic Period: bronze statue of Mithridates VI Eupator, king of Pontus, who mounted a serious challenge to Rome in the 1st century BC, Sotheby's New York

Thus Hellenization was also a state of mind created within the non-Greek. It can be seen clearly at Phoenician Sidon, where the kings (previously influenced by Egyptian customs and form) took over the manners of the Greeks and even, in the case of Strato, Hellenized their names. Greekness was attractive in its own right, not merely through virtue of Macedonian military success, and despite the fact that many so-called Macedonians in the armies of the Hellenistic kings, following a policy of necessity already instituted by Alexander himself, were not true Macedonians by origin.

As a period, the Hellenistic age has been looked down on as an inferior descendant of its Classical predecessor. Much of the intellectual and artistic excitement seems to have gone. In the Classical tradition of western European education, based on the study of the great authors of the 5th and 4th centuries BC or earlier, the writings of the Hellenistic authors were regarded as markedly inferior in style and content alike. They were neglected, particularly in the late Roman and Byzantine schools, which were more concerned with what seemed to be the purer forms of the earlier texts. Much Hellenistic poetry, and the bulk of the work of the greatest Hellenistic historian, Polybius, was lost when the manuscripts ceased to be copied in this period. In many ways, judging from what has survived, this is understandable.

Thus the Hellenistic age has suffered from a degree of neglect. Yet it is of crucial importance, a vital link in the continuity of the Greek tradition. If it had not existed, or the continuity had been broken, our understanding and appreciation of Greek civilization would have been weakened irrevocably. The Hellenistic states took the Greek tradition, modified it, and moulded it in many ways to suit the different circumstances of what was still, reckoned in terms of the vast majority of its inhabitants, a non-Greek world, and then handed it on to their equally non-Greek but equally infatuated successors, the Romans. The Greek world transmitted through the Roman empire, it must always be remembered, was the Hellenistic world, not that of the Classical city states.

The achievements of the Hellenistic world are found in different subjects; they often depend on local or regional rather than universal circumstances. Foremost is the Museum – that is, the sanctuary of the Muses – at Alexandria, and its library. This was essentially the creation of royal patronage by the Ptolemies, the dynasty that seized Egypt as a largely self-contained area suitable for an independent kingdom in the struggles of Alexander's successors. Alexandria, which was officially "next to" rather than "in" Egypt, emphasizing its non-native character in an essentially alien land, became the capital, a substantial part of its area designated as royal, containing, in addition to the actual palace residence of the kings, the tombs of Alexander himself and the Ptolemies, as well as shrines and sanctuaries including the Museum. In addition to the actual cult of the Muses, the Museum provided a residence and place of study for scholars who were deliberately attracted to the city and paid a salary from royal resources. This royal patronage of the arts and learning, though it echoes that of the age of the tyrants, is very different from the system that prevailed in the Greek city states. The direct antecedent for it is rather Macedon under Archelaus, and later Philip II and Alexander. The intellectuals brought to Alexandria included poets, such as Callimachus and Theocritus, who often had other functions, as tutor to the royal children, or librarian. Though Alexandria was originally intended as a city for those people of Greek origin who had already settled in Egypt when it was conquered by Alexander, it expanded rapidly through an influx of new settlers from the Greek world and elsewhere, particularly in the time of Ptolemy II. It is noticeable that the intellectuals of the Museum, when we can trace their origins,

invariably came from other parts of the Greek world (Callimachus from Cyrene, Theocritus from Syracuse).

Most members of the Museum were scholars rather than creative artists, and though Alexandria is only one particular and untypical part of the Hellenistic world, it is this aspect that sets a pattern for Hellenistic achievement. The library was not merely a great storehouse of all known Greek literary texts – which the early Ptolemies collected avidly, buying up, for example, the official copies of the texts of Athenian drama, part of that city's state archive – it was also a place where the texts were studied, where necessary codified, and copies manufactured, using the readily available Egyptian papyrus. It was at Alexandria that the definitive text of Homer was established, the two great poems divided into 24 "books", and handed on to posterity. It is through Alexandria that the Classical and earlier texts survived. The commentaries and annotations on them, though generally Byzantine in their surviving form, incorporate and continue the work of Alexandrian scholars.

Even so, the area of greatest strength was in the sciences. The Macedonian kings had a personal interest, and often involvement, in practical engineering, specifically for military purposes, and this continued to be developed in the Hellenistic age, not merely at Alexandria. In other sciences, including astronomy, mathematics, and medicine, scholars based in Alexandria continued work on subjects whose study had originated elsewhere; what was different now was the far greater opportunities available. When Eratosthenes, the polymath from Cyrene, wanted to calculate the size of the earth, he was able to do so – it appears, accurately – by measuring the different angle of shadow cast by the midday sun at Alexandria during the equinox, compared with the overhead sun at Syene (Aswan) which was virtually on the tropic. The distance between the two places was known, and both were of course situated within the kingdom of the Ptolemies. Medicine, too, was briefly in an outstandingly favourable position. Careful (that is, scientific) observation of symptoms, cures, and the progress of diseases had certainly been established by the 5th century BC, by Hippocrates of Cos, and the medical school founded on that island at that time continued to flourish. Doctors trained there and elsewhere were attracted to Alexandria, and one of them, Herophilus, made startling advances in the understanding of the nervous system and optics in particular. The advantage he had was that Ptolemy made available to him the corpses of executed criminals for dissection and even, it is plausibly believed, live criminals for vivisection, forms of research that were unthinkable under the ethics of traditional Greece. Mathematics continued to be hampered by the lack of a simple numerical system; or rather, it transcended this by complex work in geometry, particularly the study of conic sections by Apollonius of Perge, who in his turn had been attracted to Alexandria.

Much of this achievement is difficult to evaluate. Very often the treatises written by these scientists have been lost. Some (particularly, it seems, in medicine) were superseded by later treatises written by those who continued the work in Roman times. Others, particularly where no further advances were made, ceased to be studied and so copied in later times; the Greek was difficult to understand, did not have any literary value, and was of little interest at Constantinople. Yet some of the most important works certainly survived at Alexandria into medieval times, and, if not copied, were translated into Arabic. Thus the Hellenistic tradition continued, not at Constantinople but at Baghdad. It is important to remember this as an instance of the continued survival of the Hellenic tradition in an area that lies outside the world of European civilization.

Alexandria was not the only place where scholars worked. Athens was associated rather with the continuing schools of philosophy, the Academy of Plato and the Lyceum of Aristotle and their successors. This made Athens, rather than Alexandria, the goal of other philosophers, such as the Phoenician Zeno of Citium in Cyprus, who taught in the Painted Stoa of the Agora at Athens, and so instituted the Stoic philosophy; and Epicurus, born on Samos of Athenian parents, whose philosophical school was established in the garden of the house at Athens where he settled towards the end of the 4th century BC. Both these schools of philosophy continued to be of major importance in Roman intellectual life. Pergamum, on the other hand, which became a Hellenistic capital city under its upstart dynasty the Attalids, was developed to emulate Alexandria, particularly in the 2nd century BC when Alexandrian intellectualism seems to have gone into a decline in the face of a lack of interest among the later Ptolemies, culminating in an expulsion of the scholars in 146 BC.

Yet in many ways the greatest importance of Hellenistic civilization lies in the interrelationship of the different cultures, Greek and non-Greek. Throughout, the Greeks maintained a supremacy that was only gradually weakened in the face of military decline. Generally, under their Hellenistic kings they enjoyed a superior position within the community and its political system, and though in the late period vast areas in the east were lost to resurgent oriental states, at the very end the Greeks were able to maintain their social supremacy (at least) through the intervention of the Romans and the takeover of the kingdoms and cities into the Roman empire. Greekness, therefore, was something desirable and to be aimed at, and there was clearly much assimilation into the Greek community by non-Greeks. Important Hellenistic Greek poets, such as Meleager, were of non-Greek origin. In the 1st century AD Juvenal, bemoaning the influence of the Greeks in Rome, has to point out that the corrupting influence comes not from true Greeks but that already, for a long time, it is the Syrian Orontes that has flowed into the Tiber.

The impact of all this can be seen in different ways. The socially superior Greeks lived in cities to which the kings often devoted great expenditure, on architecture or, at times, "shows" of various categories. Architecturally, the Hellenistic cities acquired a magnificence and solidity never found even in the greatest of their Classical predecessors, and this taste for magnificent urbanism was continued and developed by the Romans. Alexandria was a city on an altogether vaster scale, the spaciousness of the royal area contrasting with the densely built tenement blocks of the ordinary inhabitants, a contrast also found at Rome. But perhaps the most significant impact comes within the sphere of religion, expressed through the medium of the common Greek language (Koine) which became a universal second language even among the non-Greeks. Greek religion had been essentially tied to its localities. Greeks uprooted from home in the new Hellenistic settlements began

to look to the local religions as apposite to the areas in which they now lived. Sometimes this was deliberately fostered by the kings (Serapis at Alexandria), but more often it was a spontaneous development. It was the Hellenized world that spread the Egyptian Isis cult through the Greek and Roman communities, or the oriental Mithraism taken up by the Roman army. Christianity is an offshoot of the Jewish religion, though its sacred books are in the koine. Even so, it might have remained yet another obscure Jewish sect, had St Paul not seen the light outside the walls of Damascus, and promoted his beliefs in the Greek world; his epistles are a roll-call of the Hellenistic communities. Without the Hellenistic world, the world of Christian Greece would never have existed.

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See also Astronomy, Geography, Language, Mathematics, Medicine, Museum of Alexandria, Political History 318–31 BC, Scholarship

Summary

Extending from the death of Alexander the Great to that of Cleopatra VII (323–31 BC), the Hellenistic period is one of political fragmentation but cultural achievement. A major focus of the latter was the Museum and Library in Alexandria where scholars advanced knowledge in fields such as astronomy, mathematics, and geography and librarians assembled and studied the texts of Classical writers. Other centres were at Athens and Pergamum. Greek (Koine) became the universal second language and Greekness the universal fashion.

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Hellenization

Hellenization denotes the spread of Hellenic culture in non-Greek, "barbarian" society and the process under which "barbarians" accept, adopt, and incorporate Hellenic culture. The term is closely connected with the Hellenistic period, which runs from the death of Alexander the Great in 323 BC to the death of Cleopatra, queen of Egypt, in 30 BC. Its earliest phase is marked by Alexander's successful invasion of the Persian empire; its termination by the repartition of the Near and Middle East between Rome and the new, Persian-ruled kingdom of Parthia. For much of the intervening three centuries the territory of the former Persian empire was dominated by a series of Macedonian-ruled states wherein Greeks and Greek culture enjoyed a pre-eminent position. Greek scientists formulated ideas and theories that would remain fundamental in a variety of fields until the Renaissance; art and literature flourished; and the foundations of western literary scholarship were laid.

The first modern appearance of the concept of Hellenism and Hellenization occurs in *Geschichte des Hellenismus*, G. Droysen's great three-volume work published between 1833 and 1843. He viewed the Hellenistic period as the time in which, in the territories conquered by Alexander the Great, Greek and Near Eastern cultures were intertwined to create the cultural background from which Christianity emerged. Archaeological excavation also played an important role in the formulation of the concept of Hellenism. The discovery in Europe and Asia of Greek sites of the Hellenistic period has provided information on the physical setting and material culture of the population of these new Macedonian kingdoms and their neighbours; and continues to do so. Archaeology has yielded a wealth of new written evidence – in the form of papyri and inscriptions on stone – which gives scholars a detailed view of the government and society of a major state, Ptolemaic Egypt. The creation in the 19th and 20th centuries of modern European empires in regions once dominated by the Hellenistic kingdoms was a further spur to reassessing the Hellenistic period. These developments encouraged scholars to see Alexander and his Macedonian successors as precursors of contemporary events. In parallel, scholarship was adding new evidence to Droysen's view of Hellenistic civilization as a mixed culture which, although Greek in character, had been enriched by the incorporation of features derived from ancient Near Eastern cultures.

Is Hellenization a term that reflects the reality of an ancient society, or a term and concept created by modern scholars in the course of their studies? Is it a tool, useful shorthand, or a phantom? According to G. Bowersock, "Hellenization is ... a modern idea, reflecting modern forms of cultural domination."

The term "to Hellenize" is first encountered in Thucydides (2. 68), where it is used in not a political but a linguistic context. The acceptance and use of the Greek language by non-Greek societies is known from periods other than the Hellenistic. For example, in the Persian empire of the 5th and 4th centuries BC, whose outlook was anti-Greek, the Greek language was adopted by the Lycian dynasts Pericles of Limyra and Mausolus. At the same time Mausolus avoided the Panhellenic sanctuaries, preferring the local Carian shrines, and denied proxeny (diplomatic representation) to the citizens

of Knossos. Greek craftsmen were used widely by local rulers in Anatolia and around the Black Sea to create royal and elite culture long before the Hellenistic period, as is witnessed in the Achaemenid empire or the Thracian kingdom. But this can hardly be described as Hellenization, in which the local melds with and into the Greek. The ideology and everyday life of local rulers remained resolutely untouched; the Greek element extended little beyond a veneer of sophistication, a series of external, material attributes.

In the wake of Alexander the Great's conquests, Greeks moved to the east to populate new regions and establish new cities. Alexandria, Antioch, and other cities were founded. In the Hellenistic period Alexandria, with its library etc., can better be considered the centre of Hellenic culture than mainland Greece; Ai Khanum, Alexandria on the Oxus in northern Afghanistan, with its broad streets, monumental temples, large gymnasium, and theatre, was much more impressive than Athens. Heraclides Creticus warned those travelling from the east not to be disappointed by their first impressions of Athens and other famous cities in metropolitan Greece – the rather run-down houses, the old-fashioned streets, etc. Hellenistic historians themselves considered the new cities in Asia Minor to be melting pots in which Greek and non-Greek cultures and peoples met, mingled, and created a new cosmopolitan civilization.

Greek culture was dominant from the Mediterranean to the borders of India. Everywhere Greek was the language of government. The traditions of Archaic and Classical Greek culture were admired and followed, but not blindly; new features taken from local cultures were introduced. For example, the reliefs on the great altar at Pergamum may seem at first alien to the tranquillity associated with Classical sculpture; in fact, they resemble the sculpture on the pediment of the Parthenon. In the Hellenistic world culture was uniform only on the surface. There were differences between the culture of Aegean Greece and that of the new kingdoms of Asia and Egypt. In the former, writers and artists adhered strictly to centuries of tradition: local dialects and traditional cults and festivals flourished. From a cultural perspective an old Greece of tradition can be identified in the Hellenistic period and beyond; but in the east there was a "new Greece" which admired traditions but was not constrained by them, adding new elements and concepts absorbed from local societies, their practices and cultures. This appears to be more a case of orientalization than Hellenization, a case different from that in Greece at the beginning of the 1st millennium BC. The terminology deployed by modern academics usually fails to penetrate the intrinsic nature of the historical or cultural events in antiquity that it is used to describe. This is as true of the term "orientalization" as it is of "Hellenization". What is being described in both cases is the spread and intermixing of different cultures. In the Hellenistic period different ethnic groups absorbed Hellenic culture and transmitted aspects of their own culture to Greeks. This was a side effect of political developments. If a label has to be attached to this, then "cosmopolitanization" would be more appropriate than either "orientalization" or "Hellenization".

In the Hellenistic period in Greece the polis changed under social and economic pressure. Its political life narrowed and became harsher. New studies suggest that in the Seleucid empire the structure of the polis was less strong than traditionalists seek to depict. There was a continuity with Achaemenid Persian and Babylonian structures. The effects on Jewish culture of Hellenization on the one hand and Seleucid influence on the other remain unclear and disputed.

The Greek polis with its culture survived into the Roman period, and the Romans consolidated their rule in the east through the introduction of the polis. Evidence shows that in the Roman period the only significantly Hellenized part of the population was the elite. Roman culture itself was heavily influenced by the Greek, copying Greek sculpture, for example, and worshipping the same gods though under Roman names. Written Greek was in active use along with Latin and Aramaic. The Byzantine empire inherited not only the Greek language; Christian epigrammatists echo the idioms of their pagan predecessors.

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Heraclitus *fl. c.*500 BC

Philosopher

A citizen of Ephesus, Heraclitus was the first philosopher to approach the study of nature from the standpoint of the human condition. Writing riddling sayings in a dense aphoristic style, which have survived as quotations in later writers, he criticized poets, philosophers, and ordinary people for their failure to see the meaning inherent in the world. There is an order in nature, a *logos* (governing principle), that is always present, but which men miss both when they experience it and when they are told the truth about it, for they move through the world like sleepwalkers. Study of the facts will not teach understanding; what is needed is an understanding of how things fit together. What the *logos* teaches is that all things are one.

Heraclitus inherited from earlier philosophers the view that some one kind of stuff is changed by transformation into all other kinds of stuff. Whereas Thales had said that everything comes from water and Anaximenes that everything comes from air, Heraclitus held that everything comes from fire. Fire turns into water and half of the water generated turns into earth and the other half back into fire, preserving the same proportions of matter through the changes (fr. 31). Unlike his predecessors, who believed that the world came to be from unstructured matter, Heraclitus states that the world order "always was and is and will be everliving fire, kindling by measures and going out by measures" (fr. 30). It is the kindling and quenching of fire that preserves the world. By identifying fire, the most changeable reality, as the basic substance of the universe, Heraclitus seems to be stressing changeability. "Onto those stepping into the same rivers other and other waters flow" (fr. 12): the changing waters constitute the river. Thus change underlies and makes possible the structure of the world and the things in it.

According to Heraclitus, opposites are somehow one: the living and the dead, the waking and the sleeping, the young and the old are the same because they change into one another (fr. 88). The opposing tensions of the bow and the lyre make them work. Day and night are one. "The road up and the road down are one and the same" (fr. 60). What seems to make all things one is their interconnectedness in the series of transformations: there is one road with two-way traffic, one process with two-way changes going on. In the changes of fire there is a constant equivalence of material, something like a conservation of matter, which Heraclitus compares to the exchange of gold for goods and goods for gold (fr. 90). The value of the goods remains constant even though the items exchanged vary. The ultimate reality, then, is not any substance that travels the road, but the process of change itself, the law of transformations symbolized by fire. Overall, Heraclitus seems to have started with a picture of the world much like that of his predecessors, but he moved far beyond them in finding the source of unity in the world not in a single original substance such as water or air, but in a unified order of change. His predecessor Anaximander had seen cyclical changes such as day and night, summer and winter, as embodying acts of strife between opposites to be corrected by a cosmic principle of justice. Heraclitus replies that justice *is* strife, for opposition holds the world together.

Souls arise from the moist and they perish if they return to moisture. It is best for the soul to be fiery, and better souls receive a better lot after death. "Moderation is the greatest virtue and wisdom, to speak and act truly, perceiving according to their nature" (fr. 112). People should rely upon and defend their laws, but above all the one divine law by which all human laws are "nourished", presumably the *logos* (fr. 114). Human nature, then, mirrors nature as a whole, and human society is ultimately governed by the same laws as the cosmos.

In the 4th century BC Plato attributed to Heraclitus the claim that "you can't step into the same river twice" (Cratylus, 402a). The claim, which seems to be an interpretation of fragment 12 (quoted above) – perhaps one Plato got from Cratylus, a Heraclitean – suggests that for Heraclitus nothing stays the same. Plato's own philosophy was heavily influenced by the flux theory he attributed to Heraclitus: he held that the world of sensible objects was always changing. Plato and Aristotle also attributed to Heraclitus the view that opposites are identical (not just the same by virtue of being stages in a single process), which led them to say that he accepted contradictions. Henceforth Heraclitus became known in the doxographical tradition as a philosopher of flux who embraced contradiction and hence had an incoherent philosophy.

In the 3rd century BC the Stoics revived the view that all things come from fire, and also attributed to Heraclitus their view that there are periods of world-conflagration in which all substances turn back into fire, after which the world is regenerated from fire. In the early Christian era intellectuals sometimes saw Heraclitus as a proto-Christian because of his ethical views, his emphasis on *logos*, and his belief (on the Stoic interpretation) in a fiery judgement on the world.

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See also Philosophy

Biography

Born in Ephesus to an aristocratic family, and active *c.*500 BC, Heraclitus identified fire as the basic substance of the universe. He also posited an order (*logos*) in nature. Only fragments of his writings survive.

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Herakleios *c.*575–641

Emperor

The son of Herakleios and Epiphania, the emperor Herakleios (610–41) was of indeterminate Armenian descent. Between 600 and 610 he lived in Africa with his father, the exarch of Carthage, and his stay there probably made a great impression on him. In 608 he and his father, together with his nephew Niketas, successfully rebelled against the emperor Phokas, initially claiming the title of consuls. Herakleios arrived at Constantinople by sea, executed Phokas, and overcame the resistance of Phokas's brother Komentiolos in Anatolia. His wife Fabia/Eudokia, of African origin, gave birth to a son, Herakleios Constantine, but she died in 612. He tried unsuccessfully to persuade the Sassanian king Khusrau II to desist from his invasion. He also consolidated his control over the armies and eliminated potential rivals such as the general Priscus.

The first two decades of Herakleios's reign were almost entirely taken up with checking and reversing disastrous and embarrassing Persian conquests, which extended over Syria, the Holy Land, including Jerusalem, and, with enormous negative consequences for tax revenues, Egypt. Anatolia was also ravaged. He broke with recent precedent and commanded imperial armies in person, far from Constantinople. In 622 he won initial limited morale-building victories over the Persians in Anatolia. In 624 he set out on an ambitious campaign in the East to break the Persian threat, leaving a regency under his second wife Martina and the *vicarius* (prefect) Bonus, who together with the patriarch Pyrrhus successfully weathered an Avaro-Persian siege and blockade of Constantinople. Herakleios managed to defeat the Sassanian generals Shahin and Shahrbaraz in 625 and 626. After successfully negotiating an alliance with the Kök Turks in the Caucasus, he planned a bold invasion of Mesopotamia from the north; this depended on his alliance with the Kök Turks and on his diplomacy with Shahrbaraz, who broke his allegiance to Khusrau II. In December 627 he defeated the Persians on a plain east of the ruins of ancient Nineveh, then proceeded to occupy and ravage strategic Persian territory, including Khusrau II's residence at Dastagerd. Herakleios's victories in Mesopotamia encouraged the Persians to overthrow Khusrau II in early 628 in favour of Kawad IV/Shiroes, who agreed to peace terms, which included the restoration of Byzantine territory, property, prisoners, and reparations. Herakleios met Shahrbaraz, who agreed to evacuate Byzantine territory. He personally accompanied fragments believed to be the True Cross to Jerusalem in March 630. Herakleios's power and hopes were at their apogee in 630, at the same time as he was unsuccessfully trying to end strife in the Church by giving his official support to the theological doctrine of Monotheletism or one will in Jesus Christ. In fact, ecclesiastical dissent intensified. His theological policies satisfied very few and aroused the bitter opposition of such prominent ecclesiastics as Maximos the Confessor and patriarch Sophronios of Jerusalem. His ambitious plans for forging a new relationship with Persia foundered with the assassination of his protégés Kawad IV and the ambitious general Shahrbaraz.

Herakleios devised new imperial ceremonies at Constantinople, perhaps to compensate for the violent circumstances surrounding his seizure of power. Many scholars also believe that he created new precedents for the official use of the Greek language by elevating the Greek term *basileus* to be the normal term for emperor, but others dispute the significance of this. He encouraged a thriving Hellenic literature in prose and verse. Prominent authors who wrote in Greek included the historian Theophylactos Simokattes and the poet, panegyrist, and hagiographer George of Pisidia.

Herakleios neglected the defences and prosperity of the Balkans and most of the Greek mainland and islands, giving priority to the security and rehabilitation of endangered or recently recovered territories and cities in western Asia. His policies probably contributed to significant 7th-century Slavic and Avar inroads into the Greek mainland. The evidence for his personal visits to mainland Greece or the islands of the Aegean is insecure, but it is clear that he spent much more time in western Asia than in mainland Greece.

His military victories depended heavily on exploiting divisions within the ranks of his opponents and encouraging them to switch sides; he fostered the breakdown of morale, and exacerbated hatreds and rivalries. His skills in diplomacy, deception, and subversion were at least as important as his military skills, despite the efforts that his propagandists made to celebrate him as a great captain. These skills proved to be of little value to him when he confronted the Muslim invasions that started in the early 630s. He did attempt to devise resistance, but he lived to see Syria, the Holy Land, and upper Mesopotamia fall to the Muslims, and Egypt begin to totter. He attempted in vain to prevent local authorities from reaching separate accords with the Muslims. His tactics and strategy were inadequate to check or repel the Muslims, but he continued unceasingly until the end of his life to devise new defences and techniques to halt their advance in Anatolia and Egypt. The evidence for his skills as an institutional reformer is weak, although it appears that he did order his treasurer (*sakellarios*) Philagrios to take a new census, presumably for fiscal purposes, for the entire empire. It is unclear whether Philagrios managed to implement this census and, if so, to what extent. But even though Herakleios suffered from severe bouts of illness late in his life, it appears that he tried to stiffen morale and military defences against the Muslims.

Herakleios was the last Byzantine emperor to visit an extraordinarily wide range of famous ancient cities and sites and

relics. He saw Carthage, Jerusalem, Nineveh (or its vicinity), Antioch, Damascus, and what he believed to be Noah's Ark and the True Cross. No subsequent emperor would ever see such a swathe of lands. He apparently envisioned an empire of vast and diverse scope and never contented himself with purely Greek constituents of it. His controversial second marriage to his niece Martina and the ensuing rivalry for the succession jeopardized and wrecked many of his hopes and plans. He depended heavily on family members to bolster his strength, but their rival passions nearly destroyed the empire at his death. He was an extraordinary and unique figure who experienced supreme victories and defeats. At his death the empire was in an extremely tenuous condition. He reigned in an age of increasing devotion to the cults of saints in almost every corner of his empire. He likewise had to accept a rising tide of apocalypticism with its fears and doubts. He sought to associate such saints as St Theodore of Sykeon and their powers and prestige with himself. But powerful ecclesiastics such as Sophronios and Maximos the Confessor resisted him, and their successors, such as St Anastasios of Sinai, continued to criticize his reputation and that of his dynasty long after his decease.

WALTER E. KAEGI

See also Byzantine Period (Early)

Biography

Born *c.*575 the son of Herakleios, exarch of Carthage, and Epiphania, Herakleios was of indeterminate Armenian descent. From 600 to 610 he lived in Africa, but then seized power for himself. The first 20 years of his reign were spent recovering territory lost to the Persians. Later in his reign he saw much of the same territory lost again, this time to the Arabs. At his death in 641 the empire was in a very weak state.

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Heresy

Heresy, in its religious-canonical sense, is more easily defined than historically identified. Simply put, it is the denial of any or all accepted dogma of an orthodox set of beliefs, teachings, or tenets. But what exactly constitutes orthodox dogma has been a very difficult question as is evidenced by the fact that in the 1st century AD Jews accused Christians of being heretics and vice versa. The emperor Julian (361–63) – "the apostate" according to Christians – accused Christians of being heretics, unlike Jews and Hellenes. Further, while most Christians may agree that heretics deny or repudiate biblical doctrine, the teachings of the tradition, or the creeds of the ecumenical councils, there are and always have been extraordinarily diverse views as to what biblical doctrine is or how the creeds are to be interpreted or the number of creeds to which all Christians must assent. Indeed, on occasion, certain ecumenical creeds themselves have been in or out of favour or had portions rejected, for example, the papal refusal to recognize certain canons of Constantinople I (381) and Chalcedon (451) which they felt jeopardized their primacy.

The word "heresy" originally had no pejorative connotation, meaning, as its etymology reflects (Greek *hairesis* from *haireomai*, "to choose"), simply "choice" in the sense of "assent" to a set of philosophical or religious beliefs. The term was used in Hellenistic times also to refer to the particular philosophical school or sect to which persons gave allegiance by choice, e.g. Phariseeism or Saduceeism, sects, "choices", within Judaism.

In New Testament writings the term lacks the formal and technical designation it acquired after the calling of councils to establish orthodox belief. The neutral Hellenistic sense appears in Acts 5: 17 and 26: 5, where Paul refers to the Pharisees as "the strictest sect [*haeresis*] of our religion".

From the sense of heresy as subdivision there appears the earliest pejorative sense of heresy. In Acts 24: 5 Paul resists the designation of Christians as a sect – "the Nazarene sect" – within Judaism, even though he refers to the Pharisees as a sect of Judaism. "I admit that in serving the God of my forefathers I follow the path which they call a heresy." Paul's objection is not simply resistance to subordinating Christian groups to Judaism; it is also that Paul assumes Christians ideally to be one unified community. And here he employs the pejorative sense of heresy: the practice of introducing, into the Christian community, divisiveness and sectarianism; i.e. sects or groups that, by distinguishing themselves from the rest of the Christian community, dissolve Church unity. Whether the basis for the heretical redivision is doctrinal difference or unique practice is immaterial to Paul. The evil of heresy consists in "dividing the body of Christ" which constitutes the Christian community. The "Judaizers", who required non-Jewish converts to Christianity to observe for a time the requirements of the law, not only introduced new teachings and requirements for salvation but also initiated a new religious practice for Christians, all without authority. Thereby they introduced factions within Christianity and garnered vigorous opposition from Paul. (See also Galatians 5: 20, 1 Corinthians 11: 19, and Titus 3: 10.) Peter also applies the term intramurally, warning Christians of false prophets and false teachers who introduce sectarianism (heresies): "lying teachers who will bring in destructive sects" (2 Peter 2: 1). Both elements of heresy are present in this passage: heterodoxy and disunity.

While combating heresy begins with the New Testament writers (Paul v. Judaizers; John v. Docetists), as early as the late 2nd and early 3rd centuries writers began composing lists of heretical movements and constructing arguments against them. Among the earliest is Justin Martyr's *Syntagma*, a collection of heresies and counter-arguments, often quoted in another early work, Ireneaus of Lyons' *Adversus Haereses* which opposed Gnosticism and Montanism. Hippolytus of Rome also wrote an early and important work, the *Elenchus*, a list of 33 heresies and refutations notable in its strategy of tracing all heresies to false philosophical schools and cultural influences. Among the Fathers, heresy is widely understood as a departure from the faith which is more often a synthetic and syncretistic

corruption of orthodoxy than complete repudiation of it. Heretics interpret the teachings of the Church and its tradition by wedding them to some other religious or philosophical system, of which Manicheeism would be an archetype.

Perhaps the most noteworthy works of the late 4th and early 5th centuries are the *Panarion*, by Epiphanius of Salamis (367), and *De Haeresibus* of St Augustine of Hippo (427). The former is a "medicine box" of 80 antidotes to be administered against those infected by heretical poisons. The latter, which relies directly on an edition of the former, was written at the request of one Quodvultdeus who asked for an exhaustive list of heresies from the earliest beginnings of Christianity. In this work, heretical nominations derive usually from the founder of the heresy or the figure of heretical worship, e.g. Simonians, Menandrians, Saturninians, Basilidians, Nicolaites, Gnostics, Adamites, Arians, etc.

St Augustine's work contains an important caveat. Not all error is heretical; nor is every theological interpolation culpable. Catechumens may have been erroneously taught or children may be misled by parents. Such persons are not heretics, having been given no alternatives from which to choose or the understanding to believe otherwise. What is crucial is the disposition of the believer. If one in error readily receives correction and assents to proper teaching, he or she is without blame. The moral failure of heretics is a kind of pride: the audacious presumption that he or she knows better than scripture, the tradition, authority, and the Church. In the east John of Damascus wrote his own *On Heresies* which belongs to the same genre of heretical lists composed in the west, though John lists a number of unique heresies and heretical practices.

In the patristic period a heretic is anyone who introduces into the community disunity as a result of doctrinal or practical difference and refuses all efforts at compromise. But the community from which one dissents needs doctrinal and practical unity to begin with. Much patristic literature is devoted to theological speculation and doctrinal exploration in an effort to clarify Christian doctrine, thus complicating the question of heresy. The distinction becomes clearer, gradually, with the holding of ecumenical councils. During this period Basil the Great distinguishes between heresy and schism, "schism" applying "to those who separate themselves from the religious community due to reasons of church policy or otherwise reconcilable differences" (Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, 32: 665A). This distinction appears to categorize schismatics according to minor differences of belief as well as the willingness of the dissenting party to seek compromise.

Gnosticism. The term "Gnosticism" has been applied, from Hellenistic times onward, to such diverse beliefs that any characterization risks contradiction. The word derives from the Greek word for "knowledge", *gnosis*, and implies that self-proclaimed Gnostics enjoyed an esoteric enlightenment. This enlightenment included dualist deprecations of materiality, whether personal passions and desires or attachments to the physical world, and cultivation of "spirituality". Gnostics downplayed or denied altogether the incarnation of Christ since, in their view, God's perfection could never stoop to actual association with the physical world; it is impossible to comingle natures. Thus, "Christian" Gnostics were docetists, asserting that perceptions of Christ's body were illusory and Christ's resurrection was metaphorical. Gnosticism was especially prevalent in North Africa where it allied itself to Middle Platonism. Some have seen Gnostic tendencies in Origen and Clement of Alexandria.

Manicheeism. An extraordinarily prevalent religious sect in the 3rd and early 4th centuries, Manicheeism was a form of dualism positing two ontological principles or powers, good and evil, or light and dark, thus analogous to Zoroastrianism from which it derived. It included elements of Christianity and Gnosticism and so was a theological temptation for many Christians. No less a figure than Augustine was attracted for some years by Manicheeism's emphasis on rational support for belief – however insupportable a system it may have been itself – as well as its powerful explanation of an intractable theological problem: the origin and nature of evil. Manicheeism was vigorously opposed by Christian apologists who used monotheistic and Neoplatonic arguments to show the metaphysical inconsistencies of dualism, particularly its implication that God is neither omnipotent nor the creator of all things.

Pelagianism. Introduced in Rome (*c.*380) by Pelagius, a learned monk from Britain, this doctrine, though vigorously opposed by Augustine, found general tolerance, if not sympathy, outside North Africa. Pelagius emphasized the role of free will in moral action and the contributing role that right moral action plays in salvation, arguing that one could on one's own choose and perform righteous moral acts and thereby deserve a meritorious response from God. Such a view emphasized the vital importance, therefore, of virtuous action throughout one's life as a contributing instrument of salvation. Augustine thought that Pelagius' views jeopardized God's freedom by obliging him to respond to those who performed moral acts. If Pelagius is right, human beings can make a claim upon God. Pelagius also, in Augustine's view, de-emphasized Christ's role as mediator and limited the absolute character of God's grace by introducing other medial instruments in human salvation, relegating the Church and sacraments to a secondary role.

Arianism. The views of Arius (born *c.*250) concerning the nature and status of Christ generated perhaps more controversy than any other theological issue in the first few centuries of Christianity. At least two ecumenical councils dealt directly with his doctrines, Nicea (325) and Constantinople (381). When he began teaching the view for which he is most notable – Christ is not coeternal with the Father – in North Africa, bishop Alexander of Alexandria immediately condemned him and Arius fled to Nicomedia. There he acquired a powerful following including, at one time, the emperor Constantine himself, who recalled Arius from his forced exile after he was condemned in the Nicean council. His doctrine was opposed by Athanasius of Alexandria who was, for a time, himself exiled for his opposition. The anti-Arian party gradually carried the day. Largely as the result of Arianism, much theological speculation focused on the nature of Christ, the Trinity, and the relations among the persons of the Trinity. Among the more noteworthy of the discredited views were Apollonarianism, Monophysitism, and Monothelitism.

Apollonarianism. Apollonarius, bishop of Laodicea, was friend and ally to Athanasius. His opposition to Arius led him to de-emphasize the humanity of Christ, arguing that in place of a human soul, Christ's soul was replaced by the divine *Logos*. He later rescinded his denial of Christ's human soul,

but then argued that Christ had a uniquely heavenly intellect (*nous*). Apollinarius was condemned at the Council of Constantinople (381) for views that were labelled in the 7th century as "monophysite".

Monophysitism ("one-naturedness"). Monophysitism sought to explain how a divine personage could become mortal and what such a union of natures means. It was a doctrine denying the dual nature of Christ – divine and human – arguing, in some versions, that Christ was completely divine with no human element – that the divine element overwhelmed or never contacted the human (e.g. Apollinarianism) – or that a new, third nature, a mixed divine–human nature came of the union. Monophysitism, after a particularly violent and destructive history during which some emperors supported it while others fought it vigorously, was condemned at the Council of Chalcedon (451).

Azymes ("without yeast, leaven"). This dispute arose originally between the Byzantines and the Armenians but later (11th century) arose between the Byzantines and the Western Church. The issue was whether the Eucharistic bread should contain yeast. The Armenians and the Latins argued that, because Jesus broke unleavened bread at the last supper, the Eucharistic representation should likewise be unleavened. The Byzantines argued that scripture uses the word for leavened bread, *artos*, and based upon the same precedent, leavened bread should be used. The Byzantines also saw theological symbolism in leavened bread, e.g. resurrection.

Iconoclasm. In the 8th and 9th centuries in the Eastern Church a movement towards radical asceticism argued that the widespread use and veneration of icons constituted worshipping graven images forbidden by the second commandment. Iconoclasts further denigrated all use of icons and denied their sacred character. The basis for their argument, along with the argument from idolatry, seems also to have a basis in apophatic theology, the radical denial of any proper predication of the divine nature, and hence to emphasize the misleading and corrupting character of any representation of God. The 8th-century iconoclastic movement found a champion in Leo III (716–41) who ordered the removal of a famous icon and thereby instigated a riot. He further agitated iconophiles – he had some executed – by forbidding all iconic representations of saints. Constantine V (741–75) continued the iconoclastic movement, condemning icon veneration at a council in Hieria in 754.

Filioque. The *filioque* dispute focuses on the origin and nature of the Holy Spirit. At issue is whether the being of the Holy Spirit emanates from the relation of the Father and the Son ("filioque") or from the Father only. The disagreement arose when the Spanish council at Toledo (589) added material to the resolutions of Nicea I and Constantinople I. The view was attacked rigorously by Photios (866) and originally rejected by John VIII at the Photian council of 879–80. The council forbad all additions, subtractions, or modifications of the creeds. The Council of Lyons (1274) affirmed the *filioque* doctrine, which still is rejected in the East.

In 1054 the doctrinal and jurisdictional disputes between the papacy and the Eastern Church led to mutual excommunications, with cardinal Humbert excommunicating patriarch Michael I Keroularios, who, in turn, excommunicated cardinal Humbert. Though each side accused the other of heresy, the split was viewed as a schism and there have been numerous attempts at reunion, such as the mutual retraction of excommunications in 1965.

Palamism. In 1344 John XIV Kalekas, for reasons that seem as much political as doctrinal – he had previously endorsed Palamas's doctrinal fidelity – excommunicated Gregory Palamas. The doctrinal dispute focused on the knowability of God's essence and the approachability of creature to Creator. Palamas's opponents, particularly Barlaam of Calabria, felt that he elevated the created human soul to the Creator's divine level and diminished God's transcendence. Palamas argued that, while God is in essence unknowable and unapproachable, his energies or powers are not, and one can encounter God directly through these powers by employing the discipline of monastic prayer. Furthermore, through the incarnation, one can establish an immediate relationship to God, i.e. participate in God. Such a participation leads to a direct knowledge of God and makes possible deification. Palamas's views were endorsed by three local councils (Constantinople 1341, 1347, 1351) and with the last council came complete vindication. Canonical approval of Palamas's doctrine was subsequently added to the *Synodikon* of Orthodoxy.

Protestantism. Patriarch Cyril Lukaris, in the 17th century, had strong sympathies with certain Protestant doctrines, particularly Calvinism, which he sought to infuse into the Orthodox faith. He aroused the suspicions of numerous Orthodox bishops by publishing a "Confession of Faith" (1629) in which he professed iconoclasm, repudiated the traditional view of the priesthood, and asserted certain Calvinist views, e.g. the doctrine of "sola scriptura". He was accused of heresy and dethroned.

Controversies such as that surrounding Palamas illustrate the difficult nature of determining orthodoxy and heresy in the history of the Church. With the doctrinal and ecclesiastical solidification of Christianity over time, the procedure has become more precise and orderly.

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See also Christianity, Schism

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Herodas

Poet of the 3rd century BC

So little is known about Herodas (or Herondas, as he is sometimes called) from sources besides his own poems that neither when nor where he lived and wrote can be determined with any certainty. Various chronological hints in his first, second, and fourth poems point to composition dates in the 270s and early 260s BC. If the settings of his second poem (the island of Cos) and of his sixth and seventh poems (probably in Asia Minor) may be connected with the dwelling-place(s) of the poet himself, Herodas probably spent some periods of his life in parts of the eastern Aegean. His first poem exhibits a certain amount of knowledge and praise of Ptolemaic Egypt, but this does not necessarily indicate that Herodas lived there for some time as well (if he did, he is most likely to have lived in Alexandria).

It was through the fortunate discovery of a papyrus (British Library Pap. 135, first published in 1891) that scholars gained knowledge of substantial parts of the poems of this early Hellenistic author, which exhibit many features typical of Greek poetry of that age. Seven of Herodas' poems are readable in a more or less complete form (the much more fragmentary nos. 8 and 9 are largely unintelligible); their length ranges from 85 to 129 verses, and they are collectively called mimiambs, an appropriate title for their composite nature, as on the one hand their content has much in common with the form of low-level popular drama called mime, while on the other their metrical form and language are taken from iambus, an archaic form of very personal and often invective Greek poetry whose main proponents were Archilochus and Hipponax. Mimes, too, had already existed for hundreds of years before Herodas and continued to do so until (at least) the end of antiquity; they depicted scenes of everyday life (with frequent and rather explicit inclusion of sexual themes and situations) and down-to-earth or even vulgar characters, and they were performed – depending on their length and plot – either by a single person or by a small troupe of itinerant actors; their texts were mainly in prose, and their language usually in the local dialect (Doric in Sicily and southern Italy, for example). By combining mimic content with the form of ancient iambus, Herodas gave his poems a rather rigid form. His main model being Hipponax of Ephesus (to whom he refers at the end of his eighth poem, though the badly mutilated text does not allow us to glimpse specifics), he took over Hipponax's Ionic dialect and his peculiar metre, the so-called choliambos, or limping iambic, in which the penultimate syllable – which would normally be short – is long; this introduces a rhythmical disturbance which noticeably increases the sense of mocking and ridicule of the poems' content. Even within these rigid formal boundaries the scenes and situations depicted by Herodas at first sight seem completely natural, which is a great compliment to the poet's mastery of his art.

A brief examination of the poems' content gives an idea of their characteristic features and their connections with older and contemporary literature. Remarkably often women are the main characters. In the first mimiamb ("The Matchmaker or Procuress") a woman living alone (her companion has gone to Egypt) is visited by the title-figure, who tries to arouse her interest in another man, but is told in rather plain terms that this is out of the question. The second ("The Brothel Keeper") is a plea spoken by the title-figure before a jury: the brothel keeper (a figure familiar from Greek comedy) accuses a foreign ship's captain of attacking his establishment in order to capture a girl, and he tries to project the image of an honest, law-abiding resident, but the poet lets the meaner sides of his character (most of all greed) peep through his words. In the third ("The Schoolmaster") an angry mother drags her wayward son to his schoolmaster and asks him to give the naughty boy a good beating to set him on the right track again; the son, by feigning repentance, avoids the thrashing. The fourth ("The Women who Offer Thanks and Sacrifice to Asclepius") shows two women offering a cock to Asclepius (for curing an illness) and admiring the artworks in the god's temple precinct; Herodas' contemporary Theocritus treated a similar subject in his fifteenth *Idyll*. The fifth mimiamb ("The Jealous One") depicts the most mimic theme of all these poems, adultery (a mime preserved on another papyrus fragment, P.Oxy. 413 verso, shows many similarities). A mistress accuses her slave, whom she uses as a sexual partner, of having bestowed his favours on another woman as well and gives orders for him to be flogged and tattooed; finally, though, she accedes to a plea for mercy uttered by another (female) slave who is dear to her. In the sixth mimiamb ("The Women who are Friends [*or* In Private]") a lady (Metro) visits her female friend (Koritto) and eagerly inquires who the crafty cobbler is who provided her with that most wonderful dildo which she has recently seen with another friend of Koritto's; Koritto is somewhat annoyed that her delightful secret is already going round, but then proceeds to reveal the cobbler's name, Kerdon, whom Metro then rushes out to find. Metro and Kerdon (now a speaking part himself) appear again in the seventh mimiamb ("The Cobbler"), where Kerdon tries his sales pitch in front of some women whom Metro has brought into his shop, and there ensues some very amusing haggling about shoes and prices (and some hinting at other leatherware as well...). In the badly mutilated eighth mimiamb ("The Dream") the poet himself apparently speaks, relating a dream in which he takes part in a Dionysiac festival and competition; at the end he remarks on his relationship to Hipponax. Of the ninth ("The Breakfasting Women") only fragments of the first 13 lines survive and give no clear idea of the poem's narrative. Scholars disagree as to how these amusing pieces were presented to their contemporary audiences: by one reciter (Herodas himself?) alone or by several actors playing the various roles (ranging from two to four in the single poems)? Their very restricted length (see above) rather points to the former as most likely.

Only very few fragments of two, three, or four other poems by Herodas appear as citations in other literature, but they are very few and their meagreness shows that Herodas was not a much-studied author after Hellenistic times. He was still read, though, in Egypt in the 2nd century AD, as two papyri (Brit. Lib. Pap. 135, mentioned above, and the slightly later P.Oxy.

2326) demonstrate. Ironically, it is not a Greek, but a Roman, Pliny the Younger, who paid Herodas the biggest compliment by putting him on the same level as Callimachus in a letter to a friend (4. 3. 3). Soon after, Herodas almost completely vanished from the literary consciousness of antiquity, only to be reborn from the sands of Egypt at the end of the 19th century.

HEINZ-GÜNTHER NESSELRATH

See also Poetry (Lyric)

Biography

The date and place of his birth are unknown, but Herodas (or Herondas) seems to have flourished in the 270s and 260s BC, and may have lived some of the time in the eastern Aegean. He wrote "mimiambs" depicting scenes of everyday life. Seven poems survive largely intact, and fragments of others.

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Herodes Atticus *c.*AD 101/03–177

Sophist and patron

The Athenian Herodes Atticus was the most striking example in his time of the native Greek who, although highly successful within the political system of imperial Rome and perfectly integrated into upper-class Roman society, nevertheless remained entirely Greek in his cultural orientation. His full name was Lucius Vibullius Hipparchus Tiberius Claudius Atticus Herodes, and he was the son of a very rich Athenian, Tiberius Claudius Atticus Herodes, and of Vibullia Alcia, a niece of her husband. Like his son after him, the father succeeded in penetrating the highest levels of Roman administration. He was the first Greek from old Greece to reach the suffect consulship, around AD 132, and probably also its first member of the Roman Senate.

Already in his education Herodes combined Greek and Roman elements. In Greek he followed the normal upper-class curriculum of his day. He studied literature with Theagenes of Cnidus and Munatius of Tralles. In rhetoric he numbered among his teachers the Athenian Secundus as well as some of the most famous sophists of his day, Scopelian, Polemo, and the Celtic polymath Favorinus. He rounded out his education with a course in Platonic philosophy under the renowned Calvenus Taurus.

He was, however, also educated in a Roman milieu, in the family of P. Calvisius Tullus Ruso, *consul ordinarius* in AD 109 and the grandfather of the future Roman emperor Marcus Aurelius. This sojourn led not only to a familiarity with upper-class Roman society but, presumably, also to his acquiring a perfect and accent-free Latin, a valuable and uncommon asset for a Greek.

As might be expected from a son of the rich and prominent Atticus, Herodes ascended to high office in Athens. Already in his early twenties he became an *agoranomos*, a supervisor of the market; soon after, in AD 126–27, he held the prestigious post of the eponymous archon, a post that not even Hellenistic kings and Roman emperors had disdained. As an ex-archon he also became a life member of the illustrious council of Areopagus.

After his archonship at Athens, Herodes began his Roman political career. Although not clearly attested, his first office must have been one associated with the vigintivirate, possibly that of a *quinquevir litibus iudicandis*. Next, he was honoured by the emperor by being chosen as *quaestor principis*. After his tribuneship and praetorship he was appointed as a *corrector* of the province of Asia for AD 134–35. His career reached its culmination in AD 143 when, as the first Greek from old Greece, he became a *consul ordinarius*, just as his father Atticus had been the first suffect consul. Herodes was subsequently offered the chance of a proconsulship or, possibly, of a second consulship but he turned down this offer.

In addition to his political posts Herodes was also honoured with other offices of great social prestige. He was chosen to be the *agonothetes* (exhibitor) of the Panathenaic games and of the Panhellenia. He was also the *archiereus ton sebaston* (high priest of the Augusti) and the priest of the *Tobacchoi*, as well as a *sodalis Augustalis* and a *sodalis Hadrianalis*.

Herodes was also possibly the most generous private philanthropist of the Roman empire. His greatest Athenian building projects were the Panathenaic stadium, clad in white marble, and the Odeum, roofed with costly cedar. He also built a roofed theatre at Corinth and rebuilt and enlarged the stadium at Delphi. Another of his major structures was the aqueduct at Olympia to supply drinking water for the spectators at the Olympic Games. Numerous less expensive benefactions are also attested. Herodes dreamed of crowning his benefactions with an even mightier accomplishment, the building of a canal across the isthmus of Corinth, a project attempted but

not completed by the emperor Nero. He did not, however, muster the courage to ask the emperor for permission.

Although famous for his philanthropy and very successful in public life, Herodes was probably best known at large as the leading figure in the Greek-language cultural movement known as the Second Sophistic. He was the acknowledged master among his fellow sophists, to wit performers and teachers of display oratory. Their show declamations were perhaps the most popular form of Greek-language artistic entertainment from the second half of the 1st century AD to the first half of the 3rd. In these performances a sophist was often expected to deliver a speech, usually on a topic of Classical Greek history proposed by the audience, with only a brief period of time allowed for preparation. Much was expected of these performers by their knowledgeable audiences. Their grasp of Greek history had to be accurate, and they were also required to be Atticists, i.e. to use a Greek borrowed from Classical Greek writers, a Greek that in vocabulary, morphology, and syntax often departed from contemporary educated speech. Above all, they had to express their subject matter in striking and original diction. In addition, the successful declaimer had to act out convincingly, and in a euphonious voice, the historical character he was impersonating. It is noteworthy that despite his immersion in his Roman *cursus honorum* and his marriage into a patrician Roman family, Herodes entirely avoided cultural Romanization and by preference invested his artistic and intellectual energies in an art form not only entirely Greek in language, form, and content but even associated by some with anti-Roman sentiments.

As a teacher, Herodes educated many of the prominent sophists of the next generation and was honoured by being chosen as the teacher of rhetoric of the future emperors Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus.

The most lasting legacy of the Second Sophistic, hence of Herodes Atticus, its most resplendent representative, was to entrench among the educated the use of Koine, a common Greek that had reincorporated into itself many of the linguistic features of Classical Greek that had disappeared in oral and written usage during the Hellenistic and early Roman periods. Because this repristinated Greek was adopted by the state and by the educated in the Byzantine period, it enjoyed an existence of well over a thousand years.

Of the written works of Herodes nearly all have been lost. Philostratus, his biographer, writing in the 3rd century AD, reports as extant very many letters, speeches, and diaries, as well as handbooks and anthologies. Still extant is a speech called *Peri Politeias* (On the Constitution) attributed to Herodes by the Codex Crippsianus. It represents, perhaps, the ultimate triumph of Herodes as the perfect Atticizing sophist. The writer's knowledge of Greek history and his skill at avoiding non-Classical Greek are so remarkable that several modern scholars have deemed this speech to have been written by a Greek of the 5th or 4th century BC.

Herodes was less fortunate in his family life. He married Appia Annia Atilia Regilla Caucidia Tertulla, who came from a patrician Roman family with consuls on both her father's and her mother's side. In fact, her paternal and maternal grandfathers were joint *consules ordinarii* in AD 108. Although this marriage signified Herodes' acceptance as a member of the Roman aristocracy, his life as a husband and as a father was less than happy. Of his several children only the one he liked least, his son Bradua, probably the *consul ordinarius* of AD 185, survived him. When his wife Regilla died in premature labour, due, it was said by many, to a kick administered by one of her husband's freedmen, Herodes had to stand trial for murder on the charge of having ordered this assault. Although he was acquitted, the mere fact that so monstrous a charge could be readily believed implies a less than harmonious married life.

Herodes died at the age of 76, between AD 177 and 179, after a reconciliation with his fellow Athenians with whom he had had stormy relationships for most of his life. He received honorary burial in one of his most splendid gifts to Athens, the Panathenaic stadium.

There is no adequate biography of Herodes Atticus in English, though there is in German (Ameling) and an older one in French (Graindor). Philostratus's life of Herodes is translated in the Loeb edition (W.C. Wright), and is the subject of a detailed commentary by the present author. Albini has produced an (Italian) edition of the speech *Peri Politeias*, though he is unconvinced that it is by Herodes as some scholars believe. Herodes' monumental remains are discussed most fully by Tobin.

IVARS AVOTINS

Biography

Born in Athens *c.*AD 101, Herodes was the son of a Roman senator and followed his father into a political career, becoming consul in AD 143. Educated by many of the best teachers of Greek and Roman culture, Herodes remained entirely Greek in his cultural outlook. He endowed many buildings in Greek cities and was a major representative of the Second Sophistic movement, though most of his works are lost. He died *c.*177.

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Herodotus 484–*c.*425 BC

Historian

Herodotus' name is inseparable from that of his one surviving work, the *Histories*, an account of the Persian Wars (490–479 BC), fought between the Persian kings Darius and Xerxes and the cities of Greece and – very broadly defined – of the background to those wars. Though previous works, now surviving only in fragments, such as the *Genealogies* and *Journey round the Earth* of Hecataeus of Miletus, seem in some respects to have been similar in style and approach to the *Histories*, Herodotus has been recognized since antiquity as the "Father of History".

Our knowledge of Herodotus' own life largely derives from the internal evidence of his work. He was born in Halicarnassus (modern Bodrum on the southwest coast of Turkey) at some point in the first half of the 5th century BC, but left as a consequence of a period of political infighting in which his family was involved. The extent of his travels is hotly disputed. Herodotus claims to have travelled to Egypt, the Levant, and the Black Sea, but some aspects of his accounts of foreign lands – his description of unknown (or his omission of well-known) monuments, his ascription of very Greek-sounding ideas to foreign sources, and a number of fanciful details – have led many to suppose that his knowledge of foreign lands was more second-hand, the product not of personal investigation but of Greek tradition (or, less plausibly, of his imagination). At the very least it seems certain that Herodotus spent time in Samos and in Athens, both cities on which he is well informed; he is reputed to have died in the recently founded Greek colony of Thurii in southern Italy, or in Macedonia. References in his work suggest that he wrote in the early years of the Peloponnesian War (431–404 BC): the tension between Athens and Sparta, the two chief protagonists of that war, is a regular undercurrent in his account of earlier events. Possible allusions to his *Histories* in the comedies of Aristophanes, most notably the *Acharnians* and *Birds*, suggest that the work may have been "published" in a number of instalments.

Herodotus' declared object was to record the "great and marvellous deeds of Greeks and Barbarians" and in particular "the reasons why they went to war with one another". Only the last four of the nine books of his *Histories* describe the events of the Persian Wars; Herodotus' focus is much broader. His *Histories* are the chief source for the early history of Greece (from *c.*650 BC to the Persian Wars). At the same time, while tracing the expansion of the Persian empire into Asia Minor, Europe, and Egypt, Herodotus takes the opportunity to describe the customs of all those peoples in the Persians' path. These accounts are written in the present tense, as if the characters of the different peoples were timeless. They cover religious customs, sexual practices, dress, language, hairstyles, and any other "wonderful but true" stories Herodotus thinks fit to include.

The structure of the *Histories* can at first be bewildering. As he declares at one point, it is his intention to "digress" from the main course of his narrative. One such digression – on the history and customs of Egypt – takes up the whole of the lengthy second book. Nevertheless, as recent work has demonstrated, there are a number of underlying patterns to the work that are not initially evident. The search of the Lydian king Croesus for a Greek ally with whom to counter the Persian Cyrus leads Herodotus in book 1 to investigate the relative strengths of Athens and Sparta: the two cities are repeatedly juxtaposed. The close of the *Histories* used to be thought impossibly inconclusive. A number of echoes of the opening of the work reveal, however, a very polished and final ending – albeit one without any of the explicit historical conclusions that modern readers are led to expect. The last main episode of the *Histories* concerns the execution, on a site overlooking the Hellespont, of a Persian commander, Artacytes, for plundering the shrine of the hero Protesilaus. Protesilaus had been the first Greek to cross to Asia, and to die there, in the course of the Trojan Wars. In Artacytes' view, however, Protesilaus had in turn plundered his wealth from the king of Persia; for the Persians, Herodotus explains – recalling a Persian explanation of the earlier hostilities between Asia and Europe at the opening of the *Histories* – believe all of Asia to belong to their king. At the same time, the barbaric manner of Artaycтes' punishment – he was nailed to a plank, his son stoned to death before his eyes – points forward to another dangerously expansionist power: the man responsible, the Athenian commander Xanthippus, was the father of Pericles, the figure most associated with Athens' subsequent empire. It has happened before, Herodotus seems to be saying; it will happen again.

The *Histories* are also a rich source of evidence for Greek attitudes and values. Most markedly, Herodotus' work is characterized by strong religious convictions: by beliefs, for example, in the likelihood of divine retribution for unjust acts or in the value of divination, by a pronounced fatalism, and by a sense – expounded most fully by the Athenian character Solon in book 1 – of the unpredictability of all human fortune. At the same time, by acknowledging the possibility, for example, of others' scepticism over divination, Herodotus frequently reflects, even if he does not follow, more sceptical currents of thought. The language and style of his argumentation also find numerous parallels in contemporary medical

writings. Though his accounts of foreign peoples are moulded and structured by Greek attitudes and prejudices, Herodotus consequently provides invaluable evidence for the ways in which the Greeks perceived and understood their "barbarian" neighbours. Egyptian customs, for example, frequently mirror those of the Greeks: Egyptian women urinate in standing position and men sitting down. And the geography of Africa also inverts that of Europe: the course of the Danube provides evidence for that of the Nile.

If the allusions to Herodotus' work in the plays of Aristophanes (or of Sophocles) are accepted, this would suggest that his work quickly became well known to a large audience, at least in Athens. Later, unreliable anecdotes of public readings in Athens and at Olympia give the same impression, though they may simply be the product of a later perception of his work as populist. Thucydides, the Athenian historian of the Peloponnesian War, on a number of occasions takes for granted knowledge of Herodotus' work; by extending his *History* back to the aftermath of the Persian Wars, he may have seen himself as a continuator of Herodotus. In many ways, however – by his exclusion of the divine from history, by his more focused scope on the contemporary political and military affairs of Greece, and by pronouncements of his omission of *to mythodes* or "the fabulous" from his work – he may have meant to distance himself from his predecessor.

Herodotus continued to be read throughout antiquity. His influence can be detected on the 4th-century BC historians Ephorus and Theopompus – who wrote an epitome of the *Histories* – and also on Callisthenes. Nearchus, Alexander's admiral, seems to have travelled and written with Herodotus' stories in mind. In the Hellenistic period also Herodotus was mined for factual information by philosophers and by poets such as Apollonius Rhodius and Callimachus as well as by historians; he was commemorated by statues in Halicarnassus and in the library of the kings of Pergamum. His reputation was double-edged, however. Dionysius of Halicarnassus praised him as a stylist rather than as a historian. Others, from Ctesias – himself notoriously unreliable – in the 4th century BC onwards, denounced him as a liar or story-teller. A number of pamphlets, most famously Plutarch's *On the Malignity of Herodotus*, criticized him for lies, plagiarism, for bias against particular Greek states, or as a "barbarian-lover". Just as the expansion of Greek interest in the Near East that followed the conquests of Alexander the Great seems to have given his reputation fresh impetus, later events also gave Herodotus new prominence. His attempts to come to terms with the customs of foreign peoples became more relevant with the discovery of the New World. In the light of the long struggle of the Byzantine empire against the Ottomans, the confrontation of Greeks and Persians also acquired particular potency, as is reflected in the work of the historian Laonikos Chalkokondyles.

THOMAS HARRISON

See also Historiography

Biography

Born in Halicarnassus, traditionally in 484 BC, Herodotus travelled widely, but perhaps not as widely as he would have his readers believe. He certainly spent time in Samos and Athens, and he is said to have died at Thurii in south Italy *c.*425 BC. His one surviving work, the *Histories*, is primarily concerned with the Persian Wars. But his description of the expansion of the Persian empire into Asia Minor, Europe, and Egypt leads him to describe the habits and customs of the peoples they encountered. Traditionally regarded since antiquity as the "Father of History".

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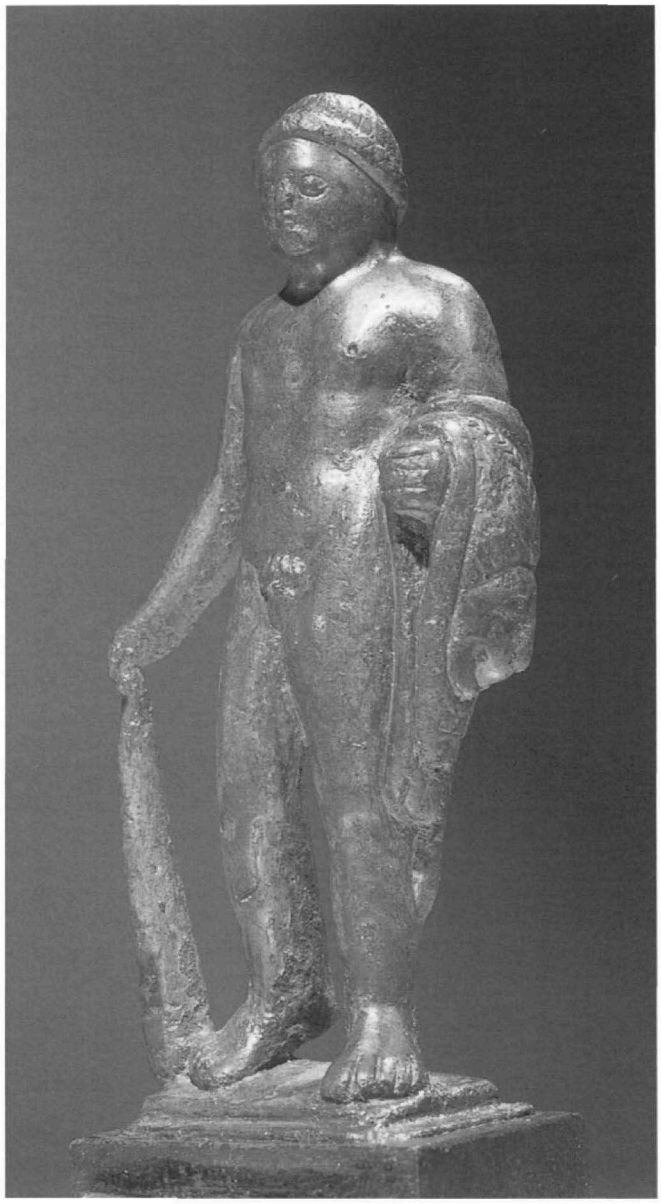
Heroes and heroines

In the Homeric poems the word *heros* designates a living warrior or another individual of high social standing. It is clearly a term of respect and attaches to groups of warriors such as the Achaeans and Danaans, as well as to individuals such as Protesilaus and Menelaus in the *Iliad*, and to the poet Demodocus and the young Telemachus in the *Odyssey*. By contrast, in Greek cult the word *heros* (and later *heroine* or *heroissa*) refers to a person whose powers had been so remarkable in life that he or she was honoured in death as attaining a status between god and mortal. These cults of heroes were distinct from the family cult of the dead. The cult of heroes has been taken back to the Bronze Age, but archaeological



Heroes: bronze statuette of Heracles, holding his club and the Nemean lion skin, 5th–4th century BC

evidence for this distinctive cult of the dead begins to appear in the early 8th century BC – the age in which the Homeric poems were taking shape and being performed throughout the Greek world. A connection between the spread of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* and the emergence of hero cults has often been asserted, as has a connection between hero cult and the rise of the polis. The heroes of the Homeric poems – Achilles, Agamemnon, Menelaus and Helen, Meriones and Diomedes, Odysseus and Alcinous – were recipients of a hero cult both in their native countries and throughout the Greek world. Many, such as Achilles and Agamemnon, were worshipped far from their native lands: Achilles was worshipped in the Troad and Black Sea and Agamemnon in Tarentum

This is remarkable, since it is axiomatic of the cult of heroes that these cults are tightly bound to a single place (usually a grave with its monuments) and are the expression of group identity. Although worship of heroes and heroines can reasonably be connected with the rise of the polis, the worship of the heroes of the Homeric epics, like the cult of Homer himself, is Panhellenic.

There was nothing like a cult of heroes in the ancient Near East, although Lycian dynasts adopted the cult in the 4th century BC. In the *Iliad* the descriptions of the cults of Erechtheus and Sarpedon have plausibly been taken as reflections of Homer's awareness of hero cult. But it is only in the myth of the ages in Hesiod's *Works and Days* that the race of heroes emerges as a distinct historical phenomenon. This race is inserted in the succession of metallic ages known from the Book of Daniel (gold, silver, bronze, and iron). Coming after the age of bronze, the heroes and "half-gods" (*hemitheoi*) who fought at Thebes and Troy are recognized as receiving honours from the gods in death by being transported to the Islands of the Blest. But it is the men of the silver age who, dwelling beneath the earth, receive honours in death, even though they neglected the gods.

The archaeological record of a hero cult derives from the deposits at the graves and grave precincts of the dead who were recipients of the cult, and from a variety of representations of the dead as the objects of worship by the living human community. Most of these cults are anonymous. The most striking early example of such a cult is the 7th-century BC *heroon* (hero shrine) of a warrior buried with rich grave offerings in the grave complex at the west gate of Eretria in Euboea. There are later reliefs from Laconia showing the heroized dead (both male and female) seated majestically on thrones, with snakes coiling about to indicate their chthonic character as heroes. More common and dating from the late 6th century BC are the reliefs (known as banquet reliefs) that show a male *heros* reclining on a banquet couch with a *phiale* (libation bowl) or *rhyton* (drinking horn) in hand to receive the libations of the living. Such a figure is associated with a seated figure representing his wife. On the upper register of the relief are the emblems of his life: these include his weapons and sometimes his horse looking in through a window in the "wall". Below the couch is a table holding offerings of bread, fruit, and eggs. These are all aristocratic monuments and dedications in a sanctuary rather than grave monuments. Very occasionally dedications with inscriptions have been excavated in these grave precincts: at Mycenae one vase is dedicated "to the hero", another "to Helen", and a stele "to Menelaus" in Sparta.

Heracles was the archetype of the Greek hero. He was half divine and half human, with Zeus as his father and Alcmene as his mother. Herodotus reports that on the island of Thasos, where he had an important sanctuary, he received sacrifices both as an immortal and as a mortal. The one kind of sacrifice was performed on an altar and included libations, as well as the table companionship of the worshippers; the other kind of sacrifice was a holocaust and was deposited, with libations, in a pit (*bothros*, *eschara*); it did not involve the table fellowship of the worshippers. In the 5th century BC the worship of *heroinai* came into prominence, especially in Attica. These heroines were anonymous but they are clearly conceived of as the ancestors of the worshippers. Women did not share in what are usually counted as the four main categories of hero cult: that of the statesman, the warrior, the athlete, and the poet. Lycurgus and Chilon had their cult at Sparta; Brasidas, the Spartan general, at Amphipolis; the savage athlete Cleomedes

at Astypalaea; and Archilochus had his cult on Paros. The cult of Archilochus on Paros had a history of some 800 years, and the cults of Homer throughout the Greek world were about as durable. Philosophers were also honoured by hero cults. The first cult to a philosopher we know of was Parmenides' dedication of a *heroon* to his teacher, Ameinias, in Velium (south of Naples). Cults are recorded for Pythagoras and Plato, as well as for Epicurus and his associates. These cults helped to create a sense of group identity for the members of these philosophical schools (who were most often foreigners) and gave them a kind of corporate identity.

The rise of the polis and the weakening of the grip of the great families within the Greek city state are reciprocal phenomena. The hero cult became civic and, as it did, the family cult and tending of the dead became less important, although elaborate funerary monuments persisted. Rivalling both cults was the new cult of the ruler. The cult of a living ruler emerged well before the Hellenistic age. In the early 4th century BC the Spartan general Lysander received worship on Samos, as did Antigonus II and Demetrius Poliorcetes in Athens early in the next century. With Alexander of Macedon's arrogation to himself of divine status, the cult of rulers began to rival the cult of the gods, especially in the successor kingdoms of the Ptolemies, Attalids, and Seleucids in Egypt, Asia Minor, and the east. The coinage of these states is eloquent. Where coins once showed the emblem of the city and its most important divinity (in the case of Athens the owl and Athena), the coins of Alexander and his successors displayed the portrait of the dynast as equal to the divinity of the city issuing the coin. Associated with these cults of the living ruler were sacrifices, processions, contests, and priesthoods. These paved the way for the cult of the Roman emperor and Roma in the Roman imperial period, but they were short lived and rarely survived the death of the ruler and the emergence to power of his successor.

Neither the rise of the polis nor the partial eclipse of its autonomy in the Hellenistic age arrested the continuity of the family cult and, as the franchise on heroic status became cheap, a family could declare on a small grave block or stele that this was the resting place of "Sostratos, *heros*". The term *heros*, once honorific, was demoted to the status of the term *makarites* in modern Greek – *heros*, like "blessed", simply came to mean "departed". Some families were wealthy and more ambitious. On the island of Thera in the late 3rd century BC an elaborate inscription describes the development of the cult that Epicteta established for her husband and her two sons who had predeceased her and, looking beyond her own death, herself. This will was ratified by the ephorate of the island and thus the private became public.

In her will Epicteta spoke of the precinct that was the centre of her cult as a *mouseion* (or place sacred to the Muses) and the individual graves as *heroa*, that is, monuments to heroes. The place of worship of heroes was often named after them: there is an Archilocheion on Paros and Homereia are known from Smyrna (where Homer was honoured with a temple and library), Chios, and Alexandria. The architectural remains of such *heroa* range from a grave and precinct to the Mausoleum of Mausolus of Caria (erected by his wife after his death in 353 BC), which was one of the wonders of the ancient world and most probably the centre of a hero cult. The Greek practice of heroizing the dead also spread to Lycia, where the grave of the local dynast Erbinna is contained in the magnificent 4th-century BC Nereid monument (now in the British Museum). The great altar to Zeus at Pergamum probably also functioned as a *heroon* to the ancestral figure of Telephus. The heroic pretensions of the anonymous *heros* buried in an elaborate temple tomb in Calydon are clear from its iconography and the relief showing the local hero Meleager.

With the spread of Christianity, pagan forms of worship – including hero cult – were gradually suppressed. But some pagan temples were converted into early Christian churches, as the Parthenon was given over to the worship of the Virgin (Panaghia). Christian saints supplanted the heroes who had prepared the way for them and, like the heroes and heroines of the past, they had their own place of cult, the centre of their power, and their days on the calendar of the religious year.

DISKIN CLAY

See also Dead

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Heron

Mathematician and astronomer of the 1st or 2nd century AD

Very little is known about Heron of Alexandria, and we cannot even be sure when he lived (dates from the 2nd century BC to the 3rd century AD have been suggested). He does, however,

seem to be aware of the Romans, and in one of his works an argument uses as an illustration an eclipse of the moon observable in both Rome and Alexandria ten days before the spring equinox. The only such eclipse that took place in the range of periods in which Heron might have lived was in AD 62 (on 10 March). Since there is also some indication that the astronomer Ptolemy, writing in the 2nd century AD, was familiar with more sophisticated mathematical methods than those of Heron, then a date in the late 1st or early 2nd century AD looks plausible.

Heron is the author of 11 surviving treatises, largely on the practical applications of mathematics and mechanics. As practical handbooks they seem to have been modified and partially rewritten in the course of time to meet the needs of later users, and in some cases there are doubts as to how much really goes back to Heron.

The *Metrica* deals with methods of calculating areas and volumes; the *Definitions* is a collection of geometrical terms, and is probably a Byzantine compilation; the *Catoptrica* (which survives only in a medieval Latin translation) is on the mathematics of mirrors and their practical use; the *Geometrica* is a rather unstructured introduction to geometry; the *Stereometrica* deals with the theory of measuring volumes, and goes on to describe its practical application; the *Belopoieca* and the *Cheiroballistra* describe the construction of different kinds of catapult; the *Dioptra* concerns surveying, and particularly the use of the plane table; the *Mechanica* (which survives only in Arabic translation, though substantial fragments of the Greek text are preserved by Pappus) starts with simple theoretical mechanics, and goes on to describe mechanical devices such as the windlass, the lever, the screw, and the pulley, and shows how they can be used to move heavy weights; the *Automatopoietike* is about the construction of automata (largely for entertainment); and the *Pneumatica* describes devices worked by compressed air, steam, and water. A number of other works are credited to Heron, including a commentary on Euclid's *Elements*, of which a few fragments are preserved in quotations by other authors.

Although some of Heron's works contain mathematical material in the same form, and with the same goals, as traditional Euclidean geometry, what is interesting is that he reveals that Greek mathematics was not restricted to those fields in which they were capable of devising formal proofs. He also shows how Greek mathematics could be adapted to practical use. Many procedures are carried out by the application of formulae, as they are today. He knows the formula for calculating the area of a triangle if the length of the sides is given, and another for approximately calculating a cube root, and his method of solving quadratic equations is very close to the one used today. While mathematics in the Euclidean tradition is interested in producing irrefutable proofs, and absolute precision and certainty, Heron does not hesitate to give approximate results, of a kind perfectly adequate for practical purposes. It is very much the kind of mathematics that had long been practised by the Babylonians and the Egyptians, and shows that this tradition of practical mathematics continued to develop among the Greeks alongside the Euclidean tradition that we think of as more characteristically Greek. Heron often illustrates his procedures by examples drawn from real practical situations, such as calculating the capacity of a theatre, a barrel, a well, or the hold of a ship.

He is, however, best known for his descriptions of machines, gadgets, and automata, which preserve some of the few pieces of evidence we have of the application of Greek science to practical technology. He provides, for example, one of the few instances from antiquity of harnessing the power of the wind by means of a windmill; in the example he gives, it is used to drive a mechanical organ. He describes a crude steam turbine in which steam created by boiling water in a cauldron is piped into a ball through tubes on which the ball is pivoted, and allowed to escape through outlets that drive the ball round; he also gives an account of a force pump for use in a fire engine. Many of the machines he describes are designed to amuse or impress. For example, he tells us how to construct a vessel that will, by the manipulation of air inlets, dispense pure wine, wine mixed with water, or plain water (which Heron thinks might be a good joke to play). He describes two different ways of making a model temple whose doors will open of their own accord when a fire is lit on the altar, and another device makes a trumpet sound when a door is opened. He also describes a vending machine that dispenses water (presumably for purification purposes) when a coin is inserted, and gives an account of how to build toy theatres, where the figures are made to move by the force of millet seed or sand trickling out of a container.

It is hard to say how many of these devices were ever actually built or put into use (though some of Heron's descriptions do seem to bear the marks of practical experience). The argument sometimes put forward that Heron's work demonstrates that industrialization was well within the grasp of Greek engineers, but that they were prevented from progressing by social or ideological considerations, is quite misplaced. In most cases, the technology of the day was not sufficiently advanced to enable the construction of more than very small devices. In the case of the steam turbine, which is often cited in this argument, the form in which Heron describes it could hardly have had a practical application. The weak point of the device is the joint between the steam pipes and the ball, which must be tight enough to prevent steam escaping, but loose enough to allow the unimpeded movement of the ball. It has been calculated that the efficiency of such a machine would be no more than 1 per cent; consequently, the effort required to gather fuel and stoke the boiler would be many times greater than any work produced.

RICHARD WALLACE

See also Technology

Biography

Heron was born in Alexandria but little else is known of his life. He may have lived in the 1st or 2nd century AD. He wrote widely on mathematics and the practical applications of mathematics, notably machines, gadgets, and automata. He drew on Babylonian sources as well as the Euclidian tradition.

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Herophilus *c.*330–*c.*260 BC

Physician

Herophilus of Chalcedon, an Alexandrian physician, was one of only two ancient scientists (the other being Erasistratus of Ceos) to perform systematic scientific dissections of human cadavers. According to controversial but plausible ancient evidence, he and Erasistratus also performed vivisections on condemned criminals handed over to them by autocratic Hellenistic rulers. Herophilus' pioneering use of human dissection led to numerous remarkable anatomical discoveries, among them his discovery of the nerves, his distinction between sensory and "voluntary" (i.e. motor) nerves, and his description of the paths and functions of at least seven pairs of cranial nerves, including the optic nerve and the oculomotor nerve. He also identified several ventricles of the brain as well as some fine cerebral and vascular structures. Discovering a cavity in the floor of the fourth ventricle of the brain, he named it *kalamos* ("reed pen") because of its resemblance to the carved-out groove of a writing pen. This is but one of his many contributions to modern anatomical nomenclature (*calamus scriptorius*). The confluence of the four great cranial sinuses still bears the name of its discoverer: *torcular Herophili*. His meticulous dissection of the eye also allowed him to become the first to distinguish between the cornea, retina, iris, and chorioid coat.

Herophilus' anatomical investigations yielded considerable advances in the description and understanding of other organs too. An extant fragment from book 1 of his *Dissections*, for example, preserves the first reasonably accurate and detailed description of the human liver, while fragments of book 3 preserve his anatomical account of the male and female reproductive parts. Using the analogy of the male testicles, he discovered the ovaries or, as he called them, female "twins" (*didymoi*, "twins", being a traditional term for the testicles). His investigation of the uterus and of the ovaries also led to his discovery of the Fallopian tubes, although (as Galen was delighted to emphasize) Herophilus failed to recognize their true course and their function. From book 4 of *Dissections* fragments of his extensive anatomy of the vascular system survive, including some concerning the anatomical distinction between veins and arteries, the heart valves, the chambers of the heart, and various complex vascular structures.

Closely linked to Herophilus' radically new anatomical version of the human body was his physiological model of the body. The aim of his dissections and vivisections of humans and animals apparently was not only to *describe* various internal parts of the body, but also to uncover and explain their *functions*. Although insisting that all causal explanation is "hypothetical" or provisional, he freely offered causal accounts of respiration, pulsation, sensation, reproduction, dreams, and physical as well as mental diseases. Locating the "command centre" (*hegemonikon*) of the body in the fourth cerebral ventricle, i.e. in the cerebellum (which is in fact responsible, *inter alia*, for muscular coordination and for the maintenance of physical equilibrium), Herophilus apparently argued that neural transmissions occur by means of *pneuma*, a breath-like substance that runs from the brain through the nerves. This *pneuma* is ultimately derived from the external air through respiration.

Pneuma is present not only in the nerves, according to Herophilus, but also in the arteries, mixed with blood, whereas the veins carry only blood. This uncanny, though not precise, parallel to the modern recognition that the arteries carry oxygenated blood ("blood with *pneuma*" in Herophilus' model) from the heart, whereas the veins convey deoxygenated blood ("blood without *pneuma*", according to Herophilus) triggered a controversy that lasted many centuries, but in the end it was Herophilus' view that prevailed, not least because the influential Galen accepted it, albeit with certain elaborations.

Herophilus' pioneering treatise *On Pulses* became the foundation of practically all ancient pulse theories, as becomes evident in Galen's voluminous accounts of pulse lore. A "power" or "faculty" (*dynamis*) flowing from the heart through the muscular walls of the arteries causes the regular dilation and contraction of the arteries; the words "diastole" and "systole" are further examples of Herophilus' many enduring contributions to medical terminology. The pulsating arteries continuously "pull" the mixture of blood and *pneuma* from the heart, and distribute it to all parts of the body. Using musical analogies, Herophilus described the changing relations between *diastole* and *systole* at different stages of life as successively displaying pyrrhic, trochaic, spondaic, and iambic rhythms, i.e. in infancy, childhood, adulthood, and old age, respectively. So confident was he in the diagnostic value of the pulse that he constructed a clepsydra, adjustable for the patient's age, to measure his patients' pulse rates.

In his *Midwifery* Herophilus apparently tried to demystify the uterus by asserting that not only is it constituted of the same material elements as the rest of the body but it is also governed by the same "powers" or "faculties". Certain "affections", he said, are of course experienced only by women (conception, parturition, lactation), but there is no disease peculiar to women. His discovery of the broad ligaments, which hold the uterus in place, challenged the traditional Hippocratic theory that hysteria or hysterical suffocation is caused by the "wandering womb". The causes of difficult childbirth, the normal duration of pregnancy, the benefits and disadvantages of menstruation, and whether the foetus is a living being are further subjects treated in this work. Tertullian, who vigorously objected to Herophilus' use of human dissection and vivisection, also charges Herophilus with the possession of an instrument known as "foetus-slayer", implying that he performed abortions.

His semiotic theory of diagnosis, known as a "triple-timed inference from signs", his descriptions of the symptoms and causes of numerous physical and mental disorders, and his classification of dreams are among further achievements that

provoked both admiring approval and resistance throughout antiquity.

Herophilus' revolutionary discoveries transformed Greek theoretical medicine, but it is difficult to assess their influence on ancient and Byzantine medical practice. Furthermore, resistance to his innovative methods, notably to human dissection, was immediate and forceful. Moral and religious scruples about dissection found a powerful ally in the methodological and epistemological objections of the Empiricists, a new medical "school" founded in Alexandria by Philinus of Cos, a renegade pupil of Herophilus. Although Herophilus had his followers, too – the history of the "Herophilean school" can be traced in Alexandria, Asia Minor, and elsewhere from the 3rd century BC to the 1st century AD – they never seem to have mounted an effective defence of human dissection against the Empiricists' claim that it is a clinically irrelevant and epistemologically suspect method of investigation. Herophilus' discoveries and theories nevertheless continued to have an impact, in large measure thanks to their transmission by an appreciative though not uncritical Galen, by Soranus of Ephesus, by early Byzantine medical encyclopaedists (Oribasius, Aëtius of Amida, Paul of Aegina), and by Hippocratic and Galenic commentators. When systematic human dissection was resumed in the Renaissance, the superior accuracy of Herophilus' observations was recognized anew. In the 20th century, too, innovative theorists have continued to recognize the value of some of Herophilus' insights, even if, in certain cases, reluctantly. In *The Interpretation of Dreams*, for example, Sigmund Freud comments: "I am far from seeking to maintain that I am the first writer to have the idea of deriving dreams from wishes. Those who attach importance to anticipations of this kind may go back to Classical antiquity and quote Herophilus."

HEINRICH VON STADEN

See also Anatomy and Physiology, Health

Biography

Born in Chalcedon *c.*330 BC, Herophilus was a pupil of Praxagoras of Cos before moving to Alexandria. There he performed systematic dissections of human cadavers (and, according to some sources, vivisections on condemned criminals) which led to many important anatomical discoveries and transformed theoretical medicine. His writings included the treatises *Dissections*, *On Pulses*, and *On Midwifery*. He died *c.*260 BC.

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Hesiod

Epic poet of the 8th or 7th century BC

The works of Hesiod, like those of Homer, deal with two disparate themes. Unlike the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, however, which are long narratives composed to entertain, Hesiod's *Theogony* and *Works and Days* are shorter poems, instructive in their purpose. They are best understood within the framework of traditions of cosmogonical and wisdom literature prevalent in the ancient Near East (although not only there).

The *Theogony*, which seems to have been composed first (see below), deals with the creation of the universe and its peopling with gods in their generations and their semidivine offspring. After an opening hymn to the Muses and an invocation, the poet goes through divine genealogies from Chaos to the Olympians, the narrative being underpinned by the separate episodes of the divine succession myth, wherein Uranus gives way to Cronus, and Cronus and the Titans to Zeus. The poem ends – or peters out – with a catalogue of the children of goddesses and mortal men, which is closer to the later catalogue of mortal women who lay with gods than to the genuine poetry of Hesiod. Both the creation and succession myths of the *Theogony* have close parallels in oriental mythology.

After a brief introduction, most of the *Works and Days* is cast in the form of an admonition to the poet's unsatisfactory younger brother Perses. Hesiod then tells a story of Prometheus, whose deception of Zeus (over the allocation of shares in animal sacrifice, and the theft of fire, which he gave to mankind), which earned Prometheus agonizing punishment, is described at length in the *Theogony*. Here the earlier story is briefly alluded to, and its sequel is told: in revenge for the theft of fire, Zeus creates Pandora, whom he gives to Prometheus' late-thinking brother Epimetheus, with disastrous results, namely the release of evils upon mankind. The poet is then reminded of another story that traces in a different way the degradation of the human condition. This is the myth of ages, gold–silver–bronze–iron, with the insertion between the last two of the age of heroes who fought at Thebes and Troy. Hesiod then addresses the *basileis*, the chieftains whom Perses appears to have suborned, and Perses. In the bulk of the rest of the poem he gives Perses – who seems somehow to have lost his fortune and to be in need of practical instruction – advice on the agricultural tasks appropriate to each season of the year. A section on domestic and social matters follows, and the poem concludes with an almanac of the days of the month (the "Days" of the title). The motifs of giving advice to a younger person, and the myth of ages, have parallels with eastern literature, but, as with the traditional elements in the *Theogony*, it is not possible to trace any kind of line of descent. It is to be noted as well that, despite the differences in scope and subject matter, Hesiod and Homer both composed in the same artificial epic dialect, which seems to have originated in Aeolis and Ionia, and clearly belong to the same epic tradition.

Hesiod differs from Homer not only in the nature and scope of his work, but also in the way that he presents himself to his audience. Whereas Homer is self-effacing to the point of anonymity, Hesiod goes to great pains to present and identify himself as a man with a name and occupation of his own, living in a specific milieu and with a specific background. How

Hesiod: carved gemstone showing Prometheus fashioning man in the image of the gods as described in Hesiod's *Theogony*, 3rd–2nd century BC, British Museum, London

much of this is genuine, and how much convention, is difficult to say, but where the details he gives can be checked they seem to confirm his story. For example, he claims to live at Ascra, near Mount Helicon. The site has been identified, and his description of the local microclimate is valid even today. He says that his father came from Cyme in Aeolis to settle at Ascra, understandable enough in that he would have moved from one Aeolic-speaking place to another.

The relative dates of Hesiod and Homer (whether he be poet or redactor) are still unsettled, but it seems to be generally agreed that their lifetimes overlapped, near the turn of the 8th and 7th centuries BC. In the *Works and Days* Hesiod reveals that he once won a tripod for a poem sung at the funeral games for Amphidamas of Chalcis: it is generally agreed that the prize poem was the *Theogony*. In both poems the poet speaks freely of himself and his circumstances. Other poems attributed to Hesiod – the *Shield of Heracles* and the various *Catalogues* – are generally, and probably correctly, held to be creations of various authors of the 6th century BC. Hesiod's position as an author within the genre is obfuscated by the fact that later ancient scholarship lumped together under his name all other catalogue poetry, as it attributed all other military epics to Homer.

The earliest critical edition of Hesiod's text was made by Zenodotus of Ephesus, the first librarian of Alexandria, followed by Aristophanes of Byzantium (3rd–2nd century BC) and Aristarchus (2nd century BC). These and other Alexandrian scholars more or less established the text (and several of its recurrent problems, such as the authenticity of the last part of the *Works and Days*, and of the lesser poems). Substantial commentaries were written by Plutarch (1st–2nd century AD), Proclus (5th century AD), John Tzetzes (12th century), Planoudes (13th century), Moschopoulos (13th–14th centuries), and Triklinios (14th century).

Understandably, Hesiod has not had as much influence on later literature as Homer. His work was, however, well known in antiquity, both in Greece and in Rome. Closer to our own time, George Chapman translated the *Works and Days* (1618), and Milton drew on the *Theogony* for the Creation portion of *Paradise Lost* (1667). Hesiod's Heliconian Muses have, of course, become a symbol for poetic inspiration, and poets from antiquity to the present have used the authority of Hesiod to speak of themselves and their poetic vocation. In the 20th century Kostis Palamas identified himself with Hesiod in his "Man of Ascra" (1903–04), a poem of 666 lines, in which he extends Hesiod's five ages to include a sixth, an Age of Love (retelling the Pandora myth), and adds a motif of his own, of rebirth after death, a metaphor for the rebirth in modern Greece of its ancient heritage.

ALBERT SCHACHTER

See also Poetry (Epic)

Biography

An approximate contemporary of Homer, Hesiod (*fl. c.*700 BC) lived at Ascra in Boeotia where his father had settled after leaving Asia Minor. He is the author of two surviving epic poems, the *Theogony* (on the descent of the gods) and the *Works and Days* (on agriculture and the just life). Other poems have been falsely attributed to him.

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Hesychasm

Hesychasm is now generally associated with the theology of St Gregory Palamas, worked out in the course of the 14th-century hesychast controversy. Gregory was, however, working on the

basis of a tradition that had experienced a certain renaissance from the late-13th century and which was rooted in the very origins of monasticism.

The word "hesychasm" derives from *hesychia* or stillness, tranquillity. The origin of this word is uncertain, though it has been linked to the verb "to be seated". It occurs in Classical Greek to signify both exterior and inner calm and peace. The Septuagint uses it principally to refer to the tranquillity resulting from freedom from external threats, but also in the sense of keeping silence. This second sense also crops up in the Greek of the New Testament, albeit rarely.

The *Apophthegmata Patrum* (5th–6th centuries) speak of *hesychia* not just in terms of the flight from men but also in terms of inner tranquillity. The term "hesychast" came to designate one seeking inner and outer stillness, not necessarily one who lived in complete solitude, but often one who lived in the kind of semi-eremitic communities found at Scetis or Nitria. Hesychasm, of both kinds, is recommended by many writers of the patristic period.

The most complete development of hesychasm as a distinctive spiritual tradition is found in the Sinaitic tradition, most especially in the work of St John Klimakos (7th century). "Few are those", he writes, "who have excelled in profane philosophy! Fewer still, I might say, are those who truly know that wisdom which is *hesychia*!" *Hesychia*, for Klimakos, is a state of inner silence and watchfulness, intimately linked to the remembrance of Jesus and short, repeated prayers. "The hesychast is one who tries to circumscribe the incorporeal in his body: a paradoxical undertaking!" "*Hesychia* is perpetual adoration before God: may the remembrance of Jesus be united with your breath, and then you will know the worth of *hesychia*." It is easy to see how important Klimakos was to be for the hesychasts of the 14th century in defending their psycho-physical methods of prayer. Klimakos does not expressly refer to the Jesus prayer, though this is clearly recommended by Hesychios of Batos, or Sinai (?8th century), his spiritual successor.

The hesychast tradition has tended to fluctuate in its influence, experiencing regular periods of decline and revival. It broke out spectacularly in 11th-century Byzantium with the mystical teaching of St Symeon the New Theologian. After that it seems to have gone into decline. Theoliptos of Philadelphia (*c.*1250–1322) is singled out by St Gregory Palamas as one of the leading teachers of hesychasm. Nikephoros the Hesychast, a monk of Athos in the 13th century, gave an account of certain methods by which the thoughts might be restrained and the return into oneself, into the depths of the heart, be effected. His teaching is similar to that given in the *Three Methods of Prayer* falsely attributed to St Symeon the New Theologian. Both may simply be records of practices that had long been traditional on Athos. It was these sorts of methods, particularly as practised by inexperienced monks, that so incensed the Calabrian monk Barlaam.

Notwithstanding the work of such men as Nikephoros, when St Gregory of Sinai arrived on Athos, around 1300, he found the practice of hesychasm virtually dead. Gregory settled at the skete of Magoula, near the monastery of Philotheou. While avoiding all controversy, Gregory's standpoint was very much that of his namesake, St Gregory Palamas. He speaks, for example, of the light of the Transfiguration as uncreated and specifically divine. In the course of the hesychast controversy Palamas provided a theological basis for the hesychast tradition of prayer, defending the participation of the body in the spiritual life and providing an explanation whereby the light witnessed in prayer could be regarded as divine and uncreated without negating the transcendence of God.

The victory of the hesychast party led by Palamas had enormous repercussions. It produced a flourishing of the hesychast tradition in the so-called Byzantine Commonwealth, a phenomenon described by John Meyendorff as the "hesychast international". It tended to confirm the monasticization of the patriarchate and the abandonment of the cathedral rite – both processes that had begun long before the hesychast controversy. The Turkish conquest appears to have severely restricted the hesychast tradition for some centuries. A deliberate attempt to revive it is to be found in the *Philokalia*, compiled in the 18th century by St Nikodemos of the Holy Mountain and St Makarios of Corinth. The influence of the *Philokalia* was initially more palpable in the Slavic world. There was a resurgence of the practice of the Jesus prayer in 19th-century Russia that owed much to the hesychast texts in the *Philokalia*. In the 20th century there has been something of a revival of the hesychast tradition on Mount Athos. This revival began in sketes such as that directed by Elder Joseph the Hesychast, and has since spread to many of the coenobia.

MARCUS PLESTED

Summary

Hesychasm, which derives from *hesychia* (stillness), is an aspect of the Eastern Christian spiritual tradition that goes back to the beginnings of monasticism. It is particularly associated with the thought of the 14th-century theologian St Gregory Palamas. The *Philokalia* includes many hesychast texts and the meditative tradition is currently enjoying a revival on Mount Athos.

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Hetairists

Also known as the *Philiki Hetaireia*, the "Friendly Society" was a philhellenic secret society that consisted mostly of Greeks living abroad, with the goal of organizing and helping to finance a Greek uprising against the Turks. It was one of the main contributing factors to Greek nationalism in the second decade of the 19th century, and played an active role in setting the stage for the War of Independence.

Founded in Odessa in 1814 by the expatriate merchants Athanasios Tsakalov, Nikolaos Skoufas, and Emmanouil Xanthos, the *Philiki Hetaireia* was organized along the lines of other revolutionary secret societies such as the Freemasons and Carbonari, but also in the tradition of Greek intellectual and

literary clubs such as the Philomuse Society founded in Athens in 1812 for the purpose of the cultural regeneration of the Greek nation. The *Hetaireia* moved its headquarters to Constantinople in 1818, as its membership grew and became more cosmopolitan; by the time of its dissolution it included members from nearly every major Greek community in Europe, as well as most regions in Greece itself. It was dissolved in 1821, at the outbreak of the War of Independence, when its nominally democratic organization was superseded by the more traditional loyalties and values necessitated by warfare. Yet in his analysis of hetairist documents, George D. Frangos notes that even in 1821 the records of some 1000 documented members reveal 53.7 per cent merchants, 13.1 per cent professionals (such as teachers, students, physicians, secretaries, etc.), 9.5 per cent clergymen, 8.7 per cent military men, and only 0.6 per cent peasants, the group representing the largest percentage of population in Ottoman-occupied Greece.

Throughout the *Hetaireia*'s existence, members were sent as messengers to European communities where Greeks lived, and to leaders of the Greeks in the Ottoman empire, seeking financial contributions and new initiates into the society. A number of local cells were set up in Greek territory and the Danubian principalities, and certain Orthodox priests in Greece proper openly assisted them. The *Philiki Hetaireia* was especially attractive to Phanariots and others with western sympathies and education, but members also included leaders of the klephts, such as Theodore Kolokotronis; the ruler of the Maniots, Petrobey Mavromichalis; and even the opportunistic Ali Pasha, who hoped to manipulate the *Hetaireia*, and through it the Russian government, into aiding his own uprising against the Sublime Porte. Membership also included a few prominent non-Greeks such as Kavadjordje Petrovic, who had led a successful revolt against the Porte in Serbia in the years 1804–06.

Initiates were intentionally misled into believing that the society had the backing of Russia through Ioannis Kapodistria, who at that time was serving as the principal minister of tsar Alexander I. Kapodistria had in fact been invited at least twice to become the leader of the *Philiki Hetaireia*, but had refused. Barbara Jelavich suggests that possibly it was he who suggested Alexander Ypsilantis, who became the society's leader in 1820 and led the abortive attempt to begin the revolution in the Danubian principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia (modern Romania) in March 1821. The *Philiki Hetaireia* gained considerable support from both Greeks and Romanians in the form of money, weapons, and recruits who believed that they were acting with the tsar's approval. When word came through that the tsar had denounced the revolt and the *Hetaireia*, the Ottoman army easily defeated the rebels. Ypsilantis escaped across the Austrian frontier, but was captured by Austrian authorities and died in the dungeon of Mugats castle in January 1828. His brother, Demetrios Ypsilantis, was chosen by the *Hetaireia* to lead the revolt in Greece itself. Demetrios arrived at Hydra in June 1821, and enjoyed considerably more success on Greek soil than Alexander had in the principalities.

The *Philiki Hetaireia* combined the traditions of the Greek Orthodox Church and Greece's Classical history with a burgeoning nationalism. The society's initiation rituals were elaborate and arcane, requiring all members to become the blood brother of any other member they might chance to meet. Initiates learned the hetairist symbols and words, then were sworn into the society in the presence of a priest. After this a number of increasingly binding oaths and confessions were made in a secret place, in the name of justice, truth, and the fatherland, and in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit. New members were told almost nothing about the nature of the society's controlling organization, or about its members or activities at any levels above their own.

There were four civilian grades, with correspondingly simple or complicated oaths and responsibilities. The *vlamis* (from the Albanian *vlameria*, or "brotherhood") and *systimenos* (from the Greek root for "drawing together") levels were at the bottom, and the *ierevs* (priest) and *poimin* (shepherd) levels were reserved for wealthier and better- educated Greeks, who paid a higher subscription. The two military grades were *aphieromenos* (dedicated one) and *archigos ton aphieromenon* (leader of the dedicated). At the very top were the *archi*, the inner circle, whose membership was to be kept a strict secret until after the revolution had actually been put in motion.

Although this last measure was taken to protect the personal safety of the *archigoi* ("leaders"), such secretiveness about the society's actual leadership had the additional effect of raising speculation that various well-known and powerful political figures – including Kapodistria and the patriarch Gregory V of Constantinople, the civil and religious leader of the Greeks – were involved, thus increasing membership and interest in the cause. The patriarch was not a member, and had actually denounced and excommunicated Alexander Ypsilantis after the invasion of the Danubian provinces. Nevertheless, he was executed by the Porte on Easter Sunday, 22 April 1821, for allegedly acting as an accessory to the rebellious activities of the *Philiki Hetaireia*. This event, which horrified all Christendom, resulted in widespread support for the revolution, both within Greece and abroad.

SUSAN SPENCER

See also Political History 1453–1832, Independence (War of)

Summary

The hetairists were members of the *Philiki Hetaireia* (or "Friendly Society") whose object was to foster a Greek uprising against the Turks. It was founded in Odessa in 1814 and moved to Constantinople in 1818. It provided links between Greek communities throughout Europe and the Ottoman empire and played a significant role in instigating the War of Independence. It was dissolved in 1821.

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Hieron I

Tyrant of Syracuse *fl.* 478–466 BC

In 480 BC, two years before Hieron I succeeded his brother Gelon as tyrant of Syracuse, the city's position as a major power among the western Greeks was confirmed by the decisive victory of the combined forces of Gelon and Theron of Acragas over the Carthaginians at Himera. The resulting security was one of the major factors that enabled Hieron to extend his power and to establish a court famed – not least because it was the poets' job to praise him and his followers – as a centre of artistic patronage.

Hieron had already exercised authority since 485 BC as governor for his brother of Gela, their ancestral home. In Syracuse he consolidated the alliance with Acragas by marrying Theon's niece. (The link had temporarily been threatened, early in the reign, when his disgruntled brother Polyzalus, now governing Gela, attempted to form an alliance with Theron against him.) Outside Sicily, he soon laid claim to larger Panhellenic power or at least prestige. In 477 BC he was able effectively to order Anaxilas, ruler of Rhegium and Messana, not to attack Locri Epizephyrii. (Anaxilas had already been pressurized after Himera into abandoning relations with Carthage and marrying his daughter to Hieron.) In 474 BC he helped Cumae to defeat an Etruscan fleet, a success that poets were not slow to compare to the battle of Salamis, enhancing the tyrant's image as the defender of the western Greeks against barbarians. (The eastern Greeks had been similarly defended at Salamis.)

Hieron's ability to promote this image was much enhanced by his acquisition of the presence or services of poets from the Greek motherland including Aeschylus, Pindar, and Simonides of Ceos and his nephew Bacchylides. (Xenophanes of Colophon also came to Hieron's court but probably more briefly.) The most widely known celebrations of Hieron were those in the epinician odes of Pindar (*Olympian* 1, *Pythians* 1–3) and Bacchylides (*Odes* 3–5) for the victories of his teams in chariot and horse-and-rider events. The tyrant's building of a new stone theatre in Syracuse (*c.*475–470 BC), replacing a largely wooden one, also helped to proclaim his glory. Here, probably, was staged the Sicilian production of Aeschylus' *Persians* with its potential comparisons between Salamis and Cumae; possibly also, Tommaso Guardì suggests, Phrynicus' similarly appropriate *Phoenician Women*. (Epicharmus, the Sicilian comic playwright, no doubt also produced work – possibly including more by way of implied criticism of the tyrant – for Hieron's court.)

In 472 BC Syracuse became unequivocally the strongest force within Sicily when Hieron defeated Thrasydaeus of Acragas, Theron's less effective successor. Probably at this point Hieron could have installed his own dependants as tyrants of Acragas and Himera; James F. McGlew argues that his reason for not doing so was the desire to represent himself "as the liberator of the politically oppressed cities of Sicily". The cities he himself had most oppressed were Catana and Naxos, which were destroyed in 476 BC after the removal of their entire population to Leontini. (Hieron's help for Chalcidian Cumae may, as David Asheri says, have been designed to "obscure the memory" of his treatment of these fellow Chalcidian foundations.) Catana was refounded as Aetna and repeopled with 10,000 Dorians (half from Syracuse, half from the Peloponnese). One motive for this action was clearly, as Diodorus says, to obtain "from the recently founded city of 10,000 men ... the honours accorded to heroes"; at his death the tyrant indeed received these honours "as having been the founder of the city". Literature again helped to celebrate the founder and to inaugurate his settlement: Aeschylus wrote his lost *Women of Aetna*, performed in the new city probably in 471 BC, and Pindar saluted Aetna in the first Pythian ode and its governor, the loyal Chromios, in the first and ninth Nemean.

Another motive for founding Aetna was, as Diodorus realized, "to have a substantial help ready at hand for any need that might arise". When the crisis came with the expulsion of Thrasybulus, Hieron's brother and successor, the colonists supported him and were themselves expelled from Aetna, which became Catana once more; transferred to Inessa, they continued, according to Diodorus, to honour Hieron as their founding hero. No doubt they would have approved of Pindar's ideal Hieron, "gentle to citizens, not begrudging to good men, and to guests a wondrous father" (*Pythian* 3); it is less certain where the truth lies between this image and that constructed by Diodorus or his source – Hieron as "avaricious and violent and, generally speaking, an utter stranger to sincerity and nobility of character". (Gelon's rule was milder than Hieron's, says Diodorus; that of Thrasybulus, the last of the Deinomenid tyrants, on the other hand, was distinctly worse – he murdered many citizens, confiscated people's property, and was rapidly overthrown.) Hieron was clearly good at seizing the main chance and at claiming, through his poets as well as his deeds, the attention of posterity. Xenophon, for instance, uses his name if little else for the tyrant who debates with Simonides the advantages and disadvantages of tyranny in his *Hieron* . But, like many other Greek tyrannies, his did not survive into the next generation. It relied largely on force. It was underpinned by no constitutional theory, uncertain of its own position. (Finley finds a "touch of reticence" in the failure of Theron, Gelon, and Hieron to put their names, titles, or symbols of office on their coins – a result perhaps of a desire

for Panhellenic acknowledgement at a time when tyranny was no longer fashionable in Greece proper, where "tyrant" was, for the first time, becoming a synonym for "despot".) But Hieron's concern with military matters allowed commerce and agriculture to thrive; Asheri goes so far as to say that (except for the suffering of such unfortunates as the people of Catana) his rule was "a golden age for Syracuse".

MARTIN GARRETT

See also Sicily

Biography

Hieron ruled Gela from 485 to 478 BC as regent for his brother Gelon. On Gelon's death (478) Hieron succeeded him as tyrant of Syracuse. Under Hieron Syracuse became the most powerful state in Sicily and he gained a reputation as defender of the western Greeks. He enhanced his prestige by attracting to his court poets such as Aeschylus, Pindar, Simonides, Bacchylides, and Xenophanes. He died at Aetna in 466 BC.

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Hieronymus of Cardia *c.*364–?260 BC

Administrator and historian

Hieronymus made his name in antiquity mainly as a historical figure – a friend and ambassador of kings, a military man with a remarkable fighting record, a local governor and administrator, someone who managed to survive by switching sides at the right moment, and as a *makrobios* (long-lived person) who, notwithstanding his many wounds and war toils, reached the respectable age of 104 (Jacoby, 1962, no. 154, TT2, 6–8, F8). His merits as a writer and as a historian were less admired in antiquity. His work was never seen as a breakthrough in the development of Hellenistic historiography. The influence of his predecessors can be detected in the scanty remains of his work (of which even the title, or rather its contents, is variously reported). Thucydides and Xenophon might have taught him that serious history must be contemporary and "pragmatic" – that is, eyewitnessed and followed closely by an actively participating historian. His ethnogeographical introductions and digressions remind us of Herodotus. Perhaps Theopompus was his model for a new kind of historywriting in making a king or a great individual the centre of the narrative. Thanks to such traits, Hieronymus belongs to the large crowd of Alexander historians, most of them his contemporaries. Finally, his easy access to documents and memoirs kept in the chancelleries of his masters (Eumenes, Antigonus Monophthalmus, Demetrius Poliorcetes, Antigonus Gonatas) may have influenced his style.

Ancient references to his work outline to some extent Hieronymus' impact on his successors. The first to show some acquaintance with the early literary reputation of Hieronymus is Moschion (late 3rd–early 2nd century BC), the author of a paper in honour of Hieron II of Syracuse, who states that Hieronymus was much admired for his account of the carriage built to convey the body of Alexander the Great (F2). His description of the Dead Sea and its asphalt was noticed by the Hellenistic Florentine Paradoxographer (F5=10 Stern). These two early examples show what kind of material impressed most of Hieronymus' early readers. In the 2nd century BC Agatharcides of Cnidus was aware of Hieronymus' long career (T2); it is remarkable, however, that Polybius, though a great advocate of "pragmatic" history, does not mention him. In the 1st century BC Diodorus mentions Hieronymus four times as a historical figure and as the author of a history of the Diadochi (TT3–6), but he never quotes him as a source in his books 18–20, covering the same period. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, writing in the time of Augustus, includes Hieronymus in a list of historians that "no one can bear to read to the final flourish" (T12). The same Dionysius nevertheless pays homage to Hieronymus for being the first to touch upon the antiquities of Rome (F13). Dionysius' contemporary, the geographer Strabo, took an interest in Hieronymus' ethno-geographical digressions on Corinth, Thessaly and Magnetis, and Crete (F16–18). In the late 1st century AD Josephus complained that Hieronymus omitted in his book any mention of the Jews, although he served in Syria and lived in their vicinity, and concluded that some "bad feeling" must have dimmed Hieronymus' understanding to see the truth (F6). Plutarch used Hieronymus for his *Lives* of the Diadochi, and quotes him as a source in his *Life of Pyrrhus*, but surprisingly not in his *Lives* of Eumenes and Demetrius. He quotes him together with Dionysius of Halicarnassus on the number of the dead at the battle of Heraclea (F11), while on those at Ausculum he quotes him together with Pyrrhus' *Hypomnemata* (which may have been quoted by Hieronymus himself). He is also quoted, together with Phylarchus, for a marginal detail of Pyrrhus' Spartan campaign (F14).

In the 2nd century AD Appian quotes Hieronymus in his *Mithridatica* as saying that Alexander never came into contact with the peoples of Cappadocia, a view rejected by Appian himself (F3). In all likelihood, Hieronymus was Appian's main source on the life and death of two early Cappadocian rulers Ariarathes and Mithridates. But the most interesting piece of evidence on Hieronymus' reputation in the 2nd century AD comes from Pausanias, who in a section on Lysimachus includes a reference to Hieronymus' reporting that Lysimachus, during his war against Pyrrhus, destroyed the tombs of the Epirote kings. This story seemed "incredible" to Pausanias, considering that Hieronymus "had a reputation generally of being biased against all kings except Antigonus", that "it was malice that made him record that a Macedonian desecrated the tombs of the dead", and that "possibly

Hieronymus had grievances against Lysimachus, especially his destroying the city of the Cardians and founding Lysimachia in its stead" (F9, T11). The charge of partiality is repeated by Pausanias in connection with Pyrrhus' death at Argos, Hieronymus' version being "different" from the one given by the Argives themselves. Pausanias was not surprised, for "a man who associates with royalty cannot help being a partial historian" (F15). He does not bother to tell us what was Hieronymus' version, but it evidently was not a supernatural one like that of the Argives.

The last references to Hieronymus in Roman times come from Athenaeus and from a treatise attributed to Lucian. Athenaeus includes Hieronymus in a list of historians recording the length of Perdiccas' reign (F1). This may show that Hieronymus probably had an introduction, or a digression, on the earlier kings of Macedon. Finally, pseudo-Lucian's *Makrobioi* includes four entries of Hieronymus', giving the ages of Ariarathes, Mithridates, Lysimachus, and Antigonus Monophthalmus at their deaths.

No extant Latin author ever mentions Hieronymus, not even Eumenes' biographer Nepos, nor Quintilian in his brief survey of Greek historians (10. 1. 73–5). In Byzantine times, Stephanus of Byzantium apparently did not find in Hieronymus any toponym worth mentioning, and his history was not among the books left unread by Photios' brother Tarasios. Yet, the concise entry in the *Suda* lexicon (T1) shows that he was not altogether forgotten.

In sum, judging from the named fragments, it must be concluded that Hieronymus did not enjoy great popularity in antiquity. His ethnogeographic digressions attracted readers more than his main political and military narrative, and he was much consulted for his numbers – years of age, numbers of dead in battles, lengths of reigns, and measures. He may have been used by historians extensively, but since they rarely acknowledge their debt to their predecessors, the result was that in antiquity nobody ever suspected that Hieronymus may be hidden in Diodorus' books 18–20, or in Plutarch's biographies of the Diadochi. Only in modern times was Hieronymus elevated to the rank of a great historian. On the basis of the widely accepted hypothesis that Diodorus' books 18–20 are basically taken from Hieronymus, scholars tried to reconstruct his work, to assess its value as a history book, and even to redeem its style (although not one verbal quotation of him is preserved). Thus, he has been eulogized for carefully collecting documents, for being a representative of "scientific historiography", for his "lively and lucid narrative", and for his "most appealing" section on Eumenes (on whom he is never actually quoted). The truth is that the case for finding Hieronymus in Diodorus is rather weak. No argument in favour is truly compelling. Diodorus never mentions him as a source, and the correspondence of some five named fragments to Diodorus is only partial, an argument that may be used not for but against Diodorus' dependence on him. Hieronymus is indeed an excellent example of the modern ability of resurrecting a figure that in the Hellenic and Byzantine tradition was only a marginal one.

DAVID ASHERI

See also Historiography

Biography

Born *c.*364 BC at Cardia in the Thracian Chersonese, Hieronymus served on the staff of his fellow Cardian Eumenes, and then with Antigonus Monophthalmus, Demetrius Poliorcetes, and Antigonus Gonatas. He is the author of a history (lost) spanning the years from the death of Alexander the Great (323 BC) to at least the death of Pyrrhus (272 BC). He is reputed to have lived to the age of 104.

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Hipparchus

Astronomer, geographer, and mathematician of the 2nd century BC

Hipparchus, the first astronomer to combine observation and trigonometry, was born in Nicaea, Bithynia, and flourished in the middle of the 2nd century BC, the years of his recorded observations being between 147 and 127 BC. Ptolemy gives dates for Hipparchan observations as early as 162 BC, but this date is suspect. Quite unlike other scientists in antiquity, whose biographies tend to be preserved in anecdotal gems, Hipparchus' life is poorly known. The single biographical anecdote, that he once attended the theatre in a cloak because he had predicted rain (Aelian, *De Natura Animalium*, 7. 8), is probably spurious. Hipparchus is said to have observed in Nicaea, and Nicaean coinage of Roman imperial date bears witness to that city's claim to his heritage. There is no good evidence, contrary to some opinions, to associate Hipparchus with Alexandria (see Dicks, 1960, pp. 5–8); however, he often refers to Athens, and frequent references to Rhodes suggest that he spent much of his career there.

Although Hipparchus' writings are almost entirely lost, at least 14 separate treatises are known by title; these cover specialized approaches to issues in astronomy, mathematics, and geography. Only one of his works survives in more than just a handful of disparate fragments. Still, judging by the treatment his opinions receive from subsequent authors, it is clear that Hipparchus' contribution in several areas was significant.

Hipparchus' mathematical and astronomical concepts allowed him to predict both solar and lunar eclipses: presumably he published these, and Pliny (*Naturalis Historia*, 2. 54) says that Hipparchus predicted both types of eclipses for a period of 600 years. Whether these data were actually calculated by Hipparchus or digested by him from Babylonian sources remains unclear; but his combination of Babylonian and Greek intellectual traditions produced astronomical knowledge of crucial importance well beyond Ptolemy's transmission of it. Ptolemy, who wrote in the 2nd century AD, had studied Hipparchus carefully but was more interested in improving upon Hipparchus' data than he was in preserving them. Hipparchus, however, retains the distinction of having turned astronomy into a mathematical, predictive science. Dicks (p. 11) regards him as a scientist who was "patient, painstaking, accurate, unwilling to theorize except on definite data which can be scientifically checked and verified, content if his work makes even a small contribution to the general body of knowledge".

Hipparchus was the first to use trigonometry in a precise method – i.e. not by estimation as Aristarchus and Archimedes had – and was the first to construct a chord table, the first element of trigonometry (see *On Chords in a Circle*). His general solution for trigonometrical problems was "as effective as, if more cumbersome than, those of modern trigonometry" (Toomer, 1978, p. 209). Using this tool, Hipparchus calculated the parallax of celestial objects and accurately calculated both solar and lunar parallax. The latter calculation, 58', differs from the International Astronomical Union's value of 57.02'.688", or by less than 2 per cent. Indeed, most of Hipparchus' figures are of similiar accuracy, e.g. his calculated length of the tropical year (365.2467 days) differs from the modern value by just 0.0042 of one day, or about six minutes. Concerning his measurement of the sun's size and distance from the earth with crude and scanty data, Toomer (p. 215) calls Hipparchus' methods "a tour de force". Hipparchus' solar theory was adopted by Ptolemy unchanged, and others, including Vettius Valens, used it as well. He observed a 2-degree precession of Spica over 154 years, between Timocharis' observation and his own (made in 130 BC), and thus anticipated the precession of the equinoxes, and calculated the time it takes for the equinoctial points to make a complete revolution around the earth's celestial perspective. For tools, Hipparchus seems to have used a diopter and a celestial sphere; he may, in fact, have invented the plane astrolabe.

Hipparchus' *Commentary on the* Phaenomena *of Aratus and Eudoxus* contains less of the scientific calculation and explication than we might expect to find in his works. It is, nevertheless, important as a representative of this writer, since it contains much solid argument and not a little of the urgency that Strabo saw in Hipparchus' dispute with Eratosthenes' geographical treatise. About a century before Hipparchus' birth, the Alexandrian poet Aratus had written his great didactic poem on the constellations. Drawing freely upon the astronomy of Eudoxus of Cnidus (*fl.*340 BC), Aratus composed the *Phaenomena* (*c.*276 BC). To the astronomer possessed of mathematical and observational skills, the eloquence of Aratus' poetry could not compensate for the poem's factual errors. The addressee of the *Commentary*, the otherwise unknown Aeschrion, had shown interest in the poem's astronomy and thus receives from Hipparchus a detailed criticism of its astronomical fallacies. The *Commentary* consists of three books, which comprise extensive criticism of both Aratus' poem and its fundamental basis provided by Eudoxus, and detailed listings of simultaneous risings and settings of constellations. Additionally, Hipparchus addresses mistaken beliefs of his own contemporaries, specifically those of the mathematician Attalus (*fl.* mid-2nd century BC). Arguing against the entrenched popularity of Eudoxus, Aratus, and Attalus, however, proved unsuccessful. Still, painstaking analysis of the data in the *Commentary* "has revealed, and will reveal, a surprising amount" about ancient misunderstandings of Hipparchus and the importance of his research (Toomer, 1978, p.208).

Hipparchus' other writings include a treatise in which he used mathematical data to contradict Eratosthenes' great *Geographica*, especially the geographical and mathematical details. It is surprising to find in his bibliography a treatise on astrology. He also wrote on the calendar, on optics, on permutations and combinations, and, perhaps, on gravity (*On Objects Carried down by Their Weight*).

ROGER T. MACFARLANE

See also Astronomy, Geography, Mathematics

Biography

Born at Nicaea in the mid-2nd century BC, Hipparchus seems to have spent much of his life in Rhodes. His recorded observations date from between 147 and 127 BC. He was the first observational astronomer to use mathematics. His only surviving work is the *Commentary on the* Phaenomena *of Aratus and Eudoxus*.

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Hippocrates *c.*460–*c.*370 BC

Physician

Hippocrates of Cos, a Greek physician already renowned by the time of Plato and Aristotle, remains an elusive historical figure despite his fame as the founder of scientific medicine. The earliest characterizations of Hippocrates – for example, in Plato's *Phaedrus* – do not seem to be fully compatible with any of the more than 60 extant works already attributed to him in antiquity (and known in modern times as the Hippocratic Corpus). Furthermore, not even the extant Hippocratic treatises believed by modern scholars to have been written as early as the 5th century BC (for example, *Airs Waters Places*, *Sacred Disease*, *Prognosis*, *Prorrhetic II*, *Epidemics I* and *III*, *Art*, *Ancient Medicine*, *Nature of Humans*, *Regimen in Acute Diseases*, and *Winds*) can be ascribed with certainty to the historical Hippocrates. Epigraphic and literary evidence renders it likely, however, that Hippocrates was only one of several physicians called "Hippocrates", that he belonged to a famous family of physicians, that he claimed patrilineal descent from Asclepius, that he was born on the island of Cos, and that he later lived in Thessaly.

The doctrinal, methodological, and stylistic heterogeneity displayed within the Hippocratic Corpus suggests that its texts were composed, for the most part, between 430 and 330 BC by a variety of authors, drawing on divergent traditions, and that these texts gradually became collected under the name of Hippocrates, starting in the early Hellenistic period. "Hippocrates" remained a magnet for medical texts in the later Hellenistic and Roman periods: his name became attached to post-Classical works such as *Heart*, *Nutriment*, *Law*, *Precepts*, and *Decorum*. Despite the pluralism of traditions represented in the Hippocratic collection, it displays certain recurrent commitments. Among these is an emphasis on meticulous observation (e.g. *Epidemics*, *Prognostic*, *In the Surgery*, *Diseases II*, *Sacred Disease*), on rational inference from observed signs, and on non-divine causes.

The Hippocratic secularization of explanation, i.e. explicitly substituting "natural", physical causes for divine agency, is visible, for example, in the explanations of the Scythians' impotence in *Airs Waters Places* and of epilepsy in *Sacred Disease* (which also offers the first explicit systematic criticism of magic). Furthermore, *Nature of Humans* distinguishes between general diseases caused by miasmic air (which affects numerous people in similar ways) and particular diseases caused by individual regimen, while *Regimen in Acute Diseases* recognizes that a similar effect may be brought about by different causes, and *Regimen* introduces the distinction between cause and coincidence. In all these cases the traditional attribution of human disorders to divine intervention is usurped by an explanation in terms of the interaction of matter with matter, in accordance with the properties of the constituents of things. Some Hippocratics display little interest in aetiology, however, and others advance a cautious view of causal generalization. The author of *On Ancient Medicine*, for example, criticizes new theorists who, like philosophers, engage in general speculation and put forward reductive causal "hypotheses" (the hot, cold, dry, and wet) to explain diseases. The proven method of medicine, he claims, is instead to start from past observations of the effects of regimen.

For all their secularizing strategies, the Hippocratics do not deny the existence of the gods or of the divine. The Hippocratic *Oath* begins by invoking Apollo, his son Asclepius, Asclepius' daughters Hygieia and Panaceia, and "all gods as well as goddesses". Traditional gestures of respect for the power of the gods are present in other works too (*Regimen I* and *IV*, *Prognostic*, *Nature of Women*). Furthermore, treatises such as *Diseases of Women* accommodate not only the new Hippocratic "scientific" medicine, but also elements of traditional folk medicine, for example, in pharmacological tests for fertility or pregnancy or for the gender of the foetus.

Contest and warfare are central metaphors of Hippocratic medicine, as of modern biology. Within the body an incessant *agon* (struggle) between rival elements, juices (including humours), and parts determines health and disease. The desired outcome is sometimes depicted as a stalemate or balance between the opposing forces, but more often it is a victory of one over the other(s). Internal contestants also enter into an *agon* with external factors: *Airs Waters Places*, *Epidemics*, *Aphorisms*, *Humours*, and *Diseases of Women* present the environment (seasons, winds, sites, water) as a central determinant of health and disease.

The influential theory of bodily "humours" or liquids, whose excess or deficiency can cause disease, appears in several rival versions in the Corpus. A two-humour model – bile and phlegm – is invoked in *Diseases I* and *Affections*, whereas different four-humour theories appear elsewhere: phlegm, bile, blood, and water (*Generation/Nature of Child*, *Diseases IV*); phlegm, bile, black bile, and water (*Affections* 36, *Remedies*); and, the most famous version, phlegm, yellow bile, black bile, blood (*Nature of Humans*). Many Hippocratic works do not, however, make systematic use of any humoral theory. *Regimen* regards fire (hot and dry, providing motion to the body) and water (cold and wet, providing nourishment) as the constituents of living beings, while *Winds* (*Breaths*) argues that air inside the body is the principal cause of illness. A pluralism of traditions is also visible in Hippocratic theories of reproduction and embryology, in gynaecology, and in therapeutics.

The *Oath* displays unique features but it is not entirely incompatible with deontological emphases in other Hippocratic texts. Responsibility to one's *techne* (i.e. to one's result-oriented professional expertise and to a practice consistent with that expertise) and to its reputation is often depicted as the physician's prime motivation. The concern with reputation, perhaps along with the relative insecurity of Greek physicians within the social and economic order, might be a reason both for the defensive posture of some works (*Art*, *Law*) and for the significant role ascribed to accurate prognosis in others (*Prognostic*, *Prorrhetic I–II*, *Coan Prenotions*, *Airs Waters Places*, *Internal Affections*, *Diseases I–II*, *Regimen in Acute Diseases – Appendix*, *Crises*, *Joints*, *Fractures*, *Instruments of Reductions*). The frequent prognosis of incurability and death, the polemics against charlatans, magicians, and incompetent practitioners, the overt awareness of iatrogenesis, and the emphasis on the avoidance of ostentation and theatricality likewise seem to be motivated by a concern with reputation.

Already in antiquity the impact of the works ascribed to Hippocrates was enormous. As early as the 3rd century BC

members of rival medical schools began to write Hippocratic lexica and extensive commentaries on Hippocratic texts, and a commentary of the 1st century BC by Apollonius of Citium on the Hippocratic treatise *On Joints* is extant. This exegetical tradition remained active for centuries. The most influential Hippocratic reader of all time was probably Galen, who used early 2nd-century AD editions of "Hippocrates" by Dioscurides the Younger and Artemidorus Capiton. Early Byzantine medical encyclopaedists (Oribasius, Aëtius of Amida, Paul of Aegina) as well as numerous Church Fathers and philosophers, including the Aristotelian commentators, also gave Hippocrates ample recognition, but Galen's commentaries decisively shaped later Alexandrian and Byzantine commentaries on Hippocrates (e.g. by Palladios, Stephanos of Athens, John of Alexandria) as well as the method of teaching "Hippocrates". The medieval translations of Galen's Hippocratic commentaries into Latin, Syriac, and Arabic ensured that Galen presented posterity, both in the east and in the west, with a version of "Hippocrates" that became a culturally obligatory point of departure for subsequent European medicine until the early modern era.

HEINRICH VON STADEN

See also Anatomy and Physiology, Health, Medicine

Hippocrates' *Oath*, translated by the author

1. i. I swear
   ii. by Apollo the Physician and
   by Asclepius and
   by health and Panaceia and
   by all the gods as well as goddesses,
   making them judges [witnesses],
   iii. to bring the following oath and written covenant to fulfilment,
   iv. in accordance with my power and judgement:
2. i. to regard him who has taught me this *techne* as equal to my parents, and
   ii. to share, in partnership, my livelihood with him and to give him a share when he is in need of necessities, and
   iii. to judge the offspring [coming] from him equal to [my] male siblings, and
   iv. to teach them this *techne*,
   should they desire to learn [it],
   without fee and written covenant, and
   v. to give a share
   both of rules
   and of lectures,
   and of all the rest of learning,
   to my sons and
   to the [sons] of him who has taught me and
   to the pupils who have
   both made a written contract and
   sworn by a medical convention but by no other.
3. i. And I will use regimens
   for the benefit of the ill
   in accordance with my ability and my judgement,
   ii. but from [what is] to their harm or injustice
   I will keep [them].
4. i. And I will not give a drug that is deadly to anyone if asked [for it],
   ii. nor will I suggest the way to such a counsel.
   iii. And likewise I will not give a woman a destructive pessary.
5. i. And in a pure and holy way
   ii. I will guard
   iii. my life and my *techne*.
6. i. I will not cut,
   and certainly not those suffering from stone,
   ii. but I will cede [this]
   to men [who are] practitioners of this activity.
7. i. Into as many houses as I may enter,
   I will go for the benefit of the ill,
   ii. while being far from all voluntary and destructive injustice,
   especially from sexual acts
   both upon women's bodies
   and upon men's,
   both of the free
   and of the slaves.
8. i. And about whatever I may see or hear
   in treatment,
   or even without treatment,
   in the life of human beings
   – things that should not ever be blurted out outside –
   ii. I will remain silent,
   holding such things to be unutterable [sacred, not to be divulged].
9. i.a. If I render this oath fulfilled,
   and if I do not blur and confound it [making it to no effect],
   b. may it be [granted] to me to enjoy the benefits
   both of life and of *techne*,
   c. being held in good repute
   among all human beings
   for time eternal.
   ii.a. If, however, I transgress
   and perjure myself,
   b. the opposite of these.

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Biography

Born *c.*460 BC in Cos, Hippocrates was the most renowned physician of antiquity, yet detailed knowledge of his life remains elusive. More than 60 extant works were attributed to him in antiquity and are now known as the Hippocratic Corpus. Most probably he was one of several physicians with the name Hippocrates, and he belonged to a family of physicians. Most of the "Hippocratic" texts seem to have been written between 430 and 330 BC.

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Hippodrome

A hippodrome was a horse-racing or chariot-racing arena, similar in layout to a stadium for athletics and foot races, with an elongated U shape and tiers of seats surrounding the track. Hippodromes (or circuses) were widespread in the Roman empire, especially in Rome itself and in North Africa, as at Carthage. However, some hippodromes were built in the eastern Roman empire, for example at Thessalonica in Greece.

By far the most celebrated (and historically significant) hippodrome was that in Constantinople. The city's first hippodrome was constructed under Septimius Severus in the 2nd century AD and was rebuilt during the reign of Constantine I (306–37 AD). Like the hippodrome in Thessalonica, it was adjacent to an imperial palace: the Great Palace of the Byzantine emperors.

The hippodrome in Constantinople was built of brick and stone and to a classic elongated U design, with at least some architectural decoration in stone on its exterior. The whole structure was approximately 480 m long and 117.5 m wide. The southern, curved, end (the *sphendone*), the only substantial part of the building still standing, clearly shows several stories of rooms and vaulted brick-built chambers. There was a row of large columns around the upper part of the exterior of the whole building.

The hippodrome had a complex set of entrance arrangements for both court and public. There was a direct covered stairway (the *kochlias*) from the Great Palace into the imperial box (the *kathisma*) located on its eastern side. Behind the box was a private area which in turn led to the palace through bronze doors. The main public entrance was a monumental structure (*carceres*), probably slightly bowed outward, at the northwestern side. Although its exact form is debatable, this entrance once had large bronze doors opening onto the Augusteum, a stepped entranceway, and elaborate decoration.

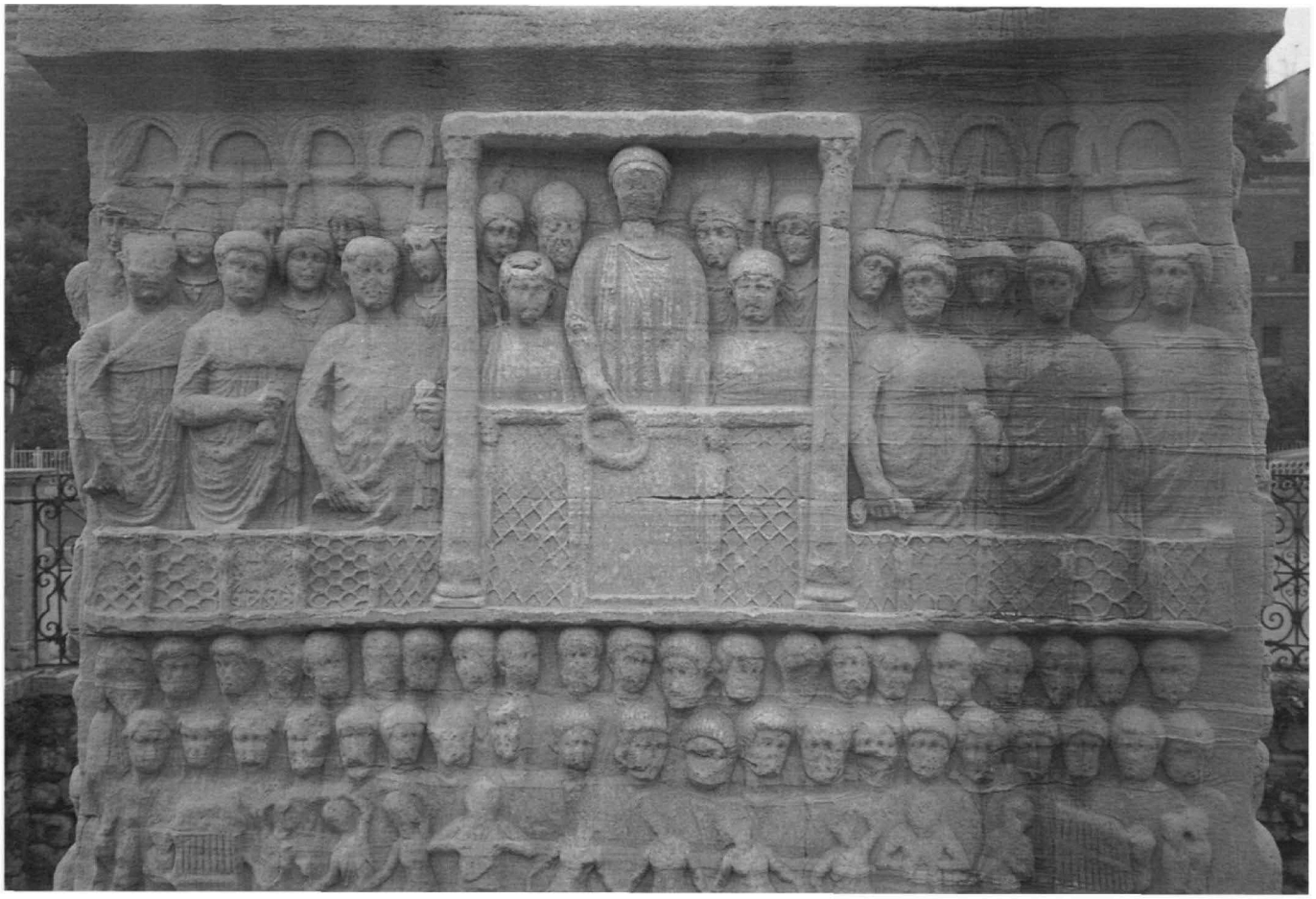
Although the emperor's entourage sat on seats within the imperial box, the majority of the population sat on tiered seats, affording them a clear view of both the track and the emperor. The track itself was floored with sand and divided into two by a *spina* or central reservation, marked with free-standing monuments. It was around this reservation that the chariots raced. Notable among these monuments are a 5th-century BC bronze tripod (originally in the form of serpents) from Delphi, a 16th-century BC Egyptian obelisk originally from Thebes in Upper Egypt, and a stone pillar (which an inscription records was covered in bronze by Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos), all of which still survive in some form. The base of the obelisk is a 5th-century AD marble block, elaborately sculpted on all sides with scenes depicting the emperor Theodosius I and his family in the hippodrome.

Races were between light two-wheeled chariots. The hippodrome chariots were divided into four teams – the reds, whites, blues, and greens – which attracted mass popular support. The citizens of Constantinople took a great interest in their favourite charioteers, horses, and teams, and stone monuments were even erected in their memory. Organized fan clubs adopted special dress, formed choirs, and took part in mob violence. These groups – especially the increasingly dominant blues and greens – began to adopt specific views on current controversies, and took on a somewhat "political" character. This led to major outbreaks of violence, notably the Nike riot of 532, which was only ended by the use of military force against the protesters and a massacre in the hippodrome itself.

From the 4th century onwards the hippodrome was used not only for chariot racing but also for other entertainments and for public events. The latter included celebratory ceremonies and the execution of criminals and enemies of the state – and western-style jousts in the 12th century. The hippodrome was also the arena for the public acclamation or disapproval of the emperor's policies and court by the populace, who could in this way have a small degree of direct contact with their ruler.

Chariot racing proved exceptionally popular during the early Byzantine period, but increasing religious and official disapproval led to its decline after the 6th century. Although chariot races were still occasionally held in the middle Byzantine period – in the 9th century the emperor Theophilos himself competed in a race – the hippodrome became more generally used for ceremonies and executions. With the Latin conquest of the city in 1204, the hippodrome fell into disuse.

Following the Ottoman conquest of 1453 the ruinous arena was again used for ceremonies and entertainments of other sorts. Although partially demolished in order to construct the



Hippodrome: relief at the foot of an obelisk in the hippodrome in Constantinople showing the emperor Theodosius I in his box watching the games

Sultan Ahmet mosque in the early 17th century, the site is clearly visible today within the urban fabric of Istanbul and survives as an open square known aptly as At Meydani ("the square of the horses").

KEN DARK

See also Architecture (public), Constantinople, Games and Sports

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Historiography

Antiquity

Historie (inquiry) is the Ionic form of what in other Greek dialects is *historia*. The term is, however, first used by the Ionian writer Herodotus, who talks about "the presentation of his research", undertaken "to preserve the actions of individuals from fading with time and so that the great and wondrous works of peoples, both Greeks and foreigners, should not lack renown" (1. 1). It quickly becomes apparent that any exami-

nation of this undertaking inevitably involves consideration of the various techniques and procedures – and raises several questions. For example, when did people first wish to preserve a record of their achievements, and what sort of achievements, particularly? How did they remember their past? How did they reckon the passage of time? Why does all this, for the Greeks at any rate, seem to have begun in "Ionia"?

Although there is no general agreement over the details, certain broad points can be made. As the term *historiography* implies, literacy is a prerequisite for the production of real history – illiterate peoples may have memorized lists of rulers, memorials of great deeds, and even elaborate sagas, but these productions lack the analytical and comparative approach to evidence that is possible only with writing (although oral tradition always remained an important source in Greek historiography). In the Near East and Egypt there was a long tradition, going back to the 3rd millennium BC, of recording the names of rulers and their deeds; and in the Jewish/Hebrew religious tradition there were certain works that can, by the strictest definition, be called historical. Accordingly, just as "Ionia" absorbed and developed crucial elements of eastern mathematics and astronomy, it is equally possible that the fundamentals of chronography and local and regional history and the recording of the great deeds of individuals came to the Greeks from the same source. It was in "Ionia" that the earliest prose accounts appeared of the shape of the world, the customs of various peoples, and examinations of myth and genealogy, and it was here too that local histories first began to be written: little of this work survives beyond testimonia, but Hecataeus of Miletus (*fl. c.*500 BC), writing on geography and genealogy, was important and influential (369 fragments of his work survive in F. Jacoby's *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker* (1923–),where he is the first historian listed). This Ionian tradition persisted to at least the end of the 5th century BC, as can be seen from the career of Hellanicus of Lesbos (*c.*480–after 400 BC; 201 fragments survive), among whose numerous works were the *Priestesses of Hera at Argos* (cited apparently by Thucydides at 2. 2) and the first *Atthis*, or local history of Attica.

The Homeric poems, too, exercised an important influence on Greek historiography, though they are not themselves history. They are concerned with the past, however, and Homer frequently refers to the differences between the past and the present and to the human desire to be remembered: great deeds are commemorated in various ways and human glory is closely connected with prowess in war; genealogies occur frequently, as does the idea of the community as the vital centre for human existence (cf. *Iliad*, 5. 304–05, 6. 145–211, 22. 304–05; *Odyssey*, 1. 2–3). The date of "Homer" remains controversial, but if West's recent suggestion that the *Iliad* was composed in its monumental form between 670 and 640 BC (with a preference for 660–650 BC) is cogent, then we are clearly in the literate period; Greek colonization, both in the Black Sea area and in the west, was in full swing; and the main themes of the Homeric poems and the impulses that led to the early Ionian prose chronicles are not only similar but nearly contemporaneous.

Herodotus of Halicarnassus (dates quite uncertain, but probably writing after 440 BC) is, then, heir not only to the various subjects and techniques of the earlier Ionian prose-writers but also to the Homeric subject matter, war, and to Homeric *mimesis*, the recreation of a scene so vividly that the reader seems almost to be part of it. In examining Herodotus' work we have the advantage, rare in Classical historiography, of studying something that is whole and complete: we can see its entire shape as its author planned it, and we do not have to worry about "incomplete revisions" or "strata of composition", nor must we try to identify second, or even third, thoughts on certain topics, as is the case in Thucydidean studies. The great story of the war between Greeks and non-Greeks, which goes back to mythical times and culminates with the victories at Plataea and Mycale and their immediate aftermath in 479 BC, starts with extended ethnographic accounts of the parts of the Persian empire and follows its growth in a historical sequence; the attempts by Darius and Xerxes to expand the empire by incorporating into it all of mainland Greece lead to the climactic war narrative in books 7 to 9. Underlying all of this are the basic notions of action and reaction: someone does something to another, the latter responds, the first does something else, and so on – this is the basic causative impulse in human affairs.

Any reader of Herodotus quickly realizes that he is, above all, a master story-teller; we also know that he recited "sections" of his work before audiences. Over the years and as a result of frequent retelling, these tales came to take on a smooth, effortless form; their sources, whether oral or written, or the result of personal experience or observation, were blurred and "improved on" for narrative effect (the end result of this process can be seen in Hammond's brilliant analysis of Herodotus' narrative techniques in the account of events leading up to Xerxes' invasion in 480 BC (7. 117–79) – the "Chinese box" construction, with recurring verbal markers to indicate stages going into and coming out of a particular topic, and a succession of separate narrative "strings" with key phrases to signal the move from one theme to another). Accordingly, Herodotus' tales, particularly those pertaining to strange and wondrous sights and remarkable events in far-off lands, should not be pressed too far. He is more likely to be careful (and correspondingly more accurate) in books 7 to 9, which deal with near-contemporary history. Finally, we may assume that, when he decided to commit his "lectures" to written form, the whole process was relatively quick and easy.

With the Athenian Thucydides in the later 5th century BC we come to the most interesting, complex, and, above all, authoritative of ancient historians. From Herodotus he may have derived the idea of writing the history of a war, but in Thucydides' case it was a contemporary war. Furthermore, Thucydides talks directly to us about his sources, his methods of handling evidence, and about the speeches that are so striking a feature of his account (1. 21–22). He was not the first historian to provide speeches, but his are so important to his history as a means of conveying important information and forming impressions in the audience's mind that they would merit the attention lavished on them by scholars and critics even if they had not started a practice almost universal in Greek historiography thereafter. However, there is no agreement about what Thucydides meant in a very difficult sentence about his practice with regard to speeches (1. 22. 1): Wilson's suggestion "as it seemed likely to me – keeping as closely as possible to all the points made in what was actually said – that

each party would have appropriately spoken about the various situations, so I have written" is possibly as cogent a translation (for avoiding an apparent but improbable self-contradiction in the Greek) as we are likely to get. This was Thucydides' aim: whether he achieved it (or even stuck to it) is another matter altogether. We shall never know how closely the Funeral Oration in book 2 approximates to the actual words uttered by Pericles in the autumn of 431 BC. As for events, Thucydides claims to have written with "the utmost possible accuracy" (*akribeia*: 1. 22. 2). Finally, he expresses the hope that his history will be "useful": he does not state that it will provide a guide for future conduct or furnish pleasure to the reader. Such ideas about history writing came rather later.

Thucydides has always been regarded as an "objective" historian. Modern literary theory, however, denies the possibility of any such absolute concept: in strict logic this is undeniable and recent studies of Thucydides have tended to emphasize such features as his habit of telling his audience what his characters are thinking and his use of phrases designed to make his audience trust him (this is Thucydides the "artful reporter", in Hunter's memorable phrase). However, "objectivity" is a very slippery term and Thucydides still stands out as a beacon for accuracy among ancient historians.

The Thucydidean narrative breaks off abruptly in the year 411 BC and several later historians seem to have aimed to carry on from the break point – more or less: the Athenian Xenophon wrote, over a considerable period of time, the *Hellenica* in seven books, which extended from 411 to 362 BC; the "Oxyrhynchus historian" (probably the Athenian Cratippus: see Harding), of whose work approximately 20 pages of Greek text survive on papyrus and written in the Thucydidean manner (though with no speeches), was probably a contemporary of the events described and covered the period from 411 to 395 BC; and Theopompus of Chios produced *Hellenica* in 12 books, covering the period from 411 to 394 BC; Theopompus, one of the most important historians of the 4th century BC, also produced a new kind of history, focusing on the career of a single individual: his *Philippicae Historiae* in 58 books represented a "universal history" (involving deeds of Greeks and foreigners alike; see below) on a very broad canvas indeed, with numerous digressions and a highly rhetorical style, but with Philip II of Macedon as the unifying core. This type of history, centred on a single, magnetic personality, was continued in the Alexander-histories of Callisthenes, Aristobulus, Chares, Nearchus, Ptolemy I, and many others, including the much later but extant Arrian of Nicomedia (2nd century AD).

The other major historian of the 4th century BC was Ephorus of Cyme (*c.*405–330 BC), whose work in 30 books, from the return of the Heraclidae to the siege of Perinthus in 340 BC, was probably the earliest "universal history". Though not highly regarded today (perhaps unfairly: for a balanced assessment see Fornara, pp.42–46), Ephorus was widely known and quoted throughout antiquity and was the main source (for Classical Greek history) of Diodorus of Sicily (1st century BC) of whose "universal history", the *Bibliotheca*, 15 from an original 40 books survive.

Among the major trends in historiographic theory in the generations immediately following Thucydides are the notion that history can teach us moral lessons (cf. Xenophon, *Hellenica*, 5. 3. 7) and a parallel tendency to pass judgement on, or "award points" to, an individual, an entire career, or the behaviour of a political entity (a self-important fatuity that continues to the present day, but which, again, starts with Xenophon; cf. *Helenica*, 7. 5. 8). Ephorus was particularly prone to these practices, especially with regard to the characters of individuals; and these moralizing appraisals, with particular emphasis on praise and blame, became a characteristic feature of later historiography.

Other, older concerns continued to be addressed, however: Timaeus of Tauromenium in Sicily (*c.*350–260 BC) produced a chronology based on Olympic victors, cross-referenced to Athenian archons, Spartan kings and ephors, and priestesses of Hera at Argos: dating by Olympiads soon became standard practice. In addition, Timaeus wrote an extensive history of Sicily in 38 books, incorporating geography and ethnography as well as political history. Furthermore, he is remembered for his critical analysis of the works of his predecessors, which often degenerated into hostile abuse.

The moralizing tendencies of Ephorus and the critical use of earlier historians by Timaeus were developed by Polybius of Megalopolis (*c.*200–*c.*118 BC), of whose 40-book history of Rome's rise to supremacy in the Mediterranean world substantial portions survive. Polybius also believed that history was useful to politicians and that study of the past could enable reasonable predictions about the future to be made (cf. 3. 31–32), an idea that he may have absorbed during his stay in Rome and which finds its most striking expression in the preface to Livy's history *Ab Urbe Condita*. As for sources, Polybius quotes his predecessors, often at considerable length, which is valuable, but frequently also with hostile analysis (cf. his attack on the credibility of Fabius Pictor at 3. 8. 1–9. 5, or his citation of Callisthenes on the Battle of Issus at 12. 17–22). From his examination of Rome's rapid development of overwhelming power Polybius concluded that the city's governance had been the main contributing factor and from this he developed 5th-century ideas of a "mixed" constitution (in this case a combination of monarchy, oligarchy, and democracy, with a precise combination of these three elements) into his main explanatory concept.

Given the eventual predominance of Rome, it is not surprising that several Greek writers at different periods wrote large-scale histories, most notably the scholarly and perceptive Dionysius of Halicarnassus (late 1st century BC), who wrote 30 books (the first 11 survive), from the pre-foundation legends to 264 BC, and Cassius Dio of Nicaea in Bithynia (*c.*AD 164–after 229), a Greek-speaking senator and imperial *amicus*, who wrote a *Roman History* in 80 books, from the beginning to AD 229, of which nearly 24 survive complete, with excerpts and epitomes of the rest. Dio is an interesting combination of Greek and Roman ideas and culture – and historiography: he writes Classical Attic Greek, is much influenced by Thucydides (though he can be moralizing and rhetorical and, at times, too free in inventing speeches), and provides a perceptive analysis of the implications of the change from republic to principate, along with what is, in reality, a political manifesto suggesting solutions for the problems faced by the empire in the 3rd century AD (cf. Reinhold, pp.219–21).

Emphasis must also be placed on the sheer volume and diversity of the historiography of the Hellenistic period in

particular. Obviously, in a brief survey such as this, only a few of the many hundreds of names known to us can be mentioned. For example, there was a vast outpouring of historical works in the 2nd century AD, on which see the sardonic essay "How to Write History" by the contemporary Lucian of Samosata; see also Baldwin's discussion.

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See also Archives, Chronicles, Chronology

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Byzantium and Tourkokratia

Byzantine historiography took three at first largely distinct forms: traditional histories of the "Classical" type, chronicles, and Church histories (hagiography, which began in 356/57 with the *Vita* of St Antony the Great attributed to Athanasius, may be considered separately since its primary function was spiritual edification; but it did overlap with historiography, both profiting from and contributing to chronicles in particular). The Byzantines themselves used the terms "history" and "chronicle" interchangeably with a growing preference for the latter. Moreover, in recent years most scholars have rejected their predecessors' simplistic and rigid division of historiography into, on the one hand, fairly reliable well-written histories by state officials for a sophisticated elite and, on the other, contemptible monkish chronicles catering for an ill-educated readership. Nevertheless, for early Byzantium it is convenient to treat the three forms individually.

The comparatively more settled conditions of the Greek-speaking East and the transference thither of the Roman court encouraged writers to continue the "Classical" form of history, which was usually geographically and chronologically limited in scope, often covering recent or even contemporary themes, and intended both to inform through content and to delight through style. Political and military subject matter dominated at the expense of the economic, social, and religious, although the last played a growing role in some pagan writings. Historians were interested in causation, ascribing events to either *tyche* (fortune) and, increasingly, divine providence, or to the actions and characters of the principals involved, whom they duly praised or censured (most notoriously in the salacious and vitriolic *Anecdota* or *Secret History* by the 6th-century historian Procopius). The East thus contrasted with the West, where the severe dislocation of society consequent upon barbarian assumption of power entrenched an already existing demand for simple epitomes of Roman history and biographical sketches (it is significant that the only "Classical" history in Latin since the 2nd-century history by Tacitus was written in the 4th century by Ammianus Marcellinus, a native Greek-speaker from Antioch). Even in the East, however, there was a break in the continuity of classicizing historical writing between Dexippus in the late 3rd century and Eunapius in the early 5th. Moreover, a liking for epitomes is indicated by the popularity of Greek translations of the late 4th-century breviary of Roman history by Eutropius.

The classicizing language of these historians became increasingly distinct from the commonly spoken demotic and explains why many were rhetoricians, sophists, or lawyers (e.g. Eunapius, Priscus, Malchus, Agathias). Nevertheless, again unlike in the West, many in the East were participants in or eyewitnesses of the events they described: Olympiodorus, Priscus, Nonnosus, and Peter the Patrician were ambassadors, while Procopius was secretary and legal adviser to the general Belisarius. Adherence to Classical forms, and especially to Thucydides, was variably tried and achieved. It included speeches, both heard and imagined by the writers. Set literary pieces, such as Procopius' descriptions of sieges and the plague in Constantinople in 542, were once subject to extreme scholarly suspicion, but are now generally regarded as true in essential facts despite borrowed Thucydidean details. While a few historians were indeed pagan (e.g. Olympiodorus, Zosimus, and Eunapius, the last so belligerently that according to Photios his work had to be re-edited less offensively), perhaps the most remarkable aspect of the classicizing tendency is an almost total avoidance by even Christian writers of Christian content. This led not only Byzantines to be uncertain about an historian's religious beliefs (Photios famously described Malchus as being "not outside the Christian faith"), but also some modern scholars who, to take one example, have erroneously interpreted Procopius' shunning of theological issues and preference for secular causation as evidence for paganism.

Both the other two forms of history – chronicles and Church histories – were the creations of Eusebius of Caesarea. The full title of *Chronological Canons with an Epitome of Universal History both Greek and Non-Greek* describes the scope of what is commonly called his *Chronicle*. Although lost, it is known through epitomes and redactions, most notably Jerome's partial but updated translation with many Western additions. First published in the late 3rd century and completed soon after its terminus in Constantine's Vicennalia (325), it draws upon a long history of Greek and biblical chronographic writing. Its first part (preserved only in an

Armenian version) comprises traditional lists of rulers and officials with occasional commentaries and summaries about each kingdom. The second part opens with three vertical columns giving respectively the rulers of the Hebrews, Assyrians, and Egyptians, the dates from Abraham being indicated in decades in the extreme left margin. Olympiads are added from 776 BC and the columns increase and decrease in number to accommodate the rise and fall of different nations (it ends with only two columns for Rome and Persia). Between these columns are added respectively to left and right facts of biblical and pagan history. Thus on an immediately intelligible grid Eusebius gave readers a synoptic and synchronistic world history designed as an apologia for the Judaeo-Christian tradition which is shown to predate the Roman empire.

As in the West so in the East Eusebius gave impetus to local annalistic chronicles such as the still extant Syriac *Chronicle of Edessa*; but, whereas Latin writers were usually content to compile continuations of Jerome's work, the Byzantines chose also to rewrite from the beginning. Moreover, in a lost redaction of the early 5th century Panodorus and Annianus pushed back this beginning to Adam, an innovation that is found in the earliest surviving Byzantine universal history, the chronicle of John Malalas which breaks off in 565. This work, though often criticized for its inaccuracies, is notable for much information on Antioch, frequent citing of sources, and use of the vernacular, which last enhanced its popularity (it was later translated into both Georgian and Old Church Slavonic). Malalas's work, which blithely ignores Periclean Athens and the whole period of the Roman republic from 509 to 44 BC, encouraged an increasing tendency in universal histories to emphasize biblical at the expense of Classical Greek and even Roman history, knowledge of which grew ever shakier.

Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History* is at least in part consequent upon the widespread concept of Christians as constituting a nation that required its own history. First written before the triumph of the faith, it emphasizes the struggles along the preordained path to that triumph the consummation of which is found, in later revisions, in the reign of Constantine I, whose Christianity and piety are grossly exaggerated and whose sins are whitewashed to establish him as God's vicegerent on earth (Eusebius is responsible also for a highly eulogistic *Vita Constantini*). The work was ever after held as of great authority despite criticism of its Arian slant and rejection of the cult of images, which led to a prohibition of quotation from it by the Second Council of Nicaea in 787. Eusebius' most important early followers were the lawyers Socrates and the slightly later Sozomenus, and the bishop Theodoretus, whose works cover respectively the periods 305 to 439, 324 to 425 (Sozomenus' later material is lost), and 323 to 428. They were careful historians, Socrates even publishing a second edition of his history upon discovery that a major source (a Latin history by Rufinus of Aquileia) had serious chronological errors; and all follow Eusebius' important innovation of extensive quoting of documentary evidence, an innovation which encouraged emulation in many subsequent secular histories. Their three histories were influential also in the West, where in Latin translation they constituted the *Historia Tripartita*.

The Eusebian preoccupation with detailing the preservation of the Christian faith against pagan assaults is followed in his successors by their detailing the preservation of true doctrine against the assaults of heretics. With the resolution of fundamental doctrinal problems the raison d'être of ecclesiastical histories disappeared in the later 6th century, the last one of which was written by another lawyer, Evagrius Scholasticus. His account deals with the years 431–594 and is valuable for its extensive use of the archives of the Antiochene patriarchate and for its bibliography. Thereafter there is only the strange revival of the genre in the early 14th century by Nikephoros Kallistos Xanthopoulos before the religious conditions of the Tourkokratia once more justified apologetic histories of the Church. Socrates and Sozomenus had already in the 5th century mingled ecclesiastical and secular history, thus paving the way for the complete absorption of the former by the latter after Evagrius.

The end of the early period of Byzantine (or of late antique) historiography is marked by Theophylaktos Simokattes's account of the reign of Maurice (582–602) and the so-called *Paschal Chronicle* which begins with Adam and breaks off in 628. Already in Simokattes's work, however, it is clear how far Byzantine historians had come in their fusing of the discrete ancient genres of history, biography, and encomium (Plutarch became a more important model than Thucydides). The chronicle is largely derivative, but contains valuable and even documentary evidence for the reigns of Phokas (602–10) and Herakleios (610–41) and is the first surviving historical work to date the Creation to 21 March 5509 BC.

From the 7th century to the early 9th century virtually no historical writings have survived, partly because of the decline of learning and partly, it may be assumed, because of the neglect or destruction of iconoclastic works. Our knowledge of the intervening centuries is largely dependent upon two later writers. Theophanes the Confessor continued to the year 813 the unoriginal compilation of his contemporary George the Synkellos (*Selection from Chronographers*) which covers the period from the Creation to the accession of Diocletian (284); and the patriarch Nikephoros I wrote a popular compendious history of the period 602–709 which was later translated into Latin and various Slavic languages. Theophanes' annalistic history was continued in turn by a work of original composition (conventionally known as *Scriptores post Theophanem* or *Theophanes Continuatus*) originally commissioned and perhaps contributed to by the emperor Constantine VII and arranged as a series of imperial biographies designed to support the Macedonian dynasty. It is thus propagandistic history.

From the intellectual revival in the 9th century until the fall of Constantinople in 1453 Byzantine historiography shows great variety. This is becoming increasingly evident in the comprehensive re-evaluation by modern scholarship which finds new personal approaches in even the seemingly most mechanical collections of excerpts. Works vary from universal surveys through recitals of individual reigns or chronicles of individual cities to descriptions of single climactic events or studies of specific subjects (e.g. the works by Constantine VII on the ceremonies of the court, themes, and diplomacy); from largely unoriginal compilations and epitomes to carefully researched independent analyses; from bare and factual accounts to vivid depictions; from conventional assessments to perceptive psychological portrayals (most notably by Psellos); from simply written narratives (some chronicles even in the

vernacular and Leontios Machairas' 15th-century *Narrative of the Sweet Land of Cyprus* in Cypriot dialect) to productions on which has been lavished every resource of rhetorical artistry. Prose was the traditional vehicle, but in the 12th century Constantine Manasses innovatingly wrote a chronicle in 6733 15-syllable lines from Adam to 1081. Thereafter verse was chosen in the early 14th century by Ephraim for his history of the rulers of the Old and New Romes and for various anonymous vernacular chronicles (e.g. the *Chronicle of the Morea* on the Frankish occupation of the Peloponnese to 1292, which is possibly a translation of the French version (it exists also in Italian and Aragonese) or may itself be the original, and the *Chronicle of the Tocco* on the ruling family of Ioannina in the 14th to 15th centuries).

Most historians were participants in or at least eyewitnesses of some of the events which they described. Thus Constantine VII and John VI Kantakouzenos were emperors and Nikephoros Bryennios an unsuccessful usurper; among civil servants and diplomats may be numbered Psellos, Attaleiates, Zonaras, Glykas (later involved in a conspiracy and imprisoned), Kinnamos, Skylitzes, Niketas Choniates, Akropolites, Pachymeres, Machairas (at the Lusignan Cypriot court), Doukas, and Sphrantzes; Leo the Deacon took part in the expedition against Bulgaria in 986; Kaminiates (if the account is truly his) wrote on the Arab siege of Thessalonica in 904, while in the 12th century the city's archbishop and gallant defender Eustathios recounted its capture by the Normans in 1185; the Byzantine princess Anna Komnene was an interested observer and critic of the leaders of the First Crusade; Nikephoros Gregoras was deeply involved in the theological politics of his day; Niketas Choniates witnessed the sack of Constantinople by the Fourth Crusade in 1204, John Kananos its siege by Murad II in 1422, Sphrantzes its fall to Mehmet II in 1453.

Apart from the obvious advantages for an historian, this involvement in affairs encouraged a Byzantine intrusion of author into work rare in Greek antiquity: thus, for instance, Psellos exaggerated his own importance in affairs of state, while Kantakouzenos's principal aim was to convince posterity of the rightness of his actions in the civil war (with seeming ingenuousness he recorded lengthy criticisms of himself, but only with his own rejoinders). Various historians chose their subjects for openly professed reasons: thus Attaleiates wanted to immortalize the exemplary deeds and character of Nikephoros III Botaneiates (as Xenophon had those of the Persian usurper Cyrus), Anna Komnene to do justice to her imperial father's achievements. The 12th-century epitomator Kedrenos rightly saw fit to accuse predecessors of "failing in accuracy" through the wish of "one to praise an emperor, one to blame a patriarch, another to eulogize a friend". Although some historians sought to give posterity disinterested accounts, others saw themselves in moral terms, with a mission to lead their readers into "right thinking", whether political or religious, thereby unashamedly justifying prejudice (George Hamartolos, "the sinner", even allowed himself to indulge in obscenities to vent his hatred of iconoclasm, Islam, and Manichaeanism). Nevertheless, despite distortion, which is often merely the result of biased selection of material, and errors of fact due to ignorance, Byzantine writers did not tell deliberate falsehoods, for, as Pachymeres claimed, "truth is the soul of history" (although he did add that there are certain matters not meet to be known, in which cases "it is better for posterity to be ignorant than misinformed").

Byzantine historiography through most of its chronological span fully validates the claim often made for it as the most interesting genre of secular literature for range of factual information, revelations of values both personal and societal, innovative approaches, and variety of styles and linguistic registers.

Life under foreign rule enabled historians to broaden their vision, and so Machairas' chronicle has the added interest of a genuine admiration for the Lusignan kings combined with patriotism and Orthodox faith. The period immediately after the fall of Constantinople in 1453 had a similar effect. In the 1480s Laonikos Chalkokondyles, in clear imitation of Herodotus' study of the conflict between Persians and Greeks, traced the confrontation from 1298 to 1463 of the Byzantines and Ottoman Turks with pointed emphasis on the latter, for whom he was a valuable witness through his access to documentary sources. Michael Kritoboulos, who was governor of Imbros from 1456 until its fall to the Venetians in 1466, went even further in a history of the period from 1451 to 1467 which is stylistically and linguistically modelled on Thucydides: his hero was his master Mehmet II, whose position as successor to Byzantine emperors is validated by an interest in Classical antiquity.

Thereafter, with the death of the generation educated traditionally before the fall, there was virtually no literature in areas under Turkish rule until the late 16th century. Even after the patriarch Cyril I Lukaris (1620–38) established in Constantinople the first printing press in the Greek world, historical writing remained a hazardous genre to pursue. Elsewhere in the old Byzantine world (mainly Cyprus, Crete, and, from the 17th century, the Ionian islands) historical works continued to be written, but at first almost exclusively in verse and in some variant of the vernacular. Members of the diaspora had initially few historiographic interests, but of crucial importance was the pioneering work of the Corfiote Nikolaos Sophianos and others in the mid-15th century in encouraging a belief in the vernacular as a respectable language for intellectuals to employ even in prose, although many still preferred to write in the high language or even in Italian (Sophianos even wrote a demotic grammar, which was not, however, published until 1870).

In Cyprus Georgios Boustronios usefully but less dramatically continued Machairas' prose chronicle up to 1501, but the island's promise to produce an indigenous literary tradition was stifled by the Turkish seizure in 1570, although this initially inspired several historical poems reminiscent of those lamenting the fall of Constantinople (and an eyewitness account by Ioannes Sozomenos in Italian of the Turkish siege of Nicosia at which he was taken prisoner). Indigenous Cretan historiography lasted longer. The earthquake of 1508 and its devastating consequences are the subject of a vivid poem by Manoles Sklavos, while the struggle over the island between the Venetians and the Turks from 1645 to 1669 is detailed in lengthy poems by Athanasios Skleros (unusually in the high language), Anthimos Diakrouses, and (the most vivid) Marinos Bouniales. Emmanuel Georgillas of Rhodes contributed a short poem describing the plague of 1498–1500, but its style is dry and its purpose religious edification. The most interesting of

the products of the Ionian islands is the detailed, vivid, but critical description of the popular uprising of Zakynthos against the Venetians in 1628, by Antzolos Soummakes. Certain other works, such as the poem on the siege of Malta in 1565 by the Cretan Antonios Acheles, are merely adaptations of Italian originals.

Local patriotism was sporadically kept alive by chronicles, of which the most interesting is the vernacular *Chronicle of Galaxeidi* composed in 1703 by the monk Euthymios. This charming medley of historical facts, miracles, and fantastic tales describes the history of a village on the northern shore of the Corinthian Gulf from the Byzantine period. For many years the only source of information on general Greek history was the universal chronicle attributed to the perhaps fictitious Dorotheos of Monemvasia. This is an enormous medley of disparate sources, some now lost, and includes lists of Roman, Christian, and Turkish rulers, an account of the Council of Ferrara-Florence, and a section on Venice. Its earliest redaction ends in 1570. By the early 19th century, however, there had been published, often in Italy, not only numerous compilations, adaptations, and partly original works of varying merit but also translations of several foreign histories of Greece (including that by Oliver Goldsmith), and even one of Byzantine historians rendered into a more modern idiom (by Ioannes Stanos in 1767).

Roughly contemporary with the *Chronicle of Dorotheos* is a vernacular *History of the Patriarchs of Constantinople* (this and a universal chronicle are attributed to a Manuel Malaxos who for the latter may have been only the copyist), which was of sufficient merit to warrant publication in 1584 by the German scholar Martin Crusius. Knowledge of their counterparts in Jerusalem was added in an adversely critical 17th-century account by Païsios Ligarides, a man of shifting and dubious religious loyalties (it was used later by the far more reputable and scholarly Dositheos, himself a patriarch of Jerusalem). Useful material on the negotiations of the ecumenical patriarch Jeremias II is to be found in the verse chronicle of his journey to Jerusalem by archbishop Arsenios, written in 1620. Most notable, however, because it can be truly classed as a work of scholarship, is the *Summary of Religious and Profane History* by one of the pioneers of the Greek intellectual renaissance, the Cretan Nektarios who became patriarch of Jerusalem in 1661. A preliminary section based upon the Old Testament is followed by a lengthy history of the monastery of St Catherine, Sinai, for which Nektarios used Arab sources and monastic manuscripts, before adding sections on the history of Egypt, based upon Herodotus and later sources, and the conquest of Egypt by the Ottoman Selim in 1517. Quite different, and analagous to local chronicles, is a lively 17th-century anonymous history of the Athonite monastery of Vatopedi. Of the numerous later ecclesiastical works the most notable is the *Memoirs of Ecclesiastical History* of Sergios Makraios, professor at the Patriarchal School in Constantinople, which gives valuable information on Orthodox-papal relations in the period 1750–1800.

Greek historical interests naturally extended only exceptionally beyond the Mediterranean world (the early 16th-century Corfiote Jakobos Triboles's poem, *The History of the King of Scotland and the Queen of England*, has nothing to do with any personages of those countries, since it is merely a reworking of a tale in Boccaccio). Of peculiar interest, therefore, is a work in Latin by the mercenary soldier Jakobos Basilikos (who gave himself the surname Heraklides and became prince of Moldavia in 1561): his eyewitness account of the campaign of Charles V at Thérouanne and Renty takes the form of a dialogue between Hercules and Nestor. In the 18th century Chrysanthos Notaras's account in the vernacular of the Tatar conquest of China is indicative of the growing internationalism of the Greeks of the disapora, while various works on Russia indicate that country's involvement in Greek affairs. Histories of Wallachia and Moldavia (notably by Kaisarios Dapontes, the finest Greek historian of the 18th century, and, later, Dionysios Photeinos) reflect Phanariot Greek rule there.

The earliest history of the Ottomans by a Greek (after Chalkokondyles and Kritoboulos) is the anonymous late-16th-century vernacular *Chronicle of the Turkish Sultans*, which is, however, based upon an Italian original. The first work of some independent merit is the history, in Italian, of Theodoros Spandounes who fought at the siege of Vienna in 1532. Probably through Italian influence he not only shows himself aware of Greek faults (e.g. their theological quarrels) but demonstrates an interest in Turkish customs. By far the best Ottoman history written by a Greek was that of the Phanariot Demetrios Kantemir (his father was of Tartar origin), who became Prince of Moldavia in 1710: it was little known, however, to his fellow countrymen since it was written in Latin and published in an English translation. Apart from accounts of and lamentations on Turkish victories already mentioned, the Ottoman and Venetian wars were another topic of interest, as in the anonymous 17th-century *Chronicle of Matesis* and Laonikos Zamires' celebration of a Venetian naval victory in 1651. Of greater interest, however, are the works of Christophoros Angelos. As a teacher of Greek at Oxford and Cambridge, Angelos chose the Classical language for a vivid account of his sufferings at the hands of the Turks (1617) and an analysis of the contemporary situation of the Greeks which includes a history of the Greek Church (1619).

The obviously fading power of the Turks from the late-17th to the early-19th century encouraged a Greek consciousness. Indicative of this is a history of Athens from Cecrops to Dionysius the Areopagite which the learned Georgios Kontares deliberately published in the vernacular (Venice, 1675) to inspire the common people. Even the Cretan Nikolaos Komnenos Papadopoulos's Latin *History of the University of Padua* (1726) emphasizes its Greek students, while the dedication of Alexandros Kankellarios's translation of Charles Rollin's *Ancient History* (1750) is to "the famous nation of the Greeks" who will thereby learn of their "glorious past". Local pride is evident in a continuing series of local histories of Athens, Corfu, Cyprus (a major work of scholarship published in 1788 by the archimandrite Kyprianos Kouriokourineos), and Epirus. Also suggesting the perceived need to emphasize a pre-Ottoman history is the vernacular translation of the surviving 15th-century *Chronicle of Ioannina*, itself an important souce for knowledge of medieval Epirus. Contemporary wars between Greeks and Turks were also at last a source of inspiration: most notable are the *Lament of the Peloponnese*, a poem in 2700 rhymed hendecasyllabics of real literary merit by Petros Katsaïtes on the events of 1715; and the *History of Souli and Parga*, a prose account of the Souliots' struggles with Ali

Pasha published by Christophoros Perraibos in 1803. Finally, the Greek War of Independence proper begat an outstanding work in the *Memoirs* of one of its major figures, General Makriyannis, composed after the war's conclusion when he had taught himself to read and write. Although ignored until its publication in 1907, and then despised for some 30 years, its idiosyncratic nature (replete with bizarre spelling and punctuation), vehement expression, and enthralling narrative offer a fitting culmination of the vernacular tradition of the Tourkokratia and Frankokratia which was now driven underground by the katharevousa ("purified" language) of other historians.

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See also Archives, Chronicles, Chronology, Hagiography

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Modern

In the prerevolutionary period of the so-called Neohellenic Enlightenment (1750–1821) the writing, publishing, and dissemination of historical works, whether originals, adaptations, compilations, or translations, formed a major contribution to the ideological and cultural preparation for the raising of national awareness among the Ottoman-ruled Greeks. With the successful outcome of the Greek ethnogenesis, realized in the form of a truncated but independent nation state, historical writing was to evolve in the context of Greek national ideology, echoing the national assumptions of the Greek state, aspiring to establish a legitimate European profile through a historical past and to carry out its liberating mission in the unredeemed Greek-populated lands of Ottoman Turkey.

The first phase of modern Greek historiography spans the first 90 years of free statehood, to Greece's military defeat in Asia Minor in 1922. Not surprisingly, in the early decades (1830–60) historical works on the late prerevolutionary period and, particularly, on the War of Independence were mostly produced by contemporaries of and participants in the events. These consisted of general histories (A. Frantzis's *History of Reborn Greece*, and the 4-volume histories of the revolution by S. Trikoupis and I. Filimon), the memoirs and reminiscences of participants (Palaion Patron Germanos, N. Kasomoulis, T. Kolokotronis, E. Xanthos, C. Perraivos, F. Chrysanthopoulos-Fotakos, N. Spiliadis, Spyromilios), collections of documents and laws (A. Mamoukas), biographies, and various monographs.

Revolutionary Greece was also recorded by contemporary European writers and historians (G. Finlay, T. Gordon, G. Gervinus, F. Pouqueville, F. Thiersch, J. Zinkeisen, and A. Prokesch-Osten). Otherwise, 19th-century Hellenism attracted contemporary foreign historiographic interest either in connection with the complex diplomatic context of the Eastern Question and Ottoman Turkey's difficulties with reform, or as travel literature. With few exceptions (G. Finlay, K. Mendelson-Bartholdy, G. Hertzberg, P. Bickford-Smith), it was the arrival of the 20th century that produced the first major works on modern Greek history by European historians, such as William Miller and E. Driault and M. l'Héritier, whose classic diplomatic history of Greece from 1821 to their times remains in use. European scholarship paid greater attention to medieval and Frankish-ruled Hellenism, partly by the same historians (G. Finlay, G. Hertzberg) along with the medievalists Karl Hopf and J.A. Buchon, while in 1908 William Miller contributed a history of Frankish Greece (1204–1566).

The main themes of 19th-century Greek historiography were shaped by the dominant questions of modern Hellenism, namely historical continuity as an ingredient of the Greek national identity, and the Great Idea as the foremost vision of national integration in its hallucinating dimensions of creating an eastern empire of the Greeks with a capital at Constantinople. The role of the German historian Jacob Philipp Fallmerayer, however unintended and repugnant to the Greeks, was to be seminal, when in his History of the Morea during the Middle Ages (*Geschichte der Halbinsel Morea wahrend des Mittelalters* 2 vols, 1830 and 1836), he dissociated, on a racial basis, modern Greeks from their esteemed ancient ancestors, in the belief that the latter were entirely replaced by an amalgamation of Slavic tribes – a theory opposed at once by such European contemporaries as J.W. Zinkeisen and B. Kopitar. His thesis was felt as a national affront, and provoked a large number of ad-hoc history books and articles in Greece to oppugn it and, thus, restore national self-esteem and establish credentials of historical legitimacy at home and, especially, in the eyes of the West (e.g. *Refutation of the Theories of Fallmerayer* by F. Zamvaldis, *On the Descent of the Race of the Greeks* by C. Poulios, etc.). On academic historiography, in particular, such ideological assumptions weighed heavily, with the Faculty of Philosophy at Athens University (founded 1837) assuming throughout the century a leading role in the elaborations of Greek nationalism. This is where the official national theory of the historical continuity of

Hellenism was formulated – the Greek variant on the similar theme of European nationalism.

Konstantinos Paparrigopoulos (1815–91), a university history professor, was the intellectual who provided the definitive contemporary answer on behalf of Greek historiography on the question of the historical unity of Greek culture in time and place. This he pursued by expounding the concept of a historical continuum from Homeric Greece to modern times through the rehabilitation in the national consciousness and history writing of the hitherto disparaged (by the classicist Enlightenment) medieval Byzantium. Its full elaboration was formulated in the final version of his monumental *Istoria tou Ellinikou Ethnous* (History of the Greek Nation, 1860–74), a work setting a model for Greek history writing for more than a century, both in terms of methodology as factual historical narrative and, primarily, in conceptualizing and establishing in Greek historiography the genuinely lingering pattern of the history of the Greek nation per se.

The discourse that was generated in Greek scholarship over Hellenism and its relationship with Byzantium confirmed the establishment of the tripartite pattern of Greek history from ancient times through to the formation of the Greek state. In 1852 Spyridon Zampelios gave prominence to the Byzantine period and associated it with the Greek consciousness in the *Historical Study on Medieval Hellenism* which prefaced his collection of Greek demotic songs. Five years later he published his *Byzantine Studies*. That the Byzantine period aspired to and was integrated into the scope of historiography as a legitimate, in fact value-imparting, constituent paved the way for the development of Byzantine studies in Greece, along with the unchallenged Classical studies, accredited from the outset by virtue of the underlying classicist values of the Greek state. The political conditions from the last decades of the century onwards encouraged these studies, as the rise of Slavophobia in Greece found ground for confirmation in the study of Byzantium. This was further strengthened by the sharpening of national feeling and the presence of the spirit of an eastern empire among intellectuals before and around the time of the Balkan Wars – a growing trend illustrated by the immediate translation of Karl Krumbacher's bulky *History of Byzantine Literature* (1897–1900), the four-volume comprehensive publication in Greek of the French Byzantinist Gustave Schlumberger's works under the title *Byzantine Épopée* (1904–08), and K.S. Sokolis's book *Empire* (1916). On the whole, 19th-century political and cultural Romanticism, emphasizing the notion of the nation and its historical lineage, prompted the growth of historical studies and, especially, interest in research and the publication of primary sources. In this, folklore, founded by Nikolaos Politis (1852–1921) as a self-sufficient academic discipline under nationally orientated auspices, provided extra material on Greek popular culture and life.

Throughout the 19th and the early 20th centuries the Paparrigopoulos legacy determined the course of Greek historiography, since the national ideological and cultural underpinnings remained by and large unmodified. In particular, the term Hellenism, denoting the presence of the nation far beyond and irrespective of "the narrow precinct of free Greece" (Paparrigopoulos), was universally espoused by the 1880s, partly in place of the Great Idea, which at times provoked distrust and a critique. Spyridon Lambros (1851–1919) and Pavlos Karolidis (1849–1930), both history professors at Athens University, continued along the lines of the national historicist school, contributing much to Greek historiography. The former dealt extensively with medieval and modern Hellenism, his rich historiographic output including a history of Greece to 1453, while as editor of the historical journal *Neos Ellinomnimon* he worked for the advance of historical studies, with emphasis on source-material publishing. The latter, Karolidis, whose work ranged from national to world history, wrote *inter alia* a history of Greece from 1453 to 1863, and complemented Paparrigopoulos's *History* with an account of the period from independence to 1930. In the same spirit, Epameinondas Kyriakidis (1861–1939), a Constantinopolitan scholar, published a *History of Contemporary Hellenism* (19th century). In addition, Konstantinos Sathas (1842–1924), a dedicated, albeit non-professional, historian, researched and wrote on Ottoman-ruled Hellenism, leaving behind informative books, notably his voluminous *Medieval Library*, *Turkish-dominated Greece*, and biographies of Greek scholars (1453–1821) in his *Neohellenic Literature*.

Of other noteworthy writers and historians, Antonios Miliarakis (1841–1905) was attracted to the history and geography of medieval Greece, but it was Pavlos Kalligas (1814–96) who was among the first after Paparrigopoulos to examine Byzantine Hellenism. Tryfon Evangelidis (1863–1941) dealt *inter alia* with the Tourkokratia and the education of Ottoman-ruled Greeks, while Manouil Gedeon (1854–1943) centred on the history of the Constantinople patriarchate and ecclesiastical matters. In the field of local and regional historiography, besides Andreas Moustoxydis (1785–1860), the groundbreaking historian who continued the exploratory historical work he had started as early as 1804, Panagiotis Chiotis (1814–96), and Andreas Idromenos (1853–1917) occupied themselves with the history of the Ionian islands; Dionysios Sourmelis and, later, Themistoklis Filadelfevs (1838–1920) and Dimitrios Kampouroglou (1852–1942) looked into medieval and modern Athens; the archaeologist and philologist Stefanos Xanthoudidis (1864–1928) wrote a history of Crete; Ioannis Lampridis (1862–1914) published work on Epirus and the Hellenism of Egypt, while others worked on the Peloponnese (C. Korylos) and Thessaly (N. Georgiadis); and, finally, Alexandros Paspatis (1814–91), another writer from Constantinople, left behind many studies in the history of his birthplace. Other 19th-century writers such as A. Mansolas, I. Nouchakis, and I. Stamatakis showed interest in the historical geography and demography of Greece. As regards economic history, after A. Vernardakis, D. Georgiades, and L. Dosios, who wrote economic monographs, Andreas Andreadis (1876–1935), university professor of political economy and finance, laid the scientific foundations of economic history in Greece by writing a history of Greek loans and public finance.

The year 1922, a watershed in Greek history marking the end of the Great Idea as an irredentist vision, marked the opening of a second period of historiography extending to the 1960s. The trend towards reorientation and revision in the Greek national consciousness in the interwar period, and an ideological divergence in place of the unitary effect of the Great Idea, had some repercussions on historiography. Renewal and

challenge were introduced methodologically by the Marxist approach and thematically by a sensitivity towards social issues. These developments were accelerated by the formation of the Communist Party, and the increase in social awareness and tensions after Georgios Skliros wrote *Our Social Question* (1907). Marxist historiography was represented by Gianis Kordatos (1891–1961), the first Communist Party leader and an indefatigable historian, who as early as 1924 attempted a class analysis of the Greek revolution, and produced pioneering work on the history of Greek capitalism and of the Greek agrarian and working-class movements. Another communist writer, Serafeim Maximos (1895–1962), turned to the economic history of Greece. The agricultural question in the country was broad-sightedly discussed by K.D. Karavidas in a remarkable book, *Agricultural Issues* (1931), while D.L. Zografos dealt extensively with the history of Greek agriculture. Conventional history writing was not seriously affected, however, since the rise and establishment of Greek authoritarianism, following the brief republican interlude in the interwar period, prevented new historiography from amending the traditional theoretical framework of Greek history. This annulled, too, an early attempt in Greek history studies to overcome their ethnocentric interests: in 1939 the state abolished the chairs of Balkan, Slav, and Arab history and literature for which provision had been made at the recently established Thessalonica University (founded 1926).

In the field of the traditional historiography of modern Hellenism, the following should be mentioned. Nikolaos Vlachos (1893–1956) and Georgios Aspreas (1875–1952; the political history of modern Greece), Dionysios Kokkinos (1884–1967; the Greek revolution), Giannis Vlachogiannis (1868–1945), Kostas Kairofylas (1878–1961), Fanis Michalopoulos (1895–1960), and many others. Xenophon Zolotas (born 1904) partly continued Andreas Andreadis's work, but orientated towards pure economics, producing books on Greece's industrialization and monetary stabilization. Balkan studies owe a great deal to Michail Laskaris (1903–65), the founder of Balkanology in Greece, and Byzantine studies to Byzantinist professors at Athens University, Konstantinos Amantos (1874–1960), Nikolaos Veis (1887–1958), and, throughout the period since World War II, Dionysios Zakythinos (1905–93). Research into Byzantium and medieval studies were early encouraged by the Society for Byzantine Studies and the Society for Medieval Literature, founded in 1918 and 1926 respectively.

The third period of Greek historiography, representing an apogee of historical studies, traces its origins to around the 1960s and manifested itself clearly from the 1970s onwards. It originated with Greek historians abroad, especially in the United States and France, who because of their position were receptive to major developments in international historiography, to which the prevailing post-Civil War climate of ultra-conservatism in Greece remained obstinately immune. It was with the restoration of democracy in 1974 and the ensuing radicalization that conditions were created for the reassociation of Greek scholarship with European intellectual trends, and for history writing and research in the country to flourish.

On Byzantine Hellenism, besides domestic historiographic production, there was already a longer tradition of study in international scholarship to build upon, respectably established by Gustave Schlumberger, Henri Grégoire, Charles Diehl, and more recently Franz Dölger, Alexander Vasiliev, Georg Ostrogorsky, and Romilly Jenkins (followed by S. Vryonis, S. Runciman, D. Obolensky, A. Kazhdan, P. Lemerle, N. Oikonomides, H. Ahrweiler-Glykatzi, D. Geanakoplos, I. Karagiannopoulos, E. Barker, H. Antoniadis-Bibiacou, H.-G. Beck, H. Hunger, D. Nicol, A. Guillou, P. Charanis, and I. Shevchenko). The difference was made far more evident in the field of modern Hellenism, where several leading historians are numbered among those who initiated from abroad the renewal of Greek historiography, such as Lefteris Stavrianos (*The Balkans since 1453*, 1958), John Petropulos (*Politics and Statecraft in the Kingdom of Greece*, 1968), and John Campbell (*Honour, Family and Patronage*, 1964), to name only three from both sides of the Atlantic. But two figures left an indelible imprint on modern Hellenism not merely by their historiographic production, but particularly by providing instruction and inspiration to an unconventionally minded younger generation of historians, namely Konstantinos T. Dimaras (1904–92) and Nikos Svoronos (1911–90), both intellectually influenced by the academic climate in France. Dimaras explored fresh historical ground by focusing on intellectual history with reference to the Neohellenic Enlightenment, while Svoronos, covering a broad range from Byzantium to modern history, sharpened methodologically the approach to social and economic issues. His *Histoire de la Grèce moderne* (1953), the first Marxist-slanted short history of Greece, became a standard work along with Richard Clogg's *Short History of Modern Greece* (1979).

The true renewal of Greek history writing has manifested itself in four respects: in numbers, since there has been an unprecedented increase in historians, history-related institutions and research centres, and historical publications in recent decades; in methodology, either by the introduction of different approaches, with an emphasis on those of broadly interpreted neo-Marxism and on a belated introduction of the French school of the *Annales*, or by interdisciplinary applications, especially from the field of social anthropology, political science, and historical sociology; in themes, marked by a burgeoning of monographs in long-neglected social and economic history, as well as in intellectual history and the "history of mentalities", the latter echoing a strong association with academic developments in France; and in periods, where the research focus has been set on modern Hellenism, especially on the 19th and 20th centuries, including the turbulent decade of the 1940s.

The historiography of this current period has given rise to the exploration of new phenomena such as underdevelopment and dependence in a European context, nationalism, state-building, the identity-formation process, diaspora, and ethnic groups. The social issue in Greek history has received scholarly attention, and the term "society" increasingly elbowed out in analyses that of the "nation"/*genos* (race). The old question of the identity of Hellenism has been freshly addressed, not in the traditional manner of the moulding of its distinct character, but in its dynamic historical perspective and interaction with the West and East in a scheme of cultural pluralism. Emphasis has been given to the horizontal study of historical periods rather than to the diachronic view of history derived from the Paparrigopoulos framework. Symptomatic of this, too, has

been an unorthodox trend in the study of Byzantium, especially abroad (in the works of Cyril Mango, for instance), as a phenomenon unrelated to modern Hellenism. In parallel, traditional history writing has been represented by two multivolume works: Apostolos Vakalopoulos's *History of Modern Hellenism* (Thessalonica, 1961–74), an updated and informative account of Hellenic continuity on the lines of Paparrigopoulos's work, and Spyridon Markezinis's *Political History of Greece, 1828 to 1975* (Athens, 1966–78). Finally, the *History of the Greek Nation* (1977), a 15-volume collective work, despite the traditional overall concept, reflects the results and pursuits of contemporary Greek historiography, standing out as the best encyclopaedic review of Greek history from ancient times to 1941.

Today Greek historiography exhibits a methodological and thematic pluralism and aspires to open communication with international history, while it continues its efforts to come to grips with the problem of traditional ethnocentricism. An indication of this can be seen in the Greece-related theses of the overwhelming majority of Greek graduates pursuing higher degrees in history in European and American universities.

RENNOS EHALIOTIS

See also Archives, Great Idea

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Homer

Epic poet of the 8th or 7th century BC

"Homer" is the name associated since ancient times with the author of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, the two epic poems that form the earliest surviving Greek literature and which are probably the most important and influential works ever written in Greek. The *Iliad* describes the Trojan War, the ten-year struggle by the Greeks to conquer the city of Troy in Asia Minor and to recapture Helen, the queen of Sparta who was abducted by the Trojan prince Paris. The poem covers only a few days in the last year of the war, when Achilles, the greatest of the Greek heroes, is insulted by Agamemnon, his commander in chief, and refuses to fight. The Greeks are badly defeated in his absence and plead for his help, but he gives it only when his close friend Patroclus is killed by Hector, the bravest of the Trojan princes. At that point Achilles returns to the battle and kills Hector, though he knows that he is fated to die if he does so. Hector's family mourns him greatly, and his aged father Priam, the king of Troy, comes to Achilles in secret to ransom his son's body, which Achilles allows him to do. These events are influenced but not entirely controlled by the gods, who take an active interest in the course of the war but are far from united in their aims and often engage in highly undignified bickering. The theme of the poem is the wrath of Achilles; it begins with the actions that caused that anger and ends when Achilles lays aside his anger to share Priam's grief, and the story is amazingly cohesive and unified for a poem of such length. Nevertheless the poet also manages, by means of well-placed digressions, to give the story of the entire war in the course of the poem.

The *Odyssey* takes place after the end of the Trojan War and chronicles the homeward journey of Odysseus, one of the Greek heroes. It begins towards the end of his wanderings, and we learn of many of his adventures only when he narrates them himself in the course of his homecoming; narration from various characters also provides us with the story of the part of the Trojan War between the end of the *Iliad* and the beginning of the *Odyssey*. The poet focuses not only on Odysseus and his adventures, but also on the courage and endurance of his wife Penelope, who waited 20 years for her husband to return, and the coming of age of their son Telemachus, who grew up without knowing his father. Both Penelope and Telemachus suffer from the crowd of suitors who occupy their house for years insisting that Penelope remarry, and the poet carefully alternates scenes describing their plight with ones detailing Odysseus' adventures. Finally the two halves of the poem come together, as Odysseus returns to his family and kills the suitors.

A number of shorter poems about the gods, known as the Homeric Hymns, are also attributed to Homer. Internal linguistic evidence suggests that some of these poems are almost as early as the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, while others were clearly composed much later.

Nothing is known for certain about Homer himself, and his very existence is now disputed; the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* may have different authors, if either can be said to have an author at all. The epics are certainly the product of a long oral tradition, probably dating back at least to the 12th century BC. The extent to which this tradition can be taken as any sort of

Homer: an 18th-century engraving in the style of an ancient portrait bust

record of actual events in the Mycenaean period is disputed; archaeologists since Heinrich Schliemann have tended to identify Troy with the site of Hissarlik in Turkey, which could have been destroyed by the Greeks around 1250 BC (one ancient date for the Trojan War), but many of the episodes in the poems are certainly fictional and most are probably so. Only a few place names and descriptions of objects can be traced with certainty to the Mycenaean period, and most of the material in the poems is of much later date.

The oral tradition that produced the epics went on evolving until they were written down, which cannot have been earlier than *c.*800 BC and may have occurred a century or more after that. Today the name "Homer" is often conventionally applied to the last bard in the series (not necessarily the same person for both epics), who presumably shaped the poems into the form in which they were first committed to writing. It is uncertain how much of the final product can be attributed to his individual genius and how much to that of his predecessors. The result of this long evolution is that the language of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* is a mixture of dialects from different centuries and different areas of Greece; it preserves traces of very archaic features next to relatively recent innovations and is not something that was ever spoken as anyone's natural language. Because of the prestige of the poems, however, the "epic dialect" became a recognized form of literary Greek and was often used, in whole or in part, for later Greek poetry.

Throughout antiquity the Homeric epics were regarded as indisputably the best and most important works of Greek literature, a reputation that they have never really lost. Greek schoolchildren studied them, in preference to all other literature, from the beginning of Greek schooling, and the epics were regularly recited on all kinds of occasions both public and private. Once they had been written down, the poems stopped evolving as oral literature and attained a relatively fixed form; this was necessitated in part by their use as an authority on any matter they mentioned, from territorial claims to religious observances. The poems' depiction of the gods as not free of human vices occasioned some discomfort among later philosophers, but not enough to undermine Homer's authority seriously.

Virtually all of ancient literature is indebted to Homer in one way or another; his influence is particularly notable in poetry, since both the language and the mythological material of much Greek poetry are directly traceable to him, but it can also be seen in historical and philosophical works. Some later Greeks, such as Apollonius Rhodius, wrote epics of their own that were close imitations of the Homeric poems, but most writers tended to feel that Homer could not be equalled and therefore should not be directly imitated. Much of ancient art is also clearly dependent on Homer for inspiration.

Homer was the first Greek author to be the subject of scholarship; legend has it that the 6th-century BC Athenian tyrant Pisistratus first ordered that a proper edition of the Homeric poems be compiled. This legend may be without foundation, but it is certainly true that in the Hellenistic period the great scholars of Alexandria devoted much time and energy to editing and commenting on the text of Homer, and many of their observations are still valuable today. Similarly, the enormous preponderance of Homer papyri (ancient copies of the Homeric poems on papyrus, found primarily in Egypt) over those of any other author shows that ancient scribes spent vast amounts of time copying the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. Early quotations of Homer by other writers suggest that before the Alexandrian period there were a number of variant texts of Homer. This impression is borne out by the earliest Homeric papyri of the Alexandrian period. During that period, however, the papyri reveal the adoption of a standardized text: from about 150 BC virtually all papyri reflect a text very similar to that of the medieval manuscripts on which our own texts are based. Thus in some way the poems became codified during the Alexandrian period, though it is not clear whether this codification was entirely the work of scholars (many of whose emendations do not appear in the codified text) or whether it was also due to the changing practices of Alexandrian book copyists.

In the Roman and Byzantine periods the Homeric poems continued to be read, copied, quoted, imitated, and prized above other pagan literature, and with the introduction of Christianity their status was only slightly diminished. The popularity and importance of the epics made it impossible for

the Christians to condemn them, and for the most part the pillars of the Church read and used Homer quite happily, although for some the poems' incompatibility with Christian doctrine remained a problem. Several Byzantine authors, such as Tzetzes (12th century) and Psellos (11th century), solved this problem by writing allegorical interpretations of the poems and giving them Christian meaning; in so doing they joined a long tradition of Homeric allegorization that dates back to the Hellenistic period. School curricula in Byzantine times still contained a large component of instruction in and memorization of Homer, and ability to quote from the poems from memory was considered essential in an educated man. Byzantine scholars also produced numerous works on Homer, including the 12th-century archbishop Eustathios' massive commentaries on both epics, which are still of use today. Homer also influenced many vernacular authors of the Byzantine period.

In less educated circles, however, the enormous difference between the epic dialect and the spoken Greek of later periods made the poems more and more difficult to understand, and over time their plots became less familiar to the populace as a whole. Meanwhile, of course, the Homeric poems had been imitated by Latin poets, who in turn inspired medieval poets in western Europe. One result of this was the *Roman de Troie*, a 12th-century French poem on the Trojan War that adapts the Homeric characters into a framework of medieval Christianity, chivalry, and courtly love to the extent that they and their stories are barely recognizable. This poem was brought to Greece by Frankish occupiers and in the 14th century was translated into vernacular Greek as the "War of Troy". It is now the longest surviving medieval Greek vernacular poem (14,367 lines).

With the fall of Constantinople in 1453 the Greeks' contact with their literary past was greatly diminished, but the Homeric poems continued to be used as school texts in those schools that offered training in Greek (particularly those in the Greek diaspora) and so were as influential as any work of ancient Greek literature during this period. The prestige that they continued to hold is illustrated by the story of the reception of a French general sent by Napoleon to annex Corfu in 1797; after the general had delivered a learned speech sprinkled with references to Classical literature, the Corfiots handed him a copy of the *Odyssey* and replied that although the Greeks were not learned they should still be respected because of Homer. At the liberation of Greece in the 19th century Greek education became more widespread, and with it the Homeric poems, which were still used as school texts. They are in fact still so used to this day, continuing an impressive and unbroken tradition of two and a half millennia of Greek education.

The gap between Homeric Greek and the living language has continued to widen, however, resulting in a need for translations. As early as the 17th century Nikolaos Loukanis produced a paraphrase of the *Iliad* in modern Greek, but the first true modern Greek translations were not completed until Polylas's work in the late 19th century.

Modern Greek literature is almost as heavily influenced by Homer as that of the ancient world. The early poets of modern Greece wrote works clearly shaped by Homer, though not always directly alluding to him (e.g. Kalvos, 1824, and Solomos, 1825). Among more recent writers, Cavafy makes indirect use of Homer, while Seferis quotes and refers to the ancient epics frequently. Because of the location of Troy in Asia Minor, the Homeric poems have sometimes been seen as bearing on the modern struggle between Greece and Turkey; for this reason they had more influence on contemporary poetry before 1922, when the Greek army was defeated in Turkey and the Greeks living in Asia Minor were forced to relocate to mainland Greece, than immediately afterwards. Even today, however, Greek literature remains overshadowed by the Homeric poems and their enormous influence on the Greek language and literary tradition. As the poet Elytis put it (1970): "I was given the Greek language, a poor house on Homer's shores."

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See also Historiography, Oral Tradition, Poetry (Epic)

Biography

Homer is traditionally assumed to be the author of the two epic poems which represent the earliest surviving examples of Greek literature, the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. Based on a long oral tradition, the poems were not written down before 800 BC (and possibly a century or more later); the name "Homer" is conventionally applied to the last bard in that tradition before the poems were committed to writing. All subsequent Greek literature is indebted to Homer in some way.

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Homosexuality

Homosexuality and the Hellenic tradition are bedfellows of long standing. The gay man or lesbian is no longer the "woman trapped in a man's body" or "the man trapped in a woman's body"; but we are no nearer agreement on what "homosexuality" is than we are able to accept the diversity it represents. Social constructionists argue that no sexualities exist outside culture – that indeed the very concept of "sexuality" is a product of our modern scientific-rational culture; the essentialists proclaim that there is something that "essentially" makes people homosexual, it is a "natural fact". With these two views unreconciled, it is clear there is no one "homosexuality". First, male and female homosexuality must be recognized as different experiences and expressions. Secondly, "homosexuality" is a category of meaning that shifts through time, and it is simplistic to reduce all male homosexual activity to anal intercourse. Homosexuality embraces the homosocial as well as the homoerotic. David Greenberg's masterful survey of the field has pointed out the variety so glibly united in the term "homosexuality". Greenberg's categories are useful in analysing the three broad periods of homosexuality in the Hellenic tradition: the Classical, the medieval, and the modern.

Classical

Sappho provides some evidence of female homoeroticism if not homosexuality:

> and you were anointed with
> a perfume, scented with blossom
> ... although it was fit for a queen
> and on a bed, soft and tender
> ... you satisfied your desire ...
>
> no. 32 (LP 94) in Sappho, *Poems and Fragments*, translated by Josephine Balmer

Clearer evidence from the Classical period is largely restricted to male homosexuality. For Greenberg the homosexuality of Classical Athens – subject of a definitive study by Kenneth Dover – was transgenerational (in that the lover was older, the beloved little more than a boy without the first growth of a beard); it was based on a differential of power (the lover was older, richer, more experienced, and took the active role; the beloved was younger, without resources, gaining an education, and took the passive role); it was transitional (both parties filled the roles of beloved and lover at different stages); and it was not exclusive (it was indeed "just a stage they were going through", and the lover would frequently have a wife and children at home and in due course the beloved would become an adult citizen and take a wife). This homosexuality – more accurately pederasty – played an institutionalized role in Greek society in the 5th and 4th centuries BC. Not all aspects of this part of Greek culture are clear, but neither are all aspects occluded under the rubric of the "love that dare not speak its name". This love had its names; what is not always clear is what these names meant. The beloved was the *pais* or *eromenos*; the lover was the *erastes*. This part of human experience was socialized and circumscribed into an ideal of accepted behaviours, with some actions clearly prohibited. The beloved, the *eromenos*, was a boy of between 9 and 16, the son of a citizen, who in time would become a citizen himself. One of the leisured classes, he spent his time frequenting the gymnasia where, if he conformed to the Greek ideals of young male beauty, he would come to the attention of a prospective *erastes*, himself a member of the citizenry. The ideal was presented as a hunt: the *eromenos* was the quarry, the *erastes* the hunter. By his attentions, his presence, his example, his guidance, and more concrete gifts of cockerel, hare, or hound, the *erastes* by this theory would inculcate the "best" things of civilized life in his beloved. For his part, the beloved was expected not to give in readily to the importuning of the *erastes*. The willingness of the *erastes* to continue in the pursuit of the apparently unwilling *eromenos* was a clear indicator of the *erastes*' excellence. At a suitable end-point, however, it was accepted that it was "creditable to grant any favour in any circumstances for the sake of becoming a better person", glossed by Dover (p. 91) as "acceptance of the teacher's thrusting penis between his thighs or in his anus is the fee which the pupil pays for good teaching or alternatively a gift from a younger person to an older person whom he has come to love and admire". Here again the Classical Greeks have a word for it: the physical expression was *diamerizein* ("intercrural intercourse"). But there were social constraints. It was assumed that the *eromenos* would gain no physical pleasure (the examples of 100 years of vase painting from 570 to 470 BC show the *eromenos* with flaccid penis and often an almost abstracted air, while the aroused *erastes* is "up for it"). And the *eromenos* was protected from the unwanted advances of an *erastes* by the laws of hubris: in myth Zeus carried off a protesting Ganymede (followed in turn by Poseidon taking Pelops) but boy citizens were protected from such outrage by the legal threat of the death penalty. However, though 4th-century BC Athens readily accepted this "homosexual" ethos of *eromenos* and *erastes* (with evidence provided by the Attic comedies of Aristophanes, by Plato, and by Aeschines' speech of 346 BC in prosecution of Timarchus), the freedoms were constrained. The *eromenos* who, voluntarily or due to parental pressure, gave his favours for material gain in overt prostitution lost his place among the citizens and could be arraigned for hubris if he subsequently attempted to act as a citizen by speaking in the assembly or holding reserved office. Similarly, the man or boy who took the passive (receptive) role in anal intercourse (who allowed himself to be penetrated) separated himself from the citizens and was numbered with women, foreigners, and prostitutes. The role of the beautiful yet aloof object of a worthy male citizen's desire was allowed the beardless youth; a coeval relationship between men – more especially if anal intercourse was imputed to it – was not. The manner in which the physical expression of a homosexual relationship forms a subverting continuum with homosocial relationships – such as between Achilles and Patroclus – caused problems for Classical Hellenism. Pausanias and Agathon continued in the relationship "too long" according to the norms, but their respective roles were clear; for Achilles and Patroclus the question was "which one is the

eromenos, which one the *erastes*?" as the relationship had to conform to that paradigm.

Medieval

With the advent of Christianity, the easy, though limited, acceptance of some homosexual practice retreated before the model familiar to all Christian European societies. "Homosexuality" was a series of acts, indulged in at the promptings of demons and devils to the peril of one's immortal soul. Homosexuality was constituted as monstrous, perverse, and evil. Any survey of homosexuality in the Hellenic tradition of the Middle Ages must mention *adelphopoiia*, "the adoption of a brother or a sister", which had much in common with other relationships created by the prayers of a ritual – adoption, godparents or *synteknia*, and marriage. A synthesis of the work of Macrides, Boswell, and Rapp provides the following. *Adelphopoiia* was a social relationship, created by a Church rite that connected two individuals. *Adelphopoiia* was part of a spectrum of Byzantine social relationships "by arrangement" that stretched from blood-kin, through marriage, adoption, godparenthood, and *adelphopoiia* to friendship and acquaintance. Rapp presents the evidence for *adelphopoiia*. Hagiographical texts provide four examples (pp. 291–300): St Theodore of Sykeon and Thomas, patriarch of Constantinople; John the Almsgiver, patriarch of Alexandria, and Niketas, governor of Egypt; Symeon the Fool and John the Syrian; and Nikolaos, patriarch of Constantinople, and Leo VI. The complex *adelphopoiia* relationships of Basil I (867–86) with John the son of Danelis and/or with Nikolaos, caretaker of the church of Diomedes, are followed by a treatment of Basil I's *adelphopoiia* with Symbatios and three others (pp.305–12). Romanos IV Diogenes and Nikephoros Bryennios are followed by John III Doukas Vatatzes and Demetrios Tornikes, and John VI Kantakouzenos and Andronikos III Palaiologos (pp.316–18). This wealth of evidence provided by Rapp shows the "pervasiveness of non-biological 'brotherhood', and especially of *adelphopoiesis*, in Byzantine society". The many prohibitions against *adelphopoiia* stand witness to its continued popularity and also the vague feeling that it was the occasion for "many sins". *Adelphopoiia* was a form of ritual kinship that was common in Byzantium, but which was frowned upon by the Church, though the Church itself provided the ritual by which it was created. *Adelphopoiia* gave formal expression to friendship, or created a situation in which friendship might develop. It was a means whereby members of the opposite sex who were not connected by other ties of kinship could gain access to one another. It could have been used by people who were conducting an illicit sexual relationship – either heterosexual or homosexual – to conceal their relationship under the guise of friendship.

Canonists of the 12th century comment carefully on canons dealing with homosexuality, but without the contemporary examples that illustrate their exegesis of the canons on incest, multiple marriages, or even the practice of magic (Laiou, p. 76). The term most commonly used to signify homosexuality was "man-madness". Laiou remarks that, though the disapproval is marked, a certain "economy" was observed in actually carrying out the punishments (p. 77). A preoccupation in the sources from the 4th and 5th centuries, homosexuality is subsequently rarely mentioned: Laiou suggests that, for all the zeal in normative prohibition, Byzantine society tolerated homosexuality as long as it was not a cause for scandal; in effect, that Byzantium was the first closet society (p. 78). Furthermore, Arethas's scholion to Clement of Alexandria's *Paidagogos* (3. 3. 21. 3) being "the earliest known attestation of 'Lesbian' for a woman erotically oriented toward other women" (Brooten, p. 5, n. 9) seems to position Byzantium clearly at the "queer" end of the spectrum.

Modern

In the period when the modern Greek state came to occupy its present borders, homosexuality in the Hellenic tradition found one voice in the poetry of Cavafy.

> And yet the love you were looking for, I had to give you;
> the love I was looking for
> – so your tired, knowing eyes implied –
> you had to give me.
> Our bodies sensed and sought each other;
> our blood and skin understood.
> But we both hid ourselves, flustered.
>
> "On the Stairs"

The oblique and occluded nature of the remarks in some poems – such as "He Asked about the Quality" – give way gradually to more overt developments, as in "At the Theatre", with "your strange beauty, your decadent youthfulness". Cavafy, however, is a spokesman for the more closeted homosexuality of the early 20th century. In common with a number of European Union democracies, Greece has a confused and complicated attitude to homosexuality. There are gay groups, such as EOK and the refounded AKOE, in Athens and Thessalonica; Mykonos has long been a destination for gay men, Lesbos for lesbians on holiday. Kaliarda, to Greek what Polari is to English, has been the object of etymological and lexical study. A gay press exists in Greece (*Deon* from Athens and *O Podos* from Thessalonica), though titles have in the past been short-lived (though that is not a peculiarity of the Greek-speaking gay world). Orthodox Christians compose 97 per cent of the population and many so-called Christian attitudes to homosexuality (based on a traditionalist reading of Genesis, Leviticus, and Romans) remain. A differential age of consent exists: 17 for male homosexuals, 15 for heterosexuals and lesbians. A survey conducted for the women's magazine *Gynaika* in 1996 (admittedly on only a small sample of 300 individuals) reported that 20.3 per cent of respondents described homosexuality as an illness, 19.6 per cent as taboo, 48.8 per cent as a "different lifestyle", and 14.4 per cent as "nothing unusual". In the same survey 57.6 per cent thought that the adoption of children by a same-sex couple would be "a scandal"; 27.9 per cent thought that the recognition of same-sex marriages was a sign of social decadence, while 33.1 per cent thought it would be a sign of social equality. Were they to discover that their child was homosexual, 23.1 per cent reported that they would take them to a psychiatrist, 56.1 per cent would talk to them about it, 17.4 per cent would leave them free to make their own decisions, and 3.4 per cent would

pretend to be unaware of the fact, "even if they [the parents] suffered". A more substantial survey in 1997 on a wide range of political and social questions, with 1600 interviewees aged between 15 and 29, were asked to indicate agreement, disagreement, or neutrality with the statement: "Homosexual relationships are always wrong." In this survey 28.3 per cent agreed with the statement, 41.7 per cent disagreed, and 23.6 per cent neither agreed nor disagreed. Though anecdotal, the situation in modern Greece – as in many other places – seems to be split between the countryside and the metropolitan centres. The Greek notion of "masculinity" (similar to, though distinct from, the *machismo* of Latin America) is a strong force as one leaves the metropolitan centres. Herzfeld's study of the construction of masculinity in a mountain village of Crete mentions homosexuality only twice, both usages being derogatory, but perhaps with an interesting note of continuity as *poushtis* is reported as meaning the passive partner. "Gay Greece" in the Hellenic tradition may lag behind post-Stonewall North America and Western Europe, but evidence on the World Wide Web suggests a vibrant, if limited, gay scene in modern Greece.

Homosexuality in the Hellenic tradition runs through time not as a constant but as constantly changing: from something uncomfortably close to straight paedophilia, through *adelphopoiia*, to postmodern deconstruction of gender roles and what it is to be a sexual human being.

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See also Minorities, Prostitution

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Honour and Shame

Ancient

A classic description of the values cherished by the ancient Greeks is offered by the speech delivered by the Athenian statesman Pericles in commemoration of those killed during the first year of the Great or Peloponnesian War between Athens and Sparta (430 BC). In this oration, so often compared to Lincoln's Gettysburg Address because of its affirmation of basic principles, Pericles stresses that the dead have won eternal praise before capping his eulogy with a final, and culminating, claim that love of honour alone never grows old and, when one is in the grip of old age and worn out, it is not the pursuit of money, as is asserted, but being honoured that confers the greater pleasure (Thucydides, 2. 44. 4). This sentiment, the supremacy of *time* or honour, is echoed time and time again, both explicitly and implicitly, throughout antiquity: thus Greek literature begins with Homer's *Iliad*, and the *Iliad* begins with the quarrel between Agamemnon and Achilles as a result of which Achilles withdraws from battle and his compatriots are slaughtered. Why does Achilles retreat to his tent? It is because the woman Briseis has been taken from him and so no honour is paid to "the best of Achaeans" (*Iliad*, 1. 412). The law of reciprocity applies: when insulted or injured the man of honour must retaliate in at least equal measure if his personal prestige is to be upheld, and the man of honour is at his most sensitive when a woman from within the family group is in any way threatened. Athenian law, for example, regarded homicide as justified if a man engaged in illicit sex and was caught in the act with a wife or even with other female dependants, (i.e. mother, sister, or daughter), of the killer.

An excessively protective attitude towards female relatives is only one consequence of an obsession with personal and family honour. Honour depends upon the acknowledgement of others and appearance tends to be more important than the truth. "Reputation" is a kind of divinity, according to the poet Hesiod (*Works and Days*, 763–64) who also illustrates reciprocated action: if the first to be wronged in word or deed, you must never turn the other cheek but hit back as hard as you can (709–11); in other words, two wrongs definitely add up to a "right" if the rules of the honour code are observed. Honour, moreover, is reckoned to be a "commodity" and measurable; it is in short supply; and if someone else has honour, it is at your expense and you resent it and try to cut that person down to size by the application of different ranking criteria: if he is powerful or wealthy, then you attack his family background or accuse him of being morally suspect.

It is significant that the word *philotimia*, literally "love of honour", often means "jealousy". As Aristotle remarks, "those who love honour are more envious than those who do not love honour" (*Rhetoric*, 1387b). Recognition, and therefore success, however achieved, is crucial; "if I had succeeded", says the nurse in Euripides' *Hippolytus*, "I would be counted among the wise, since we possess a reputation for intelligence according to success" (700–01). Poverty is a mark of failure, and the poor man has no honour or, as Euripides put it in his *Electra*, "poverty is a disease and it teaches a man to be evil because of his need" (375–76). But a Greek would prefer to

scratch a bare living from the soil rather than work for another, for it was the slave who was at another's beck and call and a slave, again, can lay no claim to honour. Greek society was intensely competitive at every level, whether those engaged in competition were athletes, dramatists, statesmen, or soldiers. And it was the relentless pursuit of honour, often at others' expense, that made society so agonistic and, therefore, unstable.

You undertake action to gain honour; you refrain from action to avoid shame or *aidos*. The Christian virtue of guilt was replaced in antiquity by the concept of shame. Hector refuses to run from Achilles though he knows he cannot prevail: "I feel shame before the Trojans, men and women, in case someone my inferior says 'trusting in his strength Hector has destroyed his people'; it would be far better for me to face up to Achilles" (*Iliad*, 22. 105–09). When the Greeks waver on the field of battle the hero Ajax tells them to be men and place shame in their hearts and to feel shame towards each other. Being typically Greek, Ajax also emphasizes the practical advantage of not fleeing – "when men feel shame more survive than are killed and no glory or safety is to be found in flight" (15. 561–64).

But shame acts as a deterrent far away from battle. The goddess Thetis is ashamed to join the deities because of her misery (*Iliad*, 24. 90–91). Women especially must exhibit shame, keeping well out of the way of men: the great glory of a woman, Pericles claims in the Funeral Speech, is to be least talked about by men whether they are praising or criticizing her (Thucydides, 2. 45. 2). What is required of women is similarly applicable to the young: when the young Telemachus came to Pylos in the *Odyssey* in search of news of his father, he is urged to approach the very much older Nestor without hesitation – "You've no need of shame, none at all" – but replies, "How am I to approach him, how shall I address him? That a young man should question an older man is a matter of shame" (*Odyssey*, 3. 14 and 22. 24). Penelope's suitors are said to have no share of shame, since they behave outrageously in another's house (*Odyssey*, 20. 170–71). In the *Iliad* Apollo comments that Achilles, in maltreating the body of the dead Hector, has destroyed pity and has no shame (24. 44–45). He further adds that shame greatly hinders and helps men (45), and this ambiguous quality associated with *aidos* is also acknowledged by Hesiod (*Works and Days*, 318). Shame is no use if you are destitute, merely inhibiting action; then you need to be bold, to exhibit what is termed *tharsos*. When Telemachus and Nestor actually get down to conversation in the *Odyssey*, the former speaks "having been made bold, for Athene herself placed boldness in his heart" (3. 76–77).

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Modern

Since 1950, at the end of the Civil War, demographic changes and economic growth in Greece have been rapid and impressive. Most Greeks no longer live in villages and earn their living as peasant farmers. Due to the rapidity of this urbanization process the majority of the Athenian population were either not born in that city, or are the children of parents who were not born there. The extent of its effects, visible in the anarchic physical growth of the city, the widespread ownership of cars, the variety of consumer goods already possessed or on display in shops, in contrast to the decaying mountain villages emptied of their population, easily suggests profound changes in the values and perception that unsophisticated villagers brought with them from their country origins. Attitudes, undoubtedly, have altered in many respects, but changes in the central personal values of popular culture have not yet been fundamental.

In all the variations of local community in Greece the significance of the family is a constant feature. It is not only a domestic association of individuals with affections based on marriage and blood relationship, and a concern for the care and upbringing of children. It is a religious community with icons and other sacred objects, a channel of grace for fertility and protection. It is a corporate enterprise, most obviously so if its main resources are from the land it cultivates, but also in the small manufacturing and retail businesses that are so numerous in Greece. Even where the members of a family work for a wage or a salary (as is increasingly the case) individuals have moral obligations to the family, defined as those who live and eat together in the same house and are protected by the same icons. Among them there is an identity of interest and responsibility. The critical test for any house, and particularly its head, is the honourable settlement of children in marriages that depend on complex property negotiations between families, even where a courtship has its origin in the discovery of personal attractions. Marriage is the proper destiny of every young person and the reputation of a family cannot be subject simply to the play of personal preferences that might result in an unsatisfactory union, or in none at all. Social competition for marriage partners is intense precisely because acceptance of an individual in marriage, which necessarily extends to an acceptance of his or her family, depends on the demonstration of wealth and influence. This is so in both town and country. In these struggles men tend to think of their local world as one of limited resources. The success of one family is seen as depressing the fortunes of another. Secrecy in one's own affairs, and the surveillance of others, are opposite aspects of the same problem. It encourages, indeed requires, a general attitude of wary and intense distrust of all persons who do not live in the same household.

The central traditional value that underlies these institutions is the notion of honour, *time*. Subjectively it expresses an acute awareness of integrity and independence, of not being touched or humiliated before others through particular kinds of failure; outwardly it is the recognition of worth, grudgingly conceded by others. Two sentiments are closely related to it: *philotimo*

which is the "love of honour" that encourages a man to act rightly, and therefore is particularly sensitive to any suggestion that he has not done so; and *dropi* (shame), which is the fear of failure that inhibits wrong actions, or a sense of acute discomfort that follows after them. *Time* is related in various ways to a wider complex of value terms, concepts that express ideas about qualities and states of mind such as manliness, self-regard, envy, cleverness, cunning, greed, respect, and self-interest. *Time* itself is applicable to the individual and to any group to which he or she is morally committed, particularly in Greek rural society to the family, the village, and the nation. *Time* emphasizes the moral identity of the individual with the group, so that all members are diminished if an insult is offered to any one of them, and each is responsible to the others for his behaviour and for the public judgement it attracts. As it is popularly understood, the primary reference of *time* is to the moral division of labour within the family, expressed in two sex-linked and complementary qualities, *andrismos*, the manliness of men, and *dropi*, sexual shame in women.

Manliness is, in part, a self-assertive courage and to have it a man must be *varvatos*, that is well endowed with testicles and the strength that is drawn from them. This power, of course, may be ill employed and lead a man to rape or casual killing. The manliness related to honour requires this physical basis but must discipline animal strength and passions to its own ideal ends.

In a fallen world this nobility of men is threatened by the sexuality of women. Only the quality of *dropi*, sexual shame, which implies an instinctive avoidance of sexually provocative behaviour, indeed in traditional communities, an attempt in dress, movement, and attitude not to employ in public the physical attributes of her sex, is an adequate protection of a woman's *time*, her reputation for virginity in the case of a daughter, for fidelity in the case of a wife, against damaging imputations. In reciprocal fashion *andrismos* enables a man to provide for his family and protect its women against insult or assault. Failure in the behaviour required by these values compromises the *time* of all the members of a family and leads to the collapse of its reputation. Such, in very schematic outline, are the principal features of a general moral order in traditional communities. But age is a further dimension that differentiates these values. It is the unmarried son or brother, the *pallikari* or young hero, as yet unburdened by the principal responsibility for a family, who is expected to reply with physical force when an insult is offered. The married head of a family must discipline his anger, establishing the independence and reputation of his family by his astute cleverness, *exypnada*, even, in the world as it is, by lies and cunning.

It will be objected that this pattern of *time* values has little to do with contemporary Greece, an increasingly urbanized and sophisticated society. Social and sexual conventions among the younger generation in Athens appear to be little different from those in other European capital cities. Even remote villages are undergoing a process of embourgoisement. Yet this pattern of values persists at least in a qualified form.

A number of circumstances have contributed to this. The radical definition and complementarity of roles by sex and age in the Greek family, even in a middle-class urban setting, is an important source of its strength and identity, in particular the opposition of *andrismos* and *dropi*, the assertion of manliness and the disciplined attitudes of shame. What does not change is the intense self-regard of men in their competitive struggle for affluence and social status and particularly for the material display of consumer goods such as cars and household furnishings which are markers in establishing a family's social standing. And for women the unchanging sanction of shame still relates to the exceptional value placed on a mother's devotion to her children. It is exactly in this relationship with their mother that children begin to learn these values and the proper behaviour related to them; they accept them as they grow into their appropriate sex roles within the family. In that sense this aspect of rural Greek culture is an intimately domestic culture, and by its nature less easily changed than more external behaviour in the public domain.

Shame also governs the concern of the young woman before her marriage, whatever the accepted relaxations in the conventions of behaviour with members of the opposite sex, to present herself in a manner that is acceptable to candidate bridegrooms and their families. The obligation in the city to arrange an honourable marriage for a daughter remains imperative. Although the control of a family over an unmarried daughter is less secure than in the past, her obligation to her parents and siblings is certainly no less vital and no less subject to her sense of shame. An important aspect of *time* values, therefore, is that these ideas are not semantically linked to particular unchanging details of social behaviour. What is not honourable in one community or at one time may be acceptable in another.

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See also Children, Men, Village Society, Women

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Hospitality

The relationship between host and guest, *xenia* ("guest-friendship"), is one of the most hallowed in Greek culture. *Xenia* may exist between two individuals (usually two males), two groups (such as two towns), or an individual (especially a ruler) and a group. For example, Herodotus describes the relationship of Croesus (king of Lydia in the 6th century BC) with the Ionians (1. 27. 50) and Spartans (1. 69. 3) with the term *xenia*. Guest-friendship also existed on an interfamilial and intergenerational level. For example, if a person's father had formed a guest-friendship with another man, the son could expect hospitality from the same household, even if neither the

father nor the original host was still alive. In Homer's *Iliad* (6. 215–31) the Trojan Glaucus and the Greek Diomedes break off their duel when they learn that their fathers were guest-friends. The two warriors even exchange gifts, just as their fathers once had. The Homeric ideal carried over into society as is evidenced in the 4th century BC by Demosthenes' speech *Against Polycles* (50.56), which notes how Pasion's son was able to borrow money because of his father's numerous guest-friends. The example of Pasion's son also shows how guest-friendship might also provide a person with relief in times of financial difficulty. Even people who were fugitives from the law or exiled from their native town could expect hospitable treatment (see Demosthenes, 23. 85 (*Against Aristocrates*); Diodorus, 14. 32. 1).

After contact with a stranger was initiated, the guest-friendship was ritualized through the clasping of hands, the partaking of food, and the giving of gifts, especially those given by the host to the guest. The guest could not "insult his host", "demand or take what is not offered", or "refuse what is offered" (Pitt-Rivers, pp. 27–28). On the other hand, the Greek host could not "insult his guest", fail "to protect his guest" or his guest's honour, or fail to be as hospitable as possible (Pitt-Rivers, p. 28). Greek hosts had the added responsibility of providing for the stranger who might arrive unannounced and at an inopportune time. Even if a Greek was approached by a stranger at an inconvenient moment, turning him away was considered disgraceful. The extremes to which a Greek would go to uphold the custom of guest-friendship are displayed in Euripides' *Alcestis* (438 BC), where Heracles arrives unexpectedly at Admetus' home just as Admetus is preparing to bury his wife Alcestis. Despite Heracles' inconvenient arrival, the over-hospitable Admetus refuses to turn him away and even pretends that he is conducting a funeral not for his wife, but for a maidservant.

Besides having to provide for a complete stranger at an inopportune time, Greek hosts seem to have felt compelled to provide the most lavish hospitality possible, even if it was beyond their financial means. In Homer's *Odyssey* the guests of nobles such as Nestor, Menelaus, and Alcinous not only receive the basic amenities (food, drink, and lodging), but are also bathed, given clothing, offered or given transport to their next destination, and given valuable gifts to take with them. Such hospitality recalls the Acragantine Tellias, who lived in the late 5th century BC. Tellias was so wealthy that he had servants stationed at his gates who would invite all strangers who passed by to be his guests. Tellias was even said to have entertained and clothed 500 cavalry from Gela (Diodorus 13. 83. 2). Likewise, Plutarch (*Demetrius*, 12. 1–2) reports that in the late 4th century BC an Athenian proposed that whenever Demetrius I of Macedonia visited Athens he should be provided with the same hospitable honours (*xenismoi*) granted to the divinities Demeter and Dionysus, and that the citizen who was most lavish in his hospitality towards Demetrius should be granted an offering of dedication at public expense. This is in contrast, though, with *Odyssey* 14, where the disguised Odysseus tests the hospitality of his swineherd Eumaeus. Despite Eumaeus' humble estate, the hospitable swineherd provides his guest with food, lodging, and even the cloak off his own back. Odysseus' stay with the swineherd also illustrates the ideal minimum that a stranger might expect from a Greek host.

Hospitality was taken so seriously by the Greeks because the gods themselves were thought to protect strangers. The supreme god Zeus is most often associated with guest-friendship. Homer's Odysseus warns the Cyclops Polyphemus against injuring guests because Zeus would protect strangers (*Odyssey*, 9. 270–71). In another myth Tantalus, who attempted to feed the gods with the flesh of his son Pelops, was killed for this violation of *xenia* and was condemned by Zeus to hunger and thirst perpetually in the underworld. Zeus' punishment of Tantalus is all the more poignant when we consider that some sources make him Zeus' own son. Apollodorus (3. 8. 1) preserves a similar myth about the Arcadian Lycaon. Zeus, having heard that Lycaon and his sons surpassed everyone in their pride, tested them by appearing at their home in the guise of a peasant worker. When they attempted to feed him with human flesh, he destroyed Lycaon and all of his sons (except one saved through Gaia's intervention). Even after the advent of Christianity one still finds references to Zeus as the patron of strangers in Libanius (4th century; *Declamation*, 4. 2. 9), Nonnus (5th century; *Dionysiaca*, 20. 176), and Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos (10th century; *On Virtues and Vices*, 1. 261. 29), to name a few.

As evidenced by the above-cited examples from the *Odyssey*, the importance of proper relations between host and guest is emphasized from the earliest extant Greek literature. Both of the Homeric epics have guest-friendship at their core, and established for the Greeks the ideals of *xenia*. The Trojan War, the backdrop for the *Iliad*, arises out of a violation of guest-friendship as the Trojan Paris abducts Helen, the wife of the Greek Menelaus. Legend has it that Menelaus had entertained Paris in his home for several days before the abduction. Thus, at the heart of Paris' crime is his violation of the custom of guest-friendship (compare Aeschylus, *Agamemnon*, 399–402, 699–708; Euripides, *Trojan Women*, 865–66; Quintus Smyrnaeus, *Posthomerica*, 13. 412–14).

The *Odyssey* "may be viewed as a study in the laws of hospitality" (Pitt-Rivers, p. 13). Odysseus' son Telemachus, as he searches for his long-lost father, enjoys the hospitality of his father's war comrades Nestor and Menelaus. In contrast to his son, Odysseus, returning from the Trojan War, must overcome ogres like the inhospitable Cyclops Polyphemus, who eats several of his men. Eventually Odysseus, having lost all his ships and crew, is transported to his native land thanks to the hospitality of the Phaeacians. When he finally returns home, disguised as a beggar, he is mistreated by the suitors who hope to wed his wife Penelope and have been consuming his estate during his absence. Ultimately Odysseus sheds his beggar disguise and destroys the suitors who, like Polyphemus earlier in the poem, have clearly violated the custom of *xenia*.

Of course, the example of hospitality established in Greek myth and fiction represents an ideal. Still, sources from Greek society show reverence for the bond between host and guest, as well as a tremendous effort to accommodate strangers. In the 5th century BC the guest-friendship between the Spartan Archidamus and the Athenian Pericles led Pericles to believe that when the Spartans invaded Athenian territory Archidamus would avoid Pericles' estate (Thucydides, 2. 13. 1; Plutarch,

Pericles, 8. 4, 33. 2). In the following century Xenophon (*Anabasis*, 3. 2. 4) complains about the treachery of the Persian satrap Tissaphernes who has violated *xenia* and complains particularly about his lack of reverence for Zeus Xenios, "Zeus, the god of hospitality". Xenophon's *Anabasis* contains several references to various towns supplying the Greek army with oxen, sheep, barley-meal, and wine. The people of Sinope, for example, sent the army 1500 jars of wine (*Anabasis*, 6. 1. 15). From the *Anabasis* it becomes clear that the Greek army could not have accomplished their lengthy march without the hospitality of the various towns who provided them with food, drink, and other necessities. In the same century Aeschines' condemnation of Ctesiphon's arrest, torture, and execution of Anaxinus of Oreus is made all the more shocking to his Athenian audience when it is reported that Ctesiphon had formerly dined with Anaxinus in the latter's home. Accordingly, Aeschines claims that Ctesiphon murdered his host, and even claims that Ctesiphon did not deny this charge (*Against Ctesiphon*, 3. 224).

With the advent and spread of Christianity through the Hellenic world, the ideals of *xenia* established by the Homeric epics merged with the new belief system, since the early Christian writings also embraced the ancient ideal of *xenia*. In the Gospel of Matthew (25: 34–46) Jesus praised those who would (among other things) welcome a "stranger" (*xenos*), saying that "whatever you did for one of these least brothers of mine, you did for me". Jesus goes on to say, though, that those who did not (among other things) give a "stranger" welcome would "go off to eternal punishment". Elsewhere in the New Testament the author of Hebrews urges the audience not to neglect hospitality (*philoxenia*), since "through it some have unwittingly entertained angels" (13: 2), an idea reminiscent of the ancient Greek stories such as that of Zeus and Lycaon mentioned above.

The Christian concern for strangers manifests itself in attempts to provide accommodation for them and the poor. In the 4th century AD Basil of Caesarea saw the value in building places for strangers to lodge (*Epistulae*, 94. 1. 36). Procopius (*Buildings*, 1. 2. 14, 17) notes that in the 6th century the emperor Justinian erected in certain cities such buildings, called *xenones* ("rooms for guests" or "rooms for strangers"), for the poor and strangers. Procopius says that the *xenones* at Byzantium were intended as temporary quarters for strangers to the imperial city who found themselves in need of accommodation (1. 11. 27). Justinian took care that similar provisions were afforded to strangers in Antioch, Ciberis, Mocesus, Jerusalem, and Jericho.

Not only would guest-friendship continue to flourish on a public level, but on a private one as well. In a situation similar to that of Archidamus and Pericles, Procopius (*De Bellis*, 3. 9. 5), writing in the 6th century AD, reports that the guest-friendship between the Vandal king Ilderic and Justinian, who had exchanged substantial monetary gifts, was one factor in dissuading the Goth Theodoric from taking revenge against Ilderic and the Vandals for their execution of a number of Goths. A parallel to Pericles' expectation of Archidamus is also found in an anonymous folk song of the 18th or 19th century entitled "Constantine and Arete" (Trypanis, pp. 465–66), where Arete's brother Constantine advocates marrying his sister to a foreigner. Since Constantine would have to serve as a soldier in foreign lands, he reasons that, with his sister married to a foreigner, he would not be considered a stranger if he were in the country of his sister's husband.

The horror evoked by atrocities such as those committed by the Cyclops Polyphemus is echoed in an anecdote from Procopius (*De Bellis*, 6. 20. 27–30). When Belisarius' siege of Urviventus caused utter destitution in the region, two women who lived near Ariminum killed and ate 17 strangers who lodged with them, until the 18th stranger managed to kill them. Writing in the 12th century, Anna Komnene (*Alexiad*, 3. 8. 3) praised Anna Dalassena for allowing her home to be a refuge for poor relatives as well as strangers (*xenoi*). She also notes (*Alexiad*, 15. 7. 3) the concern that her father, emperor Alexios, showed towards prisoners of war and strangers (*xenoi*). While the previous examples show that women could also engage in guest-friendship, in an anonymous folk-song of the 18th or 19th century entitled "The Bridge of Arta" (Trypanis, p. 471) a prophetic bird tells a group of bridge builders, frustrated by the frequent collapse of their bridge, that only by killing a woman, the wife of the bridge's master builder, would the bridge stand firm. The loquacious bird warns the builders, though, that they should not kill an orphan, a stranger, or one who happens to pass by.

Thus, in a culture interwoven with the Homeric ideal and Christianity, the modern Greeks continue to revere the custom of hospitality, although it is no longer as strictly ritualized as in ancient times. Nevertheless, the extension of hospitality to a stranger gives the Greek the opportunity to demonstrate not only to the guest but also to his own neighbours (perhaps what is more important) an outward and visible sign of his wealth and generosity. Thus, the Greek male in particular will extend hospitality not only out of kindness, but also to impress the stranger, as well as to gain "status and respect within the village itself: after all, the ability to consume grandly and to give freely proved the host's success as a winner of wealth" (McNeill, p. 19). Thus, in modern times, the offering of hospitality allows the Greek male to emulate the heroes of his culture.

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Hospitaller Knights of St John: Street of the Knights in Rhodes town, which was the headquarters of the Hospitallers from 1309 to 1523

Hospitaller Knights of St John

With the Knights Templar and the Teutonic Knights, the Knights of the Order of St John of Jerusalem, also known as the Knights Hospitallers or Hospitallers, were one of the three great international military orders. The Knights of St John had an obscure beginning. They may have been connected with the Benedictine abbey of Santa Maria Latina in Jerusalem or with another foundation made by the Amalfitans around 1050. Care for the poor and the sick, together with the provision of hospitality to pilgrims, were the core activities of the order and were to remain so after its militarization.

By the mid-1130s, under the mastership of Raymond of Provence (1120–60), the order took on the responsibility of guarding pilgrims on the road from Jaffa to Jerusalem and thus developed the capability to fulfil other military duties such as service with the field army and castle guard. Quite why the order developed in this way is unclear but it may have been connected with the chronic shortage of fighting men in the kingdom of Jerusalem. The order now developed two types of brother: military brothers (knights and sergeants) and brother infirmarians.

With the loss of Acre in 1291 the order turned its back on crusading in the Holy Land and developed in line with contemporary ideas of new directions for active crusading. In 1301, in furtherance of this modernization and in the interests of establishing some sort of equity within this truly international order, the system of *langues*, or national groupings, was introduced.

The order moved first to Cyprus and soon after that conquered the island of Rhodes (1306–09). From this island it was in a good position to play a prime role in naval crusading, protecting western shipping lanes in the Levant and containing Turkish naval aggression, and in turn attacking the Turks and offering advice to others who might resist the advance of the Ottomans. Apart from Genoese and Venetian flotillas, the order was the sole western military force capable of offering assistance to the shrinking territory of Byzantium.

After 1312 the Hospitallers became the most powerful order in Greece, where they acquired the former Templar lands in Achaea and in Crete. Interestingly, the Templar lands in central Greece passed to Gautier de Châtillon, the guardian of the claimant to the duchy of Athens and Thebes which was then ruled by the Catalans. Under the mastership of Juan Fernández de Heredia (1377–96) the Hospitallers' involvement in Greek lands increased dramatically. The island of Rhodes was limited by its size and economic capacity, while the spearhead of the Turkish advance was moving to the southern Balkans. Remedy appeared to be at hand in a five-year lease of the principality of Achaea negotiated with Joanna of Naples in 1377. In the first instance Achaea would act as a springboard for an attack on the despotate of Arta and thus provide the order with territories to exploit economically and from which to resist the Turk. The scheme fell through, but negotiations continued through the 1380s. In 1399 the Greek governor of Mistra ceded Corinth and Mistra to the order for a year because of the invasion of Yakoub Pasha. The order successfully defended the isthmus of Corinth and less successfully tried to galvanize resistance to the Turks along the northern shore of the Gulf of Corinth. By 1404, largely due to local Greek hostility, the order withdrew from southern Greece. One lasting monument to Heredia and to the involvement of the Knights Hospitallers in Greece is the Aragonese/Castilian version of the *Chronicle of Morea*, which was copied on Heredia's orders in 1377. The *Libro de los fechos et conquistas del principado de la Morea* relates the history of the Latin empire and the principality of Achaea from 1200 to 1377 and incorporates much additional information not contained in the French and Greek versions of the chronicle.

PETER LOCK

Summary

One of the military orders formed in the crusader states, the Knights of St John abandoned the Holy Land in 1291 and moved first to Cyprus and then to Rhodes (1309–1523). From there they wielded considerable power in Greece throughout the 14th century and helped to mount a defence against the Turks.

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Humanism

The label "humanism" has been applied to many different, sometimes incompatible, viewpoints. In relation to Greek cultural history, three attitudes may be characterized as paramount: (1) the humanism of Homer and of "Classical" Greece; (2) the humanism inspired by Byzantium-in-exile during the Italian Renaissance; and (3) the "secular humanism" that is the bête noire of much (though not all) traditional religious piety.

For some scholars, the question raised by the humanism of Homer concerns Homer's religious notions, which seem "more advanced and more civilized" than the superstitious practices of Greeks during some later times. How, they wonder, was it possible for Greek culture to regress from Homer's insights, especially given the centrality of the Homeric texts in Classical Greek education?

While such worries may be easily brushed aside (as presupposing an unrealistically "linear" conception of religious enlightenment), there is a much deeper conception of the humanism of Homer. Moses Hadas presents the Homeric ideal as summarized in the line (*Iliad*, 6. 208 and 11.784): "to strive always for excellence and to surpass all others". The humanism of Homer represents, he holds, "the authentic peculiarly Greek view", to be contrasted with the "deviation" of Plato and others.

> The goal of excellence, the means of achieving it, and...the approbation it is to receive are all determined by human judgment. The whole outlook, in other words, is anthropocentric: man is the measure of all things. This

> does not imply that there are no gods...The important point is that the sphere of the human and the sphere of the divine are disparate...Other items in our Greek legacy are only trimmings or implications of the central doctrine of man the measure.

Whatever may be the best understanding of Homer and of Classical Greece, it is beyond dispute that during the so-called Renaissance in Italy, beginning in the late 13th and early 14th centuries – even as Thomas Aquinas and Dante Alighieri were summing up medieval thought – and lasting for perhaps three centuries, the effect of texts from the Classical period of Greek history was such as to make Renaissance humanism a vital chapter in the story of the emergence of the modern world. The literature on the Renaissance is vast and controversial (for example, concerning the question of how many "renaissances" there were), so its relevance here must be limited to two aspects. First, there is the fact that the Renaissance conception of life's ideals involved concepts and images derived (albeit in sometimes distorted form) from classical Greece. Second, there is the fact that this enormous effect was mediated, if not entirely caused, by the interventions of a small number of Byzantine émigrés during the latter days of Byzantium.

In 1204 Constantinople fell for the first time, to a side-tracked group of Crusaders. Though the city was reclaimed in 1261, its days were numbered. The Byzantine scholar Manuel Chrysoloras was brought to Florence in 1396–97 to teach Greek. Deno Geanakoplos, a prominent 20th-century historian of the period, judges that "the tremendous impetus given to the study of Greek literature in the Renaissance may be ascribed in great part to his teaching." Four decades later, in 1438–39, the Council of Florence met, with the purpose of trying to reunite the Greek and Roman churches. It did not succeed in that aim, but George Gemistos Plethon, who attended as part of the Byzantine delegation, gave lectures on Plato that raised great interest in Florence and led Cosimo de' Medici to found an academy in Florence for the study and translation of Platonic texts. Johannes Bessarion, a former student of Plethon's who was also in the Byzantine delegation, subsequently became a Roman Catholic ecclesiastic and the foremost patron of Greek émigré scholars. In 1453 Constantinople fell to the Turks, and the Byzantine empire effectively expired, occasioning a further flow of emigration. There is little doubt that these Greek-speaking émigrés, along with the texts that they (as well as Latin travellers) brought west, played a major role in the development of humanist ideas in Italy and subsequently in the rest of Europe, whatever other factors may have contributed.

Reading Greek (and teaching it) was not for these émigrés the accomplishment that it would have been for an Italian, of course, and this has led some scholars to question the intellectual eminence and originality of the émigrés, pointing out the limited, strictly philological character of their accomplishment. To assay the justice of such aspersions is beyond our present task, but it seems safe to agree with Arnold Toynbee's assessment: "The refugee Greek instigators of Greek linguistic and literary studies in the West have played a more important part in Modern Western history than in Modern Greek history." He is thinking, of course, of the direct impact of the Renaissance. Indirectly, the effects may be of enormous consequence, to the extent that the changes encouraged by Renaissance humanism (including, in the view of some, increased secularism, naturalism, and materialism) can be viewed as determining the overwhelming challenge posed by the West to the rest of the world. As Toynbee observes:

> We are all having to try to make life possible and endurable in the artificial manmade environment that has been substituted for our former natural environment by the astonishing modern advance of technology. The Western peoples are not exempt, though the West was the local workshop in which this modern advance was carried out.

And then he adds, of the Greeks: "No other surviving non-Western people has had to contend with pressure from the West for as long."

The nature of Renaissance humanism has been much debated. Paul Oskar Kristeller, the author of many books on the subject, is "unable to discover in the humanist literature any common philosophical doctrine, except a belief in the value of man and the humanities and in the revival of ancient learning". There is also much debate about the value of the reverence for Classics thus instilled. "The humanist movement in the West began as a Latin revival", Deno Geanakoplos says, "but the restoration of Greek letters served perhaps more than any other single factor to expand its intellectual horizon." Toynbee, to the contrary, credits the "Hellenic paideia" with having "prevented the emergence, in the Byzantine Age, of a cultivated literature in Modern Greek", and believes that it "hypnotized Western men of letters" and "held the Western educated public spellbound" during the Renaissance. Only towards the close of the 17th century, he claims, did westerners find "the courage to think and investigate for themselves". Of course, what they proceeded to think for themselves was precisely that religious and scientific ferment that eventuated in the "modern secularizing rationalizing movement", which in turn has produced the politics and technology through which the West has, for good and for ill, unsettled the world.

In this context, it is easier to understand the remark of the Greek soldier quoted by Patricia Storace in her remarkable book, *Dinner with Persephone*:

> The fault is with humanism, the humanism of the Renaissance, which places man at the center of the Universe where God should be, man in all his arrogance, egoism, and materialism. This is why we are in a world where we destroy the environment and value money above life, this idea of the greatness of humanity.

Storace comments (with uncharacteristic derision) that it is "hard to imagine a more arrogant and uncomprehending dismissal of humanism, whatever its flaws." She has a point, of course. The soldier's diatribe hardly does justice to the intentions or achievements of humanism's pious agnostics, let alone Christian humanists such as Erasmus, or the fideist Montaigne, who imbues his humanism with a spirit of toleration and generous curiosity. And yet the soldier's words carry a challenge not to be lightly evaded.

Greek has been the vehicle of Christianity since the New Testament was first written down, and the Eastern Orthodox Church has viewed itself as preserving in authentic form some of Christianity's oldest ritual and liturgy. Greece today continues to be pervaded by Christian belief specifically and, more

broadly, by various forms of religious belief and practice that may strike some as "superstitious" when compared with the humanistic religion of Homer. The central Christian conviction, that God "so loved the world", runs counter to the idea that the worlds of gods and of human beings can go about their separate business, unconcerned with one another's existence. "St Socrates" is a quintessential humanist figure because he questions claims of exclusive knowledge lodged by "humanists", on behalf of the all-sufficiency of the "human", just as energetically as he questions the unthinking piety of Mr Orthodox. Renaissance humanists rejected (some) dogma, not religion, though in the long run, as the case of Erasmus illustrates, this set the stage for the Reformation.

In its long-term impact, humanism is helped by links to notions such as freedom and democracy. The link between humanism and freedom comes through the connection between the concepts of humanity and civilization. As Gilbert Murray notes, humanity (what distinguishes human life from that of other animals) requires a buffer against mere necessity which civilization provides:

> To the Greeks civilization begins when men live in a *polis*...He has leisure, and for the first time can begin to do what he wants to do, and not simply what he must do in order to live. The Greeks were fond of distinguishing between *to anagkaion*, the "necessary", the thing you must do because you are compelled, and *to kalon*, "the beautiful", as we clumsily translate it; the thing that looks good, that you desire for its own sake...Civilization...sets man free to live the life he really desires, to study the things that really interest him, and not merely the things which other people compel him or pay him to do.

The link between humanism and democracy comes through the connection between the concepts of humanity and experience. Walter Pater, in an influential discussion of the Renaissance, describes humanism as centred on a sense of the permanent value of the experience of human beings: "the essence of humanism is that belief...that nothing which has ever interested living men and women can wholly lose its vitality" (Pater, "Pico della Mirandola", 1873). In a similar spirit, Gilbert Murray insists that "a scholar...secures his freedom by keeping hold always of the past. He draws out of the past high thoughts and great emotions." And about the "religion of Democracy", Murray says that "the cardinal doctrine of that religion is the right of every human soul to enter, unhindered except by the limitation of its own powers and desires, into the full spiritual heritage of the [human] race." Strictly speaking, democracy is a step beyond humanism, but if one agrees, in Terence's famous words, *homo sum: humani nihil a me alienum puto* ("I am a man; nothing human is alien to me"), then the step, from the value of all human experiences to the democratic value of all human beings, may seem a small one.

Or it may not. The centrality of competition in ancient Greek culture has been often noted. Hadas, among others, sees competition as part of the humanist heritage, "and perhaps the central and all-subsuming factor in our Greek legacy". How to mediate between the doctrine that man is the measure and the doctrine that nothing human is foreign, how to combine a belief in human excellence with a respect for all human beings, remains humanism's puzzling bequest.

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See also Freedom

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Hunting

Up to the end of the classical period hunting was pursued mainly to supplement a largely vegetarian diet and to protect flocks and homesteads against predators, chiefly wolves and jackals. Myths abound of heroes such as Heracles, Meleager, and Theseus slaying beasts that ravaged their neighbourhoods. Hunting imagery is common in Homer, who describes Odysseus killing for the pot (*Odyssey*, 9. 154[-58; 10. 156–71). Homer's huntsmen go on foot with bow or spear, accompanied when not abroad by hounds. The quarry was chiefly deer, wild goats, and boars. The last of these must have been plentiful since the tusks of some 30 to 40 boars were required to provide the plates that gave strength to a single example of one type of Mycenaean helmet. The hunting of lions, mentioned by Homer only in similes, is uncertain, although fragments of bones have been found at Tiryns in contexts of *c.*1230 BC and lion hunts are depicted on a few pieces of Mycenaean art, such as a late 16th-century BC bronze dagger inlaid with figures of an archer and spearmen with huge shields fighting a pride. Mycenaean bows were "self" bows (from a single stave of wood), although the composite bow, which was probably introduced in the Dark Age, was clearly known to Homer; spears were generally, if not exclusively, for thrusting rather than throwing. There is pictorial evidence for the use of nets in catching boars (although they are not mentioned in Homer's famous description at *Odyssey*, 19. 428–58), stags, and wild cattle (probably the auroch and possibly the wisent) and also for hunting from chariots (despite the unsuitabilty of the terrain). One fragmentary mid 13th-century fresco from Tiryns uniquely depicts huntresses amid the men.

In the Archaic age Spartans hunted game to supplement the meagre diet of their common messes, while in Attica aristocratic men, as is shown principally in vase-paintings, presented younger males with live and dead game as lovers' gifts and, probably, also as tokens of their own manliness.

The principal source of information for hunting in the Classical period is Xenophon's *Cynegeticus* ("The Hunting Man"), which deals principally with nets, dogs and their training, and the hunting of hares, although deer, boar, and other large mammals are mentioned. He warns against allowing hounds to chase foxes, since this ruins them for hunting hares. Although for Xenophon its primary purpose is still for the pot, he does recommend hunting as excellent training for not only warfare, since it fosters hardiness, discipline, and initiative, but even civic responsibilities, in both of which he is supported by Plato (*Laws*, 822d–824c). Presumably for these reasons there was a law at Athens which permitted hunting through standing crops. There is evidence, however, that the development of democratic ideas, of which both Xenophon and Plato highly disapproved, had engendered an adversely critical reaction against hunting as an unnecessary aristocratic extravagance, and that the growth of population had in Attica reduced the extent of accessible terrain for the activity.

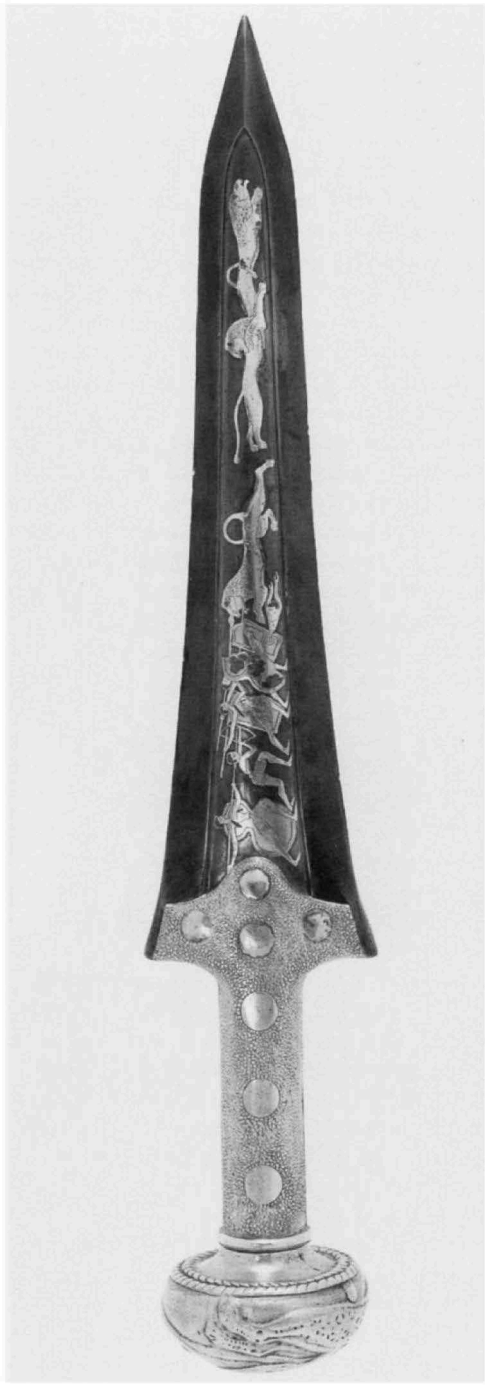
The favourite breed of hound for hunting hares (and even boars because of its superior tracking abilities) was the Laconian, of which there were in Xenophon's day two breeds neither of which is recognizable today. The larger was perhaps 45 cm high at the shoulder with a weight of 13 to 18 kg. All hounds wore leather belts, collars, and, for ease of slipping, separate leashes. The hunters, sometimes wielding curved throwing-sticks, followed most commonly on foot (for Xenophon horses were used only to get to and from the hunt). The hares, when found by the hounds and started, were caught in nets of flax. Purse nets were set in narrow defiles: the mouth was propped open by sticks which fell when the hare hit the net, whereupon the net-watcher (presumably a slave) drew tight the skirting-line. Larger road nets were stretched across paths and long nets, up to 55 m in width, in level open areas both caught hares and diverted them to the purse nets.

Deer (red, roe, and probably fallow) could be caught in nets and, in summer when they tired easily, run down by hounds before being pierced by the hunters' javelins. In spring fawns left concealed by their mothers were tracked and caught to attract hinds. Hunters also used carefully concealed foot snares. These consisted of a wooden clog attached to a noose which lay on a plaited ring of yew with inward-facing iron and wooden nails placed over a hole. The clog both hampered the deer's flight and left an easily visible trail.

The animal most prized by hunters was the boar, whose slaying without the use of nets was deemed by the Macedonians the token of manhood (the unreliable Hegesander reportedly claimed that even at the age of 35 the future king Cassander had still to sit in a chair by his father like an adolescent for his failure to accomplish the deed). Whether caught by a foot snare or driven out of a covert, the boar was a match for hounds and hunters armed with javelins and a thrusting spear especially designed with projecting teeth on the socket to prevent the beast running up the shaft.

Xenophon mentions also (*Cynegeticus*, 11) that in the Pindus range, Thrace, Mysia, and Syria "lions, leopards, lynxes, panthers, bears, and similar wild beasts" were caught by means of poisoned bait and pitfalls to which they were lured by tethered goats.

Fowling was practised principally by professionals, who were generally despised by the literary elite. Plato considers the art unbecoming to a gentleman (*Laws*, 823e), although Xenopohon is on one occasion kinder (*Cyropaedia*, 1. 6. 39). The trapping of fur-bearing animals such as otters and martens was similarly not deemed an honourable pursuit by the aristocracy, although it was quite common despite a lack of the fashionable modern sartorial relish for furs. The fowlers' main quarry was partridges, pheasants, quails, doves, and various smaller birds. Their favourite aids were purse nets, snares, and the use of glutinous birdlime (often made from mistletoe berries) which was either smeared on the twigs of trees or on rods which could be fitted into each other to attain the desired length. Tamed females of the hunted species were employed for decoys, as were also owls since during daylight these are often mobbed by small birds. Aristotle (*Historia Animalium*, 620a33–b6) and others mention the Thracian technique of depending upon wild hawks to drive back to the ground birds started by the fowlers. A mid 2nd-century AD North African mosaic shows a fowler camouflaged by a goatskin. From close observation knowledge of the nature and habits of the animals and birds frequently hunted was extensive and extended remarkably even to leporine superfoetation (the female hare's ability to become pregnant again before the birth of an earlier set of leverets).



Hunting: bronze dagger inlaid with silver showing a hunting scene on its blade, 1600–1550 BC, from Mycenae, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford

Although during the Classical period hunting parties had been small, Alexander's conquests enabled the Greeks of the Hellenistic period to indulge in vast hunts like the Persians, whose game parks were imitated especially in Seleucid Syria. "Hunt clubs" appeared in Macedon for upper-class males and, for the royalty of the Successor Kingdoms – in imitation of oriental predecessors – hunting tropies enhanced prestige. There is evidence too from the 3rd century BC of hunting as a form of pest-control, when, on the advice of the Delphic oracle, the inhabitants of the island of Astypalaia acquired hounds and caught within a single year over 6000 hares, descendants of two introduced from Anaphe some years before.

For the Roman period the main sources are the *Cynegeticus* of Arrian (*c.*AD 86–160), a section (5. 17–86) on hunting in the slightly later thematically arranged dictionary (*Onomasticon*) of Pollux and, in the early 3rd century, an often fanciful hexametric poem in four books (*Cynegetica*) falsely attributed to Oppian which mentions a huge variety of animals from the elephant and rhinoceros to the hedgehog. Arrian, writing under the pseudonym of Xenophon the Younger, is primarily concerned with updating the work of his predecessor by giving information on a Celtic breed of gazehound, probably a type of greyhound unknown to the Classical Greeks, which transformed the hunting of hares. It was now coursing on horseback rather than hunting on foot, the principal aim being the pleasure of the chase rather than the capture of the animal: indeed Arrian proposes that the hare always be given the opportunity to get clear of its form and claims (16. 5–7) to have often himself saved a hare that had run well, a point on which he specifically criticizes Xenophon, who says only (*Cynegeticus*, 5. 14) that "lovers of the chase leave the very young leverets for the goddess (Artemis)". A further innovation in hunting at this period seems to be the use of a cord with brightly coloured feathers to frighten game towards nets. The *venatio* of the amphitheatre so enjoyed by the Romans was not to Greek taste, but hunting became a military duty both to provide wild animals for the games and to protect local livestock.

In Byzantium the rural population continued hunting and fowling for the table, and the former also for protection of livestock, with little change in techniques. The upper class hunted for pleasure and for military training, most enthusiastically in the 12th century when Constantine Manasses and Constantine Pantechnes, among others, wrote *ekphraseis* (descriptions) of the sport. Hunting imagery formed, as in the East, an important element in imperial symbolism. Three emperors (Theodosius I, Basil I, and John II Komnenos) are all reported to have lost their lives in this pursuit; Liutprand (*Antapodosis*, 3. 25) attributes Romanos I Lekapenos's rise to power to his single-handed slaying of a lion; and Andronikos I had himself depicted as a hunter cutting up and cooking venison and wild boar. Aristocrats hunted deer, bear, and boar on horseback both in the wild and, especially from the 10th century, in imperial game parks. The principal weapon was the spear, while dogs and even cheetahs and leopards were trained for the hunt. Most popular among smaller game were hares and quails.

Falconry, although it had been practised from the late Roman period, became an aristocratic enthusiasm chiefly again in the 12th century. Falcons and goshawks, especially from Georgia, were the preferred birds. Various manuals on the subject were produced including the *Hierakosophion*, attributed to the late 14th-century Demetrios Pepagomenos, which deals expertly with breeding, training, and diseases and contains some remarkably precise observations on ocular worms.

During the Tourkokratia, and for a considerable time after, hunting and fowling were perforce entirely utilitarian, the major changes being the addition of the gun to the hunters' weaponry and the greatly reduced use of both hound and horse. In the 20th century hares were still the commonest

quarry, while deer and boar were shot in the north of the country. Fowling was completely replaced by shooting, mainly of partridges, woodcock, pigeons, quails, ducks, and geese. Until the mid-1980s laws governing gun-licensing were commonly flouted, headlights illegally used to dazzle game, and closed seasons for hunting poorly enforced. Since then some stocks have improved.

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See also Animals, Fishing

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Hydra

Aegean island

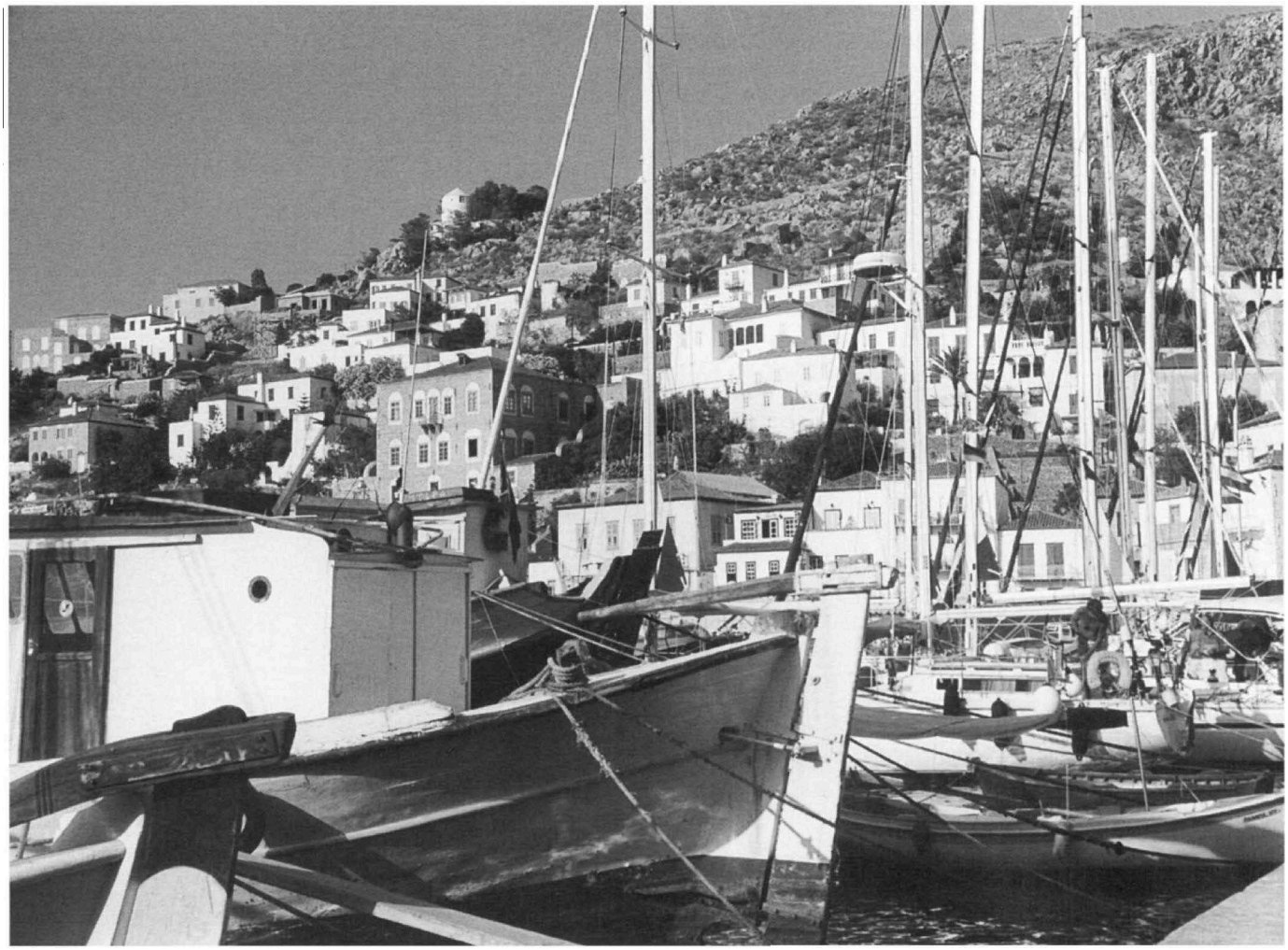
Hydra is located near the mouth of the gulf of Argos, separated by a 6-km-wide strait from the eastern Peloponnese. It is 20 km long and between 1.5 and 5 km wide. Hydra is mountainous and only a minor part of the land is arable. According to legend, water used to be abundant on the now almost waterless island. Some have even attributed the name of the island to that fabled abundance. In the past Hydra was covered by pine woods, but today they have diminished. The island has several monasteries, but many of them are abandoned. Nowadays the island is a renowned summer resort due to its natural beauty and proximity to Athens.

In ancient times Hydra was an unimportant but inhabited place, as archaeological findings reveal. It is not known exactly when its modern residents settled there. But it is commonly agreed that in 1460 and later many Greek-Orthodox Albanians, under threat of persecution by the Turks, were forced to retreat to the precipitous isle for security reasons. These Albanians were descendants of the Albanians brought by the despots of Mistra, Manuel Kantakouzenos and Theodore Palaiologos, to the Pelopponese in order to supplement the populace decimated by the Turks. The Albanian settlers on Hydra initially attempted to raise cattle and cultivate the land, but the surface was so rocky that it scarcely yielded common vegetables. Because of the infertile land and the steadily increasing population, the islanders turned to fishing in the waters of the Peloponnese and Attica in order to support their families. This activity came to an end with the Turkish invasion of the Peloponnese during the 16th century. In fear of Turkish atrocities, many Peloponnesians fled to Hydra and remained there permanently.

Over the years, Hydra became a haven for persecuted Greeks, including rebels from Epirus, Souli, Euboea, Asia Minor, and Attica. Many of them founded family dynasties. More refugees came to the island during the 16th and 17th centuries when raids by pirates and atrocities by Turks, in response to help given by Greeks to Venice in its wars against the Ottomans, devastated many Greek regions. The absence of adequate resources on the island forced the Hydriots to trade with the neighbouring Peloponnese and Cyclades in order to supplement their income. This trade required ships, rather than small boats, and consequently a large number were built. With the signing of the Treaty of Carlovitz (1699) between the Sultan, Venice, Germany, and Poland, Hydriot ships were free to sail not only to nearby waters but also to the open sea, as the immediate fear of Turks had disappeared. Through trade the islanders became first-class navigators and wealthy. Hydriots travelled not only in the seas of the Ottoman empire but also to many western European and Russian ports. Their trade consisted primarily in transporting the produce of the Ottoman empire to other areas of the Mediterranean, and in bringing home cargoes of manufactured articles. The chief export was grain, not only from the plains of the empire but also from abroad. Hydriots and Spetsiotes had a virtual monopoly of the trade in Russian wheat.

During the campaign of the Orloff brothers against the Sublime Porte (1768–74) Hydra refused to take part in the war against the Ottomans and subsequently was bombarded by the Russians. The business of the islanders greatly benefited from the Treaty of Kutchuk Kainardji (1774) that marked the end of the war, and also from the favour shown by the sultan to the island because of its stand against the Russians. Hydriots gained the right to arm their ships in order to defend themselves from pirates, a privilege that turned the island into a great naval power. Moreover, subsequent agreements permitted Hydriot ships to raise the Russian flag, rendering both the ships and their owners immune from any kind of Turkish interference or persecution. During the Napoleonic Wars most Hydriots ignored the continental embargo imposed by Great Britain on France and became very wealthy in the process. They were able to extend their commercial and shipping business all over the Mediterranean, Atlantic Ocean, and even to America. During the war between Russia and the Ottoman empire (1807), empty assurances by the Russians tempted the islanders to revolt against the Turks. The consequent settlement between the two enemies left Hydra defenceless and at the mercy of the Turks. A disaster was avoided by the efforts of Evgenios Voulgaris, the *kodjabashi* (headman) of the island, who actively opposed a revolt against the sultan.

On the eve of the Greek War of Independence (1821) Hydra was the richest region in Greece. It had a population of 26,000 and more than 100 large, armed vessels. However, with the end of the Napoleonic Wars, the islanders' trading operations fell



Hydra: the harbour front is distinguished by a number of rich merchants' houses dating from the late 18th century

into recession. The Society of Friends (*Philiki Hetaireia*) had for several years conscripted volunteers from the island, but by the start of the war the notables were opposed to it, whereupon Captains Antonios Oikonomou and Lazaros Kountouriotis overthrew the authorities and proclaimed a revolution. By public demand, the notables finally took part in the fight for independence. The contribution of Hydra to the War of Independence was huge. Together with Spetsai and Psara, it not only provided a fleet well trained in fighting but also valuable financial assistance. Hydra produced heroes such as Captains Andreas Miaoulis, Iakovos Tompazis, who destroyed the Turkish navy, and Kountouriotis, who committed all of his belongings to the war. Such were the achievements of the island that it was aptly named the Greek Venice and Little England. The acknowledgement of its contributions to the War of Independence came in 1844 when the first National Assembly in Athens granted to Hydra alone the privilege of electing three members of parliament. During the administration of Count Kapodistria, when there were differences over reconstruction and compensation for lost ships, partly due to the authoritarian style of the governor, Hydra became an anti-Kapodistria centre and revolted against him. In the following years the island lost its economic power and Syros became the chief centre of commerce.

Hydra possesses a rich cultural tradition as it is the birthplace of several famous artists including the painters N. Nikolaou and P. Tetsis and the painter-architect-sculptor Nikos Hadjikiriakos-Ghikas (1906–94). Since 1939 the School of Fine Arts of the National Technical University has had a department in Hydra at which many prominent artists have taught. A number of well-known painters have been attracted by the natural beauty of the island and have made it their permanent residence.

DIMITRIOS GKAMAS

Summary

This island near the mouth of the gulf of Argos had an undistinguished history until the Tourkokratia (1453–1821) when it became a haven for persecuted Greeks from elsewhere. The islanders began to trade widely and acquired great wealth and a fleet of fighting ships with well-trained crews. They were therefore well placed to make an important contribution to the War of Independence in the 1820s. The island is now an artists' colony.

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Hymnography

The history of Greek hymnography encompasses the devotional and liturgical poetry of paganism and Orthodox Christianity, as well as Byzantine parahymnography. The first examples of hymnography to survive in their entirety are the *Homeric Hymns*, hexameter compositions that were presumably sung by soloists as preludes (*prooimia*) to heroic epic. Pindar and Bacchylides were early composers of two types of choral hymns: paeans, which were sung by soldiers, in private social life and at public festivals; and processionals (*prosodia*), sung as part of the pageantry that could precede a sacrifice. Examples of hymns written to accompany the sacrifices themselves survive in Hellenistic or Roman inscriptions on temple walls. Other complete and fragmentary texts from these later periods, accompanied in exceptional cases by musical notation, have been preserved in manuscripts and papyri. These range from the *Orphic Hymns* (of around the 2nd century AD) – 87 poems from Asia Minor that constitute the only surviving ancient Greek hymnal – to a papyrus fragment of the late-3rd century AD containing the first Christian hymn to have survived with its music.

With the exception of this latter composition in praise of the Holy Trinity and a few other such hymns without musical notation, it is difficult to discern the boundaries between Christian hymnography, psalmody, scripture, and homiletics prior to the 4th century. Although scholars have found abundant hymnic material in the New Testament and deuterocanonical or apocryphal texts, they have generally been unable to identify its provenance or liturgical use. The highly poetic Easter homily of Bishop Melito of Sardis (2nd century), which some have seen as a precursor to the works of Ephraim the Syrian and Romanos the Melodist, may similarly contain echoes of contemporary hymnody. Two hymns by Clement of Alexandria, on the other hand, are probably non-liturgical compositions.

Following the legalization of Christianity, the pressures of pervasive heresy and large numbers of new converts led the Church to regulate its worship by defining a canon of scripture, assigning the performance of chants to ordained specialists, and suppressing all but the most venerable *idiotikous psalmous* ("private psalms"). As a result, only a few ancient hymns – for example, the *Phos Hilaron* for evening prayer – remained in services that were coalescing around presidential prayers and biblical psalmody, the singing of which had recently been popularized by the ascetics of the Egyptian desert. Unlike the monks, who would recite the Psalter as a contemplative exercise, urban Christians chanted select psalms or canticles with newly composed refrains. Those of one sentence or more were called *troparia*, examples of which include the *Trisagion Hymn* and "Only Begotten Son", a summary of the Nicene Creed attributed to Justinian.

Despite the efforts of Gregory of Nazianzus and Synesius to write extended hymns in quantitative metres, most Christian hymnography in late antiquity employed accentual metres and a relatively popular form of the Greek language. Moreover, the development of hymns more complex than *troparia* in the 5th century appears to have been partially in response to the isosyllabic metrical sermons of such Syriac authors as St Ephraim. Two forms of Byzantine hymns seem especially dependent on Syriac precedents: the isosyllabic *kata stichon* hymns; and the kontakion, which came to maturity in 6th-century Constantinople with the works of St Romanos the Melodist. A kontakion consists of at least one preface (*proimion* or *koukoulion*) introducing the subject of the hymn and its (presumably congregational) refrain, followed by a series of metrically identical strophes (*oikoi*) united by an acrostic that may render the alphabet, the author's name, or the feast commemorated. In keeping with their origins as poetic sermons, kontakia were originally performed paraliturgically between the offices of an all-night cathedral vigil (*pannychis*).

Exchange between the liturgies of the Holy Sepulchre and the monastery of Mar Saba following the destruction of Jerusalem in 614 gave birth to a flourishing school of hymnography represented by such luminaries as Sophronios of Jerusalem, Andrew of Crete, John of Damascus, and Kosmas of Maiouma. Disregarding monasticism's traditional suspicion of hymnody and melodious psalmody, these *melodoi* (hymnographers composing their own melodies) prolifically composed *stichera*, *kathismata*, and canons to adorn the psalms and canticles of the Palestinian monastic rite on Sundays and the major solemnities of the liturgical year. *Stichera* and *kathismata* are *troparia* that may possess a unique melody (*idiomelon*), or be contrafacta (*prosomoia*) of a standard tune (*automelon*). A comparable system of model melodies is found in canons, long multi-stanza poems consisting of up to nine "odes" of *troparia* farcing (being interpolated into) two or more of the nine canticles of the morning "canon of psalmody". Each ode of a kanon, which is somehow thematically related to its host canticle, features a model stanza (*eirmos*) followed by metrically identical *troparia*.

Sabaïtic hymnography was decisively introduced to Constantinople in 799 when the monastery of Studios adopted the Palestinian Liturgy of the Hours at the behest of its abbot, St Theodore, who was himself a *melodos*. As Studite monasticism spread from southern Italy to Kievan Rus, hymnographers of the Studite school – including Theodore, his brother Joseph of Thessalonica, Theophanes Graptos, Joseph the Hymnographer, Kassia, and many others – systematically filled gaps between the festal propers of the older Sabaïtic collections. The completion in the 11th century of cycles of hymns covering each day of the fixed and movable cycles of the liturgical year established the corpus from which have been extracted the 15 volumes of proper texts currently employed by the Orthodox Church. One result of these developments was a shift towards hymnography as the favoured medium for communicating theology in Orthodox worship, the impact of which was magnified by the growing tendency to read prayers silently and omit the biblical texts that Sabaïtic hymns were

written to accompany. Another consequence was the rise of Byzantine parahymnography, that is didactic or satirical poems employing the metres of well-known hymns to enhance their memorability.

From the twilight of Byzantium until the present day, the occasional creation of new feasts has required the composition of hymns in established genres by writers ranging from Theoleptos of Philadelphia and Symeon of Thessalonica to Alexandros Papadiamantis and Metropolitan Nikodemos (Vallendras) of Patras. Hymns composed outside the Sabaïtic mainstream include vivid and presumably non-liturgical poems by Symeon the New Theologian, as well as a wide variety of late and post-Byzantine *troparia* for the festal psalms of the Palestinian all-night vigil (*agrypnia*). Relatively few of the latter – which include short Trinitarian *anoixantaria* (opening) for Psalm 103, the popular *Lamentations* for the singing of Psalm 118 during matins on Holy Saturday, and more substantial compositions in 15-syllable verse – are included in modern service books. Instead, many appear in musical manuscripts or printed chant books in settings by such composers as John Koukouzeles and Manuel Chrysaphes.

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Hypatia *c.*370–415

Mathematician and philosopher

Among the female mathematicians of antiquity, Hypatia is certainly the best known and, sadly, the only one about whom we have information other than a mere reference. She has attracted enormous attention in modern times and has been exalted to legendary proportions especially by scholars who study the gender difference in scientists. Perhaps much of our idealized image of her has been influenced by the romantic novel *Hypatia, Or New Foes with an Old Face* (1853), by the Classical scholar and historian Charles Kingsley.

There was also a biography written in 1720 by John Toland, a deist. The author uses Hypatia's example in an effort to defame Christianity and especially Cyril, the archbishop of Alexandria, whom he holds responsible for Hypatia's tragic death. In chapter 47 of his influential and widely read *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (1776–88) Gibbon uses eloquent and emotional language to describe both the beauty and tragic events of Hypatia's death, holding responsible the Christians and their archbishop, Cyril. Whatever the events in relation to Hypatia's murder in AD 415, one thing is certain: they became a chief source of her immortality to the extent that 415 is often considered the seminal date that divides paganism from Christianity. If the closure of the school of Athens by Justinian in 529 is not a suitable conventional date for the end of paganism, then 415 is certainly a good alternative.

There are several primary sources about Hypatia's life. One is a long, but unfortunately in some respects self-contradictory article in the *Suda*. Others are John Malalas's *Chronographia*, Socrates' *Historia Ecclesiastica*, and the letters sent to her by her most famous student and friend Synesius, later bishop of Ptolemais. All these can be found in Migne's *Patrologia Graeca*. Other sources are John of Nikiu's *Chronicle*, the *Historia Ecclesiastica* by Philostorgius, and a brief reference to her in Photios's *Bibliotheca*, in his summary of Damascius' (lost) *Life of Isidorus*. The above-mentioned sources, all Christian and generally favourable to Hypatia, fail to agree on who is to blame for her death.

There is no firm date for Hypatia's birth but it is generally given as around AD 370. This is partly because eclipses described by her father, the astronomer Theon, have been dated to AD 364. Hypatia was a chaste person and a respectful teacher of mathematics and Neoplatonic philosophy in Alexandria. Wearing the cloak of a rough cynic philosopher she taught in public to an audience consisting of both pagans and Christians (Synesius himself was a pagan who later converted to Christianity, to become bishop of Ptolemais). According to the *Suda*, Hypatia wrote commentaries on Diophantus, on the *Astronomical Canon*, and on Apollonius' *Conics*. (The text in the *Suda* has been variously interpreted; it may mean, for example, that there were just two commentaries, the one being Diophantus' *Astronomical Canon*. For various reasons, however, it seems safer to assume that it refers to a separate work of Diophantus, presumably the *Arithmetica*, and then to Ptolemy's *Almagest* or the *Handy Tables*.) Hypatia also collaborated with her father on a commentary on book 3 of Ptolemy's *Almagest* since the text includes the phrase "this book was revised/edited (*paranagnostheisa*) by the philosopher, my daughter Hypatia". A quotation in one of Synesius' letters stating that Hypatia helped him to design an astrolabe shows the breadth of her knowledge. In yet another letter Synesius requested her to construct a hydrometer (*hydroskopeion*) according to his detailed instructions.

There is no doubt that Hypatia was the leading mathematician of her time. However, it seems that no specific original contributions to mathematics or astronomy can be attributed indisputably to her. Whatever her contributions, if any, they are either lost or perhaps diffused in her commentaries. Like her father, she is mostly remembered for her teaching.

The most detailed and reliable account of Hypatia's death was narrated by the historian Socrates some 25 years later. At the time described, there was considerable tension and rivalry between the Jews and the Christians of Alexandria. In those difficult times the prefect of Alexandria, Orestes, and the archbishop, Cyril, known for his harsh way of dealing with the heretic Nestorius, opposed each other. Some 500 monks from the monasteries in Nitria, referred to as savages by the *Suda*, came into town to support Cyril. They accused Orestes (who had been baptized a Christian) of being a pagan and sacrificing to the Greek gods in spite of the emperor Theodosius' ban of all pagan cults. When a monk named Ammonius was tortured to death for hurling a stone at the prefect, Cyril and many moderate Christians found this action intolerable. The pro-Cyril mob turned against Hypatia, Orestes' close associate. Although the prevailing opinion is that Cyril was directly to blame, there is no evidence that he actually gave any such orders or knew of the mob's intention. Indeed, John of Nikiu is even favourable to Cyril, calling Hypatia a pagan magician, and Philostorgius puts the blame on a pro-Arian mob. Be this as it may, Hypatia was stripped and violently dragged to the cathedral where she was killed and subsequently cut to pieces with sharp oyster shells. Her dismembered body was then taken to a location called Dog's Place (Kynarion) and finally burned.

MICHAEL LAMBROU

See also Astronomy, Mathematics

Biography

Hypatia was born in Alexandria about 370. Largely educated by her father Theon, she went on to teach mathematics and Neoplatonic philosophy in Alexandria. She also wrote commentaries on earlier mathematical works. She met a violent end at the hands of a mob in her native city in 415.

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I

Icon

The term "icon" is derived from the Greek *eikon*, meaning an image or picture. It is still used in this sense in modern Greek. In a more restricted sense, an icon is a religious image depicting either holy figures or narrative scenes. As a holy image, the icon is the paramount statement of the Orthodox faith, a reflection and statement of the divine.

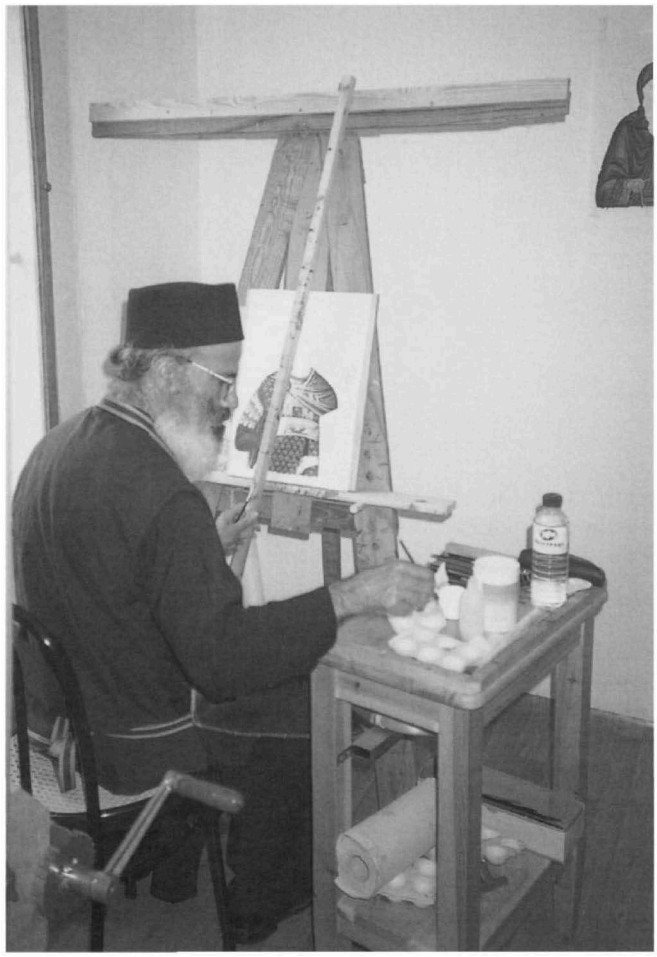
The holy subject matter can be depicted in a variety of artistic mediums, such as ivory, enamel, mosaic, and fresco. In a narrower sense, an icon is a cult image shown on a wooden panel. Icons in the sense of panel paintings come in a variety of sizes, ranging from small panels no more than 10 × 15 cm to panels ten times larger. The wooden panels may be combined to form diptychs or triptychs. Some icons are painted on both sides (bilateral icons).

The wood chosen for Byzantine icons includes cypress, lime, elder, cedar, and pine. The panel is usually made up of several planks of wood that are held together by strips of wood nailed onto the back, while the front is sometimes hollowed out to create a frame around the outside. Several layers of gesso, consisting in the main of chalk, are applied to the wooden panel to create a smooth surface for the paint. At times, a piece of woven cloth is placed over the wood and beneath the gesso to prevent irregularities in the wood from appearing on the surface of the icon. The next step is the preparation of an outline drawing. Those areas of the icon that are to receive gold leaf are coated in a bole (a layer of clay, usually red). In the early Byzantine period the pigments were suspended in wax encaustic. After iconoclasm the predominant binding medium is egg tempera (the yolk of an egg). Sometimes, a cover consisting of different metal plates is laid over the wooden icon. In some instances the plates cover the entire figure apart from the hands and face; in others it is only the background that is concealed.

Some icons combine painting with relief sculpture. In these, which date in the main from the 12th and 13th centuries and appear to originate in northern Greece, the saint is shown in relief and is surrounded by painted scenes from his or her life. Meral icons were also made in the Byzantine Period, but few survive. The Treasury of San Marco in Venice contains an 11th-century metal icon in high relief of St Michael which is elaborately decorated with enamel. A number of metal icons in low relief survive from Georgia. Another subgroup are steatite icons. In the late Byzantine period, icons were also made in mosaic. Minute tesserae, consisting of glass, semiprecious stones, or gilded copper were added to a bed of wax or resin on a wood support.

The making of icons is considered a spiritual activity. Manuals for the guidance of icon painters survive from the post-Byzantine period, such as the 18th-century *Painter's Guide* of Mount Athos by Dionysios of Phourna. Icons are displayed in churches, homes, and public places – a statement that was probably as true for the Byzantine world as it is for present-day Greece. In an Orthodox church icons are displayed on icon stands (*proskynetaria*) or on the iconostasis, a tall opaque barrier separating the sanctuary from the nave. The iconostasis developed only in the late Byzantine period and found its fullest expression in the Russian and post-Byzantine Greek Orthodox Church. The iconostasis developed out of the templon, a transparent sanctuary partition that consisted of a low barrier and columns supporting a transverse beam. Icons, which often depicted pivotal scenes from the life of Christ, were placed on top of the beam known as the epistyle. It was only at certain points of the liturgy that the altar was concealed from the congregation by curtains being drawn. The templon was transformed into the iconostasis when icons became permanently fixed in the spaces between the columns.

Different types of icons are venerated in the Orthodox Church. They can be classified according to subject matter and their presumed origin. Byzantine and modern icons typically show Christ, the Theotokos (Mother of God), saints, and narrative scenes from the life of Christ or the saints. Among the holiest icons in Orthodox belief are those believed to have come into existence without human agency. These are known as *acheiropoietos* icons ("made without hands") which, for instance, depict the imprint of Christ's face on a cloth. An example are icons showing the Mandylion of Edessa, a relic that in the 10th century was sent to Constantinople where it stayed until the conquest of the city in 1204 by the participants of the Fourth Crusade. Another type of especially holy icon are portraits supposedly painted with the authorization of the person portrayed. The most famous example of this type of portrait is the image of the Theotokos and the Christ Child attributed to St Luke. Although a number of icons attributed to St Luke exist in Italy and elsewhere, only one is recorded for Constantinople: this is the icon of the Theotokos Hodegetria, which was kept in the Hodegon monastery. Even though lost,



Icon: icon painting is a living tradition on Mount Athos

numerous copies record the appearance of this cult image: the Christ Child is shown seated on the left arm of the Theotokos who points at him with her right hand. This icon was the most important cult image in Constantinople, probably from about the 11th century onwards, and formed the centre of an elaborate cult (see below).

The icon depicting the portrait of a saint finds its origin in Late Antique funerary portraits painted in encaustic, of which the best-known examples originate from the Fayum in Egypt. The earliest extant icons – a number of 6th- and 7th-century icons kept in the collections of the monastery of St Catherine at Mount Sinai – resemble the Fayum funerary portraits in both format and technique. There are not many icons from the pre-iconoclast period. The early icons at Sinai survive partly because of the area's desert climate, and partly because the Sinai peninsula no longer formed part of Byzantine territory at the time of the iconoclast controversy.

The use of figurative images was a concern to theologians throughout the early Christian period. Central to this debate was the Old Testament prohibition against "graven images" (Exodus 20:4–5). In Byzantium the Old Testament prohibition had particular consequences for depictions of Christ who, according to Orthodox belief, was both human and divine in nature. These concerns, alongside other factors of a political and social nature, led to the iconoclast controversy in the 8th and 9th centuries. From the middle of the 720s to 787 and again between 815 and 843 the use of figurative images was banned. Icons were destroyed and icon painters, often monks, persecuted.

Both the opponents of image veneration, the iconoclasts, and the supporters of icons, the iconodules, developed sophisticated theological arguments in support of their views. The iconoclasts argued that images of Christ, who, in his divine form, could not be depicted, undermined the belief about the two natures of Christ. Another iconoclast argument was that the use of images was idolatrous because both the person depicted and the material of which the image was made were venerated. By contrast, iconodule theologians, such as John of Damascus, rebutted iconoclast arguments by arguing that the icon in its materiality was distinct from the person depicted (prototype). It was the prototype, or the reality behind the image, not the icon itself that was venerated. The theology developed in support of image veneration during iconoclasm firmly established the central role of icons in Orthodox belief.

The use of icons proliferated after the end of the iconoclast controversy. Icons survive in increasing numbers from the 12th century onwards. A famous example is the icon of Vladimir, showing the Theotokos holding the Christ Child in a way that emphasizes motherly love. New types of subject matter developed. A late 12th-century icon in the Sinai collection depicts a text written by the Sinaite monk John Klimakos, known as the *Heavenly Ladder*. This icon shows monks ascending a ladder towards spiritual perfection while other monks are pulled off the ladder by black demons. From about 1200 onwards some icons combine the image of the saint with depictions of scenes from his or her life on the border of the icon; these icons are known as *vita* icons. Calendar icons depict the saints venerated during a particular month of the year (menologion icons).

Believers express their veneration of icons by kneeling in front of them, lighting candles, kissing the image, and making the sign of the cross. *Tamata*, offerings frequently in the shape of metal plaques referring to a wish granted or an illness cured, are sometimes attached to the image. In Byzantium the miraculous powers of icons were harnessed by using them as palladia. They were carried in battle or displayed on the walls of a city during a siege. The carrying of icons in religious processions is attested for the Byzantine period and persists in present-day Greece. In Constantinople, for instance, the icon of the Theotokos Hodegetria was displayed publicly every Tuesday, an event that is referred to in several written sources. According to the Spanish traveller Pero Tafur, who visited Constantinople in the early 15th century, the icon was carried by members of a confraternity dressed in red robes. Onlookers were overcome with emotion and handed bits of material, described as cotton wool, to the confraternity members, asking them to bring it in contact with the icon in order to sanctify the material.

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Iconoclasm

Iconoclasm forbade the making or "veneration" of images, whether of God or of the saints. Condemnation of holy images was nothing new in Christian thinking: it was dominant in the early Church, and the elements that derived from Jewish law were reinforced by Greek philosophy, from the Presocratics to contemporary pagan Neoplatonic thinking. Such expressions as Eusebius' *noera ousia* ("spiritual essence") and Clement of Alexandria's *noete ousia* ("immaterial essence", a term ultimately derived from Plato) represent the Greek side of Christian thinking and helped expand the simple biblical interdiction into a range of theological arguments.

The rise of iconoduly (icon veneration) is poorly documented. Veneration of the icon for itself – a particular image at a particular shrine – had only recently (from the 6th century on) become a major phenomenon and such pro-icon theologians as Leontios of Neapolis of the late 6th century faced considerable opposition. But however strongly felt, the option had remained a matter of personal choice. The public setting up of images by the emperor did not change this, but forbidding of them did.

Icon veneration took very ambiguous forms: prostrations, incense, hymns chanted, prayers addressed to the image itself; the image, not the saint behind it, made godparent of one's child, etc. The emperor Leo III (716–41) reckoned that this was tantamount to idolatry, and by an edict of 730 he forbade it. The iconodule historians nearest to the time whose work survives, Theophanes the Confessor and the patriarch Nikephoros (806–15), say that it was the eruption of Thera in 726 that determined Leo III's decree; he was right, they say, in assuming that God was angry, but his erroneous diagnosis of the reason led to even worse impiety. The evidence suggests that the veneration of images would have remained "impiety", and not become "heresy", if it had not been perceived as having political potential.

Few historians still hold the view that iconoclasm was the most important affair of the period, with every Byzantine deeply involved in it, except for a servile episcopate. In fact the Establishment and the army took it in their stride; most monasteries were in communion with the iconoclast official Church; and even at the time of Constantine V's "war on monks" many, probably most, monks were unquestionably in communion with it. St Theodore of Stoudios, the most redoubtable of the iconodule apologists, notes indignantly that rejecting icons "was not at first recognized for heresy, and still seems to some only moderately wrong" (he himself discovered how wrong it was only when he was looking for an issue over which to fight the patriarch). The iconoclast emperors enjoyed exceptional popularity with the urban masses. Not everyone became iconoclast, they simply accepted the situation; no doubt most people continued to venerate their own icons in their homes.

Besides the bias of the sources the other trap that the subject offers is reducing the question to one of theology and "persecution". Such an issue was bound to become theological, but Leo's concern was with practice; the iconodule opposition turned the question into a purely theological one: could God be represented? The answer was that according to the "new dispensation" (Christianity as against "the Law", i.e. Judaism), God incarnate could be depicted. Iconodule theologians reserved *latreia* ("worship") for God, allowing icons only *proskynesis*, which may be translated as "adoration", addressed, in theory, not to the image but to the person it stood for.

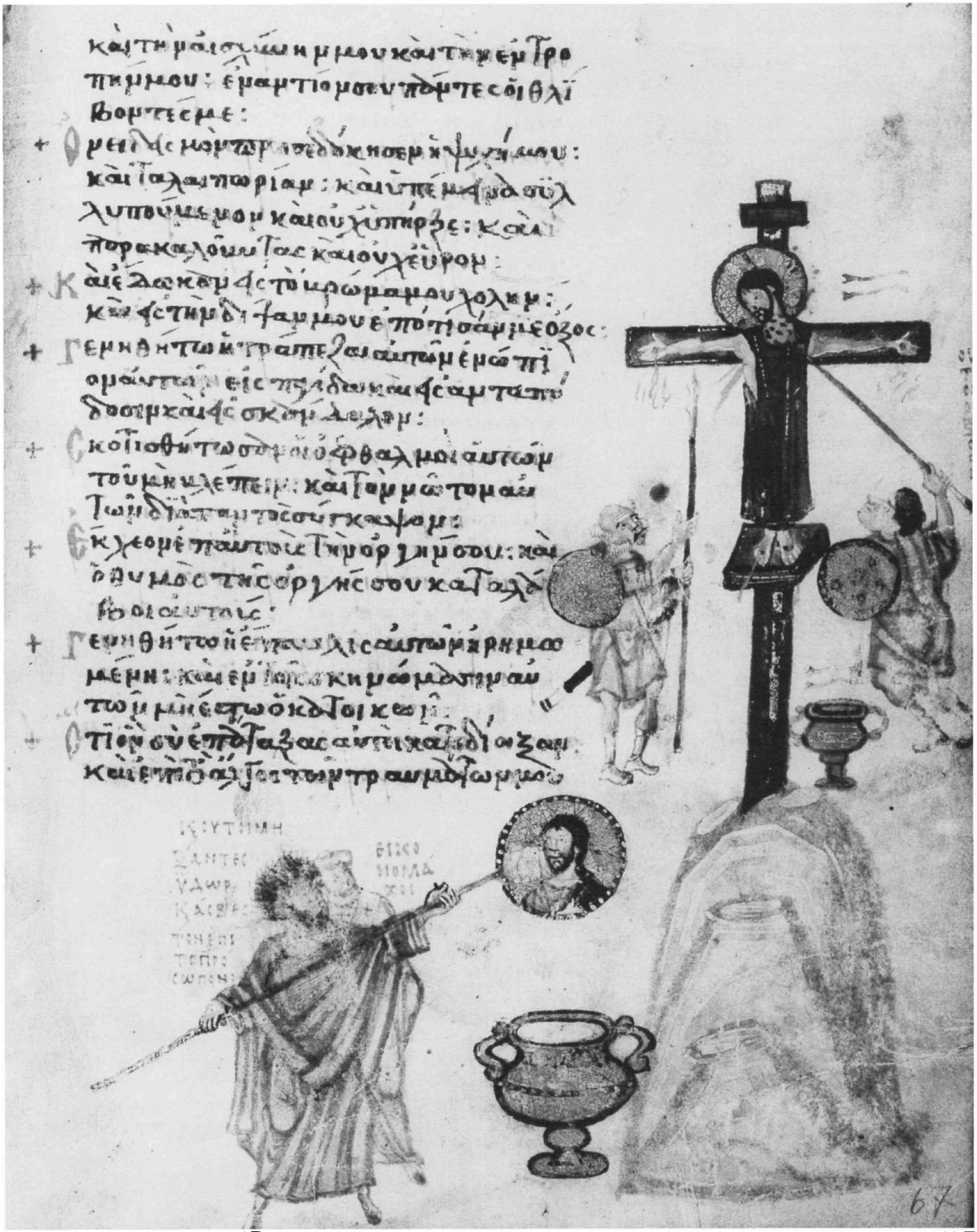
When he decided to forbid the veneration of images, Leo III held public meetings to explain his policy and win support for it: "He summoned all his subjects to a rally, and presiding in their midst like a roaring lion, belched forth from his angry heart, fire and sulphur, like Mount Etna, and pronounced these grievous words: 'The making of icons is a craft of idolatry, they may not be worshipped'" (*Vita Stephani*, chapter 9). Constantine V also sought support from the people:

> The tyrant ... shouted "My good luck has won the day and God has heard my prayer." The crowd cheered and shouted: "When did God ever close His ears to you?" Overjoyed he said with a great laugh: "The Lord has discovered to me the man I was looking for. Shall I show him to you?" The crowd roared back "Punish him! Kill him! Burn him, for disobeying your orders!"

Emperor and people had had similar dialogues in the circus in Rome. Constantine did much to raise living standards for the people in Constantinople.

When Leo initiated iconoclasm by removing an image of Christ from one of the palace gates, "distressed crowds in the capital destroyed a few of the emperor's men who were taking down the image, and many of them were punished for their piety with amputations, exiles, and confiscations". In fact, these were normal legal proceedings after a riot and, according to the historian, no one was condemned to death.

The most famous iconodule "martyr" was St Stephen the Younger (died 764), who was involved in a plot to overthrow the emperor. The punishments or "tortures" inflicted on the "martyrs" and "confessors" were, except for the tattooing of the Graptoi brothers, laid down in the law codes. Iconodule zeal manifested itself through lawbreaking, when it did not involve treason. The iconodule patriarch, Nikephoros, deplored law-abiding under the iconoclast emperors: too many of the clergy, he said, "uphold political laws and recognize civil authorities ... This is not Jacob's heritage, nor are such the ways of those whose dogma and thinking are ordered by piety." The undermining of army morale appears to have been one approved strategy of militant iconoduly: St Theodore of Stoudios, consulted as to whether the canonical condemnation to three years' excommunication of any soldier who killed an enemy on the battlefield should be applied, said that it must: "If they don't want to be excommunicated let them stop killing" (Letter 51). But both attempting to overthrow rulers and inciting the military to disobedience and even desertion in



Iconoclasm: illustration from the Chludov Psalter (*c.*850–75) drawing a parallel between the whitewashing of an image of Christ (bottom) and the soldier giving Christ bitter vinegar to drink, State Historical Museum, Moscow.

time of war constituted major offences, the penalties for which, recounted with religious horror by the victims' supporters, were those established by the law.

"Iconomachy in action is monachomachy", said Peter Brown. At no time, under iconoclasm, were all the monasteries under attack. For Leo III, the *Ekloge*, the law code he promulgated, is evidence enough that monks as such were not under attack (cf. chapter 7.1: allocating guardianship of orphans whose parents had not named a guardian to religious establishments explicitly including monasteries; chapter 8: conferring freedom on a slave who has become, with the knowledge and consent of his master, a cleric or a monk). Iconoclasm was given dogmatic status by the Council of Hiereia in 754. But icon veneration was restored in 780 and confirmed at the Second Council of Nicaea in 787.

During the second period of iconoclasm (815–43) communion with the patriarch was the test of Orthodoxy, and the operation was made as easy as possible: "All we ask of you is to commune once with Theodotos [the patriarch] ... then you will be free to go out, each to his own monastery, keeping your own belief and opinions" (*Vita Niketa Medikion* 824). It is quite clear from the evidence of his own *Vita* that the austere Ignatios, the future patriarch, was abbot of a monastery in communion with the iconoclast official Church. War was not waged on monasteries so long as they were not out to provoke trouble, except under Constantine V (741–75). He designated monks officially as "the unnamed" (*amnemoneutoi*, a technical term from the *Ekloge* law code for a son disinherited for misbehaving towards his parents), and staged in the Hippodrome a ritual desecration of the monastic habit (after 763: *Vita Stephani* chapter 40). It has been suggested that his aim was to recover potential soldiers, but one might go further: at that time of desperate need, the monks did not supply food, but consumed it; this body of men, several thousand strong and exerting great influence, isolated itself completely from the war effort, and expected to be supported. Nonetheless Constantine did not wage war on monasticism for the first 20 years of his reign, and the apparently sudden change might well be related to the plot referred to above. Whatever the answer, at no point were all the monasteries in difficulties even with him.

Why did iconoduly win in the end? Could it be because of the two female regents, Irene in 780 and Theodora in 842? Not because women were particularly given to veneration, but because these two both loved power. Backed by power groups condemned to remain in the background, such as well-chosen civil servants – eunuchs, ideally – and churchmen, they could hope to enjoy it; the alternative, entrusting their interests to a general, meant surrendering power completely. Neither empress has a dossier that suggests deep personal commitment to icons. Irene ensured for herself the support of safe elements, and once things were well in hand, treated her supporters to tax relief.

Similarly, for Theodora, almost the only fact to emerge clearly from the confusion of the sources on the "Restoration of Orthodoxy" – as the aftermath of Theophilos's death is termed – is the presence of potential male candidates, who might have kept her on as nominal "empress", but without power; and therefore she looked for support from men who could not themselves be emperor. If Irene's case is mainly deduction, Theodora's hagiographic *Life* states that, so long as her husband lived, she "dared not" allow her iconoduly to be discernible. Naturally, when it became the official policy of the throne, an appropriate image of her was diffused and some of the material has survived.

The victorious iconodules promptly fell out with the new patriarch, Methodios, and his backers ranged against the Stoudites. In due course the row was tidied up, and in successive versions of the *Life* of the great (iconodule) St Joannikios, acid remarks about prominent Stoudites are made "politically acceptable" by simply speaking of unidentified "cantankerous monks".

The measure in itself has been given a weight by modern historians that it certainly did not carry. The "age of iconoclasm" should be termed "the age of iconodule sources": Theophanes and Nikephoros, though militant iconodules, remain historians, giving far more space to foreign or dynastic affairs and natural calamities, but many of our sources are the actual weapons left over from the conflict – letters and pamphlets from the most active proponents, hagiographic accounts written to conceal the fact that the "martyr" had been involved in attempted treason, or, on the contrary, to prove that a convent had not been in communion with the "heretics". These documents come almost exclusively from the winning, iconodule side. The 368 letters of the militant and unscrupulous St Theodore of Stoudios, the accounts of the "martyrdoms" of six iconodule saints, are extremely vivid, and it is only recently that Byzantinists have begun to look at them critically.

Two tangible consequences of the iconoclast affair are recognizable. If the conflict had never arisen, art would have developed differently. If iconoclasm had won, presumably for the time being church decoration would have been very much like that surviving in a few mosques: trees, flowers, and gardens; it is also possible that more profane art would have survived, not necessarily only the Hippodrome scenes that iconoclast emperors are condemned for having commissioned. That the saints would have returned seems likely, but perhaps more willing to share the available space with other images.

Obviously icons had already found a central place in the religion of the Eastern Church, but all except a small minority adapted without any difficulty to official iconoclasm. This suggests that, if the two iconoclast interludes changed the position of icons very little, the "Restoration of Orthodoxy" was a different matter. Leo III had claimed only to enforce well-known divine commandments; converting this to a theological debate, followed by victory for the side that took iconoduly for its emblem, made dogma of a field that was formerly open to individual choice, and gave it an extraordinary new emphasis.

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See also Constantine V, Germanos, Icon, Irene, John of Damascus, Leo III, Theodora (d. 867), Theodore of Stoudios

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Identity

What it means to belong to a people, the terms used to describe this, and perceptions of distinctiveness in relation to other peoples, will inevitably vary over 40 centuries of history, and all the more so when the sense of Greek identity has at some crucial turning points been the subject of reinterpretation and reconstruction.

The centrality of language is indubitable. Some signs specific to the Linear B syllabary on a circular pebble excavated in a Middle Helladic context indicate that Greek was being written in the Peloponnese around 1650 BC. We do not, however, know what those who then spoke the language called it. The Homeric epics (of the 8th century BC, but incorporating much earlier traditional phraseology) use "Achaioi" as the main generic name with "Danaoi" and "Argeioi" as alternatives. Hittite tablets of the 2nd millennium BC mention "Achiyava" as an important kingdom while Egyptian inscriptions name the "Danaya". None of the three terms was used as an overall self-description by speakers of Greek after Homer. "Argives" and "Achaeans" became confined to subgroups.

The peoples to their east called Greek-speakers by some variant of "Ionians", because Ionians from Euboea, the Aegean islands, and the Asia Minor coast dominated trade there into the 7th century BC. Greek-speakers themselves, however, saw the Ionians rather as one of their main subdivisions. The fragmentary pseudo-Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women* of the 6th century BC presents a genealogy in which they are somewhat closer to the Achaeans, Ion being brother to Achaeus and son to Xuthus, than to Aeolus and Dorus, Hellen's other two sons.

Peoples to the west and the north of the Greek-speakers took the word "Greek" from the Romans. The reason for this choice is uncertain. The *Catalogue of Women* states that Zeus and the daughter of the first man, Deucalion, gave birth to Graecus, and later sources that Hellen, Deucalion's son, gave his name to the people previously called "Graikoi". Since no major subdivision of Greek-speakers called themselves "Graikoi", it is conceivable that what we find here is the echo of an earlier attempt to construct a common genealogy, current when cities of Euboea and the town of Graia (Oropus) opposite were founding the first Greek settlements in Italy.

Neither "Achaean" nor "Ionian" nor "Greek" became the dominant term of self-descriptive identity in Classical antiquity. In Homer "Hellene" referred only to Achilles' kingdom in south Thessaly or Phthiotis (*Iliad*, 2. 680–85). In the 7th century BC, however, Hesiod (*Works and Days*, 1. 653) speaks of all the mainland Greeks as "Hellenes". By the 6th century BC a common shrine of nine cities at Naucratis in Egypt was called the "Hellenion" (Herodotus 2. 178), while "Hellanodikai" was the name of the judges in Olympia.

The Greek-speaking world was composed of a large number of often fiercely competing city states, and, at its periphery, also some more traditional kingdoms. Thus Hellenic identity, in contrast to many others, was not based on a common political loyalty. Herodotus (8. 144) puts in the mouth of the Athenians a catalogue of what made the Hellenes one people – common blood, common language, common temples and sacrifices, and a common way of life. Since the word used for a non-Greek, "barbarian", originally meant "heterophone" (Homer, *Iliad*, 2. 867 uses "barbarophones" to describe the Carians as "of foreign speech"), language was almost certainly the most important of these. The common genealogies already referred to, the common cult centres and sacrifices associated with the Homeric pantheon, and a common way of life were indeed crucial elements in ancient Hellenic identity. Common political institutions and loyalty are not even mentioned.

What constituted the common way of life? For most Hellenes it was life in a city state, which gave citizens their sense of political identity and privilege in relation to slaves or serfs. For all, it was the values instilled by the Homeric epics: on the one hand, a close family at home, as witnessed by the *Odyssey*, a safe haven after long periods of absence, especially at sea; on the other, an agonistic or competitive approach to life in society, whether in war, debate, or athletic games, as witnessed by the *Iliad*. Homer was central to ancient Greek

education. The spread of many Homeric values to non-aristocrats helped set off major political experiments and encouraged individual achievement among thinkers, craftsmen, and artists alike.

The word "barbarian" is never used in Homer of non-Greeks as a whole. Nor is moral superiority ascribed to the Achaeans compared with the Trojans. After the Persian Wars, especially in Athenian drama (starting with Aeschylus' *Persae* in 472 BC) and Herodotus, there is a clear sense of superiority based on forms of political organization and military and cultural achievement, the first sure instance in which Hellenic identity is partly defined by opposition. Herodotus (1. 1) states that he wrote so that "the great and marvellous deeds performed, whether by Greeks or by barbarians, should not lose their renown". From the following chapters it is clear that he saw Persians, Phoenicians, Egyptians, and Lydians as cultured and clearly differentiated, yet equally "barbarians".

Although the Persian invasion (480–479 BC), resisted by a voluntary alliance of about 30 city states, proved a defining moment, consensual political unification of all the Hellenes did not follow. In the late 4th century BC Philip and Alexander of Macedon, masters of a kingdom dismissed by Hellenic political opponents as "barbarian", justified the imposition of an alliance as a means to obtain revenge against Persia, but this unity too did not survive Alexander's death.

Alexander's conquests (336–323 BC) formed another defining moment. Hellenes poured eastwards bearing their cultural values such as city life, athletics, philosophy, and art. Large numbers of non-Hellenes began to use Greek as a second language. This brought changes to the language, and loosened the connection of its use with Hellenic identity. Earlier in the 4th century BC Isocrates (*Panegyricus* 50) had already advocated that the name "Hellene" should be applied to those who shared Hellenic culture, rather than ancestry. By contrast, the other two of Herodotus' defining characteristics, a shared way of life and religion, became more important in a cosmopolitan and linguistically united world.

Political fragmentation assisted the Roman conquest, but Roman rule did not diminish the sense of a separate Hellenic identity for several centuries. The Classical revivalists of the 2nd century AD, though content to be part of the empire, were proud to be culturally Hellenes and politically citizens of their particular cities (no longer effectively "states").

Writing to the Corinthians (1 Corinthians 1:18–25) Paul contrasts Jews and Hellenes as two peoples and outlooks from either of which one might come to the Christian faith. What ultimately occurred was more radical. A people noted for its cultural self-confidence and pride in superiority over barbarians came to adopt as its own the empire of one foreign people, the Romans, and the religion, albeit universalized, of another, the Jews. The history of Greek-speakers continued under the mantle of the Romaic empire and as a new Israel.

From the 3rd century AD onwards, the growth in transcendental religion and the gradual decline of cities in an increasingly beleaguered empire led to changes first in the content and then in the self-descriptive aspects of identity. Thus by the 6th century "Hellenes" had come to mean "pagans", actively opposed by Christians. Meanwhile in a significant popular phrase one city alone, Constantinople, came to be known as "the City", mirroring the fact that loyalty was now focused on a single state, the empire of the Romaioi, "Romans" in Greek. Thus two crucial elements of later Greek identity, the Romaic and the Orthodox Christian, enter the scene, not however in their narrower contemporary sense. They were originally, both in principle and in practice, much broader than the Hellenic identity had been, spreading far beyond speakers of a particular language, aspiring indeed to universality.

If the self-descriptive elements of identity changed, there was considerable continuity in content: first, in language, second, in respect for some ancient cultural values, and third, in continued distaste for barbarians. There were several revivals of Attic Greek (as in the 2nd, 4th, and 9th centuries). More important was the influence of the Septuagint translation of the Old Testament and the original Greek text of the New Testament, which, with the hymnody of the Eastern Church they inspired, had a simultaneously conserving and formative effect on Greek, comparable to that of Luther's translation of the Bible on German and the Authorized Version on English. Equally, there was continuing respect for Classical culture among the educated. Quite as important were folk memories (e.g. of Alexander), traditions, and values among the less educated, including the continued insistence on excellence, for example, in craftsmanship. The "barbarians", who were effectively reducing the area of Greek cultural and linguistic influence, were more dangerous than ever. They were now distinguished less by language and more by their uncultured, destructive, and (in the modern sense) barbarous behaviour.

Distaste for the Franks, one of the two specific oppositional aspects of modern Greek identity, probably dates from the 8th century. There was no Frankish kingdom after the 9th century, yet even today Greeks, when seeking a pejorative term, more frequently use "Frank" than "Latin" or "Western", although either of the others would have been more natural at any later period. The Franks introduced the *filioque* into the creed long before Rome, thus challenging the Orthodoxy of Constantinople; they were also the first effectively to challenge the universality of its Christian and Romaic empire. The geographical extension of "Frank" has expanded and contracted at various times from its Franco-German core. The Crusaders' despoliation of Constantinople in 1204 cemented religious and cultural schism. Since they also claimed to be heirs of Rome, first Classicizing intellectuals and then wider circles from the 12th to the 15th centuries began to reuse the word "Hellene" in a positive, self-descriptive sense. Patriarch Gennadios used both "Hellene" and "Romaios", but "Hellene", it seems, more frequently.

The second opposition central to later Greek identity concerns the Turks. This runs even deeper. *Efrangepse* means "he has adopted Western ways" (but has not necessarily therefore ceased to be a Greek), whereas *etourkepse* means "he has become a Muslim and hence a Turk". There is also no parallel to the interchangeable popular phrases *egine thirio* and *egine Tourkos* meaning "he behaved outrageously" (literally "he became a wild animal" and "he became a Turk" respectively). Vitsentzos Kornaros's 16th-century description of a Karamanian, clearly indicating a Turk (*Erotokritos*, 2. 319–64), illustrates this:

> He believed in his sword, this is what he worshipped:
> wars, hostilities and quarrels ever he was stirring.

During the Frangokratia and Tourkokratia terms of self-description were fluid. For some the only significant identity was that of an Orthodox Christian. Already in the 16th century, however, there are instances of the modern use of "Hellene" with Orthodox Christianity as one of its constituent parts. "Romios" was also used frequently until the War of Independence, and in the areas that remained under Ottoman rule, well beyond. (Modern Turks call Greeks residing in Turkey "Rum"; independent Greece is called "Yunanistan".) Another contender was "Graikos", taken from the Western word. Not until the War of Independence itself was it resolved which would prevail.

In the conscious remoulding of identity that followed the formation of the modern nation state, the choice of "Hellene" reflected Greek, and Western, admiration for the Classical heritage. This encouraged democracy, a high level of education, and competitive achievement, which last has been the most enduring of ancient Hellenic characteristics, rooted as it is in the traditional manner of upbringing. Admiration for Classical Greece also led to an attempt to impose a purified, classicizing language, the katharevousa. This successfully marginalized dialects but ultimately proved unable to resist the "demotic" language, also to some degree a construct, but closer to Greek as it had developed over the centuries.

Two crucial elements of identity, however, were not drawn from antiquity. First, throughout the Romaic period, the Frangokratia, and the Tourkokratia alike, the most fundamental dividing line had been religious rather than linguistic. Some influential Greeks, before and after independence, would have liked to follow current Enlightenment ideals of a linguistically based state. This, however, conflicted with popular attitudes and would have demanded quite as arduous an irredentism as any based on religious allegiance. In practice, Orthodox Christians who spoke Albanian were easily assimilable into the body of modern Hellenes; Muslim speakers of Greek were not. This acceptance of Orthodox Christianity, ranging from the nominal to the fully engaged, remains a more important element of Hellenic identity today than religion in general does in most other European states.

Second, modern Hellenism is a quintessentially political phenomenon, which, until well after Cypriot independence, frowned on the localism central to ancient politics. It drew alike on the western European concept of the nation state; the recollection of united action in antiquity, such as the Persian Wars and Alexander; and the Romaic allegiance to a single supranational empire. Indeed in its first century of independence Athens attempted to reconstitute that empire as a nation state. To this Hieronymous Wolf, the 16th-century German scholar responsible for extending the word "Byzantine" from city to empire (whose subjects had never so used it) made an inadvertent contribution. "Byzantine" history more easily than "Romaic" might be seen as a simple extension of Hellenic antiquity.

Since independence Western influences have flooded into Greece. Despite tensions with individual Western countries, the distaste for the "Franks" has declined over time. There are still, however, points of evident religious and cultural opposition. Events have been less favourable to a diminution of the perception of the Turk as a defining opposite, though human relationships have often been friendly. Positive elements of identity, most obviously close family ties, adherence to the perceived political and cultural essence of ancient Hellenism, and the combination of humane personalist values and rich liturgical life in Orthodoxy, have suffered erosion by modern mass culture, but continue to enjoy wider support than do traditional values in many European countries. For Greeks their history, if continuously reinterpreted, is more important, and more relevant, than for most.

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See also Hellenes, Language, Orthodox Church

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Ignatius, St *c.*AD 30–107

Bishop of Antioch

Ignatius was born in Antioch and was its third bishop (after Peter and Evodius) from around AD 70 until his martyrdom in the Roman Colosseum in the reign of the emperor Trajan (98–117). He therefore belongs to the generation immediately following the Crucifixion. According to tradition, he was converted to Christianity by John the Evangelist and was made bishop by Peter. In fact, we know little about his life before his final journey from Antioch to Rome and martyrdom. In the

4th century, Eusebius (*Historia Ecclesiastica*, 3. 22, 36–38 and 4. 14f.) was unclear about the year of the martyrdom, but is otherwise quite reliable and our chief early source for Ignatius.

Around 107 Ignatius was tried and convicted as a Christian during a local persecution in Antioch – the precise charges are not known. Ten soldiers conducted him to Rome to be fed to wild beasts in the Colosseum. En route, at Smyrna, Ignatius was received with honour by bishop Polycarp and Christians from Ephesus, Magnesia, and Tralles. To these he gave letters thanking their communities for their concern and exhorting them to obey their superiors (bishops or presbyters), who would steer them against the then prevalent Judaizing and Docetic heresies. He also sent ahead a letter to the Christians of Rome urging them not to intervene to prevent his martyrdom, which he earnestly desired.

At Troas he was intercepted by messengers from Antioch who announced that the persecution there had ended. Ignatius wrote two more letters, to the Christians of Philadelphia and Smyrna, again exhorting them to be obedient to their bishop. In the latter he wrote: "Wherever the bishop is, there let the people be, as wherever Jesus Christ is, there is the Catholic Church." This may be the first text that uses the term Catholic Church to mean the body of all Christians. In a last letter to Polycarp, Ignatius asked his friend to support the Antiochene Christians after the recent crisis and to encourage the other churches of Asia to do the same.

A great debate among scholars of the late 19th century settled the question of the authenticity of the epistles. The set of seven accepted epistles written by Ignatius in his last days is usually accompanied by Polycarp's epistle to the Christians of Philippi. The epistles are the principal source for understanding the mind of this martyr, setting forth an orthodoxy that has stood the test of time among Catholic Christians. He was in practice the type of ideal bishop of his epistles.

Ignatius acknowledged the continuity between the Old and New Testaments. Against the Gnostic heresy of Docetism (which taught that Christ was never truly human), Ignatius preached the reality of Jesus' sufferings: "His Birth, Passion and Death were not appearances but realities." He insisted that Christ was both human and divine, did die on the cross for mankind, and is really present in the Eucharist. In discussing the Real Presence, Ignatius was perhaps the first Christian to consider the Eucharist as a *Mysterion* – a Mystery (*Epistle to Tralles*, 2). He is the first writer outside the New Testament to assert the Virgin Birth (*Epistle to Smyrna*, 1. 1) and to describe Christ in the philosophical terms he found in John's gospel: there is only one physician of flesh and spirit, generate and ingenerate, God in man, true life in death, son of Mary, and son of God (*Epistle to Ephesus*, 7). In the face of Docetism and the many other misinterpretations of the Christian faith in his day, from Manichaeism to Arian ideas, Ignatius urged that congregations be guided by a bishop, one trained in orthodoxy and officially appointed as *episkopos* – "overseer" – of his church.

The title of bishop was in use in the eastern Church in the 1st century, though not universally in the west. In Ignatius' century – when all Christians were converts – Antioch had a large Jewish-Christian population but was also the centre of the first and largest gentile Christian congregation. Ignatius thus inherited the effects of Paul's message, which recast Christianity from a sect of Judaism to a religion for all. Teaching and maintaining orthodoxy in such a context was an immense task, requiring strong and clear-headed leadership. Ignatius' work was complicated by the persecutions of Domitian (81–96) and Trajan (98–117) and by the strong presence of Judaizing Christians who still followed the stringent rules and practices of their old religion.

Among the arguments against the authenticity of the letters was their insistence on the importance of the bishop at a time so early in the history of the faith. But in fact, in Asia Minor, Jerusalem, and Syria – the precise places where the epistles place the episcopal office – the episcopacy had existed from apostolic times. And, indeed, Ignatius' use of the word probably applies only to the cities mentioned in the letters, though Irenaeus (*c.*130–*c.*202) compiled a list of the bishops of Rome back to the apostles (*Adversus Haereses*, 3. 3. 3). Ignatius does not seem to have written of the doctrine of apostolic succession.

Ignatius' concern was for a leadership system with undoubted authority in matters of doctrine (*Epistle to Philadelphia*, 4). The bishop and priests represent the Lord and the council of the apostles (*Epistle to Magnesia*, 6. 1). Nothing should be done in church – Eucharist, baptism, even the celebration of the Mass – without approval of the bishop (*Epistle to Smyrna*, 8. 1–2).

Ignatius' teaching is strongly Pauline, that is, it is already addressed to a world Christian community. He urged that good Christians live lives of virtue and service to the community. They imitate Christ in his Passion, and most fully by following him to martyrdom.

The once hotly debated question surrounding Ignatius' martyrdom seems resolved by his *Epistle to the Romans* (1. 2; 2. 1; 4. 1). In it he begs the Christians in Rome not to intercede on his behalf to forestall his martyrdom. This presumes that he had already been condemned to death in Antioch by a Roman official other than the emperor and that the Christians in Rome could indeed appeal to Trajan. Ignatius, however, eagerly wished to imitate his Christ even unto death. Furthermore, his martyrdom in Rome is attested by Polycarp. The church of Philippi, having heard Ignatius during his journey, wrote to Polycarp requesting copies of Ignatius' letters written at Smyrna and Troas. Polycarp complied in the epistle we have, which also recalls Ignatius' martyrdom as a revered memory.

Another controversy arose from Ignatius' words in his *Epistle to the Romans*: did he actually acknowledge the primacy of Rome when he said that he knew he could not command Rome's Christians as did "Peter and Paul who were apostles"? Scholars have concluded that he meant only that he could not give them orders concerning his martyrdom. Nowhere, moreover, does he mention a bishop of Rome.

Thus, in a series of seven not overly long epistles, Ignatius of Antioch touched on many points of doctrine and Church administration. He followed in the footsteps of St Paul in insisting upon a solid organization and a strong basis of authority as requirements for an enduring Christian movement.

DANIEL C. SCAVONE

See also Bishops

Biography

Born in Antioch *c.*AD 30, Ignatius was its third bishop from *c.*70 until his martyrdom in Rome *c.*107. Little is known of his life before his final journey from Antioch to Rome via Smyrna, Troas, and Dyrrhachium. During his last days he wrote a series of epistles to Christian communities which are the main source of his teaching on doctrine and Church administration.

Writings

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Illyrians

Tribes settled on the northern and eastern shores of the Adriatic

The region where the Illyrians were established is known as Illyria, extending from Epirus in the south to the Danube in the north and as far as the river Morava in the east. The boundaries, however, of the territory of the Illyrians are not clearly defined and little can be learnt from written sources about their origin and culture. Since the Illyrians themselves did not leave any written evidence of their past, information is based on the texts of Greek and Roman authors who referred to these tribes as "barbarian"; the Greeks identified the Illyrians as an *ethnos* (race) different from the Macedonians, Thracians, and themselves. The personal and geographical names appearing in Greek and Latin records and inscriptions contribute to a partial reconstruction of the Illyrian language. It can therefore be deduced that the Illyrians spoke Indo-European dialects. According to a Greek legend, Illyrios was the son of Phoenician Cadmus and Harmonia, who settled in Illyria, and became the ancestor of the Illyrian people. Recent research has demonstrated that the Illyrians comprised a mixture of ethnic groups who did not necessarily have identical origins. Their formation coincides with the beginning of the Iron Age, around 1000 BC.

The Illyrians came in contact with the Greek Aegean at an early date. Excavation finds from the 8th-century BC cemetery at Vergina indicate a temporary Illyrian presence in ancient Macedonia, especially in its northern and western areas. At the same time, Greeks were attracted to Illyrian territory; the silver mines of the region, located inland – e.g. Damastion – increased their interest. Archaeological finds indicate that Greek imported goods, primarily pottery and metalwork, reached the Illyrians who inhabited the Adriatic littoral as early as the 8th and 7th centuries BC. The first Greek cities were established along the Adriatic coast in the late 7th and early 6th centuries BC. By 627 BC a joint expedition from Corinth and Corfu founded the colony at Epidamnus, and around 588 BC another at Apollonia; both became important centres of trade. Thus, the sea crossing to south Italy passed under Greek control and these two ports remained for many centuries the termini of the route across the southern Balkans. Excavations of the early cemeteries of Epidamnus and Apollonia have brought to light numerous examples of Corinthian pottery as well as local Illyrian products. Although Greeks traded in the region north of the river Drin, they did not establish any settlements either on the coast or inland. Three Greek colonies were however founded on the islands of Black Corcyra (Korcula), Issa (Vis), and Pharos (Hvar), by Cnidians, Parians, and Syracusans respectively. The trade which developed between these Greek colonies and the Illyrians contributed significantly to the latter's development and closer contact with Greek culture.

Illyrians made their appearance in Greek affairs in 424 BC. At this time Brasidas and his Spartan army were in Macedonia to assist king Perdiccas and other opponents of Athens to attack the Athenian colonies in Thrace. The Spartans did not at first become involved in Macedon's war with Arrhabaeus, ruler of Lyncus (who was not an ally of Athens but an independent ruler), but following a Macedonian victory they were persuaded to await the arrival of the Illyrian mercenaries who came to join Arrhabaeus. In 423 BC the joint expedition of Macedonians and Spartans ended in retreat because they feared the warlike Illyrians.

The history of the Macedonian kings is marked by a succession of wars against the Illyrian tribes which ended with Roman intervention in the 3rd century BC. The migration of the Celts at the beginning of the 4th century BC disturbed the territory between the Danube and the Adriatic and forced the Illyrians southwards. Consequently, the need for defence united them under Bardylis around 383 BC. The Illyrian attacks on Macedonia brought the latter close to collapse. King Amyntas II and, later, Perdiccas were defeated and the latter was slain (359 BC). It was only in Philip II's reign that the Illyrians were completely crushed and part of their territory was annexed to Macedonia. The Illyrians attacked Macedonia again in Alexander's time, but they were defeated. In the reign of Cassander an Illyrian tribe, the Taulantii, became involved in the struggle between Epirus and Macedonia, offering asylum to the infant Pyrrhus after the expulsion of his father Aeacides from his kingdom among the Molossians. When Pyrrhus became king of Epirus, he strengthened his links with the Illyrian tribes by marriage alliances.

The wars with Macedonia and Epirus brought the Adriatic Illyrians into contact with the Greek world. Major changes in the social and economic life of south Illyria occurred before the end of the 5th century BC, while in the north similar changes

appeared a century later. The urbanization which followed the growth of towns – the first fortifications were built in the 5th century BC at Gajtan – altered the tribal structures and created a demand for greater political autonomy. The first public buildings were not constructed however until around the middle of the 3rd century BC at Byllis.

An Illyrian kingdom was established in the 3rd century BC with its capital at Scodra. The dynasty of the Antigonids in Macedonia was often distracted from its attempt to retain power in Greece by Illyrians, especially the Dardani, on the northern frontier. At the same time, a new power, the Ardiaei, who inhabited the south coast of the Adriatic, emerged among the Illyrians. Responding to the request of Demetrius II of Macedonia, the Ardiaei and their king Agron helped Macedon's allies, the Acarnanians, against the Aetolians in the siege of Medion (231 BC). After Agron's death, the command passed to his widow Teuta and the Illyrians engaged in piracy, ravaging the shores of Greece and Italy. The Greeks turned to Rome for help. The two Illyrian wars with Rome (229 and 219 BC) ended with the submission of the Illyrians and the annexation of part of their territory by the Romans.

ELENI ZIMI

See also Macedonia, Philip II

Summary

Around 1000 BC the Illyrians settled the territory north and east of the Adriatic known as Illyria, extending from Epirus in the south to the Danube in the north and the Morava in the east. They left no written records. They were in contact with the Greeks from the 8th century BC and were inevitably caught up in wars between Macedonia and Epirus. They had a reputation for piracy which extended beyond the Roman conquest.

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Imperial Cult

The imperial cult almost certainly owes at least part of its acceptance during the Roman empire to the establishment of ruler cults in the late Classical and Hellenistic periods. Although a divine cult for a living person was against Greek tradition, the Spartan commander Lysander had received a cult on Samos after the Peloponnesian War. Only scanty evidence exists for other divine cults to individuals in the 4th century BC before the time of Philip II of Macedon and Alexander the Great. Whether Philip received a cult during his lifetime is debated, but his son certainly did: his personality, conquests, and unlimited power had elevated him to an unprecedented status that demanded special recognition.

Alexander's successors not only bolstered his worship, but were often granted their own ruler cults. The reasons for this were largely due to the community's need to acknowledge the rulers and their families as individuals of immense power and wealth who excelled all others in their benefactions; the cults were an assertion of the rulers' unique abilities to aid their communities. Some rulers, such as the Ptolemies at Alexandria, also established their own dynastic cults to celebrate their families, but these cults rarely lasted very long.

The creation of a Hellenistic ruler cult involved the construction of a temple or shrine only occasionally (about a dozen are known). Far more common were awards of an altar, priest, sacrifices, games, and statues. Statues of the ruler might even be placed in existing temples of traditional deities, where the ruler would "share" the space, honours, and even qualities of that deity.

The purpose of these cults is still debated: were they religious or political in nature? To deny one in favour of the other is difficult, because politics and religion were very closely entwined in antiquity. What is certain is that the people who founded and managed the cults were creating a new reality in which the immense power and influence of the rulers, who now directly affected life in the Hellenistic world, were given prominent recognition.

The imperial cult was not merely a simple continuation of the Hellenistic ruler cult but was, nevertheless, partially inspired by it. A divine cult to a living Roman became part of Italian culture only through contact with Greek cities. Marcus Claudius Marcellus, who sacked Syracuse (212/11 BC), and Titus Quinctius Flamininus, the liberator of Greece (196 BC), both received divine honours. Yet the practice became more common only a century later as other individuals, Greeks and Romans, were given cults in recognition of their benefactions to communities.

The almost simultaneous adoption of the cult of Roma (the power of Rome) in Greek cities from the early 2nd century BC reflected another aspect of the growth of Roman influence in the east. Much more widespread than the earlier ruler cults, the cults associated with Rome mirrored the development and spread of Roman power; they represented an acknowledgement of that power by the Greeks.

The preeminence of deified Julius Caesar and his adopted son Octavian/Augustus altered the practice of these cults in the east. Augustus was praised as the greatest of all benefactors and saviours in the east, because of the peace attributed to him after the defeat of Antony and Cleopatra. So great was his reputation that, before the end of his life, divine cults to non-imperial family members were no longer being created. The omnipotence of the emperor had been recognized by the eastern communities.

In addition to the hundreds of municipal and private household cults established to celebrate the emperors and their families, eastern provincial assemblies were also given permission to create cults. Emperors were always careful to avoid official deification at Rome itself during their lifetimes (with the exception of Caligula and Commodus), officially becoming deities only upon their apotheosis after death. In the provinces, however, they permitted their worship in conjunction with Roma, other imperial family members, and, eventually, among the cult of previously deified emperors and among the estab-

lished Olympic pantheon. The practice began in 29 BC, when Octavian had given, at the request of the provinces of Asia and Bithynia, permission for temples to be dedicated to Roma and Divus Julius Caesar at Ephesus and Nicaea, and to Roma and Octavian at Pergamum and Nicomedia. Tiberius, the next emperor, refused a request for his cult from Baetica but granted it to Smyrna where the temple was dedicated to him, Livia (his mother and the wife of Augustus), and the Senate. Emperors did have separate temples to themselves, but they commonly shared the honour with others.

Possession of a provincial cult was so prestigious that cities vied with one another for the honour, which, once given, was advertised in the official title of the city. Grants of these cults were quite rare, making them even more desirable considering the economic and political benefits that accrued to them. The members of the provincial elite who managed the cult also benefited: their status within the community and empire increased. Association with these cults was a statement that they and their families accepted the Roman system and hoped to benefit from it.

Imperial cults could be housed in a variety of types of structures, simple to very grand. Existing buildings, such as stoas and gymnasia, were modified to accommodate the cult; others, such as bath buildings, were constructed with special rooms. Unlike the earlier Hellenistic ruler cults, however, many more elaborate complexes were created for imperial ritual. A Caesareum or Sebasteum, the names sometimes used for these special sanctuaries, had no absolute model but might include a temple, altar, and statues among its other features.

The imperial cult was regarded by some in antiquity merely as a form of flattery (Tacitus, *Annals*, 6. 18). Its religious and political importance to the empire is still debated. The ritual probably did help to bring Greek and Roman together, but whether it created any sense of loyalty or instilled devotion among the inhabitants of the empire is difficult to say. Whether the emperor was regarded as a truly divine being is undeterminable; many of the poor and uneducated may have believed so. Yet, since the imperial cult was rarely imposed by the emperor or his court, most will agree that this indicates a willingness on the part of the Greeks to accept the new conditions that accompanied the control of their lands by Rome. The celebration of the imperial cult was an expression of gratitude for the benefactions received or ones that might come in the future. It does not prove or even indicate any real piety towards the emperor. The establishment of Christianity in the 4th century ended the practice.

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Imperialism

Most wars in ancient Greece not fought to gain independence were, as elsewhere, motivated by either the fear or hope of plunder, economic exploitation, or outright annexation. All self-governing Greek states were at all times in some form of military preparedness, if not, as was very frequently the case, actually at war. War, like slavery, which it often facilitated, was so common as rarely to provoke questioning of its morality: whether a Greek was or became free or slave was a quotidian accident of the human condition. The Greeks' love of freedom sprang from a perfervid desire to have complete control over their own destinies, a desire that did not question the right to control the destinies of others; and in confirmation of this, Greek gods of war were deemed far more powerful than any god of peace. As Thucydides makes Athenians inform the Spartans, "it has always been an established rule that the weaker are kept down by the stronger" (1. 76. 2), while Aristotle adds to preservation of one's own liberty and hegemony over one's subjects as legitimate aims of war "the exer-

Imperialism: illustration from the 11th-century chronicle Skylitzes showing the people of Constantinople rising up against the emperor Michael V Kalaphates in 1042. He had foolishly exiled the empress Zoe, and subsequently lost his throne as a result. Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid

cising of the role of master over those who deserve to be slaves" (*Politics*, 1334a2). Thus the continual imperialist bullying by even small states of each other is the very warp of the tapestry of Greek history; and any alliances were inexorably doomed to ephemerality or continuous internal dissension.

The earliest form of Greek imperialism was the *synoikismos* (literally "living together") of the Dark Age, the process by which the polis, or city state, emerged; but the extent to which surrounding communities joined the dominant city voluntarily or under coercion is usually unknown: presumably it varied. In most of these city states equal citizenship was enjoyed by all members. Sparta, however, which became by far the largest city state and had by the end of the 8th century BC conquered Laconia and most of Messenia, was governed by an elite group of Dorians who reduced the mass of the inhabitants (the *perioikoi*, literally "those who live in the surrounding area") to second-class status or collectively owned helotry. Although this policy was not unique to the Spartans, the scale on which they applied it necessitated the reorganization of the elite as a permanent standing army for internal protection (the Lycurgan reforms), which in turn excited further, though often unsuccessful, imperialist adventures in the northern Peloponnese, central and northern Greece, Asia Minor, and even Sicily.

Colonization, which occurred chiefly in the period *c.*750–*c.*550 BC, was driven largely through internal pressures rather than imperialist desires, since most colonies were completely self-governing, though retaining religious, cultural, and commercial links with the *metropolis* (mother city). Nevertheless, they were planted, sometimes peaceably and sometimes by force of arms, on the littoral of the Mediterranean from northeastern Spain, southern France, and southern Italy and Sicily to Libya and what is now southern Turkey and on the eastern and southern shores of the Black Sea. They remained essentially Greek, although there was some acculturization of neighbouring peoples, and many had a long history, some in Asia Minor and Pontus enduring until 1922. In the second half of the 6th century BC the settlers in Asia Minor became the first Greeks to experience foreign imperialism when, having survived the harassment of an expansionist Lydia, they succumbed to the Achaemenid Persian empire, which did, however, practise religious tolerance and generally appointed Greeks as satraps under the watchful eye of officials of the Great King. It was mainland Greek help in the uprising of these cities which led to the Persian Wars of 490–479 BC and the subsequent Athenian attempt at hegemony.

The Delian League (a modern term) was formed in 478 BC to defend Greek states against further Persian reprisals, but its leader, Athens, clearly had imperialist ambitions from the beginning when it forcefully coerced Eion to join. Athens' attempt, despite some federalist elements in the city, to establish for its own economic benefit a rival to the Spartan-led Peloponnesian League is clear from actions such as the reduction of Thasos, which attempted to secede in *c.*465–462 BC, the transfer of the treasury from Delos to Athens in 454 and the gradual substitution of monetary "tribute" for supplies of ships, the imposition of a huge indemnity on Samos for defiance in 440 BC, and the killing of all adult male citizens and enslavement of the rest of the island's population when Melos refused to join in 416 BC.

The first half of the 4th century BC was marked by various short-lived imperialist attempts by, for instance, Thebes and, in Thessaly, Jason of Pherae; but it was Philip II of Macedon who,

having first brought his semi-autonomous barons to obedience and established a standing army, successfully extended his rule over all Greek mainland states except Sparta. Panhellenism, a movement to unite all Greeks against Persian threat, which had been preached by men such as the Athenian Isocrates, played a part in his ambition to invade the Persian empire, but his death in 336 BC left its execution to his son Alexander III. Despite some contemporary propaganda and the romantic view of universal brotherhood held by some modern scholars, the megalomaniacal Alexander was activated by an insatiable lust for conquest which was terminated only by his soldiers' refusal to continue and his own subsequent death. He made little attempt to organize the vast swathe of territory which he had overrun, his policy of forcing Macedonian officers to marry Persian women being driven principally by an infatuation with the charms of Persian imperial trappings and the desire to create an elite neither Macedonian nor Persian with loyalties to himself alone. His conquests did, notwithstanding, have the enormous consequence of spreading a veneer of Greek culture over the Near East and establishing a simplified form of the language as the lingua franca (as evidenced in the New Testament), a legacy which survived the area's incorporation into the Roman empire.

Alexander's failure to nominate an heir ensured the immediate fracturing of his empire, which fell into three main successor states: one (Antigonid) mainly in Macedon and Greece; one (Seleucid) stretching from Anatolia to, initially, Central Asia; and one (Ptolemaic) based upon Alexander's eponymous city in Egypt, which, despite its Macedonian rulers, replaced Athens as the principal centre of Greek culture. Greek imperialism was now exercised by individual rulers attempting to expand their personal empires at their rivals' expense. In the 2nd century BC some small breakaway Greek states invited the Romans to aid them resist reabsorption, but the continuing threats from Macedon and the Seleucids and even quarrels among the smaller states themselves induced the Romans eventually to abandon their policing of Greece and embrace it within their own growing empire. Apart from the destruction of Corinth in 146 BC Roman rule in Greek lands was remarkably lenient. The Roman attitude towards their inhabitants was contempt for their moral laxity, fractiousness, and military inferiority mingled with an admiration for their culture so strong that the poet Horace admitted (*Epistles* 2. 1. 156) that the captive held its captor captive, while upper-class Romans communicated with each other in Greek by preference.

It may be argued that Greeks were involved in the creation of the Roman empire, since its first province, Sicily, was created in 241 BC at least in part to facilitate the Romans' protection of the Greek colonies there against Carthaginian attacks. Moreover, the traditional Roman fetial (priestly) prohibition of the "unjust" war was in theory strengthened (though in practice weakened) by the influence of Greek Stoicism after the Rhodian Panaetius (an intimate of Scipio the Younger and the most important political figure in mid-2nd-century BC Rome) rejected the excesses of Stoic exclusivity and made Stoic philosophy amenable to generals and statesmen. Thus any non-civil Roman war became "just", since it potentially brought the benefits of a superior Roman civilization to the benighted nations of the world and legitimized the elimination of any rulers who opposed conquest. In Virgil's memorable words, Rome's mission became "to spare the down-trodden and vanquish the proud" (*Aeneid*, 6. 853). The process of imperial territorial acquisition and human absorption into the state reached its natural conclusion in an edict of Caracalla (the Antonine Constitution), which gave citizenship (although most of its advantages had by then been abolished) to virtually all free members of the empire probably in AD 212.

The Christianization of the Roman empire initially brought about remarkably little change in the empire's mission and the role of its emperor. Rome was still to spread its civilizing influence over the whole world, albeit now in the name of the Christian God rather than the Stoicized Jupiter. The orb representing the world, which some pagan coins had shown Jupiter handing to the emperor or one emperor passing to another, was now surmounted with a cross to indicate Roman dominion of the world on behalf of God, although it probably remained merely an intangible and mainly numismatic symbol rather than an item of imperial regalia. No longer of divine status himself, the emperor yet became God's vicegerent on earth and remained a quasi-divine figure, whose image was haloed, to whom *proskynesis* (various ceremonial gestures of reverence) was due, and against whom rebellion was sacrilege; and he was also expected, as legal documents proclaim, to exhibit towards his subjects *philanthropia* (love of mankind), which had already been demanded by Hellenistic treatises on kingship but was also the all-important characteristic of God himself.

Despite the empire's proselytizing mandate, the self-righteous bellicosity of the Muslims and western Crusaders was largely unknown in Byzantium, since Christianity engendered an abhorrence of war through the teaching of the New Testament (and its patristic interpretation) and the realization that the killing of a foe was still the killing of something in the image of God. In the 4th century St Basil even ruled that soldiers who had killed in battle should be barred from communion for three years, while in the 10th the petition by Nikephoros II Phokas that his slain soldiers should be made martyrs was denied by the patriarch Polyeuktos. Thus, while imperial expansion was welcomed and military heroes were, with some reservations, applauded, praise was bestowed on emperors who fought with a minimum loss of life on either side and, even more, on those who through diplomacy obtained their objectives bloodlessly. Emperors, with frequently the active support of the Church, strove to build a network of alliances especially in the Balkans, the Caucasus, and the buffer region between Christendom and the Caliphate, which Obolensky, for eastern Europe, so aptly calls "the Byzantine Commonwealth". Byzantine methods of controlling this "client empire", and of playing off its members against each other, are detailed in *De Administrando Imperio*, a manual which was compiled, or at least commissioned, by Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos for the use of his son Romanos II, and which has miraculously survived. Nevertheless, many wars were motivated by irredentism, notably by Justinian I in the west and thereafter principally to recover territory lost in the east to the Arabs and the Turks: this, indeed, was the major consideration of Alexios I in initiating the First Crusade.

The theory that the Roman empire was the sole terrestrial empire and coterminous with Christendom was widely held in both east and west until Charlemagne allowed himself to be crowned emperor of the Romans by Pope Leo III on Christmas Day 800, when the Frankish king, denying the legitimacy of a female ruler, believed that the throne in Constantinople, which was held at that time by Irene, was in fact vacant. Thereafter, despite the implication of the forged "Donation of Constantine" that only emperors created by the popes were valid, westerners increasingly believed in the possibility of rival empires, and Byzantines, while arguing against this, compromised their opposition by adding "of the Romans" to the title of their own emperors. Nevertheless, for some centuries yet the Roman empire, with its capital at Constantinople, had a prestige unmatched in the west and rivals wished not so much to destroy the empire as to take it over. Most notable among these were Symeon of Bulgaria in the early 10th century, the Seljuk Turks (who in anticipation of their desired final conquest named their sultanate Rum) in the 11th to 12th, the briefly successful Latins and the unsuccessful Kalojan of Bulgaria in the 13th, and eventually the victorious Ottoman Turks in the 15th.

Thereafter the Greeks' experience of imperialism was always as subjects. After the fall of Constantinople in 1453, most Greek-speaking areas came under Ottoman rule, although some islands held out for a great many years (as, for example, did Tinos until 1715) while others continued or came to be governed by Venice. Venetian rule was relatively benign, although some Orthodox were more offended by Venetian Catholicism than Ottoman Islam. Under the Turks the Greeks, in accordance with the Muslim use of religion as the defining criterion of nationality, were given a degree of internal self-government as a separate *millet* (community) within the Ottoman empire. A few Phanariots, led by Alexander Mavrokordatos in the late 17th century, rose to the rank of Grand Dragoman (Chief Interpreter) and even Exaporite (Minister of Secrets) at the Sublime Porte and were appointed *hospodars* (governors) in Moldavia and Wallachia. However, as central Ottoman control diminished, the vast majority of rural Greeks became increasingly subject to the often capricious whims of local potentates such as the notorious Ali Pasha of Ioannina (1750–1822).

For a short time following the Treaty of Campo Formio in 1797 the Ionian islands became part of the empire of Napoleon Bonaparte, who declared that for him Corfu, Cephalonia, and Zakynthos were more important than the whole of Italy. The islands were swiftly freed from the French, becoming a Russo-Ottoman condominium and by 1800 a Russian protectorate. They reverted to French rule through the Peace of Tilsit in 1807, but were taken by the British in 1814 and in the following year became "a single, free and independent state under the exclusive protection of His Majesty", a fiction that entailed direct rule by a British Lord High Commissioner until 1864. The Greeks' own imperial ambitions were ended shortly after World War I, when *I Megali Idea* ("The Great Idea") of reestablishing the Byzantine empire with its capital at Constantinople was reduced by the decisions of the victorious allies from a genuine hope to an evanescent dream. Their experience of imperial rule was, however, not quite over. Although Mussolini's occupation of Corfu in 1922 was swiftly terminated, in part through a speech at the League of Nations written by one cricketer (C.B. Fry) and delivered by another (K.S. Ranjitsinhji, Jam Sahib of Nawanagar), Cyprus remained under British control. Though technically under Ottoman sovereignty, the island had been administered by Britain since 1878; it was annexed outright on the outbreak of war in 1914 and became a British colony in 1923. The demand for *enosis* (union with Greece), beginning in the 19th century and culminating in the 1950s with the terrorist activities of EOKA (the National Organization of Cypriot Struggle), resulted in independence for the island in 1959. Since then the sole continuing overt remnant of imperialism for Greeks has been British retention as sovereign areas in Cyprus of the 256 square km constituting the military bases of Dekelia and Akrotiri, although Greek complaints of covert imperialism by the United States have had some justification.

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See also Commonwealth, Colonization, Delian League, Great Idea, Hellenization, Ottoman Period, Political History 490–318 BC, Political History 318–31 BC, Political History 31 BC–AD 330, Political History AD 330–802, Political History 802–1204, Political History 1204–1261, Political History 1261–1453, Political History 1453–1832, Political History since 1832, Roman Period, Venetokratia

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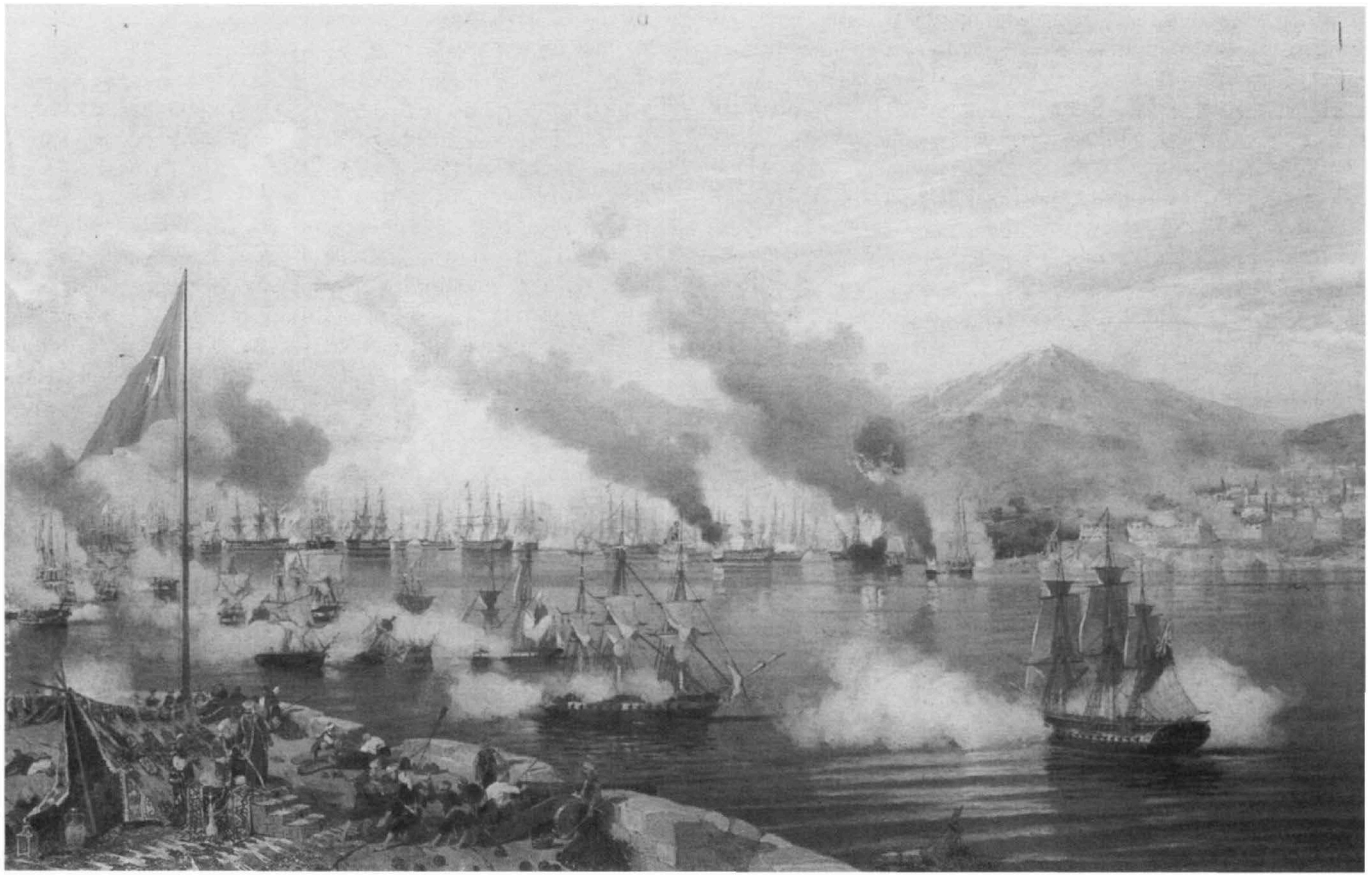
Independence, War of 1821–1832

The Greek revolt from the Ottoman empire and the establishment of an independent kingdom of Greece (1821–32) was the



War of Independence: the Battle of Navarino (1827) as depicted by L. Garneray. The Turkish fleet was annihilated in the action and the outcome of the war was finally assured. Hellenic Maritime Museum

first successful challenge to the concert of the "Great Powers" (Britain, Russia, Austria, Prussia, and, after 1818, France, where the Bourbon monarchy was restored after Napoleon's defeat and sought to preserve the status quo in Europe). Differences among the allies had already surfaced before 1821, with Austria, Prussia, and Russia contending that the alliance should suppress revolutions and maintain absolute monarchy, while Britain viewed it as a means to deter further French aggression. Thus Britain opposed intervention in Spain where the Bourbon king Ferdinand VII faced revolt from rebels who insisted that he respect the constitution. Similarly, Britain refused any joint move to restore the king of Naples and Sicily, Ferdinand I, who had broken his promise to respect constitutional reforms when he was restored to his throne in 1815. Nevertheless, in 1821 an Austrian army with Russian backing reinstated Ferdinand I, and the next year a French army restored absolute monarchy in Spain. Thus the Greek revolt was a challenge to the prevailing ideology of European diplomacy after the Napoleonic Wars, while at the same time it opened the delicate "Eastern Question" caused by the Ottoman empire's decline and its waning control of its outlying regions.

Since the fall of Constantinople in 1453, the Greeks had lived under the rule of the Turkish sultan, and what is now modern Greece was a province of an empire with its capital at Constantinople. Turkish rule was arbitrary and treated Christians as inferiors; taxes, although collected by local Greek leaders, were oppressive, and the government could not maintain law and order: the klephts (brigands) from their mountain bases practised banditry as a hereditary profession, and some of these klephts such as Theodore Kolokotronis in the Peloponnese, Markos Botsaris in Epirus, and Odysseus Androutsos in central Greece were to become prominent in the revolution. However, the Greeks were permitted their language and their Greek Orthodox faith, and a remarkable degree of cultural continuity persisted both with the Byzantine empire and, among the educated, with the Classical past. Greeks prospered in trade and in the Ottoman administration, and the three cities in the empire with the largest Greek populations were Bucharest, Smyrna, and Constantinople, where the Greek Orthodox patriarch had his seat, and the Greeks of the Phanar (the Greek quarter) were among the sultan's most trusted counsellors. Greek merchant communities were to be found in most of the trading centres of Europe, particularly London, Paris, Geneva, Moscow, and Odessa, and a Russo-Turkish convention of 1783 gave the Greeks the right to trade under the Russian flag. Much of the Greek national revival before the War of Independence took place outside the boundaries of modern Greece.

French and Russian interest in Greece antedated the French Revolution: Catherine the Great played briefly with the idea of reestablishing the Byzantine empire with Constantinople as its capital and her grandson Constantine as emperor, and on the eve of the Revolution, in 1788, France established a consul at Ioannina which had developed into a Greek cultural centre under Ali Pasha, the *veli* (governor) of Epirus who ruled his

pashalik with only nominal recognition of Ottoman suzerainty. English aristocrats began to include Greece in their Grand Tour, particularly after the Napoleonic Wars closed Germany and Italy to them, and in 1809 Greece had a famous visitor, Lord Byron, who was already writing the first cantos of *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*, which was to bring him an international reputation when it was published (1812). In 1814 the British inadvertently gave a strong stimulus to revolution by taking the Ionian islands from Napoleon and making them a protectorate, and in the same year three merchants at Odessa founded the *Philiki Hetaireia* (Friendly Society) which aimed boldly at rebellion.

The rebellion of Ali Pasha in 1820 presented the *Hetaireia* with an opportunity, for it drew off Turkish forces, and the Hetairist conspirators planned a revolt in Greece to coincide with an incursion of Greek expatriates across the Pruth river into Ottoman Wallachia (modern Romania) led by a Phanariot Greek, prince Alexander Hypsilantes, who had been a Russian army officer and aide-de-camp to tsar Alexander I. Hypsilantes advanced on 6 March 1821, but his invasion failed, the tsar disowned him, and he fled to Vienna where he died in exile. But on 25 March Germanos, the metropolitan of Patras, whom a suspicious governor had summoned to Tripolitsa (modern Tripolis) along with other clergy and primates, raised the standard of the cross in the monastery of Hagia Lavra. There followed a general uprising all over Greece, and a massacre of the Turks living in the Peloponnese.

The sultan reacted by hanging the Greek Patriarch Gregory V in Constantinople on Easter Sunday and various other prominent Greeks, and the Greek populations in Constantinople and Smyrna were decimated. On 5 October Tripolitsa in the Peloponnese fell to the Greeks led by Kolokotronis and thousands of Turks were killed or taken as slaves, while early in 1822 the Turks riposted with a massacre of the Greek population on the island of Chios. In July a large Ottoman army led by Mohammed Dramali pushed south through the pass of Thermopylae, took Corinth, and reached Argos where it encountered strong resistance, and when Dramali, running short of supplies, tried to retreat, his army was caught and destroyed (6 August) by Kolokotronis in the Dervenaki pass, which the Turks had neglected to secure. The year 1822 established Greece as an independent state; it began with the proclamation of a constitution with Alexander Mavrokordatos as president, and by the end of the year the Turks had surrendered Nauplia to Kolokotronis, and had withdrawn from all of eastern Greece south of Thermopylae. However Kolokotronis, who now was in control of the Peloponnese, refused to hand over Nauplia to the constitutional government, which had to accept protection from the shipping magnates on Hydra and Spetsai, one of whom, George Kountouriotis, a Hydriot shipowner of Albanian descent, was elected president. But 1823 was still a successful year: the Turkish offensive, hampered by the destruction by fire of the sultan's arsenal in Constantinople, failed in Epirus where Markos Botsaris, the Greek "Leonidas", defeated a Turkish force at Karpenisi, but was killed in the moment of victory, while in the east Kolokotronis abandoned his feud with the national government long enough to crush a new Turkish thrust against the Peloponnese. But sultan Mahmoud by no means accepted defeat, though circumstances now forced him to turn to the pasha of Egypt for help.

The cause of Greek freedom attracted widespread support in Europe, and a diverse collection of volunteers flocked to Greece: French, Germans, Italians, and Danes, some of them former soldiers in the Napoleonic War, all of them ill informed about local conditions. The first philhellene battalion was almost annihilated in July 1822 at the Battle of Peta near Arta in northwest Greece, and the remnant filtered homewards, disillusioned. A "German Legion" of 120 German and Swiss volunteers recruited by a Greek adventurer, "Baron" Kephalas, landed at Nauplia in 1823, where it was abandoned without supplies, and dispersed. But at the end of the year a group of british Philhellenes arrived in Missolonghi, and they were joined by the most famous philhellene of all, Lord Byron.

Byron, who reached Missolonghi on 5 January 1824 and died on 19 April, was connected with no important victory, but he sparked an enthusiasm for the cause of Greece that served it better than a military success. Byron had been invited by the London Greek Committee to go to Greece as one of three commissioners to administer a loan which was raised in Britain, and after much hesitation he acquiesced. His attempts to get the various Greek factions to cooperate with each other failed, and he had achieved little when he died from the combined effects of malaria and the attentions of his doctors. His death, however, created a deep impression, not all of it favourable. The obituary in *The Times* read "That noblest of enterprises, the deliverance of Greece, employed the whole of Lord Byron's latter days ... It was a cause worthy of a poet and a hero." But the reaction of the British establishment was more correctly expressed by another notice published in *John Bull*, which said that be had died "at a most unfortunate period of his career, and in a most unsatisfactory manner". The factions within Greece reverted to civil war after his death; Kolokotronis was imprisoned and other notables such as Mavrokordatos and Petrobey Mavromichalis, the semifeudal lord of the Mani, retired in disgust. Yet Byron's death awoke the sympathies of Europe and promoted mightily the climate of opinion that demanded liberty for Greece. His statue, beneath which is buried his heart, was erected in 1881 in the "Park of the Heroes" in modern Missolonghi with, on one side, the tomb of Markos Botsaris who died just before before Byron's arrival, and on the other, a tomb for unnamed defenders of Missolonghi.

The London Greek Committee had been formed in 1823, and by the end of the year had 85 members, many of them supporters of political reform in Britain. The committee's success at raising money by voluntary subscription was not impressive, but it was responsible for the Greek loans, the first of which, with a nominal value of 800,000 pounds sterling, discounted at 41 per cent, was floated on the London Stock Exchange in February 1824, followed by a second loan a year later. These loans, exported to Greece as English gold sovereigns and Spanish silver dollars, helped support the authority of the Kountouriotis government, for Kountouriotis was the only Greek included among the three commissioners appointed by the London Greek Committee to administer them, and in order to get a share of the money, Kolokotronis gave up control of Nauplia at last in early summer 1824. But the money soon disappeared to settle the accounts of the Greek

shipowners who supplied the fleet, pay political debts, settle the civil wars, and satisfy the avarice of the Greek leaders. Little was done to prepare Greece for the next assault by Mehemet Ali, the pasha of Egypt, who had built up a modern army and fleet trained by former Bonapartist officers. He was the nominal vassal of the sultan, and it was to him that the sultan turned for help against the rebellious Greeks.

In February 1825 an Arab force led by Mehemet Ali's son Ibrahim landed in Greece, laid siege to the fortress of Navarino, and defeated a Greek attempt to relieve it. Then, while Ibrahim devastated the Peloponnese, an Ottoman army launched an offensive in the north. April 1826 brought Missolonghi's long agony to an end, and like the massacre at Chios, its fall was commemorated by a painting by Eugène Delacroix (1799–1863), showing Greece expiring in the ruins of Missolonghi. The Turks followed up the capture by securing most of Roumeli (the region north of the Corinthian gulf) and advancing on Athens. By winter 1826 free Greece had run out of both money and food, and in June of the next year the Acropolis of Athens fell to the Turks.

Deliverance came from outside. In 1825 tsar Alexander I indicated that he would welcome a move from Britain, and in early 1826 the Duke of Wellington went to St Petersburg to sign an Anglo-Russian protocol, one clause of which pledged that neither party would seek any increase in territory, exclusive influence, or commercial advantage for itself. France joined later in the summer; Austria and Prussia remained aloof. The Turks, however, refused mediation and Greece's survival was not assured until the battle of Navarino on 20 October 1827, where combined British, Russian, and French naval squadrons destroyed the Turkish and Egyptian fleets. Even so, Ibrahim did not quit the Peloponnese until the next year, when the French government, with the consent of its allies, landed a force which saw to his withdrawal. But the "Powers" were little disposed to enlarge the new state's territory and a new Russo-Turkish war (April 1828–September 1829) distracted their attention. Meanwhile, a National Assembly of Greece met at Troezen and, passing over the various protagonists of the revolution, on 14 April 1827 chose Count Kapodistria, a Corfiote by birth who had served Tsar Alexander I, as *kyvernitis* (governor) for seven years. Kapodistria attempted both to consolidate his own position, hoping to thwart prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg, to whom the "Powers" offered the crown in 1830, and to increase the Greek domain: efforts to take Chios and Crete failed, but north of the Corinthian Gulf Missolonghi was taken and Athens blockaded, and the last victory of the war took place between Thebes and Levadia in September 1829. But the authoritarian government of Kapodistria roused resentment, which came to a head in the Mani, where the family of Petrobey Mavromichalis held hereditary dominion. On 9 October 1831 one of Petrobey's sons assassinated Kapodistria in Nauplia as he was on his way to church. Greece slipped into civil war again while the "Powers" turned their attention elsewhere, Russia to a Polish insurrection and Britain and France to the creation of Belgium, whose first king was Leopold of Saxe-Coburg, who had abandoned his ambitions in Greece. On 13 February 1832 the Greek throne was offered to the 17-year-old Otto, second son of the king of Bavaria.

Greece had lapsed into anarchy. To quote George Finlay, whose account of the revolution in his history of Greece from the Roman conquest to AD 1864 was based on personal experience, "the whole substance of the land was devoured by hosts of soldiers, sailors, captains, generals, policemen, government officials, tax-gatherers, secretaries and political adventurers, all living idly at the public expense, while the agricultural population was perishing from starvation." The famine year of 1827 would have claimed thousands more victims except for shipments of food and clothing organized by three American philhellenes, George Jarvis, Jonathan Miller, and Samuel Howe, who managed, with some difficulty, to see to it that most of their relief consignments did not fall into the hands of the various Greek factions that were struggling for power. However, on 21 July 1832 sultan Mahmoud signed a treaty recognizing the kingdom of Greece, with its northern frontier a line from the Gulf of Arta to the Gulf of Volos, and the "Powers" guaranteed a loan for the new government. In January of the next year French troops in Argos suppressed a rebellion by Kolokotronis' faction, and when Otto arrived at Nauplia on 1 February with 3500 Bavarian troops, order had already been restored. To quote Finlay again, "The king landed and mounted his horse under the cyclopean walls of Tiryns, which were covered with spectators...Enthusiasts, who thought of the poetic glories of Homer's Greece, and the historic greatness of the Greece of Thucydides, might be pardoned if they indulged a hope that a third Greece was emerging into life, which would again occupy a brilliant position in the world's annals."

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See also Ali Pasha, Botsaris, Brigandage, Gregory V, Hetairists, Hydra, Kapodistria, Kolokotronis, Mavrokordatos, Mavromichalis, Philhellenes

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Industry

The early phase of industrialization in Greece can be dated to the 1860s. The first wave of bourgeois social and political activity emerged in the 1860s and 1870s, in a context marked by the prevalence of a liberal party and the establishment in 1875 of parliamentary rule. The 1900s heralded the second wave of bourgeois activity, marked by the 1909 coup and the development of several civil groupings and associations. A short-lived attempt in the direction of an industrial policy was the tariff system introduced in 1917, which for the first time represented a systematic effort to assist domestic industry. But industrial policy remained for the most part patchy and incoherent, the result of an extensive but weak state apparatus being unable to steer through social pressures in order to form a policy line on the desired path of development. In fact, the issue of protectionism was a key issue behind the establishment of an association representing industrial interests. Until the Commercial Association of Athens (ESA) was established in 1902, Greek capitalists involved in manufacturing and other industrial production had no separate association. Although its activities and major concerns shifted in the course of its development, the ESA was established first and foremost as an organizational response on the part of major Athens-based commercial interests to the emerging trade union movement and the spread of strike activity and, more generally, the "new awareness of the social question" after 1900 (Hadziiossif, 1997, p. 15). Several industrialists joined the new organization, although most also expressed an interest in the establishment of a separate industrial association. In 1906 the ESA took a line against tariff protection. Against this background it became increasingly apparent that a separate organization promoting industrial interests was needed. In 1907 the industrialists established their own association, the Federation of Greek Industrialists (SEV), which soon proved an energetic forum.

Between the 1860s and the 1910s a number of new industrial establishments were founded, but the overall growth in industrial activity was very small. Still, the beginning of the century was a turning point for the development of bourgeois and petty bourgeois activity in general. As a share of the national product, combined commercial and industrial activities in the widest sense (including various forms of very small-scale production) amounted to approximately 24 per cent in 1870 and 38 per cent in 1910.

The process of industrialization began in earnest in the 1920s. Industrial development was given a boost in 1922 with the influx of approximately 1.5 million Greek refugees from Asia Minor, following Greece's defeat by the Turks. The year 1922 marked the end of a period during which Greek politics and state policy had been almost completely dominated by irredentist impulses. After the 1920s policy priorities changed, although political developments surrounding the end of the Second Republic (1924–35), combined with the international climate, resulted in unimpressive industrial growth. Although the structure of Greek industry and its patterns of ownership and control changed during these interwar years many elements survived well into the 1960s, affecting the country's profile of industry. The predominance of light consumer goods industries and a relatively low own- to total-capital ratio, indicating companies' large debts, continued to be an important feature. The predominance of very small firms (those employing less than 50 persons) also persisted, with fewer than 1 per cent of manufacturing establishments employing more than 50 persons in 1958. Industry acquired a considerable regional concentration, particularly in Attica and, to a much lesser degree, around Thessalonica and in Volos. The average yearly rate of growth in fixed and variable assets of Greece's industrial enterprises from 1957 to 1960 was approximately 5 per cent. At the same time, in the 1960s the number of new factories rose steadily.

Another continuity with the interwar years was a reluctance to separate ownership and management. The dual role of industrialists as owners and managers of their firms, even as some of these firms grew in size and diversified, was a feature of Greek industry well into the 1960s. Management tended to be highly centralized, and preoccupation with the "commercial" aspects of the enterprises appeared to be more immediately rewarding as well as prone to centralized managerial handling than did measures to improve organizational efficiency. Even as the larger Greek companies evolved, some of their more autocratic features persisted in different forms. The predominance of a small inner circle became a characteristic of large Greek companies, particularly with the adoption early on of the French corporate type of the *société anonyme* (SA). Unlike its US or British counterpart, which is usually characterized by widely dispersed shareholdings, the standard SA has a small core of powerful shareholders and a board which is dominated by the company president or director general.

In the immediate postwar period the state's minimal participation in industrial investments was matched by a system of Marshall Aid allocation which reinforced the lack of coherent industrial policy. Apart from testifying to the structural weaknesses of the Greek state, this tendency echoed the views held by a major strand in the dominant US view regarding the desired development goals of the European semiperiphery. A major aid target was the preservation of social stability. The latter was dependent upon the preservation of the existing political structures and the characteristics of the economic system, and it was intended that an emphasis on specialized agriculture for the world market should become the target for Greek development. Instead of strengthening its industrial base, Greece was expected to specialize in small-scale rural enterprises for processing and marketing labour-intensive crops. The proposition suggested a specific position and clear limits for the country's development within the international division of labour (see Lavdas, 1997). When the Greek government produced a Four Year Plan within the framework of the Marshall Plan in 1948, it soon became clear that funds that were originally earmarked for economic aid were transferred to defence, while economic aid funds originally intended for industrial projects went to agriculture (Kofas, 1990, p.73). To some extent the suggested path derived from a general framework of priorities established in the US-dominated world economy and supported by the Organization for European Economic Cooperation (OEEC). In that framework Greece was expected to specialize in agriculture and light (consumer-goods) industries. In the 1950s, while the first priority of the communist-bloc economic union, Comecon,

was the creation of sectors of heavy (producer-goods) industry even in states like Albania, driving ad absurdum the logic of forced industrialization, "the contemporary round of OEEC long-term plans — for plans for dollar viability in 1952–53 were a condition of Marshall Aid — were in revealing contrast: Norway and Greece were rebuked for wanting steel plans" (Kaser, 1965, p.19).

The integration of Greece's industries in the international market was promoted in 1953 with a number of measures which included the liberalization of the tariff system, the devaluation of the drachma, and the adoption of a policy which was explicitly aimed at attracting foreign direct investment. The emphasis on exporting goods, which became the dominant strategy in the late 1950s, went through a series of ups and downs, particularly when it was realized that a strategy relying on agricultural exports would be untenable. The export crisis of 1958–59 manifested the limits of a policy oriented towards agricultural exports and became the background against which the decision was taken to join the EEC as an associate member. From 1960 to the early 1970s the construction boom and foreign direct investments contributed to remarkable growth rates. But from the first (1973) to the second oil shock (1979) the Greek economy lost many of its dynamic characteristics and domestic as well as foreign private investment began to decline. By the time of Greece's accession to the EC as a full member in 1981, Greek industry was in the midst of a period of decline, only worsened by the early policies of the socialist PASOK government of Andreas Papandreou in 1981–85. In 1985 a rigorous but short-lived stabilization effort was undertaken, but the process of relative deindustrialization was only temporarily halted.

On balance, the postwar industrialization process has shown signs of weakening and even reversal since the first oil shock. In contrast to developments in most other countries in the OECD (Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, which replaced the OEEC in 1961), following the first oil shock profit rates in Greek manufacturing were very slow to reach pre-oil-shock levels. There has been an apparent failure of the manufacturing sector to adjust to international trade and the relaxation of protection and, particularly after the second oil shock in 1979, manufacturing has responded in a defensive manner by retreating to traditional activities such as food and beverages, textiles and clothing (Giannitsis, 1985 and 1993). This has been due to a number of factors, including difficulties in adjusting to rising labour costs following the change of regime in 1974, and the inability to improve productivity (as well as the relatively small margins allowed for a solution that would alleviate the profit squeeze with higher prices), which have led to a deteriorating profit rate since the mid-1970s. In turn, falling profit rates have led firms to rely increasingly on external finance.

In part, the underlying cause of the problem is associated, on the one hand, with the low levels of investment in manufacturing and, on the other hand, with the persistence of the orientation and the structure of production. In the 1950s Greek manufacturing investment per person employed was particularly low in comparison with other European countries. Despite a very high growth rate of manufacturing investment in the 1960s and the 1970s (much higher than the EEC average), manufacturing investment failed to catch up by the mid-1970s, and in the years before EC accession Greek manufacturing investment per person employed was 59 per cent of the EC average. In the late 1980s Greece continued to present a weak industrial gross value-added (the value added to raw materials by production), being at the bottom of the European league with Luxembourg and Ireland (followed by Portugal and Denmark).

The predominance of small firms has persisted. In 1980 more than 70 per cent of the manufacturing labour force was employed in establishments with fewer than 100 persons. The familiar problems of small-scale production are present in the Greek case, although there are also some good sectoral results. While Greek industrial companies (as distinct from their shipping counterparts) have never made it into the top 100 businesses of Europe, industrial small businesses have often been included among the world's top 100 based on a combination of criteria ranging from profitability to foreign market penetration to management efficiency – more recently companies from high technology, construction, and canning (see, for example, *Forbes* magazine, 8 November 1993).

Greece's accession to the European Community in 1981 completed the process of integration in the European economy and at the same time helped to bring into focus various issues of economic policy which had, for the most part, remained vaguely defined or intensely politicized. The Association Agreement of 1961 had reinforced the export-oriented strategy through a new institutional channel, which helped depoliticize and gradually dismantle the remaining areas of protectionism while also focusing on the problems and potential of industrial, not just agricultural, products. However, it must also be remembered that already by the mid-1950s the issue of import-substituting industrialization was dead, and had never been a consistent state policy. Tariff and non-tariff protectionism had been patchy, and no evidence has been found to support the view that economic policy was systematically promoting infant industry. Traditional sectors which were more weighty in political terms were often better protected, albeit with inconsistencies, while modern, capital-intensive, and technologically advanced industries were not granted protection (see Mitsos, 1989).

Despite oscillations, the general trend since the mid-1980s suggests an increase in profitability, raising expectations for increased investment activity. On the other hand, the growth rates of manufacturing production have remained low. Furthermore, import penetration of the Greek market by EU industrial products has grown. Technology flows appear to be declining, indicating the difficulties of Greek industry in absorbing and exploiting technology transfer in production; at the same time, there is an increasing reinforcement of domestic research and development (R&D) activities and higher participation rates of private firms in R&D (Giannitsis, 1993, p. 237). An overall assessment of the impact of EU membership on Greek industry can only be undertaken in a comprehensive context that would take account of the following factors: the effects on political stability; the implications for vertical integration within Greek industry; the creation of collaborative R&D schemes and the effects on domestic technological development as distinct from technology flows; changes in the relationships between public enterprises and the private sector; and the establishment of a level playing field

through the implementation of European competition policy combined with the EU-induced development of national competition authorities.

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Inheritance

The transfer of property upon the death of the owner is known as inheritance, and almost every country has special laws that regulate the disposition of private property after the owner's death by naming the relatives or other persons who have first rights of inheritance. It is also permitted to transfer property to persons other than those specified by law by means of a will (the legal instrument that embodies the owner's ability to dispose freely of his or her property posthumously), and rules for making such wills are also set by inheritance law. The person who inherits or who is entitled by law to inherit property after the death of its owner is known as an heir, while the dead owner is called the decedent. Upon the death of a person, the title to all the property, both personal and real, must pass to someone. If there is a valid will, property usually passes to the legatees, i.e. the persons directed by the decedent. In the absence of a valid will, the decedent is said to have died intestate, and the law must then decide who the valid heirs are, and the order and proportion by which they inherit. This is done according to statutes known as intestacy laws. Strictly speaking, an heir is a recipient of money or property left by someone who died intestate, whereas the beneficiary of a will is technically known as a legatee or devisee. But in common usage "heir" refers to anyone awarded an estate, whether or not the deceased person left a will.

In ancient Greece, where our evidence comes chiefly from Athens and the Cretan city of Gortyn, intestate succession was favoured. Wills, which were normally written and witnessed, were allowed only when the testator had no sons. First in order of succession came the dead person's sons and male descendants. Thus, if a deceased man left legitimate sons, they shared the property equally, the eldest getting no more than the others. The western medieval right of primogeniture – according to which land devolved automatically on the eldest legitimate son – had no place in Greek society. If a son died before his father and left sons of his own, then those sons inherited their father's share. If there were no sons or male descendants, the inheritance passed to the decedent's brothers and male descendants, and in the third place to the sons of the decedent's grandfather and their male descendants. Ascendants were excluded if their descendants were alive: the father did not inherit if a brother of the deceased was alive; nor did the grandfather, if an uncle was alive. No distinction was made between natural and adopted sons; but children born out of wedlock were illegitimate, and had no claim on the father's estate. During the Byzantine period, however, all

natural persons (i.e. blood descendents, including slaves, minors, and the unborn) could inherit, as also could corporate bodies, communities, the Church, or pious foundations. Christianity, in fact, encouraged donations at death to churches and monasteries as well as the distribution of part of the inheritance among the poor. Moreover, under Byzantine rulers, the state demanded part of the inheritance in the form of voluntary grants or as a mandatory obligation. However, the right of individuals to inherit was diminished or even precluded by a set of punishable offences and other factors: heretics, apostates, and even children of a mixed marriage with a heretic were excluded from succession while manumitted slaves might receive only the so-called *legata* (special legacies). There were also restrictions regarding the inheritance of certain specific types of property: *stratiotika ktemata* (military goods), for example, could be inherited only by those capable of fulfilling military service (perhaps a similar objective was achieved by the Homeric heroes through prizes given at funeral games, cf. *Iliad*, 23). Although slaves could inherit under the Byzantine empire, they were not given the right to transfer property upon death. However, wills of women and monks are known and *paroikoi* (tenants) were entitled to transfer their lands to heirs, though probably only with the approval of their lords.

In Classical Athens the claims of sons and male descendants could not be set aside by testamentary dispositions. Males generally excluded females in the same group of kinship. Only in the absence of sons or male descendants of predeceased sons could a daughter inherit. She was obliged to marry the man to whom her father had destined her either when he was alive or by a will. Failing such disposition, the daughter could be claimed by the next collateral together with her father's fortune. But if a son remained, the daughter had no right to succeed and could demand only a dowry, to be determined at the discretion of her brother. If she was divorced or was childless after marriage, the dowry went back to the heirs, i.e. the male descendants. If the decedent left a daughter but no son, and if the daughter had a son, he would inherit. But as long as she was without a son, she was *epikleros*, i.e. a sort of "heiress", who could be claimed in marriage by her nearest male relative who took charge of the property until their son was old enough to take it over. One must not, however, conclude from this that women in Greek cities could not inherit. Literary and epigraphical sources, from Athens, Gortyn, Naupactus, and Thermus in Aetolia, of the 5th–3rd centuries BC, suggest that women did inherit, in a succession order of varying complexity in different states. In the absence of legitimate children, the inheritance could be claimed by relatives within the *anchisteia* (close kin). It was in effect possible for a man without sons to choose an heir by adoption and thus ensure the continuance of his family and the religious worship connected with it. The adoptee became legally the son of the adopter and so inherited the property, but could not oust an *epikleros*; he might marry her himself (in which case the chief share of the inheritance would fall to this married daughter and her husband, while any other daughters would be given dowries), but anyway her son inherited eventually. If a son had not been adopted, and there were only daughters surviving, the succession passed to them. In such a case the next of kin had a legal right to one of the heiresses, and could claim to marry her even if she had married someone else before receiving the inheritance. On the other hand, poor heiresses had a legal claim on their nearest of kin either for marriage or for a provision suitable to their circumstance. A man who married an heiress was bound by custom and tradition, if he had sons, to name one as heir to the property that had come with his wife, and thus to restore the house.

According to tradition, it was Solon (*c.*640–560 BC) who introduced wills to Attic law. Previously, the estate of a childless man had gone to his clan. Because it gave one the power to dispose of property after death, the right to make a will was a recognition of the right of private property rather than of family, clan, or tribal ownership. We have surviving accounts of the wills of some well-known personages of antiquity. Aristotle was generous in providing for his family and friends, while Epicurus willed his property to the school hoping "that all those who study philosophy may never be in want ... so far as our power to prevent it may extend" (Diogenes Laertius, 10). According to his first speech *Against Aphobus* (no. 27), Demosthenes' father left in trust for him an estate worth about 14 talents, including two small businesses in cutlery and furniture. The Athenian banker Pasion in his will appointed his former slave Phormio as guardian for his younger son, entrusting him with the management of the bank until the boy should come of age; he also stipulated that Phormio should marry his widow (Demosthenes, 36). Some of the purposes of a will had been achieved by resorting to adoptions, which continued to be common and were treated to some extent like wills. But the will took effect only on the testator's death. No formality was needed for legitimate sons to take possession of the inheritance, and they had no right to refuse it. Other relatives, however, needed an official authorization. If a man died intestate, leaving neither descendants nor adopted sons, the inheritance fell to his nearest relations in the male line and, in default of these, to those in the female line as far as children of first cousins. It was also possible to resort to posthumous adoption by which relatives arranged for one of themselves to become legally the deceased man's son. Disinheriting, however, was possible only in the father's lifetime by solemn declaration. It was not possible to disinherit legitimate children by means of a will or adoption.

At Athens anyone who thought that he had a legal claim to an inheritance made an application to the archon to hand it over to him. This application was displayed in public and read out in the following assembly. The question was then asked whether anyone disputed the claim or raised a counterclaim. If not, the archon assigned the inheritance to the claimant; otherwise the matter was decided by a lawsuit. Even an inheritance once assigned might be disputed in the lifetime of the holder and for five years after his death. The same procedure was followed regarding the claim of the nearest relation to an heiress. The Athenian orator/speech-writer Isaeus (*c.*420–*c.*350 BC) appears to have specialized in cases of inheritance. Of some 50 speeches with which he was credited, the 11 that have survived in entirety all deal with cases of inheritance and are important as illustrations of Athenian testamentary law.

According to the Gortyn law code (12 columns of laws engraved on the interior wall of a former courthouse and attributed to the 5th century BC), the property was shared by

the sons and daughters, but a son got twice as much as a daughter, as happens de jure among the Muslims (cf. Qur'an 4: 2 and 34). A daughter without brothers was called *patroiochos* and her rights were generally similar to those of the *epikleros* at Athens, although there were differences of detail.

Both forms of transferring property – through a will and through intestate succession – were recognized in the Byzantine empire. It was also possible to enter into an informal agreement when a dowry was promised for a marriage contract, so that these agreements assume the character of both marriage and inheritance contracts. By the time of the code of Justinian (AD 529), Roman law recognized many types of wills, including oral wills declared in the presence of seven witnesses or before a public official. But for the Byzantines, the will represented only one of many dispositions that a living person could make in view of his death. On the one hand, for a will to be valid, it was not necessary for an heir to have been appointed and, on the other hand, it was possible to make *legata*, *fideicommissa* (bequests in trust), donations in view of death, to pious foundations, distributions of money for the good of the soul (*psychika*), and similar arrangements independently without being part of a formal will.

The heir entered into the legal position of the deceased and therefore became responsible for the obligations of the testator just as he, in his turn, could put forward the claims of the testator. The heir was also considered a debtor of the legacies bequeathed by the testator. To keep the heir's own property from being liable for the debts of the deceased, it became the practice from the time of Justinian I to establish an inventory documenting the size of the inheritance. A limitation on the responsibility of the heir for paying the bequests made by the testator was guaranteed by the Falcidian Law of 40 BC.

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See also Adoption, Children

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Inscriptions

Inscriptions can be taken to refer to objects made of different materials – e.g. pottery, clay tablets, metal, and most usually stone – on which letters have been carved, drawn, or painted. The study of inscriptions (epigraphy) usually focuses on inscribed stone or metal objects. In this article some mention will be made of inscriptions on pottery, clay tablets, and coins, but the focus will be on stone and metal inscriptions.

Inscriptions provide the cultural historian of the Hellenic tradition with a wealth of ideas and information about the past and the ways in which the people of the past presented themselves. Inscriptions are more familiar to the historians of the Graeco-Roman world, but inscribed material from the Byzantine, Frankish, and Ottoman eras is also known.

Some students of history still make the mistake of thinking that epigraphic evidence has a greater value than other forms of evidence because of its often more durable nature. Inscriptions, like much historical evidence, have been produced in a temporal and spatial context often with a self-conscious appreciation of meaning and function. The evidence of inscriptions is therefore laden with difficulties of interpretation, in addition to the fact that not all the material that was inscribed has survived or been discovered. Further, not all areas of Greece or Greek communities inscribed; nor did all Greek communities inscribe all the time. These phenomena can be summarized by the term "epigraphic habit". Of all ancient societies, the Greeks were among the most advanced in terms of their epigraphic habit; and of the Greeks, the Athenians provide the most extreme example of display through inscriptions. Greek inscriptions are one index of the diffusion of Greek culture, and their distribution reaches far beyond the shores of the Mediterranean: Greek inscriptions and organized modern collections of ancient material appear in Bulgaria, Romania, and southern Russia; a large body of evidence exists in the Near East, along the African coast, particularly in Egypt and Cyrene. Greek inscriptions appear all over the Graeco-Roman world, thereby illustrating the importance of the Greek language for the development of Western culture.

But in many communities inscriptions were made not only in the Greek alphabet. From some periods and some regions a combination of languages have survived on some inscriptions. The Letoön trilingual is an inscription which provides a parallel text in Aramaic, Greek, and Lycian (Davies, 1983, pp 244–45). In many areas during the Roman period, bilingual Greek–Latin inscriptions were made, the *Res Gestae* of Augustus being perhaps the best-known example (Brunt and Moore, 1967). From the Classical and Hellenistic periods, numerous bilingual inscriptions in Greek and Phoenician have survived, especially on Delos, on Cyprus, and at Athens.

Greek inscriptions first appeared in the Archaic period; the earliest known examples are scratched or painted on pottery and date to the second half of the 8th century BC. Their appearance touches on the related question of the introduction of the Greek alphabet. Modern understanding of the introduction and development of the Greek alphabet is heavily dependent on inscriptions. Of the inscriptions which survive from the archaic period, many examples exhibit a significant difference both in regional dialects and in local letter styles (Jeffrey, 1961).

Although very few of the early inscriptions amount to lengthy texts, the majority are dedications, brief commemorative statements, often in a funerary context. An inscribed bronze helmet dedicated by the Syracusans to Zeus at Olympia is an offering made from the spoils of a victory over the Etruscans by Hieron after a battle at Cumae (Fornara, 1977, no. 64A). According to Diodorus Siculus (11. 51), the successful naval battle was fought in 474 BC. The first lengthy inscriptions survive from the 6th century BC. Among the best known are the legal texts from Crete and in particular the great code from Gortyn which gives vital details about the organization of the Dorian community (Fornara, 1977, no. 88).

By the 5th century BC many areas of the Greek-speaking world were producing inscriptions, often of some length. Athens was the leading producer, exploiting the high-quality marble of the Penteli and Hymettus mountains on which to inscribe decrees. The so-called Athenian tribute lists record the offerings (1/60 of the tribute payment) made to Athena by members of the Delian League. The lists were set up on the Acropolis in Athens and are the largest and probably the most studied series of documents from the 5th century. They provide a lengthy and detailed, if incomplete, list of the payments made by the individual cities who were subject allies of Athens from the middle of the 5th century to the last years of the Peloponnesian War (see Nixon and Price, 1990). In contrast to Athens, its main rival, Sparta, does not offer any detailed epigraphic record for the Classical period. Stone inscriptions were not produced in Sparta in any real quantity until the end of the Hellenistic period.

Inscriptions have many uses in exploring the past. They provide highly specific information, sometimes giving very accurate dates. Ancient chronology is complicated by different regional and civic dating systems. The Parian Marble lists historical events from the early history of Greece down to the 3rd century BC but is riddled with inconsistencies and confusions (Fornara ,1977, no. 1; Harding, 1985, no. 1; Austin, 1981, no. 1). The vast number of inscriptions from Athens provides a well-established body of carefully dated material. The day, month, and year, and the sitting public officials are given in the prescripts of most decrees of the Athenian people.

Inscriptions also offer a huge range of names and form the basis of the study of names (onomastics) and of named individuals (proposopography). The *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* has collected all known instances of names from different regions of Greece; inscriptions provide the majority of the known evidence.

Inscriptions can also give particularly useful details about events and periods of history. Epigraphic evidence is often the only contemporary documentary information which survives for certain periods of history. The Athenians formed an alliance in 378/7 BC with Thebes and other Greek cities; the founding agreement of the alliance has survived on stone but its existence is omitted, notoriously, from Xenophon's account of this period of 4th-century Greek history (Cargill, 1981; Harding, 1985, no. 35).

Other areas of cultural and social history are illuminated by the evidence of inscriptions. There has been considerable controversy over the extent to which the ancient Greeks practised exposure of infants. Pomeroy (1983) has argued on the basis of an inscription from late 3rd-century Miletus that selective female infanticide may have been practised among the families of mercenaries. Inscriptions supply enormous amounts of information and details about religious practices in antiquity. Sacred laws were inscribed on stone, as were calendars of religious festivals, dedications to deities, the financial accounts of cults, and decisions of cultic organizations.

The skill and dedication of those who study inscriptions have yielded valuable results. Different regions of the Greek world produced distinctive letter forms. In some areas there are sufficiently large numbers of inscriptions for experts to identify different "hands" of those who inscribed stones. S.V. Tracy has elevated the study and identification of the letter-cutters to such a high degree that many Athenian inscriptions of the 4th to the 1st centuries BC can be dated on the basis of the syle of the carved letters alone (Tracy, 1990, 1995).

Inscriptions were erected by a variety of authorities in antiquity. The state decrees are the most useful source of information for historical events, often concerned with major events or individuals who played some role in them. The most common form of public decree records the community as a whole honouring an individual. Such honorific decrees can be very formulaic in their phrasing and award of thanks. Crowns of olive, ivy, oak, or gold, property ownership rights, seats in the theatre, public acclamation, statues, citizenship rights for an invididual or his family and descendants, and of course erected inscriptions were all different ways in which people were honoured. Many of the honorific decrees from the 4th century onwards reveal important historical details: from Athens in the 270s the decree honouring Callias of Sphettus has revolutionized knowledge of the poorly documented first half of the 3rd century (Shear, 1978).

Public decrees also present important details about the political organization of communities. A collection of Greek public decrees made by Peter Rhodes allows such comparisions to be made among the epigraphically active Greek communities (Rhodes and Lewis, 1997). In the post-Classical period there was a massive increase in the number of communities producing inscriptions, particularly in Asia Minor. The political ideology of a community is often transmitted in its decrees. Decrees were passed by the public assembly, or council, or subgroup of the community (e.g. deme, tribe, etc.). While it is exceptional that fairly detailed descriptions of the Athenian and Spartan constitutions are available from literary sources, the political structures of other Greek communities can sometimes be reconstructed only through the study of inscriptions.

Honorific decrees typically account for the achievements of the honorand, especially from the mid-4th century onwards. But a number of inscriptions self-consciously reframe past events for a contemporary audience. The Themistocles decree from Troezen (Fornara, 1977, no. 55) was inscribed in the 3rd century and provides details of the career of the Athenian general who laid the foundations for the 5th-century empire and commanded the Greek forces against the Persians in 480 BC. From Cyrene a 4th-century inscription erected in the temple of Apollo seems to contain the text of the oath of the settlers who had originally founded the city (Fornara, 1977, no. 18). The founders had travelled from Thera, and established the settlement on the Libyan coast which flourished under the Battiad dynasty in the archaic and early classical periods. The 4th-century text allowed people from Thera to

claim property and rights in Cyrene on the basis of the terms of the original 7th-century agreement of the settlers which is here reinscribed. Both the Themistocles decree and the Cyrene inscription illustrate how inscriptions can contain unique documents which not only shed light on history, but also represent how history was shaped for subsequent generations in ancient Greece.

However, it is a mistake to think of inscriptions as simple archives of information. Certainly, decrees and laws served as extensions of a city's authority and legislation. Public records were kept in many Greek cities or temples, but often on perishable materials. The proportion of inscriptions written up on stone was always very small, but did at least represent an authoritative voice in a city's affairs. By the 3rd century BC collections of such decrees were being made, indicating that a far greater awareness of the information that the inscriptions contained was developing: Craterus (*c.*321–255 BC) published nine volumes of Athenian decrees.

But public decrees are only a small proportion of published inscriptions. A vast array of groups and individuals had inscriptions set up, e.g. groups of soldiers, demes, associations, religious organizations, ambassadors, kings, mothers, fathers, husbands, wives, widows, and children. The largest single type of inscription is the funerary monument; a rough estimate would suggest that of the known inscriptions from Athens between 400 BC and AD 267 perhaps as many as 70 per cent are funerary.

The epigraphic habit of the Greeks was passed down to the Romans. Greek communities continued to inscribe throughout the period of the Roman empire and beyond. The numbers of the later inscriptions are much smaller and their study is less well established than for the Graeco-Roman periods. Inscriptions from the Byzantine period exist but are fewer and the material has not been studied thoroughly: funerary inscriptions are less elaborate and details of donors and benefactors appear painted on pictures.

The Frankish and Ottoman domination of the Greek world imposed different authorities. Few inscriptions survive from this period, and the epigraphic habit virtually died out. However, the study of inscriptions developed in the Middle Ages. Cyriacus of Ancona (1391–*c.*1455) visited Greece in the 1430s and 1450s and on both occasions recorded inscriptions. The Italian scholars of the Renaissance promoted epigraphy as a subject of value, and although their work concentrated on Italian material, it promoted an interest in inscriptions and enabled the future explosion of interest in Greek epigraphy. Numerous travellers to Greece continued to record inscriptions. In the 17th century, Jacob Spon and George Wheeler recorded texts; the stones themselves became desirable objects. Thomas Arundel collected ancient marbles, including both sculpture and inscriptions. His most famous inscription was the Parian Marble, a catalogue of dates and events drawn up and inscribed in 264/63 BC. The increasing popularity of the Grand Tour in the 18th century ensured that more travellers from western Europe reached Greece. Antony Askew, an English doctor and amateur philologist, recorded over 200 inscriptions at Athens in 1747. The intensifying interest in Greek culture in the late 18th and early 19th centuries resulted in the removal of many antiquities from Greece, most notoriously the Parthenon marbles. Inscriptions were among the stones removed from Greece, and in the early 19th century the study of epigraphic material reached new heights with the publication by A. Boeckh of the first volume of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum* (1828).

Inscriptions have become an easily identifiable feature of ancient culture. They offer a remarkable insight into the life and history of the people of antiquity. The legacy of ancient Greek inscriptions for Western culture is quite remarkable: one has only to visit any major 19th-century European cemetery to find imitations of inscribed gravestones from classical Greece. But it is the study of inscriptions and the appreciation of their importance in reaching an understanding of Greek culture that have progressed most rapidly in the last 200 years.

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See also Alphabet, Archives, Onomastics

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Instruments, Musical

Musical instruments, many of them borrowed from or shared with neighbouring cultures, have featured prominently in Greek music-making since antiquity. Whether played solo or in ensembles, they have been employed at various times in history for recreation, to accompany songs and dances, and to enhance religious and civic ceremonial. Certain instruments and ensembles have tended to be characteristic of the musical cultures of particular geographic regions or historical periods, with others relegated to special functions or particular classes of people. In both ancient and modern Greece, for example, reedless pipes (*syringes* and *floyeres*) have been associated with shepherds, while rams' horns (*kerata*) and conches have been used as signalling devices.

Since very few specimens have survived even partially intact, scholars studying pre-modern Greek instruments rely heavily on the testimony of literature and art. The number of ancient literary references to instruments is vast and ranges from practical observations to discourses by Plato and Aristotle on their proper role in society. These are all predated by the representations of instruments in Cycladic statuettes of the 3rd millennium BC. Minoan, Mycenaean, and Cypriot art of the 2nd millennium BC depicts the use of lyres, harps, pipes, and other instruments in both cultic and domestic circumstances. For the organology of the Archaic and Classical periods, the many detailed representations of instruments and their players on painted pottery are particularly valuable resources. Much later, illuminated manuscripts and church frescos preserve important information regarding the instruments of the Byzantine and post-Byzantine periods.

Ancient Greek music was dominated by lyres and the wind instruments known as *auloi*. Hellenic lyres, unlike those of their neighbours, were always constructed symmetrically with a soundbox at the base and a pair of arms supporting a crossbar at the top. Suspended between the soundbox and the crossbar were strings of equal length. These were normally made of gut or sinew, passed over a bridge on the soundbox, and tuned at the crossbar by means of thongs or pegs. The instruments were played either by plucking the strings with the left hand or by striking them with a plectrum held in the right hand. Although variants on this basic design appear in ancient literature with overlapping appellations, Greek lyres may conveniently be grouped according to the shape of their soundboxes into box lyres and bowl lyres. Seven- or eight-string specimens of the louder and structurally more complex wooden box lyres, which featured a larger soundbox extending to the arms, appear in Minoan and Mycenaean art. Scholars have identified the smaller and simpler models with a reduced number of strings that appear in later geometric art with the *phorminx* of Homeric epic. With the emergence in the 7th century BC of the *kithara*, a lyre used by professionals in competitions, more elaborate versions again began to be depicted. Timotheos and other innovators of the 5th century BC subsequently extended the harmonic capabilities of the kithara through the addition of up to five additional strings. In addition to a standard square-based concert model, several variants have been identified, including a rectangular "Italiote" kithara and a smaller "cradle" kithara normally played by women. Unlike these kitharas, bowl lyres (such as the *barbitoi*) had a small rounded soundbox made from a tortoise shell or wood covered by hide, and thin arms in the shape of horns, from which they were occasionally fashioned. Small models were employed by amateurs and in education, whereas the larger and therefore deeper *barbitos* was associated with the lyric poetry of Sappho and Alcaeus, as well as with scenes of revelry.

Despite its common mistranslation as a "flute", the aulos was actually a cylindrical reed instrument with finger holes. Early models seem to have featured 3 to 5 holes, while later concert instruments are recorded as possessing up to 24. Although auloi with a single reed like the modern clarinet were probably not unknown, most were fitted with a double reed, thus making them akin to oboes and shawms (e.g. the modern Greek *zournas*). Some players wore a leather strap (*phorbeia*) around their head to support both their cheeks and their instruments, the latter of which came in various sizes and were usually played in pairs. Most artistic representations of paired auloi, the earliest of which is a Cycladic figurine in white marble of the mid-3rd millennium BC (now in the National Archaeological Museum, Athens), show instruments of equal length. Since most ancient art depicts the player's hands in approximately the same position, it is likely that unison playing and heterophony were the norm. Nevertheless, the occasional use of drones and bursts of simple polyphony may be inferred from scattered literary references. Some of these passages, however, may refer specifically to the less common "Phrygian" auloi of unequal length, the larger of which is represented in art with an upturned bell. Credited with the ability to arouse strong emotions, auloi were used publicly in religious rituals, drama, and dance, and domestically at banquets and symposia.

The ancient Greeks employed a variety of other instruments in addition to lyres and auloi, the number of which increased in Hellenistic and Roman times. Harps (e.g. the *trigonon*, *pektis*, and *magadis*) were usually played by women in private during the Classical period, after which larger concert models evolved. Lutes appeared in Cyprus as early as *c.*1400–1200 BC, but it was not until the 3rd century BC that the three-stringed *pandoura* appeared on the Greek mainland. Other instruments that were adopted from the east in later centuries included the bagpipes and the *psalterion*, a form of zither. The *syrinx* (panpipes), as has already been mentioned, was generally considered a pastoral instrument, as was the later transverse flute (*syrinx monokalamos* or *photinx*). Rattles (e.g. the *seistron*, borrowed from Egypt), cymbals (*kymbala*), clappers (*krotala*), drums (*tympana*), and other percussion instruments were used for apotropaic purposes, for rhythmic accompaniment, or as toys. Early brass instruments such as the trumpet (*salpinx*) were used mainly for signalling, for example to sound the attack in battle or to issue a call to worship. During the Roman period, however, fanfares played by military bands of

brass and percussion instruments became a fixture of state ceremonial and remained so until the end of the Byzantine empire.

Also rising to prominence only after the classical era was the *hydraulis*, a hydrostatic organ invented during the 3rd century BC by the Alexandrian engineer Ctesibius. According to Hero, the *hydraulis* supplied a steady flow of pressurized air to its pipes with a piston that expelled water from a chamber (*pnigeus*) lying at the bottom of a sealed cistern. Initially this invention appears to have attracted little attention, but a Delphic inscription of 90 BC records the prize-winning participation of an organist in a competition. Sometime around the 2nd century AD the mechanically complex piston was replaced by bellows, which could be used with or without a cistern. By late Antiquity large organs with multiple ranks had become common in amphitheatres and other public venues, while smaller instruments often graced banquets. The *Book of Ceremonies* of Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos (913–59) and the accounts of foreign visitors to Constantinople testify to the continued use of organs by the imperial court even after the radical contraction of urban life suffered by the Byzantine empire during the 7th and 8th centuries. Tenth-century processions featured portable instruments, and several decorated models were used within the Great Palace alongside such automata as a golden tree with whistling birds. Organs were also sent as gifts to Carolingian rulers, thereby contributing to the revival of the instrument in the West.

The extraordinary continuity with late antiquity observable in the use of certain ceremonial instruments at the Byzantine court was not representative of Hellenic music as a whole, the culture of which had undergone major changes following the advent of Christianity. These partially reflected a puritan reaction to instrumental music that had been building ever since Plato stated that the aulos and other "polyharmonic" instruments should be banned from an ideal state. Continued by pagan thinkers from Aristotle to Lucian, this critique was redoubled by Clement, St John Chrysostom, and other Fathers of the Christian Church who identified musical instruments with the sexual immorality they saw in pagan theatre, banquets, and religion. Vehement criticism was backed up by canonical legislation prohibiting the playing of instruments by clergy and making the baptism of aulos and kithara players dependent on the renunciation of their trade. While these two instruments disappeared along with the theatre of ancient Greece, other string, wind, and percussion instruments continued to be employed in Byzantium for recreation, as domestic entertainment, or to accompany dances. By the 10th century the Hellenic string instrumentarium had undergone significant development and, like contemporary Arab music, had come to include five-stringed bowed fiddles (*lyrai*) as well as psalteries and lutes (*pandourai*). The Orthodox Church, on the other hand, admitted only a very limited number of percussion instruments. Whereas the early monks of the Egyptian desert sounded trumpets to mark the hours of prayer, the Byzantines announced the beginning of services with the striking of wooden planks or metal bands known as *semantra*. After the Latin conquest of Constantinople in 1204, belfries were installed in many Byzantine churches as the practice of bell-ringing was borrowed from the West, only to cease later in areas that fell under Ottoman occupation. Today the ringing of bells coexists in Greek monasteries with the sounding of small portable and larger stationary semantra, all of which are struck with distinctive rhythms. The only other exceptions to the Church's prohibition of instruments are the small bells affixed to some incense burners and vestments.

Modern Greek folk and popular music employs a heterogeneous body of instruments, many of which have been adapted from or are held in common with the musical cultures of such neighbouring peoples as the Turks, the Arabs, the Slavs, and the Italians. These may be divided into melodic instruments, which play melodies alone or heterophonically in groups, and accompanying instruments, which provide rhythmic or harmonic accompaniment. The identity of the instruments fulfilling these roles has, like the folk-song repertories with which they are associated, traditionally varied from region to region. The leading melodic instrument of Thrace, Crete, and other islands has historically been a pear-shaped bowed fiddle known as the *lyra*, while the Greeks of Pontus and Cappadocia have played bottle-shaped variants (the *kementzes* and *kemanes*, respectively) of this instrument. Their leading role is fulfilled elsewhere by shawms including the *pipiza* and *karamouza* of Rumeli and the Peloponnese, as well as the larger *zournas* of Epirus and Macedonia. All of these double-reed instruments have typically been accompanied by the beating of a cylindrical drum (*daouli*). Native fiddles and shawms, however, have been gradually displaced by western orchestral counterparts, namely the violin, which appeared as early as the 17th century, and the clarinet. The latter was rapidly accepted during the first half of the 20th century alongside such traditional wind instruments as end-blown flutes – e.g. the *souravli* and the shepherd's *floyera*, the side-blown flute and panpipes having died out among the Greeks after the fall of Byzantium – and two types of bagpipes: the mainland *gaida*, with a single chanter and a drone; and the *tsabouna* of the islands, which lacks a drone but features two chanters. Lutes, which may exercise either a melodic or accompanying function depending on the variety of instrument and the musical repertory, remain a mainstay of the Greek instrumentarium. They include the long-necked *taboura* and *sazi*, the Italianate mandolins of the Ionian islands, and the *bouzouki* and smaller *baglamas* popularized by *rebetika* (songs of the urban underclass). Primarily used for accompaniment are the large pear-shaped *laouto* and the *outi* (i.e. the Arabic *'ud*, which was rarely encountered in mainland Greece before the Asia Minor disaster of 1922). In more recent years traditional lutes have been supplemented or replaced by the western guitar and the hybrid *laouto-kitharo*. Three zithers are also encountered in an accompanying role: the plucked *kanonaki* (a descendant of the Byzantine psalterion and Arabic *kanun*), the *santouri* (a trapeziform dulcimer), and its larger cousin the *tsimbalo*.

Urbanization, the relocation of the Greeks of Asia Minor, westernization, and the rise of the mass media have all contributed to the formation of hybrid song repertories in which the regional variations of Hellenic folk music have been rendered progressively meaningless. The instrumentation of popular repertories initially tended to vary markedly by genre (e.g. an Ionian *mantolinata* – mandolin orchestra – for early Athenian song and a bouzouki-led ensemble for *rebetika*). Over the course of the 20th century, however, the spread of western triadic harmonies to nearly all Greek repertories has

displaced many traditional instruments. After World War II such syncretism became fully conscious in Greek popular music, the composers of which deliberately placed bouzoukia alongside western orchestral and modern electronic instruments.

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See also Music

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Ioannina

City in Epirus

Located on the western slopes of Mount Pambotis in the centre of Epirus (the northwesternmost district of Greece), the city of Ioannina has over its long history come under the control of a number of different cultural influences. The site on which Ioannina now stands has been invaded by Alexander the Great, by Byzantines, Romans, Normans, Venetians, Serbs, Turks, Albanians, and, finally, in 1913, by Greeks, who joined Epirus to the modern Greek state in the course of the Balkan Wars. Despite these many external influences, Ioannina has throughout its history been known as a centre of Hellenism.

Much about the city's origins is hotly debated – even its name is of uncertain provenance. Numerous historians (Leake, Hatzedakes, Aravantinos) argue that the name "Ioannina" is taken from the monastery of John the Baptist; others claim that the city was first named after an unidentified Slav called Ioannes; others still that Ioannina was the name of the daughter of one of Justinian I's most valued soldiers.

While it is unclear exactly when the site was established as a city, the historical record indicates that the area has had a sizeable population since the time of Alexander the Great (d. 323 BC). The province of Epirus, of which Ioannina is now capital, was under Roman rule from 168 BC to AD 375. The settlement's growth and establishment as a city of significant proportions was effected under Byzantine rule, which began in AD 375 and continued (with interruptions) until 1430.

Ecclesiastical documents show that Ioannina by the 7th century was important enough to be established as bishopric of the Byzantine Church; this was effected under the metropolitan of Naupactus in AD 674. As Rae Dalven has noted (p. 3), "The presence of a bishop of Ioannina indicates that Ioannina already had a fortress and a permanent population." The Second Council of Nicaea (787) made reference to Ioannina as a city. Such references suggest that already by the 6th century it is appropriate to refer to Ioannina as an area of significant urban concentration.

In 1082 Ioannina was taken from the Byzantines by the Norman Bohemund, but Norman possession of the city was short-lived, and by 1083 Ioannina was back in Byzantine hands. In 1185 the Normans again captured Ioannina, this time virtually destroying it in the process. Ioannina's next period of growth came after the sack of Constantinople during the Fourth Crusade (1204), following which Epirus became a Venetian territory. When in 1210 the Venetians turned Epirus over to the control of Michael Komnenos Doukas, a Venetian vassal, the result was the creation of the so-called "despotate of Epirus", which, Venetian connections notwithstanding, was functionally an independent Greek principality. At the end of the 13th century the despotate of Epirus was once again joined to the Byzantine imperium. It remained under Byzantine control for the next century and a half, until 9 October 1430, when the people of Ioannina peaceably surrendered to the Ottomans.

The period of Ottoman rule of Ioannina was, from a political standpoint, less turbulent than preceding eras in the city's history. Whereas early eras saw numerous invasions, Turkish possession of Ioannina continued uninterrupted for almost 500

Ioannina: view of the city from the island in the lake. The minaret belongs to the mosque of Aslan Pasha which is now a museum of folk art

years. The arrival of Ottoman control did not translate as a diminution of Hellenic cultural norms in Ioannina. If anything, the reverse was the case. If in Anatolia the Ottoman presence led to the gradual dilution of the late-medieval markers of Hellenism (Orthodox Christianity, Greek literary tradition, etc.), in the case of Ioannina the political elite to some extent gradually became assimilated to the dominant Greek cultural forms. Whereas in Anatolia many Greeks converted to Islam and came increasingly to use the Turkish rather than the Greek language, in Ioannina Greek was not just the official language of the Orthodox Church, but it came to be the language of the ruling elite too.

This adoption of Greek for official purposes had a powerful effect on the development of the modern Greek language. Ali Pasha, the Ottoman-appointed Albanian who governed Ioannina during the late 18th and early 19th centuries, used demotic Greek as his official courtly language, and knew very little Ottoman Turkish. The Greek language in Ioannina was thus propagated not just by the Church establishment (which during the Tourkokratia was in most areas the single most important transmitter of the Hellenic linguistic heritage), but also by the state itself.

During the period of Turkish rule Ioannina came to be one of the most important cultural and economic centres of the Greek world. On the trade route linking the port of Salaora (Arta's port) in the west to Thessalonica in the east, Ioannina was the staging post for the exportation of an array of goods. It also had a sizeable trading community of its own, the vast majority of which was made up of Greeks and Hellenized Vlachs. During the 18th and 19th centuries these Greek traders established far-flung links to the Greek diaspora, particularly in the Italian city states, northern Europe, and Russia. As a result of these trade ties, Ioannina was during the later centuries of the Turkish period a very cosmopolitan and wealthy city. The wealth was reflected in a range of arenas, first and foremost of which was Ioannina's renowned educational establishment, which came increasingly to serve as the training ground for the Ottoman pashas' courtiers.

Finally, Ioannina holds a significant place in the history of a very important, although often neglected, strand of Hellenism. Ioannina, until the time of World War II, was a major centre of Greek Judaism. Whereas the sizeable Jewish populations of other Ottoman Greek cultural centres (Thessalonica, for example, or Constantinople) were largely the result of the resettlement of the Sephardim following the persecutions of Spanish and Sicilian Jews at the end of the 15th century, scholars believe that a Romaniote Jewish community had been established in Ioannina as early as the 9th century AD.

Ioannina was an important Jewish as well as Orthodox educational centre during the Tourkokratia. Unlike the

Orthodox community, however, the Jews experienced an increased level of persecution following the Greek War of Independence, and the 19th-century record tells of outbursts of lethal anti-Semitic violence in 1851, 1869, and 1872.

In the early 19th century Ioannina was a centre for Zionism, and with the establishment in the city of the Alliance Israelite Universelle (1904) and the Amale Zion ("Working for Zion", 1905), the city's Jewish community began actively to cultivate economic, intellectual, and religious contacts with the outside world. Virtually half the city's Jewish population emigrated during the next decade, most to the United States. By the mid-1940s some 2000 Jews still lived in Ioannina. Fewer than 200 survived the war – a handful by hiding in the mountains. Only 100 survived Birkenau and Auschwitz. With the destruction of Ioannina's long-flourishing Jewish community, a vital component of Hellenism was effectively extinguished.

K.E. FLEMING

See also Ali Pasha, Epirus, Jews

Summary

Now the capital of the province of Epirus, Ioannina has been occupied at least since the 4th century BC. It largely followed the political fortunes of Epirus, with a long period of stability and prosperity beginning with the onset of Ottoman rule in 1430, but has always been an important centre of Hellenism. It also had a flourishing Jewish community until World War II.

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Ionian Islands

Islands off the west coast of mainland Greece

The seven Ionian islands, Corfu, Cephalonia, Zakynthos, Leucas, Ithaca, Cythera, and Paxos, are often referred to as Heptanesus ("seven islands"). They do not, however, form a geographical unit. Even the epithet "Ionian" is of obscure origin, probably stemming from Ionian settlers in ancient times. The political unity of the seven islands is, by contrast, comparatively recent, dating from the establishment of the Septinsular Republic (1800–07).

The first attempt to merge the islands into one political unit was made in the 9th century, when they were formed into a distinct province, the Thema Cephallenia. Although the Ionian islands formed part of the eastern Roman empire ever since its formation, Byzantium's sovereignty over them was frequently challenged. Their exposed offshore geostrategic position made them vulnerable to repeated invasions and conquests. The Normans, led by Robert Guiscard, captured Corfu and Cephalonia in 1081; and the islands were again engulfed by war during the prolonged struggle between Byzantium and western Crusaders in the 12th century. With the establishment of the Latin empire in 1204, the Venetians took possession of Corfu and established their largely uninterrupted predominance in the region. To expedite the process of colonization Venetian aristocratic families were granted fiefdoms on the island. Soon Venice conquered Cephalonia, Zakynthos, and Leucas, and they became tributary to the Venetian republic. The rule of La Serenissima was challenged by corsairs and by Greek and Neapolitan claimants at intervals throughout the later 13th century. By 1386 Corfu had voluntarily submitted to Venetian rule, a move which reflected Venice's rise to the position of leading maritime power in the Mediterranean. In 1485 Venice purchased Zakynthos from the Ottomans, and captured the depopulated island of Cephalonia from them in 1499. Leucas was frequently occupied by Venice but was not finally taken until 1684. Cythera was brought under the republic's control as late as 1717.

The Ionian islands' Venetian period was marked by the payment of heavy tributes which the new rulers exacted from the islanders. Venetian rule rested mainly on the loyalty to the republic of the principal native Ionian families, their adherence being rewarded by the ample bestowal of titles, privileges, and appointments. Venetian political control was cemented by the cultural predominance of this maritime power. The Italian and Greek elements of the population were largely assimilated by intermarriage; the Catholic Church was established; and Greek ceased to be the predominant language, though it was still spoken by the rural population, which also continued to adhere to the Orthodox Church.

With the fall of the Venetian republic in 1797, Venetian rule over the islands came to an end. By the Treaty of Campo Formio, Austria acquired Venice proper, and the Ionian islands were occupied by France, though by the end of the following year, 1798–79, a joint Russo-Turkish expeditionary force had evicted the French occupying troops. By the Russo-Turkish treaty of 1800 the islands became the independent Septinsular Republic. Seven turbulent years followed. There was no internal political stability, and chaos and anarchy prevailed.

In 1807 Russia abrogated its barely concealed protectorate over the islands and, in a secret clause of the Treaty of Tilsit of that year, the islands were ceded to France and recognized as an integral part of the French empire. Now part of the province of Illyria, the Ionian islands remained French territory until the collapse of Napoleonic rule in 1814, though Zakynthos, Cephalonia, Cythera, and Leucas were taken by British forces under General Oswald in 1809–10. Corfu was surrendered to the British in 1814 following the abdication of Napoleon Bonaparte.

In the Treaty of Paris of 1815 the Concert of Europe placed the "United States of the Ionian Islands" under British protection, with Austria enjoying equal commercial rights, an arrangement that had been strongly approved by the Russian foreign minister, the Corfiot Count Ioannis Kapodistria. Although the Treaty of Paris had decreed the Ionian islands to be a "sole free and independent state", its stipulations were not devoid of ambiguities and were certainly open to different interpretations. The islands' constitution of 1817 placed their administration in the hands of a six-man senate controlled by a legislative assembly of 40 members. Real power, however, lay

with the British High Commissioner. The first Lord High Commissioner of the Ionian islands, a former governor of Malta, Sir Thomas ("King Tom") Maitland (1815–23), purposefully exploited the ambiguous phrasing of the treaty's stipulations to extend British authority over the islands. British rule was a form of benign authoritarianism. Maitland and his successors used their all-powerful position to effect lasting improvements in the condition of the islands: a major road-construction scheme was carried out, direct taxation was abolished, an impartial justice system established, agricultural reform implemented, and educational institutions created. But public security and material prosperity failed to secure the goodwill of the Ionian population. Already resentful of authoritarian British rule, the administration's preference for Corfu over the other islands and the neglect of the interests of the local peasantry further alienated the Ionian islanders. At the root of this growing disaffection, however, was Greek nationalism, which was steadily gaining strength. Existing opposition was further fomented by Maitland's decision to prevent the islanders from lending assistance to the mainland Greeks in the War of Independence of 1821. Maitland's successors continued his policies, often in a high-handed manner. Sir Howard Douglas (1835–41) was continually faced with intrigues, most prominently led by Andreas Mustoxidi.

The firm policy of Maitland and his successors was replaced by a more lenient approach to the administration of the islands in the 1840s. The European revolutions of 1848–49 provided the spark for local risings against the protectorate and for union with Greece on Cephalonia and elsewhere. The High Commissioner Lord Seaton (1843–49) and his successor Sir Henry Ward (1849–58) tried to appease the unionist movement by offering concessions. It was hoped that a general amnesty of 1 August 1849 would bring an end to the troubles. But renewed violence and an agrarian revolt on Cephalonia at the end of that month dashed such hopes, and the rising was ruthlessly suppressed by military force.

On the restoration of order Ward continued to initiate a series of reforms. A new constitution, granted in November 1849, extended the franchise to all adult males, and offered a wider scope for the activities of the general assembly. In effect, the new constitution marked the end of the ascendancy of the old Venetian one and strengthened Hellenic elements hostile to the British protectorate. The reforms did not prevent the further spread of the Greek nationalist movement on the islands, with the legislative assembly repeatedly using its constitutional liberties of speech and comment to pass resolutions in favour of immediate union with Greece.

Britain's foreign secretary, Lord Palmerston, had always firmly held that continued possession of the Ionian islands, and especially of Corfu, was crucial to the maintenance of Britain's naval position in the Mediterranean. By the late 1850s, however, the islands in this respect had sunk to a position of secondary importance behind Malta. Thus, while the islanders' opposition to British control remained unabated, Britain became decreasingly interested in the continuance of the status quo.

The hopes of the Greek nationalists were raised in 1858 when Palmerston, by now prime minister, found himself in a minority in parliament and resigned. The incoming Conservative administration appointed William Ewart Gladstone as Lord High Commissioner Extraordinary to the Ionian islands. Such a mission by a statesman of Gladstone's stature – a figure well known, moreover, for his Philhellene inclinations – could not but excite unionist hopes. Gladstone, however, was not appointed to bring to a close the protectorate, but to investigate the condition of the islands and to examine their relations with Britain. His brief mission was hampered from the outset by press speculations in London and by a vote of the Ionian assembly declaring union with Greece to be the *thelesis* (absolute and unanimous will) of the islanders. Not surprisingly, Gladstone's mission failed to produce tangible results. The constitutional reform projects with which he had busied himself were buried in a series of reports which were never published. Whatever hopes the Greek nationalist movement may have had of Gladstone's short tenure as High Commissioner were dashed when, after his tour of inspection, he concluded that the majority of the islanders did not wish for the abolition of the British protectorate. Under Gladstone's successor, Sir Henry Storks, who took up his position in February 1859, the contest between the legislative assembly and the protecting power continued. Unionist sentiments remained strong but the British government was slow to realize its precarious position. Indeed, Gladstone himself, by now Chancellor of the Exchequer in Lord Palmerston's last cabinet, declared in 1861 that the cession of the islands to Greece would constitute "a crime against the safety of Europe"; and Storks's reports ignored the discontent of the native population.

While the British government had long realized that the cession of the islands to Greece was not inimical to British interests, it was reluctant to act upon this realization for general strategic reasons. The Greek court under the (Bavarian) King Otho leaned heavily towards Austria's power in the northern Adriatic. Cession of the islands to Greece might therefore conceivably have led to a significant increase in Austrian naval power in the Adriatic and the approaches to the eastern Mediterranean. Barring a complete change in mainland Greek affairs, there was little prospect of any British government consenting to the union of the islands with Greece.

Change, however, did come in October 1862 with the outbreak of the Greek revolution, in the course of which King Otho was forced to abdicate. The Ionian assembly once more reiterated its unionist demands. Now the British government was quick to seize the opportunity of testifying its sympathy with Greek nationalist sentiments and of ridding itself of the Ionian burden in a manner that was not adverse to British interests. The provisional government in Athens was informed that if the Greeks elected to their vacant throne a candidate approved of by queen Victoria, Britain would surrender the islands to the kingdom. The election of the Danish prince Waldemar George of Glücksburg, the brother-in-law of the prince of Wales, as king George I of the Hellenes fulfilled the conditions required by Britain. On 7 October 1863 the Ionian assembly was specifically convened for the purpose and signified its assent to the transfer. On 14 November a protocol was signed by the five great powers of Europe for the formal transfer of the islands to Greece. The final treaty was signed in London on 29 March 1864, declaring Greece, including the Ionian islands, to be a monarchical, independent, and constitutional state under the rule of king George and under the

guarantee of Britain, France, and Russia. By treaty stipulation, the fortifications on Corfu and Paxos were demolished, and the two islands, though part of the Hellenic kingdom, were declared perpetually neutral. The British protectorate over the islands had thus come to an end, although they retained their existing system of private law, taxes, and duties.

The final act of British rule came on 28 May 1864, when the last Lord High Commissioner, Sir Henry Storks, delivered the islands to the Greek commissioner. Storks left Corfu on 31 May 1864; in the following month King George received the homage of his new subjects; and in July the Ionian deputies took their seats in the national assembly at Athens. From now on the Ionian islands remained part of Greece, although they were occupied during World War II by Axis forces.

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See also Corfu, Cythera, Imperialism

Summary

The seven so-called Ionian islands – Corfu, Cephalonia, Zakynthos, Leucas, Ithaca, Cythera, and Paxos – do not form a geographical unit. All had been ruled by Venice, but they did not form a political unit until 1800–07 as the "Septinsular Republic". Ceded to France in 1807, the islands became a British protectorate in 1815. They were united with Greece in 1864.

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Ionians

Ancient Greek ethnic group

The term "Ionian" was employed in two senses in antiquity. In the first place it designated the Greek populations settled in the coastal cities of central Asia Minor and occasionally, by extension, the neighbouring populations in the Troad area in northwest Asia Minor (more properly Aeolians) and in southwest Asia Minor (more properly Dorians). This designation may possibly have originated as a general external appellation for Greeks, who were known throughout the east as Yawani (cf. Old Persian *Yauna*; Old Hebrew *Javan*). However, the term could also be used in a broader sense: in the historical period Athens, Euboea, the Cycladic islands, parts of Sicily (Naxos, Leontini, Catana, Zancle, Rhegium), Italy (Cumae, Siris) and the western Mediterranean (Massalia, Emporion) as well as the central coastal strip of Asia Minor all claimed a common Ionian identity on the basis of perceived similarities in dialect, rituals, customs, and shared origins. It is entirely possible that the second definition was a historically later extension of the first.

Recent archaeological excavations at Ephesus claim archaeological continuity from the Mycenaean age into the Geometric period. By contrast, although the Homeric epics list "Ionians with their flowing tunics" among the Greek contingents at Troy (*Iliad*, 13. 685), there is no mention of Ionians established on the coast of Asia Minor. Indeed, the earliest extant literary references stress that the Ionian cities of Asia Minor considered themselves to be relatively recent foundations from mainland Greece: the 7th-century elegiac poet Mimnermus (fr. 9) describes how Colophon was founded by Pylos, while 5th-century sources attribute the foundation of Priene to settlers from Thebes (Hellanicus, frag. 101), of Miletus to Neleus, son of the Athenian king Codrus (Herodotus, 9. 97) – dated to 1077 BC by the Parian Marble – and of Ephesus to another son of Codrus named Androclus (Pherecydes, frag. 155). Yet another tradition told how the Ionians had originally occupied the northern part of the Peloponnese but had been expelled by Achaeans fleeing the Dorian onslaught and sought refuge in Athens, from where they had set out to colonize Asia Minor (Herodotus, 1. 145, 7. 94; Pausanias, 7. 1. 2–4). It is no doubt the diversity of these foundation accounts as much as prejudice that caused Herodotus to question the ethnic homogeneity of the Ionians, attributing their origins to an admixture of Abantes from Euboea, Minyans from Boeotian Orchomenus, Cadmeans, Dryopes, Phocians, Molossians, Arcadian Pelasgians, and Dorians from Epidaurus.

Although Athens often plays a central role in many of these 5th-century foundation accounts, there is no explicit testimony that it subscribed to a shared Ionian identity before the early 6th century BC when the Athenian statesman Solon (frag. 4) referred to Attica as "the oldest land of Ionia". The Homeric *Hymn to Apollo* implies that Delos hosted a pan-Ionian festival, possibly by the middle of the 7th century BC, while the Panionium to which Herodotus refers (1. 141–142, 148) was a league of 12 cities (Miletus, Myus, Priene, Ephesus, Colophon, Lebedus, Teus, Clazomenae, Phocaea, Samos, Chios, and Erythrae), centred on the sanctuary of Poseidon Heliconius at Cape Mycale, which was certainly functioning by *c.*600 BC and possibly even earlier.

At the level of dialect, cult, and institutions, Ionian cities shared some undoubted commonalities, though these were not always exclusive or universal. The dialects of the cities of Asia Minor and the Cyclades are the closest and are related to the dialects of Attica and Euboea, but the Ionic dialect also seems to have been spoken in the Dorian city of Halicarnassus by the 5th century BC. A number of festivals (Anthesteria, Apaturia, Boedromia, Lenaea, Plynteria, Pyanopsia, and Thargelia) appear to be characteristic of Athenian and Ionian calendars, although Herodotus (1. 147. 2) says that the Ephesians and Colophonians do not celebrate the Apaturia. Similarly, the

citizen bodies of many, though not all, Ionian cities were distributed among the four Ionian "tribes" of the Hopletes, the Aigikoreis, the Geleontes, and the Argadeis.

From the end of the 7th century BC the Ionian cities of Asia Minor were subject to periodic attacks from the neighbouring Lydians, culminating in their conquest by Croesus of Lydia in the mid-6th century and then their incorporation into the Persian empire following Croesus' defeat at the hands of Cyrus the Great *c.*546 BC. Whether as a result of crippling taxation demands and autocratic abuse or simply the personal ambitions of Greek puppet-tyrants, many of the Ionian cities revolted from Persian rule in 499 BC under the leadership of Aristagoras of Miletus. With the assistance of Athens and Eretria as well as of Carians, Cypriots, and Hellespontines, the Ionians scored some early successes—including the sack of the Lydian capital Sardis—but the revolt was ultimately a failure; following a naval defeat at Lade in 494 BC where the Ionian contingent faced a Phoenician navy almost twice its size, Miletus was sacked and its inhabitants killed or enslaved. The Ionian cities passed back to Persian suzerainty until after the Persian Wars of 480–479 BC.

It may be as a consequence of the Ionians' perceived readiness to endure the rule of barbarians that Athens began to downplay its own Ionian associations: according to Herodotus (1. 143. 3), the Athenians and Euboeans avoided calling themselves Ionians because they were ashamed of the name (since *c.*506 BC much of Euboea had passed under direct or indirect Athenian control). This new attitude becomes particularly apparent after the Persian Wars when Athens began to stress its own autochthonous origins over its traditional Ionian ties, though this is perhaps prefigured as early as 508 BC when the Athenian statesman Cleisthenes replaced the old four Ionian tribes with ten new tribes named after Attic heroes. It was not, however, politically expedient for Athens to sever all ties with the Ionian cities of the Cyclades and Asia Minor—not least because Ionians constituted a majority of the cities of the Delian League who from 478/77 BC were required to pay tribute to Athens to secure protection against further Persian aggression. The solution that Athens adopted was to make slight but subtle modifications to the vocabulary of its relationship with its tributaries by which the Ionians were no longer placed on an equal footing of kinship but regarded as colonists owing their Athenian metropolis certain obligations. The dependency of this relationship was asserted at the quadrennial Great Panathenaea at which the cities of Ionia were instructed to provide a cow and a panoply to be displayed during the festival. At the same time, Athens sought to bolster a sense of common identity among its Ionian allies by promoting cults to Athena, Ion, and the four eponymous Ionian heroes on Samos and by reorganizing the pan-Ionian festival on Delos (Thucydides, 3. 104. 2). This exploitation of Ionian identity for political purposes became even more marked in the course of the Peloponnesian War, partly in opposition to the claims to shared Dorian origins that Sparta and its allies were proclaiming. Thucydides (3. 86. 3, 6. 6. 1) notes that early Athenian intervention in Sicily in 427 BC and again on the occasion of the later, disastrous Sicilian expedition of 415–413 BC was justified on the specious pretext of shared Ionian kinship.

Appeals to a common Ionian identity began to subside following the Peloponnesian War. Athens was now confident in its autochthonous origins, the Ionian cities of Sicily had begun subscribing to a broader "Siceliot" identity, and the Ionian cities of Asia Minor were effectively distanced from their Ionian kinsmen to the west by their reincorporation within the Persian empire – ratified officially under the terms of the King's Peace of 387/86 BC. The Panionium itself continued to function – at some point in the early years of the Peloponnesian War it had been transferred to Ephesus on the grounds of safety but then restored in the early 4th century to Cape Mycale where it is still attested in the Roman imperial period (Strabo, 14. 20. 1)—and throughout the Hellenistic and Roman periods Panionia festivals were celebrated in many of the cities in Asia Minor.

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See also Dialects, Hellenes

Summary

In antiquity two groups of people called themselves Ionians: the Greek populations in the coastal cities of central Asia Minor, and the inhabitants of Athens, Euboea, the Cyclades, parts of Sicily, Italy, and the western Mediterranean as well. The second group may simply represent a later extension of the first. Appeals to a common Ionian identity were frequent until the end of the 5th century BC.

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Irenaeus *c.*AD 130–*c.*202

Bishop of Lyons and theologian

The birthdate of Irenaeus is unknown, but as bishop of Lyons he wrote to Victor, bishop of Rome, requesting that the Asiatic Christians in that city be allowed to celebrate Easter by their own calendar (Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 5. 24). Here and elsewhere, he appealed to the custom of his friend Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna, who suffered a famous martyrdom in the mid-2nd century. The inference that he himself was an emigrant from Asia is corroborated by his strong adherence to episcopal government at a time when it was not yet fully established in the west. His native tongue was Greek, as was that of his community, to judge by the letter in which they informed the Asiatic churches of the bloody persecution of 177. For all that, his major work *Against the Heresies* is preserved only in Latin, his *Demonstration of the Apostolic Teaching* was unknown before the recovery of an Armenian text in 1904, and his treatise against the heresy of Marcion is still lost.

Irenaeus' main objective in his five books *Against the Heresies* (*c.*180) was to demonstrate that the followers of the Egyptian Valentinus were not Christians. The esoteric doctrine that he professes to be exposing taught that the world was the creation of a harsh and ignorant (if well-meaning) Demiurge, who was himself the offspring of a temporary estrangement between the Father and his Wisdom or Sophia. The matter of this world, having been produced by Wisdom's error, was an evil to be escaped from; and therefore God could never have become incarnate, suffered the pain of martyrdom, or prefigured the resurrection of the body. In his first book Irenaeus rehearses the positions of Valentinus and his followers, comparing them with more notorious heretics such as the Gnostics, Basilides, and Simon Magus. In the next he refutes the Valentinian myth of a division in the Godhead, developing incidentally the first orthodox conception of a consubstantial and coeternal Trinity. In the third he summons the fourfold Gospel and the consensus of the bishops to testify that creation and redemption are the work of a single being, who truly took flesh and died upon the cross. In the fourth he explains that sin originates not with God but with the disobedience of the first human beings, who went astray while still too young to receive the divine perfection. In the fifth he adumbrates the joys of heaven, which cannot be complete without the regenerated flesh.

The *Demonstration* appears to be a later work (*c.*190) and certainly a lesser one. Apologetic rather than polemical, it informs an otherwise unknown Marcianus that the tradition of the Church upholds the divinity of Father, Son and Spirit, and after a brief account of the fall and redemption of humankind, proceeds to demonstrate the majesty of the Son from the theophanies of the Old Testament. It adds little to our understanding of the theology of the treatise *Against the Heresies*. The survival of the latter work in a Latin text of unknown date can be explained by the fact that it appeared to advance a doctrine of papal primacy, at least in the opinion of the translator (*Against the Heresies*, 3. 2). In the absence of the Greek, it is more prudent to construe the passage as saying that the metropolitan see is a perfect mirror to the consensus of the "faithful everywhere", without according any exceptional status to the Roman bishop by virtue of his office. Another misconception, fostered by the liberal revolt against Augustine, is that, since he holds that humans were created free and fallible, he ascribes to them a continuing and unlimited capacity for moral amelioration. It is true that Irenaeus could not accept, as Augustine does, that anyone is condemned for the sin of Adam, but he plainly believes that each of us inherits a liability to sin that would inevitably result in our damnation were it not for the work of Christ. This can be represented in his own words as an atoning sacrifice (5. 17), but his more characteristic doctrine is that Christ defeated Satan by an obedient life that "recapitulated" the disobedient life of Adam. Where Adam was born of virgin earth, Christ was born of Mary; where Adam fell to Satan's wiles in Eden, Christ withstood the temptation in the wilderness; where Adam was condemned to die, thus losing immortality, Christ died of his own free will to live again (*Against the Heresies*, 3. 21–22 etc.). His death unlocked the Spirit, the bond of love among the churches, and it is through the material sacraments of those churches that the faithful can become members of his resurrected body.

Orthodox theologians often trace to Irenaeus a distinction between the image of God, which all possess by nature, and the likeness that remains to be perfected in the Spirit through our individual virtues. While a single passage seems to teach this (5. 6), there are others that imply that both the image and the likeness were conferred at the beginning (5. 1), and others again that intimate that both lie in the future (4. 38. 4). Since the body pertains to both the image and the likeness (5. 6. 1), the image is not equated with our rational capacity, as in Origen and the Cappadocian Fathers. Since the incarnate Christ is the consummation of both the image and the likeness, it seems to be this gratuitous and peculiar act of God, not our inherent properties as a species, that enables us to speak of an affinity between creature and Creator. Orthodox theologians, after some centuries, retrieved Irenaeus' teaching on the sanctity of the body, but the Christocentric and evangelical principles of his thought have often seemed to be more congenial to the reformed tradition of western Christendom.

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Biography

Irenaeus was born in Asia Minor *c.*130 where he was a friend of Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna, but he spent most of his life in Gaul and became bishop of Lyons *c.*178. His native tongue was Greek but his principal work, *Against the Heresies*, survives only in Latin and another work only in Armenian. He died *c.*202.

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Irene *c.*752–803

Byzantine empress

The empress Irene is best known today for summoning the seventh ecumenical council, of Nicaea II (787), which restored the icons at the end of the first half of the iconoclast controversy (726 or 730–84). She is also notorious for having had her son, the emperor Constantine VI, blinded in 797. These two retrospectively fundamental events of her reign, however, mask a more complex and intriguing character who played an important role during a crucial period of Byzantine history. Irene's place in the history of the Greek mainland is also of some importance. Indeed, she appears to have been the first native Greek of either sex to have ruled the Roman empire in her own right and was the first woman to rule by herself – styling herself *basileus* (emperor) rather than its female equivalent, *basilissa*.

In 768 Constantine V chose Irene as a wife for his son and heir, Leo the Khazar (later Leo IV, 775–80). She was crowned during the wedding ceremony, and her name even appears in the regnal dating of one of her father-in-law's edicts. That Irene came from a notable Athenian family may indicate that the Isaurian dynasty's interest in restoring order in the Greek mainland predates her own initiatives as empress.

Irene's activities between her marriage and the death of her husband are unattested. Later stories about her secret iconophile sympathies prior to 780 are probably apocryphal. Initially she appears loyally to have accepted the prevailing iconoclasm, whatever her private feelings may have been. On the death of her husband in 780, she acted as regent for her young son, Constantine VI (780–97), and quickly secured the throne for him by excluding her husband's brothers, the so-called "Caesars", who were exiled to Athens after an unsuccessful revolt in their favour.

Irene originally relied heavily on loyal members of the court and military, including an ambitious general and minister, the eunuch Stavrakios. In 782/83 the latter led a campaign into northern Greece to subdue the Slavs and restore Byzantine administration in the region, thus paving the way for the gradual restoration of Byzantine rule in mainland Greece in the 9th century. Irene and her son took part in a triumphal procession in Thrace in 784 where, accompanied by loyal troops, she refounded the city of Berroia as Irenoupolis (now Stara Zagora) and improved defences in Philipoppolis (now Plovdiv) while generally strengthening Byzantine power in the region. The present church of Hagia Sophia in Thessalonica may date from this time and the iconoclast mosaic cross decoration therein includes medallions bearing the imperial monograms. Macedonia now appears as a *thema*, or province.

s on a gold coin, *c.*800

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Irene: portrait of the empress on a gold coin, *c.*800

In 783/84 there is no indication that Irene was not adhering to the official iconoclast line. Byzantine historians inform us that she began to change her mind after the deathbed repentance of the iconoclast patriarch Paul IV in 784. After having supported or engineered the accession of the noted scholar and administrator Tarasios to the patriarchal throne in 784, Irene announced the convention of a council to restore the icons and unite the Church. Historians have long seen her efforts in this direction as a calculated game played from 780 at the latest, but there is no evidence to back this assertion. It would seem that Irene was genuinely "converted" or at least pushed into open action by the events of 784.

The council finally met in Nicaea in 787 after an attempt to begin proceedings in Constantinople in 786 had been disrupted by troops and a few bishops loyal to the memory of the iconoclast Constantine V. The council proclaimed itself ecumenical (Nicaea II) and acted as a reference point for the final restoration of the icons in 843. Irene regarded Nicaea II as a chance to unite the Church and suppress discord, a goal she seems to have considered more important even than the restoration of the icons itself. She showed her intentions in this respect again during the simoniac controversy of 789/90, when she alienated erstwhile monastic support by insisting that repenting simoniac bishops (those who had given or received money for consecration) should be restored to their sees.

The monks soon forgave her, however, especially those of the Sakkoudion monastery on Mount Olympus in Bithynia, who in 797 were given the dilapidated Stoudios monastery of St John the Forerunner in Constantinople to restore and maintain. Under St Theodore the Stoudite (died 826) this became the most famous of the empire's monasteries, and was to remain so for centuries. Irene's name was, as a consequence, long associated with imperial piety and munificence. It would be wrong, however, to see in her a slave of monastic interests since there was no united monastic front and Irene knew how to play one faction off against the other. Nor was the empress willing to abandon her imperial prerogatives when it came to

concessions (or "economies") made on her behalf by the Church. The elevation of Tarasios to the patriarchal throne in 784 and the simoniac controversy are cases in point. However, her generosity to charitable institutions and abolition of the municipal tax and of the customs' duties on the Dardanelles (800/01), although economically unsound by today's standards, were definitely sound by the political standards of a time when popular dissatisfaction could cause problems for an increasingly unstable regime.

Irene's undoing came in her rivalry with her son Constantine VI, who in 790 claimed the throne as his legitimate inheritance. Irene was forced into seclusion that year after the military intervened against her, but was recalled in 792 after Constantine had shown himself singularly incompetent. In 795 she helped to inflame the so-called Moechian controversy (over Constantine's divorce of his wife and "adulterous" marriage to his courtesan). Having undermined her son's position she engineered Constantine's downfall and had him blinded in the purple chamber of the palace in 797.

Irene subsequently ruled alone, styling herself on formal documents as *basileus* (two of these still survive – Dölger *Regesten*, nos. 358, 359 – and involve third marriages and oaths). In 802 she was deposed in a palace coup led by her minister of finance, the *logothete* Nikephoros, ostensibly because the palace eunuch Aetios had become far too powerful and dangerous an independent paragon at court. The empress was exiled to a monastery of hers on Lesbos, where she died a nun the following year. Her remains were, later on in the 9th century, translated to the imperial burial vaults of the church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople.

Irene has not had a good press in modern histories. Her inability to stem the successes of the Arabs under the caliph Harun al-Rashid, to whom she had to pay tribute on at least two occasions, was criticized even in her own day. During her personal rule the Frankish king Charlemagne was crowned "emperor" in Rome by the pope and the Latins claimed that the imperial throne was vacant in Constantinople because Irene was a woman. But setbacks at the hands of two of the greatest leaders of all time can hardly be blamed on Irene alone. Indeed, her plans to unite the East and West by suggesting that her son marry Charlemagne's daughter, Rotrud (787), showed a shrewd insight that characterized her relations both with the papacy and the Franks. (Charlemagne even offered to marry Irene herself in 801/02, a prospect that alarmed many at court and may have hastened her fall.) Nevertheless, the severe problems faced by iconophile sovereigns between 780 and 813 were held, in 814/15, to justify the restoration of iconoclasm by Leo V. Irene was, perhaps unjustly, seen as initiating this decline.

Her failings have often been attributed – both in her own day and even in modern times – to her sex and the company she "naturally" kept as a woman: monks and eunuchs. In the modern consciousness the blinding of her son remains a notorious event that encapsulates the biased Enlightenment verdict of a Gibbon or Voltaire on Byzantium: it was the epitome of an entire civilization. Both conclusions need substantial qualification if Irene's remarkable reign and powerful character are to be fully appreciated.

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See also Iconoclasm

Biography

Irene was born in Athens *c.*752. In 768 she was chosen by Constantine V as wife for his son, the future Leo IV. On Leo's death in 780 she acted as regent for her young son, Constantine VI, and reigned as co-empress from 780 to 790. Deposed from 790 to 792, she was restored as co-empress in 792, and reigned as sole empress from 797 to 802. She died on Lesbos in 803.

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Iron

Iron differs from other metals used in antiquity in almost every way. The ores are widespread and abundant, but smelting requires much higher temperatures than other metals. Most smelted iron is inferior to bronze, but steel, an alloy of iron and carbon, has properties far in advance of other metals used in antiquity. However, the qualities of steel can only be brought about under carefully controlled conditions of temperature and chemical environment. For these reasons iron replaced bronze very gradually: although the first smelted iron dates from the 3rd millennium BC, iron only came into general use in the Aegean region around 1200 BC. A contributing factor may have been a shortage of tin for making bronze.

Iron is a common element in the earth and rich ores were readily available in antiquity. There were four principal types – metallic iron in meteorites, primary ore in rocks, iron-rich sands, and iron-rich fossil soils (laterites).

Natural metallic iron only occurs in meteorites and very rare terrestrial rocks not found in the Aegean. Meteorites were certainly known in the ancient Greek world: Anaxagoras of Clazomenae examined a meteorite and concluded that heavenly bodies were made of the same material as the earth. They were also venerated at Pessinus (Asia Minor) and possibly elsewhere, but no authenticated meteorites survive from this period. It has been suggested that some early iron objects were made of meteoritic iron on the basis of their chemical composition, primarily their high nickel content. However, such analyses may be suspect as it is only the oxidized surface that is commonly analysed, which is enriched in nickel. In addition, some iron deposits contain substantial quantities of nickel that were sometimes incorporated into the final metal. Finally, most meteoritic iron is difficult to work, unsuitable for making tools, and only available in small quantities.

Many of the primary ores exploited in Greece were precipitated where hot watery fluids released during the crystallization of granite reacted with limestone or marble. Such fluids

also carried other metals that were deposited under different conditions. Seriphos was the main source of such ores – the amount of slag from smelting indicates that seven million tonnes of iron were mined here from antiquity onwards. Two different ores were extracted: those at Playa near the centre of the island were deposited at high temperatures (500° to 600°C) and are rich in magnetite. The limonite iron deposits of Mega Livadi were formed at lower temperatures away from the granite. Similar deposits were exploited near Neapolis in the Peloponnese.

One of the largest underground palaeolithic mines in Europe was on Thasos. These deposits were initially exploited for ochre, a red pigment used for cult purposes. From the 9th century BC onwards extraction of iron ore for the production of metal became important from these and other deposits on the island. Sources were limonite/haematite ores associated with silver and gold ores formed in dolomite. Beach sands rich in magnetite and ilmenite (iron-titanium oxide) were also exploited here, and probably elsewhere in the Aegean.

Laterites are ancient "soils" rich in the iron mineral haematite that were formed during Early Cretaceous time (about 90 million years ago) when a tropical climate prevailed in Greece. Intense weathering of the serpentinite bedrock removed most of the chemical elements in solution, leaving behind a layer on the surface up to 10 m thick enriched in iron and nickel. In some areas the laterite was eroded and the sediments transported by rivers to be redeposited on top of Jurassic limestones. At the end of the Cretaceous period the sea invaded the area and limestone was deposited on top of both types of laterite.

Laterites were exploited for iron in Boeotia and Euboea. Pliny mentions an occurrence of iron ore near Hyettos, about 8 km north of Lake Copais. The deposits occur in the mountains northeast of Chalcis, near the Aegean coast (the range that includes Mount Dirphys), and on the adjacent mainland, in northeast Boeotia, between Lake Copais and the north Euboean Gulf. They can be seen as long, thin, meandering lines of dark-red rock between paler limestones or greenish serpentinites. Some of the same deposits have been exploited recently for nickel. Iron produced from these deposits under certain conditions of smelting contained some nickel.

In antiquity iron was used for statues, tools, utensils, and various decorative purposes. It was usually smelted and worked in the solid state, without melting. Iron ore and charcoal were packed into small cylindrical furnaces and fired to over 1000°C. Towards the base of the furnace some of the iron ore was reduced to tiny flakes of metallic iron by the charcoal. Further up in the furnace some of the iron ore combined with silica in the ore or parts of the furnace to form a molten slag dominated by iron silicates that prevented the metallic iron beneath from reoxidizing. The mass of metallic iron thus formed is called a bloom and is very pure. At the end of the firing the bloom was lifted out and the processes started again. The bloom contained much slag that had to be removed by hammering at orange heat (smithing) before the metal could be used. Some slag was always left in the finished product but this did not diminish its properties significantly and enabled pieces to be welded by hammering. Iron produced by this process was a soft metal that needed to be converted to steel by the addition of carbon before the metal could realize its full potential. To make steel suitable for weapons, smithed iron was packed in charcoal dust and sealed in clay containers to prevent oxidation. It was then heated to red heat for several hours to days. This mass of raw steel was worked to form the desired object. The final step necessary to develop the full strength of the steel was tempering. In this process the finished object was reheated to a special temperature and cooled at a controlled rate. With the precision necessary for all these steps it is no wonder that successful early smiths were so highly regarded.

MICHAEL D. HIGGINS

See also Geography, Geology, Metalwork

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Isaac the Syrian, St

Monastic author of the 7th century

Thanks to an early translation into Greek, Isaac the Syrian (Isaac of Nineveh) is the best known, and most influential, of all the monastic writers of the Church of the East. He was born and educated in the region of Qatar in the early 7th century, at a time when this area had a strong Christian presence. Some time in the late 670s he was appointed bishop of Nineveh (modern Mosul), but shortly after he retired to live as a hermit in the mountains of Khuzistan. His writings show him to be a man of considerable education and learning, and he draws on many different earlier Syriac and Greek writers; among the latter (which he read in Syriac translation) are the desert fathers, Gregory the Theologian, Evagrius, the Makarian Homilies, Theodore of Mopsuestia, Mark the Monk, Abba Isaiah, the Dionysian Corpus, and even the non-Christian *Life* of Secundus the Silent Philosopher.

His works have come down to us in their Syriac original in two parts, consisting of 82 and 41 chapters. Of these, the latter has been recovered only recently, while the former has long

been most accessible in the Greek translation made by the monks Abramios and Patrikios in the Palestinian monastery of Mar Saba, probably in the late 8th century. The translators must have worked from a Syriac manuscript which, on the one hand, omitted a number of chapters of the full Syriac text (19–21, 23–24, 26, 29, 31, 49, 54, 56, 71, 75, 76), but on the other hand included five texts that are not by Isaac. The first four of these extra texts (chapters 2, 7, 43, and 80 in the printed Greek edition) turn out to be translations of homilies by another monastic writer of the Church of the East, John the Elder, who flourished in the 8th century, while the final letter, addressed to an Abba Symeon, is an abbreviated translation of the letter to Patrikios by the Syrian Orthodox writer Philoxenos of Mabbug (died 523). Since the Symeon in question was for a long time identified as St Symeon the Younger, the 6th-century stylite who lived near Antioch, Isaac of Nineveh was dated to the same century, and it was only when a Syriac biographical notice was published in 1896, which mentioned his consecration as bishop of Nineveh by George, the Catholicos of the Church of the East (*c.*661–80), that Isaac's true date became apparent.

The Greek translation made at the monastery of Mar Saba has proved extremely influential: not only do a very large number of manuscripts containing it survive, but it also gave rise to many further translations into other languages. The earliest manuscript (fragmentary) belongs to the 9th century (gr. 693 in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris), and it must have been in the 9th century that the earliest translations of the Greek text were made into Arabic and Georgian: an Arabic manuscript written in Mar Saba monastery in 885/86 (Strasbourg, Ar. 4226) already contains excerpts, and the same applies to a Georgian manuscript dated 906 (Sinai, Geor. 35), also written in Mar Saba monastery. (Mar Saba remained a centre of great translation activity in the 9th and 10th centuries, well after the sack of the monastery in 813 and the departure of the brothers Graptoi, and other monks, to Constantinople at about that time.) A second, and fuller, Georgian translation was made in the late 10th century on Mount Athos by St Evthymios (died 1028), an indefatigable translator of Greek patristic texts into Georgian.

Excerpts from St Isaac feature in a number of medieval monastic florilegia. Thus, for example, he is well represented in the *Synagoge*, or *Evergetinos*, of Paul (died 1054) of the monastery of the Theotokos Evergetis. Excerpts can also be found in the still unpublished *Eclogae Asceticae* of John V (IV) Oxites, patriarch of Antioch (*c.*1089–1100), and in the Pandects of Nikon of the Black Mountain (near Antioch), of much the same date. Surprisingly, however, Isaac does not feature in the more famous 18th-century anthology published by Makarios of Corinth and Nikodimos of the Holy Mountain in 1782 under the title *Philokalia*. (Passages from St Isaac, however, were subsequently to be incorporated into the Russian (1884) and Romanian (1981) editions of the *Philokalia*; thus St Isaac features in E. Kadloubovsky's and G. E. H. Palmer's *Early Fathers from the Philokalia* (London, 1954), translated from Russian, but not in the complete English translation of the *Philokalia*, made from Greek.)

In the course of the Middle Ages further translations were made from the Greek text of Isaac into Arabic (and thence, Ethiopic), Slavonic, and Latin. The Slavonic translation belongs to the 14th century, and was probably made in Bulgaria, perhaps by a disciple of St Gregory of Sinai (*c.*1275–*c.*1346). The Latin translation (first printed in Venice in 1506) may be the work of Angelo Clareno, the translator of St John of Sinai's *The Ladder*, who died in 1337. It was not until 1770 that the Greek text itself appeared in print, published in Leipzig. The edition was prepared by Nikiphoros Theotokis, at the request of Ephraim, the patriarch of Jerusalem. Unfortunately Theotokis used late manuscripts as the basis for his edition, and at the same time reordered the chapters in order to provide what seemed to him a more logical sequence. As a result, the numeration of chapters differs markedly between the printed Syriac and Greek editions, and thus in all modern translations derived from these (convenient tables can be found, for example, in the English translation of the Greek published by the Holy Transfiguration Monastery, Boston). The current editions of the Greek text reproduce the re-edition by Ioakim Spetsieris (1895) which retained the chapter order (but not the pagination) of the 1770 edition. There is a pressing need for a new edition of the Greek text, based on the several early manuscripts available. A modern Greek translation, by Fr Kallinikos of the Pantocrator monastery on Mount Athos, was first published in 1871, while a demotic Greek rendering of chapters 15, 18, 24, 26, 31, 35, 62, 65, 66, and 68 (of the Greek edition) was made by Photis Kondoglou in his *O Mystikos Kipos* (The Mystical Garden: Athens, 1944; reprinted 1975). In recent times the Greek text has served as the basis for a French translation by J. Touraille (Paris, 1981), and an English translation by Dana Miller (Holy Transfiguration Monastery, Boston, 1984).

From this survey it can be seen that the initial Greek translation made in Palestine by Abramios and Patrikios has proved immensely influential over the centuries, far more so than has been the case with the Syriac original. Often this influence has been through secondary translations made from the Greek. St Isaac's writings today remain widely read, and this is by no means confined to monastic circles, where of course they are particularly appreciated. He described the path to salvation as passing through three stages: repentance, purification, and perfection. The key to his continued popularity over the centuries certainly lies in the profundity of his teaching on the spiritual life in which the mystery of God's unlimited love for creation as a whole and humanity in particular serves as his fundamental starting point.

SEBASTIAN BROCK

Biography

Born near Qatar on the Persian Gulf in the early 7th century, Isaac became a monk of the Church of the East, and in the late 670s bishop of Nineveh. But he soon resigned from his see and went to live as a hermit in southwest Iran. He wrote in Syriac on ascetic and mystical topics but many of his writings were translated into Greek by the monks of Mar Saba and have been most influential.

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Isocrates *c.*436–338 BC

Orator

Isocrates was an enormously influential Athenian rhetorician. Much is to be gained in understanding his views if it is noted that his life stretched from the time of Pericles to the victory of Philip of Macedon over the free Greeks at Chaeronea; he was first and foremost an ardent patriot of his city, yet he was willing to imagine his polis working as an ally with the newly emerging strongmen of the Greek world. Conservative in outlook, he was also a powerful spokesman for Panhellenism – however, a Panhellenism that always put his native city first. His work, chiefly long epideictic or "display" orations that were not in fact orally delivered (he did not possess a strong voice), was read and cited well into the Byzantine period; his style of writing, itself reflecting the influence of his teacher, the Sophist Gorgias, was widely admired and imitated as a model of Attic prose. He was also an important teacher of composition for orators and historians: many of his "students" were themselves to be significant figures in the field of letters.

His earliest extant works are six speeches that he wrote for others to deliver in courts of law: like his slightly older contemporary Lysias, he was a *logopoios* in his early years, after his family's wealth had been destroyed in the Peloponnesian War. He soon gave up this career, and turned to producing large-scale public orations and other essays. He wrote two encomiastic treatises, the *Helen* and the *Busiris*, much in the tradition of his teacher Gorgias. His *Evagoras*, an oration addressed to that Cypriot king's son and successor Nicocles, is one of the earliest pieces of biography in Greek literature, alongside Xenophon's *Agesilaus*. In a similar vein, he also wrote a number of open letters, primarily to kings in the Greek world.

Isocrates' main achievement, however, lay in his long and elaborate epideictic speeches. The *Panegyricus* (*c.*380 BC) is a Panhellenic speech advocating an all-Greek expedition against Persia, and at the same time defending Athens' imperial past and attacking Sparta. The *De Pace* (On the Peace, 355 BC) represents something of a change in views: it urges Athens to make peace with its rebellious allies of the Second Athenian Confederation (founded 378 BC) and recommends that the Athenians "make lasting peace with all the world", including Persia. A return to the views of the *Panegyricus* is represented by the *Philippus* (346 BC), although now the standard of Panhellenism is to be held by Philip of Macedon, working together with the Athenians at the head of an all-Greek coalition.

Some of his other great orations tell us more about Isocrates' life, political views, and influence. The *Areopagiticus*, written at about the same time as the *De Pace*, is a criticism of moral decay at Athens and a plea for a return to the limited democracy of Solon and Cleisthenes. In *Against the Sophists*, written early in his career (*c.*390 BC), Isocrates tried to differentiate himself from other teachers of rhetoric. The *Panathenaicus* (339 BC) is the last work he wrote and is a summation and defence of his career. Perhaps the most important statement of his views on rhetoric is contained in his *Antidosis*, written in 354/53 BC. It has many points in common with his earlier *Against the Sophists*; further, it contains extracts from his own earlier speeches, and may even allude at points to the famous defence of Socrates. It is in this speech that Isocrates states quite plainly that people can become better and more worthy if they become desirous of speaking well. Isocrates is reputed to have taught the orators Isaeus and Hyperides, and the historians Androtion, Ephorus, and Theopompus, though many today would want to modify this claim, emphasizing Isocrates' influence on others, rather than any actual instruction he may have given.

Isocrates' belief that rhetoric is crucial in the education of leaders became a central tenet of antiquity. For Cicero he was "the father of eloquence" and the "teacher of all orators" (*De Oratore*, 2. 10. 94). It is hardly surprising, then, that his work was influential throughout the Byzantine period. Isocrates was an important model for the Church fathers Basil and Gregory of Nazianzus. Further, he was a central figure for Byzantine educational canons, widely regarded as a model of Attic prose style and a source of moral *dicta*. The *Suda* relies heavily on his work; Manuel II Palaiologos mines him for *sententiae*. Further, his work helped to define the Byzantine ideal of Athens: it is significant that John Malalas groups him (*Chronicle* 214) with Pericles and Thucydides, as opposed to 4th-century BC figures. Despite the lack of interest in the first printed edition of his work (Aldus Manutius, Venice, 1493), he became a central figure in the modern period for defining the educational methods of cultural humanism: Werner Jaeger (*Paideia*, 3. 46) has noted that he is rightfully called the "father of humanistic culture".

JOHN DILLERY

See also Rhetoric

Biography

Born *c.*436 BC in Athens, Isocrates studied under the sophists Prodicus and Gorgias. In the 390s he wrote speeches for others to deliver in court. But soon he changed to producing large-scale orations and teaching rhetoric to others. His pupils are said to have included the general Timotheus, the orators Isaeus and Hyperides, and the historians Androtion, Ephorus, and Theopompus. His writings were much admired for their purity of style. He starved himself to death in 338 BC.

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Italos, John

Philosopher of the 11th century

John Italos came to Constantinople in 1049 from south Italy with his father, a Norman, as part of a detachment of westerners who were asked to assist the emperor Constantine IX Monomachos (1042–55) in his campaign against the Pechenegs. His mother was probably a Hellenophone from Sicily or Calabria. He cannot have been very old at the time, although we do not know when he died or at what age so it is impossible to be sure. Of his education, we know only that he eventually became a student and protégé of Michael Psellos and was in time granted the title *hypatos* ("first philosopher"). Italos became most famous as a champion of the dialectic taught by "the ancients", chiefly Aristotle, as is obvious from his extant works. If Anna Komnene is to be believed, he was enormously successful in his role as *hypatos*: "When he took up the chair", she writes (*Alexiad*, 5. 8. 9), "all the young flocked to him, for he opened up to them the teachings [*dogmata*] of Plato ... and Porphyry ... and especially the arts of Aristotle." Anna's portrait of Italos is not wholly favourable, however. She condemns him (5. 8. 5) as a near-traitor for carrying out a diplomatic mission to the court of Robert Guiscard; notes that he was twice accused of promoting dangerous theological doctrines and was "convicted" the second time, in 1082 (5. 9. 7); and criticizes his style as "rude" and "labyrinthine" (5. 8. 6). However skilful he was at dialectic, "his command of grammar was awkward, and he had not imbibed the nectar of rhetoric" (5. 8. 6).

In 1076/77 Italos was accused anonymously (and evidently without justification) of teachings contrary to Orthodox doctrine and tradition. On this occasion, apparently, the emperor Michael VII Doukas (1071–78) intervened, and Italos was able to retain his position as *hypatos*. It may have been in the period after his first "trial" that Italos composed his *Aporiai*, given confidence, perhaps, by the knowledge that he was under imperial protection. In 1082/83, however, he was not so lucky. Michael had by then abdicated the throne and retired to a monastery. Italos, accordingly, was condemned – on charges that most scholars now think were without foundation – and forced into a monastery.

Among the better-known students of John Italos are Eustratios (who himself was condemned in 1117 for holding that Christ reasoned in an Aristotelian fashion) and Joannes Petric'i (who returned to his native Georgia and produced Georgian versions of Aristotle's *Topica* and *De Interpretatione*). It is not clear whether Theodore of Smyrna, his successor as *hypatos*, was one of his students.

Italos produced several short elementary texts when he was tutor to Andronikos Doukas, Michael's younger brother, including: "To His Royal Highness Andronikos, on His Questions About Dialectic"; a "Synopsis" of the art of rhetoric (wrongly thought by some to have been a synopsis of Aristotle's *Rhetoric*); and a short treatise explicating the dream in *Odyssey*, 19. 560ff. The recently published "Synopsis of the Isagoge from the Lectures of John the Philosopher" (see Further Reading: Romano) might also have been meant for Andronikos.

THOMAS M. CONLEY

Biography

Born in southern Italy *c.*1025, John Italos moved to Constantinople around 1049 and became a pupil of Michael Psellos. In time he replaced Psellos as *hypatos ton philosophon* ("first of the philosophers"). He became the champion of Aristotelian dialectic but fell foul of the emperor Alexios I Komnenos and in 1082 was banished to a monastery. His date of death is unknown.

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Italy

The Italian peninsula in southern Europe in which the Roman empire later emerged has been exposed to interaction with Greek civilization throughout its recorded history. Many tribes made up the population of the Italian peninsula, which is one of the reasons why the unification under Rome was considered to be a great achievement. Evidence of Minoan and Mycenaean trade has been found in many places, particularly in the southern part of the peninsula and Sicily. There is a history of political, cultural, and religious relations, and intricate reciprocity of influence from one side to the other. Relations with the Greek world were first established by the Etruscans, located mainly in northern Italy. To give one simple example, the Latin alphabet is believed to have been borrowed by the Romans from the Etruscans, who in their turn had taken it from the Greeks *c.*700 BC. Etruscan art, particularly sculpture and painting, as well as architecture, largely followed the development of Greek art, although it was significantly different. Etruscan culture influenced early Rome in its political organization and religious cults. Whether originating from the East (according to Herodotus, who believed that they came from Lydia), or indigenous Italian (as Dionysius of Halicarnassus thought them to be), their expansion depended much on trade. Through trade they came into contact with many people. Contact with the Greeks was intensified after Greek colonization.

In the period from 800 BC to 500 BC, traders from Greece reached south Italy and Sicily. Mostly for reasons of overpopulation and unfair distribution of land, as well as the need for expansion of trade, Greeks began to colonize places abroad that could offer rich agricultural production and defensible harbours. The use of the terms "colonization" and "colony" for this new kind of settlement is extremely misleading since many of the modern connotations attached to them are not applicable. With the exception of Athens and Thebes, most Greek city states seized every opportunity to expand, particularly in south Italy and Sicily where the climate and agricultural possibilities are very similar to those in mainland Greece. The first Greek settlement (*c.*750 BC) was at Cyme, mostly known by its Latin name Cumae, founded by the cities of Chalcis, Eretria, and Cyme in Asia Minor. Sparta founded only one colony, Taras, in south Italy in 706. Corinth established Syracuse in Sicily in 733 BC. Naxos founded Naxos in Sicily, Chalcis founded Leontini and Catane, Megara founded Megara Hyblaea. Chalcis later founded Rhegion (modern Reggio) in Calabria. By the 5th century BC, south Italy (but not Sicily) was referred to as "Magna Graecia". Many of the cities that were founded in Archaic and Classical times still bear traces of their Greek past, such as Taras (Latin Tarentum), Syracuse, Poseidonia (Latin Paestum), Tauromenium (Latin Taormina), Acragas (Latin Agrigentum), or Gela. A colony was a separate polis. Although it was independent of the home state, it maintained real links with the mother city. The mother city was often asked to protect the colony when in danger, and the Sicilian expedition in the Peloponnesian War is an example of the kind of relations and tensions that prevailed between mother city and colonies.

The Greeks often came into contention with the people of the Italian peninsula. The Etruscans were defeated by the Greeks at Cumae in 474 BC. Meanwhile, until the 3rd century BC Rome was expanding rapidly in the Italian peninsula. The Latin tribes, the Oscans, and the Samnites soon came under Roman control. There remained only the Greek city states of the south. In the 3rd century the Greeks of Taras, alarmed by Roman expansion, asked for help from Pyrrhus, king of Epirus. He defeated the Romans at Heraclea and Asculum (280 BC and 279 BC) but lost the battle at Beneventum in 275. After that the Romans were kept busy in their wars against the Carthaginians from 264 to 146 BC. They were, however, also drawn into the turbulent affairs of the Hellenistic world – in the Aegean against King Philip V (221–187), and further east against King Antiochus III (223–187). In a series of Macedonian wars enmities among the various Greek city states and leagues also played a significant role. In 197 BC Philip V was defeated and Greece was declared free after the battle of Cynoscephalae. There was now a precedent for Roman intervention in Greek and Hellenistic affairs. King Perseus, the son of Philip V, was no more effective than his father against the Romans. Thus in 146 BC Greece became a Roman province; and in 133 BC Pergamum was bequeathed to Rome by King Eumenes III and also became a province.

Besides action at the military and political levels, it was with the Roman conquest of the Hellenistic world that Hellenic, or rather Hellenistic, culture permeated many aspects of Roman life. An attempt was slowly made to create a Roman literary culture according to the Greek ideal. Already from the time of the Carthaginian wars attempts had been made by Livius Andronicus to translate Homeric epic poetry into Latin. Plautus wrote comedies in the style of Menander. Accius and Pacuvius also wrote comedies and tragedies. Besides the adaptation of many literary genres that had flourished in the Greek world the Romans tried to explore unique Roman ideals in literature and philosophy, that would be canonized later in the Golden Age of Augustus. Cato the Elder reproached the Romans for imitating the Greek way of life. In the realm of religion many cults of the Greek city states entered the Roman pantheon, particularly that of Dionysus. Greek deities had already acquired their position in the Roman pantheon and been given a Latin name. In art and architecture, the meeting of the Greeks and Romans became even more obvious. Many models were copied. Greek educational principles were also transmitted to Rome. Later, both in the republic and in the empire, many Romans went to Athens to pursue their studies, especially in philosophy and rhetoric. In the philosophical works of Cicero it became obvious how Hellenistic philosophy acquired a Roman setting and terminology. Earlier poets, like Lucretius or Catullus, as well as the poets of the Augustan age, drew context and forms from the early Greek literary productions as well as from Hellenistic culture, transforming them into completely new material. Prose writers such as Livy also inherited some elements from their Greek predecessors. On the other hand, there were Greek authors, such as Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Diodorus Siculus, and Polybius, who wrote in Greek about Roman matters. After the unification of Italy under the Roman empire, the meaning and identity of the word Roman was established. But there were still Romans who wrote in Greek, such as the emperor Marcus Aurelius in the 2nd century AD. Many scholars have seen in this period a decline of the Classical ideal, whereas in fact it bears witness to

the emergence of new, well-defined tendencies in literature, philosophy, religion, and art.

The spread of Christianity soon reshaped the tensions in the Mediterranean world. The interaction between Greek and Italian was acquiring a new dimension as the Christian religion grew stronger. At first, the new debate of Christian versus pagan appeared in contemporary literary and rhetorical writings, whereas later, once Christianity was established, the debate centred on the Greek versus the Latin rite in ecclesiastical matters. With the establishment of Constantinople as the "new Rome" the polarity between East and West entered a new phase.

In the 8th and 9th centuries, the period of iconoclasm, many educated men sought refuge in peripheral regions of the Byzantine world. Many migrated to south Italy, bringing with them their literary and artistic traditions. The wave of migrations to Italy included many monks and priests. Undoubtedly iconoclasm played an important part in the severing of relations between Byzantium and Italy. Politically, by the 9th century, the republic of Venice had become independent of Byzantine control. In the south, Byzantine influence increased as the emperor Nikephoros Phokas was successful against the Arabs. The number of Greek monasteries and churches also grew. When by the 11th century southern Italy was relatively safe from Arab attacks, the Norman conquests gave a new shape to the history of this region. The Normans steadily advanced into Byzantine Italy. The 12th century marked a "renaissance" in Byzantine literature and art. Due to commercial relations that existed between Italy and Byzantium, many Italian scholars, particularly Venetians and Pisans, who resided in substantial numbers in Constantinople, transmitted Greek learning to the West.

Strained relations developed between Byzantium and Italy in the 12th and 13th centuries and the role of the Crusaders made the issue more complex. Byzantine trade was constantly losing ground to the Italian republics, particularly Venice, Genoa, and Pisa. The schism that divided the Eastern and Western Churches in 1054, for dogmatic reasons, had explosive political repercussions. The Crusades, especially the fourth in 1204, dealt a devastating blow to Byzantium. Despite the tension in political relations in the 13th and 14th centuries, the reciprocal influences in literature and art present one of the most interesting phenomena. Many Greek texts were preserved in Italian libraries such as those of the Vatican, Florence, Venice, and Naples. Around the time of the fall of Constantinople in 1453, many intellectuals fled permanently to Italy. Eminent scholars like Chrysoloras, Janus Laskaris, Argyropoulos, Bessarion, Chalkondyles, Musouros, and others worked extensively in Italy and spread their learning and culture in the West. Venice in particular, and also Florence, became important centres for the study of Greek literature. When typography was invented, the first editions of Greek books were often made by Italian humanists.

In tracing the roots of modern Greek literature to the 10th century AD, relations with Italy and Italian culture can be detected in many places. It was not only Greek texts that survived in manuscripts belonging to Italian libraries, but some entire works have a version in both languages. The *Chronicle of Morea* is preserved in an Italian version as well as in Greek (also in French and Aragonese). Relations with north Italy were more visible in Crete, which remained under Venetian rule from 1204 until 1669, when it became part of the Ottoman empire. Although there was significant political opposition to the Venetians in the beginning, the Cretan renaissance was soon in progress, activated especially by Byzantine scholars who fled to Crete. Authors of the Cretan renaissance like Georgios Chortatsis (*fl.* 1590–1600) or Vitsentzos Kornaros (1553–1613/14) were in close contact with the parallel movement in literature, particularly theatre, in Italy. At approximately the same time, a kind of lyric poetry was developed in Cyprus with evident Italian influence, particularly from Petrarch. They are mostly love poems in Italian hendecasyllables.

The meeting between Greece and Italy becomes more evident in the 17th and 18th centuries in the Ionian islands. They never formed part of the Ottoman empire, and during this period literature flourished there. Dionysios Solomos (1798–1857) became a representative and a "national" poet for Greece. He was educated in Italy and was nourished on Italian literature. It was only natural then that his first writings were in Italian. Although later he reached his full glory with themes deriving from the situation in Greece, he brought a new shape to poetry through his thorough knowledge of Italian forms. Andreas Kalvos (1792–1869), another poet of the Heptanesian school, was also educated in Italy. The poetry of Ugo Foscolo (1778–1827) and other classical Italian poets of the Heptanesian school influenced the direction that Greek literature took. Although scholars, poets, and writers in the late 19th and early 20th centuries absorbed French, German, and English influences, there remained many contacts between Greece and Italy. There are still some areas in south Italy where a Graeco-Italian language is spoken to this day. Its origins (ancient Greek or Byzantine) are hotly disputed.

The two World Wars completely transformed political relations between Greece and Italy but at an intellectual level the traditional affinity continued. The Italian Archaeological School has exerted tremendous influence in archaeology. Nowadays, especially through the European Union, the two countries are in a constant intellectual dialogue that has proved to be effective in all areas of human knowledge, particularly science, literature, and art.

ANDROMACHE KARANIKA-DIMAROGONA

See also Bessarion, Chortatsis, Chrysoloras, Colonization, Etruscans, Genoese, Kalvos, Kornaros, Magna Graecia, Peloponnesian War, Rome, Solomos, Venice

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Ivory

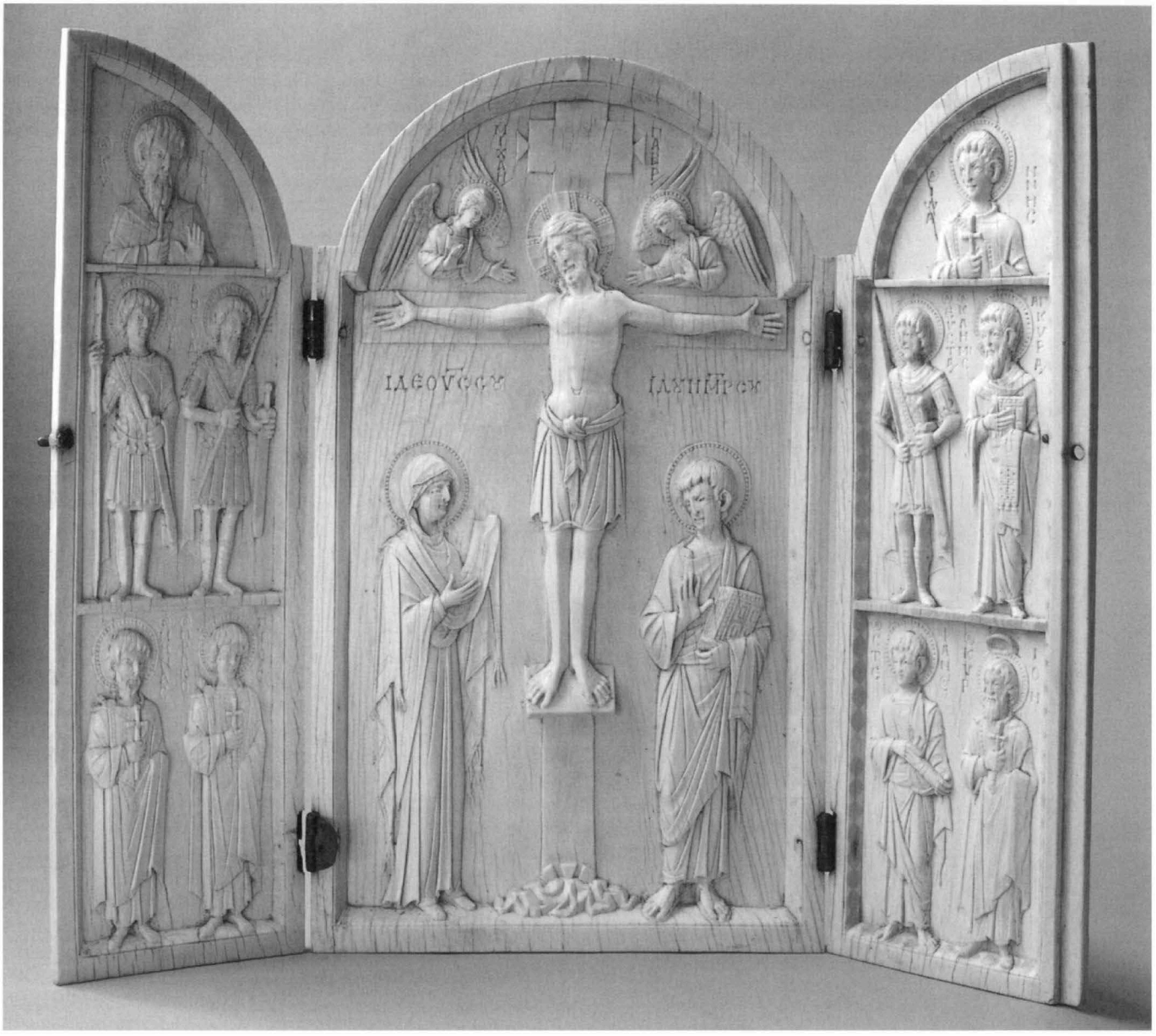
Ivory (*elephas*), properly speaking, is the dentine of elephant tusks, and it is from this material that the animal takes its name. The term also commonly denotes material obtained from hippopotamus, sperm whale, and walrus tusks, which, like all tusks, are teeth of continuous growth. There is no evidence that the last two animals supplied any of the ivory employed in the eastern Mediterranean, but elephant and hippopotamus ivory was imported to Greece, directly or indirectly, from the natural habitats of those creatures, i.e. Africa, the Levant, and India. Mammoth ivory, while available to Greeks in small quantities locally as well as from abroad, appears to have been rarely, if ever, used for carving, although a few chance finds may have served as trophies in antiquity, for example, the tusks of the legendary Caledonian boar. Actual boars' tusks adorned the helmets of elite warriors in the Mycenaean period and are mentioned in the Homeric epics.

Whatever its source, ivory was highly prized, serving as a symbol of wealth, status, and prestige from the Bronze Age, through the Classical and Byzantine periods, into the modern era on account of its exotic origins, aesthetic qualities, and reputed magical properties (as in the myths of Pelops and Pygmalion). Its smooth, creamy-white surface, warm lustre, density, and flexibility add to its appeal, and its physical characteristics allow it to be worked by a variety of techniques: it can be carved in the round or relief, cut into veneers or inlays, turned on a lathe, and even moulded. Most ivories were ultimately polished, painted, and gilded. A multipurpose commodity, ivory was employed in all periods in the manufacture of statues, reliefs, furniture components, appliqués, pyxides, handle attachments, pinheads, brooches, bracelets, combs and other toilet articles, seals, game pieces, and amulets.

The beauty and value of ivory are recognized in the earliest Greek texts, as in the Old Testament and earlier Near Eastern documents. The Mycenaean Linear B tablets inventory ivory weapons, chariots, and furniture, and similar objects mentioned in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* symbolize royal affluence. That ivory-carving flourished in Minoan and Mycenaean society is also evidenced by numerous physical survivals from Bronze Age sites, including raw ivory from Zakros and the Ulu Burun shipwreck, and workshop debris from Knossos, Mycenae, Pylos, and Thebes. Reliefs intended for appliqué are the most common finds, but excavators have also recovered numerous other objects, among the finest of which are the fragments of a 50-cm-tall composite figure of a standing youth excavated at Palaikastro in eastern Crete (Siteia Museum). The exquisite carving of anatomical details of the Palaikastro youth far surpasses that of similar figures in all other media, underscoring not only the superior qualities of dense, fine-grained ivory as a material for sculpture, but also the fact that precious imported tusks were regularly entrusted to the most experienced craftsmen, who, presumably, had been trained in woodcarving, an art now largely lost. Blackened by fire, broken, and much restored, the Palaikastro statuette, like other unequivocally genuine Minoan ivory statuettes excavated at Knossos (Herakleion Museum), originally consisted of numerous individually carved components joined by complex systems of dowels and mortises. The Palaikastro figure also had rock-crystal eyes, stone hair, wooden nipples, and a golden loin cloth and sandals. This statue appears to have been painted, as were ivories in the Classical and Byzantine periods, although such ornamentation is often lost. (Technical, stylistic, and iconographic anomalies indicate that a number of "Minoan" ivory statuettes in collections outside Greece, inevitably said to be from Knossos, are modern forgeries.)

Ivory production in Greece naturally declined sharply during the so-called Dark Age of the late 2nd to early 1st millennium BC, but the material reappears in the Geometric and Orientalizing periods along with motifs and perhaps even craftsmen from the Levant; for 8th-, 7th-, and 6th-century carved ivories recovered from Crete, Athens, Ephesus, Samos, Laconia, Delphi, Perachora, and elsewhere, though sometimes exhibiting local stylistic features, closely parallel items that have been excavated in great quantity in the ancient Near East, particularly at Nimrud.

Like their Bronze Age ancestors, wealthy Greeks of the Archaic, Classical, and Hellenistic periods employed ivory, often combining it with other materials, to furnish their homes and gain the favour of the gods. Luxury furniture is best known from depictions on painted pottery and stone reliefs, but ancient texts, especially the inventories of the temples on the Athenian Acropolis and Delos, fill out the picture. Tombs have yielded fragments of ivory furnishings, but more have been recovered from sanctuaries. Indeed, many surviving ivory statuettes that are often presented as free-standing figures preserve cuttings in their heads or backs that indicate their original function as components of furniture, toilet articles, or even musical instruments. Most renowned in antiquity, however, were free-standing chryselephantine statues, composite works of gold and ivory. Produced at a variety of scales, these were assembled from individually carved ivory faces, hands, and feet attached to wooden armatures that were subsequently sheathed in gold. The hair of such figures, too, was rendered in gold, and these statues, gleaming and glittering in the half-light of temples or treasury buildings, presented stunning images of the gods. Most such works are lost and known only from later literary sources. Pausanias, for example, saw a number of early figures ascribed to pupils of the legendary craftsman Daedalus, as well as the gold, ivory, and cedarwood chest of Cypselus collected in the Heraion at Olympia. These objects do not survive, but a cache of votives from Delphi of the 6th century BC illustrates the technique and provides a notion of the appearance of such images, though they were burned in antiquity and are now much restored.



Ivory: 10th-century ivory triptych. The central panels show the crucifixion with the Archangels Gabriel and Michael, the Virgin, and St John the Evangelist, British Museum, London

Ancient authors explicitly state that the expense of ivory, along with its warm and lustrous colour, so closely approximating unblemished flesh, made it fitting for representations of divinities, and in the Classical period a combination of political and technological developments contributed to the unprecedented use of ivory in colossal statuary. The Athenian decision to erect a monumental statue of Athena (447–438 BC) inside the Parthenon was the result of competitive emulation. Monumental statues had long been erected in stone and bronze, but Phidias combined techniques of furniture-veneering, bronze-casting, and ship-building to create a gigantic composite work in gold and ivory approximately 12.75 m tall. Literary and physical evidence suggests that the Athenian sculptor adapted techniques of unscrolling tusks into thin sheets of ivory that were subsequently softened in acidic baths and then moulded in (or over) clay or wooden forms. This ivory skin, like the hammered gold that formed the drapery (weighing approximately 1137 kg in the case of the *Athena Parthenos*), was then affixed to a massive armature built around a wooden beam, the cutting for which survives in the floor of the temple. The resultant image of the ivory-skinned *Athena Parthenos* robed in golden garments ignited a trend throughout Greece as various city states commissioned similar statues of their own patron deities to demonstrate their piety, wealth, and power. Phidias' second essay in the genre, the *Zeus* at Olympia, came to be ranked among the seven wonders of the ancient world. Praised by numerous ancient authors, it was considered to have added something to traditional religion, and Phidias himself was thought to have travelled to Olympus, so accurately did he capture the essence of the god. This statue, like the *Parthenos*, is lost, known only from ancient descriptions and representations in other media. The workshop in

which it was produced, however, was identified by Pausanias, and has been excavated: ivory wasters, bone chisels, terracotta moulds for glass inlays, and even a cup inscribed with Phidias' name are among the finds displayed in the Olympia Museum.

Phidias reputedly made additional chryselephantine statues (and pseudo-chryselephantine ones consisting of marble and gilded wood) at Elis, Plataea, and Pellene, and ancient sources report that similar works were produced at Argos, Megara, Elis, Athens, Calydon, Delos, and Epidaurus in the late 5th and 4th centuries BC by Polyclitus, Theocosmos, Colotes, Alcamenes, Menaechmus and Soidas, and Thrasymedes. Previously reserved for representations of the gods, ivory statues eventually came to be employed by mortal rulers seeking their own glorification, beginning with Philip of Macedon and his son Alexander, who erected a chryselephantine family group by Leochares in the Philippeion at Olympia, not far from Phidias' *Zeus*. Later ivory portraits are also mentioned by ancient authors. Special provisions were made for the maintenance of the largest statues: at Athens and Olympia reflecting pools of water and oil, respectively, were considered beneficial to the ivory, and special "polishers" (or "descendants of Phidias") looked after Phidias' statues.

Meanwhile, ivory continued to be employed for the adornment of the many sumptuous objects mentioned above, as well as for the decoration of the doors and ceilings of temples, and even the panelled rooms of the luxury barges of Hellenistic kings. Best preserved are the composite figurines that decorated couches recovered from Macedonian tombs (Thessalonica Museum). The monetary value of ivory, which was worth approximately one quarter its weight in silver in the 4th century BC according to building inscriptions at Delphi, naturally fluctuated according to its availability. The eastern conquests of Alexander increased supply, and the vast accumulations of the material by his successors are demonstrated by the thousands of tusks recorded to have been displayed in later Roman triumphs. Some Greek ivory statues were eventually carried off to Rome, and the chryselephantine technique continued to be practised under Roman rule: at Athens the emperor Hadrian commissioned another colossal *Zeus* for the Olympieion, and Herodes Atticus dedicated a *Tyche* in that city as well a *Poseidon-Amphitrite* group at Isthmia.

The fate of most of the great Classical ivory statues remains uncertain. Ancient sources record almost 200 such works in Italy, Greece, and the eastern Mediterranean. Not one of these survives, but components of dozens of others have been recovered. Many, depicting pagan gods, were no doubt destroyed by Christian iconoclasts. Phidias' *Zeus Olympios* is said to have been carried off to Constantinople, where it appeared in a Christianizing allegorical programme in the Palace of Lausos, providing a model for the bearded image of Christ Pantokrator before being destroyed by fire in the late 5th century AD. On a considerably smaller scale, ivory continued to be a popular medium for works in diverse genres in the Byzantine period. That its price had fallen considerably from Classical times is clear from the Edict of Diocletian, which lists it at one-fortieth the value of silver.

From the 4th to the 6th centuries statuettes, caskets, plaques, furniture, and other items decorated in classicizing styles with motifs from pagan mythology as well as Christian iconography were produced in Egypt, presumably at Alexandria, as well as Constantinople. Although scholars debate the precise origins of many late Antique and Byzantine ivories, an edict of AD 337 lists ivory workers among artisans exempted from civil obligations so that they might improve their craft and instruct their children, indicating how techniques were transmitted. A slightly later edict restricts all but ordinary consuls from distributing ivory diptychs, suggesting the widespread manufacture of these ceremonial gifts, distributed to celebrate the donor's attainment of the highest magistracy. Many of these socially and politically significant objects survive, having later entered church treasuries on account of their valuable material and the high quality of craftsmanship.

Ivory supplies were apparently disrupted in the late 6th and 7th centuries, and when production resumed after iconoclasm the material was used in the manufacture of fewer types of objects, most bearing religious and/or imperial imagery (such as icons, diptychs and triptychs, reliquaries, and bookcovers), many of which were exported to the west. In the 10th and 11th centuries Constantinople appears to have been the thriving centre for the production of ivory icons, reliquaries, pyxides, and reliefs with Christian as well as pagan imagery, but, as before, the precise origins of many carved ivories of this period cannot be determined. After the fall of the capital in 1453, the Byzantine style continued to be employed in the old provinces for several centuries in the monastic centres of Greece, the Near East, Russia, and even Ethiopia in wood and bone as well as ivory. Following independence, Greece became a consumer of ivory goods along European lines more than a producer, importing billiard balls, handles, bangles, etc. The Treasury of Panayia Evangelistria on Tinos contains raw elephant tusks and others carved in African styles, apparently the dedications of a Greek trader of the 19th century. Since 1990 transport of elephant ivory across international borders has been banned by the Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species (CITES).

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See also Furniture

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J

Janissaries

Elite corps of the Ottoman army

The *yeni ceri*, or "new force", commonly known as the janissaries, were an infantry organized under the rule of Murad I (1360–89), who established Ottoman control in Europe by conquering Bulgaria, Macedonia, Serbia, and Thrace – leaving the Byzantine capital of Constantinople surrounded by a sea of Ottoman-held territory. Over the course of this expansion, Murad became increasingly interested in having a military force which would be under his direct control (the permanent Ottoman army was at the time divided into cavalry and infantry – *musellem* and *yaya* – who were paid largely by fiefs, and who were under the control of their commanders).

To this end, Murad moved to organize a new slave military force, whose members were to be culled in the form of human booty taken from his conquered enemies. The selected individuals, Orthodox Christian boys from the newly taken Balkan territories, were sent to Bursa where they were educated in Turkish, Arabic, and Persian; converted to Islam; given an elite military training, and, if upon the completion of their education they were deemed fit, placed either in the janissary corps or the cavalry (the *sipahis*). This period thus marked a time of transition during which the old Ottoman military elites found themselves subordinated to this new group of fighters who answered directly to the sultan. Thus the new military elite of the Ottoman state had its origins in Balkan Orthodox Christianity.

The process whereby these Orthodox boys were selected for training for the janissary corps came to be known as the *devshirme* (lit.: gathering up, collection). Originally the term referred specifically to the one-fifth portion of the booty allowed as a ruler's right during conquest, a portion which Murad I had taken in the form not of money but rather of young prisoners. The *devshirme* came over time, however, to be a periodic tax levied against Christian subject populations. Again, payment was taken in the form of young men. As part of the tax system, the *devshirme* was instituted by Murad I's successor, Bayezid I (1389–1402), and was most dominant during the 15th century. The *devshirme* was ultimately abandoned in the 17th century. Agents responsible for gathering the *devshirme* tax travelled periodically throughout the Ottoman provinces, gathering up the most promising-looking childen on a per-capita basis, and gave the children over to a "driver" (*surucu*) who escorted them to Istanbul or Bursa for their training.

In Greek tradition, the *devshirme* is known as the *paidomazoma* (lit.: gathering of children), and has from the revolutionary period on been widely regarded as having been emblematic of Ottoman cruelty, anti-Christian activity, and exploitation of subject populations. In reality, however, earlier attitudes towards the *devshirme* seem to have been more nuanced. For the undeniable reality is that, for rural boys of the Balkan peasant classes, the *devshirme* was the only available means of upward mobility, and a very dramatic and effective one at that.

The janissary corps, as the elite personal corps of the sultan, was the pinnacle of the Ottoman military hierarchy, and its membership was attainable only to those taken through the *devshirme*. Children of Muslim families were not eligible, nor those of the urban middle classes. This paradox was in part the result of Murad I's desire to have a militia the loyalty of which could be guaranteed. Had the janissary corps' membership been drawn from the ranks of the Ottoman elites, who were theoretically in competition with the sultan's own power, this loyalty could potentially have been undermined. By relying instead on the most peripheral members of society for its membership, the sultan was able to make the janissary corps as free from external influence and interference as possible. So while Greek and Balkan Orthodox folk tradition memorialize the *devshirme* with the vocabulary of mourning and oppression, it must be kept in mind that in reality rural Balkan Orthodox families would have had good reason also to hope that their sons might be selected, in the recognition that the *devshirme*, brutal as it was in psychological terms, might provide their children with an education and wealth undreamed of in the provinces.

The janissary corps and the *sipahis* provided the core foundation of the Ottoman army throughout much of the Tourkokratia. They came also, however, despite the intentions of their original founder, to be in many instances a significant source of opposition to the sultanate. They played an important role, for example, in the deposing of Mustafa I in 1623, and sultans from the late 16th century on were threatened by rival leaders who would attempt to drum up janissary support against the ruler. For this reason the institution was the target

of Ottoman-sponsored abolition movements starting in the first half of the 17th century.

It is as yet unclear what percentage of the janissary corps as established and promulgated by Murad and his successors was actually of Greek origin. Ottoman archival documentation suggests that very few Greek children were taken in the *devshirme*, and that the overwhelming majority were of Serbian and Bosnian origin. Some scholars, in fact, argue that the *devshirme* was never undertaken in Greek lands. Nevertheless, the *paidomazoma* and the janissary corps are well-known features of the Greek national cultural/historical imagination right down to the modern era. During the Greek Civil War (1946–49), for instance, when the communists in the north began a programme of evacuating children out of the war zone and into neighbouring communist countries, the Athens government called the programme a "new *paidomazoma*", and argued that the children were being formed into new "janissaries". Thus the cultural significance of such terms is still great, even if the historical reality of the *paidomazoma* and the janissaries has, in the Greek context, perhaps been overstated.

K.E. FLEMING

See also Ottoman Period

Summary

The Janissaries (literally "new force") were an elite cadre of infantry first organized by the Ottomans in the 14th century. Made up of selected Orthodox Christian boys from the newly conquered Balkan territories, the Janissaries and their cavalry counterpart (the Sipahis) were trained to provide the fighting heart of the Ottoman army for much of the period of Tourkokratia.

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Jeremias II Tranos *c.*1530–1595

Patriarch of Constantinople in the late 16th century

Born around 1530 on the coast of the Black Sea at Anchialos (near modern Burgas, Bulgaria), some 200 km northwest of Constantinople, Jeremias was very well educated by leading intellectuals of the day, such as Hierotheos of Monemvasia and Damaskinos the Stoudite, and perhaps at the Patriarchal Academy in the capital. He was elected bishop of Larissa (in Thessaly) in 1565, and, seven years later, through popular demand, ecumenical patriarch. This office he held three times: from 5 May 1572 to 29 November 1579; from August 1580 to late February or early March 1584; and from mid-1587 (officially only from 4 July 1589) to late 1595, when he died. Always retaining the support of his people, he owed his dethronements to jealousies of the Holy Synod dominated by the Phanariots and desire for the *peshkesh* (bribe) payable to the sultan for ratification of each appointment.

During his nearly 20 years as patriarch he proved himself, through competent and energetic administration, possibly the most able figure to hold that position during the Tourkokratia. He was a persistent opponent of simony and was particularly effective in attracting capable figures, most notably perhaps the theologian, poet, and translator Maximos Margounios, as friends or associates. His interest in education never wavered, and through a synod in 1593 he both encouraged metropolitans to establish academies in their cities and gave a new constitution to the Patriarchal Academy, in accordance with which departments of sciences such as chemistry and physiology were established in addition to the recently added philosophy and the traditional theology and literature, each department being overseen by a scholarch appointed by the patriarch. The best known of Jeremias's activities, however, are his correspondence with the Lutherans and his journey to Moscow and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.

Despite previous failures by the Lutherans (following a similar move by the Hussites as early as 1451) to form a united front with the Orthodox Church against Roman Catholic autocracy and its innovations, a further attempt was initiated in 1574. With the encouragement of the German ambassador in Constantinople, baron David Ungnad von Sonnegk, a group of theologians at the University of Tübingen led by the chancellor Jacob Andreae and the classicist Martin Crusius (Kraus) entered into communication with Jeremias. Copies were sent to Constantinople of a Greek translation of the Confession of Augsburg (Philip Melanchthon's statement of Lutheran views presented to the Diet summoned by the emperor Charles V in 1530), which contained 21 articles of faith followed by a list of "abuses" such as clerical celibacy, monastic vows, and compulsory confession.

Aided by the father and son Ioannes and Theodosios Zygomalas and other researchers, and after consultations with the German ambassadorial chaplain Stephen Gerlach (who had been summoned from Tübingen expressly for this purpose), Jeremias replied in 1576. His courteous but firm response methodically goes through the Confession, and, while accepting all the many points on which the two Churches can agree, it is chiefly a presentation of theological differences, including those of emphasis, and a defence of the Orthodox

position which is supported by numerous patristic quotations. The main stumbling blocks he found to any Orthodox rapprochement with the Lutherans were their acceptance of the Roman addition of the *filioque* (the procession of the Holy Ghost from the Son) to the Nicene creed; baptismal practices; the exact meaning of original sin; justification by faith alone without good works, and consequent near-acceptance of predestination; the number of the sacraments; the doctrine of the elements of the Eucharist and the use of unleavened bread; slighting of tradition; denial of spiritual value to many ecclesiastical ceremonies, fasting, monasticism, and celibacy of regular (as opposed to secular) clergy; and denial of the validity of invocations for mediation to the saints.

Replies from Tübingen elicited a more forceful presentation of the Orthodox position from an increasingly reluctant Jeremias in 1579 and, finally, a recapitulation in 1581 in which he begged for a cessation of the fruitless discussion. It is notable, however, that friendly correspondence with Crusius, who greatly admired Jeremias, persisted. This was in spite of a Polish Jesuit, Stanislaus Sokołowski, publishing in 1582 a Latin translation of the patriarch's first response with his own commentary (*Censura Orientalis Ecclesiae, de Praecipuis nostri Saeculi Haereticorum Dogmatibus*) as part of the Roman Church's attack on Lutheranism, which in turn instigated in defence Crusius's publication (1584, in Greek and Latin) of the whole correspondence between the Tübingen theologians and the patriarch. For the Greeks, however, Jeremias's three letters became an important statement of Orthodox belief and were endorsed as authoritative at the Synod of Jerusalem in 1672.

Since the Church in Russia, the only truly independent Orthodox state in the 16th century and, moreover, one considering itself the "Third Rome" and the protector of the true faith, was only a metropolitanate, it had made several demands for promotion to a patriarchate, thus replacing that of the heretical Rome in the pentarchy. In response to a further request, and in order to collect funds for his own beleaguered Church, Jeremias journeyed to Moscow in 1588–89. It appears that Boris Godunov, the chief minister of the feeble-minded tsar Feodor I Ivanovitch, proposed that Jeremias should stay in Russia with a see in Vladimir or in Moscow as ecumenical patriarch or patriarch of Moscow and All Russia. Whatever the exact proposal, Jeremias, with some reluctance since his restoration to the Constantinopolitan throne had not yet been ratified by the Ottomans, rejected it and instead presided over the elevation of the Muscovite metropolitan Job to patriarch on 26 January of the following year. His apparent compliance with Moscow's demand for its ranking immediately after Constantinople and Alexandria in the pentarchy had, however, to await confirmation at a synod in Constantinople attended by the other patriarchs, at which the new patriarchate was placed last after Antioch and Jerusalem. The interpreter on Jeremias's staff in Moscow, Arsenios, archbishop of Elassona (in Thessaly), stayed behind to spend the rest of his life in Russia where he became an influential figure in its spiritual life and wrote a detailed poem on the patriarchal visit.

Having thus, despite his dubious status, cemented a friendship with a powerful protector of Orthodox interests, Jeremias returned to the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, through which he had passed on his way to Moscow and where he had held preliminary talks. Now, with the authorization of Sigismund III to take what action he liked in religious affairs, he deposed and replaced Onesifor Dziewoczka, the incompetent and lax metropolitan of Kiev and chief Ruthenian ecclesiastic. At a subsequent synod at Brest, however, on 6 August 1589, in addition to initiating reforms aimed at raising the moral standard of the clergy, he weakened the powers of the new metropolitan, Michael Rahoza, both by freeing from ecclesiatical jurisdiction and making answerable to himself the influential and largely lay Orthodox Brotherhoods of Vilnius and Lvóv and also by appointing as exarch the bishop of Łuck, Cyril Terlecki (Terletskyi), who thus became his personal representative. This attempt at more direct Constantinopolitan control over the Ruthenians was, however, nullified soon after Jeremias's return to Constantinople, when Terlecki himself was involved in discussions with the Catholics which led to the creation at, ironically, the Synod of Brest in 1596 of a uniate Ruthenian Church.

Halecki's cautiously proposed theory that Jeremias was probably at least cognizant of and not opposed to a Roman–Ruthenian rapprochement has been enthusiastically promoted by Tsirpanlis, who asserts that Jeremias was secretly negotiating with the Catholics in order to gain practical Western aid against the Turks even to the extent of initiating a new crusade (as Byzantine emperors such as Michael VIII Palaiologos had done openly). Thus, he claims, Jeremias dismissed Lutheran overtures even at the risk of displeasing the Ottomans (who made mercantile and military alliances with Protestant powers in their struggle against the Habsburgs and the papacy), and was also fully aware of and even encouraged Terlecki's intentions; while any overt opposition by Jeremias to the Catholics was dictated by the necessary prudence of a leader subject to their bitter foes.

Rome unquestionably did make advances to Jeremias: the popes sent ambassadors to Constantinople and in 1583 Gregory XIII personally praised the anti-Protestant stance of his replies to the Tübingen theologians, and after his deposition the following year even contemplated rescuing him from his Turkish prison in Rhodes and, in furtherance of religious reunion, installing him in Russia or, when the Polish king Stefan Batory expressed strong scepticism about the success of such a move, among the Ruthenian Orthodox in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. It is also beyond question that Jeremias did not rebuff all Roman Catholic approaches, even going so far as to express pleasure at the Greek College (established in Rome in 1577), despite the fact that it sought to convert Orthodox Greeks; and he was himself deposed in 1584 in part on the charge of pro-Roman sympathies, as was his predecessor (and successor) Metrophanes III, and even for being in secret agreement with the pope, although the percipient and sagacious papal envoy Antonio Possevino confessed himself unable to fathom the patriarch's intentions around that time. Jeremias was always conscious of the fact that through the Ottoman *millet* (community) system he was not only spiritual leader but also ethnarch of the Greeks, yet there is no instance of his compromising any article of Orthodox faith for mundane purposes; moreover, he opposed the establishment of the Society of Jesus in Constantinople and even rejected, after some genuine or perhaps politic hesitation, Gregory's repeated request for acceptance of his reformed calendar. Jeremias was

a truly ecumenical Ecumenical Patriarch, a highly intelligent and shrewd diplomat courteously polite to Protestants, Catholics, and Turks, but above all a shepherd ever devoted to the best interests of his Orthodox flock, for which he was willing to seek aid from whatever source he could.

A.R. LITTLEWOOD

See also Ecumenism, Protestantism

Biography

Born *c.*1530 at Anchialos on the Black Sea coast of modern Bulgaria, Jeremias received a good education, possibly at the Patriarchal Academy in Constantinople. He was elected bishop of Larissa (Thessaly) in 1565, and ecumenical patriarch three times between 1572 and his death in 1595. He is remembered for his attempts to promote education, his correspondence with the Lutherans, and his journey to Moscow and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.

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Jerusalem

The importance of Jerusalem for the Greeks stems first and foremost from its centrality within the Christian tradition. The Greek Orthodox comprise the earliest surviving Christian community in the city, and have always been the largest and most influential Christian community there. All Greek activity in Jerusalem throughout Christian history has been linked to the Greek Orthodox Church, and this is still the case in the present day. This linkage is evidenced in the dramatic change in the status of the city of Jerusalem following the Christianization of the Roman empire during the 4th century AD. A relatively unimportant city before the Christianization of Rome, after the empire's formal adoption of Christianity as a state religion Jerusalem rapidly emerged as a pivotal Christian centre. From AD 324 to 638 Christianity was the dominant cultural feature of the city, and Jerusalem a major religious centre for all Christians.

After his accession in 312, Constantine ordered that the Holy Sepulchre should be uncovered and a church built on the site. From that time on, Jerusalem rapidly began to take on the physical appearance of a Christian city, and came heavily under Greek cultural influences. Dominant among these influences was the Greek language, which was the tongue of the liturgy, and most of the clergy, monks, and nuns were of Greek origin and used the Greek language. This Greek dominance continued to prevail even after other Christian Churches had established bases in the city.

The Greek community was part of the Byzantine imperial Church and adopted the terms of the Council of Chalcedon (451). For the following two centuries the Byzantine imperial authorities made repeated efforts to establish the Church of Jerusalem as a bulwark againsr competing forms of Christianity within Palestine and Byzantium. These efforts greatly intensified the Greek religious and cultural tone of the city.

Jerusalem played a crucial role in the quarrels between the two important branches of the Eastern Church – the patriarchates of Constantinople and Alexandria – regarding the question of Jesus' nature (Christology). So strong was the city's importance as a centre of Orthodoxy that its last Byzantine patriarch, Sophronios (634–38), severed Jerusalem's relations with the patriarchates of Constantinople and Alexandria at various points when he felt that they had strayed from the doctrines of true Orthodoxy. The patriarchate of Jerusalem had complete control over the Church hierarchy in the region of Palestine, and the bishop of Jerusalem was its highest-ranking ecclesiast.

After the Muslim occupation of the city in 638 the Jerusalem patriarchate lost its control over the other Palestinian churches, but it remained by and large loyal to the leadership in Constantinople. Still under Islam, during the early 10th century, it became once again the head of the (greatly weakened) Christian community throughout Palestine, which was now administered as one diocese. From that time on, the patriarch of Jerusalem became the leader of all Orthodox Christians within the territory. The fact that there was a hazy line between Church and state organization in the Byzantine empire was a perennial source of political problems, stemming from questions regarding the loyalty of the patriarch of Jerusalem to the patriarchate in Constantinople.

Up to the 1970s, most of the higher ranks in the Jerusalem patriarchate were peopled with Greek-born Greeks, and its cultural character has always been Greek. Moreover, the upper stratum of the lay Greek Orthodox population has historically been Greek-speaking. After the Muslim occupation, much of the laity emigrated, or converted to Islam, or became Arabized. From the 8th century on, Greek texts were translated into Arabic, and Arabic emerged as the third language of the Greek Orthodox Church in Jerusalem (after Greek and Syriac). For this reason there has been a longstanding and constant tension between the higher-ranking Greek-speaking clergy and the lower-ranking, native Palestinian and Arabic-speaking clergy during Ottoman, British, Jordanian, and now Israeli rule of

Jerusalem. Nor was there much love lost between the Greek Christians and the Latin crusaders who ruled over the kingdom of Jerusalem from 1100 to 1187.

Because of the historically close connection between Jerusalem and Greece, a connection fostered by the strong Greek Orthodox presence in the city, political events concerning the Greeks in the west have also been felt in Jerusalem. Most notably, when the Greek War of Independence broke out in 1821, all Muslims were ordered to arm themselves in preparation for an anticipated revolt on the part of Jerusalem's Christians. The rumour spread throughout the city that all its Christians were in collusion with the Greeks, and only through the intervention of Muslim officials was the Christian population protected from attack.

With the decline of Ottoman power, the influence of the Greek community in Jerusalem contracted. This contraction was directly tied to the diminution of the formal privileges granted to the Greek Orthodox Church by the Ottomans through the so-called *millet* ("community") system, and was parallel to the similar decline in privilege of the Orthodox Church in Greece following the establishment of the Greek state. Greek presence in Jerusalem, however, continues to be felt. The possessions of the Greek Orthodox patriarchate in Jerusalem include many of the most important sites in Christendom. There are in addition a number of Greek monasteries in Jerusalem and the vicinity. The Greek Church also owns lands outside the walls of the old city of Jerusalem, where it established the colony of Nikophoria, known today as the "Greek Colony". Many of the Greek Church's holdings, however, have in the modern period been sold to Zionist organizations and to the Israeli government.

K.E. FLEMING

See also Crusades

Summary

Previously an unimportant city in the Roman empire, Jerusalem was propelled into international prominence by the Christianization of the empire in the 4th century AD. The Greek Orthodox have always been the largest and most influential of the city's Christian communities, but the number of Christians living in the city today is very small.

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Jewellery

The art of jewellery making in Greece has a very long and continuous history that provides insight into everyday social and religious life and bears witness to the ingenuity and skill of Greek craftsmen throughout time. The earliest evidence in Greece for jewellery consists of a few small shells pierced with suspension holes that survive from the Palaeolithic period. By the Neolithic period (*c.*6800–3000 BC), however, jewellery making had begun in earnest. Consisting of valuable objects of personal adornment that may have originally served as protective amulets, jewellery during this early time indicated the wealth and social status of its owners. Common materials for jewellery in the Neolithic period included animal bone, shell, clay, stone, bronze, and gold. Precious stones were virtually unknown at this time, and silver was rare as well. Typical forms included highly stylized anthropomorphic pendants, beads for necklaces, simple finger rings, bracelets, pins, and mouthpieces. The gold and bronze jewellery from the Neolithic period is invariably hammered and cut into sheets. The discovery of precious gold and bronze jewellery in Neolithic cemeteries throughout Greece suggests the early emergence of a stratified society in this region.

During the Bronze Age in Greece the art of jewellery-making flourished under influence from the Near East and from Egypt, while also reflecting the unique ideas and inspiration of local craftsmen. Most pieces from this period were discovered in wealthy tombs, where they symbolized authority and prestige. From the Early Bronze Age (*c.*3200–2000 BC) several fine examples of bronze and silver jewellery survive from the Cyclades, including an outstanding silver diadem from Amorgos, with the top cut in a zigzag pattern, which is now on display in the National Archaeological Museum in Athens. Pendants and necklaces of bone, shell, and semi-precious or ordinary stone were common in the Cyclades. Some gold and silver diadems, earrings, pendants, and pins are also known from a few sites on the Greek mainland during the Early Bronze Age. Also important is a rich collection of jewellery, known as the "Thyreatis Treasure", in the Staatliche Museen in Berlin, which dates from *c.*2200 BC and includes an elaborate gold necklace with wedge-shaped pendants. It is thought to come from the Thyreatis in the Peloponnese. The best-known collections of gold jewellery of the Early Bronze Age, however, come from the northeast Aegean, especially from the site of Poliochni on Lemnos and from Troy. The hair spirals, necklaces, pins, and bracelets from these sites are especially impressive for their more advanced techniques, imported from Anatolia, which include filigree and granulation. Spectacular gold jewellery was also being made on Crete in this early period. The most famous examples from the Early Minoan tombs at Mochlos, now on display in the Herakleion Museum, include diadems made of gold sheet with repoussé decoration and fine chains of gold wire, as well as pins, pendants, beads, and bracelets.

During the Middle Bronze Age (*c.*2000–1600 BC) important advances in the technique of goldsmithing took place on Minoan Crete and resulted in jewellery of great artistic skill and sensitivity. One remarkable example that uses the filigree and granulation techniques with great effect is the famous gold pendant of two conjoined bees or wasps with a honeycomb

Jewellery: gold necklace with miniature pomegranates and amphorae, 4th century BC, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford

(dated *c.*1700 BC) that was discovered in the Khrysolakkos cemetery at Mallia and is now on display in the Herakleion Museum. Other equally elaborate pendants of gold combined with semiprecious stones belong to the well-known "Aegina Treasure", discovered in the form of tomb robbers' loot and now in the British Museum in London. This impressive treasure, dated to the 17th century BC, also includes beads, finger rings, earrings, and diadems of gold as well as gold cutouts in the form of discs with dotted rosettes, which would have been sewn on to garments.

The most remarkable jewellery of the Late Bronze Age (*c.*1600–1100 BC) comes from the royal shaft graves in the two grave circles at Mycenae, a citadel rightly described by Homer as "rich in gold". Dating mainly from the 16th century BC, the abundant gold objects from these tombs betray the powerful influence of the Minoan artistic tradition. Indeed, some of them are pure Minoan imports, while others may have been designed by Minoan craftsmen specifically for the Mycenaean market or by Mycenaean craftsmen working from Minoan models. This incredible jewellery, proudly displayed today in the National Archaeological Museum in Athens, includes fine gold diadems (for both sexes) with repoussé decoration; gold cutouts and roundels with repoussé octopuses, butterflies, spirals, and other natural and curvilinear motifs used to adorn luxurious clothing; as well as elaborate pins, earrings, bracelets, armlets, belts, signet-rings, and necklaces of gold, amber, and semiprecious stones.

During the zenith of the Mycenaean civilization (15th–13th centuries BC) the type of jewellery produced throughout Greece (with the exception of Crete) is different in many important respects from its forerunners in the shaft graves and elsewhere. For example, certain types of jewellery, including diadems, pins, and earrings, were no longer popular. Instead, necklaces with relief beads and pendants are very frequent. These beads and pendants are often in the form of stylized floral and marine motifs known from traditional Minoan iconography. The gold beads and pendants were made from gold sheet hammered into stone moulds, filled with magnetite sand, and often decorated with granulation, enamel (introduced *c.*1425 BC), grooves, and ribs. Moulded glass paste and faience beads were also used with increasing frequency as well as beads of semiprecious stones in a variety of shapes.

After the collapse of the Mycenaean world around 1100 BC, very little jewellery seems to have been produced in Greece for about 200 years. What little has been discovered from this period is of the simplest form, mainly hair spirals, as well as basic rings, bracelets, and pins, generally made of bronze, occasionally of iron, and rarely of gold that was probably

acquired by melting down precious metal hoards amassed from Bronze Age tombs. Between 900 and 600 BC, however, Greek contacts with the more prosperous Near East were renewed and the art of jewellery making was revived, initially in Athens, Lefkandi in Euboea, Corinth, and Knossos, and later throughout the entire Greek world. This early Iron Age jewellery exhibits the reintroduction of sophisticated techniques (e.g. repoussé, filigree, granulation, engraving, and inlaying with stone, glass, and amber), as well as the introduction of newer techniques such as the making of chains and the casting of gold. Forms and motifs of Minoan-Mycenaean jewellery were also reintroduced, though the occasional rediscovered object demonstrates the influence of the arts of Phoenicia and Asia Minor. New Eastern motifs appeared as well, including lions, sphinxes, griffins, and the "Mistress of the Animals", who later became identified with the Greek goddess Artemis. Among the most outstanding objects from this period is a pair of elaborate gold earrings with pendant pomegranates (*c.*850 BC) that were found in a rich woman's grave on the northwest slope of the Areopagus in Athens and are now on display in the Agora Museum. These earrings were probably made by an immigrant Phoenician artisan who set up a workshop in Athens and passed on his skill to local craftsmen.

Very little jewellery of the Archaic period survives from Greece proper, perhaps because of a shortage of gold that led to jewellery making in less durable materials such as bronze and silver. Spectacular gold jewellery does survive, however, from Cyprus, south Russia, and south Italy, suggesting that Greek goldsmiths were working for foreign customers. After the Persian Wars gold was more common in Greece, and although much of this was reserved for religious uses (e.g. chryselephantine statues), impressive jewellery was also produced. Greek jewellery of the Classical period continues Archaic types and decoration but the orientalizing figures and creatures are generally replaced with floral and geometric motifs (e.g. acorn- and vase-shaped pendants), while mythological themes and figures, such as Aphrodite and Eros, also become more popular. Rich decorative techniques such as granulation and filigree begin to decline and the simple sculptural forms of the gold are increasingly emphasized. What results is jewellery that is characterized by a more typically Hellenic sense of balance and restraint. Popular forms include diadems, earrings, necklaces, bracelets, and finger rings. Most impressive, however, are the new gold wreaths, with the leaves and fruit of oak, myrtle, olive, and laurel trees, which were received as prizes; worn in religious ceremonies, processions, and banquets; dedicated in sanctuaries; and buried in private tombs as signs of prestige and victory. Two such golden wreaths, one of oak, the other of myrtle, were found in royal Tomb II at Vergina, which dates from the late 4th century BC.

The Hellenistic period is arguably the greatest age of Greek jewellery. There is much surviving material because, for the first time since the Bronze Age, gold was very plentiful in Greece and Macedonia as a result of Philip II's annexation of the gold mines in the area around Mount Pangaeum in Thrace and the dissemination of captured Persian treasures following the eastern campaigns of Alexander the Great. The popular forms of jewellery in this period remained essentially the same with the addition of animal- or human-headed hoop earrings, necklaces with chains terminating in lion heads, necklaces formed of straps with pendant buds or spearheads, necklaces with linked rather than threaded beads, and medallions from the tops of ornamental hairnets that are decorated with high-relief heads of various Greek deities. Most remarkable, however, are the elaborate gold diadems discovered in wealthy tombs throughout the Greek world, which are most often decorated with the new central motif of the Heracles knot (a reef or square knot). This motif had an amuletic purpose as well as a decorative one, was associated with marriage and rites of passage in general, and, more specifically, was a symbol of Alexander the Great that evoked the idea of his kinship with the gods. One of the most elaborate examples of this type of diadem, dating from the 2nd century BC, was found in Thessaly and can be seen today in the Benaki Museum in Athens. The centre of this piece is a richly decorated Heracles knot inlaid with garnets. This decorative use of semiprecious stones as well as coloured glass and enamel was also an important innovation of the Hellenistic period that introduced polychromy into the design of Greek jewellery, thereby transforming its appearance.

During the Roman imperial period the main types of Greek jewellery were continued while their often complex designs incorporating naturalistic elements were gradually replaced with simpler compositions, including semiprecious and precious stones as well as stylized, curvilinear motifs. In the early Byzantine period this more abstract style developed into something quite delicate and refined, reflecting the well-attested Byzantine taste for expensive and elaborate jewels. The Byzantines were also well supplied, through domestic sources and trade, with gold, ivory, precious stones, and pearls, which were especially popular. Jewellery, meant to convey wealth and status, was produced for all members of the hierarchical Byzantine society. However, gold jewellery with precious stones was generally restricted to the court and to the Church, while poorer members of society might adorn themselves with plain, undecorated finger rings, bracelets, earrings, and buckles made of bronze, glass, brass, or silver. Rich court officials had beautiful signet rings characteristically decorated with complex monograms as well as elaborately worked sashes of office studded with precious stones.

The most impressive jewellery of the Byzantine period, however, was that which adorned the ears, necks, wrists, fingers, and waists of wealthy Byzantine ladies. In much of this jewellery ancient Graeco-Roman techniques and motifs persisted and were joined by newer techniques such as embossing, engraving highlighted by niello, and cloisonné enamel as well as by new Christian iconography. Popular forms included finger rings in gold, silver, bronze, and glass, which often had bezels adorned with imperial coins, inscriptions, or Christian motifs such as the common scene of Christ uniting the hands of a bride and a groom. Earrings were also very popular during this period and they come in a variety of forms including open-work radiate roses with pendant beads, decorated hemispherical or crescent-shaped discs, and hoops with pendant rods and beads of precious stone. Bracelets of many types are also among the finest jewellery of the Byzantine period. One especially impressive example from the 11th century, which demonstrates the persistence of naturalistic and orientalizing motifs in Greek jewellery, consists of two hinged pieces of gold with a broad band of impressed lions, griffins, and birds high-

lighted by niello. It can be seen today in the Kanellopoulos Museum in Athens. Also important were the necklaces with protective pendants in the form of pagan amulets, such as coins with the head of Alexander the Great, Christian crosses, and *constantinata*, popular coins with the head of Constantine.

During the difficult times after the fall of Constantinople and the Turkish conquest of Greece the Byzantine practice of wearing coins persisted as a means of transporting and protecting personal wealth, and pendant coins became one of the most common elements of the traditional Greek jewellery of the post-Byzantine era. This traditional jewellery, unlike that of earlier periods in Greek history, was usually made from silver for ordinary people to wear at weddings and other ceremonial events. Wealthy people occasionally did order gold jewellery in a traditional style, but more frequently imported jewellery from Europe as a sign of status. Imported western jewellery or imitations of it were also popular on the Greek islands during this time. But on the mainland traditional jewellery featured a sophisticated combination of metalworking techniques, such as hammering, perforating, casting, filigree, and granulation, as well as enamel working and, to achieve a polychromatic effect, the use of humbler materials including pieces of coloured glass, carnelians, agates, turquoise, rock crystal, and coral beads. Head ornamentation was an important aspect of this traditional jewellery which included elaborate diadems, often decorated with coins, and gold wire caps (*tepelikia*). Long earrings accompanied these headdresses and were often suspended from them. Large pectoral pieces and intricate necklaces (*yiordania*) were also an important feature of traditional jewellery. An impressive silver-gilt example in the Museum of Greek Folk Art in Athens featuring layers of hanging rosettes inlaid with coloured glass, stone, and cameos is typical of Attica, but the specific designs vary by region. Massive belt buckles, however, are the commonest type of traditional jewellery because they formed part of everyday as well as ceremonial dress. Aprons of coins, amulets, bracelets, and rings are also very common. But perhaps the most remarkable feature of traditional Greek jewellery is its continuity with past tradition, evident especially in the decorative motifs, an inexhaustible series of recreations and stylizations from the natural world, as well as in the apotropaic or magical motifs, such as pomegranates, two-headed eagles, crosses, and other Christian imagery.

The development of Greek jewellery in the modern period can be divided into two phases. The first phase begins with the liberation of Greece in 1827 and the abandonment of traditional costumes and their accompanying jewellery. European-style jewellery was widely imported during this time, leading to a decline in the age-old techniques and styles of Hellenic jewellery. In the 1940s and 1950s, however, foreign visitors to Greece began to demand Greek jewellery as souvenirs, leading craftsmen such as Agapitos Poulkouras and Joseph Rousanidis to begin producing silver jewellery featuring the monuments of ancient Greece and copies of ancient coins, which they sold in small shops around the Acropolis. During the 1960s there was remarkable growth in Greek jewellery as the result of increasing and more sophisticated international demand. In this context Efthymios Zolotas, Ilias Lalaounis, and others were instrumental in reviving ancient techniques and breathing new life into the traditional forms of Minoan, Mycenaean, Classical, and Byzantine jewellery. The success of these pioneers, the continued international demand, and the growth of Athens as a tourist centre, led the Greek Handicraft Organization to promote the entry of artists into the jewellery-making sector, thereby broadening its horizons. Like the traditional craftsmen of the past centuries, these artists, including the self-taught Sophia Thanopoulou "Maroulina", continue to draw on the incredibly rich diachronic heritage of Greek jewellery as well as on the forms and motifs of the natural world. As a result, even in its most contemporary, avant-garde creations, Greek jewellery maintains its unique tradition and is a remarkably eloquent expression of Greek cultural identity.

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See also Enamel, Glass, Gold, Ivory, Metalwork, Silver

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Jews

The Jewish encounter with Hellenic culture has been a continuing phenomenon for the past three millennia. This essay is meant to stimulate new approaches to this encounter from the perspective of Jewish influence on Hellenism. It is with the intellectual fusion of these two unique cultures during the Hellenistic period that the foundations for modern society were firmly laid. This essay will note the main points of the Hellenic–Judaic helix through two major periods (Hellenistic and Byzantine), and residual influence in the modern period. There will be a brief discussion of the origins of the

Hebrew–Hellenic encounter during the biblical period from about 1300 to 300 BC.

The contest between the Aegean migration following the Trojan War and the Israelite survivors of Egyptian bondage lasted throughout the 1st millennium BC: from the period of the Judges (12th–11th centuries) through to the Maccabean period (2nd–1st centuries). During this millennium the fusion had already begun: King David married an Aegean – Ma'akhah (perhaps Maxe/a), the daughter of Talmi (Ptolemaeos), tyrant (*seren*) of Geshur, and perhaps Eglah (better Aigle/a), and his mercenary corps was drawn from Philistines and Cretans. Thus the beginning of mutual influence dates to the first encounters between Hebrew and Hellene in Israel. Compare too the legends in the Book of Judges (compiled late 8th century BC: specifically the parallels between Jephthah's daughter and Iphigeneia, Samson and Heracles, etc.). Greek mythology recalls the Palestinian milieu while archaeology has uncovered the continuity of the Aegean diaspora in Israel throughout the late Judaean monarchy and the period of the Persian empire. The brief expansion of Hellenism in Israel under the influence of the Ptolemaic and Seleucid kingdoms was reversed by the upsurge of Maccabean nationalism and transmuted later by Hellenized Hasmoneans. It was only with the establishment of the Roman hegemony that the Hellenic polytheists reasserted their identity; at the same time the way was prepared for their later adoption of Christianity. The ability of the Aegean diaspora to survive the monotheistic revolution of the Israelites during the 1st millennium BC provided one conduit through which the Hellenic culture of Athens was able to penetrate Israelite society.

The historical and cultural background of the Hellenization of the Jews is fundamental to understanding the necessity for the appearance of the Septuagint. In turn, the Septuagint affected Hellenism and the Hellenes through Egyptian–Jewish polemic (e.g. Manetho) long before its appropriation by the Christians. Post-biblical Jewish influence on Hellenism during the period from the 6th century BC to the 6th century AD, which followed post-biblical influence of Hellenic culture on Jews and Judaism, set the pattern for the subsequent 1500 years of western civilization through the autonomous developments within Latin, Greek, and Slavic Christianity, as well as Islamic and Judaic civilizations, the last dispersed among all the former. It was based on a discussion of man(kind) in social, ethical, psychological (i.e. study of the soul), philosophical (i.e. study of wisdom), rational, scientific, and mystical contexts. Here the Jewish concept developed through the techniques of Greek philosophy and rhetoric to produce an intellectual framework and created the means to "adjust" Hellenism into a monotheistic world view that has sustained western civilization until the present day.

The contacts and mutual influence between the two independent cultures underwent serious change after the conquests of Alexander the Great. The incorporation of the land of Israel and its scattered colonies (henceforth "diaspora") into a Greek-dominated *oikoumene* (world) necessitated a fusion of Hellenic and Israelite culture if the latter was to survive in the newly defined diaspora which offered to anyone the opportunity to *hellenizein* (i.e. to become a Hellene by learning the language and customs of the conquerors). While the autonomous temple-based culture of Jerusalem and the proto-synagogue Aramaized culture of Babylonia were slow to Hellenize, the Jewish communities of Egypt quickly adapted to the new situation. Widely scattered as part of the administrative and military structure of Persian Egypt, they adjusted to the Macedonian conquest and flocked to the new city of Alexandria. Only fragmentary information is available on the early stages of a parallel process among the Jewish military colonies in Anatolia or the Jewish merchant colonies (metics) in Greece and Macedonia. The widespread Jewish diaspora can be later traced in the Greek translation of Ezekiel (2nd century BC), Philo's report of his embassy to Gaius (1st century AD), and the peregrinations of Paul of Tarsus (1st century AD).

The Jews acculturated rapidly to the new system, in particular through the adoption of the Greek language which replaced the Persian and Aramaic they had used under the previous empire. Within a generation after the establishment of the Ptolemaic kingdom they were Hellenophone, which caused a problem with respect to their sacred scriptures. Since the middle of the 5th century BC Ezra, a priest and royal scribe at the Persian court, had declared that the five books of Moses comprised their Torah, their God-given teaching (Josephus' *nomos*). Earlier prophets, such as Jeremiah, had emphasized the teachings of Moses with a stress on ethical standards and the command to remember their God and Zion. In Ptolemy's Egypt the Jews spoke Greek and so their Torah had become incomprehensible without the mediation of priests and preachers. Hence it was necessary to "interpret" a Greek version for these Jewish Hellenes.

The Septuagint, i.e. the translation of the "Seventy" as retold in the legend of the "Letter of Aristeas" (1st century BC), is one of the seminal phenomena of western civilization. It brought the Torah of Moses and the mythical-legal traditions of the Jews to the wider Greek-speaking world where it became part of the discussion between Hellenes and Jews, both polemically and apologetically, and also provided a means for syncretism as well as fusion of both Hellenic and Hebrew traditions. The Septuagint then was the Jewish claim to the ultimate historical and ethical truth in the Hellenic (i.e. Greek-speaking) *oikoumene*. Since it challenged Hellenic mythical-poetic traditions and philosophic posturings as did no other representation from the conquered peoples, it provided the intellectuals with a challenge to their own systems. Indeed, the first verse of the Septuagint, which allowed for a future doctrine of *creatio ex nihilo* somewhat different from the original Hebrew, would be at the centre of Christianity's polemic against polytheism and its critique of philosophy and science until the 20th century.

The impact of the Septuagint (the Pentateuch was translated in the 280s BC and the remainder by the end of the 1st century) was threefold. The Egyptian priest Manetho wrote an Egyptian history to show the Hellenes the antiquity of Egyptian civilization and its cult. He also denigrated the Jews in response to the Septuagint's rendering of the Exodus story. To his claim that the Jews were lepers banished to Jerusalem by the Pharaohs, later Hellenic rhetoricians from Alexandria and other schools added negative comments and misinterpretations about the Jews and their cult in Jerusalem. These were all gathered and refuted by a Jewish priest, Joseph ben Matityahu (Josephus Flavius), in his classic apologia *Contra Apionem*, written at the end of the 1st century AD. Yet the Septuagint and translations

of the former and latter prophets (Joshua to Kings and the classical literary prophets) as well as other scriptures (both those later accepted into the biblical canon and a host of others) added a wealth of historical and ethical material to support the Jewish world view. In the extant Hellenic literature of the Hellenistic and Roman periods there are as many pro-Jewish as anti-Jewish sentiments, attesting to a perceived powerful and magical secret wisdom among the Jews. And there is the phenomenon of Hellenes converting to Judaism or adopting Jewish ethical teachings, even as the evolving Judaism contributed to the multiplicity of syncretic religions and sectarianism that characterized the period.

Three seminal Jewish figures participated in this process, all three of whom were to become virtual if not actual saints in the Greek Orthodox version of Christianity that became the dominant religion of medieval Hellenism: Philo of Alexandria, Paul of Tarsus, and Josephus Flavius. Philo produced an intellectual synthesis of Mosaic teaching and middle Platonic philosophy that successfully allegorized ancient Hebrew legends and laws into the philosophic language of Hellenistic Alexandria. His extensive corpus of commentaries provided the later Church with the tools and materials that would enable it to Christianize this material for its missionary and didactic missions. Paul provided a different synthesis. He successfully reinterpreted the northern Mediterranean fertility myths through the language of Pharisaic Judaism into an expanded conception of the Jewish messiah, the annointed one (*o christos*) who would bring salvation to his followers. So Saul of Tarsus, a former Pharisee (biblical interpreter), used his training in the oral commentary to the Torah, which had been further developed through the adoption and adaptation of Hellenistic rhetorical devices, and became Paul, the teacher to the non-Jewish Hellenes of the new chapter in human salvation initiated by the career of a Palestinian Pharisee who had been crucified by the Romans and later resurrected by the God who made heaven and earth (*cf.* Septuagint, Genesis 1: 1ff). These two near contemporaries, Philo and Paul, thus provided the methodology and ideology for a new synthesis of Hellenistic society and its salvation that was to dominate Hellenism until the present day. Josephus, the third figure, was a priest in Jerusalem who became one of the military leaders in the revolt against Rome (66–73 AD). After his surrender to the Romans, he became tutor to Titus and later a client of the Flavians in Rome where he undertook to write the official story of the Jewish war with Rome (*Jewish War*, 7 books) and to retell the history of the Jews (*Jewish Antiquities*, 20 books). The works of Josephus Flavius were later accepted as a secular (if not divinely inspired) commentary to biblical history by the Christian Church. As such, these works entered the church canon and provided factual and stylistic influence on subsequent theological and historical works among all linguistic varieties of Christianity, in particular Greek Orthodoxy. Indeed, Eusebius of Caesarea is acknowledged by modern scholars to he responsible for the adjustment of Josephus' mention of Jesus of Nazareth into a Jewish acknowledgement of the latter's legitimacy as the Christ, the true Messiah; this was, no doubt, a serious contribution to the "canonization" of Josephus.

Much of the Jewish literature of the Hellenistic and Roman periods was adopted, with appropriate Christianized interpolation, into the library of the new religion. This literature was excerpted by Eusebius of Caesarea and its fragments survive primarily in his massive two-volume apology against polytheism (*Praeparatio Evangelica*) and polemic against Judaism (*Demonstratio Evangelica*). Other works were incorporated into the canon of the Christian Bible in the 4th century AD which comprised works that, with the exception of the Gospel of St Luke and several letters, were written by practising and believing Jews who had accepted Jesus of Nazareth as the expected Messiah. Even more Jewish material survived as Christian apocrypha. Much of this literature contributed to the Hellenic Church's missionary and didactic policies. Martyrdom, for example, which derived from the Books of the Maccabees, became central to Christianity before Constantine the Great, and later became the ideology for the militant among Christians and Muslims to the present day. The survival of non-canonized material also contributed to the growth of heresy and to the ongoing questions of the nature and arrival of the promised redemption. It also contributed to the prevalence of magic and mysticism within Christian and Jewish Hellenic society during the medieval period.

Jewish influence on Hellenism during the Byzantine period affected the areas of proselytism, diplomacy, and intellectual exchange. Proselytism was one of the primary agents in the expansion of medieval Hellenism's power: it was a formal part of Byzantium's political and diplomatic mission on the one hand to save souls, and on the other, to protect and enhance the empire. Here the Jews served as a foil in the argument against polytheism (particularly among the Slavs whom the Byzantines wished to "Hellenize"); Jews too were subject to more aggressive missionizing, including forced baptism, which became part of Byzantine policy under Herakleios, Leo III, Basil I, Romanos Lekapenos, and John III Vatatzes. During the 10th-century persecutions Hasdai ibn Shaprut, vizier to Abdulrahman III, caliph of Islamic Spain, apparently interceded directly and indirectly with Basil's son Leo and Constantine Porphyrogennetos, the former by letter, the latter by negotiation with the kingdom of the Judaized Khazars to which Byzantine Jewish refugees had fled. The Jewish "mission" to the Turkic tribes, though not planned, was part of the competition between Latins and Greeks for the Volga Turks who moved south of the Danube (eventually these Slavicized Bulgars entered the orbit of Byzantium). The 9th-century apostles to the Slavs, Sts Cyril and Methodios, were from Thessalonica; it was perhaps there that they learned the Hebrew letters which they were to add to the Greek alphabet to form the basis for the Cyrillic alphabet still in use among the Slavic Orthodox peoples. Direct and indirect Jewish influence through translated texts and personal contact is pertinent to the understanding of medieval Slavic and Russian Orthodoxy.

Jews continued to be educated through their own traditions (despite Justinian I's prohibition on teaching the *deuterosis*, the "Jewish tradition") based on a growing body of commentary in Hebrew. This commentary was no less than an encyclopaedia of ancient and contemporary wisdom translated into Hebrew and organized around appropriate verses in the Bible or melded into a running commentary on the Mishnah, a 2nd-century code of Jewish law. Thus ancient and medieval physics were discussed within the context of creation in Genesis, etc. Christian scholars came to study with those scholars who were

able to explain the original Hebrew as well as ancient and contemporary scholarship which was continually being rendered from Greek and Arabic into Hebrew throughout the Middle Ages (and in Sicily and Spain into Latin). Jerome, for example, had conferred with Palestinian rabbis for his Vulgate translation of the Bible, while in the 14th century Simon Atumano, Archbishop of Thebes, produced a polyglot Bible which included a Hebrew version of the Old Testament with contemporary Jewish comments. Greek scholars discussed astronomy and astrology with their contemporaries, and Jews learned from them as well as teaching each other, e.g. the polymath Shabbetai Donnolo of 10th-century Oria (Byzantine Calabria).

The widespread Jewish diaspora in 12th-century Byzantium can be traced in the unique itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela. There he lists communal leaders and population figures for Jews in some 25 Byzantine communities – e.g. Patras, Thebes (2500), Thessalonica (where he apparently mentions only those in the silk industry), Constantinople; his numbers add up to about 9000 which modern scholars differently extrapolate to a total Jewish population between 12,000 and 100,000: perhaps 75,000 is most useful. Jews were widely settled throughout the empire, mainly along the important commercial routes and the major islands where settlements had existed since Hellenistic times as well as in centres such as Mistra, Andravida, Ioannina, Adrianople, Nicaea, Ephesus, and Philadelphia. Heretics, of course, went to the Jews to learn non-Orthodox readings of ancient literature. Scholars such as George Gemistos Plethon (late 14th–15th century) studied with Jewish scholars (in his case, in Ottoman Edirne/Adrianopolis), as did others who followed in his footsteps in Constantinople shortly after the Ottoman conquest. After the rise of Kabbalah (literally "reception", referring to the new stage in Jewish mysticism) after 1200 as the preferred approach to Jewish mysticism, Jewish scholars used this Judaized Neoplatonic system to explore creation in ways beyond the limited inherited approaches of Plato and Aristotle. Indeed, when combined with traditional Jewish speculation, it was apparent that Greek scholars could in no way compete with them, as Shemarya Ikriti (late 13th–14th century) argued. His comment had a long tradition, for as early as the 2nd century AD Numenius the Pythagorean was often quoted for his remark: "For what is Plato, but Moses speaking in Attic?", i.e. whatever wisdom may be found among the Hellenes was already anticipated by the Jews. This apologetic proposition had been argued more fantastically by Artapanus and other Hellenistic Jewish authors since the 2nd century BC.

In addition to scripture, Hellenic Christianity is indebted to Judaism for the architecture of the church, the structure and content of the liturgy, its music and the hymnal, as well as its calendar. The Hellenistic synagogue, a variation on the Greek model, provided the symbols and architectural structure for the churches, at least those not appropriated directly from the polytheists through the sanctification of their temples by 4th-century monks. The iconostasis was originally set up as a protective barrier for the king and high priest Alexander Yannai who was pelted during Sukkoth (Tabernacles) by the followers of the Pharisees on the grounds of his not being of Davidic descent. The tradition of illustrating Bible scenes in fresco and mosaic is also taken partly from early synagogue tradition (e.g. Dura Europus). The liturgy is based, like that of the synagogue, on the ritual of the Temple in Jerusalem with the substitution of Christ for the traditional sacrifice. The Orthodox hymnal is replete with the *kantika* of Romanos the hymnographer who, it has been argued, was a convert from Judaism and brought the hymnal traditions of Nisibis to the Hellenic world to produce some of its most stirring prayers. In turn, the Palestinian Jews, during the persecutions of Justinian, developed the *piyyut* (from *poiesis*), that rendered the oral tradition into poeticized liturgical prayer and thus helped preserve Judaism until the Muslim conquest three generations later. The tradition of Temple music, as investigated by Eric Werner and others, fertilized the medieval synagogue and permeates both Western and Eastern church liturgical music. In the adopted biblical calendar, the Orthodox Easter (Pascha) is the most important holy day; it is the Christian reinterpretation of the Hebrew Pesach (Passover) and occurs on the Sunday following the Hebrew dating of that holiday. Indeed, Justinian tried unsuccessfully to sever by law this dependence which appeared to him as a denigration of Christian dominance over Judaism.

Hellenism moved beyond the Hellenic world during the medieval period into the language cultures of Arabic and Latin, both monotheistic offshoots of Hellenistic culture. While Syriac Christians facilitated the translations from Greek via Syriac to Arabic, Jews proficient in Aramaic and Arabic were able to transfer this newly available knowledge to Hebrew and Latin for the edification of the West. Greek-speaking Jews participated in the project of Frederick II Hohenstaufen, king of Sicily (1198–1250), to translate treatises directly from Greek to Latin. It was in Spain that Neoplatonism was Judaized, partially through the splendid poetry of Solomon ibn Gabirol, and was wedded to the language of the Wisdom of Solomon in the Books of Kings and Chronicles to produce the first stages of Kabbalah. Thirteenth-century developments show interesting parallels to the rise of hesychasm, particularly through the career of Abraham Abulafia. The writings of Maimonides (12th century), in particular his *Guide for the Perplexed*, harnessed Aristotle's logical system for monotheism. From Arabic it was translated first to Hebrew and then to Latin where it became the foundation for Thomas Aquinas to build his great *Summa Theologica*. The latter in turn stimulated an Aristotelian rationalist movement in late Byzantine philosophy.

In the modern period the (re)secularization of Hellenism as the foundation for modern physical and social sciences attracted Jewish scholars such as Baruch Spinoza, Karl Marx, Sigmund Freud, Albert Einstein, and Jacques Derrida. These later developments, however, remove us from the world of the Greek-speaking Hellenists where Greek- and Spanish-speaking Jews continued to live scattered in the towns and villages of the Balkans alongside a polyglot society of Hellenic Christians; just as the Hellenic Orthodox world was overshadowed by the Ottoman conquest, so too the Greek-speaking Romaniote Jews sank to a level of survival during the three centuries prior to 1821. Indeed, the structure and content of the Greek Orthodox diaspora under the Ottomans parallels the vicissitudes of the Jewish diaspora under the Christian Romans (4th to 5th centuries). In the 19th century both Christian and Jewish Hellenes awoke to the French clarion of nationalism which

stimulated ancestral resonances and led to the rebirth of independent Hellenic and Jewish states. At the same time, the regional diasporas of Hellenes and Jews began to collapse, with the survivors withdrawing to the homeland, under Nazi, communist, and Islamic pressures. Their respective diasporas are today further afield, divorced physically from the Mediterranean and surviving, indeed flourishing, under the auspices of the Hellenistic Jewish idea of a monotheistic socioreligious culture.

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See also Antisemitism, Septuagint

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John I Tzimiskes *c.*925–976

Emperor

John I Tzimiskes (969–76) was one of the more successful military men who seized the throne and continued the territorial expansion of the Byzantine empire during the 10th century. He was born in Chozana, Armenia, and his name is an Armenian rendering of the Greek word *Mouzakites*, meaning "shorty". John enjoyed some notable military successes during the reigns of Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos (913–59) and Romanos II (959–63). In 958, when he was the *strategos* (supreme commander) of Mesopotamia, he captured the cities of Dara and Samosata, as well as inflicting two defeats on the talented Hamdanid general Sayf al-Dawlah, sending the captives to be paraded through Constantinople. In 962 he commanded a wing of the army led by Nikephoros Phokas into Cilicia. Later he assisted in the capture of Aleppo. After the death of Romanos II (963) John, who was then *strategos* of the Anatolika and the empire's second most famous general, decided to support Nikephoros Phokas in his bid for power. As a reward for his support, Nikephoros made John *domestikos* (commander) of the east. Subsequently John defeated the Arabs near Adana in 964. Later, in 969, Nikephoros would earn John's resentment by transferring the control of eastern operations to Peter the Stratopedarch. John had important dynastic connections of his own: his mother was the sister of Nikephoros Phokas and his first wife Maria was the sister of Bardas Skleros. He was also a grandson of Bardas Phokas and related to John Kourkouas. He eventually came to power as a result of a military coup against the emperor with the cooperation of Nikephoros's wife Theophano, who was also John's lover. Theophano was the former wife of Romanos II and mother and regent of the future emperors Basil II (976–1025) and Constantine VIII (1025–28). Nikephoros was assassinated in 969 while sleeping on the floor of his bedroom in front of his icons. The patriarch Polyeuktos refused to sanction John's coronation unless he did penance for the murder. Among the patriarch's preconditions was that John should send Theophano away. He complied and later married Theodora, the daughter of Constantine VII and aunt of the legitimate emperors Basil II and Constantine VIII.

John waged war successfully on multiple fronts. He won a spectacular victory over Svjatoslav, the Russian prince of Kiev, in Bulgaria. After repulsing Svjatoslav's initial assault, he captured the Bulgarian capital of Preslav, which he renamed Joannopolis after himself, and freed the imprisoned Bulgarian emperor Boris. He later surrounded the main Russian army at Dristra and, after a three-month siege, forced it to capitulate. He renamed the town Theodoropolis after St Theodore Stratelates, who purportedly assisted the Byzantines during the siege. Later he forced Boris to abdicate and annexed most of Bulgaria, organizing it into six new themes. In addition, he demoted the Bulgarian patriarchate to an archbishopric and placed it under the control of Constantinople. John also made

an alliance with the German emperor, Otto I, by agreeing to marry his niece Theophano to Otto's son, the future Otto II, in 972. With the conclusion of these arrangements in the west, John was able to focus his attention on extending the eastern frontiers of the empire. In 972 he captured and destroyed Nisibis. In 974 he returned to the east, imposing tributary status upon the emir of Mosul. In 975 John led his forces against the Fatimid Caliphate by campaigning in Syria. He was successful in forcing Damascus to pay tribute and later captured Beirut. He reportedly planned to continue campaigning in the east, hoping eventually to recapture Tripoli and Jerusalem.

In addition to his military achievements, John also passed some legislation concerning the alienation of soldiers' land to the control of the *dynatoi* (notables) and the monasteries. He was pressured to repeal Nikephoros Phokas's legislation, which had not only forbidden future donations of land to the monasteries but also banned the establishment of new ones. John had a standing policy that required local theme officials to investigate the estates of local magnates and monasteries. Any peasants found on these estates who were previously under obligation to the state were to be returned to state control. Like previous emperors, John recognized the need for maintaining the pool of smallholders who formed the basis for military recruiting; however, he also allowed some peasants to remain under the control of the monasteries. In 976 a rumour arose that John was planning to investigate the estates owned by the grand chamberlain Basil Lekapenos in Cilicia, whose property was made up of lands previously belonging to the state. Basil supposedly had the emperor poisoned to prevent this. John died in Constantinople on 10 January 976, most likely a victim of typhoid.

JOHN F. SHEAN

Biography

Born *c.*925 at Chozana in Armenia, John was a most successful general. After the death of Romanos II in 963 he supported Nikephoros Phokas as emperor and in return was made *domestikos* of the east. But in 969 Nikephoros transferred the command and John took his revenge by murdering the emperor. Seizing the throne for himself, John continued to expand the territory of the empire. He died in Constantinople in 976.

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John II Komnenos 1087–1143

Emperor

John Komnenos (1118–43) was the eldest son of Alexios I Komnenos (1081–1118). Because of the prejudices of our few extant written sources we know virtually nothing of his activities before 1118, and only slightly more thereafter. He became heir to the throne in 1092 when Alexios's victory over the Pechenegs – a fierce nomadic people who had settled within the northern Balkans – allowed him to disinherit the *porphyrogennetos* ("born to the purple") Constantine Doukas. Doukas had been betrothed to John's sister, Anna Komnene, who had therefore expected to succeed to the throne. John's promotion provoked a bitter rivalry between the siblings, and ultimately led to an attempt by Anna to prevent her brother's accession in 1118. Her coup, in which her mother Irene Doukaina was also involved, failed, and Anna was banished to a nunnery, where she later wrote her *Alexiad*, the history of her father's reign. John is systematically eliminated from her text: Anna mentions her brother only five times, each time with disdain or hostility. Finally she opines: "We enjoyed peace until the end of [Alexios's] life, but with him all the benefits disappeared and his efforts came to nothing through the stupidity of those who inherited the throne."

A fuller, although far from complete, picture of John's reign is painted by the two principal historians of the 12th century, John Kinnamos and Niketas Choniates. From these we learn that John entrusted military commands to relatives, the *sevastoi*, but put civil affairs into the hands of more obscure men, such as John of Poutze, who centralized the administration of the army and navy, commuting service for cash payments in maritime districts. John took personal command of the imperial forces, and campaigned extensively in Anatolia and lands further east, capitalizing on his father's successes. He fought wars against the Danishmendids and captured the strongholds of Kastamon and Gangra after 1134. He restored Byzantine authority in Cilicia in 1137, and in the following year accepted the homage of Raymond of Poitiers, the ruler of Antioch. His subsequent drive into Syria ended with an unsuccessful assault on Aleppo. In the west John was more circumspect, campaigning against northern nomads (probably Cumans) in 1122, and twice against the Hungarians between 1127 and 1129. For most of the 1130s John was allied with the German rulers Lothar III (1125–37) and Conrad III (1138–52). In 1136 Byzantine troops took part in Lothar's campaign, which pressed into Norman-occupied southern Italy as far as Bari. Relations with Conrad were even better, and from 1140 were destined to be cemented by the marriage of John's fourth son, Manuel, to Conrad's sister-in-law, Bertha of Sulzbach. Thus, John was free to concentrate his attention and resources on his eastern campaigns, and it was in Cilicia in 1143 that he was killed in a hunting accident. By then two of his two eldest sons, Alexios and Andronikos, had also died, and the succession was disputed by the two younger sons: Isaac, who had returned to Constantinople, and Manuel, who had been with his father and thus in command of the imperial army. Manuel succeeded.

Although we can extract reliable facts for John's reign from the histories of Kinnamos and Choniates, both authors were more concerned with subsequent events. Both treat John's reign as a mirror that reflects the deeds of his son and heir Manuel I Komnenos, and both have clear and clearly opposed agendas. Kinnamos, Manuel's personal secretary, invites his audience to compare Manuel's actions, his personal valour and achievements, with those of his father; they are expected to recognize the author's innuendo, and conclude with him that the son is greater than the father. Choniates, writing after

John II Komnenos: mosaic (*c.*1118) in Hagia Sophia showing the Virgin and Child standing between the emperor John II Komnenos and his wife, the empress Irene

1204, identifies the roots of the cataclysm in Manuel's reign, highlighting his "Latinophilia", and invites his readers to contrast this with the solid and measured successes achieved by John in the east. Perhaps the best example of the two approaches to John is contained in the contrary accounts of his campaigns against Hungary in the years 1127–29. Although they are fairly insignificant within the context of John's 25-year reign, both authors devote disproportionate space to these exchanges. The reason for this would have been more obvious to contemporaries, who were familiar with Manuel's greatly lauded campaigns against Hungary, than it is to modern readers, who are similarly invited to compare and contrast these with John's limited achievements.

There are a few contemporary accounts of John's activities from which we can glean further information, although they are far from objective: his reign witnessed a flowering of court panegyric, which appears to have complemented the revival of the imperial triumphal procession in 1133. Theodore Prodromos wrote at least 22 verse encomia in honour of John, 11 of which were concerned with the emperor's departure for, or return from, campaign. The glorification of warfare is central to the construction of John's imperial image, and Prodromos celebrates John's qualities as a commander, the spilling of blood and sweat, the vision of the just war of reconquest, and the predicted extension of the emperor's dominion to the ends of the earth. Other striking images of John's imperial style have survived as enduring beacons in the general obscurity. A famous mosaic in Hagia Sophia in Constantinople portrays the emperor with his Hungarian wife, Piroska-Irene (to whom he was married in 1105), flanking the Virgin with infant Christ. To Piroska's left stands the figure of John's eldest son, Alexios, who was to succeed. John and Alexios are also portrayed together in John's illuminated copy of the Gospels, standing beneath the enthroned Christ who bestows their crowns. The faces of the emperor and his son differ from all others in the manuscript, suggesting an attempt by the artist to capture their actual appearance. A third powerful image of John's sovereignty is his roundel, now in the Byzantine collection at Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C. John was buried, with his wife, in the Pantokrator monastery in Constantinople, his own monastic complex, for which the foundation charter (typikon), dated October 1136, survives. The three parallel church buildings stand today, with the Turkish name Zerek Kilise Camii.

PAUL STEPHENSON

See also Komnenos family

Biography

Born in Constantinople in 1087, John succeeded his father Alexios I in 1118, to the dismay of his sister Anna Komnene who had hoped for the accession of her husband. He personally commanded the imperial forces and campaigned vigorously in the east in Anatolia and Syria, and in the west in Hungary and Italy. He died in a hunting accident near Anazarbos in Cilicia in 1143.

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John III Vatatzes *c.*1192–1254

Emperor of Nicaea

The emperor John III Doukas Vatatzes (1222–54) consolidated the power of the Byzantine empire in Nicaean exile and laid the groundwork for the reconquest of Constantinople in 1261. He inherited the throne as the son-in-law of the first Laskarid emperor of Nicaea, Theodore I Laskaris (1204–22). John III Vatatzes seized every opportunity to expand the boundaries of the Nicaean state and to tighten the loop around the Latin-held Constantinople. He preferred diplomacy to war, but when necessary he proved to be a talented military commander. In 1224 he defeated the Latins at Poimanenon in Bithynia, depriving them of all their possessions in Asia Minor. His initial advance in the Balkans was impeded by the expansion of the despotate of Epirus. In 1224 the ruler of Epirus, Theodore Komnenos Doukas (*c.*1215–30), seized Thessalonica from the Latins and had himself crowned emperor of the Romans. In the following year he expelled the Nicaean garrison from Adrianople and seemed poised to recapture Constantinople. The ambitions of the Epirot ruler were, however, thwarted by the Bulgarian king Ivan II Asen (1217–41), who defeated him in a pitched battle in 1230 and took him prisoner. Thrace and Macedonia soon fell into Bulgarian hands.

John III Vatatzes managed, however, to benefit from a Nicaean-Bulgarian alliance in 1235 that allowed him to establish a permanent European foothold in southern Thrace. Having stabilized his eastern frontier in the period 1225–31, he launched an attack on Constantinople in 1235/36 together with the Bulgarian forces of Ivan II Asen. The Greek-Bulgarian siege of Constantinople failed, however, since the Bulgarian king withdrew from the alliance at the last moment, realizing that the Nicaean state was a more dangerous enemy that the enfeebled Latin empire. After Ivan II Asen's death, John III Vatatzes took advantage of the preoccupation of Bulgaria with the Mongol threat and conquered Macedonia easily in 1246. In the same year he entered Thessalonica victoriously and put in prison its last ruler Demetrios Komnenos Doukas (1244–46), Theodore Komnenos Doukas's son. He did not manage to subjugate Epirus, which was now under the rule of the energetic despot Michael II (*c.*1237–71), Theodore Komnenos Doukas's nephew. Michael II was forced in 1252 to surrender to John III the cities of Servia in Thessaly and Durazzo in Albania. A marriage alliance between the rulers of Nicaea and Epirus in 1254 failed to cement the unity between the two Greek splinter states. Epirus was to remain an independent principality until 1340, when it reverted briefly to Byzantine control.

John III Vatatzes maintained friendly relations with various western powers in a diplomatic effort to weaken the Latin empire. In 1237 he concluded an alliance with the Holy Roman emperor Frederick II Barbarossa. After the death of his wife Irene Laskaris, he married, around 1244, Frederick's daughter Constance (Anna). When this alliance failed to bring concrete results, he entered in 1248 into negotiations for union with the Roman Church. He went so far in his concessions as to suggest a recognition of the papal primacy should Rome withdraw its support from the Latin empire.

John III Vatatzes was extremely popular among his subjects and after his death he was honoured as a saint in the churches of Magnesia, where he died, and Nymphaion, where he often resided. In the early 14th century, during the reign of Andronikos II (1282–1328), the inhabitants of Magnesia and other neighbouring cities invoked his name to help them against the advancing Turks in Asia Minor. This posthumous reputation seems to be grounded in the emperor's social policies. He supported the small peasant holders against the landed aristocracy and rebuked the nobility for its luxurious expenditure. He himself encouraged the elimination of luxury items from the imperial court. The historian Nikephoros Gregoras relates the story of how John III Vatatzes used the revenue of his private poultry farm to buy a crown for his wife Irene Laskaris adorned with pearls and precious stones; he called it the "egg-crown". John was one of the few late Byzantine emperors to protect local craftsmanship and manufacturing, cloth production in particular. He issued a special law forbidding the purchase of luxury goods and other articles that were imported from the west. This legislation was directed primarily against the Venetians and the Genoese, who obtained no commercial privileges in Nicaea during his reign. When he died on 4 November 1254, he left Nicaea a vigorous and prosperous state with a territory that had doubled in size since the beginning of his rule. The recapture of Constantinople, however, had to wait until 1261.

John Vatatzes' official canonization by the Orthodox Church took place during the second half of the 17th century. His memory is still observed on 4 November and he is known as St John the Almsgiver. In the last quarter of the 14th century the bishop of Pelagonia George wrote a *Life* of him. A 17th-century vernacular version of the saint's life exists as well.

DIMITER G. ANGELOV

Biography

Born *c.*1192, John married Irene, daughter of the emperor Theodore I Laskaris, and in 1222 inherited the throne from his father-in-law. He defeated the Latins at the battle of Poimanenon in 1224, driving them out of Asia Minor, and advanced into the Balkans. He doubled the size of the Nicaean empire and left it poised to recover Constantinople. He died at Magnesia in 1254 and was canonized in the 17th century.

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John VI Kantakouzenos *c.*1295–1383

Emperor

Descended from an important family of wealthy warrior-nobles, John Kantakouzenos (1341–54) was born in or around 1295, apparently after his father's early death. He was brought up by his mother Theodora, a woman of great ability and character who had family connections with the reigning house of Palaiologos.

By 1320 John was married to Eirene Asenina, an intelligent and spirited woman of Bulgarian and Palaiologan ancestry, whose energy and decisiveness strongly influenced her husband. By this time, too, he was associated with the restless and ambitious prince Andronikos Palaiologos, grandson of the reigning Andronikos II (1282–1328). He used his position and wealth in support of the younger Andronikos's ambitions during the intermittent civil war (1321–27) that replaced the elder emperor with his grandson as Andronikos III (1325/28–1341).

Holding the title of Grand Domestic (*Megas Domestikos*), Kantakouzenos, an able general, became the chief adviser and right-hand man of the new emperor who, at one point of mortal danger, even proposed that he become co-ruler. When Andronikos III died (15 June 1341), leaving behind as heir a 9-year-old son, John V Palaiologos, by his Latin wife Anna of Savoy, Kantakouzenos again resisted suggestions that he assume the imperial title himself, content to be virtual regent for the legitimate dynastic successor. But his erstwhile allies and colleagues – above all the ruthless Alexios Apokavkos – jealously conspired against him while he was out of the capital. Winning the support of the gullible Anna, they seized the government, arrested members of Kantakouzenos's family, and stripped him of office. Reluctant to respond too drastically, Kantakouzenos finally accepted the advice of his wife and advisers and proclaimed himself emperor (26 October 1341), though he scrupulously recognized the legitimate rights of Anna and her son as taking precedence.

Despite his wealth and the support of many other wealthy nobles, Kantakouzenos's position was initially weak, and social tensions prompted violent populist reactions against him as a symbol of the hated elite, particularly bitter ones developing in Thessalonica. In desperation, Kantakouzenos sought help from Stephan Dushan of Serbia and from Turkish princes – first the emir Umur Beg of Aydin, and then the Ottoman emir Orhan. As a result, Kantakouzenos has been condemned for introducing such dangerously ambitious outsiders into the Byzantine scene. In fact, both sides in the conflict cultivated such alliances, which rendered a weakened Byzantium vastly more vulnerable to its neighbours. Kantakouzenos's progress was furthered by the murder of Apokavkos (11 June 1345), who had maintained control of Constantinople. The usurper eventually felt sufficiently strong to stage a formal coronation at Adrianople (21 May 1346), though still affirming his commitment to John V's rights. The following February, Kantakouzenos secured entry into the capital, and arranged a settlement by which his claim to co-sovereignty was accepted and his daughter Helena was married to John V.

Kantakouzenos further solidified his family's position by sending his second son, Manuel, to rule the Byzantine Morea with the title of despot. He managed to suppress the separatist regime in Thessalonica (1350). Above all, he made every effort to restore the empire's frayed boundaries, to stimulate economic recovery (often paying state expenses out of his own wealth), and to bring peace to the Byzantine Church that was torn over the controversial religious doctrines of hesychasm. But the terrible Black Death (1347–48) debilitated the Byzantine world, while the deepened weakness of Byzantium was displayed when Kantakouzenos was caught between the rival powers of Genoa and Venice during their so-called Galata War (1350–52), fought partly in Byzantine waters, at Byzantine cost.

Mounting internal problems, and an inability to cope with increasing Turkish invasions, served to discredit Kantakouzenos's earnest efforts, at a time when John V, increasingly dissatisfied with his status, became restless and threatened new rounds of civil war. Though still reluctant, Kantakouzenos finally retaliated by allowing the coronation (April 1353) of his own eldest son, Matthew Kantakouzenos, as his new co-emperor – a step he had long tried to avoid. Matters came to a head when John V effected entry into Constantinople (November 1354). A series of agreements aimed at accommodating a continued double sovereignty led to Kantakouzenos's decision to abdicate (10 December 1354).

He remained active over the next few years, arranging terms for the dethroned Matthew and for Manuel's continuance in the Morea. Meanwhile Kantakouzenos – and his wife as well – took monastic orders, assuming the name of Joasaph, but still enjoying the honorary title of emperor. While he devoted much of his time to literary activity in semi-retirement, he was nevertheless still active in public life. His daughter remained as John V's empress, his friends were restored to influence at court, and he himself was retained as a trusted adviser by his weak and shallow son-in-law. He was acknowledged as one of the important people at court: some finding him even more powerful now than when he had been emperor on his own. On a number of occasions he wrote or made official appearances, in effect as acting emperor – as in June 1367 when he presided over a discussion with a papal legate over the possibilities of a reunion of the Churches of Rome and Constantinople. John was recurrently involved with this question, which he took very seriously, though insisting upon the rights and integrity of the Orthodox position.

Kantakouzenos was in Constantinople when his grandson Andronikos IV, the selfish eldest son of John V, imprisoned his father and brothers and attempted a government of his own (1376–79). When this regime collapsed, Andronikos fled to his Genoese allies in Galata, taking his grandfather Kantakouzenos and his mother Helena with him as hostages. Upon their release, the weary ex-emperor decided to withdraw from the capital and settle in the family territories of the Morea at Mistra, joining his son Matthew (who had replaced

the deceased Manuel). There Kantakouzenos died (15 June 1383) at the age of 88.

Even in its decay, Byzantium could still produce able and dedicated leaders, and Kantakouzenos stands out as one of the last two really great ones, together with his true heir, his grandson Manuel II Palaiologos (emperor 1391–1425). Kantakouzenos's talents certainly qualified him for the throne, but his and his realm's tragedy was that he had to compensate for lack of legitimate claim by recourse to usurpation, at the price of a ruinous civil war that invalidated much of the good work he might do. If his ambition may be condemned, his hesitation must be recognized, the provocations he suffered may be acknowledged, and his scruples should be respected.

Both as patron and as contributor, Kantakouzenos played an important role in Byzantium's late intellectual life. Interested in the thought of western Christendom, he supported Demetrios Kydones and other scholars in their exploration of the works of Thomas Aquinas and other Latin theologians, previously unknown in Byzantium. But he parted company with them in remaining staunchly loyal to the traditions of Orthodoxy, whose rights he upheld without compromise against Latin claims. During his monastic years, he himself composed a number of theological treatises, in which he argued against the beliefs of Islam and of Judaism, as well as on behalf of the ideas of his friend and supporter, the brilliant theologian Gregory Palamas. His literary masterpiece is his *History* of his era, a memoir of apologetics for his usurpation, but a serious and unusually lucid work that is one of the finest examples of Byzantine historical writing.

John Kantakouzenos saw his place as clearly in the tradition of "Roman" sovereignty that extended back some 14 centuries, but as inseparably linked with the spiritual dimension of Greek Orthodox faith. It is thus appropriate that, of the surviving portraits we have of him, the two finest by far show him, respectively, as ruling emperor presiding over a church synod (Paris, Bibliotèque Nationale cod. gr. 1242, f.5), and in a double portrait, on one side as reigning emperor and on the other as the aged monk Joasaph (f.123 of the same manuscript).

JOHN W. BARKER

See also Kantakouzenos family

Biography

Born *c.*1295, John Kantakouzenos was the (probably posthumous) son of a Peloponnesian aristocrat. He became the friend and chief adviser of the emperor Andronikos III, after whose death in 1341 Kantakouzenos acted as regent for the legitimate emperor John V Palaiologos, becoming co-emperor with him later that year. Crowned in Adrianople in 1346 and in Constantinople in 1347, Kantakouzenos reigned until 1354 when he abdicated and became a monk, though he remained an adviser at court for another 25 years. He died at Mistra in 1383.

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John VIII Palaiologos 1392–1448

Emperor

Born in mid-December (16, 17, or 18) 1392, John was the first of the surviving six sons of the emperor Manuel II Palaiologos (1391–1425) and the Serbian princess Helena Dragaš. He was groomed from the outset as his father's heir, who addressed to him several literary works of regal admonition. Manuel betrothed him to a princess from Moscow (1411), whom John married in 1414 when he was 22 and she was about 11. John served as regent for his father during Manuel's sojourn in the Morea (1415–16), after which John was sent in his own turn (1416–18) to assist his younger brother, despot Theodore II, in expanding Byzantine control in the Peloponnese at Latin expense, and to gain military experience in the process.

When he returned to Constantinople, John found that his child-bride had died, leaving him available for a second diplomatic marriage. This his father arranged with Sophia of Montferrat, member of a Latin family with which the

John VIII Palaiologos, a bronze medal commemorating the emperor's visit to Italy in 1438–39

Palaiologan dynasty had long-standing contacts. This new marriage was a personal failure: John found Sophia repulsive and avoided her. But their wedding (19 January 1421) also served as the occasion for the ageing Manuel to crown his heir as co-emperor.

By then aged 28, John had become restless and he apparently led a court faction that advocated an activist policy more directly hostile to the Turks than Manuel's careful conciliation had been. Manuel yielded initiative to him and, when the benevolent sultan Mehmet I died later that year, John attempted to intervene in the Turkish succession. This brought down the wrath of the actual heir, sultan Murad II, in the form of sharp military reprisals and a formidable siege of Constantinople in the summer of 1422. The siege was soon abandoned, thanks to the diplomatic machinations of Manuel, who resumed leadership, only to suffer a paralysing stroke (1 October). John assumed direction of the government thereafter. Leaving his younger brother Constantine as his regent, he undertook (November 1422–November 1423) his first journey to the West, in hopes of securing aid from Venice and Sigismund of Hungary. The venture was a failure, however, and in his absence Constantine negotiated a disadvantageous but much-needed peace with the Turks.

The old emperor Manuel died on or around 21 July 1425, leaving John full title to the Byzantine crown. The following year his hapless wife, Sophia of Montferrat, managed (or was allowed, or pressured) to flee westward. Securing a welcome annulment of the marriage, John proceeded (September 1427) to take as his third wife the love of his life, the beautiful princess Maria Komnene, daughter of the Greek emperor of Trebizond. Shortly after, he departed to spend about a year (1427–28) in the Peloponnese, joining his brothers in further conflicts with the local Latin regime and beginning an arrangement for their sharing of rule in the Byzantine Morea.

The withered Byzantine empire was now completely dependent upon the Turks. Murad II spent most of his reign (1421–51) rounding out territorial conquests generally in the Balkans. In 1423 the Byzantine government had sanctioned the transfer to the Venetian Republic of the important city of Thessalonica, which the Byzantines could no longer defend, and in 1430 Murad's forces took it by storm. Otherwise, Turkish policy bided its time with regard to Constantinople. This relative repose allowed John to renew efforts to seek western aid in order to save what was left of Byzantium from a final onslaught that would be inevitable sooner or later. His father had sought such aid, offering talk of Church union with Rome even while realizing that such a controversial step would be too dangerous to pursue in earnest. By contrast, John seems genuinely to have believed in the cause of union, partly because he had more confidence than his father in its viability, but also because he shared with other Byzantines of his day at least some sense of shame at the mere idea of schism among good Christians.

Accordingly, while doing his best to keep his unruly brothers in line, John began negotiations with the papacy. John would allow no abject submission of Constantinople to Rome, but insisted upon the holding of a full-dress Church Council that the Orthodox could regard as Ecumenical and authoritative, and where issues of difference could be fully debated. For a while, John also conducted parallel negotiations with the Council of Basel, the reformist gathering then attempting to challenge papal authority. But, eventually, John agreed upon terms with pope Eugenius IV and, in November 1437, set out for Italy with his patriarch and a large retinue of Greek clerics, advisers, and courtiers (among them, the philosopher George Gemistos Plethon). The council opened (January–February 1438) in Ferrara, but was transferred (January 1439) to Florence, where the Greek delegation prompted much excitement among artists and intellectuals. Though plagued by ill health, and often distracted by his passion for hunting, John led the Byzantine delegation responsibly, respecting dissident opinions while working for compromises that would achieve union with minimal Byzantine humiliation. The union formula was finally achieved, and the decree, signed by the Greeks on 5 July 1439, was proclaimed in Florence Cathedral the following day.

Certainly aware of the problems in persuading his people to accept the controversial union, John did not return to Constantinople until the following February, where only his respected mother could dare give him the news that his beloved wife, Maria, had died six weeks earlier. The emotional blow is often taken to explain John's failure to pursue actively the official implementation of union at home. But John also faced bitter opposition from clerical and popular circles that made him temporize. At the same time, he had to deal with more squabbling among his younger brothers, and even an outright attack upon him by one of them, Demetrios (1422), who played upon anti-unionist sentiments. Above all, John's hopes for serious western aid which had been promised to Byzantium as the reward for union, were dashed when a formidable crusade army was crushed by the Turks at Varna (10 November 1444), and a supplemental effort under John

Hunyadi of Hungary was smashed soon after (17 October 1448). Worn out and disillusioned, John died on 31 October 1448, not yet 56. The vindictive clergy denied him proper funerary rites at his interment. Childless, he was followed on the throne by his favourite brother, Constantine, who was left to face Byzantium's terminal disaster at the fall of Constantinople (1453).

Though there are suggestions of early intellectual interests, John was neither brilliant in intellect nor clever in statesmanship. Less noble and sophisticated than his father, he was nevertheless earnest and dutiful, perhaps eventually tragic. At a time when "Hellenic" identity was caught between the faded "Roman" tradition of Byzantium and the beleaguered spiritual integrity of Orthodoxy, he tried dutifully if imprudently to serve each and reconcile both. Of slight stature and eventually somewhat crippled, John was highly sensitive to ceremonial and to the prerogatives of his rank. While not handsome, he bore himself well and made a strong impression, as suggested in surviving artistic representations of him, including Byzantine family portraits and, especially, western characterizations. Like his father during the latter's own European journey, John captured the fascination of western artists, who either portrayed him directly (Pisanello, Filarete) or took him as an idealized model for biblical, Roman, or eastern sovereign types (Benozzo Gozzoli, Piero della Francesca).

JOHN W. BARKER

See also Palaiologos Family

Biography

Born in 1392 the eldest son of emperor Manuel II, John was crowned co-emperor with his father in 1421. John had some military success in the Peloponnese but in 1423 Thessalonica was transferred to Venice and in 1430 it fell to the Turks. A keen advocate of church union with Rome, John led the Byzanrine delegation to the Council of Ferrara-Florence in 1438–39. The reward for union was to be military aid but the crusading army was defeated by the Turks at Varna in 1444. John died at Constantinople in 1448.

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John Chrysostom, St *c.*347–407

Archbishop of Constantinople

John was the most renowned preacher in the history of the Greek Orthodox Church – hence his posthumous epithet, Chrysostom ("golden mouth"). He was also the most prolific writer among the early Church Fathers, filling 18 volumes of Migne's *Patrologia Graeca*. His approach to exegesis, learned under Diodorus of Tarsus, followed the literalist Antiochene school rather than the allegorical interpretations of Origen and the Alexandrian scholars.

His career in the Church – in Antioch until 398, then as archbishop of Constantinople – was honed by a decade of desert asceticism (*c.*370–80). Most of John's extant homilies, more than 700, date from his Antioch period. His sermons include the well-known series *On the Statues*, delivered in 387 to calm the fears of the Antiochenes who had destroyed the statues of emperor Theodosius I and his beloved wife during a riot. During this time he also produced significant treatises: in defence of monasticism, *On Virginity*, and his patristic masterpiece *De Sacerdotio*, on the dignity of the priesthood.

In 398 Chrysostom's oratorical reputation made him the choice to succeed Nectarius as archbishop of Constantinople. One of his first acts was to sell Nectarius' rich furnishings, using the revenues to set up hospitals and charities for the poor. As in Antioch, his sermons made him popular among his congregations. But his episcopacy was tragic. In his desire to reform the morals of the capital, he made an enemy of empress Eudoxia, whose lavish lifestyle he castigated from the pulpit. Again, observing the worldliness and laxity of his own clergy, he began a programme of unwelcome reform. Among other things, they were no longer permitted to reside with lay sisters (*subintroductae*) in spiritual, unmarried, and celibate intimacy.

In 401, during a three-month tour of the churches of Asia Minor, John presided over the election of a new bishop of Ephesus and removed six bishops for simony. His actions, however, were of questionable validity in the eyes of his episcopal victims – now enemies – since Heraclea, not Constantinople, was still the seat of the metropolitan of Asia Minor. The door was open to accusations of impropriety against John himself.

When John returned to Constantinople, his relationship with the empress had changed. A tactless reference in a sermon to Eudoxia as Jezebel had proved his undoing. In 403 an occasion for ruining him presented itself: he had sheltered four Egyptian monks exiled for Origenism, and so now he himself underwent trial for alleged Origenist leanings. Urged on by Eudoxia, bishop Theophilus of Alexandria convened the court at Chalcedon (Synod of the Oak), outside John's jurisdiction. The most serious of the charges was his comparing the empress to Jezebel, which was twisted into a charge of inciting the populace to rebellion. John was deposed and sentenced to lifelong exile. However, intimidated by threats of a popular uprising and frightened by an earthquake in the city, Eudoxia urged her husband Arcadius to revoke his sentence. But his triumphal return was temporary: the friendship of Eudoxia did not last.

Later in 403, a monument to Eudoxia was erected near the old Hagia Sophia cathedral. Its boisterous dedication lasted days and disrupted church services. When John called upon the

St John Chrysostom, whose many surviving works have ensured that he is as highly regarded by the western Church as by the eastern

city prefect to disperse the crowds, Eudoxia took it as a personal affront. On the feast of the beheading of John the Baptist, John is reported to have made yet another rash comparison: "Again Herodias dances; again she seeks the head of John." This time John's enemies had a new weapon: two canons of a council of Antioch (341) stating that a deposed bishop reinstated by a secular government should be permanently unseated.

On Holy Saturday in 404 John defied an imperial order of house arrest to baptize personally some 3,000 catechumens he had instructed that year. During the solemn service imperial troops dragged the half-dressed catechumens from the cathedral, injuring many. The capital was as if in a state of siege during Easter week. John's supporters, the Joannites, were imprisoned and tortured. In June John was carried away by boat to exile in Asia, and soon afterwards Hagia Sophia and the neighbouring buildings were destroyed by fire, inaugurating new persecutions of suspected Joannites. John wrote letters to Arcadius' brother Honorius, who was ruling in Ravenna, and to pope Innocent I, and both wrote futile appeals to Arcadius.

John's place of exile was Cucusus in southeastern Turkey, "the most abandoned spot in the world". We have his own report of the difficult journey in his numerous extant letters, all belonging to his period of exile. Chronic fever often nearly finished him, and bandits were a constant threat. When he finally arrived in Cucusus, he found the bishop willing to serve him. Old friends from Antioch visited him, and he corresponded vigorously with them, with supporters in the capital, and with several bishops. His letters dealt with matters of discipline and addressed Arianism and the practices of Jewish converts to Christianity who were still attending synagogue. Meanwhile, he cared for the poor in the region and, in short, performed nearly all of his former episcopal functions. Among the hundred-or-so recipients of his 240 letters, his intimate friend, the deaconess Olympias, received 17, in which John poured forth his deepest self.

Even after the death of Eudoxia in 406, John's enemies sought to harass him to death. Arcadius ordered him moved by forced march to Pityus on the northeastern shore of the Black Sea. On the way, on 14 September 407, John died; he was only 60. In 438 his body was moved to the church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople by Theodosius II and his sister Pulcheria. Theodoret is the source that this Theodosius, son of Eudoxia, prayed over the body of John Chrysostom to intercede for the sins of his parents. John's biography had already been written by a contemporary, Palladius, and by historians of the 5th century, who first used the surname Chrysostom and exalted his character and life's work.

John's lasting influence over doctrine is subtle. His homilies took a common-sense literal approach to biblical texts and from them drew lessons for practical life and morality. He believed overly in free will; but, he urged, when man freely chooses the good, God provides the grace to carry his intentions through. The relative lack of interest of the Orthodox Church in the issue of grace may therefore be attributed to John.

He taught that Christ was both divine and human, son of Mary perpetually virgin. He was a powerful advocate of the Real Presence in the Eucharist. In his Homily 24 on 1 Corinthians ("The wise men adored Christ in the manger; we see him not in the manger, but on the altar"), John is often credited as a distant source for the Melismos Eucharistic service in which the celebrant cuts the eucharistic bread through a cloth image of the infant Jesus placed over it, visually identifying the child as changing into the crucified victim. The liturgy associated with his name is still in use in the Greek and Russian Churches. Finally, though he seems not to have acknowledged the primacy of Rome, John Chrysostom stood for the moral authority of altar over throne.

DANIEL C. SCAVONE

Biography

Born in Antioch *c.*347, John was a pupil of Libanius and Diodorus of Tarsus. He became a monk and spent a decade as a desert ascetic. Returning to Antioch in 380, he was ordained a deacon and a priest and gained a reputation as a preacher. Some 700 of his sermons survive. In 398 he was chosen to be archbishop of Constantinople. After differences with the empress he was deposed in 403, briefly recalled, and banished in 404. He died in exile in 407. He is the patron saint of preachers.

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John of Damascus, St

Monk and theologian of the 7th/8th centuries

There is no clear evidence for the date of John Damascene's birth: estimates range from 650 to 675. He was born in Damascus, to a family that had retained its commanding role in the fiscal administration of the area throughout the political changes of the 7th century. John seems to have succeeded his father, and served under the Umayyad caliph in Damascus. In preparation for this, he received a good Classical education, as is evident from his writings. At some stage, perhaps in the second decade of the 8th century, he left the administrative service and became a monk in the vicinity of Jerusalem, by tradition (only late-attested) at the monastery of Mar Saba, the "Great Lavra". There he devoted himself to his monastic vocation, attained some fame as a preacher, and composed many literary works, both works of theology and liturgical compositions. He died sometime before 754. John is ranked as one of the four great hymnographers of the Orthodox Church.

His importance for the Hellenic tradition lies in his being the greatest representative of the process in which the Byzantine Christian identity was formed. This is at first sight surprising, for John was never a Byzantine subject, and apparently never set foot on territory ruled by the Byzantine emperor (the account in the late *Life* of his visit to Constantinople is certainly legendary). With the collapse of Byzantine rule in the eastern provinces, including Palestine, in the 7th century before the Arab advance, Christians who had supported the Christian orthodoxy of the emperors and the Councils found themselves in a situation, deprived of political support, where many of their neighbours rejected their interpretation of Christianity, or even Christianity at all. So for most of the 7th century they had to define and defend their understanding of orthodoxy against the heresies of Monophysitism and Nestorianism, popular in the east, against Jews and Samaritans, against what the monks of Palestine in particular regarded as the new imperial heresies of Monenergism and Monothelitism, and eventually against triumphant Islam. This led to a good deal of polemical literature, and attention to matters of logic and the definition of the quite complex terms in which Christological orthodoxy had come to be expressed, as well as to patristic support for their position, for the orthodox had now to convince by the force of their arguments, no longer being able to rely on the secular arm. Hitherto conciliar orthodoxy had had many supporters in Palestine, especially among the monks: it was these whom John joined. John's works thus reflect the fruits of nearly a century of reflection on the nature of orthodoxy, refined in the crucible of political defeat.

John's principal prose work is his *Fount of Knowledge*, which in its final form probably belongs to the last decade of his life, though it is clearly the work of several decades' labour. It is in three parts: *Dialectica*, *On Heresies*, and *On the Orthodox Faith*. The first part is a fruit of the concern for cogent argument, and consists of definitions of logical and metaphysical terms, drawn mostly from 6th-century Alexandrian logical commentaries. The second part, consisting of 100 chapters, reproduces an epitome of Epiphanius of Salamis's *Panarion*, followed by chapters on later heresies drawn from other sources, closing with an account, composed by John himself, on the latest heresy, as he saw it – Islam. The third part, also consisting of 100 chapters, contains brief statements of the fundamental doctrines of the Christian faith (including a long section on the constitution of the human person), drawn almost entirely from the writings of the Fathers. The whole work is, in fact, a huge anthology, compiled by John in accordance with a tradition that can already be traced in the 7th century in, for instance, the works of St Maximos the Confessor. Modern theologians are generally rather rude about John's lack of originality, but John did not, any more than any other Byzantine, seek originality, but truth, a truth he found in the tradition of the Fathers. In his *On the Orthodox Faith* he sought to lay bare the theological synthesis, or theological vision, that his immediate predecessors, not least St Maximos, had discerned in the Fathers. A measure of his success is the popularity of this work from the 9th century onwards: it was translated into Arabic and Old Slavonic by the 10th century, into Georgian by the 11th, into Armenian by the 13th, and into Latin twice in the 12th century, with a revised translation by Robert Grosseteste in the 13th. This Latin translation was Thomas Aquinas's principal recourse for knowledge of the Greek patristic tradition.

A further measure of John's unerring grasp of what the theological vision of Orthodoxy entailed can be seen in his prompt and comprehensive response to the iconoclast policies of the emperor Leo III. By the early 730s he had composed two treatises in defence of the veneration of icons, both flanked by extensive patristic florilegia, and only a little later composed a third, more systematic, treatise, supported by a huge patristic florilegium. These treatises, written with the freedom of one beyond the political reach of the Byzantine emperor, contain perhaps the most broadly based theological defence of the veneration of icons ever written, in which a theology of the image or icon is set out, which reaches from the inner life of the Trinity, through the creation of humans in the image of

God, to the essential role played by the image in human understanding, the critical distinction between worship (*latreia*) and veneration (*proskynesis*), and the fundamental role played by matter in the Christian vision of reality affirmed. For his pains, John was anathematized at the iconoclast council of 754, but acclaimed at the Seventh Ecumenical Council in 787.

It is not clear how much of the considerable amount of liturgical poetry ascribed to John is really his, but his most famous poem, the Easter Canon, is generally acknowledged as genuine, and it is likely that several of the canons that survive under his name for the other great feasts are genuine, too. If this is so, then John would appear to be in himself a complete representative of what Byzantine Orthodoxy inherited from Palestine after the final repudiation of iconoclasm in 843. For it was not simply the theological vision that 9th-century Byzantium received from Palestine, but the whole development of the monastic office as well, which was eventually to replace the cathedral office in the church of Hagia Sophia and wherever Christianity was embraced in its Byzantine form.

ANDREW LOUTH

See also Iconoclasm

Biography

Born in the second half of the 7th century in Damascus, John received a good education and followed his father into the administrative service of the Umayyad caliphate. Later he became a monk near Jerusalem, perhaps at the monastery of Mar Saba, where he devoted himself to preaching and writing. He played a major role in the definition of Byzantine Orthodoxy and is one of the great hymnographers of the Church. He died *c.*750.

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John Klimakos, St *c.*575–*c.*649

Theologian

John, who now takes his name from his most famous work (*The Ladder of Divine Ascent*), is one of the most important witnesses of the tradition of the Christian desert ascetics. He lived most of his life at St Catherine's, Sinai, and composed perhaps the most influential work of all eastern monastic literature.

He was born sometime around 575 and at the age of 16, *c.*591, he came to Sinai, from an unknown origin, and attached himself to Abba Martyrius, as his neophyte. Daniel of Raithu, his roughly contemporaneous hagiographer, is somewhat obscure about the precise sequence of events; but Abba Martyrius died when John was about 20 years of age, in 595. At this time John must have made his monastic "profession", that is, emerged from his master's cell, no longer a neophyte. Daniel suggests that at this time John went out from Sinai to practise the solitary life, retiring to the Thola region of the desert. He took a cell about 8 km from the main church and here (apart from some journeys to a monastic complex near Alexandria which he speaks of) he lived for 40 years. It was a place of absolute quietude and awesome withdrawal, still pointed out to visitors to Sinai today.

His writings tell of his progress in the monastic life, through what he describes as "standard" stages: his initial tears, his false elations caused by demonic influence, his hatred and disgust for his cell and a desire to flee from the monastic life, his spiritual confirmation in his vocation through perseverance, his beginning of a ministry to others (monks and laity), and finally his acquisition of the gift of "unceasing prayer", and his converse with angels.

After he had pursued the ascetic struggle for many decades, his fame attracted disciples. As more and more began to seek out his cell for spiritual wisdom, the inevitable grumbling began. Monks began to say that he was too garrulous. He silenced criticism by refusing to speak to anyone at all for an entire year, until the community at Sinai finally complained that they had been unfairly deprived of his instruction. It was probably shortly after his year of silence that he was elected as the new superior of the Sinai community, and would have returned to the cenobitic mother-house around 635.

In his final years at Sinai Higumen John of the neighbouring Raithu monastery asked him to compile the work for which he became famous: *The Ladder of Divine Ascent*. It gives practical guidance on the stages of the monastic life and ascetical progress, and probably represents the synoptic form of the numerous spiritual discourses that John had given over the course of a long life. Many parts, therefore, are highly traditional. John's importance lies not so much in his innovative skills, but in his synthesis of an old tradition — a desert master writing in the twilight time, for Arab invasions would soon change the face of Christian Egypt for ever.

After several years as a teacher and leader, John died around 649, according to one tradition appointing his own blood-brother George to be the next abbot, though prophesying that he would rule less than a year. His feast day in the Christian calendar is 30 March and he is also commemorated in the Eastern Church on the Fourth Sunday of Great Lent.

John's book is arranged in 30 sections, the supposed steps of a ladder. The first 23 explain the vices that are dangerous for ascetics; and sections 24–30 interpret the virtues that ought to define a monk. The collation of traditional materials is loosely organized in the work, and some commentators have tried too hard to discern a tight internal structure. Nevertheless, there is a clear sense of breaking with base passions and of ascending

to the stages where the disciple can enjoy close spiritual union with God. In placing Love as the highest step in the ascent, John of Sinai was intending to correct the highly intellectual tradition of Evagrius which had enjoyed a strong vogue in earlier periods of Christian desert spirituality. John sees the monastic ideal as the arrival at *hesychia*, or inner and outer quietness. The *logismoi*, the teeming thoughts that arise in a human mind and heart, need to be identified and exposed without guile or resistance. This ascesis is the necessary prerequisite for advancing to the desired state of continuous prayer. To enable the monk to recognize the spirits of wickedness clearly and arrive at self-awareness in the quest for God, John sets out numerous aphoristic definitions. These have the character of much-circulated common monastic wisdom.

John's spiritual tradition simplified (thereby making its dissemination widely successful) the spirituality of the Gaza school, that of Barsanuphius, and Dorotheus his disciple, and was to go on to be the root and foundation of Athonite monasticism and influence the Orthodox East to the present day. The work teaches that the simplification of nature (its quieting down into spiritual hesychasm), which the monk required to advance his prayer, would be assisted by the constant repetition of a sentence concentrating the mind (for example on the name of Jesus, and his saving power): so-called monologistic prayer. The great Christian tradition of the Jesus prayer grew out of this.

Of the book's 30 steps, no fewer than 16 are concerned with the highly practical matters of how a monk ought to proceed when struggling with passions. This is a very sober text that is not interested in esoteric mysticism. Its understanding of ascesis is based on faithful prayer, quiet and enduring discipleship. Its genius lies in the synthesis it makes of many disparate earlier traditions, not least the resolution it effects between the potentially tense relation of eremitical and cenobitic monastic lifestyles, which it sees as intimately related, thus setting an important precedent for the whole of later eastern Christian monasticism. The work also clearly emanates from an author who has had long and magisterial personal experience. The style is highly pragmatic. He frequently uses the term: "I have seen". This appeal to experience, especially when he sets it against common a priori expectations among inexperienced monastics, was one of the reasons that made the book so highly prized among active Christian ascetics both in antiquity and today. It is still prescribed reading in the refectories of Orthodox monasteries in the time of Great Lent.

John also wrote an *Address to the Shepherd*, a small work that lays out the duties of a monastic superior. It takes its lead from Gregory of Nazianzus' highly influential treatise on the priesthood (which in turn had influenced John Chrysostom and the *Regula Pastoralis* of Gregory the Great).

JOHN A. MCGUCKIN

Biography

Born *c.*575, John Klimakos (John of the Ladder), also known as Scholastikos or of Sinai, became a monk at the age of 16 on Mount Sinai. For 40 years he lived in the desert as an anchorite and gathered many disciples around him. He returned to the Sinai monastery as abbot *c.*635 where he wrote his best-known work, the *Ladder of Divine Ascent*. He died *c.*649.

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Joseph the Hymnographer, St

Poet and hymnographer of the 9th century

One of Byzantium's most prolific authors of liturgical poetry, St Joseph the Hymnographer contributed significantly to the cycles of proper hymnodic texts that dominate the modern Byzantine offices. The earliest account of Joseph's life is the late 9th- or early 10th-century *Life* by the monk Theophanes, from which we learn that he was born in Sicily (probably Palermo) between 812 and 818. In or around the year 830 he fled the Arab invasion of his native island with his family. At the age of 15 Joseph left his family in the Peloponnese to continue his studies in Thessalonica, where he entered the monastery of Latomos (known today as Hosios David, but originally dedicated to Christ). Rapid growth in his knowledge and spirituality was followed by his presentation to the city's archbishop for ordination before the canonical age of 30. In Thessalonica Joseph also came into contact with St Gregory the Decapolite, who obtained the permission of his abbot to bring Joseph to Constantinople.

After settling with his new master in the iconophile community of St Antipas, Joseph was sent in 841 by Gregory on a mission to enlist the aid of Pope Gregory IV against the iconoclasts. Captured on the way by pirates and imprisoned on the island of Crete, he was ransomed after the death of the emperor Theophilos in January 842. Theophanes reports that

Joseph miraculously received foreknowledge of his release from St Nicholas, who showed him a book from which he chanted a prayer for deliverance. Upon returning, possibly by way of Thessalonica, to the community of St Antipas in Constantinople, Joseph found that Gregory had recently died. He therefore resumed the monastic life under the direction of John the Ascetic, another follower of the Decapolite. After the latter's death, located by Stiernon around the year 850, Joseph resided for approximately the next five years near a shrine to St John Chrysostom, where he acquired a number of disciples. He then founded a monastery dedicated to St Bartholomew, to which he also translated the bodies of his teachers Gregory and John.

According to Theophanes, Joseph's career as a hymnographer began only after the foundation of his monastery. The story of St Nicholas's appearance and Joseph's authorship of hymns to Cretan saints, however, have led modern scholars to suggest that he began to write soon after his release from captivity. In any case, his productivity probably declined as his friendship with Patriarch Ignatios increasingly involved him in ecclesiastical politics. The deposition of his patron in 858 resulted in Joseph's exile to Cherson until the restoration of Ignatios by Basil I in 867, whereafter he was named *skevophylax* (sacristan) of Hagia Sophia. The eventual reconciliation of Ignatios with his rival Photios allowed Joseph to establish good relations with the latter, who came to hold him in high regard and recommended him as a spiritual father to his clergy. His continuing closeness to the patriarchate is emphasized by Theophanes, who relates how Joseph made a final visit to the patriarchal palace after foreseeing his own death in 886. He died on 3 April, which is observed as his feast day by the Orthodox Church.

The importance of Joseph's contribution to the corpus of Byzantine hymnography is represented in John the Deacon's expanded 11th-century version of his *Life* by the attribution of more than 1000 canons. A more precise assessment is complicated by the difficulty of distinguishing his works from those of Joseph of Thessalonica, the brother of St Theodore of Stoudios. From the preliminary total of 466 pieces assigned to him by E. Tomadakes, it appears that Joseph wrote a vast number of canons while making only minor additions – e.g. 13 *stichera* and nine short kontakia (psalm refrains) – to other repertories. Because his hymns were set to preexisting melodies, Joseph has been honoured as a hymnographer rather than as a *melodos*, a title reserved for poets such as his contemporary Kassia who composed their own melodies.

The work of earlier Sabaïte and Stoudite poets had not left sets of hymnodic propers for every day of the calendar year, and many of Joseph's canons served to fill these gaps in the liturgical cycles of the Palestinian monastic rite. These hymns include poems for the saints of the Byzantine calendar, the commemorations between the eight Sundays of the resurrectional Octoechos, and the movable seasons of Lent and Easter. Although some remain unpublished, a great number of Joseph's canons were included in the liturgical books of the Orthodox Church. Perhaps the most notable of these is the one he wrote to frame the annual Lenten performance of the beloved anonymous (probably 6th-century) *Akathistos* Hymn to the Mother of God. Consisting of 32 stanzas united by an iambic acrostic announcing his authorship, Joseph's hymn is based metrically and melodically on the second canon for the Dormition of the Mother of God (15 August) by John of Damascus. Seven of the Damascene's eight model stanzas are re-used by Joseph with only cosmetic changes to their texts, while the model stanza for the fourth ode is taken from another canon in the same mode. Yet the main inspiration for his text is the *Akathistos* itself, which Joseph uses as a treasury of images for his own song of praise. More densely packed with specific biblical references than the ancient kontakion, Joseph's canon also includes topical references to the Mother of God's role as protectress of Constantinople.

Canonized shortly after his death, Joseph has remained popular as a poet and intercessor. As noted above, his *Life* was expanded in the 11th century, during which John Mavropous also wrote two canons in his honour. A book of rubrics from the same century listing the order of precedence observed in the event of multiple canons for a single saint places the works of Joseph first, followed in descending order of preference by the hymns of Theophanes Graptos, John of Damascus, and Kosmas of Maïouma. Later praised in writing by such late Byzantine authors as Theodore Pediasimos and Nikephoros Kallistos Xanthopoulos, Joseph was also depicted iconographically in the churches of Lagoudera and St Saviour in Chora.

ALEXANDER LINGAS

See also Hymnography, Music

Biography

Born in Palermo between 812 and 818, Joseph and his parents fled from the Arab invasion of Sicily *c.*830. They settled in the Peloponnese; but Joseph went to Thessalonica where he became a monk and then moved to Constantinople where he founded a monastery. As a composer of canons he made an important contribution to Byzantine hymnography. He died in Constantinople *c.*886.

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Josephus, Flavius AD 37–after AD 93

Jewish historian

Flavius Josephus was an important figure in the Jewish community at the time of the disastrous Jewish rebellion of AD 66–67. Captured by the Romans while commanding part of the revolutionary forces, he was released and treated with honour for the rest of his life after correctly prophesying that Vespasian would become emperor. He then wrote, in Aramaic,

a history of the revolt as a warning for Jews in the diaspora. This work, entitled *History of the Jewish War against the Romans*, is lost in the original Aramaic version, but the author later rewrote it in Greek with some help from unnamed Greek assistants, and it became his most influential work and for many centuries the definitive history of the revolt. Josephus then went on to write, this time in Greek, a massive history of Judaism from its origins to his times, entitled *Jewish Antiquities*. This work inevitably covers much of the same ground as the Old Testament, on several versions of which it is largely based, but it also makes use of other traditional Jewish writings and presents the events in a manner influenced by the tradition of Greek historiography. The work also goes substantially beyond the period covered by the Old Testament and in fact overlaps with material covered by the *Jewish War*. In addition, Josephus produced two minor works, an autobiography and a polemic in defence of Judaism known as *Against Apion*.

Josephus' style is not entirely consistent: on the whole his works display a good mastery of the Atticizing Greek used for literary purposes in his day, but occasional semiticisms can also be found. It is unclear how much of Josephus' style is his own and how much is due to the helpers he admits to having employed in rewriting the *Jewish War*, and on whom he may have relied for his other works as well. He tells us that he worked hard to overcome his difficulties with the Greek language and to give himself a solid grounding in Greek literature, but the extent of his acquaintance with the Hellenic tradition has been questioned. The influence of Greek authors such as Thucydides and Polybius can certainly be found in his works, as can a conscious determination to present his story to the educated Greek-speaking world in a manner consistent with, and attractive according to, the rules of the Greek literary tradition. Nevertheless there is reason to believe that the primary influence on Josephus was really the Jewish tradition in which he had been educated.

Despite the occasional infelicity, Josephus' works were praised as stylistic models in the Byzantine period (e.g. by Photios in the 9th century and Theodore Metochites in the 14th century), especially for the vividness and immediacy of his historical narration. They were also imitated by authors such as Niketas Choniates (12th–13th century).

Josephus' main importance for the Greek world, however, is to be found in religious rather than literary history. Thanks to the sanction of Christians such as Origen and Eusebius of Caesarea, in the medieval period Josephus' works became one of the most important historical sources for ancient Palestine. They were copied, epitomized, and excerpted freely and were translated into all the major languages of the medieval Mediterranean. From the 3rd century AD onward Christians saw the *Jewish War* in particular as a sort of continuation of the New Testament, showing the punishment of the Jews for the crucifixion of Christ. Authors such as the chronicler Malalas (6th century), the *Chronicon Paschale* (7th century), and Zonaras (12th century) made use of Josephus, or of works derived from his.

At the end of the Byzantine period Josephus' status as a church historian began to be questioned because of differences between his account of history in the *Jewish Antiquities* and that of the Old Testament, and in the 16th and 17th centuries scholars began to debate the genuineness of a passage known as the "Testimonium Flavianum". This brief section of the *Antiquities* (18. 63–64) mentions Jesus and declares him to have been the Messiah; it seems to have been partly interpolated, perhaps in the 3rd century AD. As this passage was crucial to Josephus' status in the Christian Church (it is probably responsible for the fact that he was the only Jewish historian whose works were entirely preserved by the Byzantines), the debate over its authenticity did considerable damage to his reputation. This debate continued until the 19th century and is to a certain extent still current, though it is no longer crucial to the assessment of Josephus' overall worth as a historian.

For most of the Byzantine period Josephus' works, at least in their Greek form, were essentially the property of the Christian Church and remained basically unknown to the Greek Jewish community. In the 10th century, however, an anonymous historian in southern Italy produced a Hebrew chronicle based primarily on Josephus, and in the 11th century a Judaeo-Arabic version followed. Josephus' works were thus reintroduced to the Jewish community after centuries of use as Christian – and often anti-Semitic – documents.

Josephus remains today an important source of information on Jewish history of the 1st century AD, and his dramatic description of his people's tragic fate is as engrossing to read as ever, but his status as the inspired creator of an almost sacred text has been replaced by that of a fallible and often biased observer. His Greek style is also less highly regarded than it once was, and his current influence on Hellenic culture is minimal.

ELEANOR DICKEY

See also Jews

Biography

Born in AD 37, Josephus was a Jewish priest and a leading figure in Jerusalem at the time of the Jewish rebellion of 66–67. Though captured by the Romans, he was later released and treated well. He wrote in Aramaic a *History of the Jewish War* (of which a Greek version survives) and in Greek a history of Judaism entitled *Jewish Antiquities*. He died after AD 93.

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Judicial Procedure

The earliest written Greek laws were believed to be those of Zaleucus of Italian Locri Epizephyrii (*c.*650 BC). These were noted for their severity, as were the first written laws of Athens, those of Draco (621/20). Solon's laws (594/93)

replaced Draco's in all areas except homicide, and the Athenian lawcode was henceforth known as the laws of Solon, regardless of later additions. Under the democracy laws were made in the assembly, and in 410 a revision of the laws was begun. Their inscription on stone led to a distinction between laws (*nomoi*) and decrees (*psephismata*), and from this time decrees of the assembly could not override the written laws, while the framing of new laws was entrusted to groups of "lawmakers" (*nomothetae*).

Athenian laws were essentially procedural rather than substantive. They specified the form of action to be taken against a transgressor without necessarily defining closely the transgression, and sometimes a choice of action was available to the prosecutor. The main categories were public and private actions. In public actions (*dikai demosiai*, but regularly named after the method of initiating the procedure) the offence was thought to affect the whole community, hence in addition to magistrates and officials it was open to "anyone who wishes" (*ho boulomenos*) to raise an action (i.e. any free adult male, except for those who had been disfranchized, and in some cases excluding non-citizens). The fine or penalty in a public action was paid to the state, but rewards were given to those who successfully prosecuted certain actions, especially *apographe* (deposition) and *phasis* (statement). To deter habitual prosecutors (the original use of the term "sycophant"), in most public actions those who initiated but subsequently dropped a case or failed to win at least one-fifth of the jurors' votes had to pay a fine of 1000 drachmas and were debarred from bringing similar actions in future (sycophancy was also an offence, which was prosecuted by *probole* – presentation of a case to the Assembly). Public actions included *graphe*, the regular public action (its name will derive from the fact that originally it was in this kind of action that a written charge was made; by the 4th century BC this had become the norm); *apagoge*, whereby the prosecutor arrested the accused (usually a thief caught in the act or a person caught exercising rights to which he was not entitled) and handed him over to the magistrates (regularly the Eleven); *endeixis*, a similar process to *apagoge*, but where the prosecutor denounced the accused to the magistrates and might then arrest him; *ephegesis*, whereby the prosecutor led the accused to the magistrates and they carried out the arrest; *apographe*, in which the prosecutor listed property allegedly due to the state and being withheld (three-quarters of the property would be given to the successful prosecutor); *phasis*, in which the prosecutor pointed out illegal goods or property (the reward here was one half of the fine imposed or of the confiscated property); *eisangelia*, a denunciation to the council or assembly, which might try the case or refer it to a jury court; *probole*, a denunciation to the assembly, which held a hearing and could, if the prosecutor wished to proceed, send the case to a jury; and cases arising from an official's preliminary examination (*dokimasia*) or his examination after office (*euthynai*).

In private cases (*dikai idiai*, but usually called simply *dikai*) the offence concerned an individual and could only be prosecuted by the person who alleged he had been wronged. If successful, the private prosecutor would be awarded damages or compensation. In *diadikasia* two or more persons disputed a right (especially to an inheritance) or obligation (such as to perform a liturgy) on equal terms. A special form of case was homicide (*dike phonou*), in which the relatives of the deceased were required to prosecute, but the offence concerned the whole community since killers were polluted. Hence the alleged killer was debarred by a proclamation from sacred and public places, three pre-trial hearings were held instead of the usual one, particularly solemn oaths were sworn, the trial itself was held in the open air in one of the special homicide courts, and the parties were each allowed to make two speeches, again instead of the usual one.

Suits were initiated by the prosecutor submitting his charge to the appropriate magistrate and delivering the summons to the defendant. The eponymous archon presided over cases involving the family and inheritance; the *basileus* (second archon) was in charge of homicide and religious cases; the *polemarchos* (third archon) oversaw cases involving non-citizens; the *thesmothetae* (the six junior archons) managed a wide range of cases in their court, the *eliaia*; the Eleven (police commissioners) were in charge of cases involving theft and similar offences; the generals conducted cases of military offences; and there were some lesser boards of magistrates for specific types of case. In the 4th century most private cases came before the Forty, four judges from each of the ten tribes selected by lot. The magistrate heard statements and evidence at an inquiry (*anakrisis*) and could settle minor cases himself, but otherwise would decide if the case should be sent to trial. In a private suit the accused might object that an incorrect procedure was being employed (*paragraphe*), and this would have to be decided by a separate hearing before the action itself could proceed. A trial in a private case before the Forty might be avoided by resorting to binding arbitration, a procedure that existed from earliest times in many Greek states and became particularly widespread during the Hellenistic period. Private and (in cases involving claims for more than ten drachmas) public arbitrators were used, but their decisions were appellable to the courts.

Trials in the 5th and 4th centuries were conducted in the popular jury courts (*dikasteria*). A panel of 6000 jurors over the age of 30 was selected each year, and Pericles introduced jury pay (two, later three obols per day). The size of the jury varied according to the type of case, but regularly numbered several hundred, and in order to prevent bribery jurors were allocated to the different courts by a lot system which became increasingly complex during the 4th century. The magistrate who had received the charge now presided, but did not act like a modern judge in giving directions or advice. Litigants were expected to represent themselves unless clearly unable to do so, but might call on friends to speak on their behalf (*synegoroi*); women and children were represented by their nearest adult male relative. The prosecutor was followed by the defendant, each making one speech which might have been written for him by a professional speech-writer (*logographos*); in the course of the speech laws and other documents might be read out by the court clerk, when the water-clock which timed the speech was stopped. Witnesses, who tended to act as supporters for the parties rather than as suppliers of information, gave evidence orally until the early 4th century and could only be questioned by the litigant who summoned them, but after this time written evidence was used and witnesses merely acknowledged the text was theirs. The disfranchised, women, and children could not appear as witnesses, and slaves' evidence was

only accepted if extracted under torture and by the agreement of both parties (which in practice rarely if ever happened). The jurors had to cast their votes immediately after the speeches, with no summing-up from the magistrate or time to retire for consideration of their verdict. The original system of putting a pebble into one of two urns (one for guilty, one for not guilty) was replaced during the 4th century by a procedure in which each juror had two bronze votes, one of them with a hole to signify guilty, and the votes were cast one into a bronze, "valid" urn, the other into a wooden, "invalid" urn. The verdict was arrived at by a simple majority, with a tie counting as an acquittal (though by the 4th century odd numbers of jurors were used). There was no right of appeal, but the losing party might win compensation from a witness who was proved to have given false evidence, or occasionally have the case reopened. Penalties were either fixed by the law or decided by the jurors, according to the type of suit; in the latter case the two sides made further speeches proposing alternative penalties which the jurors would vote on. Monetary fines were the most common remedy, and other penalties included death, exile, the stocks, full or partial disfranchisement (*atimia*), and confiscation of property. Unlike in modern penal systems, imprisonment was used sparingly as a punishment.

Athenian law had little or no significance in the development of later legal systems, and reasons for this are not hard to find. The lack of a body of substantive law, in glaring contrast with the extensive Roman system, is the most obvious one, the absence of any doctrine of binding precedent another. But there cannot be precedent when every sitting of every court is the supreme and unaccountable representative of the democracy, and that is the point. The decisions of the dicasts were ephemeral, prone to be swayed by the clever speaker at the expense of truth; but the courts, with their large juries, *were* the people for the litigants appearing before them, and the popular jury system lay at the very heart of the Athenian democracy.

Under Byzantine rule the emperor was the supreme judge, who was empowered to delegate authority to institutions or officials. Government bureaux, called "Sekreta", had some right to condemn and pardon, while other judicial functions were performed by the eparch of the city and the quaestor. The *epi ton deiseon* heard petitions and appeals, and the chief of police (*droungarios tis viglas*) also had judicial duties. The highest court was that of the *velum* or Hippodrome; rarely did the senate act as a court; and bishops' jurisdiction in the ecclesiastical courts might trespass into civil law. In the provinces governors were often called "judge" (*krites*), while local cases might be heard by special magistrates from Constantinople.

MICHAEL J. EDWARDS

See also Law

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Julian the Apostate AD 331/32–363

Last pagan emperor of Rome

Flavius Claudius Julianus, the grandson of the emperor Constantius Chlorus, nephew of Constantine the Great and cousin of Constantius II, was the last ruler of the second Flavian dynasty and also the last Roman emperor to worship the gods of Olympus. In his brief life and even briefer reign, Julian sought to undo the hold that Christianity had acquired over the Roman world in the aftermath of the Edict of Milan in AD 312, which had established official tolerance and quasi-official favour for that religion, and also to renew the traditional religious cults of the Mediterranean basin. In addition, he sought through various reforms to strengthen the empire and counteract some of the failings of the governmental system inaugurated by Diocletian and Constantine from AD 285 on. This project of religious, cultural, and political renewal was cut short by his death in battle during a disastrous campaign against the Persians in Mesopotamia. Since his death, he has continued to exercise a fascination over writers, whether they have been hostile to him, as the Christians of his own and following centuries have been, such as Gregory of Nazianzus, the poet Prudentius, and Augustine, or sympathetic, as not only the pagans of his own and following centuries, but also modern authors from the Renaissance on have been, such as Lorenzo de' Medici, Voltaire, Edward Gibbon, and Gore Vidal.

Julian was born in either AD 331 or 332 to Julius Constantius, the son of Constantius Chlorus, by Flavia Maxima Theodora, daughter of Diocletian's colleague Maximian. Julius Constantius was thus the half-brother of Constantine the Great, who made him consul for the year 335, despite the antipathy of Constantius Chlorus' first wife, and Constantine's mother, Helena. After Constantine's death in 337, however, Julius Constantius was put to death with his eldest son, his brother, his brother's two sons, and four other relatives. It is unclear whether his nephew, Constantius II, ordered the executions. A document allegedly found on Constantine's body excluded Flavia Maxima Theodora's sons and grandsons from power, and the dynastic loyalties of the army were in any case behind Constantius II and his brothers Constans and Constantine II. Julian and his surviving half-brother Gallus were interned first separately and then together. Though Julian was kept in Bithynia away from public scrutiny, he was under the protection of Eusebius, the Arian bishop of Nicomedia. Under the tutelage of Mardonius, a Scythian eunuch who had also taught his mother, Julian learned the

elements of the Greek classics that made up the curriculum at that time for all educated men and women, whether pagan or Christian, in the Greek-speaking part of the Roman empire. In later years he was allowed to pursue his studies in Nicomedia, Pergamum, and Ephesus. In 351 Gallus was made Caesar, subordinate under Diocletian's reworking of the governmental structure to the Augustus, or senior emperor, Constantius II, in order to alleviate some of his burdens of rule while the latter dealt with usurpers and uprisings in the west. Both of Constantius' brothers and colleagues had died by this time, victims of political intrigue, so Constantius, in need of a colleague, turned to the older of his only two surviving relatives. Gallus' rule of the east from his headquarters in Antioch became increasingly cruel and irregular, so Constantius removed and executed him in 354, after only three years as Caesar. After a period of time under arrest, Julian was allowed to resume his studies in Athens.

These studies were soon interrupted by a summons to the imperial court at Milan, which resulted in Julian's becoming Caesar in his turn on 6 November 355, and being sent to Gaul, then hard pressed by Germans invading across the Rhine. Though Constantius' dispositions of authority in Gaul seemed designed to leave Julian a mere figurehead who would leave the fighting and governing to others, Julian soon showed aptitudes for both generalship and statecraft remarkable in one who had had no practical experience of either. He took effective control of the Roman armies in Gaul and led them to victories over the Alamannic German invaders, which drove them back across the Rhine and put an end for the time being to their raids. These victories went unacknowledged by Constantius, perhaps partly through the convention of the day that assigned credit to the Augustus for the successes of his Caesar. Julian also encouraged the flourishing of Gaul through resettling and rebuilding cities devastated by the raids of the Alamanni, through reforming tax collection in the lands under his jurisdiction, and through importing grain to make up for shortfalls caused by the depredations of the raiders and by the abandonment of the farmlands by their tillers.

Constantius, perhaps to make up for the loss of six legions in the Persian capture of Amida in August 359, or through concern for his own security caused by Julian's growing prestige, in January 360 send orders to his Caesar to send him his four best legions, plus 300 men each from his other units. The troops, gathered at Julian's winter headquarters at Paris prior to their departure for the emperor's court at Constantinople, were most of them locally recruited and had taken service on the understanding that they would not be called on to cross the Alps. Impelled by this, and perhaps by resentment against Constantius for not acknowledging their victories over the Alamanni, the troops revolted and proclaimed Julian Augustus. It is certainly possible that Julian and his advisers may have induced them to do so, though unclear to what extent. The remainder of that year and much of the next were taken up with fruitless negotiations to settle the situation between Constantius and Julian. When these failed in the face of Constantius' understandable reluctance to surrender power and evident preparations for civil war, Julian began a military campaign against the adherents of Constantius in Italy and the Balkans which was cut short by Constantius' sudden death by illness in November 361.

Julian had hitherto maintained a public persona as a Christian; it was only after his proclamation as Augustus that he openly announced his allegiance to the traditional gods of the Graeco-Roman world. His worship of these gods was shaped by his adherence to the mystery cults of Mithras and of Demeter and Persephone at Eleusis, and by his following of contemporary Neoplatonism, especially of the theurgistic variety practised by Iamblichus and some of his disciples. These tendencies set him apart from the majority of those in the Roman empire who still followed traditional religious practices. Nevertheless, he attempted to undo the work of Constantine in extending tolerance and even favour to Christianity by ending the government subsidies while simultaneously encouraging the maintenance and revival of traditional religious cults. Furthermore, he attempted to sow chaos among Christian congregations by recalling those who had been exiled by Constantius for heresy. A decree forbidding Christians to teach the Greek and Latin classics that made up contemporary education, the indispensable prerequisite to be a gentleman or to pursue a career at the bar or in the civil service, was designed to expose young Christians to pagan propaganda. At the same time he tried to unite pagan cults in a religious hierarchy that could rival the Christian Church by welding them, too, into a centralized organization and especially by imitating Christian philanthropic endeavours to feed the poor. He also sought to reform the imperial court by eliminating many of the servants and functionaries who attended the emperor. In order to strengthen the cities he returned to them the lands and tax revenues to finance their services. In addition, he bolstered the decurions or city councillors, drawn from the local landowning classes and responsible, if need be, for meeting tax assessments and financing city services at their own expense, by cancelling the exemptions from these duties granted to some of these landowners. Plans were also made to reform the tax system as a whole which, however, were not carried out because Julian's reign was cut short.

Julian moved his headquarters to Antioch in the summer of 362 and began to prepare to resume Constantius' war against the Persians by invading their territory. He found himself at odds with the Antiochenes over religious policy, especially after the famous temple of Apollo in the suburb of Daphne was burnt to the ground after he had closed a Christian church in the area. A famine, possibly exacerbated by the concentration of troops in the city for the coming Persian campaign, put the emperor also at odds with the landowning class of Antioch, which he suspected of causing or exploiting the famine for their own gain. Thus, it was possibly with relief that he set out in the spring of 363 on his campaign against the Persians. Though initially successful, he was stymied by a Persian scorched-earth policy and unable to take the Persian capital, Ctesiphon, so he turned his army back towards Roman territory, harried by the Persians on the way. He was mortally wounded in battle, so it was left to his Christian successor Jovian, to extricate the army with a shameful peace that surrendered five Roman provinces to the Persians as the price for the treaty. Rumour persisted in attributing the fatal wound to a Christian Roman, and medieval legend to the supernatural intervention of a saint, though the assailant is unknown and, Roman or Persian, may not have survived the battle.

Julian left three volumes of writings behind, including the fragments of a polemic, *Against the Galileans* [Christians], which have been recovered from a 5th-century rebuttal by Cyril of Alexandria. He also left behind a reputation that was cherished by the dwindling pagans of the Roman empire and execrated by the triumphant Christians. His attempts to discomfit Christianity and promote the traditional cults were of course undone after his death. Indeed the fate of the cause he championed may be summed up in the words (as translated by Algernon Swinburne) that the Delphic Oracle gave his friend Oribasius, who asked on Julian's behalf what could be done to restore the cult of Apollo at Delphi:

> Tell the king, on earth has fallen the glorious dwelling,
> And the water-springs that spake are quenched and dead.
> Not a cell is left the god, no roof, no cover,
> In his hand the prophet laurel flowers no more.

ERIC KYLLO

Biography

Born at Constantinople in AD 331 or 332, Julian was taught in Bithynia by the Arian bishop of Nicomedia and a Scythian eunuch. He later studied in Nicomedia, Pergamum, Ephesus, and Athens. Summoned to Milan by the emperor Constantius II, he was proclaimed Caesar in 355. He won several victories in Gaul and in 361 was acclaimed as Augustus by the army. He sought to restore paganism throughout the empire. He died in battle against the Persians in 363.

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Junta 1967–1974

The military coup of 21 April 1967 brought Greece seven years of rule by force, including strict censorship, poll rigging, the banning of political parties and trade unions, involuntary exile, house arrests, imprisonment, and torture. The Colonels' programme for Greece was highly nationalist, irredentist, and Christian, although their efforts ideologically to transform the Greek people never took root. The rule of the military came to a close in July 1974 under its own steam in the midst of growing popular disaffection, a weakening economy, foreign pressures, military mutinies, and a bungled coup on Cyprus. In the intervening years, however, Greece suffered the humiliation of isolation from global affairs and tyrannies at home.

Still a crowned democracy prior to the junta, the Greek state was led by its monarch, who, under the prevailing constitution of 1952, exercised legislative powers. Extremist politics carried their weight, too, as the psychological wounds caused by the internecine and ideological fight of the Civil War (1944–49) had not yet been healed in Greece's political culture. The staunchly rightist leaders of the Junta – colonels George Papadopoulos and Nikolas Makarezos and brigadier Stylianos Pattakos – exploited these phenomena by justifying their actions under the guise of a protectorship against a communist threat, an easy target. A more likely reason for the coup was the predicted electoral victory of Centre Union candidate George Papandreou, who intended to reform the military by purging it of extreme rightists. The colonels eclipsed the May 1967 elections by their swift execution of a NATO manoeuvre, thereby occupying their own country and obliterating political opposition. As the regime scrambled for legitimacy with the monarch, King Constantine attempted his own counter-coup on 13 December 1967, failing miserably and fleeing to Rome. The following year the regime held a referendum on a new constitution. The rigged procedure ensured the constitution's promulgation, which retained the office of the monarch but stripped it of its powers.

As the years passed, the dictatorship reformed its regime by trying to adopt some kind of effective revolutionary government. On 21 March 1972 Papadopoulos was proclaimed regent, merging powers of the head of government with head of state. In 1973 the junta abolished the monarchy by decree, introducing a presidential republic with Papadopoulos as president. He was deposed on 25 November 1973 by a second bloodless coup led by brigadier Demetrios Ioannidis, commander of the military police. Phaedon Gizikis was installed as president with a civilian government. This has been seen as a response to growing civil disobedience, highlighted by the now legendary Polytechnic uprising of 17 November 1973. What began as a peaceful sit-in for free university elections ended with tanks storming the Polytechnic gates and killing unarmed students. This event severely discredited the military regime and attracted greater public opinion against the dictatorship.

Resistance activities, though immediately implemented in April 1967, never gained any radical momentum, although bomb attacks peppered Athens and an attempt on the life of Papadopoulos was made early in his tenure. In addition to gross human rights abuses, restrictions on freedom of expression and a well-documented policy of torture prompted intellectuals both Greek and non-Greek to campaign against the regime, mostly in exile or through underground activities. Artists and writers continued their productivity, publishing abroad or couching their statements in terms understood only by the initiated. Thus began what some scholars consider a new genre in Greek arts, whose impact continues down to the present.

Junta: the Colonels' memorial, Athens – an ugly monument to commemorate an ugly episode in Greek history

The government was buttressed by the implementation of social programmes favourable to those sectors of the population most likely to rebel, including cancellation of agricultural debts, provision of low-cost housing for workers, and the distribution of free textbooks to university students. Meanwhile it brutally carried out its purges of all political opposition, sending dissidents, real or imagined, to prison, exile, and torture. In the infamous words of colonel Papadopoulos, Greece was a patient that had to be tied to the operating table while surgery was performed.

Condemned by most world leaders, and withdrawing in 1969 from the Council of Europe before expulsion, the regime received state visits only from Romania's President Nicolae Ceausescu and US Vice-President Spiro Agnew, whose head of state, Richard M. Nixon, was not entirely free of complicity in the dictatorship. Anti-junta activists, journalists, and Greek political elites campaigned in any venue available, while the latter began to form discreet resistance organizations. Chief among them was the cohort formed around Andreas Papandreou, son of George Papandreou, who would lead the socialists to electoral victory in 1981. Also politically active in exile was the former premier Constantine Karamanlis, later to be hailed as the "restorer" of Greek democracy.

As the junta declined in late 1973 and early 1974, Ioannidis, in an attempt ostensibly to bolster its popularity, tried increasingly to bring Cyprus into the fold of Greece. In July 1974 a coup was launched against Cypriot president archbishop Makarios, which was followed by Turkey's invasion of the island. Three days after the invasion, on 23 July 1974, the dictatorial government surrendered. Under the watchful if not tutelary eye of the United States, Karamanlis the next day was flown in from Paris, like a deus ex machina in Richard Clogg's words, and sworn in as prime minister, in the presence of president Gizikis.

Greece regained its orientation to democratic institutions under the leadership of Karamanlis, who did all the right things – reinstating the Communist Party, putting the monarchy question to referendum, promulgating a new constitution, and making Greece a parliamentary republic. The strong arm of the law also came down hard on the junta leaders and their accomplices, and Papadopoulos remained in jail until his death in 1999. This immediate period of dejuntification clearly enabled Greece to find its footing again both ideologically and psychologically and to start making up for lost time, which it has been doing ever since.

BARBARA SYRRAKOS

See also Modern period, Political History since 1832

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Justin Martyr, St *c.*100–*c.*165

Christian apologist

Justin was the outstanding member of the group of Christian writers of the period *c.*120–220 who are collectively known as the "Greek Apologists". He was converted to the faith he was so vigorously to defend about halfway through his life. His family was a pagan one living in Samaria, his birthplace being Floria Neapolis. His education was thorough, in literature, rhetoric, history, and philosophy. It was to the last that Justin devoted most enthusiasm, seeing in philosophical studies a way of arriving at a measure of truth about the nature of reality by which he could shape his conduct. He claims that he followed a course through a succession of philosophies – Stoic, Peripatetic, Pythagorean, and Platonist – before finding the truth for which he was searching in the Christian scriptures, impressed by belief in the prophets as foreshadowing Christ as the Word and Son of God. He saw no impropriety in continuing to wear his philosopher's cloak as a Christian teacher, as he saw it, of the true philosophy. The period between his conversion and death is sparse in detail. He went to Ephesus and there engaged in a disputation with the Jewish Trypho (*c.*135), before going to Rome to establish a school, though not necessarily a permanent one. He taught there long enough to influence one of his students, Tatian, to follow him in a career of apologetic writing. It was in Rome that Justin wrote his own works in defence of Christianity. The *First Apology* was directed principally to the emperor Antoninus Pius and appeared *c.*155. It was followed by the edition of his *Dialogue with Trypho*. The *Second Apology* has been the subject of debate concerning its relationship with the *First Apology* and its date. It may have followed closely on the *First Apology*, taking up some of its themes, while concentrating its opening attack on a recent specific act of violence against Christians. It has also been dated later, following the accession of the emperor Marcus Aurelius in 161. The vigour of this writing, if indeed it was circulated, may have produced or increased antagonism. Denunciation of Justin and members of his circle is attested, together with an account of their responses. The official report tells how Justin answered the charges against him by offering a digest of the Christian faith, which he concluded was utterly at variance with any demand for sacrifice to the pagan gods. He and his six companions were instantly beheaded.

The demands that Justin made on himself called for a breadth of understanding of contemporary thought and a realistic awareness of the Church's situation within the empire. Before any form of intellectual defence could be offered it was necessary for Justin and his kind to try to dispose of the gossip, whether merely ignorant or knowingly malicious, about the nature of Christian practice. Forays into Platonism, the transcendence of God, or the nature of the divine *Logos* would have little effect on people who accused Christians of incest, cannibalism, or Thyestean feasts, on the basis of garbled reports of Eucharistic worship. Only when this kind of charge had been exposed and that of "atheism" rebutted could debate at a philosophical and religious level begin. Belief in one God inevitably enjoined disbelief in Roman polytheism, but it was claimed that this was not a rejection politically directed against the empire. Justin then felt able to set out the fundamentals of Christian belief in a context that found it unnecessary to abrogate the philosophical background from which he had emerged, particularly its Platonic aspects. The Christian Justin credits with genuine religious insights teachers from the pre-Christian era, including Heraclitus, Socrates, and Plato, alongside Old Testament heroes such as Abraham. This he believes he is able to do because of the very constitution of the human being in the image of God which endows each individual with the possibility of enlightenment, through possession of a share in the divine *Logos*. Human understanding is here based on a much firmer principle than that found in his feeble claim that wisdom among the Greeks is dependent upon their having had access to the writings of Moses. Side by side with this acknowledgement of the status of all humanity goes the unequivocal call for the acceptance of the unique Christian claims on which he has come to base his life and which are to bring him to his death. What emerges is a theology with a strong rooting in

Hebrew prophecy, interpreted, against Philo, as clearly fulfilled in Christ. Whereas this would be a natural line to take with the Jewish thinker, Justin does not shirk from bringing this alien source to the educated Greek readership he seeks in the *First Apology*. However keen he may be to gain a hearing, he does not compromise basic tenets of a distinctively Christian kind, frequently expressing them in a simple credal form, a Trinitarian outline coexisting with a freestanding expression of Christological proclamation. With God the Father presented in transcendent terms, the *Logos* in Justin's thought is vital to any philosophical or religious understanding. He is God's communicator with the world, the sole means by which human beings come to the truth. They are enabled to do this by the very nature of their creation, as within each individual there exists a seed (*sperma*) of the *Logos*, whether the person be Jew, pagan, or Christian. One consequence of Justin's stress on transcendence is a tendency to subordinate the Son. It would, however, be unwise to give too much weight to expressions that take on full significance only later. Again, it is perhaps to be expected that in Justin there should be little more than glancing reference to what was to develop as a theology of the Work of Christ.

Within the Christian community Justin's writing came to be valued not only for the features outlined above, but also for what may be learned in the *First Apology* about the early Church's practice in baptism and the Eucharist. The baptism of those who have come with a knowledge of its significance is administered in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, bringing with it remission of sins and spiritual illumination. The liturgy for the newly baptized is described, together with the regular Sunday service, some variants being noted.

Revered as a martyr, respected for his openness to the non-Christian world (his acceptance of Socrates contrasting with his rejection by Theophilus), and as a writer more serviceable than inspiring, Justin, though himself not primarily a theologian, nor yet a philosopher, came to have influence on later theologians, notably Irenaeus and Tertullian and through them on the Christian tradition, as they developed ideas found here in germ.

D.A. SYKES

See also Apologists

Biography

Born *c.*AD 100, Justin was born into a pagan family at Floria Neapolis in Samaria. After a good education he devoted himself to philosophy before becoming converted to Christianity. He went first to Ephesus and then to Rome where he founded a school and wrote two apologias. He was beheaded for his beliefs *c.*165 and is revered as a martyr.

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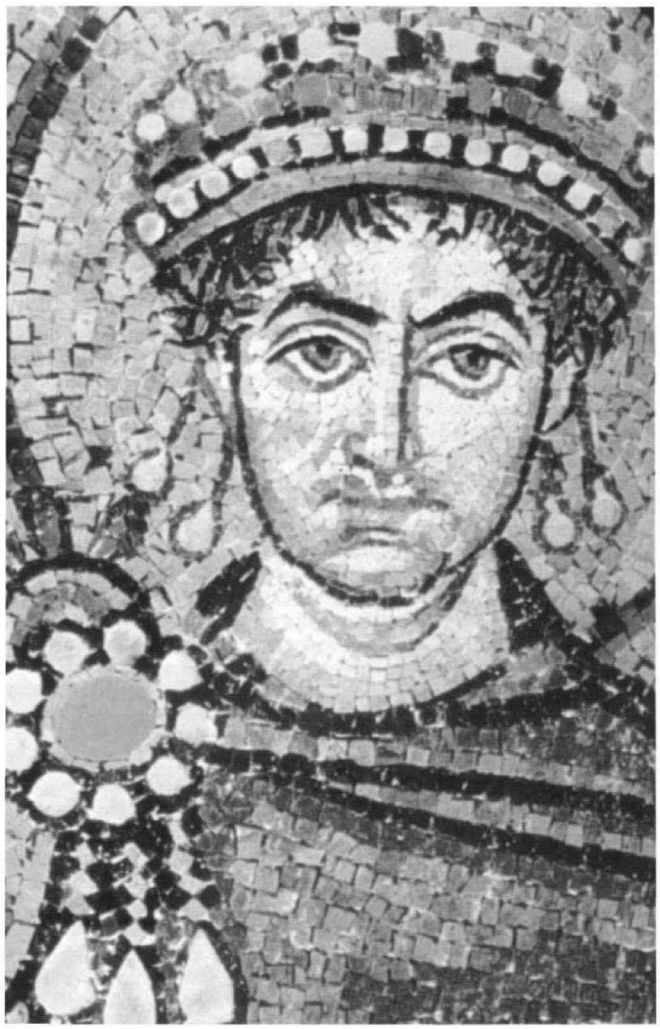
Justinian I *c.*482–565

Emperor

Justinian I (527–65) was the last Latin emperor to rule over a state that encompassed the greater portion of the Mediterranean basin. Procopius of Gaza, the last of the great Classical historians, is our chief source for his reign. Justinian's given name was Flavius Peter Sabbatius and he was born in Bederiana in the province of Dardania around 482. Justinian, originally a member of the imperial bodyguard, was the nephew of the emperor Justin I (518–27) and eventually became co-emperor in 527. He chose as his wife Theodora, who, although known for her unsavoury background, proved to be a great source of strength to him in moments of crisis, especially during the Nika revolt of 532, the most serious challenge to his rule. Justinian was also fortunate in having the able John of Cappadocia as his chief administrator. From the moment he assumed power, Justinian set about achieving the primary goal of his reign, which was the restoration of the empire of Augustus by bringing the lost provinces of the Latin west back under the control of the Roman emperor based in Constantinople. Justinian also felt an obligation to rescue those orthodox Christians in the west who were living under the rule of Arians. To accomplish this goal he launched a series of wars of reconquest under his able generals Belisarius and later Narses against the Vandals in north Africa (533–34) and the Ostrogoths in Italy (535–55). Imperial armies also managed to seize some coastal regions in Spain. However, the renewal of war with Persia forced Justinian to curtail his plans for expansion. Overall, his military endeavours seriously taxed the resources of the Roman state and ultimately proved unsuccessful since many of the newly conquered territories were subsequently lost to the Lombards, who invaded Italy in 568.

In addition to his military achievements, Justinian is famous for his efforts in having all the existing Roman laws, legal text-



Justinian I: mosaic portrait of the emperor in San Vitale, Ravenna, 6th century

books, and legal decisions of famous Roman jurists compiled into a single work known as the *Corpus Iuris Civilis*. Most of this work was supervised by the jurist Tribonian. It was destined to have lasting importance, for it eventually made its way to the Latin west where, in the 11th century, it formed the basis for the revival of the study of Roman law at the newly established universities, such as Bologna, and contributed to the re-establishment of Roman law as the basic rule for continental Europe, a tradition that survives to this day. The emperor also reformed the tax system and sponsored the establishment of a lucrative silk industry in Greece.

Justinian is also renowned for his architectural achievements. He sponsored the building or reconstruction of many new churches and monasteries, the most significant being the monastery of St Catherine on Mount Sinai, which contains one of the most important collections of Byzantine icons dating from the pre-iconoclastic era (8th–9th centuries), and Hagia Sophia in Constantinople. Hagia Sophia is chiefly noted for its spectacular dome and still stands as the third largest church in the world. Upon its completion, it quickly became the most important spiritual centre in the Orthodox world.

Justinian also paid close attention to the spiritual and intellectual lives of his subjects. One of his less commendable acts was to close the Academy in Athens in 529, which was then dominated by pagan Neoplatonists. This act resulted in the emigration of the Academy's scholars to neighbouring Persia, while Neoplatonism continued to attract the interest of Byzantine intellectuals. Justinian also initiated a vigorous campaign of Christianization by ordering the closing of many pagan cult centres and the banning of paganism altogether. How effectively or consistently this policy was carried out is still disputed by scholars since some members of Justinian's administration, such as the jurist Tribonian, were pagans. Another of Justinian's more reprehensible religious policies was his attempt to suppress the Samaritans, a subsect of Judaism, which resulted in a revolt against his rule. In addition, he enacted a series of laws that placed significant legal liabilities on the Jewish community. Other groups singled out for persecution were the Montanists, Manichaeans, and Nestorians. Finally, Justinian tried to resolve the dispute between Monophysite and Chalcedonian Christians over the nature of Christ by convening the Fifth Ecumenical Council at Constantinople in 553. Here he tried to achieve a compromise by condemning the writings of three Nestorian bishops in the Edict of the Three Chapters, even though these writings had been approved by previous ecumenical councils. Justinian also had pope Vigilius brought to Constantinople and held him under house arrest until he agreed to the decisions of the Council. The pope eventually died on his return journey to Italy and was replaced by Pelagius who refused to comply with Justinian's wishes, thus producing a schism that lasted until the 7th century. Ultimately Justinian's efforts to resolve this fundamental division within the Christian community proved a failure and actually served to exacerbate tensions between the Monophysite and Chalcedonian factions.

JOHN F. SHEAN

See also Byzantine Period (Early), Law

Biography

Born near Bederiana in Thrace *c.*482, Justinian inherited the throne from his uncle Justin I in 527. He married Theodora, a former actress who became his staunchest ally. His principal goal was the recovery of the western provinces of the empire in which his success was only shortlived. He also codified the whole of Roman law. He built churches and monasteries; and he tried to resolve the divisions within Christianity by convening an Ecumenical Council in 553. He died in 565.

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K

Kabasilas, Nicholas *c.*1319–*c.*1391

Statesman and churchman of the 14th century

Nicholas Kabasilas Chamaetos was born in Thessalonica between 1319 and 1323. Of noble birth, he adopted his mother's family name. He first studied in Thessalonica with his uncle Neilos Kabasilas, who succeeded Gregory Palamas as metropolitan of Thessalonica in 1360. (Until recently, Nicholas was often confused with his uncle, whose baptismal name was Nicholas.) While in Thessalonica he began to frequent hesychast circles, founded by monks from nearby Mount Athos. He later continued his studies in Constantinople. In the civil war of the 1340s Nicholas supported John VI Kantakouzenos, and in 1347 became one of his counsellors, together with Demetrios Kydones. In the hesychast controversy Nicholas appears as a friend of St Gregory Palamas and a supporter of hesychasm. His attitude to the growing influence of Latin theology, however, seems to have been more moderate than many of the hesychasts'. After the abdication of John VI Kantakouzenos in 1354, Nicholas retired from public life and we hear no more about him. Letters that survive from Nicholas to Manuel II Palaiologos make it evident that he was still alive in 1391. There has been much dispute as to how he spent the last half of his life: it has been argued that he became a monk or a priest, but many of these arguments rest on confusion with his uncle. It is most probable that he remained a layman, following the prescription of hesychasts such as Gregory of Sinai, who commended a hesychast life, a life of prayer, combined with active charity, lived "in the world".

From his secular career various works survive: panegyrics, treatises against usury and on (and in defence of) philosophy, as well as several letters. Among his religious works are various homilies, including panegyrics of saints (including St Demetrius), and three homilies on feasts of the Mother of God. In many of these works we find the elaborate diction of the highly educated courtier. But his influence rests largely on two works, composed in a much more direct style, his *Commentary on the Divine Liturgy* and his *Life in Christ*. The immediate influence of these works seems to have been slight. Within decades, the Byzantine empire was to fall to the Turks, and it was in monastic circles that the "inner wisdom" of Christianity was most faithfully preserved. Nicholas's two works, unusually for works of Byzantine spirituality, envisage a primarily lay audience; he was not included in the 18th-century hesychast anthology, the *Philokalia*. In recent times, however, they have found recognition as classics of Orthodox sacramental spirituality: the very title of St John of Kronstadt's spiritual autobiography, *My Life in Christ* (1889), pays tribute to Kabasilas.

Both the *Commentary on the Divine Liturgy* and the *Life in Christ* expound a spirituality founded on the sacraments. The *Commentary* explains the actions and prayers of the liturgy from the preparation of the bread and the wine (the *prothesis*) through to communion, with a long theological parenthesis inserted before the final chapter. This parenthesis deals with matters such as the value of the celebration of the liturgy for the departed, the role of the saints, and the nature of the Eucharistic sacrifice. Some have detected the influence of Thomas Aquinas in his parenthesis; earlier on, however, there is a spirited defence of the invocation (*epiklesis*) of the Holy Spirit against Latin objections. The explanation of the liturgical actions it provides is largely an elaboration of traditional explanations that can be traced back to the commentary by Germanos I. The liturgical celebration yields benefits through both intercession and participation. The inspiration of much of Kabasilas's unfolding of the significance of the liturgical action is frequently to be traced to Dionysius the Areopagite. A similar inspiration can be detected in the *Life of Christ*, notably in the choice of the three sacraments, baptism, oil (*myron*), and the Eucharist, that form the subject of the three principal chapters (cf. Dionysius, *Ecclesiasical Hierarchy*, 2–4). This concentration on the sacramental yields a spirituality that neither requires nor advocates monastic seclusion: "the general may remain in command, the farmer may till the soil, the artisan may exercise his craft, and no one will have to desist from his usual employment because of it. One need not betake oneself to a remote spot, nor eat unaccustomed food, nor even dress differently, nor ruin one's health nor venture on any reckless act" (6. 42). Nevertheless prayer is given great importance, and one of the effects of the Eucharist is to create in the communicant a "sanctuary of the heart" (6. 103). Nicholas's two works constitute an unparalleled exposition of the "lay hesychasm", often envisaged in the writings of the hesychast monks.

ANDREW LOUTH

See also Hesychasm

Biography

Born in Thessalonica *c.*1319 into a noble family, Nicholas adopted his mother's name (Kabasilas) instead of his father's (Chamaetos). He studied first in Thessalonica under his uncle Neilos Kabasilas and then in Constantinople. He allied himself with John VI Kantakouzenos in the civil war of the 1340s and with St Gregory Palamas in the hesychast controversy. He wrote on secular as well as religious topics. He died after 1391.

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Kafeneion

In the Hellenic world, where there is talk, there is smoke, fire...and caffeine. These elements come together in one of the most omnipresent institutions among Greeks – the coffee shop, or *kafeneion*. Whether the coffee ordered there is prefaced by the modifier "Turkish" or "Greek", it is basically the same article – that heavy muddish potable in a small cup, potent enough to lubricate the wheels of the mind and mysterious enough to ensure a rich fortune-telling in the grounds when the drink nears its end. For Greeks, coffee is both a transient pleasure and a lingering memory fortifying the day until the next cup. Without coffee, and the ritual of its preparation and consumption, Greek life would be a blur of mundane comings and goings. With coffee, less a dietary supplement than a soft narcotic or social stimulant, life comes alive; its busy nature is ensured punctuated respite. And the environment in which it is drunk is the passport to circadian nirvana.

The *kafeneion* can be found wherever more than one person pauses in a public place for a sip. It is not uncommon to find in Greece ad hoc *kafeneia* on street corners, where people spontaneously pull up a chair from a shop and a stool from somewhere else, perhaps a box to serve as table, and pass the time together talking things over. The warm climate encourages these outdoor assemblages. The *kafeneion* as an institution, however, is more uniform. Like any coffee shop round the world, it boasts modest chairs and tables, a pedestrian unadorned atmosphere. The *kafeneion* is well stocked with soft drinks, cocoa, prepackaged ice cream. There its transcendence stops. The Greek coffee shop would not be recognizable without smoke-clouded windows, a counter, perhaps covered in tin, a glass enclosure housing a few small syrup-drenched morsels to complement the bitter coffee on the palate and olives and cheese to complement the aniseed-flavoured ouzo as it eases towards the stomach. Finally there are the coffee-making accoutrements.

The *vriki* is the long-handled lipped copper or sterling pot used for making coffee; quite small in size, and commonly built to hold two, four, and rarely more than six cupfuls at a time. The cups, or *flitzani*, are demitasses, with petite handles and diminutive accompanying saucers. The pulverized coffee is prepared over a direct flame with water and sugar (*sketo*, plain, i.e. without sugar; *metrio*, medium; *glyko*, sweet), raised from the flame as it begins to boil, and set and raised two more times for a full froth before pouring. Some interpreters suggest the thrice-boiled concoction echoes the concept of the Holy Trinity, and hence its practice in the largely Orthodox Greek communities, although secularists lift and set three times merely to maximize the froth (*kaimaki*). The preparatory ritual, in any event, ultimately gives way to consumption, always with a side glass of water. The taste of the *sketo* is bitter and robust.

As a social institution, the *kafeneion* is usually a place reserved for men, as tradition has it. The *kafeneion* is not to be confused with the more variegated coffee houses, cafés, or *zacharoplasteia* (sweet shops), which are more pluralistic in clientele. Women, tourists, students, young professionals frequent these venues, while the *kafeneion* is, in the popular imagination, what it always has been – fairly limited to the discrete, leisurely, and quasi-business activities of a male population. The *kafeneion* is common not only in Greece and Cyprus but in the Hellenic diaspora, in neighbourhoods from Milwaukee to Melbourne. Usually knowing no distinction among class or station, patrons are recognizable to one another by dint of their close spatial proximity – every urban neighbourhood has a *kafeneion*. Hence, there is an implicit, if sometimes superficial, familiar feeling. The *kafeneia*, however, can be political spaces as well, with one *kafeneion* welcoming members only of the rightist party, for example, and the rival *kafeneion* welcoming only the opposition.

The *kafeneion* finds its roots in the early 17th century, where long-distance travellers eastward of the Levant looked to the coffee tent as a country inn of sorts, an outpost between metropolises on the caravan route. Recalling these early roots, in decades prior to the information boom, the more remote, rural areas of Greece and Cyprus, with limited access to newspapers and electronic media, were reliant upon the *kafeneion* as an information-exchange centre. Also the difficulty in obtaining telephone lines in Greece forced face-to-face communal gatherings in the reliable venue of the *kafeneion*, even in the cities. This is still the case in some isolated areas including island villages. As the practice goes, one informant will return to his village from having visited an urban centre and deliver the latest salient development to his cohort. In such rural areas, where village elders, heads of households, and other community or business leaders of the village visit the *kafeneion* regularly, issues of the commonweal might be deliberated and debated until consensus is formed. It is not uncommon for official business to be conducted in this informal environment, and

Kafeneion: traditional *kafeneion* in the port of Karlovasi on Samos

in this respect, the *kafeneion* may serve as an extension of the political realm. Decisions made there may determine how votes are cast in town or village councils.

On the other hand, the *kafeneion* is a place of leisure and male camaraderie, a break from home life, which tends to be the domain of women and children. Gambling might take place, over a game of backgammon, chess, or some manifestation of cards, but rarely for high stakes. In the old days the smoking of hashish brought about a different kind of nirvana, but since the early 20th century the drug has been banned in Greece. If one can speak for a moment about the oral tradition of the Hellenic world, where talk is a pleasure in and of itself, without necessarily consensual ends, the *kafeneion* also occasions demonstrative rhetorical bravado. Not to be outdone by one's companions, participants in the discussion may crescendo and diminuendo with flourishes of thought and speech in both emotive and logical twists and turns before an attentive and critical audience for the sheer joy of performance. In this, *couventa* (conversation) is a key commonality and tacit attraction among *kafeneion* patrons, who claim the *kafeneion* as a place of their own.

BARBARA SYRRAKOS

See also Men

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Kaftantzoglou, Lysandros 1811–1885

Architect

Lysandros Kaftantzoglou was one of the leading architects of 19th-century Greece. He was born in Thessalonica into an aristocratic Macedonian family, whose name of Spandoni (or Spandouni) was replaced by an honorary one derived from the Ottoman kaftan which certain privileged subjects were allowed to wear. Taken by his mother to France as a refugee from the troubles which followed the start of the War of

Independence in 1821, he was educated initially in Marseilles, and subsequently studied architecture at the Academy of Fine Arts in Rome. In 1834, at the age of 22, he won first prize in an international competition for the design of Milan university. In the same year he graduated and returned to France. He travelled widely in Europe, where his work was highly regarded. He was elected to membership of numerous professional bodies both there and in the United States.

He first returned to Greece in 1838, when he visited Athens to participate in a competition for the design of the university. A show of his work was well received by the public but he was in serious disagreement with the dominant Bavarian and German architects over the town plan for the development of Athens. This reached such a pitch that court action resulted and Kaftantzoglou left Athens, disenchanted, in 1839. He spent the next four years first in Thessalonica, where he studied Byzantine architecture, and then in Constantinople, where he continued his architectural research and designed some houses.

When he returned once more to Athens in 1843, one of the Bavarians who had been removed from office in the anti-Othonian climate which then prevailed was the director of the Techniko Scholeio. The following year Kaftantzoglou became its first Greek director. With the help of Tositsa and Stournari, with whom he had discussed the idea some years earlier, this was now transformed into Athens Polytechnic. With great enthusiasm Kaftantzoglou set about establishing the educational and administrative structures of the institution, as well as teaching. The new polytechnic building (1861–76), in Odos Patission (28 Oktovriou), which he designed, is generally regarded as one of his greatest achievements. The approach is flanked by two single-storey buildings with Doric stoas; the main building, constructed round an open interior court, is approached by a massive Ionic porch at first-floor level.

Kaftantzoglou's architectural style was strongly Neoclassical in character, based on ancient and Renaissance architecture and much influenced by contemporary developments in Europe. He drew also from Byzantine architecture, which at the time was not highly regarded. In his houses, which mostly survive only in drawings, he shows a more varied and lighter touch. His work is often contrasted with that of his contemporary and bitter rival Stamatis Kleanthis (1802–62), whose Romantic style often made use of Gothic elements. The two were professional and personal rivals and conducted highly publicized quarrels in the press. In 1845 Kaftantzoglou succeeded in wresting the commission for the Arsakeion (another of his major works, completed in 1852) from Kleanthis, who had already spent two years on the project.

In addition to the two buildings already mentioned Kaftantzoglou's prolific output included many private houses, very few of which have survived, the Catholic church of St Denis in Panepistimiou (started by Klentze), the Orthodox churches of Hagia Irini and Hagios Konstantinos in Athens, and many other buildings elsewhere in Greece. He was also well known for an ambitiously designed but subsequently unbuilt heroon, designed in 1830 as a monument to the heroes of 1821. His comments on the design show both his attachment to Classical architecture (the Propylaea of Mnesicles) and his interest in the symbolic use of architectural forms and motifs (the Doric and Ionic orders to signify the two tribes of Greece; the circular form, eternity).

His later years were embittered. His leadership of the polytechnic was violently challenged, partly because of the changing political climate. After his resignation (1862) he largely shut himself off from public life and died in Athens in 1885.

ROBIN L.N. BARBER

Biography

Born in Thessalonica in 1811, Kaftantzoglou went with his mother to Paris in 1821. He studied in Marseilles, and then at the Academy of Fine Arts in Rome. In 1834 he won a competition to design Milan University. He returned to Greece in 1838 and in 1844 became director of the Polytechnic, whose new building he designed. He died in Athens in 1885.

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Kalamata

Port in the southern Peloponnese

At the head of the Messenian Gulf, sheltered by the huge flanks of the Taygetos mountains, and watered by the river Nedon is Kalamata, the capital of the province of Messenia. With its 44,000 inhabitants Kalamata is one of the larger Greek cities. Harbour, train station, and airport make the city an important commercial centre. Kalamata olives have a high reputation. Tourism is centred in the seaside area of the city. The long boulevard is flanked by numerous hotels and restaurants. On 14 September 1986 a severe earthquake struck the centre of Kalamata. The increased building activities in the city are due to this catastrophe.

Excavations have shown that Kalamata occupies the site of ancient Pherae which is most likely identified with the Pherae of the Homeric poems. In the *Iliad* "sacred Pherae" is one of the seven cities "on the border of sandy Pylos" that Agamemnon offers Achilles, hoping to persuade him to take up arms again (9. 149). According to the *Iliad* (5. 541–53) this Pherae is inhabited by Diocles and his sons, who set out for Troy to gain honour for the Atreids. In the *Odyssey* (3. 488 and 15. 186) Telemachus twice visits Diocles in Pherae on his way from Pylos to Sparta and back.

The status of Pherae in this period is not clear. A Linear B tablet (An 661) from Nestor's palace at Pylos may throw some light on this matter. It says, apparently in a case of emergency, that 30 members of the coast guard are to be sent to the Nedon. This river, and consequently Pherae, seem not to have

been part of the area ruled by the palace, because the kingdom's coast was already occupied by guards.

The overall picture seems to indicate that Pherae did not strictly belong to the kingdom of Pylos, nor to Sparta. Situated "on the border of sandy Pylos" here apparently means on the other side of the border, because Nestor did not oppose Agamemnon when the seven cities were offered to Achilles. He would not have been so friendly if Agamemnon had been about to give away seven Pylian cities. The marshes of the Pamisos estuary in the lower Messenian plain could well have formed a natural border between Pylos and Pherae. But Pherae was not a kingdom itself, as stated by Homer, who never calls Diocles and his family kings, but just inhabitants of the city. The participation of Diocles' sons in the Trojan War in the regiments of Menelaus seems to indicate some degree of dependence of Pherae on Sparta.

In the 8th century BC Pherae was annexed by the Spartans, who kept dominion over the city until 371 BC, when the Thebans liberated Messenia. Pherae again fell into Laconian hands after the battle of Actium in 31 BC, when Augustus donated the city to his Spartan allies. Tiberius (AD 14–37) in his turn assigned the cities on the western flank of Mount Taygetos to Messenia. According to Pausanias (4. 30. 3), Pherae was an ancient medical centre. He writes that Diocles' daughter Anticleia married Machaon, the illustrious son of Asclepius. Their descendants remained in Pherae, and with them the power of healing diseases and curing the maimed. Pausanias refers to a sanctuary of Machaon's sons in Pherae and his tomb in Gerenia (modern Kambos).

In Byzantine times the name Pherae changed into Kalamata, perhaps after the monastery of the Panagia of Kalomata. In AD 1208 the Frankish baron Geoffrey I de Villehardouin acquired the barony of Messenia and refortified the Byzantine fortress on the acropolis of ancient Pherae. Here his son William was born in 1218. The Villehardouins kept possession of Kalamata for almost a century. They even retained it after the disastrous battle of Pelagonia in 1259, when they had to give up Mistra and other Laconian possessions to the Byzantine John Palaiologos. William died at Kalamata in 1278, leaving no male heirs. The city passed to Charles d'Anjou and in 1299 to Guy de la Roche. Kalamata was now part of the Duchy of Athens. In 1425 the city passed to the Palaiologoi and in 1460 the Ottomans took control. The Venetians conquered Kalamata during the Morosini campaign of 1685. The German general Dengenfeld took the city with his army of 8000 mercenaries, among who were 1500 Maniots. The Venetians, however, were even less popular than the Turks, and when the vizir Damat Ali appeared in the Peloponnese in 1715, the Venetians were driven out of their fortresses with the help of the people.

During the Orloff campaign of 1770 Kalamata was freed again from the Ottomans. A small division, consisting of 200 Maniots and 12 Russians captured the city. But again the Turks struck back, destroying the churches and the houses.

In 1821 Kalamata is said to have been be the first Greek city to take up arms against the Turks. Indeed, on 23 March Kalamata was liberated from Turkish occupation by the Maniot troops of Petrobey Mavromichalis, Mourtzinos, and Theodore Kolokotronis. Four years later, however, Ibrahim Pasha reconquered the city after heavy bombardments. After the glorious battle of Navarino in 1827 Kalamata was returned to Greek hands for good.

MAARTEN J. GROND

Summary

A city in the southern Peloponnese, Kalamata is the captial of the province of Messenia and an important commercial centre. In antiquity it was known as Pherae and was annexed by Sparta from the 8th to 4th centuries BC. It was an ancient centre of healing cults. Its name was changed to Kalamata in the Byzantine period. It was occupied by Franks in the 13th and 14th centuries and was the first city to take up arms against the Turks in 1821.

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Kalvos, Andreas 1792–1869

Poet of the Heptanesian school

With a reputation as the principal renovator of modern Greek lyric expression and the leader of the Neoclassical movement in Greek poetry, Andreas Kalvos is regarded as one of the most important figures in laying the foundations of the modern Greek poetic tradition. At the same time he made an important contribution to the intellectual movement known as the Heptanesian school that flourished in the Ionian islands and signalled a cultural reawakening. However, Kalvos is one of the least prolific poets in the modern Greek literary tradition. His poetic production is confined to a single volume that was published under the general title *Odes* and which comprises two independent collections which appeared under the titles *Lyre* (Geneva, 1824) and *Lyrics* (Paris, 1826). Nevertheless, apart from poetry Kalvos also produced a notable body of literary work of great variety ranging from tragedies, translations, short essays of philosophical, social, and theological contenr, elementary textbooks of grammar, and other educational material to reports and critical articles of a political nature published in the journals and daily newspapers of his rime.

Kalvos composed just 20 poems, all connected with the Greek War of Independence of 1821. However, he loved solitude and throughout his life he remained inaccessible and unknown, and his books of verse were indifferently received and recognized only posthumously. Attached to the idea of nation, as well as to the ancient Greek ideals of morality and justice, he extolled the national revolutionary spirit. His poetry is distinguished for its eye-catching, daring imagery, its impressive mode of expression, and its elegant, extremely personal style.

Kalvos was born and spent his early childhood in Zakynthos in the most transitory period of that island's history. It was the period when the Ionian islands were offi-

cially annexed to France. The same period was marked by the endeavour of the petty bourgeoisie to transfer the power of the nobles to its own hands. At the same time, the ideas of the Enlightenment and the Encyclopedists were prevalent and moulded the European intellectual world. Kalvos was prepared to assimilate and evoke the reformist spirit in his verse. His acquaintance with the Italian revolutionary poet Ugo Foscolo had a profound influence on his career and personal style. Thus, influenced by the challenging ideals of the revolutionary age, excited by the national reawakening of his fatherland, and professing his Greekness, he was capable of writing poetry through which all those influences found an expression. His poetry was the melting pot in which French liberalism, Germanic idealism, and idealistic perfectionism in its Romantic or Classical interpretation blended with the Hellenic tradition. As a consequence Kalvos's contribution to the Hellenic tradition is evident from the fact that he never used his poetry as an instrument to express the ideas of Europe but to fertilize them in his own cultural tradition. He was not an imitator of foreign forms and spiritual models but the poet who succeeded in expressing the pulsation of his age and renewing the Hellenic tradition.

The characteristic elements of his poetry are revolutionary patriotism, devotion to his country, and the vital role of justice and virtue in the existence of nations. Through these elements the political character of his poetry becomes evident. In this manner Kalvos had a profound effect on the poetry of the postwar generation of Greek poets who sought the political dimension of poetry (e.g. Ritsos, Vretakos, Seferis).

Turning to the thematic framework of Kalvos's poetry, one could say that nearly all of his poems are connected with and refer directly to the Greek revolution from which he drew his inspiration and to the final success of which he wanted to contribute through his art. However, his aim was a deeper one: to speak up for virtue and justice, the heroic spirit, valour, courage, and ethical integrity, and to oppose injustice, oppression, despotism, and tyranny. His idea of virtue – the clearest theme in his poetry – is a complex but sublime synthesis of many different concepts. For Kalvos virtue is the connecting link that joins the Hellenic tradition from Homer to the contemporary era and to western culture. Kalvos's Aristotelian virtue is perceived as a moral idea with a Christian meaning. It is also perceived in its ancient Greek context as the bravery of Homer's epics or the historical record of Classical Greece. At the same time it is the proud dignity of manliness, a common element in both ancient Greek tradition and popular folksong. And it is identified with the idea of freedom and encapsulates the enduring strength of the Hellenic historical process. A similar idea was presented by Pericles when he thought of virtue as the necessary condition for the existence of freedom. Finally, Kalvos's virtue entailed the idea of social offering and the desire for the fulfilment of human happiness as expressed by Diderot.

An equally significant theme in Kalvos's poems is the idea of religiosity. Kalvos was concerned with religion in its broader context. He often refers to God but categorically refuses to define him. Thus he is thought to have believed in a superhuman controlling power, in a personal god or gods deserving his obedience, respect, and worship. This supernatural power can be seen as the voice of justice and truth, able to punish any abuse. It is the power responsible for the settlement of the moral norm and the ethical order. To this extent, Kalvos's god seems to be identified with Zeus as well as with the ancient punitive and avenging Furies such as are presented in the tragedies of Aeschylus and Sophocles. Nevertheless, Kalvos does not reject the Christian dimension, since he pays respect to an omnipotent monotheistic God, the equivalent of the Byzantine/Orthodox perpetual ruler of the world.

Another distinctive motif of Kalvos's poetry is the idea of love of one's native land. The same feeling of nostalgia overcame Odysseus when he was away from Ithaca and was reminded of home. Meanwhile Kalvos composed a hymn to the natural landscape of Greece. Nature becomes the mother figure, which symbolizes the source of life and the ultimate expression of pure instincts. The same idea runs through the Hellenic literary tradition from Homer to lyric pastoral poetry, and is then transmitted to folk tradition in order to permeate the work of modern Greek poets such as Palamas and Elytis.

With respect to the particular components of Kalvos's poetry one could say that his verse is marked by sublime ideas, dramatic tone, alluring imagery, and sensuous appeal, elements that characterized the verse of Pindar. The plangency of a number of natural images in his poetry owes something to the tone of the Romantics. His correct use of metaphors, his strong similes, and his frequent use of antithesis had an immense influence on the expression, versification, and style of Palamas and Seferis and to an even greater extent on Elytis, who devoted his verse to the description and exaltation of the Greek countryside. Kalvos's strong didactic element and his dense epigrammatic phraseology made an enormous impact on Seferis's verse, where big ideas and ethics are expressed by means of aphorism or axiom. Kalvos did follow a particular metrical norm but was inclined to write in blank verse. In this way he encouraged the next generation to write in blank verse without neglecting the power of the metrical norm which was still the basis for any kind of poetry. Although Kalvos made extensive use of the Neoclassical models, he never escaped the enchanting power of Romanticism, which gives priority to imagination, releases emotions, and liberates poetical expression. His ideal was a Classical one but his expression Romantic. As far as his idiom is concerned, Kalvos's language is an original personal device. It is an admixture of the vernacular spoken language and its inexhaustible archaic form. His idiom contains elements of three different sources: the ancient Greek tradition, the linguistic idiom of Adamantios Korais and Rigas Velestinlis and other Greek intellectuals abroad, and the vernacular language comprising a number of idiomatic expressions and local elements.

Kalvos is not simply a contributor to the Hellenic poetic tradition but, more importantly, he is a genuine representative of his own era as well as a spirited inaugurator of modern Greek poetic expression. In Kalvos's poetry the whole world, nature, and history become a unique omnipotent vision under the patronage and protection of an almighty God.

MARIA ROUMBALOU

Biography

Born in Zakynthos in 1792, Kalvos had little education. But in 1812 he met Ugo Foscolo in Florence and remained his companion in exile until 1820. He wrote only two books of poetry – *Lyre* (1824) and

Lyrics (1826) – each containing ten patriotic odes inspired by the War of Independence. Returning to Greece, he settled in Corfu and taught for a time at the Ionian Academy. In 1852 he moved to England where he married for a second time, and died in 1869.

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Kanaris, Constantine 1795–1877

Naval hero of the Greek War of Independence and prime minister of Greece

Kanaris was born on the eastern Aegean island of Psara into a prominent family of mariners. He went to sea at an early age by joining the crew of a veteran captain and family relative as a junior rating. Observers soon noticed the young man's bravery, presence of mind, and seamanship. He was barely 20 when he was given the command of a brig sailing the traditional trade route to and from the Aegean islands and Black Sea ports. It was at the port of Odessa that Kanaris first heard of the *Philiki Hetaireia* (literally, the "Friendly Society"), a clandestine association of prominent members of the Greek diaspora who were planning a rising of the Greeks against Ottoman rule. The young captain declined to join, perhaps uncomfortable with the thought of a secret society, but his dedication to the cause of Greek independence was strong and he maintained close links with *Philiki Hetaireia* members. When he heard of outbreak of the revolution in the spring of 1821, he hastily returned to the Aegean in order to join the battle. Such was his enthusiasm that he turned his ship over to relatives and joined a squadron as commander of a fireship.

So it was, on the night of 6 June 1822, that Kanaris stealthily entered the harbour of Chios island and approached the flagship of the Turkish admiral Kara Ali which was riding at anchor. All hands were merrily observing a Muslim religious holiday. He quickly set the charges and rammed the flagship, causing her to explode and sink within minutes. More than 2000 Turks, including the admiral himself, were trapped inside the ship and went to the bottom. Four months later, Kanaris repeated this feat off the island of Tenedos by ramming and exploding a ship of the line which was escorting the flagship of Mehmet Pasha, Kara Ali's successor. This time the casualties were nearly 1000 men, including many Christians serving under Ottoman colours. As a result of these two actions the Ottoman fleet hastily sought refuge in the Dardanelles. Similar actions in the following years, and always to the grief of his Turkish enemies, made Kanaris the most feared Greek fireship commander in the Aegean. In the summer of 1825 an audacious plan to strike a strategic blow against the Ottoman naval forces brought him to the Egyptian port of Alexandria. He hoisted the Russian flag and entered the harbour pretending to be an innocent arrival. His target was an Ottoman armada comprising 60 ships of the line and nearly 200 transports which was preparing to sail for Greece. Luckily for the unsuspecting Egyptians, a sudden drop in the wind forced Kanaris to abort the attack and escape in the direction of two Greek ships with Ottoman squadrons in hot pursuit.

When the revolution ended with the founding of an independent Greek state in 1829, Kanaris was one of the first officers commissioned in its young navy. He was soon confronted with the vagaries and pains of political instability attending the birth of the new state. An attempt by the first governor of Greece, Ioannis Kapodistria, to establish a centralized administration caused a violent reaction among war veterans, who felt that Kapodistria was attempting to substitute his own version of "Frankish" autocracy for Ottoman rule. Kanaris, who had been promoted to the rank of captain and appointed senator by Kapodistria, was soon ordered to pursue and arrest a prominent Peloponnesian, Petrobey Mavromichalis, whose clan had vowed to fight the governor to the finish and which was to assassinate him soon after Petrobey's arrest. In 1831 Kanaris, now the commanding officer of the Poros naval station, was confronted with a naval mutiny led by his friend, fellow fighter, and admiral from the island of Hydra, Andreas Miaoulis. The mutiny, one of the most dramatic events of the first years of Greek independence, resulted in the scuttling of two precious ships of the line and Miaoulis's escape back to Hydra under fire.

Deeply disillusioned by these fratricidal struggles and by the virulent political infighting, Kanaris retired to his home island of Psara and, later, to the island of Syros. But on the arrival of prince Otto of Bavaria, appointed king of the Hellenes by the Great Powers in 1833, he was recalled to active duty and promoted to vice admiral. In time, however, growing dissatisfaction with king Otho's arrogant rule and his personal cabinet of Bavarian advisers led Kanaris to join a secret political movement that aimed at forcing the king to grant political liberties to his subjects. In September 1843 Otho was confronted by an army ultimatum and, with thousands demonstrating outside his palace, reluctantly agreed to sign a constitution. Despite his involvement with what amounted to a coup d'état, Kanaris was still one of the most respected surviving figures of the War of Independence and was to serve several times as minister and prime minister.

Thirteen years would pass before Kanaris, a man of deeply conservative principles, was ready to side openly with those advocating the overthrow of the king. The catalyst was Otho's refusal in 1862 to appoint to Kanaris's cabinet the ministers the admiral had nominated. In protest, Kanaris rejected the royal mandate to form a government. In May 1863, after Otho's abdication and departure from Greece, Kanaris headed a Greek delegation to Denmark to offer the Hellenic crown to prince George, second son of king Christian. Recognizing Kanaris's revered position among the Greeks, the new king appointed him his prime minister, a post he held for a year. In 1865 the admiral retired to his small house in Athens and there remained as Greece's respected elder statesman until, in May

1877, he was again appointed to head a so-called Ecumenical Government. He died three months later.

Although Kanaris lacked a formal education, his contemporaries spoke of his deep understanding of politics and society and his highly sophisticated sense of leadership. He was described as a fearless, but not a reckless, man. His fellow fighters found him always respectful of the uncertainties of war, but never afraid of the prospect of battle. As a political man, Kanaris conducted himself with a firm sense of balance and a profound respect for political order, a characteristic that often helped him rise above the abysmal enmities and divisions wracking Greek politics. A naturally unassuming man, Kanaris stood out among his fellow war veterans, who often displayed a rather brusque approach to the affairs of state. Those who met him for the first time towards the end of his life expressed surprise at what they saw as a contradiction between a serene, wise old man and the daring young Kanaris who had struck fear in the hearts of his enemies during his many victories at sea.

ANESTIS T. SYMEONIDES

See also Independence (War of)

Biography

Born on the island of Psara in 1795, Kanaris received no formal education and went to sea at an early age. In the War of Independence he served heroically as commander of a fireship. After independence he became a naval officer and in 1831 quelled a mutiny led by Miaoulis. He served several terms as prime minister and in 1863 led the Greek delegation to offer the crown to Prince George of Denmark. He died in Athens in 1877.

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Kantakouzenos family

The Kantakouzenoi were a noble Byzantine family with a long history reaching back at least to the 11th century. The first recorded Kantakouzenos appears during the reign of Alexios I Komnenos (1081–1118). During the 13th century branches of the family appeared in the Peloponnese and in Nicaea. After the recovery of Constantinople from the Franks in 1261, the family played an important role in the public life of the empire and one member of it, John Kantakouzenos, became emperor. After the fall of Constantinople (1453), some members of the family became governors of the Danubian principalities, while others became prominent as officers in the Russian army and participated in the Greek War of Independence (1821). There are many opinions as to the origin of the name Kantakouzenos. The most probable is that it derives from the local name of a mountain (Kouzenas) near Smyrna. The most prominent members of the family are discussed below.

Kantakouzenos (his first name remains unknown) appears to have been the first member of the family to achieve distinction or rank. He was a general during the reign of Alexios I Komnenos and took part in the defensive campaign against the Cumans in 1094. In 1104 the emperor sent him to Syria against the Genoese fleet where he captured the harbour of Laodicea as well as neighbouring territories. In 1107 he rendered successful and distinguished service in the war against Bohemond in Albania.

John Kantakouzenos was a general with victories against the Serbs, Hungarians, and Pechenegs between 1150 and 1153 and was the military commander of Manuel I Komnenos (1143–80). He was killed in 1176 during the expedition of Manuel against the sultan of Ikonio (Konya). It has been suggested that he was a son or grandson of the above-mentioned Kantakouzenos but there seems to be no evidence to support this hypothesis.

Theodore Kantakouzenos was an opponent of the usurper Andronikos Komnenos (1183–85), who occupied the city of Nicaea. When Andronikos laid siege to it, in 1184, Theodore was captured and beheaded; his head was put on a pole, and displayed triumphantly in Constantinople. After his death the city came into the hands of Andronikos.

John VI Kantakouzenos became emperor of Constantinople (1341–54; see individual entry). His eldest son, Matthew Kantakouzenos, who was born around 1325, followed his father in the civil war against John V Palaiologos (1341/55–91). He was a remarkable soldier whose capabilities were fully understood and appreciated by his father. After the capture of Constantinople by his father in 1347 the army asked for him to be proclaimed heir to the throne. The proposal was not accepted and Matthew left with his supporters for Adrianople where he was given the title of co-emperor in 1353. In 1354 relations between Matthew and John V Palaiologos became strained and John V was forced to leave Constantinople and settle in Tenedos. Matthew was proclaimed emperor but his reign did not last long, because John V took over the city with Genoese support and Matthew retreated to Adrianople. He unsuccessfully fought the Serbs and in 1356 was captured by them. John V paid the ransom for his freedom and Matthew renounced any claim to the throne. In 1380 he became despot of Mistra after the death of his brother Manuel. He died there in 1383.

Irene Kantakouzene was the wife and empress of John VI Katakouzenos. The date of her marriage cannot be accurately determined, but it certainly took place before 1320. She is renowned for her courageous conduct in defence of Constantinople when her husband was abroad as well as for her ability to resolve differences between her eldest son

Matthew and John V Palaiologos. She became a nun after she and John VI Katakouzenos abdicated in 1354.

Helena Kantakouzene was the wife of David, the last emperor of Trebizond. After the fall of Trebizond in 1461 David and his family were shipped to Constantinople, where the whole family was executed apart from Helena. She ignored the sultan's order that the bodies should remain unburied to become the prey of dogs and crows, and secretly dug a trench in which she eventually buried them; a few days later she died.

Serban Kantakouzenos was the ruler of Wallachia (1679–88). The years of his reign are regarded as a landmark in Romanian history. He established institutions of higher education and committees for the translation of the scriptures into Romanian. His great dream was the liberation of the European countries that were occupied by the Turks. He organized a strong army and was recognized by Russia and Germany as the descendant of the imperial Byzantine family, destined to become the emperor of Constantinople after its liberation from the Turks. During the preparations for this he was poisoned by Boyars who were frightened that his plan would damage their country.

Alexander Kantakouzenos left Trieste to fight the Turks during the War of Independence (1821). He followed Demetrios Ypsilantis on his campaign in the Peloponnese and it was proposed that he should become commander of Crete. He refused this position, preferring to stay in the Peloponnese and fight the Turks. After the war he became a minister in the government of Mavrokordatos.

Georgios Kantakouzenos, born in 1837, was a prominent Romanian politician. He became minister of education in 1870. In 1889 he was elected president of the parliament and in 1892 president of the senate. After the leader of the conservatives died in 1899, he was elected president of the party and became prime minister of Romania, a position that he held until 1901. He was forced to resign because of the measures taken to restore the finances of the country. In 1905 he again became prime minister, but resigned because of his opposition to the distribution of land from the nobles to the peasants. He died in 1913.

MARIA ROUMBALOU

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Kapodistria, Count Ioannis 1776–1831

Russian diplomat and first president of the Greek republic

Ioannis Kapodistria was born on 11 February 1776 in Corfu into an ancient aristocratic Corfiote family, which had emigrated there from Istria in 1373. He studied medicine at the university of Padua, but when the Septinsular Republic of the Ionian islands was established in 1800, he became secretary of its legislative council. For the next seven years, in a series of offices, he played an influential role in the affairs of the islands. Early in 1807 he was appointed military governor, in charge of organizing the defence of Leucas against Ali Pasha, the practically independent sovereign of the Turkish province of Ioannina. It was then that Kapodistria first came into contact with Theodore Koloktronis, one of the future leaders in the War of Independence, and through him with early Hellenic nationalism. Throughout this period he was an ardent supporter of a Russophile policy, firmly believing that tsar Alexander I was the most reliable ally of the Greek cause. With the cession of the Ionian islands to France under the Treaty of Tilsit in 1807 such hopes were temporarily dashed.

Kapodistria maintained his connections with the Russian court, and in the same year accepted an offer to enter the Russian diplomatic service. Here his experience of the Near East stood him in good stead. By 1813 he had risen to the rank of councillor of state; he became one of tsar Alexander's most influential advisers. At the Congress of Vienna (1814–15) his influence was particularly conspicuous. Here Kapodistria, who in September 1815 had been promoted joint secretary of state for foreign affairs and governor of Bessarabia, was a vociferous advocate of the cause of the smaller nations in Europe, and he contributed significantly to the formulation of the final treaty of November 1815. Kapodistria's espousal of nationalism, however, raised the suspicions of Europe's leading statesman of the time, the Austrian state chancellor Prince Metternich. The overthrow of this "coryphaeus of liberalism" became vital for the success of Metternich's reactionary policies. Thus, when Kapodistria went on leave to visit Corfu in 1819, he was shadowed by the spies of the apprehensive Austrian.

In Vienna in 1815 Kapodistria had supported the creation of a British protectorate over the Ionian islands, the commercial advantages of which were apparent. Sir Thomas Maitland's robust administration of the islands, however, offended his local patriotism, and he decided to take up the issue with his imperial master in St Petersburg and with the British government. The latter, regarding Kapodistria's initiative as a pretext for Russian interference in what by treaty were wholly British affairs, gave him a cold reception. When he returned to Russia in the autumn of 1819 he found that here, too, his influence was waning. In court circles the "upstart Greek" had always been distrusted, but the murder of the Russian agent August von Kotzebue in 1819 and that of the Duc de Berry in the following year as well as the revolutions in Spain and Naples had shaken the tsar's liberalism, and thus undermined Kapodistria's position in the Russian government. By 1821 it had become untenable.

Alexander Ypsilantis's misguided and abortive raid into the Danubian principalities furnished Metternich with the long-sought opportunity to overthrow Kapodistria. Ypsilantis was the president of the secret revolutionary organization *Philiki Hetaireia*, of which Kapodistria was also a member. Metternich now insinuated that Kapodistria was bending Russian foreign policy to suit Greek ends. Anticipating his dismissal, Kapodistria resigned from his position in the

Russian government on the eve of the Congress of Verona in 1822.

For the next five years he withdrew into private life in Geneva. In April 1827, however, the Greek national assembly at Troezen elected him president of the Greek republic. His election marked a triumph for the Russian faction in the Greek national movement, as indeed Kapodistria had never ceased to regard himself as a Russian official. He accepted the new post but was in no hurry to take up the difficult task. In July he visited tsar Nicholas I; and having obtained the tsar's permission to proceed and being furnished with instructions as to the policy he should pursue in Greece, he went on a tour of the courts of Europe to gain moral and material support. It was only the news of the annihilation of Turkey's Egyptian fleet at the battle of Navarino in 1827, which practically meant the end of the War of Independence, that hastened Kapodistria's return to Greece. He arrived at Nauplia on 19 January 1828 aboard HMS *Warspite*.

The task awaiting Kapodistria was formidable: the finances of the new country were exhausted; it was economically backward; the great powers had placed restrictions on its sovereignty; and, most awkward of all, an undefeated Turkish army under Ibrahim Pasha was still in the southern half of the Morea. Kapodistria was an experienced politician; and he had the support of Russia. His diplomatic efforts to lift some of the restrictions on Greek sovereignty were to some extent successful, but his aristocratic background, his Russian proclivities, his arbitrary government, and his undisguised nepotism antagonized sections of the Greek body politic. Ultimately, his attempt to introduce the centralized Russian administrative system to Greece proved fatal. An open rebellion on some of the islands he was able to squash with Russian naval assistance. But his attempt to coerce the mountain clan of the Mavromichalis under Petros (or Petrobey) Mavromichalis, one of the leaders of the War of Independence, sparked an insurrection in Maina at Easter 1830. Although Petrobey was arrested and the uprising thus quelled, Kapodistria paid dearly for his attempt to enforce his rule on the country. He was murdered on 9 October 1831 on his way to church in a revenge attack for Petrobey's arrest by the latter's son Constantine. Kapodistria's assassination was followed by a state of anarchy which was ended only with the convention of London of May 1832 and the enthronement of prince Otto of Bavaria as king Otho of Greece.

T.G. OTTE

Biography

Born in Corfu in 1776, Kapodistria (also known as Giovanni Capo d'Istria) studied medicine at the University of Padua. In 1800 he became an official of the Septinsular Republic of the Ionian islands. In 1807 he entered the Russian diplomatic service but resigned in 1822 and retired to Geneva. In 1827 he was elected president of the Greek republic. He was assassinated in 1831.

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Karaghiozis

Shadow puppet theatre

Karaghiozis is the Greek term for the shadow puppet theatre known in Turkey as *Karagöz* ("black-eyed"). The figures are usually constructed of thick cardboard on to which paint or coloured transparent paper is applied, or of very thin leather painted in various colours. They are highly ornamented, bearing scalloped edges, sequins, and glitter, so that the various elements that constitute the costume become clearly articulated. The figures are suspended from wooden guiding posts behind a white screen and they are lighted from behind, so that only their shadow touches the screen and creates a coloured illusion. There is a very simple stage set depicted on screen, constituted by the *Seray* (the vizier's mansion, or the sultan's palace), always located on the left side of the screen, and Karaghiozis's shack, always on the right side of the screen. Movement on screen originally occurred in only one direction, clearly demarcating the social space occupied by the various characters. Karaghiozis and the Greek characters exited from the right, whereas the Turkish characters exited from the left. With new techniques in the construction of the figures and the holding of the guiding poles, however, bidirectionality was introduced to the plays around the second half of the 20th century.

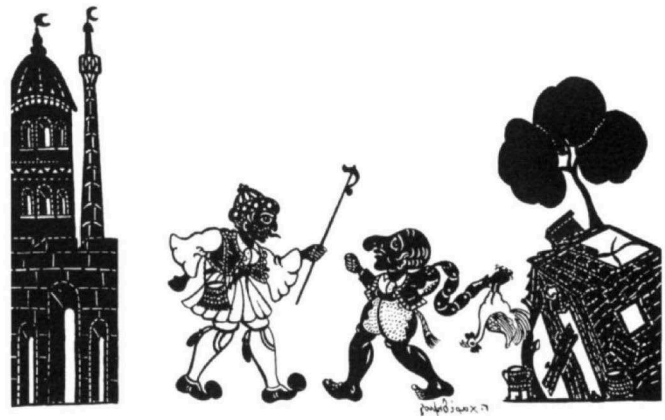
The origins of the genre are located in the religious and mystic theatre present in India, Indonesia, and China, although this particular genealogy is all but forgotten in the public discourses on shadow puppet theatre in both Greece and Turkey. The earliest written references to shadow puppet theatre are in the Indian epic *Mahabharata*, while in Java there are literary sources of the 11th century that mention shadow puppet theatre. Around the same time it also appears in Chinese texts. This tradition, however, consisted mainly of highly ritualized, philosophical, and stochastic texts that have little relation to the satirical, teasing, and profane elements that, in different combinations, constitute both the Turkish and the Greek versions of the tradition.

Although there is some debate as to when *Karagöz* first appeared in Turkey, it seems that the most plausible time was the 13th century. The Turkish chronicler Evliya Çelebi, writing in the 17th century, mentions, erroneously, that Karagöz was a messenger of the last Byzantine emperor Constantine XI Palaiologos, while Hacivat (the other main character) was a messenger of sultan Alâeddin. Although the character was known to the Greek inhabitants of Constantinople and other Ottoman urban centres of the Balkans from as early as the 17th century, *Karaghiozis* did not appear in Greece until the early 19th century, in the court of Ali Pasha in Ioannina. There, in 1809, we find the first references to performances of shadow puppet theatre by J.C. Hobhouse. *Karaghiozis* first appeared in Athens after independence, some time in the 1830s. The first specific reference to a performance is in Nauplia in 1841. We next find a reference to the establishment of an "oriental" (*asiatikon*) theatre in Plaka (Athens) in 1852. These performances were still very much Turkish ones, given by either Armenian or Jewish players, using profane language that was abandoned when the plays became "Hellenized". The content

of the plays and the adaptation of the supporting characters to Greek personae did not take place until the early 20th century.

The main characters in both traditions are Karagöz / Karaghiozis and Hacivat / Hatziavatis. Karagöz / Karaghiozis is a figure with exaggerated black eyes, of dark complexion, with a short, dark, and bushy beard, bald, stocky, and with a left arm that has one extra joint, making it one-third longer than his right arm. He was either a Turk, or a Greek, or a "Gypsy", and spoke in the vernacular, which he used very well, making extensive uses of linguistic tropes, in order to arrive at doubles entendres, which, when contrasted with his linguistic simplicity, provided the satirical element of the genre. Although perpetually jobless, he was always willing to do minor work and was available for little errands, which he always completed at the expense of Hatziavatis (in the Greek plays) or under the strict supervision and constant terrorization of Hacivat (in the Turkish plays). Karaghiozis was always depicted as being extremely intelligent and cunning and his main preoccupation was feeding his family and himself. He was dressed in rags, shoeless, lived in a shack directly opposite the palace, was married, and, in the Greek plays, had a legion of hungry children in tow, the most famous of which was Kolleteri. Hacivat / Hatziavatis was the sultan's messenger, a character with extensive encyclopaedic knowledge that ranged from the use of learned language in rhymed prose to the names of plants and spices, to music, and to Classical poetry which he could recite by heart. He had excruciatingly good manners and aspirations to high society. His figure was slim and he sported a small pointed beard. His demeanour was quiet and reflective, in stark opposition to the impulsive manners of Karagöz / Karaghiozis. Hadcivat / Hatziavatis was depicted as the keeper of the established order, the benefactor of the underprivileged, credulous and benevolent, whereas Karagöz / Karaghiozis was the innovator, the upsetter, and the trickster. In the Turkish plays Hadcivat was always the one who beat up Karagöz, but in the Greek adaptation the order (and the beatings) were reversed. These two main characters were surrounded by a cast of supporting ones, some of which are almost always present while others make only occasional appearances.

The supporting characters found in the Greek theatre are analogous to those found in the Turkish. The commonest of those are the various women who appear, or are referred to, regularly in the plays (such as Karaghiozis's wife and mother-in-law, the vizier's daughter, the women who come requesting his help); the various regional characters (Morfonios, who is a dwarf with strange manners but a womanizer; Sior Nionios, the Zantean; Stavrakas, the argot-speaking lumpen character from Athens; and, most importantly, Barba-Yiorgos, the mountaineer from western Greece, Karaghiozis's protector, who has no Western manners, sports no Western clothes, but is of the purest heart and intentions, in stark contrast to everyone else who is always trying to take advantage of Karaghiozis). Of the supporting characters only those of the pasha (or the sultan) and the vizier's daughter (*E Veziropoula* in the Greek plays) have been transferred unchanged, retaining their original titles (names do not appear with reference to these characters), occupying the space of law and authority. The pasha, the vizier, and the sultan rarely speak, whereas the vizier's daughter not only speaks but does so in perfect Greek and with a sweet voice.



Karaghiozis: the figures of Karaghiozis (right) and Hatziavatis are seen next to their respective dwellings, a shack and the sultan's palace

The representatives of authority, those who control it and delegate it, in the Karaghiozis plays are always depicted as mild-mannered and good-hearted, albeit obviously omnipotent, hence awe-inspiring. The characters, however, who draw Karaghiozis's mirth, ridicule, irony, and sarcasm are those who occupy the second tier of authority, those involved in the executive branch of the law, the messengers, such as Hatziavatis, and the policemen and the gendarmes, such as Velighekas and Dervenagas; also those who possess symbolic power by virtue of their profession, such as the doctor, the judge, etc. But if Karaghiozis was verbally, or even physically, abusive to those in power, he reserved and exhibited the utmost respect for the historical characters present in the plays. The Karaghiozis performers engaged in the rewriting of official historical events and characters for the benefit of their audience, in a manner that transcended historical time and space, joining popular lore with the memory of history. It is in this light that one should look at plays such as *Alexander the Great and the Cursed Snake*, *Karaghiozis and Captain Panourgias*, *Karaghiozis and Captain Greece*. The thematic appropriations extended into negotiations with and the subversion of the class structure (with plays such as *Karaghiozis the Millionaire*, *Karaghiozis the Admiral*, *Karaghiozis the Banker*), or, later, the management of the exotic and of change in the experience of everyday realities (such as in the plays *Karaghiozis the Astronaut*, *Karaghiozis the Soccer Player*, *Karaghiozis the Bullfighter*, *Karaghiozis's Divorce*).

Karaghiozis was initially performed within the informal and non-specific space of the *kafeneion* or empty lots (*alanes*). The performances were attended by a mixed audience of children and adults, an audience that, until *Karaghiozis*'s exoticism wore off, included members of the upper classes. With de-exoticization *Karaghiozis* was established as a genre of political and social commentary which was allowed to flourish because its criticism always operated under the disguise of comedy. By the middle of the 20th century, however, the genre had lost its political and social edge and had been safely appropriated as children's entertainment and transformed into a folkloristic item of slapstick comedy, prompting Yiorgos Ioannou's comment that the only audience of *Karaghiozis* nowadays are children and intellectuals. *Karaghiozis* lost its edge but retained the jerky, exaggerated movements, the struc-

ture of the play, and its musical and dancing form. The performances were eventually moved into open-air enclosures with masonry fences built around them (*mandres*), until they were finally moved spatially and symbolically into the area of tourism. From the beginning of the 20th century, with the introduction of the culturally Greek elements of the play, the shadow puppet theatre was supported by the parallel production of popular publications where the scripts of the various plays were published. With the advent of mass popular culture and the flourishing of a recording industry in Greece 45 rpm disks started being produced and distributed, followed by tape cassettes, and, lately, video recordings of performances, and books with Karaghiozis projects (such as "Build Your Own Shack").

NENI PANOURGIÁ

Summary

Karaghiozis (Turkish *Karagöz*) is the Greek term for the shadow puppet theatre and its eponymous main character. First appearing in Turkey (probably in the 13th century), the genre was not introduced to Greece until the early 19th century at the court of Ali Pasha of Ioannina. The repertory of plays combines folklore with satire and an element of history. By the mid-20th century it had become largely an entertainment for children.

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Karaiskakis, Georgios 1782–1827

Greek commander in the War of Independence

Georgios Karaiskakis (born Karaiskos), destined to become a hero in the War of Independence, was raised in Epirus among the rugged mountains and valleys of western Greece. G. Finlay describes him as "of middle size, thin, dark complexioned, and haggard, with a bright expressive animal eye". Karaiskakis was accused of playing both sides of the fence in the war, and to some extent he did. One must remember, however, that at the outbreak of the war Greece was not a unified nation, and Karaiskakis was not the only person to change sides in the course of events. He was employed for a time by Ali Pasha, who ruled from Ioannina; he became a member of Ali's personal bodyguard, and was thus trained by the Turkish forces. When Ali Pasha died, Karaiskakis returned to the mountains and became the leader of a band of fighters and brigands known as *armatoles*. Subsequently he took part in the invasion of the Peloponnese in 1824 in which he fought against those Greeks who were fighting for independence. Ultimately convinced of the need to throw off the Turkish yoke, Karaiskakis therefore changed sides. In subsequent fighting he acquired a reputation for bravery which assuaged the doubts which some had about his loyalty.

Courageous and witty, Karaiskakis went on to fight in some of the most important battles of the war. He was at Krommydi in 1825, and also took part in operations at Messolonghi in August 1825. During the attempt to lift the siege of Messolonghi in April 1826, Karaiskakis was caught in an ambush by Turkish forces who effectively prevented his scheduled arrival. His absence from this operation contributed to the devastating defeat of the Greeks.

In the summer of 1826 Karaiskakis was named commander of the Greek forces by president Zaimis, and he immediately gathered some 2000 troops at Eleusis and marched off with the ultimate goal of lifting the siege of the Acropolis. He planned to do this in a series of battles, but his forces were defeated at the battle of Chaidari, and they withdrew to Boeotia. There he scored some successes, notably the defeat of a group of Turks at Arachova, but he was fighting on the fringe of the war. He returned to Attica, where the British admiral Church was now in control. Karaiskakis had been pushing his plan to cut off the supply lines of the Turks with a series of encircling battles. Church rejected that plan in favour of more direct action. Karaiskakis agreed to take orders from Church, and thus began the attack on the Acropolis.

On 25 April Karaiskakis took his men and marched toward the Acropolis. They met with great success: 13 outposts were captured on that one day. When they came to the monastery of St Spiridion in Munychia, they besieged the 300 Albanians who were holding the place. Attempts were made to negotiate an end to the siege, and it was Karaiskakis who finally persuaded the Albanians to come out. He did so by offering himself as guarantee for their safety. Thus when the gates were opened, the Albanians walked out with him in their midst. In spite of this, an altercation broke out and, disregarding the promise of safe passage, the Greeks slaughtered most of the Albanians. Karaiskakis was horrified, and reportedly called on the Albanians to shoot him, since he was their guarantee, but they were too busy trying to escape the melee. The incident is indicative of his character.

When he and his troops finally reached the Acropolis, the order was given for the battle to begin on 5 May. Accordingly, the troops were in place on the evening of the 4th. One of the Greeks in an outpost, however, fired on the Turks on the night of the 4th, and the battle was launched. Though ill in his tent, Karaiskakis crawled out to attempt to put a stop to the premature fighting. Unfortunately he advanced too far and became cut off from his troops. He was wounded, and died later that night. His death caused great dismay among the Greek troops, but he also became a rallying point for their defeat of the Turks.

Karaiskakis was a fighter of remarkable ferocity. His name was, in fact, proverbial among his enemies. One proverb asked, "Why do you run as though you were being chased by Karaiskakis?" He was clearly a man to be feared, yet he was also said to be a man of great wit. D.A. Zakynthos has written of him that, "In the character of this extraordinary man were present in full measure all those strange and vivid contrasts of light and shade, of baseness and nobility, which give to the actors in the story of the Greek revolt such remarkable dramatic interest".

As a martyr for the cause of freedom, Karaiskakis emerged from the War of Independence a popular figure. His popularity has not abated. In May 1997, to celebrate the anniversary of the storming of the Acropolis, a commemorative statue of Karaiskakis was unveiled on the island of Salamis in the main square of Salamis town.

TIMOTHY F. WINTERS

See also Independence (War of)

Biography

Born in Epirus in 1782 with the name Karaiskos, he joined the staff of Ali Pasha in Ioannina. After Ali's death he became a brigand leader in the mountains and took part in the invasion of the Peloponnese in 1824. He then changed sides and in 1826 was named commander of the Greek forces in the War of Independence. He died in the siege of the Acropolis at Athens in 1827.

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Karamanlides

The Karamanlides were one of the most interesting, yet poorly understood, groups of Orthodox Christians living under the Ottoman empire. They were Orthodox Christians who were Turkish in speech and constituted a significant portion of the Rum Milleti ("Roman Communities") within the Ottoman empire. They inhabited large areas of Asia Minor and portions of the Crimea as well as parts of Bulgaria and quarters of Constantinople. The Karamanlides were observed by outsiders as far back as the 16th century when the German traveller Hans Dernschwam wrote about the Turkish-speaking "Caramanian" Christians in the Yedikule quarter of Constantinople after his trip to the city in 1553–55. The Karamanlides played an important part after the Greek Revolution of 1821, when efforts were being made by the Greek kingdom to raise its sense of national consciousness. Before the 1923 population exchange as many as 400,000 Karamanlides lived in villages and small towns in Asia Minor in the regions of Nevshehir, Aksaray, Kayseri, Ihlara Vadisi, Peristrama, Ürgüp, Göreme, Derinkuyu, Nigde, Konya, Akshehir, Eregli, Ermenek, Ichel, Antalya, and Fetiye. Today, they make up a small religious community of no more than 80 to 100 people in Istanbul.

The origins of the Karamanlides are still an open matter. According to Greek scholars, the Karamanlides were originally Greek-speakers who adopted the Turkish vernacular either by force from their Muslim overlords or through their isolation from other Greek-speaking Orthodox Christians (who inhabited the coastal regions). The Karamanlides in this view are typically known as "Cappadocian Greeks". Turkish scholars view the Karamanlides as descended from Turks who migrated to Byzantine territories before 1453 and who only adopted the religion of their new rulers, but not the Greek language. The Karamanlides in this thesis are thought to have replaced the Pechenegs as mercenaries in the Byzantine armies and to have settled in the Kayseri and Karaman regions.

Up to 500 works of literature are thought to have been printed in the language of the Karamanlides, *karamanlidika*, by the beginning of the 20th century. These works used a modified Greek alphabet to represent Turkish sounds. For many Karamanlides, access to the Greek language was largely limited to the alphabet. One of the largest distributors of *karamanlidika* texts was the British and Foreign Bible Society, which published numerous editions of the Old and New Testaments. Other translations into *karamanlidika* included works by Aristotle and Confucius and Xavier de Montepin's novels.

There is still some debate as to which language was used for the Divine Liturgy. Some accounts report that Turkish was used throughout the liturgy while others state that Turkish was used only for the reading of the Epistle and Gospel. Preaching, however, was apparently done almost exclusively in Turkish owing to the limited knowledge of spoken Greek in some parts of central Anatolia. Discrepancies in travel accounts over this matter often arose from the traveller's inability to distinguish clearly between liturgical Greek and spoken Turkish, causing some to state that the whole service was performed in Turkish. Despite valid reasons for the existence of a liturgy written in *karamanlidika*, none has been found to date.

A strange example of the interaction between the Karamanlides and the Greek-speaking Orthodox Christians was the case of Papa Eftim (Efthymios Karahisaridis). Papa Eftim, a Karamanli, was ordained priest in 1915 for the town

of Keskin in central Anatolia. He was openly hostile to the Ecumenical Patriarchate at the Phanar and had ideas about further Turkifying the Anatolian Orthodox (which were consistent with Kemalist aims). On 15 September 1922 he declared the establishment of the Turkish Orthodox Church at St John's at Zincirdere, Kayseri. His hopes for a viable Turkish Orthodox Church came to a complete stop with the mandatory exchange of populations, but he was able to remain in Turkey by demonstrating his pro-Turkish activities during the war between Greece and Turkey. Papa Eftim then looked towards the Karamanlides in Istanbul (who were not affected by the exchange of populations). This too proved to be useless since the Karamanli community there was firmly attached to the Phanar and the mainstream Greek community of the city. Nevertheless, Papa Eftim travelled to the Phanar on 28 September 1922 where he was very outspoken about the need to elect a Turcophone patriarch who would have a "Turkish heart" and not speak rebelliously against the new Turkish state. On 2 October 1922 Papa Eftim and his Turkish allies stormed the Phanar and caused the deposition of Patriarch Meletios by the Holy Synod. Papa Eftim then made himself the Patriarchal representative in Ankara, only to be dismissed later by the Turkish government on 12 October 1922 on the grounds that religious institutions had no place in the new secular government. Papa Eftim was labeled "mad" by the newspapers at the time.

Karamanlidika inscriptions are found at many cemeteries in Turkey, the largest number being at Balikli (outside the city walls of Istanbul). The inscriptions often talk about the humble origins of unimportant craftsmen from central Anatolia. According to Clogg (1978), they offer a "glimpse of a long past world of Greek and Turkish symbiosis".

MARK A. COUMOUNDUROS

Summary

The Karamanlides were Orthodox Christians who spoke Turkish and lived under the Ottoman empire. They were to be found in many parts of Asia Minor as well as in the Crimea, Bulgaria, and Constantinople. It is uncertain whether they were originally Greek-speakers who adopted the language of their rulers or Turkish-speakers who moved to Byzantine territory before the fall of the empire and adopted the religion, but not the language, of their masters. Today they comprise a tiny religious community in Istanbul.

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Karamanlis, Constantine 1907–1998

Politician

A statesman who listened to the singular voice of politics his whole life, Constantine Karamanlis is best remembered as the man who was chosen to lead Greece out of the darkness of dictatorship in the mid-1970s and as the prime minister who secured Greece's entry into the European Economic Community in 1981. His political career ebbed and flowed for the better part of the 20th century – a time of much institutional upheaval and social duress for Greece – yet despite prolonged retrenchments during some of the worst of times, it lasted into his autumn years. For this he can be called a true political survivor, but one whom history has yet wholly to assess.

Karamanlis was born on 8 March 1907, an Ottoman subject in the Macedonian town of Proti, which was not liberated until the Balkan Wars. As a young boy he worked in his father's tobacco fields. These were formative years, in which he experienced the hardships of farm life and the demands of duty. But he had the privilege of a good education: at the age of 16 he was sent by his father, a schoolteacher, to Athens. Two years later, in 1925, Karamanlis entered Athens University to study law. Though known as rather a loner, and suffering from a developing and socially impeding hearing problem, he nevertheless formed lasting friendships and secured political patronages. After serving for a brief period in the army, Karamanlis set up his own law practice in the town of Serres. With a growing awareness of his own political philosophy, valuing stability over revolution, his political aspirations grew and in the general elections of June 1935 he won election as a deputy under the Popular Party. With the dissolution of parliament under General Metaxas a year later, Karamanlis found himself jobless. He kept a low profile during the dictatorship and rather than publicly oppose the regime, as did some of his contemporaries, he returned to his law practice in Serres. He remained politically inactive through World War II and the German occupation of Athens. It was not until 1946 that he resumed parliamentary activity, under the Popular Party government of Constantine Tsaldaris.

Karamanlis held a number of parliamentary posts, including that of minister of social welfare (1948–50), in which he gained recognition in his handling of the repatriation of war refugees through a welfare-work programme, and later as minister of public works, demonstrating his ability to achieve results and laying the groundwork for the development of Greece's infrastructure. On the death of Marshal Papagos in 1955, Karamanlis, much to the chagrin of his competitors who decried the appointment as favouritism, was made prime minister by king Paul I. The following year, wishing to dissociate himself from the far right and shake off accusations of complicity with the United States, Karamanlis formed the National Radical Union, cleverly adopting the titulary nomenclature of the left.

His transformation of the Greek economy and plans for modernization have left an indelible mark on the Greece of today. His role in the creation of the Republic of Cyprus in 1960, which detractors like to consider problematically derived too, was another of his achievements. Despite Karamanlis's animosity towards the palace and what he considered its meddlesome role in politics, his tenure as prime minister was generally successful. Not suprisingly, procedural ambiguities in the 1952 constitution occasioned ever deepening rifts between Karamanlis and the king, and in 1963, shortly after the assassination of a left-wing deputy by right-wing extremists, and a row between Karamanlis and the king over the latter's impending visit to Britain, Karamanlis left politics and exiled himself in Paris. Karamanlis, though somewhat authoritarian but never quite the strong rightist his critics considered him to be, spent most of his political life trying to distance himself publicly from extremists. He was never implicated in the assassination of the deputy, though some found the coincidence of his self-imposed exile shortly in its wake highly suspicious. For 11 years, mostly during the dark years of the dictatorship of the colonels (1967–74), Karamanlis again withdrew from politics, absorbing, perhaps, the principles of Gaullism, which were to guide him upon his return to Greece in 1974.

Karamanlis made a triumphant return to Greece and to politics. As prime minister under New Democracy, the centre-right party that he founded, he quickly embarked on a programme of dejuntification, reinstated the Communist Party (outlawed since 1947), democratized political institutions including revision of the constitution, put the question of the monarchy to referendum, and returned Greece to the international community. His premiership came to an end with the victory of the Socialists under Andreas Papandreou in 1981, though Karamanlis continued in the role of president. Papandreou's second term, which began in 1985, brought about constitutional amendments and diminished support for Karamanlis to serve a second term as president, despite his impeccable conduct in that post. Papandreou sought to limit the powers of the president, which had been allocated in a constitution of Karamanlis's design. Karamanlis, who so easily in the past had abandoned politics, withdrew again, leaving Papandreou to amend the constitution.

In 1990, and at more than 80 years of age, Karamanlis again rejoined the political fray, serving as president with his own party, New Democracy, in power. He retired from political life at the end of his term five years later. Karamanlis died on 23 April 1998, at the age of 91.

BARBARA SYRRAKOS

Biography

Born in 1907 in the Macedonian town of Proti, Karamanlis studied law at the University of Athens. He first served as a deputy in 1935–36. He re-entered politics in 1946 and became prime minister for the first time in 1955–63. In 1963–74 he went into voluntary exile in Paris. He served again as prime minister in 1974–81 and as president in 1981–85 and 1990–95. He died in 1998.

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Kassia

Poet and composer of liturgical music in the 9th century

Popular to the present day for her liturgical poetry and for the legends surrounding her life, the 9th-century nun Kassia is one of a handful of Byzantine women known to have written musical works for liturgical use. She is the only woman whose hymns were transmitted widely in manuscript – where they often appear under such variants of her name as Eikasia, Ikasia, and Kassiane – and were later included in the printed service books of the Orthodox Church. Kassia is also exceptional in that, unlike other Byzantine church musicians of comparable accomplishment, such as Kosmas of Maïouma or Joseph the Hymnographer, she was never canonized.

In the absence of a *vita*, scholars have gleaned information about her from several sources. Letters by St Theodore the Stoudite to a young Kassia reveal her to have been the daugher of a Constantinopolitan courtier, to have received a good literary education, and to have been from her youth a zealous defender of icons. Her early devotion to God and the iconophile cause must have been remarkable, for in one instance the fiery Theodore reproved her for dealing too harshly with an iconoclast, and in another counsel led her to postpone a decision to embrace monasticism. She seems to have followed his advice, for the writings of St Symeon the Logothete (10th century) describe Kassia's participation in a bride-show for the emperor Theophilos. According to Symeon, after a witty reply to a question posed by the emperor lost her the opportunity to become empress, the beautiful Kassia became a nun. Although some scholars have questioned the authenticity of Symeon's account, others have noted that his description of Kassia's character corresponds well with the intolerance she displays in her series of iambic sentences beginning with the phrase "I hate". These contain a denunciation of an illiterate young man of royal blood that may be a reference to Theophilos. She is reported to have founded a monastery on the Constantinopolitan hill of Xerolophos after the final restoration of icons in 843, dying at some point during the reign of Michael III (842–67).

Kassia wrote non-liturgical poetry, of which 261 verses of epigrams and gnomic sentences survive, on a variety of social and ethical themes, including fortune, luck, friendship, women, and social customs. She is, however, primarily remembered for her work as a *melodos*, a hymnographer who composed her own melodies. While only 23 of the 49 hymns attributed to Kassia in manuscripts are regarded by scholars as genuine, there are reasons to suspect that she may have written some of the remaining works of doubtful

attribution. Theodore Prodromos (*c.*1100–*c.*1170?), for example, notes that her authorship of a four-ode canon for Holy Saturday was later obscured through reattribution to Kosmas of Maïouma by authorities who thought it unseemly to feature compositions by a woman on such a solemn occasion. This *tetraodion* – which was rewritten at the command of Leo IV, the Wise (886–912) with the addition of the missing odes necessary for a full canon – is the better of her two known canons. The other, a massive 252-verse canon for the dead, is her only genuine work not included in modern service books.

Unlike her prolific contemporary St Joseph the Hymnographer, who wrote mainly canons, Kassia is distinguished by her cultivation of the *sticheron*, a monostrophic genre encompassing all the 47 remaining hymns firmly or doubtfully attributed to her. Written for performance between the verses of the fixed morning and evening psalms of Palestinian monastic matins and vespers, these *stichera* include texts set both to pre-existing tunes (*prosomoia*) and to melodies of her own composition (*idiomela*). It is in the latter that Kassia's genius as a *melodos* is most apparent, for the best of them, as Touliatos has shown, combine expressive texts with finely crafted music. Her *sticheron* for the vespers of Christmas "When Augustus Reigned" emphasizes the parallels drawn in its text between political unification under the Roman empire and the union of all humankind in Christ with a sequence of paired musical phrases employing the same melody for the human and the divine. Kassia's most famous composition is her *sticheron* for the matins of Holy Wednesday on the sinful woman in St Luke's gospel (7: 36–50). In marked contrast to Romanos's treatment of the woman as a stereotypical prostitute, Kassia identifies strongly with her subject. After briefly introducing the sinful woman, she casts the remainder of the *sticheron* as a dramatic monologue of repentance that Topping has likened to a penitential psalm. The hymn's emotional text is reflected by music that comes to rest in a variety of modal areas over an unusually wide vocal range.

From Byzantine times until the present day the musical works of Kassia have been held in high regard. Nikephoros Kallistos Xanthopoulos included her as the only woman in his 14th-century catalogue of hymnographers, and succeeding generations of Byzantine cantors have continuously adapted her works to suit contemporary musical tastes. Kassia's hymn on the sinful woman, which for modern Greeks has become one of the high points of Holy Week, provides the best example of this process. Chant versions of this sticheron still today range from the florid but restrained 18th-century setting of Petros Peloponnesios in the old sticheraric style to virtuoso showpieces by more recent cantors. From the latter half of the 19th century Kassia's hymns have also been set polyphonically by such composers as Themistokles Polykrates, Mikis Theodorakis, Tikey Zes, and John Vergin.

Even though Kassia was never canonized, her life soon entered into the realm of popular legend. Two episodes in particular have captured the imagination of subsequent generations: her participation in the imperial bride-show, the story of which was progressively embroidered; and a presumably apocryphal tale of how Theophilos paid a clandestine visit to her monastery while Kassia was composing her hymn on the sinful woman – with whom she was increasingly indentified in the popular imagination – and added several lines to its text after she fled from his presence. Variations on these legends form the basis for modern Greek poems, novels, stories, and plays by D. Bernardakis, A. Stamatiades, A. Papadopoulou, A. Kyriakos, M. Roussos, and others. Paraphrases of her hymn for Holy Wednesday have also been written by poets including Kostis Palamas, whose version was set to music by D. Mitropoulos.

ALEXANDER LINGAS

See also Hymnography

Biography

Born in Constantinople early in the 9th century, Kassia received a good education and was a keen defender of icons. Perhaps rejected in a bride-show for the emperor Theophilos, she became a nun and founded a monastery. She wrote non-liturgical poetry as well as hymns. Her musical works continue to be held in high regard.

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Kastoria

City in western Macedonia

Kastoria is unique in that it contains a remarkable number of Byzantine and post-Byzantine monuments which bear witness to the prosperity it knew in the past and the role it played as a cultural centre. Kastoria emerged in the Middle Ages and has had a continuous life up to the present day. The town is built beside Lake Orestias (or the Lake of Kastoria), on the slopes of a hill next to a rocky promontory which juts out into the lake.

Present-day Kastoria probably has its origins in the 9th century AD as is suggested by the dating of its earliest churches, St Stephen and the Taxiarchs, and by the dating of its external walls. The earliest record of the town in a literary source appears in the *History* of John Skylitzes and is related to events of the year 976. The site where Kastoria stands was settled twice before the 9th century. The first settlement was known as

Kastoria: the city viewed from across Lake Orestias. Flat-bottomed fishing boats, built to an ancient pattern, are peculiar to the lake.

Celetrum (Keletron) and is recorded by Livy in connection with events in 199 BC. The same site was resettled in the 6th century AD by order of the emperor Justinian I. According to Procopius, who provides this information, the lake was already known by the name of "Kastoria". There is no other reference to the Justinianic settlement, which may have lain deserted in the 7th and 8th centuries.

The conditions under which the site of Kastoria was resettled in the 9th century are typical of the gradual restoration of Byzantine rule in the Balkans that took place from *c.*900 onwards. The Byzantine authorities had a special interest in resettling strategic points which could then serve as fortified centres for the provincial administration, and Kastoria occupied an excellent position. The town proved to be strongly defensible by nature, for its access by land was very limited, and it was protected by strong walls. Furthermore, Kastoria lay in a key position for the control of important routes in that part of the Balkans, such as the one which followed the course of the Haliacmon and Devol rivers leading from Macedonia to the port of Avlon on the Adriatic coast. Another axis, in a southerly direction, led from Kastoria to Thessaly. The strategic importance of Kastoria was proved on several occasions, particularly during the wars between Byzantium and the Bulgarians in the years 976–1018, and during the Norman invasion of 1081–83 when the town was occupied by the Normans and used as a base for launching subsequent operations in western Macedonia and Thessaly.

The development of the medieval town began after the restoration of Byzantine rule, in the year 1018, and culminated during the 12th century, a peaceful period which marked the highest point of prosperity for Kastoria in the Middle Ages. This was the formative period which produced the principal socioeconomic and cultural characteristics of the town lasting into the modern era. The ecclesiastical history of Kastoria is also important. As soon as the Byzantines established the archbishopric of Bulgaria (based in Ohrid) with authority over the areas which they conquered or reoccupied after the wars of 976–1018, the Church of Kastoria was given first place in the hierarchy. The bishop of Kastoria remained the first in rank (*protothronos*) among the subordinates of the archbishop of Bulgaria until the archbishopric was abolished in 1767. After that year, the Church of Kastoria was upgraded to the rank of a metropolitan see and was directly controlled by the Patriarchate of Constantinople.

The development of the town began with the establishment of secular and ecclesiastical authorities and continued with the emergence of a local group of wealthy landowners who held rural estates in the surrounding region. The presence of this

group stimulated the development of the town's trade and handicrafts. However, although Kastoria became a centre of commercial and artisanal activity, its economy remained fundamentally rural during the medieval and early modern periods. The population of the surrounding countryside was mainly engaged in cereal cropping, viticulture, and livestock raising, while the practice of keeping vineyards was also common among the townsfolk. Some of Kastoria's inhabitants took advantage of their proximity to the lake and became involved in fishing, which added considerably to the local economy. Information about the town's population and economy is provided by a fiscal register drawn up *c.*1445, about 60 years after the Ottoman conquest of the town (which took place in 1385 or 1386). According to the register's data, 22.30 per cent of the fiscal revenue that was raised from the town represented commercial taxation, another 22.79 per cent represented fishing, while 24.03 per cent came from the tax on vineyard production and 20.72 per cent from land-usage taxes. At that time Kastoria was inhabited by approximately 4518 people, who were distinguished as 3977 Christians, 431 Jews, and 110 Muslims. In 1519 approximately 4815 people are recorded as resident in the town, 4480 Christians and 335 Muslims. In fact, the Muslims of Kastoria were a minority of the local population and remained so during the five centuries of Ottoman rule, in contrast to other towns of Macedonia, such as Thessalonica, Giannitsa, and Serres, where they made up a large part or even the majority of the population.

Kastoria is renowned for the history and cultural tradition of its Jewish inhabitants. The history of Kastorian Jewry falls into two distinct phases, the Romanite and the Sephardic. The Romanite community of Greek-speaking Jews existed in Kastoria during the Middle Ages until they were transferred to Constantinople in the years after 1453. A Sephardic group of Jews settled in Kastoria sometime during the 16th century, certainly after 1519, for that year's registers contain no reference to them. The modern-day Jews of Kastoria descend from the later settlement; they remained an important element of the town's population until the years of the German occupation of Greece (1941–44), when most of them were driven to concentration camps.

The profession which has been practised in Kastoria for centuries and has made the town famous is fur manufacture and trading (*kastor* means "beaver" in Greek). The first record of fur manufacture in Kastoria is contained in the aforementioned fiscal register of *c.*1445, yet it already seems to have been a well-established practice. In later centuries, Kastorian fur traders expanded their business all over the Ottoman empire, to central and western Europe, and finally established their agencies in the USA in the 20th century, bringing great wealth to their town.

The economic development of Kastoria had a profound effect on local artistic production. In fact, there are more than 40 Byzantine and post-Byzantine monuments surviving there, far more than in any other town in Greece, and they provide good evidence for the study of local patronage. The foundation and decoration of these churches were undertaken by local landowners such as Theodoros Lemniotes, who paid for the renovation and redecoration of the church of Sts Anargyroi, and Nikephoros Kasnitzes who founded a church of St Nicholas in the 12th century. Equally, the earliest surviving mansions, which include the finest examples of secular architecture in Macedonia, date from the 15th and 16th centuries. After the Ottoman conquest and the subsequent collapse of the Greek landowning class, the patronage of culture and the arts fell to the wealthy Kastorian merchants. Most notable among them were Georgios Kyritses and Manolakis Kastorianos (the latter was a prominent fur trader based in Constantinople), who, as part of their various donations, subsidized the establishment of Greek education in the town. The school that was founded in Kastoria in 1614 was the oldest Greek school in Macedonia. Another school was founded in 1705 and a third one in 1715 on the endowment of Georgios Kyritses.

This long-standing cultural tradition resulted in the formation of a strong national sentiment among the population of Kastoria during the years of nationalistic conflict in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. In this respect, Kastoria became the principal centre for the Greek cause in western Macedonia. Most active among the Greeks of Kastoria was the metropolitan Germanos Karavangelis, who organized the first Greek militias, igniting the struggle for Macedonia.

Kastoria was occupied by the Greek army in 1912, during the first Balkan War, and was formally annexed to Greece in 1913. Present-day Kastoria is a small provincial town but a particularly wealthy one due, primarily, to its fur trade and, secondly, to tourism, as the physical attractions of the place and the fame of its surviving medieval monuments attract many visitors.

KONSTANTINOS P. MOUSTAKAS

Summary

Kastoria lies astride important land routes in western Macedonia. According to Livy, a town called Celetrum occupied the site in the 2nd century BC and this was resettled in the 6th century. The present town dates from the 9th century, as do its earliest churches and walls. There was an important Jewish community until the 1940s. The fur trade has been practised since the 15th century.

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Kavalla

Port in eastern Macedonia

In contrast to other towns of Macedonia which clearly have a medieval past, collective memory of Kavalla extends only as

far back as the period of Ottoman rule. This does not, however, reflect the true situation, since the site was settled in antiquity. The ancient predecessor of Kavalla, Neapolis, was a colony of the Thasians, on the coast opposite their island, and existed at least as early as the 5th century BC, when it was included in the tribute lists of the Delian League. The site combined several geographical and strategic advantages. First, it controlled the narrow pass between the Lekani mountains and the sea which the land route from Macedonia to Thrace (the ancient Via Egnatia) necessarily had to pass through. Second, it provided access to and control of the gold-mines of Mount Pangaeum and the productive plain of Philippi/Drama. And third, it served as an outlet to the sea for the products of those regions. The importance of Neapolis was underlined when it served as the port of Philippi, 15 km to the northwest, throughout its long period of prosperity. Neapolis was renamed Christoupolis, probably in memory of St Paul's disembarking there as he began his tour in Macedonia. By the 9th century the ancient name of Neapolis was probably completely forgotten.

Medieval Christoupolis declined rapidly in the later 14th century and this can be associated with the fighting that accompanied its capture by the Ottomans (*c.*1382–83), though other reasons, such as the plague, may have played a part. The final blow was dealt when the town was raided and sacked by the Venetians in 1425. The traditional view of a deserted Christoupolis which remained so until it was resettled as Kavalla in the 16th century is mainly based on a description by the Italian Angiollolo who passed by the town in 1470 (Mertzios, 1947, pp. 117, 201–03). Nevertheless, new evidence that comes from the study of Ottoman registers suggests otherwise. Kavalla is first recorded in 1478/79 as forming part of the administrative district of Drama and being inhabited by approximately 475 people (315 Christian, 60 Muslim). By 1519 the Muslims had risen to 110 with the Christians remaining around 355. These figures are not high enough to present Kavalla as a town, but they are not negligible and show clearly that Kavalla was not a deserted place in the 15th and early 16th centuries. The town's Christian inhabitants are described by the French traveller Pierre Belon, who visited the area in the mid-15th century, as Greek (Belon de Mans, 1553, Paris 1553, p. 57). Therefore, Kavalla can be regarded as a continuation of medieval Christoupolis, for the town's site was never fully abandoned during the period of transition. Yet, this is not just a question of continuity in settlement, but one of social, economic, and institutional transformation, for much of what had characterized medieval Christoupolis was absent from early modern Kavalla. Commercial activity was disrupted, the town's church was reduced (there is no longer any record of the medieval bishopric of Christoupolis), and early Ottoman urban institutions were not extensively developed, so Kavalla was partially administered from Drama.

Kavalla's development began during the third decade of the 16th century and has continued to the present. This development was based on the same conditions that allowed for the previous prosperity of Neapolis and Christoupolis, namely its strategic location and also the facilities it offered for the export of the region's products by sea. Kavalla's revival is associated with the efforts of the Grand vizier "Frenk" Ibrahim Pasha (1523–36) who had shown a particular interest in the town. Those years are marked by significant building activity, most notably by the construction of the town's aqueduct (later known as *kamares*, one of its attractions today) and of several mosques.

The population of Kavalla increased too through the introduction of new settlers, mainly Muslims. The town's Muslim population has a long history starting in the 15th century and continuing until 1923 when they departed in the exchange of populations between Greece and Turkey. A well-known representative of Kavalla's Muslims is Mohammed Ali, an ethnic Albanian, who first became governor of Ottoman Egypt and then independent ruler of the country and founder of the dynasty that reigned there until 1952. Evliya Çelebi provides information on Kavalla for the second half of the 17th century. He describes a town consisting of five neighbourhoods with 500 households in total (this corresponds to a population of at least 2500 people), and with several mosques, religious colleges (*madrasas*), and houses for the poor (*imaret*). The commerce of Kavalla increased further in the 18th century when the town was used as a point of export for the products of eastern Macedonia (grain, cotton, tobacco, etc.). Many European merchants, mainly French but also English, Dutch, Venetians, and Ragusans, were active in Kavalla, where the post of French deputy consul was in operation in the middle years of the century; later on, official representation of France was re-established there by the appointment of an agent of the French consulate of Thessalonica in 1791.

As far as the intellectual and cultural life in the town is concerned, the Muslim community seems to have been in a better position than the Christian one. According to Evliya Çelebi, several mosques and religious colleges were in operation, but there are no records of any significant intellectual activity concerning the local Christians before the 19th century, in contrast to what was usual among the Greek communities in most towns in Macedonia. Greek schools were not founded in Kavalla until the 19th century. Moreover, the town's church was given a low rating until the 19th century, when it was elevated to the rank of a metropolitan see. Like other towns in Macedonia with strong Muslim communities, the Greeks of Kavalla took no action during the Greek War of Independence, unlike those of the nearby island of Thasos who were urged to rebel by some of their compatriots, members of the *Philiki Hetaireia* (Friendly Society). The revolt of the Thasians lasted from June to December 1821 and was terminated without fighting, as they accepted Ottoman terms for surrender.

Kavalla's development in the 19th century is marked by the predominance of tobacco trading which resulted in the industrialization of the town. Several companies engaged in tobacco processing emerged in Kavalla during the 19th and early 20th centuries, due to increased production in the countryside and growing market demands. This made Kavalla one of the few significant industrial centres in the late Ottoman empire. Also in the 19th century the residential quarters expanded towards the harbour, while in previous centuries they were confined to the slopes of the hill below the medieval citadel of the town.

Ottoman rule in Kavalla ended in 1912 as a result of the First Balkan War. The town was first occupied by the

Bulgarians, who were soon driven out by the Greeks, and Kavalla was officially annexed to Greece in 1913 according to the provisions of the Treaty of Bucharest. Nevertheless, the history of Kavalla remained turbulent during the whole first half of the 20th century. One reason for this was Bulgarian irredentism, for Kavalla was regarded as an outlet to the open sea for that country; in fact, the Bulgarian army occupied Kavalla twice, during both world wars, first between 1916 and 1918, and secondly between 1941 and 1944, as a result of Bulgaria's alliance with Germany. Furthermore, between the World Wars, Kavalla was a bed of intense social unrest due to the radicalization of its many tobacco-factory workers. It was also a stronghold of the Greek communist left in those years and still has a reputation for being among the birthplaces of the Greek labour movement.

In the postwar years the tobacco industry has declined in Kavalla. The town still has a considerable amount of industry (fertilizers, food processing, and tobacco processing to some extent) but this cannot be compared to prewar levels. The decline of Kavalla's industry has been counterbalanced by the development of other sectors (e.g. services, tourism), while the population of the town has grown continuously to make it the second largest city in Greek Macedonia, after Thessalonica, and the largest in east Macedonia (56,571 people in 1991). In conclusion, what mainly characterizes the history of Kavalla is its many similarities to Thessalonica as well as its differences from the other towns of Macedonia which retained a traditional economy of medium-scale commerce serving local demands.

KONSTANTINOS P. MOUSTAKAS

Summary

Originally colonized by Thasos and known as Neapolis, the city lies on an important land route (the Via Egnatia) and provides an outlet to the sea for the gold of Mount Pangaeum and the products of the plain of Philippi. Known as Christoupolis in the Middle Ages, the town declined but recovered again in the 16th century. It was an important centre for the tobacco industry.

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Kazantzakis, Nikos 1883–1957

Novelist

Everything about Nikos Kazantzakis has been controversial. During his lifetime, his politics and religiosity were most in question. Now, more than 40 years after his death, one still wonders whether he contributed anything to the Hellenic tradition. Many Greeks considered (and consider) him anti-Hellenic owing to his eager absorption of French and German philosophy (chiefly Bergson and Nietzsche), Eastern religion (chiefly Buddhism), and the literary influences of D'Annunzio, Ibsen, and Dostoevsky, among others. They worry, for example, because his retelling of Homer's *Odyssey* turns Homer inside out in ways they consider quintessentially non-Greek. Yet the opposite view is equally compelling. After all, Kazantzakis chose the Homeric hero to exemplify his own modernist views, changing that hero substantially, it is true, but nevertheless extending one of Hellenism's central myths. In addition, Kazantzakis reworked other ancient Greek materials (e.g. Melissa, Theseus and the Minotaur, Prometheus), Byzantine subjects (e.g. Constantine Palaiologos, Nikiphoros Phokas), revolutionary ones (e.g. Kapodistria), as well as basing novels on Greece's ill-fated expedition into Asia Minor and on its civil war. Like his colleagues George Seferis, Yiannis Ritsos, and Odysseus Elytis, he considered Greek culture a seamless continuity from Homer to the present, and he enhanced that continuity by his conviction that ancient, medieval, and 19th-century Greek literature can speak meaningfully to contemporary audiences.

In addition, Kazantzakis concentrated on Christianity, the other great influence upon Greek civilization. His religiosity was condemned as blasphemous by many Greek Orthodox prelates (very few of whom read the books they were condemning); recently, however, his theology has been greatly appreciated, at least outside Greece, for its pioneering application of "process". As for his politics, he was vilified by right-wingers in Greece as a communist (unjustly) and by Greek communists as an "idealist" (justly). All in all, the various forms of controversy, even though they often made publication difficult and forced him into voluntary exile, seemed not to discourage him but rather to make him more energetic. His basic philosophy placed "struggle" at the centre of the creative life and his circumstances made struggle his ever-present situation. Hence, calamity only prodded him all the more to persevere in creative productivity.

Most people know Kazantzakis through his novels. But he produced these late in life and always considered them secondary. Primary for him were drama, poetry, and religious philosophy. By 1923, at the age of 40, he had formulated his definitive credo – *Askitiki: Salvatores Dei* – based on humanity's obligation to "transubstantiate matter into spirit" by struggling within the material world. His earlier works moved from fin-de-siècle aestheticism to religious pessimism and then

to vibrant nationalism. In post-1923 works the credo governs everything as protagonist after protagonist succeeds or fails, wholly or partially, to transubstantiate. The hero who fares best of all is Odysseus in Kazantzakis's gargantuan sequel to Homer's *Odyssey*, written between 1925 and 1938. But figures such as the hero of *The Life and Times of Alexis Zorbas* (composed in the dark days of the German occupation of Greece, 1941–43) and especially priest Fotis in *Christ Recrucified* also progress far along this path.

The plays, many of which are still not translated, show Kazantzakis's eclectic reach beyond Greek subjects. The sardonically entitled *Comedy: A Tragedy* projects his loss of religious faith. *Buddha* examines Western philosophies of action and achievement in relation to Buddhistic resignation. *Christopher Columbus* has its protagonist turn back as soon as his crew sights land, owing to Kazantzakis's conviction that aspiration is holier than achievement.

But Kazantzakis' greatest contribution is perhaps his struggle with the Christianity in which he could no longer believe. Determined none the less to retain Jesus as the exemplar par excellence of the effort to transubstantiate matter into spirit, he treated this hero in a play, a long poem, and finally in the novel *The Last Temptation*, which retells the gospel story in a manner offering happiness as Jesus' (and our) most serious impediment. The book aroused heated opposition both in its own right and in its cinematographic form (Martin Scorsese's *The Last Temptation of Christ*, 1988); yet Kazantzakis's determination to reinvent a Jesus who can speak to, and function in, a world governed by Darwinian process has been welcomed by many religious thinkers of liberal persuasion.

Besides the numerous plays, the huge *Odyssey*, and the well-known novels, Kazantzakis produced a series of very popular travel books, a history of Russian literature, two novels written in French, a dissertation on Nietzsche, an updated Platonic "Symposium", and numerous children's books, besides translations of the *Divine Comedy*, *Faust*, and (with Professor Ioannis Kakridis) Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. He also left thousands of letters, many of which are now published; indeed, he may be one of the major epistolographers of his period.

Virtually unknown outside Greece until the late 1940s, when *Zorba* won a literary prize in France, Kazantzakis became an international celebrity in the 1950s, his novels translated into all major languages. He and Constantine Cavafy are the best-known modern Greek authors outside Greece. This does not mean, however, that Kazantzakis has always been celebrated inside Greece, although he has always appealed greatly to youth there, as elsewhere. His international vogue subsided in the 1980s. In the late 1990s, however, interest in him – chiefly as a religious thinker, but also as a novelist grappling with political, religious, ethical, and philosophical quandaries – revived. In conclusion, he can perhaps be described as an "acquired taste", somewhat like D.H. Lawrence, whose frenzy, wordiness, and almost pathological intensity he shared. His exuberant, adjective-filled prose is repugnant to readers trained in the laconic restraint of certain modernist writers in Greece and elsewhere. But his engagement with the major carnal and spiritual problems of the mid-20th century is so energetic, prophetic, and (ultimately) optimistic that he still speaks meaningfully to many readers.

PETER BIEN

See also Cavafy, Novel

Biography

Born in Herakleion, Crete, in 1883, Kazantzakis studied in Athens and Paris. He was influenced by the philosophy of Henri Bergson and Nietzsche and was early involved in politics and the language question. He wrote plays, poetry, philosophy, travel books, and, only later in life, novels. He died in 1957.

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Kinship

The Greek words for "kin", *syngeneis*, and for "relationship", *syngeneia*, are compounds of the preposition *syn* and the word *genos*, whose usage is manifold in Greek to denote "genus", "category", "lineage", "family", "generation", "stock", etc. *Syngeneia*, then, means "common stock, generation, or lineage". The term, in its broadest sense, is used to define relationships by consanguinity (*ex aimatos*) or affinity (*ex anchisteias*). Consanguinal relations, however, are considered as closer than those established through the sexual tie of marriage since in consanguinity relatives are thought to share the same substance, that of blood.

Rural and traditional Greek society has often been presented in the anthropological literature as a society overwhelmingly based on kinship. Scholars have singled out the family as Greece's most important social institution and pointed out that kinship pervades all aspects of traditional Greek social life. Kinship constitutes the basis for economic cooperation, political negotiation, and participation in ritual. Its role in the construction of personhood and gender identities is central. Although it can be argued that the urbanization and modernization of Greek society have caused the weakening of kinship ties, kinship still continues to influence social relations on many levels. Nepotism, kinship-based patronage, and formal financial partnerships formed among kin are not uncommon phenomena in the urban context.

The stress on the significance of kinship in the Greek social context is not only confirmed by studies of modern Greece, but also by those of the Classical and Hellenistic periods. The oeuvre of Greek dramatists amply demonstrates the crucial part played by kinship and family in ancient times. There is an observable tendency among Greeks of all periods to define themselves in terms of kinship connections; the ancient Greeks even based political requests and affiliations on real or fictitious kinship ties. Indeed, there is much evidence that shows the immense moral and political importance that the ancient Greeks attached to ancestry. Descent was often traced from a solitary figure, preferably going back to the traditional heroes or deities of Greek mythology. However, it should be pointed out that most of the information available on kinship in antiquity comes from Classical Athens. Generalizations are therefore problematic, and what follows is a synopsis in barest outline.

S.C. Humphreys distinguished four overlapping institutional kinship groupings in ancient Greek society: the official subdivisions of the state (tribe, phratry, deme, and so on), *genos*, kindred, and household. Each of them was characterized by its own structural principles, rules, and patterns of behaviour. Tribes and phratries were the main components or divisions of the citizen body. They functioned as administrative and military units. Membership of them was hereditary and obtained by patrifiliation. Every native-born Athenian male belonged to a phratry, which was a social group over and above the family, responsible mainly for dealing with questions concerning descent, access to citizenship, and inheritance rights. Members of phratries were known as *phrateres*, a word whose meaning is close to that of "brother". Women were usually denied rights of membership to them, but there were cases where women were presented to the phratry of their father or husband. The internal construction of phratries consisted of a variety of subgroups such as the *thiasoi*, responsible for internal political processes of the group, the *genos*, and others. It has been argued that the phratries were themselves subgroups of the Ionian tribes, which were abolished by the new system of Cleisthenes (507 BC). However, this argument rests on a thin base since phratries continued to be functional even after the introduction of the new system, which consisted of tribes and their subdivisions: *trittyes* ("thirdings") and demes. In Athens, each tribe comprised three *trittyes*, one each from the city, shore, and inland regions of Attica, which were divided into ten *trittyes* each. In turn, each *trittys* contained between one and ten demes (in Athens there existed 139 settlements, villages, or town-quarters) and a fixed number of phratries. Hence, Cleisthenes created a ten-tribe structure, each tribe taking the name of a local hero and having a hereditary membership recruited along the male line. Thus, tribes, *trittyes*, demes, and phratries were all patrilineal clans and subclans, which, however, were not genealogically structured as was the case of the Greek patrilineal *genos*.

The *genos* was a kinship institution concerned mainly with aristocratic dominance of the succession to priesthoods. Its earliest use was to denote noble lineage, but in 4th-century BC Athens the term was employed to designate those individual or family groups that had a common plural name, usually derived from that of a genuine or fictive male progenitor. The stress, therefore, was on descent and the *genos* had the structure of a "conical clan". There is evidence suggesting that *gene* were phratry subgroups with a form and function different from phratries and thus not identical to them. Although *gene* were primarily concerned with retaining rights to hereditary priestly office, not all of them were concerned with religious privileges. The larger *gene* showed a variety of other interests relating to common property and admission.

Greek kindred in antiquity was bilateral, extending to second cousins and giving rights to inheritance by the laws governing intestacy. Moreover, marriages between close male kin and *epikleroi* (fatherless heiresses) were encouraged by the Athenian epiclerate. However, marriage in the kindred was restricted, but such impediments varied over time and space.

An Athenian woman could not normally be married to a direct ancestor or descendant, nor to a sibling by the same mother (a practice known in Sparta). Yet, marriage between siblings of the same father or to an uncle or a cousin was allowed. As far as kinship solidarity is concerned, it can be shown that the power of kinship to function as a structural principle of action beyond the bounds of nuclear family was limited in the urban context of the Greek city. Kinship ties did not play an important part in the relationships of Athenian citizens, and political and economic cooperation with kinsfolk was no different from that between friends. In fact, kinship ties were often considered burdensome and dangerous rather than supportive.

The smaller kinship group in ancient Greece was that of the *oikos* (household). The concept of the *oikos* incorporated not only its physical reality, but also designated a group of people who co-resided and were mostly – but not entirely – connected by kin ties (including affines). Finally, it even applied to property, land, and animals as well. Although, from Homeric times onwards, the nuclear family appears to have been the most common residential and economic unit, stem and extended families continued to exist. The circle of kin contained in such units included unmarried female relatives. Labour requirements were often met by the co-residing non-kin household members such as slaves. The emerging picture of the organization of kinship in the household setting is one that exhibits a patrilateral bias since postmarital residence was patrilocal: the bride moved into the groom's house after marriage. Though both matrilocality and patrilocality were a historical reality in Greek society and may have coexisted in the Bronze Age, after Homer the system tended to patrilocal marital residence and partible inheritance of property. In the household unit the man was the *kyrios* (head of household) and acted as such in the public domain. In the Homeric era a man's prestige was completely bound up with his *oikos*. In Classical Athens, however, men became more concerned with public institutions. For this reason, the acquisition of prestige became less *oikos*-centred and more directed towards public contexts.

In Byzantine society the term *syngeneia* was used to denote the family, which by the 8th century was primarily a nuclear one, as well as kinship relations beyond the family unit. From the end of the 11th century we have evidence for the emergence of lineages and for manipulation of ties of kinship in politics. However, unlike the Roman *gens*, Byzantine lineages were not strictly patrilineal and there is no evidence for an organizational structure to lineage and common landownership. The closeness of kinship relations was established by the degree (*vathmos*) of relationship, which was calculated down both collateral lines, beginning with the first births from the original parents and thus arriving at the second degree for two siblings. This reckoning of the degrees of kinship was important for determining marriage prohibitions and rights to inheritance. From the 11th century onwards a restriction of seven degrees appears to have been the prevailing rule adopted by Byzantine law and the Church, which forbade marriage among all blood, adoptive, and spiritual relatives to that degree of relationship and a limit of six degrees for those related by marriage. The rights of kin to inheritance were also determined by the degree of relationship to the deceased. In the case of *ab intestato* succession, from the 6th century onwards the general rule prevailed that all male and female relatives of the same degree of kinship had equal inheritance rights.

The marriage impediments established in Byzantine times are part of Greek Orthodox canon law and are still in force in modern Greece today, though native versions of calculating degrees of kinship are found in many communities. Modern Greece, by most reckonings, is characterized by a bilateral kinship system with a patrilineal skewing or bias that is revealed in various contexts and occasions. In Greece the bilateral form of the kindred is also reflected in terminology. The word for "kindred" is *soi* and refers to one's relatives both through the father and through the mother. Also, we can note the absence of separate terms of address for paternal and maternal relations outside the family.

Yet, it can be argued that modern Greece involves two distinct cultural traditions differing in kinship structure. Such differences are related to distinct modes of organizing post-marital residence, production, transmission of property, names, and reputation. The first cultural tradition is primarily associated with the pastoral and agricultural communities of mainland Greece. Their mode of production dictates an agnatic emphasis in kinship, a bias towards patri-virilocality, and promotes the submissiveness of women. Thus, in such societies brides would join their husbands' households upon marriage, while married sons would either co-reside with their parents or live close to their natal households. Property, names, and reputations are all transferred from father to sons. Yet, it should be pointed out that from the 19th century patrilineal corporate groups were a phenomenon in decline. In Mani the war towers reveal the existence of patrilineal-agnatic clans consisting of all patrilineal descendants of an apical ancestor. Each clan was further subdivided into *genies* (lineages), which branched off to smaller lineages, and these in turn to extended or nuclear families. The Maniot naming system is central to the processes of segmentation, fissioning, and clan formation. Each extended family household of a patriclan takes its surname from the first name of an apical ancestor, while the firstborn sons of male siblings take the first name of their grandfather. Other communities that have a bilateral kinship system with patrilineal overtones are the Sarakatsan shepherds, the Vlachs, and the shepherding communities of Crete. Finally, the agricultural communities of Euboea, Boeotia, and the Ionian islands also practise virilocality. Yet, their kinship system is characterized by a less strongly marked patrilineal bent compared to the societies mentioned above.

The second cultural tradition, which differs in the organization of kinship from the main body of Greece, is that of the Aegean islands. Its main characteristics are matrifocal kinship ties, the uxorilocal residence pattern, where the couple settles in the vicinity of the bride's kin, the rule of house inheritance by women, and the transmission of property and names through both lines, from mother to daughters and from father to sons. Thus, in such communities the kinship structure is characterized by a matrilateral bias, which promotes a comparatively privileged female position and the formation of nuclei of matrilaterally related women (mother and sisters) playing an important role within both the family and the community. This phenomenon should also be linked with the absence of men for long periods of time due to their sea-related occupations. In between these two types of communities there

are others that practise neolocality, where each nuclear family resides in its own dwelling and has a fully bilateral kinship system.

In the Greek understanding of kinship there is a clear distinction between blood ties and affinal ones. In the physical world blood relations are considered stronger since they create a natural union among living kin. In the spiritual world, however, blood is substituted by another life-giving substance, that of oil to create a spiritual relationship (*pneumatiki syngeneia*), which is likened to kinship. This relationship is known in Greek as *koumparia* and is established by the sacraments of baptism or marriage. In many areas of Greece it is customary to renew the relationship, which is inherited through the male line. The godfather of the groom, and not of the bride, becomes their wedding sponsor. This may be regarded as a consequence of the patrilineal bias in kinship. Apart from its spiritual function, godparenthood has also acted in the Greek context as a powerful vehicle for strategic alliances, political recruitment, and patronage. Today, however, in the urban context we notice the tendency of selecting godparents from within the circle of close kin or even from within the family itself.

Another form of ritual kinship that existed in the Greek context, but did not endure to the present time, is that of blood brotherhood (*adelphopoiia*). Blood brotherhood appeared in Greek society after the conquests of Alexander the Great. While in the beginning the tie between two people was established through the symbolic exchange of blood, later on, with the spread of Christianity, this symbolic act was replaced by the prayers of a ritual. There were repeated prohibitions against *adelphopoiia* by the Orthodox Church. Nevertheless, the practice remained widespread in many areas of rural Greece up to the civil war. Its social function was to cement friendship, especially in communities where vendettas were common, and carried with it an obligation of mutual help and support. A marriage impediment existed for those belonging to families that were related by blood brotherhood.

Adoption is also regarded as a form of fictive kinship and in Byzantine times became a spiritual relationship, like that of godparenthood, with which it shared similar marriage prohibitions. Adoption was practised when a childless couple or a couple that had no male children desired descendants and heirs. In antiquity we find the institution of the transfer by adoption of one son from a household with several male heirs to the family of a close kin with none. This practice has continued in Greece up until recent times, particularly in communities with agnatic descent, as a means of continuing the family line and perpetuating the family name.

Finally, secular kinship serves as a model for structuring other types of social relations, such as those between superiors and monks or nuns, and between confessor and confessant. In Byzantium kinship terminology was also used to describe the relation of the emperor to his subjects and to foreign Christian rulers.

ELENI SOTIRIU

See also Adoption, Family, Marriage, Patronage

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Klontzas, Georgios *c.*1535–1608

Painter

Georgios Klontzas was a painter, scholar, and manuscript illuminator of the post-Byzantine period. He was an outstanding figure of the late Cretan renaissance, with an important oeuvre of icons and miniatures. His life and certain aspects of his professional career are to some extent attested by documents discovered in the archives of Venice. A prosperous man, he inherited from his parents houses and the Greek Orthodox church of St Mark in the city of Candia (Herakleion). In 1562 he married Ergina, daughter of the priest Emmanuel Pantaleos, by whom he had three sons, Nicolò, Loukas, and Maneas, who also became painters. He had a fourth son from his second marriage, to Lia Vitzimanopoula.

Klontzas was an independent painter already in 1564, and in 1566 was appointed assessor of an icon by Domenikos Theotokopoulos. In 1586 he executed two paintings (now destroyed), one depicting the healing of the paralytic and another for the Catholic church of the welfare institution of St Anthony in Candia. In 1587 he was commissioned to paint a number of icons by Ioasaph Avouris, bishop of Karpathos. The same year he bought the workshop that he had hitherto rented, which was in the square of St Mark, in the centre of Candia.

Klontzas was certainly associated with cultured circles of the Cretan society of his day. His patrons included Orthodox and Catholic institutions, Venetian noblemen, and Greek bourgeois.

Known works signed by Klontzas (portable icons and triptychs, and two illuminated manuscripts, in Venice and in a private collection in Paris) number barely a dozen. To him or to his close circle are attributed a further 25 icons, an illuminated manuscript of 1577 (Bodleian Library, Oxford), and the surviving folios of two others (Vatican Library, before 1600, and Moscow, State Historical Museum). The book of prophecies that he is said to have given to his son Loukas in 1597 has not been identified or preserved. A few icons bear the forged signature of Georgios Klontzas. This output seems rather limited in terms of quantity, since the painter's career spanned about half a century. Many of his works, however, render multifigural, laborious compositions, and his illuminated manuscripts contain hundreds of complex representations that required many months' work.

Though he was undoubtedly a competent painter of monumental works, he nevertheless preferred miniature scenes on small or large surfaces, on which he unfolded complicated compositions, frequently of an epic spirit. His most important works include his illustration of the hymn "In Thee Rejoiceth" along with other subjects, icons of the Last Judgement, triptychs whose main subject is again the Last Judgement, the a painting of the Seventh Ecumenical Council, a triptych with Christ enthroned and scenes from the *Dodekaorton* (Twelve Great Feasts), an icon with the Transfiguration and scenes of monastic life, an icon with the rare depiction of a sermon in a church, and a painting on panel of the battle of Lepanto. None of these works is dated (the dates on two icons by Klontzas at Sinai are disputed). Stylistic differences between them are related partly to the interval separating the dates at which they were executed, and partly to the fact that other painters worked with Klontzas. No independent works by these other painters have been identified, however. All that has survived is a detailed manuscript map of the city of Candia bearing the signature of his son Maneas.

Klontzas's work as a manuscript illuminator (the idea that he was also a manuscript copyist has been disputed) is of great importance, for both its content and its quality. Two of the manuscripts that he illuminated, containing expanded versions of the prophecies of the Byzantine emperor Leo VI the Wise (Bodleian Library, Oxford, and private collection, Paris) were commissioned from the painter by Francesco Barozzi, an eccentric Venetian nobleman, scholar, mathematician, and occultist, then a resident of Rethymnon, and were intended for Giacomo Foscarini, the Venetian overseer of Crete and collector, who left Crete in 1577. A third, more complex manuscript, of the years 1590–92 (Marciana Library, Venice), includes earlier prophetic and apocalyptic visions, as well as chronicles and historical texts of his time, which Klontzas enlivened with over 400 miniatures. This work by Klontzas continued the great tradition of Byzantine illuminated manuscripts in the spirit of his time, blending elements drawn from the Byzantine legacy with others taken from western European art, the latter derived from foreign engravings and printed books. Another, similar case, though he did not enjoy the same prestige and influence, is that of Klontzas' fellow-Cretan painter Markos Bathas.

Both his miniatures and his independent portable icons betray Klontzas's outstanding ability in the art of miniature painting, of which he was the supreme representative in the post-Byzantine period. With unrivalled skill and facility of drawing he executed ever-moving miniature figures with expressive faces, in a variety of postures. His representations are informed by forceful composition and narrative ability, though *horror vacui* often causes the painted surface to be overburdened.

Though he did not cast off the cloak of the Byzantine tradition, on which his style is based, he made significant strides in the direction of assimilating elements of Western taste, particularly in the matter of perspective rendering of space, architectural features, furniture, and other objects, and he seems to have been particularly attracted by Mannerism. With a freedom unusual in a painter of the Byzantine tradition, he dispensed with the use of the traditional *anthivola* (pricked cartoons used to transfer a motif or even a whole composition

to a new icon) and always created new variations, even when repeating the same subject (his depictions of the Last Judgement are characteristic examples). A restless nature with a vivid imagination, he created some original compositions assimilating influences mainly from the art of the Renaissance and Mannerism. The models from which he adapts features include works by Michelangelo, Titian, and other artists, probably known to Klontzas through engravings. As a personality, however, he is closer to Tintoretto. In his paintings, which are also distinguished by their feast of colour and the original use of tones, the traditional gold ground is occasionally replaced by a blue heaven.

Many of the works executed by Klontzas or his workshop were commissioned or purchased by private citizens, noblemen, and bourgeois for purposes of private piety, and some of them even bear coats of arms. The commissions for manuscripts from the nobleman Francesco Barozzi are indicative of Klontzas's fame, and also of his interests, which transcended his accomplishment as an artist. The painter was probably connected in some way with the well-known poet Antonios Achelis, author of the *Siege of Malta* (1571), since there is some correspondence between the visual motifs in Klontzas's works and Achelis's writings.

His works contain some echo of the historical events and social conditions of his time. The striking frequency of representations of the Last Judgement (over 12 examples) reflects the popular fear that the end of the world was nigh at a period when the Turkish threat was steadily advancing in the Mediterranean. With its eschatological meaning, urging people to just deeds, the Last Judgement is given a very evocative treatment in Klontzas's works, and enriched with details drawn from Italian engravings. His painting of a sermon in a church (in Sarajevo) is strongly didactic in character and hints at social criticism with its inscriptions from the speech of Basil the Great urging the rich to acts of charity on pain of eternal damnation. A historical event, the victory of the Christian forces at the battle of Lepanto (1571), was twice depicted by Klontzas, for unknown patrons. With a striking panoramic treatment based on Italian engravings, these paintings, only one of which survives, are further evidence of the extension of Klontzas's work in the direction of the western style of historical panel painting.

Klontzas's departure from the medieval view of the painter is suggested by his adoption of Renaissance styles in signing his works (his signature, sometimes in the form of verse rather than the Byzantine "Hand of ... "), and in this he may be compared with Domenikos Theotokopoulos and Michael Damaskinos. Through his complex, multifaceted work Georgios Klontzas emerged as one of the most important figures in post-Byzantine art. The influence of his work with its distinct character may be noted mainly in the reproduction of his compositions and the imitation of his miniature style (by Frangiskos Kavertzas and Theodoros Poulakis, among others), though none of the later painters possessed his ability or his intellectual interests.

MARIA CONSTANTOUDAKI

See also Renaissance (Veneto-Cretan)

Biography

Born *c.*1535 in Herakleion, the son of Andreas, Klontzas was a prosperous man who associated with the cultured circles of Cretan society. He was a distinguished representative of the late Cretan renaissance and worked for both Catholic and Orthodox patrons. His works include icons, triptychs, and illuminated manuscripts. He drew on elements of Italian Renaissance and Mannerist art as well as the Byzantine tradition. He died in 1608.

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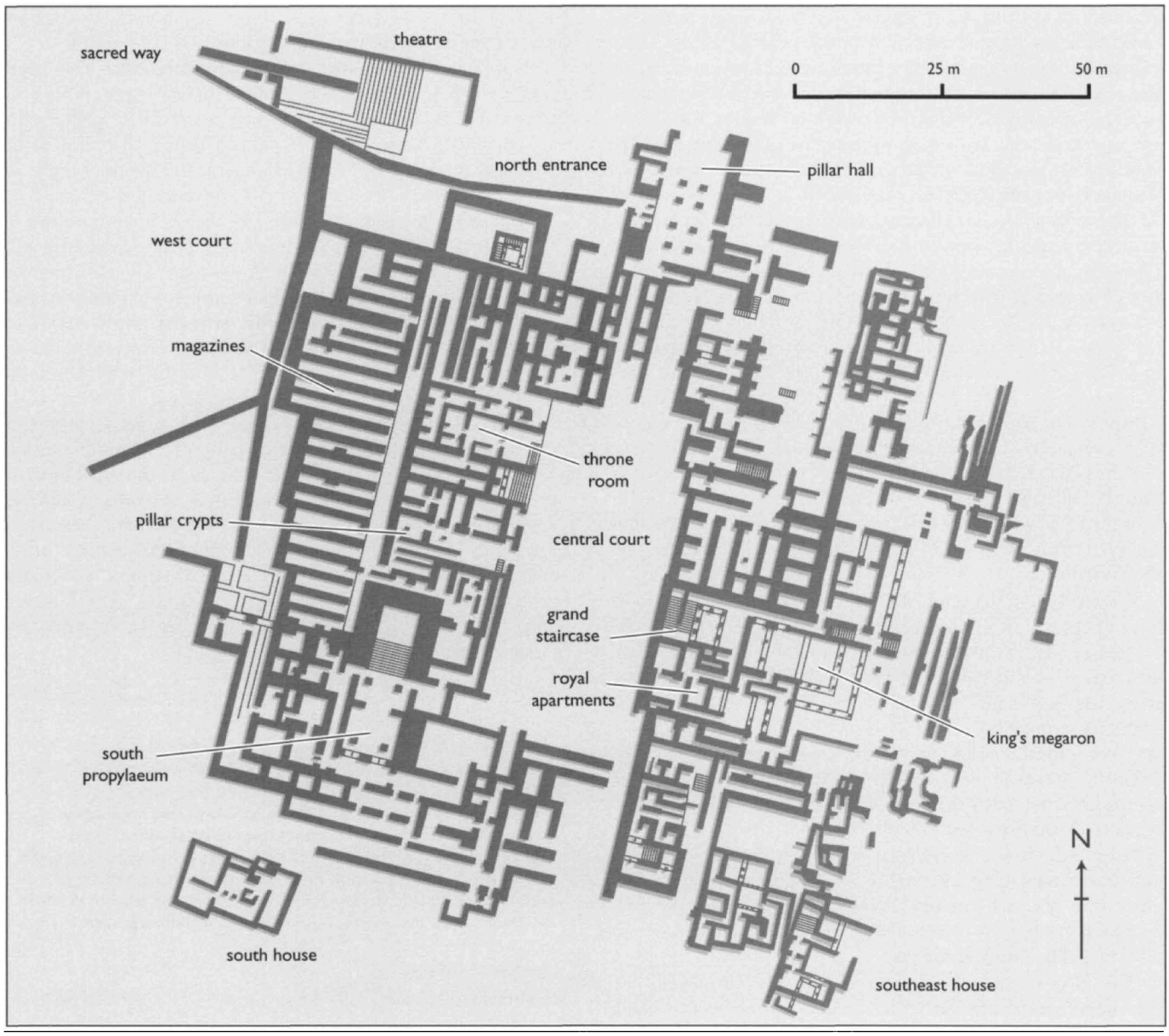
Knossos

Urban settlement and palatial centre in Crete

Knossos lies in the centre north of Crete, two hours' walk from the sea: set amongst low hills, on fertile marly soil and well enough watered. This was a combination that attracted the Neolithic settlers, around 7000 BC, and led to their creating over the next three millennia a substantial tell and the largest of their settlements on the island. Knossos occupied a position of importance, even pre-eminence, seldom surrendered throughout its subsequent history.



22. The palace of Knossos

Archaeological exploration has revealed that its finest period was as a palatial centre of the Minoans in the Bronze Age (3500–1000 BC), known even then as Knossos. Its rise was gradual, though by 2000 BC (EM III/MM I) the settlement was nearly as extensive as it ever was and already centred on a monumental structure, now replaced by the First Palace. About this extended the town, apparently unfortified, and with cemeteries developed especially to the east and north: it was a "capital" of one of several regional groupings, perhaps jockeying for wider power. Knossos seemingly achieved this *c.*1700 BC (MM III), when the Second Palace was erected: its prosperity and vigour were shared islandwide; Minoan dominance was evident in the Cyclades and culturally influential in southern Greece. This frenetic burst of activity may have overtaxed the resource base on which it depended: events and reasons are still disputed, but *c.*1450 BC (LM Ib) much of the island was destroyed in fire and smoke. When this had cleared, power at Knossos was exercised much as before, but now by an elite with a distinctly Mycenaean flavour: changes were expressed in ceramics, dress, weapons; iconographical themes, stylistic renditions; burial types, customs, and locations; and most significantly by the adaptation of the Minoan administrative system and syllabic script, now utilized to express Greek (Linear B). Their control was maintained at least to 1375 BC (LM IIIA1), when a fire ravaged town and palace. Some scholars see this as the end of the Mycenaeans' control; others prolong their existence well into the 1200s BC (LM IIIB). Either way, the town did survive, at a much-reduced scale, with a simpler, if comfortable, standard of living (LM IIIB) before fading into the very troubled times of the 12th century BC (LM IIIC).

Continuity was somehow maintained in this transitional period: Dorian cultural traits became dominant in this region of Crete. The important early Iron Age cemeteries (11th–7th

centuries BC) north of the Bronze Age town indicate this by their use of a Late Bronze Age burial ground, by its rapid expansion, and by the complex burial customs and quite lavish grave goods, with overseas connections visible. Sanctuaries were built over part of the Bronze Age settlement. This flourishing community, with its horse-owning aristocracy, can be traced down to the late 7th century BC, when the evidence dwindles dramatically. The implication is that the polis of Knossos was in decline. Reasons have been sought in military defeat (by Lyttos), plague, and famine. For the Classical period (5th–1st centuries BC) much of the piecemeal evidence comes from literary and epigraphic sources: stasis in the 470s, federal relations with neighbours, migration of ambitious citizens (athletes, architects, and lawgivers) to more progressive milieux. Crete remained peripheral to the Persian and Peloponnesian Wars. By the time of the rise of Macedon, Knossos was populous, to judge from the size of the famine relief donated by Cyrene from 330 to 326 BC. Like much of the Greek world, Knossos was dragged by political manoeuvring into the wider hostilities of the time: internal feuds with Lyttos brought in Phocians and Spartans, and Alexander's campaigns against Darius saw many Cretans dragooned into fighting on the Persian side.

Once released, the genie of military aggression proved to be beyond control. Knossos pursued political domination in the Hellenistic period (4th–3rd centuries BC), more by a network of alliances than outright conquest, though there were exceptions. Knossos' eminence in this struggle is indicated by the island-wide spread of its league, by which it hoped to neutralize more local coalitions. Success was achieved initially: Lykastos, for example, was reportedly razed to the ground; Lyttos fared badly in the war of 221–219 BC; Apollonia and Rhaukos became victims in the early 2nd century BC. But there were setbacks too: a defeat (184 BC) by Gortyn foreshadowed a series of damaging campaigns between these two eminent cities into the 1st century BC; Lyttos grew strong again. Knossian troops were also active abroad as mercenaries, generally staunchly anti-Macedonian.

The Roman incursion (1st century BC) produced one Knossian hero: Lasthenes, who won a sea battle, for which success his house and property were destroyed at the final Roman conquest (69 BC). Gortyn, however, became the premier city, initially in the combined Roman province of Crete and Cyrenaica. After the confusion of the civil wars with Antony, Octavian created the Colonia Julia Nobilis Cnossos in 27 BC. Latin names (settlers from Capua?) feature now in the magistrates and priesthoods. Knossos became a typical Roman provincial city: rebuilt after a series of earthquakes in the early to mid-1st century AD, the colony enjoyed a long spell of prosperity, as well-appointed houses, some rich tombs, and public works (aqueduct) attest. A further major quake in the mid-4th century AD cut this short.

A Christian community was well enough established by the late Roman/early Byzantine times to warrant a bishop's diocese at Knossos (one of 12 in Crete). Remains of three basilicas of 5th- or 6th-century date are reported. Despite all this, the city decayed until finally supplanted by Chandax/Candia after the Arab conquest of the early 9th century. Thereafter a small village of a few hundred souls called Makriteichos marked the locality until the old name was officially restored in the 20th century, partly as a result of the archaeological discoveries made there by the British in particular.

Not that Knossos was ever exactly forgotten. The town makes regular, if relatively uninformative, appearances in Classical to Roman sources (often in historical or philosophical contexts): Nero was fooled into believing that a cache of tablets (Linear B?) told part of the story of Aeneas' flight to Italy. The Roman ruins were visible for centuries.

Rather the focus of attention has always been more firmly fixed on its Bronze Age past, translated into myth and legend. This process was under way by the 8th century BC, when the island and its peoples played a peripheral part in Homeric epic.

Inevitably, Minos and his court attracted most attention. The positive aspects of his character (as a respected judge in this and the next world; the special relationship with Zeus; and as brother to Rhadamanthys the lawgiver) sit a little at odds with his crueller, imperial side (feuds with Athens, control of the seas, conqueror and dynastic manipulator throughout the Cyclades). His nemesis came upon him in the shameful form of the Minotaur, his downfall at the hands of Theseus, and his death in Sicily from betrayal and an over-hot bath. Daedelus, Icarus, the Labyrinth, Glaucus, Ariadne and Talos are other characters that figure in the same circle of stories. All remain potent icons and symbols, tapped into by today's Greek artists and intelligentsia, and regarded with justifiable pride by modern Cretans.

DON EVELY

See also Minoans

Summary

Knossos was a major city in Crete for four millennia. Founded *c.*7000 BC, it became the most important palatial centre of the Minoans in the 3rd–2nd millennia and remained strong in the Greek period, before being taken into the Roman world, eventually as a colonia, by Octavian. It faded into obscurity in the 5th–6th centuries AD and is now a tourist centre, based on the Minoan palace.

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Kodjabashis

Kodjabashi is a Turkish word meaning "office-holder", from the words *koca* ("big") and *baš* ("head"). In Greek it signified the notable of the village community, while in Turkish this

capacity is rendered with the term *ara*. The elevation to community power, term of office, powers, etc. of the *kodjabashis* depended on the system of organization of each individual community. In some regions they were elected to serve for a specific period of time by the adult male inhabitants; elsewhere, they attained their office through the local guilds. Very often, however, their advancement depended on the Turks. Among their various competencies was the allocation of the taxes among the village inhabitants, since under the Ottoman tax system the fiscal units comprised communities and guilds, and not individuals. The allocation of compulsory statute labour imposed by the Turkish authorities was also within their jurisdiction. Moreover, they had military and judicial powers in matters of private law, as well as in minor criminal offences. The transgressions in the exercise of their duties and their despotic behaviour rendered the *kodjabashis*, as a body, detestable to the people and their title synonymous with tyranny. Adamantios Korais compared them to quadrupeds (Sathas, 1962, p. 634), Karl Mendelssohn-Bartholdy called them "Christian Turks" (1873, vol. 1, p. 7), while Chrysanthopoulos-Photakos (1974) has pointed out that they constituted a body which was united on the basis of their common interests, that their high standard of living was similar to that of the Turks, from whom they differed in name only; "instead of calling him Hassan, they called him Yianni and instead of going to a mosque, he went to church. This was the only point in which they differed" (vol. 1, pp. 42–43). The overall system of the community administration of the Greeks under the Ottoman empire changed during the Tanzimat period (1839–76) on the strength of the General (or National) Regulations (1860–62).

DESPINA TSOURKA-PAPASTATHI

Summary

The *kodjabashi* was the headman of a village community under the Ottoman empire. The name *kodjabashi* became synonymous with despotic behaviour and avarice.

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Kolettis, John 1774–1847

Prime Minister of Greece

John Kolettis was Prime Minister of Greece from 1843 to 1847, and one of the 19th century's leading proponents of the irredentist "Great Idea".

In his early political career Kolettis favoured constitutional government and was the leader of the so-called "French" party, which saw France as Greece's natural European ally. This alliance had much to recommend it to irredentist aspirations, as France was less concerned than Britain or Russia with protecting the territorial integrity of the Ottoman empire. The "British" party, under the direction of Alexander Mavrokordatos, looked to Britain's naval superiority in the Mediterranean. The "Russian" party, headed by Count Ioannis and Agostino Kapodistria and Theodore Kolokotronis, emphasized the natural alliance of the Greek and Russian Orthodox Church and opposed the idea of a constitution. These three parties were at odds throughout Kolettis's life.

Kolettis began his career as a physician at the court of Ali Pasha, where he was initiated into the *Philiki Hetaireia*, the secret society in aid of Greek independence. He served as plenipotentiary for Epirus in the First National Assembly of 1821, staying on as minister of war to the provisional national government. His influence with the national government and the Roumeliot chiefs grew as the war proceeded; he was a major force in determining the disposition of funds out of loans from European philhellenes, which meant that large sums went to the Roumeliots and to the shipowners of Hydra and Spetsai, who were the backbone of the Greek navy. It was his strategies that successfully undermined the power and financial base of the swashbuckling but unreliable klepht Odysseus Androutses in eastern Greece.

In October 1824 Kolettis was elected one of five members of the government's executive committee. His knowledge of military strategy was limited – on more than one occasion he was given command of an expedition against the Turks, generally with disastrous results – but his grasp of human psychology and ability to see the big picture made him indispensable.

In 1823–24 two civil wars pitted the leadership of George Kountouriotis against that of Theodore Kolokotronis. Kountouriotis, the elected President of the national government, represented the maritime classes and the Roumeliots. Kolokotronis, the most prominent of the klephtic leaders and commander of the land forces in the Peloponnese, represented the Peloponnesian primates and chieftains, who opposed the idea of centralized government and European-style philhellenism. Kolettis arranged for payment of 50,000 piastres to Kolokotronis and his followers out of the British loan in return for their vacating the capital at Nauplia. When this proved to be only a temporary solution, he organized the Roumeliot troops under Panoutsos Notaras and General Yannis Makriyannis, and drove Kolokotronis's occupying force out. Kolokotronis himself was captured and imprisoned until 1825, when Ibrahim Pasha's attack on the Peloponnese necessitated his release once again to take command of the land forces for the rest of the war. When independence was achieved, both Kolettis and Kolokotronis were awarded positions in president Kapodistria's government.

Upon Kapodistria's assassination in 1831, Kolettis was elected by the Senate to serve with Kolokotronis and Kapodistria's brother, Agostino, on a three-man provisional triumvirate. Civil war again resulted, as Kolokotronis and Agostino Kapodistria tried to establish a new government at Nauplia with the latter as its sole head. In retaliation Kolettis established his own triumvirate, consisting of himself,

Kountouriotis, and the primate Alexander Zaimis, with Alexander Mavrokordatos acting as secretary of state, at Perachora. They were supported in this move by eminent, powerful men such as Petrobey Mavromichalis and Andreas Miaoulis. In April 1832 Kolettis and his Roumeliot troops entered Nauplia once more and forced Kapodistria to resign. Although Kolettis and other Francophiles had initially favoured the son of the duc d'Orléans, the National Assembly met at Pronia in July and approved prince Otto of Bavaria as the new king of Greece.

As a member of the cabinet of prince Otto – now king Otho – Kolettis thrived, despite his position as sole representative of the French party. He was soon appointed minister of the interior, where during the insurrections of 1834 he applied Ali Pasha's technique of using bands of irregulars as peacekeepers. This was an unpopular decision with many non-Greeks at court, who felt such practices might lead to anarchy and "brigandage". He was relieved of office in 1834 and posted as Greek minister to the Paris legation by Otho's most powerful regent, Count Joseph von Armansperg, who leaned towards British allies and the use of European-style police and military.

Even though he would be away for the next nine years, Kolettis' name and policies lived on among his followers. In 1838–40, when it looked as if Mohammed Ali of Egypt might attack the Sublime Porte, and again when the Porte imposed restrictions upon Greek subjects living in Ottoman-occupied lands as retaliation for non-ratification of a Graeco-Turkish commercial treaty, irredentists in Greece and abroad plotted widespread revolt, spreading rumours that Kolettis would return with French funds and military support. The irregular troops he had mobilized, though they were disbanded and ignored by von Armansperg, cherished hopes that they would once again be called into action.

Von Armansperg was dismissed from office and expelled from Greece in 1843, and Kolettis was called back from France. In 1844 he defeated his former ally Alexander Mavrokordatos in an election for the office of prime minister, an outcome that distressed both the British and the Ottoman empires. He continued to work for the Great Idea and strengthened Greece's alliance with the French, though his irredentist zeal overcame his constitutional tendencies: having converted Otho to the Great Idea, Kolettis became an absolutist and supported him utterly. Kolettis's regime, bolstered by his irregular troops and their representatives whom he had brought into office, was widely considered tyrannical. There were accusations of election-fixing and graft; in 1847 he dissolved the Parliament and removed several constitutionalists from public office, then used bribery and "brigands" to elect a government of his liking. Later that year he and his finance minister were accused of falsifying corn averages, which were the basis of taxation. He surrounded himself with a bodyguard of 140 men, maintained at public expense. After his death the government had to confiscate his property to make up for some of the public money he had appropriated for his own purposes. Yet even after his death Otho spoke of Kolettis as his "teacher", and the only minister he had ever fully trusted.

Kolettis died of kidney disease on 6 September 1847. He was succeeded in office by his minister of war, General Tsavellas.

As a politician, Kolettis had an uncanny ability to come out on top in virtually any circumstances. Lord Palmerston complained in a memo to Prince Albert shortly before Kolettis's death that "In the Foreign relations of the Country Mr. Koletti [sic] seems to have had three leading objects in view, aggression towards Turkey, subservience towards France, and insult towards England." The acerbic British historian and philhellene George Finlay, who knew and distrusted Kolettis, describes him as "portly" and "sagacious" in appearance, with a "prudent" and "oracular" demeanour: "Kolettes [sic] wore the wise look well, and had the sense to speak little, but as he was not always silent, his tongue betrayed him." Given Kolettis's success, this last remark might be looked upon as something of an exaggeration.

SUSAN SPENCER

See also Great Idea, Independence (War of)

Biography

Born in 1774 in Syrrakos in northwestern Greece, Kolettis was a Vlach who studied medicine in Pisa. Appointed physician to the court of Ali Pasha, he joined the *Philiki Hetaireia* in 1819. He played a major political and military role in the War of Independence. He became one of the leading proponents of the "Great Idea" and was prime minister of Greece 1843–47. He died in 1847.

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Kollyvades Movement

An Orthodox revival and protest movement of the 18th century

The Kollyvades constituted a significant protest movement that originated on Mount Athos in the second half of the 18th century and played a vital role in the religious and intellectual life of Greece. On the one hand, they initiated a renaissance of patristic spirituality and a return to traditional Orthodox ecclesiastical life; on the other hand, they reacted against strong pro-Western secularizing trends under the influence of the Enlightenment.

The term "Kollyvades" derives from *kollyva*, an oblation of grains of boiled wheat bedecked with sugarplums and distributed to church congregations in remembrance of the dead. "Kollyvades" was in fact a term of opprobrium attributed scornfully to the representatives of the movement by their opponents. The controversy began on Athos in 1754. The monks of St Anne's skete decided for practical reasons to perform memorial sevices on Sundays after the end of the Divine Liturgy instead of on Saturdays, as was the Athonite custom and the canonical tradition. The deacon Neophytos Kavsokalyvitis (1713–84) reacted against this innovation, however, considering that it deviated from ancient Orthodox tradition. The development of the controversy, which divided Athos, later included other matters of dispute, especially that of frequent participation in Holy Communion, as outlined in two relevant books (Venice, 1777 and 1783). The second book was initially condemned by patriarch Gabriel IV in 1785, but this condemnation was later annulled by patriarch Neophytos VII. The leading figures of the Kollyvades movement also included Makarios Notaras (1731–1805), formerly archbishop of Corinth, Nikodimos Agioreitis (1749–1809), and Athanasios Parios (1721–1813). Among the anti-Kollyvades party the monks Theodoritos from Ioannina and Vissarion from Rapsani were particularly notable.

The Kollyvades adduced several arguments from patristic and canonical traditions as well as Orthodox ritual practice to support their views. As may be expected, the whole conflict was not conducted with moderation. It included conspiracies, manipulations, slanders, distortions, banishments, acts of violence, and even the murder of monks. The patriarchate of Constantinople was alerted by these dissensions, and in July 1772 Theodosios II sent a compromise letter, in which, according to the principle of ecclesiastical economy, the opinions of both sides were included. Yet no progress was made, and a second conciliatory letter was sent to the warring factions on 10 June 1773 to restore concord and peace on Athos. After these unsuccessful interventions, the anti-Kollyvades managed through various means to persuade the patriarchate of the justice of their cause. Hence, on 9 June 1776 patriarch Sophronios II issued a condemnation of the Kollyvades, demanding, among other things, that Athanasios Parios be unfrocked. The Kollyvades never accepted this, and remained faithful to their ideas and practices, while Parios worked towards his reinstatement, which finally took place in 1781. The whole conflict was rekindled in 1804 when further accusations were brought against the Kollyvades. In a synod of the Athonite monasteries in Karyes on 19 May 1807 these accusations were thrown out as unfounded, while Agioreitis expounded his *Confession of Faith* on 13 June 1807 before the synod, and his reputation was officially restored. The Kollyvades issue was occasionally raised again in the first half of the 19th century, and several patriarchs took decisions (e.g. Gregory V in August 1819) to settle the whole problem.

The Kollyvades' desire to return to the authentic springs of Orthodox tradition can be understood in the context of the decline of spiritual life even within the Athonite monastic community and from the Western spirit that was growing among the Orthodox faithful. Apart from the immediate cause of the eruption of this conflict, the Kollyvades later incorporated several other issues in their agenda in a holistic attempt to revitalize the traditional Orthodox ethos: frequent participation in the sacraments of the Church and especially Holy Communion; strict adherence to traditional ecclesiastical ceremonial; greater acquaintance with the patristic, hesychast, and ascetic literature and spirituality; and an all-out struggle against the alienation of the Greeks from Orthodoxy because of various Western influences. The Kollyvades' acquaintance with patristic literature is evident from Notaras's and Agioreitis's publication of the *Philokalia*, a florilegium of 1,207 folio pages (Venice, 1782) containing ascetic and mystical texts on the theory and practice of prayer by 38 authors writing between the 4th and the 15th centuries. The Kollyvades also undertook the publication of other patristic writings (e.g. of Symeon the New Theologian), and Agioreitis prepared a complete edition of Gregory Palamas's works (the three-volume manuscript was lost in 1797/78 in Vienna). Moreover, the Kollyvades influenced the Orthodox population in various parts of Greece through their spirituality, preaching, and teaching ministry. They also exerted considerable influence on the Slavic Orthodox world, since the *Philokalia* was translated into Old Church Slavonic by Paisy Velichkovsky and published in Moscow in 1793, and later into Russian, Romanian, and other languages.

Among the Kollyvades, the most bitter opponent of the Enlightenment was Athanasios Parios, who had numerous intense disagreements with his contemporaries (e.g. A. Korais, K. Koumas, D. Proios, Veniamin Lesvios). Parios wrote and published extensively against the Enlightenment and the French Revolution, and his sharp criticism was adopted by the patriarchate of Constantinople for its own defensive policies. Parios also formed an unofficial group of sympathizers (e.g. D. Voulismas) and tried to inhibit the dissemination of Western ideas in Greek schools (e.g. in Chios and in Kydonies). He also made a name for himself by admonishing Orthodox Greeks to keep away from Europe, viz. the West, if they wanted to save their souls.

Though not at all uniform, the Kollyvades occasioned various heated reactions and misunderstandings. A large part of Greek historiography before the 20th century portrayed them in a negative way. They were indiscriminately considered as ignorant, unscrupulous, fanatical, obstinate, manipulative, reactionary, and unaware of Greece's actual needs at the time. But in recent decades the Kollyvades have been reassessed on the basis of a more global view of Greece's religious and intellectual history over the last two centuries. This does not mean that the Kollyvades' exaggerations and erroneous judgements were entirely passed over in silence, but an attempt has been

made to consider the whole movement on its own terms and to assess its impact and contributions. From this perspective, it has become obvious that the Kollyvades were instrumental in reorientating the Greek world towards Orthodox ascetic and spiritual sources.

The Kollyvades movement can also be viewed as an antecedent of modern Greek fundamentalism. It started out from private initiative and remained in tension with the official Church and the surrounding culture. It also claimed to represent a more genuine understanding of Orthodoxy and tried to regenerate the fossilized official Church and religious life. The importance that the Orthodox Church now accords to the Kollyvades is apparent in many ways, such as the continuing influence of the *Philokalia*. Most significant perhaps is the fact that three eminent Kollyvades have been canonized: Makarios Notaras soon after his death in 1805, unofficially by the Orthodox flock; Nikodimos Agioreitis in 1955 and Athanasios Parios in 1995, both of them officially.

VASILIOS MAKRIDES

See also Philokalia

Summary

The Kollyvades movement began in the monasteries of Mount Athos in 1754. Originating as a protest against certain religious practices, the Kollyvades became a force for renewal of the authentic Orthodox tradition. They argued for frequent communion, adherence to traditional ceremonial, and familiarity with ascetic and spiritual texts. In 1782 they published the mystical anthology known as the *Philokalia*.

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Kolokotronis, Theodore 1770–1843

Hero of the War of Independence

Theodore Kolokotronis was the commander-in-chief of the forces in the Morea (Peloponnese) during the War of Independence and its aftermath (1821–33). One of Greece's greatest war heroes and a clever strategist, Kolokotronis was considered the most formidable of the *kapetanoi* (leaders) ranged against the Europeanized "Central Government" represented by Alexander Mavrokordatos, George Kountouriotis, and Demetrios Ypsilantis. Unlike some of the other heroes of the revolution, such as General Makriyannis, Kolokotronis supported the regime of Count Ioannis Kapodistria when he became president of the newly liberated Greece in 1828. When Kapodistria was assassinated in 1831, Kolokotronis was elected by the Senate to serve with Kapodistria's brother, Agostino, and John Kolletis on a three-man provisional triumvirate. The combination was not a happy one; Kolettis favoured the "French" or "Constitutionalist" party and Kolokotronis and Kapodistria favoured the "Russian" or "Kapodistrian". The result was a civil war that raged until prince Otto of Bavaria took the throne as king Otho in 1832.

The Kolokotroni were an old and respected klepht family, in the tradition of the fiercely independent freedom fighter. As a Greek "type", the historian C.M. Woodhouse has compared Kolokotronis with the avenging "outcast" as represented by Antaeus, Sciron, or the Titans. His father, Constantine Kolokotronis, who died fighting at Kastanitza in 1780, was

said to have killed at least 700 Turks with his own hands. Kolokotronis himself, at the age of 16, compelled the Sublime Porte to recognize him as chief of the *armatoloi* ("armed men") of Megalopolis. The family became so influential that the Porte ordered extirpation of the entire clan in 1804; 36 of Kolokotronis's brothers, cousins, and relatives, and 150 of their followers, were tortured and killed. Driven from his home, he took refuge on the Ionian islands in 1806.

When the British occupied Zakynthos in 1810, Kolokotronis joined the First Duke of York's Greek Infantry with the rank of captain (later major). He served in the British army under Sir Richard Church for ten years, during which period Kolokotronis was sworn into the *Philiki Hetaireia*, the secret society in aid of Greek independence. With the aid of the hetairists, Kolokotronis slipped back to the Peloponnese shortly before the outbreak of the revolution and, with a growing band of followers, was among the most enthusiastic plunderers of Turkish residents. This activity gave him sufficient funds to maintain the biggest band of armed Greeks in the area, so that by the time Demetrios Ypsilantis arrived in June 1821 to take control on Hydra, Kolokotronis had about 3000 men at his call. He had the biggest contingent at the Tripolitza massacre in October, where several thousand Turkish civilians were slain, and his memoirs grimly describe his triumphal ride over streets carpeted with corpses: "My horse from the walls to the palace never touched the earth." He had another great victory in June 1822 when he annihilated the forces of the Turkish commander Mahmoud Dramali, who was marching from Corinth to attack the new Greek capital at Nauplia.

By the end of 1822 Kolokotronis had allied himself with a few powerful landowners of the Peloponnese, chief of whom was Petrobey Mavromichalis, overlord of the Maniots. The group opposed centralized government and European-style philhellenic nationalism: in December 1822 they prevented the provisional National Assembly from meeting by refusing to allow the members into Nauplia, which Kolokotronis and his son Panos were holding at the time. The central government held the assembly at nearby Astros, and moved that their two major concerns ought to be to send representatives to seek a loan in London and to pass legislation aimed at decreasing Kolokotronis's power. Kolokotronis responded by kidnapping four of the assembly members and removing them under armed guard to Nauplia; the others took refuge on a southern promontory of the Peloponnese where they benefited from the protection of the nearby islands of Hydra and Spetsai. In gratitude for that protection, they elected the Hydriot George Kountouriotis as their new president, but there was no question after this that Kolokotronis was the real power in the Peloponnese.

In 1823 this situation led to the first civil war, which did not come to an end until 1824, when the central government paid Kolokotronis 50,000 piastres out of the first London Greek Committee loan in exchange for his giving up the possession of Nauplia and agreeing to cooperate with them. Shortly afterwards, however, a second civil war broke out over how to spend the remainder of the money. The rebel primates Zaimis and Londos challenged the authority of Kountouriotis's government and Kolokotronis joined them. When Panos was killed in a skirmish outside Tripolitza, Kolokotronis surrendered and allowed himself to be imprisoned on Hydra.

In 1825, when Ibrahim Pasha was threatening the Peloponnese, public demand forced Kolokotronis's release from prison and reappointment as commander-in-chief of the land forces. In this capacity he made an uneasy alliance with the regular troops of the French philhellene Charles Fabvier, whose tactics were more successful with Ibrahim's European-trained troops than the klephtic guerrilla warfare favoured by Kolokotronis and his followers. In 1827 Kolokotronis invited his old commander, Sir Richard Church, to share the command with him. This partnership lasted the duration of the war.

Though Kolokotronis officially withdrew from politics when King Otho ascended the throne in 1832, the Bavarian regency feared his influence. In September 1832 he was arrested and condemned to death on a trumped-up charge of treason. The sentence was commuted to life imprisonment, but when Otho came of age in 1835, Kolokotronis, along with his brother-in-law and other followers who had been imprisoned with him, was issued a full pardon by the king and restored to favour. Kolokotronis retired to Athens, where he remained a war hero and powerful political voice in favour of Greek nationalism until his death on 4 February 1843.

SUSAN SPENCER

See also Independence (War of)

Biography

Born in 1770 into an old klepht family, Kolokotronis fled from Ottoman persecution to Zakynthos which was occupied by the British from 1810. He served in the British army under Sir Richard Church and also joined the *Philiki Hetaireia*. In the War of Independence he became commander-in-chief of the forces in the Peloponnese and supported the regime of Ioannis Kapodistria. Charged with treason but pardoned, he retired to Athens where he died in 1843.

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Komnene, Anna 1083–*c.*1153/54

Historian

Anna Komnene was born on 2 December 1083, the eldest daughter of the emperor Alexios I Komnenos (1081–1118) and his wife Irene Doukaina. In her work the *Alexiad* Anna herself gives an indication that her life's ambition had been to become empress. A few days after her birth she and the young Constantine Doukas, son of the dethroned emperor Michael VII, had been betrothed; they were associated in her father's reign, and publicly acclaimed. After the birth of a brother, John, her hopes of becoming empress at the side of her future husband were shattered. It was a devastating blow to the woman whom Charles Diehl describes as "très princesse".

Anna received an excellent education, and was further able to perfect her knowledge of Classical literature and mythology without the approval of her parents, who would have considered this a danger to her Christian upbringing. It has been said that her achievements in both the trivium and the quadrivium were well above average. In addition to the standard curriculum of the times, she acquired mastery of geography and medicine.

After the premature death of Constantine Doukas, she married Nikephoros Bryennios, still hoping to gain the throne at the side of her husband. In a famous deathbed scene in the *Alexiad* she describes how she and her mother desperately tried to persuade the dying emperor to disqualify his son from the throne and designate Bryennios and Anna as his successors. Having failed at this, Anna became involved in an uprising against her brother, and a botched assassination attempt. When this rebellion too had failed, Anna and her mother retired to a convent that the empress had previously founded.

It was during the later years of her life that Anna may have cultivated a circle of scholars. She commissioned Michael of Ephesus to produce a commentary on Aristotle, and seems to have had in mind a more ambitious project, of publishing a whole series of commentaries. After her husband's death (*c.*1136/37), Anna dedicated the rest of her life to the writing of the history of her father's reign, the *Alexiad*.

In the preface to the 15 books of the *Alexiad* Anna writes that she regards her work as a continuation of the historical writings of her husband, Nikephoros Bryennios. Herbert Hunger postulates that, besides Bryennios, the sources of Anna's history included Psellos, Attaleiates, and Skylitzes. In her privileged position she would also have had access to documents and letters in the imperial archives. Her knowledge of the imperial family was based on her intimate personal contacts. Regarding military matters, she would have had many opportunities to question the veterans of her father's campaigns, and she herself had been an eyewitness to the coming of the First Crusade.

Her description of the crusaders, the "Latins" as she generalizes them, is influenced by her distrust of what she, the Byzantine aristocrat, considers to be a barbarian force. She is fascinated by individual participants, such as the Norman prince Bohemond, of whom she gives an admirable picture. In general, however, her prejudices colour her descriptions. Regardless of this, Anna's account of the First Crusade, as seen from the Byzantine perspective, is a very valuable source, and is established as such in modern scholarship.

Her work is also of great importance for the description it gives of various peoples in contact with the empire, especially the Seljuk Turks and other steppe nomads on the empire's northern borders. It contains details as varied as the administration of the empire, military matters, heresies, education, and medicine.

The style of Anna's work is deemed to attest to the conscious efforts made by Byzantine writers of the Komnenian period to return to purer Classical models and Atticism. As such, the *Alexiad* of Anna stands as the first important work of the literary renaissance of the Komnenian period. Her work is replete with citations from Classical authors – Homer, the tragedians, historians, and the *Anthologia Palatina*. Regardless of the Classicizing tendencies, however, Anna uses the common language of her time without scruples when she needs to use technical terms.

The *Alexiad*, Anna's epic account of her father's reign, is the only historical work in Byzantine literature written by a woman; it remains an important creation on both the literary and historical levels.

FRANZISKA E. SIHLOSSER

See also Historiography

Biography

Born in Constantinople in 1083, Anna was the eldest daughter of the emperor Alexios I and received a good education. She had early ambitions to become empress but, when her husband died, she retired to a convent. She devoted the rest of her life to writing the history of her father's reign, the *Alexiad*, the only known Byzantine historical work written by a woman. She died *c.*1153/4.

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Komnenos family

The Komnenos family was an aristocratic clan that originated presumably from a place called Komne (its location is uncertain, but was probably in the east). By the mid-11th century the family's properties were centred on the fortress of Kastamon, in northern Paphlagonia, which was in Turkish hands intermittently from 1076 and definitively so by the late 12th century. In the early 11th century the Komnenoi became prominent landowners and generals, giving rise to an imperial dynasty that would dominate the Byzantine empire for a century and a name that would retain its imperial lustre until after the Turkish conquest.

Isaac I Komnenos was put forward as emperor (1057–59) by the military aristocracy, who were dissatisfied with the treatment they received from Michael VI (emperor 1056–57).

Komnenos family: woodcut of the Komnenos and Angelos emperors, from left, top row: John II Komnenos, Manuel I Komnenos, Alexios II Komnenos; second row: Andronikos Komnenos, Isaac II Angelos, Alexios III Angelos

Isaac was himself forced to abdicate when his fiscal and religious policies proved widely unpopular. His brother John and John's sons (especially Isaac and Alexios) remained prominent until 1081, when the young Alexios seized Constantinople from Nikephoros III Botaneiates (emperor 1078–81). Alexios, married to Irene Doukaina, united the two most prominent aristocratic clans, the Komnenos and the Doukas, giving him a formidable position in a society where family connections were of increasing importance. His reign brought steady recovery from the disastrous position in which the empire found itself after defeat by the Turks at the battle of Manzikert. Alexios was succeeded by his son John II Komnenos (emperor 1118–43), his grandson Manuel I Komnenos (emperor 1143–80), and his great-grandson Alexios II (emperor 1180–83). All save the last were strong rulers during whose reigns the Byzantine empire regained a measure of stability and economic prosperity, despite continuing Turkish pressure in Asia Minor, constant challenges in Europe, and the disruptive passage of the First and Second Crusades in 1097 and 1147–48 respectively. Alexios II succeeded as a minor and fell victim to civil war in the Komnenos family. He was murdered at the age of 14 by Andronikos I, his father Manuel I's cousin and greatest rival. Both Alexios and Andronikos would fulfil the prophecy that the initial letters of the Komnenoi emperors' names would spell *AIMA* (blood). Andronikos was himself killed in a bloody spectacle in the hippodrome after only three years of rule, and in 1185 power passed to the Angelos family.

Alexios I and his successors consolidated their hold on power by employing in high posts only members of the extended Komnenos family, which was prolific; the word

gambros (relative by marriage) became a semi-official title. By the mid-12th century virtually every major position, whether in Constantinople or the provinces, was likely to be held by a Komnenos or a close relative. The Komnenos century was once viewed by historians as a period of exploitation of the empire by the imperial family, culminating in the policies of Manuel I, which were condemned as expansionist and ruinously expensive. Trading concessions given to western maritime republics in return for naval aid were regarded as specially dangerous short-term measures. More recently, however, it has been established that the empire was generally prosperous during this period and that concessions offered to westerners were less damaging than had been claimed. Bias in modern scholarship against Manuel has been shown to derive, at least in part, from Niketas Choniates, the dominant historian of Manuel's reign and of the collapse which followed, which led with seeming inevitability to the capture of Constantinople by soldiers of the Fourth Crusade in 1204.

The Komnenos family included several figures important to the development of Byzantine culture. The most prominent was the historian Anna Komnene; her father Alexios I wrote some verse, and an Isaac (probably her brother) essays on Homeric topics. In the 1140s the *sevastokratorissa* (emperor's sister) Irene Komnene (a Komnene by marriage, widow of Manuel I's brother Andronikos) was a significant patron of literature and painting. As well as palaces, members of the family built churches, of which John II's foundation of the monastery and hospital of the Pantokrator in the capital was the most lavish. Several other churches founded by Komnenoi may be found in the southern Balkans. In the history of literature the period of the Komnenoi marks the first appearance in Byzantium of professional littérateurs, of whom Theodore Prodromos is the best-known example. Consequent pressure of the marketplace may be responsible, in part, for two other developments: the first surviving literature in vernacular modern Greek (e.g. the satirical so-called *Ptochoprodromika*, poems by multifaceted Penniless Prodromos, and *Digenis Akritis)*, and the proliferation of court writing dominated by rhetorical praise of the dynasty, which, since the Enlightenment, has given the writing of the time a bad name.

Even after the Komnenos family had lost imperial power, their name continued to exert a resonance, especially in conjunction with others, for example, Angelos or Vatatzes. The Grand Komnenoi, rulers of Trebizond after the Latin conquest of Constantinople in 1204, used the name as a title until finally succumbing to the Turks in 1461.

MICHAEL JEFFREYS

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Kontoglou, Photis *c.*1895–1965

Painter, iconographer, and writer

Kontoglou's enormous contribution to the cultural life of modern Greece defies simple classification. Chiefly remembered today for having revived the ancient "Byzantine" style of ecclesiastical art, he has left his mark on modern Greek secular art, literature, and religious thought. More than three decades after his death his books are still published, and read by all generations. His two-volume opus, *Ekphrasis tes Orthodoxou Eikonographeias* ("Description of Orthodox Iconography", 1960), still serves as the standard text and guide for icon painters all over the world. Moreover, his forthright and at times childlike simplicity and artlessness characterized qualities held by many Greeks to be quintessentially Hellenic.

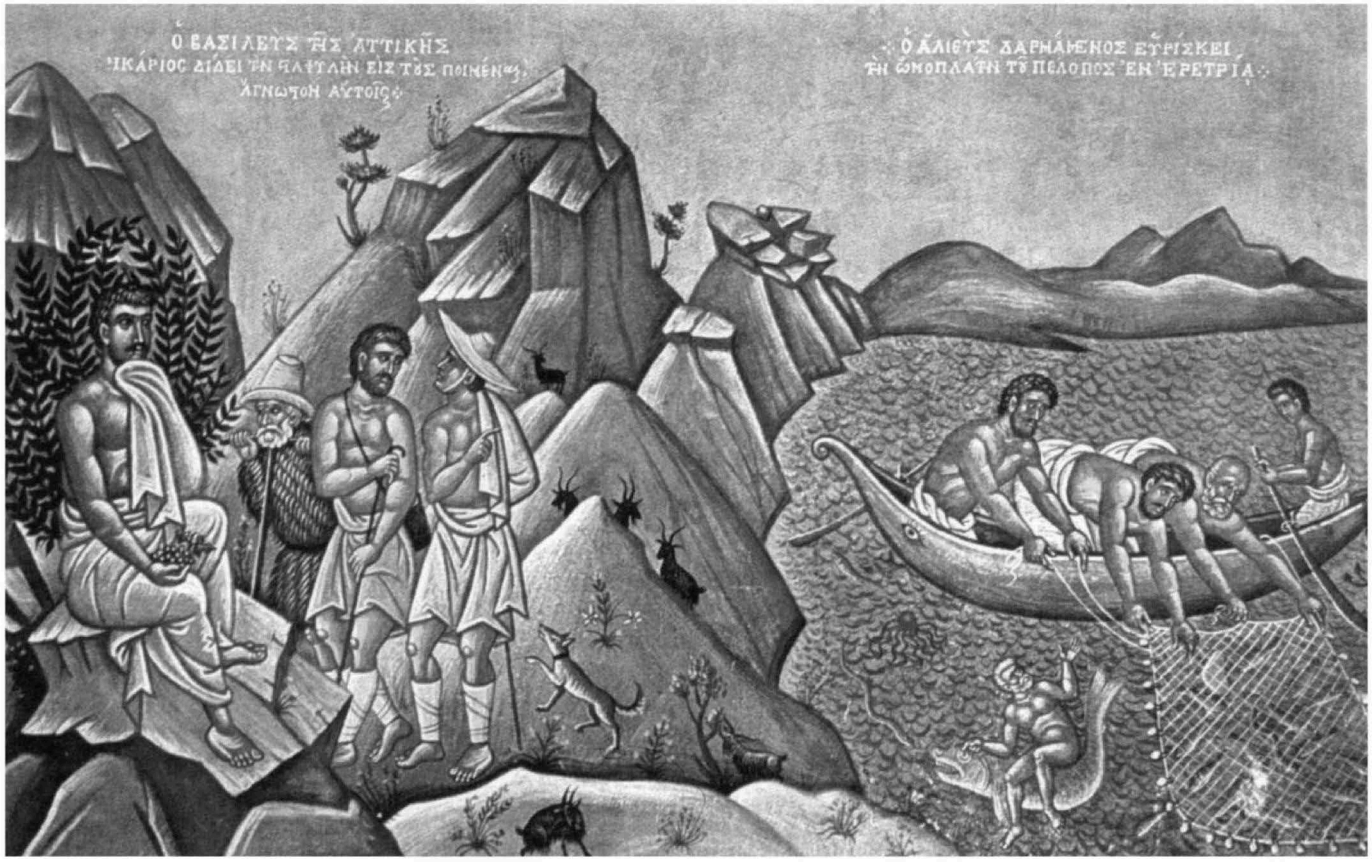
Kontoglou was born at Aivali, near the ancient city of Cydoniae in northwest Asia Minor in 1895 or 1896, and was always proud of having been born "in Asia". His childhood surroundings left happy memories that would stay with him all his life, and appear time and again in his work. Indeed, the almost poignant sense of melancholy and nostalgia in much of his secular art and writings seems to have been the result of a constant longing for those happy years.

A relative of Kontoglou's noticed his artistic potential and sent him to Athens to study at the Polytechnic's School of Fine Arts, a highly traditional institution still dominated by artists of the so-called "Munich School" of the 19th century. The outbreak of World War I isolated Kontoglou from Aivali, and being dissatisfied with the School of Fine Arts, he left for Paris where he spent some years working as an illustrator. Here he claims to have met Rodin and Maeterlinck, but his Parisian sojourn hardly left any traces in the painter's work.

Returning to Aivali in 1919, Kontoglou began teaching at the girls' school at Cydoniae. At the same time, he and a group of friends organized an intellectual group called "New People" at Aivali. He also published his first major book, the novel *Pedro Cazas*, which was hailed in Athens and Mytilene as a breath of fresh air in the then stuffy world of Greek letters.

The 1922 catastrophe turned Kontoglou into a refugee, first in Mytilene then in Athens, where he reported feeling like "a caged bird". His love for travel led him in 1923 to visit Mount Athos, where he got his first real taste of the forms and techniques of Byzantine art. This eye-opening experience led to the publication of *Art of Athos: Reproductions and Variations by Photis Kontoglou* (1923) and *Vasanda*, a collection of writings and illustrations inspired by Athos. The same year also saw Kontoglou's first exhibition in Mytilene.

The 1920s and 1930s were productive years for Kontoglou, both as a painter and as a writer. He coordinated the influential but short-lived journal *Philiki Hetaireia* ("Society of Friends"), beginning in 1925, and collaborated with the periodical *Ellinika Grammata* ("Greek Literature"). Kontoglou spent much time travelling in Greece, but his stint at Mistra in the 1930s working on the conservation of the Byzantine murals in the churches there was a decisive influence on his work. He also worked on the murals of the monastery at Kaisariane, near Athens. His house in the Kypriadou district of Athens became a second home for a number of young painters and thinkers including Ioannis Tsarouchis and Nikos



Photis Kontoglou: detail of the fresco *The Kings of Attica*, showing Icarius, king of Attica, on the left, and the invention of a relic of Pelops on the right, Municipal Reading Room, Athens

Engonopoulos. One wall of this house was painted by the group of friends with exotic and fantastic scenes of tropical islands, indigenous peoples of the world, a portrait of Kontoglou's family, and busts of famous men. The mural (now in the National Art Gallery in Athens) is one of the most widely loved of Kontoglou's works.

In addition to more secular commissions and written works (including the *Astrolabe*, 1935), Kontoglou received his first commission to decorate a complete church, at Rio near Patras. In the same year he did restoration work on the murals of the Peribleptos church in Mistra – a task which he found particularly stimulating and inspirational. Work of this calibre had not been used for Byzantine mural conservation till that time.

In 1937–38 Kontoglou undertook an important secular commission in the form of murals for the entrance hall and reading room of the Athens Town Hall. Themes included ancient Greek mythology and a cavalcade of important Greek historical figures up to 1821. This was the first time that a secular work on such a scale employed the Byzantine style, and caused not a little controversy in a country that had been taught to think of that style as "backward" and regressive, in contrast to the naturalism of the Italian Renaissance style, which in the 19th and early 20th centuries was used for both public and religious monuments. Kontoglou was, along with two or three others, instrumental in opening the Greek public's eyes to the sublime spirituality of Byzantine art. His efforts would eventually result in Western "Italianate" art being discouraged and even banned for new or redecorated churches. The art of portable icon painting also owed its resurgence to Kontoglou and his apprentices, and he invigorated the art of book illustration (chiefly in the woodcut medium) which drew heavily on the Greek folk-art idiom.

The Nazi occupation of Greece during World War II was as hard for Kontoglou and his family as it was for the rest of the nation. He had to sell his beloved home for a little flour and oil, and lived with friends – at one stage in a garage – during the struggle. With his resources limited and commissions few and far between, he put his abundant energy into writing, producing, among other works, *The Mystical Garden* in which he outlined his manifesto for a return to Byzantine art in a 20th-century Orthodox context. For Kontoglou, Byzantine art was not a relic to be revived from the past, but a valid "living" tradition that had to be understood and properly taught.

The postwar period brought one of his most important commissions, the controversial decoration of the Byzantine church of Kapnikarea in central Athens. Despite criticism that no archaeological monument should be interfered with by modern painters, Kontoglou realized one of his most influential and perfect iconographic programmes for a church, which served as a paradigm for his "new" Byzantine style. A host of other church commissions followed, and some designs and cartoons were even dispatched to the United States where they were fitted into new Orthodox churches.

Publishing activity continued apace with widely read contributions to the liberal newspaper *Eleutheria* and the Orthodox periodical *Kivotos*. Here he hailed "the invigoration of

Orthodox convictions, and the heralding of an enlightened return to the essence of tradition". In the newspaper *Orthodoxos Typos* Kontoglou made a name for himself by relentlessly attacking any plans for union with the Roman Catholic Church and defending Orthodoxy from what he saw as the danger of Western materialism. He presided over an informal "school" of painters that included Constantine Georgakopoulos, Petros Odambasis, Ioannis Terzis, Rallis Kopsidis, Petros Vamboulis, and Spyros Papaloukas.

In 1960 *Ekphrasis* appeared in two volumes to universal acclaim, and Kontoglou began to be showered with awards from the state, the Church, and the Athens Academy, including Greece's highest distinction, the Commander of the Phoenix. A complete series of his writings began to appear, published by Astir, and much previously unpublished material has appeared.

Kontoglou died on 13 July 1965 after a protracted illness initiated by wounds from a car crash the previous year. His loss was greatly mourned, and his remains now lie in the grounds of the monastery of Hagia Paraskevi at Nea Makri.

Kontoglou would not have wished to be remembered as a cult figure, but his eccentric bearing, his passion for his Church and traditions, his mistrust of the West and things Western, his contempt for the vanity and socializing of the art world, and his idiosyncratic but charming use of the Greek language made him a revered figure among traditionalist, but also intellectual circles in Greece and in the broader Orthodox community. His unabashed championing of the Byzantine style in secular works greatly influenced younger artists, most notably Tsarouchis. But his signature style ("Through the hand of Photis Kontoglou") underscored the fact that his art was nothing to do with "originality" and "individual expression", but drew on a source as old as the Greek people itself.

DAVID R. TURNER

See also Painting

Biography

Born at Aivali in northwest Asia Minor *c.*1895, Kontoglou studied in Athens and Paris where he worked as an illustrator during World War I. Returning to Aivali in 1919, he taught at a local girls' school and began writing. After the 1922 disaster he moved to Lesbos (where he had his first exhibition of paintings) and then to Athens where he became the centre of a circle of young painters. He found inspiration in Byzantine art and was commissioned to paint many churches. He died in 1965.

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Korais, Adamantios 1748–1833

Classicist, political theorist, and man of letters

Adamantios Korais was perhaps the foremost representative of the Greek Enlightenment. Born in the cosmopolitan mercantile centre of Smyrna in 1748, he completed his primary education there. Between 1771 and 1777 he was immersed in his family's commercial activities of silk export in Amsterdam. After his return to Smyrna (1778–82) Korais moved back to Western Europe and studied medicine at Montpellier, receiving his doctorate in 1787. In 1788 he moved to Paris where he stayed until his death in 1833. Korais distinguished himself as a critical editor of ancient Greek literature and was highly esteemed by scholarly and political circles, both in France and abroad (e.g. by Thomas Jefferson). Having close contacts with the intellectual and political elite of his day, Korais followed, like a meticulous reporter, all major events in French and international politics (e.g. the French Revolution, Napoleonic wars) and tried to draw useful conclusions for the eventual liberation of his enslaved compatriots.

Korais's concern for Greece remained unwavering throughout his long life. He was particularly concerned with the educational level of his compatriots and the necessary reforms in the school curricula and the teaching methods on the model of "enlightened Europe". Korais realized that the prestige and the international reputation of a nation (e.g. France) depended heavily upon its scholarly and scientific achievements. This was his dream for Greece too. Korais thus proclaimed the notion of *metakenosis*, i.e. the pouring of the acquired wisdom of the West into the Greek vessels of his day. In this way knowledge had been earlier transferred from ancient Greece to the West and had contributed immensely to the achievements there.

Korais was also very critical of the widespread habit of polymathy and stressed the need for more specialized knowledge and expertise that could lead to pathbreaking scholarly achievements. He especially criticized the outdated, arid tradition of teaching grammar and related lessons in Greek schools, which ended up offering nothing useful to the students. His own editorial programme of ancient Greek authors was intended to provide modern Greeks with practical principles and truths that could lead to Greece's regeneration and eventually to its liberation. Korais's final objective was the creation of a well-ordered society, in which happiness, virtue, law, and freedom would reign. He also showed a keen interest in the controversial issue of Greek language, the development of which was absolutely necessary for his compatriots in order to express better their thoughts. Korais tried to find a middle way between the archaizers and the vulgarizers. His own preference for Greek idiom later exerted some influence upon the formation of the simple katharevousa, a largely artificial language that had become the subject of serious debate.

Aside from this, Korais was a vehement opponent of the slavery of thought, especially regarding socially established, old-fashioned perceptions and clerical impact. He was particularly interested in limiting the Church's power and social influence, which were inhibiting Greece's intellectual emancipation and political independence. He also defended his country against accusations about the illiteracy of Greeks made by

Western travellers such as J.L.S. Bartholdy. Among his relevant works, the lecture *Mémoire sur l'état actuel de la civilisation dans la Grèce* at the Société des Observateurs de l'Homme in 1803 must be mentioned here. Yet, when addressing himself to his compatriots, Korais was far more critical and demanding, for he aimed to eradicate all the wrongs that were keeping Greece apart from the civilized nations.

Korais's range of writings and translations is impressive. Apart from his early religious output, Korais wrote on medical issues and published several tracts of patriotic and political content with regard to the Greek cause and the institutions of the new-born Greek state. His greatest achievement was undoubtedly the systematic edition of ancient Greek writers starting in 1799 with Theophrastus's *Characters*. Korais wrote extensive prolegomena and annotations to each volume and discussed burning questions concerning Greek education and language. In addition, there exist several other treatises by Korais (e.g. his Greek translation with notes of Beccaria's *Dei delitti e delle pene* in 1802; 1823) as well as collective volumes containing his numerous shorter texts. Korais also left various other works, which were published posthumously. Finally, his voluminous correspondence, with Greeks and foreigners alike, attests to the wide range of his interests and activities as well as to his total devotion to the Enlightenment and the liberation of the Greek people. Korais had a special interest in coordinating the diaspora Greeks, such as Alexandros Vasileiou in Vienna and Iakovos Rotas in Trieste, with those in the Ottoman empire. He was also concerned to improve the educational status of Chios, the birthplace of his father, and collaborated with many of its residents to that end. The gymnasium of Chios was eventually the sole inheritor of Korais's books and papers. It is also in this island that a rich library exists today bearing his name.

Serious criticism of Korais's opinions, especially on religious matters, was voiced by the patriarchate of Constantinople as well as by other religious circles (e.g. Athanasios Parios). Korais's influence was feared even after the foundation of the Greek state and his opinions were held responsible for the radical changes regarding the Orthodox Church (e.g. the unilateral declaration of the autocephalous Church of Greece in 1833). Orthodox Christians were also occasionally admonished to avoid reading Korais's books. Korais was neither an atheist nor an enemy of Christianity, but he was seriously influenced by the Enlightenment on religious issues. In this respect, his opinions were not in conformity with traditional Byzantine Orthodoxy. Yet, Korais's intention was not to abolish, but to reform and rationalize Orthodoxy. Thus, he put far more emphasis on the social utility of Orthodoxy while criticizing its otherworldly orientations. He supported the translation of the scriptures into modern Greek. He disagreed strongly with the irrational use of religion and its superstitious practices that were hindering social progress. Finally, he exhibited a bitter anticlerical spirit, since he thought that the unworthiness of many Orthodox prelates, priests, and monks was the source of many problems in Greek society.

In short, Korais left an indelible mark upon the intellectual life of Greece not only in his lifetime, but down to the 20th century. It is no wonder therefore that he has had ardent supporters and admirers as well as militant and fanatical opponents. The issues involved in these debates range from religious and linguistic to social and political. The ideological uses of Koraism in the 20th century were multiform and diverse. Korais was turned into the main opponent and enemy of various political, philosophical, philological, and Orthodox theological circles. This phenomenon constitutes further evidence, even if indirectly, of Korais's lasting impact upon and legacy to modern Greece.

Adamantios Korais, Classical scholar

VASILIOS MAKRIDES

See also Enlightenment

Biography

Born in Smyrna in 1748, the son of a merchant from Chios, Korais worked for the family business in Amsterdam from 1771 to 1777. From 1782 to 1787 he studied medicine at Montpellier but he was much more interested in Classical scholarship. In 1788 he moved to Paris and lived there for the rest of his life. His aim was to publish a Hellenic Library of Classical texts for Greek readers and to introduce the ideas of the Enlightenment into the Greek curriculum. He died in 1833.

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Kornaros, Vitsentzos 1553–*c.*1614

Cretan poet

Vitsentzos Kornaros occupies a position of undisputed importance in the history of modern Greek literature and is one of the major literary figures of the Cretan renaissance. His poetic romance *Erotokritos* draws on the plot conventions of medieval romance but tempers the action and characterization to Renaissance modes of thought, while elevating the Cretan dialect in which it is written to a sophisticated literary tool of great expressiveness and musicality. Kornaros is also widely believed to be the author of the anonymous religious drama *The Sacrifice of Abraham*, which exhibits a number of verbal and stylistic similarities with *Erotokritos*. There is now general agreement among scholars that Kornaros, who gives brief autobiographical details at the end of *Erotokritos*, was a member of the Hellenized Veneto-Cretan noble family of Cornaro (or Corner), which had been established in Crete since the 15th century. Vitsentzos (or Vicenzo) was born in the village of Trapezonta, near Siteia, in 1553. In 1590 he married Marietta Zeno, in the capital Kastro where he was by then living, and they had two daughters. His brother Andrea was a major intellectual figure in the Crete of his time, author of an unpublished history of Crete and founder of the academy of the Stravaganti, of which Vitsentzos was also a member. Vitsentzos occupied various legal and administrative offices, making the kind of contributions to public life that were expected of a member of his class. He died in 1613/14.

Erotokritos was completed within the last 20 years or so of Kornaros's life. It is preserved in an illustrated manuscript, written in the Ionian islands in 1710 (now in the British Library), and in printed editions from 1713 onwards. The poem draws its plot from the French romance *Paris et Vienne*, by Pierre de la Cypède. The immediate model of the Cretan poem is an Italian prose version of the romance, first printed in 1482. Kornaros completely alters the setting and atmosphere of his Italian source, by removing the Christian context and transferring the story to ancient Athens, but with a deliberately diachronic (or rather anachronistic) perspective. The heroine, Aretousa, is the daughter of the king and queen of Athens, while in the tournament which occupies the second of the five books the participants include a prince of Byzantium and noblemen from various parts of the east Mediterranean world: Crete, Cyprus, Naxos, Patras, Mytilene, Methoni, Koroni, Nauplia, Egripos (Euboea), Macedonia, etc. Many of these places had (or once had) a particular importance in Venice's colonial empire. There is also a Karamanite (a Turk), who challenges the Cretan Charidimos to a duel, a possible allusion to the battle of Lepanto (1571).

The poem consists of 9982 lines of couplet-rhymed 15-syllable verse, divided into five parts or books. The plot is articulated after the manner of a five-act Neoclassical drama (Alexiou refers to its "daring mixture of genres"); almost half of the poem consists of the direct speech of the characters, although the story is told by an omniscient narrator who is the poet's mouthpiece. The hero Rotokritos (his name appears most commonly in this form) is the son of the king's counsellor; his love for Aretousa and the obstacles he has to overcome in his quest to prove himself a worthy match for the princess constitute the main axes of the plot. Book 1 is about the gradual development of his love (punctuated by the warnings of his friend Polydoros), and the response of Aretousa, first for an unknown admirer who serenades her, and then, with the discovery of Rotokritos' identity, her growing passion for the young man himself, despite the strong disapproval of her nurse Frosyni. In book 2 a tournament organized by the king partly to entertain his daughter and partly to find her a suitable husband of royal birth (the prince of Byzantium is the favoured suitor), provides Rotokritos with the opportunity to prove himself. He is victorious, after overcoming various opponents in the jousts and finally defeating the Cypriot Kypridimos, who has declared himself implacably opposed to Eros. The way is thus open for Rotokritos (in book 3) to persuade his father to approach the king on his behalf. However, the king will not hear of a marriage to a commoner and angrily banishes Rotokritos, who takes his leave of Aretousa with mutual declarations of eternal love. In book 4 Athens is at war with the neighbouring kingdom of Vlachia. Rotokritos, disguised as a Negro, comes to the king's aid in the battle, and saves the kingdom by killing the Vlach champion in singlehanded combat. He is gravely wounded but, in the final part, slowly recovers and is offered a reward. Still in disguise he visits Aretousa in the cell in which her suspicious father has confined her. He tests her fidelity by alleging that her beloved Rotokritos is dead, but finally reveals his true identity. Their union is blessed by the king and the story ends with the celebration of their marriage.

This typical romance plot of separated lovers and eventual reunion derives much of its attraction from its poetic diction. Recurring imagery of fire and organic growth elaborates the love theme. Some scholars have found it long-winded and pedestrian, overlooking the subtlety of the metaphors and similes, the rhetorical construction, and the complex network of allusion and irony. Echoes of Ariosto and the Petrarchistic conceits of Italian Renaissance poetry abound, but the "naturalness" of the poem's language and style has led some scholars to see affinities with Greek folk poetry. It is certainly true that, after it was first printed in Venice in 1713, it circulated widely in the Greek-speaking world and became extremely popular. It is often claimed, probably with some exaggeration, that many Cretans knew the entire poem by heart. What is certain is that particular episodes are still frequently sung to a traditional tune, and the poem is held in great affection by the Cretan people; it also seems to have influenced the popular tradition of improvised couplets (*mantinades*). However, its reception has extended well beyond Crete: Solomos was familiar with it and assimilated its style in his own poetry, particularly in "The Cretan", which contains echoes of the episode featuring the Cretan in book 2. An adaptation into more learned language was published by Dionysios Foteinos in 1818. Angelos Sikelianos, George Seferis, Nikos Kazantzakis, and Yiannis Ritsos are among 20th-century poets who have exploited the poem creatively in their own work (Seferis also wrote an important essay on it). There have also been successful musical settings of *Erotokritos*, as well as theatrical adaptations.

The Sacrifice of Abraham, if it is indeed the work of Kornaros, was written before *Erotokritos*, but after 1586, the date of the first edition of the Italian play *Lo Isach*, by Luigi Grotto, on which it is based. Like most works of Cretan renaissance literature, it is in rhymed 15-syllable verse. The subject matter of the play is the biblical story of God's testing of Abraham's faith by the commandment that he sacrifice his only son Isaac (Genesis 22). The action is spread over at least six days: it begins with the angel's announcement to Abraham of God's command, progresses to the dramatic scene on the mountain, and ends with the return home and the joyful family reunion. The Cretan play improves on the dramatic structure of its model, gives more emphasis to the nature of Abraham's inner struggle, and enhances the roles of the servants. Also notable is the emphasis on family relations, seen in the characterization of Isaac: his mature understanding of his father's dilemma and eventual compliance in the sacrifice, and his concern for his mother. Sarah is depicted with particular tenderness, most notably in her lament for her son, which exhibits a dialogue with popular motifs and themes. The Cretan work represents a sustained attempt to interpret the biblical story for contemporary man. The playwright was clearly interested in theological matters and may have known the work of Origen. The play, which could be classified as a *tragedia di lieto fin*, is not divided into acts and scenes in the extant witnesses (unlike Grotto's play), but none the less has a firm dramatic structure. It is preserved in two manuscripts and in a series of printed editions from 1713 onwards (an edition of 1696 has not survived). As the frequency of these editions shows, it was one of the most successful vernacular literary texts of the 18th and 19th centuries. It was also translated into Turkish in 1783 (printed 1800), for the use of Turkish-speaking Orthodox Christians.

DAVID HOLTON

See also Renaissance (Veneto-Cretan)

Biography

Born in 1553 in the village of Trapezonta, near Siteia in Crete, Kornaros belonged to the Veneto-Cretan family of Cornaro. Both he and his brother Andrea were major figures in the Cretan renaissance of the 16th century. Vitsentzos is the author of the poetic romance *Erotokritos* and possibly also of the religious drama *The Sacrifice of Abraham*. He died *c.*1614.

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Kosmas the Aetolian, St 1714–1779

Orthodox missionary and martyr

St Kosmas the Aetolian is called "equal to the Apostles" and "teacher of the Greek nation" for his contribution to the spiritual and national awakening of the Greek people in the late 18th century. Not officially canonized by the Orthodox Church until 1961, Kosmas has long been venerated in Greece, Albania, and the southern Balkans as one of the "new martyrs of the Turkish yoke". Through his missionary work Kosmas promoted the study of the Orthodox Christian religion and the Greek language. In this way Kosmas helped prepare the Greeks to overthrow the Ottoman Turks and establish their own independent state in the 19th century.

The son of weavers, Kosmas was a native of the Aetolian region of northwestern Greece, in the vicinity of Arta. He pursued an education for himself, eventually enrolling in the Theological Academy on Mount Athos in 1749. Although Kosmas became a hieromonk at the monastery of Philotheou, he sought and was given permission by his fellow monks and patriarch Seraphim II of Constantinople (1757–61) to leave the monastery and become an itinerant preacher. He wanted to bring his knowledge of the gospel, the Church Fathers, and the spiritual life of Mount Athos to the common people.

Attracting huge crowds as he travelled, Kosmas preached using the vernacular Greek language so that everyone could understand his message. But he encouraged the establishment of local schools for the study of the Orthodox Christian faith and the more archaic Greek of the scriptures and the Church. Kosmas is remembered as saying: "My beloved children in Christ, bravely and fearlessly preserve our holy faith and the language of our Fathers, because both of these characterize our most beloved homeland, and without them our nation is destroyed" (Vaporis, 1977, p.146). Kosmas did his best to address the economic, social, and religious pressures which enticed many Orthodox Christians to convert to Islam. He himself lived in apostolic poverty and defended the poor and women against exploitation and abuse. Although his preaching threatened the status quo, Kosmas did manage to attract some wealthy patrons who contributed ecclesiastical items for the benefit of the poor: religious books, prayer ropes, little crosses, haptismal fonts, head coverings, beard combs, candles, bread, and boiled wheat. Kosmas would ask the people to prepare for his visits by confessing their sins, fasting, and holding a vigil service. When he arrived he would typically ask that the sacrament of Holy Unction be performed, then he would preach, and finally the faithful would partake of the *antidoron* (blessed bread) and *kollyva* (boiled wheat consumed at memorial services) forgiving the living and the dead. Because of the crowds, Kosmas often preached outdoors. He would ask the people to set up a wooden cross at the spot where he would preach, and stood on a portable footstool. The cross would remain at the site after he left. According to his disciple and hagiographer Sapphiros Christodoulidis (d. 1856), Kosmas began to effect miracle cures through his preaching. But the power of the holy man could curse as well as bless – Christodoulidis also reports harm coming to those who wanted to hurt the saint or who were disrespectful of his teaching and counsel.

The content of his teaching stressed religious education, repentance, forgiveness, fasting, humility, the dignity of women and marriage, love of God and of one's neighbour. He also brought the Athonite practice of the Jesus prayer to the common people, advising them to pray at all times: "Lord Jesus Christ, Son and *Logos* of the living God, by the intercessions of the Theotokos and all the saints, have mercy on me the sinner and unworthy servant of Thee" (Cavarnos, 1985, p.71). He discouraged Christians from doing business on Sundays, which brought him into conflict with local merchants.

The saint's teachings, prophecies, and martyrdom cannot be understood apart from the political situation of the Greeks under the Tourkokratia in the late 18th century. As much as he preached love, Kosmas fought to promote the continuation of Greek identity by stressing the two things that set the Greeks apart from their neighbours – Roman Catholics, Jews, and Turkish Muslims: the Greek language and the Orthodox Christian religion. He stood firmly within the tradition that saw the rule of the Turks as a chastisement for the sins of the Greeks, but one in which God's mercy was manifest: "And why did God bring the Turks and not some other race? For our good, because the other nations would have caused detriment to our Faith" (Cavarnos, p.23). In fact, Kosmas always asked for permission to preach from both the local bishop and the Turkish authorities as he travelled from town to town. Although his reputation as a holy man earned him admirers across religious lines, it was easy for the authorities to believe that Kosmas and his followers were aligned with the Russian government in an effort to free the Orthodox Christian population of the Balkans from Ottoman rule. He spoke often of Antichrist and the end of the world, and predicted the libera-

tion of Greece within three generations of the one then living. It is no surprise that St Kosmas met his end through martyrdom at the hands of Turkish executioners. While visiting an Albanian town called Kolikontasi or Kalinkontasi he was seized by the agents of the local governor, Kurt Pasha. On 24 August 1779 Kosmas was hanged en route to the governor's residence in Berati (Berat), Albania. "Thus the thrice-blessed Cosmas, that great benefactor of men, became worthy of receiving, at the age of sixty-five, a double crown from the Lord, one as a Peer of the Apostles and the other as a holy Martyr" (Christodoulidis, in Cavarnos, p.45). His body was thrown naked into a river with a stone weighted around his neck. For three days the local Christians searched for the body, until a priest from the monastery of the Presentation of the Most Holy Theotokos near Kolikontasi miraculously discovered it floating upright in the river. His body was then buried at the priest's monastery. A church in his honour was later built at the site, with the encouragement of the vizier Ali Pasha of Tepeleni, whose rise to power the saint had prophesied 30 years earlier.

St Kosmas the Aetolian has made an enormous impact on the national and spiritual consciousness of the Greek people. In the 19th century the Greeks won their national independence and experienced a spiritual revival led by itinerant preachers inspired by the saint's example. He continues to inspire both piety and scholarship – one bibliography published in 1968 lists over 30 books and 600 articles devoted to St Kosmas (Cavarnos, p.27), although works in the English language remain scarce. Thirteen of his letters survive, as well as the sermons recorded by his disciples collectively called "Didachai" ("Teachings"), which were read in churches during his lifetime and after his death. His feast is celebrated on the anniversary of his martyrdom, 24 August.

CONSTANTINA SCOURTIS

See also Neomartyrs

Biography

Born in 1714 near Arta in northwestern Greece, Kosmas was self-taught until he enrolled in the Academy on Mount Athos in 1749. He became a priest monk at the monastery of Philotheou, but left the monastery to become an itinerant preacher. He travelled all over Greece preaching and promoting an awareness of Greek identity. He was hanged by local Turkish authorities in Albania in 1779 and is revered as a martyr.

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Koukouzeles, St John

Musician of the 13th-14th centuries

St John Koukouzeles is honoured by the Greek Orthodox Church as the "second source" (after St John of Damascus) of its liturgical music. Far from being mere hagiographic hyperbole, this appellation accurately reflects the decisive impact of his labours as a maistor (musical director), composer, hymnographer, scribe, editor, teacher, and theorist during the late 13th and early 14th centuries. Information about his life and career may be derived mainly from two groups of sources: the very large number of musical manuscripts containing his work, the first of which date from the beginning of the 14th century; and the copies of a late and somewhat problematic *Life*, the oldest manuscript of which (Thessalonica, Vlatadon 46) dates from the second half of the 16th century. From the former we learn that his surname was Papadopoulos, that he studied with Xenos Korones under the cantor John Glykes, and that his name was changed to Ioannikios when he became a monk of the Great Schema. The *Life* contains none of these details, but begins by relating how he was born in Dyrrachium to a Slav mother, was taken to study chant in Constantinople, acquired the surname Koukouzeles (supposedly from the words for beans and cabbage), and composed a setting of Psalms 134 and 135 (the "Polyeleos") entitled *Voulgara* on a return visit to his mother. The remainder of his *Life* covers his removal to the monastery of the Great Lavra on Mount Athos, his construction of a chapel dedicated to the Archangels (still extant) outside the monastery walls for the practice of hesychasm, the miracles he experienced, and his death. Modern scholars, however, tend to view the *Life* with mild to extreme scepticism. In addition to containing improbable episodes and dubious etymologies, it is suspiciously similar to that of Gregory the Domestikos, a cantor from the Great Lavra who shares the feast day of 1 October with his contemporary Koukouzeles. Furthermore, Koukouzeles seems never to have written a Polyeleos *Voulgara*, the story being derived from the misattribution of a single Psalm verse by Glykes (Jakovlević, 1982). Nevertheless, most scholars have not followed Erich Trapp (1987) and Simon Karas (1992) in their near total rejection of the *Life*, choosing instead to accept with caution its story of Koukouzeles' monastic vocation.

Regardless of the controversies over his biography, the quality, variety, and wide distribution of Koukouzeles's works are more than sufficient to secure his special place in Byzantine musical history. To Byzantine musical theory he made two substantial contributions: the didactic chant "*Ison, oligon* ..." (known popularly as the *Mega Ison*), a revision of a similar work by Glykes illustrating the standard repertory of melodic figures (*cheironomiai*); and a diagram (the *trochos*, "wheel") illustrating the relations between the modes with a series of concentric rings surrounded by four smaller circles bearing his surname. Koukouzeles also re-edited the entire central repertory of chants for the three Byzantine Eucharistic liturgies and the Palestinian Divine Office of St Sabas into three volumes. To the traditional anonymous melodies of the Eirmologion and the Sticherarion, two venerable collections of hymns (*eirmoi* and *stichera*) for the Sabaïtic offices, he made only relatively minor revisions. Rather, his most distinctive and influential

work is to be found in the Akolouthiai or "Orders of Service", a new type of musical manuscript that, for the first time, combined under a single cover all the ordinary chants and psalmodic propers of the Byzantine monastic offices and Eucharistic liturgies. Some copies of the Akolouthiai – of which dozens survive, the earliest being MS Athens 2458 in the National Library of Greece, dated "1336" – begin with a section of theoretical and didactic works. After these one inevitably finds a stylistically broad variety of traditional and newly composed chants, including: anonymous and, for the most part, previously unnotated syllabic, semi-florid, and melismatic melodies, some of which may be supplied with regional (*Agiosophitikon*, *Thessalikon*, etc.) or functional (monastic, cathedral, etc.) variants; and a much larger body of highly individual and often virtuosic chants by Koukouzeles and his late Byzantine colleagues.

It is among the newly composed chants of the Akolouthiai that one finds the melodies on which Koukouzeles' reputation as a composer rests. Encompassing many liturgical genres, these works include verses for the psalms of the all-night vigil, hymns for the eucharistic liturgies, festal hymns – both traditional and new texts, including those from his own pen – for the liturgy of the Hours, and optional codas to traditional hymns and responsories. A great number of these compositions are in the extremely florid "beautified" or "kalophonic" idiom, which is generally characterized by vocal virtuosity, but could also include textual troping, highly melismatic passages, and even textless vocalizations on nonsense syllables ("teretisms"), some of which exist as independent pieces (*kratemata*) bearing evocative names (e.g. *viola*). Although this style of composing antedated him by at least two generations, Koukouzeles brought it to maturity and then succeeded in disseminating it widely through his compilation of the Akolouthiai. The result was what Edward V. Williams has fittingly described as a "Byzantine *ars nova*", whereby Koukouzeles established the stylistic parameters for all subsequent composers of Greek Orthodox chant.

From the 14th to the early 19th century Koukouzeles's works were continuously copied both as originally notated and in florid realizations ("exegeses") by post-Byzantine cantors. His continued popularity is also reflected by the dissemination of his *Life* in multiple recensions and the early adaptation of some of his compositions for performance in Church Slavonic. In the early 19th century a large number of his works were transcribed melismatically into the "New Method" of Byzantine notation by Chourmouzios the Archivist and other exegetes. Perhaps due to their extreme length after being subjected to "exegesis", only a fraction of these were subsequently published, the most prominent of which are his chants for the vesting and entrance of a bishop, the *Mega Ison*, a single Sunday communion verse, and his farced verses for Psalm 103 ("the Great Anoixantaria"). In recent years, however, Greek scholar-performers have begun to explore the unpublished works of Koukouzeles, resulting in an increasing number of recordings and publications.

ALEXANDER LINGAS

See also Hymnography

Biography

According to an anonymous *Life* (of dubious authority), John was born in Dyrrachium to a Slav mother in the second half of the 13th century. Taken to Constantinople to study chant, he acquired the name Koukouzeles. He then moved to the Great Lavra monastery on Mount Athos, where he died. He is regarded as the "second source" (after St John of Damascus) of liturgical music for the Greek Orthodox Church and worked as musical director, composer, hymnographer, scribe, editor, teacher, and theorist.

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Kritoboulos, Michael

Historian of the 15th century

Michael Kritoboulos of Imbros was one of the four 15th-century Byzantine historians (the others are Laonikos Chalkokondyles, George Sphrantzes, and Doukas) who left an account of the fall of Constantinople to the Turks in 1453. His approach of making the rise of the Turks the main theme of his history parallels that of Chalkokondyles. Kritoboulos, however, stands out for his glorification of Mehmet the Conqueror and for his attempt to find an accommodation with the Turks.

Very little is known about Kritoboulos's life, apart from his career in the Ottoman administration after 1453. The original family name of Kritoboulos must have been Kritopoulos, but was later changed in a classicizing fashion to Kritoboulos. It is possible that the historian was identical with the religious

writer Michael Kritopoulos, who composed an unpublished homily on the Passion of Christ. The Italian traveller and humanist Cyriac of Ancona, who visited the island of Imbros in 1444, called Kritoboulos a "most learned and noble man". Kritoboulos seems to have belonged to those strata of the Greek political and intellectual elite who readily accepted and were willing to serve the new Ottoman masters. After the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople, Mehmet II the Conqueror (1451–81) appointed Kritoboulos governor of the island of Imbros. In this capacity Kritoboulos negotiated the withdrawal of a papal fleet that had occupied the neighbouring islands of Lemnos and Samothrace in 1457. He was also involved in the expulsion of the Genoese from the island of Lemnos in 1260, which Mehmet then conferred briefly as an appanage on Demetrios Palaiologos, brother of the last Byzantine emperor Constantine XI Palaiologos (1449–53). When the Venetians besieged Imbros in 1466, Kritoboulos withdrew to Constantinople. He survived the plague in the following year, but seems to have lost Mehmet II's favour and to have withdrawn to a monastery on Mount Athos.

Surviving in a single manuscript in Istanbul (Topkapi Sarayi, Cod. G.I.3), the history of Kritoboulos covers events in the period 1451–67 and is an important source on the transition of power from the Byzantine to the Ottoman empire. It is dedicated personally to Mehmet the Conqueror and its primary focus is on the Turks. In a way that is analogous to his career in the Ottoman administration, Kritoboulos sought to emphasize elements of continuity with Byzantium. Indeed, he portrayed Mehmet the Conqueror, the main hero of the history, as a Byzantine emperor reborn. In his history Mehmet II bears the Byzantine imperial titles of *basileus* ("king") and *autokrator* ("emperor"), and the historian has ascribed to him patterns of behaviour expected from a Byzantine emperor. In order to make him a worthy successor of the Byzantine rulers, Kritoboulos emphasized Mehmet's interests in Classical antiquity during the sultan's visit to Athens and Troy. The preface to the history compares the Conqueror directly to Alexander the Great and to the emperors of Rome. The characteristics attributed to Mehmet II include centuries-old elements of Byzantine imperial ideology and propaganda, such as the ruler's foresight and care for his subjects, his philanthropy, his piety, his justice, his generosity, etc. Even the vindication of his expansionist wars corresponds to the Byzantine concept of the just war. Kritoboulos emphasized that the enemies of Mehmet II were always first to provoke armed conflicts, while the sultan's role in war was mainly responsive. In his description of the fall of Constantinople Kritoboulos stresses the sultan's mercy towards the inhabitants and praised him for rebuilding and repopulating the capital. If anyone deserved Kritoboulos's critical judgement, it was the Italians and primarily the Venetians. Unlike most of his Greek contemporaries, however, Kritoboulos despised the Latins, not for religious reasons, but because they were the main enemies of the Turks for naval hegemony in the Aegean basin.

Nevertheless, Kritoboulos retained much respect for his fellow Greeks and for Hellenic culture. He found it necessary to apologize to his contemporaries and to future readers for putting the Turks and their sultan in the centre of his history. He admired the last Byzantine emperor Constantine XI Palaiologos and the heroic defence of Constantinople that he led. Furthermore, he took pride in the fact that his work was written in Greek and he pointed out that this was a language widely spoken and studied during his time. For this reason Kritoboulos thought that his history would have a much wider readership than contemporary Ottoman chronicles. He wrote in a classicizing style and imitated Thucydides' *History of the Peloponnesian Wars*. This forced antiquarianism reveals the unceasing importance of the study of Hellenic culture for those Greek thinkers and literati who worked after the fall of Byzantium. Even people like Kritoboulos, who sought accommodation with the Ottomans, drew their literary models and their sense of cultural identity in the distant Hellenic past.

Kritoboulos blamed the demise of Byzantium partly on the bad qualities of its emperors. However, he found the chief explanation, and perhaps even some consolation, in the historical law of the inevitable rise and fall of states. This philosophical consideration not only exonerated Kritoboulos's compatriots who lived through the fall of the Byzantine empire and became adapted to the Ottoman regime, but also held certain, albeit small, hope for the future.

DIMITER G. ANGELOV

See also Historiography

Biography

Little is known of the life of Kritoboulos, who was living on the island of Imbros when Cyriac of Ancona visited him in 1444. After the fall of Constantinople in 1453 he joined the Ottoman administration and Mehmet II made him governor of Imbros in 1456. Ten years later he returned to Constantinople, where he died. His history of the years 1451–67 is written from the Ottoman perspective.

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Tel Aviv-Yafo
Jerusalem
Dead
Sea
SAUDI
ARABIA
Benghazi
LIBYA
Alexandria
JORDAN
EGYPT
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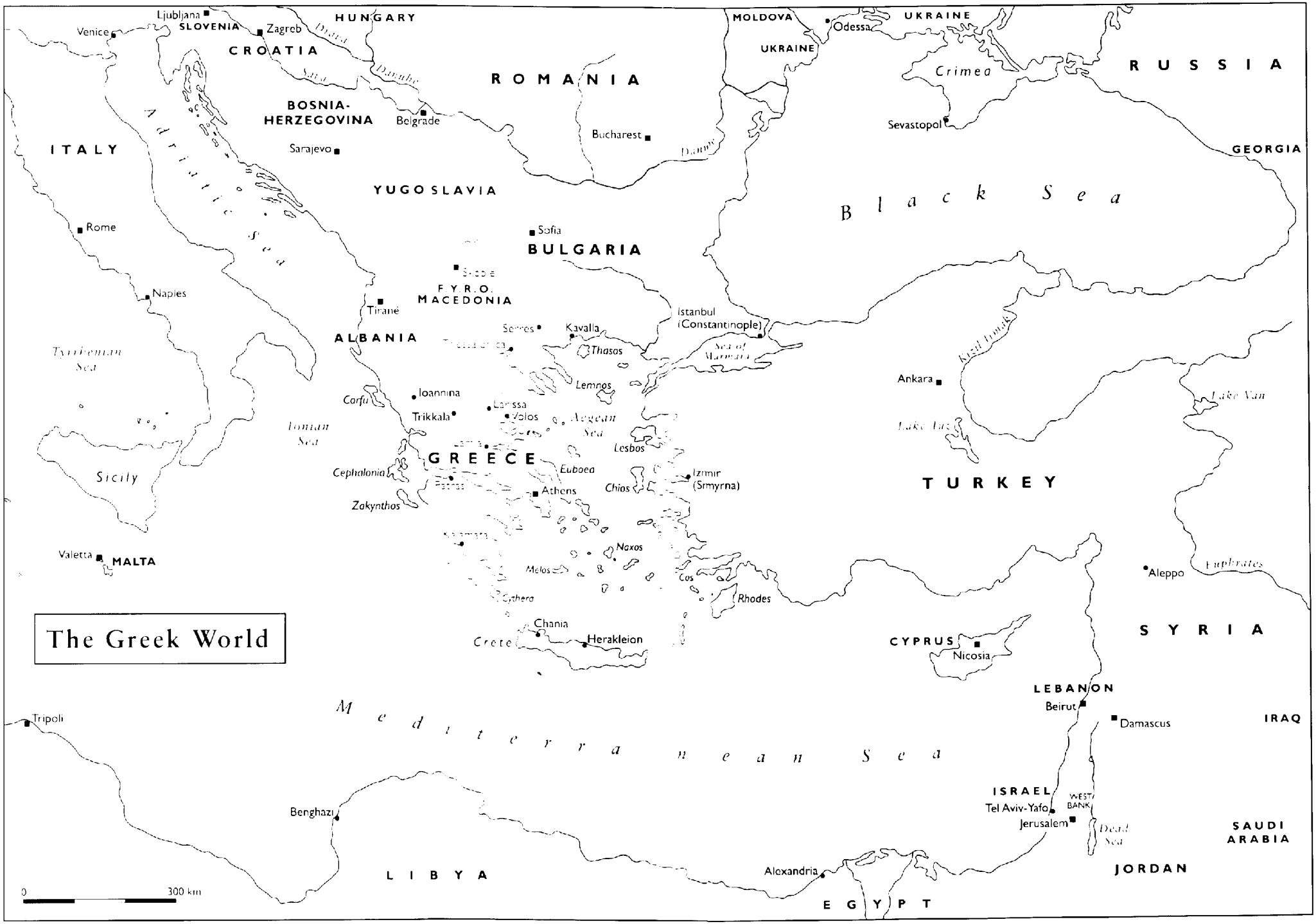
300 km

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF GREECE AND THE HELLENIC TRADITION

Volume 2

EDITED BY GRAHAM SPEAKE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UKRAINE
Crimea
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LEBANON
Beirut
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IRAQ
ISRAEL
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Jerusalem
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BANK
Dead Sea
JORDAN
SAUDI
ARABIA

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF
GREECE
AND THE
HELLENIC
TRADITION

Volume 2

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GREECE
AND THE
HELLENIC
TRADITION

Volume 2
L–Z

Editor
GRAHAM SPEAKE

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499–479 BC	Persian Wars
490 BC	Marathon, Battle of
431–404 BC	Peloponnesian War
338 BC	Chaeronea, Battle of
168 BC	Pydna
146 BC	Corinth, Sack of
636	Yarmuk, Battle of
1071	Manzikert, Battle of
1204	Constantinople, Sack of
1259	Pelagonia, Battle of
1453	Constantinople, Fall of
1669	Candia, Fall of
1821–32	Independence, War of
1878	Berlin, Treaty of
1897	Graeco-Turkish War
1912–13	Balkan Wars
1914–18	World War I
1920	Sèvres, Treaty of
1922	Asia Minor Campaign and Disaster
1923	Lausanne, Treaty of
1939–45	World War II
1945–49	Civil War
1967–74	Junta
1981	European Community and European Union

PERIODS

Prehistory
Minoans
Mycenaeans
Dark Age
Geometric Period
Archaic Period
Classical Period
Hellenistic Period
Roman Period
Byzantine Period, Early
Byzantine Period, Middle
Latin Empire
Venetokratia
Byzantine Period, Late
Ottoman Period (Tourkokratia)
Modern Period

CITIES, ISLANDS, LAKES, MONASTIC FOUNDATIONS, MOUNTAINS

Acragas
Adrianople
Aegae
Aegina
Alexandria
Amalfi
Ambelakia
Amphipolis
Ani
Antioch
Aphrodisias
Argos
Arta
Athens
Athos, Mount
Beirut
Carthage
Catana
Chalcis
Chersonesus
Chios
Constantinople
Copais, Lake
Corfu
Corinth
Cos
Crete
Cyclades
Cyprus
Cyrene
Cythera
Delos
Delphi
Dodecanese
Dodona
Dyrrachium
Eleusis
Ephesus
Epidaurus
Eretria
Euboea
Florina
Gaza
Gortyn
Halicarnassus
Hydra
Ioannina
Ionian Islands
Jerusalem
Kalamata
Kastoria
Kavalla
Knossos
Larissa
Laurium
Lebadea
Lemnos
Lesbos
Mallia
Mar Saba
Massilia
Megalopolis
Megara
Melos
Messene
Meteora
Miletus
Missolonghi
Mistra
Monemvasia
Mycenae
Naucratis
Naupactus
Nauplia
Naxos
Nicaea
Nicopolis
Odessa
Ohrid
Olbia
Olympia
Olympus, Mount
Olynthus
Orchomenus
Paestum
Palmyra
Paphos

Patmos
Patras
Pella
Pergamum
Petra
Phaestus
Piraeus
Plataea
Prespa, Lake
Priene
Pylos
Ravenna
Rhodes
Rome
St Catherine's Monastery, Sinai
Salamis (city)
Salamis (island)
Samos
Samothrace
Santorini
Serres
Sicily
Sinope
Skopje
Smyrna
Sparta
Sporades
Symi
Syracuse
Tarentum
Thasos
Thebes
Thessalonica
Tinos
Tiryns
Trebizond
Trikkala
Tripolis
Venice
Verroia
Volos
Xanthus

Regions

Acarnania
Achaea
Aetolia
Africa, North
Albania
Anatolia
Apulia
Arabia
Arcadia
Argolid
Armenia
Athos, Mount
Attica
Australia
Bactria
Bithynia
Black Sea
Boeotia
Bosnia
Britain
Bulgaria
Byzantium
Calabria
Canada
Cappadocia
Caucasus
Chalcidice
Chersonese, Thracian
Cilicia
Crimea
Croatia
Cyrenaica
Dalmatia
Egypt
Epirus
France
Georgia
Italy
Laconia
Lycia
Macedonia
Magna Graecia
Mani
Messenia
Moldavia
Montenegro
Palestine
Pamphylia
Pelion, Mount
Peloponnese
Persia
Pindus
Pontus
Romania
Rumeli
Russia
Serbia
South Africa
Spain
Souli
Syria
Thessaly
Thrace
Turkey
Ukraine
USA
Wallachia
Zagori

Ethnic Groups

Aeolians
Arabs
Bulgars
Byzantines
Catalans
Copts
Dorians
Etruscans
Genoese
Goths
Gypsies
Hellenes
Illyrians
Ionians
Jews
Karamanlides
Laz
Mardaïtes
Minoans
Muslims
Mycenaeans
Normans
Ottomans
Parthians
Paulicians
Persians
Phoenicians
Pomaks
Romans
Sarakatsans
Sassanians
Seljuks
Serbs
Slavs
Tsakonians
Venetians
Vlachs

THEMES

Social History

Abortion
Adoption
Adultery
Ancestor Worship
Anthropology
Antiquity, Reception of
Antisemitism
Aristocracy
Baptism
Birth
Burial Practices
Celibacy
Children
Cities
City State
Contraception
Corruption
Death
Demography
Diaspora
Divorce
Dowry
Dreams
Dress
Emigration
Eunuchs
Fairs and Markets
Family
Food and Drink
Foreigners
Freedom
Games and Sports
Gender
Guilds
Health
Hippodrome
Homosexuality
Honour and Shame
Hospitality
Imperialism
Inheritance
Kafeneion
Karamanlides
Kinship
Land Tenure
Literacy
Marriage
Men
Metics
Minorities
Onomastics
Patronage
Prostitution
Refugees
Slavery
Symposium
Town Planning
Transhumance
Travel
Urbanization
Village Society
Women

Cultural History

Acropolis of Athens
Aesthetics
Agora of Athens
Alphabet
Anthology, Greek
Archaeological Service
Anti-westernism
Archaic Period
Architecture
Archives
Biography and Autobiography
Books and Readers
Byzantine Period, Early
Byzantine Period, Middle
Byzantine Period, Late
Censorship
Ceremony, Byzantine
Chronicles
Cinema
Classical Period
Comedy
Commonwealth, Byzantine
Coronation
Dance
Dark Age
Dialects
Dithyramb
Dress
Education
Enamel
Enlightenment
Epigram
Epistolography
Fable
Folklore
Furniture
Gardens
Gems and Seals
Geometric Period
Glass
Gold
Grammar
Great Idea
Great Palace
Hellenism and Neohellenism in the Greek tradition
Hellenism as viewed by visiting artists
Hellenistic Period
Hellenization
Hippodrome
Historiography
Humanism
Identity
Instruments, Musical
Ivory
Jewellery
Kafencion
Karaghiozis
Language
Latin Empire
Libraries
Linear B
Literacy
Manuscripts
Marble and other decorative stones
Media
Metalwork
Minoans
Modern Period
Monasticism
Mosaic
Museum of Alexandria
Museums
Music
Mycenaeans
Neoclassicism
Novel
Olympic Games
Opera and Operetta
Oral Tradition
Orthodoxy and Hellenism
Orthodoxy and Nationalism
Ottoman Period (Tourkokratia)
Painting
Papyrus, parchment, and paper
Patronage
Photography

Poetry, Epic
Poetry, Lyric
Portraiture
Pottery
Prehistory
Printing
Purple
Renaissance, Palaiologan
Renaissance, Veneto-Cretan
Rhetoric
Roman Period
Romance, Byzantine
Romanticism
Satyr Play
Scholarship, History of
Schools and Universities
Sculpture
Second Sophistic
Shrines, Wayside
Silk
Silver and Lead
Song
Syllabary, Cypriot
Symposium
Theatres
Tragedy
Translation from Greek
Translation into Greek
Venetokratia
Woodworking

Political and Military History

Armatoloi
Army
Asia Minor Campaign and Disaster
Balkan Wars
Berlin, Treaty of
Brigandage
Bureaucracy
Candia, Fall of
Chaeronea, Battle of
City State
Civil War
Colonization
Communist Party
Constantinople, Fall of
Constantinople, Sack of
Constitution
Corinth, Sack of
Corruption
Crusades
Delian League
Democracy
Diplomacy
Eagle, Double-Headed
EAM and ELAS
Enosis
European Community and European Union
Exile and Detention
Fascism
Federal States
Fire, Greek
Graeco-Turkish War
Great Idea
Hetairists
Hospitaller Knights of St John
Imperialism
Independence, War of
Inscriptions
Janissaries
Judicial Procedure
Junta
Kodjabashis
Lausanne, Treaty of
Law
Magistrates
Manzikert, Battle of
Marathon, Battle of
Military League
Monarchy
Nationalism
NATO
Navy
Oligarchy
Ostracism
Pelagonia, Battle of
Peloponnesian War
Persian Wars
Phanariots
Philhellenes
Political History to 490 BC
Political History 490–323 BC
Political History 323–31 BC
Political History 31 BC–AD 330
Political History 330–802
Political History 802–1204
Political History 1204–1261
Political History 1261–1453
Political History 1453–1832
Political History since 1832
Pydna
Republic
Sèvres, Treaty of
Siegecraft
Sublime Porte
Theme System
Trojan War
Tyranny
Warfare
World War I
World War II
Yarmuk, Battle of

Religious History

Afterlife
Altars
Ancestor Worship
Antisemitism
Apophthegmata Patrum
Apostasy
Atheism
Baptism
Bishops
Burial Practices
Canonization
Canon Law
Celibacy
Christianity
Church-State Relations
Conversion to Islam
Councils, Ecumenical
Cult
Dead, cult of the
Demons and Spirits
Diocese
Divination
Ecumenism
Evil Eye
Fasts
Fate
Festivals
Fundamentalism, Orthodox
Games and Sports
Gnostics
Gods and Goddesses
Hades
Hagia Sophia
Hagiography
Healing Cults
Heresy
Heroes and Heroines
Hesychasm
Hymnography

Iconoclasm
Icon
Imperial Cult
Kollyvades movement
Liturgy
Magic
Martyrdom
Missionaries
Monasteries
Monasticism
Monophysites
Mysticism
Mythology
Necromancy
Neomartyrs
Neo-Orthodoxy
New Testament
Nomokanon
Orgiastic Cults
Old Calendarists
Oracles
Orphism
Orthodox Church
Orthodoxy and Hellenism
Orthodoxy and Nationalism
Paganism
Papacy
Patriarchate of Constantinople
Philokalia
Pilgrimage
Priesthood
Proselytism
Protestantism
Relics
Religion, Ancient
Religious Brotherhoods
Roman Catholic Church
Sacrifice
Sanctuaries
Schism
Secularization
Septuagint
Shrines, Wayside
Spells
Superstition
Theology
Uniates
Votive Offerings
Women's Cults
Zealots

Science, Medicine, Philosophy

Academy of Athens
Alchemy
Anatomy and Physiology
Aristotelianism
Astronomy
Atomism
Botany
Cosmology
Cynics
Dialectic
Disease
Ethics
Government, Theories of
Logic
Lyceum
Mathematics
Medicine
Metaphysics
Neoplatonism
Philosophy
Physics
Scepticism
Sophists
Stoicism
Zoology

Economic History

Agriculture
Banking
Canals
Coinage
Copper and Tin
Economy
Estates
Fairs and Markets
Finance
Fishing
Forestry
Harbours
Hunting
Industry
Iron
Land Tenure
Minerals and other natural resources
Mines and Quarries
Obsidian
Olive
Pastoralism
Piracy
Railways
Ships and Shipping
Slavery
Taxation
Technology
Textiles
Tobacco
Tourism
Trade
Transhumance
Vine

Geography

Agriculture
Animals
Archaeology
Astrology
Calendar
Canals
Cartography
Chronology
Climate
Copper and Tin
Earthquakes
Ecology
Fishing
Forestry
Geography
Geology
Gold
Iron
Landscape
Marble and other decorative stones
Minerals and other natural resources
Mines and Quarries
Olive
Pastoralism
Plants
Pollution
Silver and Lead
Tourism
Vine
Volcanoes
Water Management

INDIVIDUALS AND FAMILIES

Antiquity

Orators
Aeschines
Demosthenes
Isocrates
Lysias

Poets, Scholars, Prose Writers
Achilles Tatius
Aeschylus
Aesop
Apollonius Rhodius
Aratus
Archilochus
Aristarchus of Samothrace
Aristides, Aelius
Aristophanes
Aristoxenus
Athenaeus
Babrius
Bacchylides
Callimachus
Crates of Mallus
Dio Cocceianus
Dionysius of Halicarnassus
Euripides
Hecataeus of Miletus
Heliodorus
Herodas
Herodes Atticus
Hesiod
Homer
Longus
Lucian
Lycophron
Menander
Nicander
Pausanias
Philodemus
Pindar
Sappho
Simonides
Sophocles
Strabo
Theocritus

Rulers, Politicians, Warriors, Lawgivers
Agesilaus II
Alcibiades
Alexander III the Great
Antigonids
Antiochus III the Great
Attalids
Cimon
Cleisthenes
Cleomenes III
Cleopatra
Dionysius I
Epaminondas
Evagoras
Hadrian
Hieron I
Julian the Apostate
Leonidas
Lysander
Mausolus
Nero
Pericles
Philip II
Philip V
Philopoemen
Pisistratus
Ptolemies
Pyrrhus
Seleucids
Solon
Themistocles
Zenobiao

Philosophers, Scientists, Mathematicians
Anaxagoras
Anaximander
Apollonius of Perge
Aratus
Archimedes
Aristides, Aelius
Aristotle
Aristoxenus
Carneades
Dio Cocceianus
Diogenes of Sinope
Dioscurides
Empedocles
Epicurus
Erasistratus
Eratosthenes
Euclid
Eudoxus
Galen
Heraclitus
Herodes Atticus
Heron
Herophilus
Hipparchus
Hippocrates
Hypatia
Parmenides
Philo
Philodemus
Plato
Plotinus
Plutarch
Porphyry
Ptolemy
Pyrrho
Pythagoras
Socrates
Theophrastus
Zeno of Citium

Historians and Biographers
Appian
Arrian
Cassius Dio
Diodorus Siculus
Diogenes Laertius
Dionysius of Halicarnassus
Ephorus
Hecataeus of Miletus
Herodotus
Hieronymus of Cardia
Josephus, Flavius
Plutarch
Polybius
Posidonius
Strabo
Theopompus
Thucydides
Timaeus
Xenophon

Religious
Apologists, Greek
Clement of Alexandria, St
Ephraim the Syrian, St
Evagrius of Pontus
Ignatius, St
Irenaeus
Isaac the Syrian, St
Justin Martyr, St
Macarius (pseudo-)
Mary, Blessed Virgin
Nemesius
Origen
Paul, St
Philo

Artists
Amasis
Apelles
Execias
Lysippus
Phidias
Polygnotus
Praxiteles
Scopas

Byzantium

Scholars and Teachers
Arethas of Caesarea
Argyropoulos, John
Blemmydes, Nikephoros
Choricius of Gaza
Chrysoloras, Manuel
Eusebius
Eustathios
Gaza, Theodore
George of Trebizond
Gregoras, Nikephoros
Kabasilas, Nicholas
Leo the Mathematician
Libanius
Metochites, Theodore
Michael of Ephesus
Philoponus, John
Photios
Planudes, Maximos
Plethon, George Gemistos
Proclus
Procopius of Gaza
Simplicius
Synesius
Themistius
Triklinios, Dimitrios
Tzetzes, John

Rulers and Politicians
Alexios I Komnenos
Andronikos I Komnenos
Andronikos II Palaiologos
Basil I
Basil II
Constantine I the Great
Constantine V
Constantine VII
Constantine IX Monomachos
Constantine XI Palaiologos
Doukas family
Herakleios
Irene
John I Tzimiskes
John II Komnenos
John III Vatatzes
John VI Kantakouzenos
John VIII Palaiologos
Justinian I
Kantakouzenos family
Komnenos family
Laskaris family
Leo III
Leo V
Leo VI
Manuel I Komnenos
Manuel II Palaiologos
Metochites, Theodore
Michael VIII Palaiologos
Palaiologos family
Romanos I Lekapenos
Stephan IV Dushan
Theodora (497–548)
Theodora (d. 867)
Theophilos
Zoe

Historians and Prose Writers
Akropolites, George
Doukas family
Eusebius
Gregoras, Nikephoros
Komnene, Anna
Kritoboulos, Michael
Procopius of Caesarea
Psellos, Michael
Simokattes, Theophylaktos
Sphrantzes, George
Symeon the Logothete
Theophanes the Confessor, St
Zonaras, John

Religious and Theologians
Akindynos, Gregory
Anastasios of Sinai, St
Andrew of Crete, St
Arethas of Caesarea
Athanasios of Athos, St
Athanasius of Alexandria, St
Barlaam of Calabria
Basil the Great, St
Bessarion
Cyril, St
Cyril of Alexandria, St
Demetrius, St
Dionysius the Areopagite, pseudo-
Epiphanius of Salamis, St
Eusebius
Eustathios
Germanos I
Gregory of Nazianzus, St
Gregory of Nyssa, St
Gregory Palamas, St
Helena, St
Italos, John
John Chrysostom, St
John Klimakos, St
John of Damascus, St
Kabasilas, Nicholas
Maximos the Confessor, St
Methodios, St
Neophytos Enkleistos
Nestorius
Philoponus, John
Photios
Procopius of Gaza
Symeon of Thessalonica, St
Symeon the New Theologian, St
Synesius
Theodore of Stoudios, St
Theodoret
Theophanes the Confessor, St
Tzetzes, John
Zonaras, John

Poets, Musicians, Artists
Andrew of Crete, St
Apseudes, Theodore
Chrysaphes, Manuel
Digenis Akritis
Geometres, John
George of Pisidia
Joseph the Hymnographer, St
Kassia
Koukouzeles, St John
Nonnus
Panselinos, Manuel
Prodromos, Theodore
Romanos the Melodist, St

Tourkokratia/Frangokratia

Scholars and Teachers
Corydalleus, Theophilos
Dionysios of Phourna
Korais, Adamantios
Maximos the Greek, St
Moisiodax, Josephos
Theotokis, Nikiphoros
Voulgaris, Evgenios

Writers
Byron, George Gordon, Lord
Chortatsis, Georgios
Kalvos, Andreas
Kornaros, Vitsentzos
Makriyannis, Yannis
Velestinlis, Rigas

Rulers, Warriors, Politicians
Ali Pasha of Ioannina
Botsaris, Markos
Bouboulina, Laskarina

Kapodistria, Count Ioannis
Karaiskakis, Georgios
Kolokotronis, Theodore
Makriyannis, Yannis
Mavrokordatos family
Mavromichalis family
Mehmet II
Miaoulis, Andreas
Soutsos, Mikhail
Velestinlis, Rigas
Ypsilantis family

Religious and Theologians
Argenti, Eustratios
Cyril I Lukaris
Gennadios II Scholarios
Gregory V
Jeremias II Tranos
Kosmas the Aetolian, St
Maximos the Greek, St
Paisy Velichkovsky, St

Artists
Damaskinos, Michael
Dionysios of Phourna
Klontzas, Georgios
Theophanes of Crete
Theotokopoulos, Domenikos (El Greco)
Tzanes, Emmanuel

Modern

Writers, Artists, Musicians, Film Directors
Andronikos, Manolis
Angelopoulos, Thodoros
Cacoyannis, Michalis
Callas, Maria
Cavafy, Constantine
Chatzidakis, Georgios N.
Chatzimichail, Theophilos
Dimaras, K.T.
Doxiadis, Constantinos Apostolou
Elytis, Odysseus
Gatsos, Nikos
Ghika
Gyzis, Nikolaos
Hadjidakis, Manos
Kaftantzoglou, Lysandros
Kazantzakis, Nikos
Kontoglou, Photis
Lytras, Nikephoros
Myrivilis, Stratis
Palamas, Kostis
Pallis, Alexandros
Papadiamantis, Alexandros
Paparrigopoulos, Konstantinos
Parren, Callirrhoe
Pikionis, Dimitris
Politis, Nikolaos
Prevelakis, Pantelis
Psycharis, Yannis
Ritsos, Yiannis
Roidis, Emmanouil
Sakellarides, John Theophrastos
Seferis, George
Sikelianos, Angelos
Skalkotttas, Nikolaos
Solomos, Dionysios
Theodorakis, Mikis
Tsarouchis, Ioannis
Varnalis, Kostas
Vizyinos, Georgios
Xenakis, Iannis

Rulers, Warriors, Politicians
Constantine I
Deliyannis, Theodoros
George I
George II
Kanaris, Constantine
Karamanlis, Constantine
Kolettis, John
Makarios III, Archbishop
Melas, Pavlos
Metaxas, Ioannis
Otho
Papadopoulos, George
Papagos, Alexandros
Papanastasiou, Alexandros
Papandreou family
Plastiras, Nikolaos
Theotokis, George
Trikoupis, Charilaos
Velouchiotis, Ares
Venizelos, Eleftherios
Zervas, Napoleon

Industrialists
Chandris, Antony
Livanos, George P.
Niarchos, Stavros
Onassis, Aristotle

Religious
Athenagoras
Nektarios of Aegina, St
Makarios III, Archbishop

CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF INDIVIDUALS

*fl.*8th or 7th century BC	Hesiod
*fl.*8th or 7th century BC	Homer
*fl.*7th century BC	Archilochus
*c.*640–*c.*560 BC	Solon
b. *c.*630 BC	Sappho
*fl.*6th century BC	Aesop
*fl.*6th century BC	Amasis
*fl.*6th century BC	Execias
*fl.*6th century BC	Pythagoras
b. *c.*557/56 BC	Simonides
d. *c.*547 BC	Anaximander
*c.*530–480 BC	Leonidas
d. *c.*528 BC	Pisistratus
*fl.*525–505 BC	Cleisthenes
*c.*525–456 BC	Aeschylus
*c.*525–459 BC	Themistocles
*c.*518–*c.*438 BC	Pindar
*c.*515–*c.*440 BC	Parmenides
b. *c.*510 BC	Bacchylides
*c.*510–*c.*450 BC	Cimon
*fl.*6th–5th centuries BC	Hecataeus of Miletus
*fl. c.*500 BC	Heraclitus
*fl.*5th century BC	Polygnotus
*c.*500–428 BC	Anaxagoras
*c.*496–406 BC	Sophocles
*c.*492–429 BC	Pericles
*c.*492–432 BC	Empedocles
*c.*490–420s BC	Phidias
484–*c.*425 BC	Herodotus
*c.*480–*c.*407/06 BC	Euripides
*fl.*478–466 BC	Hieron I
470–399 BC	Socrates
*c.*460–*c.*370 BC	Hippocrates
*c.*459/58–*c.*375 BC	Lysias
451/50–404/03 BC	Alcibiades
*c.*445–374/73 BC	Evagoras
*c.*444–359 BC	Agesilaus II
*c.*436–338 BC	Isocrates
*c.*430–367 BC	Dionysius I
*c.*430–*c.*353 BC	Xenophon
429–347 BC	Plato
*fl.*4th century BC	Praxiteles
*c.*400–*c.*320s BC	Ephorus
d. *c.*395 BC	Thucydides
d.395 BC	Lysander
b. *c.*390 BC	Lysippus
*c.*390–*c.*340 BC	Eudoxus
d. *c.*386 BC	Aristophanes
384–322 BC	Aristotle
384–322 BC	Demosthenes
383/82–336 BC	Philip II
378/77–*c.*320 BC	Theopompus
*c.*371–*c.*287 BC	Theophrastus
b. *c.*370 BC	Apelles
b. *c.*370 BC	Aristoxenus
*c.*365–275 BC	Pyrrho
*c.*364–?260 BC	Hieronymus of Cardia
d.362 BC	Epaminondas
*fl.*360–335 BC	Scopas
356–323 BC	Alexander III the Great
d.353 BC	Mausolus
342–292 BC	Menander
341–270 BC	Epicurus
335–263 BC	Zeno of Citium
*c.*330–*c.*260 BC	Herophilus
d. 320s BC	Diogenes of Sinope
*c.*320–*c.*240 BC	Callimachus
319–272 BC	Pyrrhus
*c.*315–*c.*240 BC	Erasistratus
*fl.*4th–3rd centuries BC	Euclid
*fl.*3rd century BC	Apollonius of Perge
*fl.*3rd century BC	Herodas
*fl.*3rd century BC	Theocritus
*c.*295–215 BC	Apollonius Rhodius
*c.*287–212/11 BC	Archimedes
d. *c.*260 BC	Timaeus
260–219 BC	Cleomenes III
*c.*252–182 BC	Philopoemen
*c.*242–187 BC	Antiochus III the Great
d. *c.*240 BC	Aratus
238–179 BC	Philip V
b. *c.*215 BC	Crates of Mallus
*c.*215–*c.*143 BC	Aristarchus of Samothrace
214/13–129/28 BC	Carneades
d. *c.*200 BC	Eratosthenes
*fl.*3rd or 2nd century BC	Lycophron
*fl. c.*2nd century BC	Nicander
*fl.*2nd century BC	Hipparchus
*c.*200–*c.*118 BC	Polybius
*c.*135–*c.*51 BC	Posidonius
*c.*110–40 BC	Philodemus
*fl.*1st century BC	Dionysius of Halicarnassus

*fl.*1st century BC	Diodorus Siculus
69–30 BC	Cleopatra
*c.*64 BC–*c.*AD 19	Strabo
*c.*20 BC–*c.*AD 50	Mary, Blessed Virgin
*fl.*1st century AD	Philo
*c.*AD 30–107	Ignatius, St
37–68	Nero
37–after 93	Josephus, Flavius
*c.*40–112	Dio Cocceianus
*fl. c.*45–75	Dioscurides
*c.*50–120	Plutarch
d. *c.*64	Paul, St
76–138	Hadrian
*c.*90–160	Arrian
*c.*95–160s	Appian
*fl.*1st or 2nd century	Babrius
*fl.*1st or 2nd century	Heron
*fl.*2nd century	Achilles Tatius
*fl.*2nd century	Ptolemy
*c.*100–*c.*165	Justin Martyr, St
*c.*101/03–177	Herodes Atticus
*c.*115–180	Pausanias
117–*c.*180	Aristides, Aelius
*c.*120–180	Lucian
129–?208/16	Galen
*c.*130–*c.*202	Irenaeus
b. *c.*150	Athenaeus
*c.*150–*c.*215	Clement of Alexandria, St
*c.*164–after 229	Cassius Dio
184/85–254/55	Origen
*fl.*2nd or 3rd century	Diogenes Laertius
*fl.*2nd or 3rd century	Longus
*fl.*3rd century	Zenobia
205–269/70	Plotinus
234–*c.*305	Porphyry
*c.*255–*c.*330	Helena, St
*c.*260–339	Eusebius
273/74–337	Constantine I the Great
d. *c.*300	Demetrius, St
*fl.*4th century	Heliodorus
*fl.*4th century	Macarius (pseudo-)
*fl.*4th century	Nemesius
*c.*300–373	Athanasius of Alexandria, St
*c.*306–373	Ephraim the Syrian, St
314–*c.*393	Libanius
*c.*317–*c.*388	Themistius
*c.*329–*c.*390	Gregory of Nazianzus, St
*c.*330–379	Basil the Great, St
*c.*330–*c.*395	Gregory of Nyssa, St
331/32–363	Julian the Apostate
*c.*345–399	Evagrius of Pontus
*c.*347–407	John Chrysostom, St
370–413	Synesius
*c.*370–415	Hypatia
*c.*378–444	Cyril of Alexandria, St
*c.*381–*c.*451	Nestorius
*c.*393–*c.*466	Theodoret
d.403	Epiphanius of Salamis, St
*fl.*5th century	Nonnus
410/11–485	Proclus
*c.*475–*c.*538	Procopius of Gaza
*c.*482–565	Justinian I
*c.*490–570s	Philoponus, John
*c.*497–548	Theodora
*fl. c.*500	Dionysius the Areopagite, pseudo-
*fl.*6th century	Choricius of Gaza
*fl.*6th century	Simplicius
d. after 555	Romanos the Melodist, St
d. *c.*560	Procopius of Caesarea
*c.*575–641	Herakleios
*c.*575–*c.*649	John Klimakos, St
580–662	Maximos the Confessor, St
*fl.*7th century	Anastasios of Sinai, St
*fl.*7th century	George of Pisidia
*fl.*7th century	Isaac the Syrian, St
*fl.*7th century	Simokattes, Theophylaktos
*c.*660–740	Andrew of Crete, St
*c.*685–741	Leo III
*fl.*7th–8th century	Germanos I
718–775	Constantine V
d. *c.*750	John of Damascus, St
*c.*752–803	Irene
759–826	Theodore of Stoudios, St
*c.*760–818	Theophanes the Confessor, St
*c.*780–820	Leo V
*c.*790–after 869	Leo the Mathematician
*fl.*9th century	Kassia
*c.*810–*c.*893	Photios
812/13–842	Theophilos
812/18–*c.*886	Joseph the Hymnnographer, St
*c.*815–885	Methodios, St
826/27–869	Cyril, St
*c.*830–886	Basil I
866–912	Leo VI
d.867	Theodora
*c.*870–948	Romanos I Lekapenos
*fl.*10th century	Geometres, John
*fl.*10th century	Symeon the Logothete
905–959	Constantine VII
*c.*925–976	John I Tzimiskes
*c.*927/30–*c.*997	Athanasios of Athos, St
d. after 932	Arethas of Caesarea
949–1022	Symeon the New Theologian, St
958–1025	Basil II
*c.*978–1050	Zoe
*c.*1000–1055	Constantine IX Monomachos
1018–after 1081	Psellos, Michael
b. *c.*1025	Italos, John
*c.*1057–1118	Alexios I Komnenos
1083–*c.*1153/54	Komnene, Anna
1087–1143	John II Komnenos
*fl.*12th century	Apseudes, Theodore
*fl.*12th century	Michael of Ephesus
*fl.*12th century	Prodromos, Theodore
*fl.*12th century	Zonaras, John
*c.*1110–after 1165	Tzetzes, John
*c.*1115–*c.*1195	Eustathios
1118–1180	Manuel I Komnenos
*c.*1118/20–1185	Andronikos I Komnenos
1134–1219	Neophytos Enkleistos
*c.*1192–1254	John III Vatatzes
1197–1272	Blemmydes, Nikephoros
1217–1282	Akropolites, George
*c.*1225–1282	Michael VIII Palaiologos
*c.*1255–*c.*1305	Planudes, Maximos
1259/60–1328	Andronikos II Palaiologos
1270–1332	Metochites, Theodore
*c.*1280–*c.*1340	Triklinios, Dimitrios

*c.*1290–1348	Barlaam of Calabria
1290/94–1358/61	Gregoras, Nikephoros
*c.*1295–1383	John VI Kantakouzenos
1296–1359	Gregory Palamas, St
*fl. c.*1300	Panselinos, Manuel
*fl.*13th–14th centuries	Koukouzeles, St John
*c.*1300–*c.*1348	Akindynos, Gregory
*c.*1319–*c.*1391	Kabasilas, Nicholas
*c.*1350–1415	Chrysoloras, Manuel
1350–1425	Manuel II Palaiologos
d. 1355	Stephan IV Dushan
*c.*1360–1452	Plethon, George Gemistos
1392–1448	John VIII Palaiologos
1395–1472/73 or *c.*1484	George of Trebizond
*fl.*15th century	Chrysaphes, Manuel
*fl.*15th century	Kritoboulos, Michael
*c.*1400–1472	Bessarion
*c.*1400–1475/76	Gaza, Theodore
1401–1477/78	Sphrantzes, George
1405–1453	Constantine XI Palaiologos
*c.*1405–*c.*1472	Gennadios II Scholarios
*c.*1415–1487	Argyropoulos, John
d.1429	Symeon of Thessalonica, St
1432–1481	Mehmet II
*c.*1470–1556	Maximos the Greek, St
*c.*1490–1559	Theophanes of Crete
*fl.*16th century	Chortatsis, Georgios
*c.*1530–*c.*1592	Damaskinos, Michael
*c.*1530–1595	Jeremias II Tranos
*c.*1535–1608	Klontzas, Georgios
*c.*1541–1614	Theotokopoulos, Domenikos (El Greco)
1553–*c.*1614	Kornaros, Vitsentzos
1570–1638	Cyril I Lukaris
*c.*1574–1646	Corydalleus, Theophilos
*c.*1610–1690	Tzanes, Emmanuel
*c.*1670–after 1744	Dionysios of Phourna
*c.*1687–*c.*1757	Argenti, Eustratios
1714–1779	Kosmas the Aetolian, St
1716–1806	Voulgaris, Evgenios
1722–1794	Paisy Velichkovsky, St
*c.*1725–1800	Moisiodax, Josephos
1731–1800	Theotokis, Nikiphoros
1745–1821	Gregory V
1748–1833	Korais, Adamantios
1750–1822	Ali Pasha of Ioannina
*c.*1757–1798	Velestinlis, Rigas
1769–1835	Miaoulis, Andreas
*c.*1770–1825	Bouboulina, Laskarina
1770–1843	Kolokotronis, Theodore
1774–1847	Kolettis, John
1776–1831	Kapodistria, Count Ioannis
1778–1864	Soutsos, Mikhail
1782–1827	Karaiskakis, Georgios
1788–1824	Byron, George Gordon, Lord
1790–1823	Botsaris, Markos
1792–1869	Kalvos, Andreas
1795–1877	Kanaris, Constantine
1797–1864	Makriyannis, Yannis
1798–1857	Solomos, Dionysios
1811–1885	Kaftantzoglou, Lysandros
1815–1867	Otho
1815–1891	Paparrigopoulos, Konstantinos
1826–1905	Deliyannis, Theodoros
1832–1896	Trikoupis, Charilaos
1832–1904	Lytras, Nikephoros
1836–1904	Roidis, Emmanouil
1842–1901	Gyzis, Nikolaos
1844–1916	Theotokis, George
1845–1913	George I
1846–1920	Nektarios of Aegina, St
1848–1941	Chatzidakis, Georgios N.
1849–1896	Vizyinos, Georgios
1851–1911	Papadiamantis, Alexandros
1851–1935	Pallis, Alexandros
1852–1921	Politis, Nikolaos
*c.*1853–1938	Sakellarides, John Theophrastos
1854–1929	Psycharis, Yannis
1859–1940	Parren, Callirrhoe
1859–1943	Palamas, Kostis
1863–1933	Cavafy, Constantine
1864–1936	Venizelos, Eleftherios
1868–1922	Constantine I
1870–1904	Melas, Pavlos
1871–1941	Metaxas, Ioannis
1873–1934	Chatzimichail, Theophilos
1876/79–1936	Papanastasiou, Alexandros
1883–1953	Plastiras, Nikolaos
1883–1955	Papagos, Alexandros
1883–1957	Kazantzakis, Nikos
1884–1951	Sikelianos, Angelos
1884–1974	Varnalis, Kostas
1886–1972	Athenagoras
1887–1968	Pikionis, Dimitris
1890–1947	George II
1891–1957	Zervas, Napoleon
1892–1969	Myrivilis, Stratis
*c.*1895–1965	Kontoglou, Photis
1900–1971	Seferis, George
1900 (or 1906)–1975	Onassis, Aristotle
1904–1949	Skalkottas, Nikolaos
1904–1992	Dimaras, K.T.
1905–1945	Velouchiotis, Ares
1906–1994	Ghika
1907–1998	Karamanlis, Constantine
1909–1986	Prevelakis, Pantelis
1909–1990	Ritsos, Yiannis
1909–1996	Niarchos, Stavros
1910–1989	Tsarouchis, Ioannis
1911–1996	Elytis, Odysseus
1913–1975	Doxiadis, Constantinos Apostolou
1913–1977	Makarios III, Archbishop
1916–1995	Gatsos, Nikos
1919–1992	Andronikos, Manolis
1919–1999	Papadopoulos, George
1922–	Xenakis, Iannis
1922–	Cacoyannis, Michalis
1923–1977	Callas, Maria
1924–1984	Chandris, Antony
1925–	Theodorakis, Mikis
1925–1994	Hadjidakis, Manos
1926–1997	Livanos, George P.
1935–	Angelopoulos, Thodoros

NOTE ON TRANSLITERATION

Transliteration is always a problem when dealing with a non-Roman alphabet across such a vast span of time and space, and it is as impossible to please everybody as it is to be consistent within the rules one has set. But, on the principle that good transliteration like good writing is by definition inconspicuous, the aim throughout has been to present the reader with the form of any word which is likely to be the most familiar and least jarring. In general, ancient names have been presented in their "Latin" form (e.g. Thucydides), but medieval and modern names in their "Greek" form (e.g. Alexios I Komnenos). Since a point in time had to be chosen for the switch from "Latin" to "Greek" forms, that (entirely arbitrary) moment is taken to be the death of Justinian I (14 November, 565) who was probably the last Byzantine emperor to speak Latin. Greek is always transliterated into the Roman alphabet. Here again the more usual "ancient" system (e.g. *basileus*) is employed until (simply because a date had to be chosen) 1453 when the switch is made to the "modern" system (e.g. *vasilefs*). Places that have a standard ancient (or English) form (such as Thessalonica or Athens) retain that form throughout. Nevertheless inconsistencies and infelicities are inevitable and we can only crave the reader's indulgence where they occur.

GRAHAM SPEAKE

The Greek Alphabet

Capital	*Lower Case*	*Name*		*Transliteration (pre-1453/post-1453)*
A	*α*	Alpha	=	*a*
B	*β*	Beta	=	*b/v*
Γ	*γ*	Gamma	=	*g* (hard, as in "good")
Δ	*δ*	Delta	=	*d*
E	*ε*	Epsilon	=	*e* (as e in "net")
Z	*ζ*	Zeta	=	*z*
H	*η*	Eta	=	*e* (as ee in "meet")
Θ	*θ*	Theta	=	*th*
I	*ι*	Iota	=	*i*
K	*κ*	Kappa	=	*k*
Λ	*λ*	Lambda	=	*l*
M	*μ*	Mu	=	*m*
N	*ν*	Nu	=	*n*
Ξ	*ξ*	Xi	=	*x*
O	*ο*	Omicron	=	*o* (as o in "spot")
Π	*π*	Pi	=	*p*
P	*ρ*	Rho	=	*rh, r*
Σ	*σ ς*	Sigma	=	*s* (*ς* when final letter)
T	*τ*	Tau	=	*t*
Y	*υ*	Upsilon	=	*u/f* after *a* and *e*
Φ	*φ*	Phi	=	*ph*
X	*χ*	Chi	=	*ch* (hard, as in "chord")
Ψ	*ψ*	Psi	=	*ps*
Ω	*ω*	Omega	=	*o* (as o in "lone")

BYZANTINE EMPERORS

Constantine I the Great	324–337
Constantine II	337–340
Constans I	337–350
Constantius II	337–361
Julian	361–363
Jovian	363–364
Valens	364–378
Theodosius I	379–395
Arcadius	395–408
Theodosius II	408–450
Marcian	450–457
Leo I	457–474
Leo II	473–474
Zeno	474–491
Basiliscus	475–476
Anastasius I	491–518
Justin I	518–527
Justinian I	527–565
Justin II	565–578
Tiberios I	578–582
Maurice	582–602
Phokas	602–610
Herakleios	610–641
Herakleios Constantine and Heraklonas	641
Constans II	641–668
Constantine IV*	668–685
Justinian II	685–695
Leontios	695–698
Tiberios II	698–705
Justinian II (second reign)	705–711
Philippikos	711–713
Anastasios II	713–715
Theodosios III	715–717
Leo III	717–741
Constantine V	741–775
Leo IV	775–780
Constantine VI	780–797
Irene	797–802
Nikephoros I	802–811
Staurakios	811
Michael I Rangabe	811–813
Leo V	813–820
Michael II	820–829
Theophilos	829–842
Michael III	842–867
Basil I	867–886
Leo VI	886–912
Alexander	912–913
Regency for Constantine VII	913–920
Romanos I Lekapenos	920–944
Stephen and Constantine Lekapenos	944–945
Constantine VII	945–959
Romanos II	959–963
Nikephoros II Phokas	963–969
John I Tzimiskes	969–976
Basil II	976–1025
Constantine VIII	1025–1028
Romanos III Argyros	1028–1034
Michael IV Paphlagon	1034–1041
Michael V Kalaphates	1041–1042
Zoe and Theodora	1042
Constantine IX Monomachos	1042–1055
Theodora	1055–1056
Michael VI Stratiotikos	1056–1057
Isaac I Komnenos	1057–1059
Constantine X Doukas	1059–1067
Romanos IV Diogenes	1068–1071
Michael VII Doukas	1071–1078
Nikephoros III Botaneiates	1078–1081
Alexios I Komnenos	1081–1118
John II Komnenos	1118–1143
Manuel I Komnenos	1143–1180
Alexios II Komnenos	1180–1183
Andronikos I Komnenos	1183–1185
Isaac II Angelos	1185–1195
Alexios III Angelos	1195–1203
Isaac II and Alexios IV Angelos	1203–1204
Alexios V Doukas	1204
Theodore I Laskaris	1205–1222
John III Vatatzes	1222–1254
Theodore II Laskaris	1254–1258
John IV Laskaris	1259–1261
Michael VIII Palaiologos	1259–1282
Andronikos II Palaiologos	1282–1328
Michael IX Palaiologos	1294–1320
Andronikos III Palaiologos	1328–1341
John V Palaiologos	1341–1391
John VI Kantakouzenos	1347–1354
Andronikos IV Palaiologos	1376–1379
John VII Palaiologos	1390
Manuel II Palaiologos	1391–1425
John VIII Palaiologos	1425–1448
Constantine XI Palaiologos	1449–1453

**Constantine III was a usurper emperor in the western empire, 407–411*

L

Laconia

Region of the southeastern Peloponnese

The district of Laconia – Homer's "hollow Lacedaemon" – occupies the southeastern part of the Peloponnese, around the valley of the river Eurotas. To the west is the mountain range of Taygetus, the highest in the Peloponnese, whose summit is usually snow-covered at least into May. To the east is the Parnon range, which runs southwards to the peninsula of Malea. In the Homeric poems this is the homeland of Menelaus, brother of Agamemnon and husband of Helen whose abduction by the Trojans was the whole cause of the siege of Troy. Menelaus is the second-rating, after his brother, of the Argive kings, which would lead one to expect in Laconia a Bronze Age palace and citadel comparable with that at Mycenae, and at least the equal of the "Palace of Nestor" in neighbouring Messenia. If such a palace existed, it has not been found, though, adjacent to a natural mound on which in Classical times the shrine of the deified Menelaus and Helen was situated, there is a sequence of Late Bronze Age structures of some quality, not, however, palatial in scale. This, like other Mycenaean sites in Laconia, was destroyed about 1200 BC, at which point Laconia relapsed into total obscurity and, it would seem, was largely denuded of its population.

At least two centuries later, and probably not before the middle of the 10th century BC, Dorian newcomers settled in the upper reaches of the Eurotas, about 50 km from the sea, opposite the site of the Mycenaean buildings, but on lower ground. Here they formed a group of villages which collectively became the Classical city state of Sparta though, as Thucydides famously pointed out in the introductory chapters of his *History*, even at the end of the 5th century BC physically the city remained nothing more than a collection of villages. Four of them formed the city itself, while a fifth was politically part of the same city state structure, at Amyclae, a short distance to the south. The institutions of the Spartans, similar to those of the Dorian settlers in Crete, remained notoriously distinctive and primitive through the Classical period. They retained, almost to the end of their independence, a curious dual kingship, the reasons for which can only be guessed at. The purpose of these institutions was to create and sustain a military elite, the Spartiates, who alone had full citizenship rights, and with this to establish and maintain a supremacy which was extended, probably by the end of the 8th century BC, over the whole of Laconia, and in the following century crossed the mountain boundary of Taygetus to incorporate Messenia. Outside Sparta the population of Laconia comprised two categories: the Helots (a term which probably denotes that they were "prisoners"), who worked the land – to which they were tied – on behalf of Spartiate landlords, who were thus freed from labour to pursue their military functions; and the *perioikoi*, the "dwellers round" who were free, living in their own communities, but subject to Spartan control and under an obligation to render military support when called on to do so (the same distinctions were extended into conquered Messenia).

The land round Sparta is extremely rich agriculturally; fertile alluvium, well watered by streams fed by the melting snow on the mountain, running into the Eurotas and making it a river which continues to flow throughout the summer. For this reason, at the present day the district has suffered less than most parts of Greece from rural depopulation – with virtually all basic commodities produced locally there is less incentive to migrate to Athens. Conversely, the promontory at the southern end of Taygetus, the Mani, is desperately poor land, with much consequent migration, particularly to Australia. It was undoubtedly the wealth of the land round Sparta that led to it becoming a major city of Classical Greece, though situated at such a distance from the sea.

The communities of *perioikoi* were more varied. Some, like Geronthai (modern Geraki) southeast of Sparta, had long antecedents, but being in areas with poorer agricultural resources could never achieve the power of Sparta, and were satisfied to be part of the Spartan system (conversely, the reason they were not reduced to Helot status was probably that their land was less desirable to the Spartans). Other such communities served more specialized functions, the most important of these being Gytheum, which was the chief harbour town.

Despite being so far inland, Sparta experienced the same artistic development as the other leading areas of Greece in the 8th and 7th centuries BC, resulting from the renewal of overseas trade. Goods imported from the Near East are found there, while Laconian pottery evolved into a distinctive style, after the dull wares of the Dark Age, and was exported to north Africa (Cyrene) and south Italy, where Taras (Tarentum, modern Taranto) was a Spartan colony. There is good evidence

for the development of Spartan poetry, and the creation of the shrine to Menelaus and Helen, the Menelaion, on the mound which looks as though it were their tomb (though in reality it is a natural outcrop of rock) shows that the Spartans of the 8th and 7th centuries were well aware of the Homeric poems and the story of the siege of Troy. It was probably the difficulties of maintaining control over rebellious Messenia – another source of wealth – which in the later 7th and 6th centuries caused the Spartans to turn their back on this development, and reinstate with great rigidity (to the curiosity of progressive Greeks, such as the Athenians) the primitive militaristic training and regime for which they became notorious.

After the defeat of the Spartans by the Boeotian League in 371 BC, and the consequent loss of Messenia, Sparta dwindled in political importance; but the potential strength of Laconia was realized once more, after 150 dormant years, when king Cleomenes III carried out a redistribution of the land, and so recreated a substantial citizen army, only to be defeated by the Macedonian army of Antigonus Doson.

In Roman times Laconia became a quiet backwater, enjoying some imperial and other external patronage. Substantial theatres were built at Sparta and Gytheum, and the mosaic pavements of Spartan houses attest to a comfortable standard of living. In the troubled later Roman period fortifications, incorporating the theatre, defended only a reduced area. The city was sacked by Alaric in AD 396, but survived, though the later habitations built over the theatre are wretchedly squalid. Laconia, however, remained a vitally important area, though in the Middle Ages the centre of interest shifted to Mistra, the stronghold city on the foothills of Taygetus. Originally a Frankish foundation, Mistra was recovered by the Byzantines, and blossomed as a centre of late Hellenic culture, where George Gemistos Plethon's teachings took Platonism as the means to emphasize an intellectual continuity from the Classical world. Mistra, in turn, dwindled under Turkish occupation, though still equipped with a splendid series of late Byzantine churches. With the freeing of Greece after the War of Independence, the attempt to recreate the Classical cities led to the redevelopment of a modern city on the approximate site of Sparta. With its inevitable grid plan of streets, and an imposing Neoclassical town hall, splendidly restored in recent years, Sparta remains a relatively small but very prosperous market town for Laconia, whose good land now grows citrus fruit in abundance (the small town of Hagios Stephanos has an annual Festival of the Oranges): the perioikic land of Geraki is devoted largely to olive groves.

R.A. TOMLINSON

See also Mistra, Sparta

Summary

A district in the southeastern part of the Peloponnese, Laconia was prominent in the Bronze Age as the traditional homeland of Menelaus. In the 10th century BC Dorians settled a group of villages that later became the Classical city state of Sparta. Defeated by the Boeotian League in 371 BC, Sparta lost power; but Laconia rose again briefly under Cleomenes III. In the late Byzantine period Mistra blossomed as a centre of Hellenic culture.

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Land tenure

Throughout the history of the Greek people access to use and ownership of arable land has been a central concern. The classical polis restricted land ownership to those who were citizens and, more often than not, refused full political rights to those who were too poor to own land. In the countryside the transition from ancient civilization to Byzantium was marked by the gradual disappearance of the small freeholder who worked his plot with the assistance of chattel slaves, and the spread of a class of technically free persons who were only conditional cultivators of the property of large landholders. Increasingly exploitative practices under the Ottoman rulers resulted in the virtual depopulation of many areas of rural Greece, and it was not a simple matter for the first post-independence governments to create the conditions under which land could be distributed and made productive again.

In exploring the question of land tenure from the 8th century BC to modern times certain issues keep recurring. Could one alienate land? What laws of inheritance applied to land? Does the payment of taxes or rent imply a less than full ownership of the land? In addition to exploring these rather legalistic issues, one must also keep in mind a recurring theme in Greek beliefs about landholding: the most desirable state of affairs is for all citizens to have roughly the same amount of land. Social and legal mechanisms which tend to work against the formation of large estates are a stated goal of lawgivers and political theorists at least until the 4th century BC.

The earliest Greek writer to deal specifically with these questions is Hesiod. At the very end of the 8th century BC he composed *Works and Days*, a didactic poem addressed to his

brother Perses. Hesiod covers a wide variety of subjects as he lectures Perses, but his central complaint involves land ownership: his brother has snatched most of their joint inheritance with the connivance of "bribe-eating lords", in spite of their private, apparently more equitable, agreement. In view of this, and his advice later in the poem to have only one son (in order that the family's wealth should grow), it is clear that in Boeotia of Hesiod's day it was the practice for all sons to inherit a part of their fathers' land. He also makes it clear that land could be alienated when he promises that, if Perses follows his advice, he will be able to buy the land of other people, instead of seeing his own land bought up by others. Finally, the complaints against the corrupt officials indicate that by the 8th century such disputes could be taken to an authority outside the family.

Evidence for Archaic and Classical Greece is far more abundant, but often confusing and contradictory. Both the 7th and 6th centuries BC and the 4th to the 2nd centuries BC were eras of widespread civil strife in many poleis, where conflict centred around disparities in wealth. Therefore, later writers tend to reconstruct earlier conflicts in terms of contemporary conditions. In the case of early 6th-century Athens, for example, Solon was appointed archon to deal with the crisis of debt bondage. Although this much is certain, the genesis of the crisis, its exact nature, and the content of Solon's legislation remain the subject of considerable dispute. Solon's own words about his aims and how he viewed his accomplishments in his legislative programme have survived, but as poems, not official documents. Adding to the confusion are various 4th-century sources which tried to coopt Solon's legacy in support of their own oligarchic or democratic philosophies. Any modern attempt to reconstruct the situation which Solon faced and how he dealt with it must take into account his own statement that, while he did cancel debts, he did not redistribute land, though some apparently expected him to do so. Current opinion holds that the land which the poor worked as share-croppers was either their own land which they had been forced to mortgage (Burford, 1993, p. 51) or public land which had been commandeered by the wealthy (Rihll, 1991, pp. 123–24). Solon in effect gave this public land back to the community, allowing the cultivators to become the owners. He is also credited by ancient writers with making it illegal to alienate one's inherited plot. The alienability of land in Classical Athens continues to be a controversial topic among scholars. On the one hand, there are specific cases of land being sold by at least the late 5th century, and on the other hand, there was obviously great social pressure against sales of this kind. The law of Athens went to great lengths at times to ensure that land would stay in the family, as is attested by the rules concerning the marriage of an *epikleros*, an heiress. When a man died leaving behind a daughter, but no son, this daughter was to be married to her nearest male relative. Ideally, she would bear two sons; one of whom would inherit from his father, and one from his maternal grandfather. This would also reconcile two conflicting desiderata: to give each son an inheritance and to keep the family holding undivided.

Other poleis had other strategies for preserving a rough equality among the citizens, ensuring each family a minimum livelihood. The Spartans called themselves *homoioi* ("equals"). Each male Spartiate was entitled to a portion of land which was worked by helots, and from this he contributed to the communal mess. Inability to make this contribution resulted in the loss of citizen rights. Again, Spartans were theoretically unable to alienate their ancestral plots. But by the 4th century BC the number of Spartans who were financially eligible to serve as hoplites had fallen disastrously. Wealth had accumulated in the hands of a relatively small portion of the population due to the transfer of property through dowry and inheritance by women: the wealthy were able to absorb more and more of the community's land through advantageous marriages.

The situation which allowed the Greeks to approach most nearly the ideal of equality among the citizens was the founding of a new colony. Beginning in the 8th century BC and continuing into the 5th century poleis would often solve their demographic problems by sending a portion of their citizens out to non-Greek territories to found a new city. Prospective settlers went on the understanding that the territory of the new polis would be allocated on an equitable basis. This did not mean that everyone would get exactly the same amount of land, but that, with no preexisting claims to the territory, and taking into account the variable quality of the lots, each would get a reasonable portion of the total land resources. When the division was done, the colonists would often swear an oath to abide by the distribution, and there might be actual legal penalties brought against anyone who in the future sought to have land redistributed.

In the 4th century the orator Isocrates described Greece as a land rent with civil strife and filled with destitute fugitives who posed a continuing threat to social order. His proposed solution, eventually made a reality by Alexander the Great, was a war of conquest against the barbarians, which would provide new lands on which to settle this horde. Whether or not conditions were quite so desperate in reality as in the speeches of Isocrates, it is certain that many Greeks left their homeland to settle in Egypt and the Near East as a result of Alexander's conquests. Those who went as soldiers were often rewarded for their services with grants of land. Since these grants were generally conditional upon continued military service, they frequently found it more profitable to lease the land to native cultivators. Furthermore, while the Greek poleis had avoided imposing direct taxes on land, seeing it as a sign of tyranny, those who received their plots from the Hellenistic kings usually found that they came with a whole host of taxes in kind and in cash. Individuals or colonies might be granted immunity from these taxes, but even this immunity served to underscore the fact that all the land was ultimately the possession of the king and not of the citizen body.

In the Greek homeland this emigration did not lead to a more stable situation with regard to agricultural conditions. Instead, there was a continuing tendency for the few to accumulate larger properties, or a larger number of scattered properties, which would be leased to the increasing numbers of those without land or without enough land to live on. In recent years archaeological surface surveys have confirmed, independent of literary testimony, that the number of rural sites decreases from the beginning of the 2nd century BC, particularly at the time of the Roman conquest of Greece. These sites are generally associated with small independent proprietors. Sites that continue to appear in the archaeological record tend

to be larger and show signs of affluence. On the basis of this evidence it has been suggested that the rural landscape came increasingly under the control of a few wealthy landlords. Their large estates would have been devoted to the production of cash crops and worked with large numbers of slaves. Alternatively, income could have been produced by leasing out plots to produce rents (Alcock, 1993, p. 72).

The late Roman landscape of Greece, however, shows a significant increase in the number of rural sites and there is a general sense of modest prosperity in the countryside. This is not really surprising, given that the peasants of the eastern Roman empire were not nearly as vulnerable to the pressures of large landowners as those in the western provinces, where the medieval institution of serfdom was already evolving. In the 4th and 5th centuries AD village communities of Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt were still benefiting from the Hellenistic legacy of widespread urbanism. With towns and cities in which to market their products the peasants were able to pay their rents and taxes and maintain at least a measure of independence. This is not to say that conditions were not felt to be oppressive. Taxes were collected on both the land and its cultivators, peasants were always subject to extra assessments of produce and to demands for corvée labour. They had neither unrestricted freedom of movement nor an unlimited right to alienate their land. Reactions to these oppressive conditions often took the form of brigandage (Haldon, 1990, pp. 31–32), a phenomenon which also characterized the late Ottoman period.

The chaotic conditions of the 7th century AD may have led to a lessening of central control and a growth in the number of villages composed of small holders whose only responsibilities were the taxes which they paid directly to the Byzantine state. A tantalizing text called *The Farmer's Law*, which may date back to the 7th or even 6th century AD, paints a picture of a countryside dominated by this type of settlement. But the history of land tenure under the Byzantine empire is one increasingly dominated by peasants dependent on private landlords, the Church, or the state itself. In the 10th century the Byzantine state proclaimed itself the ultimate owner of all the lands of the empire. In effect, all private property was at risk from imperial confiscation (Kazhdan and Wharton, 1985, p. 17). An increase in the proportion of dependent peasants is also seen at this time. By the 13th century virtually all the peasants are referred to as *paroikoi* ("tenants"). *Paroikoi* had definite legal rights in that they could dispose of their property either by bequest or by sale. However, they were dependent in that they paid state taxes and rent to their landlord, owed him labour, and were not allowed to leave his service (Laiou-Thomadakis, 1977, pp. 144–45).

With the Ottoman conquest the lands of the Byzantine empire came under a regime whose ideology with regard to property was fundamentally different from that found in Romano-Byzantine law. Under a strict interpretation of Muslim holy law, private land ownership was not permitted. The sultan functioned as the custodian of the land on behalf of its true proprietor, God. In practice, individuals enjoyed the use and possession of land under various conditions – ranging from a form of feudalism to true private ownership. Ottoman law tended to identify cottage sites, their gardens, orchards, and vineyards as private property, while unimproved arable was retained as state land. Many aspects of Ottoman land tenure tended to undermine the ability of the actual cultivator to gain even a subsistence return from the land, but the fundamental source of corruption was the practice of granting individuals the right to take profits from land while having no responsibility for its cultivation (McGrew, 1985, pp. 21–31).

When Greece won its independence, the new government found itself the proprietor of a vast amount of land, and very few other sources of wealth. Initial attempts to redistribute land through public auction failed because the government was attempting to use the sales to raise money as well as put the land back into productive use. The Greek population, impoverished, suspicious of all governing authority, and well aware that much of the land would need a significant input of labour in order to provide a return, refused to participate. It was only some 40 years later, in 1871, that a plan was developed which met some success. This was principally because it was largely an offer to squatters to legitimize their holdings, provided they accepted a mortgage in favour of the state (McGrew, 1985, pp. 207–14).

In some ways modern Greek patterns of landholding tend to resemble those of antiquity. The countryside is typified by nuclear villages from which farmers go out to work their fields. Families tend to own only a small amount of land, with 6 hectares making for a large farm. One of the most striking features, to outsiders, of Greek patterns of landholding is how highly fragmented they tend to be. A farmer may spend hours travelling between parcels. There is no pragmatic reason for this fragmentation, since given the chance farmers will attempt through sale and trade to consolidate their holdings near their home village. Dowry and inheritance rules have been seen as the root cause of this phenomenon, and in at least one important respect they are different from those which prevailed in the ancient world. As in ancient Athens, all sons must inherit and daughters must receive a dowry. This does not necessarily have to be land, but traditionally it has been a component of both. Even sons who have left the land are frequently awarded a token piece of property "so they will not forget their father". One important difference however, is that the strict rules against marrying close kin which are enforced by the Orthodox Church all but ensure that young people will marry outside their own village. Combined with a strong tradition of patrilocal residence after marriage this inevitably leads to a family's holdings being scattered in several locations (Friedl, 1962, pp. 48–68).

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See also Inheritance

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Landscape

The great beauty and diversity of the Greek landscape were seldom fully appreciated by ancient Greeks, to whom these wonders were commonplace, or by modern tourists, who miss the glamorous parts. The best description of what the ancient Greek landscape looked like is the vision of the 12 mountains of Arcadia in the early Christian prophecy of Hermas, an Arcadian shepherd.

Greek landscapes are dominated by tectonics. Greece lies near the junction of two of the world's great tectonic plates, where Africa is burrowing under Europe. Over millions of years the forces of collision have generated the dramatic mountain landscapes of Greece, with their cliffs, gorges, and fault-scarps, especially around the gulf of Corinth and in Crete. Secondary effects include erosion and deposition, and the re-erosion of materials deposited during earlier periods of mountain building. Erosion has created the surrealistic gullied badlands of Macedonia and the northern Peloponnese, and the corresponding deposition has created many of the cultivable soils of Greece. Mountain building is, of course, still continuing today. At least three volcanoes – Santorini, Methana, and Nisyros – have erupted in historic times.

Most of modern Greece is rocky, with cultivation limited to plains or to places where soil has washed off the hillsides and accumulated in basins. Areas of land for cultivation were extended by the construction of terraces, bands of soil held up by retaining walls. Terraces created a level surface, got rid of boulders by building them into walls, accumulated and held soil, broke up the bedrock so that roots (especially of vines) could penetrate it, and increased absorption of water in times of heavy rain.

Wild vegetation in Greece ranges from forest to desert, depending mainly on rainfall and how much moisture is stored in the soil and bedrock (see the article on Climate). Forests occur mainly in mountains, especially in western Greece; often they occur on fissured limestone with no soil. In drier or more heavily used terrain forest gives way to maquis, land dominated by shrubs, most of which are in fact trees stunted into a shrubby form by browsing, burning, or woodcutting. Alternatively trees may form part of savanna, where large trees grow scattered in grassland or heath. Where moisture is more limited, the vegetation consists of *phrygano* ("scrub"), dominated by heathlike, spiny, or aromatic undershrubs which are not potential trees. Steppe is herbaceous vegetation with grasses, bulbous and tuberous plants. Patches of maquis, *phrygano*, and steppe typically occur intermingled, rather than in separate areas.

In Ancient, Byzantine, and Early Modern Greece wild vegetation was not underused land. It provided pasturage, fuel, materials for crafts, honey, edible plants, and medicinal herbs. The plants, except for those limited to cliffs, have the ability to resist, or recover from, browsing, burning, and woodcutting.

In pre-Neolithic times Greece was more wooded than it is now; in the drier east the trees probably formed savanna. There is some evidence for steppe, but *phrygano* was probably limited to particular, mainly coastal, areas. Crete and other islands may have differed from the mainland, owing to their peculiar faunas (nearly all extinct by the Bronze Age), including tiny elephants and mini-hippopotamuses. Lacking predators, these animals would have flourished sufficiently to bring about an ecological condition that would today be regarded as excessive browsing.

During the Neolithic and the Bronze Age the Greek landscape was affected both by increasing human activity and by the advent of a drier climate. Forests on good soils were uprooted to create farmland; on the remaining land native animals were replaced by domesticated – goats, sheep, and cattle. Forests retreated to places with moisture or good root penetration, being replaced by maquis or savanna. Undershrubs profited from the changes to establish areas of *phrygano*. The date, nature, and consequences of deforestation are controversial, but there is no firm evidence that Greece in Classical times was more wooded than it is today.

By Classical times ecological changes were largely completed. The landscape looked not very different from Greece today, aside from urbanization, road making, and bulldozing. An important difference is the disappearance of fens, most of which were destroyed in the 19th century. Classical Greece had much more grain and legume cultivation than today, and much less olive-growing; they kept cattle and pigs, as well as sheep and goats. At least half the land was natural vegetation (forest, savanna, maquis, *phrygano*, steppe, and fen). There was already the infrastructure of a cultural landscape in the form of roads, field walls, pollarded trees, and some terraces. Terracing, begun in the Bronze Age, was proba-

bly more limited than in Early Modern times; no ancient author definitely mentions it.

The coast of Greece has also changed. After the last ice age the world's sea level rose some 100 m to about its present level. This created bays, which have since become river deltas or have been filled with material eroded from the hills. At the same time the land has been jerked up or down by tectonic movements. A famous example of coastal changes in historic times is at Thermopylae, where the site of the ancient sea-cliff battles is now well inland and deeply buried.

Ancient city states varied hugely in the territory and resources that they controlled. Athens and Sparta were giants, with access to all ecological zones, from mountains to the sea. But even Athens was not self-sufficient in timber and not always so in grain. Some of the smallest cities had recourse to only one or two ecological zones, like the three states on the barren mountain isle of Amorgos, or the city of Tarrha at the mouth of the gorge of Samaria in Crete, which apparently had no ecological resources at all except cypress timber.

In antiquity Greece was not, as today, a land of cities and large villages set in otherwise uninhabited countryside. Instead there were small towns, small villages, hamlets, and single farms, grading into field houses that were inhabited only seasonally. Such a dispersed pattern of settlement still survives in western Crete, the Mani, and the island of Cythera; elsewhere, especially in the Middle Ages and the 16th century, houses have clustered into villages.

The use of the land would also have fluctuated over the centuries, as the human population rose and fell and as opportunities for trade changed. At times of prosperity, cultivation and pasturage would have increased so that the land would have been fully used or overused. In leaner times trees and other vegetation would have been left to invade fields and pastures.

Good and bad land have not always been the same as now. Some rugged, water-retaining, fertile mountain areas, such as northern Parnon, have a history of dense population. Some apparently promising plains, as at Nemea, have had periods of use only as pasture. Undrained fens, now despised, were precious as summer pasture for cattle. Coastal plains, though offering good land, and small islands have not always been favoured for cultivation or settlement because of the danger of raids by pirates.

The 19th century was a time of unusual population growth, leading to an exceptionally high rural population in the 20th century. New settlements were founded, especially on previously uninhabited coastal plains and in drained marshes. Around existing settlements terraces were extended to the limits of cultivable soil. American plants became important crops. Crete, especially, had an overcrowded appearance: most wild trees, even on cliffs, bear the marks of having been cut down for wood many times.

After 1950 rural populations declined, as people migrated to cities and coastal towns or to overseas colonies. The remaining rural life has become more specialized. Cultivation has retreated from terraces on to level ground where tractors can be used. Olive growing, market gardening, greenhouses, and irrigated orchards have greatly increased; cereals have disappeared from many areas. Cattle, horses, and donkeys are relatively rare. Woodcutting has almost disappeared, partly because of the advent of fossil fuels, but also because pruning olive and fruit trees produces firewood without the labour of felling trees. In many mountain villages the economy has been reduced to olives, goats, and sheep, sometimes not even these. This is not because traditional land-uses have proved unsustainable, but because tourism, bureaucracy, industry, and commerce have created easier ways of making a living.

This has resulted in extensive areas of abandoned terraces, and often also of abandoned pasture. Natural vegetation has greatly increased. Substantial forests have replaced terraces or savanna. Often these are of pines, which are extremely susceptible to, but have a natural ability to survive, fire. Where cultivation persists it has been intensified, bulldozers often being used to dig new fields out of hillsides. Further havoc is wrought by works to provide water for irrigation. What was once a complex, stable landscape has been reduced to large tracts of uniform vegetation, periodically burnt in conflagrations, and liable to erosion wherever the bulldozer has been deployed.

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See also Animals, Climate, Demography, Ecology, Geology, Plants

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Language

The term "Greek" refers to the language spoken by the Indo-European inhabitants of Greece from their first arrival in that land to the present day. Greece was already populated when they arrived (probably not long after 2000 BC), but the original inhabitants spoke another language of which little trace remains; since there is no consensus even as to which language family it belonged, it is simply referred to as "pre-Greek". Greek itself belongs to the Indo-European family of languages and is thus related not only to Latin (and hence French, Spanish, and all the other Romance languages), but also to Sanskrit (and hence Hindi, Bengali, etc.), Hittite, Armenian, Albanian, Tocharian, Persian (and Kurdish, Afghan, etc.), the

Celtic languages (Irish, Welsh, etc.), the Germanic languages (English, German, etc.), the Baltic languages (Lithuanian, etc.), and the Slavic languages (Russian, Bulgarian, etc.). Since all languages change over time, however, these relationships were much closer in ancient times than they are today.

The original Proto-Indo-European language from which Greek and all of these other languages evolved was highly inflected; it had eight cases for nouns and divided number not into singular and plural but into singular, dual (used for two objects or people), and plural (used for three or more). It also had a number of sounds that have since disappeared from many of its descendants, such as vocalic (vowel-like) forms of L, R, M, and N, aspirated consonants such as DH, BH, and GH, and mysterious "laryngeal consonants", the exact pronunciation of which remains uncertain. On the other hand the parent language lacked many sounds with which we are familiar, such as F, V, J, CH, Z, and TH.

Greek is one of the oldest attested Indo-European languages; its earliest known form is Mycenaean, the language of the Linear B tablets. Since these tablets date from the 13th century BC or earlier, the history of Greek can now be traced over a period of 33 centuries. Because Linear B was written in a syllabary that did not indicate all the sounds of a word, however, and because it was used for writing lists rather than literature, much remains unknown about Mycenaean Greek. Nevertheless, we can see that it had already evolved to be recognizably Greek rather than Proto-Indo-European. The dual and some consonants that Greek would later lose (Q, W, Y, H) were retained, but the old case system was somewhat simplified and a number of consonants and vowels had disappeared. Mycenaean Greek, as we have it, does not appear to be divided into dialects; tablets from Thebes, Pylos, and Crete show only minor variations in language. Nevertheless it is likely that speakers of other Greek dialects were present somewhere in Greece during the Mycenaean period: not all classical Greek dialects can be descended from Mycenaean, but all show evidence of contact with the pre-Greek population and thus of having existed in Greece for a similar length of time.

The Mycenaean period ended around 1200 BC and was followed by a time known as the Dark Ages, when writing was unknown throughout most of Greece. (A relative of the Linear B script seems, however, to have survived in Cyprus, where it later reemerged as the Cypriot syllabary.) There is thus a gap during which one cannot trace the evolution of the Greek language; after the Mycenaean period, it next appears with our earliest evidence of the Greek alphabet, in the 8th century BC. By this time the number of cases had been reduced to five, the dual was in the process of disappearing, Q and Y had been entirely lost, and W was on its way out. Moreover, the Greek language was divided into a vast number of local dialects. Of these, only those spoken in Arcadia and in Cyprus appear to be direct descendants of the Mycenaean dialect; the other dialect groups, including Attic (the dialect of Athens), Ionic (the dialects of Greeks in Asia Minor), Aeolic (the dialects of the Lesbians, Thessalians, and Boeotians), and Doric (the dialects of Crete and most of the Peloponnese) seem to be descended from something slightly different. All the dialects, however, are clearly part of the same language and were mutually comprehensible.

The language normally described by the term "Classical Greek" is Attic, the dialect of Athens in the 5th century BC. At the beginning of the 5th century BC this dialect had no special status, but Athens' rise to political prominence during the Persian Wars and the extraordinary quantity of first-class literature produced by Athenians in the 5th and 4th centuries BC rapidly made Attic the most important Greek dialect. This is not to say that all ancient Greek literature was written in Attic; far from it. The earliest surviving literature, the Homeric poems, is written in a mixed dialect based on Ionic and containing almost no trace of Attic, and the poets who first followed Homer used a variety of dialects, none of them Attic. The Attic dialect first came into prominence with the development of tragedy, which was a distinctively Athenian genre. Even tragedies, however, were not simply written in the native dialects of their authors. The dialogue portions were composed in an artificial and elevated literary Attic with many features from other dialects, while the sections sung by the chorus were written in what was nominally Doric, though in some ways it would be more accurate to describe it as a Doricized Attic.

Comedy, however, made much more use of ordinary Attic, as did many prose genres. A peculiarity of Greek literature of the Archaic and Classical periods was that literary genre rather than the author's origin normally determined the dialect used. Thus although two of the greatest early Greek poets, Hesiod and Pindar, both came from Boeotia and would naturally have spoken an Aeolic dialect, Hesiod wrote in the Ionic-based epic dialect and Pindar wrote in Doric, because these were the dialects appropriate to their chosen genres (respectively epic poetry and choral lyric). Tragic choruses had to be composed in Doric because of the tradition of Doric choral song out of which the tragic genre evolved. Scientific and historical prose was originally written in Ionic, but as time went on Athenian prose authors began to write in an Ionicized version of their own dialect. Many of these literary dialects, however, were rather different from the same dialects as used for non-literary purposes by native speakers and attested in local inscriptions; they contained features of other dialects and were usually meant to be separated from and elevated above the usages of ordinary speech.

In the 4th century BC the political power of Greece was gradually eclipsed by that of its northern neighbour Macedonia. The issue of whether the Macedonians could be considered Greeks was debated in ancient times much as it is today. Little remains of their original language (which is unconnected to the modern Slavic language known as "Macedonian"), and from that little it is possible to argue either that Macedonian was a bizarre Greek dialect or that it was a different but related language. The Greeks themselves seem not to have understood it as easily as they understood each other's Greek dialects. Culturally, however, it seems that the Greeks looked down on the Macedonians as uncivilized barbarians, and the Macedonian monarchs reacted to their own feelings of inferiority by a programme of linguistic and cultural Hellenization. Greek was adopted as the official language of the Macedonian court, where from the time of Philip II Greek literature and education were highly valued. Because of the political and literary importance of Athens, the form of Greek adopted by the Macedonians was an Ionicized Attic.

The Macedonians soon became far more powerful than the Greeks from a political point of view, but even after conquering Greece they retained their respect for its language and culture. The conquests of Alexander the Great in the late 4th century BC thus had the effect of spreading the use of the Greek language and the appreciation of Greek literature and culture over a huge section of the ancient world. In the Hellenistic kingdoms that resulted from Alexander's conquests, Greek became the language not only of the court, but also of business, administration, and most upper-class interaction. Education normally consisted of training in the Greek language and literature, and knowledge of Greek was required for entry into the civil service and the army. Greek rapidly became the mother tongue of the elite as well as being widely spoken as a second language by much of the population. The less educated lower classes went on speaking their own languages most of the time, but these languages were less likely to be used in written communication.

The Greek used in the Hellenistic kingdoms was based on the Ionicized Attic adopted by the Macedonians, but it was sufficiently distinct from the dialect of Athens that it acquired a new name, the *koine* or "common dialect". The Koine was in some senses a uniform dialect; the differences between Koine documents from different parts of the Hellenistic world are minimal compared to, say, the differences between Attic and Doric. In other respects, however, it was far from uniform; there was some local variation, and a good deal more variation based on the level of education of the writer and his intended audience. The most highly educated Hellenistic scholars, however, could and did produce not only Koine but also the various literary dialects of the earlier periods.

In Greece itself the loss of the individual city states' political autonomy in the Hellenistic period led to the decline of the local dialects. Although most of the ancient dialects survived into the Roman period as spoken languages, the use of Koine came to be seen as a mark of education, in Greece as in the rest of the Hellenistic world. The result was that Koine supplanted the local dialects as the language of the elite and gradually became the official written language of cities that had once proudly displayed their own dialects in inscriptions.

Eventually Greece and the various states that had been part of Alexander's empire fell under Roman rule. This meant the introduction of Latin into Greece, but since the Romans had no cultural heritage to compare with that of Greece, the status of their language suffered greatly. The use of Latin never became widespread in Greece, but Greek grew more and more popular in educated circles in Rome. Meanwhile, in the other states that had been part of Alexander's empire, a tripartite linguistic situation arose: Latin became the language of some administrative and military circles, but Greek remained the language of education and culture, while much of the native population went on speaking the language that they had spoken before Alexander's arrival. The most important and prestigious of these three languages was normally Greek; in Egypt, for example, where large quantities of public and private documents have been preserved on papyrus fragments buried in sand, it is clear that most writing was done in Greek. In fact, the eastern half of the Mediterranean in the Roman period was often called the "Greek east". The degree to which Greek actually replaced local languages, however, depended on the region; in Egypt, despite the vast numbers of Greek papyri, most of the peasants spoke Coptic, but in Asia Minor the native languages tended to die out completely during the Roman period.

The dialect of Greek involved, of course, was still the Koine, but after centuries of evolution and of being used as a second language it showed some significant differences from the Ionicized Attic with which it had begun. These differences are perhaps greatest in phonology, for the pronunciation of Greek changed dramatically during the Hellenistic and Roman periods. At the time when the Greeks began to use the alphabet (the 8th century BC), their language contained ten simple vowels (A, E, I, O, U, each of which had separate long and short forms) and a wide variety of diphthongs (AI, EI, OI, UI, AU, EU, and OU, many of which could have either a long or a short vowel as their first element). By the Classical period, however, the short diphthongs EI and OU had already been monophthongized, and shortly afterward those diphthongs that consisted of a long vowel followed by I lost the I. (As a result, this I was not normally written in ancient documents, but it now appears in Classical texts as the iota subscript.) Then the short diphthong AI merged with short E, UI and short OI both merged with U, and the already monophthongized short EI merged with I. Eventually the distinction between long and short vowels was lost altogether.

The consonants phi, theta, and chi, which had originally been aspirated stops (P followed by H for phi, T followed by H for theta, K followed by H for chi), turned into the fricatives F, TH (as in English "thing"), and CH (as in German "ich", not English "change"), while in most contexts the voiced stops B, D, and G became the voiced fricatives V, TH (as in English "the"), and the voiced equivalent of CH (which does not exist in English). In the Classical period Greek did not have a stress accent as in English, where one syllable of each word is perceived as pronounced more emphatically than the others, but rather a pitch accent as in modern Norwegian, where an accented vowel is perceived as pronounced on a higher pitch (one Greek grammarian speaks of the voice being raised by a musical fifth). In Koine, however, the Greek pitch accent changed to the stress accent that is still used in Modern Greek.

It is sometimes difficult to pinpoint the date of these changes in pronunciation, not only because they occurred gradually and probably took effect in some regions before others, but also because the Classical spelling remained in use for most written documentation. Spelling mistakes, however, are very useful in tracing linguistic evolution: when papyri regularly show AI for E and E for AI, this is evidence that the two were pronounced the same, and the date when this mistake becomes common (the 2nd century BC) can be taken as one by which the change was complete, at least in Egypt. Borrowings into and from other languages also give us clues: when the Romans first began to borrow Greek words containing the letter phi, they represented it with PH, showing that the sound in question was an aspirated P. But later on the sound of phi changed to F, and at that point (the 1st century AD) the Romans used F to represent it.

The complex grammar and syntax of Classical Attic were also simplified in Koine. Two past tenses, the perfect ("I have done") and aorist ("I did") became interchangeable so that either could be used in either sense; eventually the perfect died

out and only the aorist was used. The optative, a verbal mood used to express wishes and potentiality and which replaced the subjunctive after verbs in a past tense, disappeared from Koine almost entirely. The middle voice, which in Classical Greek was distinct from both the active and the passive in meaning, if not always in form, was also lost. At the same time many irregularities of declension and conjugation were eliminated; thus, for example, the verbs that had originally ended in -MI began to lose their distinctive conjugation, although this change was completed only in the Byzantine period. During the Roman period many words of Latin origin also found their way into Greek.

The changes in grammar, syntax, and vocabulary were more often reflected in writing than those in pronunciation, but they too could be avoided by more educated authors. The New Testament, for example, is a document of the early Roman period written in a fairly basic form of Koine; it displays a grammar and syntax that are much simpler than those of Classical Attic. But it is not a uniform text written by a single author, and in some portions, for example the Gospel of Luke, even the optative appears. Other writers of the early Roman period, such as Polybius and Plutarch, wrote in a very different type of Koine far closer to Classical Attic. Since Greek education stressed the reading and memorization of Classical texts, there was a certain status attached to an ability to write Greek in a manner closer to that of those texts. Writers with a good education normally came from a fairly high-status background and naturally wanted their works to show this education and background, although if they were writing for a popular audience they might simplify their language in the interests of comprehensibility. People with little education did not normally become writers – the New Testament is something of an exception in this regard – but they often composed private letters which have survived on papyrus and tell us much about the evolution of non-literary Koine.

One of the most significant linguistic events of the Roman period was the revival of literary Attic in the 2nd century AD. Whereas earlier well-educated writers had been able to win respect using a form of Koine relatively close to Attic, it was now necessary for them to use "pure" Attic, a language as close as possible to that of Plato and the Classical orators. In the 2nd century AD Attic came to be seen as "Greek"; everything else was simply evidence of lack of education. The great writers of the period, such as Lucian, managed to achieve Atticism to a remarkable degree. Purity of language was required not only in writing but also in speech, and the opprobrium heaped on men of letters who accidentally delivered themselves of a non-Attic word or phrase is well documented. This does not of course mean that everyone in the Greek-speaking world began to speak Attic in the 2nd century; far from it. But everyone with literary pretensions tried. The reason for this revival seems to have been a desire for closer association with the glorious Greek past, since continuity of culture, the one thing that the Greeks had in a world dominated by the Romans, appeared to be assured by linguistic closeness to the past.

After the 2nd century AD the extremes of the Atticizing movement were modified, but the achievements of the period had a lasting effect on literary Greek; Attic always remained as an ideal, even if fewer writers pursued it. Written Greek came to consist of a range of styles combining Attic and Koine; at the top end of the spectrum were compositions in almost pure Attic, but these were the exception rather than the rule, and most writing showed some or many Koine features. Virtually all writing, however, was conducted in a language distinct from that used in normal speech. Learning to write involved learning the use of written Greek, rather than learning how to transcribe one's own speech. This situation is not so different from that which exists today for English, where learning to write involves learning the difference between "too" and "to", and at a higher level between "its" and "it's".

Starting in the 3rd century AD military imperatives forced a gradual administrative division of the Roman empire into eastern and western halves, with a resulting decline in linguistic interaction. In the 4th century the capital of the empire was moved from Rome to Byzantium (refounded as Constantinople), a move that bolstered the status of Greek as an imperial language and led in time to its official recognition as such. The use of Greek in the West and that of Latin in the East was sharply reduced, particularly after the early 5th-century collapse of the western Roman empire. The eventual result was a government in Constantinople that used Greek and ruled a largely Greek-speaking (whether as first or second language) populace, but which still regarded itself as being the Roman empire. From this situation arose the use of the term Romaic ("Roman") as a name for the Greek language; this term remained in use as late as the 19th century as a means of referring to spoken, as distinct from written, Greek. Even today, some Greeks use *Romios* to mean "a Greek person".

The Middle Ages in Greece are known as the Byzantine period; they begin in the 4th or 5th century AD and end with the capture of Greece by the Turks in the 15th century. During this period the language continued to change, although in many cases the changes were merely completions of processes that had begun much earlier. In pronunciation, long E merged with I, as did U; this meant that original long E, EI, I, U, UI, and OI now all had the same pronunciation (like the "ee" in "queen"). The U in the diphthongs AU and EU came to be pronounced as F or V (depending on the letter following). The sound H, which had been losing ground since the Hellenistic period, was lost altogether. Unstressed initial vowels were generally lost, meaning that verbal augments often disappeared. Nouns of the first and third declensions converged and became more and more similar, and there was a further suppression of irregular paradigms. Many pronouns were replaced; among the most striking such replacements is that of the relative pronoun, which in classical Greek had been fully inflected for gender, number, and case, and which in the Byzantine period was replaced by an uninflected word originally meaning "where" (*pou* or *hopou*). The dative case, which had also been gradually eroded, disappeared from colloquial usage. The wide variety of prepositions used in classical Greek was greatly reduced. The use of the infinitive declined dramatically, as did that of the participle, and the old future tense began to be replaced by a periphrasis formed with the verb "want" (*thelo hina*); later this periphrasis would be simplified into the uninflected particle *tha* used to form the future in Modern Greek. Following the loss of the perfect tense, a new periphrastic pluperfect was formed using the past tense of the

verb "have"; later a new perfect would also be formed on this model.

This period also marks the beginning of a famous linguistic phenomenon known as the "Balkan *Sprachbund*", in which languages that are fundamentally distinct (Greek, Albanian, Romanian, Serbian, and Bulgarian) have certain grammatical features in common as a result of the prolonged interaction of their populations. These features include the replacement of infinitive phrases with subjunctive clauses and the formation of the future with a particle derived from the verb "want".

Spoken Greek of the Byzantine period is called the vernacular, rather than Koine; the Koine of the Roman period remained in use as a literary language, but, as we have seen, the uneducated spoken language became more and more distant from it. Literary Greek still had many different levels: there was a high register which at its purest was not greatly different from Classical Attic, though generally more ornate, and below this register came a variety of less and less Atticizing ones, which generally carried less prestige the less archaizing they were. "Atticizing", however, did not refer to an exclusive use of Classical models as it had in the 2nd century AD; the Byzantines saw writers of the Roman period, and even later, as equally suitable for imitation. The tradition of writing "good" Greek was seen as a continuous one, and what counted was a writer's style, not his date. A number of Byzantine scholars were extremely well educated in Classical literature and could write in a variety of different forms of Greek; they used highly Atticized language or more basic Koine depending on their intended audience. Some earlier literature was rewritten to conform to the linguistic demands of its new audience; in some cases this meant recasting in a less archaizing style, but in other cases works were rewritten in higher rather than lower registers.

There was a tradition of oral poetry during the Byzantine period, and in the 14th and 15th centuries a number of written poems appeared that seem to derive from this tradition; at the same time romances, chronicles of recent history, and some other types of popular literature started to be written in a language closer to the vernacular than that of most Byzantine writing. It is likely, however, that the language of these works is still somewhat archaizing compared to that in use in uneducated speech. The rise of this vernacular literature is probably related to the fact that from the 13th century much of the Byzantine world was ruled by western Europeans, particularly French and Italians. The Byzantine state with its centralized bureaucracy, education system, and Church had exerted a standardizing and unifying influence on the written language, and much of that influence was lost with the decline of the central authority.

Other linguistic developments in the late Byzantine period have the same cause. Many French and Italian words entered the Greek language as a result of contact with the new rulers, and a new system of dialects became apparent. These dialects had grown up gradually over the centuries (they are not descendants of the Classical dialects, but of Hellenistic Koine), but the centralization of the empire had prevented their developing radical differences or breaking up the language in the way that Latin was dissolved into the Romance languages during the same period.

After the Turkish conquest in the 15th century, literary production and the general level of education both fell dramatically. The bastion of learning that remained in Greece proper was the Church, and thus the Greek used by the Church became the written standard of the period. This was not the vernacular, but a form of Koine that could be more or less Atticizing as necessary, as the language of the Byzantine court had been. Despite this restoration of a form of central control, the language did not remain unchanged by Turkish occupation, for many Turkish words were absorbed into Greek. A large number of these have since been expunged by patriotic reforms, but some still remain. The local dialects became rapidly more distinct from one another, as communication and mobility within the Greek world were reduced.

In the early 19th century Greece became independent from Turkey, and the modern Greek state was established. The existence of a state immediately led to what is known as the "Language Question": which of the innumerable spoken and written varieties of Greek would become the official language of the new country? Some advocated a return to Attic, others a written form of the vernacular, and many some form of compromise. It is important to note that the Language Question is a modern phenomenon; different forms of Greek had existed since ancient times, but previously they had coexisted fairly happily, and there had been a general consensus that different forms of language were appropriate to different linguistic situations.

In the end, a standard spoken language established itself. The dialect of the Peloponnese, which was more prosperous and had closer ties with the influential expatriate Greek community than the rest of Greece, was closer to Koine than many of the dialects of other regions. In addition, it was the dialect of the first part of Greece to be liberated from Turkey. This dialect began to be used more and more widely in the new Greek state, even ousting the Old Athenian dialect from the new capital at Athens. In the 20th century, with the advent of mass media and increased mobility, the Peloponnesian dialect has almost entirely replaced the others, resulting in the virtually complete standardization of spoken Greek.

The written standard posed a different sort of problem. Initially, official preference was given to what later came to be called *katharevousa*, a form of Greek based on the spoken language but extensively "cleansed" of modern features. Virtually all prose in the new state, literary and non-literary, used this medium, and most poetry composed in Greece did as well, though some expatriate poetry (which later became extremely influential) did not. The problem with *katharevousa* in the 19th century, however, was that any standard deciding how much cleansing should take place was artificial and easily perceived as such; this resulted in an escalating competition of archaization, with writers trying to outdo each other in their revival of long-vanished linguistic features. Meanwhile some of the proponents of what came to be called demotic, a language closer to the spoken standard, went to the other extreme and produced neologisms that did not actually exist in the spoken language. At the same time, however, literary figures were increasingly won over to demotic, and by the end of the 19th century it had become the language of most creative literature.

The linguistic debate became increasingly polarized and vicious, leading to riots at the beginning of the 20th century

when demotic translations of ancient works were produced. The issue was then politicized, with advocates of *katharevousa* being seen as politically conservative and supporters of demotic as left-wing. This politicization meant that in the 20th century there was some change in the language of school instruction virtually every time there was a change of government, as well as that the linguistic choices of individuals were constrained by politics. Eventually in 1974 a military government that had mandated *katharevousa* was ousted, and the enormous unpopularity of that government guaranteed that demotic would become and remain the official language. Today *katharevousa* is rarely used in Greece, although the fact that it was the official language until only a few decades ago means that most Greeks retain at least a passive knowledge of it. Demotic, however, has now absorbed many of the features of *katharevousa*, including some elements that had been lost for centuries from the spoken language, and is markedly distinct from the language advocated by early radicals. It is now known as Standard Modern Greek to acknowledge that fact.

Although the phonology of Standard Modern Greek is greatly different from that of the Classical language, the traditional spelling of most words has been retained. This can cause some confusion for learners; it means that the sound "ee" can be spelt E, I, EI, OI, or U, for example. On the other hand, the rough or smooth breathing indicating whether or not H used to be present on an initial vowel has been abolished, and it is no longer necessary to make the distinction (meaningful only with a pitch accent) among acute, grave, and circumflex accents. Modern texts of works in ancient Greek, however, do have both accents and breathings in addition to a fully ancient orthography.

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See also Alphabet, Dialects, Grammar, Linear B, Syllabary

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Larissa

City in Thessaly

Larissa is located in the middle of the Thessalian plain on the right bank of the river Peneus. It is about 32 km from the sea, and bestrides the major north–south routes between Athens and Macedonia. Among the few remains of the early city are a late Hellenistic theatre excavated near the modern main square, a low hill to the south of the square marking the site of the ancient acropolis, and the remains of the Byzantine *phrourion* (fortress) to the east of the square.

The name Larissa is pre-Greek, and means "citadel". (Indeed, settlement on the site goes back to palaeolithic times, as is attested by archaeological remains.) According to Greek mythology, however, the city was founded by Acrisius, the father of Danae and the grandfather of Perseus, and was named after a nymph (whose likeness appears on coins of the 4th century BC). Unlike other places in the area, such as Phthia, Larissa is not named in the catalogue of ships in book 2 of the *Iliad*, or indeed in the rest of the *Iliad* or *Odyssey*, though some scholars have wanted to associate Larissa with the city Argyssa, which is mentioned in the catalogue of ships.

When Larissa first became important in Greek history, it was dominated by the powerful family of the Aleuadae. Their influence in Larissa, and, to a lesser extent, in Thessaly as whole, lasted from the early 6th to the end of the 4th century BC. The founder of the family was Aleuas, who claimed descent from Heracles. Although tradition more strongly associates Heracles with the rival (and related) Scopadae of nearby Crannon, the late 6th- and early 5th-century BC poet Simonides is cited by Theocritus (in *Idyll*, 16. 34–46) as praising Aleuas among other Thessalian grandees, such as the Scopadae and the Creondae, for his wealth: "Many slaves drew their monthly rations / in the palaces of Antiochos / and King Aleuas" (tr. Barriss Mills).

The Aleuadae were renowned as patrons of literature; writers of different generations and genres such as the poet Pindar, the Presocratic philosopher and rhetorician Gorgias, and the physician Hippocrates are all said to have spent time in Larissa as their guests. The fact that both Gorgias and Hippocrates are said to have died there may be a less than ringing endorsement of Aleuad hospitality.

Politically speaking, the legacy of the Aleuadae was more mixed. They were strongly associated with the political and military organization of Thessaly along federal lines. Thorax, the leader of the Aleuadae at the time, and his brothers sided with the Persians, during Xerxes' invasion of Greece in 480 BC, as did the neighbouring Macedonians. This realpolitik led to a loss of influence by the Aleuadae after the Greeks defeated Xerxes and drove his army out of Greece. Furthermore, by the end of the 5th century BC, a democratic revolt in Larissa and the rise of tyrants at Pherae had weakened the power of the Aleuadae. In the 4th century BC they made the fatal mistake of calling upon their fellow Heraclid, Philip II of Macedon, as an ally against the tyrant of Pherae. Philip annexed all of Thessaly and held it, despite an unsuccessful revolt of the Aleuadae in a belated attempt to undo their mistake. The Aleuadae faded from history thereafter.

Larissa was ceded to the Romans after the second battle of

Cynoscephalae in 197 BC, and became the capital of a new Thessalian confederation (which lasted until Diocletian's reorganization of the provinces at the start of the 4th century AD). Achilleius, the city's patron saint, was its first bishop, and attended the Council of Nicaea in 325. The city's fortunes were varied in late antiquity and under the Byzantine empire. It was attacked by such foes as the Ostrogoths, the Bulgarians (who carried off relics of St Achilleius in 985), the Normans, and Boniface of Montferrat of the Fourth Crusade. In the 8th and 9th centuries it served as the metropolis of Hellas, but in the 13th and 14th centuries it was ruled at different times by the Lombards, the despotate of Epirus, the Serbs, and the Byzantines, before passing under Turkish rule in 1393. During the Tourkokratia, which lasted for Larissa until 1881, it was eclipsed by Trikkala, from where the Turks ruled Thessaly, as had the Serbs before them, until 1870. A strong Turkish garrison kept Larissa from participating in the War of Independence, and some Turks continued to live there until the 1920s. The city suffered severe damage in 1941, when it was defended by a combined Graeco-British force against the invading Germans, and also suffered under German occupation. Today, it is the capital of the province of Thessaly, and the chief city of its nome. The Greek First Army has its headquarters in Larissa, and it is the seat of the Metropolitan Bishop of the Second Thessaly and Exarch of All Hellas.

ERIC KYLLO

See also Thessaly

Summary

Larissa, the chief city of Thessaly, lies on the right bank of the river Peneus in the middle of the Thessalian plain. In mythology founded by Acrisius and named after a nymph, the city was ruled by the Aleuadae in the Classical period. Having made an alliance with the invading Persians the city lost influence in the 5th century BC following their defeat. Under the Romans it was the capital of the Thessalian confederacy, but under the Turks it was eclipsed by Trikkala.

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Laskaris family

Rulers of the empire of Nicaea (1204–1261)

The Laskaris family, or the Laskarids, ruled the Byzantine empire in exile in Nicaea (1204–61). Although the family name Laskaris is known from the middle of the 11th century, no prominent members of it are known to have entered the upper tier of the Byzantine aristocracy during the rule of the Komnenoi (1081–1185) and the Angeloi (1185–1204). The founder of the Nicaean empire was Theodore I Laskaris (1204–22). Having distinguished himself in battle in the Balkans, Laskaris had been awarded the title of despot and had married the daughter of the emperor Alexios III Angelos (1195–1203). After the Latin conquest of Constantinople on 12 April 1204 and the establishment of the Latin empire, he organized the resistance of the Greeks in western Asia Minor. One of Theodore Laskaris's five brothers, Constantine Laskaris, might have been the unknown Laskaris to whom an assembly in Hagia Sophia had offered the imperial crown the night before the Latin conquest, but afterwards he disappears from the sources as a holder of the imperial office.

In 1205 the people of Nicaea acclaimed Theodore I Laskaris as emperor of the *Romaioi* in the aftermath of the Latin defeat at the battle of Adrianople by the Bulgarians. In order to bolster his imperial claims, Theodore chose Michael IV Autoreianos (1208–14) as ecumenical patriarch in 1208. In the same year the newly appointed patriarch crowned and anointed Theodore I Laskaris as a divinely chosen emperor. Yet the legitimacy of the Laskarids was questioned by Alexios III Angelos, Theodore's father-in-law, who had found refuge at the Seljuk court in Konya. The Seljuks invaded Nicaea in the spring of 1211, but Theodore I Laskaris defeated them in a pitched battle in 1211 near Antioch-on-the-Menander, killed the Seljuk sultan Kay-Khusraw I (1195–97 and 1205–11), and captured Alexios III who was then imprisoned for the rest of his life in a monastery. The rulers of Epirus, the other important Greek successor state that had emerged after 1204, were also rivals of the Laskarids. The imperial claims of the Epirote ruler Theodore Komnenos Doukas (*c.*1215–30), crowned as emperor in Thessalonica in 1227, came to an end when the latter was captured by the Bulgarians in 1230.

The chief source of strength of the Laskarid dynasty was the conviction that the Nicaean empire was the Byzantine empire recreated in exile and that they were destined to restore Constantinople as the seat of rule. Theodore I Laskaris followed the Byzantine imperial model in the organization of court life and administration. In comparison with the Byzantine empire of the 11th and 12th centuries, however, the empire of Nicaea was better administered and a more vigorous state. The aristocracy enjoyed fewer privileges and tax immunities, while the small landholders could meet their obligations to the state fisc. The Laskarids protected local commerce and manufacturing, cloth production in particular. Only one commercial privilege, given to Venice in 1219, is known for the whole period of Laskarid rule. Administrative posts and other positions of power were systematically entrusted to people of low social origin and to members of the emperor's inner circle. The anti-aristocratic policy of the Laskarids culminated in the reign of the Theodore II Laskaris (1254–58). The powerful landed aristocracy felt excluded from power, abandoned the Laskarids, and supported the claims of Michael Palaiologos, first as regent (1258) of the young John IV Laskaris (1258–61), then as a coemperor (1259), and finally as a sole ruler (1261).

Imperial succession under the Laskarids was by and large hereditary. It is true, however, that they took pains to hand the

imperial office to an able successor. Theodore I Laskaris passed over his son by a second marriage to an Armenian princess in favour of his son-in-law, John III Doukas Vatatzes (1221–54), most likely on the grounds that his son was still a child. John III was succeeded by his son Theodore II (1254–58), who in turn was followed by his son John IV (1258–61). The chief aim of the foreign policy of the Laskarids was the recovery of Constantinople, whether by diplomatic or military means. Theodore I suffered a big defeat by the Latins in October 1211. Subsequently, he attempted to forge a dynastic alliance by marrying a Latin princess as his third wife and by arranging a marriage for his daughter to the Latin emperor Robert de Courtenay (1221–28), but in the second case he met with ecclesiastical opposition. John III Vatatzes was more successful in his foreign policy. He drove the Latins out of northwestern Asia Minor in 1224, repudiated the claims of the rulers of Epirus, and recovered Thrace in 1235 and Macedonia in 1246 from the Bulgarians. By the end of his reign, John III Vatatzes had reduced the territory of the Latin empire solely to Constantinople and its environs.

The Laskarids of Nicaea were not only good statesmen, but also generous patrons of arts and letters. Nicaea became known in this period as "the new Athens" and a centre of Hellenic education. The court in Nicaea and Nymphaion included such scholars as the polymath Nikephoros Blemmydes (1197–1272) and the emperor Theodore II Laskaris. Theodore II Laskaris saw himself as a Platonic philosopher-king, and wrote numerous theological and rhetorical works as well as a political treatise based on Isocrates and Aristotle. A new sense of Hellenic identity developed in Nicaea at the expense of the traditional Roman one. Still, this shift was far from complere, and was suppressed to a large extent by the recovery of Constantinople in 1261 and the revival of old ideological constructs.

The Greek population of Asia Minor cherished the memory of the Laskarids after the demise of their dynasty. After Michael VIII Palaiologos usurped the throne in 1261, the people of Nicaea rebelled in support of the child emperor John IV Laskaris who was to spend the rest of his life imprisoned in a castle in Dakibyze on the Sea of Marmara. The patriarch Arsenios (1254–60 and 1261–65) excommunicated Michael VIII for blinding John IV Laskaris, but paid for this daring behaviour with his deposition. His followers, the Arsenites, were not reconciled with the Palaiologan dynasty until 1310. Supporters of the Laskarids in Asia Minor backed the rebellion of the general Alexios Philanthropenos during the reign of Andronikos II (1282–1328) in 1295. A conspirator against Andronikos II in 1305–06 sought popular support by pretending to be the legitimate emperor John IV Laskaris. In a similar way to the posthumous fame of John III Vatatzes, John IV was honoured as a saint in the 14th century. While the cult of John III Vatatzes was centred in the region of Magnesia in Asia Minor, however, the relics of the last Laskarid ruler were venerated in the monastery of St Demetrios in Constantinople itself.

DIMITER G. ANGELOV

See also Nicaea, Political History 1204–1261

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Latin Empire 1204–1261

The Latin empire had its formal beginning with the election of Baldwin of Flanders as the first Latin emperor on 9 May 1204 and his subsequent coronation on 16 May, just over one month after the capture of Constantinople by the army of the Fourth Crusade on 12 April. Its end as a political and military entity came 57 years later on 25 July 1261, when Baldwin II fled the city in the face of the entry of a Greek force from Nicaea led by Alexios Strategopoulos in the name of Michael VIII Palaiologos. For the period of its existence, the empire had been governed by a succession of five emperors: Henry (1206–16); Peter de Courtenay (1217); Robert (1221–28); John de Brienne (1229–37); and Baldwin II (1237–73). Paradoxically, the line of titular Latin emperors, which came to an end only in 1382 with the death of Jacques des Baux, may be said to have exerted far more political influence than their predecessors who actually ruled in Constantinople. It was an indicator that the Latin empire depended on material support and patronage from the Latin west.

Judgements on the empire and its rulers have been harsh: a barren and bankrupt experiment that in no way matched the great days of Byzantium. Certainly the new empire had tremendous military and financial problems which it was never to solve; yet it did mark a watershed in the place of Constantinople and its rulers in East–West relations. Conceived from the start as a territorial empire, the Latin empire never controlled very much land outside Constantinople itself, but it did incorporate that city very much into Western Christendom and to some extent established a Western ownership of the city which was to continue after the expulsion of the last Latin emperor by the forces of Michael VIII Palaiologos in 1261. Its brief existence was also to mark a substantive change in Western perceptions of subsequent Byzantine emperors and brought the latter much more into a reactive relationship with the West—initially in fending off Western attempts to recapture the city, and to unite the Roman and Orthodox Churches and latterly to work with the West in resisting Ottoman expansion. Constantinople had not endured to the Second Coming as many had foretold, and after 1261 the economic, political, and even cultural organization of the West was outstripping that of Byzantium.

The Latin emperors used Byzantine ceremonial and titles, but their administration and council were based on Western lines. The new Latin emperorship, no matter what Byzantine traditions it might seek to echo to reconcile its Greek subjects, was never fitted by either the pope or other Western rulers into the imperial model worked out in the West since AD 800.

Baldwin I was never regarded as one of the universal authorities in the medieval world who could create kingdoms and principalities; yet in the world of the Aegean he was to do just that with regard to lands in western Turkey, Thessalonica, and Achaea. Unlike his Byzantine predecessors he had his imperial title confirmed by pope Innocent III. This was necessary for papal support; but it also signalled that the new empire marked the union of the Greek and Latin communions, admittedly more in desire than in fact. Baldwin's title was the same as that used by his Byzantine predecessors. In its Latin version it ran *Balduinus, Dei Gratia Fidelissimus in Christo Imperator, a Deo Coronatus, Romanie Moderator et Semper Augustus.* Baldwin wore Byzantine imperial regalia and followed Byzantine imperial protocols, possibly to some effect among his Greek subjects; but despite all this the Latin emperors never gained imperial recognition in the West. Baldwin and his successors were always deferential to the pope, whose support they needed, and in no way did they exhibit any caesaropapal behaviour. Papal support was worth having. Pope Honorius III coined the epithet *Nova Francia* in 1224 to bolster Western and particularly French support for the new Crusader states in the Aegean. In times of military setback the pope would preach crusades to bolster the Latin empire as in 1223, 1262, and 1264, but these calls lacked appeal to would-be Western crusaders. The negative side of all this was the presence of a succession of papal legates in Constantinople which prevented the Latin emperors from working out any religious modus vivendi with their Greek subjects similar to that agreed by the Western rulers of Achaea.

From the start the emperors were advised by a council of their own choosing made up of their household officials and men who had their trust. This had led to difficulties with those excluded from these councils, particularly the Venetian interest in the city. In October 1205, on taking over the regency after the capture of his brother Baldwin I by the Bulgarians, the future emperor Henry of Hainault (1206–16) agreed to be advised by an "official" council made up of the Venetian *podestà*, the *podestà*'s council, and, somewhat vaguely, the principal Frankish vassals of the empire. This might answer an emergency situation when it was unclear whether Baldwin was alive or dead, but no ruler could be bound in this way for long. In practice two councils, the personal and the official, worked in parallel and sometimes in opposition. The Latin emperors seemed keen to use Greek advisers in their inner council, which provoked complaints to Western rulers from those in Constantinople who felt that this was inappropriate. This in turn led to interference from Western backers like the pope and the French royal family. The circumstances of the creation of the Latin empire by the contracting parties to the Fourth Crusade also meant that its sacramental basis was weakened and led to an attempt to define and thus limit imperial powers. This conformed with contemporary western-European constitutional developments and it is certainly not improbable that the barons of the Fourth Crusade had ideas of their own about the limitation of monarchical power.

The pact of March 1204, which had been primarily concerned with unity in the Crusader ranks at a time of crisis, had made provision for the election of an emperor and a Latin patriarch, for the division of spoils, and the carving out of fiefs. After the conquest it received surprising significance in the Latin empire. Each new emperor confirmed the pact on his accession and as such it acquired the status of law. It has been called the constitution of the Latin empire, yet it had nothing to contribute to the organization of the Latin state, but was concerned with protecting sectional interests and limiting the executive functions in all but name.

The partition of the former Byzantine empire which followed in October 1204 created spheres of influence rather than defining territorial grants. This was inevitable in that all lands of the former Byzantine empire had to be conquered and held by would-be Western rulers. The emperor received one quarter of the notionally available land; the remainder was divided between the other Crusaders, including the Venetians. The emperor's sphere was limited to parts of Constantinople, to eastern Thrace, and to Bithynia and the Troad in Asia Minor, an area roughly conceived as west of a line from Nicomedia to Philadelphia. Certainly in these areas the first Latin emperors sought to secure support by generous land grants and the creation of dukedoms. In all three areas the new empire confronted formidable enemies that did not permit the establishment of these lordships. Not only did the empire fail to expand, but after 1205, with a brief interlude between 1208 and 1211, it was on the defensive on all its borders.

The emperor was the suzerain of the Frankish states of the Aegean, yet this suzerainty had to be enforced and exercised to be effective. The defensive stance of the empire itself meant that only on occasion could this in fact be done. The Western conquest of Greece was carried out under the direction of Boniface of Thessalonica (d. 1207), a rival, rather than by Baldwin or Henry. The Latin emperors were clearly aware of this problem and, as soon as circumstances permitted, in March–May 1209 Henry visited central Greece and imposed his authority over the Western rulers there; but soon the emperors became preoccupied with defending their own frontiers against the Greeks of Nicaea and Epirus and against the Bulgarians. Conflict on three fronts left little time for exercising overlordship over Greek lands, establishing settled revenue streams, or reconciling Greeks to Latin rule.

In 1204 the Crusaders had rudely rejected the overtures of Kalojan and his Vlacho-Bulgar confederacy. In April 1205 he routed a Latin army near Adrianople, capturing the emperor Baldwin and killing some leading barons. In the next two years Thrace was ravaged and Kalojan began a campaign of extermination designed to win over Greek supporters of the Latin regime. The loyalty of the Greeks was critical to the Latin position, which now quickly deteriorated to the north and west of Constantinople. In April 1205 over 7000 Latins lost confidence in the future of the new empire and returned home. The Latin position in Thrace was saved only by the death of Kalojan in October 1207. The Latins had failed to capitalize on the advantage they had gained with the capture of Constantinople. They had not gained the dominant position in the Aegean and instead had become merely an additional element in the regional mosaic made up of the Byzantine successor states in Nicaea, Epirus, and Trebizond, and the Bulgarian power bloc to the north. None of these elements was powerful enough on its own to knock out the others. The Crusaders were quickly to develop a policy of negotiating to preserve their position. The odds were tipped against them.

Attrition and the backflow of Western settlers would eventually favour natives over incomers.

Immigration and reinforcements from the west were fitful and disappointing. Direct appeals for reinforcements were made in 1204, 1205, 1206, and 1212. A crusade, mounted mainly from northern Italy in 1223 to relieve Thessalonica, was poorly coordinated and broke up. Papal taxation of the clergy in support of the empire roused resentment in the west. The 30th request in 1239 went uncollected, a subsidy proposed in 1245 was still being collected in the 1260s, and another subsidy proposed by pope Urban IV in 1262 to restore the emperor Baldwin II seems never to have been collected.

The Latin empire was both a symptom and a casualty of changing western-European interests and perceptions. Founded as a staging point for the liberation of the Holy Land, it became just one of a number of worthy options as the variety of crusading experience widened in the 13th century. The anonymous annalist of the abbey of Santa Justina at Padua penned the epitaph of the empire in 1262 as but "a shadow of a great name". However, in a purely Aegean context, it did shield the developing states of Frankish Greece from the principal aggressors of the region in the early 13th century and allowed them some space to develop structures which enabled them to survive until the 15th century.

PETER LOCK

See also Political History 1204–1261

Summary

Dating from 1204 to 1261, the Latin empire began with the capture of Constantinople by the Fourth Crusade. Dependent for material support and patronage from the Latin west, it incorporated the city of Constantinople into western Christendom. It included parts of the city, eastern Thrace, Bithynia, and the Troad. Never vigorous, the empire eventually succumbed to Western apathy and Eastern aggression.

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Laurium

District in Attica

The district of Laurium played a pivotal role in the history of ancient Athens. It covered an area of about 200 square km, extending from Anaphlystus south to Sunium and then north to Thoricus. Hilly with only a few plains and subject to scarce rainfall, Laurium's importance in antiquity lay in its argentiferous lead, mined by slaves for centuries. Mining may have occurred as early as the Middle Bronze Age (at least at the site of Thoricus), when open-cast mining was used to extract silver and lead. As excavations have shown, mining in Laurium continued down through the Archaic period. Shafts or adits were sunk to reach the highly argentiferous ore deep under the surface; while some shafts were simple passages cut into the ground, other shafts reached a depth of over 130 m and were fitted with wooden ladders, huge galleries, and ventilation shafts. The extracted ore was sent to workshops (*ergasteria*), which included grinders, washeries, cisterns, furnaces, and cupellation work-areas. Athens considered the mines state property, but leased them at annual fixed rates (typically 4 per cent) to private individuals or companies (*poletai*), which employed slaves and condemned criminals. (Many of these lease arrangements have been published; see the bibliography below.) The mines proved especially important in the 5th century BC. In 483 a particularly rich vein was struck at Maronea, immediately yielding 100 talents of silver. With the Persians advancing on Greece, the Athenians, on the advice of Themistocles, elected to use the silver to finance an additional 100 triremes; the augmented Athenian fleet defeated the

Laurium: washery used in processing lead ore

Persian navy at the decisive battle of Salamis in 480, preventing a barbarian conquest of Greece. The mines continued to produce large amounts of silver during the century as Athens built its maritime empire. In the later stages of the Peloponnesian War, production ceased when the Spartan army, on the advice of the renegade Athenian general Alcibiades, occupied the nearby mountain pass of Deceleia, thereby blocking the land route from Euboea to Athens. In 413 over 20,000 slaves at Laurium reportedly defected to the Spartans. The mines were reopened after Athens had established in 377 the Second Athenian Confederacy; extensive mining was conducted for the rest of the 4th century. However, mining ceased in the 3rd century (the last dated lease is from 306 BC) due to a precipitous decline in the price of silver caused by the flooding of Macedonian gold coinage. Limited and sporadic mining occurred down to the end of the 2nd century, but slave uprisings in the 130s and 100s helped bring about the closing of deep mining. During the Roman empire slag heaps on the surface were resmelted, but otherwise the area was abandoned. It is estimated that altogether 2,000,000 tons of ore were smelted, with a yield of 1200 tons of silver and 400,000 tons of lead. The mining and processing of cadmium, magnesium, and lead continues in the area to the present day.

The administrative and economic centre of ancient Laurium was the city of Thoricus, located in the very northeast corner of the district. The ancient site is spread over on the side and top of the mountain Velatouri; its harbour, a refuge fortress built during the Peloponnesian War on the St Nikolaos peninsula, also served as a naval base. The lower slopes of the mountain were ringed by a fortification wall. Inside the wall are remains of numerous houses, workshops, ore washeries, an extensive industrial quarter, three sanctuaries, and a theatre. The theatre, with a unique design and shape, was first built in the 6th century BC and later expanded in the mid-4th to a seating capacity of 5000–6000; a temple of Dionysus formed part of the west entrance. Nearby necropolises have yielded nearly 200 tombs from the Protogeometric to the Hellenistic periods; some of the Geometric houses found among the graves show signs of silver working. Higher up, on the Velatouri, are prehistoric remains. Three Mycenaean tholoi or beehive tombs and a Mycenaean chamber tomb have been excavated; signs of cult worship in the Archaic period are evident. Trial trenches have demonstrated that the acropolis was inhabited as early as the beginning of the Early Bronze Age (*c.*2900 BC) down through the Geometric period, when houses were built over the remains of prehistoric dwellings. The site was abandoned during the early Roman empire. Neighbouring silver-mining sites in the Agrileza district, Pountazeze Bay, Mekala Perka, and Gaïdhouromandra Bay have recently been uncovered.

STEVEN M. OBERHELMAN

See also Silver and Lead

Summary

A district of southern Attica, Laurium was of particular importance for its silver and lead mines. Mining may have started as early as the Middle Bronze Age, but it became especially significant in the 5th century BC. The discovery of a very rich vein in 483 enabled the Athenians to build a fleet of 100 extra triremes with which they defeated the Persians at Salamis. Mining on a large scale ceased in the 3rd century BC. Mining of other metals continues today.

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Lausanne, Treaty of 1923

The Treaty of Lausanne, an international agreement signed by, among others, Britain, France, Greece, and Turkey, in July 1923, was a remarkable Turkish achievement and a heavy blow for Greece and its visions of a greater Greece. Alone among the countries defeated in World War I, Turkey was able to reject, by force of arms, the terms imposed on it by the victorious allies at the conclusion of the war. The treaty signed at Lausanne rendered null and void the Treaty of Sèvres (1920), which had carved up the Ottoman empire and distributed the various pieces to the victors, and gave to Turkey the territorial integrity and full independence that the Ottomans had lost as a result of their defeat in 1918. For the Greeks, the most consequential sections of the treaty were those that settled the territorial and population issues remaining between the two countries as a result of war and the upending of international agreements. Greece had formally to surrender eastern Thrace, several Aegean islands, and the city of Smyrna and its hinterland in western Anatolia. All of these territories had been awarded to it in the Treaty of Sèvres of 1920. In addition, the long and vibrant history of Hellenism in Asia Minor was brought to a close. All "Turkish nationals of the Greek Orthodox religion established in Turkish territory" (with the exception of those living in Istanbul) were to be forcibly sent to Greece, in exchange for "Greek nationals of the Muslim reli-

gion established in Greek territory" (with the exception of the Muslims of Thrace), who had to depart for Turkey. It is estimated that about one and half million Greek Orthodox and half a million Muslims were affected by this population exchange.

The reason that the settlement so favoured Turkey was simple: between 1920 and 1923 the Turkish nationalists had realized an amazing string of military victories. Accustomed to dealing with an obsequious Ottoman sultan, the Allies were astonished to learn, in February 1920, that an army of 20,000 Turkish troops operating deep inside Anatolia under the command of Mustafa Kemal (later Atatürk) had defeated a small French contingent at Marash in southern Anatolia. But this was just the beginning. By an odd coincidence, the very month, May 1919, that Mustafa Kemal began his journey into Anatolia, the Greek government received permission from the Allied powers to land Greek troops in Smyrna on the coast of western Anatolia. The understanding was that the Greek government would administer Smyrna and its hinterland, with a Greek population of more than one million, for five years. At that point a plebiscite on union with Greece would be held. Finally, it seemed, the Greeks were going to be able to build the Greece of "Two Continents and Five Seas" that they had dreamed of for so long. Greek troops quickly landed and occupied not only the territories assigned to them, but began to advance into the interior of Anatolia as well. Thus it was only a matter of time before they would run into Kemal's army. Kemal and his forces were determined to reverse the dismemberment of Anatolia that the Allies (including Greece), in collusion with the Ottoman sultan, had begun to implement. It was at the Sakarya river, deep inside Anatolia, that Kemal, in August 1921, managed to stop the Greek advance, although he had to sustain severe casualties in order to do so. The Greek army, stranded in the interior of Anatolia and deserted by its allies, began to retreat. The final blow came one year later, when Kemal launched his final offensive and drove the remaining soldiers, along with civilian refugees, into Smyrna and, famously, even into the sea itself.

The expulsion of the Greek community of Asia Minor was a singular event in modern Greek history and came to be known as the Great Catastrophe. The Treaty of Lausanne was as bitterly resented in Greece as the Treaty of Sèvres had been in Turkey. It brought to an end the pursuit of the Great Idea, which had dominated Greek politics since the middle of the 19th century. The Great Idea envisioned the expansion of the Greek state to include all the Greek communities (however defined) of the Balkans and the Near East. Now that dream had to be abandoned and Greece had to come to terms with the disaster that had befallen it.

The population exchange enforced by Convention VI of the Treaty of Lausanne continued and actually reinforced the demographic upheaval that had been ongoing in the Balkans and the Near East since 1912. As war engulfed the region, first the Balkan Wars, then World War I, then the Graeco-Turkish War, and the War of Turkish Independence, many people found themselves on the wrong side of the border and began to flee. In 1912, for example, 100,000 Balkan Muslims fled before the successful armies of the Balkan League. The result of this massive flight over the course of a decade was a radical restructuring of the area's population in the direction of what was considered to be greater ethnic homogeneity. Against the backdrop of such extreme violence, the European diplomats who worked out the idea of a formal population exchange felt that it was the best way to ensure stability in Europe. Others, however, were uneasy with this method of dealing with the problem of minorities. A Red Cross officer writing at the time pointed out that neither the Greeks of Asia Minor nor the Muslims of Macedonia had any desire to leave their homeland. Greek refugees marched by the thousand in Athens, carrying black banners of mourning at the Lausanne decision that they must never return to their homes. Despite the general feeling of a catastrophe, the Greek government was able to derive at least one significant benefit from the massive influx of refugees. By settling large numbers in Greek Macedonia, they effectively Hellenized an area where non-Greek populations had historically been strong.

MOLLY GREENE

See also Asia Minor Campaign, Great Idea, Refugees

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Law

Evidence for the legal history of Greece is patchy. For some periods there are only the legislative texts, for others only contracts or court decisions. In these cases, the extent of the gap between the law and its application remains unknown. This article will attempt to provide a brief overview of the available sources of law in different historical periods. For reasons of convenience the discussion is divided into four chronological sections: (1) antiquity (late-7th century BC to AD 212), (2) the Romano-Byzantine period (AD 212–1453), (3) the Tourkokratia (1453–1821), (4) modern Greece (1821–present).

Antiquity

The sources of law in ancient Greece include inscriptions preserving laws and decrees of the assemblies of the city states, private transactions (sales, manumissions, wills, leases, loans), interstate agreements, lawcourt speeches pertaining to political and legal disputes in 4th-century BC Athens, philosophical and

sociological treatises, and, to a lesser degree, literature (comedy and drama). A particular case in the ancient Greek world is Egypt under the Ptolemies. The legal system, developed over almost ten centuries, is preserved in numerous papyri written in Greek, including all kinds of documents from receipts for deliveries and censuses to marriage and divorce agreements, inheritance settlements, loans, etc.

The several hundred tablets of Linear B, the earliest deciphered form of writing in Greece, from 13th-century BC Pylos, Knossos, and Thebes reveal very little, if anything at all, about the legal aspect of Mycenaean society. They relate mainly to the administrative structure of these kingdoms and the status of the land.

The earliest information on law concerns procedural affairs or what is sometimes called dispute settlement. In the 8th-century society of the Homeric poems and especially in the famous scene on Achilles' shield (*Iliad*, 18. 497–508), the disputants over the payment for homicide present their case to the assembled elders. Hesiod, the next earliest source, refers to gift-devouring kings when it comes to adjudicating disputes. In the late 7th century BC there was a wave of legislators, especially in the colonies of southern Italy (Zaleucus Epizephyrii at Locri, Charondas at Catana) and only subsequently in Athens (Draco), Sparta (Lycurgus), and Mytilene (Pittacus). The content of their legislation is preserved in a piecemeal way by later authors, who underline the moral and pedagogical aspect of their legislation (laws about revenge, about amending laws, banning the sale of land, regulating family life, etc). The first firmly attested laws come from late-7th-century Crete. They mainly concern procedural matters, such as the ban on magistrates serving a second term in office in the small town of Driros (*M-L*, 2). However, the most famous example of legislation from Crete is the early-5th-century inscription known as the "law-code of Gortyn" (*IC*, 4. 72). The Gortyn laws regulated property affairs between spouses in case of divorce or death, inheritance, adoption, sexual offences, personal status, and procedural matters associated with them. Recent research suggests that these laws did not form part of a codification programme but were the outcome of successive stages of codification and amendment.

The best-known legal system of the ancient Greek world is that of Athens. The first major legislative effort was made by Solon in 594 BC. It comprised constitutional reforms (establishment of a council), the abolition of debts, and innovations in the inheritance laws. Further reforms in the constitutional framework were introduced by Cleisthenes in 509 BC (new administrative units and a reformed council) and in 462 BC by Ephialtes (reduction of the political powers of Areopagus). The text of the Draconian law on homicide survives from the late 5th century. The main characteristics of law in Athens in the 5th and 4th centuries BC were: (1) law thought of as a piece of evidence, (2) the lack of autonomy of the legal sphere, (3) the interaction of politics and law in the domain of public law, (4) the multiplicity of procedures available to the prosecutor, (5) popular courts appointed by lot, (6) lack of definitions of offences, and (7) absence of a professional class of jurists and lawyers.

For the remaining city states and kingdoms, with the exception of the literary (and for some questionable) tradition on the Lycurgan legislation in Sparta, there are only fragmentary and isolated pieces of evidence about their legal systems. These are mainly decrees of the assembly honouring individuals, registers of acts of manumission, of leases, sales of land or other transactions, which do not provide a coherent picture of legal life.

The rise of the kingdom of Macedonia followed by the foundation of numerous Greek colonies in the Middle East, Egypt and Anatolia resulted in the interaction of the laws of the city states among themselves and with the laws of the colonized lands. Egypt is the best-documented example of this interaction between the laws of the Greek settlers, soldiers, and officials and the local population. In Greece proper the Macedonian domination did not affect the legal life of the cities to the point of obliterating their autonomy. Certainly, the kings of Macedonia and their successors granted conquered land and privileges to their friends and friendly cities. But they did not interfere directly with the legal institutions. In the same way, the Roman conquest of Macedonia in 168 BC and of the remaining Greek cities in 146 BC did not mean the abolition of their legal autonomy. Most cities kept their legal institutions and rules except in the area of public law, which had to accommodate Roman wishes. The Romans applied Roman law only to Roman citizens while the affairs of the conquered people and the allies were regulated by the *jus gentium*. That period ended with the grant of Roman citizenship by Caracalla in AD 212 to every free inhabitant of the empire. From that moment, Roman law superseded the laws of the remaining city states. The extent to which local laws and customs disappeared or influenced the application of the rules of Roman law is still debated.

The Romano-Byzantine period

The sources of law in Greece in the Romano-Byzantine period are preserved in the major codifying efforts of Byzantine emperors, such as Theodosius I (379–95), Justinian I (527–65), Leo III (717–41), Leo VI the Wise (886–912), their compilations, and commentaries as well as monographs and the sporadic collections of court decisions. From the 11th century onwards, the archives of the monastic communities of Mount Athos, pertaining to the landed property of the monasteries in Macedonia, provide interesting insights into the sociolegal conditions of the era.

The history of law in Greece in this period joins the development of Roman law. In the late 3rd century AD the need for a collection of the imperial constitutions had become evident. Three attempts were made: *Codex Gregorianus* (AD 291) and *Codex Hermogenianus* (AD 295) were probably private collections containing imperial constitutions from Hadrian to Diocletian, while the *Codex Theodosianus* (AD 438) included constitutions from the reign of Constantine the Great onwards. But the compilation by Justinian known as *Corpus Juris Civilis* (AD 533/4) was more ambitious. It included not only opinions of the most famous Roman jurists (*Digest*), but provisions from previous codes and those approved in the meantime (*Codex*), an introductory course for students of law (*Institutiones*), and laws issued by the emperor (*Novellae*). No commentaries were allowed but only the teaching of law. However, after the death of Justinian two major commentaries on the legislation appeared in the late 6th century AD by Theodoros Hermopolitis and Athanasios Emesinos. In parallel

there were several works addressing the needs of the practitioners of law – *Ropai* (About Deadlines), *Peri Bathmon Syggeneias* (About Kinship), *Peri Enantiophaneion* (About Contradictions). The structure of the administration of justice was reformed by Justinian. Until his reign justice was part of the remit of civic and military officials. Justinian appointed 13 judges to resolve disputes in Constantinople, while appeals were addressed to the emperor's *consilium*. Another aspect was the extension of the *episcopalis audentia*, that is the jurisdiction of bishops to resolve private disputes when the litigants so wished, recognized by Constantine. From this early Byzantine period also date the first collections of ecclesiastical rules, later known with the inclusion of civil rules as *nomokanones*.

In AD 741 the Isaurian emperors Leo III and Constantine V introduced the *Ekloge* (Ecloga), an epitomization of *Corpus Juris Civilis* in a more accessible structure and language. Major novelties were introduced in marriage (recognition of a civil and religious wedding), inheritance, and above all in penal law (limiting the application of the death penalty and the discretion of the judge in imposing penalties). Among other laws issued were the *Georgikos Nomos* (mainly concerning property law) in the late 7th or early 8th century, the *Nomos Rodion Nautikos* (codification of maritime custom of the eastern Mediterranean) in the 7th or 8th century, and the *Stratiotikos Nomos* (pertaining to military penal law) between the late-6th and mid-8th centuries.

The emperors of the Macedonian dynasty (867–1081) reintroduced the legislation of Justinian with *Procheiros Nomos* (879) and *Eisagogi ton Nomon* (*c.*885) in which the dual power of emperor and patriarch in the Byzantine state was recognized as ultimate. Then, in about 900, Leo VI the Wise produced a compilation of the *Digest* in 60 books, called the *Basilika*. The *Eparchike Biblos* (*c.*911 or 963) addressed to the city prefect responsible for the supervision of guilds, contained rules concerning their organization and duties. A significant number of compilations and commentaries were subsequently drawn up, among them the *Epitome ton Nomon* (*c.*913), *Epitome ad Prochiron Mutata*, *Ecloga Privata Aucta* (a collection from the 9th century including rules from the Isaurian *Ekloge*), *Ecloga ad Prochiron Mutata*, *Eisagoge Aucta* (a collection of the 10th or 11th century from the legislation of the Macedonian dynasty), *Synopsis Basilicorum Maior* (a collection of the main provisions of *Basilika* of the mid-10th century), *Tipoukeitos* (an index to *Basilika* by judge Patzes at the end of the 11th century), and the *Ecloga Basilicorum Librorum I–X* (a selection with comments from the first 10 books of *Basilika* composed in the 12th century). In the following centuries three major compilations appeared: the *Synopsis Minor* of *Basilika* in the end of 13th century, the *Prochiron Auctum* (*c.*1300) including regulations from several compilatory works and codes, and the *Hexabiblos* by K. Armenopoulos in 1345, which was a compilation from the *Procheiros Nomos* and other earlier collections in six books, that tried to answer the problems of applying the law. Two teaching handbooks of law appeared, *Synopsis ton Nomon* (11th century) by Michael Psellos, politician and philologist, and *Ponima Nomikon* (*c.*1073) a synopsis of *Basilika* by Michael Attaleiatis.

There were also three major collections of judicial decisions: *Peira, Igoun Didaskalia ek ton Praxeon tou Megalou Kyrou Eustathiou tou Romaiou*, (Know-How, or Teachings from the Acts of the Great Cyrus Eustathios the Roman, *c.*1040–1050), and at the end of the 12th century the decisions of bishops Dimitrios Chomatianos and Ioannis Apokaukos on ecclesiastical and civil law matters. Several monographs were published: among them the most important were *Peri Hypobolou*, *Hypomnema peri Duo Exadelphon Labonton Duo Exadelphas* (Note on the Marriage of Cousins) by Eustathios Romaios, *Peri Diaireseos Phonon kai ton Prospheugonton ti tou Theou Megali Ekklisia* (On the Distinction of Terms and those who Take Refuge in the Great Church of Christ) by Konstantinos Garidas (11th century).

In the 12th century (and probably earlier), the judicial system was divided into courts of higher status with jurisdiction and courts of lower status without jurisdiction. The former could delegate cases to the latter, decide on criminal cases, and authorize certain actions by the litigants. As a rule, the prosecutor/plaintiff had to go to the court of the defendant's place of residence; there was exceptional jurisdiction for the clergy, military, senators, and guild members as well as for fiscal matters.

A new *Nomokanon* appeared *c.*883 including resolutions of synods convened in the meantime. Major works on ecclesiastical law were written by Balsamon and Zonaras, who prepared commentaries on the *Nomokanon*. An encyclopedia of ecclesiastical law with some provisions of civil law, known as the *Syntagma kata Stoicheion* (Elements of the Law) by Matthaios Blastaris, appeared in 1335.

In the 12th and 13th centuries there was a marked decline in legal studies and an increasing involvement of clerics in dispensing justice and theorizing about it. One reason for this may lie in the gradual weakening of the central authority and the Latin conquest of Constantinople in 1204, which led to the fragmentation of political and judicial authority. Crete remained under the influence of Venetian law until 1669; the Ionian islands until 1797. The laws of the Venetian republic and the regulations issued by the governor were applied in the areas where the Venetians were dominant while there is some evidence for the application of customary law. A collection of laws used in the Latin kingdoms of the east (mainly of mainland Greece), known as the *Assizes of Romania*, survives from the early 14th century.

The Tourkokratia

The Ottoman conquest of mainland Greece, which lasted for four and in some areas for five centuries, passed the responsibility for administering justice among Christians to the Orthodox Patriarchate. The legal sources for the period from the 15th to the 19th century include the compilations of earlier Byzantine (civil) law (especially of *Basilika*) and rules of ecclesiastical law, which were made mainly for the use of bishops, and the archives of notaries preserved in the Cyclades and Ionian islands.

Three layers of jurisdiction were created: the Islamic law pertaining to property affairs, the Romano-Byzantine law administered by the Patriarchate and applied in disputes among Christians, and, finally, the locally operating customary law. The main instruments for administering justice by the ecclesiastical authorities were compilations of Byzantine law

(especially Harmenopoulos' *Hexabiblos*) with rules of ecclesiastical law, known as *nomokanones* or *nomika*.

Modern Greece

Law in the modern Greek state closely follows the models established in post-revolution France and Germany. The judiciary is independent from the executive, although the head of the Supreme Court (*Areios Pagos*) is appointed by the Minister of Justice. Judges are professionals, while there is a limited role for juries. Most often codes provide the rules of substance and procedure in criminal, civil, and administrative courts.

During the War of Independence and under the influence of the French Revolution, three constitutional texts were produced (1822, 1825, 1827). Subsequent constitutional law has followed the political history of the country from the demand for a constitution in 1843 (establishing a constitutional monarchy), to the enactment of a new constitution in 1864 (as amended in 1911), to the establishment of the republic in 1924 after the defeat in the Graeco-Turkish war of 1920–22, to the restoration of a constitutional monarchy after the civil war of 1944–49 (1952), and finally to the restoration of democracy following the collapse of the 1967–1974 dictatorship (1975, amended 1986).

In the area of civil law the Bavarian administration ordered the collection of local customs but discouraged the idea of drawing up a civil code. Provisionally, the decree of 23 February/7 March 1835 sanctioned that the compilation of Harmenopoulos (*Hexabiblos*) be used as civil law until the elaboration of a civil code. A civil code was finally introduced in 1946 (amended in 1982) and with it came the abolition of local codes, such as the Ionian Civil Code, the Civil Code of Crete, and the Civil Code of Samos. A penal code was introduced in 1951, and has been amended several times since, as well as a Code of Penal Procedure (1952). A Code of Civil Procedure was introduced in 1968, replacing the one elaborated by Maurer in the 1830s, and has already undergone several amendments. Finally, the entry of Greece into the European Union in 1981 meant the adoption of the legal order of the European Union, since in most cases European legislation and courts prevail over national ones.

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See also Canon Law, Constitution, Judicial Procedure, Nomokanon

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Laz

Ethnic group from the Caucasus region

The Laz are a mysterious people to be found in the southeastern corner of the Black Sea, speaking a Caucasian language akin to Georgian. Until the collapse of the Soviet Union about 50,000 Laz-speakers could be found in that country and about the same number in Turkey. Georgian independence, followed by civil war and the secession of Abkhazia, and the dubious status of the district near the Turkish border have confused the issue, with the Laz now scattered among a number of territories and joining a growing band of refugees in the Caucasus. Prior to 1923 the Laz population of this area on the Black Sea was interspersed with the large Greek community around Trebizond. Because the exchange of populations following the Greek defeat in Asia Minor was conducted on religious rather than linguistic grounds, Christian Laz may have been evacuated to Greece. There are references to Laz in Greek statistics, although such immigrants would seem to have been assimilated fairly quickly, and there may be confusion between Pontic Greeks in general, and Laz in particular. Both in ancient and in modern times, Lazica as a geographical term for the Caucasian corner of the Black Sea coast clearly encompassed a great many races other than the Laz. Ancient sources are hardly likely to be specific about the mosaic of different languages in the Caucasus, and since until very recently Laz was not a written language, modern authorities have found it hard to take it seriously.

Lazica appears in Greek legend as Colchis, the land of Medea and the Golden Fleece. A Greek colony on the river Phasis was founded by Miletus. Xenophon in his *Anabasis* encountered tribes hostile to him and to each other. Pliny and Strabo both mention the multiplicity of different languages in the area. Lazica had been part of the empire of Mithradates of Pontus until Rome under Pompey entered the region. For the next 700 years the southern Caucasus was hotly disputed between Persia on the one hand, and the Roman or Byzantine empire on the other, sometimes acting as an independent ally to both sides. Western Lazica generally fell in the Roman sphere. The gold of the Golden Fleece made it valuable, and it was an important staging post on the silk road from China. The coming of Christianity in the 4th century should have strengthened the links with the Roman empire, but the decline of this empire meant that in the time of Justinian I (527–65)

an independent Lazica owed allegiance to the Persians. Procopius describes in long and tedious detail how Justinian reversed this state of affairs. The Arab invasions drove back the Byzantines temporarily, but they never really lost control over the central district near Trebizond in spite of the presence of the Arabs and the Turks and the independent and powerful kingdom of Georgia under the Bagrationi dynasty. The Georgians were Christians and usually allied to the Greeks. Indeed it was the famous queen Tamara of Georgia who was able to help her nephews David and Andronikos Komnenos carve out a domain in Trebizond which survived until 1461.

Laz and Greeks appear to have survived in harmony both in Trebizond and in the multi-ethnic kingdom of the Bagrationis. But the arrival of the Ottoman Turks changed this. Georgia survived with some difficulty until the Russians annexed it at the begining of the 19th century, but it lost control of Lazica. Under the Ottomans in both the Georgian and the Byzantine parts of Lazica, most of the Laz converted to Islam. Some may have already become Muslims at the time of the Arab invasions. As in Albania, in addition to financial benefits for conversion there were linguistic reasons as well. Services in Greek or Georgian are unlikely to have been comprehensible or congenial to the average Laz; Islam is less demanding.

Russian and Turkish troops fought different campaigns in the Caucasus during World War I; as a result the Laz were divided between the hardly sympathetic regimes of Kemal Atatürk in Turkey and the Bolsheviks in Russia. Their language would have been ripe for extinction, but recent interest in minorities and the efforts of the German scholar W. Feurstein to give the Laz a language and an identity may preserve this improbable fossil.

T.J. WINNIFRITH

See also Georgia

Summary

An ethnic group from the Caucasus region, the Laz inhabit the area known to Greek legend as Colchis. Taken for the Romans by Pompey, the region was disputed by Romans and Persians for 700 years but remained largely Christian until the coming of the Ottomans, when most Laz converted to Islam.

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Lebadea

City in Boeotia

In antiquity Lebadea was best known as the site of the oracle of Trophonius. Today, it is the largest city in Boeotia.

The town spreads out on both sides of the river Hercyna, which issues from an impressive gorge, dominated at one end by a Frankish castle and at the other by a graceful Turkish bridge. Lebadea lies south of Chaeronea, southwest of Orchomenus, and west of Coronea, from which it is separated by Mount Laphystion. Like Mount Laphystion, the later polis of Lebadea originally belonged to Orchomenus. Legendary connections linking Lebadea and Laphystion to Orchomenus (Trophonius and Agamedes were sons of Erginus of Orchomenus, and Athamas king of Orchomenus attempted to sacrifice his children to Zeus Laphystius) support the impression that Lebadea was originally a dependency of Orchomenus (Lebadea's absence from the Homeric Catalogue of Ships – strongly felt by later inhabitants, who identified their polis with Homeric Mideia – is another indication).

The earliest contemporary references to Lebadea by name occur in the 5th century BC. Lebadea and the oracle of Trophonius seem to have come to the notice of the outside world, that is to say, Athens, at the time of the battle of Coronea in 446 BC, after which the oracle began to become famous. Lebadea was independent by the end of the 5th century BC. Under the federal constitution described by the Oxyrhynchus Historian, Lebadea at this period took turns with Haliartus and Coronea in contributing one of the 11 Boeotarchs (Hell. Oxy. 16 [11]. 2–4). Although attacked and plundered by Lysander in 395, the polis recovered sufficiently to issue its own independent coinage after the King's Peace (the absence of any coins attributable to Lebadea in the late 6th century is another indication that it had not yet become independent at that time).

Lebadea was one of few towns in Boeotia to survive and prosper throughout antiquity. By AD 100 it was one of the most important towns on the mainland, and an almost obligatory stop on any visitor's "grand tour", no doubt because of the oracle of Trophonius, its best-known sanctuary. This was just outside the town, on the banks of the river Hercyna. The oracle functioned as early as the 6th century BC and perhaps even earlier. It shares the characteristics of two distinct types of oracle. The first, exemplified elsewhere in Boeotia at the Amphiareion near Oropus (and also possibly at the Thesprotian Nekromanteion), is one where the god lives underground and is approached directly at night by the consultant. Trophonius' oracle was also one of a number clustered around Lake Copais, each situated more or less at the limits of its polis. Here the predominant features were a hill or mountain represented by a young god, and a spring issuing from it, represented by a nymph who was usually the god's *trophos* (nurse). Divination came through inspiration caused by drinking the water of the spring, which was the real medium.

The traveller Pausanias (second half of the 2nd century AD) gives a vivid description of his own consultation of Trophonius. First, he spent several days in a house sacred to the Good Daemon and Good Fortune, bathing only in the water of the Hercyna, and sacrificing to the divinities of the

sanctuary. The entrails of each victim were scrutinized to see if the omens were favourable. On the night of the actual descent he put on special clothes. The procedure began with the sacrifice of a ram over a pit and invocation of Agamedes: only if the omens from this sacrifice were favourable could the consultation proceed. He was taken to the Hercyna, anointed and washed, and then to two adjacent fountains of Forgetfulness and Memory, from which he drank. Then, after worshipping the early cult image of Trophonius, he proceeded to the oracle, where he was let down into the chasm by means of a ladder. At the bottom he lay on his back, holding honey-cakes in his hands, and thrust his feet and legs into a narrow gap between the wall and floor of the pit, whereupon he was pulled through the hole. Inside he was confronted by the god (Pausanias says that prophecy could come by sight or sound, but does not say what his own experience was), and then thrust out again feet first through the same hole. Back on ground level, he was seated by the priests on the throne of Memory, and asked to describe his experience.

The other important cult at Lebadea was that of Zeus Basileus (the King), probably the same as the god worshipped on neighbouring Mount Laphystion. He is best known in connection with the games called *Basileia*, which the Boeotians, under the leadership of the Thebans, founded to commemorate their victory over Sparta at the battle of Leuctra (371 BC). The Thebans chose the site carefully, to emphasize their own domination of Boeotia and the consequent humiliation of Orchomenus.

The intertwined development of the two cults – of Trophonius and Zeus Basileus – reveals how religion, politics, and commerce interacted in the life of a polis. In the latter part of the 3rd century BC the polis of Lebadea undertook a major building project, which would affect its two outstanding attractions, the sanctuaries of Trophonius and Zeus Basileus. The plan was to build a temple of Zeus – huge by the standards of mainland Greece – on the top of a hill which dominated the route leading past Lebadea to Delphi, as it still does. They also planned to move the site of the oracular chasm from inside the sanctuary of Trophonius to the mountain top. The plan to build the temple failed due to shortage of funds. The project was eventually taken over by the Boeotian Confederacy, but too late, for very soon afterwards the confederacy was dissolved by the Romans and all that was left of the undertaking were the foundations of the building – on the hill called Profitis Ilias – and a pan-Boeotian college of *naopoioi* (temple fabric officers) who, since their work was never finished, were never disbanded.

The other part of the project was completed. It is quite clear from Pausanias that the oracle was not in the sanctuary of Trophonius itself, but beyond and above it, on the hill which also bore the temple of Zeus Basileus. In fact, the remains of this man-made hole were discovered between the foundations of the temple of Zeus Basileus and the chapel of Profitis Ilias (although it has since vanished with the complete rebuilding of the chapel).

Aside from these two important sanctuaries, relatively little is known about public religious activity at Lebadea. There has been no systematic excavation in the ancient town site: accidental finds late in the 1930s revealed evidence for the worship of the mother of the gods, of Artemis Eileithyia, and Zeus Meilichius. Their find spot, although it was clearly not at their original sites, suggests that the sanctuaries of these deities were at or near the outskirts of the urban area of the polis. Pausanias says only that Lebadea had all the amenities of a normal Greek polis, but he does not describe them. To him they were banal, and not as interesting as the oracle of Trophonius.

The oracle operated at least into the 3rd century AD, and possibly even later. The town itself, probably because the hilltop above the gorge of the Hercyna was ideally suited for the siting of a castle, flourished throughout the Middle Ages, being held successively by Franks, Catalans, and Turks. The castle itself may have been built early in the 13th century, during which Lebadea belonged to the dukes of Athens (who were based at Esteves, that is, Thebes). After the defeat of the knights of the Morea by members of the Catalan Company in 1311, Lebadea became for a time the third city of the Catalan duchy of Athens and Neopatros.

In the 15th century, after further vicissitudes, it was ceded to Mehmet II, and remained a major site throughout the Tourkokratia (even today, the elegant bridge over the Hercyna and a small number of buildings – among them, a bathhouse – bear testimony to this period). Greek again since 1829, Lebadea is the capital of the nomos of Boeotia, and the seat of the bishop of Thebes and Lebadea.

ALBERT SCHACHTER

See also Oracles

Summary

This city in Boeotia was best known in antiquity for its oracle of Trophonius, where the consultant approached the deity directly by descending underground. Lebadea was an important fortified site during the Frankish and Catalan periods, and later flourished under the Tourkokratia. Today it is the capital of the nomos of Boeotia and seat of the bishop of Thebes and Lebadea.

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Lemnos

Island in the northern Aegean

The position of Lemnos in the northern Aegean, where it lies midway between the tip of the Mount Athos promontory and the coast of Asia Minor, meant that control over it was always sought after. Any ships entering or leaving the Hellespont (the Passage of Romania, now the Dardanelles) could do so only with the knowledge (and often the permission) of the current

rulers of Lemnos. The frequency with which their identity might change is a symptom of its strategic importance to the Hellenic world throughout its history. The island is now administered under the nomos of Lesbos.

Lemnos has an area of 476 sq km and, like a number of the Aegean islands, its shape indicates its volcanic origins, two bays to north and south almost dividing the island in two; the smaller, eastern, sector was where the capital of the island in antiquity, Hephaestus, was situated, while on the coast of the western sector, larger and much more mountainous with the highest peak of Mount Skopia reaching 430 m, the medieval and modern capital of Myrina is located. The low-lying and flatter areas of the island are quite fertile, and produce a variety of crops. A tradition, already current in antiquity and still existing in the 20th century, credited Lemnian earth, excavated on one day each year, with the power of healing many kinds of wounds; it was exported all over the Hellenic world.

In antiquity Lemnos figured both in Homeric legend and in Hellenic history. Herodotus (4. 145) related how the Argonauts, who according to legend had arrived on the island and left progeny there, were driven out of Lemnos three generations later by the Pelasgi. Later (5. 26) he described how Lemnos, with Imbros, was taken from the Pelasgi by Otanes, who had already occupied Byzantium and Chalcedon. The stronghold of Myrina figured early in the history of the island, as when Miltiades, having called on the Pelasgi to leave the island – a call which the townspeople of Hephaestus obeyed – was defied by the inhabitants of Myrina, whom he besieged (no doubt secure in their rock-perched fortress) before eventually ejecting them by force.

An indication of the importance in the Greek world that Lemnos must already have attained by the early 4th century AD is suggested by the fact that the island's bishop was one of only three from all the Aegean islands to attend the First Church Council at Nicaea in 325. The site of an early Christian basilica is still preserved at Livadochori, close to the narrowest part of the island. The island's ecclesiastical importance was further increased when, under Leo VI (885–912), it was raised to a metropolitan see; this was probably in part due to an attempt to counter the rise of Saracen maritime power in the northern Aegean, and in 924 a Byzantine fleet decisively defeated the Saracens off the coast of Lemnos. By 1136 Venice, already always anxious to establish and extend its trading opportunities, reached an agreement with the island's metropolitan to grant the use of a chapel at the port of Kotsinas (modern Kokkino) in the bay on the north coast; this foothold in Byzantine territory is a further indication of the island's continuing strategic and economic significance.

In the Deed of Partition that followed the Fourth Crusade in 1204 Lemnos was awarded to the new Latin emperor in Constantinople, but he was unable to maintain control of the island and from 1207 it became a domain of the Venetian family of the Navigaiosa, who were styled grand dukes. When the first duke, Philocole, died in 1214, Lemnos remained in the family's control, being divided in half, his son ruling one half and his two daughters the other. This arrangement continued until 1276, when Michael VIII Palaiologos was able to reestablish Byzantine possession. It was inevitable that with the rise of Genoese power in the northern Aegean, and the corresponding weakness of Byzantium, control of Lemnos should pass to the Gattilusi family, with Jacopo Gattilusi (lord of Mytilene) ruling there 1414–19.

It was by chance that in 1442, while travelling back to Constantinople from Lesbos with his young bride Caterina Gattilusi, Constantine Palaiologos, later to become the last Byzantine emperor, stopped at Lemnos; they stayed at the castle beside the port of Kotsinas, first built by the Venetians in 1397, but the Turks had been informed of their presence and blockaded the port. While there Caterina, who probably by then was pregnant, became ill and in August, her condition aggravated by the stress of their situation, she died; she was buried at Palaiokastro, the site of the ancient Hephaestus, but her grave has disappeared. Had she lived for just another seven years, she could have become the last Byzantine empress.

With the fall of Constantinople in 1453 the Gattilusi again controlled Lemnos, but their rule was so oppressive that a secret plea was sent by the people of Lemnos to the Turkish sultan Mehmet II to take over the island. This development was forestalled when, in 1456, the island became involved in a papal crusade carried out in the name of pope Callixtus III to recover Constantinople from Islam. In that year a papal force under a Venetian cardinal, Lodovico Trevisan, occupied Lemnos, Samothrace, and Thasos, installing garrisons and governors in the name of the pope. His successor, Pius II, even founded a completely new religious military order, the Order of Our Lady of Bethlehem, which had its headquarters on Lemnos. These interventions by western powers all came to an end in 1470 with full Turkish occupation.

From then until 1912, when it again became part of Greece and passed to official Greek control, Lemnos was occupied either by the Turks or, briefly, the Russians. It was always to be its strategic significance that gave the island its importance; this was the reason why it figured in numerous 20th-century treaties and agreements. In 1915 the harbour at Myrina became the assembly point for the British fleet that was to make the famous and disastrous assault on the Gallipoli peninsula, and it was only in 1936 that Greece regained the right to fortify Lemnos and Samothrace; as late as 1983 the previous illegal fortification of Lemnos by Greece became the issue which caused the Greeks to withdraw (at Turkish insistence) from a combined exercise of NATO forces.

PAUL HETHERINGTON

Summary

An island located in the northern Aegean, Lemnos is strategically placed to control the passage of the Dardanelles. In the late Middle Ages Lemnos was disputed between the Venetians, Genoese, and Byzantines. It was under Turkish rule from 1470 to 1912, when it reverted to Greece.

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Leo III *c.*685–741

Emperor

When the Arabs entered the Byzantine empire in 716, proposing to take Constantinople, they were aware that the general responsible for defending the eastern frontier, Leo, had refused to recognize the de facto emperor, Theodosios III (recently set on the throne by the rebellious army of the Opsikion); they therefore assumed that if they recognized Leo as emperor they would find in him an ally. Leo, realizing that he had inadequate forces to resist them, reached some kind of agreement. The Arab generals had their men proclaim him emperor and, to avoid pillaging the territory under his jurisdiction, led their army into southern Anatolia to winter. As soon as the way was clear, Leo, with his few forces, headed for Constantinople. Theodosios promptly abdicated and entered a monastery. For the seventh time in 22 years the throne had been seized by force. The Isaurian dynasty, which Leo founded, ruled until 802.

When the Arab general Masalmas realized that Leo had tricked him he crossed to Thrace, took a number of minor strongholds, and laid the country waste before moving on Constantinople. In August 717 he set his army in position around the city and had a deep ditch dug around the walls with a drystone wall above it. On 1 September an Arab fleet of 1,800 vessels, comprising large warships and lighter, fast craft, anchored along the sea wall of the city. But because this position was unsuited to a long siege, as soon as a favourable wind arose the fleet started to move to sites where camps could be established; Leo took advantage of their difficulties in the unfamiliar currents, and sent ships equipped to spray them with Greek fire. According to Theophanes, as the fire took hold, some of the vessels were thrown in flames against the sea walls, some went down with all hands, and some were carried, burning furiously, as far as Oxeia and the island of Plateia.

The winter was bitterly cold, and the Arabs' provisions ran out. In the spring supplies were brought by another Arab fleet which, warned of the Greek fire, approached by night, unseen, and went into hiding. It came, however, from Egypt, from the shipyards recently conquered by the Arabs, and the Egyptian crew escaped under cover of darkness and joined the Byzantines, revealing the presence of the fleet and the location of their anchorage. So they too had to face Greek fire; their arms and supplies were seized; and furthermore the warm weather brought disease to the Arab camp. Leo also persuaded the Bulgars to attack them. Finally in August or September 718 the Arab fleet sailed away. This siege of Constantinople is also related in the form of an Apocalypse, with Leo as saviour king.

The Arab siege, which had provoked two attempts at usurpation, convinced Leo that God was displeased. He tried to counteract this by forcing all Jews and Montanists in the empire to be baptized. This did not prevent the fleet sent to quell disorders in Italy from foundering in the Adriatic; and Arab expeditions into Asia Minor resumed, regularly wintering in Byzantine territory.

Then on 26 October 726 the volcano of Thera (Santorini) erupted. Both the historians of the reign, Theophanes the Confessor and the patriarch Nikephoros, agree that this was what moved Leo to take action against icons – wrong action, according to them; but the next uprising (originating in the naval forces and the Cyclades) was successfully suppressed. In the summer a combined raiding party, of 15,000 light-armed Arabs under Omar and 8,500 under Moawiya, appeared before Nicaea. Sources hostile to Leo say that Omar and Moawiya left with a great number of captives and much booty, demonstrating to the impious man (Leo) that he had not overcome them because of his piety, as he boasted; but it was at least to some extent a Byzantine success, certainly claimed by Leo as such, and attributed to correct worship.

Though he is often represented as primarily the initiator of iconoclasm, Leo's two great contributions to history are having interrupted 22 years of successive usurpations and intermittent civil strife, and having taken the first steps towards halting the Arab advance. He also took measures to reorganize an empire fallen into anarchy. Data on this, except for his law code, the *Ekloge*, are minimal. Taxation was a priority: with war permanent and many sources of revenue lost, those that remained had to be exploited with all possible efficiency. Three measures are documented (two because of the opposition with which they met): new fiscal measures were introduced (against which pope Gregory led Roman resistance in 724); registration of male babies was instituted (Theophanes, 410. 9–17); and (a measure mentioned without condemnation) a tax was raised to cover the rebuilding of the walls of Constantinople after the earthquake of 740. Reorganization of the army and of provincial administration were major priorities.

When Leo III instituted iconoclasm, in either 726 or 730, he held mass meetings to explain his policy and win popular support, and repeated this tactic in 740 for the tax to rebuild the walls. The iconoclast emperors were without exception extremely popular with the Constantinople masses (hostile sources underline this as the ultimate proof of their vileness). This understanding of themselves as the ones to whom the people have entrusted power, to whom they are, at least formally, accountable, goes back to Augustus' formulation rather than to Hellenistic concepts of empire, but there are Hellenistic elements present.

PATRICIA KARLIN-HAYTER

See also Iconoclasm, Law

Biography

Born *c.*685 at Germanikeia, Leo was probably brought up in Mesembria. He came to notice as the defender of the eastern frontier. Having forced Theodosios III to abdicate he entered Constantinople by force in 717 and reigned as emperor until 741. His main concerns were with the defence of the empire and of the city against the Arabs.

He revised the laws of Justinian with his *Ekloge* and in 726 he instituted iconoclasm. He died at Constantinople in 741.

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Leo V *c.*780–820

Emperor

Leo V (813–20) is most famous for starting the second period of official iconoclasm in the Byzantine empire, in 815. He was born around 780 in the Anatolikon theme (or province) to prominent Armenian parents. His father, Bardas the patrician, may have been the ex-*strategos* (or general) of the Armeniakon theme who was exiled by the empress Irene around 780. Leo may also have been related to the general Bardanes Tourkas, in whose retinue he served during the latter's abortive coup against the emperor Nikephoros I in 802/03. For reasons unknown, Leo deserted Bardanes and joined Nikephoros, being richly rewarded with a military post (commander, or *tourmarch*, of the Federates, a garrison unit in Constantinople) and property in the city. He was joined in his actions by his companions Michael Travlos ("the Stutterer", later Michael II, 820–29) and Thomas the Slav (later to lead a famous rebellion against Michael II that led to Thomas's execution in 823). Leo fell out of favour with Nikephoros I around 808 due to the revolt of Arsaber the quaestor, to whom Leo was related, but returned to imperial favour under his friend Michael I Rhangabe (811–13) in the capacity of *strategos* of the Anatolikon theme. Leo served Michael until the latter's abdication in 813 during a disastrous war with the Bulgarians. At that point he was offered the crown by the senate and the army and entered the capital on 11 July 813. He was immediately acclaimed and crowned, and ruled until Christmas 820, when he was murdered in Hagia Sophia by followers of Michael Travlos. At Christmas 813 he crowned his son Smbat co-emperor, with the new name of Constantine.

The Byzantine sources present a mostly hostile view of Leo because of his decision to restore iconoclasm, which had been officially abandoned at the Council of Nicaea II in 787. Thus the chroniclers speak of duplicity surrounding his accession, including the betrayal of Michael I, but these accounts seem to represent a later blackening of his image. Leo's Armenian stock and the increased presence of Armenians in positions of power during the 8th and 9th centuries also appear to have disturbed some Byzantine contemporaries.

In 813/14 Leo began moves to restore iconoclasm, later arguing that the iconophile ("icon-venerating") emperors before him had all lost their thrones, if not their lives, in disastrous reigns and that this indicated God's displeasure with icons. In this policy he found great favour with sections of the military who still venerated the memory of the great iconoclast emperor Constantine V (741–75). By 815 Leo had summoned the council of Hagia Sophia to revoke Nicaea II, and embarked on a period of persecution of the more stalwart iconophiles, mostly monks and especially those of the Stoudios monastery. He also exiled the iconophile patriarch and theologian Nikephoros (806–15). Leo's motives, however, were less involved with theology than with discipline. Leo, who saw himself as a warrior emperor in the image of the early Isaurians, was concerned that any disobedience to him or his religious policies would undermine his power to control the affairs of state. His iconoclasm does not seem to have involved the destruction of icons, but only their removal from places where they might receive undue veneration.

Even Leo's enemies agree that he was a good ruler and soldier. He managed to reverse the tide against the Bulgars (whose dangerous khan, Krum, died – almost miraculously – shortly after Leo's accession) with great skill and managed to establish a 30-year truce with Krum's successor Omurtag, probably in 816 after the battle of "Leo's Hill" where the Bulgars were crushed.

Relationships with the West during Leo's reign were built on the settlement reached by the Byzantine embassy to Aachen in 812, but by 817 they had stalled on agreement over borders in Dalmatia. In the same year, however, Leo funded the building of the church of San Zaccaria in Venice and sent the saint's relics to the city as a gesture of goodwill. Civil turbulence in the Caliphate also meant that Leo could stabilize the border in the east, and he even managed to rebuild some of the border fortresses lost under Irene (780–802).

Leo's capability was shown not only on the battlefield but also in his attempts to regulate economic and administrative life. Plausible accusations of corruption, depravity, and misrule are curiously quite mild, almost non-existent, in some of the works that nevertheless harshly criticize the emperor's iconoclasm. He was against corruption and appears to have chosen capable administrators, ignoring the fact that many were crypto-iconophiles in favour of their skills and personal qualities. One extant edict attributed to Leo III and Constantine V

Leo V: illustration from the 11th-century chronicle of Skylitzes showing Leo being crowned by his predecessor Michael I Rhangabe in 813, Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid

on divorce and inheritance has been attributed by one scholar (Kresten, 1980) to Leo V and his son Constantine-Smbat.

One of the emperor's proclivities mentioned more than once in the sources is his penchant for prophecies and "holy men" who could predict the length and course of his reign. An important source, now lost and preserved fragmentarily in other sources, appears to have been a long poem by the iconophile monk and saint Theophanes Graptos (d. *c.*843,) based on the curious fates of Leo, Michael, and Thomas, from their days with Bardanes Tourkas to the civil war between Thomas and Michael following Leo's murder. The revolt has been interpreted as a revenge for Michael's actions and as a possible iconophile backlash against Leo's policies, but iconophile sources are almost universally critical of Thomas and the strife he caused.

Leo may have had a great interest in cultural life. He was a close friend of the learned John the Grammarian, the iconoclast intellectual who was to become patriarch in 836/37, and appears to have been interested in music and singing. He was by no means a bigoted sovereign, and members of his immediate family and court were iconophiles, a fact to which he seems to have turned a blind eye as long as they were personally loyal to him and kept their convictions to themselves. His persecution of the iconoclasts was actually light, even by 20th-century standards, and today one senses the strain of iconophile apologists in trying to fit Leo into the mould of tyrant.

The murder of Leo V by Michael II was, curiously, avenged by Michael's son, Theophilos, when he ascended the throne in 829 and arrested those who had hewn Leo down while singing vigorously near the altar in Hagia Sophia on Christmas Day 815.

Many modern Greek accounts of the Byzantine empire ignore the rejection of Leo's qualities by Byzantine sources and stress his forceful actions to save the state and his keen sense of justice and administrative propriety. As such, they reflect the western Enlightenment verdict on Byzantium, which tended to see all supporters of the traditional ecclesiastical and theological order as enemies of progress and champions of superstition.

DAVID R. TURNER

See also Iconoclasm

Biography

Born *c.*780 to Armenian parents, Leo "the Armenian" grew up in Anatolia. For service to Nikephoros I he was rewarded with a military post and property in Constantinople. He served Michael I as general and became emperor after the latter's abdication in 813. Leo was a good soldier and an effective administrator but is best known

for restoring iconoclasm in 815. He was murdered in Hagia Sophia in 820.

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Leo VI 866–912

Emperor

The emperor Leo VI (886–912) earned the epithet "the wise" in his own lifetime, and part of the explanation for this is his extensive literary activity. He spent most of his life in the city of Constantinople, and has the image of a sedentary scholar emperor. An episode in the *Life* of St Blasios of Amorion describes how Blasios, when in the palace for an audience with the emperor, stumbled by accident upon Leo; as the emperor was occupied with calligraphy, as was his custom, Blasios did not initially recognize him. A number of poems and speeches dedicated to Leo by contemporary authors also celebrate his wisdom and erudition. It is known that he received an appropriate education for a child of the imperial family, and at one time was taught by the famed Photios. As such Leo's work appears to owe a debt both to this master and to the cultural trends of the day, when Byzantium was reclaiming the knowledge of the past under the impetus of the iconoclastic debate. Leo was active in many literary fields, including poetry, homilies, military manuals, and legislation.

Leo seems to have had a particular enthusiasm for hymns, and produced texts of his own. Eustratiades has even described him as one of the most important Byzantine ecclesiastical poets; the emperor's most familiar piece is the anacreontic ode on the Second Coming. But Leo did not just write ecclesiastical poetry; it is known that he wrote poems on the fall of Thessalonica, the desertion of Andronikos Doukas, and his brother Alexander, though none of these texts has survived. He also composed and recited a poem in order to persuade bishops to support ecclesiastical toleration for his fourth marriage. Leo composed his verse in anacreontics, a form fashionable among the 9th- and 10th-century literati.

Leo is perhaps best known as a speech writer, homilist, and orator, due to the survival of a collection of his work. This collection contains 40 texts, and was probably produced during his own lifetime for his spiritual father the monk Euthymios. It incorporates speeches on feast days, saints' days, dedication days of churches, and other unique occasions – most famously Leo's *Epitaphios* on his parents; it seems that the last text was written not at the time of Basil's death in 886 (Eudokia had died first, *c.*882/83) but two years later. Antonopoulou (p. 259) opines that Leo's homiletic work marks a stage in the genre at which the rhetorical execution of the speeches was more significant than the dogmatic message, and that his homilies are "the first to display so consistently the preferences of the following generation".

Leo's overtly religious bent (scholars have noted his infrequent use of the Classics over traditional ecclesiastical texts; for instance the *Epitaphios* owes much to Gregory of Nazianzus' funeral orations on his brother Caesarius and on Basil the Great) is again reflected in a work of spiritual advice on the monastic life, organized in 190 chapters. It seems likely that this text was composed for Euthymios and his monastic community, whose monastery Leo had built and patronized.

While Leo's literary work seems to be dominated by religious and ecclesiastical concerns, his most famous single text is probably the *Taktika*, a military manual. Dating from around 900, and addressed to a generic general, it consists of an introduction, an epilogue, and 20 constitutions. The value of the text for the study of the late 9th-/early 10th-century Byzantine army is called into question by historians, for it is in fact based extensively on pre-existing military handbooks, notably the 6th-century *Strategikon*, the *Strategikos* of Onesander, and the *Tactica Theoria* of Aelian. However to Leo's mind this clearly enhanced the importance of his work, not the opposite. Despite its literary debts, Leo did add some new material as well, most notably a section on the Arabs, and a constitution on naval warfare. It is worth noting also that the *Taktika* is not the only military text connected with Leo VI. In his youth he produced the *Problemata* (again exploiting the 6th-century *Strategikon*), and the *Taktika* itself refers to another work of Leo's, a compilation of excerpts on warfare. The emperor also commissioned a text dealing with imperial military expeditions, produced by Leo Katakalon.

The *Taktika* is marked by the didactic, legislative character of 9th- and 10th-century literature which is taken to exemplify the revival of knowledge in this period, the so-called Macedonian renaissance. But Leo was also active in the field of pure legislation (again redolent of the Macedonian renaissance). Not only does it seem that it was under Leo that the *Basilika* project of Basil I was completed, but Leo issued his own collection of new laws (*Novels*) – again inspired by the work of Justinian I (527–65), and in some cases a direct response to that emperor's own *Novels*. (Schminck [1986], also argues that the *Procheiron*, a legal handbook issued in the names of Basil, Constantine, and Leo, was in fact a revision of the *Epanagoge*, to remove the taint of Photios.) But the legislative work of Leo forms a bridge to his other writings, for it is characterized by its rhetorical and advisory style.

The rhetoric-loving Byzantines also valued highly the art of letter writing, and we have references to letters that Leo wrote, but unfortunately no examples of his literary activity in this area have survived.

As noted, much of Leo's work epitomizes the style and type of literature produced during the so-called Macedonian renaissance of the 9th and 10th centuries. Leo's unique contribution was perhaps the fact that he was an *imperial* author. In this sense his greatest impact seems to have been upon his son

Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos (913–59), who stands as the epitome of the encyclopedic movement, but who owes much in reality to the example of his father. Indeed it was under Constantine VII that the *Taktika* was copied and incorporated into a corpus of strategic writings, and it was Constantine who found and exploited Leo Katakalon's text dealing with imperial military expeditions. In the wider field Leo's *Taktika* appears to have spawned a host of 10th-century tactical writing; he is acknowledged, and used, by subsequent texts linked with Nikephoros II Phokas and Nikephoros Ouranos.

Beyond his legislative work Leo's reign was marked by the scandal over his fourth marriage (the tetragamy), the military threat of both Bulgaria and the Arab navy, and notable relationships with his military and civil officials. Leo married for a fourth time in 906, following the birth of a son to his lover Zoe Karbonopsina. However, fourth marriages were illegal and Leo found himself excommunicated, though he planned to have his marriage sanctioned by the church. This was granted in 907, though Leo had had to depose the patriarch of Constantinople for his opposition prior to the meeting of the synod. During Leo's reign the recently Christianized Bulgaria emerged as a military threat in under its khan Symeon (893–927); several conflicts marked the 890s, but a peace was finally concluded in 896. At sea the Arabs proved devastating, striking key sites such as Samos, Demetrias, Lemnos and Thessalonica, approaching Constantinople itself in 904. Leo responded to this situation by making Himerios admiral; he led the Byzantine navy to some success though a campaign to Crete in 911 failed. Internally Leo fostered close relations with his military and civil officials (notably his eunuchs). This seems to have resulted in some tensions; the eunuch Samonas's machinations seem to have caused the general Andronikos Doukas to flee to the Arabs in 906.

But one of the most enduring legacies of Leo VI is his peculiar connection with the prophet Leo the Wise and his oracles, as studied by Cyril Mango in his classic "The Legend of Leo The Wise" (1960). Mango argues that Leo VI became linked with the figure of the prophet through a confusion with Leo the Philosopher especially but also with Leo Choirosphaktes, though it could be argued that Leo VI had as much a stake in the creation of the prophet as these two men (see, for instance, Magdalino, 1988). A set of oracles, with illustrations, was known by the 12th century, and a second set emerged probably in the 13th century. After the fall of Constantinople the oracle collection attained mass popularity in East and West, and remained salient for the East due to the Turkish occupation.

SHAUN TOUGHER

Biography

Born in 866 probably in Constantinople, the second son of Basil I, Leo was a pupil of Photios and received a good education. He had a bookish reputation and was known as "the wise" during his lifetime. A collection of his homilies and a military manual survive; he also wrote poetry and hymns and issued legislation. His fourth marriage caused controversy. He died in Constantinople in 912.

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Leo the Mathematician *c.*790–after 869

Scholar

Born around 790, Leo studied "grammar and poetics" in Constantinople, and "rhetoric, philosophy, and arithmetic" on the island of Andros, where he "happened on a learned man". (It has been suggested that he went to Andros because no one who taught these subjects could be found in Constantinople, but there is no evidence for this; education was at a low ebb, but the degree has been much exaggerated.) Having mastered the elements of these disciplines, Leo "headed for some mountains" where he found monasteries with manuscripts that enabled him to pursue his studies. He returned to Constantinople "master of philosophy and her sisters, arith-

metic, geometry, astronomy, and music". (The Pythagoraean relationship between philosophy, mathematics, and music was still dominant.)

Back in Constantinople, Leo earned his living by giving lessons privately for several years before coming to the attention of the emperor Theophilos (829–42). This occurred, say the chroniclers, when a mathematician pupil of his was taken prisoner and brought before the caliph Mamun (813–33), who was known for his interest in Greek science. When Leo's pupil informed Mamun that his mathematics were as nothing compared to his master's, Mamun, already impressed, wrote to Leo, offering him great wealth if he would come to his court. Leo turned the letter in to the palace, where it was submitted to the emperor; he promptly sent for Leo and, recognizing his gifts, set him up to "teach publicly".

To this period must be dated a great technical achievement of Leo's: news of frontier violation reached Constantinople, through a chain of beacon-lights, within the hour, it is estimated, from the fortress at Loulon, just north of Tarsus. The message had been simply that there was frontier trouble; but Leo made it possible to choose between 12 different messages, identified by the hour of arrival. Only three of these have come down to us: hour one meant a small raid; hour two, full-scale war; hour three, enemy incendiarism. Achieved through the synchronization of clocks in Constantinople and at Loulon, and by introducing the division of the day, at all seasons, into twice 12 standardized hours, the importance of this system for defence is obvious.

In 840 Leo was made metropolitan of Thessalonica. Finding the city in the grip of famine due to repeated crop failure,

> He told them not to despair ... And when he recognized through astrology, thanks to the rising and phases of certain stars, that an emanation and sympathy with things earthly were present, he [told them to] place the seed in earth's bosom, resulting in such fertility and fruitfulness that, when spring came and the harvest season arrived, they had enough for several years.

Leo presumably found in his manuscript of Ptolemy what signs in the heavens should precede sowing. No clear distinction was made between astronomy and astrology. Leo's astrology, unlike that of John the Grammarian, has the enthusiastic approval of the chroniclers.

Although probably not an iconoclast, Leo was inevitably removed from the see of Thessalonica in the purge that accompanied the Restoration of Orthodoxy. He reappeared at the time of the foundation of the "University" of the Magnaura by the empress-regent Theodora's brother, Bardas, well after Theophilos's death, perhaps in 855/56. Bardas made Leo head of the philosophy school and possibly of the whole institution. There were three other "faculties" – geometry, astronomy, and "grammar" (in fact language and literature; the incumbent, Cometas, was a great Homer specialist).

Leo produced a "corrected" edition (*diorthosis*) of some of the works of Plato; even though it has not survived, it served Arethas for his "edition", as emerges from a marginal note to *Laws*, 5 (743b): "End of the corrections due to Leo the Philosopher". He quotes Gregory of Nazianzus, and he knew Porphyry as well as Achilles Tatius' romance *Cleitophon and Leucippe* (on which Photios and Leo express differing views). Our limited knowledge of Leo's reading is gleaned from references such as the scholion quoted above to Plato's *Laws* or brief poems by him in the 10th-century *Palatine Anthology*. There are more general references in a curious poem addressed by one Constantine the Sicilian to a "former teacher" of his, called Leo, "who taught profane learning ..., losing his soul in that sea of godlessness"; this is probably our Leo, whom Constantine proceeds to send to "Tartarus and Pyriphlegethon" where he will find all the authors his "heart desires", listing Chrysippus, Socrates, Proclus, Plato, Aristotle, Epicurus, Euclid, Ptolemy, Homer, Hesiod, and Aratus.

A little more is known of Leo's scientific reading. Only one manuscript that belonged to him seems to have come down to us, of Ptolemy's *Almagest* (Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana gr. 1594, one of the oldest extant minuscule manuscripts), but his verses show that he had Euclid, Apollonius of Perge's *Conic Sections*, treatises on mechanics (now lost) by Kyrinos and Markellos (apparently Latin: Quirinus and Marcellus), on astronomy by Theon of Alexandria, and on geometry by Proclus of Xanthus. The greater part of our text of Archimedes is thought to be due to him.

One sermon that Leo is said to have preached in Thessalonica is preserved; it is decidedly individual. The occasion was, in theory, the Annunciation; the sermon begins, however, with considerations on the names of Easter ("Phasek to the Hebrews ... escape from Egypt, that is darkness – so should 'Egypt' be interpreted") and Pentecost, at considerable length. After various digressions on the properties of numbers and a brief if gushing paragraph on the Virgin, he finally passes to the miraculous healing and conversion of a young Jewess that had taken place in the same church about the year 500; to this he devotes more than half the sermon, giving quite an important role to two icons.

PATRICIA KARLIN-HAYTER

Biography

Born *c.*790, Leo was educated in Constantinople and on Andros. The emperor Theophilos appointed him to a teaching position. From 840 to 843 he was metropolitan of Thessalonica. In 855/56 he became head of the philosophy school at the "University" of the Magnaura. He made important contributions to the textual transmission of Ptolemy, Plato, and Archimedes. He died in Constantinople after 869.

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Leonidas *c.*530–480 BC

King of Sparta

Leonidas was famous for his heroic attempt to hold the pass of Thermopylae in central Greece against the advance of the Persians under king Xerxes in 480 BC. His father,

Leonidas: remains of marble statue of Leonidas, hero of Thermopylae, in the Sparta museum. It provided the inspiration for a modern memorial to Leonides and the 300 set up in 1955 at the battle site

Anaxandrides of the Agiad royal house (Sparta had a dual kingship with two royal houses, the Agiads and the Eurypontids), had married his niece but had no children, whereupon the ephors and the council of elders (Gerousia) forced him to take a second wife, who produced a son and successor, Cleomenes I. But shortly after Cleomenes' birth, the first wife, who was hitherto childless, produced three sons: Dorieus, who died in a failed attempt to plant a colony in Sicily, Leonidas, and Cleombrotus. After Cleomenes lost his throne around 490 BC, probably shortly before the battle of Marathon in that year, Leonidas succeeded, having married Cleomenes' only child, Gorgo.

In 480 BC the Persians, whose expeditionary force had been defeated at Marathon ten years earlier, launched a massive invasion: their army, led by Xerxes himself, crossed the Hellespont by pontoon bridges and advanced through northern Greece while the navy, carrying supplies, cruised along the coast. The Greek states that were willing to resist allied themselves under Spartan leadership, and first attempted to make a stand at the vale of Tempe in Thessaly, but the commanders of the joint land and naval force that was dispatched there withdrew once they realized the position was indefensible. A second attempt was made at the pass of Thermopylae, where the road between the Malian Gulf and Mount Kallidromos was much narrower than today. Leonidas was sent there with an allied force totalling perhaps 7,000 foot-soldiers, including 300 elite "Spartiates" of the royal bodyguard, and a comparatively large naval contingent was sent to Artemisium at the northern tip of the island of Euboea to prevent any joint operation between the Persian fleet and the army on land.

However, Leonidas' force was unaware that there was another path bypassing Thermopylae along the ridge of Kallidromos, known locally as the Anopaea. When they learned about it on their arrival, many, particularly those from the region south of the isthmus of Corinth, where the allies from the Peloponnese were building a defensive wall, wanted to withdraw. But Leonidas quelled the panic and assigned the 1,000-strong contingent from Phocis, who knew the terrain, to guard the Anopaea.

For two days the Greeks warded off all Persian efforts to force the pass. But then a traitor, whom the Greeks identified as Ephialtes from neighbouring Malis, offered to lead the Persians along the Anopaea, and Xerxes assigned his elite corps of 10,000 "Immortals" to the manoeuvre. At dawn on the third day Leonidas learned from his scouts that the Persians were circling at his rear by the Anopaea. He sent home the allied contingents from the states to the south of the isthmus of Corinth, while he himself, with his 300 Spartiates, and 700 Thespians and 400 Thebans from north of the isthmus, secured their retreat by remaining behind in the pass and fighting to the death. The Greek fleet at Artemisium, which had engaged the Persian navy timidly while the battle at Thermopylae was taking place, retreated to Salamis off the coast of Attica as soon as it learned of the disaster.

Leonidas' decision to stay and fight was a rational choice made to save the bulk of his army, but he and his brave "Three Hundred" entered mythology almost immediately. Herodotus, who published his *Histories* around 425 BC, reports that Sparta had received an oracle from Delphi that said that either Sparta itself would be destroyed or a Spartan king would perish, and Leonidas, knowing the oracle, chose to save his state by his death. Thermopylae became the chief building block of the Spartan mystique of utter devotion to duty, which was epitomized by the couplet that Sparta engraved on the monument erected where Leonidas' Spartiates made their last stand: "Go, stranger, to the Spartans tell / That here, obeying their commands, we fell." More than half a century later, in 425 BC, when a force that included some 120 elite Spartiates surrendered to the Athenians at the bay of Navarino during the Peloponnesian War, Greece was amazed that they did not die fighting. Leonidas himself became the paradigm of the soldier who obeys orders without question. For the Renaissance, he represented the virtue of Fortitude: at the Collegio del Cambio in Perugia, Perugino depicted the *Four Cardinal Virtues*, each with three examples from history; for Fortitude the examples are Leonidas, Lucius Sicinnius, and Horatius Cocles. For the neoclassicists of the French Revolution, Leonidas represented courageous resistance to tyranny, and a painting of Thermopylae was, among contemporaries at least, one of the most famous works of the "official artist" of the revolution, Jacques Louis David. The Greek War of Independence of the 1820s evoked Leonidas again, along with other heroes of the Classical past; the Souliot leader, Markos Botsaris (died 1823), the defender of Missolonghi who died at the battle of Karpenisi shortly before Lord Byron's arrival in Greece, was called the "modern Leonidas", though the claim to be the modern Spartans belonged to the Maniotes from the southern tip of the Taygetus range. More than a century later, during the German invasion of 1941, his memory was evoked again when the British made an unsuccessful attempt to hold Thermopylae against the German tank divisions. In 1955 a white marble monument surmounted by a heroic bronze sculpture of Leonidas in full hoplite armour was unveiled at Thermopylae by King Paul of Greece. However, the ideal of unquestioning obedience is no longer as attractive to the military mind, and Crane Brinton's judgement on Leonidas' heroism (*A History of Western Morals*, New York, 1959, p. 84) represents a general feeling in the post-World-War-II era: "[it is Thermopylae] much better than the charge of the Light Brigade on which we now surely accept French Marshal Bosquet's verdict, 'C'est magnifique, mais ce n'est pas la guerre'". Brinton goes on to quote a stanza from Tennyson's poem *The Charge of the Light Brigade* as an example of an earlier generation's silliness.

JAMES ALLAN EVANS

See also Persian Wars

Biography

Born *c.*530 BC, Leonidas became king of Sparta after the death of his half-brother Cleomenes in 490. In 480 he attempted to hold the pass of Thermopylae against the Persian army with a hand-picked force of 300 Spartiates and 1100 Boeotians. Their fight to the death immediately entered mythology. His memory has regularly been invoked ever since as the model of resistance to tyranny.

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Lesbos

Aegean island

Physical remains and the Homeric poems associate Bronze Age Lesbos with Anatolia and the Troad; despite a tradition of Greek migration two generations after the Trojan War, Greek artifacts are rare before the 10th century BC. After 900 BC Anatolian connections continued in personal names (Myrsilos), cult (Cybele), and material culture, but Lesbos' cities (Antissa, Arisba, Eressos, Methymna, Mytilene, Pyrrha) were inhabited by speakers of a Greek dialect (Aeolic) and no allophone ("Pelasgian") population remained. In the 8th century Aeolian Greeks established settlements on the coasts opposite Lesbos and in the Troad; by 700, except for Assos, they were controlled by Mytilene, and Methymna had enslaved Arisba. Inter-city hostility became a constant of Lesbian history.

Mytilene's dependencies in Asia Minor, outposts in Pontus, Thrace (Aenus), and Egypt (Naucratis), good relations with the Lydian monarchy, and flourishing trade in oil and wine, made Lesbos a major cultural force from 700 to 500 BC. Among their accomplishments were close-fitting polygonal masonry (*Lesbia oikodome*), "Aeolic" capitals with vertical volutes (linking Phoenician models with later Greek orders), and lyric poetry, associated with the cult of Orpheus at Antissa, the home of Terpander (676 BC); Mytilenean hegemony may explain why Terpander and Arion of Methymna worked in mainland Greece. Around 600, Sappho and Alcaeus wrote for and about Mytilene in Lesbian dialect, which was used in inscriptions as late as the 3rd century AD; Lesbian accentuation is maintained in modern place-names (Yéra for Hierá). Besides their poetic influence, Sappho and Alcaeus illustrate much about archaic Lesbian society. Sappho shows how much less restricted women's roles were on Lesbos than in democratic Athens, more like Lydia, where women chose their own husbands; the pejorative use of terms derived from "Lesbos" for sexual behaviours reflects male hostility to such freedom as much as to Sappho's sexuality. Mytilenean politics, as presented by Alcaeus, provided a paradigm of the relationship between aristocracy and tyranny. Mytileneans, with ties to Sardis, may have been the first Greeks to use the Lydian term *tyrannos* for their rulers; it was applied also to the constitutional rule of Pittacus around 590 BC.

After Persian domination the Lesbian cities joined the Delian League in 479, to which Mytilene and Methymna provided ships rather than tribute. In 428 Methymna and Tenedos denounced to Athens Mytilenean plans to unify Lesbos by force; the punishment of Mytilene's subsequent revolt became an eloquent symbol of Athenian imperialism.

In the 4th century Aristotle conducted primary research on Lesbos. In the Hellenistic period Methymna and Eressos were Ptolemaic but Mytilene remained independent. Methymna was an early ally of Rome, but Antissa was destroyed by Rome in 169 BC for supporting Macedonia, and Mytilene, the most persistent supporter of Mithradates of Pontus, was conquered by Rome in 80.

In 62 BC Pompey gave Mytilene back its independence as a favour to his friend, the historian Theophanes. Mytilene developed a special relationship with Rome; several Mytileneans, including the descendants of Theophanes, the sophist Potamon, and the poet Crinagoras, had significant careers in the capital, while important Romans, notably Agrippa and his family, resided in, and were honoured by, Mytilene.

The pastoral novel *Daphnis and Chloe* is part of this relationship. Set on Lesbos by an author with a Roman name, its account of the island's cults had special resonance for descendants of Theophanes, who led a Dionysiac cult near Rome. Longus' assimilation of the pastoral form to that of the love romance and his choice of fertile Lesbos as its setting affected all subsequent pastorals.

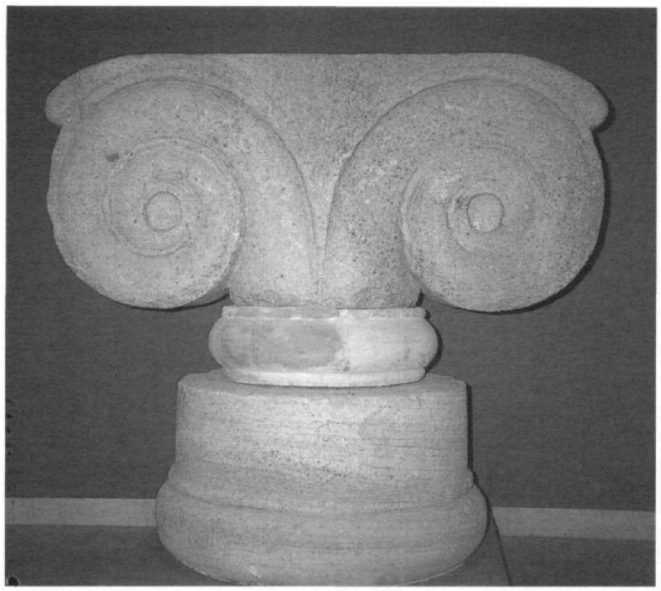
Lesbos prospered in late antiquity. Mosaics from the 4th or 5th century AD portraying scenes from Menander show the continuance of pagan culture, and several Christian basilicas were built in the 5th to 7th centuries.

When the Fourth Crusade took Constantinople in 1204, Lesbos was assigned to the emperor Baldwin, but was recovered in 1229 by the empire of Nicaea. In 1355, Genoese Francesco Gattilusio received it as the dowry of his wife Maria, sister of John V Palaiologos, whom Francesco helped regain the imperial throne. The Gattilusi came to control much of the northeast Aegean, and were more popular with their Greek subjects than other Frankish regimes: their authority came from the emperor, they spoke Greek, brought Greek notables into their council, and maintained the Orthodox hierarchy. Their imperial connections gave Lesbian products (especially wine) preferred access to markets in the capital. Most medieval remains on Lesbos were built by the Gattilusi; their castle in Mytilene reused much ancient material.

When Lesbos was taken by the Turks in 1462, the urban population was transported to Constantinople, and much of the city of Mytilene, in which remains of antiquity were still visible, was destroyed. Many rural communities were abandoned under Turkish rule, and there was substantial migration to the adjoining mainland, where Kydonia (modern Aivali), granted self-government in 1770, became a centre of Greek learning.

In the 18th and 19th centuries the Greek community on Lesbos flourished as they, rather than the Turkish landowners, profited from liberalized trading regulations; wealthy Lesbians built traditional *pyrgoi* (tower houses) in the villages, and fine villas in the southern suburbs of Mytilene. Lesbians participated in the War of Independence, including the destruction of a Turkish warship at Eressos, but remained under Turkish rule until 1912.

Along with Kydonia, Mytilene saw a great advance in learned culture in the 19th century, typified by the philologists Dimitrios and Grigorios Bernardakis. Towards the end of the century Argyris Eftaliotis (1849–1923) became a leading figure in the creation of literary demotic. His portrayal of 19th-



Lesbos: Aeolic capital, late 7th or early 6th century BC, predecessor of the Ionic order

century island life draws on Lesbos' particularly rich folklore tradition, which preserves memories of the Gattilusi, if not of antiquity.

Liberation from Turkey in 1912 and the military catastrophe in Anatolia in 1922 presented Lesbos with a severe challenge to integrate a large refugee population. The response included a movement of political and literary reform with which were associated both Lesbians and refugees. They included the most moving witnesses of Greece's experience of the war years and the Asia Minor catastrophe, Elias Venezis and Stratis Myrivilis, whose idyllic portrait of the island recalls Sappho and Longus. Lesbos' revived culture also supported visual artists, of whom the best known is the folk painter Theophilos Chatzimichail (1873–1934), whose paintings on the walls of buildings on Lesbos are especially fortunate in recalling traditional Greek society, and are symbolic of the role of folk culture in Greek society, to which Lesbos bears particularly eloquent witness.

HUGH J. MASON

Summary

A large island in the northeast Aegean, Lesbos was inhabited by Aeolian Greeks in ancient times. The island was prosperous and an early centre of culture from 700 to 500 BC, making important contributions to music, lyric poetry, and architecture. It prospered again in late antiquity; but under the Turks many communities were abandoned. Prosperity returned in the 18th and 19th centuries and cultural creativity in the 20th.

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Libanius AD 314–*c.*393

Teacher of rhetoric

Libanius was born at Antioch, where he belonged to one of the leading curial families. He was the most highly esteemed teacher of rhetoric of his time, and attracted pupils from all over the Near East. Yet he spent most of his life teaching in his native city and died there. Libanius wrote in an elaborate Atticizing Greek that was admired and imitated for most of the Byzantine period. In consequence a large part of his literary output survives: almost 1600 letters, 64 orations on topical questions, 51 declamations, and numerous rhetorical exercises. We therefore know Libanius better than all but a very few individuals of antiquity, and his writings are an almost inexhaustible source of information about social life, politics, administration, entertainments, and education in the 4th century AD; thanks to Libanius, Antioch is by far the best-known provincial city of late antiquity.

Libanius was above all a traditionalist. He was an Atticist in the tradition of the Second Sophistic. His vocabulary, syntax, and sentence structure are based on those of Classical Athenian authors. He was an admirer of Aelius Aristides (AD 117–*c.*189), but he was thoroughly familiar with the Classical authors themselves, above all Homer, Demosthenes, and Thucydides. References and allusions to Plato also occur frequently in his writings. He pays respect to the wisdom of Plato the philosopher, but what he adopted for his own use was Plato's mastery of language. Above all he used him as a source of rhetorical comparisons and analogies. Socrates was a great hero, a kind of pagan Christ. He does not appear to have used Aristotle at all. Unlike his contemporary and admirer the emperor Julian the Apostate, Libanius seems to have had very little use for the philosophy either of the Classical thinkers, or of contemporary Neoplatonists. Declamations with an Athenian setting show that Libanius had a very detailed knowledge of the history, institutions, and customs of classical Athens.

Libanius' writings contain very few allusions to historical events later than the reign of Alexander the Great. Though he

– like most free inhabitants of the empire by the 4th century – was a Roman citizen, and though his life was shaped by decisions of Roman emperors and officials, he showed no interest whatsoever in things Roman, seeing Roman and Latin law as the dangerous rivals of the Greek rhetorical education, based as it was on close familiarity with Classical Greek authors, which it was his life's work to maintain and propagate. In the realms of politics he appreciated the need for an emperor and empire to keep off barbarians and to uphold law and order within the borders, but his personal allegiance was to his birthplace rather than to the empire. More particularly he mistrusted Constantinople as an upstart that was draining human and material resources from cities such as his own Antioch. Libanius was a pagan and made no attempt to hide his paganism. But his Hellenic educational ideal had a strong moral component not very different from the moral teaching of Christianity, and his correspondents included Christians as well as pagans. Libanius was honoured by the Christian emperor Theodosius I. Christian and pagan parents alike sent him their sons to educate. John Chrysostom and Theodore of Mopsuestia were almost certainly his pupils; Basil and Gregory of Nazianzus are likely to have been.

The life and career of Libanius thus illustrate the peaceful coexistence of Christians and pagans in an age better known for religious conflict; and his work as a teacher actively contributed to the assimilation of Hellenic traditions into a Greek Christian civilization.

J.H.W.G. LIEBESCHUETZ

See also Rhetoric

Biography

Born at Antioch in 314, Libanius was educated in Athens and taught rhetoric at Constantinople and Nicomedia. He declined the offer of a chair of rhetoric at Athens but accepted one at Antioch where he remained for most of his life. His pupils included many famous men. His surviving works includes letters, orations, declamations, and rhetorical exercises. His prose style was much admired by the Byzantines. He died at Antioch *c.*393.

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Libraries

Libraries in the ancient Greek world were an important medium for the preservation and storage of literature. Since books had to be copied individually and by hand, many less popular books were fated to survive in the long term only in the collections of one or two libraries or of the occasional enthusiastic bibliophile.

Private book collections began to exist as soon as written literature multiplied, certainly by the 6th century BC. A book trade must have emerged soon after, dealing in second-hand copies. Booksellers may also have provided – speculatively, or to order – new copies of the latest writings: certainly they did this in later periods. At Athens, already in the 5th century BC, a distinct part of the city market was occupied by booksellers. Quite soon two types of libraries emerged to meet the needs that private collections and the book trade were unable to satisfy.

Schools, mainly philosophical and medical, needed to have permanent access to works that were relevant to the teaching and research they conducted, especially texts compiled by their own teachers. By the 4th century BC we know of two such school libraries. The books now known as the Hippocratic Corpus (anonymous medical texts by many authors, traditionally ascribed to Hippocrates himself) were evidently the nucleus of the working library of the Hippocratic school at Cos – broad-mindedly including several works that adopt the theories of the rival school at Cnidus. The contents of the library of the Peripatetic school led by Aristotle, and after him by Theophrastus, also partly survive, in the form of research texts attributed to these two philosophers themselves, though in several cases they are evidently not the actual authors. This library was bequeathed outside the school by Theophrastus, was not available to later Peripatetics, and was nearly lost for good; its history is outlined by Strabo (*Geography*, 13. 1. 54).

True public libraries were needed as soon as the range of texts that people wanted to read grew to the point at which a book dealer could not find or supply them all. If it is true that Pisistratus, tyrant of Athens, established a public library, this need must have been felt as early as the mid-6th century BC. The Latin author Aulus Gellius (*Attic Nights*, 7. 17. 3), the only source of information on Pisistratus' library, adds that it was seized and taken to Persia when Xerxes invaded Greece.

But little is known for certain of libraries before Alexander's time. It was under the Hellenistic kings, with their need to establish and assert Greek culture across the Near East, that major public libraries appeared. The Library at Alexandria (closely associated with the Museum), founded by Ptolemy I Soter (reigned 305–283/82 BC), was one of the great libraries of all time, classified in accordance with a system developed by Aristotle and eventually with a stock of 700,000 papyrus rolls, according to Gellius. Ptolemy persuaded the Athenian state to lend the archive copies of Classic Athenian drama for copying. Having received them, the Alexandrian library kept the old manuscripts and sent new copies back to Athens. The 3rd-century BC poet Callimachus worked at the library and was credited with the authorship of the *Pinakes*, "Tables", which were a thematic listing of Greek writings up to his time and a subject catalogue of the Alexandrian library: sadly, only a few fragments survive.

A second great library of the Hellenistic period was founded under the patronage of the Attalid kings of Pergamum. It had grown to 200,000 volumes when Mark Antony seized it and presented it to Cleopatra. From the excavations of Pergamum some details of the floor plan of this library can be reconstructed: three large rooms, with wooden bookcases, held the manuscripts; a fourth room was apparently for readers' use; and there were colonnades that provided an additional location for reading and discussion. Bookcases for papyrus rolls took the form of sets of pigeon holes: rolls had labels hanging from one end, which could be read without removing the roll from its place.

The Seleucid kings also had an important library at Antioch. Two further Hellenistic libraries, that of the kings of Macedon at Pella and that of Mithradates, king of Pontus, were both taken to Rome as booty by victorious generals. The great library at Alexandria was burned (though not completely destroyed, it is thought) by Julius Caesar's troops in 47 BC. Rome's own public libraries – the first was founded in 39 BC – were probably better stocked with Greek than with Latin literature.

In general, Greek libraries continued to flourish under the Roman empire, and inscriptions and excavations give us occasional clues regarding their operation. They were naturally to be found at centres of Greek learning. The emperor Hadrian founded a magnificent library near the Agora in Athens in AD 131.

Constantinople, the new capital of the Roman empire, eventually became the focus of Greek cultural life. Here it was that Greek literature survived, in libraries and private collections, through medieval times. The emperor Constantius II founded a public library there. Julian added his own book collection to it in AD 362, and it survived until 726.

Byzantine institutional and private libraries suffered in the sack of Constantinople in 1204 and the long period of instability and decline that followed. It is probable that many Classical texts that had survived in Byzantine collections until 1204 were lost for ever in that year. By 1453, when the city fell to the Turks, some of the most important remaining manuscripts had travelled, with fleeing Byzantine scholars, to Italy, and they now enrich the libraries of western Europe.

The chequered history of the libraries of the capital was not shared by the monastic libraries of the Byzantine provinces. Some of these were never destroyed or looted, and, where monasteries have remained active, libraries continue to retain their valuable medieval collections. This is notably the case with several of the monastery libraries of Mount Athos, which date back to the 10th century, and those of Meteora. Also rich is the library of the monastery of St John at Patmos, founded in 1088.

The intellectual climate in Greece in the 16th to 18th centuries, under Turkish rule, did not favour the maintenance or foundation of libraries. In the late 18th century, however, an important landmark was the establishment of schools, several of which were soon equipped with libraries. With very limited funds and absolutely no official support, these naturally collected their stock in a haphazard way, yet the early collections of several of the school libraries (Ioannina, Chios, Dimitsana, Andritsaina, Zagora, and Melies are examples) are now of great importance in the history of the Greek intellectual and political revival.

As Greece became independent and Athens asserted its role as the national capital, the city became the base for scientific and literary societies and for higher education. Thus, in the 19th century, some larger and modern libraries were developed in Athens (occasionally rivalled by Thessalonica).

By the early 20th century the National Library and the Library of Parliament had emerged as the major research libraries in Greece. The National Library, founded at Aegina in 1829, had moved to Athens in 1834 and merged with the Athens University Library in 1842. It did not gain the privilege of legal deposit until 1943. Its collection of early manuscripts and printed books is fairly small, but it is rich in documentation of the struggle for Greek independence. The Library of Parliament was established in 1845, with the privilege of legal deposit and with reliable funding for foreign purchases. It has the best collection of early Greek newspapers and periodicals, and also contains some important collections bequeathed by politicians and scholars.

Other collections of current importance include those of the Academy of Athens, the British, German, and American Schools at Athens, and, more notable than any of these, the privately founded Gennadios Library, which is outstanding in its collections on modern Greek history. It opened in 1921.

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See also Archives, Books and Readers

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Linear B

The oldest surviving written record of the Greek language

Linear B is the name given to the script that records the oldest known form of Greek (dated to the 15th to 13th centuries BC) and therefore is most probably the earliest evidence of the Hellenic people. It was used in the royal palaces of Bronze Age Crete and mainland Greece as a means of recording the transactions of the palace economy and administration until the destruction of the Mycenaean palaces. The first Linear B script,

Linear B: clay tablet showing fragment of writing in Linear B from Knossos, *c.*1450 BC, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford

written on a clay tablet, was found at Knossos in 1878, and this discovery among other things motivated Arthur Evans, a British archaeologist, to carry out a systematic excavation of the site. Evans's excavations at Knossos from 1900 revealed a palace complex older than the palace at Mycenae excavated by Heinrich Schliemann, and it no longer seemed appropriate to label the civilization of Bronze Age Crete "Mycenaean". Evans named the newly found civilization of Crete "Minoan" after the legendary king Minos. He found three distinctive writing systems at the palace which he named Hieroglyphic (or Pictographic), Linear A, and Linear B, according to their physical appearance. Soon Linear B inscriptions were found also at Pylos and other Mycenaean palaces on the mainland, but because they were assumed to be Minoan they were taken to be evidence of Minoan domination of mainland Greece. However, in 1952 Linear B was deciphered by Michael Ventris, a British amateur, and the language was found to be an old form of Greek. The older hieroglyphic and Linear A inscriptions are still undeciphered, but are thought to represent non-Greek languages.

The Linear B inscriptions were either scratched on clay tablets, labels, and sealings, which were subsequently sun-dried, or painted on large clay vessels. Of the clay tablets, some are called "page" type and others "palm-leaf" type, after their respective shapes. The page type can measure up to *c.*24 × 11 cm, whereas the palm-leaf type measures only up to *c.*18 × 4 cm. There is a sort of hierarchical system among the different classes of clay documents. At least some clay sealings appear to have functioned as delivery notes of goods to various administrative centres. Palm-leaf-type tablets recorded shorter entries and page-type longer ones, and some entries on palm-leaf-type tablets were found to be collected and duplicated on page-type tablets. Clay labels were attached to the containers of sets of tablets to function as indexes. In addition, since the surviving tablets refer only to "this year" and "last year" with no reference to earlier years, it is likely that they were only temporary records for the particular year and that longer-term records were kept on some more perishable material. The inscriptions painted on pottery appear to indicate the places of origin or the producers of the content, most probably wine or olive oil. Most Linear B inscriptions come from Knossos (*c.*5600), Pylos (*c.*1200), Thebes (*c.*420), Mycenae (*c.*90), and Tiryns (*c.*80), but a small number of inscriptions have been found also at Chania (tablets and jars), Midea (a sealing), Orchomenus, Gla, Vlicha, Kreusis, Eleusis, Mameloukos Cave, Armenoi, and Mallia (jars).

The clay tablets show the last stage of the script in use, since they were preserved by being baked in the fire that destroyed the palaces which housed them. The dating of the inscriptions is a controversial matter. Those from Knossos are dated to Late Minoan IIIA2 period (*c.*1375 BC), while those from mainland sites are dated to Late Helladic IIIB (*c.*1200 BC). The tablets from Chania in west Crete, however, are dated to Late Minoan IIIB1 (*c.*1275–1250 BC), which brings the Cretan and mainland scribal traditions closer together. The inscribed pottery on the other hand dates from the 15th to 14th centuries BC, which shows that Linear B was invented in the 15th century BC or possibly earlier.

The Linear B script consists of syllabic signs (87), ideograms (*c.*160), and numerals (1 to 10,000). It was derived from Linear A, a script probably devised for a non-Greek language, and is not well suited to the writing of Greek. All the syllabic signs stand for open syllables, i.e. single vowels standing on their own or syllables ending in a vowel, most of which consist of one consonant followed by one vowel. This is not a convenient feature for writing Greek which contains many words with consonant clusters and final consonants. When a syllable comprises v(owel) + c(onsonant) or c + v + c, the consonant which closes the syllable is usually omitted (e.g. *te-me-no* for *temenos*; *ka-ko* for *khalkos*), whereas when a syllable consists of c + c + v, it is usually written out as two syllables, the first containing the vowel of the succeeding syllable as a "dead" vowel (e.g. *ko-no-so* for Knossos). Apart from a small number of special signs such as *ha*, *au*, *dwe*, and *pte*, the script can represent only 5 vowels and 12 consonants (transcribed as *d*, *j*, *k*, *m*, *n*, *p*, *q*, *r*, *s*, *t*, *w*, *z*). This increases the difficulty in representing Greek. For example, the transcriptions *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u* can stand for short, long, aspirated (h-), and unaspirated vowels; the transcriptions *ka*, *ke*, *ki*, *ko*, *ku* can stand for k-, kh-, or g-; *pa*, *pe*, *pi*, *po*, *pu* can stand for p-, ph-, or b-; and l- and r- have the same set of signs in common. The resulting writing is not always clear. What provided the most decisive evidence for the successful decipherment was its occasional practice of adding ideograms, which are often visually recognizable, to the words spelt in syllabic signs, such as "horse" and "tripod". Despite the incomplete nature of the writing, there is sufficient evidence for identifying many dialectal features which show it to be most closely related to the Classical Arcadian and Cypriot dialects.

The contents of the Linear B tablets are mostly lists of people, animals, and goods with short statements, but they do reveal many aspects of palace economy and administration. We can gather from them, for example, the administrative division of the territory, movement of people and livestock, land tenure, offerings to the gods, food rations for workers, production of wool and textiles, production of scented oil, and storage of vessels, utensils, weapons, armour, and chariots. It also appears that the man called *wanax* ("lord"; *anax* in later Greek) was the most powerful person at each palace, and in

the Mycenaean pantheon the most prominent divinity was a goddess (or a group of goddesses) called *Potnia* ("Lady"), surrounded by some familiar names such as Zeus, Hera, Poseidon, and Dionysus as well as others totally unknown. Some tablets from Pylos seem to refer to preparations for an attack expected from the sea, offering an interesting glimpse of the last days of the Mycenaean palaces.

Literacy disappears from most of the Greek world after the demise of Linear B until the introduction of the alphabet in the early part of the first millennium BC. However, a sister script known as Cypro-Minoan, also derived from Linear A, survived in Cyprus, and eventually evolved into the Cypriot Syllabary which remained in use into the Classical period.

NAOKO YAMAGATA

See also Language, Literacy, Mycenaeans

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Literacy

The earliest known Greek script is Linear B, an adaptation of the Cretan Linear A to accommodate the sounds of Greek, which was devised, perhaps by Minoans rather than by Mycenaeans, at some unknown date (the oldest surviving examples are probably from the late 14th century BC). Although a few Linear B symbols are found on pottery, it seems to have been primarily a secretarial tool for recording palatial inventories of personnel and property on unbaked clay tablets. (There is no scholarly consensus as to whether the "baleful signs" in a folded tablet mentioned in the *Iliad* (6. 168–69) refer to a Greek lexigraphic script, just possibly Linear B, or semasiographic writing or whether they are simply a Near Eastern element imported into the tale of Bellerophon.) Mycenaean society was, therefore, almost exclusively illiterate, a fact which makes more intelligible the Greeks' complete loss of the skill of writing after the collapse of Mycenaean institutions in the 12th century. Knowledge of their past was preserved during the Dark Age (*c.*1200–700 BC) by oral means, most notably in the material that lies behind the Homeric poems.

An alphabet based upon the Phoenicians', but with the adaptation of certain signs to symbolize vowels, was created probably through mercantile contacts and possibly as early as the late 9th century (the earliest known inscription dates from *c.*740 BC). Despite the optimism of many modern scholars, this cannot be proved to have led to widespread literacy throughout the Greek world, even at the most elementary level.

Erection in public places of marble columns inscribed with law codes, first known from the 7th century, did indeed make them available to all, but citizens could rely on intermediaries to read them. Ostracism similarly need not have depended upon common literacy, as the illiterate could have names written for them (a cache has been found of 191 *ostraka* all bearing the name of Themistocles and written in only 14 separate hands). Poetic texts were written down at least as early as the 7th century, but books were always expensive and even in the second half of the 5th century BC Euripides was considered strange for possessing a few papyrus rolls. Schools, though not the only means of transmitting literacy, seem to have arisen first only in the second half of the 6th century (the earliest specifically attested belong to the early years of the 5th) and were never universal. Society remained largely oral, even reading being performed aloud. Although written records of Olympic victors were reputedly made from 776 BC and in the late 6th century Attic demes began to keep records of their members, until at least the 4th century BC legal proceedings were carried out almost exclusively orally, and commercial deals were made by verbal agreements of the parties concerned, the attestation of witnesses, when necessary, being unwritten. There was, moreover, even a distrust of the written word as being more dishonest than the spoken (Isocrates, *Epistles*, 1. 2–3), and Plato, whose inspirational hero Socrates wrote nothing, argues (if *Epistles*, 7 is accepted as genuine) against writing down truly serious things for fear of misuse (344c), and in the *Phaedrus* rightly points out (274e–275b) that literacy militates against memorization.

Although illiteracy seems to have involved no social stigma and created no economic disadvantages even to members of the elite during the Archaic age (*c.*700–479 BC), writing and reading (presumably the more common, especially of lapidary texts) became less unusual accomplishments particularly in the last few decades of the period. They were not confined to the upper classes: inscriptions on vases began as early as the second half of the 8th century and became ubiquitous in the 6th; from 593/92 there survive at Abu Simbel graffiti made by Greek mercenaries; curse tablets first appeared in the 6th century; and even though the earliest known exchange of historical letters in Greek (those of Polycrates of Samos and king Amasis of Egypt) dates only from the 520s, there has been discovered on the island of Berezan, in the estuary of the Bug near Olbia, from only some 20 years later a letter in Milesian Ionic from a private individual (admittedly poorly written, on lead, and probably not even by the sender). Sappho and her circle in late 7th-century Lesbos, though probably exceptional, show that literacy was not exclusively a male preserve. Nevertheless, W.V. Harris concludes that in the Archaic Age "it would be astonishing if as much as 10 per cent of the population as a whole was literate" in any way.

In the Classical period (479–323 BC) there was clearly a great disparity in literacy between city and country, but not necessarily between large and small cities (the minor city of Mycalessus in Boeotia possessed at least three schools in 413, although their type is not mentioned). Most of the known evidence is from Athens, Pericles' "School of Hellas", and thus may be misleading for Greece as a whole. Nevertheless, although Sparta with its need for permanent military preparedness placed little emphasis upon reading and writing, there is evidence that Athens was not atypical (except in its fondness for monumental public inscriptions which need not, however, reflect either a high rate of literacy or democratic policies). Accepting the leadership of the Delian League in 478/77, Athens needed to keep written records (partially surviving) of members' contributions; from 425 are attested both the earliest written manumission and the earliest written litigant's pleading and from about that time, or possibly a little earlier, the first political pamphlet ("The Old Oligarch"); in the last quarter of the century booksellers began to appear; in the last decade a law was passed prohibiting the use of unwritten laws and a state archive was established; by *c.*360 written service and apprenticeship contracts and large loan agreements had appeared and written testimony was required in court; *c.*330 standard texts of the tragedians were placed in the state archives.

During this period literacy for the whole population, including slaves (some of whom were literate), probably reached little more than 10 per cent, but few urban, adult, free males could be expected to be entirely ignorant of letters. The very word *agrammatos* came into existence and signified both "illiterate" and "uncultivated"; Euripides' lost *Theseus* contained a scene whose appreciation was possible only through a knowledge of the shapes of letters of the alphabet; Xenophon in his *Oeconomicus* takes it for granted that not only the landowner Ischomachus but also his wife are literate; Aristotle claims (*Politics*, 1338a15–17) that literacy is useful for "business, running the household, learning and many civic activities".

In the Hellenistic period (323–31 BC) literacy among urban freeborn men reached perhaps 40 per cent. From one area, Egypt, there survive for the first time written ephemera in the form of documents and letters of minor officials and common people, although it is somewhat hazardous to extrapolate from here to the rest of the Greek world. Clearly paperwork (on papyrus) was increasing greatly and was being used for even fairly trivial purposes. However, the many hundreds of documents (at least 1500 from the Hellenistic, Roman and early Byzantine periods) that explicitly mention the illiteracy of one or more of the parties suggest that the majority of male farmers and artisans were unable to write, and that only a very tiny proportion of their wives could. For the elite, however, literacy was now a sine qua non, and institutional libraries, initially probably modelled on Aristotle's at the Lyceum, were established, most notably at Alexandria and Pergamum.

Despite growing bureaucratization and interest in buying books, evident from papyrus finds in Egypt, the percentage of literate Greeks perhaps declined slightly under Roman rule (Harris believes that the peak had been passed by the mid-2nd century BC), as certainly did that of all inhabitants of the Roman empire after *c.*AD 200. It is notable that a village clerk in Egypt was still ineptly practising his signature formula while in office at some point between AD 184 and 187; and that in AD 263 a rich woman considered her literacy sufficiently exceptional to be ground for requesting privileges from the prefect of Egypt.

Although no thorough study has been made of literacy at any period in Byzantine history, it is clear that, even at its lowest ebb in the 8th century, it was always far more common than in the contemporary Latin west. The complex administrative system of the empire necessitated in both the capital and the provinces numerous officials, who depended upon vast numbers of scribes and copyists and whose own literacy is emphasized by the deliberate noting of exceptions (there were reportedly two illiterate emperors, Justin I and Basil I). Many shorthand scribes too were required for taking legal testimony and minutes of church councils and even for recording sermons. Although in the mid-6th century Justinian I found it necessary to legislate that all bishops should be literate, the importance of the Bible and liturgical texts ensured that most ordinary monks (and many nuns) could read (in one document from Athos dated to 991 only three out of 18 monks were unable to sign their names, and it has been estimated that approximately one half of all scribes in the 10th to 11th centuries were monks, although the percentage declined later). Army commanders too were expected to be able to read military manuals. Although the rate of literacy was clearly higher in the cities, and especially in Constantinople, saints' Lives give evidence that many children were able to pick up some knowledge of letters even in remote communities. In the late 9th century Leo VI permitted oral testimony to authorize wills in country areas, but throughout Byzantine history most documents required the signature of witnesses, and Leo's father Basil I decreed that fractions in all tax documents should be written in full so that they should be interpretable by peasants. The cultural elite, which included some women, prided itself on fluency in the "High Language", an approximation of Classical Greek, and scorned as illiterate those familiar only with demotic, the commonly spoken language, or even *koine*, in which the Bible was written.

Evidence for Byzantine libraries is very incomplete and of little aid in assessing general literacy. The huge number of book reviews written by Photios in the 9th century must have required a substantial library or libraries, while letters that mention borrowing as well as inscriptions in surviving manuscripts attest to numerous personal collections after the Iconoclastic period. Monasteries too had libraries ranging from a handful of volumes to a few hundred. In Constantinople itself there were an imperial and a patriarchal library and, at the times when these institutions were in existence, libraries attached to the patriarchal academy and the secular university; but to determine to what extent these collections were accessible to the public is problematic. In the 13th century the emperor Theodore Doukas Laskaris gathered books which were distributed to various cities with the specific instruction that they were to be available to everyone; but this was noted as an innovation. Public access to libraries was not as great during the Byzantine period as it had been during the Hellenistic and particularly Roman eras.

Except among the Phanariots, who often sent their children to be educated in Italy, literacy during the Tourkokratia was

for many years minimal (it was higher among the Greeks in areas ruled by western states). The most educated person in a village was usually the priest who, although he had probably been taught his letters at a nearby monastery, still struggled with his liturgical texts and relied largely on memory. However, growing opposition to the Ottomans and a sense of nationalism promoted the creation of so many unofficial schools that at the time of Greek independence (*c.*1821) at an elementary level Greeks could claim to be one of the more literate nations of Europe; although within a few decades they had been largely overtaken.

The last half of the 20th century saw a great diminution in illiteracy in Greece, and the promise of its almost complete eradication, through more regular attendance and more years of schooling. One minor obstacle to illiteracy, albeit an aid to comprehension, was also eliminated in the last two decades of the 20th century by the gradual abolition of breathings (originally indicating whether or not an initial vowel was aspirated) and the compression into one of the three accents (originally indicating pitch but by the 4th century AD only stress). The abolition of these Alexandrian diacritical signs had been frequently mooted in modern times, but opposition had been such that in the 1940s the University of Athens publicly censured one of its professors for publishing a book without accents.

The first serious attempt to eradicate illiteracy in modern Greece was the establishment by the government of Eleftherios Venizelos in 1929 of night schools to provide elementary education for those above the legal age for primary school. During World War II various resistance organizations attempted to educate especially farmers, and in 1943 an Adult Education Service was developed at the Ministry of Education. Nevertheless, in 1951, after the end of the Civil War, 25.9 per cent of the population aged 15 and over was deemed illiterate (including 49.9 per cent of rural females). Three years later a Central Committee to Combat Illiteracy (KEKA) began to establish night schools at which attendance was compulsory for illiterates and semiliterates up to the age of 20 and voluntary for those older. By 1981 the illiteracy rate had dropped to 9.5 per cent and by 1991 to 4.8 per cent, while of the 389,067 classified in the latter year as illiterate 51.1 per cent were women over the age of 65 (the percentages for Cyprus were higher, but showed a more rapid diminution).

Literacy may be measured also by publication of books, library holdings, and newspaper circulation. In 1995, 4134 new titles were published in Greece, "literature" accounting for the extraordinarily high percentage of 38.6. However, apart from the National Library in Athens and the libraries of higher education, the 669 public libraries housed in 1994 only 9,558,000 books, slightly fewer than one for each inhabitant. This was, to some extent, offset by the fact that 168 daily newspapers had in 1995 a circulation of 153 per thousand of the population, continuing a growing literate trend which had been reversed in most other European countries by dependence on the orality of radio and television.

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See also Archives, Books and Readers, Education, Libraries

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Liturgy

In Classical Greek the word liturgy (*leitourgia*) referred to any kind of public service. In Christian usage it came to mean the service offered to God by the Christian community, gathered for common prayer. Central to that service is the Eucharist; and in Orthodox tradition the Eucharist is called the (Divine) Liturgy. But liturgical worship includes more than the Eucharist, and here liturgy is used in its wider sense, to include all aspects of corporate Christian worship in the Greek-speaking world.

In common with other Christian traditions, the fully developed pattern of Greek Orthodox worship includes the daily services of the Church – Vespers, Orthros, and the lesser Hours – as well as the sacramental rites of baptism, chrismation (confirmation), the Eucharist, confession, unction, marriage, and ordination. These are called "mysteries" in the Orthodox tradition. In addition there are various rites less often used, such as monastic profession and the consecration of a church, and blessings of various kinds. These services are contained in a number of books. The Euchologion includes the prayers and litanies used by the priest and deacon. The fixed parts of the daily services are in the Horologion. Variable texts for Sundays and weekdays are found in the Oktoechos, those for Lent in the Triodion, for Eastertide in the Pentecostarion, and for the fixed feasts in the 12 Menaia, one for each month of the year. Scriptural readings are set out in two lectionaries, the Apostle and the Gospel. The Typikon gives instructions for celebrating the services throughout the year within the framework of the

liturgical calendar, and combining the texts supplied by these various books. Together, these services and the books that contain them make up what is called the Byzantine rite.

In Orthodox worship the architectural and iconographic setting of services is hardly less important than their liturgical texts. The church building itself is understood to be sacramental. It is heaven on earth, an image of the cosmos. Its interior iconography makes its sacramental significance explicit, and presents in pictorial images the saving events celebrated in the liturgy itself. Traditional interpretation of the symbolism of the church building and its services enables worshippers to enter into the inner meaning of Orthodox worship. In no other rite has there emerged the synthesis of art, architecture, text, ceremonial, and music characteristic of the Byzantine rite, which was essentially complete in its present form by the 15th century.

The origins of this developed pattern of worship are to be sought in the worship of the Jewish community, within which Jesus Christ himself and Christianity were born. Relatively little is known about the development of Christian liturgical worship in the first three centuries. Its setting was domestic: Christians met in private houses, sometimes adapted for the community's use. Only towards the end of the 3rd century were special church buildings occasionally erected. New Christians were admitted by baptism, and then shared regularly in the Sunday Eucharist. There were gatherings for common prayer, reading scripture, and exhortation; and Christians were encouraged to pray at various hours during the day. Easter was the annual celebration of salvation through the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ, Sunday its weekly celebration. The only other elements in the Christian year were commemorations of martyrs. Within a broadly common tradition there was considerable variety of local custom. Some evidence indicates that the Eucharistic prayer was extempore, precluding any standardization.

Significant developments in liturgical worship began in the 4th century. Constantine's recognition of Christianity enabled worship to move into imposing basilicas. Ceremonial developed, as bishops acquired the status of civil magistrates. Liturgical rites came to be written out, and the texts of prayers fixed. Two cycles of festivals emerged: the lunar, centred on Easter, and the solar, centred on Christmas, so giving its basic form to the calendar. Church organization developed, based on the civil administration, and ecclesiastical centres emerged, of which the two oldest were Alexandria and Antioch. Jerusalem rose to rapid prominence after the discovery of the holy sepulchre; and the new capital, Constantinople, soon enjoyed the same prestige as Old Rome. The liturgy of these centres, later called patriarchates, began to acquire distinctive characteristics. Each had its rites of Christian initiation, including baptism, chrismation or confirmation, and participation in the Eucharist, which often took place at the Easter vigil. Each developed its own eucharistic rite, with its own eucharistic prayers, or anaphoras. By the end of the 7th century each of these centres had its own distinctive rite. That of Constantinople is usually known as the Byzantine rite, from the city's original name. These rites gradually spread to other local churches within their sphere of influence, and mutually influenced one another. For the future development of Greek Orthodox worship Constantinople and Jerusalem were of particular importance.

The Church of Jerusalem enjoyed immense prestige. Cyril, bishop of the holy city *c.*349–87, is usually credited with devising the complete sequence of Holy Week observances, which other Churches in the East and West soon borrowed and adapted. The eucharistic theology of Cyril's *Mystagogical Catecheses*, with its emphasis on the transformation of the Eucharistic bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ by the invocation of the Holy Spirit, influenced all Eastern Eucharistic worship. The monasteries of Palestine, especially that of Mar Saba, were to have a profound influence on the development of Orthodox worship. The monks used the same Eucharistic rite as the rest of the Church, but developed their own forms of daily worship, the Hours that made up the divine office. Their content was distinct from that of the cathedral office, which they were destined ultimately to supplant. Much of the liturgical poetry characteristic of the later Byzantine rite was composed, from the 6th century onwards, in Palestine.

Constantinople derived its liturgical tradition from Antioch, but from the end of the 4th century its rite began to acquire distinctive characteristics. The reign of Justinian (527–65) was particularly significant for its development. His new church of Holy Wisdom (Hagia Sophia) completed in 537, was both cathedral and palace chapel. It was the first church building to be given an explicit symbolic meaning as the house of God. Its great dome symbolized heaven, and the church itself was both heaven on earth and an image of the cosmos. Its services were performed with imperial splendour. Its worship, especially the Eucharist, was believed to be a participation in the worship of heaven. This understanding was reflected in liturgical texts, and systematized in the 7th century by Maximos the Confessor, whose *Mystagogia* gives a full interpretation of the church building and of the Eucharist celebrated in it. By the end of the 7th century the rite of Constantinople had acquired its own consistency. This is reflected in the liturgical canons of the Council in Trullo (691–92), and in the first surviving liturgical text from the Great Church. The Codex Barberini 336, from the middle of the 8th century (now in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana), is a Euchologion, containing the prayers of the two Eucharistic rites of St Basil and St John Chrysostom, with those of other services.

The 7th and 8th centuries were highly significant for Orthodox liturgical development. In the early 7th century Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem came under Islamic rule. They had already been weakened by the loss of the majority of Christians in their regions to the non-Chalcedonian Churches. Their influence declined, and their rites came under increasing Byzantine influence. By the 12th century local Eucharistic rites had been almost entirely replaced by those of St Basil and St John Chrysostom. At the end of the century Theodore Balsamon, patriarch of Antioch, held that only the rite of the Great Church should be used by those who considered themselves Orthodox.

The iconoclast controversy (726–75, 814–43) ended with the Triumph of Orthodoxy and the restoration of the icons. It marked the beginning of the domination of the Orthodox Church by monks. The monastery of Stoudios in Constantinople, refounded by Theodore in 799, became an important liturgical centre. Theodore invited monks from Mar

Saba in Palestine to help in the defence of icons and the renewal of monastic life. They brought with them their own daily services, containing a wealth of liturgical poetry, fully orthodox in content. In the monasteries of Constantinople this Palestinian Horologion was combined with the cathedral office of the Great Church. The resulting synthesis was the basis of the final form of the Byzantine daily Hours. The cathedral office continued in use in Hagia Sophia until the Latin conquest (1204–61), when the monks took charge of the services, and in Thessalonica until the 15th century. But the Stoudite office became more and more widely used. At the same time the Holy Week rites of Constantinople and Jerusalem were also exerting a mutual influence on one another, and the final Byzantine Holy Week liturgy was a synthesis of the two rites.

Meanwhile the liturgy of Constantinople continued to develop, and with it the tradition of liturgical interpretation. A century after Maximos, Germanos I, patriarch of Constantinople (715–*c.*733), composed his *Ecclesiastical History*. This liturgical commentary, while not abandoning the understanding of the Eucharist as an image of the worship of heaven, gives greater emphasis to the more historical interpretation first found in Theodore of Mopsuestia in the 4th century. Germanos interprets the Eucharist chiefly as a symbolic representation of the life of Christ. The Little Entrance represents the first appearing of Christ; the Great Entrance represents his passion and burial. The dominance of this more literal interpretation of the Eucharist in the later Byzantine tradition coincided with post-iconoclastic developments in church decoration. From the 9th century the interiors of churches, now usually small, were increasingly covered with iconography in mosaic or fresco. The fully developed scheme depicted heaven and its worship, the saving events in the life of Christ, and the communion of saints. The iconography of the church matched the interpretation of the liturgy celebrated in it.

The liturgical poetry originating in Mar Saba was gradually brought together and arranged for use in liturgical books. From the 8th century the Oktoechos came into being, containing the daily services; from the 10th century the Triodion and Pentecostarion, containing the Lenten and Eastertide texts, and the Menaia, containing the fixed festivals. Rules for combining these texts were given by a series of typika, which begin to appear in the 9th or 10th century. The Stoudite typikon became the most influential, and by the 12th century it had spread throughout the Orthodox world. It was used by the first monasteries on Mount Athos.

The process of cross-fertilization continued. The Stoudite typikon was adopted in Palestine, but also adapted there. This neo-Sabaitic synthesis, as it is sometimes called, influenced the Stoudite rite in the capital. The typikon of Mar Saba gradually ousted the Stoudite typikon, and was adopted on Mount Athos, which, since the Latin occupation of Constantinople, had become the chief monastic centre of Orthodoxy. In the final stage of the development of the Byzantine rite the influence of Athonite usage was paramount. After the triumph of hesychasm in the 14th century, hesychast monks controlled the Byzantine Church. Philotheos, while abbot of the Great Lavra, composed two *Diataxeis*, or books of ceremonial instructions. One contained the rubrics for the divine office, the other those for the Eucharist. When he became patriarch of Constantinople (1353–55, 1364–76), their use spread rapidly. They were incorporated into the first printed texts of the Byzantine liturgical books in the 16th century.

By the fall of Constantinople in 1453, Byzantine Orthodox liturgical worship had reached the form it largely still has today. The church building and its iconographic decoration had also reached their final form. In the 16th century the use of printing made possible the standardization of liturgical texts and usage, which up to then had varied. This fully developed Orthodox rite played an important part in preserving the identity of the Christian peoples of the Ottoman empire. Its wealth of liturgical texts, steeped in Christian doctrine and ascetic teaching, helped to preserve and transmit the Christian faith to succeeding generations when few other means existed.

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See also Hymnography, Orthodox Church

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Livanos, George P. 1926–1997

Shipowner

George P. Livanos was born into a family originating from Kardamyla in Chios, the island that throughout the 20th century was foremost in Greek shipping. In addition to the

willingness to take large risks that is common among Greek shipowners, Chiots are notable for their mastery of the technical aspects of the market and ships alike. Livanos shared all these qualities.

He was born in New Orleans, educated in Greece at Athens College, carried out US military service, and studied engineering at Hofstra University in New York. His professional career was marked by exceptional qualities of innovation. In 1968, against the general trend towards much larger vessels (so as to reduce the cost of transport per ton), he pioneered the "Mini Bulker", a 3000-ton deadweight shallow-draft vessel equally adapted to river and ocean navigation. More than 50 were built. The United Nations used them to move relief cargoes to Bangladesh following the war of 1970–71.

In 1976 Livanos introduced Russian high-speed hydrofoil vessels to the Aegean, thus providing rapid transportation between Piraeus and many Greek islands; by greatly reducing the travel time, this revolutionized the economy of several island regions. In 1985 he entered the specialized chemical transportation field, eventually becoming one of the three largest carriers of chemical products in the world. By the early 1990s he was one of the world's largest shipowners, operating VLCCs (Very Large Crude Carriers) and ULCCs (Ultra Large Crude Carriers) totalling about 3.5 million tons deadweight in a fleet of nearly 100 vessels and almost 5 million tons.

Many shipowners of Kardamyla (from where Livanos's wife, Fotini Carras, also came) were noted for their sense of public service. Both the Livanos and the Carras families had spent much of their first profits from shipping creating their towns' schools. Livanos continued the tradition, painting on a broader canvas. He was personally generous to employees and philanthropic causes alike. He was deeply involved in the interface between American and Greek politics during the 1970s and 1980s. He formed the Hellenic American Alliance in Washington and was himself continuously active in urging on US legislators the importance of a just solution to the Cyprus problem and of maintaining a proper balance in military aid to Greece and Turkey. It is unlikely that this balance would have been maintained during the 1980s without his efforts.

Livanos was committed to the environmental movement. He was a cofounder of *Elliniki Etairia* (the Greek Society), Greece's leading conservation organization, in 1972. Later in his life he was a member of the Council of the World Wildlife Fund (now the World Wide Fund for Nature) and its president in Greece. He was a member of the Club of Rome. His greatest contribution was his foundation in 1982 of HELMEPA (Hellenic Marine Environment Protection Association), a joint effort of the shipping community and the Greek Seamen's Federation to reduce ship-generated pollution. HELMEPA's educational efforts were successful and imitated by CYMEPA (Cyprus), TURMEPA (Turkey), and BRIMEPA (Britain), to all of which HELMEPA contributed valuable knowhow. A man of great ability, extraordinary (almost childlike) enthusiasm, broad generosity, and burning idealism, Livanos made a difference, both to Greece and to the world.

COSTA CARRAS

See also Ships and Shipping

Biography

Born in New Orleans in 1926, George Livanos was educated at Athens College and studied engineering at Hofstra University in New York. One of the world's largest shipowners, he introduced high-speed hydrofoil vessels to the Aegean and became one of the largest carriers of chemical products. He was active in the environmental movement. He died in 1997.

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Logic

Logic, the study of valid inference, was developed by Greek philosophers as a result of their interest in arguments of every kind, not only those used in philosophy, but also those used in mathematics, in politics, or in the lawcourts. The first technical term for what we now call "logic" was used by Aristotle, and this was "dialectic"; the first occurrence of the ancient term "logic", meaning the discipline of correct reasoning, is to be found in Aristotle's commentator Alexander of Aphrodisias.

Aristotle is traditionally considered to be the founder of logic. At the end of his *Sophistical Refutations* he himself claimed with some pride to have been the first to conceive of a systematic treatment of correct inference as such and to formulate its rules. But Aristotle was certainly not the first to be concerned with valid reasoning. Before Aristotle philosophers knew how to argue and taught others how to argue; for they were mainly interested in producing arguments to defend their theses or to refute those of their opponents. What is more, already before Aristotle philosophers were aware, and availed themselves, of certain abstract patterns of inference which would ensure the conclusiveness of arguments constructed according to them. Thus it is clear from our sources that already Zeno of Elea in his paradoxes made use of argument patterns like that of the reduction to the impossible. Similarly Plato, in the second part of his dialogue *Parmenides*, obviously inspired by Zeno, constructed an elaborate argument, following a complex formal pattern which explicitly is said to be applicable to any other philosophical subject or discussion. Quite generally, even if Plato might have been averse to the study of reasoning for its own sake, his dialogues present argument systematically set forth in such a way as to make their validity apparent, but also to invite reflection on their validity, rather than simply on the truth of their premisses and conclusions. For instance, given Plato's and his followers' concern with the method of division, one easily sees how one would come to formulate general principles of the kind "if A is a genus of B, and B is a genus of C, then A is a genus of C". But to develop such a body of general principles is not yet to

provide a formal account of valid inference, an account which identifies what precisely it is about an inference which makes it valid.

Aristotle's logical writings were later known under the collective title *Organon*, i.e. an instrument of philosophy, for they were regarded as the works to be studied first, since it is by means of logic that we come to have the knowledge about reality and human behaviour which constitutes philosophy. But not all of the six treatises of the *Organon* deal with logic in the modern sense. The first of these works, namely the *Categories*, classifies the different types of predicates and is often interpreted as a metaphysical or dialectical treatise, rather than as a logical one. Those editors who placed it in the *Organon* thought that it dealt with the terms of propositions of the form "A is B". The *Topics* discusses dialectical arguments of the kind used in the dialectical exercises which formed an important part of the philosophical training in Plato's Academy. The *Sophistical Refutations* is an appendix to the *Topics* and considers logical fallacies. The *Posterior Analytics* investigates the special requirements that scientifically demonstrative arguments have to satisfy beyond being formally valid. Hence, Aristotle's main contributions to the discipline of logic in the modern sense are to be found, first, in his short treatise *On Interpretation*, which presents his theory of the structure of propositions, their truth conditions, and the logical relations between them, in particular their contradictoriness, and their contrariety; and second, in the *Prior Analytics*, in which Aristotle expounds his theory of the syllogism, by considering different kinds of arguments according to their forms.

It is important to note that in his logical writings Aristotle was the first to use letters ("A", "B", "C") to stand in place of the terms of propositions ("white", "animal", "man"). This Aristotelian innovation is regarded by modern logicians as one of the crucial steps in the history of logic, because it implies an awareness of the distinction between logical form and logical matter, and also marks a significant simplification in the representation of the form of arguments. More specifically, in Aristotle's *On Interpretation* four kinds of proposition are distinguished: universal affirmatives, of the form "A holds of every B" (e.g. "white holds of every man"); universal negatives, of the form "A holds of no B" (e.g. "white holds of no man"); particular affirmatives, of the form "A holds of some B" (e.g. "white holds of some man"); and particular negatives, of the form "A does not hold of some B" (e.g. "white does not hold of some man"). A convention going back to the Middle Ages marks each of the four kinds of proposition with a vowel, and thus they may be abbreviated as "AaB", "AeB", "AiB", "AoB", respectively. The universal affirmative is contrary to the universal negative and contradictory to the particular negative, whereas the particular affirmative is contrary to the particular negative and contradictory to the universal negative.

It is next in the *Prior Analytics* that Aristotle presents his theory of the syllogism, by any account one of the greatest achievements in the history of logic. He starts with his standard definition of a syllogism as an argument in which certain things being posited something different from the things posited comes about by necessity, in virtue of the fact that the things posited are so. Hence three distinct propositions are involved in every syllogism, two premisses and a conclusion, and they must be related in the appropriate way to be specified. To begin with, the two premisses must have a term in common, the so-called "middle term", and the two terms of the conclusion, i.e. "the extremes", must each appear in one of the premisses. Thus the three propositions of any syllogism exhibit altogether precisely three terms, and the premisses may, as a pair, show any one of the following structures: (1) A of B, B of C; (2) B of A, B of C; (3) A of B, C of B. These three structures determine the three figures of Aristotelian syllogistic; a syllogism belongs to the first figure if its premisses exhibit structure 1, to the second figure if they exhibit structure 2, and to the third figure if they exhibit structure 3. In later times the various forms in which syllogisms may be constructed within the figures came to be called "moods". Aristotle distinguishes 14 valid moods, which are commonly known by their medieval names. For instance, the first valid mood of the first figure is called Barbara and runs as follows: "A holds of every B; B holds of every C; therefore A holds of every C." A typical Aristotelian example in this mood would then be: "Mortal holds of every animal; animal holds of every man; therefore mortal holds of every man." All the valid moods of the first figure are said to be "perfect", because their valididty is self-evident. The syllogisms in the other figures are "imperfect", but they can become perfect, inasmuch as they can be reduced to first-figure syllogisms whose validity is self-evident. Aristotle employs three methods of perfection or reduction, which means three ways of proving that a given syllogistic form is valid; namely, transformation by conversion, reduction to the impossible, and exposition. In this way Aristotle presents his syllogistic as a system of deductive inference in which the 14 valid moods of the first, second, and third syllogisms can be reduced to the four moods of the first figure; thus these four syllogistic moods constitute the axioms of the system. The axiomatic character of Aristotle's syllogistic bears clear signs of influence by the developments in the mathematical sciences of his time, and its ingenuity and elegance have often been praised even in our times. Aristotle also made a beginning in what we nowadays call modal logic, i.e. the study of propositions containing modal operators like "necessary" or "possible", but his treatment of modal logic in the *Prior Analytics* proves to be unsatisfactory and presumably in the end incoherent.

Some of the Peripatetics followed Aristotle's interest in logic and tried to elaborate further his logical doctrines. Theophrastus, in particular, is said to have been chiefly concerned with the development of certain aspects of Aristotelian logic, but unfortunately none of his logical works has survived. From later authors we learn that he spent some time on an area of logic that was only briefly mentioned by Aristotle, namely syllogisms "from a hypothesis". These are syllogisms whose first premiss at least is a "hypothetical" proposition, i.e. a negated conjunction or a disjunction or a conditional. In the works of Aristotle's commentators the syllogisms with such premisses are called "hypothetical" syllogisms, and are contrasted with the standard Aristotelian syllogisms which are called "categorical" syllogisms. It seems, though, that Theophrastus' account of hypothetical syllogisms never acquired the character of a fully fledged systematic logical theory: that is, a theory of the kind which the Stoics were to produce later on.

In the Hellenistic period, largely independently of Aristotle's term "logic", the logic of propositions, mainly hypothetical syllogistic, as opposed to categorical, was advanced to its highest level. Its beginnings may be traced back to philosophers like Diodorus Cronus and Philo of Megara, who were not only concerned with the study of logical puzzles or paradoxes, like the Liar and the Sorites, but also put forward original theories about the logical modalities and the truth conditions of conditional propositions. But the logic of propositions was finally systematized by the Stoics, who in Chrysippus had a logician of the highest calibre. His numerous works unfortunately are almost entirely lost, and we need to reconstruct Stoic logic from relatively few and not always reliable fragments. Stoic propositional logic was based on the connectives "if ... then" for conditionals, "either ... or" for exclusive disjunctions, "both ... and" for conjunctions, and the prefixed negative "it is not the case that". The Stoics used ordinal numbers ("the first", "the second", "a", "b") to stand in place not of terms but of simple propositions. Their hypothetical syllogistic, like Aristotle's syllogistic, also was developed as an axiomatic system. It was grounded on five types of "indemonstrable" arguments, i.e. elementary syllogisms the validity of which is in no need of demonstration, since it is self-evident, and four rules, the so-called themata, by the use of which all other syllogisms were claimed to be reducible to the indemonstrables. Hence these rules allow one to establish the formal validity of non-indemonstrable arguments by "analysing" them in one or more steps into one or more indemonstrable arguments. The form of the standard five indemonstrables was expressed as follows: (1) "If the first, then the second; but the first; therefore the second." (2) claimed. "If the first, then the second; but not the second; therefore not the first." (3) "Not both the first and the second; but the first; therefore not the second." (4) "Either the first or the second; but the first; therefore not the second." (5) "Either the first or the second; but not the first; therefore the second." A typical Stoic example of the first indemonstrable is: "If it is day, it is light; but it is day; therefore it is light."

The two systems of logic – term logic and the logic of propositions – were considered by the Peripatetics and the Stoics as rivals, rather than as complementary, each supposed to cover all formally valid arguments. In late antiquity, however, we find the attempt to combine the two traditions of the categorical and the hypothetical syllogistic into one logical system. The commentators on Aristotle's logical works, such as Alexander of Aphrodisias, Ammonius, and Philoponus, integrated into their works many Stoic elements, including a doctrine of hypothetical syllogisms. Finally, Galen made a more successful attempt to synthesize the two systems in his *Introduction to Logic*, in which he also deals with relational arguments which are not satisfactorily accounted for either by Aristotle or by the Stoics; that is, arguments like "A is greater than B; B is greater than C; therefore A is greater than C." In general, however, logicians in this period made no substantial logical discoveries, though there are in the writings some terminological innovations. For the most part they stated expansively what Aristotle had stated briefly and elliptically. On the other hand, the logical works of this period preserve historical information, which is invaluable.

The syncretistic tradition of late antiquity was continued with an emphasis on didactic simplicity, first by Byzantine scholars such as Michael Psellos, John Italos, Theodore Prodromos, Leon Magentinos, Manuel Holobolos, Nikephoros Blemmydes, George Pachymeres, John Pediasimos, John Chortasmenos, and George Scholarios, and after the fall of Constantinople by philosophers such as Theophilos Corydaleus, George Koresios, Meletios Syrigos, Gerasimos Vlachos, George Sougdouris, Stephanos Tzigaras, Vikentios Damodos, and Neophytos Doukas. Unfortunately most of the logical writings of these authors have not yet appeared, at least in critical editions, and therefore their study has been seriously neglected.

KATERINA IERODIAKONOU

See also Dialectic, Philosophy

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Longus

Novelist of the 2nd or 3rd century AD

Longus was the author of *Daphnis and Chloe*, a fine but untypical example of the ancient Greek novel, probably dating from the end of the 2nd or beginning of the 3rd century AD. In outline the story follows the romantic stereotype, narrating the love and adventures of its eponymous heroes, culminating in marriage, and even retains some of the common motifs of the genre, such as pirates, shipwreck, and unwanted rivals. *Daphnis and Chloe* is unique, however, in its pastoral setting: although they turn out to be the exposed children of urban aristocrats, its hero and heroine grow up as goatherd and shepherdess in the countryside of Lesbos, of which Longus was possibly a native. Despite its topographical plausibility, however, the setting is not realistic: Longus draws ostentatiously on the pastoral poetry of Theocritus (not least for Daphnis' name) and, probably, of Philetas of Cos, after whom one of the most important secondary characters is named. As befits the Lesbian setting, the poetry of Sappho also provides a number of plot elements, notably in an episode where Daphnis fetches Chloe an apple from the highest branches of a tree. The

urban reader, in effect, is invited to take a holiday in a literary landscape of bucolic fantasy and turn a blind eye to the hardships of real agricultural life.

Elements of travel and adventure of the kind found in other ancient novels are miniaturized and parodied. Raiding pirates take Daphnis only a few hundred metres before their ship is capsized by performing cows; war nearly breaks out between Mytilene and Methymna after a goat gnaws through a makeshift mooring-rope. This lack of physical movement is related to Longus' most profound innovation: his treatment of love, which he presents as a developing and maturing condition. His lovers begin as completely ignorant of Eros, and only gradually become aware of their feelings for one another. They need to be educated in the "name and deeds of love", first by the old herdsman Philetas, who in lyrically elevated prose identifies Eros as the motive power of all creation, and then by a benevolently predatory sex-starved neighbour, Lycaenion, who gives Daphnis a practical tutorial in the woods. Childish fumblings give way to formal courtship and marriage in the city, after the two lovers discover their real identities. The lovers' journey is thus an inner one, from the innocence of rural childhood to the knowledge of socialized maturity. The paradigmatically natural quality of their love is stressed by the way it follows the rhythm of the seasons, awakening in spring, growing in summer, resting in winter, and finding its fulfilment in the second autumn; significantly the novel is in four books. Three myths of metamorphosis, narrated by characters in the story and forming a sequence of increasing violence and sexuality, counterpoint the main narrative in the first three books. Implicitly the fourth and final metamorphosis is Chloe's passage from virgin to wife, and the final myth the novel itself.

A preface presents the novel as an *ekphrasis* ("description") of a painting discovered by the narrator while hunting in Lesbos. It also claims – with a mischievous allusion to Thucydides – a universal applicability for its story. The experiences of Daphnis and Chloe are thus an educative allegory of human love and its place in nature, but the novel is also a self-referential meditation on the nature of literary fiction, which, like the love it depicts, and like a pair of symbolic gardens in the story, is a symbiosis of art and nature, artifice and reality.

Although there is no external evidence to date the novel, its lightly worn erudition and multiple layers of meaning, as well as the artful simplicity of its prose, mark it as a product of the period of the Second Sophistic. The story is set in a timeless Hellenic past, when the two chief cities of Lesbos were independent and war between them was a possibility; there is no attempt to recreate a more precise historical milieu. There is no trace of Rome, but, in its displaced fashion, *Daphnis and Chloe* reflects contemporary concerns with self and sexuality, and, in its ethical but not simplistic confrontation of town and country, echoes a prevalent urban nostalgia for a non-existent bucolic simplicity.

Surprisingly, Longus' exquisite novel does not appear to have enjoyed wide circulation. No papyrus fragments have yet come to light, and the work is not noticed by Byzantine critics, although it is alluded to in the 12th-century verse romance of Evgenianos. In the west *Daphnis and Chloe* has periodically enjoyed a certain vogue, both by virtue of its explicit sexual scenes, and for its literary merits, which were famously commended by Goethe. It is also the only ancient Greek novel to have left a clear trace in modern Greek fiction: Myrivilis's novel *Daskala me ta Chrysa Matia* (*The Schoolmistress with the Golden Eyes*, 1933) features an erotically tinged description of the Lesbian countryside, which evokes *Daphnis and Chloe* for the hero.

J.R. MORGAN

See also Novel

Biography

Otherwise unknown, Longus was the author of the novel *Daphnis and Chloe* which may be dated to the late 2nd or early 3rd century AD. The setting suggests that he may have been a native of or visitor to Lesbos. The style places it in the period of the Second Sophistic. The treatment of love as a developing condition is innovative.

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Lucian *c.*AD 120–180

Prose writer

Lucian of Samosata was by birth a Syrian rather than a Greek but became one of the most important Greek literary figures of his time. He wrote in an exceptionally pure form of the literary language of the 2nd century AD, an Atticizing Greek almost indistinguishable from that of Plato and very different from the non-literary Greek of his day. This purity of style was essential to his success as an orator and travelling speaker in an age

where enormous importance was attached to the use of correct Greek at all times. (Two of Lucian's works, *The Mistaken Critic* and *A Slip of the Tongue in Greeting*, are elaborate defences of the author after he had been accused of making, in the course of casual speech, linguistic errors that to us would seem utterly trivial.) The quality of Lucian's language was also one of the main reasons for the continued popularity of his works after his death and their influence on later literature.

Most of Lucian's writings are humorous; they were written to entertain rather than to instruct or defend. Perhaps most famous are the satiric dialogues, in which the author mocks insincere philosophers, the rich, and the major figures of classical mythology. Thus for example in *The Downward Journey*, which like many of his works is set in Hades, the author depicts the humiliation of a rich tyrant after his death while also making fun of awe-inspiring mythological figures such as Charon and Clotho. In *Zeus Catechized* he shows Zeus confounded by a human who asks how the power of the gods can be compatible with the existence of preordained destiny, and the same problem is discussed in worried tones among the gods themselves in *Zeus Rants*. In *Philosophers for Sale* various philosophical creeds are auctioned off as slaves, and in the *Fisherman* the founders of the major philosophical schools, returning to life in order to punish Lucian for his attacks on philosophy, discover the vices of their current followers and repudiate them.

These works show that Lucian had an extensive knowledge of Greek literature from Homer onwards and no scruples about parodying it, and they remain extremely funny to anyone with the background to appreciate them. Some parodies are also written in a narrative rather than a dialogue format, such as the *True Story*, the tale of an imaginary voyage with fantastic adventures. Less popular nowadays are the panegyrics and the rhetorical exercises in which Lucian shows his oratorical skill by defending an unlikely or indefensible point; his legal speeches were not intended for actual court proceedings, but for show. Many of the works are set in Classical times or contrast the present unfavourably with those times, and the works that most influenced Lucian (Old and New Comedy, Plato's dialogues, and the lost satires of the 3rd-century BC Cynic Menippus) were all written long before his own time. Thus both in his archaizing language and in his choice of subject matter Lucian reflects the preoccupation of his day with a distant and glorious Greek past, but at the same time he is conscious of rivalling the Classical authors both in language and in wit.

Lucian's works enjoyed immediate popularity that continued into the late antique period, when he was read by figures such as Libanius, Julian, and Alciphron. With the ascendancy of Christianity his status became problematic; his ridicule of the pagan gods and of moral decadence in general was attractive to the Christians, but his *The Passing of Peregrinus*, a biting satire against a charlatan philosopher who had been for a time a Christian, includes some unflattering comments about Christianity and the folly of its practitioners. Although mild compared to the opprobrium Lucian heaped on other groups, these comments drew the ire of many Byzantine Christian writers; thus for example in the influential 10th-century lexicon known as the *Suda* Lucian is identified as "Lucian of Samosata, also called the blasphemer or the slanderer, or rather the atheist" and condemned in the strongest terms. It is significant, however, that Lucian merits a place in the lexicon despite its author's obvious dislike of him, and another large Byzantine manual, Photios's 9th-century *Library*, contains no mention of the anti-Christian material and simply praises Lucian's style and his attacks on immorality and paganism.

In the end, however, it was not Lucian's beliefs but the quality of his writing that ensured his popularity among Byzantine writers. They admired and imitated his language, judging it the equal of Classical Attic (it receives elaborate praise from authors as diverse as Photios and the 12th-century Gregory of Corinth), and they continued to read and laugh at his satires, which some later Byzantine writers (among them Theodoros Prodromos and Manuel Philes) also attempted to imitate. His influence contributed to the development of a genre of satirical dialogues and another of descriptions of imaginary voyages.

Like most Classical authors, Lucian declined in direct influence on the Greek world after the Turkish conquest. This does not however mean that he was forgotten, for the first translation of Lucian into modern Greek was done surprisingly early, *c.*1770, by Constantine Dapontes. In the 18th and 19th centuries Lucian's works enjoyed a renewed popularity, though they continued to cause controversy. At this period the debate about his religious and moral worth was resolved into a solid condemnation from the Church, who associated Lucian with the ideas of the Enlightenment. At the same time, however, his ideas were attractive to many outside the Church establishment, and his style and wit were greatly admired and imitated, even by some religious leaders. In 1806, for example, Michael Perdikaris relied heavily on Lucian in composing a long satiric poem that ridiculed both the leaders of the Enlightenment and those of the Church, and some Church leaders wrote serious defences of piety in Lucian's style. In the late 19th and 20th centuries Lucian's influence once again declined, but it is far from gone; ideas taken from Lucian can be found in a number of 20th-century Greek literary works. Although neither his religious convictions nor his Greek style are now considered major issues, Lucian's works continue to be read and enjoyed today for their sophisticated humour.

ELEANOR DICKEY

Biography

Born at Samosata in Syria around AD 120, Lucian was a prolific and influential writer of Atticizing Greek. Little is known of his life, but he seems to have travelled a good deal and to have spent time in Athens and later in Egypt. Among his writings the satiric dialogues are best known, and his prose style was much admired by the Byzantines. He died around 180.

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Lyceum

Site of Aristotle's Peripatetic school in Athens

The Lyceum was one of the main public gymnasia in Athens, named after the sanctuary dedicated to Apollo (Lykeios). In the 5th and 4th centuries BC various Sophists lectured in the Lyceum and Socrates spent time there too. Here Aristotle founded his own school in 336/35 BC. For a long time the exact location of the Lyceum was a matter of speculation. In 1996 the foundations of a large building were discovered in Odos Regillis containing a palaestra which must have belonged to a great gymnasium, plausibly identified as that of the Lyceum. The identification is supported by the date, the use, and the construction of the gymnasium and it corresponds with written sources on the location of the Lyceum.

There is no direct evidence for the motives behind the foundation of Aristotle's school, but it is arguable that Aristotle wanted to influence philosophical education in a way that was not possible in the Academy. Aristotle's school was called "Peripatos" by the members of the school itself. It is more likely that the school was named after the site of the gymnasium than from the activity of walking. Aristotle, unlike Plato, was a metic and thus he could not own property. Theophrastus, Aristotle's successor, though a metic, acquired property with the help of Demetrius of Phaleron. Theophrastus' will (*Diogenes Laertius*, 5. 51–57) is very informative about the architecture and the outlook of the school. The scholarch was the legal owner of the school, which relied on his financial means. The core of the instruction was the scholarch's lectures, but Aristotle also trained his students in dialectic and rhetoric. Aristotle's esoteric works represent to a great extent the lecture material. The Peripatos, like the Academy, did not require adherence to a set of doctrines. Aristotle's views were modified or questioned by early and later Peripatetics alike.

The first generation of Peripatetics is characterized by extraordinary productivity and diversity. Theophrastus became head of the Lyceum when Aristotle left Athens on the death of Alexander the Great in 323 BC. His voluminous works show a clear concern to continue and develop Aristotelian philosophy. It is controversial whether Theophrastus consciously departed from Aristotle's views, but he certainly rejected Aristotle's god, the unmoved mover, although he retained a belief in the divinity of the heavens and the eternity of the world. Theophrastus was preoccupied primarily with natural science but he also showed a keen interest in ethics and rhetoric. He is well known for his *Characters*, and he presumably foreshadowed later developments in Stoic ethics. Important Peripatetics of Theophrastus' generation included Dicaearchus, Aristoxenus, Eudemus, Clearchus of Soli, Phaenias of Eresus, and Chamaeleon. These early Peripatetics showed a strong interest in cultural topics, such as literary criticism (Chamaeleon), rhetoric, and biography (Dicaearchus, Aristoxenus, Phaenias, Clearchus), and their writings were probably used by the Alexandrian scholars a century later. Following Aristotle, they also showed a strong interest in the history of philosophy, logic, and natural science.

The Hellenistic Peripatos was less prominent than its rival philosophical schools. Strato (scholarch 287–269 BC) became known as "the natural philosopher". He rejected Aristotle's theory of place and maintained the existence of the void in the world. Anticipating the Stoics, he made nature and not god the ultimate cause of all phenomena and like earlier Peripatetics (Dicaearchus, Aristoxenus) he maintained the materiality of the soul. Strato's successor Lyco (299–225 BC) is a rather insignificant figure. He tried to revive the school and to attract more students by focusing again on ethical issues, fashionable among the Hellenistic schools. After Lyco the Peripatos declined rapidly and there is no evidence of any serious philosophical activity until the 1st century BC. Hieronymus of Rhodes is better known than Lyco's successor Aristo of Cos for his theory that happiness consists in freedom from pain. Critolaus (2nd century BC) resumed metaphysics; he modified the Aristotelian doctrine of providence, extending it into the sublunary world, while he also claimed that soul and intelligence consist of ether.

In the 1st century BC the Peripatos enjoyed a revival with Andronicus of Rhodes, the acclaimed editor of Aristotle's works. Signs of a recovery were evident before Andronicus. Ariston and Cratippus, both pupils of the Academic Antiochus of Ascalon, abandoned the Academy for the Peripatos. Yet there is no evidence that any of them (including Andronicus) ever became head of the Peripatos. Like the Academy and the Stoa, the Peripatos presumably ceased to exist after the sack of Athens by Sulla in 87/86 BC. Yet the desertion of Aristo and Cratippus makes sense only if some form of Peripatetic school existed. The decline and the revival of the Peripatos are traditionally associated with the fortunes of Aristotle's writings. It has been argued that after Theophrastus the Peripatetics had only Aristotle's exoteric writings at their disposal, whereas his esoteric treatises came to light due to Andronicus' editorial activity. Andronicus received help from the grammarian Tyrranio who provided him with copies of Aristotle's works found in the library of Appelicon which were first moved to Athens and after the sack of the city by Sulla to Rome (*Strabo*, 13. 1. 54; Plutarch, *Sulla*, 4). There Andronicus prepared his edition which included the esoteric works in a certain arrangement and was furnished with commentaries on some treatises and a catalogue. Yet it is not safe to assume that Andronicus was the first to make Aristotle's works available after many centuries or that their present arrangement goes back to him. With Andronicus and his circle (Boethus, Xenarchus) a conscious attempt was made to present Aristotle's philosophy as a system, and to explain real or apparent discrepancies in his writings. From this time on Aristotle's works would be read and commented on by philosophers of all schools, but it was not Andronicus' new edition with triggered this.

There is meagre evidence for any philosophical activity of Peripatetics after Andronicus. Nicolaus of Damascus (64 BC–AD 4) wrote a compendium of Aristotle's teaching. To the 1st century AD presumably belongs the Peripatetic Aristocles of Messene who wrote a long work *On Philosophy* in which he recounts the development of philosophy and criticizes Sceptics, Epicureans, and Cyrenaics. A substantial revival of Aristotelian philosophy took place in the 2nd century AD with Adrastus, Aspasius, and especially with Alexander of Aphrodisias. Both Adrastus and Aspasius wrote a number of commentaries on Aristotle's works. Other Peripatetics of this period include Sosigenes, Herminus, and Alexander of

Mytilene, all of them teachers of Alexander of Aphrodisias. Marcus Aurelius set up chairs of philosophy in AD 176 and the first Peripatetic incumbent was Alexander of Damascus. His successor, Alexander of Aphrodisias, excelled as a commentator on Aristotle and he had a strong impact even among Platonists. Although Alexander's contribution is very significant, especially in logic and metaphysics, no pupils of his are mentioned. After him nothing more is heard of the Peripatetics. With the introduction of Aristotle into the Neoplatonic curriculum, Aristotle was appropriated by the Platonists who now undertook the writing of commentaries. Aristotle's works, especially the *Organon*, now served as an introduction to Platonist philosophy. This change of the Platonists' attitude to Aristotle is to be associated mainly with Porphyry and Iamblichus (3rd–4th centuries AD). Aristotle was seen through Platonist eyes and this version of Aristotle was the one that was inherited by the Middle Ages and the Renaissance.

GEORGE E. KARAMANOLIS

See also Aristotle, Theophrastus

Summary

The Lyceum was a sanctuary of Apollo in Athens, used as a place of teaching by the Sophists. Aristotle founded his school there in 336/35 BC which was known as the Peripatos. When Aristotle left Athens, Theophrastus became head of the school. Late in the 3rd century BC the school declined. In the 1st century BC there was a revival but the school presumably ceased to exist after 86 BC, when Athens was sacked.

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Lycia

Region of southwest Asia Minor

The Lycians may have had contact with the Greek world in the Bronze Age, to judge from scattered archaeological remains. Contact had been re-established by the 8th century BC, when the Lycians borrowed their alphabet from the Rhodian Greeks. In the east of Lycia in the 7th century BC there was a strong Rhodian presence, including the cities of Rhodiapolis, Corydalla, Gagae, and Phaselis, though only Phaselis maintained a distinct Greek character through the Classical period.

In mythology and cult Lycia was early associated with Apollo, who had an epithet Lykeios, and was sometimes said to have been born there; an oracular site is known as early as Herodotus (1. 182). Lycia also formed the setting for Bellerophon's encounter with the Chimaera. The Lycian heroes Sarpedon and Glaucus are highly prominent in the *Iliad*, with Sarpedon second only to Hector himself on the Trojan side; one of the classic expositions of the code of the Homeric hero is placed into Sarpedon's mouth, in discussion with Glaucus (*Iliad*, 12. 307–30).

Because of Lycia's important position on the naval route from the eastern Mediterranean to the Aegean, it was strategically of great value, and was often disputed in the struggles between Greek hegemonies and Persia, and then those between the Hellenistic states (and eventually Rome). Alexander the Great invaded Lycia to deny naval bases to Persia, and Ptolemaic Egypt felt it important to maintain control over the area in the 3rd century BC.

Lycia was ruled by a semifeudal aristocratic monarchy, with a number of quasi-independent dynasts being attested (claims that it had a "federal" constitution before the Hellenistic period are unfounded). This system, under Hellenic influence, culminated in individuals such as Pericles of Limyra (*c.*380–370 BC), who displayed some of the aspects of personal rule later seen in Mausolus of Caria and the successors to Alexander.

From the 6th century BC the Lycians were commissioning Greek (or Greek-trained) artists to produce sculpture for them, though often applying Greek styles to native or oriental themes (note the frequency of the oriental audience scene, e.g. on the "Harpy Tomb" at Xanthus); such commissions may have contributed to the further spread of Greek artistic traditions.

By the end of the 5th century the Lycians had begun to use the Greek language in inscriptions; in the 4th century some Lycians adopted Greek names. The process of Hellenization continued through the following centuries (including some Greek settlement, but to a degree which is difficult to judge), until it reached the point where Cicero could speak of them as "a Greek people" (*In Verrem*, 4. 10. 21). Nevertheless, aspects of Lycian society can be seen feeding into the main Hellenic tradition. The Lycians were pioneers in the use of portraits of living individuals on coinage (in the late 5th century BC), and their blend of Hellenic and oriental influences in their art and architecture can be seen as a microcosm of the Hellenistic world that followed. In particular, early 4th-century Lycian podium tombs with facades imitating Greek temples, such as the "Nereid Monument" at Xanthus and the Heroön of Pericles at Limyra, influenced the Mausoleum of Halicarnassus and ultimately funerary architecture throughout the Hellenistic world.

Several Greek writers are known to have been native Lycians. Leaving aside the semimythical poet Olen, sometimes supposed to be from Xanthus, there was the 4th-century BC historian/mythographer Menecrates of Xanthus, the 3rd-century BC writer Mnaseas, and the 5th/6th-century AD geographer/historian Capiton of Lycia. Theodectus, a 5th-century BC tragic poet, came from Phaselis, and the late Epicurean philosopher Diogenes (2nd century AD?) was from Oenoanda in north Lycia, where he left a massive inscription detailing his philosophy. Only fragments survive of most of these authors' works, and the same is true of the numerous *Lykiaka* (works on Lycia) written by non-Lycian writers.

After *c.*200 BC a federal league appeared in Lycia, which was a significant force in eastern Mediterranean politics until Lycia became a Roman province in AD 43, and even after that continued to provide an administrative framework for the region. With the coming of the *pax Romana* Lycia became a quiet backwater, occasionally visited by Roman emperors and high officials (Augustus' heir Gaius Caesar died there in AD 2), which was slipping into economic decline by the 3rd century AD. Lycia did, however, make one contribution to the development of Christianity and the Greek Orthodox Church: St Nicholas was born in the Lycian city of Patara, and was bishop of the neighbouring city of Myra. After the Arab invasions of the 7th century AD and the abandonment of the cities Lycia largely ceased to be part of the Greek world, though the island of Megiste, off the Lycian coast, continues to be a Greek settlement and part of Greece.

In 1838 the English dilettante Charles Fellows arrived in Lycia, in search of Greek antiquities. In the course of a number of subsequent visits up to 1844, he explored most of the cities of Lycia, and supervised the removal of a number of antiquities to the British Museum in London, where they remain the responsibility of the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities. The popular success of Fellows's expeditions contributed to further exploration of the Greek heritage of Anatolia.

ANTONY G. KEEN

Summary

The people of Lycia in southwest Asia Minor were using the Greek alphabet by the 8th century BC. The region was of strategic importance for its position on the sea route to the eastern Mediterranean. Greek artists were employed from the 6th century. Lycians were among the first to use portraits on coinage. Lycia became a Roman province in AD 43 and reverted to obscurity, before falling under Arab influence in the 7th century.

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Lycophron

Hellenistic poet

Lycophron's claim on our attention rests on a single text, the *Alexandra*, formally a hypertrophic messenger's speech, a dramatic monologue of over 1400 lines reporting the prophecy of the Trojan War and its aftermath delivered by Cassandra (here Alexandra) when Paris set out for Sparta. Its erudite and lively-minded author is usually identified as Lycophron of Chalcis, the contemporary of Callimachus who organized the texts of comedy for the Alexandrian library under Ptolemy II (282–246 BC) and composed not only numerous tragedies (of which merely one fragment and 20 titles survive), but also a satyr play with a contemporary subject, his teacher Menedemus of Eretria (see Snell, *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, vol. 1, no. 100). The traditional attribution has been questioned because the poem's references to a widely acknowledged Roman supremacy (1226–80 and, probably, 1446–50) appear incompatible with a date in the first half of the 3rd century BC, and some have therefore argued for composition in the early 2nd century BC, whether pseudepigraphically or by a younger poet of the same name; but it is more likely that these passages are later interpolations (see below).

The poem presents the matter of Troy from the Trojan standpoint; Cassandra's peculiar perspective is crucially important. Greek achievement is persistently denigrated, Greek

misfortune stressed. Relatively little space (31–386) is devoted to the war itself and to Troy's downfall; here Cassandra concentrates on what concerns her family and herself, culminating with the horror of Ajax' assault when she had taken sanctuary in Athena's temple. In expiation for his act of sacrilege the Greek host undergoes manifold suffering both on the journey home (387–1089) and thereafter (1090–1282); in Locris, Ajax' homeland, his people will pay the penalty for 1000 years (the Locrian maiden tribute). Cassandra's vision then extends to further conflict between Asia and Europe, the Persian Wars, and the victories of Alexander the Great, concluding with the triumphs by land and sea of her (not easily identifiable) kinsman (1283–1450). With immense ingenuity Lycophron works into this framework episodes from other cycles of legend (such as the Argonautica), basic to the Greek cultural identity of his day. Interwoven with relatively familiar narratives, often given a new slant by the narrator's non-Hellenic standpoint, is material relating to the western Mediterranean, the foundation legends of Greek colonies, and strange tales inspired by the attempt to accommodate various native peoples within the Greek ethnographic framework. Wide reading and a magpie mind have resulted in a masterpiece of intertextual virtuosity, rich in colourful and curious detail. A narrative covering more than 1000 years is unified by the Aeschylean and Herodotean theme of the rivalry between Asia and Europe, an immensely grand conception matched by Lycophron's elevated, somewhat Aeschylean style.

The obscurity of Lycophron's manner of expression is often exaggerated, but certainly he must have envisaged erudite readers prepared to spend time in working out oracular conundrums; the modern reader is seriously handicapped by the loss of much literature which Lycophron could assume to be generally familiar to the educated. In any case, long-standing Indo-European tradition favoured a degree of inaccessibility in prophecy, where the presence of obstacles between the message and its recipient required the latter to exert himself, so that he would be the more likely to value the guidance offered at its proper worth.

Virgil evidently read the *Alexandra* with appreciation; it provided the most obvious model for the extensive use of prophecy to bridge the gap between the heroic age and the poet's own day, and for a narrative of Troy's fall presented from the standpoint of the defeated (though Aeneas' perspective is somewhat different from Cassandra's). To the same period belongs the commentary by Theon of Alexandria from which our scholia derive; without this guidance very much would be unintelligible to us. Though Lycophron does not figure among the authors recommended by Quintilian to aspirant orators, Statius' schoolmaster father apparently included him along with Callimachus in his syllabus (*Silvae*, 5. 3. 156f.); he is similarly mentioned as a school author, along with Callimachus and Euphorion, by Clement of Alexandria (*Stromateis*, 5. 50. 3). This difficult, allusive poetry did not lack readers in provincial towns; from Roman Egypt we have papyri representing three separate copies (P.Oxy. 2094+3445, 2nd century AD; P.Oxy. 3446, 2nd century AD; P.Mon. 156, 1st–2nd century AD).

The poem's popularity in the Byzantine period, no doubt at least as much due to its wealth of mythological learning as to its literary qualities, is indicated by the proliferation of manuscripts; the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies in Toronto has produced a list of nearly 150 (see Robert E. Sinkewicz, *Manuscript Listings for the Authors of Classical and Late Antiquity*, microfiche 4, Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1990). It was regular reading in Byzantine schools; Gregory of Corinth recommended the clearer passages of Lycophron (along with Sophocles) as models in the composition of iambics. Eustathios refers to him more than to any other poet apart from Homer, on occasion quoting him without name, his habit only with works that he knew very well (see further M. van der Valk, *Eustathii Archiepiscopi Thessalonicensis Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem Pertinentes*, vol. 1, Leiden: Brill, 1971, p. LXXXV); it is highly probable that he contemplated composing a commentary on the *Alexandra*.

Lycophron's stock stood very high in the 16th century; nine editions of the *Alexandra* had been published by 1600, and the poem was esteemed by the Pléiade, the erudite circle to which Ronsard belonged. A steep decline in its standing set in at the beginning of the 19th century, with the invention of the Lycophron Question, which turns on the poem's references to Rome's supremacy. Cassandra's prediction of the manifold tribulations in store for the Greeks concludes with a lengthy passage on the future fame of Aeneas' line settled in Italy (1226–80), an unqualified encomium of the rising power of Rome which in the first half of the 3rd century BC might be thought to indicate authentic prescience. Little attention was paid to this problem until it attracted notice from B.G. Niebuhr and, independently, the Whig politician Charles James Fox. Niebuhr postulated a later Lycophron, writing in the early 2nd century BC after the Roman conquest of Greece; Fox diagnosed interpolation. A further passage is affected; Cassandra's prophecy culminates (1446–50) in the victories of a kinsman of hers, some time after Alexander the Great, "a unique wrestler" who will triumph by land and sea. There is too much detail for this to be taken as an unspecific hope for the future; but the identity of the conquering hero is highly controversial, though there seems currently to be general agreement that he must be a Roman, and probably Titus Quinctius Flamininus, the victor of Cynoscephalae (197 BC), enjoys the strongest support. The surprisingly brief treatment of Alexander's achievements (1439–45) rather suggests that a process of updating led to some curtailment of the original culmination of Cassandra's prophecy; we should expect her to display more interest in the decisive role to be played by a second Alexander in the intercontinental feud initiated by her brother. Thus, though the *Alexandra* is permeated by a sense of historical development over a millennium and creates the expectation of a political or ideological message, we are frustrated by the problem of identifying the figure on whom Cassandra has set her hopes.

STEPHANIE WEST

Biography

Traditionally identified with Lycophron of Chalcis, tragedian and contemporary of Callimachus (early 3rd century BC, but some prefer a 2nd-century date). He was the author of one surviving poem, entitled *Alexandra*. It reports the prophecy of Cassandra relating to the Trojan War and its aftermath.

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Lysander

Spartan general of the 5th century BC

A member of a noble family that claimed descent from the founding heroes, the sons of Heracles, Lysander first appears in the sources when appointed to command the Spartan fleet in the east Aegean in 407 BC. The Spartans' prospects had declined since the renewal of the naval war in 412 BC after the disastrous failure of the Athenians' expedition to Sicily. Then, with the Athenians' allies beginning to secede and the Persians contemplating intervention against Athens, the Spartans reacted vigorously by sending a fleet to the west coast of Asia Minor. The Athenians, however, had proved resilient, despite internal dissension, while Spartan admirals were ineffective and failed to establish good relations with the Persian satraps, who supplied some money but failed to commit themselves. In late 411 and 410 BC the Athenians, inspired by Alcibiades, who had returned from exile to join their fleet, had won two victories, the second off Cyzicus leading to the destruction of a Spartan fleet of 60 ships. They had gone on recovering lost allies and by June 407 BC, when Alcibiades made a triumphant return to Athens, were looking to complete the restoration of their old naval dominance.

On taking up his command, Lysander was fortunate in that a Spartan embassy had just returned from Susa, having secured the Persian king's agreement to renew support for Sparta and his appointment of his younger son, Cyrus, to take charge of the three western satrapies and of the implementation of the agreement. Lysander at once established good relations with Cyrus, whose support enabled him to refit and strengthen the fleet he took over at Ephesus. By late August it numbered 90 ships. With these he was able to take advantage of Alcibiades' temporary absence at Phocaea and of the inexperience of his deputy to destroy 22 of his 100 ships, a victory that led to the removal from his command of Alcibiades, who never returned to Athens.

At the end of the year, under the Spartan system, Lysander was replaced. His successor, Callicratidas, obstructed by Lysander's supporters, fell out with Cyrus and was defeated off the Arginusae islands. In consequence both Cyrus and their Greek allies urged the Spartans to restore Lysander to the command and they responded by giving him effective control for the year 405 BC as the nominal second-in-command to Aracus. Cyrus, whose original funds had long been exhausted, somehow found the money to enable him to rebuild his fleet; in the late summer, after some clever manoeuvring in the central Aegean, he reached the Hellespont (the Dardanelles) ahead of the Athenian fleet, taking Lampsacus by assault and from there threatening to intercept the ships bringing Athens' corn supplies from the Black Sea. The Athenians followed him into the straits and, to avoid having to battle continually with the powerful southwest-flowing current, based themselves on an unsuitable beach at Aegospotami. On four successive days they rowed out to offer battle, but without response, and on the fifth Lysander, who had observed how the Athenians, after beaching their ships in the evenings, had scattered in search of food or rest, waited for them to retire and then ordered his ships to attack. All but 10 of the Athenians' 180 ships were taken with little resistance in what was truly a decisive victory. It was the last fleet that the Athenians could muster, but until that evening they could still have avoided defeat and even won the war.

Lysander then toured the Aegean, driving Athenian settlers back to increase the hungry mouths at home and removing their friends from power in the various cities, and then brought his fleet, now of 150 ships, to Aegina to join the land armies in the final siege of Athens. When surrender terms were agreed in the spring of 404 BC, he sailed into the Piraeus to supervise the demolition of the walls. Soon after he assisted in the establishment of an oligarchic regime, the "Thirty Tyrants", which soon proved cruel and oppressive.

While the Athenians could hardly have expected anything better (and many, no doubt, feared worse), the Spartans' new allies in and around the Aegean must have hoped for more generous treatment than they now received at the end of a war that the victorious Spartans at the start had declared was undertaken to "free the Greeks" (Thucydides, 1. 129 and 2. 8). Lysander, however, favoured close control, in this very proba-

bly looking to secure the allies' loyalty to himself as much as to Sparta. According to Plutarch (*Lysander*, 5), he was already in 407 BC plotting with local aristocrats to set up decarchies (councils of ten) to rule liberated cities, and after Aegospotami in 405 BC he carried out this policy, installing Spartan officers (harmosts) in the cities to support the new regimes; Plutarch adds (13) that he assisted in a number of massacres, a generalization illustrated by his later account (19), supported by that of Diodorus (13. 104), of events at Miletus. Lysander's recall to Sparta and the modification of his policies, probably in 403 BC, failed to convince most of the new allies, who broke away when the Spartan fleet was defeated by the Persians off Cnidus in 394 BC.

Meanwhile in mainland Greece Lysander maintained a hard line. In 403 BC he would have suppressed the resurgent Athenian democrats, had he not been superseded by king Pausanias, who brought an end to civil war with an amnesty and restored the democracy. He remained influential, helping to secure the kingship for Agesilaus II in a disputed succession in 400 BC, but being rejected by him when be accompanied the king on his expedition to protect the Asiatic Greeks against the Persians (396 BC) and the allies assumed that he, not the king, was really in charge. In 395 BC, irked by the independent line taken by the Thebans since Athens' surrender, he was very probably one of those who persuaded the Spartan leadership to declare war on Thebes on behalf of the Phocians (Plutarch, *Lysander*, 28). This was the Corinthian War, during which the Athenians recovered real independence and the Spartans, under pressure, were restored to their leading position in 387 BC only after regaining Persian support. Lysander was at once sent with an army to collect a Phocian contingent, invade Boeotia, and link up with Pausanias at Haliartus, but on arriving there early he rashly became engaged in a battle and was killed. His personal ambition had done much to damage the Spartan position, but whether he planned to have the rules of the Spartan kingship altered to open it up to leading men outside the two royal houses, such as himself, as was alleged after his death (Plutarch, 30), is doubtful.

Lysander has not had a great impact on the modern world. A type of aircraft that gave good service to the British Royal Air Force in World War II in many regions including Greece was named after him, but this could well have been due to his being included among the "great men" in the marching song *The British Grenadiers*; he probably owed his presence there to the fact that his name rhymes with Alexander.

T.T.B. RYDER

See also Peloponnesian War

Biography

Lysander was appointed admiral of the Spartan fleet in 407 BC and won a great victory over the Athenians at Aegosporami in 405, during the Peloponnesian War. Having secured the surrender of Athens in 404 he assisted in the establishment of the "Thirty Tyrants". At Sparta he secured the kingship for his lover Agesilaus II in 400. In 395 he helped persuade the Spartans to declare war on the Thebans and was himself killed in battle.

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Lysias *c.*459/58–*c.*375 BC

Athenian orator

Lysias' father was a Syracusan who, in the mid-5th century BC and on the invitation of Pericles, settled in Athens as a resident alien. He became extremely wealthy, since he was a manufacturer of arms and armour at a time when Athens was almost continuously at war. Lysias himself, with his brother Polemarchus, spent some time at Thurii in southern Italy, but returned to Athens well before the end of the 5th century BC. After being decisively defeated by Sparta, Athens was ruled in 404–403 BC by a group of men who (with Spartan backing) operated as a collective dictatorship and earned the name "the Thirty Tyrants". They killed Polemarchus, arrested Lysias, and seized all the property held by the family in Athens. Lysias managed to escape, and through his property abroad and rich foreign friends he was able to give significant financial help to the Athenian exiles who eventually expelled the Thirty and restored democracy. He died *c.*375 BC.

As a resident alien Lysias could not participate directly in Athenian political life, but he was greatly in demand as a speech writer for people involved in litigation, who were required to speak in person, for there were no professional "solicitors" or "barristers" in Athens, and prosecutions for criminal offences were normally conducted by individual citizens motivated by patriotism, officiousness, political ambition, or enmity towards the defendant. Oratory had always been regarded in the Greek world as a major art form, a key to success not only in the courts, but also in councils and assemblies, and from the mid-5th century BC, at least in a democratic city such as Athens, there were rhetoricians who professed to teach oratory to politically ambitious young men.

A generation before Lysias the Athenian Antiphon inaugurated the practice of circulating speeches composed for clients, and Lysias followed this practice. So did other speech writers, and the formal structure of a speech was extended to what are sometimes called political pamphlets but correspond most

closely to modern articles in periodicals of general interest. So far as concerns forensic speeches, it is of course impossible to find out the relation between the written text and what was actually said in court. We very rarely know the outcome of a case, but an ancient tradition, originating perhaps in a boast by a friend or a relative of Lysias after his death, alleged that he lost only two cases in his life.

At the end of the 4th century BC there existed no fewer than 425 speeches attributed to Lysias. A high proportion of those attributions is likely to have been false, because in an age where there were no publishers' contracts, no law of copyright, no royalties, and indeed rather little documentation in general, booksellers (like music sellers in the early 18th century AD) had the profitable habit of ascribing to famous names works actually composed by very obscure authors. In the late 1st century BC literary critics ruled out as spurious – mainly on stylistic, sometimes highly subjective, grounds – practically half the total of speeches sold under the name of Lysias. This was a time of reaction against the over-elaborate, formalized style which had come to dominate Greek oratory, and Lysias came to be admired not only for his spare, lively, and natural style but also for the way in which he seemed to invest a speaker with a character that was consonant with that speaker's status and likely to make a favourable impression on a jury (which had no presiding judge to sum up or guide it on points of law). In any country nowadays where ancient Greek is taught, selections from Lysias often constitute the learner's first introduction to Classical Attic prose texts.

In late antiquity Lysias, together with others who have come to be labelled the minor Attic orators, was overshadowed by Demosthenes (born about the time of Lysias' death), and only 27 speeches attributed to Lysias, plus seven truncated or mutilated, survived into the Middle Ages. They include a funeral speech for the Athenian war dead of a year in the late 390s BC and a portion of a ceremonial speech at the Olympic Games. Plato inserts in his *Phaedrus* a sophistic exercise in paradox which he presents as a composition by Lysias, but whether it is genuine or a clever parody by Plato remains disputed. It is difficult for us to form opinions of our own on the authenticity of any of the surviving speeches except no. 12, which was delivered by Lysias himself, prosecuting a member of the Thirty for the murder of his brother Polemarchus. Some of them, however, exhibit distinctive features of language which cannot all be explained by difference of genre or characterization.

KENNETH DOVER

Biography

Born *c.*459/58 BC the son of Cephalus, a resident alien (metic) in Athens from Syracuse, Lysias and his brother Polemarchus went to Thurii in southern Italy. They left Thurii after the Athenian military disaster in Sicily and returned to Athens as metics. In 403 both brothers were arrested by the "Thirty Tyrants" and Polemarchus was killed. Lysias escaped and achieved distinction as a speech writer. He died *c.*375 BC.

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Lysippus

Sculptor of the 4th century BC

Lysippus was a sculptor from Sicyon in the Peloponnese. Although Pliny (*Naturalis Historia*, 34. 51) places him in the 113th Olympiad (i.e. 328–325 BC), Lysippus was active long before. For example, his statue of Troilus of Elis, victor in the chariot race at Olympia, is likely to date from soon after 372–368 BC (Pausanias 6.1.4), and his portrait of Pelopidas, a Theban general, was dedicated by the Thessalians at Delphi *c.*363/62 BC. Lysippus may have been active as late as 316 BC when he was apparently commissioned to make an amphora for Cassander on the occasion of the foundation of the town of Cassandreia (Athenaeus, 2. 784). This suggests that he was probably born around 390 BC.

Lysippus, like the Athenian Praxiteles, was celebrated in antiquity for his achievement in representing realism (Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria*, 12. 10. 1–10). Pliny (*Naturalis Historia*, 34. 65) specifically commented on the way that Lysippus represented hair, and noted the way in which he made the heads of his statues smaller than his predecessors. His statues were also said to be slender, which apparently had the effect of making them seem taller. The overall effect, in ancient eyes, was that Lysippus represented men "as they appeared". His genius is reflected in the fact that ancient art historians considered that he had no teacher; Pliny (*Naturalis Historia*, 34. 61) records the tradition that he was inspired to become a sculptor by the painter Eupompus.

Pliny noted that Lysippus was a prolific sculptor, and some 50 statues have been attributed to his hand. His popularity is reflected in the story that on his death he had 1500 gold coins stored away, one for each of the statues he had created. Such numbers are unlikely and probably represent his influence on his "school"; Pliny (*Naturalis Historia*, 34. 66) accepts that it was hard to distinguish between the works of Lysippus and those of his pupils. Lysippus seems to have made largely bronze statues.

One of his famous statues was a colossal bronze *Heracles* which once stood on the acropolis of the Greek colony of Tarentum in southern Italy. This was carried away to Rome by Fabius Maximus in 209 BC and was displayed on the Capitoline. It was apparently taken to Constantinople, where the Byzantine historian Niketas Choniates described it in the 13th century. This statue has been associated with the marble statue of a muscular *Heracles* leaning on his club that was found in the baths of Caracalla in Rome (it is now in Naples), but this Roman copy was in fact the creation of an Athenian sculptor, Glycon. A second colossal bronze statue, 18.3 m (40 cubits) high, also from Tarentum, could still be seen in the agora of the city in the 1st century AD, and is recorded there by Strabo (6. 3. 1).

As with other Greek sculptors, Lysippus' works were collected and copied in the Roman period. Pliny records the tradition that Lysippus' *Apoxyomenos* was removed from in front of the baths of Marcus Agrippa and placed in the bedroom of the admiring emperor Tiberius. One of Lysippus' smaller statues was the *Heracles Epitrapezios*, which by the late 1st century AD was in the private collection of one Novius Vindex and celebrated by both Martial (9. 44) and Statius (*Silvae*, 4. 6. 32–47). The statue, which shows the seated hero holding out a drinking cup, had apparently been made for Alexander. Although small-scale Roman copies are known, a large-scale copy was discovered at Alba Fucens in Italy, which might suggest that Lysippus himself produced the same statue type at different scales. Lysippus followed Praxiteles in making a bronze (rather than marble) statue of *Eros* for the Boeotian city of Thespiae; possible Roman copies have been identified.

There is a tradition, undoubtedly erroneous, that Lysippus alone was allowed to create portraits of Alexander. However what is clear is that Lysippus was engaged in making royal portraits and images of members of Alexander's court. This association between Lysippus' home polis of Sicyon and Macedonia can perhaps be explained by the friendship between Aristratus, tyrant of Sicyon and the Macedonian royal family. Lysippus' portraits of Alexander apparently showed the subject with his face turned upwards towards the sky; Plutarch (*Alexander*, 4) noted that Lysippus recorded the main characteristics of Alexander: "the poise of the neck turned slightly to the left and the melting glance of the eyes". Such a pose can be recognized in Hellenistic portraits of Alexander, such as those found at Pella and Pergamum.

One of the monuments that Lysippus created was to commemorate the 25 companions who died in Alexander's victory over the Persians at the river Granicus (in northwest Turkey) in 334 BC. This group, which included a portrait of Alexander, was erected at Dion in Macedonia and is probably to be identified with "Alexander's Squadron", a group mentioned by Pliny. It was carried off to Rome by Quintus Metellus in 148 BC. Another of Lysippus' Macedonian groups was the *Alexander's Hunt* which was dedicated at Delphi. The inscription from the base of this bronze group shows that it was erected by the son of Craterus, one of Alexander's generals.

DAVID W.J. GILL

See also Sculpture

Biography

Born at Sicyon in the Peloponnese perhaps *c.*390 BC, Lysippus was active as a sculptor from about 370 to 316 BC. He was prolific: some 50 statues are attributed to him. In antiquity he was celebrated for representing realism. His subjects included Alexander the Great. His works were popular at Rome.

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Lytras, Nikephoros 1832–1904

Painter

Nikephoros Lytras was one of the principal members of the so-called Munich School which included Greek artists trained at the Bavarian capital, such as, among others, Nikolaos Gyzis (1842–1901), Polychronis Lembessis (1849–1913), Konstantinos Volanakis (1837–1907), and Georgios Iakovides (1853–1932). Lytras was the first major Greek painter, moreover, who, after completing his training abroad, returned to his homeland to undertake the artistic formation of a younger generation of Greek artists at the School of Fine Arts in Athens. He therefore deserves his epithet as "father of the modern Greek school of painting".

Lytras's own training began in the fledgling art school of the Athens Polytechnic of the mid-1850s under the guidance of mostly foreign teachers who lived and worked in Athens, primarily the Bavarian painter Ludwig Thiersch (1825–1909). Thiersch was a graduate of the Munich Academy and a follower of the Nazarenes who had revived interest for Italian Renaissance religious painting in the manner of early Raphael using the technique of fresco. Accordingly, Lytras' earliest works, murals in small local churches in Athens and its vicinity, combine his teacher's interest in religious art with an effort to evoke Greek traditional forms of sacred art inspired from his study of Byzantine mosaics in the nearby churches of Daphni and Hosios Loukas. He sent an early example of his work to the Paris International Exposition of 1855 – a *Madonna and Child* (Monastery of the Virgin, Tinos), in which the figures of the Virgin and infant Christ followed Byzantine

models and were depicted against the traditional gold-leafed background of Byzantine icons.

His interests shifted dramatically, however, during his years of study at the Munich Academy, between 1860 and roughly 1865. There he came under the influence of the academic history painter Karl Theodor von Piloty (1826–86), who became his teacher, as well as that of the old masters, especially Rubens and Rembrandt, whose works he studied in the Alte Pinakothek. Even during those years of complete immersion into a western European art tradition, however, he pursued his attempts to merge his Greek heritage with the example of his teacher's academic historicism. A case in point is Lytras's painting *Antigone Discovers the Body of Polynices* (1865, National Picture Gallery, Athens), with its subject inspired from Sophocles cast in the compositional and stylistic terms of Munich-style academic history painting, particularly Piloty's celebrated painting *Seni before the Body of the Dead Wallenstein* (1855, Bayerische Staadtsgemaldesammlungen, Munich). At the same time, however, he frequented the circle of younger artists in Munich, including Wilhelm Leibl, Wilhelm Trübner, Hans von Drefregger, and Franz von Lenbach, who explored portraiture and everyday-life themes ("genre painting") with an ethnographic character depicted in a realistic manner. Two artists from Dusseldorf, Benjamin Vautier and Ludwig Knauss, whose works exemplified picturesque ethnographic genre painting, also served as his models.

It was portraiture and genre painting that constituted the majority of Lytras's output after his return to Greece in 1865–66 and his appointment to a professorship at the School of Fine Arts in Athens. Apart from his teaching, he received commissions from public institutions, but also from wealthy, educated, cosmopolitan bourgeois patrons who formed the new Athenian upper class of the post-Ottonian years. His portraits reflect German academic models, and also his awareness of the French avant-garde. For example, his portrait of *Lysandros Kaftantzoglou* (1885–86, National Picture Gallery, Athens), the Director of the Athens Polytechnic, represents him seated at his desk in the manner of Manet's famous portrait of Emile Zola (1868, Musée d'Orsay, Paris) which Lytras could have seen during his visit to Paris in September 1876, the year of the second Impressionist exhibition. Later portraits include the two life-size portraits of king Otho and his wife Amalia commissioned by the Philekpaideutiki Etairia, an educational society, for their headquarters. These show Greece's first Bavarian king and his queen dressed in Greek national dress posing against the ruins of the Acropolis in the background (1893, Philekpaideutiki Etairia, Athens).

At the same time, his interest in history and genre painting, developed during his years in Munich, was applied to themes inspired from modern Greek history and customs. The large history painting *Kanaris Blowing up the Turkish Flagship* (*c.*1873, Athens, private collection) shows an episode from the Greek War of Independence, a feat of sabotage performed by Constantine Kanaris and his companions in 1822, which was followed by brutal Turkish reprisals on the population of the island of Chios. From the same period, 1870–90, date some of his best-known scenes of ethnographic genre, with an emphasis on local traditions and customs, local costumes, and sentimental, anecdotal plots. *The Carol Singers* (*c.*1873, private collection, Athens,) and the unfinished *Mourning the Dead in Psara* (*c.*1880, National Picture Gallery, Athens) illustrate customary rites and rituals of Greek rural life in a style imbued by the sentimental realism of Dusseldorf and Munich genre painters. These and similar works reflect the contemporary literary trend towards rustic, ethnographic narratives as represented by the novels of Dimitrios Vikelas (for which Lytras intended to supply illustrations), Alexandros Papadiamantis, and Georgios Vizyinos. Lytras's use of a familiar, realistic formal treatment in his paintings parallels the contemporary struggle of the popular demotic dialect to prevail over its better-established rival, the sophisticated *katharevousa*, or "pure one". (Ironically when it came to linguistic preferences, Lytras supported the latter.) A trip to Asia Minor in 1873 in the company of his friend and fellow painter Nikolaos Gyzis prompted several paintings with orientalist subject matter – chieftains, pirates, Arabs – similar in spirit to those highly popular works of his contemporary, the French painter Jean-Léon Gérôme.

Lytras' influence was felt on his numerous pupils at the Athens School of Fine Arts. They included Lembessis, Iakovides, Spyros Vikatos (1878–1944), and his own son Nikolaos Lytras (1882–1927). They carried on the tradition of rural, ethnographic themes while incorporating some of the advances of Impressionism in their use of *plein-air*, a more luminous palette, and a lighter brushstroke.

NINA ATHANASSOGLOU-KALLMYER

See also Painting

Biography

Born in Tinos in 1832, Lytras began his training at the Athens Polytechnic under the Bavarian painter Ludwig Thiersch. In the early 1860s he moved to the Munich Academy where he was a pupil of Karl Theodor von Piloty. Returning to Greece in the mid-1860s, he became a professor at the School of Fine Arts in Athens. He concentrated on portraiture and genre painting, receiving commissions from public institutions and wealthy individuals. He died in 1904.

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M

Macarius (pseudo-)

Monastic writer of the 4th century

From at least the early 6th century a substantial body of works has been ascribed to St Macarius the Great, founder of the monastic community at Scetis. A 13th-century manuscript carries a marginal note that casts doubt on this ascription, a suspicion that was developed by the 18th-century Athonite scholar Neophytos Kavsokalivites. It has in the 20th century become the scholarly orthodoxy that the works, with the exception of one letter, are not the work of Macarius the Great.

The material is voluminous, containing homilies, treatises, letters, answers to questions, and other occasional pieces. It has come down to us in the original Greek in four main collections. Collection I is the largest collection, with 64 *Logoi*. Collection II, the 50 *Spiritual Homilies*, is the best-known recension. Collection III has 43 *Logoi*, Collection IV, 26. There is some overlap between the collections, Collection IV, for example, being contained wholly in Collection I.

The Macarian writings are the collected teachings of the anonymous director of a monastic community of the semi-eremitic type, probably located in eastern Asia Minor or northern Mesopotamia. They may roughly be dated to the 370s and 380s. They are connected with the amorphous ascetic tendency known as Messalianism. The dearth of evidence surrounding the real nature of the Messalian tendency does not allow any crude identification of the writings with that movement. Furthermore, it is clear from the writings themselves that the author was an opponent and reformer of the kind of monasticism later condemned as Messalianism.

The writings may initially have circulated anonymously, ascribed to one Macarius or "blessed one". The addition "of Egypt" may have crept in later. Some material circulated under the name of St Symeon the Stylite, other pieces under that of St Ephrem or, in one instance, of St Basil. Whatever their origins, the writings are a testimony of a spirituality of the highest order.

The master theme of the writings is the vision of the mutual indwelling of man and God. By virtue of his incarnation, God comes to dwell in man and raises man up to dwell in God. The writings are centred upon the heart, the physical and spiritual centre of the human person. With the intellect as governor, the heart reigns over the whole body. It is the vehicle by which grace is experienced by the whole person. The centrality of the heart gives the writings a strongly affective and experiential tone. To illustrate his teaching, ranging from the sheer effort required to acquire the virtues to the highest states of divine contemplation and participation, Macarius uses a host of images and metaphors that give his work an intensely visual and colourful character. The writings are deeply Christocentric, focusing especially on the imitation of Christ. They are also profoundly Trinitarian, and provide the clearest possible picture of man's encounter with God in the Holy Spirit.

Much has recently been made of the Syrian background of the texts. That there is a significant element drawn from the traditions of Syrian asceticism is incontestable. There is also, however, an equally important element drawn from the Hellenic tradition. In fact, much of the interest of the writings stems from their integration of these two very different thought-worlds. Macarius was indebted to the Alexandrine tradition of Clement and Origen. He may have come to know this tradition through the Cappadocian Fathers, with whom he was connected. Macarius develops the concept of *apatheia* (freedom from the passions) inherited from Clement. While he clearly perceives the ontological gulf between creature and Creator, Macarius also works with intuition of the complementarity of the sensible and intelligible worlds that derives ultimately from Plato. The locating of the intellect in the heart does not imply any material restriction upon its activity. Indeed Macarius speaks of the intellect as "rising out of materiality", overcoming the blindness and forgetfulness occasioned by the Fall. Through the gathering of the dispersed and multiple thoughts of the soul into one divine thought by the wings of the Spirit, one comes to "commingle with unoriginate intellect". Macarius' Hellenic culture is a diffused one, mediated by the Alexandrine tradition. It is, however, an aspect that must be taken into account when considering his work as a whole.

Macarius has exercised a profound influence on the development of the Christian spiritual tradition, comparable to that of Evagrius. Echoes of his work are found in the mid-5th-century *Life of Hypatius*. He was certainly known by St Diadochus of Photice, writing in the latter half of the 5th century, and by Mark the Monk (5th century). The *Asceticon* of Abba Isaiah (5th/6th century) shows many affinities with the Macarian writings. St Maximos the Confessor drew upon

the Macarian tradition to balance the traditions of Evagrius of Pontus and Dionysius the Areopagite within his own synthesis. St Symeon the New Theologian is also very much in the Macarian line. By his time the manuscript tradition had settled into the four main recensions mentioned above. The fact that four distinct collections evolved is an indication of an abundant manuscript tradition during the Byzantine period. The 11th-century compilation attributed to St Symeon Metaphrastes is reproduced in the *Philokalia*. It was made on the basis of Collection IV, the oldest of the main Greek collections. The Macarian writings provided an important source for the 13th- and 14th-century hesychasts. St Gregory Palamas cites the "great Macarius" as one of the principal sources for his understanding of the place of the body in the spiritual life and for his teaching on the nature of the light witnessed in prayer. The Macarian writings continued to be popular among both monastic and secular audiences. Their predominantly encouraging tone has led to their being thought especially useful for novices.

MARCUS PLESTED

See also Philokalia

Biography

The unknown author of a corpus of monastic writings formerly ascribed to St Macarius the Great. The texts, dating from the 370s and 380s, divide into four collections and probably originate from a monastic community in eastern Asia Minor or northern Mesopotamia. They have been very influential on the development of the Eastern Christian spiritual tradition.

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Macedonia

The latest archaeological findings have confirmed that Macedonia took its name from a tribe of tall, Greek-speaking people, the Makednoi (*ma(e)kos* = length). They shared the same religious beliefs as the rest of the Hellenic world but up until the Classical period remained outside the cultural and political development of the southern city states. From the 7th century BC onwards Makednoi, under the leadership of the Temenid dynasty, started to move from the highlands of present Greek western Macedonia to the southeast, initially in the winter pastures of Pieria, expelling, subduing, or assimilating a number of Thracian and Phrygian tribes. By the 5th century the Macedonian kingdom was strong enough to occupy all the lands to the east of the Pindus and to the west of the Strymon river and stretched more or less as far north as the present northern border of Greece. This was achieved through agricultural and military reforms which created an upper class of noble landlords as well as an army of landowning soldiers.

Reform and expansion overlapped with the peak of Athenian domination, resulting in a lengthy period of tension which took many forms. Anxious to exploit rich Macedonian resources, Athens tried to colonize eastern Macedonia, destabilize the ruling dynasty, encourage barbarian invasions, and facilitate disintegration. But it was during the same period of Athenian hegemony that the Macedonian kingdom started to come into closer contact with the southern civilization, Classical art, literature, philosophy, and the Attic dialect. The Macedonian court and nobility, rough and tough pastoralist highlanders, were overwhelmed and easily assimilated into Athenian culture. Even their local dialect, northwestern Greek, was replaced by Attic and left only a handful of written monuments in the form of inscriptions. The presence and work of Zeuxis the painter, Timotheos and Agathon the poets, and, most of all, Euripides secured for Athens what strategy had failed to accomplish: complete and perpetual cultural integration.

Yet "vulgar" Macedonians were not unanimously accepted by "refined" southern Greeks, especially by Athenians, as brethren; occasionally they were classified as "barbarians". This was not due to some latent but still distinguishable Thracian and Paeonian cultural influences or to local linguistic peculiarities. To a certain extent Athenian reluctance could be attributed to the Macedonians' rough manners, their monarchic government, and their delayed appearance on the scene. But the main source of antipathy was more than a century of conflict over eastern Macedonia, Thrace, the Chalcidice colonies, and, of course, the final victorious military involvement of Macedonia in southern affairs from 350 BC onwards, which signalled the end of the Classical period.

Philip II of Macedon was anxious to pacify and unify Greece at any cost – except his own – in order to attack the Persian empire. His dream was fulfilled by his son Alexander III the Great, who in no more than 12 years at the head of a Greek army occupied a major part of the then known world from the Aegean Sea to the frontiers of India. The scientific knowledge derived from his campaigns and explorations was significant. Moreover, the dissemination of Greek culture and language over this vast territory had a tremendous longterm impact on the shaping of the Roman empire, Christendom, and Byzantium. But Alexander's own dazzling personality, his adventures among strange peoples, and his unmatched strategic abilities outlived and overshadowed all his cultural achievements. These achievements became the stuff of popular myths, folklore, literature, ideals, and art among eastern and western

23. The expansion of Macedonia in the 4th century BC

people, and, above all, they nourished the Greek national imagination.

In the short term the kingdom of Macedonia did not survive as long as Macedonian pride. Although Macedonians gained a sense of superiority and abundant wealth from the east, they simultaneously experienced a dramatic demographic haemorrhage of manpower due to the Asian campaign and later on due to emigration to Syria and Egypt. During the wars of Alexander's successors and the Celtic invasion (279 BC) the country also suffered from relentless plundering and war indemnities. Moreover these endless and bloody wars alienated Alexander's generals individually from each other and collectively from the southern Greeks. In less than two centuries (323–148 BC) Macedonia was steadily reduced from a glorious world empire to a Roman province.

In 168 BC the Roman legions dealt a fatal and lasting blow to Macedonian autonomy. Macedonia was stripped of its possessions and was divided into four administrative districts. In 148, after an ill-prepared revolt, it was reunited and officially integrated within the Roman empire. The presence of legions however did not discourage barbarian invasions. It was only between the end of the Roman Civil Wars (31 BC) and the early Gothic raids (later 3rd century AD) that Macedonia enjoyed the benefits of the *Pax Augusta*, and especially the advantages of the Via Egnatia. It was during the same period that its numerous old and new gods made way for the rapid Christianization of the region.

From the early Middle Ages onwards the country suffered numerous barbarian invasions, most of them targeting Thessalonica, which was evolving into a major emporium as the second city of the Christian Byzantine empire. Goths, Alans, Huns, Avars, Slavs, and Bulgars raided, plundered, and occasionally settled in Macedonia. The question of whether the Slav tribes in Macedonia were absorbed or not by the Bulgarians (already Slavicized Huns) will probably never be resolved. Nor will it ever be agreed whether and to what extent these settlers were "Hellenized". There is evidence that some of their warlords were culturally assimilated, but the indisputable fact is that all settlers were Christianized and lived next to various colonists evacuated from the Asiatic provinces of the empire.

Although in the 9th century some Slav settlers were already being employed in the Byzantine army, the 10th century was marked by continuous warfare between Byzantium and Bulgaria, with Macedonia usually being the battlefield. Symeon, Samuel, Peter Deljan, Alousianos, Michael Ivatzi, and the Asen brothers all challenged Byzantine authority and occasionally managed to occupy extensive territories until the mid-13th century. Their defeats by the Byzantine emperors Leo VI, Basil II (the Bulgar-slayer), Michael IV, and Alexios III resulted in the eclipse of the Bulgarian threat and political authority, the archbishopric of Achris (modern Ohrid) – a Bulgarian ecclesiastical institution at the time – being the only remnant.

While the Macedonian hinterland was being devastated, in the urban centres, especially in Thessalonica, Byzantine culture flourished. Various metropolitans of this city are known for their contribution to theology, literature, and law, the best-known being Eustathios (12th century), who commented on Homer, and St Gregory Palamas and Neilos Kabasilas (14th century), both of whom strongly influenced Orthodox theology. Important teachers of Classics and law are also known to have worked in Thessalonica, especially after 1204: John Apokaphkos, Thomas Magistros, Matthew Vlastaris, Constantine Armenopoulos, Dimitrios Triklinios, etc. Even better known are the Byzantine architectural and artistic masterpieces of the so-called "Macedonian school", not only in Thessalonica but also in Kastoria, Serres, Achris, Prespa, Stromnitsa, Melenikon, and especially within the monastic community of Mount Athos, established officially in the 10th century. The presence of Slavs in Macedonia is related in particular to two important cultural developments: the "Miracles of St Dimitrios", the patron saint of Thessalonica, i.e. rhetorical ecclesiastical accounts recalling the 7th-century sieges of Thessalonica and the early Slav–Byzantine contacts; and the work of two Byzantine brothers from Thessalonica, Constantine (Cyril) and Methodios, who in the 9th century became the apostles to the Slavs and inventors of the Cyrillic alphabet, initially used for the translation of religious texts.

The threat from the north was not the only problem for medieval Macedonia. The Arabs (Saracen pirates) looted Thessalonica in 902 and the Normans, who invaded from the west, in 1185. Macedonia was also invaded by the crusaders in the early 13th century, the Albanians, and Catalan mercenaries, and it became part of the short-lived Serbian empire of Stephan Dushan (1334–55), amid Latin and Byzantine dynastic clashes which lasted into the 14th century and paved the way for the Turks. By the early 15th century Ottoman rule had been imposed over all Macedonian territories including Thessalonica. It was not to be interrupted for more than five centuries.

Throughout the Byzantine period Macedonia was never a separate administrative region. In fact the name Macedonia was assigned to a Byzantine administrative unit (theme) in Thrace and the imperial Macedonian dynasty originated from Adrianople. The term had lost its former geographical and other implications. The same is true for the Ottoman era. After the Ottoman settlement and the sporadic Islamization of Christians and Jews, Macedonia was not only an ill-defined region but also a linguistic mixture of Greek-, Slav-, Turkish-, Albanian-, and Vlach-speaking Christians and Muslims, as well as Spanish-, Greek-, and Turkish-speaking Jews. In such a multilingual milieu and under the Islamic law linguistic differences were entirely meaningless. In fact, these differences were related more to the cultural division of labour than to the actual origin of the people. As a rule, for example, Christian peasants were Slav-speakers, shepherds Vlach-speakers, traders Greek- and Vlach-speakers. All Christians shared a post-Byzantine culture which was determined by Orthodox dogma and nourished by Byzantine legends. They were mainly loyal to their family, clan, and community and had little sense of ethnic distinction. Alexander the Great, whose adventures were the topic of a well-known Greek folk song (*rimada*) and a booklet (*fyllada*) – a version of Pseudo–Callisthenes popular in Byzantium – was probably the only figure from antiquity to have survived medieval illiteracy and Christian anathema. He and his royal family were to be recalled from the past to participate in yet one more Hellenic expedition in the 18th and 19th centuries AD.

A Christian merchant class was shaped in the context of the unbalanced European-Ottoman commercial relations. In southern Greece they were Greek- and Albanian-speaking shipowners. In Macedonia they were Greek- and Vlach-speaking merchants. The Vlach-speakers, from the 18th century onwards, slowly descended from the highlands into Macedonian towns. They had secured the necessary capital, family network, and connections among the *armatoloi* (border guards) and brigands to pursue trade between the Ottoman Balkans, the Habsburg domains, and western Europe. Merchants replaced what was left of the Byzantine aristocracy in Macedonia and became the urban class, flattered by the romantic revival of Hellenic culture, strongly attracted by Greek education, and proud to choose for their offspring the names of Alexander's generals.

Such merchants and chieftains at the head of various pastoralists and peasants, who had hoped that liberation from the Turks would also bring economic emancipation, participated eagerly in the Greek War of Independence (1821–32) as well as in various Greek revolts throughout the 19th century after Greek independence. It was all to no avail in spite of a heavy toll paid in blood. After 1870 the Greeks did not possess the monopoly of irredentism in Macedonia. The establishment of the Bulgarian Church (exarchate) and the creation of an independent Bulgarian principality (1878) provided a second option. As the Eastern Question entered its final stage, it was evident that the Macedonian heritage would belong to that state which could argue most convincingly in front of the Great Powers for its demographic and historical rights in that region.

Vigorous educational campaigns were launched from Athens and Sofia and to a lesser extent from Belgrade to enlighten their brethren in Macedonia and bring them up to date with their respective nationalisms; but not surprisingly such ideologies were not easily absorbed by the agrarian societies which were so badly needed to affirm demographic supremacy. Greeks had the copyright of Macedonia's ancient history which they exploited as best as they could. After the schism of the Bulgarian Church from the Ecumenical Patriarchate (1872) they also had the advantage of shared religion with the target population. But linguistic arguments were in favour of the Bulgarians, who were also helped by Samuel's medieval legacies and, most of all, by various social and economic cleavages which fed back to Bulgarian nationalism: the word "Bulgars" had become synonymous with illiterate peasants, heavily taxed by the Church and the state, scorned and exploited by the mercantile class. It was only natural that some of them opted for the exarchate.

The peak of Bulgarian intervention in Macedonia was the Ilinden Uprising (1903) which failed to bring a Bulgarian-sponsored autonomy but did bring the Greeks into the game anew. Educational and ecclesiastical antagonism soon resulted in an undeclared and bloody Graeco–Bulgarian war of bandits (1903–08) in what was still Ottoman–held Macedonia, fought to win or to reverse national allegiances. European involvement, aiming to secure temporary tranquillity through finan-

Macedonia: rally in Thessalonica on 14 February 1992 protesting at the use of the name "Macedonia" by the former Yugoslav republic

cial reform, failed to produce any permanent result. It helped, however, to standardize the term "Macedonia" as identical to the three Ottoman prefectures under reform, thus stretching the region's northern limits further than Philip and Alexander had done, as far north as Tetovo and Kumanovo. It was that expanded Macedonia which was divided in 1913 at the end of the Balkan Wars between Greeks (51 per cent), Bulgarians (10 per cent), and Serbs who, though latecomers, took 38 per cent, taking full advantage of Stephan Dushan's titles and their own war efforts.

In the following years voluntary and compulsory population exchanges between Greece, Bulgaria, and Turkey were intended to pacify the region by achieving ethnic homogeneity. This was not always an easy task in Greek and Bulgarian (Pirin) Macedonia; nor was it the same as the acculturation policy implemented by Belgrade in Serbian (Vardar) Macedonia. The integration of the three parts into their respective nation states, occasionally under absolutist regimes, sometimes revived previous loyalties or even created new ones. Slav Macedonian ethnic identity in particular is the interwar product of an interaction between Bulgarian revisionism, Balkan Communism, Serbian and Greek centralization, and colonization policies. During World War II, the Greek Civil War, and the postwar period, Macedonian identity and nationalism became an important lever to neutralize Bulgarian aspirations in the Yugoslav Socialist Republic of Macedonia, to avoid Serbian colonization, to maintain some grip on the Greek part of Macedonia, and also to gain influence in the large and multiethnic Macedonian diaspora.

The shaping of this latest of all Balkan nationalisms followed the same recipe: ancient ethnic roots and ethnic continuity are indispensable for the survival of a nation state. It was too difficult a task for historians in Skopje to achieve but not an entirely unsuccessful venture. They continue to lack the consent of their Greek and Bulgarian colleagues, who safeguard the respective traditions of ancient Macedonia, the medieval Slav kingdoms, and anti-Turkish revolts as their own precious heritage. In Greece the Greek Macedonian heritage has been enriched by two generations of national heroes who fought against the Turks in the 19th century and the Bulgarians in the early 20th, in the so-called "Struggle for Macedonia". The establishment in 1991 of an independent replublic (the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia) in place of the Yugoslav Socialist Republic of Macedonia intensified antagonism for the past and strengthened the importance of symbols. Even though the diplomatic aspects of the modern Macedonian Question are not beyond solution, a compromise over the legacy of Alexander for the Greeks and Tsar Samuel for the Bulgarians is highly improbable as long as Macedonian history and Balkan politics are analysed in ethnic terms.

BASIL C. GOUNARIS

Summary

Ancient Macedonians shared the same religious beliefs and language as the rest of the Hellenic world but had remained politically distinct. Expansion and reform in the 5th century BC coincided with Athenian hegemony and resulted in conflict and Macedonian domination of southern Greece in the 4th century BC. By 148 BC Macedonia was a Roman province. Throughout the Middle Ages it suffered numerous invasions but also evolved into a centre of Byzantine culture. In the 19th century, after five centuries of Ottoman rule and considerable demographic change, Macedonia became a focus for the Greek nationalist cause, and its borders were redefined by various conflicts. Its position in the central Balkans has made it an apple of discord between Greece, Bulgaria, and Yugoslavia since the late 1940s.

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Magic

In one form or another, magical beliefs and rituals have always found a place in the Greek tradition, although it must be said that magic, as a distinct and easily recognizable category, is one no longer readily accepted by modern scholarship. For the sake of the present discussion, however, and while acknowledging the considerable debate on the topic, it may be understood in the present context to indicate that end of a continuous and largely undifferentiated spectrum of religious thought and behaviour deemed unacceptable to the dominant culture at any given period because of the purposes for which it is employed, because of the methods and the powers it is believed to use, and because of the assumptions it makes about the nature of the cosmos.

The ancient Greek religious tradition included a vast array of magical techniques through which it was believed that people could attain material enrichment and success; could protect themselves against misfortune, ill health, and malice; could discover normally hidden information; or could cause those they wanted to love them and those they hated to suffer or die. Indeed, it seems likely that most people's religious beliefs and practices contained much that may be categorized at the magical end of the spectrum. In an atmosphere of general uncertainty, insecurity, and helplessness, magic claimed to provide a method that worked directly and relatively dependably to solve all the problems, difficulties, and unfulfilled aspirations of everyday life.

Firm evidence of belief in magical power and practice goes back to the earliest Greek literature, although this undoubtedly represents a far older tradition in prehistory: Circe, in Homer's *Odyssey*, for example, knows how to summon spirits of the dead and uses magic rituals to transform humans into animals, while in myth Medea possesses the power of the evil eye and can cause all manner of harm by magical means. Important references to magical practices and beliefs are found in literature from the entire span of ancient Greek culture, for example in Hesiod, Plato, Aristotle, Theocritus, Apollonius of Rhodes, Plutarch, Lucian, Plotinus, and Iamblichus. Knowledge derived from this material is supplemented by archaeological artefacts, in particular curse tablets, figurines, and amuletic gemstones. The most detailed information concerning magic in the older Hellenic tradition comes, however, from the Greek magical papyri that originate in Egypt and date between the 2nd century BC and the 5th century AD. This very rich collection of material demonstrates clearly that the Greek tradition of magic cannot be taken in isolation from the Egyptian, Jewish, and other near Eastern traditions, and confirms that magic was practised at many different levels, from villages to courts, and by practitioners ranging from itinerant to highly institutionalized individuals.

The magic revealed by these sources is primarily concerned with using the supernatural forces believed to control and influence the world in which humans exist, whether these are gods and goddesses, intermediary powers such as angels, demons, and decans, or spirits of the dead. Those associated with nature, such as solar and astral powers, feature prominently, while in the papyri, with their particular cultural context, the Jewish god Iao is most frequently named; but in general the forces of the underworld (notably Hecate) were undoubtedly those thought most helpful and potent. Magical practice, ranging from the crude and casual to the elaborate and formal, was thought to be empowered in almost all cases by a combination of speech and ritual action. Although sometimes no more than vestigial at a low level, these words and actions, which often involved overt symbolic linkage to the desired outcome, were underpinned at the most complex end of the scale by a vast system of knowledge of numerous levels of often highly individualized supernatural powers, and of the names, words, and practices to make them responsive or submissive. It was vital to know all the natural materials (animal, vegetable, or mineral) thought to be particularly favourable or potent in relation to the purposes of the magic in hand and either sympathetic or antipathetic to the powers being used; important too was knowledge of correct timing (generally determined by complicated astrological lore) and location (e.g. a crossroad or a place of violent death). Just as most people today, however, use modern technology with almost no knowledge of the underlying scientific theory, so most who employed magical techniques in the ancient world had no real understanding of their formal and complex intellectual basis.

For the purposes of analysis, magical practice in the Greek tradition may be said to fall into one of three general cate-

gories: protection, manipulation, and the discovery of normally hidden knowledge. For protection, amulets were most commonly used. These operated at all levels from individual to communal and were either worn on the body or placed strategically, on the doorpost of a house, for example, or on a city gate. All manner of materials were used, but all were thought to have some special apotropaic efficacy, whether physical or symbolic; this might be increased by combining elements, by adding written formulae, and by preparing them at the proper time and place.

Best known among the enormous range of popular techniques of magical manipulation, particularly for ill, is the use of curse tablets and "voodoo dolls". In the former case imprecatory and magical formulae were most often inscribed on a lead tablet that was then associated with the enforcing powers by, for example, being inserted in a tomb or buried at a crossroads. The tablet was also frequently "bound" or "fixed" symbolically during the ritual, perhaps being tied with elaborately knotted thread, or pierced with a nail. Practices involving magical figurines were generally similar, although wax or clay might be used and rituals of piercing and binding were often more complicated; symbolic melting or severing of the image might occur and it might be associated with the victim by using personal materials (hair, nail clippings, etc.) and by inscribing personal names on specific body parts. In both cases ritual action was carefully timed and located and was accompanied by equally elaborate verbal elements. Such practices were believed to cause general loss of performance (e.g. in oratorical skill or reproductive capacity), illness (physical or mental), overwhelming lust, or even death; these effects might extend not only to humans but to livestock and crops as well. Other manipulatory techniques involved summoning and then compelling supernatural powers or spirits; in their more elaborate forms complex rituals of invocation took place and interaction with the powers might be thought to occur in a trance state or by means of visions seen, perhaps, in the shining surface of a vessel of water or a mirror. The latter practices relate closely to some used for determining hidden knowledge (see the article on Divination). Also related to these manipulatory techniques are the late antique rites of theurgy.

The emergence of Christianity and its rise to a position of cultural dominance in the Greek world certainly had a major effect on the concept and practice of magic, but it by no means eliminated it. Due to the monotheistic and supplicatory nature of the Christian religion, almost all pagan practices that survived tended to be condemned as magical by the Church authorities because their attitude was implicitly coercive and because they were seen as employing evil powers. Many very common elements of religious practice in the ancient Greek tradition, such as sacrifice, divination, and the use of amulets, were thus now shifted to the magical end of the religious spectrum by Christian doctrinalists, but, although some of these dwindled significantly in the public sphere, there is abundant evidence that they still continued to play an important part in popular and private belief and practice at all social levels. Many of the ancient magical practices, considered above, continued, while many outwardly Christian practices that were employed for culturally unacceptable ends or in ways that conflicted technically with Orthodox principles might also now be viewed as magical: making offerings to images of holy figures, for example, in the belief that they might be coerced into providing a guaranteed response, wearing Christian symbols as amulets in the belief that automatic protection would result, or believing that evil spirits could be controlled for personal ends by the use of Christian words of power and sacred materials. Defined in these terms, then, religious activity deemed to be magical may actually be said to have increased during Christian times; indeed, the new religion itself brought to the centre of the Greek tradition some Middle Eastern notions of magic that had previously been recognized only on its fringes (e.g. techniques of exorcism), and some passages in both the Old and New Testaments did nothing to undermine belief in the efficacy of magic. It remains true, however, that the notion of magic in the Byzantine and modern Greek world is an essentially artificial one imposed both by contemporary Christian doctrinalists and by modern scholarship. It is clear that most ordinary people, untrained in theology or uncommitted to its finer points, have seen magic simply as an alternative way of attaining results when the recourse to the normal routes offered by standard Christian practice has appeared to be inappropriate or to have failed.

Ancient magical techniques were still employed throughout the Byzantine period and down to the beginning of the 20th century in almost exactly the same forms and contexts as they had been in antiquity. There was something of a decline in the use of curse tablets and undoubtedly there was an increase in the Christian content of many of the rituals and verbal formulae, but most practices remained substantially unchanged: take, for example, amuletic inscriptions against the female spirit believed to cause sudden infant death (Gylou or Yello in the later tradition); the consultation or conjuration of spirits in vessels of water; the concept of "binding" or "fixing" enemies and rivals; or belief in the evil eye (see the article on Evil Eye).

In the Christian period the notion of "witchcraft", where the human operator of magic is believed to possess inherent supernatural power, is almost totally absent from the Greek tradition, with the notable exception of the evil eye; instead, almost all Greek magic is, technically, "sorcery", consisting of learned techniques passed on in a verbal or literary tradition. Detailed evidence of this tradition occurs first in the magical papyri and other works, such as the *Testament of Solomon* and the *Kyranides*, dating from the early Christian era, but it reappears, in a clearly recognizable form, in manuscripts of magic dating from the 15th to 19th centuries. Versions of these works, known popularly in the modern tradition as *solomonaiki*, continued to be published to the present day.

During the 20th century there was certainly a significant decline in recourse to magic in the Greek world but it persists to an extent. Practices associated with belief in the evil eye are still widely attested, as are some forms of divination, although neither appears to be taken as seriously by many people as they once were. The use of amulets in one form or another is also still widespread and some of the old apotropaic symbols may occasionally be found displayed in public places (on the dashboard of a bus, for example, or over the window of a house). Some people still apparently believe that sorcerers exist and they attribute to them many of the old techniques derived from the written tradition – binding, cursing, causing uncontrollable love, divining by means of evil spirits, and so on – but recent anthropologists have been unable to find either such people

themselves or individuals who have personally visited them, and have thus expressed doubts over their continued existence. What does unquestionably continue, however, is an attitude to religious practice that falls at the magical end of the scale in the sense that "automatic" results are believed to be attainable through otherwise standard Orthodox Christian practices.

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See also Divination, Evil Eye, Necromancy

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Magistrates

The monarchic political system of Mycenaean Greece was largely superseded during the Dark Age, the powers of the kings being redistributed among various magistrates (*archai*). As so often, our main evidence comes from Classical Athens, though the sheer size of the city makes it wholly exceptional in its great range of offices. A figure of 700 internal offices (*endemoi archai*) and a corrupt figure of 700 external ones (*hyperorioi archai*) are given for the 5th century BC by the *Constitution of Athens* (24.3), the second half of which (chapters 43–62) comprises a summary of the 46 main magistrates and boards of magistrates (adding up to a total of about 320 officials). These include financial officials, various sortitive annual officials, the archons, the quadrennial *athlothetai* (officials responsible for the Panathenaea festival), elective and military officials. As many as 71 different magistracies and boards are attested in the sources, adding up to some 450 magistrates (excluding the council, or *Boule*, of 500).

Various laws defined the basic criteria for magistrates at Athens: they were chosen by election or lot; they underwent a preliminary examination (*dokimasia*) before entering office; they served for at least 30 days; and they rendered accounts (*euthynai*) at the end of their term. In addition there was a minimum age-limit of 30; and all *archai* swore an oath that they would carry out their duties properly and in accordance with the laws. Magistrates regularly served for a period of one year only and in many cases were not eligible for a second term. Those in oligarchic states were chosen from the wealthiest citizens, but at Athens, after a long process of development, eligibility was extended to all four of the Solonian property classes, though formally only members of the first three classes were eligible for office even in the 4th century. Another contrast between oligarchic and democratic states was that magistrates in the former exercised real power, whereas many of those in the latter were essentially administrators, and all were subject to the will of the popular assembly. Magistrates summoned and presided over meetings, prepared the agendas and put motions to the vote, and most importantly executed the decisions of the assembly. To this end they had legal protection and the power to impose small fines on those who resisted them.

The administration of Athens was not hierarchical in structure (though some posts carried far greater prestige than others), and the great majority of magistrates were selected by lot from candidates who volunteered themselves. Sortition was a mark of the radical democracy; in moderate democracies and oligarchies election was the norm. At Athens, going by the figure in the *Constitution of Athens*, some 1100 magistrates were chosen by lot every year (including the 500 members of the council), and about another 100 were elected, from a pool of about 20,000 citizens over 30. This involved a heavy commitment on the part of Athens' citizens, especially since it was forbidden to hold the same sortitive office twice, except in the case of the council (where a man could serve twice but not in successive years). They could, however, be selected for different offices, and in theory, at least, they might therefore serve every other year (since they had to pass their *euthynai* after office before holding another position). The literary sources indeed suggest there was plenty of competition for office, though inscriptional evidence indicates that not all boards of magistrates were always filled, again with the exception of the council. The ten generals (*strategoi*), the most important financial officials and other officials such as the superintendent of the water supply (*epimeletes ton krenon*) were among the 100 or so magistrates who were directly elected, regularly after being proposed by another and with or without their consent. A check on individual power in democracy existed in the form of collegiality – all members of a board of magistrates were equal.

With this mixture of selection by lot and election it was inevitable that the elected officials tended to wield the most power. Down to the 5th century the leading Athenian magistrates were the nine archons. Three archons had taken over the powers of the kings: the *basileus* (who performed religious duties), the eponymous *archon* (the civilian head of state), and the *polemarchos* (who commanded the army); and alongside these were the six *thesmothetae* (judicial officials). At some point a secretary of the *thesmothetae* was added, so that the archons formed a board of ten (ten or a multiple of ten being the regular figure for boards after Cleisthenes reorganized the citizens into ten tribes). But the power of the archons waned after 487/86, when the method of sortition from an elected short list was introduced, and as the 5th century progressed their place at the head of Athenian politics was taken over by the ten generals. The archons' position declined still further when sortition replaced election at the first stage of selection as well, and in the late 5th and 4th centuries the archons performed mainly religious and judicial functions. However, the power of the generals also declined in the 4th century, as civil magistrates took over the leading role.

Magistrates at Athens were paid in the 5th century, but payment was abolished in 411, except for the archons and members of the council. Overseas officials, who included *archontes*, *episkopoi* ("overseers"), and garrison commanders, were also paid.

The civil magistrates at Sparta, and in several Dorian states, were called the ephors ("overseers"). The annually elected board of five ephors wielded considerable executive, judicial, and disciplinary powers, among them the right to control the conduct of the two kings. Evidence exists for the survival of the ephorate until at least the 3rd century AD.

In the Hellenistic period, although democracy was espoused and new cities were established with a council, assembly, and magistrates, as also was the revamped Achaean League of the early 3rd century BC, the balance of power very definitely shifted towards the wealthy. The kings paid professional magistrates, and there were numerous high- and low-ranking officials. The former tended to be Macedonians and Greeks, the latter natives, though by the 2nd century BC natives were beginning to rise to higher office.

Despite the advent of Roman rule, much responsibility was left to local communities. The power of the wealthy was consolidated by the institution of wealth qualifications for office, and to the end of antiquity the cities of the Roman empire tended to be ruled by local magistrates. Under the empire the main provincial officials were called "generals" (*strategoi*), as military titles frequently lost their military connotations. Police and judiciary officials were called "praetors", a title given from the end of the 10th century AD to the civil administrator of a province. From the 9th century various officials were called the *katepano*, who might be the commander of a military unit, and by the end of the 10th century this term was used of the governors of major provinces, who were also called *doux*. The "quaestor of the sacred palace" (*quaestor sacri palatii*), a post created by Constantine I, drafted imperial laws and heard petitions addressed to the emperor, and as the emperor's adviser in legal matters wielded considerable influence until the 9th century. Constantine also created the post of "master of the offices" (*magister officiorum*), as a check on the power of the Praetorian Prefect, the commander of the emperor's bodyguard who from the 4th to 7th century would be an important regional civil official. The *magister officiorum* was the head of the civil administration in the late empire and a powerful figure at court, but again the importance of this official waned from the 7th century. One other important group of officials was the college of twelve *kritai tou belou*, who operated from the 10th to the beginning of the 13th century in Constantinople. These judges were so named because they met behind a curtain (*belon*; Lat. *velum*) at the Hippodrome.

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See also Law

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Magna Graecia

"Magna Graecia", the Latin translation of the Greek *Megale Hellas*, was the conventional name for the Greek colonies in southern Italy, which were to provide Rome with its first contacts with Greek culture. The term first appears in 5th-century BC writings and is used to refer to the Greek world as a whole. The earliest instance of its use to indicate the Greeks of Italy is in Polybius (2. 39. 1), writing in the 2nd century BC but referring to the banishment of the Pythagoreans and subsequent formation of the Italiote League by Greek cities in the region of Italy which was known as *Megale Hellas*. By the 1st century BC the name was in common usage among Greek and Latin authors and referred to the territory stretching from Cumae near Naples in the north to Tarentum (Greek Taras) in the south, but excluding Sicily.

The first western Greeks came from Euboea where the chief cities were Chalcis and Eretria, and their first colonial foundation was Pithecusae on Ischia in the bay of Naples. The site of Pithecusae is at the northwest extremity of the island, the acropolis being Monte di Vico, with the cemetery in the adjacent Valle San Montano and beyond it on the Mezzavia hill, a suburban area. Excavations began in 1952, under the direction of Giorgio Buchner. The best-known find is the so-called "Nestor Cup", a drinking cup of Rhodian manufacture placed around 720 BC in the cremation grave of a boy about ten years old. The cup bears a three-line retrograde inscription in the Greek alphabet of Chalcis, the second and third lines of which

are hexameters, and it reads, "Nestor had a fine drinking cup, but anyone who drinks from this cup will soon be struck with desire for fair-crowned Aphrodite." This is one of the earliest examples of the Greek alphabet, and the only surviving excerpt of Greek verse from the period when the Homeric epics made the transition from oral to written poetry. Scraps of Phoenician inscriptions have also been found, indicating that Pithecusae's population included Phoenicians; indeed David Ridgway has suggested that the boy whose grave yielded the "Nestor Cup" may have been of Levantine extraction. Buchner thought that these Levantine residents were not merchants, but rather artists and craftsmen commissioned by the Greeks to work in the orientalizing style.

According to Strabo, the Eretrians and Chalcidians at Pithecusae quarrelled, which may be a reflection of the hostilities between their mother cities, and the Eretrians left. In any case, the first foundation on the mainland was Chalcidian, at Cumae, opposite Ischia, some 20 km west of Naples. The site has a steep acropolis and good farmland nearby, but no harbour, though it has been suggested that an ancient harbour may have silted up. The pottery from the earliest Greek tombs at Cumae dates to shortly before 725 BC and the colony's foundation date is probably slightly earlier. The site's chief attraction was its proximity to the markets of central Italy which bought not only Greek manufactures but objects from Syria and Phoenicia. Parthenope, on the site of Naples, and Dicearchia, Roman Puteoli (modern Pozzuoli), founded between Naples and Cumae (*c.*530 BC) by Samians fleeing the tyranny of Polycrates at home, were both within the Cumaean orbit. Chalcidians from Zancle (modern Messina) along with emigrants driven by famine from Chalcis and Messenians from the Peloponnese also founded Rhegium (modern Reggio Calabria), thereby consolidating the Euboean grip on the trade route up Italy's west coast.

24. Greek colonies in southern Italy

The instep of Italy first attracted the Achaeans from the northwest Peloponnese, who founded Sybaris *c.*720 BC, which commanded a fertile plain as well as a good commercial location, for it was the southern terminus for an overland route to the Tyrrhenian Sea, and was well placed to profit from the east–west trade route along the south coast of Italy. The city's wealth was famous; so also was its utter destruction by its neighbour Croton (modern Crotone) in 510 BC which diverted the river Crathis over the site. The city was refounded in 443 BC as Thurii by Athens, although the colonists were a Panhellenic group which included the historian Herodotus. Croton, founded about 710 BC, commanded a fertile but smaller agricultural area as well as a small double harbour. The philosopher Pythagoras migrated there when his homeland, Samos, fell under the tyranny of Polycrates, and founded a brotherhood which supported oligarchic government and was driven out by a popular uprising in the mid-5th century BC. Croton in turn founded Caulonia (modern Monasterace Marina) on the south shore of the toe of Italy. The earliest pottery found there dates to the early 7th century BC, but nothing indicates extensive settlement before the mid-6th century. Some 9.5 km southwest of Caulonia, at Capo Colonna, is the temple of Hera Lacinia of which a single column and some foundation blocks remain. It was the meeting-place of the Italiote League until it was dissolved by the tyrant of Syracuse, Dionysius I, when he invaded Italy in the 390s.

Another Achaean foundation was Metapontum (modern Metaponto), some 48 km west of Taranto. Its sanctuary area, marked off by a circuit wall, contains ruins of temples (A, B, C, D, and E), the largest of which (temple A), dedicated to Lycian Apollo (580 BC, reconstructed 530 BC), yielded the first examples of polychrome terracotta revetments which are a feature of Archaic temple rooftops in Magna Graecia. North 3.2 km from Metaponto is the so-called "Tavole Palatine", a temple of Hera (6 × 12 columns) built about 500 BC on a low hill where there had been a native settlement. Five Doric columns on the south side and ten on the north remain standing. The last major Achaean site was Posidonia (later Paestum, modern Pesto), which was founded by Sybaris on the coast of the Tyrrhennian Sea some 80 km southeast of Cumae. The site has three well-preserved temples, the mid-6th-century "Basilica" (actually a temple of Hera), the so-called "Temple of Neptune" a century later, which was also a Heraion, and the "Temple of Ceres" (late 6th century) which was probably dedicated to Athena. The area was a centre for the worship of Argive Hera, as is suggested by the discovery of a sanctuary at the mouth of the river Sele, 13 km distant, with several temples and treasuries, the largest of which was a Heraion, a Doric building of 500 BC or slightly earlier. The sanctuary must date before the late 7th century BC, for Corinthian pottery of that period has been found there.

In the 670s Locris in central Greece founded Locri Epizephyrii on the east coast of Calabria. The earliest remains have not been found, but in the Classical and Hellenistic periods Locri, sited between the coastline and the hills of the interior, grew into a city covering 230 hectares, protected by a wall 7.5 km long. But the city which maintained its independence from Rome longest was Taras, or Tarentum, to give it its Latin name, remains of which lie beneath modern Taranto on a fine peninsular site with an superb harbour. Tradition told that it was founded in 706 BC by *parthenioi* from Sparta who were the bastard offspring of helots and Spartan women begotten while the Spartan army was away suppressing the revolt of Messenia. It suffered a calamitous defeat *c.*473 BC at the hands of the native Messapians, the worst defeat ever suffered by a Greek army, according to Herodotus (7. 170), but it recovered to become physically the largest city in Italy a century later, and leader of a revived Italiot League. Taras in turn, together with Thurii, founded Heraclea (433/32 BC) west of Metapontum, which marked the rebirth of the only Ionian settlement in the area, Siris, which had been destroyed in the mid-6th century by its Dorian neighbours Metapontum, Croton, and Sybaris. Siris had been founded about 650 BC by refugees from Colophon in Ionia, fleeing from the Lydians. A steep hill with a flat top at modern Policoro, the site of Heraclea, has yielded evidence of a great mudbrick wall of shortly after 700 BC, and this may mark the location of Siris. The last south Italian colony was Elea, Roman Velia, founded *c.*535 BC on Posidonian territory by Phoceans from Asia Minor after they had lost their city to the Persians. Elea was to produce one of the most rigorous Presocratic philosophers, Parmenides, the founder of the Eleatic school.

By the 4th century Oscan-speaking Sabellian people were filtering south into Apulia, Lucania (modern Basilicata), and Bruttium (modern Calabria). They captured Cumae in 421 BC, expelling or killing most of the Greek inhabitants, and 11 years later they took Posidonia, renaming it Paestum. Naples admitted its Oscan inhabitants to the citizenship and perforce allowed them a share of political control, but it remained substantially a Greek city. Elsewhere, the foray of Dionysius I in the 390s meant that Croton, Caulonia, Rhegium, and Locri fell under the rule of Syracuse and were garrisoned by Syracusan troops for 12 years before they could eject them. Taras escaped Dionysius' aggression, however, and in the 4th century ranked as the chief city of Magna Graecia, a distinction owed in part to its leading statesman, Archytas, a Pythagorean philosopher who was a friend of Plato and intervened to deliver him from house arrest when he made his second visit to Syracuse with the vain hope of making Dionysius II an ideal statesman.

The threat from its Italic neighbours spurred Taras to bring in a series of *condottieri* from Greece. A Spartan king Archidamas campaigned with some success in 343–338 BC. Alexander the Great's brother-in-law, Alexander I the Molossian from Epirus who arrived in 334 BC, achieved more, and even made a treaty with Rome, but his personal ambitions made him suspect and the Greeks were relieved when he was killed in battle in 330 BC. His territorial gains were lost after his death. The most famous of these generals was Pyrrhus, also from Epirus, who arrived with 22,500 infantry, 3000 cavalry, and a corps of 20 Indian war elephants. He won two victories at Heraclea and Ausculum over the Romans, which cost him heavy casualties and made the term "Pyrrhic victory" a byword. Then, failing to make a peace treaty with Rome, he abandoned Italy at the invitation of Syracuse to campaign in Sicily against Carthage. He returned with a reduced force in 275 BC for a last battle against Rome at Malventum (later Beneventum) where he was outnumbered and suffered a decisive defeat, after which he left Italy for good. Tarentum, as it was henceforth, held out three more years before Rome conquered it. By then the other city states of Magna Graecia were already allies of the Roman people, and, since most were ports and commanded forests in their hinterlands, they formed the nucleus of Rome's naval allies.

Rome had early connections with Magna Graecia. It learned the Chalcidian Greek alphabet from Cumae, and developed the Latin alphabet from it. It may also have learned the name "Graeci" (i.e. "Greek") there as well, for among Cumae's original settlers was a contingent of *Graioi* from a small state in eastern Boeotia. Tradition also connects early Rome with the Cumaean Sibyl whose cave was discovered in 1932, for Rome preserved a collection of oracles called the "Sibylline Books" in the temple of Capitoline Jupiter until it was burned in 83 BC; these had been sold by the Sibyl to Tarquinius Priscus, an Etruscan king of Rome. Livius Andronicus (*c.*284–204 BC), whose translation of the *Odyssey* into Latin marks the beginning of Roman literature, was probably a Tarentine Greek who was taken to Rome after the capture of Tarentum in 272 BC. But Magna Graecia did not enter the Roman imperial orbit until the Second Samnite War when a Roman army besieged Naples (327/26 BC) which was surrendered by a pro-Roman group in the city, and signed a treaty of alliance on very favourable terms. By the 290s Rome's web of alliances stretched into Lucania and Apulia and cities which had supported the Samnites were conquered. Velia was taken in 293 BC. At Paestum a Latin colony was installed in 273 BC, and a forum, complete with a temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, was cut into the middle of the city plan. The fall of Tarentum and the peace treaty that followed probably mark the end of the Italiote League. However, when Hannibal invaded Italy and defeated Rome disastrously at Cannae (216 BC), Tarentum, Thurii, Croton, Locri, and Metapontum, all leading members of the old Italiote League, went over to the Carthaginians, while further north the alliances remained firm. Cumae, which had held the status of Roman "citizenship without the vote" since its capture by Rome in 334 BC, resisted all pressure to defect, and the alliance with Naples remained firm. In the south, however, only Rhegium remained a loyal ally.

Details of Rome's settlement of Magna Graecia after Hannibal's defeat are scant, but Tarentum, which had been sacked in 209 BC, was put under military government for a couple of decades after the war. Croton and Thurii received colonies. A good deal of land was confiscated, and became *ager publicus*, land owned by the Roman people, much of which was to be allotted to Roman settlers by the Gracchi brothers, and later by Pompey and the emperor Nero. The Social War between Rome and its allies in the early 1st century BC marked the end of the Greek cities as nominally free states: after 89 BC they formed part of the Roman state either as colonies (*coloniae*) or municipalities (*municipia*). The final act

came with the emperor Augustus who divided Italy into 11 regions. Magna Graecia was broken up among three regions and lumped together with its ancient enemies, the Sabellian peoples.

But that was not quite the end. In the years after Hannibal's defeat, the interest of Rome's elite in Greek culture increased rapidly along with its wealth, and villas sprouted around the bay of Naples. Greek culture, however, now flowed for the most part directly from Greece and not through the medium of Magna Graecia. In the Byzantine period there was one last flowering of Greek culture, centred particularly in Calabria. Under Justinian (AD 527–65) the Roman empire, as it still considered itself to be, recovered Italy from the Ostrogoths, but lost most of it to Lombard invaders shortly after Justinian's death. Constans II (641–68), despairing of Constantinople, decided to move his capital west, and in 663 landed at Tarentum and pushed the Lombards back to Beneventum, which, however, he failed to take. After his assassination, the Lombards retook most of Apulia. Arab raids on Sicily and Italy also intensified; Palermo fell in 831, and following that, the Arabs took Bari and Tarentum, and left Byzantium with little more than Calabria. Under Basil I (867–86) and Leo VI the Wise, (886–912) of the Macedonian dynasty, the Byzantines riposted: Apulia was retaken, and Leo VI established two themes in Byzantine Italy, Longobardia ruled by a military governor at Bari, and Calabria ruled generally from Reggio (Rhegium). By the end of the millennium, Byzantine power in what used to be Magna Graecia was paramount and was not seriously challenged until the advent of the Normans. Robert Guiscard's capture of Bari in 1071 extinguished Byzantine rule

This last flowering saw Greek replace the Latin language in Calabria and, less throughly, in Apulia. The Greek Church replaced the Roman Church in the south, though in Naples there was a lively contest between the Greek and Latin hierarchies. The Basilian monasteries of Calabria offered shelter to Greek monks migrating from Arab Sicily and became centres of Byzantine culture. St Neilos of Rossano (*c.*910–1004) in particular was a talented hymnist and brought fame to his monastery in the Merkourion district. The Norman conquest did not terminate Greek influence immediately, but with the capture of Bari a chapter was ended.

JAMES ALLAN EVANS

See also Italy

Summary

Magna Graecia (*Megale Hellas* in Greek) was the conventional term for the Greek colonies of southern Italy but excluding Sicily. Colonization began in the 8th century BC. The settlements provided the Romans with their first taste of Greek culture. By the 1st century BC all the cities were absorbed into the Roman state, but Greek culture persisted. Magna Graecia was recovered by the Byzantines and not finally lost until 1071.

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Makarios III, Archbishop 1913–1977

President of Cyprus

Archbishop Makarios III, president of the newly independent Republic of Cyprus from 16 August 1960 until his death on 3 August 1977, was a central figure in the history of Cyprus. He was born Michael Mouskos in August 1913 to a peasant family in the Greek-Cypriot village of Pano Panagia on the high western slopes of Mount Troodos.

It had been a strength of the Church under Ottoman rule that its hierarchy was largely drawn from the ablest sons of the poor. It was to prove one of Makarios's strengths, first as elected archbishop and ethnarch and then as president, that he combined the traditional legitimacy stemming from an autocephaly that dated to the 5th century and from eight centuries' experience of a subject community gathered around its archbishop, with the modern democratic legitimacy of popular election. His sense of empathy with his community was unparalleled: it is doubtful whether he ever misinterpreted the majority will on any important issue. This ability to read and express his community's mind (to a degree unmatched by professional politicians like Constantine Karamanlis and the Papandreous) was simultaneously his greatest disadvantage in governing an island containing another community, namely the Turkish-Cypriot.

He entered Kykko Monastery in 1926 as a novice aged 13. In 1933 he was sent to the Pan-Cyprian Gymnasium in Nicosia. He returned to Kykko as a teacher in 1936. After being ordained Deacon Makarios at the age of 25, he studied theology at Athens University from 1938 to 1942, experiencing war, occupation, and the civil strife of 1944, when he entered law school. Ordained priest in 1946, he served in a working-class parish of Piraeus until a World Council of Churches scholarship enabled him to continue theological studies in Boston between 1946 and 1948, when he received the unsought honour of election as bishop of Kitium (Larnaca and Limassol).

The postwar campaign for union with Greece (*enosis*), which expressed both the genuine aspirations of Greek Cypriots and the hierarchy's determination to recover the initiative from the communist AKEL (*Anorthotikon Komma Ergazomenou Laou*, the Progressive Party of the Working People) while civil war raged in Greece, had already begun. In

December 1949 the ethnarchy announced that if the British governor did not hold a plebiscite the Church would. Makarios organized this in January 1950. Of those eligible (all Greek Cypriots over the age of 18) 95.7 per cent signed their names for *enosis*. In June 1950 archbishop Makarios II died, and in October Makarios III, aged 37, was elected archbishop and ethnarch by indirect popular vote.

Makarios's political life can be divided into four periods: the unsuccessful struggle for self-determination and *enosis* in the 1950s; his term as president of a united but diarchic republic from 1960 to the end of 1963; his attempts as president to achieve a new constitution while increasingly beleaguered by enemies outside and within; and his overthrow and restoration as president after the Greek junta's coup and the Turkish invasions of 1974.

The first period, when Makarios was politically inexperienced, partly determined the other three. Ecclesiastical and national tradition dictated Makarios's original aim: the union of a united island with Greece. Since, until autumn 1955, London rejected both self-determination and independence, Makarios pressed the Greek government to take Cyprus's cause to the UN. Eden's harsh private treatment of Alexandros Papagos and the public "never" in the House of Commons achieved this in 1954, but Greek recourse to the UN over five years proved fruitless, partly because anti-colonialist countries supported struggles for independence, not irredentism.

More immediately successful, but disastrous in the long term, was the decision to extend the liberation struggle for *enosis* by the use of violent means through the EOKA campaign, intended by Makarios to be limited to sabotage, under George Grivas. EOKA (*Ethniki Organosi Kyprion Agoniston*, the National Organization of Cypriot Fighters) began operations in April 1955, making the British position most uncomfortable, but the tradition thus created of the national legitimacy of secret and violent conspiracy was ultimately to lead Cyprus and Makarios to disaster. Worse, London now ensured that Ankara brought itself into the equation, demanding partition. The Greek community of Istanbul paid a heavy price in September 1955; Greek Cypriots have been paying ever since.

One chance to escape from the impending impasse may have been the constitutional negotiations – nearly successful – of 1955/56 with the then governor, Sir John Harding. Failure was followed by Makarios's exile to the Seychelles from March 1956 until March 1957, when he went to Athens. The situation in Cyprus deteriorated quickly during his exile. Intercommunal violence broke out in June 1958 with Greek-Cypriots the initial victims, and separate Turkish-Cypriot municipalities were set up.

In June 1958 the Macmillan plan offered seven years of self-government followed by shared sovereignty between Britain, Greece, and Turkey. Makarios reacted in September by proposing the alternative of independence. In December the Turkish and Greek foreign ministers, Fatin Zorlu and Evangelos Averof, started the contacts which led to the Zurich–London agreements guaranteed by Britain, Greece, and Turkey.

From the Greek-Cypriot point of view the agreements were necessary to avoid partition; but they involved commitments to abandon the century-old aspiration for *enosis* and to implement a complex diarchic constitution entrenching extensive

Archbishop Makarios III, president of Cyprus 1960–77

Turkish-Cypriot veto powers. Greek-Cypriot opinion accepted independence but was unhappy with one or both of the restrictions. Even before independence pro-*enosis* statements on the one side and the importation of arms on the other (the "Deniz" incident in which a Turkish ship was intercepted by the British) had begun to create a vicious circle of mistrust.

Elected president in December 1959 with two-thirds of the votes against the more rigid Enotists and AKEL, Makarios demonstrated his qualities of leadership. He did not suppress AKEL, as Karamanlis and Adnan Menderes had planned, but brought it into the political system. He showed his capacity for administration and economic management to the benefit of state, Church, and people alike. He cut an impressive figure on the world stage, joining the Third World countries but sometimes differentiating his position, as when he became one of the first declared supporters of a united Germany.

No one will ever determine whether Makarios's public pro-*enosis* statements represented actual policy, sincere lip-service to an impracticable but still popular ideal, or a necessary concession to his most dangerous opponents. The second possibility would have permitted him to use his statements for the first and third as events demanded, and is therefore the most likely hypothesis.

It seems he finally decided to propose constitutional change after the Turkish-Cypriot representatives refused to pass an income-tax bill in December 1961. The constitutional proposals of November 1963 were the ultimate consequence.

Considered an acceptable opening position by the then British High Commissioner in Nicosia, they were rejected out of hand first by Ankara and then by the Turkish Cypriots.

Earlier there had also been tensions over the composition of the public service and separate municipalities. The Turkish-Cypriot vice-president's veto of an integrated army in a 60/40 ratio resulted in the creation of official/unofficial armies on both sides with contingency plans or instructions to their armed groups. In December 1963 tension between them exploded into widespread violence.

The official Turkish-Cypriot response was withdrawal from state institutions and self-enclosure in enclaves, thus giving Makarios de facto majority control of the government, but at the cost of territorial division and serious bloodletting in many parts of the island. Although about half of the Turkish-Cypriot population continued to live peaceably in areas under Greek-Cypriot control, the destruction of Turkish-Cypriot neighbourhoods, the intercommunal strife, and Ankara's threats of intervention led the Security Council to create UNFICYP (United Nations Force in Cyprus) in March 1964 to keep the peace wherever possible. Makarios could be satisfied that the relevant resolution recognized the Cyprus government's legitimacy, but there was lasting damage to the Greek Cypriots' international image as a result of incidents in which Greek-Cypriot irregulars attacked Turkish-Cypriot individuals and villages.

From 1964 to 1967, with Grivas in command of a large Greek force illegally infiltrated, pressure on the Turkish-Cypriot community was maintained in a variety of ways. Consistent with his fundamental adherence to the unity of Cyprus, Makarios in 1964 rejected the American "Acheson plan" as essentially partitionist.

The Greek junta's coup in 1967 and the autumn attack on Hagios Theodoros precipitated a major crisis resulting in the withdrawal of Grivas and the Greek army, a declared shift of policy by Makarios to the feasible strategy of majority-rule independence (as opposed to the desirable dream of *enosis*), and the abolition of barriers to free movement for Turkish Cypriots. During 1968 serious intercommunal talks began and Makarios was reelected president against an Enotist with 95 per cent of the vote.

Perhaps Makarios's greatest single error was in not pressing for an agreement with the Turkish Cypriots in 1968 when they seemed to accept local autonomy and majority rule. From 1969 the security situation swung against him as the junta organized pro-Enotist clandestine opposition to his policy. In 1970 he escaped assassination by a miracle. In 1971 Grivas returned illegally to the island. In 1972 the three other bishops tried to defrock him and the junta's supporters almost mounted a coup, which was foiled by a temporary alliance between Makarios and Grivas (an Enotist but not a junta supporter). In 1973 Makarios was re-elected president unopposed, but violence continued and there was another assassination attempt. In January 1974 Grivas died and his clandestine movement was taken over by the junta.

Despite Makarios's able manoeuvring, the hatred of the Athens junta increasingly hemmed him in. Officially Athens favoured the intercommunal talks: behind the scenes it supported *enosis*, even if this implied territorial concessions to Ankara. Threatened again by a coup, Makarios counterattacked with his letter of 2 July to the Greek president demanding the withdrawal of officers plotting against him. His optimism that he had thus overcome the danger was misplaced: on 15 July the Greek-officered National Guard overthrew the legitimate government. Again almost miraculously, he escaped first to Paphos and then abroad.

Greek involvement gave Turkey an opportunity to intervene. While London washed its hands, Ankara carried out two military interventions, in July and August, that led to loss of life on Cyprus unparalleled since 1571. This open attempt to impose partition through the expulsion of Greek Cypriots from the occupied areas, and to ensure that any settlement would rest not on democratic principle but on Ankara's absolute control of part of Cyprus and veto rights over the remainder, was effectively opposed during Makarios's lifetime only by the US Congress.

Makarios was never more admirable than with his life's work in ruins. He rallied his community to the need for a long struggle rather than surrender, correctly judged that economic recovery was a priority and quickly set it in train, and before he died made the crucial concession to the Turkish Cypriots of accepting a federal solution (still within the boundaries of acceptable democratic theory) which was agreed by both communities in February 1977 and has been confirmed by numerous Security Council Resolutions since.

It is easy to judge Makarios as a leader who failed either to achieve *enosis* or to preserve a united island, his two original aims. Weaker in strategic vision than Karamanlis, and less successful tactically than Andreas Papandreou, he proved better at administration and economic management than either. Effectively he created a state he originally had had no intention of creating. His legacy, a democratic, prosperous, and consensual society, may ultimately prove attractive to all its citizens, and not only the Greek-Cypriot community which he so faithfully represented and served.

It is also easy to judge Makarios as a churchman, committed indeed to charitable and missionary work in Africa, but irremediably compromised by involvement in politics, resort to violence, and repeated disingenuousness. This is a common western view, which displays a lack of human understanding. Cypriot archbishops had been required to represent their people in a potentially self-sacrificial manner since 1571: the pursuit of any subjected people's best interests is likely to involve the exercise of guile. The lessons of centuries of subservience were not to be unlearnt in a few years even had the situation been ideal, and it was never that.

It was in human qualities that Makarios shone. A close collaborator, Stella Soulioti, has said: "He remained to the end a shepherd boy – a shepherd with the manners of a king." Beneath the surface of a shrewd diplomat lay an almost child-like innocence, unassuming, gentle, and self-critical. A deep calm underpinned the courage displayed in the lack of precautions taken for his personal safety when his life was in constant danger. He was immediately available to ordinary Greek Cypriots: his humour and consideration for others were notable, while his simplicity and directness in human contact were the opposite of that fundamental deviousness so confidently ascribed to him in the western press.

His integrity may be seen in his having personally lodged Turkish-Cypriot hospital staff at the Archbishopric for a night in December 1963 before sending them to the safety of their

own community; and by the experience of an unexpected caller who, when told he was officiating in the cathedral, entered to find the Archbishop conducting the funeral of a beggar, for whom he was the only mourner.

Makarios therefore was a living example of the differing qualities admired by those in the Anglo-Saxon and Hellenic traditions. An admiration for humour, courage, and dignity combined with simplicity is shared. The traditions then part, one putting overriding emphasis on adherence to ethical norms and the overall consequences of actions; the other on existential commitment and humanity. In his commitment to and his sense of communion with his people, Makarios expressed a quintessentially Orthodox Christian view of the scale of priorities in human life.

COSTA CARRAS

See also Enosis

Biography

Born Michael Mouskos in 1913 to a peasant family in the Greek-Cypriot village of Pano Panagia, he entered Kykko monastery as a novice in 1926. After three years at the Gymnasium in Nicosia, he returned to Kykko as a teacher in 1936 and was ordained a deacon in 1938. He studied theology at Athens University in 1938–42 and was ordained a priest in 1946. He studied in Boston in 1946–48 and was then elected bishop of Kitium. In 1950 he was elected archbishop and ethnarch and in 1959 president of an independent Cyprus, which he remained until his death in 1977.

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Makriyannis, Yannis 1797–1864

A leading figure of the Greek War of Independence and Othonian Greece

Yannis (Ioannis) Makriyannis was a distinguished figure in Greece's political history in the 19th century. He was born in 1797 and, after spending several years working, he joined the *Philiki Hetaireia* and participated in the War of Independence. He took part in various memorable battles and was repeatedly injured, a fact that was to affect decisively his life afterwards. He also held several strategic posts (e.g. as military head of Athens in 1825), tried to bring order among Greek irregulars, and associated himself with well-known war personalities. After the end of the war Makriyannis, being liberal by nature, disagreed with Ioannis Kapodistria's policies and lost his position as head of the Executive Committee. Although he believed that king Otho's arrival would ameliorate Greece's situation, Makriyannis was disappointed by later developments including the unfair treatment of veterans by the government and he had conflicts with the regency member count Armansperg. After that Makriyannis avoided any involvement in public affairs until 1840. Between 1836 and 1839 he occupied himself with the creation – together with the painter Panayotis Zographos – of aquarelles (five series of 25 uniform paintings) devoted to the War of Independence and based on his own battle experiences and memories. One series of aquarelles survives today at the Gennadion Library in Athens and another at Windsor Castle.

Yet, Makriyannis's sense of justice, integrity, and patriotism could not keep him away from politics. He realized the need for a constitutional charter and after 1840 he worked in clandestine meetings for such a plan. This materialized on 3 September 1843 through the intervention of the army under Dimitrios Kallergis and the participation of the people, fortunately without bloodshed. In 1844 Makriyannis was elected representative of Athens in the National Assembly where he distinguished himself for his resolutions concerning the Church, the Greek citizens, and the rights of the veterans. He was also appointed major-general. In 1852 Makriyannis was accused of a conspiracy against Otho's life, imprisoned, brought to trial, and sentenced to death. But his conviction caused heated reactions from the public and the press, which forced the conversion of his death penalty initially into life and later into a ten-year sentence. On 2 September 1854, however, Makriyannis was set free, but his health had seriously deteriorated due to previous injuries. In the anti-Othonian movement of 10 October 1862 the Greek public remembered Makriyannis's contributions and honoured him as a folk and national hero. He was reinstated in his previous office, but his already poor health weakened further, and he died on 27 April 1864.

Although Makriyannis had received no education at all and barely knew how to write, he still left two works behind that were published posthumously and were considered seminal contributions to modern Greek culture. The first is his *Memoirs*, which Makriyannis started writing in February 1829 and completed in 1850. They constitute a first-hand description of the War of Independence and Othonian Greece. This work was discovered, transcribed, and published for the first time in 1907 by Yannis Vlachoyannis. Makriyannis's second prose work, entitled *Visions and Miracles*, was written in 1851–52, left unfinished, and published for the first time in 1983. Both works are important for their historical content, for their use of the demotic language, as it was spoken in Greece then, and for their literary merit. Thus, it is no wonder that Makriyannis's personality attracted the attention, the

Yannis Makriyannis: statue of general Makriyannis at the old entrance to Athens, below the Acropolis

positive appreciation, and the admiration of numerous renowned Greek thinkers (e.g. George Seferis, Yorgos Theotokas, Odysseus Elytis, Zisimos Lorentzatos).

The importance of Makriyannis's thought lies in his holistic view of Greek history. He professed the fundamental unity between Hellenism and Orthodoxy, and he considered the latter as the decisive factor for the preservation of the former. He was convinced that God was behind the just war of the Greeks against the Ottomans and had granted them their liberation against all adversities (e.g. in the period of anarchy, 1831–33). His fervent patriotism was religiously legitimized. Makriyannis had a simple but deep faith in God and never vacillated between the Scylla of rationalism and the Charybdis of unbelief. The fear of God for him was a prerequisite for maintaining order, piety, and ethics in human societies.

Makriyannis's social criticism was mainly directed against Greece's multiple dependence on the West and its impact upon the Orthodox popular ethos. Greece's religious estrangement signified political and social subordination too. He was alarmed by the policies of the Bavarian regime, such as the closing of numerous monasteries and the confiscation of their property, and by the increased proselytism of foreign missionaries. Makriyannis was very critical of the "Westernized" Greeks (e.g. Theophilos Kairis), who, he believed, were transformed into slaves of Western interests. Despite his defence of Orthodoxy against Western designs, Makriyannis simultaneously supported religious tolerance. Human freedom was for him inviolable and any form of proselytism unacceptable. The view of human destiny as a dynamic struggle between life and death was instrumental in forging his self-understanding and in motivating his activities. Makriyannis was thus influenced by the fundamental Orthodox orientation that regards this transient earthly life as a preamble for the eternal life to come.

Later interpretations and assessments of Makriyannis's thought and legacy vary considerably. For some, the illiterate Makriyannis is the most authentic embodiment of the uncontaminated Orthodox ethos, whose presuppositions and criteria are quite different from those of the West. His simple and apparently naive, but also realistic and effective solutions to various problems are considered useful from a contemporary perspective too. Makriyannis is seen as expressing the authentic voice of the Greek people. Others, however, emphasize the traumatic experiences in Makriyannis's life and the serious effects they might have had not only on his physical but also on his mental health. They argue that Makriyannis might have suffered from illusions, aberrations, and epileptic crises combined with superstitions and a morbid religiosity. In other words, he was some kind of a "madman". The objectivity of his judgements is also questioned, because Makriyannis seems to have been an obstinate, quarrelsome, intransigent, and embittered person. As a result, without discarding his views entirely, some scholars suggest that they should be treated carefully and with reservations. The same applies to the historical information contained in his works.

Despite these differences in evaluating Makriyannis, it is undeniable that his works include much useful material relating to Greek culture, its past, and its relationship to the West. As such, they constitute weighty documents of modern Greek history. Makriyannis pointed out with honesty, clarity, and simplicity the sources of Greece's many problems and offered

several viable solutions. He did not present an idealistic version of Greece's situation, but was very sincere, had a sense of self-respect, showed no self-interest in his dealings, and viewed himself as on a mission to safeguard his country. He outspokenly castigated his compatriots for their multiple transgressions and deficiencies. Therefore, it is understandable why his ideas and proposals have been so much discussed and why they will certainly become the focus of varying approaches and interpretations in the future too.

VASILIOS MAKRIDES

See also Independence (War of)

Biography

Born in 1797, Makriyannis received no education but joined the *Philiki Hetaireia* (Friendly Society) and played a distinguished part in the War of Independence, becoming military head of Athens in 1825. After the war he withdrew from politics until 1840 when he began to work for the creation of a constitution. In 1844 he was elected to the National Assembly. He died in 1864. Two works were published posthumously: his *Memoirs* and *Visions and Miracles*.

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Mallia

Town in Crete

The archaeological site and modern town of Mallia is located on the island of Crete, less than 40 km east of Herakleion. It lies within a narrow plain on the northern coast that is bounded to the south by the Dikte mountain range dominated by Mount Selena (1559 m), the site of the Bronze Age peak sanctuary, which rises steeply behind the little church of Prophitis Ilias. From ancient times to the present day the area surrounding Mallia, including the plain, the mountains, and the valleys leading to them, has been characterized by its rich agriculture. Today, the produce includes potatoes, olives, and other fruits, as well as cereals. The herding of sheep and goats as well as traditional cheese making continues to be practised in the mountains to the south. Fishing is also an important activity along the coastal plain and there is evidence of two ancient harbours in the vicinity that would have served both fishing and sea trade in Minoan times.

Mallia is famous today as the site of the third greatest Minoan palace after those at Knossos and Phaestus. The presence of antiquities at the site was first discovered in the late 19th century after a shepherd found some gold leaf by the sea and the local inhabitants began digging for Minoan treasure. In 1915 Joseph Hazzidakis, then ephor of Cretan antiquities, began a more formal exploration of the site. Since 1922, however, systematic excavations have been undertaken by a team from the École Archéologique Française d'Athènes, led by Fernand Chapouthier, Jean Charbonneaux, and others. By 1932 the excavation of the palace was completed. The French archaeologists continue their excavations in the Minoan town and ancient cemeteries by the sea, publishing the results of their investigations in the series *Études Crétoises*.

While the palace at Mallia lacks the mythological fame of Knossos and is less sumptuously decorated and smaller in size (nearly 8900 sq m or about the size of the palace of Phaestus), it is beautifully sited with a view of the sea. It is also remarkable for having its ground plan preserved virtually intact and, unlike Knossos, it remains unreconstructed. Concrete and iron supports as well as protective roofs have been used only where necessary to preserve the Minoan buildings, providing visitors with a unique opportunity to experience the ancient architecture without controversial modern interventions.

The earliest traces of habitation at the site of Mallia are prepalatial, dating to the Early Minoan III–Middle Minoan IA period (*c.*2300–1900 BC). The first phase of the palace, known as the Old Palace, dates from the Middle Minoan IB–II period (1900–1700 BC) and is contemporary with the Old Palaces at Knossos and Phaestus – all of which were destroyed by a large earthquake at the end of the Middle Minoan II period. The Old Palace at Mallia is known mainly from some large plastered rooms in the northwestern corner that were richly appointed. It was from these rooms that the famous sword with the pommel covered by gold and decorated with an arched acrobat in low relief, now in the Herakleion Museum, was found. Also dating from the time of the Old Palace is the unique double row of four circular structures, each built around a central pillar that probably supported a roof, which is located in the southwestern corner of the palace. These structures were most likely used as silos or granaries.

Most of what is visible today, however, belongs to the New Palace, which dates from the Middle Minoan III–Late Minoan IB period (*c.*1700–1425 BC). Except for the fact that there is no monumental theatral area, this structure has all the characteristics of a typical Minoan palace, including a central court with an unusual open pit for burnt offerings, storage magazines with large pithoi and channels to collect drippings of oil, and a number of ritual chambers including a pillar crypt in the west wing. In one of these chambers, on a floor dating to the Old Palace, were found the ceremonial leopard's-head axe and the large sword with a gilded blade and pommel of crystal and amethyst, both outstanding examples of Minoan craftsmanship now on display in the Herakleion Museum. Some of the more unusual features of the palace include the pillared hall to the north, probably used for banquets, and the great circular *kernos* (offering-stand) stone, located in the southwestern corner of the central court, which has a large hollow at the centre and 34 smaller ones around the circumference that may have been used for the offering of first fruits to a deity. The New Palace was destroyed in the Late Minoan IB period and subsequent pillaging left few objects of value from this phase for modern excavators. One exception is a remarkable triton shell, carved from chlorite with relief decoration, that was found in the northeastern corner of the palace and now resides in the Archaeological Museum in Agios Nikolaos.

To the north of the palace, French excavators have also brought to light a large open area with a plaster floor, called the Agora, as well as a series of plastered basement rooms with benches, known as the Hypostyle Crypt. The lack of significant finds from these unique structures, which belong to the period of the Old Palace, has led to the suggestion that they served as a kind of council chamber. The Minoan town surrounding these structures and the palace itself is composed of quarters (*quartiers*) belonging to different periods of use. Most of the houses within these quarters are modest but include a number of well-preserved examples of Minoan domestic architecture. An exception, however, is Quartier Mu, whose special significance is indicated by rich finds and buildings from the period of the Old Palace that include a heiroglyphic archive, a small sanctuary with its furnishing still in situ, and the oldest roofed lustral basin in Crete.

The cemeteries of ancient Mallia are located to the north of the settlement along the seashore. They include a number of early ossuaries as well as some tombs of the Late Minoan III period (*c.*1390–1070 BC). Most significant, however, is the cemetery of Chrysolakkos (pit of gold), a large rectangular burial enclosure dating to the Middle Minoan IB–II period (1900–1700 BC). The facade of this building is constructed of partly dressed limestone blocks which are among the earliest examples of ashlar masonry on Crete. Although the Chrysolakkos cemetery was plundered by local tomb robbers in the 1880s, it is famous as the source of the well-known gold pendant of two conjoined bees or wasps with a honeycomb (dated *c.*1700 BC), now in the Herakleion Museum, that was found by Pierre Demargne in 1945. Based on comparisons with this piece, Reynold Higgins once suggested that the hoard of Minoan gold jewellery known as the Aegina Treasure, acquired by the British Museum in 1892, also came from the Chrysolakkos. New finds from Aegina, however, make this theory unlikely. On the beach to the west of the Chrysolakkos, there is also evidence for a sizeable Roman settlement including houses and tombs as well as an early Byzantine basilica.

The modern town of Mallia, about 2 km to the west of the archaeological site, is split by the highway that is always congested due to the large number of tourist shops, hotels, tavernas, bars, and nightclubs that line it and continue down to the sea. There is a long sandy beach here that today attracts crowds of tourists who rarely visit the archaeological site or cross the highway into the older part of the town with its charming narrow streets and whitewashed walls.

ANN M. NICGORSKI

See also Crete, Minoans

Summary

Mallia is the site of the third-greatest Minoan palace on Crete after those of Knossos and Phaestus. Formal exploration of the site began in 1915. The earliest traces are prepalatial. The Old Palace remains date from 1900 to 1700 BC. Most of what is visible today belongs to the New Palace which dates from *c.*1700 to 1425 BC. The cemeteries have yielded significant finds.

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Mani

Region in the southern Peloponnese

For the past 1100 years the names Maïni, Braccio di Maina, Vrachion tis Manis, and Mani have demarcated the land which occupies the middle of the three peninsulas in the southern Peloponnese. The peninsula, 75 km in length and 10–20 km in width, consists of the Taygetus massif, the Mediterranean end of the Alpine branch of the Pindus chain. Its southernmost point is the promontory of Tainaro or Cape Matapan, at the same latitude (36 degrees) as southern Italy and the straits of Gibraltar. The ancient name of the Mani was Lakoniki (Laconia).

During centuries of historical upheaval the geography of this isolated and mountainous area, deprived of important natural resources, made it a safe refuge and hideout, the home of a large population with a unique way of life with primitive features. Thus it came to stand out as a separate geographical, historical, and cultural entity.

The Taygetos mountain range divides the Mani into the "sunny" (east) and "shady" (west) parts. The region is also divided traditionally into several large sections with distinctive characteristics. The northwestern section or Outer Mani has a rich landscape and consists of the lower slopes and highest summits of Taygetus (Profitis Ilias, at 2407 m, is the highest peak in the Peloponnese). The northeastern section or Lower Mani has a varied landscape and fine bays, including both the main port of Gytheion and the rocky gorge with the Passava fortress. The southern part or Inner Mani is occupied by the limestone crystalline range of Kato Taygetos, with an arid rocky coastal plateau to the west. It slides down to the Mediterranean at the tiny promontory of Tainaro, which in antiquity was considered to be the gate into Hades.

Archaeological finds (from several coastal caves) indicate that the area was inhabited in the Palaeolithic era, in the Neolithic period (4500–2800 BC, Diros caves, etc.), in the Helladic period (2800–2000 BC, a number of settlements on low hills and plains), and the Middle and Late Helladic periods, when the Achaeans held power. Homer's *Iliad* 1 refers to eight towns in the Mani at the time of the Trojan War. At the same time Cape Tainaron was already an important place of worship dedicated to Helios-Apollo.

The Dorians invaded Lakonike in the 12th century BC, originally settling in Sparta and expanding gradually along the coast. They hemmed in the local populations, incorporating them as *perioikoi* ("dwellers around") into the military and political system of the Spartan city state. It appears that the *komes*, that is, the small towns and agricultural communities of the peninsula, retained some autonomy and numerous religious practices. Gytheion became the main Spartan port, while at Cape Tainaron, dedicated to the chthonic god Poseidon, there was a sanctuary with a sacred precinct for the conducting of the dead and an oracle of the dead.

When Sparta's power declined, the coastal towns of Lakonike increased their autonomy and from the beginning of the 2nd century BC, with the support of the Romans, formed the League of the Lacedaemonians, with ten towns in the Mani itself. During the Roman period this federation was renamed the League of the Free Laconians and prospered thanks to trade (in marble, porphyry, etc.). Violent earthquakes (AD 375) and Gothic raids (AD 395) signalled the end of the ancient period.

In the centuries that followed, many of the coastal sites became insecure. The population withdrew into the hinterland, as evidenced by the ruins of "megalithic" settlements of various sizes. The houses of these settlements, with their masonry of large stones and the massive stone beams which served to cover their spaces, were, with the war towers and cisterns, the starting point from which the Maniot buildings and settlements of more modern times slowly evolved. However, some of the coastal centres were still active in the 6th and 7th centuries. In the Dark Ages of the 7th and 8th centuries, the Mani suffered pirate raids and the Slav incursions. Starting in the 9th century, some Slavic tribes settled on Ano Taygetos. At this time the peninsula first appears under the name Maïni or Mani. It became a part of the theme of the Peloponnese and was caught up in the process of reorganization of the Byzantine provinces. In the Middle Byzantine period (late 9th–12th centuries) the Christianization of the Slavic and Maniot communities was actively promoted and was accompanied by the construction of a series of elaborate churches with distinctive architecture, sculpture, and painting which is thought to have influenced the later churches of Mistra.

After the Frankish period (1204–1432 in the Peloponnese, 1249–1261 in the Mani), the peninsula became a dependency of the despotate of Mistra and in 1415 the Palaiologan army pulled down the medieval fortifications there in order to weaken local centres of resistance. The scholars of Mistra and other centres described in dark colours the insubordinate, savage, and warlike Maniots, while medieval sources mention the primitive indigenous customs and the megalithic buildings. The castles of Maïna (Tigani), Passava, and Gisternes (Beaufort) date from the medieval period.

After the subjugation of the mainland by the Turks, the Mani put up stiff resistance and to them and was incorporated into a special privileged system which included internal autonomy, permission for the inhabitants to bear arms, and the obligation to pay an annual tribute. Under these conditions, the population of the Mani increased significantly. The self-ruling patriarchal system, organized in armed consanguineous groups (clans, lineages, etc.) with patrilocal installations, was retained as a basic way of life. Agricultural activities, commerce, and piracy were based on the power of weapons and the land was strengthened with effective fortifications against invaders from land or sea.

After the Turkish–Venetian war in Crete (1645–65), the Turks achieved greater control of the Mani, appointing as governor ("Giaour pasha") the local pirate Limberakis Gerakaris and constructing castles at Zarnata, Port-Kayio, and Kelefa. During the final decades of the 17th century, the dire conditions arising from the Turkish oppression and the deadly Maniot civil wars led many inhabitants to move to the Ionian islands and to Spanish and Genoese possessions (Taranto, Tuscany, Corsica). Under Venetian rule (1685–1715), Venetian administrators and garrisons were installed in the forts of the Mani, to which the area of Vardounia was also added. The Venetians officially recognized the chiefs of the various small districts, who were given the title of *kapetanioi* (captains). The *kapetanies* established in the north of the peninsula made progress, but in the south the new system did not take root. In 1715 the Turks prevailed over the Venetians again and imposed a yearly tribute; their control was loose, but they instigated local civil strife. After 1740 the northern Mani enjoyed a relative degree of socioeconomic development, while in the south increasing demographic pressure led to intensified disturbances, piracy, feuds, and the destruction of entire villages.

After the Russian-inspired Orloff rising of 1770 the Turks endeavoured to increase their influence, proclaiming the Mani a *Bas Beiliki* and appointing a powerful local *kapetanios* as "Maniatbey", with responsibility for the actions of the Maniots and for the collection of the annual tribute. There were eight Maniatbeys during the last 45 years of Ottoman rule.

On the eve of 1821 the intervention of the *Philiki Hetaireia* brought the hostilities among the leading families to a halt and the Mani became the "military centre of the Morea". The population reached 35,000 at this time. During the War of Independence, the Maniots fought courageously and decisively both inside and outside the Morea.

The unusual man-made environment of the Mani reflects faithfully the varied local social system, which was based on blood kinship. In the northern parts the clans were hierarchically ordered and stratified; endogamy was practised, and there were hereditary chieftains. The chieftains owned considerable tracts of land and had fortified strongholds which stood out in the villages themselves, at crucial points along the coast, and in the hinterland. The tower houses of the powerful families had between three and five storeys and were used both as residences and as refuges or fortresses. In the more official buildings (towers, churches, bell towers, fountains), features betraying Western or Ottoman influence can be identified, while the beys possessed remarkable walled enclosures – some simple, some more complex.

In the south the clans were internally equal, strictly exogamous, and their classification was based primarily on the number of their members (*douphekia*, rifles). The chieftains were elected and their authority could be revoked. Control over vital areas was exercised collectively by decision of the council of elderly men (the *yerondiki*). The war tower, the cannon, the cemetery, and the church were unconditionally the collective property of the clan or the specific lineage. The powerful clans (*megaloyennites*, the well-born) recognized one another, and kept under their protection and control the weaker clans (the *achamnomeri*, the thin ones) and the lowest inhabitants of all (the *phameyi*, or dependants).

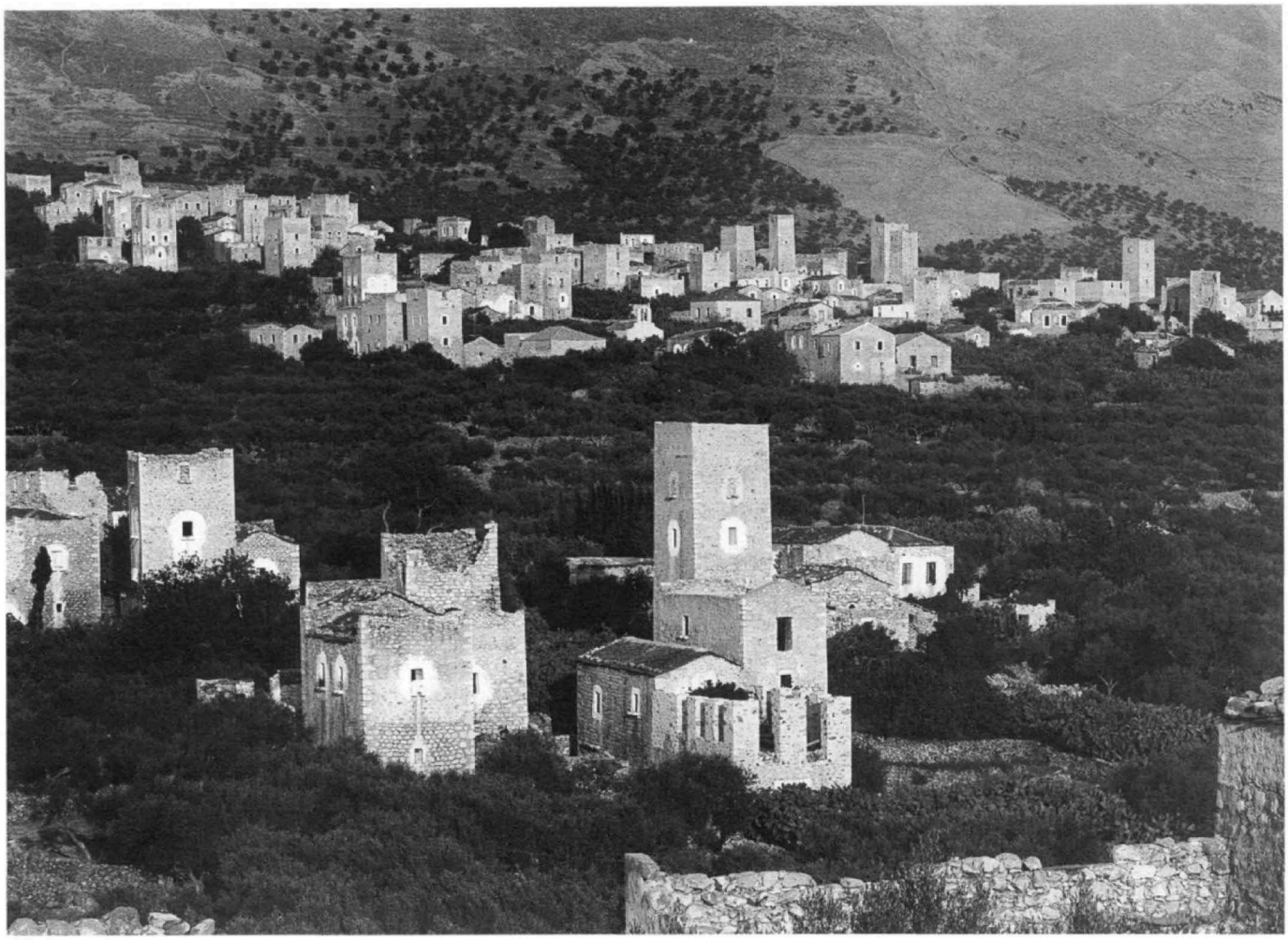
The clans were localized in villages which were generally small and arranged in wards or neighbourhoods of one or more lineages. The houses of the families huddled in a carefully arranged pattern around the collective war tower. These houses were oblong rectangular nuclei, usually with two storeys, with people on the upper level and animals on the lower. This fixed prototype was augmented by outbuildings in the courtyards and combined with other familial nuclei so as to shape the composite defensive installation of the patrilineal group. The *achamnomeri* lived in separate neighbourhoods, and if they managed to gain strength (by amalgamation or by an increase in the number of their members) they could acquire towers of their own. Until the mid-18th century technical limitations made it difficult to build tall towers, but after the 19th century the introduction of mortar and dressed masonry enabled the construction of war towers and tower houses 18–20 m in height with between four and seven storeys.

In addition to wars against external foes and the threat of piracy, the distinctive and endemic features of the Maniot system were the internal hostilities (*echthres*, feuds), armed conflicts (*polemoi*, wars), and killings of vengeance (*dikiomoi*), which were the permanent expression of the contradictions inside Maniot society. The dialogue with "Charon" was expressed also in the tragic dirges called *moirologia* typical of the Mani and in the cult of dead ancestors and family members. Many of the traditions and legends of the Mani dwell on relationships between mortals and the chthonic powers and souls in the depths of the Underworld.

The Maniots, who had actively contributed to the struggle for independence, were incorporated into the new Greek state with great difficulty. The period down to 1836 was characterized by conflicts, revolutionary movements, the assassination of Count Ioannis Kapodistria by the Mavromichalis clan, and clashes with the Bavarian regency. Turmoil and civil strife continued down to 1870, especially in the south. Later, with the gradual establishment of state justice, of the money economy, and of education, the closed local system, with its numerous medieval characteristics, had to adapt in many significant respects. The emigration of a significant proportion of the work force and the reduction of local autonomy transformed the traditional social hierarchy. By the late 19th century the population had reached its zenith, 50,000, distributed among 200–250 settlements.

New settlements were established along lines of communication and in some coastal situations. The port of Gytheion flourished once more. In the villages the houses began to spread away from the traditional focuses of the clans, and houses were also built in the fields. The appearance of many villages changed with the construction of workshops, olive presses, shops, cafés, communally owned churches in the larger settlements, and many new tower houses.

Between the early 20th century and 1940 the economy, based on the cultivation of the olive tree, reached its highest level of productivity. But urbanization and the upheavals of World War II and the Greek Civil War (1940–49) caused the population to shrink and drastically limited local activities. The construction of the main motor road made the exodus easier and contributed to the decline of the ports. Many of the



Mani: the village of Kita "of the many towers" in southern Mani, *c.*1930. Many of the towers are now in ruins.

smaller villages were completely deserted and the local phrase "a house with a kitchen and a husband in Athens" shows the mentality of the times. In 1990 the population was approximately 25,000.

In recent decades some utilities and infrastructure networks have been installed. The requirements of new constructions, holiday housing, and tourist accommodation have often created problems of despoliation of the environment. Regional planning and development studies have emphasized the need to protect and develop a unique historical and cultural heritage, recognizing it as a basic local resource of national importance.

Certain public-sector programmes and projects have functioned in this direction since 1974: numerous buildings and sites were classed as monuments, and 78 per cent of the Maniot villages have been declared traditional settlements. In 1978, 71 villages – 31 per cent of the total – were scheduled for protection (as against a scheduling level of 0.6 per cent in the Peloponnese as a whole). Special building regulations have been introduced for the villages and the landscape of the southern Mani. The caves of Diros and a small museum with Neolithic finds have been opened to the public, restoration work has been done on many Byzantine and post-Byzantine churches, a number of guest houses have been established in traditional tower houses, and some important historical buildings have been converted into museums. Urban design projects for some villages and projects to document the history, society, and habitat of the peninsula are also under way.

YANIS SAITAS

See also Peloponnese

Summary

The region of Mani occupies the middle of the three peninsulas of the southern Peloponnese. Throughout history its geographical isolation has made it a safe refuge. It was invaded by Dorians in the 12th century BC and the population was incorporated in the Spartan city state. Autonomy increased under the Romans but Slavs invaded in the 7th and 8th centuries. From 1261 until the arrival of the Ottomans it was a dependency of the despotate of Mistra. Special privileges granted by the Turks brought increased autonomy. Maniots played a full part in the War of Independence. More recently it has suffered from depopulation. The unusual man-made environment of the Mani represents a historical and cultural heritage of national importance.

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Manuel I Komnenos 1118–1180

Emperor

Manuel I (1143–80), the fourth and youngest son of John II Komnenos and his Hungarian wife Piroska-Irene, was born on 28 November 1118. He succeeded to the throne in 1143, aged 25, despite having one surviving elder brother, Isaac. He died on 24 September 1180. The latest research, by Paul Magdalino, has demonstrated that Manuel's reign is best treated in two parts: 1143–60 and 1160–80.

In his early years Manuel did little more than continue his father's policies, and seek to consolidate his tenuous hold on power. He chose to make political capital from his youthful accession, placing an image of Christ Emmanuel on his coins, and enjoyed the praise of encomiasts for his vigour and energy. These he expressed in the field, since he was committed to his father's policy of aggressive campaigning in the east. This required stability in the west, which was guaranteed by cooperation with Germany. His marriage in January 1146 to Bertha of Sulzbach, the sister-in-law of the German emperor Conrad III, sealed a Byzantine alliance with the Germans that lasted until *c.*1156. The professed common ambition of both imperial powers was to eliminate the Norman presence in southern Italy.

After 1160 Manuel was increasingly preoccupied with the pretensions of the German emperor Frederick I Barbarossa (1152–90). In the aftermath of the Second Crusade (1147–48), western and eastern concerns were more intimately linked, and the rhetoric produced at Barbarossa's court promoted the notion of a unified Christendom under the suzerainty of the German "Holy Roman" emperor. Manuel responded with his own ecumenical rhetoric, which he backed up with grand gestures and actions. This had significant ramifications in the east, where to further his own claims and interests Manuel was willing to forge alliances with both the Latins of the crusader principalities (for example by his second marriage to Maria of Antioch at Christmas 1161) and the Turks (a treaty with the Seljuk sultan Kilij Arslan in 1162). Manuel's grandest gestures were the aborted assault on Egypt in 1167 and the march to Iconium in 1176, both undertaken in support of the crusading princes and intended to bind them more closely to him. Both were unmitigated failures, and the latter resulted in a devastating defeat at Myriokephalon. If we no longer believe that either Barbarossa or Manuel fully intended to fulfil the claims of their panegyrists, we must still concede that they believed each other's propaganda, fuelling the "cold war" that prevailed for most of the period 1160–80.

Manuel has been considered a "Latinophile", and a survey of his foreign-policy ambitions reveals a clear Latin (if not always western) bias. While we cannot countenance the notion that his actions precipitated the crisis of 1204 – a proposal first articulated by the 13th-century historian Niketas Choniates, and revived in the 20th century by Ferdinand Chalandon – Manuel's achievements in the west were certainly ambiguous. His preoccupation with Germany led him to advance the empire's frontier across the Danube, and to make inroads into Italy and Hungary through strategic use of force and aggressive diplomacy. Meanwhile, however, smaller powers gained ground in the Adriatic and Mediterranean. Hungary made much progress in the northern Balkans, and the Venetians were able more freely to switch allegiance between Byzantium and Germany, while advancing their own interests in Dalmatia and the Holy Land. The Normans never suffered a joint Byzantine–German assault on southern Italy, and the shift of attention after 1160 allowed William I and William II further to consolidate their authority in Sicily and Apulia. Within the northern Balkans regional and municipal potentates benefited from Manuel's "chequebook diplomacy", without committing themselves fully to his cause. Soon after 1180 the semiautonomous regions of Bulgaria and Serbia became independent kingdoms.

We have two full narrative accounts of Manuel's reign, by John Kinnamos and Niketas Choniates, which are in turns complementary and contradictory (so much so that it is likely that Choniates had read and determined to refute many of Kinnamos's claims). However, the fullest account of Manuel's activities is contained in the panegyrical orations delivered by Manuel's encomiasts. The so-called "Manganeios" Prodromos provides the largest dossier on events before 1160, presenting a rhetorical image that far outstrips even Kinnamos's eulogistic biography. Manuel's image as a conquering warrior owes much to the ideals developed by his father's image

makers, and he emulated and developed John II's triumphal processions through Constantinople. According to encomia produced for these occasions, Manuel surpassed John, indeed all his predecessors, and his victories are greater than his father's, greater even than his Roman or mythical forebears. His deeds are compared favourably to those of great leaders and warriors of myth and history.

Manuel's martial prowess, and his victories across the frontiers of his empire gave him much-needed kudos in his early years, demonstrating the importance of foreign policy for domestic consumption. Much of this show was directed at impressing his own magnates, and most of all the increasingly divisive ranks of his closest kin, the *sebastoi*. Manuel made full use of his palaces, particularly the development at Blachernae where building work continued apace, and the walls were decorated with frescos of his vanquished foes and prostrate subjects. The walls of his subordinates' houses were similarly decorated, and one, Alexios Axouch, was notoriously condemned for choosing instead to decorate his residence with pictures detailing the exploits of the Seljuk sultan.

After 1160 Manuel sought also to project his image beyond Constantinople, to confront the wider world with his imperial vision in their own courts: the papal curia in Rome, the Hungarian royal court at Esztergom, in the streets of Antioch and Jerusalem, or even improvised tribunals in the Serbian highlands. The ideological foundation for his foreign policy in the second part of his reign was his claim to be "king of kings", the sole Roman emperor recognized by the papacy and by subordinate rulers within and beyond his borders. He backed his claims with actions, and demonstrated his suitability to preside over a hierarchy of Christian rulers by his tolerance and philanthropy in Dalmatia and Italy, and by a moderate policy towards Hungary and the crusader states. Manuel's ecumenical claims, and antique pretensions, are expressed clearly in his conciliar edict of 1166, preserved in an inscription (a plaster copy of which is displayed today in the outer narthex of Hagia Sophia in Istanbul).

It is of great significance that Manuel was remembered fondly in the peripheral lands of the empire as a fine Christian emperor, a powerful general, and a liberal distributor of largesse. The citizens of the Dalmatian cities spent his money gratefully, as no doubt did the Russian princeling Vasilko who was granted authority over four major trading cities on the lower Danube. And his reputation for generosity spread further afield: Robert of Clari, a participant in the Fourth Crusade, heard it told that Manuel was "a most worthy man and the richest of all Christians who have ever lived, and the most generous. Never did anyone ask him for anything of his ... but that he would give him a hundred." Manuel's fine reputation lived on as a contrast to those of his successors, and the wealth that he had been able to amass from his extensive empire, larger than at any time since the reign of Basil II, was soon to pass into other hands even before the advent of the Fourth Crusade.

Shortly before his death Manuel took the monastic name Matthew. He was buried in his father's foundation, the Pantokrator monastery in Constantinople. Cyril Mango has identified the lid of his sarcophagus, carved in the shape of a church with seven domes, in a drawing of 1750 (reproduced in Mango, 1993). A poetic epitaph for the emperor has been preserved in the *Geography* of Meletios of Ioannina (died 1714), which records the features of the monastery.

PAUL STEPHENSON

Biography

Born in Constantinople in 1118 the son of John II Komnenos, Manuel came to the throne in 1143 despite having an elder brother living. He spent the first part of his reign campaigning in the east and the second part dealing with the German emperor Barbarossa. Manuel enjoyed great success in the field but was defeated by the Seljuks at Myriokephalon in 1176. He died at Constantinople in 1180.

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Manuel II Palaiologos 1350–1425

Emperor

Manuel II (1391–1425) was the second son of the emperor John V and Helena Kantakouzene. Not destined for the throne, he received an exceptionally fine education. By the age of 20, with the title of despot, he was given responsibility for governing Thessalonica, and it was from there that he went to Venice to assist his father after his elder brother, Andronikos, as regent in Constantinople, had denied help with John's foreign debts (1370). Andronikos's further treachery prompted John to replace him in the succession with Manuel (1373) but, in a settlement following an abortive coup by Andronikos (1382), Manuel was displaced again. He then established himself independently in Thessalonica, taking a vigorous stance against the aggressive Turks until they drove him out of the city (1387). After a brief disgrace, he recovered favour by aiding his father against the attack of Andronikos's son, John VII (1390). When his discredited father died (16 February 1391) Manuel secured the throne. The following year he took as his wife the Serbian princess Helena Dragaš.

By the end of the 14th century the Byzantine empire was reduced to the city of Constantinople and small, scattered subject territories. It survived only through humiliating vassalage to the Ottoman Turks, as they extended their conquests in the Balkans. Manuel maintained his father's policy of subservience as long as he could, until the arrogance of sultan Bayazid I drove him into a break (1393). As the Turks

Manuel II: portrait of the emperor on a silver hyperper, early 15th century, Barber Institute, Birmingham

began a debilitating siege of Constantinople (1394), and when the so-called Crusade of Nicopolis (1396) failed in its attempt to end Turkish power in the Balkans, it seemed only a matter of time before Bayazid would take the great capital city and end the Byzantine state.

Hoping that the Latin powers of western Europe could be persuaded to send military aid to save Byzantium, Manuel undertook a virtually unprecedented journey of appeal to the west (1399–1403), during which he visited parts of Italy, Paris, and London. But western Europe's own problems (the Hundred Years' War, the Great Schism) and internal distractions forestalled any actual help. It was only the unexpected defeat and capture of Bayazid by Timur at the Battle of Ancyra (28 July 1402) that gave Byzantium a reprieve. Manuel returned home to involve himself in the 11-year struggle for the Turkish succession, fortunately backing the winner, Mehmet I, with whom he established amicable relations that sustained an outward truce.

But Manuel had no illusions about the longterm threat of the Turks, and he laboured to shore up his depleted realm. Ending his family feud with his nephew John VII, he devoted particular attention to safeguarding the Byzantine position in the Peloponnesian Morea, ruled by his brother and then his own son. Manuel himself spent a year there (1415–16), restoring the famous Hexamillion fortifying the isthmus of Corinth and putting down internal rebellion. Following that, he had his eldest son, the future John VIII, spend a military apprenticeship in the Peloponnese, winning territory from the neighbouring Latin powers there.

At the same time, and despite outward peace with the sultan, Manuel renewed appeals to western powers to send aid against the Turkish threat before it was too late. The possibilities of ecclesiastical reunion with Rome were dangled as bait, but the western Church leadership was too preoccupied with other matters at the landmark Council of Constance (1414–17) to deal with the issue. Subsequent contacts between Manuel and the new pope Martin V revealed that Church union would be far more complicated than a mere submission of suppliant Constantinople to domineering Rome and would require the formal mechanism. Though such a pursuit would subsequently be taken up by Manuel's successor John VIII, he himself regarded union as but a diplomatic bargaining point, something too unacceptable to the Orthodox community to be pursued to actual conclusion. Manuel did, however, open other doors to the west by arranging Latin marriages for his sons John and Theodore.

Manuel's cautious outward policy of accommodating the Turks was challenged by his son John, crowned co-emperor in 1421. Manuel wearily allowed John the initiative. His misguided overreaching brought down the wrath of the new sultan, Murad II, on Byzantine territories. A fierce but short-lived siege of Constantinople itself (summer 1422) was beaten off, partly because Manuel – who resumed control of the government – created diplomatic distractions for the sultan. But Manuel soon suffered a stroke (1 October) that left him effectively paralysed for the rest of his life. John took over full control of the government, not always with the full confidence of Manuel, who found his son more ambitious and pretentious than the pathetic state of their realm justified. As his health declined further, Manuel adopted the monastic garb on his deathbed (taking the name of Matthew), and died on or around 21 July 1425, aged 75. His funeral was the occasion of an unprecedented outpouring of grief by his apprehensive subjects.

Manuel was a remarkable personality by any measure. His political and diplomatic skills were worthy of the empire's earlier, greater days, when he would have been a magnificent sovereign; given his circumstances, his steering of his ravaged realm through its declining perils still ranks him as Byzantium's last truly great ruler. A superlative politician, he was also one of the leading cultural figures of his age, an outstanding example of the Byzantine type of the intellectual emperor. From early youth he acquired a hunger for learning and a facility in letters, thanks to his teacher, the leading Byzantine intellectual of the 14th century, Demetrios Kydones, who remained his friend to the end of the latter's life. Manuel himself has left us a large and significant literary legacy, including a collection of fascinating letters, writings for and about his family, theological efforts, occasional pieces, and a range of rhetorical exercises, all composed in the loftily complex and obscure style beloved of Byzantine savants.

From all accounts, Manuel was an individual of warm personality and noble character. A handsome man of great physical presence, even into his later years, he impressed all who encountered him. During his long stay in Paris, French artists became fascinated with his appearance and used his image as a model for representations, in painting and medallions, of the Magi, of the earlier emperors Constantine and Herakleios, and of the German emperor Charles IV. He was also the last emperor to receive first-class portrayal in Byzantine art: two manuscripts now in Paris preserve splendid images of him in imperial glory, in a solo portrait in a copy of his funeral oration for his brother Theodore (in the Bibliothèque Nationale), and in a family portrait (with his wife and their three eldest sons) in a manuscript of Dionysius the Areopagite (in the Louvre).

He was equally proud of his "Roman" imperial dignity and of his pure Orthodox faith. His personality and achievements represent perhaps the last great flourishing of the Byzantine embodiment of medieval Hellenism.

JOHN W. BARKER

Biography

Born in Constantinople in 1350, the second son of John V, Manuel received a good education. He ruled Thessalonica as despot from 1382 until 1387. He succeeded as emperor in 1391 and in 1392 married Helena Dragaš of Serbia. He toured western capitals in the hope of gaining military support for Byzantium and he established good relations with the sultan Mehmet I. He also left a significant body of writings. He died in Constantinople in 1425.

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Manuscripts

Manuscripts in the technical sense of hand-written documents on a variety of supports have been produced in the Hellenic world since writing was first used in earliest times, and have continued in production up to the present day. Included under this heading, therefore, could be pottery fragments (*ostraka*) from Hellenistic Egypt containing short notes or messages, a luxury copy of the Psalter made for a Byzantine emperor around the year 1000, and an annotated draft of Kazantzakis's *Odysseia* (first printed in 1938). Such a range of material is so vast and heterogeneous that some narrowing of focus is generally considered helpful if it is to be surveyed. Yet even the term "Greek manuscript" as usually understood – that is, to refer to primarily literary material of, roughly speaking, the last two millennia – still embraces a huge field. The interest and importance of the manuscript in the Hellenic world, however, is not due merely to the size and scope of the theme, but to the fact that it provides most of our knowledge of that world before modern times. If we set aside, for purposes of discussion, the visual, topographical, and archaeological evidence of the past, it can be asserted that Greek manuscripts are not merely the prime source of literature in Greek, they are in a crucial sense the prime source of the history of things Greek.

Most surviving Greek manuscripts are written on parchment, sheets of animal skin prepared according to a formula reputedly invented in Hellenistic Pergamum (from which the word parchment, *pergamene*, is derived). Parchment gradually supplanted papyrus as the writing support of choice in the early centuries AD, and was on occasions replaced by paper of Near Eastern manufacture from around the 9th century, and more generally by western (primarily north Italian) paper from around 1300. Together with the replacement of papyrus by parchment came the replacement of the (horizontal) scroll by the folded, gathered, sewn, and bound book (or codex) that still remains today an indispensable aspect of our culture. This development also took place in the Hellenized world of the eastern Mediterranean and its hinterland, and is often linked, albeit loosely, with the growth and spread of Christianity. Taken together, the invention of parchment – with its extraordinary durability – and its use in the convenient and commensurately durable codex must rank among the most far-reaching contributions of Hellenic culture. It is no exaggeration to say that not only would our knowledge of the history and literature of the past be very scant without the contribution of parchment codices, but without such books that history and that literature would themselves have been altogether different.

The vast preponderance of manuscripts written in Greek that have survived (more than 60,000) date from the Byzantine period (*c.*324–1453), although we have many earlier fragments of papyrus (generally very small in scale), and the production of significant numbers of manuscript books, notably in the monasteries of Mount Athos, continued into modern times. Undoubtedly vast numbers of manuscripts have been lost over the centuries, but it is important to bear in mind that this loss has not affected all types of manuscripts equally. In particular we can assert that the more important a book was perceived to be at any time, the greater were the chances that it would be preserved.

The manuscript book is eminently portable, and while this may on occasions ensure its preservation (snatched from a fire that destroyed the building in which it was housed, for example), it is always a complicating factor in seeking to understand what such manuscripts can tell us. The turbulent political history of the lands that once formed part of the Byzantine empire is a further complication. The largest numbers of Greek manuscripts are now to be found in the Vatican Library in Rome and the Bibliothèque Nationale de France in Paris, with major holdings in libraries in many other countries, including Greece; but there are only a small number of such manuscripts still in Istanbul, even though for a thou-

Manuscripts: gospel illumination of St Luke writing at his desk, 12th century, National Library, Athens

sand years (as Constantinople) the city must have been the most important centre for the production and consumption of such books. Whereas the medieval holdings of monasteries and other religious houses in Britain, for example, can be extensively reconstructed, nothing comparable can be done in the former Byzantine lands (except perhaps in part for the library at Patmos). It is well known that the famous Codex Sinaiticus in the British Library was taken from St Catherine's Monastery by von Tischendorf in 1859, presented by him to tsar Alexander II, and in 1933 purchased by the British Museum from the Soviet government for £100,000, raised by public subscription. Yet exactly where, when, and under what circumstances this great bible was made in the decades around 400, and how and when it came to Sinai, are matters on which we are uninformed. There are very few surviving Greek manuscripts of any period about whose precise origins in the Hellenic world we can speak with confidence.

Manuscripts preserve and transmit information. Some are by intention linked to a specific historical moment without the expectation that they will subsequently be copied, and hence transmitted, whether horizontally (so to speak) in order to reach a wider audience of contemporaries, or vertically, to ensure preservation and use by future generations. Charters and documents of all sorts (even if produced in duplicate or triplicate) are a good example of this time-bound category. Various monasteries on Mount Athos, for example, preserve imperial charters originally authenticated with a gold seal (hence *chrysobull*), along with other documents relating in particular to the management and ownership of land and other resources. Some idea of the losses in this area can be gauged, paradoxically, by the survival (and rediscovery through archaeological or chance excavation) of tens of thousands of detached lead sealings, most dating from the 6th to the end of the 12th century. The Byzantine world was a hureaucracy par excellence, in which the production of documents of all sorts, testifying to the power of the written word, was highly developed.

The largest subcategory of Greek manuscripts includes all those more self-consciously "literary" forms of writing, such as history, drama, philosophy, poetry, mathematics, theology, astrology, exegesis, geography, geometry, hagiography, homily, liturgy, politics, rhetoric, myth (all of these categories still defined, it may be noted, by Greek words), medicine (for which a Latin term came to be preferred), together with the New Testament (composed in Greek) and the Old Testament (already translated into Greek for the use of Hellenized Jews in the last centuries BC). The single most important point to note in this context is that, with a few striking exceptions from the Byzantine era, even the earliest surviving manuscripts of these texts do not preserve versions produced under authorial supervision, but are later copies at a number of removes from a postulated "original", a position that causes particular problems, and prompts the adoption of specific approaches. Some of these removes might be termed technological. It is apparent, for example, that a text preserved during antiquity on one or more papyrus rolls will have survived to modern times (unless in a favoured archaeological context, such as the recently discovered Derveni papyrus, for example) only if copied into a parchment codex. A further crucial sorting occurred as a result of the increasing use in manuscripts of a formal minuscule bookhand, from around 800, in place of the stately majuscule scripts of earlier centuries (cursive scripts had long been used informally). Any text not transcribed in minuscule in, for the most part, the 9th or 10th century, stood little chance of being transmitted into modern times. We thus owe to a relatively small number of intellectuals of the Byzantine world, some known to us by name such as patriarch Photios of Constantinople (d. 891) and archbishop Arethas of Caesarea (d. *c.*935), most of what we know of the writings of the pre-Christian Greek world. The only surviving manuscript to contain all 11 known plays of Aristophanes, for example, was produced in the mid-10th century (it has been in Ravenna since the 16th century). Along with this activity went works of lexicography and anthology in which were preserved (generally as excerpts) many texts of which no more complete version now exists.

The act of copying a text in a parchment manuscript, because of the high cost of the materials (not to mention any costs associated with the scribe's lengthy work), implies certain prerequisites. In particular it presupposes a demand: such books were always made in response to a specific commission, not "on spec". Once made – and this point is too easily overlooked by those familiar with printed books and the modern situation – such manuscripts enjoyed very little "circulation", and hence were not in any broad sense "published" or even

"public". A liturgical book, it is true, would be read from to a congregation, and its text thus transmitted to a large audience, but the book itself, somewhat paradoxically, remained a private object to be consulted by one or perhaps two people at a time, although its covers could generally be seen if the book was displayed or carried processionally. The point is important when we consider the physical appearance of such books: their exteriors could make a public statement, but any interior elaboration of their content with images or decoration remained hidden from the view of all but a few specially privileged individuals. With numerous caveats it can be said that the number of copies of a text that have been preserved can thus be a very approximate indicator of the extent of knowledge of (and interest in) that text (or its images) in the society for which it was made.

The use of images in Greek manuscripts is one of their most intriguing and justly celebrated aspects. Christianity, in the period of its first triumphal development in and beyond the Greek-speaking world in the 4th to 6th centuries, became, to an extraordinary extent, a religion not merely of the word (i.e. the Gospel), but of the image (i.e. the icon in its broadest sense). Gradually, from the 5th century onward, this came to be reflected in religious books, where within a hundred years or so craftsmen had experimented with virtually every conceptual link between word and image that the bound book would permit (the frontispiece cycle, the marginal image, the literal illustration, and so forth), approaches that were then repeated throughout the Middle Ages in both East and West.

Because of the long and bitter iconoclast controversy in Byzantium (*c.*730–843) the use of images in religious books in later centuries was always carefully considered. Images in Byzantine manuscripts were never merely alternatives to words, but made their own points and required viewing according to their own conventions. The evangelists, for example, were traditionally represented in copies of the gospels as saintly craftsmen, engaged in the production of manuscript books, sometimes transcribing the text from a scroll, or surrounded by the paraphernalia of the workshop: pens, inks, knives, etc. An image of an event from Christ's life was not primarily an aide-memoire, or merely a focus for prayer, but a statement of theological truth: it affirmed the historical reality of the Incarnation, demonstrated that the Godhead could be represented and circumscribed, and was held to be a traditional aspect of Christian activity that had originated in apostolic times. The vast repertory of images found in such manuscripts has sometimes been regarded as providing insights into a lost world of images of earlier centuries, but the situation is problematic, and the approach questionable.

Greek manuscripts have been systematically collected in the west since the 15th century, notably under the influence of various enthusiasms: humanist, biblical, scholarly, museological, acquisitive. Their current dispersal is as great as (perhaps greater than) the Greek diaspora. At any one time, however, only a tiny proportion of the surviving material is on temporary or permanent exhibition. Some of the contents of these manuscripts has been absorbed over the centuries into the very foundations of western consciousness. But a surprising amount, especially of the religious literature of Byzantium, is unpublished, and much of it is still untranslated. Although scholars and collectors no longer scour the monasteries of the Levant in the hope of finding some hitherto unknown masterwork of Classical Greek literature, Greek manuscripts still have many secrets to yield to new research.

JOHN LOWDEN

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Manzikert, Battle of

Battle fought between Seljuk Turks and Byzantines in 1071

Manzikert (ancient Arzashkun, then Menuaskert; Armenian Manazkert) is a village in the ancient Armenian homeland, some 30 km to the north of Lake Van in the region of Taraun (or Taron). Never a major centre in classical Armenian times, it is nowadays only a small town in eastern Turkey, known as Malazkirt. Its name is remembered today (in Graeco-Armenian form) almost exclusively as the locale of one of the most significant battles in the history of the Byzantine empire.

A recurrently strategic point in the centre of Armenian territories, Manzikert was located in the areas of ancient Perse-Armenia that, since the 5th century AD, had been in dispute as spheres of interest between the eastern Roman empire and first the Sassanian Persians, then the Arabs. In the 9th century it was the seat of an Arab emirate. By the late 10th century it was passing back and forth between the Armenian and Georgian Bagratid dynasts, and in 1000 it was part of the territories annexed by the emperor Basil II in an early phase of the Byzantine dismantling of the Armenian realms (completed in 1045).

This Byzantine territorial expansion eliminated an important buffer zone by extending the empire's frontiers eastward and exposing them almost immediately to the first raids by Turkish and other forces under the leadership of the house of Seljuk. Such raids turned into more systematic campaigns of conquest, reaching a climax in the Turkish capture of the Armeno-Byzantine capital of Ani in 1064 and the final destruction of the old Armenian world. This mounting menace to the empire's eastern Anatolian lands came, moreover, at a time when the Byzantine government was allowing its military resources to fall into decay, leaving it perilously vulnerable.

A crisis in the Doukas regime in Constantinople prompted in 1068 the elevation to the throne of the military emperor Romanos IV Diogenes. An experienced soldier, Romanos attempted to revitalize Byzantine forces and mount a counter-offensive, despite the court intrigues against him. Organizing a major effort to clear Anatolia in the summer of 1071, he moved to confront the Seljuk sultan Alp Arslan in a showdown. The Byzantine army was deceptively large – at least four times the size of the Turkish forces, according to some estimates – but in fact an unstable assemblage in which limited and insecurely loyal native forces were joined by a motley array of foreign units (Frankish, Russian, Turkish, etc.). Unwisely dividing these forces, Romanos led his reduced army into battle near Manzikert on either 19 or 21 August 1071. Using clever and mobile tactics, the Seljuks were aided by the desertion of the emperor's Turkish auxiliaries and the insubordination of Andronikos Doukas, whose withdrawal from battle at a crucial point on the second day caused the collapse of the Byzantine army. Though fighting valiantly, the emperor was captured: treated courteously, he was obliged to sign a relatively moderate treaty of peace on Turkish terms. On his way back to Constantinople, however, Romanos was betrayed by his rivals there, deposed, and blinded.

Usually represented as a catastrophic landmark in Byzantine history – leading to the loss of Asia Minor, part of the empire's heartland – the Battle of Manzikert was not in itself a military disaster of great magnitude, either in manpower losses or immediate territorial transfers. But, with hindsight, its aftermath proved crucial. For the next ten years the Byzantine government was hopelessly ineffectual, so that there was no opposition to the Turks' penetration of Anatolian territories, with their Turkmen and other allies. The invasions of earlier centuries, by Persians and Arabs, had always taken the main highroads to strike directly at major cities and, eventually, Constantinople itself, while the isolation of the geographically and topographically fragmented hinterlands had escaped systematic occupation. Now, however, broad areas of the whole region could be overrun with impunity, and the process of destroying its Hellenic and Christian culture was initiated. Occupying perhaps two-thirds of Asia Minor, the Seljuks created a regional sultanate whose first capital was Nicaea, perilously close to Constantinople; after its recapture in 1096 by Alexios I and the forces of the First Crusade, the sultanate relocated in Ikonion, where it was to endure as late as the 14th century. The definitive loss of most of Asia Minor by Byzantium as a result of Manzikert was not truly confirmed until 1176, when the emperor Manuel I was disastrously defeated by the Seljuk sultan at Myriokephalon, and any serious hope for Byzantine recovery of the Anatolian heartland was thereby lost for good (though the northern and western territories were retained for some time thereafter).

Accordingly, the Battle of Manzikert assumes its ultimate significance only in retrospect, as the death sentence for Hellenic Asia Minor – a verdict whose reversal was sought as late as the Anatolian campaign mounted in 1922 by the modern government of Greece. Moreover, the date of Manzikert, 1071, is also the date of the loss of Bari, the last Byzantine stronghold in Italy, as the climax of the Norman conquests there. Taken together, these two events symbolize the definitive turn of Byzantium into its long centuries of decline and collapse thereafter.

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See also Seljuks

Summary

The Battle of Manzikert was fought in 1071 between the emperor Romanos IV Diogenes and the Seljuk sultan Alp Arslan to secure the Byzantine empire's eastern Anatolian borders. Though superior in numbers, the Byzantine army collapsed and the emperor was captured; though later released, he had to accept Turkish terms for peace. The battle paved the way for the Turkish capture of Byzantine Asia Minor.

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Mar Saba

Greek monastery in Palestine

The monastery of Mar Saba, on the east bank of Nahal Kidron, southeast of Jerusalem, is the earliest and best known of the Sabaite Greek Orthodox monasteries of Palestine. In AD 478 Sabas, the founder of the Sabaite monastic order in Palestine, established his residence in a cave on the mountain on which the monastery was later built. This monastery was to have huge influence on the subsequent development of Orthodox monasticism within Palestine. Its history is intimately connected to the history of its charismatic founder, Sabas, whose dedication and commitment to monasticism effected dramatic results on Palestinian monastic life.

Sabas was born in Cappadocia in 439, to a family of distinguished Christian descent. From the age of 8, he grew up in the Flaviana monastery, near his birthplace, and received the formal education and training of a monk. Already by an early stage of his education he had learned the regulations of the communal life of monks, and was fully accustomed to the monastic life. In 456, at the age of 18, he left for Jerusalem with the intention of spending his life as an eremetic monk in the Judaean desert. While in Jerusalem, he rejected offers to join one of the city's monasteries, and, determined to live as a hermit in the desert, he sought the counsel of St Euthymius, whose life he wished to emulate. Having joined Euthymius' order in 457, Sabas was sent to the coenobium of Theoctistus, where he spent the next 12 years as a monk. In 469, at the age of 30, he was granted permission to live outside the coenobium in a cave as a hermit. Five days of each week were spent in solitary prayer and contemplation; for two days he rejoined his fellow monks in the coenobium. Following the death five years later of Euthymius, and, one week after that, of his successor Domitian, Sabas, now 35, departed from the order. This set him off on the path by which he would ultimately become the founder of his own order and the spiritual leader of all Orthodox Christians in Palestine.

In 478 Sabas arrived in the region of Jebel Muntar, the highest peak in the Judaean desert, the area in which most later Sabaite monasteries would be built. According to tradition, an angel directed Sabas to the east bank of a tributary of the Nahal Kidron, where he discovered the cave that was to become the core of the Mar Saba monastery. Sabas spent five years in the cave (478–83), after which the area grew to become the physical centre (the Great Lavra) of his order. Over the next two decades a complex of buildings grew up around the site that came to be the Mar Saba monastery. This small cave on the Nahal Kidron was thus both the physical and spiritual centre for Sabas's monastery and his followers. Of Saba's earliest disciples, five went on to become founders and leaders of other Sabaite monasteries: James, who founded the Lavra of the Towers by the Jordan river; John, who ultimately became the head of the New Lavra; Firmius, who founded the lavra near Mikhmas; Severianus, founder of the monastery near Kaparbaricha; and Julian, who founded the lavra of Neelkeraba near the River Jordan. Sabas and his followers together established 13 monasteries, thus dramatically changing the nature of both the Judaean desert and early Orthodox monastic development.

The Great Lavra, the Mar Saba monastery built around Sabas's cave, came to hold a position of leadership within the see of Jerusalem. First and foremost, it was significant as the anchor and foundation for what was to become a widespread and growing monastic tradition within Palestine. Moreover, the influence of Sabas himself and the Mar Saba monastery was such that the monastic tradition as a whole came to be well respected and regarded throughout the region. Over time, the Sabaite monasteries grew to be thriving centres for literary and theological activity, and to enjoy a superior reputation not just in the region, but in the west, particularly the Balkans, as well. Sava of Serbia (1175–1235), who founded the autocephalous Church of Serbia, received his training at Mount Athos, and upon becoming a monk took Sabas's name as a token of his reverence and admiration. Sava himself visited Jerusalem and the area's Sabaite monasteries on two occasions, and the reverence in the Balkans for Sabaite Palestinian monasticism endures to this day. So too does Mar Saba itself, which remains an active monastic centre, a living relic of 5th-century eastern monasticism.

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See also Monasticism

Summary

The earliest and best known of the surviving Greek Orthodox monasteries of Palestine, Mar Saba was founded by the monk Sabas in a cave southeast of Jerusalem in AD 478. By the end of the century a complex of buildings had sprung up on the site. In time it became a thriving centre for theological and literary activity.

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Marathon, Battle of

Battle fought between Greeks and Persians in 490 BC

In 490 BC a large Persian expeditionary force under the experienced commander Datis landed at Marathon in Attica not far from Athens. The Athenians and their Plataean allies under Miltiades repulsed the invasion, and so won one of the most

famous battles in history. Not all agreed. The renowned historian Theopompus wrote that "the battle at Marathon was not what everyone keeps repeating it was, and all the other things that the city of the Athenians brags about and uses to dupe the Greeks" (in Jacoby, 1962, fr. 153, pp. 569–70; translation by the author). Hence the very nature and significance of the battle is worth reconsidering. In 490 BC an Athenian army some 10,000 strong confronted a much stronger force of Persian infantry and cavalry. The Athenians sent the runner Pheidippides to Sparta requesting help, but in the event they and their Plataean neighbours faced the enemy alone. At Marathon the Athenian and Plataean armies, under the command of Miltiades, waited drawn up in a strong position against which the Persians could not attack even with their superior numbers. Rapidly running out of time, Datis decided to sail direct against Athens. He chose the first night after the full moon to reembark his cavalry, a time-consuming process, and then the majority of his infantry. To cover his movements he stationed the rest of his troops where they could serve as a substantial rearguard. Datis' bold move was revealed by some Ionian deserters who approached the Athenian camp and said only "the cavalry is away". Fully realizing that Datis was withdrawing, Miltiades ordered his men to their places, ready to attack at first light. Dawn caught the Persians in the middle of their operations, without the time needed to embark their rearguard.

Miltiades promptly ordered the assault, the Athenians on the right and centre and the Plataeans on the left. Their centre was thin, but the wings deeper and stronger. Their line was equal in length to the Persian one, which strongly suggests that the numbers actually engaged were roughly equal, with the Persians probably enjoying some numerical superiority. Little is known of the Persian dispositions except that the Persians and Sacae, a warlike people from Central Asia, formed the very strong centre of the line, which was about 1600 m distant from the Greeks.

After a favourable sacrifice, the Athenians began their advance. Once within bowshot of the Persians, they charged on the run, the boldness of their attack taking the Persians by surprise and reducing the effectivenenss of their archers and slingers. Once engaged, the Persians broke the Athenian centre after hard fighting and then pursued the survivors. At the same time the Greek wings routed their opponents, whom they allowed to flee. The Athenians and Plataeans next swung their victorious wings against the Persians and Sacae, converging on the centre in a pincer movement. The Persian centre was already in some disarray owing to the absence of those still pursuing the defeated Athenians opposite them. The Athenians and Plataeans crushed both of the exposed flanks of the Persian centre, whereupon the entire Persian army broke and ran. Some fled towards the great marsh trying to reach the safety of their camp. In their confusion and terror they lost their way and became mired in the marsh, where they suffered their greatest losses. Meanwhile the Athenians pursued the remnant of the centre, cutting them down in their flight until some of them reached the sea. A fierce struggle swirled around the ships, which took on board as many fugitives as possible before shoving off the beach. Although the Athenians failed to stop them, they nevertheless captured seven ships. The casualties were stunningly uneven. The Persians lost some 6400 men, a high proportion of those engaged. Of the Athenians, 192 fell, primarily those holding the centre of the line. Plataean losses are unnoted. After cremation, the Athenian dead were buried in the Soros and the Plataeans in a tumulus nearby.

Miltiades forestalled Datis' dash to Athens by a forced march. Thus thwarted, the Persian fleet returned to Asia Minor. The campaign of Marathon was over. Nonetheless, controversy still surrounds the Persian cavalry. Herodotus repeatedly emphasizes the importance of cavalry in Persian planning, but no ancient source, literary or epigraphical, mentions horsemen in combat at Marathon, hence they could not have been a factor in it. Their absence is further proof that the battle was a rearguard action.

The Athenians celebrated their victory in an outpouring of literature and art that still inspires today. The glory was not solely Athenian, but Greek. In literature they crafted the famous Marathonian epigrams, brilliant gems of poetry that commemorated the day when Athenian soldiers "saved Greece from seeing the day of slavery". Even the great tragedian Aeschylus adorned his tombstone not with allusions to his plays but with the notice that he had fought at Marathon. In art the Athenians honoured their patron goddess and themselves by minting exquisite silver tetradrachms portraying Athena crowned with an olive wreath, a sign of simplicity that contrasts with oriental pomp. Prominently displayed in the Stoa Poikile in the Athenian Agora was a dramatic painting of the battle depicting its progress from the outset through the clash of the two armies to the destruction of the Persian force. The most splendid monuments of the victory were architectural. The Athenian treasury at Delphi, which still stands in quiet beauty and dignity, was built from the spoils of the battle. On the Acropolis of Athens stands the Ionic temple of Athena the Victorious, small, elegant, a graceful memorial to a fateful day. Even the modern marathon races of 26 miles have their inspiration in the run of the Athenian messenger who brought news of the victory from Marathon to Athens.

In one sense, Theopompus was right. The battle about which Athens so boasted was not quite the supreme victory that it claimed. It was instead a splendid rearguard engagement of grand proportions. The significance of Marathon was indeed military, but it was also a symbol of the pride of the Greeks in their way of life and a justification of their love of freedom. That is also the legacy of Marathon to the world today, and the years have not dimmed it.

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See also Persian Wars

Summary

The Battle of Marathon was fought in 490 BC between a Persian invading force under Datis and the Athenians and their Plataean allies under Miltiades. The Greeks caught the Persians unawares as they were trying to withdraw and routed them. Persian losses were heavy (6400), Athenian losses very few (192). By a forced march Miltiades reached Athens before the Persian fleet, which promptly sailed away. Marathon symbolizes the pride of the Greeks in their way of life and their freedom.

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Marble and other decorative stones

Many different decorative stones were used by the ancient Greeks and Romans for construction, sculpture, and small items. The sedimentary rocks, limestone and gypsum, were most important in construction, but the most significant and evocative material was the metamorphic rock marble. Igneous rocks, such as granite and lavas, were used in construction and for small items. We start first with the sedimentary rocks.

Limestone generally forms in the sea, from the accumulation of shells, some microscopic, or by direct chemical precipitation. Greece is particularly rich in limestone because 250 to 145 million years ago it was a region of shallow tropical seas, far from mountains, and limestone production is favoured in this environment. Most limestones are fine-grained and grey, but white, black, red, and even green varieties are known. Limestone is generally layered with beds a few centimetres to a few metres in thickness. The only important mineral in limestone is calcite (calcium carbonate), but the crystals are commonly too small to be seen. The calcite in some limestones is replaced by the related mineral dolomite. This produces a rock that is slightly harder than limestone, but otherwise very similar.

Although much limestone is uniform, breccias are common in many areas. They consist of angular blocks of limestone, set in fine-grained red mudstone. These are formed in limestone caves that are produced by the solution of rock in percolating rainwater. Blocks of limestone fall from the roof and accumulate on the floor of the cave, together with a fine red mud that is the insoluble residue of the limestone. The mixture is later cemented by calcite to form a solid breccia.

Travertine was another type of limestone exploited as a decorative stone and for construction. This commonly porous rock was deposited around many springs in ancient Greece, but has often been completely removed. It is fine-grained and grey when initially deposited, but may develop large crystals later. The fossilized remains of plants that grew around the springs are often preserved in the rock. It forms by the loss of carbon dioxide gas from the spring waters and the consequent precipitation of calcite. Stalagmites, stalactites, and dripstone form in caves in the same way and were also used sparingly as decorative stones.

Gypsum (alabaster) is a soft, pale brown, yellow, or pink rock that may be layered. It was used in Minoan times as a decorative stone in the palace at Knossos, at Akrotiri on Thera, and elsewhere, but soon lost favour. The rock is soluble in water and hence was used only inside buildings: gypsum blocks left open to the weather after the excavations have lost more than 1 cm of material in 30 years. Gypsum was obtained from quarries on the hill of Gypsadhes near Knossos and in the underground mines of Gortyn. It was formed by the evaporation of seawater when the Mediterranean dried up about 6 million years ago. Bands in the rock formed during deposition and were folded later by tectonic forces. The presence of calcite or dolomite impurities in some samples increases their strength and resistance to erosion. The finer-grained varieties of gypsum were used for facing stones and for floor slabs, whereas the coarse-grained varieties were used in columns. So-called "Egyptian alabaster" is actually a form of limestone.

Marble is limestone or, more rarely, dolomite whose structure and mineralogical composition have been changed by the action of heat and pressure (metamorphism). Quarry workers and some archaeologists often refer to a number of other softer rocks as marble as well, such as limestone, lavas, and serpentinite, but to a geologist only metamorphosed limestone or dolomite is marble. Marble was an important material for sculpture and building materials in antiquity because it was relatively easy to work, produced a fine edge, and was abundant in many parts of the Aegean region. The ancient Greeks were more interested in white or grey marble, but the Romans also exploited coloured marbles extensively.

Marble is produced in the earth at depths of several kilometres. The source of the heat is the natural increase in temperature with depth in the earth. As the limestones are buried under other rocks, the temperature increases at a rate of about 1°C for each 30 metres. The metamorphism induces the recrystallization of the calcite so that the crystals are visible to the unaided eye and can also lead to the formation of new minerals, and hence change the colour of the rock. The hot rock is much weaker than cold limestone, hence it is commonly deformed without cracking by natural stresses in the earth.

The textures of marble are a combination of those originally present in the limestone and those produced during metamorphism. Layering and breccias in the original limestone are inherited by marble, but metamorphism may deform or smear them. However, deformation can produce new layering and new breccias can form in caves in the marble, giving a myriad of varieties of textures, and textures within textures. Metamorphism can also produce another texture, veining. In the rock there is often a thin film of water between the crystals that is saturated with calcite in solution. If there is a sudden loss of pressure, or increase in stress, then a crack can open up that may soon be filled with relatively pure, white calcite. These veins are a good way to distinguish marble from limestone.

The colour of marble reflects the amounts of minor minerals present because pure calcite and dolomite are white. Red is produced by the mineral haematite, from iron oxide impurities. Grey and black are commonly due to graphite, produced during metamorphism from organic matter, such as plant or animal remains. These colours can also be produced by

Marble: fresh blocks cut for use in the current programme of restoration of the Parthenon

magnetite or manganese oxides. The presence of the minerals chlorite, muscovite mica, or serpentine gives green marbles.

White and pale grey marble occurs throughout the Aegean region, but was exploited extensively at only a few locations, for historical and geological reasons. The quarries of Attica supplied the white and grey marble used in Athens. Mount Penteli produced the best white marble, whereas the grey came from Hymettus, but both mountains contain white and grey. The best-known white marble of the Cyclades was that of Paros, known as *lychnites*, because it was mined underground by the light of a lamp. This marble is very pure so that quite thick pieces are translucent. Naxos also produced large quantities of a coarse-grained white marble. The quarries of white, dolomitic marble on Thasos were some of the largest in antiquity. Their exploitation reached a maximum during Roman times, when the marble was widely exported. Pale grey streaky marble from the island of Marmora was very popular since it could be extracted in large blocks.

The best-known green marble was known to the Romans as Marmor Carystium and more recently by the Italian name of Cipollino, because it resembles an onion in section. It was produced from a number of quarries in southern Euboea, around Carystus. It was used for monolithic columns, public fountains, and wall-facings in Roman and Byzantine buildings from the 1st century BC to the 7th century AD. It was widely exported all around the Mediterranean and as far as Britain. Cipollino is made of layers rich in calcite separated by layers rich in the green minerals muscovite and chlorite. Quartz and feldspar are also present and stand out from the other softer minerals after erosion.

Rosso Antico is a fine-grained, red to purplish red marble, with some varieties streaked with white veins and patches. It was first extracted from quarries on the Mani peninsula in Minoan and Mycenaean times, between 1700 and 1300 BC, for use in architecture and for stone vases. It was not in regular use again until about AD 50, when as Lapis Taenarius it is found in Roman and later in early Christian buildings, decorating walls and floors. Reused pieces were popular in the Middle Ages and later for floor decorations, and were frequently mistaken for imperial porphyry, an igneous rock from Egypt. The Rosso Antico quarries also yielded white, grey, and green marble, and were also exploited very early, for example in the treasury of Atreus at Mycenae.

Other variegated marbles were exploited at many locations, but in small quantities and mostly during Roman times. The best known were on Skyros, the Fior di Pesca of Euboea, the Africano of Teos, and the Portasanta of Chios. Yellow marble was imported from the imperial quarries in Tunisia.

Verde Antico is the name given by Italian masons, from the Renaissance onwards, to a green decorative stone that was first used in the 1st century AD, but was most popular in the 5th–6th centuries, after the imperial porphyry quarries in Egypt closed (about AD 450). Its ancient name was Marmor Thessalicum or Marble of Atrax. The quarries lie on a small hill beneath the western slopes of Mount Ossa, just north of Chasambali. Verde Antico is a conglomerate composed of rounded serpentinite and marble blocks set in a fine-grained matrix of similar composition (the geological term for this rock is ophicalcite). The rock is layered, with contrasting sizes and compositions of blocks in the different beds. The blocks were transported by rivers, but could not have travelled far because serpentinite is a very soft rock and hence erodes readily. Therefore, this rock probably formed very rapidly in a broad river valley surrounded by high mountains of serpentinite. This rock was not formed recently, but probably during the Tertiary period and is a variant of the conglomerates seen in the Meteora.

Of the igneous rocks both lava and granite were exploited in antiquity. A widely used green porphyritic rock was known to the Romans as Lapis Lacedaemonius, to Italian masons as Porphido Verde Antico, and to us as Spartan Basalt or Andesite. It was popular in Minoan and Mycenaean times for stone vases and sealstones and under the Roman and Byzantine empires for the decoration of walls and floors. According to Pausanias,"These stones were used for decorating temples, swimming pools, and fountains." Later, Roman and Byzantine stones were reused extensively, for example in St Mark's, Venice, and Westminster Abbey, London, until the late 18th century. Spartan Porphyry is a porphyritic andesite and comes from a lava dome 2000 metres long of mid-Triassic age (about 230 million years ago) near Krokeai, Laconia. Such domes form when viscous lava erupts quiescently on to the surface. The prominent crystals in the lava are plagioclase, now metamorphosed to a fine-grained mixture of albite and green epidote. Sometimes several plagioclase crystals started to crystallize from the same point, to give rosettes of crystals. In parts of the dome the fine-grained matrix of the rock has been reddened by the oxidation of iron minerals to haematite. This rock is generally highly fractured, with most blocks less than 50 cm in diameter. Similar porphyritic lavas were also exploited locally on Samothrace.

Granite was an important decorative material for the Romans and was traded widely throughout the Mediterranean. There were two major sources of granite in the Aegean: Marmo Misio (or Granito Bigio) from near Kozac, 15 km northwest of Pergamum, and Marmo Troadense (or Granito Violetto) from Mount Cigri, 10 km southwest of Ezine. Both rocks are grey, fine-grained, and principally composed of quartz, feldspar, and biotite. Both intrusions are about the same age as the volcanic rocks in the region. Plutonic rocks such as granite and lavas such as imperial porphyry from other Roman imperial quarries were imported into Greece in small quantities, especially from Egypt.

It is only recently that the susceptibility of marble and limestone to erosion by pollution has become a problem. The most direct problem is the solution of the mineral calcite in the marble by strong acids (for example sulphuric and nitric acids) present in polluted rain. Some acid gases in the atmosphere also directly attack marble. The most common end product is gypsum, which is more soluble in water than calcite. The transformation of calcite to gypsum also involves an increase in volume, hence the surface of the marble flakes off. Another problem relates to algae that live just below the surface of the marble. They feed off petroleum products deposited from the air and produce acid waste products, with the same results. Sandstones cemented with calcite are also attacked in the same way.

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See also Geology

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Mardaïtes

The Mardaïtes appear in the 7th century as inhabitants of the Amanus and Taurus ranges on the borders of Syria and Cilicia. Their origin is uncertain, though possibly Armenian or Persian, and they were undoubtedly Christian (but whether monophysite or monothelite is unclear). They were known to the Arabs as al-Jarajima after their stronghold al-Jurjuma. Most information on them comes from al-Baladhuri's and other Arab histories and Theophanes the Confessor's *Chronographia*, which last was used for and supplemented by Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos's *De Administrando Imperio*. Considerable uncertainty, however, still shrouds many of their activities.

The Mardaïtes are first heard of after the seizure of Antioch in 636–37 by the Arabs, who coerced them into agreeing to act both as irregular troops and as scouts to guard the defiles of the Amanus, with exemption from the poll tax and the right to battle spoils; but their loyalty was very precarious and they indiscriminately plundered both Arab Syria and Byzantine Cilicia. A major raid as far south as Jerusalem, in which they were probably aided by Constantine IV, was so successful that it not only encouraged fugitive slaves (probably Greek) and other malcontents to join them but also played a part, according to Theophanes, in forcing the Umayyad caliph Muawiya in 678 to abandon his siege of Constantinople and agree to a humiliating peace treaty to effect the withdrawal of Byzantine financial and military support from the Mardaïtes. Justinian II, however, subsidized a similar raid in the late 680s and thereby induced Caliph Abd-al-Malik, embattled by internal rebellions,

to follow Muawiya's precedent. This time, despite having to make substantial payments, the Arabs obtained a far more advantageous agreement through the stipulation that the Mardaïtes were to be resettled in Byzantine territory. Substantial numbers nonetheless remained to raid Arab lands, and Theophanes' "bronze wall" between the two powers was not effectively eliminated until al-Jurjuma was destroyed *c.*707 by Abd-al-Malik's son Maslama. Some survivors fled westwards into Byzantine Anatolia but many were transplanted to Syria, some being drafted without the demand for religious conversion into the caliphal army, in which they helped suppress rebellions in Iraq in the 720s. In Syria they gradually lost their individual identity and were absorbed, perhaps becoming components of the Maronite communities.

In accordance with the treaty, Justinian II removed, with their families, at least 12,000 and possibly eventually as many as 18,000 Maradaïtes, whom he enrolled as oarsmen in the *Karabisianoi* (the regular fleet established probably by Constantine IV a decade earlier and which had presumably hitherto depended on local levies). Whether or not their arrival prompted the immediate establishment of the themes of Kibyrrhaiotai and Hellas, in the early 8th century they certainly formed the major element of the former (a naval theme stretching from Cilicia to Miletus). One of the principal officials of Kibyrrhaiotai, appointed directly by the emperor, was known as the *catepan* (governor) of the Mardaïtes and resided at Attaleia in Pamphylia. Others were employed as oarsmen in Hellas, and when in the early 9th century the new themes of Peloponnesos and Kephalenia were created, their garrisons, presumably drawn from the Mardaïtes of the old theme of Hellas, were known as the Mardaïtes of the West. By the 10th century some were stationed in the theme of Nicopolis in Epirus, earlier probably a part of Peloponnesos. Most of the Mardaïtes' battle honours were won in wars against the Arabs in both the eastern and western Mediterranean.

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Summary

Christian freebooters on the borders of the Umayyad Caliphate and Byzantine empire, Mardaïtes were used by both as guerrillas in the 7th century. After an invasion of Syria in the 680s many were resettled in Byzantine territory and served the empire as oarsmen. Others remained in Syria.

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Marriage

Marriage has been a central cultural and economic institution of Hellenic society since antiquity and, while both the practicalities and the perceived function of marriage have undergone various changes, it has demonstrated a remarkable continuity through time. Indeed it has been claimed that the pivotal role of marriage and the family, together with religion, has been a crucial factor in sustaining Greek identity and culture, particularly through the Tourkokratia (see McNeill, 1978; Sanders, 1967).

For antiquity, and for Classical Athens in particular, marriage was informed by two dominant and purposive imperatives: first, the production of legitimate children (*gnesioi*, contrasted with bastards, *nothoi*) for the husband's *oikos* (household, family) and of legitimate citizens for the state; second, the formation and maintenance of social and interfamilial alliances.

The first point finds its mythical illustration in the Athenian legend of Cecrops who, long ago, "found men and women having sexual intercourse at random, so no son could identify his father, and no father his son" (scholion on Aristophanes, *Plutus*, 773). Cecrops rectified this promiscuity by inventing the institution of marriage. Here the critical concern was to clarify lines of patrilineal descent and inheritance, a concern important especially for democratic Athens where legitimacy of birth was a prerequisite of citizenship. The flowering of the Athenian empire in the 5th century BC and the concomitant importance of being Athenian were reflected in the state's unusually narrow marriage regulations; before Pericles' law of 450/51 BC Athenian birth was a requirement of the father only, but after this both parents of legitimate children had to be Athenian. Thus citizen marriage at Athens was endogamous, and exogamy could have legal consequences (Demosthenes 59, a prosecution from the 4th century BC which deals with an Athenian citizen allegedly living as if married with an alien woman, is a good example of the practical consequences of this law against mixed marriages). One product of the importance of legitimacy was the emphasis on female chastity. Brides were expected to be virgins (the Greek word *parthenos* denotes both the unmarried girl and the virgin, social and physical categories that, preferably, coincided) and wives were expected to be chaste.

Also important and perhaps a particular concern for the rich elite was the notion that marriage could forge ties, concentrating power and wealth within social groups. Despite anxieties about incest, endogamy extended to "keeping it within the family"; marriages between first cousins, niece and uncle, and even half-siblings were common and, in Sparta at least, marriage between uterine siblings was sanctioned (Philo, *On*

Special Laws, 3. 4. 22). Indeed kinship was a positive factor for marriage: one legal speech brings as proof of a family quarrel the fact that an uncle has not married his daughter to his nephew (Isaeus, 7. 11–12), while another describes the reciprocal giving in marriage of female relatives within a family (Demosthenes, 59. 2). Friendship obligations were important too: another speaker in court describes how his sister was given in marriage to a friend of his dead father as a favour (Isaeus, 2. 3–5). These cases highlight the fact that an Athenian girl was given in a marriage over which her male natal guardian (*kyrios*, normally the girl's father or, if he was dead, her brother) exercised a formal control; indeed a wife's natal *kyrios* had the power to revoke her marriage, demanding the return of both woman and dowry, and divorce and remarriage were frequent. It was possible too for women to be the objects of bequests in wills (Demosthenes, 27. 5; 45. 28; Diogenes Laertius, 5. 11–16).

Marriage then at Athens can be seen as a form of exchange between households in which women were given out, conditionally, to bear children for their husbands and citizens for Athens, and was crucial for the creation of new households, for the continuation of descent groups, for the city's stock of citizens, and for citizens themselves for whom only marriage provided legitimate heirs.

For women too marriage was crucial and was seen as the fulfilment of a culturally prescribed role, indeed as the only proper role available to women, a notion that has gone largely unchallenged until the very recent past. While temporary celibacy was required of priestesses during the period of religious office, no respectable alternative to marriage and motherhood was available to women, either social or biological – the Greek medical writers envisage a horrendous fate for girls deprived of sex and babies (see in particular the *Peri Partheneion*, part of the Hippocratic corpus which remained influential throughout the medieval period). So strong was the notion that marriage was the only fitting career for a woman that girls who died unmarried were commemorated as brides of Hades.

In ancient Greece the state played no formal role in marriage which was essentially a private arrangement between families. As a result, identifying the definitive moment of the marriage ceremony (*gamos*) becomes somewhat problematic; no state or religious official pronounced the couple married and there was no marriage certificate. The basic signifier of marriage may simply have been for a couple to live together as if married (*synoikein*), and lawcourt speeches of the 4th century BC concerned with legitimacy and inheritance attest to the potential difficulty of deciding whether or not a marriage had taken place. The act of bethrothal (*engue*), however, in which the bride was bestowed for the ploughing of legitimate issue, marked the first step of marriage for an Athenian, and only children born of a woman so betrothed, apart from those of an *epikleros* (heiress), were legitimate (Demosthenes, 46. 18; Isaeus, 8. 19). *Engue* was not an irreversible contract (there was no notion of "breach of promise"), but normally was followed by the *ekdosis*, the handing over of the bride by her natal *kyrios* to her new *kyrios*, her husband. *Ekdosis* could happen some time after *engue*; Demosthenes reports that his sister's marriage was delayed by ten years since she was an infant when betrothed, a reminder that girls were married young, ideally shortly after puberty, perhaps to ensure as far as possible the bride's virginity.

The bride dedicated her childhood toys and a lock of hair to Artemis, was bathed and veiled. Then followed the sacrificial wedding feast during which libations were made to the gods, particularly Hera, the goddess of weddings and marriage and whose own divine union with Zeus was celebrated throughout Greece. The bride was unveiled before her husband who accepted her with his right hand and led her to his house.

Marriage in militaristic Sparta differed markedly from that in democratic Athens. Spartan men were expected to marry in their twenties but lived apart from their families in all-male barracks until the age of 30, encouraged to visit their wives only occasionally, at night and by stealth. The Spartan marriage ceremony was characterized by the real or symbolic rape of the bride who, hair cropped and dressed as a boy, waited in the dark to receive her new husband. Spartan attitudes to female chastity also differed from those of the Athenians. Many texts suggest a more flexible marriage bond and a more relaxed approach to extramarital sex and, while the production of Spartiate soldiers was of vital importance to the state, Spartan custom held that all sons belonged in common to fathers and vice versa. This unconcern with legitimacy was related perhaps to Sparta's inheritance and landowning patterns; until the late 5th century BC the state controlled the allocation of land and thus the male line was not important, a good indication of the way in which marriage and marital behaviour reflect upon other political and social institutions.

Hellenistic Egypt reveals new emphases on marriage as a union of two individuals and on the sexual fidelity of both partners; an Alexandrian marriage contract from 92 BC insists that the husband may have neither concubines nor catamites (Tebtunis papyrus 104). Furthermore, the image of the married couple became a significant feature of Hellenistic rule. Marital alliances among the elite were a traditional feature of Greek society, not only of the royal houses of Sparta and Macedonia but also of aristocratic Athenians, but Hellenistic queens acting as their husbands' consorts, such as Arsinoë the wife of Ptolemy II Philadelphus, took the principle a stage further. Arsinoë was also Ptolemy's sister, and such unions were a strategy for consolidating power within one family, following the Egyptian model. In Byzantium several imperial brides, although not born royal, exercised considerable political and religious influence through marriage and motherhood, often wielding most power as widows. Irene in the 8th century was regent for 5 years, while in the following century Theodora II was regent for 14 years, both women achieving and maintaining power by manipulating their positions as wives and mothers.

Marriage remained the central role for women throughout the Christian era in a Church that esteemed motherhood highly, assigning to Mary the epithet *Theotokos* (Mother of God) at the Council of Ephesus in AD 431. Christian teaching introduced several changes to the ancient concept of marriage and, while the husband retained his superiority as head of the household, Christian men and women were subject to a greater mutuality of rights and obligations. Ecclesiastical marriage services became the norm throughout the empire and by the

9th century civil ceremonies were no longer recognized as valid.

The Church, however, offered a radical new role for both men and women, that of religious celibacy. In his First Epistle to the Corinthians Paul declared that celibacy was the highest good (although for those who could not aspire to such goodness marriage was necessary to contain sexual desire). Before this innovation lifelong virginity and celibacy were not considered feasible options for either sex; now for the first time Hellenic society was presented with an alternative to marriage. Yet such a role had a narrow application. While some early Christian writers urged men not to marry (for example Jerome, *Against Jovinianus*, 47), unmarried girls in particular who wished to opt for celibacy met frequently with family opposition and in the 4th century John Chrysostom in a denunciation of enkratic (enforced) virgins insisted that "marriage is honoured by all and the marriage bed is free from stain" (*De Virginitate*, 8. 2). The situation was easier for widows, such as St Theodora of Thessalonica, whose decision not to remarry the Church supported since it viewed marriage as a life commitment. For those who could not avoid marriage there was always the compromise of a "spiritual marriage" (that is, a celibate marriage, sometimes entered into only after the birth of a child).

The later Church supported convents for unmarried girls, perhaps due to the growing influence of the cult of the Virgin which was strengthened by the decision of the Fifth Ecumenical Council of Constantinople in 553 to accord Mary the title *Aeiparthenos* (Ever-Virgin) and by the Marian devotion of influential women, for example the empress Sophia in the late 6th century. Yet this religious commitment was itself characterized as a form of marriage; just as the virgins of early Greece who met an early death wed Hades, so Christian virgins who chose celibacy over marriage wed Christ (Jerome, *Letter*, 22. 25).

While religious celibacy provided an alternative to marriage for a few, the Church continued to consider marriage and children the proper role for most men and women. Greek Orthodoxy maintains this tradition of honouring marriage (to the extent of allowing married clergy), regarding it as a state of grace conferred in the sacrament of Holy Matrimony. There are two steps in the Orthodox marriage service, once held separately but now successively. The Office of Betrothal, which recalls the *engue* of classical Athens, comprises the blessing and an exchange of rings signifying the mutual consent of bride and groom, a notable change from the ancient past when the consent of the bride was irrelevant. In the Office of Crowning the couple are crowned with leaves and flowers after which they drink wine from the same chalice in homage to the wedding feast at Cana, symbolizing their shared future life. While marriage is regarded by the Church as a life commitment, Orthodox canon law allows second and third marriages (although not a fourth).

Marriage and the family have retained their central role in Hellenic society and several continuities bridge past and present. Arranged marriages (*proxenia*) together with premarital dowry negotiations were common until very recently, especially in rural Greece, while the proportion of children born within marriage is the highest within the European Union. Yet there have been changes: according to the Athenian Constitution (article 4, para. 2, 1975), Greek men and women now have the same obligations in life, while the Family Law Act (1983) not only abolished dowry and insisted that family matters should be decided jointly by husband and wife, but also declared that a woman no longer has to change her surname when she marries.

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See also Adultery, Celibacy, Children, Divorce, Dowry, Kinship, Men, Women

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Martyrdom

The Christian concept of martyrdom is derived from two sources: first, as witness to Christ's death and resurrection and thence to the truth of the Christian faith even to death; and secondly, from a belief in the honour of dying for a noble cause, which Christians shared with pagans and Jews in the Greek east.

Neither pagans nor Jews use the term "martyr" (which means "witness"). Both, however, record heroic deaths in causes which they believed to be righteous. Pagan heroism is represented best in the *Acta Alexandrinorum*. There was glory to be won in dying for one's native city, Alexandria (Heliodorus to the gymnasiarch Appian in *Acta Appiani*), as well as in the example of Socrates as he faced death, and other philosophers like him, such as those executed in the reign of Domitian (81–96). In Judaism from the 2nd century BC onwards Jews looked back on the history of their people as one of righteous suffering from the time of Abel to their own day (cf. 4 Maccabees 18. 11–18). As Josephus wrote *c.*AD 95 (*Contra Apionem*, 1. 8), "For it becomes natural to all Jews immediately and from their very birth to esteem those books [of the Law] above all else to contain divine precepts, and to persist in them and if necessary die for them." Such thinking influenced Christians of the first three centuries profoundly. Blandina, the heroine of the martyrs of Lyons in 177, is compared directly to the heroic mother of the Maccabean martyrs from 2 Maccabees, and on the eve of the Great Persecution major churches in north Africa, such as Tigisis, included the books of the Maccabees in their libraries, and these were read and quoted (Secundus of Tigisis in 303 citing Eleazer as an example of courage from 2 Maccabees 6. 21–28, recorded by Augustine, *Brevis Collocatio cum Donatistis*, 3. 13. 25). The effect of the example of the Maccabees on the Christian concept of martyrdom cannot be overestimated.

The first occurrence of the term "martyr", however, is strictly as a witness to Christ's resurrection, and regarded as an essential qualification for admittance to the Twelve (Acts 1: 21–22). It was not long before witness involved danger of death, as Peter experienced when he was brought before the Sanhedrin (Acts 5: 32–33). A little later, Stephen, who had a vision of the Son of Man standing at the right hand of God before he was stoned (Acts 7: 56) was regarded by the martyrs of Lyons in 177 as "the perfect martyr" (Eusebius, *Historiae Ecclesiastica*, 5. 2. 5). By the time the Book of Revelation was compiled (*c.*AD 90), death on account of witness to the faith was being identified with "martyrdom" (Revelation 6:9–10). The souls "of them that were slain for the word of God and for the witness that they gave, lay beneath the altar". This provided the biblical justification for placing bones of martyrs or relics beneath church altars, particularly in Donatist north Africa.

The violent but sporadic persecutions of Christians during the 2nd century produced martyrs and also refined the concept of martyrdom. To be a Christian was now a crime for which punishment was death, though more often than not the authorities were more anxious to secure recantation and due acknowledgement of the Roman gods than to execute the recalcitrant. Though Ignatius of Antioch does not use the word "martyr" in 107, by 160 death during a persecution was regarded as martyrdom (Eusebius, 4. 23. 2). The account of the martyrdom of Polycarp of Smyrna (either in 156 or 166/67) combines refusal to give the slightest credence to the Genius of Caesar or other pagan deities (following the tradition of the Maccabees) with witness to the death on behalf of the teaching of Christianity and loyalty to its founder (Eusebius, 4. 15. 18–24). At the time of the persecution of the Christians of Lyons in 177, the accolade of martyrdom was being accorded to those who on arrest simply confessed their faith. This annoyed the confessors who survived. They reminded their hearers that martyrs "were those who had already passed away", and that only Christ was the "faithful and true martyr and first-born of the dead and author of the life with God". Despite their bravery and willing sacrifice they remained "humble confessors" (Eusebius, 5. 2. 2–3.).

For many Christians, however, at this period desire for martyrdom and its reward of heavenly salvation in glory was irresistible. Writing *c.*178 Celsus, the anti-Christian Platonist, described how some Christians "deliberately rush forward to arouse the wrath of an emperor or governor which brings upon us [i.e. the Christians] blows and tortures and even death" (Origen, *Contra Celsum*, 8. 65). Shortly afterwards, Christians in the province of Asia appeared before the proconsul and demanded to be put to death. They were told they had halters or precipices if that was what they wanted (Tertullian, *Ad Scapulam*, 5). Orthodox churchmen would refuse the title of martyr to such, whom they deemed exhibitionists (Polycarp, in *Martyrium Polycarpi*, 4. 1 and Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata*, 4. 17. 1, and for the early 4th century, Canon 60 of the Council of Elvira). Meanwhile, the Montanists of Phrygia continued the tradition of prophetic religion, leading to a climax in martyrdom (Eusebius, 5. 18. 5, 11).

The first officially sponsored and universal persecution under Decius in 250 resulted in both types of martyrdom. While the great majority of Christians appear to have obeyed the emperor's call to perform sacrifice for the safety of the empire in face of the Gothic invasions, some refused and went to their deaths. The account of the martyrdom of the presbyter Pionius from near Smyrna gives a graphic contemporary account of a Christian for whom arrest and death were everything. He was accompanied to martyrdom by a Marcionite dissident whose church also accepted martyrdom as in accord with Christ's teaching (*Martyrium Pionii*, 21. 5).

The persecution under Valerian in 257–59 explicitly condemned Christian clergy who persisted in their faith, first to exile, and then to death. Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria, was exiled to the oasis of Kephro in 257, but escaped death (Eusebius, 7. 11. 5). He was more fortunate than some of the Christian leaders, especially in the west, notably Cyprian of Carthage (martyred 14 September 258) and Pope Xystus and his four deacons, who were arrested in the catacomb of

Callistus and executed on the spot on 6 August 258 (Cyprian, *Letters*, 80. 1).

Valerian was captured by the Persians near Edessa in June 260. Persecution ended, and for the next 43 years the Church was practically unmolested. It flourished, and when in February 303 Diocletian and Maximian launched a final effort to destroy Christianity, the Church was strong in town and countryside alike in some major Mediterranean provinces. "No martyrs" had been Diocletian's intention (Lactantius, *De Mortibus Persecutorum*, 12) and during that year martyrdoms, except for those who provoked it, were few. "I am a Chistian and I want to die for the name of Christ", Euplus was reported to have shouted at the surprised *corrector* (governor) of Sicily when he interrupted the progress of a meeting held in the latter's office at Catania. He had his wish, but he was exceptional at this stage.

The Fourth Edict of Persecution initiated by Diocletian's Caesar Galerius in the spring of 304 brought about a change of tempo. Now all were commanded to sacrifice. Christians such as Euplus, who were regarded as "enemies of the emperor", were joined by many others. Resistance was strongest among the Copts of Egypt and the north Africans. Eusebius' account of the martyrs of Palestine shows how the Egyptian Christians were the most prominent among those encouraging Christians to witness to their faith regardless of the risk of being sent for hard labour in the mines or of execution. In the last final spasm of persecution under the emperor Maximian (308[-13) in 311–12 Eusebius himself witnessed how Coptic Christians in Upper Egypt volunteered one after another for martyrdom, encouraging each other to face the headsman's axe or condemnation to the flames (8. 9. 4–5).

The triumph of Constantine ended martyrdom and persecution, except for brief flurries under Licinius in 319–24 and under Julian in 362–63. Undoubtedly in the Great Persecution the constancy of the martyrs drew many in the east towards Christianity (see Lactantius, *Divine Institutes*, 5. 23). Previously the effect had been less powerful; the Gallic provincials who had witnessed the deaths of the martyrs of Lyons could only wonder that they could forfeit their lives for the sake of a god that did not rescue them (Eusebius, 5. 1. 60), and Pionius was openly mocked as desperate attempts were made to save him from what the great majority of the provincials thought sheer folly (e.g. *Martyrium Pionii*, 20, 21).

Among the Donatist majority Church in north Africa the theology of martyrdom as the goal of a Christian life persisted through the 4th century (Augustine, *Contra Litteras Petiliani*, 2. 89, 196, written *c.*401). Elsewhere, actuality gave way to epic and commemoration. In the 4th and later centuries Christians looked back to the age of the martyrs as a golden age of Christian heroism that ultimately triumphed and secured the victory of the faith in east and west alike.

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See also Neomartyrs

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Mary, Blessed Virgin

According to the gospels, the Jewish girl Mary, while still a virgin, conceived the child Jesus, whom Christians believe to be the Incarnation of the Son of God. Apart from the infancy narratives of the gospels of Matthew and Luke, Mary makes very few appearances in the gospel narrative, but she is present at the foot of the cross, and after the Resurrection she is mentioned together with the disciples in the upper room, and presumably present with them at the descent of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost. The apocryphal gospels show much less reticence: the so-called *Protevangelium of James* of the late 2nd century, in particular, gives an account of Mary's miraculous birth to her barren parents, Anna and Joachim; her presentation in the Temple, where she was brought up; and her betrothal to Joseph. Ancient legend associates Mary's later years with Ephesus, but according to the later (post 4th-century) accounts of her death (dormition, *koimesis*) she returned to Jerusalem to die, after which her body was assumed into heaven. These legends are important for the later liturgical celebrations of the Mother of God (*Theotokos*, as she is generally known in the Orthodox Church): the Nativity (8 September), the Presentation (25 November), the Meeting of the Lord (2 February; called in the West the Purification), the Annunciation (25 March), and the Dormition (15 August) are all counted among the Twelve Great Feasts of the Orthodox Church.

The dogmatic beliefs of the Byzantine Church about the Blessed Virgin are, however, largely independent of this legendary tradition. They can be summed up in three titles: Mother of God (*Theotokos*, literally: "one who gave birth to

Mary: icon of the Virgin and Child, 14th century, Byzantine Museum, Athens

God"), Ever-Virgin (*Aeiparthenos*), All-Holy (*Panagia*). The conciliar authority for these titles is indirect: they were all ascribed to Mary to safeguard Orthodox doctrine about her Son. The title *Theotokos*, formally defined at the Third Ecumenical Council (Ephesus, 431), is primarily intended to safeguard the doctrine of the true divinity of Christ. The titles *aeiparthenos* (used, and thus endorsed, by the Fifth Ecumenical Council of 553) and *panagia* (implicitly endorsed by the use of the epithet *achrantos*, "without stain", at the Seventh Ecumenical Council of 787) are corollaries of Mary's being *Theotokos*: her continuing virginity and her personal holiness are evidence of the worthiness of her from whom God assumed human nature.

The fact that beliefs about the Mother of God are summed up in titles ascribed to her corresponds closely to the fact that Orthodox Christians express their faith in the Mother of God primarily through devotion to her. Such devotion is very ancient, the earliest prayer to the Mother of God being found on a papyrus dating from the late 3rd or early 4th century: the prayer "Beneath your compassion", in which Mary is addressed by the title *Theotokos*. In succeeding centuries such devotion became all-pervading, taking both private and public forms, and expressed in particular through the veneration of her icons. In an Orthodox church the icon in the iconostasis to the left of the Holy Doors is always an icon of the Mother of God. No Orthodox liturgical service takes place without invocation of the Mother of God: at the end of every litany Mary is invoked as "our all-holy, pure, most blessed and glorious Lady, Mother of God and Ever-Virgin Mary", and most sequences of *troparia* (short hymns) close with a *theotokion*, a brief *troparion* in honour of the Mother of God. The most famous liturgical poem in honour of the Mother of God is the *Akathist* hymn, probably from the 6th century, a kontakion which celebrates the Mother of God under her many titles, with the refrain "Hail [or Rejoice], Bride unwedded!" The imagery in which devotion to the Mother of God finds expression is drawn predominantly from the natural order and from the Old Testament: she is the perfect creature, she is everything that Israel in its expectation of the coming redeemer was meant to be; she is the "joy of all creation" and the "beauty of Jacob". As the one who made possible the Saviour's advent into the world, Mary is closely associated with her son's continuing work of salvation. She is hailed as the "New Eve", whose obedience counteracted the disobedience of the first Eve, and great faith is placed in her intercession and her care or protection (*episkepsis*). Early Byzantine sermons dwell on the power of her intercession and her protection of Christians, especially the people of Constantinople, who ascribed their successful resistance to sieges, especially the series of sieges from 626 to 718, to her care for the city. Invocation of her protection during sieges took the form of processions with her icon round the city walls, accompanied by the singing of litanies and hymns in her honour, especially the *Akathist*. The composition of one of the *prooimia* (introductory hymns) of the *Akathist*, "To thee, Champion and Commander" (*Tei Hypermachoi*), is credibly ascribed to the patriarch Sergios, under whose leadership the city resisted a siege in 626. Many other places in the Byzantine world claimed the protection of the Mother of God, notably the monastic communities located on the Holy Mountain of Athos.

Icons of the Mother of God take many forms. Apart from her appearance in icons of the various liturgical feasts associated with her, the different forms of her icons either celebrate one of her many titles, *Eleousa* ("compassionate"), *Nikopoios* ("victory-maker"), *Platytera* ("wider [than the heavens]"), or are named after the place where the icon was kept, such as Blachernitissa or Zoodochos Pege ("life-giving spring", after the miracle-working spring in Constantinople). Many such icons became the focus of pilgrimage, one of the most famous in the present-day Greek world being that on the island of Tinos.

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Summary

The gospels tell us little about the life of Mary, the mother of Jesus: she was a virgin at the time of her son's conception (and, in Orthodox and Catholic tradition, ever afterwards), she was present at the Crucifixion, and she was with the disciples after the Resurrection and at Pentecost. The apocryphal gospels provide more information and there are many legends. Her significance for Orthodox Christians may be summarized in her three titles: Mother of God, Ever-Virgin, All-Holy.

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Massilia

City in southern France

The city of Massilia (modern Marseilles) was located to the east of the Rhône delta, at the end of a long inlet with its entrance facing the Mediterranean sea, in the territory of a Ligurian tribe, the Segobriges. Its position enabled it to participate in, and control, the trade in precious metals from the eastern coast of Spain and the tin route from Britain. The colony was founded by Phocaeans from Asia Minor *c.*600 BC after they were forced out of their homeland by the Persians. According to Pompeius Trogus, a Gaul of the Vocontii, the foundation legend for the city current in the 1st century BC related that the Greeks sailed up the inlet and there met a tribe of Ligurians led by their king, Nannus. After some negotiation it was agreed that Phocis (or Protis) would marry Gyptis, the daughter of the king, and that the couple would settle down in Ligurian territory.

The site was known to the Greeks before the establishment of a settlement there, since it had previously served as a trading post for both the Rhodians and the Etruscans on their journeys to and from Spain. At first the inhabitants of the new city were oriented towards the sea, engaging in fishing, trading along the Mediterranean coast, and piracy. Their new settlement served as a base for the trade in metals and as a staging post for Greek traders making the journey from their homeland, with stops at the Sicilian cities to the east, or Massilia, before reaching their final destination. Perhaps it was part of a strategy developed in conjunction with the Phocaeans of Rhegium, who controlled the Straits of Messina, to funnel trade along the northern routes in the Mediterranean in the heyday of Ionian commerce in the late 6th and early 5th centuries BC.

Massilia became very prosperous as a result of this trade. A variety of pottery from the early period has been found at the site, indicating far-reaching contacts with the Greek homeland. Massilia itself soon established colonies in Spain and on the Ligurian coast, including Emporium (Ampurias) and Nicaea (Nice). It also founded Alalia on Corsica *c.*565 BC, perhaps to allow the Phocaeans to avoid the trade route along the coast of north Africa controlled by the Phoenicians. As a result, Massilia soon became involved in struggles with Carthage and its Etruscan allies in the western Mediterranean, which continued throughout the 6th and 5th centuries; its new colony on Corsica was abandoned in 540 as a result.

Archaeological evidence from recent excavations presents an interesting sequence of pottery at Massilia. Initially, Ionian, East Greek, and Corinthian ceramics were found on the site. This changes quite suddenly in the second quarter of the 6th century BC when Etruscan wares predominate. Soon after that they decline, and in the middle of the 6th century Attic imports take over, especially flourishing after 530. Earlier prestige gifts present at native inland sites consist of Rhodian bronzes, perhaps carried by an overland route through the Alps from Italy; Athenian pottery is not present. Suddenly in the second half of the 6th century wares from Attica appear in the interior. It seems that Athenian ceramics were passing through Massilia, then being transported upriver to sites in the hinterland. The city had begun to broaden its focus of trade, expanding its interests inland rather than concentrating all its commercial efforts on the sea.

In the second half of the 6th century BC Massilia itself developed a strong pottery industry, producing amphorae to transport local wine. In return for this local beverage and luxury goods from Greece, it received grain, amber, and tin. The growing trade up the Rhône valley influenced both the Hallstatt and La Tène cultures of the Celts. Ligurian and Iberian sites have produced much imported pottery from the late 6th century as well as providing evidence of Greek influence in other areas, such as fortifications, architecture and art, cultivation of the vine and olives, and perhaps even a law code.

Massilia was well known in antiquity for the stability of its oligarchic form of government with its council of 600 (*timouchi*), an additional minor council of 15 members, and three top magistrates, as well as a body of strict Ionian laws transplanted from its homeland (Strabo, 4. 1. 5). Aristotle wrote a work, the *Constitution of Massilia*, now lost, which outlined the structure of its government. Massilia retained the cults of its mother city, such as Artemis of Ephesus, Delphinian Apollo, Cybele, and Leucothea. In addition, it maintained a strong connection with its Greek homeland, as well as advertising the city's prosperity and success, by construction of the Treasury of the Massilians at Delphi. Its wealth is also evident from the attractive series of coins minted in the city.

Prosperity appears to have lessened in the 5th century BC as the result of the expansion of Carthaginian power in the Mediterranean (although this view may be altered by finds from recent excavations in the city), but it continued to develop its own products for export, such as wine and olives. The Hellenization of the hinterland was completed by the second third of the century, but the Phocaean role as a civilizing force lasted until at least the late 5th century.

By the 4th century BC trade once again flourished, particularly after the voyage of Pytheas, a Massilian astronomer and geographer, who sailed through the straits of Gibraltar, exploring the west coast of Africa and circumnavigating Great Britain, drawing on the nautical knowledge and geographical information contained in the 6th-century work, the *Periplous*.

In the Hellenistic period the Massilians sided with Rome against Carthage, increasing their territory with the Romans' help. Massilia and Rome had an early agreement, which later developed into an official alliance. Massilia was a loyal ally, providing information and ships to Rome in the Second Punic War (218–201 BC), and Rome in return allowed the city to maintain its control over the trade route to Spain. In 125, after

aggressive action by local tribes, Massilia appealed to Rome for help, which led to the absorption of the area into the Roman sphere of influence and the formation of the first Gallic province of the Roman empire – Gallia Narbonensis. Little remains of the Greek settlement, the site of which is occupied by the modern city of Marseilles, but there is evidence of a theatre, port facilities, a Hellenistic aqueduct, fortification towers, and a Greek cemetery.

Massilia retained its independence until 49 BC, when it sided with Pompey against Julius Caesar. After Pompey's defeat, Caesar stripped the city of its fleet, and reduced its treasury and territory, but it retained a certain degree of autonomy due to its status as a *civitas foederata*. Its constitution remained in effect until the 1st century AD when it finally lost its independence to the expanding Roman empire. At that time Massilia's commercial and political power also declined, but it remained a centre of Greek culture and learning until the 6th century AD, ending only with the domination of the Franks.

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See also France

Summary

Massilia (modern Marseilles) was an important commercial power as a result of its role as an intermediary in the trade between the Iberians to the west, the Ligurians and other tribes on the coast, the Celts of the hinterland, and the Greeks of its homeland, not only monopolizing the trade in precious metals but also providing Greek products such as pottery and wine in return for grain and amber. Founded *c.*600 BC, it also played an important role in the Hellenization of Gaul and Spain. It remained a centre of Greek culture in the area until the end of the Roman empire.

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Mathematics

Though mathematics is in some way the most typical, and is arguably the most enduring, of the achievements of the ancient Greeks, it was not originally their invention. The Greeks themselves believed that geometry had come to them from Egypt (e.g. Herodotus, 2. 109), and Aristotle (*Metaphysics*, 1. 1. 981b23) explained the origins of mathematics in Egypt by the fact that the Egyptian priests were a leisured class, who had time to spend on intellectual pursuits. It is also now known that the Babylonians had an impressive and ancient system of mathematics (though this is noticed hardly at all by ancient Greek sources). The fact, however, that mathematics (if mathematics is taken to mean techniques for manipulating figures and numbers, and expressing relationships between them) was not original to the Greeks does not detract from their achievement of devising the concept of mathematical proof and developing the idea of the mathematical system which takes as its starting point the simplest axioms possible and proceeds from there by a process of rigorous proof to the demonstration of quite complex propositions. The result was to transform mathematics from a subject which was practically useful (and which also might be quite interesting, but only as a by-product) to a discipline which provided a new (and more demanding) paradigm of knowledge, and could be regarded as culturally and intellectually, rather than practically, important. Indeed, there is a rich tradition of anecdotes decrying those who hoped to get practical advantage from the study of mathematics, exemplified by the story told of Euclid by Proclus, that when one of his pupils asked him what was the use of learning mathematics, he told a slave to give the pupil a small coin "since he must profit by what he learns".

Unfortunately, since the works of Euclid are the earliest complete mathematical treatises which survive, and since extant accounts of the work of earlier mathematicians have probably been restated in Euclidean form, the process by which the distinctive features of Greek mathematics developed remains speculative. Though there is some evidence of early work on arithmetic (or more properly number theory), it is only in geometry that the distinctively Greek axiomatization and systematization of mathematics can be seen to its fullest extent. Though there is a persistent tradition that the Pythagoreans were prominent in the early stages of Greek mathematics (the importance given to mathematics in Pythagorean philosophical system certainly seems to have influenced the direction Greek mathematics took) and despite the prominence of individual Pythagorean mathematicians such as Archytas, in general those to whom the earliest discoveries were credited (Thales of Miletus for example) were not Pythagoreans. The earliest mathematicians did not give proofs as rigorous as those demanded later; at any rate, some of the propositions credited to them can be proved only by means of techniques developed much later. Greek mathematicians often made a distinction between the discoverer of a proposition and the person who produced the proof. Hippocrates of Chios (working in the 2nd half of the 5th century BC) was said to have been the first to produce an *Elements*, a systematic arrangement of geometrical theorems in logical order.

In the 5th and 4th centuries BC geometry developed to the point where it became the kind of mathematics recognizable

today. The tradition as reported in the sources is that at this period geometry was concerned largely with problems about constructing certain figures, three of which became especially famous.

The first, the duplication of the cube, is sometimes referred to as the Delian problem, from the story that it originated when an oracle told the people of Delos that they could avert a plague by doubling the size of Apollo's altar, which was cubical; when the mathematics of this proved beyond them, they consulted Plato, who set it as a problem to his students (the story is certainly apocryphal, since Hippocrates of Chios, well before the date of Plato's activity, had reduced the problem to one of finding two mean proportionals in continued proportion between two lines, one twice the length of the other). A number of attempted solutions of this problem have been preserved, including a remarkable one by the Pythagorean Archytas of Tarentum (early 4th century BC), perhaps the first attempt at three-dimensional geometry, involving the intersection of a cylinder, a right cone, and a torus.

The second problem was the squaring of the circle, that is to say the construction of a square having the same area as a given circle. Since a circle (like other curves) can coincide with a straight line only at certain points, and not over any finite distance, the problem of relating areas bounded by straight lines with those bounded by curves inevitably made it necessary for mathematicians to confront the difficulties of handling infinite divisibility and infinitesimal magnitudes (though Hippocrates of Chios' work on the quadrature of lunes – areas cut off by the intersection of two arcs of circles – which contains the oldest geometrical proof to have survived, may have been an attempt, ultimately unsuccessful, to solve it without involving infinitesimals). An allusion to this problem in Aristophanes' *Birds* (line 1005) suggests that it attracted the interest of a wider public. Antiphon, the Athenian Sophist (5th century BC), is said to have tried to find a solution by inscribing within a circle polygons with more and more sides in the hope that they would eventually coincide with the circle; Aristotle treated this approach with open contempt. In the 4th century Bryson used both inscribed and circumscribed polygons which, if it was not simply a more complex application of Antiphon's fallacious approach, may have been an attempt to arrive at a ratio between the two polygons which would represent the area of the circle; if so, it was an important step towards the solution eventually found by Eudoxus. Later mathematicians approached the problem through the use of higher curves.

The third problem, the trisection of any angle (which probably arose from attempts to construct polygons), was approached by the Sophist Hippias of Elis (5th century BC) through the use of the *quadratrix*, one of the first higher curves, the locus of the intersection of the radius of a circle moving through 90 degrees and a straight line at right angles to the original position of the radius moving from the circumference to the centre of the circle uniformly in the same time; it was also used in a solution to the problem of the squaring of the circle.

Theodorus of Cyrene (late 5th century) did important work on irrational numbers (a problem which was raised initially following the discovery that the relationship between the side and diagonal of a square was the ratio of 1 to the square root of 2, which cannot be expressed by a ratio between any combination of whole numbers), which was developed by his pupil Theaetetus (d. 369 BC) into a general theory of irrationals. At about the same time Eudoxus of Cnidus (first half of the 4th century BC) not only put forward a theory of proportion which would deal with both commensurable and incommensurable magnitudes, but also devised a strategy of proof (usually misleadingly referred to as the "method of exhaustion") which evaded the problem of indivisible magnitudes, and so opened the way to serious work on figures and solids bounded by curves.

The Hellenistic period, building on the work of the 4th century, was the most creative period of Greek mathematics. The geometry of the previous period was summarized and systematized in the first surviving Greek mathematical work, Euclid's *Elements*. Archimedes (d. 212/11 BC), perhaps the greatest of Greek mathematicians, did impressively innovative work on planes and solids bounded by curves, and extended mathematical methods to mechanics and hydrostatics, and Apollonius of Perge (late 3rd or early 2nd century BC) wrote a definitive work on the geometry of the parabola, the hyperbola, and the ellipse (referred to at this period as conic sections).

Though it was only in geometry that the distinctive Greek concept of formal proof was fully developed, other branches of mathematics were not neglected. Diophantus' *Arithmetica* dealt with problems in algebra, through worked examples and without proof, and Hero of Alexandria demonstrated that he could perform various complicated mathematical operations, including solving quadratic equations by a method quite close to the formula still used. Greek astronomers were familiar with some of the most important trigonometrical functions, and Ptolemy produced a table of chords which expresses the same relationships as a modern sine table.

Although there were no significant new developments in Greek mathematics, or in mathematics in general, until the development of algebra by the Arabs, the work of Italians in the later Middle Ages and the Renaissance (building on the achievement of Diophantus), and the invention of calculus in the 17th century, serious mathematical work continued. Pappus, in the 3rd or 4th century AD, composed a series of works, most of which still survive in a compilation called the *Synagoge* or *Collection*, which consists largely of commentary on and expansion of earlier work, with some new material (which may or may not be Pappus' own). It is not only an invaluable source for the history of Greek mathematics, but is also good evidence for the continuing vigour of the subject. From the 3rd to the 5th century AD the Neoplatonic school of philosophy (which stressed the metaphysical significance of mathematics, and the spiritual benefits to be gained from studying it) produced a number of commentaries on mathematical works which, though not original in themselves, preserve a great deal which might otherwise have been lost. In particular, Proclus (AD 412–85) wrote a commentary on the first book of Euclid's *Elements*, whose historical sections draw in part on a lost history of mathematics written by Eudemus in the 4th century BC; further information is contained in Proclus' commentaries on various dialogues of Plato. Later, in the 6th century AD, Eutocius produced a series of commentaries on the major works of Archimedes, revealing evidence of vigorous mathematical activity which would otherwise be lost. At about the same time, Anthemius of Tralles, one of the architects of

Justinian's Hagia Sophia, was a mathematician of some importance. A surviving fragment of one of his works, *On Burning-Mirrors*, reveals that it was not simply a discussion of an optical device, but a serious contribution to the study of conic sections. The importance of mathematics in the educational system in the Byzantine period is evident from a work attributed to Michael Psellos in the 11th century on arithmetic, music, geometry, and astronomy (though the degree of mathematical competence it shows is unimpressive), and a work by George Pachymeres (1242–1310) on the educational syllabus, which draws heavily on Euclid and Diophantus. A curious confirmation of the continuing fascination of the educated classes in the Byzantine period with mathematics is given by Anna Komnene (*Alexiad*, 9. 10) who records that Nikephoros Diogenes, imprisoned and blinded for plotting against the emperor Alexios (1081–1118), consoled himself by taking up the study of geometry, which he achieved by the use of diagrams whose lines were in relief, so that he could feel them with his fingers. During the Byzantine period many Greek mathematical works were translated into Arabic (and some indeed survive only in Arabic) and became the basis of the mathematics of the Islamic world. That the movement of ideas was not simply one way is shown by Planudes's exposition of the system of Arabic (or, as he more properly refers to them, Indian) numerals in the 13th century, and Isaac Argyros' use of Persian material in the 14th century.

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Mausolus

Ruler of Caria in the 4th century BC

In 392 BC Hecatomnus, father of Mausolus, was appointed one of several native satraps who ruled Asia Minor (Anatolia) for the Persian king in the early 4th century BC. Hecatomnus' initial assignments for the Great King were to crush Evagoras, rebel ruler of Cyprus, and to secure Caria against an expansionist Sparta, leader of the Greek states after the Peloponnesian War.

Mausolus became satrap *c.*377 BC amid a tangled confusion of Athenian, Spartan, Egyptian, Cyprian, Anatolian, and Persian politics, intrigues, rebellions, and wars. He played an important role in Graeco-Persian politics of his day. In the miscarried revolt of the western satraps (366–359 BC), though himself a rebel, he somehow retained his position and served Persia until his death in 353 BC. In 357–355 BC he supported the Greek rebels in the Social War that ended Athens' Second Confederacy. He at first ruled with his sister (who was also his wife) Artemisia; ruled alone from 353 to 351 BC. The couple had no children. The ancient sources for the career of Mausolus are his contemporaries Isocrates and Demosthenes, as well as Diodorus Siculus, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and Arrian.

The King's Peace of 387/86 BC, imposed on the Greeks by King Artaxerxes II (404–358 BC), had placed Anatolia officially under the rule of Persia, a status that endured until the conquests of Alexander the Great in 334 BC. But Athens, temporarily disarmed, still sought to thwart Spartan expansion. Hence the Second Athenian League of 377, formed ostensibly for that purpose.

Mausolus' transfer of his capital from inland Mylasa to Halicarnassus soon after his accession was probably a response to this Athenian confederacy. The new capital gave Caria a prominent maritime base, accessible to Greek commercial and cultural influences. Mausolus now built a navy and constructed on the offshore islet of Zephyrion what has been called the first Hellenistic palace.

The revolt of the western satraps had no single cause. Even after Cyrus was defeated in 401 BC, Egypt still defied the Persian power successfully. In 372 BC Datames, satrap of Cappadocia, asserted his independence. Persia's failure immediately to crush him or the Egyptians raised the hopes of other satraps; some hoped to achieve success by forming alliances with Athens or with Sparta.

In 366 BC Mausolus and Autophradates, satrap of Sardis, were sent against Ariobarzanes, another rebellious satrap. Instead, they joined Agesilaus of Sparta (campaigning to undermine the King's Peace) in supporting Ariobarzanes, and Mausolus paid Agesilaus to supply him with mercenaries of his own. It was money that Mausolus had, in fact, collected as tribute on behalf of the king.

More disaffections from Persian rule occurred, peaking in 362 BC. Phrygia, Armenia, Lycia, Ionia, Lydia, Phoenicia, and Syria joined the revolt. Inexorably, by 359 BC, the Persians had reduced this alliance, but Mausolus was among the satraps who retained their status in defeat.

Athens' aggressiveness in an effort to regain old cleruchies created distrust among the members of its alliance and led to the Social War. Mausolus was aware of the resistant mood of Athens' island confederates in the face of what seemed to be Athens' quest for another empire. Indeed, according to Demosthenes in 351 BC, it was Mausolus who had incited Chios, Cos, and Rhodes to rebel and Athens' other allies to full revolt. Though Mausolus' intrigues and participation played a part, Athens had brought it on itself. In 355 BC Isocrates had delivered his speech *On the Peace*, urging the Athenians to dissolve their maritime league, and Athens conceded the independence of Cos, Chios, Rhodes, and Byzantium. Mausolus moved in with Carian garrisons and replaced their democratic governments with oligarchies.

To touch Athens was to be Hellenized. As Athens had long ago attached all of Attica to itself by *synoikismos* (political

amalgamation of settlements), so Mausolus synoecized Halicarnassus, gathering the native communities into a single coastal city. This was his most significant legacy, as his tomb was his most lasting. During his own lifetime Mausolus supervised a design for his Mausoleum, possibly as a monument to the entire Hecatomnid dynasty. (Oddly, the word for it was originally *mnema* or *taphos* – "monument" or "tomb".) It was completed by his wife Artemisia, who was also buried there. The Mausoleum was a triumph of Hellenic architecture and sculpture, or more correctly of the Hellenic spirit. Its decoration was the achievement of the four greatest Greek sculptors of the time: Scopas, Leochares, Bryaxis, and Timotheus. It was designed by the architect Pytheus, who had already designed the Ionic temple of Athena at Priene; he was a revolutionary artist with a new vision of sculptural and architectural harmony.

Even with detailed descriptions of the tomb by Pliny the Elder and Vitruvius, much confusion exists. The Mausoleum, about 50 m tall and with a circumference of 150 m, occupied only a small section on an artificial terrace of 105 by 242 m, surrounded by a wall of white marble. On this podium (really the tomb chamber), whose 160,000 building blocks each weighed about 70 tons, were constructed three columned tiers surmounted by a pyramid of 24 steps, on top of which was Pytheus' colossal four-horse chariot of marble. Great stone lions "protected" the pyramid at its base. Each tier had a sculptural frieze and a group of intercolumnar statues in the round, all manifesting a different theme. The friezes depicted Amazons in battle, centaurs, and chariot races. The themes are common, but the chariot frieze might have depicted the actual games held by Artemisia at Mausolus' funeral. On the lowest tier the statues were life size; above, they were one-and-a-third times life size; and at the top they were one-and-two-thirds life size. The splendid portrait statues of Mausolus and Artemisia still survive. These statues, of the largest size, stood within the great sepulchre and not, as generally believed, in the apex chariot. They are now in the British Museum among the numerous sculptures found by excavators in 1857.

With its new conception of size and space and its colonnades with heroes walking among them, the Mausoleum had great influence over the grandest buildings of the Hellenistic age. Alexander the Great had buried his father in the customary modest Macedonian manner, but after seeing Halicarnassus and the gleaming white tomb of Mausolus in its centre, he built an immense tomb for his friend Hephaestion.

The Mausoleum was still standing in the 12th century. In 1495 the Hospitaller Knights of St John used its stones for their castle (still to be seen in the harbour of modern Bodrum). Today only Mausolus' theatre may be seen; nothing is left of the tomb or palace.

Mausolus' influence is remarkable. He promoted Greek culture – institutions, arts, and language – in southwestern Anatolia. The synoecism of Halicarnassus and the mingling of native Carians and Greek culture were precursors of the Persian–Greek integration credited to Alexander. With his Mausoleum, agora, temples, and theatre, Mausolus bridged the Classical and Hellenistic worlds, as the "last of the satraps and the first of the diadochs".

DANIEL C. SCAVONE

Biography

The son of Hecatomnus, Mausolus was ruler of Caria from 377 to 353 BC together with his sister (also his wife) Artemisia. With the title satrap, he ruled under Persian auspices. But by moving his capital from Mylasa to Halicarnassus he opened it to Greek cultural influences. Having incited Athens' allies to rebel, he annexed Cos, Chios, Rhodes, and Byzantium. He and Artemisia were buried in the monumental Mausoleum, one of the seven wonders of the ancient world.

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Mavrokordatos family

The progress of the Mavrokordatos family in public office is inextricably linked with memorable events which had a lasting effect on the state of affairs of the Ottoman empire, of Romania, and of modern Greece. The origins of the family can be traced to the beginning of the 15th century, when members of the Mavro and Cordato families were united by marriage; they had fled Constantinople a few years before its fall and sought refuge in Chios, where they pursued commercial activities.

Alexander, the founder of the dynasty, was born in Constantinople of a Chiot father, Nicholas, whose fortunes were considerably improved by his marriage to Roxandra Scarlatou; she belonged to the Phanariot circle of the capital, composed of surviving members of the Byzantine aristocracy. Towards the middle of the 17th century Alexander was sent to Rome, where he graduated from the Collegio Greco of St Athanasius; subsequently he followed courses in medicine and philosophy at the universities of Bologna and Padua, from which he graduated by submitting a thesis on the circulation of the blood. Upon his return to Constantinople he became director of the patriarchal academy, where he taught medicine and Classical philosophy while taking lessons in oriental languages. In 1673 he was appointed to the post of the Grand Dragoman (chief interpreter) in the Sultan's Divan (council). In this capacity he was instrumental in drawing up the Treaty of Karlowitz in 1699, through which he did not neglect to safeguard the sultan's suzerainty over the Holy Land, thus securing the administration of the holy sites to the Orthodox Christians. The sultan had conferred on him the title of *muharrir esrar*, that is, keeper of secrets, from which is derived his appellation *Ex Aporreton* (Exaporite). He translated into Turkish his treatise on the circulation of the blood, Mercator's *Atlas*, and Blaeu's *Theatrum Mundi*, a cartographic work in 12 volumes. Among his works written in Greek, the *Phrontismata* stand out as an original collection of dicta and moral reflections on the art of governing and good living.

Alexander's son Nicholas (1680–1730), although he was appointed dragoman (interpreter) in 1698, and was the first in the long dynasty of Phanariots to occupy the thrones of Moldavia and Wallachia by becoming *hospodar* (prince) of Moldavia in 1709, was happier in his scholarly activities than in his political functions. He reopened the Academy of Jassy in 1714 and he attracted a number of literati to his court in Bucharest, among whom we may distinguish Antoine Epis, Nicholas Wolff, Stefan Bergler, George Chrysogonos, and Demetrios Prokopiou Pamperis. He corresponded with Chrysanthos Notaras, Jean Le Clerc, the archbishop William Wake, and Johannes Fabricius. He was an accomplished polyglot, with a firm command of several oriental, European, and classical languages. He was the author of *Philotheou Parerga*, now viewed as the first modern Greek novel staged in Constantinople at the time of the Enlightenment, and of a philosophical work, *Peri Kathikonton,* which blends the old Stoic teaching on duties with the sophiological genre of the mirror of princes, the whole recast in the Orthodox patristic tradition.

It seems that this exhortative work found a responsive recipient in the person of Nicholas's son Constantine who, following his studies in Italy, succeeded his father in 1730, and ruled wisely by applying realistic policies in the government of the principalities. Although he occupied the throne intermittently until 1769, his reign was marked by significant reforms which improved the living conditions of the peasants. Serfdom was abolished in his domains a century earlier than in Russia; he founded schools and helped poor children to complete their studies; he alleviated the burden of taxation; and he bestowed on the principalities a minor constitution which he named *Reforma.*

Alexander, the last influential representative of the family, was born in 1791 in Constantinople. After studies in Italy he was employed as secretary by his uncle Ioannis Karadjas, *hospodar* of Wallachia. Soon he was promoted to the presidency of the ministerial cabinet. When his uncle fell from the sultan's favour, he followed him in his escape to Russia and Italy. The English philhellenes met him in Pisa and were at once inspired by the idealistic love of freedom which emanated from his forceful personality. In 1821 Shelley dedicated his drama *Hellas* "to His Excellency Prince Alexander Mavrocordato, late Secretary for foreign affairs to the Hospodar of Wallachia", and two years later Byron, in a letter to John Cam Hobhouse written from Cephalonia, referred to him as "the only civilised person amongst the liberators". In another letter he likened him to Washington and Kosciusko. By that time Alexander had assumed a position of leadership in the War of Independence. He was president of the first Greek national assembly at Epidaurus. Although he was defeated in the battle of Peta, the common-sense diplomacy that he displayed later in Missolonghi and his call to unity to the divided parties of the Greeks earned him the respect of the various warring factions. Nevertheless, his Anglophile stand and his being perceived as a newcomer from abroad did not help in healing the persisting divisions among the army, accentuated by the Russophile party headed by the popular warlord Kolokotronis and the rival Phanariot Dimitrios Ypsilantis. When Greece gained its independence, Alexander was given a minor post in the government of Ioannis Kapodistria, from which he resigned in 1828. He played a more prominent role under King Otho when he was appointed successively minister of finance, and in 1833 premier; in 1834 he was sent as Greek envoy to Munich, Berlin, and London. He became premier again in 1841, and strongly advised Otho on the necessity of constitutional liberties; shortly thereafter he was dispatched to Constantinople as ambassador. He returned to Athens in 1844 and participated in the deliberations for the establishment of the constitution. He was elected the first constitutional prime minister of Greece, but he was toppled by his old rival Kolettis in 1850, and took up the post of ambassador to Paris. Upon his return to Greece in 1853 he withdrew to his magnificent estate in Aegina, where he died in 1865.

This remarkable family exerted lasting influence in the political, legal, and cultural spheres of the countries in which they operated. With their translations of books and the introduction of new ideas from Europe into the Ottoman empire, they precipitated the flowering of the Ottoman renaissance known as the Tulip Era, which spread in a different fashion to Romania and Greece.

LAMBROS KAMPERIDIS

See also Phanariots

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Mavromichalis family

Prominent Maniot family

In the last century of Ottoman rule in Greece the strongest, most numerous, and wealthiest of the clans in the Mani (or "Maina") was the Mavromichalis family. Their hereditary stronghold was the fortress of Tsimova (modern Areopolis),

which commanded the only pass through the Taygetus mountains from the Eurotas valley to the port of Gytheion. Theodore Kolokotronis, who had fought alongside the head of the clan, Petrobey Mavromichalis, in the capture of Kalamata in 1821, the first military success against the Ottomans, wrote in his *Memoirs* that the Mavromichali "had poured out much of its blood in the cause of our independence, but it was a family that always had a propensity to commit assassinations".

The Mani, where the Mavromichali established dominance in the course of the 18th century, comprises the last 50 km of the Taygetus range, stretching south to Cape Matapan and, until modern roads were built, outsiders found it virtually inaccessible, which made it a secure refuge against a succession of invaders, whether they were barbarians, the Frankish Villehardouin princes of Achaea, or the Turks. It contained more than a hundred villages with numerous fortified towers of refuge, many of which still survive as mute evidence of feuds among the various leading families, or Nyklians, as they were called locally. The Mavromichali, who according to one tradition had been a Thracian family named Gregorianos that fled from their homeland shortly after the Turks crossed into Europe in 1340, were settled in the Mani certainly by the 16th century and had become the leading Nyklian family before the War of Independence. The Maniots were noted fighters, who claimed descent from the ancient Spartans; their little pirate ships preyed on Turkish and Venetian vessels in the waters south of the Peloponnese, and their interfamily feuds were notorious, though sometimes groups of them would export their skills as warriors by serving as mercenaries in the army of the doge of Venice. But they would unite to repel attacks by the Turks, who in the end left them alone under a Maniot prince designated a "Bey". The first of these, Liberakis Yerakaris, appointed in the middle of the 17th century, proved too enterprising for Ottoman taste and the office lapsed until after the Orloff revolt (1770–74), which the Mani supported. After the revolt collapsed, the Turks revived the office, and the eighth and last of the Beys of the Mani was Petros Mavromichalis, better known as Petrobey.

Petrobey joined the *Philiki Hetaireia* (Friendly Society) in August 1818, evidently under the impression that its leader was Ioannis Kapodistria, who was a secretary of state to the Russian Tsar, Alexander I, and in 1820 he sent an emissary, Kyriakos Kamarinos, to St Petersburg with letters for Kapodistria. The letters have not survived, but we can guess their content from Kapodistria's cautious reply, which granted Petrobey funding for an elementary school in Sparta, but was at pains to deny support for a revolt or any personal connection with the *Philiki Hetaireia*. However, even though Kapodistria distanced himself from the *Philiki Hetaireia*, he did not betray its plans, and on 6 March 1821 the society launched an abortive invasion under Alexander Ypsilantis into Moldavia. Revolt in the Peloponnese began a month later. Petrobey with a following of 2000 Maniots as well as a number of klephts, including two famous ones whom Petrobey was protecting from the Ottoman authorities, Kolokotronis and Anagnostaras, took the field and attacked Kalamata which held a Turkish garrison. It surrendered on 4 April; on the next day 24 priests held a service of thanksgiving for the victory beside the stream that flowed through Kalamata, with 5000 armed men attending, and a few days after this historic celebration Petrobey addressed a declaration to all Christian nations, signed "Petrobey Mavromichalis, Prince and Commander in Chief", in which he proclaimed the determination of the Greeks to free themselves from Ottoman rule and asked all Christendom to aid their fellow Christians.

Petrobey became the nominal commander-in-chief in the Peloponnese, but could exercise little real authority. But he did fight in battle after battle, and, as Kolokotronis noted, the Mavromichali suffered heavy losses: 49 members of the family lost their lives. Petrobey's eldest son, Elias, died in Euboea in 1822: he and his uncle Kyriakules had taken a force of 600 Maniots to lay siege to Carystus, but the Turkish troops were under the command of an energetic officer, Omer Bey, and Elias lost his life in a skirmish. Kyriakules was to die later the same year in a defeat at Splanga in Epirus, and his body was taken to Missolonghi for burial.

When Lord Byron arrived at Cephalonia on his way to Greece in 1823, among the communications from various Greek commanders soliciting his aid was a blunt letter from Petrobey. He wrote that the true way to free Greece was for Byron to lend him £1000 with which he would raise a force of 3000 Spartans and overthrow the Ottomans. In the summer of 1826 Ibrahim Pasha, whose campaign of that year laid waste great areas of the Peloponnese, attempted twice to penetrate the Mani, but on both occasions he was repelled, and Ibrahim lacked the resources to push home an attack. Nonetheless the Mani suffered substantial losses, and Petrobey felt he had a legitimate case for recompense from the Greek government. His demands, however, were rejected by Kapodistria.

Kapodistria, who was elected president for seven years by the National Assembly which met at Troezen on 14 April 1827, aimed at a centralized administration that rode roughshod over Maniot traditions of independence. The Mavromichali had two grievances: one was inadequate compensation for losses in the war, and the other was Kapodistria's claim to collect taxes in the Mani, which the Maniots had never conceded to the Turks. In December 1830 they rebelled. Petrobey was residing in Nauplia, for he was a senator and *proboulos* (chairman) of one of the three sections of the senate (*Panhellenion*), and Kapodistria insisted that he write a firm letter to his people denouncing the uprising. However Petrobey slipped away from Nauplia secretly, hoping to return to the Mani, but in Katakolo he was arrested, brought back to Nauplia, and incarcerated. His son George and his brother Constantine were also brought to Nauplia and put under surveillance. Kapodistria refused any reconciliation; a meeting between himself and Petrobey was arranged for 8 October, but Kapodistria cancelled it, which Petrobey took as a slight to his honour. On Sunday 9 October, as Kapodistria was about to enter the church of St Spyridon in Nauplia for the Liturgy, he was assassinated by George and Constantine. Constantine was mortally wounded by one of Kapodistria's companions whom Kolokotronis identified as a one-armed Cretan, and George was caught, tried, and put to death. In the general anarchy following Kapodistria's death, the Mavromichali tried to make good their claim to collect the taxes in Messenia but their attempts to gain control of the rich Messenian plain were unsuccessful.

The government of the young king Otho scored no military successes in the Mani, but the Maniots made peace with the

royal government, for which the Mavromichali can take some credit. Schools were built, family feuding was suppressed, and local elected government was introduced. The Mani itself was divided between the nomes of Kalamata and Laconia. Petrobey became an honoured member of the government of King Otho, though he was overshadowed by other politicians, and he died a respected statesman in 1848. The Mavromichalis family have remained prominent in Greek politics and, as befits the descendants of the Spartans, royalist sentiment has remained strong in the Mani.

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See also Independence (War of), Mani

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Maximos the Confessor, St 580–662

Monk and theologian

Maximos was probably born in Constantinople, where he was educated. With the accession of Herakleios in 608 he became his *protasecretis* (head of the imperial chancellery), but he resigned after only a few years in this position, and became a monk, first at Chrysopolis, later at Cyzicus. He fled from there in 626, before the advancing Persian army, and by 630 had settled in a Greek-speaking monastery in north Africa, where he was to remain for the next 15 years. In 633 his spiritual mentor Sophronios, soon to become patriarch of Jerusalem, protested vigorously against the imperial policy of Monenergism, the doctrine that in Christ the two divine and human natures were united in a single person and single theandric activity, by which the emperor Herakleios hoped to reconcile the Christians in the eastern part of the empire. Maximos, however, did not come out publicly against such Christological compromise until the promulgation of the *Ekthesis* in 638, which endorsed Monothelitism (the doctrine that Christ had a single will) as imperial orthodoxy. His opposition to this policy led him to Rome, where he seems to have been the inspiration behind the Lateran Council of 649, which condemned both Monenergism and Monothelitism. Pope Martin I and Maximos were both eventually arrested for their opposition to imperial policy. Maximos was tried in Constantinople in 655, condemned, and exiled to Thrace, where attempts were made to break his will. Tried again in 662, he was found guilty of heresy, had his tongue and right hand cut off, and exiled to Lazica, in present-day Georgia, where he died on 13 August. His relics were preserved there, and a local cult developed, but although in the empire the orthodox doctrine of Christ, for which he had given up his life, was vindicated at the Sixth Ecumenical Council in 680–81, no mention was made of either Maximos or Martin I. By the 9th century many of his writings were known and read in Constantinople; Photios, who found him "unclear and difficult to interpret", discusses many of them. In the 11th century Maximos's writings were the favourite reading of Irene, Anna Komnene's mother, to the amazement of her daughter. Maximos was valued by the hesychasts, and more space is devoted to his writings (mostly in select excerpts) than to any other writer in the 18th-century hesychast anthology, the *Philokalia*. He is perhaps the most highly revered of the Fathers among modern Orthodox theologians.

In his writings there is to be found a profound synthesis of the spiritual, dogmatic, and philosophical strands that are interwoven in Byzantine theology. There is, however, nothing systematic about the way that Maximos presents his theology, which is nearly all occasional in form, or put together for the purpose of monastic catechesis. Several works take the monastic form of the century, a collection of 100 paragraphs concerned with ascetical or theological matters, arranged for meditation. The form was popularized (or even invented) by Evagrius, the Origenist theorist of the wisdom of the Desert Fathers, and Maximos's two sets of centuries, *Four Centuries on Love* and *Two Centuries on Theology and the Incarnate Dispensation*, both seem to be conceived as Maximian reworkings and corrections of themes drawn from Evagrius and Origen respectively. Origenism, despite its condemnation at the Fifth Ecumenical Council (553), was still, as is evident from Maximos's writings, a serious problem in Byzantine monasticism, and much of his writing is concerned with countering it. His most famous work, the so-called *Ambigua* ("Difficulties", since they are all concerned with difficult passages in the writings of, almost exclusively, St Gregory of Nazianzus, "the Theologian"), has been called "a refutation of Origenism ... with a full understanding and will to retain what is good in the Alexandrian's doctrine, a refutation perhaps unique in Greek patristic literature" (Sherwood, 1952, p. 3). The *Ambigua*, and his other great work, his *Questions to Thalassius*, both take the form of questions and answers (*erotapokriseis*), the former in reply to questions from a certain Thomas and John, bishop of Cyzicus (the *Ambigua* is really two separate works), and the latter to questions from Thalassius, an abbot in Libya. In the early 640s Maximos was engaged in the Monothelite controversy, and composed many brief works (opuscula) in defence of orthodox doctrine. Despite the informal character of his writings, they express a coherent vision of the created order, ordained for union with God, which was to be articulated and achieved by the human person, created in the image of God, who constitutes the focus and bond of the cosmos. This has been thwarted by human refusal to fulfil the designated role, which entailed cosmic catastrophe and which can be restored only by the Incarnation of the person of God himself. The

Incarnation, revelation, the sacraments, and ascetic struggle are all interlocking parts of the restoration of the original harmony of the cosmos. Maximos's defence of Christological orthodoxy was inspired by his conviction, grounded in this cosmic vision, that in redeeming humanity God would not disregard the integrity of the natural order, something entailed by his assumption of an imperfect human nature, as Monothelitism proposed.

The case of Maximos poses in an acute form the question as to whether Byzantine Orthodoxy is Hellenic or Christian. At his trial he was asked: "Why do you love the Romans and hate the Greeks?" To which Maximos replied, "We have a precept, not to hate anyone: I love the Romans as sharing the same faith, and the Greeks as sharing the same language." Maximos valued his Greek cultural heritage, but it was his faith, which he at that time shared with the pope, for which he was willing to sacrifice his life. One who was perhaps the greatest of Byzantine theologians was bitterly opposed by the theologians of Byzantium, and found his Byzantine identity in faithfulness to the Christian tradition.

Maximos's popularity in modern Orthodox (not least Greek Orthodox) theology is based on his cosmic vision, which is seen to undergird modern ecological concerns, but perhaps even more on the profundity of his metaphysical reflection, especially on the notion of the person.

ANDREW LOUTH

Biography

Born in 580, probably in Constantinople, Maximos was educated there and became *protasecretis* (head of the chancellery) to the emperor Herakleios in 610. But he soon became a monk and by 630 was a member of a monastery in north Africa under the spiritual guidance of Sophronios. He attacked Monothelitism and went to Rome to support Pope Martin I. Accused of treason, he was exiled first in 655 to Thrace and then in 662 to Georgia, where he died the same year.

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Maximos the Greek, St *c.*1470–1556

Scholar known as the Enlightener of the Russians

Maximos the Greek, also known as Maximos Vatopedinos and in Russian as Maksim Grek, was an eminent patristic scholar of the 16th century and a highly learned educator and enlightener of Russia. He was born in Arta (Epirus) *c.*1470 into a wealthy family of Laconian origin. His father was Manuel Trivolis, his mother was called Irene, and Maximos' secular name was Michael.

The young Maximos left Arta to complete his studies, initially in Corfu and later in Italy. In the main Renaissance educational centres – Padua, Venice, and Florence (*c.*1492–95) – Maximos made connections with the leading representatives of Italian humanism, Angelo Poliziano, Marsilio Ficino, Aldus Manutius, and Gianfrancesco Pico della Mirandola. A very decisive influence on his thought was the Dominican preacher Girolamo Savonarola (1452–98), so much so that Maximos entered the Dominican order in 1502. Maximos also studied under the distinguished Greeks Janus Laskaris, Laonikos Chalkokondylis, and Constantine Laskaris and was employed as a copyist and corrector in the publishing house of Aldus Manutius.

After leaving Italy and the Dominican order, Maximos returned to Greece around 1506 and went to the monastery of Vatopedi on Mount Athos, which perhaps he chose for its opulent library, to take monastic vows. Because of his intellectual abilities, the monastery of Vatopedi sent him on missions to Macedonia and the Aegean islands. His philological knowledge was complemented on Mount Athos by his intensive occupation with the Church Fathers. In 1516, after ten years as a monk, at the request of the ruler of Russia, Vasiliy III, Maximos was sent to Russia to translate biblical and patristic texts into the Old Church Slavonic language. On his way there, Maximos met the patriarch in Constantinople and heard of the latter's plans for Russia.

Russian sources do not explain clearly why Maximos was sent to Russia, though they state that he went there to seek contributions for his monastery. This is endorsed by his subsequent adversary, Bishop Daniil, who said that Maximos went "to beg for alms", because he asked Vasiliy not to forget the penury of the Holy Monastery of Vatopedi. Moreover, the abbot of Vatopedi, Anthimos, writing to bishop Varlaam, expressed the hope that because of the services offered by Maximos the subsidies of the Great Ruler would increase. Notwithstanding the confusion caused by the accusations of Bishop Daniil, it is certain that Maximos's move to and stay in Russia were at the written request of Vasiliy, who asked for a translator of books.

Maximos departed from Athos, accompanied by the Greek monk Neophytos and the Bulgarian monk Lavrentii. He

arrived in Moscow in 1518 and was received with honour by Vasiliy and bishop Varlaam. He immediately started translating the Psalter with the help of the Russians Dmitri Gerasimov and Vlasii. The whole project was complex, since Maximos had to translate from Greek into Latin and then his colleagues translated into Old Church Slavonic. This procedure, which was followed for other books too, understandably led to some mistakes in translation, for which Maximos later paid a high price. After all, the translation of the Psalter was directed against the special interpretation of the book by the sect of the Judaizers and was deemed very important.

Illiteracy was prevalent in Russia at the time. As prince Andreas Rourbski, a student of Maximos and a first-rate scholar of the 16th century, wrote, Russians languished from spiritual hunger. Ritualism, Pharisaism in religious worship, combined with occultism and astrology, also flourished. Against this backdrop Maximos with great devotion continued to translate various biblical and patristic books as well as to correct the liturgical books, which were full of errors. Thus he strove to educate the Russians by writing and preaching. In a publication of Maximos's works in Old Church Slavonic by the Academy of Razan in 1859, it is written that "in a difficult period, this eminent scholar came from Greece. Orthodox Greece through him offered help in time of need for our Church ... He followed carefully everything that happened at the time and gave his opinion on every special event in his sagacious speeches. He protected the Russian Church from the claims of the Church of Rome. He wrote against the rationalistic teachings of the Reformation, against the Jews, the pagans and the Muslims."

Yet several of his contemporaries could not appreciate his merits, despite the fact that Maximos now commanded great authority in Russia and had obtained imperial patronage. Aside from the difficulties with the translation work, Maximos attempted a new interpretation of the *Nomokanon* and praised the cenobitic style of Athonite monasticism, while criticizing Russian monasteries for their landholdings and the Church for the accumulation of wealth. This criticism of the lifestyle of the Russian clergy caused rancour among a group of clerics and monks, under the leadership of bishop Daniil of Moscow, a student of the influential monk Joseph of Volokolamsk. Maximos had also openly supported the group of "non-possessor" monks under Vassian Patrikeev. Bishop Daniil then deliberately asked Maximos to translate Theodoret's *Religious History*, which favoured Daniil's convictions about monastic property. Since this book also contained epistles by various heretic leaders, Maximos did not accept the assignment, a fact which increased Daniil's antipathy. Furthermore, Maximos objected to the divorce and second marriage of the ruler, for which he was accused of collaborating with the ruler's enemies, the boyars. All these things earned him considerable enmity in princely and ecclesiastical circles alike.

It is no wonder then that Maximos was denounced as a heretic (for changes to the liturgical books) and a danger to the security of the country (for alleged secret contacts with the Turks). A synod in 1525 voted to excommunicate Maximos and to confine him for life in the monastery of Volokolamsk. His protests at this unjust punishment led Daniil to call a second synod in 1531. A further charge was added, that of the reproof of the Russian Church for the unlawful cessation of relations with the patriarchal see of Constantinople. The charges also included the practice of sorcery, the criticism of the Great Ruler, and the attacks on ecclesiastical and monastic property. Maximos was once more condemned to life imprisonment, this time in Tver', and to life privation of Holy Communion. Some of these accusations (including that of sorcery) were certainly unfounded, but others (such as citing the illegal status of the Russian Church) were valid, at least from a Russian perspective. In the 1530s Maximos' imprisonment became more relaxed and he was given the right to read and write. In 1545 the patriarchs of Constantinople and Alexandria asked tsar Ivan IV for his release, but without success. In 1548 his excommunication and imprisonment were annulled, and Maximos moved to the Zagorsk monastery, where he wrote and taught until his death in 1556.

Only posthumously were Maximos's personality and contributions acknowledged officially. About 100 years after his death patriarch Nikon agreed to his canonization, which was authorized by the patriarchates of both Moscow and Constantinople in 1988. Maximos's legacy of literary and theological works was considerable and significant. He wrote about 365 books, of which 163 remain unpublished. Though controversial in his time, he was the most famous and influential scholar in Russia through his work on Byzantine patristic literature, his polemics against western Scholasticism and Lutheranism, and his contributions on dogmatic, liturgical, and canonical issues. Finally, Maximos lived in an important transitional period in which the ecclesiastico-political division between Constantinople and Moscow had started to become evident and was to grow more so in the centuries to come.

FR. NEKTARIOS DROSOS

Biography

Born in Arta *c.*1470 to a wealthy family, Maximos (whose secular name was Michael Trivolis) studied in Corfu and then in the main Humanist centres of Renaissance Italy. In 1502 he joined the Dominican order. In 1506 he returned to Greece and became a monk on Mount Athos. At the request of the Russian ruler Vasiliy III he was sent in 1516 to Moscow to translate books into Old Church Slavonic. Denounced as a heretic, Maximos was imprisoned in 1525. He died at the Zagorsk monastery in 1556.

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Media

The Greek media have developed in an insecure political environment, which was characterized by a polarization of opinion and the dominance of factionalism. As part of the Greek democratic system, they have never enjoyed a long period of continuous stability in which to develop a free and independent communication culture. According to Nicos Mouzelis's views on the Greek political system and its uncertain ability to guarantee sufficient civil and political rights for its citizens, and Nikiforos Dimandouros's view on traditional and "underdog" culture in Greece, the political institutions and in particular the Greek media have difficulties in identifying and focusing attention on the main problems in order to serve the public interest in Greece.

The Greek media have developed under continuous threat from hostile forces both externally and internally. When democracy and civil society are weak, the military will have a much greater involvement in politics and government than in a more stable political environment. Therefore it was extremely difficult for the Greek media to serve the public interest and to protect such principles as freedom of expression, impartiality, and professionalism (Gantzias and Kamaras, forthcoming).

The Greek media system has changed since the 1980s primarily on account of changes in communication technology, most recently with the emergence of the new digital television channels and the Internet, but also because of pressures from the European Union. As a result the press and broadcasting channels now face new competition from a variety of regional and global media conglomerates (Gantzias and Kamaras, 2000).

The Press

The origins of the Greek press can be traced back to the end of the 18th century in Vienna. The first Greek newspaper, *Ephimeris* (Gazette), was published in Vienna in 1790 and contained foreign news, trade news, classified advertisements, and poetry. In the early years of the 19th century, before the Greek War of Independence of 1821, a number of Greek scholars aimed to establish a channel of communication with the expatriate communities abroad, as well as with the occupied Greek territories. *Ermis o Logios* (Hermes the Scholar) was published by several Greek intellectuals and educators in order to raise the morale of mainland Greeks and to educate them (Mayer, 1957; Karikopoulos, 1984).

On 1 August 1821 in Kalamata *Salpinx Elliniki* (Greek Trumpet) appeared, the first newspaper ever to be published in free Greece; but the first handwritten mainland newspaper was *Pseftofyllada tou Galaxidiou* (Galaxidi Liar), published a few months earlier at Galaxidi in central Greece. The *Ephimeris ton Athinon* (Athens Gazette) was published in 1824, and the *Ephimeris tis Kyverniseos* (Government Gazette) was founded in Nauplia in February 1833 and moved to Athens in 1834. The first opposition newspaper was *Apollon* (Apollo), founded on the island of Hydra in 1831. A few years later, a donation of three printing presses from a philhellene organization in London boosted printing activity on the mainland.

After four centuries of Turkish occupation there was no democratic tradition or government machinery to provide a framework in which political and civil life could develop along with a market economy. In this chaotic and disorganized sociopolitical environment, patron–client relationships flourished as a means of introducing some degree of order and security into the precarious life of the people (Mouzelis 1986, 1995). The press played an important role in the intense competition between the various factions struggling for power and its partisan identification with one group or another was the natural result of political clientelism. The government institutions supported their clients, gaining political power in return for favours; and by protecting particular sections of the press, they maintained their power base.

A series of printing efforts followed the early revolutionary press. By the end of the 19th century 9 more daily newspapers had appeared on the Greek market, and during the first quarter of the 20th century 17 more daily titles were launched; but out of the total of 26 newspapers that were published before 1925, only 5 titles remain in existence today. These are *Estia* (Hearth), first published in 1894, *Rizospastis* (Radical, 1908), *Ethnos* (Nation, 1913), *To Vima* (Tribune, 1922), and *Kathimerini* (Daily, 1922) (Leandros, 1992; Zaharopoulos and Paraschos, 1993).

By the end of the 20th century the publisher-typographer of the revolutionary years had gradually been replaced by the publisher-journalist who was also an entrepreneur. Especially after World War II, new forms of financing emerged, as well as direct and indirect lines of dependence between the press, the state, and entrepreneurial capital (Karikopoulos, 1984). After 1909 the press reflected changes created by the political dominance of the progressive wing associated mainly with Eleftherios Venizelos and the Liberal Party. Newspaper titles such as the *Hronos* (Time, 1903–39), the *Patris* (Homeland, 1905–35), *Esperini* (Afternoon, 1903–35), *Ethnos* (Nation, 1913–70; relaunched 1981), *Kathimerini* (Daily, 1919), *Vradini* (Evening, 1923), and *Eleftheron Vima* (Free Tribune, 1922) played an important role in recording, and occasionally

participating in, the political developments in Greece during the first half of the 20th century. In the early decades of the century, press circulation increased. In 1915 the total circulation of the Athens daily press was estimated to be around 150,000 copies and in the period 1930–36 circulation reached an average of 350,000–360,000.

A constitution drafted by R. Fereos in the revolutionary years called for "unlimited freedom of publishing" (Article 122). The Epidaurus Constitution (1822) and the Declaration of Independence, as well as in the Astros Constitution (Epidaurus Law, 1823), state that all Greeks have the right to publish their views via the press providing that they do not attack Christianity or established ethical principles, and they abstain from personal insults.

In the Trizina Constitution (1827) freedom of the press was reinforced with the declaration that the right to publicize opinions in writing and to publish in the press would not be subject to censorship. Later, in the Constitution of 1832, more details were included, such as the right of all citizens to become publishers if properly educated and to be held responsible for any material they published. In the Constitution of 1844 censorship was clearly prohibited as well as any other preventative measures against publishing. In the Constitution of 1911 confiscation of newspapers or any other printed intellectual material was forbidden, except in extreme cases of insults against Christianity, common decency, and the king.

Freedom of expression and of the press was included in various constitutional acts: 1823 (Epidaurus Law), 1827 (Trizina Political Constitution), 1844 Constitution, 1848, and 1864; in 1911 press freedom was specifically stated as an individual right (article 14). Later, the freedom of the press was heavily tested during the Balkan Wars, World War I, the Asia Minor campaign, and the disaster that followed. Article 14 (declaring freedom of the press) was stressed in the Constitution of 1927 and a new law on the press (Law 5060/1931) was put into effect. The Constitution of 1925 introduced the prosecution of press offences (although they were not characterized as a serious crime), a clause that was reversed in the Constitution of 1952.

The restoration of democracy and a series of measures aimed at the protection of the new polity in the mid-1930s led to the cancellation of press freedom in August 1936. During the Metaxas dictatorship the press was fostered and guided by the regime. A series of laws ruled against press freedom, referring to such issues as trade unionism, newspaper finances, etc. The most important law was the Obligatory Law 1092/1938, a serious blow to press freedom. A "secret" press emerged that became an outlaw press during the Nazi occupation.

In the period 1941–44, when Greece was under Nazi occupation, the newspapers that initially maintained their circulation remained, until their final closure, passively critical of the German-Italian military, refusing to print propaganda articles, and contributing to the general resistance movement against the occupying forces. More than 100 papers were published during the occupation, such as *Krypho Scholeio* (Secret School, 1943–44), *Elliniki Foni* (Greek Voice, 1943–44), *Machomeni Hellas* (Fighting Greece, 1942–44), *Machi* (Battle, 1942–44), *Hellinon Aima* (Greek Blood, 1942–45), and many others (Mayer, 1957, Paraschos, 1995).

The press was also targeted by the Papagos government which passed Law 2493/1953 referring to offences committed through publications in the press, creating havoc in journalistic circles, and forcing the Athens press to protest by stopping its presses in July 1953. By the end of the 1950s the daily political newspaper market consisted of 13 titles: 6 morning and 7 afternoon.

During the years of the military junta (1967–74) a substantial number of newspapers ceased operations, either because they were severely censored and finally closed down by the regime, or of their own accord as a response to the coup d'état. Out of 14 daily newspapers in circulation on 21 April 1967, only 9 remained open in 1974. *Kathimerini* and *Mesimvrini*, with a daily average of 130,000 copies between them, stopped their presses in protest against the colonels (Vlachou, 1992). Also *Eleftheria* (Freedom) as well as the left *Avgi* (Dawn) and *Dimokratiki Allagi* (Democratic Change) were banned by the regime in the early days of the junta. Over a two-month period (April–May), the total average daily circulation decreased by 36.2 per cent.

During the dictatorship press censorship ranged from the full subordination of newspapers in the early months of military rule to relative relaxation in the years 1969–71. The regime had seen the role of the press as an essential state mechanism, whose primary job was to disseminate established views, support the administration, and contribute to the formation of public opinion (Stratos, 1995; Zaharopoulos and Paraschos, 1993).

In the Constitution of 1968 freedom of the press was included in principle, although certain inserted clauses reflected the dictatorship's views on the issue. Article 14 was encumbered with so many provisions that it appeared almost impossible for the press to publish any opposition views. These restrictions remained in the Constitution of 1973, and were eventually abolished in the Constitution of 1975 with the restoration of democracy.

After the restoration of democracy on 26 July 1974, the circulation of the daily press increased by 61.3 per cent between June and August, reaching the peak of the decade with an average of 1,128,000 copies, recorded in August 1974. The abolition of all restrictions on the press, which led to the relaunch of newspapers previously banned by the regime, as well as the public's thirst for freedom of information and unrestricted expression of personal and political beliefs, were the main reasons for the increase in circulation. However, this rapid increase in circulation did not last long. One year later, in 1975, circulation started to decline. Five years later, in 1980, the total circulation had descended to the level almost of the junta period, with the morning press suffering the greater losses. Government laws and regulations had captured the "market" by placing a number of heavy constraints on its future development. The Greek newspapers have not developed in a media market such as that which operates in Western European countries. Many forces, both external (Turks and Balkans) and internal (civil war and dictatorship), have combined in various ways to constrain the "free" spirit of the press.

Some of the factors that have influenced the media system in Greece, such as technological change and new style of ownership during the 1980s, have transformed the Greek press

into a commercial enterprise. In 1989 the new private broadcasting channels, which introduced a competitive element into the monopolistic broadcasting market, indirectly affected the existing newspaper market. Businessmen from all sectors of the economy, such as construction, manufacturing, oil, and shipping, were entering the broadcasting channels and the press market, replacing many of the traditional newspaper proprietors (Gantzias and Kamaras, 2000).

The new commercial publishers were willing to invest heavily in the media market to gain access to publicity. Although the dominant publishers tried hard to launch new newspaper titles during the 1980s, 17 out of 23 new national newspaper titles were forced to close down within two years because of the constraint of the established press market. Moreover, the press in Greece suffers from low circulation and too many medium-size publications. In the 1980s technological developments changed the traditional newspaper production process. The replacement of linotype printing machines with the modern practice of phototypesetting was a major breakthrough for Greek newspapers, and desktop publishing and the use of computers in general have contributed to the emergence of a new era for the printing industry. Generally, technological improvements have allowed most newspapers to modernize their appearance and to become more efficient in news gathering and processing. The results of technology and the use of computing in printed media were evident in the areas of printing techniques, layout, and the extensive use of colour.

The nine-year period 1981–89, during which the country was ruled by successive PASOK governments, was a golden age for the Athens daily political press. Daily circulation remained constantly at a level of 900,000 to 1 million copies, with even higher figures being achieved in pre-election periods. In 1994 new press legislation (Law 2243/1994), put forward by a PASOK administration, abolished the Metaxas law and contributed to the modernization and systematic codification of press legislation. In the 1990s a series of initiatives to launch new titles materialized, some of which were unsuccessful. On the other hand, the periodical press, such as life-style magazines and specialized journals, was strengthened. The increased demand for specialized titles relating to the economy, business, and financial activity was a result of the further evolution and maturity of the Greek economy, which was associated with the growth of the stock market, the development of modern financial services, and the emergence of a new generation of businessmen who invested heavily in public relations and publicity.

Moreover, the decline in circulation during the 1990s created a high level of insecurity in the press marketplace. For example, the total average circulation of 840,800 copies in 1990 fell to 470,000 in 1998, and the evening press fell from 767,200 copies sold in 1990 to 407,700 copies in 1998. Before 1980 the Greek press had been supported financially by different political parties and the government, and this was the main reason for the problems it experienced when floated in a competitive media market in the 1990s. The broadcasting monopoly and the diversity of interests in the publishing sector had created a very "cosy" environment in the Greek media market. In the late 1990s the press was challenged by the Internet and by the emergence of a variety of private and digital television channels.

Broadcasting

Both radio and television grew up in non-democratic periods of Greek history: radio under the Metaxas dictatorship (1935–40) and the German occupation during World War II, and television under the junta of 1967–74. The Metaxas dictatorship and later the Nazis during their occupation of Greece used radio as a propaganda tool to disseminate their ideas and to influence public opinion.

The radio and television channels were used by the junta to disseminate its anti-communist propaganda and to influence public opinion. Moreover, the democratic administrations that were formed after 1974 followed the same practice, using state-owned broadcast media for propaganda purposes. The fact that broadcasting emerged in periods when democracy and freedom of speech were suppressed had numerous side-effects on its future development. The radio and television channels were the main avenues for the government of the day to publish its policies during the main news programmes. The broadcasting channels were controlled heavily by the state and by a group of interested parties – the advertisers, the advertising agencies, and the private production sector who were the main programme providers (Paraschos, 1995; Pathanassopoulos, 1989; Dimitras and Doulkeri, 1986; Zaharopoulos and Paraschos, 1993).

In 1981 PASOK gained power and promised the democratization of television, as well as freedom of speech in state broadcasting. Despite this initial aim, the party did not wish to lose control of television, which was seen as an important means of state propaganda and of promoting government policy. Consequently, the Greek broadcasting media remained heavily underdeveloped and state-controlled until 1989, the year when private television was launched. The transition from the stage of underdevelopment to liberalization was very problematic. The rapid and uncontrolled development of private television in the 1990s was characterized by extreme commercialization and a market-driven attitude, not to mention the lack of a coherent policy in frequency allocation, advertising breaks, and broadcasting programmes.

The late introduction of new legislative frameworks (Laws 1866/89 and 2325/95) and the institution of independent authorities (e.g. National Broadcasting Council), which might be expected to act as a regulating mechanism to monitor the broadcasting system and control the private sector, in fact achieved the opposite results. Neither the legislation nor the regulatory body has been very effective in regulating the chaotic broadcasting market (Gantzias and Kamaras, forthcoming; Kiki, 1989; Paraschos, 1995; Venizelos, 1989).

Broadcasting in Greece is in a transitional stage. Analogue television will soon have to control the developments of digital technology. The new law on digital television channels (2644/98) is another piece of legislation that is likely to be very soon out of date when the new digital television channels broadcast their programmes in Greece (Gantzias and Kamaras, 2000). The broadcasting market is seeking its identity, while the government tries to tune the market with digital technology. Insecurity in the broadcasting market together with competition from numerous legal and technically illegal broadcasting stations have created an unsuitable environment for the

development of healthy competition in the analogue media market.

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See also Censorship

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Medicine

The earliest sources of detailed Greek medical knowledge are Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, both written in the 8th century BC. In the *Iliad* Homer mentions 147 different wounds, for most of which he gives detailed and accurate descriptions. Homer also recorded the medical care given to injured warriors, which focused on providing comfort to the wounded soldier rather than treating the wound itself. Among the warriors some were considered specialists in the art of healing through bandaging and herbal medicine. Two of these specialists were Machaon and Podalirius, who are both described as sons of Asclepius. After Machaon was wounded himself, he was treated by being given a cup of hot wine sprinkled with grated goat cheese and barley. Homer did not discuss any diseases, except for the case of Thersites which contains a typical description of rickets.

An influential development in Greek medicine was the Asclepius cult, which originated in Epidaurus and spread rapidly throughout the 4th century BC. Asclepius, who in the *Iliad* is described only as a skilful physician, was here worshipped as a god of medicine, truth, and prophecy. He was a son of Apollo who had learned the art of healing from the centaur Chiron. The god figure may have been derived from a human Asclepius who is credited with many miracles in healing and lived around 1200 BC.

By the end of the 4th century BC Asclepius was worshipped in about 200 temples, of which those at Epidaurus, Cnidus, Cos, and Pergamum were the most important. The sick would visit the temples for a ritual healing incubation. After purifying themselves through baths, fastings, and sacrifices they slept in a dormitory, or *abaton*, where they were visited in a dream by Asclepius or one of his priests. In the morning the priests would interpret the dream and give advice. Since the priests wanted to ensure that the sick had a chance of recovery, they became skilful in diagnosis. The extent and variety of the temple cures can be seen from the tokens the cured left behind. At the Asclepieion at Epidaurus about 10 cubic m of terracotta replicas of afflicted limbs and organs have been found, illustrating successful case studies. Inscriptions on the temples show that the treatment of diseases consisted of rest, exercise, diet, and magic.

It was not the priests, however, but the Presocratic philosophers, starting with Thales of Miletus (6th century BC), who led the way towards a naturalistic medicine. In the cosmologies of the Presocratics the inner workings of the human body became subject to the very same principles as the outward phenomena. Of special significance is Empedocles of Acragas (*c.*490–*c.*435 BC), founder of the medical school in Sicily, whose four-element cosmology (fire, earth, water, air) anticipated the doctrine of the four bodily fluids or humours: blood, phlegm, choler (or yellow bile), and melancholy (or black bile). Just as the order of the universe depended on a harmony of the four elements, so was one healthy when the four humours were in balance.

The views of Empedocles influenced Hippocrates of Cos (*c.*460–377 BC), who is generally considered the father of medicine. A contemporary of Plato, Hippocrates lived in the golden age of Greek thought and culture. As with many early Greek figures little is known of his life, and the name may refer to several different people. About 70 medical treatises, generally called the Hippocratic corpus, are traditionally attributed to

him, but it is not clear whether he wrote even one of them. The treatises vary greatly in length and style, and it is generally believed that they used to make up the library of a medical school, probably at Cos, which became the most important centre of medical thought and practice in the 4th century BC – a role that was later taken over by Alexandria. Today Hippocrates is best known for the Hippocratic oath, an ethical code that is still upheld, albeit in radically revised versions. According to the original oath, the physician should use medicine solely for the benefit of the patient, abstain from surgery, keep information about the patient confidential, and refrain from asking a fee for teaching others his trade.

The Hippocratic theory built upon the idea of the Presocratic philosophers that man and nature are subject to the same rules and on Empedocles' theory of the four elements. Reliance on the speculative cosmologies of the Presocratic philosophers was crucial to the Hippocratic theory, since physicians could not engage in dissection to familiarize themselves with the inner workings of the human body. Following Empedocles' theory of the four elements, Hippocratic medical practice consisted of restoring the balance of the four humours. To cure a patient one had to make the offending humour escape or balance itself out. The Hippocratic physicians sought to do this primarily through diets, purgation, bloodletting, and draining abscesses.

One interesting element of the Hippocratic corpus, and a clear mark of its scientific character, is that besides successful treatments medical mistakes were also included. This is especially clear in book 5 of the *Epidemics*, which contains case studies of ill-timed purgatives, badly done cauterizations, irritating wound dressings, and others. Some of the Hippocratic methods, such as treating a dislocation of the hip, remained unsurpassed until the 19th century. Part of the corpus, most prominently the *Aphorismi*, was used as a textbook up to the 19th century.

The other two major centres of Greek medicine during this period were Cnidus and Sicily. Two important figures of the school at Cnidus were Euryhon and Ctesias, both contemporaries of Hippocrates. Euryhon made anatomical studies, explained pleurisy as a lung affection, and discovered that haemorrhage can occur from the arteries as well as the veins. He also believed that disease was caused by insufficient evacuation of the faeces. In Sicily Philistion of Locri, who met Plato at Syracuse, did much to diffuse the medical knowledge of the island and to ensure its synthesis with the views at Cnidus and Cos.

Although Aristotle was not a physician himself, his impact on the development of Greek medicine can hardly be overestimated. Born in 384 BC, he was a son of Nicomachus, who was the court physician to Amyntas II, king of Macedon. Aristotle's main contributions concern his development of the scientific method, to which his formal logic added an element of precision, and his work in comparative anatomy and embryology.

After Aristotle the centre of Greek culture shifted to Alexandria, where a famous medical school was established around 330 BC. Important figures of this period were Herophilus and Erasistratus. Both lived during the single brief period in which the ban on human dissection was lifted. This change in attitude towards dissection was due largely to the teachings of Plato and Aristotle on the soul. According to Galen, Herophilus of Chalcedon (*c.*335–*c.*280 BC) was the first to perform public dissections on human cadavers. He distinguished nerves, tendons, and blood vessels, and gave precise accounts of the retina, liver, pancreas, and the genital organs of both sexes. Herophilus followed the Hippocratic method of balancing the four humours through drugs, diet, and exercise, and is believed to have been the first to measure the pulse, and use it to diagnose a fever.

Herophilus' rival at Alexandria, Erasistratus of Chios (*c.*304–*c.*250 BC), is known especially for his studies of the circulatory systems, including the nervous system, since he thought the nerves were hollow tubes filled with fluid. Erasistratus proposed mechanical explanations for many bodily processes, including digestion, and is often considered the founder of physiology. In the 1st century AD Celsus accused both Herophilus and Erasistratus of performing human vivisection, an accusation that was empathically repeated by Tertullian and St Augustine, but for which there is no evidence.

During the first centuries of the Christian era, many Greek physicians moved to Rome. Among them was Pedanius Dioscurides (*fl.* AD 20), a Greek pharmacist and author of *De Materia Medica*, which contained descriptions of about 600 plants with an explanation of their medical uses, and included many scientific illustrations to help identify them. Dioscurides greatly simplified the pharmacopoeia, and his work is the basis of modern pharmacology.

The first eminent Greek physician in Rome was Asclepiades of Bithynia (*fl.*150 BC), who opposed the humoral theory of medicine. Asclepiades drew upon the atomism of Democritus of Abdera (*fl.*420 BC), attributing disease to the contracted or relaxed condition of tiny solid particles he believed made up the body. This explanation became the basis of a school of medicine that extended until well into the 7th century. It largely disregarded the findings of anatomy and physiology and concentrated on therapeutic massages, fresh air, and corrective diet. Soranus of Ephesus (2nd century AD), who followed Asclepiades' atomist approach, also came to Rome. Soranus wrote on childbirth, including the podalic (feet-first) delivery, infant care, women's diseases, and nervous disorders. An opponent of abortion, he devised several methods of contraception.

The most illustrious Greek physician in Rome was no doubt Galen of Pergamum (*c.*AD 130–201). Galen began his career at the Asclepius temple in Pergamum and came to Rome around AD 163. He was a brilliant and prolific writer with great rhetorical skills. About 300 titles are attributed to him, of which about half survive. They cover close on every aspect of the medical theory and practice in his day. For his own views he combined ideas from Plato and Aristotle with the Hippocratic tradition. Like the Hippocratic physicians, Galen believed that health required an equilibrium of the four humours, but unlike the holistic Hippocratics he argued that imbalances can also be confined to particular organs.

For Galen anatomy formed the basis of medical knowledge and he frequently dissected and experimented on animals. Notable are his vivisection experiments, such as tying off the ureters to show the functions of kidney and bladder. Because of a ban on human dissections, his anatomy was based largely on the dissection of mammals, which often led to errors. His description of the uterus, for instance, is largely that of a dog.

Galen saw the body as three connected systems: the brain and nerves are responsible for sensation and thought; the heart and arteries are responsible for life-giving energy; and the liver and veins are responsible for nutrition and growth.

Although observation does play a role in Galen's system, his general tenet was to explain everything in pure theory, to which his rhetorical skills gave the air of being infallible. This led to a strong tendency to dogmatism among his followers. Galen's approach is in this respect almost the opposite of the Hippocratic method, which tried to remain close to the facts and proceeded through a careful description of case studies.

The Byzantine period is often depicted as a time of stagnation and plagiarism, generating little more than compilations of earlier works. Byzantine medicine, however, is a lively mixture of Greek medical theory, magic, and folk medicine, in which old theories were combined with new observations and adapted for a predominantly rural society. Although the dominant Church was on the whole favourable to medicine, it favoured not the secular healing of physicians, but that of praying, fasting, and the laying on of hands. Consequently, it was the priests that were first consulted in cases of illness. Secular medicine was tolerated as an alternative medicine on which true Christians could also rely. A central feature of Byzantine medicine is the emergence of the hospital, in which respect it was far ahead of developments in the West. Between the 4th and the 12th century Christian houses for the poor, or *xenones*, became well-organized and fully staffed hospitals. Often these *xenones*, like John Chrysostom's *nosokomeia* (places to care for the sick), were associated with cities. Initially, the *xenones* were governed by priests, but by the 12th century physicians had obtained full control over the therapeutic and often also the management side of the hospitals.

Several figures deserve special attention. Alexander of Tralles (525–605) wrote on intestinal worms and developed a complex system of drug prescriptions involving no fewer than 495 different pharmaceuticals. He also sanctioned magic, especially when the patient's belief in it aided the cure. Theophilos Protospatharios (*fl.* AD 630) wrote an influential work on uroscopy and a book on excrements, which indicates the continued use of dungs in pharmaceuticals. Paul of Aegina (7th century) wrote extensively on surgery, providing detailed descriptions of more than 120 different operations, including mastectomy and operations for hernia, tumours, and bladder stone.

CORNELIS DE WAAL

See also Anatomy, Disease, Healing Cults, Health

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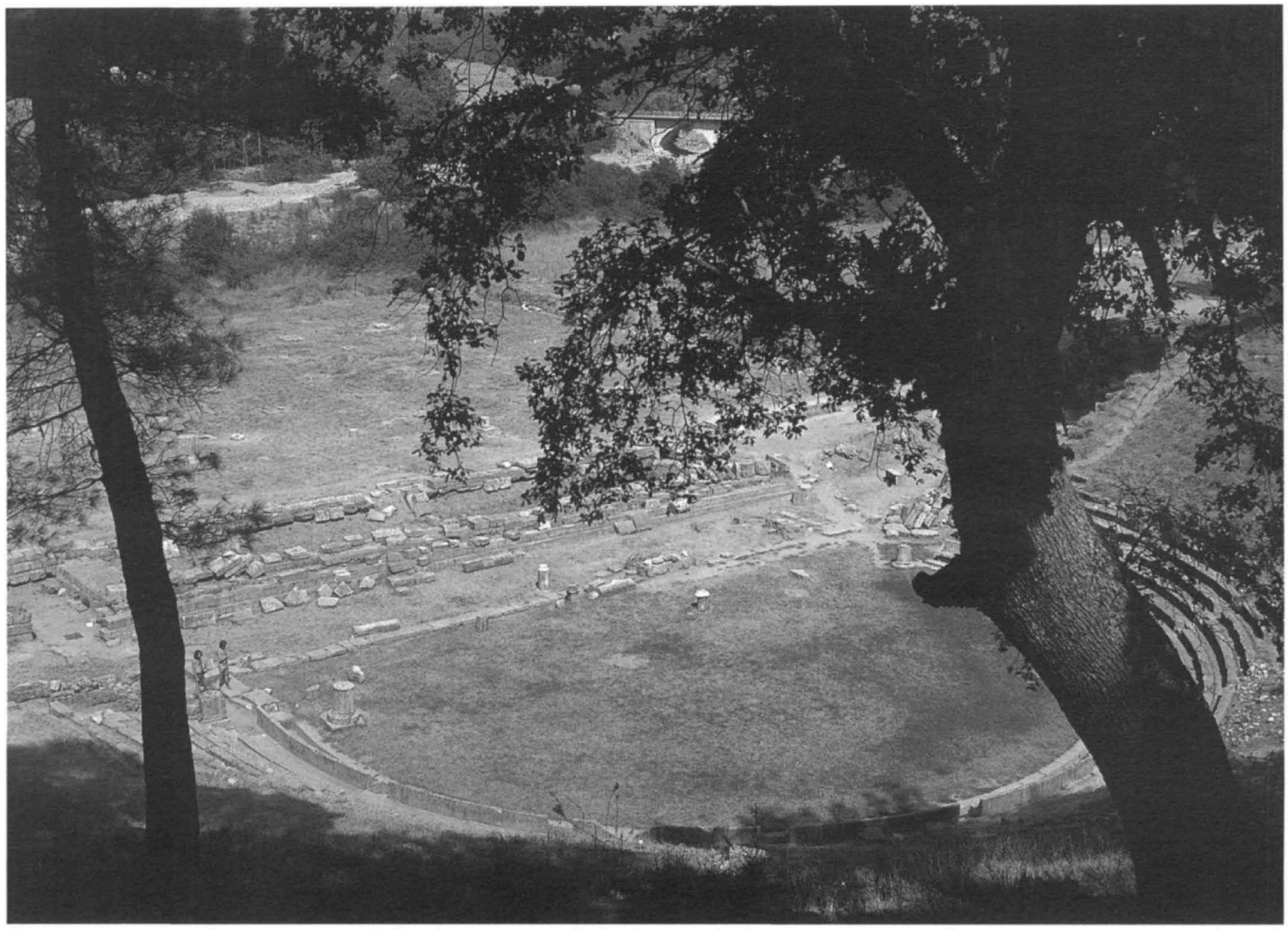
Megalopolis

City in Arcadia

Megalopolis – the ironically named "Great City" – was founded at the instigation of Epaminondas and the Boeotian federation after their shattering victory over the Spartans at the Battle of Leuctra in 371 BC and their subsequent incursion into the Peloponnese during the winter of 370/69, at the invitation of the Arcadian League.

During this incursion Epaminondas had stopped short of attacking the city of Sparta itself, even though it was unwalled, but he successfully removed one of the main supports of Spartan power, their possession of Messenia, reconstituting it as an independent state with a vastly fortified city at Messene. In the next year, 368, he followed this up with a second invasion of the Peloponnese. He used his successes this time to strengthen the Arcadian League. It was at some point during this that he organized the creation of Megalopolis (Pausanias says a few months after Leuctra, when Phrasicleides was archon at Athens, that is in 371/70 BC, but this is too early).

The new city served several purposes. It was situated in southern Arcadia, in an area of upland plain drained by the headwaters of the river Alpheus (which then flows westwards, past Olympia). This area also has access to the Eurotas valley to the southeast, and to Messenia and Mount Ithome to the southwest. It was thus strategically vital if the Spartans were to be restricted to their homeland of Laconia, and an anti-Spartan stronghold here was a crucial part of Epaminondas' new order for the Peloponnese. It was designed also to strengthen the unity of the Arcadian League, to create a formidable single power in the central Peloponnese which would in turn prevent any Spartan resurgence. Arcadia had come rather late to the formation of city-states, and this had made possible the formation of the federal league. Of the existing cities, Mantinea had been formed out of constituent villages, and broken up into villages by the Spartans in 385 BC. Tegea had existed as a recognizable city for centuries, but there was rivalry with the neighbouring Mantineans, who were unlikely to recognize it as the leading state in the Arcadian League. Megalopolis therefore served as a new, artificial, neutral city which all the other Arcadians could recognize as their capital without loss of face. According to Pausanias (2nd century AD), it became the youngest city, not just in Arcadia, but in all Greece, excluding colonies founded by the Romans. He names the founders, probably on the basis of a record kept at Megalopolis itself, as Lycomedes and Hopleas from Mantinea, Timon and Proxenos from Tegea, Creolaos and Acriphios from Cleitor, Eucampidas and Hieronymus from Maenalos, and Possicrates and



Megalopolis: the 4th-century BC theatre seated 21,000, making it one of the largest in Greece

Theoxenos of Parrasia, that is, two from each of the main cities of Arcadia, thus emphasizing its position as a centre for all Arcadians. The actual population came from the existing villages in the vicinity. Pausanias gives a list of their names; he adds that some had to be coerced.

The remains of ancient Megalopolis are not well preserved, and virtually nothing of its surrounding city walls can be seen, though their line has been traced. They enclosed a large area, as at Messene, but from the start the city seems to have been designed for a substantial population, moved in from the villages, unlike Messene whose walls were intended to provide a place of refuge in emergency for Messenians living outside the city. The architectural importance of Megalopolis rests with the buildings constructed to enable it to function as the capital of the Arcadian League: a roofed hall for the council of the league, called the Thersilion after its founder, and the adjacent theatre which, quite apart from any use for the performance of drama, would also have been the seat of the 10,000-strong representative assembly of the league. The porticoed entrance to the Thersilion served as the stage building (*scaenae frons*) of the theatre. Both were excavated by the newly founded British School at Athens as its first major excavation in 1891. The theatre, one of the largest in Greece, was fairly well preserved (though earth tremors have caused subsequent damage). The Thersilion, however, had been reduced to its foundations, perhaps indicating a structure of mud brick; it was already in this state when Pausanias saw it. It was a rectangular building, 66 m wide, 52 m from front (the portico) to back; as with all ancient Greek enclosed buildings of this size its roof had to be supported on a forest of columns, but these were arranged as a series of lines radiating from an area between the centre and the main entrance of the building which was obviously the place from which speakers addressed the council, thus giving direct lines of vision to the speaker from the assembled councillors. Another important building originally excavated by the British School in 1891 (it is now being re-examined by a German archaeological team) was the principal portico building of the agora, the stoa of Philip, a huge Doric building, measuring 155 m in length, with projecting wings at either end. The facade has no fewer than 86 Doric columns; the interior was divided into three aisles by double rows of Ionic columns, with two extra columns in each wing. Such a colossal building could only be the gift of a king; in this case Philip of Macedon, seeking to confirm the support of the Arcadians, and almost certainly Philip II, in the aftermath of Chaeronea and the refusal of the Spartans to join the Peace, rather than Philip V, reviving Megalopolis after it had been sacked by the Spartans under Cleomenes III in 223 BC.

In the Hellenistic period Megalopolis was a firm supporter of Macedon, notably in the 240s when it was ruled by a tyrant,

Lydiades, probably installed with Macedonian assistance. Nevertheless, finding himself increasingly isolated he had joined the Achaean League; it was this that provoked Cleomenes' attack, the effect of which was reversed by the unexpected alliance of the Achaean League with Macedon and the defeat of Cleomenes at the battle of Sellasia in 222 BC. Thereafter Megalopolis continued as a member of the Achaean League, and so became embroiled against Rome in the Third Macedonian War, resulting in the son of its leading politician Lycortas being taken to Rome as a hostage. This was the historian Polybius, whose writings make him not only the greatest historian of the Hellenistic period, and of the involvement of Greece and Rome, but also by far the most eminent citizen of Megalopolis.

After the Roman incorporation of Greece as its province of Achaea, Megalopolis continued without any political importance (and hence the ruin of the Thersilion) as a small provincial city. It faded away in later antiquity, the population dispersing once more into villages. After the War of Independence it was selected, like Sparta and Thebes, as one of the places where a city of Classical Greece was artificially revived, but it was the least successful. Today it remains a small place serving the local lignite mines and the smoke-producing power station.

R.A. TOMLINSON

Summary

Founded after the Battle of Leuctra (371 BC) at the instigation of Epaminondas and the Boeotian Confederacy, Megalopolis was created as the capital of the Arcadian League. The population was drawn from neighbouring villages. It supported Macedon in the Hellenistic period and was a member of the Achaean League. It was the birthplace of Polybius. It declined in the Roman period.

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Megara

City in central Greece

Situated between Eleusis (19 km distant) and the isthmus of Corinth (33 km away), close to the north shore of the Saronic Gulf, the ancient city of Megara was topographically focused on the twin acropolises of Alcathous and Caria: the same is true of the modern town.

The ancient harbour, now silted up, was about 1.5 km away at Nisaea, opposite Salamis and to the west of modern Pachi, which is of no importance. On the west side of the site of the Nisaea harbour area is the hill of Palaikastro (later the site of a Frankish fort), which was probably ancient Minoa. Minoa is mentioned in ancient sources as either an island or a cape. To the east, the hill of Hagios Georgios has ancient fortifications and was probably the acropolis of Nisaea.

Although the small plain in which Megara itself lies is fertile and produces vines and olives, the hinterland is mostly mountainous and barren, dominated by the Yerani and Pateras ranges to the west and east respectively.

At its greatest extent the territory of Megara covered the whole of the peninsula between Eleusis and the isthmus, and included Aegosthena and Pagae to the north and east, and Perachora to the west. Pagae, near modern Alepochori, is close to the shore of the easternmost arm of the Corinthian Gulf (the so-called Halcyonic Gulf). Megara's ports thus gave access to two seas. Through its territory passed important land routes between Attica and the isthmus and between central Greece and the isthmus. The position of Megara on these strategic routes, although advantageous to trade and communications, was also the cause of misfortunes since armies ravaged the city in passing or brought it into conflicts through use as a base.

The settlements of Rous (to the north) and Tripodiskos (to the northwest, on Mount Yerani), and the sanctuary of Zeus Aphesios (above Kakia Skala) were also Megarian.

Only limited traces of Neolithic settlement have so far been found (at Lake Vouliagmeni, near Perachora). Finds of potsherds show that the acropolis area of Megara town (where there is also "Cyclopean" walling which may be prehistoric), as well as the probable sites of ancient Nisaea and Minoa, were inhabited in the Bronze Age. Myths suggest that in very early times Megara may have been subject to Athens.

But as a Dorian state it became important only from the 8th century BC. Its situation was favourable for trade and it was active in the colonial movement. Its foundations included Megara Hyblaea and Selinus in Sicily, and Chalcedon and Byzantium on the Bosporus.

Megara was ruled by tyrants for much of the Archaic period. The best known of them is Theagenes (mid-7th century), whose son-in-law Cylon attempted a coup at Athens.

Its territory was diminished in the 6th century when the Athenians, under Solon, took Salamis, and the Corinthians the western part of the peninsula. Megara took part in the Persian Wars.

In 461 the Athenians built the long walls connecting the city with Nisaea and garrisoned both this harbour and that at Pagae. In 456 the Athenians withdrew when the Megarians rejoined the Peloponnesian side. This caused enormous resentment at Athens and resulted in the "Megarian decree" of 432 by which the city was banned from Athenian markets. The Athenians continued to harass the city, building the fort at Boudoron on Salamis to check Nisaea.

After the start of the Peloponnesian War, in which Megara suffered badly, partly because of its changing allegiance, its territory was invaded twice annually. For a time in 424 the Athenians took control of Nisaea and Minoa, but did not succeed in capturing Megara itself.

Recovering in the 4th century, the inhabitants rebuilt the long walls, again with Athenian help, as a defence against Philip of Macedon. In 315 the city was used by Cassander as a base against the Peloponnese. In 307 it was besieged by Demetrius Poliorcetes who took away all the slaves, thus devastating the economic infrastructure. In the 3rd-century

"Chremonid" War (between Athens-Sparta and Macedon) Megara was controlled by the Macedonians, and later (243 BC) the city joined the Achaean League. Pagae and Aegosthena then became independent.

With its territory and power circumscribed, Megara was less important in the Hellenistic and Roman periods. The city suffered at the hands of Roman armies but remained rich in the buildings and works of art described by Pausanias.

In AD 395 Megara suffered a catastrophic destruction at the hands of Alaric's Goths after which its significance was minimal. Nevertheless, although little is known about the history of Megara in the Early Christian and Byzantine periods, it is clear from several surviving churches and monasteries, such as the 12th-century Panagia Kiparissiotissa in the monastery of Hagios Ierotheos, 6 km northwest, and the 12th-century church of Hagia Sotira in the plain to the northeast, that there was considerable activity in the area.

Franks and Ottomans used Megara as a base, the latter for operations in the Peloponnese. The remains of a Frankish fort survive on "Minoa". In the 14th and 15th centuries Albanian settlers arrived in the area, encouraged by the Franks. Various small post-Byzantine churches tell a story of smallscale but continuous occupation up to the 19th century. In 1771 the Megarians supported the commander Mitromaras in the rebellion of Orloff and suffered accordingly. In the early 19th century Ypsilantis used the town as a base for campaigns in Boeotia. In more recent times the Megarian economy has been based on chicken farming and smallscale industry. Today the town is a busy but pleasant backwater.

Study of the town's antiquities began in the 19th century with the work of H. Reinganum and has continued since. Megara's most impressive surviving ancient monument is the so-called Fountain of Theagenes, ascribed to the tyrant. In fact this is a large reservoir, its roof supported by pillars, originally fed by an acqueduct.

Pausanias saw numerous public buildings and works of art. The sites of several of these have been identified by excavations or the discovery of inscriptions. Most of the public buildings either are no longer to be seen (a stoa of the agora, beneath the modern Plateia Metaxa) or have been incorporated in later buildings (inscriptions and a temple of Athena in churches, especially that of the Ypapandi, and houses on Alcathous). Numerous fragments of the fortifications (4th century BC) have been found, allowing the line of the circuit – and some of its gates – to be clearly defined. Megara was known for the quality of its houses, with capacious basements, many examples of which have been excavated.

Famous Megarians included the elegiac poet Theognis (7th or 6th century BC) and Eucleides, founder of the 4th-century BC post-Socratic Megarian school of philosophy.

ROBIN L.N. BARBER

Summary

Megara lies between Athens and Corinth and was often overshadowed by its powerful neighbours. In the 8th century BC it founded colonies in Sicily and on the Bosporus. In the 5th century it suffered as a result of changing allegiances. Refortified in the 4th century, the city was besieged by Demetrius Poliorcetes. In 243 BC it joined the Achaean League. Under the Romans its importance dwindled but it was rich in fine buildings and works of art.

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Mehmet II 1432–1481

Ottoman Turkish sultan

Mehmet was born in Edirne (Adrianople) on 30 March 1432, the third son of Sultan Murad II (1421–1451) and his slave concubine Hatun bint Abdullah, whose ethnic origins are obscure and much debated. Entrusted from childhood with token positions of responsibility, he developed early a stubborn, precocious, and contentious personality. The murder of Murad's favourite second son Alaeddin Ali in 1443 prompted the sultan to prepare Mehmet for succession, even though there was little warmth between the arrogant young prince and his moderate, affable father. Amid a mixture of military dangers Murad appointed the 12-year-old Mehmet, if not as full sovereign, then as regent in the European territories while he retired to attend to matters in the Asian regions. The crisis of the resurgent crusade launched in the Balkans by Latin Christian powers was more than young Mehmet and his advisers could manage, and Murad returned to Europe to lead the Turkish forces in their total victory over the crusaders at Varna (10 November 1444).

Murad had devoted his life to mastering what had once been the core territories of old Byzantium, combining much of Asia Minor with the southern Balkans. That control, and the seemingly inevitable conquest of the old Byzantine capital, Constantinople, had been unexpectedly derailed, decades before, by the defeat and capture of Murad's grandfather, Bayazid I (1389–1405), by Tamerlane in 1402. Following a succession struggle, his surviving son, Mehmet I (1413–1421), had reconstituted the Ottoman regime, and Murad had continued that task of restoring and consolidating power. Long years of war had wearied a man of his mild and introspective char-

acter and so, after the victory at Varna, Murad formally abdicated in favour of his son. Young Mehmet's yet undisciplined personality, plus court intrigues, bred opposition and a revolt of the elite Janissary corps in the spring of 1446, which forced Murad to end his retirement and resume control once again. His remaining five years were devoted to renewed warfare against hostile or rebellious elements in the Balkans, in the Byzantine Morea, and in Asia Minor, but leaving to his successor to go beyond preserving the status quo.

Aged 19 at his succession, Mehmet made no dramatic changes at first. He did initiate the practice of the new sultan murdering his surviving brothers as potential rivals. But he retained his father's cautious and conservative advisers. He was, however, clearly in sympathy with more activist counsellors and had identified himself since 1444 with the goal of taking Constantinople, the last barrier to the confirmation of the Ottoman regime's imperial status, and its necessary capital.

Devoting initial efforts to neutralizing all possible distractions from internal or neighbouring forces, Mehmet began steadily marshalling his resources for the stroke on which he staked his power and reputation. He supervised the rapid six-month building of Rumeli Hisari, the mighty fortress on the European side of the Bosporus, as a direct threat to Constantinople. He launched the actual siege on 6 April 1453, and conducted it personally with relentless energy. He had hoped to force the city's surrender, but he pressed recurrent assaults, using siege cannon of unprecedented size. After more than 50 days, when the outcome remained in doubt, he insisted on one final, massive assault on 29 May 1453. Upon its success, Mehmet entered the city in triumphal procession. He deplored the pillaging of the city that he was obliged to allow to his troops, but he endeavoured to control it, claiming public buildings and dedicating Hagia Sophia as a mosque.

His landmark victory had earned him the title of *Fatih* or "the Conqueror" usually fused to his name. Valuing his new prize, he made every effort to repair and restore Constantinople, repopulating it (including Greek elements) and initiating its architectural identity as an Islamic capital. Mehmet was anxious to salvage and incorporate elements of the previous Byzantine order, and he was particularly aware of the value of the Orthodox Church as an agency through which the subject Christian population might be coordinated and ruled. Accordingly, he had the Byzantine patriarchate reconstituted under the able Gennadios II Scholarios, former opponent of Byzantine Church union with the Latin west, with whom he developed a relationship of mutual respect. On the other hand, determined to complete his replacement of the old Byzantine state with the new Ottoman imperial regime, he stamped out the remaining centres of Greek independence. After a preliminary reduction of the Morea (1458) he annexed it fully in 1460, ending the Byzantine principality (despotate) there and renewing its conquest four years later after a brief Venetian seizure. In 1461 he formally ended the feeble regime of the Greek emperors of Trebizond.

Mehmet's three decades of rule continued his and his generals' recurrent campaigns against other Christian powers in the Balkans and against Muslim rivals in the east, as well as intermittent hostilities with Venice. In 1456 he unsuccessfully besieged Belgrade but in 1459 he seized the fortress of Semendria (Smederevo), completing the subjection of Serbia; by 1478 he had reduced Albania. In 1475 he annexed Genoese holdings in the Black Sea regions and established lordship over the Mongol Khanate of the Crimea. In 1480 his forces launched an unsuccessful attack on the Hospitaller Knights of St John in Rhodes, while a daring expeditionary force seized Otranto in a brief attempt to establish a Turkish beachhead in Italy. Only his death brought some respite to Ottoman momentum.

Mehmet's character was complex and sometimes contradictory, a mix of impassioned autocracy and acts of depraved violence combined with open-minded tolerance and enlightened benevolence. With his own diverse ethnic background, he was sensitive to the diverse traditions that constituted his realms and his world – indeed, he was respectful of them and even curious about them. He could display treacherous meanness, as in his brutal murder of Byzantine survivor Loukas Notaras. But he had a lifelong respect for Mara, the Serbian Branković princess who was his stepmother and who, in honoured retirement (outliving him by six years), was always able to intercede with Mehmet. Fascinated by the past, he collected Christian and Byzantine antiquities, assembling them in his new palace complex that we know as Topkapi. He patronized Greek scholarship as well as Islamic, and was inspired by such ancient Greek figures as Achilles and Alexander. Fascinated likewise by new extra-Islamic culture, he cultivated western artists and scholars. To help train artists of his court, he arranged the visit of the great Venetian painter Gentile Bellini, the most notable of several western artists who produced portraits of the conqueror.

Among contemporary Byzantine historians who chronicled the cataclysm of 1453, one of them – the collaborationist official Kritoboulos of Imbros, who won the sultan's favour by negotiating the subjection of Imbros and Lemnos – actually cast his account as a flattering tribute to Mehmet, portraying him as the new Alexander and a true heir to past Byzantine glories.

JOHN W. BARKER

Biography

Born at Edirne in 1432, Mehmet was the third son of Sultan Murad II. After the murder of his second son, Murad began to prepare Mehmet to succeed him, which he duly did in 1451. Successfully taking Constantinople on 29 May 1453, Mehmet assumed the title *Fatih* ("the Conqueror"). He repopulated the city, making it his capital, and established a working relationship with the patriarch Gennadios. He died near Gebze in 1481.

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Melas, Pavlos 1870–1904

Officer, guerrilla leader, and Greek national hero

Pavlos Melas was born in 1870 in Marseilles to a wealthy merchant family. In 1876 they moved to Athens, where Michael, Pavlos's father, entered politics and became actively engaged in irredentist societies, such as the *Ethniki Amina* (National Defence) and, later on, the *Ethniki Hetaireia* (National Society), supporting nationalist movements among the unredeemed Greeks of Crete, Epirus, and Macedonia. A multi-ethnic province of the Ottoman empire, Macedonia caused increasing concern, for at that time the Bulgarian national movement was starting to make its presence felt. The Bulgarians had managed in 1870 to break away from the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople, which was increasingly perceived as a bastion of Greek nationalism, and to establish their own national Church, the Exarchate. The Slav-speaking peasants, the largest ethnic group in Macedonia, were then prompted (with increasingly violent means) to abandon the patriarchate and opt for the Exarchate instead.

Melas, a receptive and accommodating boy, was growing up at a time of successive national upheavals, when the *Megali Idea* (Great Idea), a chimerical dream of uniting all Greeks (or more precisely, all Christians who had some association with "Hellenism" by language, persuasion, or history) within the confines of a Greek state, was the order of the day. The electrifying atmosphere, combined with his upbringing in a family where the intensity of its patriotism was matched only by the volume of its wealth, ensured that Melas was immersed into a romantic brand of nationalism that became the driving force of his short life. In his vivid boyish imagination the klephts of the 1821 revolution were fused with contemporary realities, and blended into a heroic "klephtic" ideal which he perceived at an early stage to be his destiny. This powerful blend profoundly shaped his adult life and ultimately took it.

At the age of 16 he entered the *Stratiotiki Scholi Evelpidon*, the Greek Military Academy, a prestigious (and expensive) school, and therefore a fitting career move for well-bred Athenians. He graduated in 1891 as a second lieutenant in the Artillery, an elite corps. His personal life was to remain virtually inseparable from the nationalist fever that engulfed Greece in the 1890s. In 1892 he married Natalia, daughter of Stephanos Dragoumis, a prominent politician from Macedonia. In Dragoumis's house, a hotbed of irredentist activity, the couple spent much time: Natalia sipping tea with the other women of the house, and Melas, animated and enthusiastic, talking with Dragoumis and his guests about how the Greeks could counter the Bulgarians in Macedonia.

In 1897, the year of the Graeco-Turkish War, the Greeks were plunged into their most humiliating defeat. Melas fervently believed that the time had come for the liberation of Macedonia to become a reality, rather than a debate in smoke-filled drawing rooms. But the battlefield, with which he did not have the direct contact he hoped for despite his emotional plea to join the front line, soon shattered his dreams. After a few days of restlessness, during which he wrote to Natalia that he would see her soon, for "unfortunately" there would be "no opportunity for us to be killed here", Melas joined the pitiful remnants of the Greek army in a "dishonourable, dishonourable, dishonourable" retreat. For him, the shame of 1897 was particularly painful. As the humiliated nation looked for scapegoats and started accusing the *Ethniki Hetaireia*, his father did not find the strength to face the defeat (and its consequences), and died soon afterwards.

A period of depression followed. Back in Athens, Melas continued to be preoccupied (or, rather, possessed) by the future of Macedonia. His only hope was that one day he himself would cross the border with a band, as a true klepht. In early 1904 his wish came true, as four officers (including Melas) were sent on a fact-finding mission in Macedonia. "Today my desire is at last fulfilled", he wrote in February, heading towards the border. Unwavering dedication to his mission, and sheer enjoyment at having at last the opportunity to be (and look like) a klepht sustained him through a difficult and at times disheartening undertaking. By 1904 the Bulgarian movement in Macedonia was already firmly established. Many Christian Slav-speakers, who just called themselves "Christians" whenever they were given the opportunity to do so, started declaring themselves "Bulgarians" under duress from Bulgarian guerrillas, the *comitadjis*. Others, who continued to call themselves "Greeks", meaning in most cases followers of the "Greek" Ecumenical Patriarchate, faced devastating reprisals. In the course of their journey Melas and the other officers visited a number of villages, talked to the peasants, and tried to restore faith in the Greek cause. Soon, however, he was ordered to leave, for the Turks had been informed of his activity. Devastated by the "idiocy by which they separate me from the idea I now work for", he returned heartbroken to Athens. In July 1904, after securing 20 days' leave, he secretly set out on his second journey, which proved even more frustrating and difficult. "I had neither men, nor money, nor contacts", he wrote in moments of despair. But he continued his efforts to form bands from fearful peasants, or from old brigands, and to set up some sort of Greek defence.

However, Melas was temperamentally unsuited for that job. He was at his best in giving enthusiastic speeches to the peasants (of their impact, we shall never know), but he felt unable to participate in the game of terror that the nature of the struggle required. In Macedonia, nationalism (whatever that meant) rested on the barrel of a gun, but he could not pull the trigger. He realized that he had "to kill, to commit murders", but when the opportunity arose, he was left tearful and shaken and the job was delegated to his companions; they showed less remorse. Melas looked like a klepht, but a true one he never was.

In August he returned to Athens, but soon he was back for his third, and last, journey. He just left a note: the "quiet, family life" really suited him best, but a "superior power" pushed him to Macedonia. As it happened, it pushed him to his fate too. With his band he visited many villages in western Macedonia, organizing the Greek defence and talking passionately to local peasants and students of Greek schools. But the Turks were informed of his whereabouts. On 13 October 1904 their detachments reached the village of Statista (now Mela), into which he had moved, and in the ensuing battle he was

shot. He died shortly afterwards in the arms of one of his men. The news shocked the country. The death of a prominent young Athenian under such circumstances, his passionate devotion to his mission, and his remarkable conduct in a field where violence prevailed, ensured that he quickly became the first (and only) national hero of the "Macedonian Struggle" (*Makedonikos Agonas*), the struggle of Greek bands (which started in 1904 and ended four years later) against the *comitadjis*. It is in that that his most important contribution to the Greek cause in Macedonia actually lies.

DIMITRIOS LIVANIOS

See also Macedonia

Biography

Born in Marseilles in 1870 to a wealthy merchant family, Melas moved to Athens and was educated at the Greek Military Academy, graduating in 1891 as a second lieutenant in the Artillery. In 1892 he married Natalia, the daughter of Stephanos Dragoumis, a prominent Macedonian politician. In 1904 he was sent on a fact-finding mission to Macedonia and returned there twice more that year to organize the Greek defence against Bulgarian guerrillas. In October he was shot dead by the Turks and became a Greek national hero of the "struggle for Macedonia".

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Melos

Island in the Cyclades

The geographical location of Melos, the most southwesterly of the Cyclades, gave it a position of considerable importance from earliest times, since it was the first of the Aegean islands that mariners would encounter after rounding the southern Peloponnese at Cape Malea on their way to the many ports of the Aegean. The island has an area of 147 sq km and, like a number of other Aegean islands, has volcanic origins, and it is consequently rich in a variety of minerals; the export of these, which include alum, sulphur, keolin, and many others, provided a continuing source of wealth for its inhabitants. The use of millstones produced in Melos was also widespread throughout the Hellenic world. The crater of the volcano that formed the island provides one of the deepest and best-protected harbours in the Aegean. The terrain of Melos is abundant in crops, although its hilly interior has been much mined for its mineral wealth; the highest of its mountains, Prophetis Elias towards the southwest of the island, rises to 751 m.

During the 2nd millennium BC the island formed part of the Cretan and Mycenaean kingdoms, and was later settled by Dorians from Laconia. The Melians provided two penteconters for the Athenians at Salamis (Herodotus, 8. 48), but during the Peloponnesian War they antagonized the Athenians, who mounted a successful siege of the main city, later killing or enslaving the entire population. Thucydides (8. 85–110) provided a record of the dialogue that preceded, and was the ultimate cause of, this event.

From early in the Christian era the prosperity of Melos allowed the island to contribute in several ways to the Hellenic world. Unique in the whole Aegean area is an extensive catacomb at Trypiti where up to 12 galleries were excavated in the soft sandstone. It was probably used from the 3rd to the late 4th centuries AD, and had between 1500 and 2000 Christian burials. Sadly, already by 1843, when the first published account appeared, there had been wholesale robbing of the sarcophagi it contained, and when Theodore Bent visited it in 1884, not a single grave was left unrouched. It was close to this site that the famous statue of Venus, now in the Louvre, was discovered in 1820; it is scarcely an exaggeration to claim that although the statue was mutilated its qualities of idealized perfection of the human figure have since come to represent the Hellenic spirit and its aesthetic message more completely than any other single work of art.

Further evidence of continuing prosperity is the fact that Melos was among the few Aegean islands to send its own bishops to the Sixth and Seventh Church Councils in Constantinople and Nicaea. Attacks by Arab raiders in the later 8th–9th centuries were the probable cause for the abandonment of the island between the later 9th and 12th centuries. The fortunes of Melos after the Fourth Crusade of 1204 and the Deed of Partition followed those of many of the Cyclades, when it came under the control of the Duchy of Naxos from 1206. The proximity of Melos to the Peloponnese, and particularly to Monemvasia, however, meant that with the return of Byzantine rule in Constantinople after 1261 it rejected Latin occupation more readily and actively than any of the other islands. A Greek monk from Monemvasia headed a revolt and drove out the Latins from their castle stronghold. This was to be the last moment until Greek independence that Melos experienced Hellenic rule.

Although the Venetian duke Marco II Sanudo reimposed his rule by force and installed another member of his family, in 1316 the island was raided by the Catalan Company, then establishing themselves in Attica, who carried off some 700 of the inhabitants. In the treaty of 1418 between Venice and the sultan Melos was acknowledged as belonging to Venice, but by 1557 the island had followed the rest of the archipelago into Turkish occupation. Unlike Tinos or Santorini, no outpost of Venetian presence was retained into later centuries. The island was to remain under the Muslim yoke until the coming of Greek independence, developing its own economic and religious life, even for a time supporting a consul who was appointed to assist British interests. There were many changes in the life of the island over these centuries, with Western powers and the Roman Catholic Church always ready to increase their foothold in the Aegean; but Melos was not to play a part that would cause it to stand out from the rest of the islands of the Cyclades.

PAUL HETHERINGTON

See also Obsidian

Summary

A volcanic island in the southwest Cyclades, Melos was the main source of obsidian in the Bronze Age. Its crater provides one of the

best harbours in the Aegean. The island's inhabitants were massacred or enslaved by the Athenians in 416/15 BC. There are remains of extensive catacombs from the early Christian period.

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Men

Hellenic woman is as ubiquitous as Hellenic man, yet across the centuries it is man who has held centre stage in the public domain, and he has consequently more often than his counterpart given rise to civilizations and genealogies, eternal ideas, innovative art, has waged wars, and has been the celebrated object and subject of intimate love and fraternity. While woman is the pillar of domestic life, muse, backstage conspirator, it is man who wears the laurels, wields the sword, runs the races, and heralds the dawn of every great triumph. If Zeus and patrilinealism are to the Greek imagination what Isis and matrilinealism are to the Egyptian, it is the gods who have made it so. Yet human agency has perpetuated the myth.

The patrimony of three thousand years of Hellenic culture is threaded together by a clear distinction between private and public life. With notable exceptions, women determine the former, and men are left with the latter. Family farms and homesteads during the Ottoman empire encouraged these distinctions, as does modern agricultural life, where men are associated with labour and tilling the fields and women with kneading the bread and keeping house, with equal feats of endurance. In some communities, women till as much as they knead. But when women do take centre stage, their dignity is unsurpassable and memorable, for such public presence is culturally unseemly, yet the odds against these occurrences, once great, lessen with each passing decade. In recent years women have gained ever greater entrée into politics, the arts, and higher-degree professions. By and large, men and women are proceeding into the new millennium arm-in-arm. But it is the men in the drama of the Greek experience, ever at the proscenium, we now recollect.

The task of making generalizations about men in the Hellenic world is a formidable one. To circumscribe them in a homogeneous mould would do more damage that it would offer insights, and stereotypes are inevitable. Like any other citizen of the world, the Hellene is complex, enigmatic, and multifarious, yet artistic representation, history, and social constructions do offer some clues. Though the main ports and remote outposts of manhood may be miles apart, we shall try to survey the topography none the less. If there are overarching themes of manhood, manliness, or masculinity within Hellenism, for the most part they are culturally determined.

Yet, reinvent themselves they do, as the romantic hero, the premodern entrepreneur, modern stay-at-home husband, or postmodern poet. One commonality rings true across class, station, and political ideology – most Greek men value their masculinity, which embodies a sextet of attributes: endurance, duty, freedom, love of beauty, passion for knowledge, and love of life. Some value schooling more than others, yet even those with an elementary education will quote Marx, will tell you whence the wind blows in December, will discourse knowledgeably on world politics. Classicism, with or without its nuances, indubitably makes itself known somewhere in the Greek man's mind and sticks. And because of this renowned heritage, real or imagined, a certain amount of braggadocio enters the picture, and for this an audience must be found. Conversation, thus, is the sine qua non of his existence. Without community, comrades, or friends, life's purpose would evade him. An Epicurean fragment: "Remove sight, association, and contact, and the passion of love is at an end."

Men of the Hellenic world communicate not only through speech, but with the eyes and hands. The eyes, possessing inner or outer vision, are the proverbial windows to the soul, and they matter. With radial lines at the outer fringes, knowing much laughter, weathered with experience, they speak volumes. The hands – dirtied by work, the pristine hands of the politician, hands stained by cigarettes, veined, long-nailed, delicate, or strong – greet in kindred manner: firmly. In countenance and comportment variety is the norm. All types factor into the mix – bearded like Dionysus, fresh as Adonis, spectacled, stout, towering, cologned, flat-nosed, cultured, blond, blue-eyed, coffee-skinned, dark, fair, the curly-headed ones, rogue, family man, marauder, pious one, tempestuous, tender. Yet, what matters is truth, not oblivion, and this is conveyed through a steady gaze, universally.

With the birth of Archaic Greek sculptural arts, one witnesses the most lasting memorial to the Hellenic male figure, inherited from the civilization across the sea in Egypt, in the form of the free-standing *kouros*. Strong-limbed and planar in construction, the *kouros* gazes straight ahead and smirks, while one foot steps forward into what will be a continuous unshakeable history, a testimony to his fortitude. Lacking the ease of hip and *contrapposto* fluidity of his later metamorphosis, the static *kouros*-as-museum-piece is very much alive in spirit in contemporary Greece and its diasporas. What it represents is more than an idea. It is an ideal, a perpetual reminder of proportional harmony and stability, against which man measures all things.

What of the world of the homoerotic, the stereotypical love figure adorning those vases one sees in museums in western capitals? Not just a question of sexuality, but a question of beauty. The Alexandrian poet Constantine Cavafy captured the cultural convergences as well as the lure of the sensual in "Of the Jews (AD 50)":

> Painter and poet, runner, discus-thrower,
> beautiful as Endymion: Ianthis, son of Antony.
> From a family on close terms with the Synagogue.
>
> "My most valuable days are those
> when I give up the pursuit of sensuous beauty,
> when I desert the elegant and severe cult of Hellenism,
> with its over-riding devotion
> to perfectly shaped, corruptible white limbs,

and become the man I would want to remain forever:
son of the Jews, the holy Jews."

A most fervent declaration on his part: "...to remain forever
a son of the Jews, the holy Jews."

But he didn't remain anything of the kind.
The Hedonism and Art of Alexandria
kept him as their dedicated son.

Where social relations in ancient Greece delineated sharply between men's work and leisure in the social realm and women's work or play in the private (despite the heady and sporadic appearances of an Aspasia or a Sappho), fraternal and erotic love objects were legendarily men. As much as wives bore the children and stood by their men, the rules governing apprenticeships in philosophy or the arts or the nascent sciences occasionally transcended into elite homoerotic patronages. The elder courting the younger, the younger of perfect body and shapable mind, the elder of knowledge and experience. Plato's idealized Republic made some things clear: the guardians of the city were to be honed and shaped internally and externally. Mathematics, astronomy, musical training, sporting activity, made for the consummate citizen. An advocate of some kind of communism, inclusive of women, sharing the labour and expenditures of a variety of energies in the service of the city, with a wink and a nod in retrospect, one understands none the less the privileged place of men in that structured, hierarchical city.

The Epicureans, however, advanced Plato's invention, acknowledging for the fraternal brotherhood nature's – not god's – roll of the dice. Perambulating through the ether of the planned cosmos are the primordia, first beginnings, random chaotic particles, sensed but not apprehended. How beautiful an idea, random collisions of primordia, just like men, suddenly finding themselves together in commune, eating, drinking, and discussing. In this randomized cosmos, without divine intervention or teleology, how should man live his life? Epicurus' answer: seek pleasure and avoid pain, with temperance. A higher regression from the model city, these Epicurean communards disposed of Aristotle's legendary dictum and lived their lives not solely as political animals but as friends, eschewing public obligations though recognizing the mutual exercise of justice.

The honour-bound heroes of the Trojan War, of conflicts with Sparta, of Alexander's armies, of wars for independence, or wars against fascists, one part reluctant, one part fate-tempting, are long-lasting images of the Hellenic and Hellenic worlds and the Greek nation state. "Dearest, your own great strength will be your death", admonished Homer's Andromache, the loving, white-armed wife of Hector, tragic hero of the Trojan camp, breaker of horses. "Hector, you are father to me, and my honoured mother, you are my brother, and you it is who are my young husband", continued the pre-death eulogy of Andromache, whose name means, "she who fights like a man". To which the adoring husband replied, in Pope's verse:

"Andromache! my soul's far better part,
Why with untimely sorrows heaves thy heart?
No hostile hand can antedate my doom,
Till fate condemns me to the silent tomb."

No man is immortal, not even the hero Achilles, who was dipped into the river Styx for protection against fate, though it was his heel, where he was held, that was to be his downfall. With heroism comes human frailty, not decadent protection. For Homer, man was man, as was the great Alexander of Macedon. Plutarch's character study of him recalls his precocious and determined childhood, his competence, like Hector, to tame a wild horse with gentleness, "a confident voice, and a touch of the heel". Philip, noting his prodigal son's aptitudes, advised, "my son, look for a kingdom equal to yourself, for Macedonia has not space for you." The discontented pioneer, his soldiers haggard, traversed the continents establishing his own outposts of Hellenism, hybridizing his own tribes with those of the east, erstwhile barbarians. Both benevolent and vindictive, Alexander met his death not far from his bath, exhausted. Of these magnificent exploits "the end is always small", wrote the poet Yiorgos Chouliaras.

Homer's high heroic verse resounds archetypically, but from the lyric poets of the 7th and 6th centuries BC to the modern idiomatic poets, poetic subjects remind one of the timelessness of which we are a part. Bawdy like the rest of us, they are cynical, reverent, awesome. This gem from the Byzantine period, a caveat against a careless appearance: "Tall and wavy are the crops/on your hairy face./Scissors?/Never./Throw them away and bring out a plough." Michael Herzfeld's assessment of 20th-century Glendiots is fitting, where he writes "there is less focus of 'being a good man' than on 'being *good* at being a man' – a stance that stresses *performative excellence*." Socially, men do this best in the *kafeneia*, or coffee shops, of the modern day, gesticulating and talking their way to bravadoes.

Ever reveried, again enduring, still politicking, leaving home to find it elsewhere among their own kind, driving taxis, serving tasty morsels, crafting memorials of words and steel, airborne and stubborn, naughtily and forgivingly they persevere and clamour at the gates of hell and paradise. "Try to enjoy the great festival of life with other men", said the Greek Epictetus, enslaved to a Roman master.

BARBARA SYRRAKOS

See also Homosexuality, Kafeneion, Women

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Menander 342–292 BC

Comic playwright

Not only was Menander, in the opinion of his Hellenistic followers as well as of modern critics, the greatest playwright of New Comedy, but he is also among the most influential authors in the history of literature. In him the modern attitudes to quotidian existence, human character, life's vicissitudes, and society's conventions were first crystallized. Unconcerned in his works with Sophocles' tragic confrontations with time and the cosmos (though his subtle diction refers often to tragedy), he shows us as we are, with tolerance, affection, and a wisely critical eye. Subsequent writers of drama, when not tragic, usually took his approach for a model, from Shakespeare to Molière to Oscar Wilde.

Menander (or Menandros) was born in Athens of a good family at the end of the Classical period. Among his teachers was Theophrastus, whose *Characters* was surely an influence; Theophrastus' teacher was another realist, Aristotle, and Aristotle, of course, was Plato's student. In 338 BC Philip of Macedon made the Greeks his subjects, and Athens, after a last burst of heroic resistance under Demosthenes, began its slide from Hellas's most energetic city to a provincial town living on its reputation.

Menander's first play, *Orge* (Rage), was produced in 321 BC, and he died, supposedly drowned in the harbour of Piraeus, in 292 BC, a generation after the immense changes in Athenian society wrought by the conquests of Philip's son, Alexander the Great. His work anticipates and then reflects that later world, when men had lost belief in heroism and trust in public religion, and found fulfilment more as private individuals than as active members of the polis. That explains why Menander's plays do not resemble those of the 5th-century BC master of Old Comedy, Aristophanes, but rather the strange late romances of Euripides (who in old age forsook Athens for Macedonia); in plays such as *Alcestis* and *Ion* that disillusioned master abandoned ideals of high morality and noble citizenship and the tragic conception with them. In the satirical fantasies of Aristophanes the main character is the chorus, which represents the polis, i.e. us, the *demos*, while in Menander the chorus, left to the care of producers, merely provides entr'acte entertainment. Because Menander's plays do not comment directly on political life, they were equally at home in any Greek theatre, i.e. they were international. The inheritor of the whole Classical age, Menander helped to define the lesser but still brilliant Hellenistic age for his viewers and for us. Our notion of comedy is his.

Meaning, Menander thought, now that freedom and glory are gone, must needs be sought in the paradoxes of private life, at home and on the street. His characters are types – the curmudgeonly father, the wronged wife, the clever slave, the sweet-souled courtesan – and his plots, with their coincidences, mistaken identities, belated recognition of foundling children, and acceptance of young lovers by parents, became so. Elements of them can be found hundreds of years later in the Greek romance "novels". His time is contemporary and his location often Athens or Attica. But these provide a framework for the lifelike and sympathetic exploration of the problems of everyday happenstance. Although there is always a love interest, his themes are various and lead to reconciliation in the family and with neighbours. Stylized romantic plots expose society's humdrum insecurities. The long modulated speeches so attractive to skilled actors in masks, the theatrical effects of surprise, the rapid dialogue in which one easy phrase may contain several meanings, the aphoristic wit, the moving direct appeals to the audience – the more we recover of him, the more diverse and profound he seems. His characters are rich, poor; old, young; male, female; free, slave; sophisticated, rustic; his range, so far as we can judge from the 5 per cent of his work that we know, is Shakespearean. (Hamlet's remark, "Conscience doth make cowards of us all", is taken from fragment 632.) His people quarrel, love, go to court, lend and borrow, yearn for riches and romance, get drunk, try to be good. His sympathy with slaves, for example, is almost unprecedented; in *The Farmer* he even shows a slave in love. His convincing understanding of human character, his colloquial and graceful language (mostly in iambic trimeter), and his sheer skill as a constructor of entertaining plays keep his work fresh and illuminating. He never moralizes, but he quietly puts forward ideals of tolerance, generosity, kindliness, and understanding. In other words, he is typically Greek in that he seeks *dike*, or justice – but in ordinary life, with forgiveness always the resolution.

Menander's immense skill is clearly evident in the early *Dyscolus* (The Curmudgeon), in the character of the gruff grouch Knemon, while the subtle clash and contrast of character and ethical principle in such plays as *Perikeiromene* (The Rape of the Lock), and *Adelphoe II* (Second Brothers), constitute his greatest achievement.

The works of most ancient writers have come down to us in tatters, and Menander, the last great poet of Athens, is no exception. Although he wrote more than one hundred comedies, only the *Dyscolus* (it won the prize in 317 BC) survives nearly intact; half a dozen plays are tantalizingly incomplete

but sufficient for literary judgement, and a sheaf of fragments completes our knowledge. The longer pieces were discovered on Egyptian papyrus strips only in the 20th century. The comedies of Plautus and Terence, who flourished a century after Menander, are often either a close adaptation or even translation of Menander or other New Comedy playwrights, so that Roman drama could hardly have existed without his example. Before the recent discoveries, most of his immense influence derived from them; now at least we have originals.

Menander's reputation, like that of Euripides, grew steadily after his death. Although he won only eight first prizes during his life, his plays became the basis of the comic repertoire. Because of this international popularity, he contributed to the fixing of the koine, or standard Attic Greek, that was the east's language of culture for hundreds of years. Byzantine students down to at least AD 600 and probably much later learned many of his sententious aphorisms, although in context (which was vanishing) these gnomes are always dramatic and often ironic. Now that Aristophanes, without his polis, was incomprehensible, comedy for a Greek, and indeed for us, meant Menander.

A few fragments have yet to be translated, and it is not unlikely that more will come to light. In our age of fragile relationships and moral confusion, we need them.

JEFFREY CARSON

See also Comedy

Biography

Born in Athens in 342 BC, Menander was a pupil of Theophrastus and a friend of Epicurus and Demetrius of Phalerum. As the author of over a hundred plays, he was and still is held to be the greatest playwright of New Comedy. His plays were popular in antiquity (he won eight first prizes) and were translated into Latin by Plautus and Terence. He died in 292, apparently by drowning in the sea off Piraeus.

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Messene

City in the southern Peloponnese

Ancient Messene, located in the very centre of the modern province of Messenia, was one of the best-fortified cities of ancient Greece. Situated at the foot of Mount Ithome, it was protected by an acropolis. The city was named after Messene, the mythological first queen of Messenia, but it is not clear when it was founded. It is generally thought that the Theban leader Epaminondas founded Messene in 369 BC, after the battle of Leuktra. But Plato (*Laws*, 683d) and Isocrates (*Arch.*, 22), among other 4th-century BC authors, allude to the existence of the polis of Messene long before that date. Only later sources, such as Strabo (8. 58) and Pausanias (4. 1. 3–4), attribute the foundation of Messene to Epaminondas. Pausanias does however mention an earlier city on that spot, but refers to it as Ithome (4. 9. 2).

From 371 BC the Thebans diminished Sparta's power by uniting the Peloponnesian people in strong cities. Argos and Mantinea were fortified. The Arcadian League was formed with its newly built capital at Megalopolis. The independence of Messenia was to be guaranteed by constructing the walled city of Messene. In 369 Epaminondas sent envoys to southern Italy and Libya to invite the Messenians of the diaspora to return to their homeland. Many of them did so and thus they populated the city.

Messene was built in a short time, by the joint efforts of Thebans, Arcadians, Argives, and Messenians, who together laid out streets and built houses, temples and circuit walls. At the same time Epaminondas built a harbour for the Messenians, at Kyparissia on the west coast. Pherae (Kalamata) would have been more suitable as a harbour, but there the Spartan threat would always have been near. Epaminondas' master plan succeeded, and Sparta's power was restricted between the Taygetus and Parnon mountains.

When Philip II of Macedon led his troops against the Greek city states, the Messenians formed an alliance with him. They did not take part in the Battle of Chaeronea (338 BC), because they refused to bear arms against fellow Greeks. After Alexander the Great's death (323 BC), however, the Messenians joined the Greek revolt and thus lost their friendship with the

Macedonians. In 213 BC Philip V visited the citadel of Messene with his counsellors Aratus of Sicyon and Demetrius of Pharos, under the pretext of making an offering to Zeus. He was in fact planning to capture this attractive bastion and after making the offering he asked his counsellors for advice. Demetrius warned him that if he did not take the citadel, he perhaps would be sorry afterwards. "Remember that it is only by holding both his horns that you can keep the ox down" (Polybius, 7. 12). The horns referred to the bastions of Mount Ithome and the Acrocorinth, and the ox to the Peloponnese. Aratus advised Philip to withdraw, and thus avoid arousing the hostility of the other Greek states. Philip took Aratus' advice, but soon afterwards regretted it. The same year Aratus died, presumably poisoned by Philip. A year later Demetrius of Pharos tried to capture Messene by a surprise attack, but the inhabitants resisted fiercely and defeated the Macedonian troops. Demetrius was killed in battle.

Messene was finally captured by Nabis, the tyrant of Sparta, in 195 BC. He abandoned the city after a short time, due to the threat of an attack by the Achaean League. In 191 BC Messene was forced by the Romans to join the Achaean League and in 146 BC, like all Greek cities, it became part of the Roman empire. Hostility with Sparta continued to play an important role in foreign policy. As the Spartans favoured Octavian (later Augustus) in his struggle for power, Messene was forced to choose Mark Antony's side. After the battle of Actium in 31 BC Messene lost control of the cities in the Mani.

The city of Messene flourished until the end of Roman control over Greece. It remained the capital of the free Messenian state until the 4th century AD. In AD 395 the Goths destroyed and depopulated the city, which was never to be inhabited again. The village of Mavromati, between the ancient city and Mount Ithome, is a recent settlement.

On top of Mount Ithome stand the remains of the sanctuary of Zeus Ithomatas. It was there that Philip V of Macedon was tempted to seize the city. On the way down one crosses the remains of a temple. This might be the temple of Artemis Laphria, mentioned by Pausanias (4. 31. 7). However, an inscription found at the spot refers to Artemis Limnatis. Other public buildings revealed by archaeologists are a theatre and a stadium. The most striking feature of the city is the vast Asclepieum. The temple of Asclepius and his daughter Hygieia is surrounded by smaller temples of unknown use, a bouleuterion, an odeum, and, of course, baths. The Sebasteum to the north of the temple proves that the city flourished in Roman imperial times. The worship of Asclepius in Messene is also evidenced by the fountain in the centre of the city, assigned to Arsinoe, in Messenian mythology the mother of Asclepius.

The walls of Messene are as imposing to the modern visitor as they were to the ancients. Pausanias (4. 31. 5) was impressed by their construction and considered them stronger than those of Byzantium and Rhodes. The 10-km circuit connects the city with the acropolis on Mount Ithome. Two city gates are well preserved: the Laconian Gate on the saddle between Mount Ithome and Mount Eva and the impressive Arcadian Gate on the western side of the city. The wall is best preserved in this western section with its round and square two-storey towers occuring at intervals; it makes the site one of the most interesting examples of 4th-century BC architecture.

MAARTEN J. GROND

Summary

The chief city of ancient Messenia, Messene was traditionally founded by Epaminondas in 369 BC, following up his victory at the Battle of Leuctra. It was fortified with a particularly fine circuit of walls, much of which remains standing. Messene flourished during the Roman period but was sacked by the Goths in AD 395 and never inhabited again.

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Messenia

Region of the Peloponnese

Messenia is one of the seven provinces of the Peloponnese. It covers the southwestern part of the peninsula. Like most Greek provinces its boundaries are formed by sea and mountains. The eastern approach is blocked by the inhospitable Taygetus ridge, which offers passage only far down in the Mani or through the Langada pass. To the north, Messenia ends halfway across the Tetrazion mountains. Here also access is only possible through narrow passes from the plain of Megalopolis and along the coast.

The province includes the fertile Messenian plain, which leads to the Messenian Gulf, and a narrow, more or less flat, coastal area to the west. These plains are divided from the north to the southernmost point by the Aigalion ridge, of which St Barbara is the most conspicuous peak (1112 m). Kalamata is the provincial capital and with its 44,000 inhabitants by far the largest city. Other local centres are Pylos (2000 inhabitants) and Kyparissia (4500 inhabitants).

According to Pausanias (4. 1. 1–2), Messenia owes its name to its first queen, Messene. She was married to Polycaon, the younger brother of the Laconian king. She was also the daughter of the king of Argos, and therefore too proud to be satisfied with her husband's minor role in Laconia. She took Polycaon and his retinue from Argos and Sparta and crossed the Taygetus mountains. This land from then on was called Messene. Many generations later, Messenia passed to the Neleid dynasty. Neleus and his son Nestor lived in prosperity in their palace at Pylos. Nestor took 90 ships to the Trojan War, which suggests he was the second most powerful ruler, surpassed only by Agamemnon. Nestor's wealth must have been based on the agricultural resources of the Messenian plain. The Linear B tablets, found in the Mycenaean "Palace of Nestor" near the modern village of Pylos, confirm this picture. The ruler of the palace subjected the population of Messenia to

a strict taxation system. The range and quantity of products were vast: wine, honey, wheat, barley, olives, figs, spices, pigs, horses, sheep, goats, etc.

After the Dorian invasion of the Peloponnese Messenia was assigned to Cresphontes. Much more violent were the Spartan invasions of the country, better known as the Messenian Wars. During the Archaic period, when other city states solved their overpopulation problems by setting up colonies, Sparta conquered Messenia and subdued its population. Much is written, but little is known about these wars. Pausanias gives a detailed report, but he undertook his travels in Roman imperial times. Therefore our knowledge of dates and facts is far from accurate. In the second half of the 8th century BC the Spartans for the first time crossed Mount Taygetus and attacked the Messenian plain. For 20 years the Messenians fought back, first under the inspiring leadership of their king Euphaes, a descendant of Cresphontes, and after his death under Aristodemus. Finally, however, the Spartan hoplites conquered the last Messenian stronghold on Mount Ithome. The Messenians kept their autonomy by paying the Spartans half of the produce of their land. After a rebellion in the second half of the 7th century many Messenians emigrated to Rhegium in southern Italy, where, in 493 BC, their descendants captured Zancle and renamed it Messana (now Messina). The remaining inhabitants were reduced to serfdom. The Third Messenian War (500–489 BC) may have kept the Spartans away from the battlefield of Marathon in 490 BC. The Fourth Messenian War (464–459 BC) was a Pyrrhic victory for the Spartans. Although Messenia was once again brought under Spartan dominion, exiled Messenians were settled by Athens in Naupactus. It was these Messenians who in 425 BC supported the Athenians at the siege of Sphacteria and thus put an end to Sparta's reputation for invincibility. After the Peloponnesian War the Messenians were driven from Naupactus by the Spartans and again went in exile to southern Italy and to Euhesperides in Libya (later Berenice). Finally, after the Battle of Leuctra (371 BC), where the Spartan army was defeated by Theban forces, Epaminondas repatriated the Messenians from the diaspora and built (or refortified) for them the strong city of Messene at the foot of Mount Ithome. He also rebuilt Kyparissia, to be used as the port and harbour of Messene. Sparta never regained control of this area and Messenia remained independent until the Roman conquest of Greece in 146 BC.

Information about Messenia under Roman rule is very scarce. The country seems to have had a certain kind of autonomy, but being a part first of the province of Macedonia, and after 31 BC of Achaea, Roman authority was never far away. Emperor Augustus gave the cities of the Mani to Sparta; Tiberius assigned the cities on the western flank of the Taygetus mountains to Messenia.

The barbarian raids of the 4th century AD mark the end of antiquity. Alaric and his Visigoths invaded Greece and sacked the major cities and sanctuaries. In AD 395 the city of Messene was destroyed and depopulated. It does not appear to have been reinhabited in the medieval period. During the 7th and 8th centuries AD Slavs settled in Messenia. Medieval city names such as Sitsova, Tsernitsa, and Gialova are proof of this immigration. Byzantine families built fortresses over ancient foundations in Kyparissia and Kalamata.

From the 12th century on, Frankish crusaders started building strongholds in the Peloponnese. Counts from Belgium and France occupied parts of the country and built impressive fortresses mostly at inaccessible places. Geoffrey I de Villehardouin erected the *kastro* at Kalamata; Nicholas II de Saint Omer built the fortress of Palaiokastro, on the site of ancient Pylos. At this time, too, Venetians appeared in the area. In order to defend their trade routes to the Levant they erected seaside strongholds, such as Methone and Corone. For 300 years the Venetians controlled the country.

From 1460 on, the Turks started to play a role in Messenia. Sultan Mehmet II conquered the country, leaving only Methone, Corone, and Palaiokastro to the Venetians. In 1500 Sultan Bayezid II captured Methone after a month's bombardment, thus bringing all Messenia under Turkish rule. Strategic points such as Methone, Corone, Palaiokastro, Neokastro, and Kalamata were reinforced. Apart from the brief second Venetian period following Morosini's conquest in 1685–1715, Messenia remained in Turkish hands until the War of Independence.

Kalamata is said to have been the first city to have revolted against the Turks in 1821. Ibrahim Pasha's counterattack in 1825 once again destroyed the Greek hope for freedom. However, they did not have to wait long for the decisive move in this war. In July 1827 France, Great Britain, and Russia signed the "Triple Alliance" in London: Turkey should stop its war in Greece within a month. After the one month had expired, the Turks had not only ignored the Treaty of London, but had reinforced their fleet at Navarino. On 20 October 1827 an allied fleet, numbering 26 warships, entered the bay of Navarino, as a warning to Ibrahim Pasha to withdraw his Turko-Egyptian fleet from the Peloponnese. After some unsuccessful negotiations a few shots fired by the Turks brought about general action. In four hours the Turkish fleet had lost 55 ships and 6000 men. The allies lost 174 men, but not a single ship. The victory at Navarino weakened Turkish power in the Morea. In 1828 the French general Maison landed 14,000 troops in Petalidi, thus causing the hasty departure of the Turkish occupying force. The French soldiers immediately started to restore the country's infrastructure, by founding and building the new village of Pylos and by constructing a road from Pylos to Methone.

Nowadays Messenia is still an agricultural area, where the cultivation of olives and grapes provides the people with a certain degree of wealth. Tourism on the other hand has not yet fully developed, mainly because the road system is not adapted to modern traffic. Therefore visitors are welcomed heartily and the hospitality that Telemachus enjoyed at Nestor's court in *Odyssey* book 3 is still available.

MAARTEN J. GROND

Summary

This province in the southwest Peloponnese was named after Messene, daughter of the king of Argos. It was ruled by Nestor in the Bronze Age. It was occupied by Sparta in the Archaic period in a series of Messenian Wars, though the Messenians retained their autonomy for much of the Classical period. Kalamata claims to be the first city to have revolted against the Turks in 1821. The area relies on agriculture for its wealth.

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Metalwork

A knowledge of the processing of metals came to the Greek world in the Early Bronze Age (3000–2000 BC), in all probability from the east. The finding and working of copper and iron are attributed by such authors as Dioscurides, Strabo, Pliny, and Diodorus Siculus to the mythical demons, the Cabiri (Phrygian) and Curetes (Cretan).

In Homer we have the earliest description of the way in which a coppersmith's shop operated; the coppersmith is Hephaestus, god of fire, himself a deity who came from the island of Lemnos in the Aegean. The first examples of the coppersmith's art were found in the Cyclades – the Zia cave on Naxos, Kefala on Kea – at Knossos in Crete, at Yali in the Dodecanese, and in Cyprus. The on-the-spot processing of the metal copper and its alloy bronze required collective action, the pre-existence of deposits, and organized trade. We possess no more than 100 metal objects from Neolithic Greece.

In the Early and Middle Bronze Age (3000–1450 BC) metal vessels imported from the Near East seem to have affected the shapes of ceramics in Thessaly (Dimini, phase 1), although there is early evidence for the morphological independence of metal objects in the Greek world. There is a silver *skyphos* (cup, can) from Amorgos in the Cyclades, another *skyphos*, and two gold vessels of primitive shape in the Benaki Museum in Athens. Gold *kymbes* (cups) and elliptical *skyphoi* with a spout seem to have served as drinking cups – such as the one found at the Heraea of Arcadia (in the Louvre), which has been shaped by hammering from a single leaf of gold, apart from the handle. These show that the inhabitants of mainland Greece also made vessels from precious metals.

In Crete silver objects from the early Minoan period have been discovered on the islet of Mochlos. One cup, with a handle, was full of gold jewellery. In the Minoan palace period (Knossos, Mallia, Phaestus) a brilliant civilization, considered to be Europe's first, developed; it dominated the whole of the Aegean and had constant contacts with the east and with Egypt. At the beginning of the 2nd millennium BC metalwork and metal vessels developed to the point where they became models; their shapes were copied and their grooved and chased naturalistic decoration appeared in paint on ceramic vessels. The horde discovered at Tôd in Egypt (tomb of Amenemhet, 1940–1938 BC), consisting of 153 silver cups and only one in gold, is in all probability from Crete. There were deposits of silver on certain of the Cyclades, at Akrotiri on Thera, and in the Laurium region in Attica, all workable before 1600 BC.

The commonest type of vessel made of gold or silver in Crete seems to have been the drinking cup. The gold cup with relief decoration consisting of spirals and rosettes from the so-called Aegina Treasure in the British Museum must also be Cretan. Objects made by the "Kaptaru" (Cretans) were, according to texts from Mari in the mid-Euphrates, much sought after. Small scale carving (seal carving) and the art of metalwork reached their highest point during the "New Palace" period, which produced superb chased ritual swords with inlaid gold, decorative gold double axes – symbols of the Minoan religion (votive offerings from the sacred cave of Arkalochori, of 1600 BC, in the Herakleion Museum), figurines, chased or cast, relief or engraved vessels, inlaid with sacred bulls' heads, and bronze *lebetes* (cauldrons) to hold a whole sheep for boiling. The handles of cups and the upper part of closed vessels such as *prochoi* (jugs) and *hydriai* (water jugs) were made from separate pieces of metal; although it seems that the craftsmen of the Aegean area knew the art of soldering, they nevertheless preferred to join the parts by riveting.

The eruption of the volcano of Thera (Santorini) around 1500 BC swept away the peaceful matriarchal and refined Minoan civilization which was succeeded by the equally brilliant Mycenaean civilization of mainland Greece. Large centres of Mycenaean culture have been identified at Mycenae, Tiryns, Pylos, Athens, Thebes, Orchomenus, and Iolcus. The best-known branch of art in the early part of the Mycenaean period, influenced by the Minoans, is metalwork, as is illustrated by the wealth of vessels, tools, and jewellery found in the royal tombs, reminiscent of the high standard of living; figurines are comparatively few. Purely Mycenaean metalwork makes its appearance in the many bronze household utensils – in all their different forms with engraved or relief ornamentation – that were handed down from generation to generation as heirlooms or dowries (the Dentra tombs, the hearth with the tripod at Knossos, Perati in Attica, Curium in Cyprus). The fine gold cups from a tomb at Vapheio (Sparta), for example, show the capture of wild bulls (Athens Archaeological Museum). Also striking are the huge bronze figure-of-eight shields and gold engraved seals, the swords decorated with inlaid gold and niello (a blue-black alloy of copper and silver with sulphur), and the gold masks made to adorn the faces of dead kings and notables, with their imposing features, such as that once thought to be Agamemnon's with its engraved moustache and beard.

The Panhellenic campaign of the Achaeans against Troy is an indisputable historical event. A dramatic scene from a siege is shown on the famous "siege *rhyton*" (drinking horn) from the acropolis of Mycenae, grave IV (Athens Archaeological Museum). At the time of the campaign against Troy and in the early 12th century BC that followed, there was a distinct decline in the arts throughout the Aegean, coinciding with the destruction of the centres of Mycenaean civilization for reasons that are unknown to us. Nevertheless, there was a significant change in the technology of metals, bronze being replaced by iron for tools and weapons, though metal objects were rare. In the 11th century BC the early Geometric style marked the beginning of a long process leading in the end to the achievements of Archaic and Classical Greece.

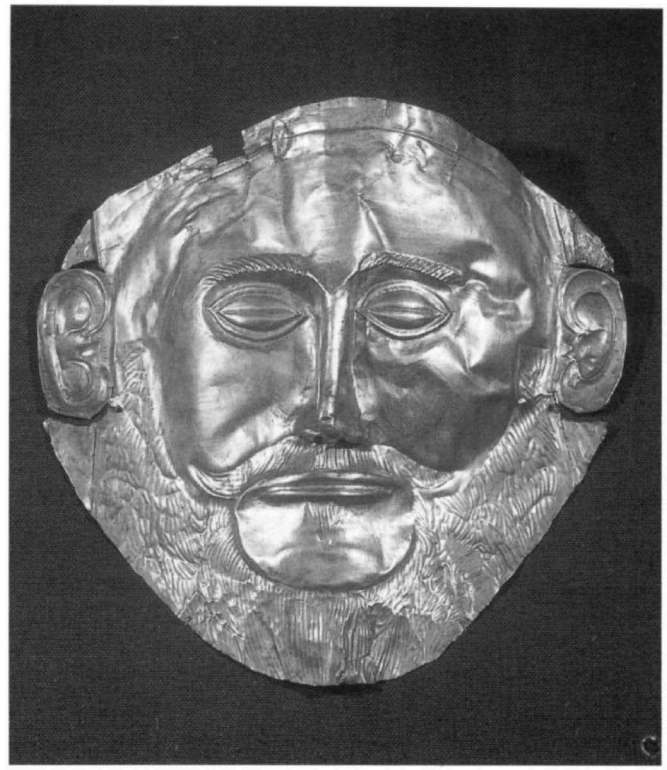
The establishment of Greek colonies, from the Pillars of Hercules, Italy, Sicily, the Crimea, and Asia Minor to Phoenicia, brought a lively trade with the Near East, which gave a new boost to the demand for and working in metals. The development of metalworking from the early 8th century BC onwards was impressive. All the metal figurines (of copper or bronze), male and female, are shown nude. The females convey a sense of immobility, with their arms held down the sides of the body, while the male figurines, which form the overwhelming majority down to the 8th century BC, are shown with their hands raised in an attitude of worship, as in the case of the male figurines from Gazi and from Karfi in Crete. In the Geometric period the stylized depiction in figurines of animals such as the lion and a great number of bronze colts from workshops at Argos, Olympia, Corinth, and Laconia made its appearance.

Around 725 BC bronze figurines from Attica take a more naturalistic and less stylized form. The beginnings of the depiction of organic details (clavicles, chest muscles, indication of the locks of hair) can be seen in the figure of a warrior wearing a helmet, from the Acropolis.

Before the end of the Archaic period, scenes from everyday life made their appearance in metalworking, together with figures such as a drinker or flute-player from Sparta or Olympia, a lyre player from Herakleion in Crete, an archer from Delphi, and a number of compositions in bronze, such as charioteers on their chariots, the most important example being the well-known *Charioteer of Delphi*. In historical times iron, and a knowledge of how to work in it, prevailed over bronze throughout the Greek world, without the use of bronze going completely into abeyance. Nevertheless, since iron rusts and breaks up, only a very few examples have survived, such as a gilded iron ring in the Athens Archaeological Museum. One of the regions richest in copper ores was Cyprus – hence the Latin *cuprum*. Homer knew of the copper of Tamassos in Cyprus, which he mentions in the *Odyssey*.

It was from Cyprus, from around the middle of the 2nd millennium BC, that a standardized mass of pure copper in the shape of a pillow, weighing one talent, went to many parts of the ancient world as raw material. Sardinia and southern Spain (Tartessus) were also important sources of copper. The origins of the tin that was necessary for the hardening of the prehistoric alloys remain obscure – perhaps it came from Afghanistan – but in historical times we know that the tin used was derived from the Tin Islands (Cassiterides) – Britain – and that it reached the Mediterranean via the Iberian peninsula and Gaul. Lead may also have been used for the hardening of the alloy. This was to be found in large quantities in Greece, for example, in the mines of Laurium, as a by-product of the production of silver (tin was totally absent).

The two principal methods of making bronze objects (figurines of animals or human beings, tripods, jewellery) in early antiquity, and throughout the centuries down to the present, were the casting of the molten alloy in a suitably prepared mould (such as, for example, the plaster moulds of the late 10th century BC from Lefkandi on Euboea for the making of tripod feet), and beating it out with a hammer. The best bronze sheeting had a 5–10 per cent admixture of tin. An increase of the tin content rendered it fragile, but gave it a superb yellowish colour like gold, as is demonstrated by the famous Derveni *krater* (mixing bowl) of Hellenistic times, whose metal has a 15 per cent tin content. The chasing technique was used extensively in the 8th and 7th centuries BC for the production of statues of medium size. Famous works of chasing are the *Divine Triad* of the 8th century BC from Dreros, Crete, of a height of 0.80 m, nailed to a wooden core (Herakleion Archaeological Museum), and the silver bull from Delphi of the 5th century BC. In the case of larger cast statues, for reasons of economy of the metal, from the mid-seventh century BC the technique known as the "lost wax" method was devised.

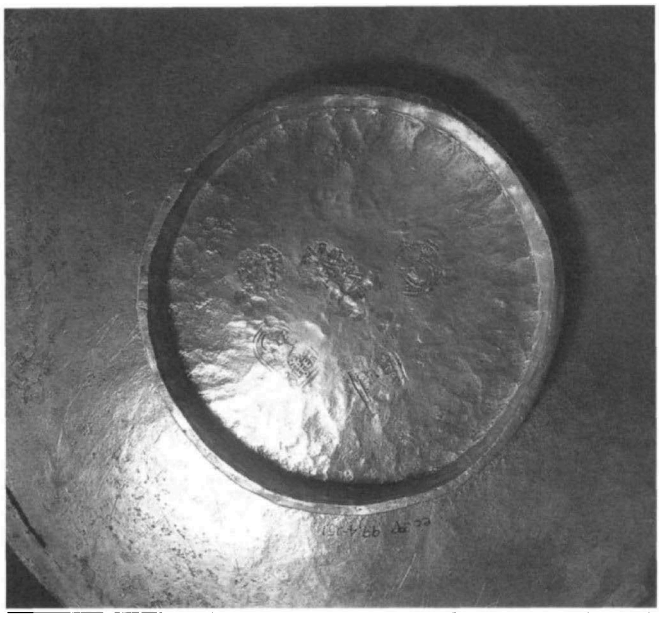


Metalwork: gold death mask, the so-called Mask of Agammemnon, Mycenae, late 16th century BC, National Archaeological Museum, Athens

From the 5th century, meanwhile, a new technique of "indirect" casting came to be used whereby a clay model was made and a mould ("negative") was produced from this, making it possible to have a large number of identical cast objects. The details, such as the hair, the eyes, and the nails, were incised with a sharp instrument. Often the pupils of the eyes were of inlaid ivory, and the nipples and lips of plain inlaid bronze.

The success of the Athenians and their allies against the Persians (490–479 BC) led to the splendours of the age of Pericles and of Classical Greece with its humanistic philosophical systems and its universally admired art. The Chalkotheke, the building next to the Parthenon on the Acropolis of Athens, housed the metal votive offerings to the goddess Athena – some of bronze, but chiefly of precious metals.

The Spartan Telestas, of the 6th century BC, and the great Myron, of the 5th century BC, belong to the same category of craftsmen: they were at one and the same time workers in bronze and silversmiths. Myron is credited with the making of silver drinking cups, while the great sculptor Phidias himself



Metalwork: silver plate, probably for holding the Eucharistic bread, Cyprus, *c.*580, British Museum, London

produced the parts in silver of the chryselephantine Zeus, as can be seen from the earthenware moulds found in his workshop at Olympia.

Herodotus tells us that Corinth was an important centre of working in bronze. In Classical times, gold and silver vessels, chiefly *hydriai*, were made in southern Greece, as can be seen from the catalogues of the Chalkotheke on the Acropolis, but not a single one has survived. In the 4th century BC, bronze figurines and *hydriai* for funerary purposes ceased to be made at Athens, while *hydriai* and receptacles for ashes continued to be produced in gold and silver. In Magna Graecia, Tarentum was an important centre for repoussé metalwork. Silver folding mirrors with scenes in relief and silver vessels with gilt details, now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, have been found in tombs.

Modern archaeological research has demonstrated that the inhabitants of central Macedonia (Sindos) in the 6th century BC, and those of Acanthus in Chalcidice (a colony of the island of Andros), were silversmiths of exceptional skill, producing silver cups, kraters, etc. (Herodotus, 7. 119). The silver mines of Siphnos and Lesbos, and later those of Laurium in Attica, have provided us with valuable information on the advanced technology in this field.

The biggest centre for such work in Hellenistic times was Alexandria, and a striking description of the city of Ptolemy II Philadelphus (271 BC) is given by Athenaeus in his *Deipnosophistai* (5. 196a–203b). The city's luxury and wealth were fabulous. In its processions 1600 children each carried a gold and a silver vessel, and Athenaeus describes a vast silver *krater* with relief decoration of the Samian type and four equally enormous gold *kraters* of the Laconian type with vine wreaths, etc. These descriptions should not be regarded as exaggerations, since they correspond to the vast quantities of gold and silver vessels that were paraded in the streets of Rome as spoil from Greek cities conquered in Magna Graecia and Sicily in the late 3rd century, and from Greece itself in the first half of the 2nd century BC. Greek metal workers settled in Rome and brought their art with them (witness the masterpieces from Pompeii). A find of exceptional rarity came to light at Dion in 1992. This is a bronze *hydraulis* (water organ) of the 1st century BC. The first *hydraulis* was made in Alexandria by the engineer Ctesibius. In the Middle Ages this instrument developed into the church organ of the Western Church.

Until Classical times the products of metalworking were not made for interior decoration or to serve as collectors' items. But from the moment that Lysippus made a small-scale "table-top" Heracles for the symposia of Alexander the Great in the 4th century BC, a new relationship grew up between humans and works of art. From then on, statuettes were used for the decoration of rooms or for collection and consequently forgeries started. After the Battle of Pydna (146 BC) the Roman soldiers prised open Greek graves at Corinth, for instance, in order to collect, for sale in Rome, the *nekrocorinthia*, bronze vessels that were grave offerings, the *signa Corinthiae* statuettes, and much sought-after bronze vessels, the *aeria Corinthiae*.

In Byzantine times the art of cast bronze flourished in many centres of the empire: Italy, Egypt, Asia Minor, Syria. Later, when the Byzantines lost their provinces, working in bronze was confined to Constantinople itself and mainland Greece. An equestrian statue of the emperor Theodosius I survived until the city fell to the Turks in 1453; it was, however, subsequently destroyed. Another colossal statue was taken by the crusaders in 1204 to Bari in Italy. The statue consists of cast plates, made separately and then assembled, exactly like the Greek statues of the Geometric and Classical periods.

With the triumph of Christianity, craftsmen turned to the production of objects for liturgical and domestic use: cast crosses, large ones for churches and smaller ones to be worn, candlesticks, lamps in various designs, censers, some with scenes from the life of Christ (the most sumptuous of these are today in Vienna), and items of every kind for the household with figures in relief and vegetal decoration. Designs differed as they followed varying trends, but these objects continued to be produced throughout the Byzantine period. The craftsmen who cast them had their own quarter in the city of Constantinople.

The most noteworthy works to have survived are the large monumental bronze doors with lions' heads from which the knockers hang and rich foliate decoration with crosses (Hagia Sophia in Constantinople; St Mark's in Venice; and a double door, said to come from Hagia Sophia, preserved in the Vatopedi monastery on Mount Athos). Many bronze weights with busts of emperors have survived, while a bronze plaque with inlaid silver of the 4th century AD is today in the Louvre and another in the Florence Archaeological Museum. A superb portable triptych of gilt bronze has survived intact, now in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London.

The Helsinki treasure (4th century AD), today in London, was produced in Rome but, like the silver objects in the Mildenhall treasure in London and the Traporain treasure in Edinburgh, already shows eastern features. Byzantine style manifests itself more clearly in a large disc portraying the emperor Theodosius I (AD 388), in Madrid, a work produced in Thessalonica.

In the time of Justinian (527–65), imperial stamps appear on the reverse of many of the works of silversmithing; these are a great help for historical and stylistic classification. At this period we find a clear preference for ancient Greek mythological subjects, as on a silver disc with a Silenus at Dumbarton Oaks. In the 6th century, as Corippus and Paul the Silentiary inform us, the churches and palaces of Constantinople were packed with works of art in gold and silver, votive crowns, altar revetments, and the great "automata" of the palace, covered in enamel. Of these, nothing has survived.

The period of iconoclasm (726–843) was a setback in the field of metalwork, but the workshops continued to operate. Under Basil I (867–86), metalworking flourished afresh, with many works in gold and silver for sacred and secular use. The sanctuary of churches now tended to be enclosed by the iconostasis, which was often adorned with enamelled plates, as in the Pala d'Oro of Venice. The Byzantine silver- and goldsmith matched the vivid colours of the enamel and of precious stones to the precious metals, and to the bronze, and this new technique was the triumph of Byzantine craftsmanship. The few examples that have survived are on Athos or in St Mark's in Venice. Small portable icons were also adorned with plates of silver and enamel which left visible only the unclothed parts of the figures' bodies.

With recent memories of Byzantine civilization as a model, modern Greek gold- and silversmithing, continuing an even older, "atavistic" tradition, absorbed and reshaped an aesthetic based not only on indigenous features but also on those borrowed from the West and the East. These arts during the difficult centuries of Ottoman rule are marked by a spontaneous inspiration and originality. There is no evidence for the trading in and export of the products of metalwork at this time. There were, however, blacksmiths' and coppersmiths' shops in many villages in Greece, particularly in Chalcidice, Pelion, and the Peloponnese, and here occupational and household tools and utensils were made and repaired. Tools made of iron have Greek names: *amoni*, *physero*, *sphyri*, *sidero*, *molyvi*, *kleidaria*, *syrtis*, etc. These items were worked by hammering from a single sheet of metal as they had been in antiquity; now, however, they were often engraved and decorated with niello – a technique very widely used in the modern Greek period, as it had been in the Mycenaean.

In the 19th century, with the Industrial Revolution and the liberation of the Greeks from the Ottoman occupation from 1821 onwards, the first halting steps were taken towards industrialization. The year 1864 saw the revival of smelting at Laurium of the ancient plumbiferous scoria by the French–Greek–Italian Roux company. From 1935 onwards there was an increase in mining production, and exports were made. Metallurgical manufacturing developed, producing items for household use, for building work, and engineering purposes: electric motors, farming implements, items for aircraft repairs, etc. There are still a very few workshops in the principal urban centres where silver objects, intended for gifts, are worked by hand with the repoussé technique. However, efforts are being made by various bodies, with the Benaki Museum in the lead, to teach lost techniques by means of seminars, and there are now more than 200 people who have learnt the ancient craft of chasing with handmade tools such as those used in antiquity.

LILA DE CHAVES-CHRONOPOULOS

See also Coinage, Copper and Tin, Enamel, Gold, Iron, Jewellery, Sculpture, Silver and Lead

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Metaphysics

Metaphysics is the study of the ultimate nature of everything. The topics investigated include being, body and mind, souls and God, space and time, matter and motion, causality, identity and change, possibility and necessity, particulars and universals. Basic questions include: what is everything made of? Is it one "stuff" or many "stuffs"? What is the nature of the ultimate? What is appearance and what is reality?

Metaphysics literally means "after (*meta*) physics (*ta physika*)". Tradition says the name was first used by the librarian Andronicus of Rhodes (1st century BC) who was cataloguing the collected works of Aristotle. Faced with an untitled work, he labelled it *Metaphysics*, because it was the next book placed on the shelf after the books Aristotle wrote on physics.

The study of metaphysics began with the speculations of the pre-Socratic philosophers. For about 200 years prior to the time in which Socrates flourished this rather varied group of thinkers sought answers about the nature of ultimate reality. The first of them was Thales (*c.*625–547 BC) of Miletus in

Ionia. Seeking to understand nature, in terms of nature itself, Thales speculated that the source of all things in the visible world was water.

Thales' protégé at Miletus, Anaximander (*c.*610–540 BC), was the second member of the Milesian school. He speculated that the ultimate was the "boundless" or "unlimited" (*apeiron*) which was a sort of odourless, tasteless, colourless, weightless, "stuff" out of which everything comes. The "boundless" also moved in a sort of vortex motion to produce the visible things of the world.

Anaximenes (*fl.* *c.*546 BC) was the third and last of the Milesian school. He speculated that the first principle of all things was air. His great achievement seems to have been the suggestion that there was continuity and serial development in the pattern of the condensation of air "downwards" into denser materials and the corresponding rarefaction of dense material "upwards".

Xenophanes (*c.*570–478 BC) of Colophon objected to the theology of the poets. His problem with Homer and Hesiod, as well as many other poets, was that they told stories of the gods and goddesses engaging in shameful behaviour. They could be hateful, violent, capricious, selfish, adulterous, lying, and scheming. He speculated that there must be one ultimate god who was the source of all.

Heraclitus (*fl.* *c.*500 BC) of Ephesus is famous for the saying, "I step into a river once, but I cannot step into the same river twice." By this he speculated that the only thing that does not change is change. He identified the ultimate stuff of the universe with fire, but also found it to have order inherent in it. The ordering principle he identified as reason (*logos*). The Ionians (discussed above) were materialistic in their cosmological explanations. They were also monists (claiming that there is only one kind of basic reality) The Italian school (Pythagoras, Parmenides, Zeno, Melissus, Empedocles), on the other hand, claimed that ultimate reality was of more than one kind.

Pythagoras (*fl.* *c.*530 BC) of Samos moved to Croton on the south Italian coast. According to tradition, one day he passed by the blacksmith's shop and heard different pitches from hammers ringing on anvils. From this experience he developed a theory of music and a theory of the origin of the universe. For Pythagoras the discovery of quantity in everything led to the speculative belief that everything is made of numbers. This view replaces a material cause of the universe with a non-material one, namely numbers. So the origin of the universe can be viewed as coming from an intellectual source.

Parmenides (b. *c.*515 BC) of Elea learned of the views of Heraclitus and completely rejected the argument that the world is constantly changing. Instead he argued that change is an illusion. For Parmenides everything that exists has being, and being is the basic stuff of the universe. To say that something has being means that it is. But, if it is, then it cannot both be and not be. Change, or becoming, means that something both "is" and simultaneously "is-not". For Parmenides something either "is" or it "is-not". For something to exist and not exist at the same time would violate the laws of logic. What is can neither be created nor be destroyed, so change he concluded is an illusion.

Zeno (*c.*490–454 BC) of Elea was a younger follower of Parmenides. He developed a number of paradoxes to defend the view that change is an illusion. Most of these paradoxes argued that motion is an illusion. The paradoxes include the Stadium, the Arrow, Achilles and the Tortoise, and the Grain of Millet.

Melissus (*fl.* mid-5th century BC) of Samos, famous as an admiral, became a follower of Parmenides and produced a book entitled *On Nature and Being*. Among his contributions is the view that there exists a plenitude of being in the cosmos.

Empedocles (*c.*492–432 BC) of Acragas in Sicily was a member of the pluralist school. He accepted Parmenides' principle of being as a starting point and then postulated four basic "stuffs" – earth, air, fire, and water. These were the roots of things. They combined and separated through love and strife. Yet these are merely appearances.

Anaxagoras (*c.*500–428 BC) of Clazomenae was also a member of the pluralist school. His great contribution is the idea that there is a mind that organizes the clumped stuff of the universe into an ordered whole. Unlike the Creator of Genesis who issues divine commands, Anaxagoras' creator-god is pure mind which distinguishes and separates qualities to produce an ordered cosmos.

The Atomist school comprised the last of the pre-Socratics. Leucippus is considered to be the father of the school. Little is known for certain about his views; however, it is generally believed that his younger follower, Democritus (b. *c.*460 BC) of Abdera, preserved and developed his speculations. Democritus is reported to have said, "I take this material and I cut it until it can be cut no further and I have the basic stuff of the universe, 'the uncuttable' (*atome*)." An *atomos* of Democritus is different from modern atoms. It is like a tiny rock, the centre of which cannot be split. Democritus taught that there are a myriad different atoms which combine by physically hooking together rather like burrs on clothing, or run freely in liquid fashion like marbles. The resulting view is that there is a plurality of atoms. Furthermore, Democritus taught that everything is made of atoms moving in the void. Even the gods are made of atoms. This meant that only atoms moving in the void were eternal. The gods, goddesses, the world, and all people were simply the product of a chance combination of atoms. Even souls were the product of atoms. In addition the forces of movement in the void would eventually produce a new rearrangement of the atoms and therefore even the gods were not immortal.

When pre-Socratic speculation failed to reach a single unified answer about the nature and origin of the cosmos, intellectual attention turned to other concerns. The Sophists focused on rhetoric, and Socrates on social philosophy and ethics.

Plato (*c.*429–347 BC) gave metaphysical speculation new life. Plato was deeply influenced by the teaching of the Pythagoreans. Seeking to explain both change and permanence, he combined the ideas of Heraclitus and Parmenides. Plato used the Socratic method of dialogue to seek for knowledge of the ultimate. He found the ultimate nature of the universe to be derived from ideas. Just as everything in the universe has quantity, so it also has a shape or a form (*ideos*). In the forms of things he found the ultimate stuff of the universe. The visible world is ever a world of Becoming, composed of copies of the eternal forms. These reside in the invisible world of Being. In the *Timaeus* he describes how a

creator-god mixes the forms with matter to make the visible world.

Aristotle (384–322 BC), the most famous of Plato's students, wrote about the topic of metaphysics calling it "first philosophy" because it dealt with the first things of the cosmos. Among his metaphysical ideas are the four causes: material, formal, efficient, and final. He rejected Plato's forms for being as substance. Aristotle's great achievement was to summarize in an orderly fashion and extend the speculations of the Classical period.

After the death of Aristotle the changed political conditions brought about by the conquests of Alexander the Great reoriented the focus of philosophical speculations to "philosophies of withdrawal". Cyrenaics, Epicureans, Sceptics, Cynics, and Stoics all advocated philosophies of life which sought to find meaning in life apart from the state. Epistemology, ethics, and social philosophies were the main concern.

Neoplatonism developed a rich literature of metaphysical speculation that posited God as the source of the forms. From the 3rd to the 6th century AD this philosophy developed the idea of the chief form being the One. The One emanates or overflows in being to create the visible world. The most important members of this school were Plotinus and Proclus.

Christians encountered a dynamic mix of philosophical schools in the Greek-speaking world. In particular they found three competing cosmologies widely discussed: pantheism, materialism, and Platonism. Of these three Platonism was closest to the Christian view on the origin and nature of the world. As people of philosophical training became Christians they applied their philosophies to theological interpretation for both apologetic and dogmatic purposes.

The emperor Constantine I the Great, seeking to unify his empire on a religiously uniform basis, called for an ecumenical council of the Church to meet at Nicaea in AD 325. The debates and resulting creed were fraught with philosophical metaphysical ideas. These were used to describe the nature of the Trinity. Later councils would also deal with the *Logos* Christology of the Gospel of John in order to describe the two natures of Christ. For its theological needs Christianity utilized Greek metaphysical ideas.

Byzantine history continued the story of the development of the association of philosophy and Christian faith. Philosophy was a frequent topic for study, but little original work was done until the 11th century when there was a great revival of Platonism led by Psellos. John Mavropos, bishop of Euchaita, was a devoted Platonist. John Italos developed some heretical ideas from Pythagoreanism. The most original of the Byzantine philosophers seems to have been George Gemistos Plethon (*c.*1360–1452), who was the last great Neoplatonist.

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See also Philosophy

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Metaxas, Ioannis 1871–1941

Army officer and dictator

Metaxas's dictatorship of 1936–41 saw the imposition of a regime similar in many ways to other European dictatorships of the period, during which the state became increasingly important. His firm leadership at the start of World War II at first defended Greece from an Italian invasion.

Metaxas was born on the island of Ithaca on 12 April 1871. Choosing a military career, he attended the Greek Military Academy, graduating in 1890. He saw active service in the 1897 Graeco-Turkish War, after which he was sent to Germany to attend the War Academy at Berlin, returning in 1903. In 1912 Venizelos, the prime minister, embarked on a modernization of the army which he entrusted to crown prince Constantine, who in turn appointed Metaxas to the General Staff. Metaxas became a loyal supporter of Constantine and a lifelong monarchist. In 1913 he was promoted to colonel and became Chief of the General Staff. At the outbreak of World War I Constantine (by then king) and Metaxas agreed that it would be folly for Greece to become involved, a view not shared by Venizelos. Promoted to general in 1916, Metaxas left Greece when Constantine vacated the throne in 1917. He was tried for treason in absentia, but was pardoned in 1921 and returned at Constantine's restoration. He took no part,

however, in the disastrous Asia Minor campaign, having consistently warned of the military folly of such a venture. When a republic was proclaimed in 1923, he participated in an abortive monarchist coup, after which he again left Greece. When he returned, he founded his own pro-monarchist Free Opinion Party. In 1928 he briefly held office as minister of communications, going again into opposition for a further seven years. In 1935, with the restoration of the monarchy, Metaxas accepted office as a minister of state without portfolio, and then as minister of war. Shortly afterwards the prime minister died, and king George II turned to Metaxas, who with only six followers in the parliament became prime minister in April 1936. His way was smoothed by the chance fact that many of Greece's senior statesmen died in 1936: Georgios Kondilis (in January), Eleftherios Venizelos (in March), Panayoti Tsaldaris (in May), Paul Kondouriotis (in August), and Alexandros Zaimis (in September).

Metaxas moved rapidly to consolidate power in what he saw as a dangerous period for Greece, both domestically with the problems caused by the world economic crisis and externally in a Europe drifting towards war. On 4 August he suspended parliament, which as events transpired would not meet again for a decade. Metaxas was now, in effect, dictator of Greece. Freedom of the press was abolished, censorship was introduced (even of some of the classics), and some opponents were sent into internal exile. Though he was not a fascist, Metaxas's regime rapidly began to adopt many of the attributes of other contemporary authoritarian regimes. He talked of creating a Third Hellenic Civilization, the first two being those of antiquity and Byzantium. As part of this ideal, and to lessen the linguistic schism, he promoted demotic Greek over katharevousa, commissioning the first demotic grammer. Underlying the concept of the Third Hellenic Civilization was the aim of rebuilding the country by returning it to its roots, removing the un-Hellenic accretions of recent centuries. A compulsory National Youth Organization (*Ethnikos Organismos Neoleas*, EON) was created to co-opt the young, whose members had to be deemed to be true Hellenes, not Jews or other minorities. EON was the first mass organization to be introduced in Greece. Metaxas used titles to describe himself such as "First Peasant", "National Father", and "Leader". He envisaged a much greater role for the state in national life, introducing social insurance, a minimum wage, maternity benefits, child welfare legislation, compulsory labour arbitration, and peasant debt relief, and he embarked on a ten-year programme of public works to improve the country's infrastructure.

As Europe entered World War II, Greece could not avoid becoming caught up in the vortex. In October 1940 Italy, having already occupied Albania, turned on Greece. Metaxas was awakened at 3 am on 28 October to receive an ultimatum from Italy's ambassador. With firmness and dignity he rebuffed the humiliating demands. Known as Ochi ("No") Day, 28 October has been a public holiday in Greece ever since. The Italian dictator had assumed on the basis of old reports that morale in the Greek army was low, but Metaxas had paid particular attention to rebuilding the army which now threw back the invaders and proceeded to occupy much of southern Albania. At the height of these successes Metaxas died unexpectedly at the end of January 1941. His resoluteness in defending Greece against the Italian fascist aggressors did much to redress his image as one of Europe's crop of interwar right-wing dictators.

ERIK GOLDSTEIN

Biography

Born in Ithaca in 1871, Metaxas was educated at the Greek Military Academy and saw active service in the Graeco–Turkish War of 1897. A staunch monarchist, he opposed Greece's involvement in World War I and in the Asia Minor campaign. He was appointed minister of war in 1936 and later that year became prime minister (effectively dictator) until his death in 1941. He rejected the Italian ultimatum of 28 October 1940 and drove back the Italian invaders.

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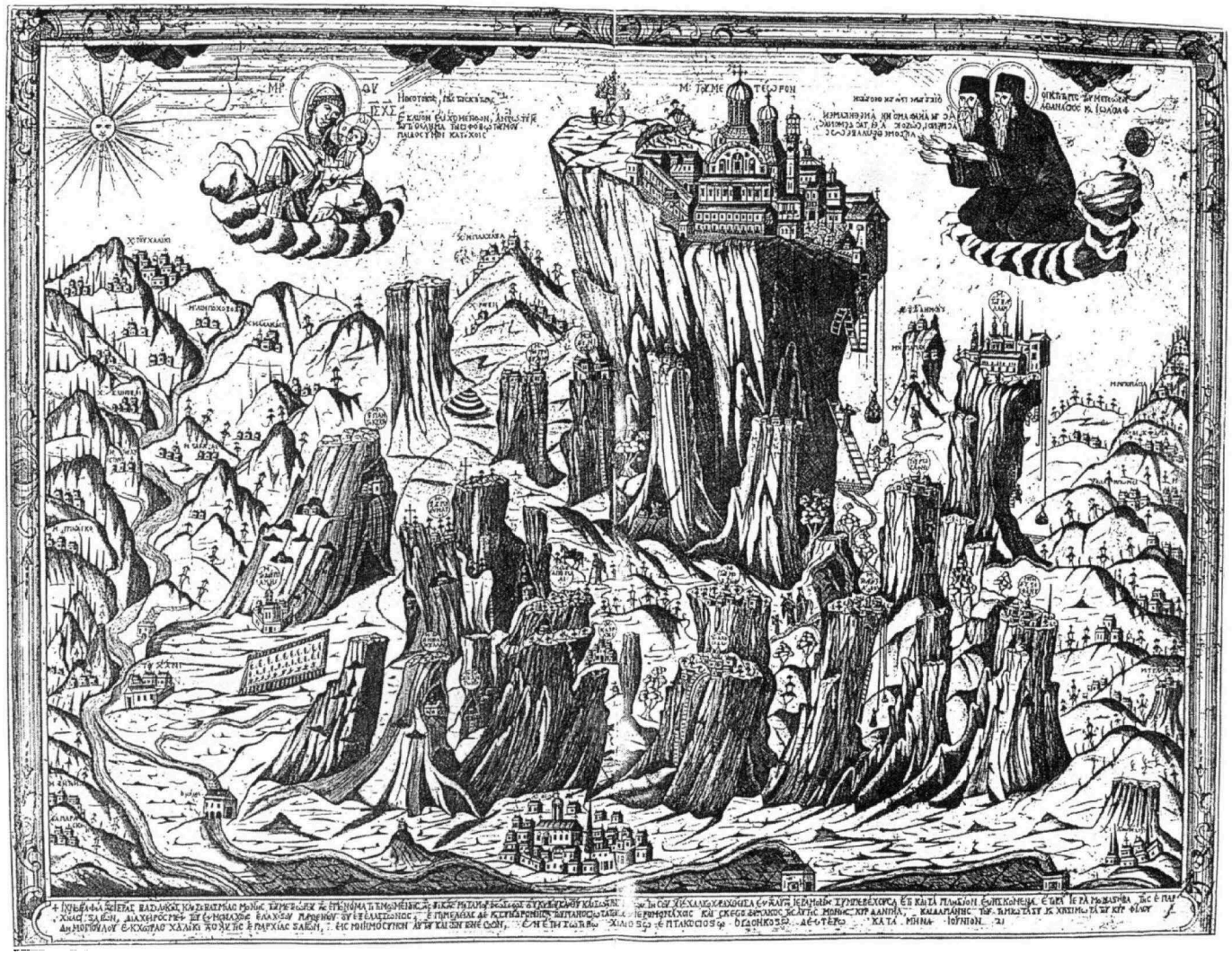
Meteora

A group of monasteries in Thessaly

The monasteries collectively called the Meteora ("raised in the air") are directly north of Kalambaka ("Black Town"), the Classical Aiginion and Byzantine Stagoi, in northwestern Thessaly. From the plain created by the river Peneus there rises, over an area of approximately 2.5 sq km and enclosing a curving valley, a jungle of striated and pitted iron-grey monoliths, up to 275 m high, created by erosion and consisting of a polymictic conglomerate of plutonic and regional metamorphic rocks. Unmentioned in Classical literature (apart from a possible allusion in Homer, *Iliad*, 2. 729), this most spectacular geological feature of Greece has from the 18th century awed foreign visitors, including Edward Lear who sketched one of its monasteries (Barlaam).

Its monastic history cannot be traced before the 14th century, and is based largely upon documents most of which were discovered in its own libraries. Principal among these are the *Lives* and *Testaments* of the founders of three of the monasteries; the *Historical Discourse*, written perhaps in 1521 to contest the claim to supremacy of the Great Meteoron monastery; and the *Chronicle of Ioannina* (known also from elsewhere) of *c.*1440, which details the Serbian empire in Thessaly. It is not known how many monasteries there were at any one time or even in total: the *Historical Discourse* gives 14, a mid-17th-century list names 19, while oral tradition reports at least 24, but some of these were undoubtedly merely eremitic communities dependent upon a regular monastery.

The earliest known monks were anchorites forming what they called the "Thebaid of Stagoi" after the heartland of Egyptian monasticism. They lived in the shallow caves of a large rock known as Doupiani (from Serbian *dupljane* or Bulgarian *dupljak* meaning "cavity"), and were under the supervision of a *protos* ("first" monk) rather than an abbot.



Meteora: woodcut showing the monasteries of Meteora

They gathered for a communal liturgy every Sunday below the rock at a tiny basilical church which was rebuilt in 1861. By sometime before 1336, however, there was also a small monastery built in one of the bigger caves, for a *chrysobull* (imperial charter) issued in that year by the Byzantine emperor Andronikos III Palaiologos (the text is painted on a wall of the cathedral church at Stagoi) in quoting from an earlier *praktikon* (inventory) refers to a small dependent monastery of the bishopric called the Theotokos of Doupiani.

Protection in those tumultuous times was given to the fledgeling community by the pious "Emperor of the Serbs and Greeks of Thessaly", Symeon Uroš Nemanjić Palaiologos (1359–71?), whose spiritual adviser was the *protos* Neilos. Neilos expanded his skete and built four small churches, of which only one can be located today, the Hypapanti (Presentation) in a cave halfway up a cliff to the northeast of Doupiani. Sometime later, monastic cells were added in an adjoining cave linked to the first by a short tunnel. Neilos is himself depicted in a fresco in the church kneeling at the Virgin's feet.

The move at the Meteora from troglodytic eremiticism to cenobitic monasticism was largely due, despite his reluctance, to the hesychast Athanasios. Notwithstanding his occupation of caves high up on the precipitous sides of the massive rock known as the *Platys Lithos* (Broad Rock), his holiness enticed disciples to join him and this forced him to the top of the rock to accommodate them all. There he built a church and wrote a typikon (charter) for the community, which after his death in 1383 came into the care of the monastery's "second founder", Symeon's son and successor John Uroš, who a decade earlier had become the monk Joasaph (the church contains three portraits of both Athanasios and Joasaph).

The example of the Great Meteoron encouraged other foundations, first in 1390 the now vanished Hypselotera on an even higher monolith, and then about ten years later Hagiou Stephanou, founded by Antonios Kantakouzenos, nephew of Symeon and grandson of the Byzantine emperor John VI. Although the 15th century saw not only external threats from Turkish conquest and occupation but also internal corruption and fraternal power-struggles, a few monasteries continued to be founded, including the surviving Hagiou Nikolaou Anapavsa and Hagias Triados (though both on the sites of earlier eremitic occupation). Around 1490 the diocese of Stagoi came under the jurisdiction of the archbishopric of

Larissa, and the Great Meteoron, soon to be followed by other communities, became self-governing; while in 1540 it, again to be followed by others, was granted stavropegial rank and thus came directly under the authority of the patriarch. The golden age that the monasteries of the Meteora were now able to enjoy was, nevertheless, more due to the settled nature of the reign of the sultan Süleyman I the Magnificent (1520–66), who lifted the ban on eccelesiastical construction. In the absence of Byzantine and Serbian rulers to grant lands and privileges to the monasteries the semi-independent Wallachian and Moldavian *voievozi* filled the breach as the patrons of Orthodoxy, although no Meteoran foundation ever acquired the wealth of the poorest Athonite monastery.

The caves at the Meteora were occupied mainly by anchorites (although one of the largest served as the monastic prison). Most, and with the exception of Hypapanti all of the surviving, monasteries were, however, constructed on precipitous monoliths; but, whereas the Great Meteoron covers about an acre, the small 16th-century Rousanou seems on all sides to be a mere extension of its rock and at Hagiou Nikolaou a slight backward step by a monastic gardener would precipitate him directly to the base of its rock. Entry used to be achieved either by climbing precarious and vertiginous wooden ladders (up to 40 m long), the upper reaches of which the monks drew up at night and in time of peril, or by being hauled up in nets by a rope from a windlass in a projecting tower (in the 1920s to the dismay, and contempt, of many monks bridges were built and steps cut into the rocks on the instructions of Polykarpos, bishop of Trikkala).

The oldest surviving frescos are probably those in the nave of Hypapanti, painted in a lively and popular style of the late Palaiologan period. These contrast with the more formal and at times austere art of the richer monasteries such as the Great Meteoron and its 16th-century neighbour Barlaam. The most famous painter known to have been employed at any of these monasteries was the influential Cretan Theophanes, who worked at Hagiou Nikolaou Anapavsa in 1527.

The fortunes of the Meteora declined drastically during the 18th and early 19th centuries and were never to recover (in 1899, 18 years after the cession of Thessaly to Greece, even their independence was lost to the bishop at Trikkala). The Phanariot rulers of the Romanian principalities proved far less interested than their indigenous predecessors in giving support, and, more serious, the stirrings of Greek independence led to both unrest and retaliation from the Turks which was often directed against hapless monks, while the virtually independent Ali Pasha of Ioannina imposed crippling taxes. Moreover, the very inaccessibility of these monasteries, which had in part protected them from the depredations suffered by other foundations (some of which had even sent relics and other valuables to the Meteora for safe keeping), became itself the cause of serious damage during not only the Greek War of Independence, but also World War II and the ensuing Civil War, when bands of klephts, partisans, and communists respectively made them their headquarters. Hagiou Dimitriou was completely destroyed in 1809 by Turkish firepower, while Italian troops looted Barlaam in 1943 and German troops shelled and looted Hagiou Stephanou and Hagias Triados. Subsequently the Greek government embarked on a programme not only to repair the shattered buildings but also to restore the frescos and protect the libraries and treasures.

Nevertheless, the construction of a metalled road further weakened the precarious monastic hold on the Meteora by giving numerous tourists access by charabanc to all the surviving monasteries except Hypapanti. Many monks fled to the comparative quietude of Athos and elsewhere, while the determination of those few willing to test their ability to maintain an inward peace proof against external turbulence (Hagias Triados was even used for the James Bond film *For Your Eyes Only*) rarely lasted long. Although the Church has attempted with some success to maintain a presence, occupation of individual monasteries by small groups of both monks and nuns (and occasionally by a solitary monk) has been fitful: even Hypapanti, rarely found by a tourist, has been abandoned, although for a brief time in the early 1970s it was home to two monks from the Great Meteoron.

A.R. LITTLEWOOD

See also Monasteries, Monasticism

Summary

A group of monasteries in northwestern Thessaly, the Meteora ("raised in the air") occupy a spectacular geological setting. Their history dates from the 14th century when monks were fleeing Athonite monasteries which were under attack. The Meteora flourished in the 16th century but declined in the 18th and 19th. A metalled road in the 20th century facilitated access to the monasteries, since when most of the monks have departed to Athos.

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Methodios, St *c.*815–885

Missionary to the Slavs

St Methodios was, together with his younger brother St Cyril, the inventor of the Slavonic Glagolitic alphabet and a prominent Byzantine missionary. St Methodios cuts a less conspicuous profile than St Cyril, but his superb qualities as an administrator and organizer secured to a large extent the successful introduction of the Slavonic liturgy and writing.

Born in the city of Thessalonica, St Methodios must have been well educated with good connections at the court in Constantinople, since we first find him as an imperial governor of a Slav-inhabited territory in Macedonia. Later he renounced the world and became the abbot of a monastery on Mount Olympus in Asia Minor, which was, at that time, the most important centre of Byzantine monasticism. Methodios seems

to have been constantly in contact with Cyril, who joined him in the monastery for a period after his Arab mission (851 or 855–56). He appears to have accompanied Cyril on his journey to the Khazar court (860–61). The learned patriarch Photios and the emperor Michael III (843–67) sent both brothers on the Moravian mission, where they worked together on the organization of a Slavonic Church.

The individual achievements of SS Cyril and Methodios in Moravia (862–69) are very hard to distinguish. Methodios was active not only in Moravia, but also in Pannonia in the Slavic principality of prince Kocel. In any case, Methodios emerged into the forefront as the leader of the mission after the death of Cyril in Rome in 869. After pope Hadrian II (867–72) had given his blessing for the Slavonic liturgy and writing, he appointed Methodios papal legate to the Slavs and ordained him archbishop of the revived diocese of Sirmium with jurisdiction over both Moravia and Pannonia. Methodios had to face, however, the renewed opposition of the Frankish clergy in Moravia, where prince Rastislav's nephew prince Svatopluk (870–96) had usurped power with the help of Louis the German (817–76). Captured by the Frankish bishops and accused of heresy at the court of Louis the German, Methodios was kept in prison for three years (870–73). Freed upon the insistence of pope John VIII (872–82), he worked during the next 12 years to build up the Slavonic Church in central Europe. He managed to educate around 200 disciples, and the Slavonic liturgical and literary tradition penetrated Bohemia, Croatia, and perhaps even southern Poland. Still Methodios continued to infringe on the interests of the Frankish clergy and nobility. A doctrinal point of conflict was added in the clash concerning the issue of the *filioque*, i.e. the procession of the Holy Spirit from both the Father and the Son, an innovation to the Nicene Creed supported by the Franks but not by the papacy at that time. During the second journey of Methodios to Rome in 880, pope John VIII confirmed his orthodoxy and declared his endorsement of the vernacular Slavic liturgy. In the next year Methodios went back to Constantinople, where patriarch Photios and the new emperor Basil I (867–86) gave their renewed support to the Moravian mission. In 885 Methodios died in Moravia; soon thereafter prince Svatopluk, influenced by his Frankish advisers, imprisoned his principal disciples and sold them into slavery. The Moravian mission failed in the country in which it was originally meant to succeed. The state of Moravia itself fell under the onslaught of the Hungarians in the early 10th century.

Still, the years 873–85 were the most productive period of the Moravian mission. St Methodios, who outlived his brother by 16 years, was responsible for a significant expansion in the number of translations from Greek into Old Church Slavonic. According to his Slavonic *Life*, composed most likely by his disciple Kliment of Ohrid, Methodios completed the translation of the entire Bible into Slavonic. This first Slavonic translation of the Bible has not been preserved. Other translations attributed to Methodios include the *nomokanon* (a Byzantine manual of canon law and imperial edicts concerning the Church), patristic books, and a service in honour of St Demetrius, the patron of his native city of Thessalonica. The *Life* credits him also with the conversion of the pagan Slavs from southern Poland.

St Methodios was a bridge between Byzantium and the West in a period when the unity between eastern and western Christendom was endangered by the Photian schism (863–70) and by missionary competition over the proselytization of the Slavs. In this difficult period Methodios won the approval of both Rome and Constantinople for the establishment of a Slavonic Church in Moravia. Doubtless the resolution of the Photian schism in the Constantinopolitan councils of 869–70 and 879–80 also played a role in acquiring the combined support of Rome and Constantinople for his work. A first-rate diplomat, organizer, and teacher, Methodios succeeded in preparing a number of disciples who were able to continue successfully the introduction of Slavonic vernacular liturgy and writing. After his death in 885, the Slavic Church of Moravia no longer enjoyed the favour of the papacy and of prince Svatopluk, but his disciples succeeded in carrying on the tradition of Methodios in Bulgaria, and hence in Serbia and Russia. The first Christian king of Bulgaria, Boris (852–93), received with honour in 885–86 three of his disciples – Kliment of Ohrid, Naum of Preslav, and Angelarios. They were entrusted with replacing the Greek liturgy with one written in Old Church Slavonic, but still based on Byzantine liturgical practices. Byzantium itself interfered to save the work of the "Apostles the Slavs". When Methodios visited Constantinople in 881, the patriarch Photios retained two of his students and Slavonic liturgical books for the purpose of future missionary activities. Thus, having initiated the Moravian mission, Byzantium also played a crucial role by saving its fruits and disseminating them among the Slavs.

DIMITER G. ANGELOV

Biography

Born in Thessalonica *c.*815, St Methodios was governor of a territory in Macedonia. Then he became a monk and later abbot of a monastery on Mount Olympus. With his brother St Cyril he was sent on a mission to Moravia to organize a Slavonic Church. They invented the Glagolitic alphabet and translated the Bible and other texts into Old Church Slavonic. He died in 885.

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Metics

Resident aliens

The word *metoikoi* in ancient Greek literally means "co-inhabitants" and was used to define the foreigners resident in an ancient city state, who had a special status and special rights in contrast to the citizens (and also in contrast to the foreigners who were only travelling through and had no rights at all). Metics existed in every Greek town (under different names, e.g. *epoikoi* or *synoikoi*), but what is known about the term is mainly shaped by the evidence from ancient Athens. There especially (though not exclusively) the development of such a status of "resident aliens" seems to have been conditioned by two factors: on the one hand, the frequency of immigration (Athens was a magnet for foreign merchants and artisans in Classical times), and on the other, the pride of native Athenian citizens who refused easy access to full citizenship. This is already reflected in Solon's law about the exceptional admission of foreigners into the citizen body (Plutarch, *Solon*, 24. 4), thereby favouring the emergence of a class of "second-class citizens".

Metics were free people, but had lesser rights than citizens; their group was made up not only by foreigners migrating from other cities (or countries, non-Greek ones included) but also by former slaves who had been set free by their masters. In the former case, they had to be registered a certain time (probably a month) after their arrival and to pay the *metoikion*, a poll tax (which was not levied on citizens), as well as some other taxes imposed on foreigners and a special fee if they wanted to deal in the Agora. (If they failed to pay the *metoikion*, they could be sold into slavery.) Metics had to be enlisted in an Attic deme (local community or village) to acquire the right to dwell there (in inscriptions this is indicated by the expression "living in ... " behind the metic's name); in many cases this was Piraeus, the centre of Athenian commercial activity. Although metics enjoyed full control over their portable possessions, they were not allowed to acquire land or buy a house in Athens; therefore numerous metics put their skills into trade and crafts; the world of money transactions was largely dominated by them as well. Metics could attain *isoteleia*, i.e. citizen-like status with respect to financial duties to the polis; in court, however, a so-called *prostates* (a citizen acting as guardian) had to represent them. Metics had a clearly defined role in the city's great festivals: they had a fixed position in the procession of the Panathenaea, and they could even function as a choregus (i.e. a sponsor) at the Lenaea, but not at the Great Dionysia. Moreover, they had to do military service, usually in the infantry. On the whole, metics had no political rights and almost never a possibility to acquire full citizen status, because that status could only be conveyed by birth, and the rigid citizenship law of Pericles of 451/50 BC even required Athenian descent on both paternal and maternal sides. Exceptionally, though, the Athenian people's assembly (*ekklesia*) could bestow citizenship on foreigners for outstanding merits.

It is not clear how many metics lived in Athens (as also the exact number of the whole Athenian population is still a very controversial subject); a population count in the late 4th century – reported from the census of Demetrius of Phalerum probably in 317 BC – suggests that there were about 10,000 metics and 21,000 citizens. The Athenians were not always very well disposed towards the metics – they seem to have been made fun of in several comedies the titles of which are preserved – probably because there were many former slaves from "barbarian" countries among them; still, because of their commercial activities and their military service they were absolutely indispensable for the Athenian state, and in fact the barbarians among them were probably the best fitted for long-distance commerce (e. g. the grain trade with the Black Sea region), because they were acquainted with these areas. In the middle of the 4th century Xenophon (*De Vectigalibus*, 2. 6) even proposed to give more rights to the metics, arguing that their activities in Athens would enhance the prosperity of the city. Numerous metics seem to have become rich (especially famous are the wealthy bankers Pasion and Phormion), and they also used their means to cultivate their native religions: the cult of the Thracian goddess Bendis was officially established in Athens already in 429/28 BC, and there is evidence for about 15 foreign cults (e.g. of Egyptian, Carian, Phrygian, Syrian, and Phoenician gods and goddesses) in Piraeus; moreover there are sumptuous grave stelae with bilingual inscriptions of Phoenician metics. (An alleged common cult of "Metoikios Zeus", however, seems to be only a fancy of the late lexicographer Phrynichus.)

The status of the metics began to lose its distinctive features in the 4th century BC, when they were allowed to act in court on their own (without a *prostates*), and came to an end in Hellenistic times, when the purchase of citizenship became very frequent (probably because the law of Pericles lost much of its importance in the 3rd century, as also did the decisions of the *ekklesia*). In this period, even foreigners staying only a short time in Athens could occasionally get the status of metics, but without having to pay the concomitant taxes.

In Hellenistic and Roman times, free people living on the territory of a polis without being citizens were called *paroikoi*, in Asia Minor also *katoikoi*.

BALBINA BÄBLER

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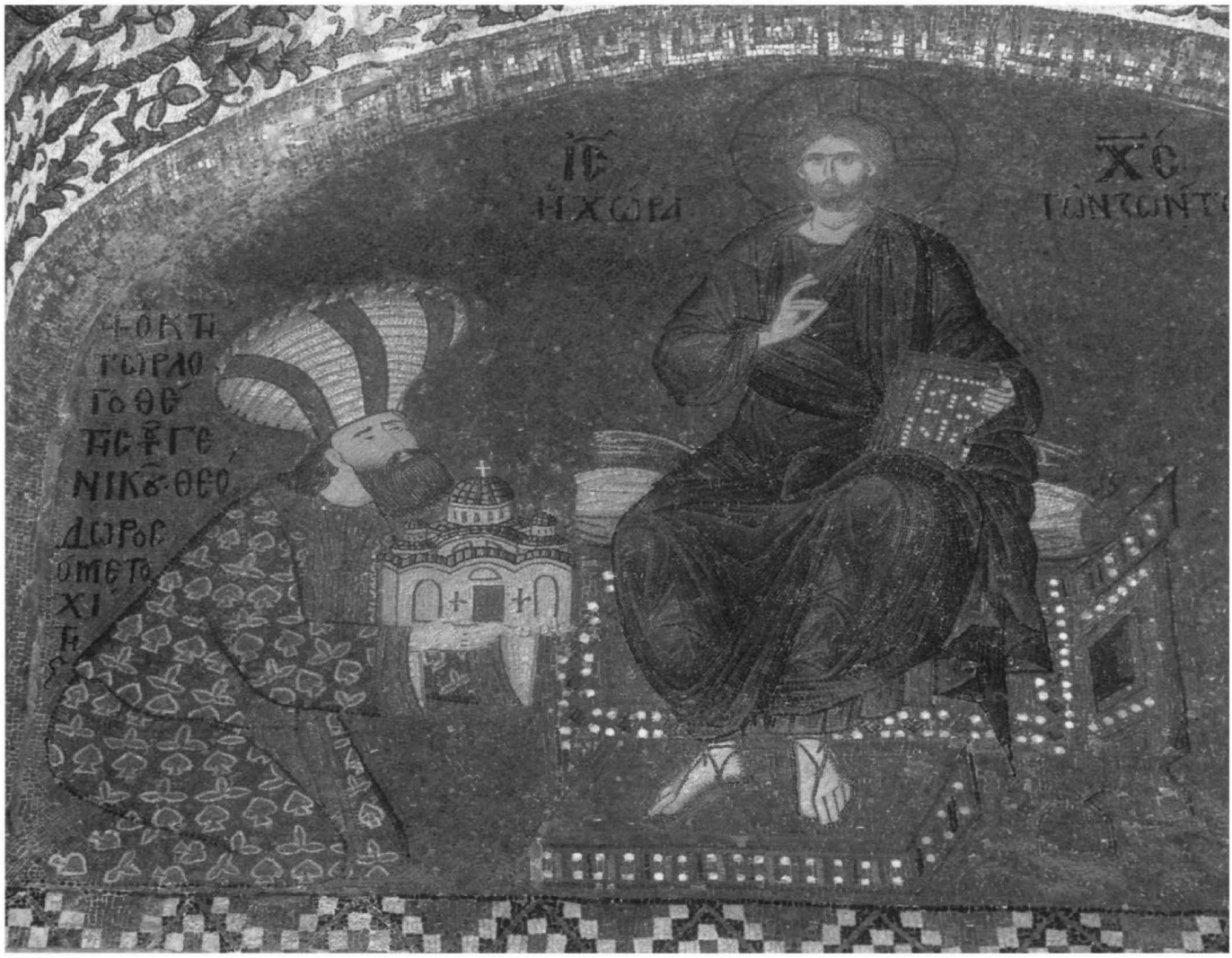
Metochites, Theodore 1270–1332

Statesman and scholar

Theodore Metochites distinguished himself both as a statesman and as a scholar. He was the son of George Metochites, the archdeacon of Constantinople, who supported the union of the Churches and, for that reason, in 1283 was sent with his family into exile in Asia Minor. Despite such hardship, Theodore acquired a formidable education and, when Andronikos II visited Nicaea in 1290, his extensive learning and skills impressed the emperor greatly. He became a member of the imperial court, was sent as an ambassador to Cyprus, Cilicia, and Serbia, and was appointed *logothetes ton angelon* (supervisor of the state herds of horses and mules), *logothetes ton oikeiakon* (supervisor of the household), *logothetes tou genikou* (supervisor of the fisc), *mesazon* (chief imperial minister), and finally *megas logothetes* (prime minister). But in 1328 Andronikos II was dethroned, and Metochites was imprisoned and sent into exile in Didymoteichon. In 1330 he was allowed to return to Constantinople, where he died as the monk Theoleptos in the monastery of Chora.

Theodore Metochites is representative of the humanism of the Palaiologan renaissance. Although burdened with administrative responsibilities, he devoted himself to the study of philosophy and literature. In addition, at an advanced age he studied astronomy with Manuel Bryennios, the author of an



Theodore Metochites: mosaic in the church of St Saviour in Chora, Constantinople, showing Metochites presenting the restored church to Christ, *c.*1330

extant treatise on musical theory. He was an avid collector of books and spent much time comparing manuscripts. He donated his library to the Chora monastery, and he was also responsible for the redecoration of its church with new mosaics and frescos, which are perhaps the greatest achievement of late Byzantine art. He had a group of pupils, of whom the most illustrious was the astronomer and historian Nikephoros Gregoras.

Metochites's main work is a collection of essays, notes, and annotations, the *Miscellanea Philosophica et Historica Graece.* Many of these essays discuss issues concerning Classical authors, for example, the obscurity of Aristotle's style, the development of ancient mathematics, Plutarch, Xenophon, and Philo. He also wrote paraphrases of Aristotle's works on natural philosophy, and an introduction to astronomy based in all essentials on Ptolemy. In his treatise *Ethikos* (On Education), as well as in his essay comparing Demosthenes with Aristides, he comments on the importance of education, the role of the scholars of his time, and the differences between the contemplative and the active life. More specifically, he stresses the importance of the active life, which in his view was devalued by the ancient philosophers as inferior to the contemplative life, and he attempts to dissociate the latter from any kind of mysticism that advocates the union of the human psyche to God. Finally, he wrote hexameter poems, rhetorical works, and enkomia.

The long debate between Metochites and his former friend and rival Nikephoros Choumnos marks most of his intellectual career. He was criticized by Choumnos for his obscure style, and he defended himself by arguing that Thucydides perhaps was stylistically the most unattractive of all the Classical authors, though he was at the same time one of the greatest. But the centre of the dispute concerned their different views on astronomy. Choumnos accused Metochites of abandoning Plato's theory about the seven revolutions and endorsing Ptolemy's views on the eight celestial spheres. Since there was a difference between Ptolemy and his predecessors concerning the number of the spheres, Metochites decided to remove the discrepancy and harmonize Ptolemy with Plato by altering the Platonic text in some places.

Yet whatever reservations one may have about Metochites as an astronomer, it is important to note that he regarded astronomy as a science, and he saw no conflict between science and religious belief. In fact, there is no doubt that he regarded astronomy, and the mathematical sciences in general, as the supreme sciences. He thus gave great importance to the study of mathematics, and was influenced by Plato's philosophy of mathematics, though it seems that his knowledge of Plato was most probably indirect, through the writings of Iamblichus and Nicomachus. He claimed that the mathematical sciences are superior to physics, because they constitute a source of tranquillity for the soul since their conclusions are indisputable, whereas physical sciences give rise to disputes in their attempt to understand physical phenomena. In his attitude towards Aristotle, Metochites, like many Byzantine scholars, was rather ambivalent. On the one hand, he was obviously an admirer of Aristotle's logic and physics, on the other he believed that Aristotle had included in his *Metaphysics* so many contradictions and ambiguities that it would have been much better if this work had never been written.

KATERINA IERODIAKONOU

Biography

Born in 1270 the son of George Metochites, archdeacon of Constantinople, he followed his family into exile in Asia Minor in 1283. Still he got a good education and attracted the attention of Andronikos II. He had a distinguished career at the imperial court until Andronikos was dethroned in 1328. Metochites was exiled, but allowed to return in 1330. As a scholar he studied philosophy and literature. He died a monk in Constantinople in 1332.

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Miaoulis, Andreas 1769–1835

Naval hero of the Greek War of Independence

Andreas Miaoulis was born Andreas Vokos on the island of Hydra on 20 May 1769. He came from a wealthy family of merchants and ship masters. Following the family tradition, Andreas took to sea at a young age and quickly gained notoriety as a marauder, who sailed as far as Malta, southern France, and Syria in pursuit of booty. Legend has it that Andreas and his raiders once sailed up the Nile as far as Cairo. Later, a clash with Maltese buccaneers off the southern coast of the Peloponnese resulted in the sinking of Andreas's ship and his unceremonious return home. But, determined not to surrender to the whims of fortune, he soon embarked again, this time in command of his own ship, a Turkish brig named *Miaoul*, which had been purchased with the proceeds of his successful grain-trading ventures in the Aegean islands. In time, he became known as "Miaoulis", a name that was to become deeply feared by his Turkish enemies.

By the time of the outbreak of the Greek revolution in 1821, the 52-year-old Miaoulis was one of the most respected figures on Hydra. He had practically retired from the sea and was leading a comfortable life as a wealthy sea merchant. A man of conservative habits in his private life, Miaoulis remained nevertheless a fervent enemy of Ottoman rule. He was thus immediately seen as an obvious choice to assume command of the revolution's naval forces. By the end of 1821 Miaoulis was formally named admiral of Hydra by the leaders of the island and was quietly recognized as the revolution's chief of naval operations.

With ships from his own island as well as those of Spetsai and Psara, Miaoulis sought to keep the superior, but cumbersome, Turkish fleet off balance. However, the destruction of the island of Chios and the massacre of its population by the

Turks in mid-1822 brought Miaoulis into the eastern Aegean to seek a decisive engagement with the enemy. Recognizing that the Greek fleet could not sustain a head-on collision with the Turkish fleet, a war council in Psara decided to strike the Turks with fireships. The attack led to the sinking of the Turkish flagship by the Psara fireship commander, Constantine Kanaris, and registered the first major victory at sea for the revolution.

In the following years Miaoulis's naval strategy faced two imperatives. On the one hand, he needed to disrupt the enemy's transportation of troops and supplies to suppress the revolution on the mainland. On the other hand, the Greek naval forces had to engage in what would be recognized today as "limited sea denial" in an effort to protect the main Greek islands and cause as much damage to enemy naval forces as possible. When Psara was destroyed and its people put to the sword by a Turkish landing in 1824, Miaoulis returned to the island and surprised and sank 20 enemy gunboats. He then turned to defending the much bigger island of Samos, which the Turks wished to make into another example of the horrors awaiting those who revolted against the Porte. In a series of engagements against the numerically superior Turkish squadrons, culminating in the Battle of Gerondas, Miaoulis defeated the Turkish attempt to land on Samos and forced the enemy to retreat.

Beginning in 1825, Miaoulis concentrated his slim forces on battling a fearsome invasion of the Peloponnese by the Egyptian Ibrahim Pasha. Ibrahim's invasion was carried out with extreme brutality, causing the near extinction of the revolution. Miaoulis deployed his slim forces in an unequal battle to disrupt Ibrahim's sea lines of communication with Egypt and to sink as many troop ships as possible. In September 1825 he surprised an Egyptian squadron in the harbour of Methoni and burnt 28 of its ships. In January 1826 he joined the desperate effort to resupply with food and essentials the heroic city of Missolongi in western Greece, which was under siege by Ibrahim's army. During the Battle of Cavo Papa (28 January 1826) he engaged the Turkish fleet with an inferior force, but he did not hesitate to manoeuvre aggressively, facing the enemy ships of the line and then exchanging fierce cannon fire with them for more than three hours. As a result, the Turks hastily retreated to the safe haven of Patras harbour.

In 1827, with the Great Powers taking an increasing interest in the Greek struggle, Miaoulis, despite his undisputed position as naval leader of the revolution, immediately agreed to serve under a British admiral as a simple captain. The historic Battle of Navarino (October 1827), where Ibrahim's fleet was destroyed by a combined British, French, and Russian force, broke the Ottoman grip on Greece and led to the founding of the modern Greek state. The first governor of Greece, Ioannis Kapodistria, reappointed Miaoulis as chief of the Greek navy and ordered him to pursue the pirates plaguing Greek seas. However, Miaoulis sympathized with those war veterans who opposed Kapodistria's administration, which they found arbitrary and autocratic. With his home island of Hydra up in arms against the governor, Miaoulis himself staged a naval mutiny at the Poros naval station in the summer of 1831. The rising was quickly subdued by the cannons of a Russian squadron, but not before Miaoulis had scuttled two ships of the line and escaped to Hydra.

Kapodistria's assassination brought an end to plans of prosecuting Miaoulis for the Poros mutiny and, in 1832, the revolutionary hero was put in charge of the Greek delegation that went to Bavaria to offer the Hellenic crown to prince Otto. Upon the arrival of the new king in 1833, Miaoulis was appointed chief of the royal navy. In 1834 he was the first naval officer of the new Greek state to be promoted to the rank of rear-admiral and appointed inspector general of the fleet. The following year he was awarded the title of state councillor. He died in Athens in June 1835 from respiratory complications stemming from tuberculosis.

Andreas Miaoulis, a man of only the most rudimentary education, was recognized by his contemporaries as a master naval planner and strategist. His grasp of the broader tactical implications of naval action, his steady command under fire, and his ability to move his crews into action under the most dire adversities were legendary, among both his countrymen and the foreign officers who were sent to support the Greek cause. Miaoulis never blinked. Legend has it that once during the Napoleonic wars the young Miaoulis was captured by an English man-of-war while trying to run the British blockade in Spanish waters. He was then taken directly to admiral Horatio Nelson, who proceeded to interrogate the young captive in broken Spanish. "Why are you breaking the blockade?", Nelson asked. "Because it is to my profit", Miaoulis answered. And what would have happened, Nelson enquired, if he had commanded that smuggler's vessel, and Miaoulis had captured him? "I would have hanged you by your neck from the yard arm", Miaoulis coolly retorted. He was then ordered to be freed by Nelson, who congratulated him on both his bravery and his candour.

ANESTIS T. SYMEONIDES

Biography

Born in 1769 on the island of Hydra, the son of Andreas Vokos, he came from a wealthy merchant family but received only rudimentary education. Going early to sea, he became known as Miaoulis after taking command of a Turkish ship named *Miaoul*. From 1821 he became naval leader of the Greek revolution. Kapodistria appointed him chief of the navy, a position he retained until his death in 1835.

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Michael of Ephesus

Scholar of the 12th century

Michael of Ephesus was most probably a member of the circle of scholars around Anna Komnene that contributed greatly to the revival of Aristotelianism in the 12th century. When Anna Komnene retired from court in 1118 to a convent in Constantinople, and before she started writing her history in 1138/39, she charged a group of Byzantine scholars, among them Michael of Ephesus and Eustratios of Nicaea, with the task of writing commentaries on Aristotle. Michael of Ephesus composed detailed commentaries on many of Aristotle's works, and he later complained that his eyesight was spoiled because he had to work through the night to comply with Anna Komnene's wishes. However, most facts about his life are obscure and thus still disputed, for example the date of his birth, or whether he had been a student of Michael Psellos.

Several of his commentaries are still extant: on the *Sophistici Elenchi*, which was wrongly attributed to Alexander of Aphrodisias; on the *Ethica Nicomachea*; on the *Parva Naturalia*; on the *De Generatione Animalium*, which was wrongly attributed to Philoponus; on the *De Partibus Animalium*, the *De Animalium Motione*, and the *De Animalium Incessu*; on the *Metaphysica E–N*, which was also wrongly attributed to Alexander of Aphrodisias; and on the *Politica*. But there are also commentaries by him that are still unedited, for example his commentary on the pseudo-Aristotelian treatise *De Coloribus*. Others that are either completely lost or only fragmentarily extant in the mass of the surviving, often anonymous, scholia, include his commentaries on the *Topica*, the *Analytica Priora*, the *De Caelo*, the *Physica*, and the *Rhetorica*.

Michael of Ephesus's interpretations of Aristotelian passages are generally clear and sensible, never disputing Aristotle's authority. Among his comments, there are few genuinely new ones; most are taken from previous commentators, such as Alexander of Aphrodisias. But even if they are not always his own, his comments are sober and helpful especially in those cases in which no other commentary has survived. His commentaries not only shed light on Aristotle's thought and provide otherwise lost information concerning the history of philosophy, but they are also of interest from a historian's point of view, since they sometimes contain references to the contemporary political situation, for example criticism of the emperor and discussions about the contemporary educational system. As to his style, it often betrays the fact that such commentaries were actually used for oral teaching.

Though not particularly original, Michael of Ephesus was very influential. There is no doubt that all later Byzantine scholiasts looked to him when they wanted to write scholia, and even his very words appear quite frequently in the commentaries and paraphrases from the 13th to the 15th centuries.

KATERINA IERODIAKONOU

Biography

Next to nothing is known of the life of Michael of Ephesus. He was probably one of the group of scholars associated with Anna Komnene that contributed to the revival of Aristotelianism in the 12th century. He wrote commentaries on many of Aristotle's works, of which several survive.

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Michael VIII Palaiologos *c.*1225–1282

Emperor

Michael VIII (1259–82) was the eldest of three sons in a long-established family of Byzantium's military nobility. His father, Andronikos Palaiologos, held the office of Grand Domestic (*Megas Domestikos*), the highest military command, in the Laskarid government-in-exile of Nicaea during the Latin occupation of Constantinople.

Michael at first attracted the attention and favour of the second Nicene emperor, John III Vatatzes (1221–54). But in the autumn of 1253 he was accused of treasonous dealings and, despite his evasion of punishment, remained under suspicion thereafter. Married to John II's grandniece, and holding important military posts, he was again held in suspicion by the new emperor, Theodore II Laskaris (1254–58), who had a paranoid hatred of the nobility. In 1256 Michael actually fled to the Seljuk Turkish sultan, whom he served briefly in military command. Allowed back to the Byzantine court in early 1258, he faced wild alternations of disgrace and reconciliation until Theodore's premature death (August 1258). Theodore's son and successor was a boy only 8 years old, John IV Laskaris. Designated as regent and guardian was Theodore's close friend and adviser, George Mouzalon, who was of low birth and universally hated. Michael skilfully manipulated the situation and, within a few weeks, instigated the brutal murder of Mouzalon and his relatives. Choice of the new regent and guardian of the young emperor logically fell to Michael, who in rapid sequence took the titles first of grand duke (*Megas Doux*), then of despot (*despotes*, "Master"), which suggested rights of succession, and finally that of emperor. In early January 1259 he and his wife were crowned as sovereigns; the boy John Laskaris – whose succession rights had been guaranteed – was given only token recognition.

Through fortune and diligence Michael consolidated his grasp of power. At this time Michael Angelos, the independent Greek lord of Epirus, in northwestern Greece, had made an alliance with Manfred, the Hohenstaufen king of Sicily, and the Latin prince Guillaume II Villehardouin of Achaea, aimed against the Nicene state in general and Michael Palaiologos in particular. Resorting first to diplomacy, Michael contacted the papacy with an offer to reunite the Greek and Latin Churches in exchange for recognition and mediation. This failing, he sent

troops under his brother John. After ravaging Epirus, the Nicene forces met the disorganized allied army and smashed it at the Battle of Pelagonia (summer/autumn 1259).

With the Epirote threat to Nicaea and the future of Latin power in the Byzantine sphere thus doomed, Michael's next goal was the recovery of Constantinople, which had long evaded the sovereigns of Nicaea. Michael made a small and abortive attack on a region of the city in 1260, without effect. The following year he sought to strengthen his naval capacities by negotiating a treaty of alliance with Genoa. By apparent chance, however, a Nicene reconnoitring party, under the general Alexios Strategopoulos, was able to seize Constantinople from its debilitated Latin regime on 25 July 1261. Michael carefully orchestrated the symbolism of this success, making an official entry into the old capital on 15 August, at which time he had himself crowned for a second time. One last, cruel step completed his spectacular vault to power: by the end of 1261 the unhappy John IV Laskaris was decisively removed from any competition by blinding.

As the self-proclaimed "New Constantine", Michael poured out his energies and resources to restore the battered capital and its monuments, repopulating it with Greek ethnic elements from the surrounding region and from the Morea. He repaired the fortifications of the city, and attempted to rebuild a fleet. For Michael, the repossession of Constantinople meant reasserting Byzantium's status as a world power, while it obliged him to continue the recovery of the European territories lost to the Latins after the Fourth Crusade – especially in the Morea, where he strove to expand a Byzantine beach-head he had opened. On both counts he faced the hostility of Latin powers, which eventually received militant focus from the ambitions of the new ruler of Sicily and southern Italy, Charles of Anjou. In May 1267, the year after his destruction of Manfred at Benevento, Charles created by the Treaty of Viterbo an alliance of Michael's enemies committed to his and Byzantium's destruction.

A diplomat of considerable skill, Michael pursued a range of negotiations aimed at forestalling Charles's scheme of conquest. He revived his strongest asset, the proposal to the papacy that the Byzantine Church might be reunited with the Latin Church of Rome. His predecessors, and he himself, had pursued this idea for diplomatic reasons. At length, he negotiated with pope Gregory X (1271–76) an official union (i.e. submission to Rome), accepted by Byzantine negotiators and proclaimed at the Council of Lyons in 1274. That ecclesiastical commitment, as well as Michael's promise to refrain from further attacks on Latin holdings in Greek lands, obliged the pope to restrain Charles, who was also distracted by other Byzantine diplomatic manoeuvrings.

The price of such progress was mounting clerical and popular hostility to Michael at home. He already faced one Church schism as a result of his deposition in 1265 of the patriarch Arsenios, an early supporter who felt betrayed by Michael's treatment of the young John IV. But Michael's union with Rome antagonized a yet larger sector of public opinion, and even members of Michael's own family joined in bitter and disruptive opposition to him.

Michael consequently delayed implementation of the union in his realm. That failure, as well as his relentless prosecution of war against the Latins in Greece, disillusioned the papacy. The strongly pro-Angevin pope Martin IV (1281–85) turned his back on Michael and became party to Charles's new anti-Byzantine coalition, the Treaty of Orvieto (July 1281). Feeling betrayed after he had risked so much at home (and never officially renouncing the union himself), Michael joined a grand conspiracy with the king of Aragon and local dissidents to provoke and exploit the great popular rising known as the Sicilian Vespers (March 1282), which deprived Charles of the foundation of his power and definitively spared Byzantium the threat of his conquest.

While Michael's progress against the Latins in the Morea proved indecisive, he was able to assert ascendancy in the Balkans. In 1264 he reduced his rival, the Epirote despot Michael Angelos, and his descendants to a feeble dependency confirmed by further pressures. The same year witnessed a dangerous inroad into the Balkans by the Tatars of the Golden Horde of southern Russia. This and a second devastating attack in 1271 prompted Michael to negotiate the following year an important treaty with the Mongol khan Nogai, which facilitated an encirclement of Michael's restless Bulgarian neighbours, while Michael's matrimonial ties with the Hungarian crown brought pressure on another dangerous Byzantine neighbour, Serbia. Finally, in 1282, Michael obliged John II Komnenos, emperor of the separatist Greek state of Trebizond, to come to Constantinople and relinquish any remaining claims to the Byzantine imperial title.

By such means Michael gave an image of power and importance to the restored empire of Palaiologan Byzantium, while transferring to the recovered capital the burgeoning cultural revival he had inherited from Laskarid Nicaea. But much of his achievement was illusory. He was unable to drive the Latins out of all the Morea or eliminate other Angelan rivals in Thessaly. His heavy concentration of attention on his western territories and international diplomacy, combined with pro-Laskarid opposition to him in parts of Asia Minor, led him to neglect until virtually the last minute the important eastern lands on which the post-1204 Byzantine recovery had been founded. He left these lands in such weakness that, within a few years, they became easy prey to the nascent power of the Ottoman sultanate. Above all, his arbitrary use of Church union as a diplomatic tool had brought violent controversy to his people and hatred upon himself. When he died suddenly on 11 December 1282, he was denied burial rites by the Church. He left to his hapless son and successor, the mediocre but well-intentioned Andronikos II (1282–1328), the tasks of liquidating the detested union and of adjusting the restored Byzantine empire to its actual status of a minor local power amid the realities of an altered world.

JOHN W. BARKER

See also Palaiologos Family

Biography

Born *c.*1225 the eldest son of Andronikos Palaiologos, Michael chose a military career. Theodore II Laskaris died in 1258 leaving his young son John IV a minor. Michael had the boy's regent murdered and was himself crowned co-emperor in 1259. After victory at Pelagonia (1259) he entered Constantinople in triumph in 1261 and set about restoring the city. He agreed to the union of Churches at Lyons in 1274. He died in Thrace in 1282.

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Miletus

City in Ionia

Miletus, situated on the Aegean coast at the mouth of the Maeander river, was one of the great cites of Ionia. Archaeological evidence points to Minoan and Mycenaean settlements on the site. According to Homer, the Milesians were Carians and fought on the Trojan side. Neleus son of Codrus is said to have founded the Ionian settlement.

In the 7th and 6th centuries BC, when the Ionian cities were under pressure first from the Lydians then from the Persians, Miletus took a lead in colonization, founding settlements on the Bosporus and all round the Black Sea: notably at Abydus, Cyzicus, Sinope, Amisus, Trapezus, Phasis, Panticapaeum, Olbia, Istrus, and Tomis. Subsequently a remarkable art grew up in mixed Scythian and Greek communities of what is now southern Russia. Milesians also took a leading part in the establishment of the Greek trading settlement at Naucratis in Egypt. Familiarity with Egypt and Egyptians made possible by this Greek oasis in Egypt was to have very great influence on Greek architecture, sculpture, vase painting, and many other aspects of the developing Greek civilization. In the 6th century the Milesians Thales, Anaximander, and Anaximenes started Greek philosophy. Hecataeus was a pioneer in both geography and historiography. He was also one of the leaders of the unsuccessful Ionian revolt against Persian rule (499–494). Miletus was sacked and many of its inhabitants killed, enslaved, or exiled. Between 479 and 412 Miletus was part of the Delian League which became the Athenian empire. Subsequently it was under Persian rule until liberated by Alexander the Great.

Miletus flourished in the Hellenistic period, and the Seleucid kings funded some of the monumental buildings which have been excavated by German archaeologists. Others were built when the city was ruled by the Romans from 129 BC. In AD 51 St Paul preached at Miletus. The city never became a provincial capital. It nevertheless prospered under Roman rule, particularly in the 1st and 2nd centuries AD when some remarkable harbour and market buildings were constructed. However, constant effort was needed to prevent the harbour, that was the source of the city's wealth, from silting up. The site is now 14 km from the sea. Miletus went into decline in the 4th century. Under Justinian I (527–65) Miletus received a new cathedral, the baths were restored, and the harbour dredged. The bishop, who had been a suffragan of Aphrodisias, became an autocephalous archbishop. Latros to the northeast of Miletus became a centre of monasticism. In the late 6th or 7th century a new circuit of walls was built enclosing only part of the old city area, and within this the theatre was later transformed into a citadel. Eventually all occupation beyond the citadel seems to have ceased. Legend made the remains of the theatre into those of a palace, *palatia*, from which Balat, the modern name of the locality is derived.

The great oracular sanctuary of Apollo lies 16 km south of Miletus at Didyma. Founded and administered by the priestly clan of the Branchidae, it was very influential in the 6th century BC. It was refounded by Alexander the Great, and enjoyed another period of great influence in the 2nd and early 3rd centuries AD. It was sometimes consulted on the nature of god and responded in terms of a philosophical syncretism approaching monotheism. The oracle encouraged Diocletian to persecute the Christians. The ruins of the temple (118 × 16 m) are highly impressive.

Miletus seems to have been the setting of the *Milesian Tales* of Aristides, written around 100 BC, a collection of short, lewd, and erotic tales which were translated into Latin and appear to have influenced tales told in Lucian's *Onos* (*Ass*) and Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*, as well as the *Satyricon* of Petronius.

J.H.W.G. LIEBESCHUETZ

Summary

Miletus was an Ionian city at the mouth of the river Maeander on the west coast of Asia Minor. Traces of Minoan and Mycenaean settlements have been found. Miletus played a leading part in colonizing the Bosporus and Black Sea regions and Naucratis in Egypt. Milesians were pioneers in philosophy and geography. Miletus was sacked by Persia for its part in the Ionian revolt (499–494 BC). It prospered under Roman rule but declined in the 4th centuryAD.

Miletus: the Temple of Apollo at Didyma, which brought great wealth to nearby Miletus

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Military League

Military leagues played an important role in Greek interstate relations from the late 6th century BC. The creation of a military league was based on the agreement of two (or more) states to fight together (*symmachein*), either for a limited period or for all times. The standard Greek term for such a league is therefore *symmachia*. Participating states were obliged to have "the same friends and enemies". To coordinate warfare, military leagues usually established some sort of political body, such as a *synedrion* (council) or a board of magistrates. The leadership was transferred to the most powerful state, the *hegemon*. Unlike a *symmachia*, an *epimachia* was defensive in character, i.e. it was limited to defensive fighting exclusively.

The earliest – and most lasting – military alliance was the Peloponnesian League. Its origins can be traced back to the mid-6th century BC, when Sparta entered into a series of alliances, starting with Tegea, in which its allies swore to accept Spartan superiority and to expel the Messenians from their respective country. Similar treaties seem to have been concluded with other poleis, most notably Corinth and Sicyon. These alliances were all with Sparta alone, so mutual obliga-

tions did not necessarily exist between the allies. This bilateral system, reflected in its designation "the Spartans and their allies", was the nucleus of the Peloponnesian League proper as inaugurated between 505 and 501 BC, when a league congress was first established. Its main concern was to debate and make decisions (*dogmata*) on confederate wars. All members had an equal vote and enjoyed internal autonomy. Sparta's decision, taken in its own assembly, was equal to that of the allies put together. *Dogmata* of the allies were passed with its approval exclusively. Only the Spartans could summon the congress and were privileged to supply all commanders of league forces. A treaty from the last decades of the 5th century attests the oaths taken at the reception of new members: each ally swore to have the same friends and enemies as the Spartans, to follow them wherever they led, and not to make peace without Sparta's permission. In return, the allies were granted protection against hostile encroachment. In the 5th century the league grew beyond the Peloponnese and adopted several new members, such as Megara, Aegina, and the Boeotian, Phocian, and Locrian Confederacies. Its attraction was increased by anti-Athenian and – as explicitly stated in the Peloponnesian War – anti-democratic resentment among oligarchic states. After Sparta's victory over Athens and its allies in 404, Athens itself was forced to join, though only for a brief period. In the 4th century two major changes in the organization of the league were introduced. By 382 it was agreed that a member state's stipulated contribution in troops might be commuted to a contribution in cash, and that fines were to be levied on the allies that defaulted. The second innovation, brought about after 379, was to divide the league into ten geographically grouped *mere* (districts), which were presumably meant to be roughly equal in number of troops. Despite these reforms, the alliance soon disintegrated after Sparta's defeat in the Battle of Leuctra in 371.

The Delian League (frequently called "Athenian empire", though the degree of Athenian "imperialistic" rule is disputed among scholars) was founded in 478/87 BC to continue warfare against the Persians after their retreat from Greece. Apparently at the request of the founding members, the leadership was transferred to Athens. All members, including Athens, had one vote in the confederate *synedrion*, to determine strategy. From the outset the Athenians provided all the league's officials, such as the ten *hellenotamiai* (treasurers) and the commanders of allied forces, and settled which members had to send ships and which to pay money into the treasury at Delos. The first assessment of tributes (*phoroi*), allegedly 460 talents, was made by Aristides. The league fought a series of successful battles against the Persians (at the Eurymedon *c.*466 BC) and quickly expanded to 200 member states, most of them in the Aegean, on the west and south coast of Asia Minor, in Thrace, and in the Hellespont and Propontis regions. There was soon dissaffection with Athenian leadership, however. Many states tried to secede (starting with Naxos *c.*470 and Thasos *c.*465), but were forced back in by Athens. After a defeat in Egypt in 454 BC, the treasury was moved from Delos to Athens. One-sixtieth of the allied tribute was thence claimed as an offering to Athena (see the Athenian Tribute Lists in Merritt *et al.*, 1939). Although the alliance had lost its original justification with the removal of its anti-Persian objectives – probably stipulated in the so-called Peace of Callias with Persia in *c.*449 – Athens continued to levy annual *phoroi* and inflicted cleruchies on members who were suspected of revolt (first known at Andros, Lemnos, Naxos, and Carystus in *c.*450). Disloyal states received a harsh punishment (notably Samos *c.*439 and Mytilene *c.*427). The autonomy of the allies was infringed by Athenian decrees on the legislation, jurisdiction, and financial policies of the member states. Epigraphic evidence indicates a shift in the designation from "the Athenians and their allies" to "the cities the Athenians rule". In the early years of the Peloponnesian War, Pericles openly called the Athenian hegemony a tyranny over the allies. The core of the alliance, however, remained remarkably stable throughout the war (despite a massive increase of assessment of allied tributes), which indicates that the league to some degree served the interests of the allies. After its final defeat at Aegospotami, Athens was forced to surrender its fleet and to join the Peloponnesian League. The Athenian empire was dissolved.

A second Athenian Confederacy was established in spring 378 by Athens and the founding members Chios, Byzantium, Rhodes, Mytilene, Methymna, and perhaps Thebes. After an attempted Spartan raid on the Piraeus, the Athenians invited all states to enter the confederacy on the principles laid down in the King's Peace, so "that the Lacedaimonians shall leave the Greeks free and autonomous". Eventually up to 70 members joined. Each state had one vote in the common council at Athens (except the Athenians), who were entrusted with the hegemony, but were not represented in the *synedrion*. The allies were guaranteed autonomy and freedom from tribute. Athenian ownership of land or property in allied states was prohibited, i.e. the Athenians refrained from the system of cleruchies. In practice, the alliance soon deviated from these principles. By 373 BC tributes – called *syntaxeis*, to avoid the term *phoroi* – were collected to meet the costs of campaigning. Probably in 365 BC the practice of cleruchies was revived at Samos (though technically not a member of the league). The integrity of the league was severely threatened by revolts of Rhodes, Chios, Cos, and Byzantium in 357 BC (supported by Mausolus of Caria), which led to the Social War between Athens and its allies. In 355 BC Athens was forced to accept the secession of virtually all significant members, except Euboea and a few northern Aegean islands.

Unlike the partial alliances of Sparta and Athens, several attempts were made to establish a combined military league of – at least theoretically – all Greek states. The scope of a "Hellenic League" was to defend Greece proper against foreign invaders. In autumn 481 BC a Hellenic League was founded at Sparta, to meet the impending invasion by Persia. Its designation, promoted by its members and widespread among historians, is slightly misleading, since the league by no means included all Greeks. The allies agreed to end wars among themselves and to give mutual aid at all times. Each member state elected one *proboulos* (representative) and had an equal vote in the council. Meetings were held in the precinct of Poseidon at Corinth. Since the Spartans had the greatest military strength of land forces, it was agreed that they should exercise the *hegemonia*. Athens, contributing more than half of the fleet, had some claims on the maritime command, but the allies distrusted it. The symmachy fell apart when the Spartans withdrew from the alliance in 478 BC. A second Hellenic League was founded in 340 BC against Philip of Macedon,

mainly on the initiative of Demosthenes. A *synhedrion* was established in March 340 at Athens. The hegemony rested with the Athenians, who were also responsible for the collection of allied *syntaxeis* (tributes). The league was defeated on the battlefield at Chaeronea in 338 BC. In return, Philip summoned the Greeks to Corinth the following summer and united all Greek states (except Sparta) in the so-called League of Corinth. Its constitution, set down by Philip, embodied traditional clauses both of earlier military leagues and of common peace treaties from the 4th century. Each member state had one vote in the *synedrion* and was obliged to send troops according to its population. Philip himself, the league's *hegemon*, presided over the *synedrion*. The allies swore not to change their constitutions and not to revolt against the king, which reveals that the league was designed to consolidate Philip's position after Chaeronea. Its military purpose, sponsored by Philip and propagandistically heralded at Corinth, was to make war against Persia. The concept of a Hellenic League was temporarily revived by Antigonus Monophtalmus and Demetrius Poliorcetes in 302 BC, and finally by Antigonus Doson in 224 BC, envisaged as a league of federal states.

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See also Federal States

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Minerals and other natural resources

A large number of different minerals and other natural resources have been exploited in Greece over the centuries. Those used in antiquity tend to be rather different from those used more recently, which will be treated last. Major metallic ore minerals (gold, copper and tin, silver and lead, iron) exploited in antiquity are discussed elsewhere.

Clay was a very important resource in antiquity – most was used for pottery, but some special types had medicinal uses. To a geologist the term clay applies to both a group of platy minerals, and a rock dominated by these minerals. Clay minerals are commonly formed by a chemical process – weathering of older rocks on the surface, or the action of hot water (200–400°C) associated with volcanism or the emplacement of intrusions. Most deposits of the rock clay are formed by the physical process of erosion of clay-mineral-bearing rock. The liberated clay is then transported and sorted by rivers and finally deposited in a lake or the sea. Many of these clay-rock deposits were exploited directly. However, many clays are mineralogically unsuitable for making pottery as they are too stiff or they do not fire well. Suitable clays were commonly deposited in shallow continental lakes surrounded by vegetation. Eventually accumulation of sediments made the lake so shallow that plants grew abundantly. The plants died but did not decay in the stagnant water and their remains were transformed into lignite, a low-grade coal. Some red pottery clays were also obtained from the *Terra Rosa* soils developed on limestone by washing and settling of the liquid, a treatment that resembles the natural processes.

Alumen is the name given to a natural mineral that was used as a deodorant, as a salve when mixed with honey, and as an emetic when mixed with copper salts. It was also used in dyeing, soldering, and in cloth finishing. It was probably bentonite, a clay produced by the weathering and alteration of volcanic rock, that is common on Melos.

Ochre is a red powdery earth made dominantly of hydrated iron oxide. It was used for cult purposes and as a pigment, but not as a source of iron metal. It can be produced by alteration of iron deposits or by deposition directly from springs. Ochre comprises several different minerals – haematite gives a red colour whereas the iron hydroxides geothite and limonite give yellows and browns. In Palaeolithic times red ochre was extracted on Thasos for cult purposes from one of the largest underground mines in Europe. Another important source of ochre was Moschylos on Lemnos. Lemnian earth was used from antiquity down to the 19th century for its medicinal properties, and is still used locally. It was known to the Romans as Terra Sigillata, or "stamped earth", as it was made into little cakes, stamped with the head of Artemis. Lemnian

earth was deposited from former springs. Rainwater falling on the nearby volcanic tuffs soaked into the rock and broke down the minerals. Iron was thus liberated and dissolved in the water. Where the springs debouched, the iron was oxidized by the air and precipitated as ochre.

Pigments used in frescos were derived from a variety of sources, both organic and inorganic, and artificial and natural. These pigments should not be confused with glazes on fired pottery, which have very different compositions. Black pigments were based either on carbon from charcoal, or on preparations of hydrated manganese oxides which occur in some sedimentary rocks. Two different blue pigments were used. The strongest blue was obtained from imported Egyptian blue. Although dominated by copper compounds, the presence of tin suggests that it may have been prepared from bronze. A much paler grey-blue or purple pigment was derived from the mineral glaucophane, which is found in metamorphic rocks from the Cyclades. A range of red, yellow, and brown pigments were all natural forms of ochre (see above). Haematite also gives a red colour.

The bright yellow mineral sulphur was used for many purposes: the pungent fumes given off when it is burnt were used as a disinfectant and for religious purification; it had many external medical uses and was applied as a poultice; it was also used in wool preparation to make it white and soft. Sulphur occurs as the native element in volcanically active areas. It can be gathered directly from the surface and purified by melting. Sulphur has been mined sporadically on Melos and Nisyros at least since Hellenistic times. Sulphur crystallizes directly from hot volcanic vapours where they leave the ground (fumaroles). These gases are usually dominated by steam and carbon dioxide, but commonly contain small amounts of sulphurous gases which crystallize to form the mineral sulphur on or just beneath the surface. The sulphur in these gases is probably derived largely from the molten rock itself, unlike the water which is generally recycled groundwater. Sulphur does not survive for a long time on the surface as it is easily oxidized to the gas sulphur dioxide or consumed by bacteria and turned into sulphate.

Emery was important as an abrasive to shape marble and other stone. It contains corundum, a hard oxide of aluminium, together with magnetite and other minerals. It is formed by the metamorphism of bauxite layers in limestone (see below). Although it occurs at several places in the Aegean, rarely does the quality match that found on Naxos. In antiquity emery was extracted form a large number of shallow quarries, principally in the eastern part of the island. More recently it was extracted from underground mines and transported by aerial tramways to the coast.

Asbestos was used for making fireproof cloth. That used in Greece is a fibrous form of the serpentine mineral antigorite that crystallizes in veins up to 5 cm wide in the rock serpentinite. The crystals are generally lined up at right angles to the direction of the vein, and form as the vein opens up. The ancient sources were on Mount Ochi northeast of Carystus in Euboea, but the mineral has been exploited recently elsewhere.

Very little metallic zinc was produced in antiquity, but brass, an alloy of copper and zinc, seems to have been known in Greece from about 700 BC. Zinc ore is quite common, often in association with lead and copper ores. The main ores are the sulphide sphalerite or calamine, a mineral produced by alteration of sphalerite on the surface. Metallic zinc was rarely produced because it is volatile at the temperatures necessary for smelting it. The resulting zinc vapour condenses on the sides of the furnace, where most of it is converted to zinc oxide. In some cases the oxide was the desired product as a salve, as recorded by Galen on a visit to Cyprus. Pliny mentions zinc oxide as *lauriotis*, probably after the mines at Laurium. In the 19th century zinc and antimony were produced on Siphnos and Thasos, partly from mines that produced lead and silver in antiquity.

Mercury was known in the Old World from around 1600 BC. It was used for silver and gold plating (gilding) and in the recycling of gold thread from cloth but not apparently for mining gold. Mercury is a volatile metal and it was recovered from the sulphide ore cinnabar by distillation. The main sources in the Aegean were around Smyrna (modern Izmir), where the ore is associated with young volcanic rocks. In Roman times much mercury was produced in Spain.

Obsidian was a rare and important resource in the prehistoric period as it could be readily formed into sharp blades. It is a natural volcanic glass. That used in the eastern Mediterranean for blades mostly came from Melos; further west, Lipari was the main source. Obsidian was used extensively in early times for the manufacture of tools and weapons and fulfilled the same functions as flint (which forms in sedimentary rocks) did in northern Europe. It was not completely displaced by copper or bronze as it was sharper and cheaper than both metals. Only the use of iron finally supplanted obsidian in weapons and tools. However, its use did continue in ornaments and mirrors.

Bitumen (pitch), a natural petroleum product, was used in antiquity for caulking ships and wine barrels, for protecting metals, and for magical and medicinal purposes. It is the residue left where petroleum has seeped up to the surface and the lighter, more volatile components (similar to paraffin/kerosene and petrol/gasoline) have been lost by evaporation. There are natural springs and pools of bitumen near Limni Keri, Zakynthos, that were mentioned by Herodotus. The bedrock here is Paleocene-Oligocene limestone, but the petroleum is probably derived from deeper rocks, perhaps the Cretaceous limestones seen elsewhere in the island. In such sedimentary rocks petroleum forms from plant remains by the action of heat in the absence of oxygen. It is lighter than water and hence tends to migrate upwards through permeable rocks or along faults, unless trapped. Despite the presence of bitumen, economic reserves of petroleum have not yet been found in the region.

Amber was used for jewellery and small items. There are no sources in the Aegean region – all must have been transported overland from the Baltic sea, where it occurs abundantly along the coast. Amber is light and few journeys would be necessary to furnish all the amber found so far.

Recently a number of minerals and rocks have been exploited in the Aegean region. Marble and gypsum continue, of course, to be very important commodities. The aluminium ore bauxite has been mined in the area around Mount Parnassus. It was formed by extreme weathering of limestone when a tropical climate prevailed in Greece 200 to 65 million years ago. The same climate acting on different rocks produced

laterites, rocks rich in iron and nickel. These have been exploited in eastern Boeotia and the ore refined at Larimna. Magnesite is a mineral used in the manufacture of refractory bricks. It formed during metamorphism and has been mined on Lesbos, northern Euboea, and the Chalcidice peninsula. The ancient mining heritage of Melos continues today with the extraction of the clays bentonite and kaolinite, as well as perlite, a volcanic rock that can be expanded to make insulating material. Lignite is a form of low-grade coal that is extensively exploited for the generation of electricity in both Greece and Turkey. Its combustion commonly produces much pollution. Thera (modern Santorini) was formerly the main source of pumice, but now it is mined in Yiali and Melos for use as an abrasive.

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See also Copper and Tin, Gold, Iron, Marble, Obsidian, Silver and Lead

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Mines and Quarries

The common use of the Greek word *metallon* to describe both a mine (e.g. Xenophon, *De Vectigalibus*, 4. 4) and a quarry (e.g. Strabo, 9. 1. 23) shows that little distinction was made between the two in antiquity. Both types of working were considered to provide resources which were of benefit to the community, either as building material or for financial profit.

Mines

Iron is found in several locations throughout Greece and the Aegean. Some of the more significant workings were in Boeotia and Laconia. It is perhaps no coincidence that the earliest Laconian currency consisted of iron "spits". Strabo (10. 1. 9) recorded the presence of copper and iron mines at Chalcis, on the island of Euboea, though there is little substantive evidence. Iron ore was extracted on Seriphos during the 14th century by the Venetians.

Precious metals were mined at several sites throughout Greece and the islands. Silver was mined on the island of Siphnos from the Bronze Age onwards and a number of workings have been investigated at Hagios Sostis in the northeastern part of the island; some of the ancient workings were identified as early as 1700 by P. de Tournefort. Further investigations in the 19th century and in more recent decades have revealed evidence of slag, litharge, and tuyères. Study of the workings themselves shows that metal chisels and picks were used in the galleries. Carbon samples suggest that some of this activity can be dated to the first half of the 3rd millennium BC. Further evidence of metalworking, though not of mine workings, has been found in the southeast of the island. The mines continued to be productive in the Archaic period; this is attested by the presence of Archaic pottery at Hagios Sostis, and the city felt able to dedicate as a tithe a treasury in the sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi. It was reputed to be the richest treasury at Delphi, on account perhaps of its contents rather than of the sculptural decoration on the outside (Herodotus, 3. 57). Coinage issued during the 5th century BC suggests that the mines continued to be worked after the Archaic period. It seems that the workings eventually went too deep, with the result that the mines were flooded at some point before the 2nd century AD (Pausanias, 10. 11. 2).

Some of the best-investigated silver mines in the Greek world are those located around Laurium in southern Attica. At Velatouri mining activity can be traced back at least to the Early Bronze Age. A particularly rich discovery at Maroneia probably in 483/82 BC provided funds that allowed the Athenians, under Themistocles' guidance, to construct a fleet which was to defend the Greek world in the Battle of Salamis. It seems from inscriptions and other historical records that mining concessions were leased out to individuals. Leases show that some individuals held concessions at more than one location. The system largely depended on slave labour for mining and processing of the ore. Nicias was reported to have had 1000 slaves hired to work in the mines during the late 5th century BC, and Xenophon reported than some 10,000 publicly owned slaves were employed in the mines.

Linked to the mines themselves were a number of processing installations for washing and processing the ore. One of these *ergasteria* (workshops) was the subject of a speech by Demosthenes (37). The *ergasterion* concerned had been acquired by Pantaenetus and employed around 30 slaves. As the money needed to acquire the *ergasterion* had had to be raised on credit, these 30 slaves had to work hard enough for the installation to make at least the 1260 drachmas necessary to pay off the interest on the loan. A series of *ergasteria* have recently been excavated at Agrileza; material suggests that they were in use in the 4th century BC. The level of output from the Laurium mines is hard to estimate and there are few firm figures. The Maroneia mine may have yielded between 50 and 100 talents (the equivalent of 1.3–2.6 tons of silver). The mines themselves were probably abandoned during the Hellenistic period, as by Strabo's day (9. 1. 23) the silver supplies were described as having failed, and indeed the slag heaps were being processed to extract ore.

The output of the Laurium mines may well have been small compared to that of mines in Macedonia and Thrace. Ancient sources hint at the wealth derived from these sources. For example, the gold mine at Dysoron in Macedonia had a daily output in the mid-5th century BC of one talent of silver (Herodotus, 5. 17). Mines controlled by Philip II of Macedon near the later site of Philippi apparently had an annual output in the region of 1000 talents (Diodorus, 16. 8. 6). The source of wealth of individual cities in the region is reflected in the depiction of metal ingots and picks on the coinage. The island of Thasos was also widely exploited by mining and Herodotus (6. 47) was able to observe a mountain which had been ransacked by such activity. Sometime in the 460s BC the

Mines and Quarries: Mons Porphyrites in Egypt, source of the highly prized stone, porphyry

Thasians came into conflict with the Athenians and as a result were forced to hand over control of their mine on the mainland opposite their island (Thucydides, 1. 100. 2). The historian Thucydides himself had control of gold mines in Thrace.

One of the more unusual materials mined in antiquity was miltos on the island of Ceos. It was used for a variety of purposes including medicine and fulling, as well as its more popular use as a wash on the surface of Attic pottery. A number of possible mine workings have been found on the island, including those at Trypospilies. There is a reference to this ore in an inscription from the Acropolis in Athens.

Quarries

Quarries, or *latomeia*, were widespread throughout the Greek world. Often such quarries are linked to building projects in nearby cities or sanctuaries. The extensive quarries of Syracuse were used as a prison for some 7000 Athenian prisoners after the disastrous Sicilian expedition. Some of the earliest examples of marble quarrying have been found at Apollona on Naxos. A number of unfinished male statues (*kouroi*) have been discovered there, including what appears to be a large statue of Dionysus which was never removed from the quarry face. Naxian expertise in working marble during the Archaic period is reflected in their major dedication of a colossal statue, along with a substantial marble base, on the island of Delos. Marble quarries have also been identified on Paros. In the Archaic period marble from the island was transported over long distances, for example for building on the island of Siphnos (Herodotus, 3. 57).

Some of the finest marble in the Greek world came from Attica itself, and in particular from the quarries on Mount Pentelikon and Mount Hymettus, which were celebrated by Strabo (9. 1. 23). Pentelic marble, in particular, was widely used for architecture, sculpture, and inscriptions. Indeed the *metalleis* mentioned among those involved with the Periclean building programme at Athens may have been quarrymen (rather than miners). Study of stones from the Periclean buildings shows that Pentelic marble was used in a wide range of temples including the Parthenon, the Erechtheum, the Hephaesteum, and temple of Athena Nike, as well as public buildings in the Agora such as the stoa of Zeus. In the 4th century BC Pentelic marble was used for part of the Telesterion at Eleusis. Pentelic marble continued to be exported in the Roman period; for example, it has been identified at Cyrene, where it was used in the Antonine period.

The Pentelic quarries seem to have been located on the western and northeastern sides of the mountain, where the existence of some 25 quarries has been located. These were certainly active in the Archaic period, as is suggested by the find of an unfinished *kouros*. It has been estimated that some 400,000 cubic m may have been extracted. Facilities fot removing the stone included the paved road which has been found at the Spelia quarry. The quarries on Hymettus may be linked to activity in the Roman period. These seem to have been located on the northwestern slopes of the mountain and also to have been served by a quarry road. Hymettan marble, with its bluish tinge, was used for the roof tiles of the Hekatompedon on the Acropolis during the Archaic period.

In spite of the quality of the marble from Pentelikon and Hymettus, other buildings in Attica were constructed of locally quarried marble and stone. Indeed it is rare for buildings in Attica to feature stone from quarries more than 4 km distant. For example, the marble for the temple of Poseidon at Sunium was extracted from a quarry in the Agrileza valley just a few kilometres away. In the workings by the cliff tower, cuttings in the quarry suggest that one of the column drums had been

extracted from there. The temple of Nemesis at Rhamnous features marble quarried locally at Hagia Marina.

Attic quarries are occasionally mentioned in inscriptions. For example, one dispute related to the rent on a quarry at the Piraeus in the late 340s BC. Rent from quarries could contribute to the maintenance of cult. For example, the sacrifices at the Asclepieum at the Piraeus were paid for by the rental of the quarry, and at Eleusis quarrymen in 332/31 BC made payments to the cult of Heracles in Akris.

Black limestone from near Eleusis was used on the Erechtheum and the Propylaea. Local limestones (poros) were used for public buildings in the Agora such as the Old Bouleuterion, as well as for building projects at Brauron and the Amphiareion. Imported stones in Attica include Aeginetan stone that was used on the Erechtheum and the Hephaesteum, and Parian marble for the Hephaesteum. At Eleusis stones were imported from the Piraeus, Steiria, and Aegina, suggesting the relative ease with which stone could be transported by sea.

Some of the major building projects in Greek sanctuaries required the movement of stone from quarries some distance from the place where it was to be used. For example, rebuilding of the temple of Apollo at Delphi in the 6th century BC involved marble from Paros (Herodotus, 5. 62), and in the 4th century BC the whole temple was rebuilt in limestone quarried from near Corinth. Marble imported from Paros was also used for the pediments and metopes of the temple of Zeus at Olympia. The blocks needed to carve the pair of centaurs with lapith women in the west pediment would originally have weighed some 15 to 20 tons. It has been estimated that the construction of the temple of Zeus would have required approximately 160 tons of marble.

More specialized marbles were also quarried in Greece. *Rosso antico*, also known as *marmor Taenarium*, was a red to purple fine-grained marble quarried on the east side of the Taenarus peninsula in Laconia. The quarries, noted by Strabo (8. 5. 7), may have been worked as early as the Bronze Age. Marble from here was used in the so-called Treasury of Atreus – a Mycenaean tholos tomb – at Mycenae; other examples of its use are known in Crete and Thera. The marble seems to have become popular for inscriptions during the Hellenistic period, and two honorary decrees from Delos, one for a Spartan and the other for a resident of Cythera, used the stone. It was even exported to Cyrene for a statue of Ptolemy II Soter. Sculpture in *rosso antico* also became popular in the late Hellenistic and early imperial periods. From the same area was quarried *nero antico*, a grey to black marble (Pliny, *Historia Naturalis*, 36. 135).

Other exotic stones from Laconia include *verde antico*, which Pliny the Elder (*Historia Naturalis*, 36. 55) described as "brighter than any other marble". These quarries were mentioned by Pausanias (3. 21. 4) as being near the village of Krokeai. The stone was apparently extracted like river pebbles. In the Roman period the mines may have been imperial property. Other Laconian quarries are known in Taygetus, which may have been Roman imperial property, as Strabo (8. 5. 7) recorded that they had been newly opened in his day. On the island of Euboea green cipollino was quarried in Carystus (Pliny, *Historia Naturalis*, 36. 48). Strabo (10. 1. 6) noted that in his day the quarry from which the columns came was located at Marmarium. Strabo (9. 5. 16) noted other exotic marbles from the Greek world, including "decorated" (*poikile*) marble from the island of Skyros.

Archaeological evidence for later quarrying in Greece has been hard to detect. Quarries on Mount Tisaion in Thessaly were probably worked in the Byzantine period, and perhaps also the white marble quarry at Aliki on the southeastern coast of Thasos. The latter appears to have continued being worked into the Middle Ages.

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See also Gold, Iron, Marble, Silver and Lead, Slavery

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Minoans

Bronze Age inhabitants of Crete

This people, termed Minoans by archaeologists after the legendary king Minos, created between 3500 and 1000 BC a palace-based culture akin to those of the Near East and Egypt. Many of their trappings were adapted later by the Mycenaeans of the mainland (*c.*1600 BC).

The varied natural terrain and therefore resources (organic rather than mineral) of this strategically placed island permitted Neolithic peoples (from Anatolia and the mainland) to prosper by 4000 BC, after three millennia of slower development: their main achievement was the tell at Knossos. Though their material culture was unspectacular, these Neolithic farmers provided the solid base on which the Minoans flourished.

During the pre-palatial or Early Minoan (EM) period (3500–2000 BC) small farming communities were increasingly established in the most accessible and fertile areas – in the coastal plains and the Mesara – though the marginal zones were also exploited and transhumance was probably practised. Many arts and crafts were established, if at a relatively simple level: ceramics, textiles, woodworking, seals, and vases of stone were developed using local resources, but trade and exchange were required to import obsidian, all metals, ivory, faience, and so on. No doubt ideas and concepts accompanied them. Houses were fairly simple, but they had acquired considerable sophistication of plan and furniture by 2500 BC. Tomb architecture tended to be communal: round tholoi were common at the centre of the island, while square bone enclosures and caves were used elsewhere. The burial customs are somewhat obscure, but inhumations were the rule. The varied grave goods deposited point to a hierarchical society. Evidence for religion (and dress) is mostly procured from clay figurines; many were deposited at open-air sanctuaries set on high peaks within sight of the villages they served.

As the population increased and more land was occupied, regional centres emerged: some (e.g. Knossos, Phaestus, Mallia) were destined to last, others (e.g. Monastiraki) were eclipsed. Since weapons were fashioned, this process was probably not entirely a peaceful one. By 2000 BC (Middle Minoan I, or MM I) the first palaces had emerged – administrative and religious centres, controlling territories in the island. The physical expressions of this development had much in common: the palaces were ranges of rooms built around a central court and oriented to the compass points. The social complexities that created them also demanded a system of writing (hieroglyphic), as well as an ever-increasing range of material products, partly for the consumption of the elite, partly for exchange in markets abroad. Though hard to document, expertise in almost every craft was established: Kamares pottery, the exploitation of hard stones, and objects in metals are notable. New ideas continued to flow to Crete down these trading arteries, especially from the east.

Damage, perhaps from earthquakes, around 1700 BC (MM III) only served to spur on Minoan efforts: the Second Palaces arose. The next two centuries witnessed the culmination of power and material splendour – an intensification of all the existing themes. This is the likely time of Minos' thalassocracy: certainly Minoan culture was enormously influential throughout the Aegean and into the Peloponnese; Minoan traders moved and settled from Asia Minor to Egypt, visiting north Greece and probably travelling west to Italy. Modern appreciation of Minoan culture is largely based on the range and quality of goods that poured from the artisans' work areas: elegant, flowing designs; a lively palette; a concentration on natural subjects, courtly themes, and the interplay of this and the other world. The apparent harmony and balance are to our tastes, but they were not achieved in a Utopia. In comparison with the Near Eastern civilizations, the Minoans were less overtly militaristic and grandiose in their portrayal of their world; but they were not pacifists. There is ample evidence for military activities from artefacts and portrayals of warfare; some sports were violent; human sacrifice was practised. Knossos may have achieved a dominance over other cities at this time – as much through economic and religious avenues as by sheer strength. The religious centres were more localized on the palaces; chamber tombs were for collective burials of ordinary people; a few graves, as with the town and country houses, were more splendid and destined for the elite. Indeed, the building campaigns throughout the island represented a profligate expenditure of energy that may have overstretched Minoan resources: there are indications of troubled times in the 1500s BC, perhaps partly prompted by the natural disasters accompanying the eruption of Santorini. Whatever the exact mix of causes, during the last decades of LM Ib (Late Minoan Ib, after 1500 BC) settlements both great and small were destroyed, often by force, and not immediately reoccupied.

Whatever the reasons, the ultimate benefactors were the Mycenaeans, those seemingly aggressive and expanding kingdoms of southern and central Greece who took over Crete around 1450 BC. This can be deduced from the appearance on Crete of material objects, details of dress, burial customs, and other cultural traits that have precursors on the mainland. The centre (Knossos to Phaestus) of Crete became the axis of the Mycenaean power base, their control of the island being loosest in the east. Essentially, the newcomers merely adopted existing Minoan customs: by means of a scribal bureaucracy the palaces maintained a firm grasp on the human and natural resources of the domains, assessing what was available and determining what produce was expected where and from whom. Labour forces in some intensive crafts (such as textiles) were maintained by rations and appear to have been of a subordinate status. Writing was essential to regulate this activity and the script employed is known as Linear B, a syllabary adopted from the earlier Minoan equivalent (Linear A), but now used to write Greek. The Mycenaean/Minoan elite was every bit as successful as its predecessor, the only real departure being the decline in some luxury goods.

By 1375 BC (LM IIIA1) Crete had recovered something of its former pattern of settlement and a prosperous level of material comfort (e.g. burials with bronzes): whatever the exact amalgam of Minoan and Mycenaean, society appeared to be settled. But evidently it was not: Knossos, both town and palace, went up in flames. The cause – disaffected Minoans, another jealous Mycenaean power, or some raid from further afield – is not known. The aftermath is not yet fully comprehended by modern scholarship: debate is divided between those who believe that Knossos and the Mycenaeans remained

Minoans: glazed figure of snake goddess with upraised arms, Crete, *c.*13th century BC, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford

in control for another two centuries, and those who think that palatial control was now mostly swept away.

Something of both factors may have been involved: the pattern of subsequent habitation and burial activities at Knossos and in the Phaestus region points to at least a decline in population and material prosperity, though at Chania something more traditional persisted for some generations. If the balance of control moved away from centralization, nonetheless a broad-based prosperity is much in evidence in the post-palatial period (LM IIIA2–IIIC). Trade networks, an integral factor in Mycenaean control of the Aegean, were still crucial to the acquisition of metals – at least one commodity can be recognized in the large-scale export of oil (perhaps perfumed) in jars manufactured in west Crete. This solid prosperity had a very practical base to it: gone are the luxurious aspects of life, gone indeed are the more rarefied crafts themselves. Gradually new religious icons (goddess with upraised arms) appear; new cultural traits gain favour (larnax, or coffin, burials); iconographies alter (increased stylization in patterns).

Though it is an island, Crete could not escape the disconcerting events that unfolded throughout the eastern Mediterranean after 1200 BC. Most of these had negative consequences for the established cultures: destruction and disturbance of peoples became common from Anatolia to Greece to Egypt. Such events are visible in Crete in the abandonment of settlements and cemeteries from 1200 BC (later LM IIIB), in increasing material impoverishment and regionalization (e.g. small tholoi at the east). After 1100 BC (LM IIIC) people took to the hills in scattered refugee settlements (e.g. Karphi). This erosion was periodic, but relentlessly accumulative; all but the most immediate survival needs were jettisoned. The ebb and flow may have removed some Cretans east to Cyprus, and introduced other elements from the west and north into the island, including those that later became culturally definable as Dorian Greeks. (The east of the island preserved more of its Bronze Age characteristics.) By 1000 BC the Iron Age was evolving: the cemeteries north of Knossos show some continuity, retained by an energetic and emerging society with ties to Athens and further afield east and west.

What memories survived from the Bronze Age are largely centred around legends concerned with Minos; more tentative connections were kept alive by such factors as the recognition that the inhabitants of eastern Crete (the Eteo-Cretans) were in some way more "native". Symbols derived from the Bronze Age past were always used: local pride placed the labyrinth on Knossian coins; Minoan finds were portrayed on stamps of the new Cretan state at the start of the 20th century. To many Cretans today the Minoans are somehow their direct ancestors, whose achievements are to be lauded, protected, and kept unsullied.

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See also Architecture (Palaces), Crete

Summary

Minoan culture evolved on Crete around 3500 BC. It was based on agriculture and overseas trade. The first palaces emerged *c.*2000 BC as religious and administrative centres. The second phase of palaces arose *c.*1700 BC. The Mycenaeans took over *c.*1450 BC, and the palaces decayed in the following century or two. Crete became increasingly destabilized after 1200 and gave way to Dorian Greek institutions after 1000 BC.

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Minorities

Minorities are seen in relation to the majorities that define them. Minorities and majorities are two sides of the same coin, and to attempt to talk of a minority without reference to the majority that defines it obscures by omission or commission the fact that minorities are usually targets of discrimination by the elite of the majority against whom they are defined. A social minority is rarely purely a minority in purely numerical terms. The subordination of a numerically inferior social group is given substance by its exclusion from access to power and the resources available to the social majority. Each age produces its own minorities, but though they should not be thought of as the product of the Hellenic tradition, five categories of outsiders – by class, religion, race, gender, and sexual orientation – can be identified in the four broad periods of the tradition: Classical, Byzantine, Ottoman, and modern. These categories of social outsider are modern in origin; so is the concept of the social minority. In dealing with this subject it is important to remember that, although these categories would not have been familiar to the people of the time, there are indeed modern constructs that we apply to past societies in an honest (it is hoped) attempt to understand those societies better.

Most easily dealt with here are the minorities defined by their sexual orientation. For the Classical period there is considerable evidence for male homosexuality, but lesbianism is much less apparent from the sources. Scholars have now begun to argue in earnest about the nature and prevalence of homosexuality in the Byzantine period, and the nature of the evidence to be used. Evidence of homosexuality in the Ottoman period for the Hellenic tradition should really be seen as an appendix to the Byzantine period, drawing as it does on the same evidence. In the modern period the post-Stonewall "gay liberation" arrived late in Greece, and it remains to be seen how the Hellenic tradition will accommodate it. This material is dealt with in the article on "Homosexuality".

Most clearly a cause for anxiety is the idea of minorities by race. More exactly, this should be defined as minorities by ethnic origin. In the Classical period the most definite component of this group were the barbarians, those who could not speak Greek and whose language sounded to the proud educated Greeks, polished in their speech, like the mouthings of meaningless syllables: "Bar bar ...". The polarization between Greeks and barbarians points out two important facets of the concept of minorities: the barbarians were clearly more numerous than the Greeks, and the Greeks became "the Greeks" by distinguishing themselves from the barbarians and making language a significant marker of difference. Other subdivisions of "barbarians" existed in the Classical period, most notably the Persians and then later the Romans with whom the Greeks perforce came to some accommodation. While the barbarians were useful as a defining concept "out there", minorities by ethnic origin within the Classical city states were more difficult to deal with. Though foreign enemies could neatly be confined to the "opponent" role beyond the walls, the responses and social roles available for the foreign merchants, allies, or "resident aliens" who came to reside in cities such as Athens needed to be and indeed were many and varied. The Classical period is when we first see the social minority by ethnic origin not only as an aspect of the great mass of barbarians "out there", but also as placeholders on a spectrum of shaded proximity to the citizen. During the Byzantine period this "double standard" continued, compounded and confused as it was by the problematic nature of who the "Byzantines" were. The majority called themselves "Roman" if they gave themselves an ethnic identity at all, but spoke Greek; yet to them in their own tongue (Greek), "Hellenic" or "Hellene" meant "pagan" as opposed to Christian. At the same time, however, ethnic identifiers existed for minorities within the empire such as Armenians, Iberians, Cappadocians, and Isaurians. At one level it is clear that there was a shorthand in use, by which "Roman" meant "people like us" (or at least "like me"), but in addition, the Byzantine authors whose works survive show that they were capable of distinguishing between ethnic minorities within the empire if it suited their purpose.

In the Ottoman period the role of the ethnic minority within the Hellenic tradition was clearly reduced since it was of course the "Hellenes" – here conterminous with the Orthodox Christians – who were one of the ethnic minorities (though constituted by the state as a religious minority) in the Ottoman empire. In the modern period the nature of the ethnic minority in the Hellenic tradition is as convoluted as it is for most other societies. How Greek are third-generation Greeks in the United States or Australia? Does "being Greek" mean being able to speak the language? And is that enough, or does it require literacy as well? In addition to the diaspora, which is still scattered, how different are the descendants of those Greeks who returned in the 1920s from Anatolia, or indeed who were incorporated into the Greek state after the Balkan Wars at the beginning of the 20th century? And what is to be made of other ethnic groups that may have self-consciousness but whose existence may appear threatening to a nation state unconvinced that its borders are not subject to the envious glances of its neighbours? What is clear at least is that it is possible to create ethnic minorities when desired. How such minorities are treated – ignored, tolerated, repressed, exterminated, or celebrated – depends a great deal on the nature and self-confidence of the dominant social majority.

Women have always been a minority. Until recently, many observers opined that such a large grouping could not be considered a social minority, but the work of many different kinds of feminists (theoretical, empirical, applied) has shown that women as a social group can be viewed as a minority

because of their differential access to power and their ability to participate in the general life of wider society. Excluded from the political and restricted to the "private sphere" of hearth and home, women form a minority by gender. In the Classical period the women were the citizens who were "not there". The women who appear in the Platonic dialogues or on vases were not the wives and daughters of citizens in an honourable occupation. Their closeted lives are now recovered to a degree, but we know much less about the lives of women than about male citizens. The advent of Christianity (especially in the Orthodox faith with its devotion to icons) is held to have improved the lot of women, who could now escape the fate of child-bride and brood-mare for the role of perpetual virgin and bride of Christ. Sources for the Byzantine period tell us about aristocratic women and nuns, but these escape routes were limited for the mass of those who found themselves in the social minority by gender. The fate of women in the early modern compared to the medieval period is hard to differentiate. The evidence is unclear, and it is often a vested question whether evidence is to be read back to a Byzantine origin or credited as being a development during the Ottoman period. Women as a social minority in modern Greece share all the trials and triumphs of their sisters in other societies who are making the transition from largely agrarian rural communities to modern urbanized industrial democracies.

The minority by religion is a category now firmly out of favour, provoking memories of the Inquisition. In the Classical period the lack of religious uniformity might be thought to preclude the formation of minorities by religion. However, leaving to one side the various schools or choices that arose among the philosophers, a certain basic level of "decency" was expected to prevail, a level below which Socrates was felt to have sunk, even though the charges had all the hallmarks of a stitch-up. The development of Christianity as a credal religion meant that there was much room for disagreement, arguments in which the Greeks appeared to revel. For all the polemics of the first five great ecumenical councils and the bitter acrimony of the iconoclast controversy, the Hellenic tradition in its Orthodox manifestation did not develop the means of dealing with minority viewpoints favoured by the Holy Office in western Catholicism. The minority by religion came into its own in the Ottoman period, when the *millet* (community) system meant that to be Greek was synonymous with being Orthodox Christian. In modern Greece the minorities by religion are the Muslims, Catholics, Protestants, and Jehovah's Witnesses, mixtures of incomers and converts that show the multiple origin of these social minorities.

The final category of minority is that created by class. In the Classical period, in addition to the poorer citizens, there was the numerous class of slaves, a source of labour without which the civilization of Athens would probably never have emerged. This differentiation based on wealth implies a further distinction based on education or rather the access to education. The speeches that have come down to us from the Athenian assemblies make it plain that it was important not to alienate the jurors by appearing to talk down at them. Perhaps even because of their awareness that they lacked the education of some of the leading citizens, it was all the more important not to be seen alluding to it. This concern with education as the pre-eminent marker of class continued in the Byzantine period. Education gained in Constantinople meant that one had arrived; education could be obtained in the provinces, but it would always remain rustic in character. Though a hierarchical and stratified society, Byzantium was not closed to advancement by merit (usually by means of an education) and the criticisms levelled at these *nouveaux riches* indicate that the phenomenon was not unknown. But in general the accumulation of wealth as an end in itself was not common: Byzantium was a meritocracy, not a plutocracy. Though learning was also a feature of the elite of the Phanar in the Ottoman period, this was usually put to good use in the accumulation of capital, which was then expended in gaining one of the offices of the Ottoman state. The theme of education and how one spoke was one of the great fracture lines for the first 150 years of the modern Greek state. The question of the "two languages" (whether modern Greek was to be in the form commonly spoken by "the people" – i.e. demotic – or in a "purified" form that revived Attic forms or created Atticisms – i.e. katharevousa) should not be seen as a class question; but, as with the more overtly political struggles between parties in modern democratic Greece, there are aspects allied to class in the questions of how one should vote and how one should speak.

This article has imposed a strict order on the minorities that have existed in the Hellenic tradition since the Classical period. In doing so, I have done disservice to the many people who lived and died as part of those minorities. All human beings experience life as a cluster of different social roles; some are definitive and enduring, some are ephemeral. The roles, no matter how many or how few, are not static; nor are they exclusive. Even roles that to us appear impossible in combination, may be united in one individual for some period of time. Human experience comes in infinite diversity and infinite combination. The idea of minorities is one way of attempting to come to understand that diversity. We fail in our task however if we stress the analytical category of "minority" over the people who formed the minority and gave it life.

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See also Foreigners, Homosexuality, Muslims, Slavery, Women

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Missionaries

The Great Commission is the missionary duty given to Christians by Jesus Christ before his Ascension. The Gospel of Matthew reports that Jesus commanded his followers to "go out, and make disciples of all nations" (28: 19). Christianity is a universal religion that enjoins its followers to spread the good news of salvation to the ends of the earth. The universal character of the Christian faith contrasts starkly with the local or tribal and non-missionary character of most other religions.

The book of Acts records the beginning of the great apostolic missionary work, when the apostle Peter preached in Jerusalem at the Jewish Feast of Pentecost. Several thousand people became converts on that day (Acts 2: 1–41), and the new faith quickly spread to Greek-speaking Jews in Jerusalem. These were so numerous that a conflict developed between the Aramaic-speaking and Greek-speaking converts over the distribution of food to the widows in the community. To handle this a special ministry was created, the office of deacon. The first deacons all have Greek names (Acts 6: 5).

One of the original deacons, a Hellenistic Jew named Stephen, was the first martyr (*martyrion*, witness) of the Church. His death signalled open persecution, which caused the new community to disperse. This provided the opportunity for new fields of mission over the known world of the day. Acts describes how Philip, another Hellenistic deacon, converted an Ethiopian. The man is identified as a eunuch, and the treasurer of the queen of the Ethiopians (Acts 8: 26–39). The story illustrates the point that the universal message of the Gospel is no respecter of human conditions, but accepts all.

More than half of Acts is devoted to the missionary work of the apostle Paul who made three major missionary journeys. On the first he left Syrian Antioch, sailed to Cyprus, crossed the island, sailed to Pamphilia, and then travelled to other places including Iconium before returning to Antioch. The second journey again started in Asia Minor: Paul travelled to Macedonia after receiving a vision of a man there beckoning him to come over. Eventually he arrived in mainland Greece. Everywhere new churches were started. The third journey reinforced the work of the previous two.

The mission work of Paul was facilitated by the Greek language. As the lingua franca of the eastern part of the Roman empire it made communication with vast numbers of people possible. The translation of the Hebrew scriptures into Greek, the Septuagint, had occurred well before the Christian era. This meant that Paul and other missionaries could use the Old Testament in Greek. Also the widespread use of koine Greek offered a ready medium for writing the documents that eventually became the New Testament. All but five of the New Testament books are pastoral letters by Paul or others. Most of them were written to mission churches to deal with pastoral concerns.

There were many Greeks or Hellenistic Jews in Paul's circle of missionary associates. Yet from internal evidence in the Book of Acts and other New Testament sources, such as Paul's letters to Timothy who was ministering on Crete, it is evident that from the beginning much of the mission work was being done by nameless Greek-speaking individuals.

The works of the early Church Fathers, both before and after the Council of Nicaea, report conversions among different peoples and the establishment of new churches in India, Ethiopia, Armenia, Georgia, and elsewhere. The mission work of Greek-speaking Christians continued under the Byzantine Church. In the 9th century two brothers, Greeks from Thessalonica, Methodios and Cyril, became missionaries to the Slavs. In order to translate the Bible and other religious books into Slavic languages a new alphabet was developed: the Slavonic alphabet is based on the Greek alphabet, but it employs different characters to express Slavic sounds. The mission work of Cyril and Methodios converted the Moravians (who were later reconverted to Roman Catholicism, but with a remembrance that would eventually usher in the Hussite Wars and later still the mission work of the revived Moravian Church). Eventually the east Slavs, and most of the south Slavs, were converted to Christianity by Byzantine missionaries, whose work followed the pattern set by Cyril and Methodios. Byzantine converts included the Bulgarians, Serbians, Russians, Ukranians, and even the Latin Romanians.

The mission work of the Greek Orthodox Church was severely retarded by the Muslims after the fall of Constantinople in 1453. For more than 300 years only the Russian Orthodox Church among the churches of the East was free to continue missions. By the 1800s the Greek Orthodox Church began to regain its independence, and missionary work started to recover soon afterwards. Towards the end of the 19th century the mission tradition was revived.The modern Greek diaspora has generated new mission work by various Orthodox associations, much of it to emigrant Greeks around the world. Mission efforts in East Africa and among non-Greek peoples in North America and Australia is also bearing fruit.

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Missolonghi

Town in Acarnania

Missolonghi, a fishing town on the shore of an extensive shallow lagoon, became one of the most famous names of the Greek War of Independence both because Lord Byron died there in April 1824 and because of the bravery and suffering of its defenders during the siege of 1825–26.

Missolonghi, with other parts of western Greece, joined the revolution in June 1821, massacring almost all its Muslim inhabitants. The town's strategic importance for communications between Roumeli and the Morea (the Peloponnese) helped to make it the headquarters of various groups over the next few years and particularly of Alexander Mavrokordatos and his supporters. Mavrokordatos was present during the first Turkish siege (November 1822–January 1823). Turkish and Albanian forces laid siege to the town following their victory at Peta. The defenders, including Markos Botsaris and his Suliots, were helped by bad weather, disease in the Turkish ranks, successful exaggeration of the number of foreign volunteers present, and Hydriot ships which broke through the Turkish blockade with supplies. By the time the besiegers risked a major assault on Christmas Day (6 January 1823) up to a thousand men from the Morea had managed to get through to reinforce the Missolonghiots. The assault failed and the siege collapsed; heavy losses were suffered on the Turkish side as the defenders became pursuers.

In December 1823 Mavrokordatos returned to Missolonghi with 14 Hydriot ships which broke the renewed blockade, and was re-established as director-general of western Greece. On 13 December he was joined by Colonel Leicester Stanhope, and in January 1824 by Byron, the representatives of the London Greek Committee. Among the measures they encouraged or undertook was a strengthening of the town's hitherto weak defences. (The blockade had been reimposed soon after Byron's arrival.) Stanhope engaged also in educational planning, set up a dispensary, and established a printing press which printed, among other works, an edition of Dionysios Solomos's *Hymn to Liberty* and two newspapers: the *Ellenika Chronika* (January 1824–February 1826), in Greek and edited by the Swiss philhellene and pharmacist Jean-Jacques Meyer, and the Italian *Telegrafo Greco* (March–December 1824). (On the whole the newspapers reflected the Benthamite utilitarian views of Stanhope and supported Mavrokordatos; probably they were read mostly by foreign sympathizers.)

Byron's death catapulted Missolonghi to European and American fame, preparing the way for its further association with heroism after its fall in 1826. Reshid Pasha commenced his siege in the spring of 1825. It long seemed likely to fail; Miaoulis's ships succeeded in delivering supplies in June and in August recaptured islands in the lagoon taken by Reshid. The defenders made successful sorties on 21 September and 13 October. But the situation changed radically once Ibrahim Pasha and his large force of Egyptians arrived on the scene in December. The blockade was tightened and supplies began to run low (a situation only partially and temporarily alleviated when Miaoulis again managed to get through with supplies in January 1826; his attempt to repeat this on 12 April failed). Even in early April Turkish and Egyptian attacks were beaten back by defenders by now, apparently, living mostly on seaweed and in a town shattered by heavy bombardment. They stoutly refused the Turkish offer to accept a conditional surrender. Finally, it was decided that the garrison and people of Missolonghi – except those too weak to try – would make a great sortie or *exodos* on the night of 22–23 April 1826, in the hope that as many as possible could escape to safety through enemy lines. This was to be facilitated by a simultaneous Greek attack from the besiegers' rear. But a deserter revealed the plan and the element of surprise was lost. An uncertain number succeeded in the sortie, in many cases only to fall prey to the Albanian cavalry who awaited them on the slopes of Mount Zigos. (About 1500 people survived and reached the safety of Amphissa.) Many more rushed back to the batteries amid general confusion. The Turks and Egyptians seized the walls. At dawn they moved in to sack the town. Some of the inhabitants blew up themselves and some of their assailants at the first and second powder magazines and at a windmill which held out until 24 April. The others were killed or enslaved. Estimates of numbers vary, but roughly 8000–10,000 of the 10,000–12,000 in Missolonghi before the *exodos* died or lost their freedom. (The town was regained by the Greeks when its Albanian garrison surrendered on 18 May 1829 after Sir Richard Church's successful campaign in western Greece.)

There was widespread shock at the fall of Missolonghi, tempered by admiration for the heroism of the defenders. The tone most often associated with the last months of Missolonghi is that of a letter from Jean-Jacques Meyer written a few days before he and so many others died in the final sortie: "It is an exhilarating spectacle to behold the ardour and devotion of the garrison amid so many privations. ... I declare to you, that we have sworn to defend Mesolonghi foot by foot, to listen to no capitulation, and to bury ourselves in its ruins. ... History will do us justice, and posterity weep over our misfortunes." Even George Finlay, one of the most sceptical of philhellenes and historians, felt that "A spirit of Greek heroism, rare in the Greek Revolution – rare even in the history of mankind – pervaded every breast" on this occasion; "the conduct of the defenders ... will awaken the sympathies of freemen in every country as long as Grecian history endures." The sort of great and inspiring events which western Europe generally sought in ancient contexts was found, importantly for the maintaining of philhellenic feeling, in the modern siege; it rivalled that of Plataea [in the Peloponnesian War], said Finlay, "in the energy and constancy of the besieged". To the already mighty surge of responses to Byron's death, which often included at least a mention of Missolonghi, were added, mostly in 1826–28 and mostly in French, German, or English, pamphlets, maps, cantatas, poems, plays, novels, all related to the siege and fall

of the town. One of the best-known responses is Eugène Delacroix's painting *Greece on the Ruins of Missolonghi* (1826). And in Greece itself the siege was commemorated in poems including Solomos's *The Woman of Zakynthos* (*c.*1827) and *The Free Besieged*, the memoirs of survivors and their contemporaries such as Nikolaos Kasomoulis, and – with the other notable events of the 1820s – the Garden of Heroes in Missolonghi. This includes the tomb of Markos Botsaris, Byron's statue (1881), and the tumulus of the defenders killed in April 1826.

It would be difficult to maintain that the town's fall alone had any lasting effect on the course of the war, but it was clearly a major factor in encouraging European and American philhellenes to contribute an amount estimated by Douglas Dakin at £70,000 to the Greek cause during 1826, and helped to move foreign governments further in the direction of intervention.

MARTIN GARRETT

See also Independence (War of)

Summary

A fishing town on the coast of Acarnania, Missolonghi was the centre of resistance to the Turks in western Greece during the War of Independence. A Turkish siege in 1822–23 was beaten off. Byron died there of fever on 19 April 1824. The final siege took place in 1825–26 resulting in huge Greek losses. The town was regained by the Greeks in 1829.

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Mistra

City in the Peloponnese

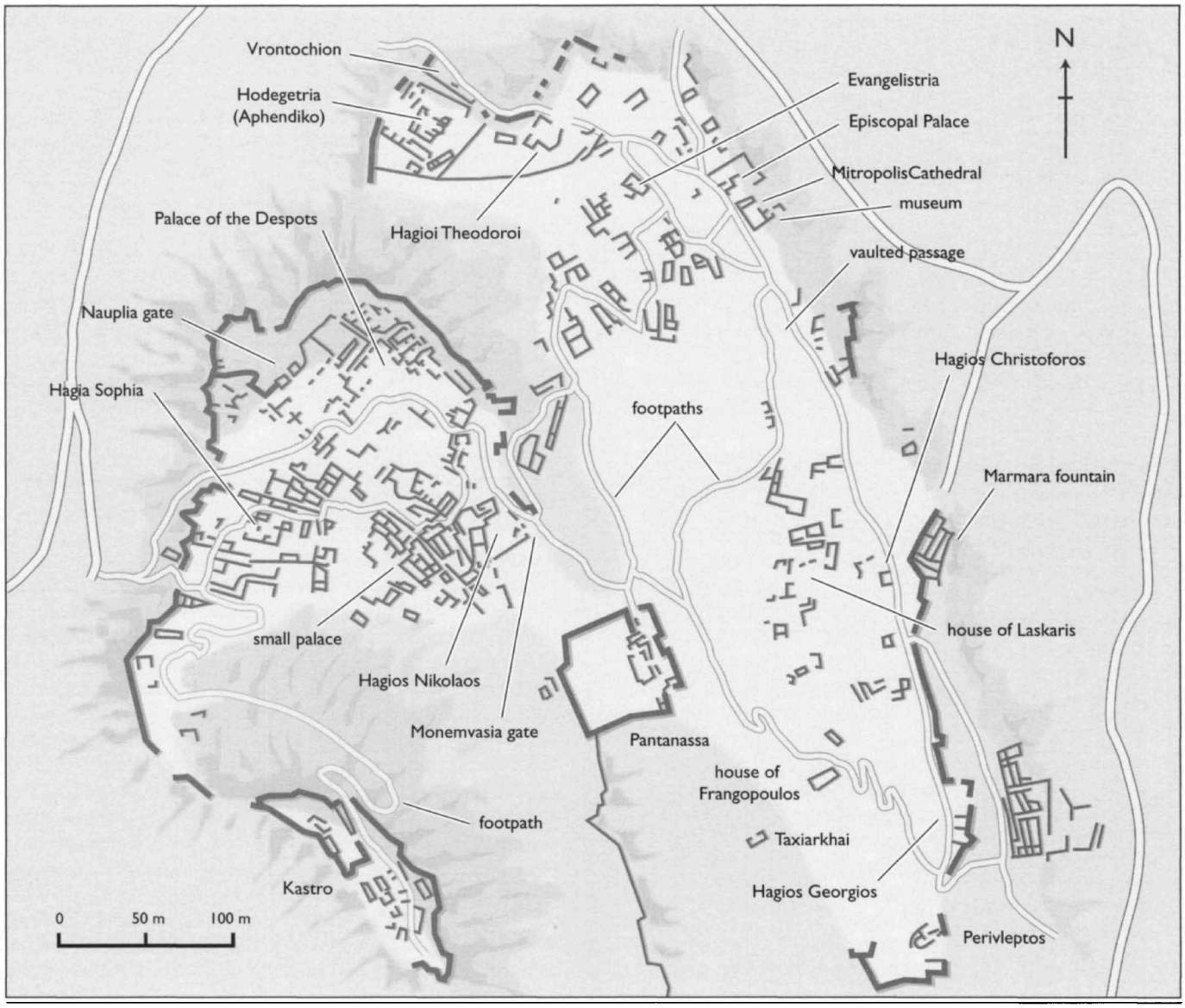
Mistra remains today as probably the best-preserved of all later Byzantine sites, and its relative completeness allows the visitor to experience in the most authentic way the qualities of a Byzantine town developed in the last two centuries before the coming of the Tourkokratia. Its assemblage of churches, palaces, and houses, which have not been significantly altered since the 15th century, represents the most complete reflection of the appearance, architecture, and art of a Byzantine town of that period that we have.

It consists of a fortified city, located some 5 km to the west of Sparta in the Peloponnese, occupying the steep slope of a spur of Mount Taygetus; its summit is crowned by a castle. Mistra has no Classical, early Christian, or earlier Byzantine history; the name first enters sources in the mid-13th century when Guillaume de Villehardouin, the fourth of the Frankish princes of Achaea, chose it as the site of one of the four castles that he built to contain the Slav tribes that then occupied the southern Peloponnese.

The ruins of his castle still dominate the hilltop, with sheer cliffs falling away to the south and southwest. The keep and enceinte indicate the scale of his installation here, but he was only to be in possession of it for little more than ten years; in 1262, two years after he was taken prisoner at the Battle of Pelagonia, he was forced to cede it to the Byzantines, with three other Frankish castles in the Peloponnese, as the price of his freedom. It was at this point that the history of Byzantine Mistra began, although it was the elevation of the city to being the seat of the despot of the Morea in 1348 that was to usher in the period of its greatest renown. This lasted for just over a century, until in 1460 the last despot, Dimitrios, was forced to hand over the city to the victorious sultan, Mehmet II.

The importance of Mistra for the Hellenic tradition lies in two separate fields: its physical survivals and the vigorous intellectual life that flourished there. Among its buildings pride of place must go the palace of the despots; this substantial L-shaped complex, built in several stages on the only major piece of level terrain, contains a large hall some 40 m long,

Mistra: view from the gate looking southwest to the castle



25. Mistra

which must have served as a throne room. This is in all probability the best reflection we have of that used in the Blachernae palace in Constantinople. Among other secular buildings, besides a number of smaller houses, there are two further large dwellings, one known as the Palataki ("Little Palace") and the other as the House of the Laskarids; these again provide some of the most authentic surviving evidence for the appearance of later Byzantine domestic architecture as used by a relatively affluent official or merchant.

The church of the Mitropolis, dedicated to St Dimitrios, was always intended to be the cathedral of Mistra, and has undergone major reconstruction; first built as a three-aisled basilica in 1291/92, it was the only church without a dome in the city until it was altered (probably in the 15th century) by having the barrel-vaulted roof removed and a dome erected. Both the foundation and the reconstruction are recorded in inscriptions as being by bishops of Lacedaemonia. Six other churches in Mistra have been preserved, all built between the later 13th and early 15th centuries, all domed, and most displaying a knowledge of contemporary building practice in Constantinople. That of the S Theodore, begun just after 1290, has an octagonal design that may have been an emulation of the church of Hagia Sophia in Monemvasia but relates to other important church designs such as that of Dafni, near Athens. The plan that was most frequently adopted by builders in Mistra was first used early in the 14th century in building the church known as the Aphendiko, dedicated to the Virgin Hodegetria. Its main characteristic is that of a basilica with galleries on to which a domed cross-in-square has been imposed; an open colonnade occupies the exterior of the south side, which is a characteristic of several other churches of the city. The frequency with which this type was used may have been because it could accommodate larger numbers on a given ground area than a more conventional inscribed cross design.

Other foundations of the 14th century are those of the Virgin Peribleptos, its design accommodated to its being built against a cliff, and Hagia Sophia, which was founded by a despot, Manuel Kantakouzenos, and probably intended as a

palace church. One of the last major churches to be built in Mistra, and that with the most Western characteristics, was that of the Pantanassa; founded by an important official of the despotate, John Phrangopoulos, and dedicated in 1428, it continues to be used as a convent, and is the only building still remaining in use.

Most of these churches retain much of their original decoration, and this again allows a glimpse of the brilliant final phase of Palaiologan art as it developed in the last two centuries of the Byzantine era. The high quality of the church architecture of Mistra was complemented by artists of equal accomplishment; the wall paintings that they have left indicate the increased interest in liturgical subject matter and extensive cycles of secondary themes, with series of the Twelve Great Feasts of the life of the Virgin, Passion cycles, and figures of individual saints.

The location of Mistra, relatively remote from Constantinople, meant that during its last century as a despotate a spirit of intellectual enquiry developed that would not have been tolerated in the capital. First under the Kantakouzene despots Michael, Matthew, and Dimitrios, and then increasingly under the Palaiologan despots, the two Theodores, Thomas, Dimitrios, and Constantine, the city became a prominent intellectual centre. The famous philosopher, George Gemistos, who later took the name of Plethon, taught here from *c.*1410 until his death in 1452, after his friend the emperor Manuel II Palaiologos had advised him that his radical approach was upsetting the conservative clerics in the capital. Among those who came to learn from him were George Scholarios and John Moschos, who was to be his successor as the leading philosopher of the city. But his most renowned pupil was John Bessarion, the native of Trebizond who, as a cardinal, was to become one of the most famous Greek converts to Roman Catholicism, and who studied for several years at Mistra under Plethon from 1431. It was to be the fame of Mistra as an intellectual centre that also brought Italian scholars to study the language and thought of the ancient Greeks that Byzantium had guarded for so long; it was through them that the Hellenic tradition was to be widely disseminated in western Europe.

Mistra began its history under Turkish occupation as the favoured residence of the Pasha who governed the Peloponnese, but it did not retain this distinction after the outbreak of the War of Independence. In September 1824, in the course of the appalling destruction wrought by Ibrahim Pasha right across the Morea, Mistra was left a smoking ruin. It was not until late in the 19th century that the French Byzantinist, Gabriel Millet, was to initiate the restoration of the city which is now so much admired as an embodiment of medieval Hellenic culture.

PAUL HETHERINGTON

See also Renaissance (Palaiologan)

Summary

First occupied as the site of a castle by Guillaume de Villehardouin in the mid-13th century, Mistra was ceded to the Byzantines in 1262 after the Battle of Pelagonia. In 1348 it became the seat of the despot of the Morea. It has important remains of a complete Byzantine town. It was also the centre of a vigorous intellectual culture. It fell to the Turks in 1460 and was destroyed in 1824.

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Modern Period

The study of Greece in the modern period has often been made in terms of failure. Why did Greece suffer so many political and economic crises? Why was its ability to create wealth substantially less than that of many other countries? Why could Greece not prevent the haemorrhaging of its population in migration? Why did so few of its cultural products achieve international circulation? These questions tended to measure performance in comparison with other states (sometimes unnamed) that have enjoyed much more favourable geographical and historical circumstances than Greece, leading automatically to negative conclusions. Now that Greece is increasingly successful even by such externally drawn measures, it is time to change the approach. Greece has a position towards the bottom of social and economic indicators for the European Union, but far above its neighbours in southeastern Europe. In cultural terms, it is extremely active in comparison with other developed states of its size, especially surprising in spheres where comprehension of Greek is essential for full enjoyment of the works produced. International cultural success for small countries is haphazard and frequently owed, as will be seen, to factors connected with their very political and economic marginality and weakness. The brief and schematic analysis that follows will begin by looking at Greece as far as possible in its own terms and sketching the development of a specific Greek identity in the modern world. It will then examine the relationship of that identity to modern Greek culture and its reception outside Greece.

Towards the end of the Tourkokratia the first traces of industry were beginning to appear in the Greek lands. Most Greeks, however, were subsistence farmers with little or no education. This group has, naturally, left little record of its thoughts and aspirations, except for those fighters in the War of Independence who found ways of leaving written memoirs. It is clear that most Greeks resented the Turks' oppressive and arbitrary behaviour towards their subject populations. It is less certain what was felt to be the alternative – Greek dreams of what their world might be like if Turkish rule were removed. Probably most were still thinking within the framework of the

Byzantine empire. Since the foundation of Constantinople a millennium and a half before, the whole area had been ruled as a multicultural empire centred on that city. The characteristics of the rulers had varied, particularly with the fundamental change to a Turkish sultan in 1453. But the overall politico-geographical structure had remained the same. Rigas Velestinlis, a democrat intellectual, promoted a multicultural democracy within a Byzantine envelope. Most of the fighters of 1821 probably had something similar in mind, perhaps thinking of a Greek emperor ruling a diverse population.

Greek urban structures during the period were idiosyncratic. Besides the few towns in the Greek lands there were large Greek populations in Constantinople and Smyrna and substantial Greek minorities in towns in the Romanian principalities beyond the periphery of regular Greek habitation. More important still, the arbitrariness of Ottoman rule had led to the establishment of significant Greek communities in western European commercial cities. These were groups of merchants, managing much of the trade of the Ottoman empire from a position beyond the reach of its officials. This external Greek bourgeoisie was in close contact with some of the most advanced entrepreneurial groups in Europe. It was also a major channel for the ideas of the Enlightenment into Greece. It financed, for example, a major redirection of the printing of books for the Greek market away from Orthodox service books and popular devotional literature towards other functions, especially connected with ancient Greece. This change reflects Enlightenment interest in Classical studies, secularism, and nationalism, which came together in the promotion of a modern Greece as a direct descendant of ancient Greece. It is clear that some merchants of the diaspora were beginning to link the removal of Turkish power with the establishment of a specifically Greek state. It is uncertain how many had made the imaginative leap required to redraw the political map of southeastern Europe from a single empire to a series of small nation states. One important factor is that the diaspora retained a Greek identity, though it might easily have been assimilated into local populations. The image of the Greek merchants was also cosmopolitan and attractive to the countries in which they were active, especially in eastern Europe.

The Greeks of Greek lands largely called themselves "Romioi", a name deriving from the multicultural identity of Byzantium as the eastern continuation of the Roman empire. Outside the Ottoman empire the name "Hellenes" was becoming more current. This had specific Greek connotations, looking back to the ancient name of the Greeks. It can be used to trace the rise of a specifically Greek nationalism based on connections with the ancients. The two world views met in the memoirs of the illiterate general Makriyannis at the moment of the revolution. Before the declaration of independence, the heroes of the story were the Romioi. After that time the same characters generally became Hellenes. In the areas of fighting the war caused an unprecedented movement of people and of ideas, particularly nationalist ideas. The revolutionaries were mainly Greek-speaking, though certainly not exclusively so. The project of a Greek national state provided some much-needed cohesion among the fighters. It soon became clear that the areas that might hope to be free as a result of the revolution would be the regions that had been central parts of ancient Greece. What is more, the reception of the conflict in the capitals of western Europe was as a renaissance of ancient Greece. Greeks and philhellenes seeking money and support there – or at least abstention from intervention in favour of the status quo – found the Greek national identity and its links with antiquity were useful arguments for their cause. Ancient Greece had been in favour in Europe throughout the Renaissance and the Enlightenment and had dominated Romantic Neoclassicism, which was still an important cultural movement in 1821.

The nationalist intellectual revolution of the 18th century which led to the basically nationalist political revolution of 1821 was continued in the establishment of the modern Greek state. This had been born, largely coincidentally, at a moment when its ancient culture was the centre of world romantic interest. As a result, it was natural for Greece to give enduring prominence to that aspect of its traditions. Greece has presented itself to the world to a large extent as a country of descendants of the glorious ancients. This fact has had a major influence over its cultural development.

The spread of such ideas in Greece was only increased by a high-profile attempt to deny them. The Austrian historian Jakob Philipp Fallmerayer published his work *Geschichte der Halbinsel Morea* in 1830, when Greek independence had been achieved but its nature remained uncertain. He listed the evidence for major settlements of Slavs and Albanians in Greek lands during the Middle Ages. From these facts he drew the ridiculously overstated conclusion that there was no ancient Greek blood at all in the veins of the modern Greeks, thus dissolving the genealogical basis of current Greek nationalism. Reactions to Fallmerayer were intense. In fact, parts of 19th-century Greek scholarship appear to have been moulded by the need to prove him wrong, such as the prominence of *laographia* (folklore) as an academic discipline devoted to finding remnants of ancient Greek culture in the contemporary Greek countryside. At another level Fallmerayer also contributed to the rehabilitation of Byzantium in Greek history. It became obvious that extreme nationalist historical constructs that jumped from the Roman conquest of Greece in the 2nd century BC to the revolution of 1821, treating everything between as a foreign occupation, were dangerous because of the huge temporal gap between the designated Greek elements, whose genuineness could thus be undermined. Konstantinos Paparrigopoulos cemented his place as the founder of modern Greek historiography by establishing a tripartite view of Greek history, with ancient, Byzantine, and modern periods, which has been dominant ever since.

The 19th century saw the promotion in Greece of all things ancient Greek, but in ways that were often shallow and uncomprehending – the so-called *progonoplexia* or ancestor-obsession. The 20th century saw a less intense continuation of the same tendency, particularly during the right-wing regimes of Metaxas (1936–41) and the Colonels' Junta (1967–74). To this day activities celebrating ancient Greece are more likely to win Greek diplomatic support outside Greece than those related to later periods. But however indiscriminate this support of Classical culture may have been, it is difficult to avoid the assumption that it has performed a useful function, at least inside Greece and on its borders. The different areas of Greece, as they were successively freed from foreign control

and added to the Greek state, contained numbers of ethnic and linguistic minorities. Many of these had the potential to cause intercommunity friction of types distressingly frequent to the north of Greece in the 1990s. With the help of the exchange of populations in 1922 and other historical circumstances that forced some of the disparate elements across the northern borders, Greece has been able to absorb and assimilate all but the Turks of Thrace. What was the reason for this success? The difference between the Greek identity and less effective equivalents to the north must surely have been its complexity, great historical depth, and sweeping claims to cultural importance on a world scale.

The success of the national connection to the ancient world has been spectacular, but not unchallenged. The privileged position it gave to ancient Greece has been seen by many (not without justification) as a western European concept imported into the Greek identity, and has been unwelcome to some defenders of Orthodoxy and nationalists with an anti-Western slant. The Romioi are still occasionally promoted as alternatives to the Hellenes. This is the first of several tensions to be mapped here: ancient Greece and Byzantium (with its extension into the Turkish period) are not only successive elements in Paparrigopoulos's tripartite division, but also, in some minds, competing focuses of national identification and of the authentication of Greek importance in world history.

This ambiguity had a major influence over the Greek language question. All levels of Greek in the Turkish period had developed features, especially lexical items, that showed Turkish influence. The written language, developed from that of Byzantium, included a varying degree of archaism. At the spoken level, Greek was a closely related set of dialects which had yet to go through the discipline of the creation of a national language. Besides these the nationalism of the 18th century grafted a preference for ancient Greek, which had also played a considerable role in the linguistic discussions of the American and French revolutions. Thus the first phase of the language question involved three linguistic levels: two written patterns linked to the ancient and Byzantine worlds respectively, and the developing spoken vernacular.

Adamantios Korais was a passionate believer in the civilizing, revolutionary force of Ancient Greek. Yet, as a democrat and linguist, he realized that a national language must be based on spoken Modern Greek. He therefore created his "middle way", katharevousa, claiming a vernacular basis but selectively using the fluidity of the spoken language to build as many bridges as he could to Ancient Greek, so that the young Greeks on whom he based his revolutionary hopes should have as much access as possible to the revolutionary power of the ancients. It was obvious soon after his death that this experiment was a failure in its own terms. But the language that resulted was not very different from the old Byzantine written language, purged of Turkish elements and brought up to date for the demands of national independence. When Korais's influence was removed, the two forms united. Katharevousa thus inherited the support both of the conservative and Byzantine tradition of the early Turkish period and of the radical new nationalism linked to Ancient Greek. The former tendency gradually subsumed the latter, but never obliterated it.

Katharevousa became on one level a mark of snobbery, the way in which the well-educated separated themselves off from those less privileged. But it was also supported by many who were disappointed by a perceived failure of the Greek state to live up to the traditions of Hellenism. It was admirably suited to abstract discussions of the destiny of the Greek nation – in support, for example, of the Great Idea. From the final decades of the 19th century it was opposed by an organized demoticist movement, whose first leader was Yannis Psycharis. The demoticists refused to take the sources of national identity from any past tradition, but based themselves on the living language and traditions of the Greek people. They made play with the fact, as mentioned above, that the prominent position of ancient Greek in the nationalist construct was essentially a Western idea. The most successful of the demoticists were the "Generation of the 1930s", as we shall see. They succeeded in establishing a demotic view of the national identity to provide a powerful counterbalance to the learned traditions used to support katharevousa. The language struggle has been the dimension of Greek life in which the issue of identity has been fought most openly. It was inevitable that the demotic side should win, though surprising that it took so long – till 1975. There is now some recognition that all the parties in this long struggle represented more or less valid Greek traditions which need to be integrated into a more inclusive Greek identity.

There was discussion above of one major tension in the Greek identity, that represented by the labels Romioi and Hellenes. A second, simpler, tension is between Eastern and Western elements in Greek culture. At one level Greece is a member of the European Union, proud that the ancient Greeks laid the groundwork for Western culture, and regarding the West as synonymous with all that is positive and democratic. Constant disagreements with their large neighbour Turkey tend to confirm Greeks in rejection of the East. But at another level, many Greeks fail to identify completely with the western European lifestyle and capitalist work ethic, and often suggest that they have more in common with the Middle East than food and popular music. This dichotomy is particularly strong in Cyprus, where Greeks feel closer to the Levant than to Athens, while simultaneously being more influenced by western European values as a result of their British colonial heritage. Orthodoxy also connects Greece to Slavic eastern Europe. Greek separation from western Europe is inscribed in the language: a Greek going to Brussels (or Paris or Berlin) for a European Union committee can describe him or herself as "going to Europe", implying that Athens is outside Europe at one level of his or her mental map.

Another tension in the Greek identity may also be illustrated linguistically. The word for "country" or "fatherland" used in patriotic discourse is *patrida*. But this is not the most common use of that word: it usually means a narrower area, probably the village or town from which a person originates, or perhaps a wider area such as Epirus, Macedonia, or Crete. Much of Greece is geographically divided into small areas, such as islands or valleys surrounded by high mountain walls. This led to fragmentation in the ancient world, and perhaps predisposes modern Greeks to narrow loyalties. The use of the word *patrida* shows that the nation and state are not so firmly established in Greek consciousness as in equivalent countries where nationhood was achieved earlier. The adjective *xenos*

(strange, foreign) may be used to prove the same point from the opposite perspective. "Strangers" or "foreigners" for a Peloponnesian villager may be Turks or Epirots, but they could equally well be fellow-Peloponnesians, even from the next village. At its most extreme, the focus of loyalty can be reduced to the family, which remains the main Greek economic unit. Anthropologists have drawn the conclusion that a Greek has a variety of possible identities, spreading from his or her immediate surroundings out to the level of the Greek state. The meanings of *patrida* and *xenos* in each case need to be negotiated in and out according to context – surely an extremely flexible and functional system to provide individual satisfaction, but not one that makes the Greek government and economy easy to run.

A substantial proportion of the world population of Greeks and Cypriots is not normally resident in Greece or Cyprus. This new Greek diaspora, made up of migrants who left Greece for economic reasons (or Cyprus as a result of the Turkish invasion), is found on every continent in larger or smaller numbers, making up a total of perhaps a third or a half of the metropolitan populations. The Greek identity is a pervasive one, operating at the level of language, religion, and what is called "behaviour and customs" (*ithi kai ethima*). In most parts of the world, Greeks have resisted assimilation for longer than most other nationalities – though of course assimilation will happen eventually, especially if the country of settlement speaks a major world language. The diaspora Greek needs the metropolitan centre to preserve a Greek identity in the new country, but is often rather contemptuous of some factors in Greece, particularly the economic problems and lack of unity. On the other hand Greece's representatives in countries with many Greek migrants, seeking to preserve their compatriots' Greek identification and waning linguistic skills, need their support to send money home and to put pressure, at moments of crisis, on their new governments, especially that of the United States, on behalf of the Greek or Cypriot states. Greeks outside Greece are often economically very successful. Unfortunately they are rarely easy to coordinate into an organized lobby.

None of the tensions mentioned here is unique to Greeks. But the combined force of these arguments may indicate that Greekness is unusually complex, demanding, and interesting. The root of the complexity is that the Greek identity, especially if one includes elements usually placed under the heading "Romioi", has a much longer and more celebrated history than the Greek state. That state may be viewed as a Western imposition from the perspective of a defender of Eastern Orthodoxy, as an alternative focus of loyalty by a proud Cretan, as a cesspit of cynical politics by those who would prefer to speak in terms of ancient Greek idealism, or as a beloved country that nevertheless has to be left behind by the Greek migrants of Toronto or Melbourne. Thus the Greek state is usually seen in a comparative way, often at a disadvantage, rather than forming a more uncontested background to individual identities, as in many other countries.

On the other hand the Greek identity of which the state is the core has undoubtedly been very successful in maintaining Greekness among populations where it is challenged. We have noted its power at several historical stages: among the merchant diaspora in Europe before the Revolution, among minorities in the expanding Greek state, and among the wider diaspora of economic migrants in the 20th century.

It remains to examine briefly the development of Greek literature, music, and the visual arts. There are detailed treatments of the different cultural fields available elsewhere in this encyclopedia. This article will concentrate on the ways in which Greek culture and its reception outside Greece reflect and are influenced by the elements of identity already discussed.

The diachronic quality of the Greek identity, including ancient Greece and Byzantium along with modern Greece, is pervasive throughout Greek culture. The most obvious technique is simple juxtaposition, the inclusion of persons or objects from the past in a modern Greek urban scene or countryside, surprising the viewer or hearer with a kind of anachronism, as in the paintings of Konstantinos Parthenis, the cinema of Thodoros Angelopoulos, or the poems of Yiannis Ritsos. Elsewhere there is a juxtaposition of genres: the reference may place ancient or Byzantine phrases in a modern demotic framework, or use a musical structure combining Byzantine chant with modern rhythms inspired by folk songs and *rebetika* (low-life music). The poem *Axion Esti* of Odysseus Elytis and its musical setting as an oratorio by Mikis Theodorakis are sustained examples. The audience for Greek culture has learned to expect such references, which have become almost a defining characteristic of various genres, bringing their own idiosyncratic aesthetic charge. There has been at times some tendency to undervalue Greek works which concentrate on issues that Greece shares with the rest of Europe or the world, in favour of those that have an exclusively Greek dimension, and therefore offer wide scope for diachronic treatment. This tactic gives cohesion and unity to Greek culture, and can lead to striking artistic success, though it can easily be overdone.

Another characteristic of Greek culture which has become popular abroad derives from Greece's position on the borders of Europe and Asia, East and West, combined with the fact of its recent rapid urbanization and industrialization. Just beneath the surface of Athenian society one may find the rhythms of the Greek countryside, where most middle-aged Athenians were born. What is more, the popular culture of Greece has for many Europeans and Americans an oriental and exotic otherness, often discovered via tourism. An excellent example of the resulting cultural influences is Michalis Cacoyannis's film *Zorba the Greek* (1964). The folkloric picture of Greece provided is true neither to the Kazantzakis novel on which it is based nor to the real country life of Crete that both novel and film purport to portray: the film succeeded, in part, because it fulfilled a Western need for exoticism in setting and behaviour. An even more extreme example of this syndrome is the popularity of *rebetika* music, in some non-Greek circles as well as among the Greek middle class. The culture of drugs and crime reflected in *rebetika* lyrics brings a dangerous whiff of the Middle Eastern bazaar and hashish den which is clearly attractive to the many upright citizens who collect the recordings. Such concentration on the countryside and the underworld of Greece easily leads, of course, to a reductionist view of the country's culture.

Some of Greece's cultural development has been strongly influenced by the diaspora. The most obvious example is Constantine Cavafy, an Egyptian Greek and one of several

prominent Greek poets who have been bilingual. Cavafy's English reading took him outside the traditional framework of Greek literature and encouraged him to speak of Greek tradition from an unconventional diaspora viewpoint. Cavafy adds to the aesthetic of diachronic reference discussed above an extra frisson of pleasure derived from cultural mixture and ambiguity, in which he finds an obvious affinity between the Egypt of his own day and the Hellenistic kingdoms and Eastern Roman world deriving from the empire of Alexander the Great. On other levels, recordings of *rebetika* from the US diaspora added considerably to the vogue for that music, while Maria Callas benefited from her status as an American immigrant, which gave her an easy choice of career paths inside and outside Greece.

Greece's political instability in the 20th century has also influenced its cultural development and the reception of that culture outside the country. In particular, for most of the 40-year period between the establishment of the Metaxas regime in 1936 and the fall of the Colonels' Junta in 1975 much of the intellectual and cultural establishment of the country found it hard to identify with the Greek (or, for a time, German) authorities in Athens. It was not only a question of political disagreement, but of a total rejection of those governments' legitimacy. Many cultural figures went through periods of silent protest or silence enforced by censorship: the publishing history of a poet such as Ritsos is, as a result, very disturbed and complex. Much cultural production was aimed at foreign markets, to be circulated abroad so as to put pressure on the Greek government via foreign public opinion, and often was to be published abroad for clandestine circulation in Greece. One prominent example, Vasilis Vasilikos's documentary novel Z about the murder of the left-wing politician Grigorios Lambrakis in May 1963, was successfully published in several European languages. The French film of the same name by Constantin Costa-Gavras was even more effective in raising consciousness abroad about the crude methods used on the Greek front of the Cold War. During the 40 years of political alienation and especially towards its end, during the Junta period, affirmations of Greekness and poems of protest by some of Greece's greatest poets were set to music by Mikis Theodorakis and (later) Manos Hadjidakis. This made their names widely known in anti-authoritarian circles throughout the world. The result was a genre of power and originality, combining incisive lyrics with popular music from many Greek sources written by composers of great conventional talent. It had some success in focusing anti-Junta sentiment, as was acknowledged by clumsy attempts to ban the circulation of the songs. Greek culture was achieving recognition, in part, as a result of Greece's political weakness.

However the major political role of Greek culture in the 20th century has been rewarded by many international honours, and is one of modern Greece's proudest achievements. When the Great Idea came to grief in military defeat in Asia Minor, the burning of Smyrna, and the exchange of populations, the country lost the expansionist ideology that had guided it for the first century of nationhood. Against the power of resurgent Turkey, further widening of the borders would be all but impossible, and the Greek populations were no longer in Asia Minor to provide the motive and justification for that expansion. Rather unexpectedly, the closest thing to a replacement ideology was provided by the cultural leaders of the Generation of the 1930s, especially the poets. The prime mover was George Seferis, who seems to have had a programme of regeneration in mind since the early 1930s. His ablest contemporaries proved to be Odysseus Elytis, who began with poetry of the Aegean sea and beaches strongly influenced by Surrealism, and Yannis Ritsos, whose early poetry in favour of a very Moscow-aligned Communism was written in socialist realist mode, but soon changed to include traditional Greek genres.

During the 1940s Greece lost control over its destiny. After rule from Berlin during the Nazi occupation, the country narrowly missed during the Civil War what might have been domination from Moscow, only to fall victim to what many called control from Washington. There was a natural reaction in the 1940s and 1950s towards the exploration of Greekness as an independent alternative to subjection to competing blocs, and a series of poems and critical essays were written that may be read as a struggle of different political and cultural forces to lay claim to the diachronic Hellenic ideal – Seferis, whose views were the most significant because first expressed, combined a demythologized version of the ancient world with some Byzantine symbols, some writers in katharevousa who may be constructed as popular, a limited number of demoticist poets, and some visual artists working in a naïve vein. The whole remains to this day the most influential construct of the national identity – though there is a persistent complaint that it has an anti-intellectual tendency. Elytis and Ritsos too wrote many poems providing Greekness with a definition largely compatible with that of Seferis. The popularity of their poems was greatly increased by their setting to music. The contributions of these three poets to filling the vacuum of Greek ideology made them giants in literary terms. Seferis and Elytis were awarded Nobel Prizes for literature; the communist Ritsos, whose nomination for the Nobel Prize could not be easy in Cold War Greece, received equivalent Moscow prizes. Subsequent Greek poets, whatever the quality of their work, have not been called upon to reconstruct the national psyche, and so seem pygmies by comparison.

But there is a danger in measuring success by international acclaim. Several areas of Greek cultural production have been extremely active and successful by any measure apart from the haphazard forces of foreign recognition. One example is the theatre, which has a pervasive presence in every corner of the Greek urban world. There are considerable numbers of serious, ground-breaking Greek works to set beside the ubiquitous translations of foreign plays at every level and high-profile traditional farces. Greek painting has filled the country's major galleries with works that cover in most creative ways every facet of the Greek identity sketched above, and others that are not so easily categorized. Greek architecture, often the butt of criticism because it has filled the cities with concrete blocks of flats, has many achievements to boast in cases where it is able to escape from such straightjackets. The Greek novel, whose international success pales before that of Greek poetry, has shown great inventiveness in the exploration of contemporary Greece and the Greek heritage. Greek novelists have, particularly more recently, shared in the same developments as their counterparts in other literary traditions

and made similar experiments in areas conventionally labelled as postmodern.

Greece is a country with a small population, slightly increased by the addition of the diaspora. Its cultural production is much more diverse and vigorous than these numbers might be expected to support. Greek culture has often been recognized outside Greece, but sometimes for haphazard and even negative reasons, including geographical marginality, political instability, and its marking of forced and rapid ideological change. Within its natural Greek audience, that culture has been specially concerned with the exploration of different facets of the Greek identity and their imaginative combination and recombination into new and exciting constructs, which provide a variety of angles from which to view the Greek present. Some artists and poets have played significant roles in expressing the Greek view of themselves and their place in the world, at the most fundamental levels. It is this experimentation that is the major defining characteristic of the country's cultural production. In a global village where identity is constantly in question, and where different elements of the Greek past are used in this quest in many parts of the world, Greek culture has a strong claim on international attention.

MICHAEL JEFFREYS

See also Identity, Language

Summary

Dated from 1821 to the present, the cultural history of the modern period has been dominated by the struggle to find a recognizable Greek identity and an acceptable form of the Greek language. The events of 1922–23 resulted in a remarkable degree of national homogenization inside the newly established borders. In their wake there have been striking developments in Greek literature, music, and the visual arts.

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Moisiodax, Josephos *c.*1725–1800

Intellectual of the 18th century

Josephos Moisiodax was a towering cultural and social critic within the Greek Enlightenment, though his life, on the basis of surviving evidence, can only be partially reconstructed. He was born around 1725 at Czernawoda, a village today in southeastern Romania. Moisiodax was not ethnically Greek, but a Hellenized Vlach. Yet, his education in Thessalonica, in Smyrna, and at the Athonias Academy under Evgenios Voulgaris was entirely Greek. Moisiodox wrote and published solely in Greek. He is thus a typical example of the effect of the supra-national dissemination of Hellenic culture in the Balkans during the 18th century, which was not bound to a particular state and had a homogenizing impact upon the orientations, values, and perceptions of Balkan peoples.

Moisiodax continued his studies in physical sciences at the University of Padua, while he preached at the Greek church in Venice. There he published a Greek translation of Antonio Muratori's *Moral Philosophy* (1761) with his own prolegomena including his pleas for a Greek revival on the basis of the Enlightenment. Upon returning to the Danubian principalities, Moisiodax taught mathematics and physical sciences at the Princely Academy of Jassy in 1765–66 and later in 1776–77, where he also transmitted the ideas of the Enlightenment. His innovative teaching met with the unfavourable reaction of traditionalist teachers and circles, which forced him initially to resign and later to travel from 1777 to 1781 in various cities of central Europe (e.g. Budapest, Vienna, Venice). During this period he published four of his books. One of them, entitled *Pedagogy or Treatise on the Education of Children* (1779), was influenced by John Locke's pedagogical views and pointed out the interconnection between education and social practice and values while criticizing the backwardness of Greek education and its social background. In 1780 he published in Vienna his most important book, the *Apology*, which had a self-revelatory character and contained various texts and manifestos as responses to his ideological opponents and their accusations. In 1781 he also published a *Theory of Geography*, which comprised all major scientific discoveries including the heliocentric system. Scientific issues (e.g. the tides) were also discussed in his last book, *Physiological Notes* (1784), which was directed against the false perceptions of the ignorant masses concerning natural phenomena.

Moisiodax showed a particular predilection for discussing vital issues of his day including those concerning pedagogy, natural sciences, mathematics, and philosophy. One of the major contributions of his *Apology* to Greek thought was the undermining of traditional philosophy and its abstract, metaphysical concerns. Moisiodax supported wholeheartedly Cartesian rationalism and an empirically oriented scientific research as well as its achievements (e.g. Newtonian philosophy). Profoundly influenced by the Enlightenment's optimism, he stressed incessantly the social utility of science in terms of its technical applications. He also demonstrated that the preservation of the neo-Aristotelian status quo in Greek school curricula was motivated by socioeconomic reasons and personal interests. By supporting the outdated neo-Aristotelian system, conservative teachers tried to cover up their inabilities

and ignorance of modern developments. As a result, they feared losing their privileges and influence within the educational system and society. Their reaction to the innovators like Moisiodax was not due to sincere scholarly interests and a quest for the truth, but to selfish and base motives. This constituted a major aspect of Moisiodax's fierce and uncompromising sociocultural criticism, which brought him many conflicts in the course of his life and eventually disappointment and frustration. His last years in Bucharest until his death in 1800 are generally marked by silence, despite his short teaching period in 1797 at the Princely Academy there.

Moisiodax applied the important intellectual conflict in 17th-century Europe between the Ancients and the Moderns to the Greek case. Due to his infatuation with modern science and progress, Moisiodax criticized the backwardness of Greek society in comparison to the West and tried to modernize it by suggesting far-reaching changes in many domains on the basis of modern European developments. In this context he also envisaged a political reform from arbitrary despotism to a liberal and law-abiding republican regime of civic rights, such as the Swiss Commonwealth, which would be in a position to carry out such radical reforms. In this way Moisiodax became a chief advocate of social and cultural reform as the most pressing need of the day. He was also very critical towards various authorities which might have hindered Greece's future development. He did not restrain himself from criticizing his eminent teacher Voulgaris on various issues including his teaching method, although he acknowledged Voulgaris's unusual intellectual capacities and his numerous contributions. Moisiodax was also a pioneer in using the vernacular instead of an archaic dialect in his lectures and writings, thus making them easily accessible and comprehensible to a wider audience.

Without being antireligious at all, Moisiodax, who early in his life had taken holy orders, tried systematically through his works to wrest ideological power from the Church and to undermine its authority in matters pertaining to science, culture, and history. He was convinced that humans through education and rational enquiry could master the world surrounding them. Religion had to be confined to things pertaining to the mystical, supernatural realm, the salvation of the soul, and moral conduct, issues lying beyond the grasp of science. Likewise, the Bible had to be considered solely as a religious text and never as a scientific treatise. The importance of Moisiodax's points can be captured by taking into account the vivid ideological conflicts concerning the Copernican world system around the end of the 18th century in Ottoman Greece. Moisiodax, with his social critique, tried to liberate Greek thought from superstition and prejudice, which were often connected with traditional religious notions. Finally, Moisiodax – unlike his teacher in Smyrna, Ierotheos Dendrinos, and several other Orthodox – did not think that studying in western Europe at that time could pose serious problems to the preservation of the Orthodox faith due to the potential espousal of western Christian or atheistic views. In his opinion the many-sided contacts of the Greek world with the West, its cultural evolution, and its scientific progress did not impinge necessarily upon its Orthodox identity. Westernization was thus not coterminous with an abandonment of Orthodoxy. Such and similar arguments were quite usual among many bearers of Enlightenment ideas. In this way they intended, on the one hand, to legitimize their closer contacts with the West and, on the other hand, to neutralize the reactions of traditionalist Orthodox and other conservative circles.

In short, Moisiodax can be hailed as an architect of Greek ideological innovation during that important period of intellectual transition under the influence of the Enlightenment. His articulate socio-cultural criticism had a decisive influence upon other bearers of Enlightenment ideas, who continued his pioneering work.

VASILIOS MAKRIDES

See also Enlightenment

Biography

Born *c.*1725 in Czernawoda in modern southeast Romania, Moisiodax, a Hellenized Vlach, was educated in Thessalonica and Smyrna and at the academy on Mount Athos under Voulgaris. He went on to study physics at the University of Padua and took holy orders at an early age. Returning to the Danubian principalities, he taught mathematics and physics at the Princely Academy in Jassy and transmitted ideas about the Enlightenment. He died in Bucharest in 1800.

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Moldavia

Moldavia was founded by Vlach immigrants from Hungary under the legendary Dragosh Bogdan in the first half of the 14th century. Until that time the Moldavian lowlands were still held by Tatar tribes. In 1372, in an agreement between emperor Charles IV and king Louis of Hungary, the *voievozi* of

Moldavia was recognized as a dependency of the crown of St Stephen (of Hungary). Rival claims by Poland and Hungary were a constant source of conflict between the two kingdoms. This rivalry was laid to rest in 1412 in an agreement between emperor Sigismund, acting as king of Hungary, and the Polish king Ladislas II, which provided for the joint Pologno-Hungarian defence of Moldavia against any Turkish invasion and its subsequent division between the two allies. While Polish influence was in the ascendant during the first half of the 15th century, during the long reign of Stephen the Great (1457–1504) Moldavia was consolidated as an independent principality. He defeated three Turkish invasions in 1476, 1478, and 1484, and the Polish invasion of 1487. In the following year he himself invaded Poland and annexed the Polish province of Prokutia. Under Stephen's reign Moldavia, excluding Prokutia, extended from the river Milcovu on the border with Wallachia to the river Dniestr; it included the Carpathian region of the Bukovina (Slavonic "the beech-wood"), the Budzak (Turkish "the corner", the later Bessarabia), Chilia (Russian Kiliya), and Moncastro (Russian Byelgorod; Turkish Akkerman; Romanian Cetatea Alba) as well as the left bank of the Danube from Galatz to the Sulian mouth. The country was predominantly Eastern Orthodox in religion, dependent on the patriarchate of Ohrid; the official language was Slavonic; the title of the ruler was *Nachalnik i Voievoda Moldavlasi* (prince and duke of the Moldavlachs), and the succession was strictly hereditary.

Stephen's successor, Bogdan III ("the One-Eyed"), sought to alleviate the country's position between Hungary and Poland through an alliance with the Ottoman empire, which was already surrounding Moldavia on the Wallachian and Crimean frontiers. In 1513 Moldavia became a tributary to the Turks. From now on Turkish influence grew steadily; so much so that in the mid-16th century *voievod* Elias (1546–51) converted to Islam in an effort to appease the sultan.

It was at this time that the curious interlude of Jacob Basilius took place. Basilius was Greek by birth. The adopted son of Jacob Heraklides, the despot of Paros, Samos, and other Aegean islands, he was a well-educated man, a student of astronomy, who corresponded with Philip Melanchthon, the divine and who wrote historical works dedicated to Philip II of Spain. Above all he was an ambitious man. His succession to his stepfather's title left him unsatisfied, and he produced the fabricated claim of kinship with the Moldavian *voivode*. Supported by emperor Ferdinand, and with Hungarian aid, he routed the superior Moldavian forces in 1561 and deposed the *voievod* Alexander Lepasheanu (1552–61 and 1563–68). He even purchased Turkish confirmation of his usurped title. Shortly afterwards he assumed the new title of *basileus moldavias*. Jacob Basilius was an energetic educational and religious reformer, but his orthodoxy remained suspect, and when he levied a new tax on the population the *boyars*, the indigenous nobility, rose against him and killed him in 1563.

The last uprising against continued Turkish encroachment upon Moldavia occurred during the brief voievodate of John the Terrible (1572–74). After his defeat Turkish influence became ever more dominant. The *voivode*, or *hospodars*, were appointed and then deposed in quick succession, although prince Vasilie Lupul (Basil the Wolf) tenaciously clung to power for some 20 years.

Moldavia was devastated in the successive wars of the Polish king Jan Sobieski against the Ottomans. After Sobieski's death in 1696, Moldavia turned to the rising Russian power for protection. In 1711 the *voievod* Demetrius Cantemir concluded a secret agreement with tsar Peter the Great by which both countries committed themselves to a war against Turkey, after which Moldavia was to become a vassal state under Russian protection. Cantemir's troops, however, deserted in the face of the advancing Turks and the Russian campaign failed. Ottoman influence was now supreme. The Sublime Porte farmed out the hospodarship to a succession of wealthy Greeks, mostly from the Phanar quarter of Constantinople. The chief families that held the office during the so-called Phanariot regime were the Mavrokordato, Ghica, Callimachi, Ypsilanti, and Murusi. The *hospodars* thus installed were mere puppets dangling from strings pulled at Constantinople; and having to expend a large tribute, or *bakshish* ("tip"), every three years, and a smaller one every year, to have their appointments confirmed, they regarded their tenure of office largely as an opportunity for exploitation. At the same time, however, the Phanariot regime also brought about a significant educational improvement in Moldavia, especially under Gregory Ghica (1774–77).

Since the mid-16th century Moldavia's independence had been steadily eroded. The Russo-Turkish War (1768–74) delivered a fatal blow to the country's integrity. The Treaty of Kutchuk-Kainardji, of 15 July 1774, which ended the hostilities, restored Moldavia and Wallachia to the Porte but reserved for Russia the right to interfere in the affairs of the Danubian principalities. It was the beginning of Russia's advance on the Balkan peninsula. Moldavia's integrity, however, was infringed by Austria, which annexed the Bukovina in 1775. In 1802 Russia forced the Porte to accept further restrictions on Turkish suzerainty over Moldavia which amounted to a de facto Russian protectorate. During the next Russo-Turkish War (1806–12) Moldavia and Wallachia were occupied by Russia. The Treaty of Bucharest of 1812 restored the two principalities to Turkey under the previous stipulations. Bessarabia, however, was ceded to Russia. The river Pruth was now Moldavia's new border.

During the period of the Russo-Turkish wars a new Greek movement was formed in Moldavia. Around 1780 Rigas Velestinlis, a Hellenized Vlach from Macedonia, also known under the Greek name Rigas Pheraios, founded in Bucharest the *Hetaireia ton Philon* (the "Friendly Society"), a Greek patriotic and revolutionary association. Gradually the Hetairist movement gained substantial influence in Moldavian affairs. In 1810 the metropolitan of Wallachia, Ignatius, founded a Greek literary society that soon turned into a political movement. Many similar bodies sprang up in Moldavia, finally to be merged into one secret society, the *Hetaireia*. The political aims of the movement were only vaguely defined, suffused however with the ideas propagated by the French Revolution. In its more extreme forms it aimed at the restoration of the Byzantine empire.

The year 1821 marked the apogee of the Hetairist movement. Alexander Ypsilantis, son of a Phanariot *voievod* and an aide-de-camp to tsar Alexander I, entered Moldavia at the head of the Hetairists. But both the movement and its leader had become too closely associated with the Phanariot past.

Opposed by the indigenous Slav majority, lacking support, and eventually even repudiated by Russia, Ypsilantis's adventure ended in failure. His forces were crushed by the Turks and Moldavia was occupied by a Turkish army until 1824. The Russo-Turkish convention of Akkerman of 1826 and the peace treaty of Adrianople of 1829 confirmed the privileges of the Wallachian and Moldavian principalities. Their internal constitution was governed by the "Organic Law" which largely maintained the feudal position of the *boyars*. Socially, financially, and politically Russia was now the predominant influence in the two Danubian principalities. Between 1834 and 1848 their secret but all-powerful ruler was the Russian consul-general at Bucharest.

The European revolution of 1848 also reached Moldavia where it aimed at the overthrow of Russian influence institutionalized in the "Organic Law". The revolution was squashed by a joint Russo-Turkish intervention; and the "Organic Law" was restored. At the Treaty of Paris, which marked the end of the Crimean War in 1856, both Wallachia and Moldavia were restored under the suzerainty of Turkey but now collectively guaranteed by the great powers of Europe; they were granted complete internal independence from the Sublime Porte; and Bessarabia was restored to Moldavia. In September 1857 a European commission, instituted by the Paris peace treaty, prepared the way for a union of Moldavia and Wallachia under the name of Romania, to be governed by a foreign European prince. The merger of the two principalities came into force in January 1859.

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See also Phanariots, Romania

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Monarchy

The political landscape of the Mycenaean period consisted of independent powers of different size with a palace as their political and economic centre. The head of each palace and its surrounding territory was a king (*wanax* in Linear B) whose power was based on his control of the palace economy and his military leadership. It has also been assumed by scholars that the king was the high priest of his realm and thus also had a prominent cultic function. His power seems not to have been unrestricted, however, since he had to consider the demands of a strong aristocracy.

To a certain extent the societies of the Homeric epics resemble the Mycenaean world. Essentially an aristocratic world is depicted, though the terminology for the leading authorities is not absolutely consistent. Basically a single ruler and a council of noblemen have to be distinguished. The designation *basileus* for the noblemen obviously derives from the Linear B word *qasireu/pasireu*, which describes an official with certain limited powers. In contrast the *basileis* of the Homeric epics form the leading group of a community. The translation of the word *basileus* as "king" may be misleading at this stage; the terms "leader", "lord", or "chief" correspond better with the actual connotation. The *basileis* of the Homeric epics are distinguished from the other people by certain conditions. They are members of the leading families, which implies that they descend more or less directly from a god and that they had a profound material basis. Within this group of *basileis* there existed a code of virtues, the most prominent of which are courage, wisdom in council, and piety. Adherence to these virtues determined the actual status of a *basileus*.

Whereas the term *basileus* is often used in the plural, the denomination *anax*, which derives from the Linear B word *wanax*, is exclusively used in the singular form, thus implying some sort of monarchical power. The word may be translated as "master" or "prince". In each community, whether within the Greek army at Troy or in the smaller principalities, there exists just one *anax*. The *anax* himself is also a *basileus*, that is a nobleman. The *anax* fulfils a number of functions within the community: he is responsible for sacrifices; he is the commander-in-chief of the army; and he administers justice, thus combining sacral, civil, and military roles. His powers are not unlimited, however, since he has to consult the council of *basileis* on important questions. Although the actual status of the *anax* depends on his adherence to virtues, his position, being basically hereditary, is never seriously contested.

In the Archaic period the reality and the terminology of monarchy experience a considerable development. First, on the island of Cos, the term *monarchos* appears to become fixed quite early in the Archaic period to describe the phenomenon of a single magistrate ruling the polis. Second, and more important, the Greek world in the 7th and 6th centuries BC experienced the phenomenon of more or less unrestricted monarchs ruling a polis. The term *tyrannos* for these monarchs derives from the Anatolian languages of western Asia Minor. The prototype of a tyrant was the Lydian Gyges who in the early 7th century BC came to power by usurpation. The Phrygio-Lydian term can be translated as "chief" or "master".

While the word *tyrannos* was absent from Homer and Hesiod, archaic poets, especially Solon, Theognis, and Alcaeus, contrasted it to the denomination *basileus* as actually expressing the opposite of aristocracy: the monarchical power of a tyrant contradicted the claims of the aristocratic class for equality (*isonomia*) among themselves. The tyrant, as a member of the leading group which consisted of *basileis*, aimed at monarchical power, thus opposing the values of his class. This opposition to the values and virtues of aristocratic society

was called *hybris* (presumption, insolence). In the Archaic age therefore to be a tyrant meant being in the possession of monarchical power, but not necessarily being a violent despot. That meaning of the term developed in the course of the experience of violent rule of tyrants and within the theoretical discussion of the Classical period.

Whereas tyrannies, especially in Ionian Greece, continued to proliferate under Persian rule, in mainland Greece they had mostly disappeared by the end of the 6th century BC. In the 5th century BC some monarchies existed at the fringes of the Greek world, in Macedonia, Epirus, and Aetolia. In central Greece with the growth of democracy and in the aftermath of the Persian Wars a negative view of monarchical power prevailed: it was regarded as a form of government fitting slavish barbarians, not the free citizens of a Greek polis. Sparta had had a double kingship since Archaic times, but for the limited power of these kings the term monarchy is not really appropriate.

The movement of the Sophists stimulated theoretical discussions about different forms of government. It was in this context that monarchy began to be regarded at least theoretically as a good form of government. The rise of new monarchies in the Greek world in the 4th century BC and especially the growing power of the Macedonian monarchy under Philip II stimulated a wide-ranging discussion on the basis of the terminology of the Sophists. The discussion is well reflected in Aristotle's *Politics* (3. 14–18, 4. 10). Theoretically monarchy could have a good form, *basileia*, and a bad one, *tyrannis*. The shift of meaning since the Archaic period is noticeable. The main criterion for *basileia*, to be translated here as "royalty" or "kingship", was to rule according to the law and for the benefit of the subjects. Against this, tyranny meant the usurpation of power to rule for one's own benefit.

In the 4th century BC several treatises on kingship were written, sometimes aimed at particular kings, e.g. the "Cyprian orations" of Isocrates to Nicocles. In those treatises the picture of an ideal king was developed. A common model of an ideal king was the Persian Cyrus about whom Xenophon's treatise *Cyropaedia* has survived. Plato developed the concept of the philosopher king possessing absolute knowledge and goodness. Treatises of the 4th century BC have some basic features in common. Essentially the ideal king is portrayed as ruling for the benefit of his subjects which requires him to be generous, to be a military figure, and to be very pious.

Monarchy became the predominant political feature in Greece after the conquests of Philip II and his son Alexander the Great. After his conquest of central Greece Philip became the leader (*hegemon*) of the Corinthian League. It has to be remembered that the constitutions of the Greek cities remained unchanged. With Alexander the character of Greek monarchy changed considerably. After his conquest of Babylon in 330 BC he assumed the Persian title "king of Asia" and tried to model his royalty on Persian kingship, but he met the resistance of his Macedonian companions. Eventually his monarchy turned out to combine Persian and Macedonian elements and some new characteristics. The most important new feature was the order to the Greek cities in 324 BC to grant him divine honours, which was inspired by his achievements as conqueror and his unlimited monarchical power.

After Alexander's death in 323 BC and the wars of the Successors the Macedonian rulers of his divided empire in 306–304 BC assumed the title *basileus* themselves. By this time, royalty had become primarily dependent on military conquest. The ability to lead an army decided the royal status. Like Alexander, the Hellenistic kings regarded their territory as spear-won land and thus as a personal possession. The other predominant prerequisite of royalty was wealth. The nuclei of the Hellenistic monarchies, as with the Macedonian and Persian monarchies, were the companions (*philoi*) of the king, a group of nobles who together with the army formed the royal establishment. "King, friends, and army" was a common phrase in Hellenistic times.

Apart from these common features the Hellenistic monarchies had considerable differences. These primarily depended on the traditions of their subject peoples and the structures of their empires. The Ptolemies in Egypt established themselves in the tradition of the pharaohs. The Seleucids, who reigned in Syria, but whose empire at its peak stretched as far as India, had many different traditions to cope with. In general they showed piety towards indigenous gods. Both the Ptolemies and the Seleucids received divine honours from the Greek cities. They were honoured as liberators of the cities, as founders, or as benefactors. The cults could be for the worship of the living ruler or of his dynasty. In contrast the Antigonids in Macedonia did not receive divine honours.

In the Hellenistic period a wide range of treatises on kingship were written. Like their predessessors of the 4th century BC, they were mostly aimed at particular rulers. Most of the treatises are lost, but a good insight is provided by the 3rd-century BC *Letter of Aristeas* and the Neopythagorean writers Ecphantus, Diotogenes, and Sthenidas. The virtues and achievements of a king according to these treatises are military leadership, generosity, philanthropy, wealth, justice, security, and peace.

With the battle of Actium in 31 BC the last Hellenistic monarchy fell, and for 360 years the Greek world was ruled from Rome. Many traces of Hellenistic monarchy may be observed in the Roman principate. With the establishment of Constantinople as capital of the eastern Roman empire and the final division of the empire in AD 395 the circumstances of monarchy in Greece changed considerably. The emperors regarded themselves as Romans and Christianity was the imperial religion. The official ideology of the emperor consisted of his being chosen by God as lord over the world, as his vicar on earth. The way to power was usually by usurpation: when the usurper was successful, this meant he was chosen by God. Thus, as in previous periods, military victory was one of the determinants of imperial status, both internal and external. The title *basileus* was introduced in 629 as the official style of the Byzantine emperor by Herakleios after his victory over Persia in memory of Alexander the Great's conquests. The 10th-century *Suda*, referring to Philip II and the Successors, makes the ability to lead an army the most important virtue of the *basileus*. Victories were celebrated very extensively and the Christian cross became a sign of victory.

In theory the emperor had unlimited power. He was the commander-in-chief, the supreme judge, the sole lawgiver, the protector of the Church, the guardian of the faith, and he made decisions over war and peace. In practice he had to take into consideration factions at court and in the Hippodrome of Constantinople, where the people expressed their consent or

dissent through acclamation. Until the final capture of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453 the Byzantine court was the centre of the empire. The ceremonial at court was essential for the determination of the palace hierarchy.

An important feature of the Byzantine period is panegyric, the praise of an emperor. Through the criticism or the depiction of an exemplary king, often chosen from the Greek or Roman past, the emperor could be given to understand what was expected of him. There was a wide range of imperial virtues such as courage, justice, temperance, wisdom, and clemency. Such virtues could be categorized as physical, intellectual, and moral skills. Most of these features are derived more or less explicitly from 4th-century BC and Hellenistic treatises on kingship. The focus on individual virtues could vary. Although there was always criticism of particular rulers, the monarchical system itself was never questioned during the Byzantine period.

In the Greek War of Independence monarchy played a minor role. The independence movement was influenced by ideas of the Enlightenment and the French Revolution. To be considered in this context is the Great Idea (*Megali Idea*), which aimed at the reconstruction of the Byzantine empire, but here also the idea of monarchy was of minor importance. Contrary to Greek draft constitutions, Russia, France, and Britain in 1833 made Otho of Bavaria king of Greece. He wielded absolute power, regarding himself as being king by divine grace until 1843–44, when he was forced to accept a constitution that was upheld as a treaty between king and subjects. After the revolution of 1862 the principle of the sovereignty of the people was introduced. But prince George I of Denmark was appointed by the Great Powers as king of the Hellenes. The Asia Minor disaster of 1922 dealt a severe blow to the monarchy and was followed by a period of republican rule (1924–35). A rigged plebiscite enabled the king to return in 1935 and apart from wartime exile the monarchy survived until 1967, when a military junta assumed power. The monarchy was finally abolished by a referendum in 1974.

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See also Government, Imperialism, Tyranny

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Monasteries

Monasteries consist of a building or group of buildings housing monks or nuns who live as a community, apart from the world, in prayer and work dedicated to God. They vary in size, accommodating a minimum of three monks to several hundred. The term monastery (*moni*) refers to various types of ascetic houses. The ancient Greek terms *lavra* (a group of dispersed hermits' cells, *kellia*), adapted from the Greek word meaning a lane or passageway, and *koinobion* (community of monks or nuns) denote both the monks' mode of life and the architectural layout of the building(s).

The Greek monastic tradition originated in certain 3rd- and 4th-century ascetic dwellings in Egypt. By AD 350 three coexisting modes of ascetic life had emerged. The hermits (*eremia*, "desert") led solitary lives in huts or caves, and even in tombs. Following the example of St Antony of Egypt (251–356), some went to extremes by living in the branches of trees, or on top of pillars. The monks dwelt in the same house and followed the general cenobitic routine (*koinobion*) suggested by St Pachomius of Egypt (285–346) and St Basil the Great (329–79). In between these two ascetic lifestyles were groups of between three and six monks who led semi-eremitic lives under an elder (*geron*, "old man") of discernment and wisdom, a guide in spiritual matters. These monks dwelt in their houses during the week, occupied with prayer and manual labour, and attended the services in the church built in the middle of the monastic village (*lavra*) at weekends. Well-known *lavras* in Egypt included Nitria and Scetis (the modern Wadi Natrun), which had produced many outstanding monks by the end of

Monasteries: monk tending the gardens at the monastery of Pantokratoros, Mount Athos; the aim is self-sufficiency in food

the 4th century. Most *lavras* were in remote rural locations, but a few were in suburban and urban areas.

Byzantine monastic architecture also originated in Egypt and Syria. Its development mirrors the change from the *lavra* layout to the *koinobion* fortress, St Catherine's on Mount Sinai being a prototype. The typical *koinobion* had strong, defensive walls more than ten metres high, housing the monks' or nuns' cells, together with stables, workshops, storage buildings, and a tower. The main church (the *katholikon*) was in the centre of the courtyard, and the canopied fountain, the reservoir for holy water (*phiale*), stood in front of it. The refectory (*trapeza*) was in the courtyard opposite the church. The tower was built to defend the only entrance to the monastery, and served as the final refuge in case of raids by pirates and robbers. It also functioned as a storehouse for food, and as a library for important monastic documents, manuscripts, and books. Some of the towers had a small chapel at the top.

In the course of time, more monasteries were built in towns, notably in Constantinople, making monasticism an urban phenomenon. The accumulation of agricultural land and other properties provided the monks with food and an income to maintain the buildings and operate the monastery, and gave them an important role in the city's economy. The general form, rule, and variety of monasteries were complete by the birth of Byzantium.

Two foundation deeds (*typikon* and *brevion*) and certain imperial laws were implemented to regulate the rapid growth of monasteries and to "tame" them to serve both Church and society. The foundation charter (*typikon*) specified the rights and duties of the monks and nuns, with the proviso that they should pray for their founder and, after his or her death, intercede on behalf of his or her soul. The belief in the effect of prayer was often the main reason why benefactors founded new monasteries or supported existing ones. The *brevion* stated the founder's wishes regarding the litany, and listed all endowments. This effectively standardized the mode of life in the new communities.

The monasteries were classified as imperial, patriarchal (*stavropegion*), or episcopal, and as private or independent depending on the law that regulated them. The imperial houses were subject to the emperor or his representative, and the patriarchal ones were privileged to be under direct patriarchal control. Most were episcopal and under diocesan control. Some small houses were completely independent (*autodespotai*), albeit mostly connected and affiliated to farming lands (*metochia*). This network of ruling monasteries and dependencies was crystallized by the 9th century. Byzantine sources record more than 1000 monasteries, one third of which were located in Constantinople or its immediate surroundings.

Each monastery had a superior, *hegoumenos*, usually elected for life. His election was stipulated in the *typikon* and was normally confirmed by the diocesan bishop. The *hegoumenos* was responsible for the spiritual and temporal well-being of the monastery, and he commanded absolute obedience. Other officials included the steward (*oikonomos*), the sacristan (*ekklesiarches*), and a number of brethren responsible for the refectory, treasury, and archives.

This hierarchy emerged hand-in-hand with the development of monasticism from a lay movement to an organized cenobitic community. Initially there were only two classes of monks: the literate choir monks responsible for singing the daily offices,

and the uneducated servant brethren (*diakonetai*) doing manual labour. This division was reflected in their food and dress, their seating in the refectory, and even in their place of burial. When members of the nobility donned the habit, they were accompanied by servants. Having made substantial donations to the monastery, they dwelt in suites rather than single cells. Despite their vows of poverty, they were allowed to retain some personal property.

The monastery as an institution soon became an essential part of the social and religious fabric of Byzantium. The daily routine consisted of eight hours of prayer, eight hours of work, and eight hours of rest, not in succession, but intermingled with the liturgical hours of day and night services. The *hegoumenos* appointed each monastic to specific duties, making use of everyone's individual gifts. Most monks and nuns were occupied in agricultural and manual work, although some studied the scriptures, copied manuscripts, or composed hymns and hagiographical works.

In the early and late centuries of Byzantium there were double monasteries housing two separate but adjacent communities of men and women, under the same superior. The self-evident difficulties posed by such close proximity of monks and nuns made Justinian I (546) prohibit these institutions. The inefficiency of the legislation allowed double monasteries to exist from time to time. Around 810 patriarch Nikephoros I closed all double monasteries. In the Palaiologan period these monasteries were re-established, principally so that the family of the founder could remain close even after renouncing the world, but by the end of the 14th century these institutions were again closed down.

With Palestine and Sinai in Arab hands, the monastery of Stoudios in Constantinople, the heart of Byzantium, became the leading monastery for the Eastern Orthodox Churches. As its *hegoumenos*, St Theodore (759–826) made it a strong cenobitic community, by both practical example and written regulation. He defended the use of icons in the iconoclast controversy, and defined the role of monastic discipline in his *Catecheses*, modelled after the rules of St Basil. Stoudios soon became progressive and led the way in providing food for the poor, lodging for foreign pilgrims and commercial travellers, as well as homes for orphans and old people. The monasteries in Constantinople were the first to establish hospitals with employed doctors and male nurses.

In the 10th century Mount Athos succeeded Constantinople as the spiritual centre of Orthodoxy, and 20 ruling monasteries were established on the Holy Mountain in the next 500 years. These still own the entire peninsula, which is divided into 20 areas. All other monastic properties located on any of the land of the ruling monasteries are known as dependencies (*exartemata*): 12 monastic villages (*sketai*), several hundred cottages (*kellia*), and farming land (*metochia*). There are also various kinds of retreat known as *hesychasteria*, hermitages (*kathismata*), eremitic huts (*kalyves*), and ascetic huts or caves (*spilia*), situated on high cliffs at the southern tip of the peninsula. Only Great Lavra, the first and oldest of the 20 ruling monasteries, founded in 963, uses the term *lavra* in its name, thereby denoting the origin of Athonite monasticism. Today all the ruling monasteries are impregnable fortresses.

With the fall of Constantinople in 1453, Mount Athos became the last bastion of Byzantium and a haven for refugees, exiled bishops, and banished patriarchs. The Athonites played a significant role in the Christianization of the Slavs and Russians as far north as Karelia, the Kola peninsula, and the Petsamo monastery in Finland. During the Tourkokratia (1430–1912), the heavy ransoms and taxes imposed by the sultan forced many of the Athonite monasteries to adopt the idiorrhythmic system (*idios rhythmos*, "own way of life"). Each monk earned his own living through agriculture, icon-painting, or handicrafts. This individual lifestyle, which became common in the Palaiologan era (1261–1453), had a negative connotation throughout the Byzantine period, and this attitude has persisted until the present time. Since the 1980s, the idiorrhythmic monasteries have readopted the cenobitic system, one by one, Pantokratoros being the last in 1992.

Unlike western practice, education was never a function of Byzantine monasticism. Many *typika* specifically forbade the admission of children for educational purposes. Nevertheless, monasteries played an integral role in the intellectual and cultural life of the empire. Many of its most important literary figures were monks. The ability to read was essential from the very begining of monasticism. Literate nuns, for example, were encouraged to teach their illiterate sisters enough to chant the office, maintain the monastery accounts, and work as librarians (*bibliophylax*). Monks and nuns formed the majority of the empire's literati in the early 9th century, and about 25 per cent in the 14th century.

The Stoudios and Hodegon monasteries in Constantinople housed scriptoria producing, copying, and illuminating manuscripts, as well as composing hymns, saints' lives, theological treatises, and historical chronicles for both internal and external use. Most monasteries had librarians who looked after the scriptures, liturgical books, and works on hagiography, patristics, and theology. The librarian was also responsible for the selection of texts to be read in the refectory during mealtimes. Only a few monasteries had any manuscripts or books by ancient Greek authors, although some did benefit from the personal book collections of their founders. The Chora library in 14th century Constantinople was the best in the capital, where the leading Classical philologists of the day prepared editions and commentaries on Classical authors.

When the Turks strengthened their hold on Asia Minor, monks and clergy fled to Patmos, which became an intellectual centre that was also culturally and artistically linked with Crete. The monks founded the celebrated Patmian School in 1713. It soon became the centre of Orthodox higher education in the Greek-speaking world, but fell into decline within 40 years. The curriculum included Latin, rhetoric, philology, and religious studies.

Efforts to keep learning and literacy alive were also made on Mount Athos. The librarians at the Vatopedi monastery in particular, notably Maximos the Hagiorite (b. 1480) who had travelled widely and studied in Paris and Italy, were conscious of the inestimable value of the library collections. The Athonites jointly bought the splendid library of Michael Kantakouzenos, one of the wealthiest men of the period, in 1578.

In the 18th century Nikodimos of the Holy Mountain, known as "the Hagiorite" and "the encyclopaedia of Athonite learning", contributed significally to the era of spiritual awakening by compiling and editing the *Philokalia*, the fundamental anthology of mystical and ascetic texts written between the

4th and 15th centuries. Despite the Athonites' anti-intellectualism and suspicion of western values, they founded the Athonite Academy near Vatopedi, the leading monastery on Athos at the time, in 1753. But its curriculum proved too liberal and it was soon closed, its buildings destroyed by fire.

The monasteries in the Byzantine and post-Byzantine periods have wielded immense power and, at times, caused serious problems for rulers. Since the birth of monasticism, the monks' supposed gifts of healing the sick, driving evil from people's souls, and foretelling the future have encouraged the laity to support the holy men and women devoted to the ascetic life. During the 4th and 5th centuries the monks played a major role in ecumenical councils. Since many monasteries were havens of refuge for people from all walks of life, from peasants to patricians, ex-teachers to emperors, many realized the significance of patronage. Eventually, many a ruler, more by force than choice, exchanged his purple robes for the black habit. Increasingly it became the custom to recruit bishops and patriarchs from the leading monasteries. Although the fortunes of the monasteries waxed and waned as the empire grew and contracted, even in difficult times there were always wealthy patrons, pious benefactors, and rulers who gave substantial gifts and landholdings. Justinian (527–65) granted monasteries special economic privileges that made them very wealthy. This became a serious problem for the empire in the late Byzantine period when nearly half of the land was controlled by monks. In the late 14th century, forced by the rapidly worsening state of the economy, the emperors attempted to redistribute the land in order to maintain the army. The monasteries resisted this strongly, which contributed to the fall of the empire, since Byzantium was threatened by enemies on all sides.

The Ottoman era and the many wars in the first half of the 20th century diminished the monasteries' influence over the religious life of Greece, resulting in a decline in the number of monks (from 150,000 in the 11th century to fewer than 3,000 today). This has left hundreds of monasteries deserted. Since the early 1970s, a modest but steady revival has been taking place, which is significant because it is not only pious peasants, but also educated young men and women who are entering monastic life in increasing numbers. Apart from Mount Athos, the most renowned are the monastery of St John the Theologian on Patmos, founded in 1088, and Meteora in Thessaly. The latter is a group of six monasteries – once 24 – established in the early 14th century, but today little more than museums. The Old Calendarist monastery of the Transfiguration at Kouvara and the monastery of the Paraclete at Oropos also house a healthy number of youngish monks.

Since the 1920s, the number of nuns has increased from a few hundred to 2,500. Nuns have taken over houses abandoned by men, including St Nicholas's nunnery on Euboea. The convent of the Annunciation at Ormylia in Chalcidice, a dependency of Simonospetras on Mount Athos, and the Kechrovouni convent on the island of Tinos, renowned as a pilgrimage centre, are attracting educated women in particular.

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See also Athos, Mar Saba, Meteora, Monasticism, Patmos, Pilgrimage, St Catherine's Monastery

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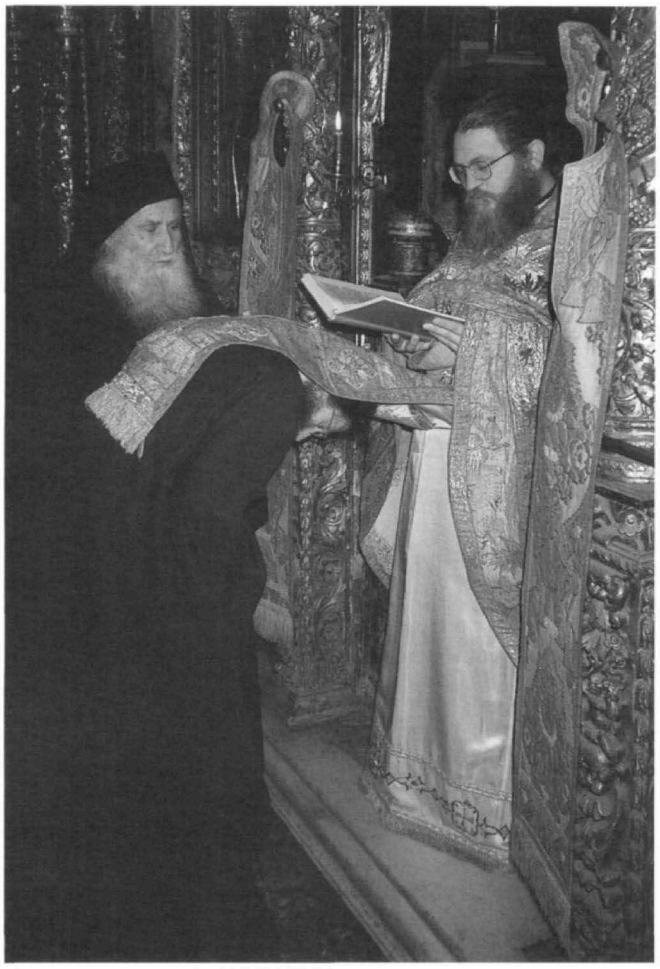
Monasticism

The rise of monasticism brought nothing essentially new into the early Church. It was a new expression of the same enthusiastic or eschatological dimension of Christianity that martyrdom had embodied in earlier centuries. Monastic life is, of course, not distinctively Christian, answering as it does to a deep, perhaps universal human instinct. Yet while Christian monasticism may have borrowed from, or may even present parallel practices to, other ascetic traditions – such as the notions of solitude and struggle, concentration and contemplation, passion and dispassion – these were not the reasons for its rise.

Rather, it was the dilution of commitment – when Christianity no longer constituted a question of life or death – that accounted for several factors in the early Church, one of which was monasticism. Following the Edict of Toleration (313), it was the monastics who assumed the responsibility of witnessing to the Kingdom, of reminding people that the Church is not "of the world" (John 17: 36). The "baptism of conscience" (asceticism) thus succeeded the "baptism of blood" (martyrdom), ideologically and chronologically.

We think of Antony and Pachomius in Egypt; Antony's disciple, Hilarion, in Syria and Palestine; Cassian (d. 432) and



Monasticism: a new monk is tonsured during the Vigil for the Nativity on Mount Athos

Benedict (d. 547) in the West; Basil and the Gregories in Asia Minor. Monasticism soon acquired a particular significance for all Christians. The *Life of Antony* (by Athanasius), the *Life of Paul of Thebes* (by Jerome), the *Lausiac History* (by Palladius) – these and similar texts rapidly became favourite reading in Byzantium.

In the 4th century Egypt, Syria, Palestine, and Asia were the forcing-ground where every kind of monastic life was experienced and experimented. The roots even of western religious life clearly lie in the Egyptian east, where monasticism began on a Sunday morning in the year 270 or 271. The Gospel of the day included the words: "If you want to be perfect, go and sell what you possess, give to the poor, and you will have treasure in heaven; and come, follow me" (Matthew 19: 21). In the congregation was a young man called Antony who, upon hearing these words, sought a life not merely of relative poverty but of radical solitude. Antony's step into the uninhabited desert was little noticed outside, or even inside, his village at the time. But when he died at the age of 106, as his friend and biographer Athanasius of Alexandria (d. 373) informs us, his name was known "all over the road". "The desert", he writes, "had become a city". Before retiring to the desert, Antony had placed his sister in a "home for virgins", a fact that perhaps reveals that women were organized into Christian communities earlier than men.

In Egypt there now appeared three main types of monasticism, roughly corresponding to three geographical locations: (1) the *eremitic* life, found in lower Egypt, where Antony was the model. Here monks lived an isolated and austere life of prayer and detachment in pursuit of evangelical perfection. This is the oldest and most rudimentary form of organization. (2) The *cenobitic* or communal form of monasticism, found in upper Egypt, where Pachomius (d. 346) was the prototype. Here monks prayed and worked together, in a lifestyle where the emphasis was now on the common life. And (3) the *middle way*, located in Nitria and Scetis where Amoun founded this monastic way around 311. Here a small and intimate family of monks looked to a common spiritual elder, or "abba". Since these "sketes" were also closer to the city, they became meeting places or crossroads between the world and the desert.

The focus of eastern monasticism moved from Egypt to Asia Minor in the late 4th century, to Palestine in the 5th, to Sinai in the 6th, and in the 10th century to Mount Athos, where these three types of monasticism are still in existence, bearing witness to a remarkable tradition of living continuity in the monastic life.

Other regions saw a variety of lifestyles: in Syria, for example, we find examples of "stylites", people who chose to live on pillars. Contemporary research reminds us that Syriac monasticism is at least as ancient as Egyptian, and developed quite independently; but in Syria there was no single model or founder like Antony. Elsewhere, in Cappadocia, a more learned, liturgical, and social monasticism appeared under the inspiration and influence of Basil the Great (d. 379). In Palestine the profound tradition of spiritual direction was established by Isaiah of Scetis (d. 489), Barsanuphius and John (both d. *c.*543), Dorotheus of Gaza (d. *c.*560), Euthymius (d. 473) and Sa[v]vas (d. 532). On Sinai a more silent, or "hesychast", spirituality was founded by John Klimakos (d. *c.*649) whose *Ladder of Divine Ascent* was so influential in the development of the Jesus prayer.

The remarkable growth of monasticism was also apparent in Churches outside the Byzantine empire: this is true of Ethiopia, where the *Life of Antony* and the *Life of Pachomius* were among the first books to be translated; it is also true of Mesopotamia, where the great organizer Abraham of Kashkar (d. 586) lived; it is furthermore true of Armenia, where monasteries such as Echmiadzin became active spiritual and cultural centres; it is true, finally, of Georgia, where monasticism was attributed to the "13 Fathers" from Syria.

Naturally, the flowering of monasticism was still more remarkable within the Roman empire. Egypt always remained an active centre, but already by 518 Constantinople numbered some 70 communities for men alone. Monks became increasingly influential in ecclesiastical and social life: they intervened in theological disputes; they informed liturgy and spirituality; they inspired the laity, who tended to follow the charismatic leaders of monasticism; gradually, even the order of the episcopate was restricted to monks.

The monks were always passionate in their defence of theological principles, and especially of the doctrine that in the person of Christ human and divine natures were reconciled. It was this doctrine that monastics pursued with such ferocious intellectual vigour and ascetic rigour in their own struggle to unite body and soul. In the mind of the monastics, mystical

theory and ascetic practice had a common vision. Theology and spirituality shared the same language. Union with God or vision of God (*theoria*) was made possible only through a life of spiritual purification and total renunciation, a self-stripping not only of material possessions, but even of intellectual projections. This was the way of negation, or of "apophatic" knowledge, whereby the unknown God was venerated through a series of negations that revealed God as "ever beyond". The apophatic approach was applied on the moral level (as purification from wrongful desires) as well as on the intellectual level (as a laying aside of worldly concepts and images of God).

Yet eastern monasticism in fact always manifested a greater degree of flexibility and a lesser emphasis on uniformity than religious life in the West. The Christian East never had someone like Benedict who would provide monastic life with a strict set of regulations or an order of life. Basil's "rules" are very different from the *Rule* of Augustine (d. 430) or of Benedict. And they are not nearly as systematic in form: his *Longer Rules* are a series of sermons on the monastic life, while his *Shorter Rules* are answers to questions raised by monastics as Basil visited the monasteries of his diocese. Even Theodore of Stoudios (d. 826), perhaps the greatest monastic authority after Basil, who instituted a significant reform during the 9th century, sought primarily to return to the early tradition of the East. His *Monastic Testament* by no means resembles the clarity and completeness of Benedict's writings. The entire development of the monastic communities on Mount Athos from the mid-10th century was based on Theodore. So there was no generally accepted rule or order. One simply became attached to a specific monastery with a particular tradition. The emphasis lay less on "stability" and more on "sitting in one's cell". In the *Sayings of the Desert Fathers*, Abba Moses (d. 407) reveals that "the cell teaches us everything".

The spirituality of the cell was inevitably connected to the life of silent prayer. And it was such prayer that constituted the primary social service of the Byzantine monastic. This is why, although some monastics existed in larger cities – Theodore's monastery, Stoudios, was in the centre of Constantinople – the classical notion of the monastery in the East was that it was situated in desolate areas, remote from civilization. Such deserted places were areas chosen for prayer: Mar Saba monastery in the Holy Land, St Catherine's monastery on Mount Sinai, the monastic republic of Mount Athos, and the rocks of Meteora in central Greece.

Any other service to the world was considered secondary, extrinsic to the essential vocation of the monk and nun. Their main purpose was prayer. And visitors to their monasteries expected to find places of prayer, to discover persons of prayer, and to encounter holy people with the gift of spiritual direction. In the West, monasteries often became nurseries of scholarship; but in the East, they were always centres of spirituality. In the West, at least by the 9th century, most monks were ordained; but in the East, Byzantine monasticism remained largely a lay movement, with only just enough priests in a given monastery for its liturgical needs.

Among the secondary or outward services of eastern monasteries were: (1) education – not as a scholarly skill, but as a manual labour for the more educated monastics. The monk was primarily a healer, not a teacher. (2) Evangelism – while few monasteries prepared monks for preaching, there were certain cases of individual monks who assumed this ministry (St Nikon in the 10th century and St Kosmas in the 18th century). (3) Spiritual direction – confessions were heard and advice was sought from monastics. This service is closely related to prayer. (4) Charitable work – there were examples of monasteries and many cases of monastics who performed this function of social welfare.

The most precious service of eastern monasticism was its ever-burning flame of prayer and spirituality. There was a monastery in Constantinople called "Akoimetoi" (literally, the sleepless ones), where prayer was ongoing, 24 hours a day, with monks taking turns to recite prayers.

The ideal in eastern monasticism always remained the life of the Spirit. Monastic life was an experience of charismatic enthusiasm, a Pentecostal reality. The monk was a "*pneumatophoros*" (Spirit-bearer), bearing witness to the abiding presence of the Spirit in the Church. One might even suggest that Antony and the less conspicuous monks of the Egyptian desert were, in a way, a more significant and lasting ingredient of the Byzantine tradition than many other cultural aspects held in such esteem by historians. More than any monuments and manuscripts, the Byzantine monastics – known and unknown – betray a mystical force and become icons, windows through which one is initiated into an entire tradition.

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Monemvasia

Town in the southeast Peloponnese

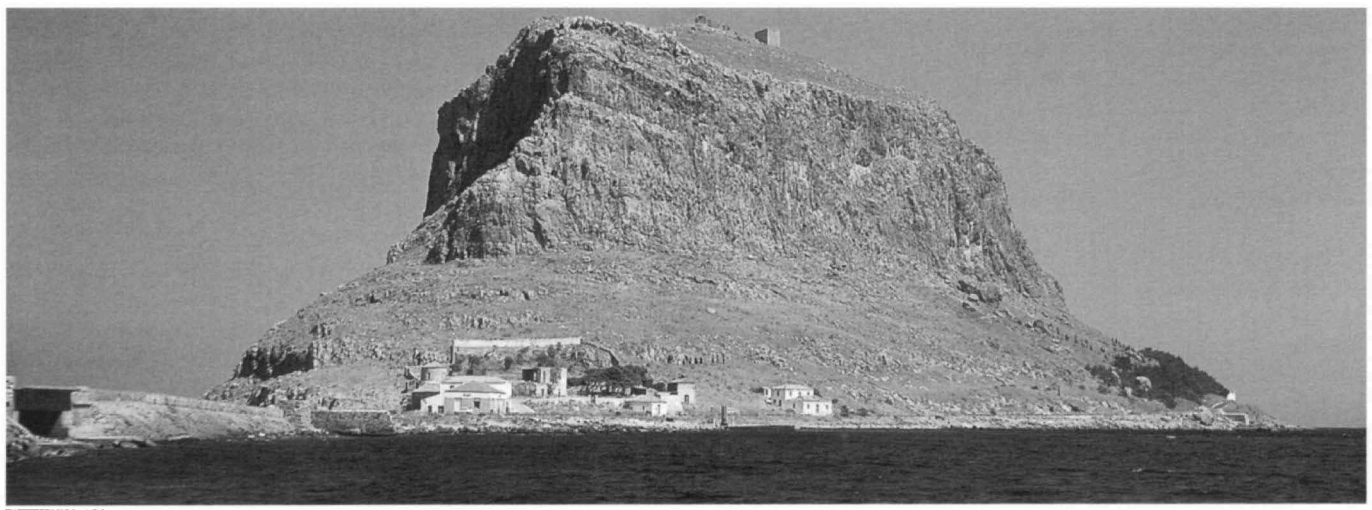
Monemvasia is a fortified town that occupies a towering and massively rocky coastal site in the southeast of the Peloponnese; it is joined to the mainland by a causeway which explains its name, which means "single entry". Its exceptional strength as a stronghold has dominated its history from its foundation, and accounts for its sobriquet, the "Gibraltar of Greece". Evidence of pre-Christian habitation here is minimal, but its foundation as a new town seems to have taken place in the later 6th century AD, and during the Slav invasions it became a place of refuge for the Laconians. There was already a bishop of Monemvasia by 787, probably a suffragan of Corinth; in the 10th century its bishop, called Paul, referred to the town as a *kastron*. The great natural strength of Monemvasia meant that its citizens were able to sustain a more individualistic stance in relation to external powers, and it was always to be the last outpost to fall to successive invaders.

The Monemvasiotes successfully repulsed an attempted Norman invasion in 1147, and it was not until 1248 that the Franks under William II de Villehardouin were able to capture the town, more than 40 years after they had subdued the rest of the Peloponnese, and then only after a two-year siege. Fourteen years later the Byzantines recovered it, when William, who had been taken prisoner at the battle of Pelagonia in 1259, had to cede four of his castles in the Morea as the price of his freedom. Thereafter Monemvasia remained in Byzantine hands until 1460, enjoying special trading privileges, which were renewed on several occasions, and with its metropolitan elevated by Michael VIII from the 34th to the 10th in the hierarchy of the whole Byzantine empire. Even the victorious sultan, Mehmet II, refrained from trying to take it while subduing the rest of the Peloponnese.

After a brief spell of four years' subjugation to the papacy, during which Pius II confirmed and renewed the city's trading privileges, Monemvasia became one of the many Aegean outposts of the empire of the Venetians, with their control lasting from 1463 to 1540, and again from 1690 to 1715. During the intervening years the town was subject to Turkish rule, which came to an end in 1821 with one of the earlier episodes of the Greek War of Independence. The Turkish garrison had capitulated after a four-month siege on terms that involved their being allowed to embark in vessels that would take them back to Asia Minor; such was the impregnability of Monemvasia that these favourable terms had been proposed by them, and accepted by the Greeks. The Turks were, however, attacked as they entered their boats to leave, and some were killed.

Two texts are associated with Monemvasia. One is the so-called *Chronicle of Monemvasia* written in the 10th century by a bishop of the town called Paul (mentioned above); the first publication of the work, which exists in four 16th-century manuscripts, all somewhat different, was in 1749. It describes events in the Peloponnese between the 6th and the 9th centuries, and recounts the abandonment of the region of Lacedaemonia and the foundation of a new town called Monemvasia. An added section covers some events from the 11th to the 14th centuries. The other text is in effect a forgery that was probably composed by a 15th-century metropolitan of Monmevasia, Makarios Melissenos; it is known as the *Chronicon maius* of Sphrantzes, since Melissenos used the *Chronicon minus* of the diplomat and historian as the basis of his work, expanding and elaborating it to include a range of extra material. The same metropolitan also forged an imperial decree of Andronikos II Palaiologos (1282–1328), which he stamped with a counterfeit seal, to establish (falsely) his rights in a territorial dispute in the Peloponnese.

The buildings of Monemvasia are divided between the Lower Town, entered through a massive fortified gateway, and the Upper Town or Kastro, reached up a steep path and itself heavily defended and with a long entrance tunnel. Of the 25 churches still to be seen in the Lower Town, 17 were either built or restored during the second period of Venetian occupation, of 1690–1715. Among them is the cathedral, which is the largest church in the province of Laconia, and dates from the



Monemvasia: the Byzantine town has been restored to provide holiday homes for wealthy Athenians

period when Andronikos II raised the town to metropolitan rank in 1293; it has the rare dedication of the Elkomenos Christou (literally "The dragging of Christ" [to the Crucifixion]), and it was largely renewed in 1597. An important icon of this subject was in the possession of this church, and was greatly coveted by the emperor Isaac II Angelos (1185–95), who had to employ deceit to obtain it; the large icon of the Crucifixion that is now in the Byzantine Museum, Athens, and which also came from this church, was probably one of a group of icons of the Passion that included the icon taken by Isaac II.

The Upper Town is still circled by continuous fortifications, and the highest point was dominated by a fortress of which ruins survive; by 1154 Monemvasia was said to have "a castle very high above the sea, from which one may look across to Crete", and these remains are no doubt a relic of this 12th-century stronghold. It was used by the Venetians as a powder magazine, and it exploded during a Turkish attack in 1589. But the most impressive building in Monemvasia is the church now known as Hagia Sophia; traditionally founded by Andronikos II, its plan follows the domed design of churches such as the *katholikon* (principal church) at Dafni near Athens, with the large cupola carried on an octagon of vaults giving maximum light and space to the area beneath. Until the 19th century its dedication was to the Theotokos Hodegetria.

By a curious irony, the form in which Monemvasia became best known in western Europe was not as one of the great natural European strongholds, but through the wine that was exported from here; this dark, sweet wine was known to the British by the name of Malmsey, and for the French *vin de Malvoisie*. Shakespeare's public would have recognized this association when the murderers of the Duke of the Clarence threaten him with drowning in a "malmsey butt" (*Richard III*, 1. 4).

PAUL HETHERINGTON

Summary

Perched on a massive rock on the southeast coast of the Peloponnese, Monemvasia has earned the nickname of "the Gibraltar of Greece". Perhaps founded in the 6th century AD, Monemvasia was not taken by the Franks until 1248 and was Byzantine again from 1259 to 1460. Mehmet II did not attempt to take it. It was in Venetian hands 1463–1540 and 1690–1715 and reverted to Greece in 1821. It is now being elegantly restored.

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Monophysites

Monophysites believe that in the person of the incarnate Christ humanity and Godhead were united in a single nature, as opposed to the orthodox doctrine, which teaches that after the Incarnation Christ should be acknowledged in two natures, perfect humanity and divinity, each retaining its own characteristics but united in one being. The rift between orthodox and Monophysite emerged slowly after the Council of Chalcedon in 451, until by the middle of the 6th century the Coptic, Nubian, Armenian, Ethiopian, much of the Syrian and Persian Churches, and parts of the Church in Asia Minor were Monophysite. Their theology was inspired by Cyril of Alexandria (patriarch 412–44) and by the theologian and teacher Severus, patriarch of Antioch from 512 to 518. Monophysitism was to contribute to a sense of national identity among the Copts, Nubians, Ethiopians, and Armenians.

The distant origins of Monophysitism may be traced back to interpretations of John 1:14 ("The Word became flesh and dwelt among us"). No theological issue arose, however, until the Council of Nicaea (325) in whose creed it was asserted that Christ was to be acknowledged as "of one substance with the Father". This safeguarded Christ's divinity but left his relation to humanity open. This latter question did not come to the fore until the 370s, near the end of the Arian controversy, when Apollinaris of Laodicea, a lifelong friend of Athanasius of Alexandria who shared many of his views, set out in radical terms how "one substance with the Father" should be understood. He asserted in a letter to the bishops of Syria that "the supreme point of our salvation is the incarnation of the Word", but that involved the Word becoming flesh without having assumed a human mind, which was subject to change and evil thoughts, "but existing as a divine mind immutable and heavenly". This view was sharply opposed by the Cappadocian Fathers who argued that "what he did not assume [i.e. manhood] he could not redeem". Apollinaris and his teaching were condemned at the Second Ecumenical Council in 381.

The question of the relation of the divine and human in the person of Christ was allowed to sleep for the next 45 years until in 428 Nestorius became archbishop of Constantinople while Cyril was archbishop (later patriarch) of Alexandria (412–44). The two major sees of eastern Christendom found themselves representing diametrically opposed understandings of the person of Christ. The resulting Council of Ephesus in June 431 (Third Ecumenical Council) condemned Nestorius. Cyril, however, in refuting his enemy, had used language that brought him near to the Apollinarian position. In his 12 Anathemas sent for Nestorius' assent in November 430 he spoke of "the one hypostasis [person] of the incarnate Word". This statement was not condemned by the council.

Cyril died in 444. His successor Dioscorus I (444–51, d. 454) was less cautious. He aimed not only at asserting Cyril's doctrine as the orthodoxy of Christendom as a whole, but also at vindicating the ecclesiastical superiority of Alexandria over Constantinople. Alexandria was in his eyes "the city of the orthodox". He found an ally in Constantinople in the monk Eutyches who asserted that the flesh of Christ was "God-made", and so Christ could in no sense be "consubstantial with us". Eutyches was condemned by a council presided over by Flavian, archbishop of Constantinople, on 22

November 448, but not before he had produced as proof of the veracity of his views a number of tracts written under the name of orthodox churchmen, including Athanasius and pope Julius I, which in fact were forgeries compiled by disciples of Apollinaris. Eutyches appealed to what he called the councils of other archiepiscopal sees, and this brought Rome into the debate. Early in 449, however, the emperor Theodosius II (408–50) convoked a new council to meet at Ephesus under Dioscorus' presidency. This resulted in the acquittal of Eutyches, the condemnation of Flavian and his fellow archbishop Domnus of Antioch, and the discomfiture of pope Leo's legates. A tract written by Leo in defence of Flavian, setting out the views of the papacy, known as the *Tome* of Leo, in which the two natures of Christ, human and divine, were affirmed, was conveniently not read. Dioscorus appeared to be triumphant.

Theodosius died on 28 July 450 from a fall from his horse, and there was an immediate reaction at the imperial court at Constantinople. A new council was summoned, to meet at Chalcedon (on the east side of the Bosporus) at the end of October 451.

This time the decisions went against Alexandria. Dioscorus was deposed, though for "indiscipline" rather than doctrinal heresy, and the sentence against Eutyches confirmed. A Definition of Faith was drawn up that declared that Jesus Christ "was made known to us in two natures unconfusedly, unchangeably, indivisibly, and inseparably", the "properties of each being in no way removed because of the union, but each nature being preserved and concurring into one Prosopon [outward personality] and one Hypostasis". Christ in two natures after the Incarnation had been affirmed and unity between Rome and Constantinople restored. However, the 28th canon of the council confirmed a decision taken by the Second Ecumenical Council, that Constantinople as New Rome was the chief bishopric in Christendom, though yielding a primacy of honour to Rome itself. This was Constantinople's title deed, and the reason why Chalcedon could never be renounced in its entirety. It was, however, unacceptable to Rome, not least because no reference was made to Peter and the Petrine primacy.

The next two centuries were to be occupied by increasingly desperate but unsuccessful efforts to find compromises between the one-nature and two-nature Christologies, and the questions of ecclesiastical primacy raised in the Second Council of Ephesus and Chalcedon. The subsequent disputes fall into four phases: (1) from Chalcedon to the *Henotikon* of Zeno (451–82); (2) the Acacian schism (482–519); (3) the Chalcedonian reaction (519–36); and (4) the final parting, post 536.

The decisions of Chalcedon were well received in Constantinople, Antioch, and Rome, but were greeted with explosions of popular anger in Jerusalem and Alexandria. Imperial troops restored order in Jerusalem allowing the double-faced patriarch Juvenal to return to his see. In Alexandria, however, the anti-Chalcedonians found leaders in Timothy Aelurus ("the Cat") and Peter Mongus ("the hoarse one"), both supporters of Eutyches. In March 457 Proterius, the Council of Chalcedon's choice as patriarch, was lynched and Timothy consecrated in his stead. The imperial government, with Leo I (457–74) as emperor, stepped in, and between 459 and 475 Timothy was in exile in the south Russian town of Kherson. At length, events forced the government to compromise. An 18-month usurpation by Basiliscus (January 475–August 476) aimed against Leo's successor Zeno (474–91), and the victory of the anti-Chalcedonian party in Antioch, where opponents of Chalcedon found a leader in Peter "the Fuller", led to the publication by Zeno of the Instrument of Unity (*Henotikon*) on 28 July 482. In this the emperor asserted that the safety of the Roman world depended on a universal acceptance of the creed of Nicaea confirmed at Constantinople (in 381). Both Eutyches and Nestorius were condemned, but Cyril's "one-nature" statements contained in his 12 Anathemas were upheld, and Christ "incarnate of the Virgin" was to be acknowledged as "one and not two". Anyone who taught anything different, "either at Chalcedon or any other synod whatever, we anathematize". The emperor (not a Church council) had spoken.

The *Henotikon* remained the official doctrine of the empire for 37 years. It was accepted by Alexandria, Antioch, Jerusalem, and Constantinople, but not by Rome. Pope Felix III (484–92) condemned it. The opponents of Chalcedon had no intention, however, of seceding from the Church administered and guided by the emperor and his patriarch, Acacius. The schism between Rome and Constantinople over the latter was not concerned principally with doctrinal difference, but with the question whether Acacius had deceived pope Simplicius (468–83) by denouncing Peter Mongus as "a son of darkness" and then accepting him as patriarch of Alexandria in succession to Timothy "the Cat".

The schism lasted from 483 to 519. In the meantime, the empire, governed by Zeno and Anastasius (491–518), moved steadily in the direction of one-nature Christology. Only the Latin-speaking provinces in the western Balkans remained wholeheartedly in favour of the Chalcedonian definition. The decisive moment came in 508 when Severus, a monk from a monastery at Maiuma, near Gaza in Palestine, was appealing against the pro-Chalcedonian attitude of Elias, patriarch of Jerusalem. Severus was a thrusting character as well as a fluent representative of one-nature Christology. He quickly gained the ear of the emperor Anastasius.

Meanwhile, the scene moved to Antioch, where in 510 Severus' ally, Philoxenus of Mabboug (Hieropolis) in Syria, quarrelled with his superior, the patriarch Flavian II of Antioch. To prevent an outright schism Anastasius promulgated a Formula of Satisfaction in 511. This document was ostensibly based on the *Henotikon* but denounced the *Tome* of Leo, and reduced the council of Chalcedon to the level of a disciplinary synod, while retaining the validity of the all-important canon 28. Next year Severus persuaded Anastasius to get rid of the patriarch Macedosius of Constantinople, while in 512 Philoxenus secured the same fate for Flavian II. In November 512 Severus became patriarch of Antioch and the anti-Chalcedonian movement became explicitly Monophysite.

Severus was originally from Sozopolis in Pisidia (Asia Minor), but he became leader of the movement whose two centres were Alexandria and Antioch. His theology was based uncompromisingly on what he believed had been that of Cyril of Alexandria. Everything that Cyril wrote, he stated (*Select Letters*, l. 9), should be regarded as canonical. He was

prepared to accept the *Henotikon* and disciplinary decisions against Dioscorus and Eutyches; his one-nature Christology had a place for Christ's consubstantiality with man: "In the last times He [the Divine Word]" took flesh of the Holy Spirit, and of the holy Theotokos and Ever-Virgin Mary, flesh consubstantial with us and animated by an intelligent and reasoning soul. "The same being was both God and man". Out of two natures there was now one. He was in consequence unsparing in his denunciation of pope Leo and his *Tome*, condeming it as self-contradictory and "Jewish", though he praised popes, supposedly forerunners of Monophysitism, such as Julius I, whose name the Apollinarians had appropriated.

The death of Anastasius on 9 July 518 brought about an immediate change. Justin I (518–27) was a Latin-speaker from Illyricum and he made his first aim that of restoring communion with the Roman see. The "two Romes" should work in harmony on the basis of mutual acceptance of the Council of Chalcedon and the removal of all traces of the Acacian schism. The latter was accomplished at the end of March 519, but Rome received no satisfaction regarding canon 28. Severus, however, found himself an exile in Alexandria, and 55 bishops, including Philoxenus, suspected of Monophysite leanings were similarly deposed between 519 and 522. Only in Egypt were the Monophysites left alone.

These arrests and depositions deprived numerous congregations, especially in Syria, of their pastors. The result was that by 530 pressure to ordain clergy not in communion with the see of Constantinople became overwhelming. John of Ephesus records how "every day 100 or sometimes 200 or 300 presented themselves for ordination ... It was like a river that had burst its banks." Confronted with the prospect of a permanent Monophysite schism, the new emperor Justinian (527–65) summoned orthodox and Monophysite leaders to a conference. Discussions lasted from February 532 to March 533. Agreement was nearly reached on the Theopaschite formula put forward by the emperor himself. This confessed that both the miracles and the sufferings of Christ were to be attributed to the same being, so that on the cross "one of the Trinity suffered for us". While Leo's *Tome* could be rejected, Chalcedon could not, and hence the division persisted.

Justinian left the door open for reconciliation with Severus, now embarrassed by a dispute with fellow exile Julian of Halicarnassus and his followers, who asserted that since Adam had been created incorruptible and immortal, and his fall had been the consequence of sin, Christ must also have been free from sin, and hence his flesh was incorruptible. Severus disagreed, arguing that Christ's body only assumed those qualities after the Resurrection. Esoteric though this dispute may have seemed, Julian won sufficient support in Egypt to threaten Severus' authority.

This, however, was bolstered by the emergence of the empress Theodora as a champion of the Monophysite cause. In 535 she influenced her husband to bring Severus to Constantinople. Here he persuaded the new patriarch, Anthimus of Trebizond, to accept the Monophysite thesis. The triumph was short-lived. Next year pope Agapetus visited the capital on a mission from king Theodahad, the Ostrogoth ruler of Italy. He persuaded Justinian to depose Anthimus on the grounds that his transfer from Trebizond to Constantinople was an offence against canon 15 of the Council of Nicaea which forbade bishops to move from one see to another. A letter signed by Justinian and Agapetus re-emphasized the orthodoxy of two-nature Christology. In June 536 a synod held at Constantinople excommunicated Anthimus and Severus as heretics, and persecution was renewed against other Monophysite leaders. Next year a Chalcedonian patriarchate was established in Alexandria. Severus' colleague Theodosius, elected patriarch despite Julianist opposition in 535, was ordered to Constantinople. The schism was now complete.

Justinian's aim of uniting the Church ultimately under a Theopaschite formula was frustrated by two events. First, with the aid of Theodora, a Monophysite mission to the Nubian kingdom of Nobatia succeeded from 542 onwards in converting that kingdom and later its southern neighbours Makouria and Alwah to Monophysite Christianity. Secondly, Jacob Baradaeus, bishop of Edessa, fleeing as a fugitive from the emperor's police, travelled the length and breadth of Syria and Asia Minor ordaining bishops and other clergy in opposition to the Chalcedonians (hence the name Jacobites for the Syrian Monophysites). By his death in 578 a new, hierarchically constituted Monophysite Church had come into being.

At the Fifth Ecumenical Council in 553 the emperor again tried to conciliate the Monophysites by having Theodore of Mopsuestia, Ibas of Edessa, and Theodoret of Cyrrhus condemned as inspirers and supporters of Nestorius. This merely led to a crisis among the western Churches without winning over the Monophysites.

Justinian's successor, Justin II (565–78), influenced by his wife Sophia, published two versions of a *Henotikon* (567 and 571) conciliatory to the Monophysites, though without explicitly condemning Chalcedon as they demanded. When repression again failed, the Monophysite Churches were in general left in peace through the reigns of Maurice Tiberius (578–82) and his successor, Maurice (582–602). In these years, largely due to the development of monasteries as landowners and their consequent influence over their tenants, Monophysitism consolidated its hold in Syria and Egypt. A tradition preserved in the *History of the Patriarchs* tells of an area near Alexandria where "there were 600 flourishing monasteries all inhabited by the orthodox", and that "their cultivators all held the true faith [Monophysitism]".

The Persian occupation of Syria and Egypt between 614 and 630 favoured the Monophysites, as being Christians opposed to the creed of the emperor. Herakleios's victory over the invaders in 630 produced one final effort to end the schism. The attempt in 633–34, however, to win first the Syrian and then the Egyptian Monophysites to a formula based on acknowledging a single source of activity, *energeia*, in the incarnate Christ, failed largely due to the highhandedness of Herakleios's viceroy in Egypt, Cyrus "the Caucasian". In protest, from now on, Monophysitism in Egypt was associated with the Copts as opposed to the "imperial" Melchite Church. When ultimately Herakleios published the *Ekthesis* in 638 asserting the single will in Christ (Monothelitism), the loss of Syria and Egypt to the Arabs rendered this as well as all previous efforts to repair the schism futile.

The dispute over acknowledging the incarnate Christ as "out of two natures, one", or "out of two natures, two", proved insoluble. Through the 6th century it marked a division between Constantinople and its richest provinces, gradually

fostering a spirit of independence in these. On the other hand, it contributed to the permanent rift between Constantinople and Rome, as the imperial capital strove to reconcile the views of the papacy and the majority of the eastern provincials. These reflected the ideas of the great monasteries which had come to own the land on which they worked. Though the debate was conducted throughout in terms of Hellenistic philosophy and theology, Monophysitism gradually provided a national identity for the Copts, Nubians, Armenians, and Ethiopians, preserving the national languages from absorption into a Greek lingua franca. From a dispute over wording, Monophysitism proved to be the major issue between Constantinople and the rest of Christendom from Chalcedon to the Arab invasions.

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See also Councils, Schism

Summary

Monophysites believe a One-nature Christology, that the incarnate Christ is one person in which humanity and Godhead are united in a single nature. The movement began in the first half of the 5th century and found support in Alexandria. The Council of Chalcedon (451) condemned the Monophysites but the differences were not resolved. The movement has persisted and forms part of the cultural identity of Copts, Nubians, Armenians, and Ethiopians.

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Montenegro

In its early history Montenegro (Crna Gora in Serbian) was part of Illyricum and the Roman province of Dalmatia. After Diocletian's administrative reforms of 297, it was included in the newly created province of Praevalitania. The nature of its mountainous terrain in the hinterland of the Adriatic coast (a section which in modern times stretches from the gulf of Kotor to Ulcinj and the Albanian border) played a noticeable role in its history. In the pre-Roman period there was a strong influence of Greek culture, especially along the coast. Trade was lively between the nearby Greek colonies at Lissos (Lješ) and Epidaurus (Cavtat) on the one hand, and the Illyrian maritime settlements, especially Buthua (Budva) and Rhizon (Risan), on the other. It is believed that the region east of Rhizon was the land of the Encheleans, to whom the Greek myth of Cadmus and Harmonia is linked. Their rocks were situated on the gulf of Kotor, which to ancient authors was know as the mouth of the Rhizon river. Traces of an ancient serpent cult point to the tradition of the Cadmus-Harmonia myth; it is corroborated by archaeological finds and survives in some folkloric customs.

According to a legend preserved in *De Administrando Imperio* by Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos (945–59), the foundation of Dioclea, originally a *kastron* (fort) at the confluence of the rivers Morača and Zeta, is ascribed to Diocletian himself. Although this is historically incorrect, Dioclea's early prominence is confirmed not only by archaeological remains dating from the pre-Christian period onward, but also by the fact that its name (Duklja) was eventually applied to the whole region. In the Middle Ages it was also known as Zeta. The earliest recorded mention of the name Crna Gora is in a charter issued by the Serbian king Stephan Uroš II Milutin (1282–1321), but it became current only in modern times.

With the gradual spread of Christianity, Skutari (Skadar) became the seat of an archbishop in the 4th century. First under the jurisdiction of the exarch of Thessalonica, it came under that of Justiniana Prima after 535.

The political and economic structure of Praevalitania's Romanized cities, based on trade as well as on the resources provided by livestock rearing, agriculture, exploitation of mines, and handicraft, crumbled under the attacks of Avars and Slavs in the 7th century, but its cultural achievements left an imprint on later periods.

Constantine Porphyrogennetos reports that, after a first attempt at Christianization during the reign of Herakleios (610–41), Serbs who settled in the regions of Travunia, Konavli, Zahumlie, and Dioklea were converted in the 9th century, during the reign of Basil I. Similar data are gathered from the *Chronicle of Bar* by the anonymous 12th-century author known as the Priest of Dioclea. There is evidence that the beginnings of Slavonic literacy in these parts, resulting from the missionary work of the disciples of St Cyril and St Methodios, also occurred in the 9th century. In the same period there emerged the beginnings of the cult of some eastern saints, among them St Tryphon, patron saint of Kotor, and St

Sergius and St Bacchus, whose shrine was on the Bojana river, near Skadar. In memory of the Syrian city where St Sergius was martyred, Skadar was sometimes referred to as Rosafa.

The rise to power of prince Stephan Vojislav of Dioclea (Zeta) represented a serious challenge to Byzantine rule. In 1042, near Antivari (Bar), Vojislav defeated the Byzantine army sent from Dyrrachium and created an independent state. Further blows to Byzantium were dealt by his son Michael, who in 1077 received a royal crown from Pope Gregory VII and became his vassal. Michael's son Constantine Bodin enlarged the realm by joining to it Raška and Bosnia. Soon, however, the centre of power in Serbian lands moved to Raška. During the reign of the grand župan (satrap) Stephan Nemanja (1169–96) Zeta and Raška were united and remained one state until the death of tsar Stephan Uroš IV Dushan, in 1355. Like Nemanja himself, who established his court in Kotor, all rulers of his dynasty accorded Zeta a privileged position in the realm. Zeta provided a vital link for commerce with Italy, Dubrovnik, and other Adriatic cities. One of the inland routes, leading from the coast, north of Lake Skadar, through Peć, the field of Kosovo to Niš, and further to Bulgaria, was named Via de Zenta.

In the cultural sphere, an attractive symbiosis of western and Byzantine influences prevailed in the ever-increasing building activity in the region. As old ecclesiastical centres in Zeta's coastal towns were left outside the jurisdiction of the Byzantine archdiocese of Ohrid (created around 1019), their gravitation towards Rome was reinforced after the Great Schism of 1054. The situation remained unchanged during the Nemanjić period and members of the ruling family often made donations to Catholic establishments. However, Orthodoxy spread in the surrounding countryside and in the hinterland, especially after the creation of the autocephalous Serbian Church in 1219, with Nemanja's youngest son Sava at its head. As scores of Orthodox churches and monasteries were built in the newly founded bishoprics of Zeta, connections with the Greek-speaking world increased, thanks to the strong spiritual and material links with Thessalonica and Mount Athos. Wall paintings dating from 1252 preserved at Morača, in a church built by Nemanja's grandson Stephan, and smaller fragments in St Peter at Bogdašić, near Tivat, built by Neophyt, the Serbian bishop of Zeta, in 1268–69, rank among the highest achievements in the art of the Byzantine world.

When circumstances allowed it, church-building revived in the Ottoman period: a remarkable monument is the monastery of Piva, with wall paintings dating from 1605. Of great historical importance are clusters of churches, now mostly in ruins, in the Lake Skadar area: Starčeva Gorica, Beška, Prečista Krajinska, Moračnik, and others.

With the disintegration of central authority in the second half of the 14th century, Montenegro's feudal lords, former heads of clans, were involved in the turbulent events caused by the coming of the Turks. The families Balšić and Crnojević gained prominence in this early phase of a protracted period of conflict over the Adriatic, in which the Ottoman empire, Venice, and other European powers were chief protagonists. For a long time, deprived of its coast and under constant Turkish attacks, a tiny Montenegro, reduced to its most inaccessible parts with the centre at Cetinje, maintained a variable degree of autonomy. The land was governed by a council of clan leaders, headed by successive bishops, among whom was the celebrated poet Petar II Petrović-Njegoš (1830–51). In Njegoš's works, with the tragic position of his people as his main concern, elements of poetry inspired by Classical authors and those of Romanticism are brilliantly woven into his own Orthodox spirituality.

As the Ottoman empire weakened, the virtual independence of Montenegro spread over a wider territory. This was not always readily sanctioned by the Great Powers, but the Montenegrins' frequent rebellions against the Turks, their courage and perseverance, earned them renown and sympathy abroad.

A kingdom under Nicholas I from 1910, Montenegro was victorious in the Balkan Wars (1912–13) with its Greek, Serbian, Bulgarian, and Romanian allies, when much of its territory was regained, except for lands given to the newly created state of Albania. In 1918 Montenegro joined Serbia in "The Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes", soon to be called Yugoslavia.

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Mosaic

Mosaic is a surface decoration consisting of different particles, such as stone or glass, set in a foundation, usually a mortar bed. It is primarily a form of monumental decoration, but it may also be used on a small scale.

The earliest mosaics, dating from the 4th millennium BC, were found in Mesopotamia. Mosaics existed in ancient Egypt and Minoan Crete, ancient Greece, the Roman Empire, and its Christian successor states, as well as in the medieval Islamic world. There are extensive survivals of early Christian and medieval mosaics in Italy, but the importance of mosaic as an art form there diminished in the Renaissance; north of the Alps mosaic was used only sporadically during the Middle Ages. In Byzantium the medium was exploited on a vast scale, even though its use as the most expensive form of Orthodox Church decoration declined in the second half of the 14th century. Mosaic was revived as a monumental decoration in western Europe in the 19th century, and continued to be employed in the 20th.

Even though pebbles and other natural materials are used for mosaics, in its more developed form it is made from square or rectangular particles specially shaped for the purpose, known as *tesserae* (Latin: "dice"). The more regular shape of the tesserae makes for greater precision in laying the mosaics and allows for special visual effects. The size of the tesserae is often varied, small cubes being used for faces and hands and larger ones for drapery and backgrounds. Apart from different types of stone, tesserae are made of glass and terracotta, but mother-of-pearl, shells, and semi-precious stones have also been found among mosaics. At times, mosaics are touched up with paint.

Glass tesserae are found in Roman mosaics from the 1st century AD. They were employed primarily in wall mosaics, because their brittleness did not make them suitable for floor covers. The effects of glass mosaic on walls were exploited fully only in the medieval period. Ancient and medieval glass was made from sand, potash, and lime and coloured with metal oxides; tesserae were produced by breaking sheets of glass into small particles. Gold tesserae were made by placing gold leaf on a sheet of glass and then enclosing it within another layer of glass. In early gold tesserae the lower layer of glass was colourless, but from the 8th century onwards red glass came to be used, adding lustre to the metal. Silver tesserae are made by using either silver or tin leaf. Gold and silver tesserae were rarely used before the 4th century AD.

Wall mosaics were executed in situ on a scaffolding. The tesserae were placed in the last of several layers of mortar or plaster that coated the wall (on curved surfaces nails or clamps served to hold the plaster in position). The final layer of plaster was applied in patches corresponding in size to the amount of tesserae that could be laid by the mosaicists before the plaster dried up. Rough outline drawings or, at times, highly finished paintings (e.g. at the Kariye Camii in Istanbul) were applied directly to the plaster to guide the craftsmen. Very little is known about the working methods of mosaicists. The 12th-century mosaics in the church of the Nativity at Bethlehem are signed by a certain Ephraim who identifies himself as a painter and mosaicist, but usually there was probably a distinction between artists designing the imagery and those executing the mosaics, not to mention artisans specializing in preparing the plaster bed. Mosaicists are likely to have worked in teams. Larger areas requiring a single colour may have been worked on by apprentices, leaving the faces and other details to more highly skilled craftsmen. In order to facilitate the laying of mosaics, the tesserae were probably sorted into trays according to colour and size. A technical examination of the 11th-century mosaics in St Sophia at Kiev, which appear to have been executed by Byzantine craftsmen, has given some idea of the speed at which mosaics were laid: the 640 square metres of mosaic were executed in 320 days.

Even though there are some examples of mosaics on the outside of churches, especially in the Italian peninsula, wall mosaics are essentially a medium for the interior of buildings. In dimly lit interiors and on curved surfaces they are a visually more effective medium than fresco. In Byzantine art, in particular, the properties of mosaic are exploited to full effect. Mosaicists used the curved surfaces of domes, squinches, and apses to catch the natural light in order to make the mosaics sparkle and glitter. The refraction of natural light on the tesserae is enhanced by the irregular surfaces; cubes tilted at different angles and irregularly spaced are essential to creating glitter. Mosaic is, however, an inflexible medium because it consists of blocks of pure colour. But because mosaics were designed to be seen from a distance, mosaicists were able to overcome this limitation and created, in the eyes of viewers, the optical illusion of colour gradation.

The earliest surviving mosaics from ancient Greece are the pebble mosaics from Gordium in Asia Minor (8th century BC). Pebbles were used to represent mythological scenes at Olynthus (*c.*400 BC) and Pella (4th century BC), both in northern Greece. Gradually, mosaic makers realized the advantages of using tesserae. At the temple of Zeus at Olympia pebbles are used in conjunction with cut stones. Mosaics made of tesserae from the 2nd century BC exist on the island of Delos. Pergamum was an important centre of mosaic production. Sosos, who, according to Pliny the Younger was the most famous mosaicist of the ancient world, is said to have been active there. He is credited with having invented the motif of the *asarotos oikos* ("unswept floor") and of doves perched on a vase, both motifs being widely used in Hellenistic mosaics. Greek mosaicists were active at Pompeii, as is suggested by the name Dioscurides of Samos, which is found in two Pompeian mosaics. The surviving mosaics at Herculaneum include not only floor but also wall mosaics, as well as mosaics embellishing garden furnishings, such as fountains and niches. There are extensive survivals of late Roman mosaic floors at Antioch (3rd century AD). The bucolic scenes in the floor mosaic of the imperial palace at Constantinople are a very late example of this tradition, dating from the 7th century AD. Floor mosaics also occur in some Christian churches (Aquileia, 4th century; Palestine, 6th and 7th centuries; 12th-century France and Italy), but the rarity of such floors indicates that Christian subject matter was generally considered unsuitable for floors.

The earliest surviving Christian wall mosaics are found in Rome (crypt of Old St Peter's, *c.*330, Santa Costanza, *c.*350, and Santa Maria Maggiore, 432–40) and in Ravenna (Mausoleum of Galla Placidia, *c.*430–50, and the Orthodox Baptistery, *c.*460). The earliest extant mosaic decoration in the Greek-speaking part of the Roman empire is in the church of

Mosaic: Apollo (right) and Daphne in a mosaic panel from the House of Dionysus, Nea Paphos, Cyprus, 3rd century AD

Hagios Georgios in Thessalonica, formerly the mausoleum of Galerius (died 311); they date from the 5th century, marking perhaps the conversion of the mausoleum into a church. The surviving sections of this mosaic show a series of over-life-size male saints against an elaborate architectural backdrop on a gold background. Other early Christian mosaics in Thessalonica are the fragments in the 5th-century church of the Theotokos Acheiropoietos and the apse decoration in the church of the Latomos monastery (now called Osios David), dating from the 5th or 6th century. This mosaic, which shows Christ enthroned on a rainbow in the presence of St John and an Old Testament prophet, is the earliest extant apse mosaic in the Greek world. The last of the major schemes of mosaic decoration in Thessalonica prior to the iconoclast controversy are the now largely destroyed mosaics in the church of St Demetrios, dating from the early 7th century, which present a visual hagiography of the saint.

When Ravenna was incorporated into the Byzantine empire by Justinian's army, the city had a rich tradition of mosaic decoration (San Apollinare Nuovo, *c.*500, and the Arian Baptistery, *c.*500–25, in addition to the buildings mentioned above). Justinian, the empress Theodora, and their court are shown on two large panels among the 6th-century mosaics in San Vitale. The imperial couple do not appear to have been involved in the embellishment of the church. Two 6th-century schemes of mosaic decoration are far more closely associated with Justinian, occurring in buildings commissioned by the emperor. These are the earliest mosaics at Hagia Sophia in Constantinople, depicting crosses as well as geometric and floral motifs on a gold background (532–37), and the apse decoration in the main church of St Catherine's monastery at Mount Sinai, showing the Transfiguration (*c.*565/67).

The aniconic nature of the early mosaics at Hagia Sophia undoubtedly contributed to their survival during the period of iconoclasm. A mosaic in a small room in the patriarchal palace next to the church demonstrates the fate of many religious figurative mosaics during the iconoclast period. These mosaics show two crosses, the main form of religious decoration during iconoclasm. Golden tessarae underneath the cross show signs of disturbance. There are remnants of inscriptions, indicating that the crosses replace pre-iconoclast depictions of saints. Most iconoclast mosaic decoration was replaced with figurative decoration after the end of iconoclasm. This process could be seen in the apse mosaic of the church of the Dormition at Nicaea (Iznik), now destroyed. The ghostly outlines of a cross appear behind a depiction on the mosaic of the Virgin and Child. The apse mosaic at Iznik consisted of three different phases: a pre-iconoclast Virgin and Child, an iconoclast cross, and a post-iconoclast figurative image. Documentary evidence suggests that the art of mosaic making flourished during the iconoclast period in secular contexts, decorating imperial palaces. Mosaic decorations in the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem (680s) and the great mosques in Damascus (*c.*715) and Córdoba (961–68), which appear to have been executed by Byzantine craftsmen, testify to the vitality of Byzantine mosaic decoration during and immediately after iconoclasm.

Most of the mosaic decoration at Hagia Sophia dates from the post-iconoclast period. The apse mosaic of the Virgin and Child enthroned was dedicated in 867 and the series of patriarchs in the tympanum dates from the late 9th century. The Great Church contains a number of mosaics showing emperors and empresses. These include an emperor in *proskynesis* (veneration) before Christ above the royal doors opening into the nave of the church (late 9th to early 10th century), the

Virgin and Child with Constantine and Justinian (early 10th century), and the panels showing Constantine IX Monomachos (1042–55) and Zoe and John II Komnenos (1118–43) and Irene making pious donations to, respectively, Christ and the Virgin.

The emergence of a centralized church plan in the post-iconoclast period was accompanied by the development of an extensive programme of pictorial decoration. Mosaic is used at the church of Hosios Loukas (early 11th century) in central Greece, Nea Moni on the island of Chios (mid-11th century), and Daphni (*c.*1100) west of Athens, to depict a hierarchical scheme of decoration, with the image of the Christ Pantokrator in the dome surmounting New Testament scenes and images of saints and, often, the Theotokos and Christ in the apse.

There are no survivals of Byzantine mosaics from the 12th century, but there is evidence for mosaics in that period. The Pantokrator monastery in Constantinople, founded by John II Komnenos (1118–43), was decorated with mosaics. The mosaics of Norman Sicily (Cefalù, and the Cappella Palatina and the Martorana in Palermo), which were executed at least partially by Byzantine craftsmen, give a good idea of Byzantine mosaic decoration in the 1140s.

There are considerable survivals of Byzantine mosaics from the last two centuries of the Byzantine empire. These include the decoration of the Theotokos Paregoritissa at Arta (1294–96), the Fetiye Camii (*c.*1300) and Kariye Camii (*c.*1320) in Constantinople, and the church of the Holy Apostles in Thessalonica (1310–14).

A special feature of Byzantine art is mosaic icons, of which some 48 survive, dating in the main from after 1261. In these icons the tesserae are set in a hollowed wooden tablet and fixed in a bed of resin or wax. Although the size of mosaic varies, many are very small. Consequently, the tesserae, which consist of gold, gilded copper, silver, ivory, and semi-precious stones, are minute, often not exceeding one square millimetre. These precious icons were probably used in private devotion.

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See also Painting

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Museum of Alexandria

The *Mouseion* (Museum) in Alexandria was the most famous of all in antiquity. The members of a *mouseion* were originally connected with the cult of the Muses, who were worshipped at an altar, often in open-air porticoes or courts rather than in a temple, and were dedicated to the arts inspired by them. They were significant centres of literature and education, and often the focus of a society dedicated to the creation of literary compositions.

The Museum was located at Alexandria in Egypt, a city founded by Alexander the Great in 331 BC. Although we cannot as yet identify its exact location within the ancient city, we do know that it was near, or in the grounds of, the royal palace, or *Basileia*, which lay close to the harbour on the northern side of the city. It was founded in 280 BC by Ptolemy I Soter, one of Alexander's generals and a historian himself, on the advice of Demetrius of Phalerum. The latter had been one of Aristotle's pupils at the Lyceum in Athens, but was expelled from the city for his pro-Macedonian sentiments. Demetrius was influenced by the so-called Peripatetic school's approach to the acquisition of knowledge, and upon his arrival in Alexandria he persuaded Ptolemy I to establish an institution dedicated to the pursuit of knowledge along the lines of the Athenian model. The Museum was greatly expanded by Ptolemy II Philadelphus (308–246 BC).

Since we do not have any extant remains, we must rely on Strabo's description of it (*Geography*, 17. 1. 6–10) during the period when he was resident in the city – the late 1st century BC. He states that the Museum was part of the royal palace, and served as a gathering place for scholars, artists, and literary figures who held property in common. The facilities consisted of an *exedra*, or crescent-shaped arcade with seats for lectures, a *peripatos*, or covered walkway planted with trees where discussions often took place, and a large house with a communal dining area.

We know that the Museum was separate from, but closely associated with, the Library, also established by Ptolemy I. It may have had its own collection of books housed in nearby storerooms, but this is only conjectural. The names of those associated with the institution are not known, except for its last member, Theon (*c.* AD 380), but a number of prominent scholars and scientists lived in Alexandria, some of whom were affiliated with the Library, and no doubt participated in some of the activities at the Museum. These scholars were drawn from a variety of disciplines – both literary and scientific – and are represented by individuals such as Euclid, Eratosthenes, Callimachus, Apollonius Rhodius, Herophilus, Aristarchus of Samothrace, Aristarchus of Samos, Aristonicus, and Apelles. They flourished in an environment of sophisticated literature at the court and the metropolitan atmosphere of the city.

Ptolemy I Soter followed in the tradition of enlightened cultural support practised by kings and tyrants from the 6th century BC (the Pisistratids in Athens and Hieron in Sicily) down to the Macedonian kings in the 4th century BC. There was also a tradition in Egypt, as in the Greek world, of the association of religion with learning, and temples served as centres of literacy and repositories for knowledge. A third factor was the competition between the successors of Alexander the Great for cultural supremacy in an empire divided into factions after his death. The forerunners of the Museum at Alexandria were Plato's Academy in Athens, where the emphasis was on science and philosophy, and Aristotle's Lyceum, also in Athens, which was concerned with the systematic collection, organization, and preservation of knowledge.

The Museum flourished under the rule of the Ptolemies (304–31 BC) and received continued support under the Roman emperors. Its members served as a group of resident scholars invited to Alexandria by the king, who then maintained them at his expense. They were provided with living quarters and food and given salaries; they were also exempt from taxation. The king appointed a president who served as an administrator, or *epistates*, and the priest in charge of the cult of the Muses (*hiereus*). The primary focus was on research, although there may have been lectures, but its members were not required to teach. Dinners and symposia were held, characterized by a search for solutions to a stated problem; the resolutions were later recorded on papyri. Scholars were drawn from all parts of the Greek world to participate in state-subsidized learning – the acquisition of knowledge for knowledge's sake, rather than as the means to a specific end.

Research at the Museum focused on science and literature, unlike its Athenian predecessors, which often emphasized philosophy. In the field of science, the emphasis was on experimentation and the collection of empirical data to support observations and theories, resulting in the development of a scientific methodology for the solution of problems. Textual criticism, and the collection and cataloguing of literary works in order to ensure the preservation of knowledge of Greek and other Near Eastern civilizations – an antiquarian approach to history – were the hallmarks of the institution's literary endeavours. In the course of textual criticism, critical judgements were made regarding the relative importance of different versions of a single text. Revision involved the weeding out of versions considered to be inferior. It is clear from the papyri that one of the great contributions of the Museum was the stability of the texts of ancient authors, especially Homer.

The environment created in the Museum was one of a "worldwide" intellectual tradition resulting from a fusion of oriental and Mediterranean knowledge with an international centre of culture at Alexandria, where the study of science and literature flourished. This in turn contributed to the formation of a fairly uniform metropolitan urban civilization in the Hellenistic period, of which Alexandria was one of the first examples. The Museum was instrumental in the development of the concept of an institution dedicated solely to the acquisition of knowledge, a forerunner to the universities and research institutes of the present day.

This changed somewhat in the 2nd century BC, when the native segment of the population at Alexandria reacted against the influence of Hellenism. It was reinforced by an economic crisis characterized by rising prices and social unrest, in addition to hostility among members of the royal family. Ptolemy VI Philometor expelled foreign scholars and immigrants (*c.*146 BC), and their places in the Museum were occupied by native Alexandrians. Now other centres of culture and learning competed with Alexandria for scholars and students – at Pergamum, Athens, Antioch, and Rome. At this point the city lost its position as the primary cultural centre of the Greek world.

The fate of the Museum is still disputed. It seems to have escaped destruction in 48 BC when Julius Caesar burned the ships in the nearby harbour, setting part of the royal quarter on fire. It enjoyed renewed prosperity under the *Pax Augusta*, and the Roman emperors visited and extended the buildings, especially the philhellene Hadrian. In the Roman period the acquisition of knowledge became more secularized, but Alexandria continued to be an important centre of Greek learning. Many renowned residents and visitors were still associated with its research institutions, such as Plutarch, Ptolemy of Alexandria, Lucian, and Plotinus.

Research in science and medicine flourished, as did the study of philosophy which was closely intertwined with religion, but there was a marked decline in literary endeavours. In the 2nd century AD it was famous for the New Rhetoric, and in the 3rd century for Neoplatonism. The Museum suffered under Caracalla, who expelled its foreign members and abolished sustenance payments for others in AD 216. It appears to have been destroyed by Aurelian after the city made an abortive attempt at independence after his defeat of Zenobia, queen of Palmyra, in AD 272, but it soon resumed its activities. In the 4th century Ammianus Marcellinus (22. 16) reports scientific activity, but admits that there was a decline in scholarship. In all probability the Museum did not survive long after Theodosius I's edict in 391 requiring the destruction of all pagan temples.

The collected and evaluated information and wisdom of antiquity, as well as new strides made in the acquisition of knowledge in a variety of scientific and literary fields by members of the Museum in Alexandria, have been transmitted to the present day through Islamic rulers, who were themselves very interested in Graeco-Roman civilization. In the Arab world of the 7th–11th centuries there was a period of cultural awakening characterized by an interest in learning, and translation of ancient texts by Arab scholars. Great libraries and research centres based on the Alexandrian model, such as the one at Baghdad, were established in the Islamic world. The knowledge acquired by scholars in Hellenistic Alexandria was essential to the scientific experiments of Arab scholars, also conducted according to scientific methods of research developed in that city's institutions.

The Museum at Alexandria, then, was the inheritor of the Classical Athenian tradition of the acquisition of knowledge in an environment dedicated solely to that purpose. It in turn passed that tradition on in a new form, developed as a result of its position as the centre of Greek culture in the 4th and 3rd centuries BC, and the institution continued to diffuse the heritage of Greek culture to the rest of the world in the Hellenistic and Roman periods. Its members contributed a new body of scientific information and methods, and procedures for textual revision and literary criticism in addition to their efforts at collection, collation, and preservation in an attempt to save the knowledge of the past. The Museum passed on a tradition of pure research in the context of an institutional setting to other Graeco-Roman centres as well as the Arab world. Medieval and Islamic scholars, and later Christian scholars and humanists of the European Renaissance interested in Greek and Roman civilization, built on the foundations developed at the Museum in Alexandria. They too established their own research centres dedicated to higher learning – the forerunners of modern-day universities and research institutes.

KATHLEEN DONAHUE SHERWOOD

See also Libraries, Scholarship

Summary

The Museum (*Mouseion*) of Alexandria was founded in 280 BC by Ptolemy I Soter. Modelled on Plato's Academy and Aristotle's Lyceum, it was a cultural centre for scholars, artists, and writers which provided facilities for teaching, discussing, and dining. It was separate from, but closely linked with, the Library. It survived until the 4th century AD.

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Museums

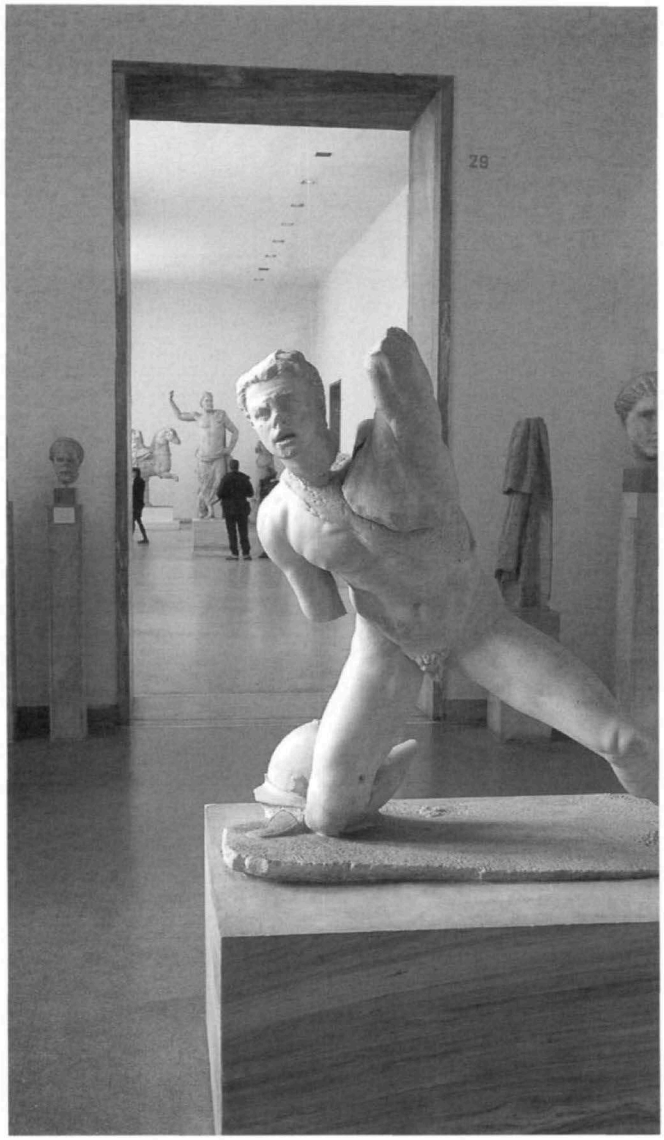
Because of the Turkish occupation, museums in Greece were slow to become established. During the 18th century some foreigners in Athens with antiquarian interests had assembled collections in their homes, which they showed to interested travellers. Prominent among them were the two rivals, Luisieri, the Italian painter who was Lord Elgin's agent in Greece, and the Frenchman Louis-François-Sebastien Fauvel, Choisseul-Gouffier's representative in Greece and consul of France in Athens from 1803.

By the early 19th century the idea of a Greek museum had become linked with the notion of the revival of the Greek nation. In 1807 the leading Greek intellectual Adamantios Korais, angered by the pillage of Greek relics, put forward a proposal for the foundation of a Greek museum in a safe building that would house manuscripts, coins, and other antiquities, donated and bought, and all to be inventoried, with details of their provenance. Korais's suggestions were not implemented and it was only in 1829, after independence, that a Greek National Museum came into existence. The island of Aegina, where some of the earliest and most impressive finds had been made, was chosen by Kapodistria's government to host the museum, in a disused orphanage. But it soon became evident that space was at a premium, and after the assassination of Kapodistria in 1831 and the establishment of the first Archaeological Service in 1833, attention was focused on Athens, and provisions for a museum there were made in the First Archaeological Law of 1834. In preparation, the dispersed antiquities of Athens were collected in various designated buildings, and after the closure of the Aegina museum in 1834, the antiquities from there were gradually transported to Athens and also housed in those buildings. In 1837 the *Archaiologiki Hetaireia* (Archaeological Society) was founded and undertook the systematic collection of antiquities, through purchase and donations. In 1858 a large room in the newly built Athens University was set aside for the university's own substantial collection. This was the first museum open to the public. It was later transferred to the Varvakeion school, and from there to the Polytechnic in 1881. From 1877 it housed Schliemann's finds from Mycenae and had to charge admission to provide for its upkeep.

Only in 1866 were the foundations laid for a National Archaeological Museum in Athens, and construction was not completed until 1889. In 1858 Demetrios Bernardakis, a Greek from Petroupolis in Russia, had contributed 200,000 drachmas towards the building, but disagreement over the site and architectural plans caused much delay. The problem of location was resolved through the donation by Eleni Tositsa in 1866 of land on Patision Street, next to a plot that she had previously donated for the construction of the Polytechnic. The plans adopted were those that the German painter and architect Ludwig Lange had proposed a few years earlier, with various alterations, supervised in the last stages of construction by the architect E. Ziller. The museum housed the most significant antiquities from the whole of Greece, as well as the numismatic collection (today in the Iliou Melathron, Schliemann's former home) and the epigraphic collection, both of which had previously been in the Aegina Museum; in 1983 the *Archaiologiki Hetaireia* handed over its own sizeable collection. During the middle decades of the 19th century the Acropolis Museum, close to the Parthenon, was also built.

Other Athenian museums were not established until the 20th century. These include the Keramaikos Museum (1936), the Byzantine Museum (1926), and the Museum of Popular Art (1918, in new premises since 1973). Today Athens is home to 30 museums and galleries. Some of these are private and semi-private museums open to the public (important private collections having existed in Athens since the early 19th century), notably the prestigious Benaki Museum, housed in the family home of the donor, Emanuel Benaki, since 1931, the Kanellopoulos Museum (1972), and the Goulandris Museum of Cycladic art (1982).

The archaeological law of 1834 which provided for the establishment of museums in Athens also provided for the foundation of provincial museums, to house local finds not destined for the capital. The first purpose-built provincial museums date from the second half of the 19th century (at Sparta, Olympia, and Epidaurus), but most were built in the 20th century. Even today many small museums continue to be housed, more or less successfully, in a variety of buildings, including private houses, churches, and mosques. Thessalonica, the second largest city in Greece, did not acquire a modern archaeological museum until 1962. Since then great developments have taken place, including a new Museum of Byzantine Culture inaugurated in 1994. As European City of



Museums: National Archaeological Museum, Athens, built in 1866–69

Culture in 1997, the city boasted nearly the same number of museums as Athens, some of which were refurbished or relocated for the occasion.

In the last decades of the 20th century the Ministry of Culture (which is responsible for museums) has had to deal with three main problems with regard to museums: the often critical lack of space for storing and displaying the ever-increasing number of excavated antiquities; the enormous overheads generated by the running of a large number of museums; and the safety of collections that are increasingly at risk, particularly in provincial museums (the theft of 276 antiquities from the Corinth Museum in 1986 highlighted these risks). A growing awareness of issues of conservation and environmental monitoring has left its mark on the larger museums, with more trained conservators now being employed, but the progress has yet to trickle down to the provincial museums, many of which are entirely deprived of funding for such services. Since the 1970s plans have been afoot for a new, larger Acropolis museum, with suitable space and environmental conditions to display the Parthenon Marbles, if and when they are returned, but progress has been predictably slow.

Like all museums in the West, Greek museums today face the challenge of their greatly enhanced scope and function: the provision of designer displays, frequent temporary exhibitions, and high standards of cataloguing. The need to modernize is a concern for all Greek museums, but the results depend on the availability of resources, organizational skills, and expertise, and these vary greatly from museum to museum.

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See also Archaeological Service

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Music

Music has featured prominently in Hellenic society since the dawn of Greek civilization. The dominant form of musical expression for all periods has been song, the sacred and secular genres of which have included cultivated, rural ("demotic"), and popular repertories. Despite the existence of Hellenic systems of musical notation since at least the 3rd century BC, the historical reliance of Greek performers on oral methods of transmission has resulted in the loss to posterity of most pre-modern melodies. All of the complete works and substantive fragments preserved from antiquity in vocal and instrumental notations based on the Greek alphabet, for example, fit comfortably on a single compact disc. This loss is offset to some degree by the survival of many ancient song texts, from which certain rhythmic details may be recovered, as well as by rich philosophical and theoretical traditions of writing about music. No secular melodies have been preserved from the Byzantine empire, but its liturgical chant is transmitted in neumatic notation by an impressive body of manuscripts dating from the 10th to the 20th century AD. However, the realization of these neumed sources presupposes knowledge of orally transmitted conventions of performance practice, the amount of which increases with the antiquity of the manuscripts.

These daunting gaps in the historical record have made it difficult for scholars either to trace the development of Hellenic music as a continuous tradition or to draw more than superficial conclusions about its diachronic character. Interpretation of the available evidence, particularly with regard to the musical effects of interaction with neighbouring peoples, has been further complicated by the cultural politics of the 19th and 20th centuries. While some Greek scholars have made exaggerated claims for continuity, Western musicologists have until recently tended to see mainly discontinuity between the musics of ancient Greece, Byzantium, and modern Greece. Reflecting such broader cultural phenomena as the struggle to define a modern Greek identity in the face of

Music: dancers and an *aulos* player among the figures depicted on a vase found in Boeotia, 5th century BC, National Archaeological Museum, Athens

Western expectations, these views have led to a priori rejections by various groups of a wide array of living and historical repertories as unacceptably tainted by foreign influence, usually identified as either "Arabo-Turkish" or "Western". These criticisms notwithstanding, only in the later decades of the 20th century has the study of problems for which enough sources survive to make comparative study meaningful – for example the relationship of post-Byzantine and Ottoman music – progressed sufficiently to yield reliable preliminary results.

The following brief historical survey will be limited to music created and performed by speakers of the Greek language. Further developments of Hellenic musical traditions by others – notably the medieval Latin, Arabic, and Turkish extensions of ancient Greek and Byzantine music theory, and the impact of Renaissance humanist study of Classical Greek music and drama on the development of opera – will therefore not be considered. For technical expositions of Greek and Byzantine music theory, readers are referred to the specialized studies in the appended bibliography.

Portrayals of musicians and musical instruments in Cycladic, Minoan, Mycenaean, and Cypriot art of the 2nd and 3rd millennia BC show that these societies employed music in public ritual and domestic entertainment. Echoes of these early traditions may be discerned in the narratives and poetic structures of the Homeric epics, works which mark the transition from an era of purely oral transmission to one in which the texts of certain cultivated genres of song were regularly committed to writing by their poet-composers. Witnesses to the subsequent development of Hellenic music include the texts of Greek lyric poetry, literary references to music, and depictions of musicians in pottery and other art. A formative era reportedly marked by Phrygian and Lydian influence was followed in the 7th and 6th centuries BC by the emergence of regional schools of composition and the diffusion of their characteristic forms. Lesbos produced intimate monody in the form of Sappho's Aeolian lyric, while more public forms of art were encouraged by the city states of the Greek mainland through their sponsorship of music competitions held in conjunction with such civic and religious festivals as the Spartan Carneia and the Pythian Games of Delphi. At these events professional soloists demonstrated their skill on the *kithara* (lyre) and the *aulos* by performing set pieces (*nomoi*), while choirs of amateur singers and dancers were incorporated into presentations of choral lyrics, out of which eventually developed both the Dionysian dithyramb and tragedy.

As the traditional repertories of cultivated song reached their apogee in the 5th century BC with the works of Pindar and the Attic tragedians, the study and performance of *mousike* – music conceived as an indissoluble complex of poetry and melody – achieved an unprecedented (and since unequalled) level of significance in Greek society. The ideal Hellenic gentleman thus became a cultivated amateur musician trained by an educational curriculum in which poetry sung to lyre accompaniment held a place of honour. By the turn of the 4th century BC, however, the cultural consensus surrounding music began to dissolve in the face of internal and external pressures. Melodic and metrical innovations by such composers as Euripides and the virtuoso Timotheus (*c.*450–*c.*360 BC) transgressed the stylistic boundaries between traditional genres, provoking harsh criticism from Aristophanes and other musical conservatives. Symptomatic of these changes was the progressive replacement of an older modal system of melodically and rhythmically distinct modes (the Dorian, Phrygian,

etc. *harmonia*) with a complex system of interlocking scales (also called *harmoniai*) designed to facilitate modulations. The bonds between music and poetry in Greek culture were thus left greatly weakened for the remainder of antiquity, as were the ties between amateur and professional music making. Although musical performances remained ubiquitous in the Hellenistic and Roman periods, vocal and instrumental music outside cult and state ceremony was largely reduced to entertainment. Professional musicians, whether male virtuoso kitharists or female *aulos* players offering sexual services to symposiasts, were accordingly relegated to a low place in the social order.

Perhaps the most enduring musical legacies of the Classical period are to be found in the critical, scientific, and speculative traditions of writing about music that emerged from it. The figure of Pythagoras (*fl. c.*530–497 BC) stands at the head of two complementary streams of Greek musical thought: the one emphasizing philosophical, social, and metaphysical concerns, and the other a theoretical tradition originally concerned not so much with the craft of composition (the subject of most Western "music theory" since the Renaissance) as with the physics of sound and the systematization of tonal systems. Fundamental to both approaches was a belief in the kinship of mathematics and music, a concept extrapolated from observing that a resonating string divided in length according to the ratios 2:1, 3:2, and 4:3 produced the intervals of, respectively, an octave, a fifth, and a fourth. The influence of Damon and other early authors whose writings are now lost may be discerned in the works of Plato, a musical conservative who eschewed the use of technical terminology while exalting an idealized version of the previous century's cultivated amateurism. In the *Laws* and the *Republic*, Plato assigned *mousike* a prominent but carefully regulated role in education by emphasizing the governance of texts over melodies, which should be set only in the Dorian and Phrygian *harmoniai*. He wished to ban the remaining modes from his perfect state because of their inherently unsuitable ethical qualities, thus reflecting his belief that each of the Greek modes possessed a distinct ethos which could be imparted through habituation. The means for achieving these effects are intimated in the *Timaeus*, in which Plato echoes Pythagorean doctrine by suggesting that both the human soul and the universe as a whole are constructed according to the mathematical proportions of the harmonic series. Aristotle, while sharing Plato's distaste for contemporary virtuosity, rejected such metaphysical speculations in favour of a more empirical approach. Believing that ethos could be mediated by abstract instrumental as well as by texted vocal works, Aristotle saw the ethical force of music arising from the embodiment of emotional states in sound and rhythm, a theory subsequently disseminated by his students and further developed by the Stoics. Although advocating in his *Politics* a total proscription of the *aulos*, Aristotle more closely reflected the societal standards of his time by admitting all the modes and accepting entertainment alongside education as a legitimate use of music.

Despite Aristotle's objections, philosophical writing about music well into the Byzantine period continued to be influenced by Pythagorean and Platonic thought, particularly as refracted through Plotinus. Neoplatonist views of music were also expressed by the Fathers of the Christian Church, whose fierce polemic against secular music rested not only on the pagan origin of its texts and the suspect morality of its performers (cf. the *Apostolic Constitutions*, which denied baptism to instrumentalists who had not renounced their profession), but also on a belief in its inherently deleterious ethos. As an antidote, St John Chrysostom and other patristic authors proposed the cultivation of biblical psalmody, whereby a believer's soul would profit from the felicitous combination of text and melody. The doubts cast on the spiritual utility of the latter by such ascetics as St Athanasius and St Gregory of Sinai notwithstanding, the tradition of extolling melodious psalmody for its ethical benefits may be traced through St John of Damascus to the hesychast saints Gregory Palamas and Theoleptos of Philadelphia.

Treatises of music theory also demonstrate a remarkable degree of continuity from antiquity through the Byzantine period, the significance of which is much debated because of uncertainties about the degree to which theory and practice diverged after the 4th century BC as the academic study of music became firmly entrenched among the sciences. Ancient theorists pursued two basic approaches to the definition of tonal space, both of which may be regarded as approximate theoretical rationalizations of actual practice: the accurate but cumbersome Pythagorean tradition of defining musical intervals arithmetically according to ratios of string lengths; and the linear method of Aristotle's student Aristoxenus, who believed intervals to be capable of infinite subdivision and proffered scales built on units of equal size. All ancient theorists after Aristoxenus, however, followed him in constructing larger tonal systems spanning two octaves (the Greater Perfect, Lesser Perfect, and Immutable Systems) from sets of conjunct or disjunct perfect fourths. Whereas the outer notes of these tetrachords were fixed, the relative positions of their inner pitches were determined by their genus (diatonic, chromatic, or enharmonic) and "colour" (*chroa*). In the surviving fragment of his *Harmonics*, Aristoxenus gives the following sequences of whole (=1) and fractional tones for the tetrachord E-F-G-A:

Genus	*Sequence of Intervals (E - - - A)*
Tense diatonic	½ – 1 – 1
Soft diatonic	½ – ¾ – 1¼
Tonic chromatic	½ – ½ – 1½
Hemiolic chromatic	⅜ – ⅜ – 1¾
Soft chromatic	⅓ – ⅓ – 1⅔
Enharmonic	¼ – ¼ – 2

The theories of Aristoxenus were rearticulated in a group of treatises from the first few centuries AD, some of which modify them with material drawn from the Pythagorean tradition. These works include the comprehensive expositions of Claudius Ptolemy and Aristides Quintilianus, as well as the practical handbooks by Cleonides, Gaudentius, and Alypius, the last of which contains the fullest surviving account of the vocal and instrumental systems of ancient Greek musical notation. Manuscripts of these and other theoretical treatises not only continued to be studied and copied throughout the Byzantine period, but some treatises previously identified as

Late Antique may have been compiled at the court of Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos (913–59). Western scholars have nevertheless customarily dismissed Byzantine interest in the theoretical tradition of antiquity as encyclopedism covering an ever-widening gap between musical theory and practice. This hypothesis is currently being reconsidered by researchers who see evidence for a dynamic application of ancient theory to liturgical music in an enigmatic compilation known as the *Hagiopolites* (a 14th-century manuscript some of whose contents may be several centuries earlier), as well as in the discussions of modal theory contained in the late-13th-century treatises of Manuel Bryennios and George Pachymeres.

A more detailed evaluation of the links between ancient Greek and Byzantine music is frustrated by the chasm of approximately six centuries separating the sole fragment of a Christian hymn in ancient notation – the famous late 3rd-century "Hymn to the Trinity" from the Oxyrhynchus Papyrus 1786 – from the first manuscripts of Byzantine chant. When the latter finally appear, they do so with a modal system (the Octoechos attributed to St John of Damascus) that had undergone considerable development and completely new systems of notation (the various families of Byzantine neumes). Greek scholars have tended either to ignore these differences, or to see them as the result of evolutionary processes comparable to those that brought about the replacement of quantitative metres with others based on stress or syllable-count during the first centuries of the Byzantine empire. Employing the same evidence, Egon Wellesz and other Western pioneers in the study of Byzantine chant perceived a radical break with antiquity followed by development on a new basis. Wellesz notably argued that Christian liturgical song was derived primarily from non-Hellenic and especially Semitic sources, in particular the psalmody of the synagogue and Syriac hymnody. Without minimizing either the crucial influence exercised by Jewish precedents on the formation of Christian liturgy or that of St Ephraim the Syrian on St Romanos the Melodist, later 20th-century scholarship has called into question central elements of Wellesz's "Oriental hypothesis". His stylistic assessment of the Oxyrrhynchus hymn as non-Hellenic has, for example, been challenged by West, while advances in the study of Jewish and early Christian liturgy have discredited theories postulating the total dependence of the Christian liturgy of the hours and its psalmody on the synagogue.

Escaping simplistic binary oppositions between tradition and discontinuity, scholars of early Christian and Byzantine music began in the later decades of the 20th century to draw on more sophisticated developmental models from the closely related discipline of liturgiology. The repertories of Byzantine chant are thus viewed within their native liturgical context as the products of interaction over many centuries between regional traditions of worship ("rites") that emerged in the cities and deserts of Egypt, Palestine, Syria, and Cappadocia soon after Constantine's legalization of Christianity in AD 313. Geographic differences were transcended during this formative period by distinct cathedral and monastic approaches to the chanting of biblical psalmody, which dominated Late Antique services after all but the most venerable of non-scriptural hymns (e.g. the "Phos Ilaron") were proscribed as a defence against heresy. While urban services employed melodically interesting settings of psalms with refrains designed to encourage congregational participation, early ascetics cultivated musically austere practices of verse-by-verse performance (i.e. without refrains). These forms of worship were soon blended in hybrid "urban monastic" services, the existence of which is documented in Jerusalem at the turn of the 5th century AD by the Spanish pilgrim Egeria.

Following the Byzantine empire's loss of Egypt and Syria, the development of Byzantine worship and its music was governed by competition and borrowing between the liturgical families of Constantinople and Jerusalem. The former originally encompassed a monastic rite practised by so-called "sleepless monks" (*akoimetai*) and the cathedral rite of Justinian's Great Church of Hagia Sophia, a textually conservative system of cathedral worship notable for the splendour of its ceremonial entrances. Until its reform by Symeon of Thessalonica in the early 15th century, music in the Rite of the Great Church consisted mainly of antiphonal and responsorial psalmody performed by soloists (some of whom, prior to 1204, were eunuchs), choristers, and congregations. Non-scriptural hymnography played only a minor role in the "sung office" (*asmatiki akolouthia*) of the Constantinopolitan cathedral rite and was most frequently encountered in the form of refrains to psalmodic antiphons. The kontakia (verse homilies) composed by St Romanos and other melodists after Syrian precedents were originally composed for paraliturgical performance between the offices of a popular vigil (*pannychis*) and therefore constituted only a partial exception to the usual practice. In Palestine, on the other hand, the convergence between the local cathedral and monastic traditions of the church of the Holy Sepulchre and the monastery of Mar Saba that occurred after the destruction of Jerusalem by the Persians in 614 gave rise to a school of prolific hymnographers who composed works for interpolation among the psalms and canticles of the Palestinian liturgy of the hours. Sabaïtic hymnography became firmly established in Constantinople after St Theodore of Stoudios adopted the Palestinian divine office for use at his monastery in 799, thereby inaugurating four centuries of coexistence with the rite of the Great Church. The cathedral rite entered into steep decline after the Latin occupation of Constantinople (1204–61), leaving the rite of Mar Saba in its 14th-century Athonite recension to form the basis for all modern Orthodox worship.

The earliest Byzantine liturgical manuscripts with musical notation date from the 9th century. Initially, systems designed primarily to convey melodic or rhythmic nuances rather than precise pitch were employed: lectionary or "ecphonetic" notation for the recitation of scriptural pericopes, a system appearing in manuscripts from the 9th to the 14th century; and "Paleo-Byzantine" forms of melodic notation to convey the tunes of hymns and psalms from the 10th century. The latter included variants of the so-called Coislin and Chartres notational systems, thus named by modern scholars after the libraries in which they were first discovered, and respectively associated with, the traditions of Jerusalem and Constantinople. In the later 12th century the Coislin notation developed into a fully diastematic family of neumes ("Middle Byzantine" or "Round" notation) indicating a melody's precise succession of intervals with quantitative signs ("bodies") and its nuances with qualitative signs ("spirits"), the realizations of which continued to be transmitted orally and through cheiron-

omy, the lost Byzantine art of choral conducting. Although the available evidence precludes definitive reconstructions of premodern musical performances, it is more than sufficient to chart the development of Byzantine musical style from the appearance of notated manuscripts. The earliest transcribable books of chant contain fully formed repertories in several styles based on standardized melodic formulae. The Asmatikon and Psaltikon transmit anonymous choral and solo settings of psalms and hymns from the urban tradition of Constantinople in a florid idiom characterized by the occasional intercalation of meaningless syllables. Office hymns in a simpler melodic style by St John of Damascus, Kassia, and other composers of the monastic rite are contained in the Sticherarion and the Heirmologion. According to recent studies by Van Biezen (1968) and Arvanitis (forthcoming), the *stichera* (for an explanation of this term see the article on Hymnography) and canons in these collections of hymnography appear to preserve a certain modified form of pitch accent from ancient Greek music.

After the establishment of Crusader states throughout the eastern Mediterranean, Greek musicians were exposed to Western music through such institutions as the Lusignan court of Cyprus, the source of a remarkable manuscript of Latin chant and *Ars Nova* polyphony. Meanwhile, Byzantine chant continued to develop along established lines in a shrunken Palaiologan empire dominated musically by Constantinople, Thessalonica, and Mount Athos. St John Koukouzeles and a host of other eponymous composers began to cultivate distinct personal styles through the composition of multiple settings of psalms and hymns, breaking thereby the one-to-one relationship that had generally obtained between text and music in Orthodox worship. Many of their works were written in a virtuosic new "beautified" or "kalophonic" idiom employing textual troping, melismatic passages, and vocalizations on nonsense syllables (teretisms). Teretisms are found both as interludes within texted works and as independent compositions known as *kratemata* (see Hymnography), some of which bear evocative titles (e.g. "Viola" or "Persian"). In the 15th century, evidence of Western influence on Byzantine music in the form of settings of the Nicene creed and simple two-part polyphony appears amongst the works of the theorist (and later Uniate bishop of Methone) John Plousiadenos, and the imperial court musicians Manuel Gazes and Manuel Chrysaphes.

The fall of Constantinople to the Turks in 1453 left the Hellenic peoples split politically and musically into areas dominated either by Latin Christians or the Ottomans. Renaissance Crete, the Ionian islands, and southern Italy evolved distinct Western dialects of Byzantine chant often supplemented in performance by "chanting on the book" ("*cantare super librum*"), a practice of improvising polyphony that survives to the present day in certain areas. Some musicians, including Frangiskos Leontaritis (1518–72), a Cretan composer of polyphonic masses and motets, and Hieronymos Tragodistes (*fl.* *c.*mid-16th century), a Cypriot student of the Renaissance theorist Gioseffo Zarlino, also became fully proficient in the idioms of their Latin rulers. Following the Turkish conquest of Cyprus and Crete, Western forms of art music blossomed in the Ionian islands. Italian opera was staged in Corfu from at least 1733, laying the foundation for an indigenous Ionian school of opera composers led by Nikolaos Halkiopoulos-Manztaros (1795–1872) that flourished during the 19th century.

Analogous patterns of musical activity developed among the Romaic Greeks of the Ottoman empire after a 17th-century revival of Byzantine chanting centred on the Ecumenical Patriarchate. Working mostly within the stylistic categories bequeathed by their late-Byzantine predecessors, Panagiotes the "New Chrysaphes" (*c.*1623–*c.*1682), Germanos of New Patras (*c.*1625–*c.*1685), Balasios the Priest (*c.*1615–*c.*1700), and Petros Bereketes (*c.*1665–*c.*1725) enriched the received repertories with orally transmitted formulae (*theseis*) while creating the new genre of the kalophonic *eirmos* (model stanza). During this period it also became customary for Romaic cantors to acquire fluency in what was commonly referred to as "foreign music" (*exoteriki mousiki*), namely the Arabo-Persian art music of the Ottoman court. Zacharias Chanantes (also known as Mir Cemil, 1680–1750) and Petros Peloponnesios (Petraki-i Kebir?, d. 1778) distinguished themselves in both Byzantine and Ottoman music, a feat that was to be emulated by Romaic musicians well into the 20th century.

Musical life in Romaic communities during the 18th century was affected by the growing popularity of Western music among the Ottoman empire's bourgeoisie and an internal movement towards the systematization of the received repertory of Byzantine chant. The latter began with attempts to notate more fully the orally transmitted *theseis* through a process of transcription or "interpretation" (*exigisis*). This process was continued by Petros Peleponnesios and his student Petros Byzantios (d. 1808), who also offered their own revised versions of the Sticherarion and Heirmologion as alternatives to the embellished medieval and post-Byzantine repertories then in use, thereby laying the basis for all modern Greek chanting. Two attempts by Agapios Paliermos (d. 1815) to replace Byzantine neumes with forms of Western notation were defeated by conservative forces in the patriarchal chapel, but a third comprehensive reform proposed by Chrysanthos of Madytos (*c.*1770–1843) modifying the traditional system with borrowings from ancient Greek and Western music was accepted by the Ecumenical Patriarchate in 1814. Chrysanthos drastically reduced the number of qualitative signs in Byzantine notation, replaced the traditional intonations with a Western-style system of solmization, introduced precise means of notating chromaticism and subdivisions of the basic beat, and revived the Aristoxenian distinction between diatonic, chromatic, and enharmonic modes. Nearly the entire received repertory was transcribed into this "New Method" by Chrysanthos's associates Chourmouzios the Archivist (*c.*1770–1840) and Gregorios the Protopsaltis (*c.*1778–1821), whose works achieved widespread circulation in the first printed volumes of Byzantine chant. The "New Method" survived the challenge of a competing notational system introduced by George of Lesbos in 1840 and remains in use today with some modifications. In 1881 a Patriarchal Commission on Music corrected the scales of Chrysanthos, while more recently Simon Karas (d. 1999) revived certain qualitative signs from medieval Byzantine notation and, somewhat less successfully, proposed further minor revisions to the tunings of the Byzantine modes.

The history of music in the modern state of Greece has been marked by conflicting attempts to create popular and art repertories consonant with evolving conceptions of modern Greek identity that have alternately rejected elements of Italo-Greek and Romaic culture as unduly tainted by foreign influence. The task of creating a common musical idiom was initially complicated by the fact that none of the existing Hellenic centres of cultivated sacred or secular music fell within the borders of the small Greek kingdom that emerged from the revolution of 1821. While "folk" (demotic) song persisted among Greece's rural inhabitants, its new urban elite imported art and popular music from the Ionian islands and western Europe. Despite the grumbling of some traditionalists, king Otho's institution in 1834 of public performances by military bands and other similar efforts to broaden the audience for Western styles of music were generally well received. Two notable exceptions were attempts in 1836 and 1869 to introduce polyphony during Easter services at the cathedral of Athens, both of which were halted by rioting congregations. In 1870, however, at the instigation of queen Olga a polyphonic choir of men and boys was successfully founded in the royal chapel by Alexander Kantakouzenos (1824–92), formerly of Odessa. The following year Kantakouzenos became the first director of the Athens Conservatory, an influential institution that was one of many organizations founded in Greece during the last three decades of the 19th century to provide an expanding bourgeoisie with various styles of music, whether created abroad or, increasingly, locally. In addition to the introduction of French operetta, the 1870s witnessed the appearance of two competing styles of musical cafés, each of which attracted a highly partisan following: the *café chantant* as a venue for western European popular music and dancing, viewed as immoral by certain traditionalists; and the *café aman*, featuring an ethnically heterogeneous mix of popular musical repertories borrowed from the Romaic Greeks of Asia Minor and viewed by some westernizers as havens of debased Oriental culture. Parallel controversies over the relative merits of Western and Oriental musical styles occurred in the field of liturgical music, reaching their height in the first decade of the 20th century with the bitter disputes between the reformer John Sakellarides and the traditionalist Konstantinos Psachos.

Interest in the hitherto ignored tradition of demotic music was sparked among Greece's intellectual elite by Louis Bougault-Ducoudray's publication of a collection of 30 rural and Romaic popular songs harmonized according to his own classicizing theories of modality. The rather selective collections of his Greek imitators contributed to the institutionalization of a sanitized version of rural culture concordant with contemporary political ideology, while also providing some with a pretext to reject the Italo-Greek art music of the Ionian school in favour of central European ideas of musical nationalism. Advanced by George Nazos (1862–1934), a German-trained musician who drastically revised the curriculum of the Athens Conservatory upon his appointment as its director in 1891, this artistic reorientation climaxed with the emergence of a "national school" of composers led by Manolis Kalomiris (1883–1962) that claimed to draw its primary inspiration from demotic music. Kalomiris spent the second decade of the 20th century composing a notable series of works leading up to his Symphony no. 1, the *Levendia*, a paean to the "Great Idea" written between 1918 and 1920, while Dimitri Mitropoulos (1896–1960) bypassed the nationalism of his colleagues completely with *Soeur Béatrice*, an opera in French based on a text by Maeterlinck. The complexity of these ambitious compositions heralded the arrival of an era in which "serious" and "popular" music in Western styles began to develop along rather different lines in Greece, as elsewhere. The phenomenally successful operettas of Theophrastos Sakellarides (1883–1950) and other composers setting Greek librettos in a contemporary Viennese style were thus succeeded by popular songs in such foreign idioms as the foxtrot and the tango.

The burning of Smyrna and the destruction of its cosmopolitan musical culture in 1922 were succeeded over the course of the 20th century by the dispersal of Romaic musical communities throughout Turkey and the Middle East. At first, the exchange of populations mandated by the Treaty of Lausanne appears to have had little impact on Greece's recent achievement of a preliminary musical synthesis on a mostly Western basis. This was particularly true of "serious" music, in which the conservative "national school" held sway within the country until well after World War II, effectively banishing the works of Schoenberg's pupil Nikos Skalkottas (1904–49). Popular music was affected somewhat sooner by the revival of the *café aman* by the Asia Minor refugees, whose music soon began to mix with that of the urban underclass. The result was a bouzouki-based genre of popular songs known as *rebetika* that came to exist in parallel with what Voliotis-Kapetanakis (1989) has called the music of the "official culture", exemplified in the popular sphere by the cabaret music of Attik (Kleon Triantaphyllou, 1895–1944) and Michalis Souyioul (1905–58). As *rebetika* achieved commercial success through recordings and nightclub performances, they gradually lost their taboo status and evolved into *laïka* ("popular music"), a musically syncretic genre that transformed the bouzouki into a virtuoso instrument.

Greece's deep political divisions as it emerged from the 1940s were mirrored in music by conflicts between advocates of the increasingly outmoded cultural synthesis of the 1920s and partisans of genres stigmatized by their opponents as relics of oriental domination, represented at opposite ends of the social spectrum by Byzantine chant and *rebetika*. The intellectual foundations for a rapprochement between the two factions were provided notably by Simon Karas, who defended the integrity of the received tradition of Byzantine chanting through teaching and scholarship, and Manos Hadjidakis (1925–94), who scandalized Athenian musical society with a lecture in 1949 exalting *rebetika* as quintessentially Greek music. Hadjidakis went on to employ melodic and rhythmic elements of *rebetika* in his own compositions as he repeatedly crossed and ultimately transcended the boundaries between art and popular music, revitalizing Greek popular song and musical theatre during the 1950s with his eclectic style. The breaking down of cultural barriers in Greek music was soon carried further by Mikis Theodorakis (b. 1925), a student of Olivier Messiaen. Convinced of the cultural bankruptcy of the "national school" and inspired by socialist ideology, Theodorakis forsook the international career in avant-garde music chosen by his fellow Messiaen pupil Iannis Xenakis (b. 1922) in order to devote himself to the creation of what he hoped would be a truly representative Greek musical idiom

drawing stylistically on the bouzouki music of the lower classes. Theodorakis's penchant for setting the works of such highly regarded poets as Elytis and Ritsos in a popular style was imitated by others including Stavros Xarchakos (b. 1939) and Yannis Markopoulos (b. 1939), thus initiating the so-called "popular art song" (*entechni laïki mousiki*) movement. Composers who had similarly rejected the "national school" but refrained from immersing themselves in popular song included not only internationalists such as Theodore Antoniou (b. 1935), Yannis Chrestou (1926–70), and Anestis Logothetis (1921–94), but also Michael Adamis (b.1929) and Dimitris Terzakis (b. 1938), both of whom have applied avant-garde techniques to material of Byzantine and demotic origin. By the end of the 1970s, "popular art song" had largely run its course and Theodorakis returned to the creation of symphonies and other forms of art music as star performers eclipsed song writers in popular genres. Among the succeeding generation of composers, only Thanos Mikroutsikos (b. 1947) has achieved equal levels of success in popular and art music.

During the last two decades of the 20th century strife over Greece's musical orientation between East and West receded as large numbers of its people adopted an eclectic multi-culturalism embracing purist revivals of Byzantine chanting, demotic song, and Ottoman court music alongside Western rock, jazz, and early music. This process has been facilitated by growth of the Greek media and the long overdue construction of the Athens Concert Hall (Megaron), as well as by the founding of music departments at the universities of Thessalonica, Athens, and Corfu. Outside Greece itself, many musicians of Greek extraction have continued to distinguish themselves in a variety of genres. Christos Hatzis (b. 1953), Peter Michaelidis (b. 1930), George Tsontakis (b. 1951), and Tikey Zes (b. 1927) are among the composers of the diaspora who have created works drawing explicitly on Hellenic musical traditions.

ALEXANDER LINGAS

See also Dance, Hymnography, Instruments, Opera, Song

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Muslims

The presence of Muslims on Greek national territory can be traced back to the time of the Ottoman empire. Originally most of the Muslims lived in western Thrace – where they constituted the majority of the population until the 1920s – as well as in Macedonia, Epirus, and Crete. Their community included groups speaking Turkish, Albanian, Slavonic, and Greek. The majority of Cretan Muslims spoke Greek.

In Greek historiography, and often in popular tradition, the relation of the Muslims to the Christian Orthodox population tends to be described in terms of enmity; all the different Muslim groups tend to be lumped together and considered as Turks. This approach has its origins in the Greek–Turkish conflicts over the legacy of the Ottoman empire, during which Islam and Christianity were the official religions of two rival nations.

However, numerous shared traditions show that the Orthodox Christian and Muslim populations influenced each other in both cultural and social terms during the Ottoman period. A similar interaction is also evident in the religious sphere, at least in terms of popular religion. Syncretic ritual acts point to the interpenetration of Orthodox Christian and Islamic approaches to faith: the worship of saints, the holy places, and the graves of holy men are typical of both the

Balkan region and northern Greece. Historians of religion tend to attribute this to the influence of actual representatives and bearers of such syncretic religious traditions in the Balkans – the Dervish brotherhoods and the Bektashi order in particular. These rituals survive to the present day in the popular beliefs of many west Thracian Muslims, although they have probably moved some distance from their original content. Perfect examples are the cult of saints and the spring festival called the "Hidrellez". The latter is celebrated today on 6 May, mainly in the Rhodope region; at its origin is the interweaving of three different saint figures: Elias from the Jewish tradition, al-Hadr from the Muslim tradition, and George from the Christian tradition.

The minority status of the Muslim community in Greece is connected with the foundation of the independent Greek state, whose predominant religion, according to the Greek constitution (article 3 §1 paragraph 1), is Eastern Orthodox Christianity. The rights of religious and linguistic minorities within the newly proclaimed Greek state were protected under the London Protocol of 22 January 1830. Following the annexation of Thessaly and a part of Epirus to Greece (Treaty of Constantinople, 1881), large numbers of Muslims living in these areas came to be resident on Greek national territory. The Epirus Muslims were Albanians, known as "Tsamides". The Treaty of Constantinople (1881) went into some detail on Greece's obligations towards its Muslim minorities.

The Lausanne Conference of 20 November 1922 was a landmark in terms of the Muslim presence in Greece: among other things it decreed an "obligatory exchange of population" between Greece and Turkey along religious lines. Greek Christians living in Istanbul and Muslims resident in western Thrace were exempted from this compulsory exchange and from this time onward constituted minority populations in their respective countries. The Lausanne Convention on the Protection of Minorities laid down the obligations of both states towards the minorities living on their territories.

According to the first census in Greece after the Lausanne Convention, carried out in 1928, there were 102,621 Muslims living in western Thrace, the majority of them in the department of Rhodope. However, these Muslims did not form a unified community – at least three separate groups can be identified (by their language and by their distinct lifestyles within mainly homogeneous communities): Turks (Turkish-speaking), Pomaks (Slavophone), and Muslim Gypsies (speaking both Turkish and Romany). In addition there were numerically less significant groups of Circassians, Kurds, and a Turkish-speaking group of African origin. The Pomaks lived mainly in the foothills of the Rhodope mountains, the Turks mainly in the southern lowland and in the towns, the Gypsies mainly on the outskirts of towns and the southern lowland.

The Muslim community in central Greece (the "Tsamides") was gradually eliminated through repression, but the Muslim communities of western Thrace still exist today. They are the only officially recognized minority in Greece, and have been granted Greek citizenship since the 1920s.

After World War II the Muslim population in Greece increased through the annexation of the Dodecanese islands (Paris Peace Treaty of 1947). On the Dodecanese (principally on the islands of Rhodes and Cos) there were around 4937 Muslims, accounting for some 4.1 per cent of the islands' population. These Muslims have Greek citizenship but they are not recognized as a minority by the Greek state; nor are they protected by the Lausanne Treaty as this refers exclusively to the Muslims of western Thrace.

The highest religious and administrative body for the Muslim minority in western Thrace is the Mufti office. This institution is based on Articles 45 and 16 of the Lausanne Convention for the Protection of Minorities, itself based on the Treaty of Sèvres (1920). However, the introduction of the Mufti office ultimately derives from the Treaty of Constantinople (1881), which was subsequently extended by national legislation (for example, law ΑΠ/1882 of 22 June 1882, law 2345/1920 of 24 June 1920, and most recently law 1920/1991 of 24 December 1990). In 1923 there were three Mufti offices in Greece; the number rose to ten in January 1928 and to 12 in April 1928. In the meantime the number of Muslims had risen significantly due to the annexation of Epirus after the Balkan Wars. In July 1953 and after the elimination of the Epirus Muslims, the number of offices was reduced to three: these are still based in the west Thracian towns of Xanthi, Komotini, and Didymoteichon. Today, there is an additional Mufti office on Rhodes.

The Lausanne Treaty also provided for a special educational system (at primary level) for the Muslims of western Thrace, although the mainstream educational system was also open to them as an alternative. In 1997 there were 232 minority primary schools in western Thrace, with a total of around 8500 pupils. The minority schools have private status and are administered by the Mufti office. The schools' principal sources of funding are religious establishments (the *awqaf*), contributions by pupils, and in some cases subsidies from the Greek state. There are also some secondary-level minority schools alongside the mainstream educational system, run on the basis of a bilateral agreement between Greece and Turkey in those regions inhabited exclusively by Muslims. In addition there are two religious institutes (*medrese*) for training holy men. The Pedagogical Academy was founded in Thessalonica in 1968 to train teachers for the minority education system: only members of the Muslim community are allowed to study here.

The identity of the Muslims of western Thrace has been a subject of dispute between Greece and Turkey since the 1920s: Turkey rejects the description "Muslim", maintaining that the minority in western Thrace is exclusively ethnically Turkish. Greece, by contrast, sees this minority as consisting of fundamentally heterogeneous groups of Muslims and denies that the community as a whole can be defined as Turkish. The Pomaks were also a subject of latent conflict between Greece and Bulgaria up to the 1970s: Bulgaria regarded the Pomaks as Bulgarians who had converted to Islam and thus maintained that there was a Bulgarian minority in northern Greece.

Participation in parliamentary elections provides an indicator of the standing of Muslims in the Greek political system. Until the 1980s Muslim candidates were put forward only in the electoral lists of the established parties. The one exception was the "Tsamourgia" party of Epirus, which offered its own list of candidates in the 1926 parliamentary elections. After this Greece did not see another Muslim political party until 1985, when a Muslim party from western Thrace, called "Eirini" (Peace), took part in parliamentary elections in the

prefecture of Xanthi, albeit without success. In the years following this, two more parties were founded: "Empistosyni" (Trust) in Rhodope and "Pepromeno" (Fate) in Xanthi. However, members of the minority community still appear on the electoral lists of the established parties.

The exact number of west Thracian Muslims can only be estimated: the Greek official statistics office does not provide any data on the Greek minorities after the census of 1951. In terms of social standing, the Muslims living in western Thrace still belong mainly to the most underprivileged strata of Greek society, although some improvements have been apparent since the 1980s. Over the last 15 years the Muslim population has become far more mobile: large numbers of former farmers and tobacco producers (especially Pomaks) have been leaving the Rhodopes for the cities of the region. There has also been a significant increase in the migration of west Thracian Muslims to cities all over Greece, especially Athens and Thessalonica, and also to western Europe (mainly Germany).

SEVASTI TRUBETA

See also Minorities

Summary

There have been Muslims in Greece since the time of the Ottoman empire, mostly in western Thrace, Macedonia, Epirus, and Crete, and since 1947 in the Dodecanese. The Epirus Muslims have been eliminated by repression. The western Thrace Muslims are officially acknowledged in the Lausanne Treaty of 1923. They are not a homogeneous group, being made up of Turks, Pomaks, and Gypsies.

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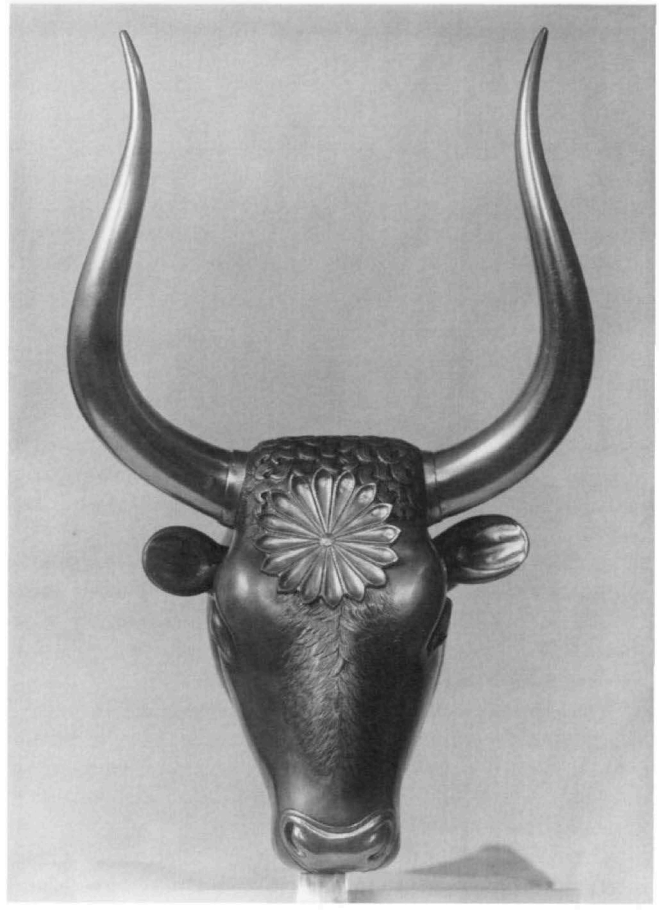
Mycenae

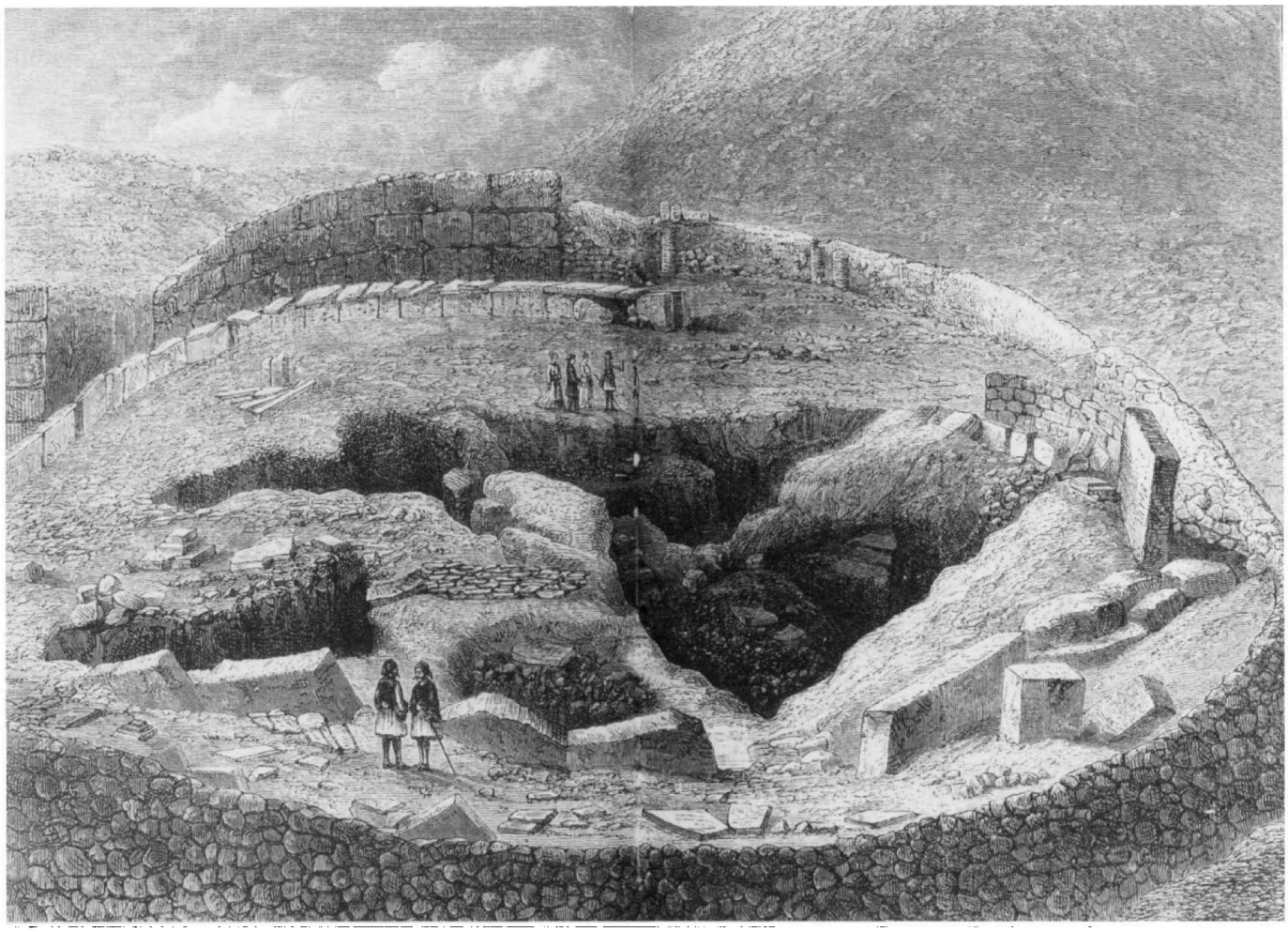
Bronze Age type site

Mycenae stands on a rocky knoll tucked into the northeast corner of the Argolid. Today it appears as a walled citadel with an external circuit of about 1 km. On the slopes to the north and west lie areas of settlement and beyond that at least 250 family chamber tombs in 27 separate cemeteries. These lie along a network of well-built roads which link the site to the rest of the Argolid and to the Corinthia to the north. The overall area thus used has been estimated at 32 hectares.

The site is known from Homer as the home of Agamemnon, leader of the Achaean forces before Troy, and has been the scene of archaeological investigation since the middle of the 19th century when in 1841 Kyriakos Pittakis completed the clearance of the Lion Gate on behalf of the Archaeological Society of Athens. Heinrich Schliemann's excavations of 1874 and 1876, which followed his work at Troy, disclosed the rich tombs now known as Grave Circle A and brought international renown. These finds form the spectacular core of the Mycenaean Room in the National Museum at Athens. The site has given its name to the Late Bronze Age civilization of mainland Greece but its remains are too rich for the site to be considered typical of that period. Subsequent research has been by the Archaeological Society: Panaiotis Stamatakis, Christos Tsountas, Ioannis Papadimitriou, George Mylonas, and Spiros



Mycenae: vase in the shape of a bull's head, Mycenae, 16th century BC, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford



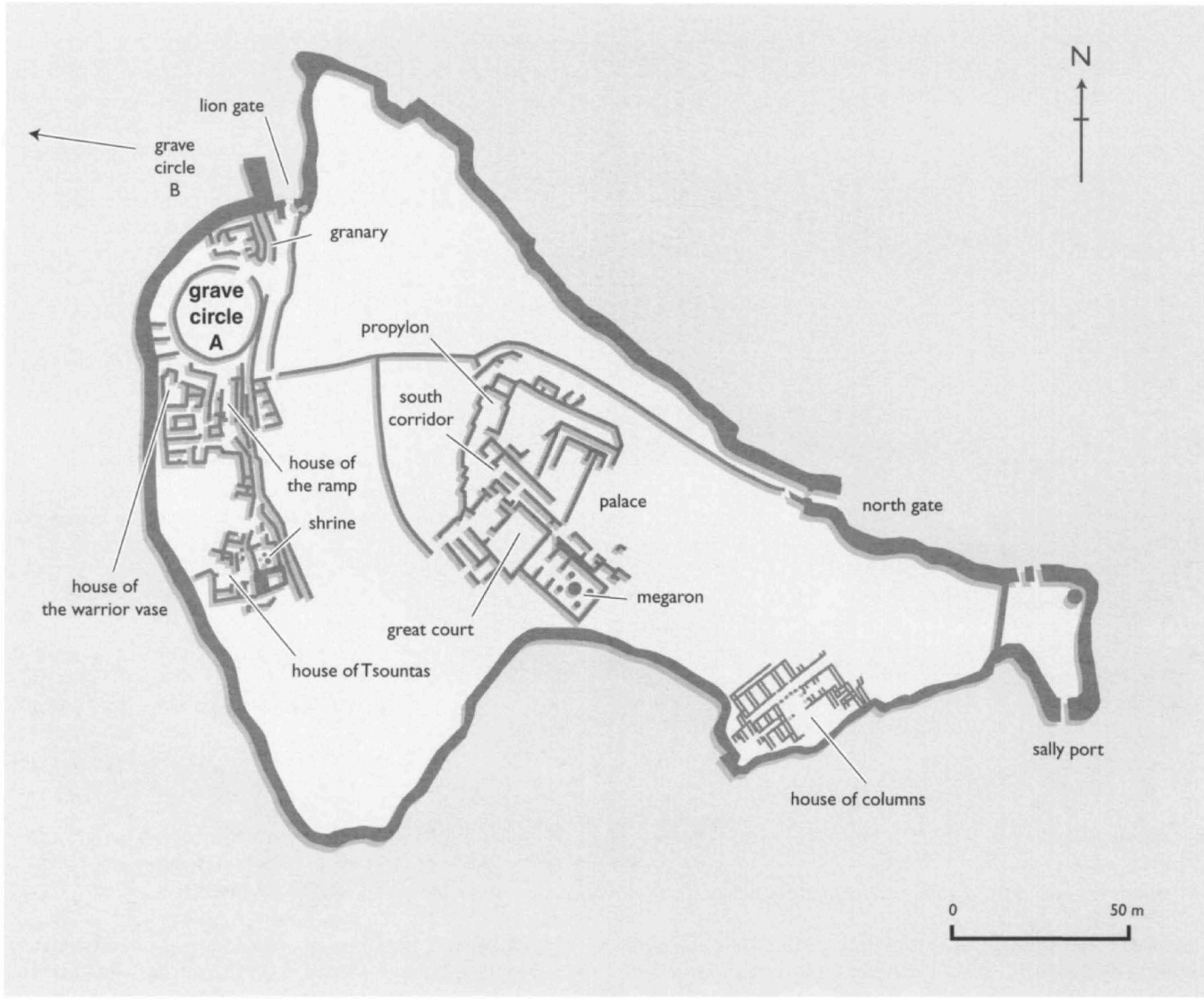
Mycenae: engraving from 1878 of Heinrich Schliemann's 1874 illustration of one of the grave circles at Mycenae

Iakovides, and (through the generosity of the Archaeological Society) by the British School at Athens (BSA): Alan Wace and Lord William Taylour. The site was mapped in 1887/88 by Bernard Steffen; an area survey by Iakovides and Elizabeth B. French (BSA) has recently been completed.

It is now known that the site was settled in the Neolithic period (6500 BC) but only became rich in the late Middle Bronze Age (*c.*1650 BC) when it seems to have taken over hegemony of the Argive plain from Argos. A series of warrior princes were buried in shaft graves (Grave Circles B and A) or, later, in built tholos tombs of which there are nine in total in three groups of three. There was a bureaucratic, centralized, possibly "palatial" society. Overseas links extended throughout the eastern Mediterranean and as far as Italy, Sardinia, and on occasion Spain to the west. It seems probable that it was the ruler of Mycenae to whom a letter from the Hittite king was addressed using the terms "Brother" and "Great King". At Mycenae itself, as elsewhere on the mainland of Greece and at Knossos, records were kept in the Linear B syllabic script, shown by the decipherment by Michael Ventris in 1952 to be an early form of Greek. This society collapsed around 1200 BC, probably as the result of earthquakes which disrupted the elaborate economic system. There was however no cultural break and the site continued to be inhabited, though by ever smaller numbers of people, until the Persian Wars when Herodotus says Mycenae, with Tiryns, sent a contingent of 400 to fight at Plataea. The name is inscribed on the serpent column which originally held the memorial tripod for this battle at Delphi but was later removed to the Hippodrome at Constantinople. The continued inhabitation of the site may have been linked to its control of Argive religious centres or to its position in Greek mythology. As well as an Archaic temple (of Hera or Athena) on the summit of the acropolis, there are Archaic dedications at the Treasury of Atreus and a shrine with dedications to Agamemnon of Hellenistic date, though the shrine itself originated in the late Geometric period. It has been suggested that this timing may reflect the circulation of the Homeric poems.

In 468 BC the town was attacked and captured by Argos and its fortifications disabled. The 5th-century BC tragedians, when dealing with the myths of the Oresteia cycle, mix Mycenae and Argos. Details in Aeschylus' *Agamemnon*, particularly the account of a series of beacon stations linking to Troy, seem to belong to Mycenae itself and the naming of Argos is thought to reflect political considerations at a date, 458 BC, soon after the downfall of the site. Schliemann thought that Euripides must have known the site in order to describe it so tellingly.

In the Hellenistic period Mycenae was revived as a *koma* or fortified settlement by Argos; the citadel walls were repaired, the lower town enclosed by a wall, the temple rebuilt, and a theatre and fountain house built. This town gradually declined



26. Mycenae

and by the 1st century BC to the poets of the *Greek Anthology* (notably Alphaeus of Mylitene) had become a byword for faded glory. However, in the 2nd century AD Pausanias saw monuments which can be related to the site as known today, particularly the Lion Gate itself and the tholos tomb which he called the "Treasury of Atreus".

Though well known by name, the site is not correctly positioned on maps until the late 18th century and the Lion Gate is not mentioned after Pausanias until a Venetian document of 1700. Some damage was done to two tholos tombs (those known as the Treasury of Atreus and the Tomb of Clytemnestra) by Veli Pasha in the early 19th century and both Lord Elgin and Lord Sligo brought back pieces of the facade of the Treasury of Atreus which are now in the British Museum. The lion sculpture over the main gate was luckily considered too heavy to move. During the 19th century the site was frequently visited and was illustrated mainly in watercolour by many travellers, but it has appeared in literature, either Greek or other European, less frequently. Sartre's terrifying *Les Mouches* is once again set in Argos. A notable exception is Sacheverell Sitwell's *Agamemnon's Tomb*, reflecting an aspect little felt by the modern tourist.

ELIZABETH FRENCH

Summary

The citadel of Mycenae occupies a hilltop in the northeast corner of the Argolid. It flourished in the Middle to Late Bronze Age (1650–1200 BC) as the centre of a warrior society. Impressive grave goods and documents in Linear B have been found. The site continued to be occupied on a smaller scale until 458 BC and was reoccupied in the Hellenistic period.

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Mycenaeans

"Mycenaeans" is the term applied both to the inhabitants of Mycenae itself and to the inhabitants of the whole of southern and central Greece (as far as Mount Olympus) in the Late Bronze Age (1600–1050 BC). The term was also originally used by Sir Arthur Evans for the inhabitants of Crete at a similar date before, in 1905, he put forward the new term "Minoan".

It is now known for certain, since the decipherment in 1952 by Michael Ventris of their written language in the Linear B script, that the Mycenaeans were Greeks. It is still a matter for debate when this Indo-European people entered Greece or if the language developed in situ from the original core. A common interpretation of the evidence postulates that they can be identified as immigrants from northwest Anatolia whose different, rather inhibited, culture can be widely seen in the closing years of the 3rd millennium BC.

By about 1600 BC a warrior elite had come to power at a number of centres, notably in Messenia and at Mycenae. The growth of wealth among this group can clearly be traced in the finds from Grave Circle B at Mycenae, followed by those of Grave Circle A. The presence in the 15th century BC of single tholos tombs at various sites suggests the model of Early State Modules which become linked through vassaldom, intermarriage, etc. This structure can still be seen in the Homeric poems, especially the Catalogue of Ships, which appear to reflect Bronze Age conditions with adjustments for later political factors.

The simple basic culture of the late Early Bronze Age and the Middle Bronze Age developed with the access of wealth and under Cretan artistic inspiration (and possibly actual craftsmen). However, it retained its separate identity and is notable for the stylization of natural motifs into symmetrical often heraldic patterns and for the portrayal of warfare with only the rarest representations of the actual rulers in any guise.

Between 1400 and 1200 BC the influence of the Mycenaeans grew throughout the Mediterranean. They had contact, presumably from trade, with an area stretching from Sardinia in the west to the Levant coast in the east and to the north into Albania and Macedonia. Sporadic Mycenaean imports are also found in Egypt. Current research is investigating the degree of acculturation which resulted in the various regions with which they had contact. The growth of power and influence caused the culture to become more centralized and an elaborate bureaucracy is attested in the Linear B documents. Artefact production seems, from what has been preserved, to have changed from elite specialities to bulk manufacture.

The second half of the 14th century and the 13th century formed the acme of Mycenaean influence. The term *Ahhiyawa*, as used in Hittite texts, seems to refer to the Mycenaeans during this period; the ruler is on one occasion refered to as "Great King", a term usually employed for the ruler of Egypt and other major contemporary states.

At the end of the 13th century BC a series of disasters, possibly the result of earthquake or climatic instability, caused the collapse of the centralized bureaucracy. Though the period called Mycenaean continued until the mid-11th century BC, the artistic and cultural activity of the various regions of Greece is more diverse and there is no further evidence of literacy. By the point at which the hallmark stirrup jar is no longer produced, the Mycenaeans can be considered to have given way to the more obviously direct ancestors of the Classical Greeks.

The later Greeks were well aware of their ancestors of the Mycenaean period, though the term "Mycenaeans" is never used to refer to them. In Homer the adjective applies only to the people of the city itself. It was once thought that this awareness was not the result of cultural continuum from the Bronze Age but resulted from the rediscovery of tombs of Bronze Age date, often assigned to heroes, and from an interest in the past revived by the epics of Homer. Archaeology has now shown this not to be the case; for instance the "heroic" burial at Lefkandi in Euboea dates to the 10th century BC but is of Homeric type. The influence of this legacy on the development of myth and of legends associated with local heroes is much discussed. Homer is now thought to reflect a mainland oral tradition. The cumulative result is seen in all the surviving works of ancient authors, from Hesiod to Pausanias. The respect accorded to heroic ancestors, whether genuine or invented, is epitomized by such events as the diversion of Alexander to make offerings at the supposed tomb of Achilles in the Troad.

ELIZABETH FRENCH

See also Linear B

Summary

Mycenaeans were not only the inhabitants of ancient Mycenae, but those of all southern and central Greece in the Late Bronze Age (1600–1050 BC). Their script, known as Linear B, is an early form of Greek. They were a wealthy warrior society with trading contacts throughout the Mediterranean. The Classical Greeks were aware of these ancestors but did not refer to them as Mycenaeans.

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Myrivilis, Stratis 1892–1969

Novelist

A sarcastic narrator, a nostalgic extoller of the Greek pastoral landscape, and a fervent exponent of the human condition, Myrivilis was the initiator of the war novel in Greek literature. He also made a tremendous contribution to the emergence and perfection of war literature as a particular literary genre while, at the same time, playing a substantial role in the development and emancipation of the so called anti-war, humanist movement in modern literature.

Myrivilis produced an amazing variety of work ranging from novels and short stories, to poems, essays, critical treatises, and reviews. His best-known works include *Kokkines Istories* (Red Stories, 1915) and *Oiigimata* (Narrations, 1928). The publication of these two collections of stories – in the aftermath of World War I and the Asia Minor disaster respectively – inaugurated the first phase of war literature in Greece. As Myrivilis's reputation grew, he proceeded to write some of his most lengthy, wide-ranging, mature novels including *I Zoi en Tapho* (Life in the Tomb, 1924), *I Daskala me ta Chrysa Matia* (The Schoolmistress with the Golden Eyes, 1933), *O Argonavtis* (The Argonaut, 1936), and *I Panagia i Gorgona* (The Mermaid Madonna, 1949). These works signified the second, most fertile phase of Greek war literature, which laid the foundations for the subsequent arrival of the anti-war dimension in literature.

Myrivilis's novels were marked by a density of personal style as well as an artfully elaborated, flawless expression. His novels are characterized by the use of well-structured phraseology and a stimulating imagery able to recreate and intensify the war experience. Although Myrivilis was mainly preoccupied with the overriding theme of his novels, he never underestimated the significance and primary role played by linguistic skill, style, expression, and idiom in a literary work.

Myrivilis participated in the Balkan Wars (1912–13) by joining the front line as a volunteer, in World War I, and in the military expedition in Asia Minor. Having experienced the brutality and bloodthirsty inhumane reality of war, he wrote about his own experiences and relayed his anti-war message to future generations. By persistently describing the barbarous reality of fighting and depicting the animal instincts of the people involved in it, he attempted to exalt the value of life itself as the most precious gift of human existence. Indeed, the context of his work acquired a special importance, its character magnified in his readers' minds to an extent that they would consider both his life and work as if they were crystals produced in reaction to the times.

The unique elements of Myrivilis's work have to do with the particular perspective he endorsed, as well as his distinct outlook. He experienced war and he succeeded in describing its drama in every possible detail from the position of a simple soldier of the front line or the trench, and not that of the senior officer or the politician. By adopting this point of view, he spelled out the individual man's experience of war, the central place occupied by his feelings, instincts, necessities, passions, and the need for survival. In this way, Myrivilis expressed his denunciation of war and set himself against those whom he held responsible for the outbreak and continuation of such a misery. By emphasizing the contrast between the condition of life in peace and death in war, he was able to dispatch his anti-war message. Such a treatment of his subject combined with the deployment of realistic imagery of the moment of war reminiscent of Homer or Thucydides made him a traditional writer. By selective use of the ideas and methods of earlier war writers, Myrivilis produced a synthesis of utterance with which he continued to deplore combat. At the same time, he recognized a change of circumstances (not of a deeper reality) from those experienced by previous writers. His great contribution to the Hellenic literary tradition lies in the fact that he prepared the way for an entire generation of war authors to follow, such as Ilias Venezis, Angelos Vlachos, Angelos Terzakis, Loukis Akritas, George Theotokis, Alexandros Kotzias, Thitho Sotiriou, and Nikos Kasdaglis.

Myrivilis's world of ideas is (as one might expect of a developed writer) not so much the expression of a simple idea, or even of different ideas joined together; it is much more the work of one idea developed in opposition to itself, and in this he expressed precisely his central dilemma as a humane, creative person occupied more or less efficiently in the activity of slaughter. As a fighting man dedicated to the arts of peace, his life, like that of most other soldiers, could not be other than contradictory; and in that paradox the expression of his position is founded on a dilemma.

Myrivilis preached extensively in his novels the value of life and peaceful human existence. Having experienced the destructive reality and madness of the most barbarous collective activity of humankind, he soon discovered the anti-heroic, corruptive, and humiliating boredom of the trench and recognized the imperishable nature of human life. In such awareness lies the innovative quality and didactic element of his writing. The traditional heroic spirit of the Greeks that characterized their never-ending struggle for peace seems to wane before the mystery of life and the grandeur of human nature. This does not mean that the writer separates himself from the tradition but, on the contrary, he declares his intention to go one step further. By raising his anti-war voice, he claimed that the continuation and preservation of tradition could be achieved only through life. Human existence for Myrivilis reflects God's goodness and is the evidence of His handiwork. Such a perspective resulted in influences from the biblical tradition in which God is identified with life and beauty. However, Myrivilis goes a little further in identifying life with the inner human soul. To discover the meaning of life is to discover your psyche. At this point, his work seems to elicit a deeper religious existential thinking. His work is a synthesis of Homeric ideas, Christian thought, and folklore morality. This is why he is

regarded as a link between the philosophical polytheism of ancient Greece and the monotheism of Christianity.

Another frequently analysed idea in Myrivilis's work is that of the vital need for shared human contact. The writer opposes the condition of the solitary man. This shows how two principles of Aristotelian philosophy exerted a profound influence on Myrivilis: that man is by nature a social animal and that man cannot live alone, otherwise he becomes either God or beast. Myrivilis also draws attention to the idea of Rousseau's primitive human soul and proceeds to compose an encomium for the primeval unspoiled innocent soul.

By his ability to merge the lyric and epic elements in his novels without losing the balance between them, Myrvilis produced allegorical didactic novels which gave expression to his talents and his alert conscience. His work is consistent with War in a wider context than the war offers, so that for him the focus of his novels is an idea of the otherness and the confining totality of experience. His characters are strongly built just like the figures of the biblical or tragic tradition. In this manner, he especially influenced the construction of Venezis's characters.

For these reasons, Myrivilis's writing works both as a moral agent requiring an alteration in the reader's psyche and thus in the conduct of society, which is made up of these readers; but it also functions as a literary artefact.

MARIA ROUMBALOU

Biography

Stratis Myrivilis was the pen name of S. Stamatopoulos who was born on Lesbos in 1892. He took part in the Balkan Wars, the First World War, and the ill-fated expedition to Asia Minor. In his novels he wrote about the bitter experience of war. He also wrote short stories, poetry, essays, and reviews. He died in Athens in 1969.

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Mysticism

The term "mysticism" is a neologism. It is, in fact, characteristic of the Greeks not to have invented a separate, abstract, term for the kind of experience they deemed inseparable from true philosophy and theology. What we do have in Greek are terms for "mystery", "mystic", and "mystical", deriving from the verb *muein*, to close the eye, to initiate into the mysteries. These terms denote that which is hidden, that which lies beyond the realm of ordinary existence. In this essay we shall take a broad definition of mysticism: the quest for, and experience of, unmediated contact with the divine.

Alongside the anthropomorphic polytheism of Greek religion there was an alternative form of religion represented by the mystery cults. These offered a direct apprehension of the divine unattainable within the civil religion. Of these cults the Eleusinian and Dionysian mysteries are of particular importance. The origins of the Eleusinian mysteries are pre-Hellenic. They consisted in the re-enactment of the myth of Demeter, the earth-mother, and her daughter Kore, or Persephone. They involved several stages of initiation, producing fellowship with the goddesses and culminating with the beholding (*epopteia*) of the revelation of these deities at the shrine of Eleusis. The Dionysian mysteries went beyond the Eleusian in seeking actual possession by and union with the deity. This was to be attained through rites of an orgiastic character in an outgoing of consciousness, or ecstasy. Both cults were associated with the triumph over death and the rebirth into immortality. The myth of the death and rebirth of Dionysus became a prominent feature of the Orphic movement, active from the 6th century BC. The Orphics sought deliverance from the cycle of transmigration and reincarnation through union with the divine, understood not merely as a transient ecstatic experience but as a permanent state of blessedness.

Plato's philosophy has a profound mystical element. His philosophy was pre-eminently a way, a means whereby man might reacquire true, participatory knowledge of the real, the eternal. The way's end is variously described: it is Being in the *Phaedo*, the Good in the *Republic*, Beauty in the *Symposium* and the *Phaedrus*, and the One in the *Philebus*. Unawakened to the real, eternal world, man perceives only the phenomenal world, the world of sense perception. In his famous cave simile Plato compares the situation of the unawakened to men shackled in a cave, able to see only the shadows of those who pass by behind them. Reawakening to the real world, the noumenal world of ideal Forms, is a painful but necessary experience. From that awakening one must strive for the apprehension of the transcendent reality that is the source of all that is. This way of contemplation and of intuitive, participatory, knowledge is a guiding principle in Plato's work. It is, for example, the way that the rulers of the city state must follow. It was to be an important influence in shaping the Christian mystical tradition.

The mystical way enunciated so clearly by Plato suffuses much of the Hellenic philosophical tradition. Aristotle, notwithstanding the many differences he had with his master, speaks of the contemplative life as a participation in the divine life in which the subject–object distinction between man and the divine disappears. The successors of Plato elaborated the mystical element in his work. The Stoicized form of Platonism known as Middle Platonism, which held sway roughly from the 1st century BC to the 3rd century AD, developed a much clearer idea of the transcendence of God, as opposed to the divine, than that found in Plato himself. It was against this

intellectual background that many of the most outstanding examples of Hellenic mysticism emerged.

The work of Philo (late 1st century BC–mid-1st century AD) represents a form of Judaism profoundly shaped by the Middle Platonism of his day. Philo presents God as radically unknowable in himself but made known in his powers or operations. This distinction, not original to Philo, was to have a long and eventful history. For Philo, God reveals himself according to man's capacity to apprehend him. To describe this process of revelation, Philo does use the language of the mystery religions, although he was not directly influenced by them. He describes the soul's journey to God as beginning with conversion and the recognition of the createdness of the universe. Through moral purity the soul comes to know itself and to recognize its utter dependence upon God. Knowledge of God is a divine grace, not a natural capacity. It entails a going out of oneself, a form of ecstasy seen most clearly in the Hebrew prophets. The shining of the light of God within entails the suspension of the faculties, entails "ecstasy and divine possession and madness". In such a state the soul is "superior to man but less than God".

The Hermetic movement that developed in Egypt in the first three centuries of the Christian era made some use of the Egyptian religion, and certainly drew upon Judaism, but was profoundly Hellenic in inspiration. The Hermetic texts present a guide to mystical experience, viewed from a variety of standpoints. They speak of God as ineffable but knowable by man by virtue of man's divine nature. The great evil is ignorance; the mystical way consists therefore in the reacquisition of self-knowledge, which is knowledge of the divine, and the ascent to the ecstatic vision of God in which man is deified, or rather realizes his own divinity.

The extraordinarily complex and seductive set of traditions known as Gnosticism posed a grave threat to Christianity in the first three centuries of the Christian era. While teachings and practices varied greatly, Gnosticism was essentially an attempt to present Christianity as a mystery religion, analogous to the mysteries of Mithras, Cybele, and Isis that were flourishing at the time. Teaching a radical form of dualism between God and the world, the Gnostics offered an initiatory form of knowledge whereby those who had a divine spark within them might escape from the material world and find salvation. Gnostic dualism found a new expression in the 3rd century AD with the rise of the Manichaean religion.

The finest example of Hellenic mysticism is to be found in the teachings of Plotinus (AD 204–70), founder of the tradition known as Neoplatonism. Plotinus took up the perception of the transcendence of God found in Middle Platonism and developed it into a thoroughgoing statement of divine incomprehensibility. Plotinus' teaching is centred upon the soul's ascent to reunion with the One. We know from his biographer, Porphyry, that Plotinus himself experienced mystical union with the One on several occasions. Plotinus teaches a way whereby the obscurities and accretions of the material life might be removed and the return to God accomplished. Plotinus had a far more positive attitude to the material world than did the Gnostics, but is at the same time unequivocal in his understanding that the material is to be left behind on the soul's journey back to God. The return to the contemplation of God in Plotinus is also the return to oneself. It is a return to the vision of light in which the subject–object distinction between man and God disappears, in which the soul becomes that light, being "raised to Godhood or, better, knowing its Godhood". Centre coincides with centre: "This is the life of gods and of the godlike and blessed among men, liberation from the alien matter that besets us here, a life taking no pleasure of the things of the earth, the passing of the alone to the Alone."

The Christian mystical tradition took up and reshaped many features of the mysticism of the Hellenistic period, being principally indebted to Philo and Plotinus. Indeed, while Philo's influence on the Jewish tradition was initially minimal, and many of Plotinus' successors lapsed into theurgy, or magic, it was the Christians who preserved many of the insights of these two great teachers within the context of a living tradition.

Clement of Alexandria integrated much of Philo's mystical teaching within the Christian tradition, most notably the motif of the divine darkness of Mount Sinai used to express God's incomprehensibility. Clement went beyond Philo in speaking quite unambiguously of man's deification. Like Philo, Clement used the language of the pagan mysteries to describe the mysteries of his own faith: "O truly holy mysteries, O light undefiled. I am led by the torch-bearer to be initiated into heaven and God. Through initiation I become holy; the Lord is my hierophant and as one-who-leads-by-light [*photogogos*] seals the votary for himself." We should not forget how attractive this sort of language would have been to the 2nd-century Alexandrine ear.

Origen's work has a deeply mystical character, something that those familiar only with his *On First Principles* and *Contra Celsum* can be prone to overlook. For Origen the mystical life is a realization of the union with Christ effected at baptism. His *Commentary* and *Homilies* on the Song of Songs develop this theme. Origen takes Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and the Song of Songs to refer to the three stages of the ascent to God, that is, to the acquisition of the virtues, to the proper understanding of the natural world, and, finally, to enoptic, or inspective, contemplation of God. In this understanding, the goal of the mystical life is union of the spiritual intellect, or *nous*, to God through contemplation. It does not entail ecstasy.

The Alexandrine mystical tradition formed a crucial component of the teaching of the Cappadocian Fathers. This is most evident in St Gregory of Nyssa's *Life of Moses*. It is also apparent in the works of Evagrius of Pontus and pseudo-Macarius. Evagrius made Origen's threefold distinction of the spiritual life classic. He also refrains from speaking about ecstasy. Macarius is less reserved, and speaks of the intellect as "utterly suspended and ravished", carried away by prayer and become one with it. He also follows Clement and Philo in using the phrase "sober drunkenness", a motif avoided by both Origen and Evagrius.

There was a danger in the Christian usage of the Hellenic mystical tradition that the mystical life would be seen as circular, as an escape from matter and a return to pre-cosmic unity. This element of circularity is palpable in the teachings of Origen and Evagrius. It was avoided by the Cappadocians and by Macarius in their emphasis on personhood and the integrity of the body. Union with God in these writers has no connotations of reabsorption into the divine. The teachings of pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite, deeply influenced by the Neoplatonism of Plotinus and Proclus, do not adequately

avoid the dangers of circularity. While their wonderful evocations of the suprarational and ecstatic apprehension of God in the state of perfect unknowing were to be enormously influential, they lacked the personalistic element so vital to true Christian mysticism.

St Maximos the Confessor produced in the 7th century an original and creative synthesis of the eastern Christian mystical tradition. Maximos built on the synthesis between Macarius and Evagrius made by Diadochus of Photice in the 5th century. Using the Cappadocian emphasis on the person, he was able to integrate the valuable insights of the Areopagite within his own synthesis. Maximos's theology is governed by mystical experience. His defence of the two wills – divine and human – in Christ was based not on abstract theological principles, but on the lived experience of the saints of the synergistic and personalistic character of union with God.

The vision of the divine light recounted so vividly by St Symeon the New Theologian is an illustration of the eastern Christian mystical tradition at its most vibrant and audacious. The nature of that light, which the hesychast monks also claimed to witness in prayer, became the subject of controversy in 14th-century Byzantium. The recognition by the Church of the divine nature of that light is a further example of mystical experience being taken as normative in the formulation of Christian doctrine.

It is examples such as these that led the Orthodox theologian Vladimir Lossky (1903–58) to declare that in the eastern Church there is no theology without mysticism and vice versa. The eastern Church has certainly been less susceptible than the West to the tendency to separate theology from mysticism. It has not, however, been immune. The *Philokalia*, for example, was produced to combat just such a separatist tendency that was very evident in 18th-century Greece. There has been a revival of interest in the theory and practice of the eastern Christian mystical tradition in the latter part of the 20th century. Against the prevailing academicism of the theological schools and the Protestant moralism of the Brotherhoods, a renewed interest in the well-springs of the Christian mystical tradition has become evident, for example among the circle of theologians influenced by the "Paris school" of Orthodox theology. This revival has also been very evident on Athos in recent years, somewhere where the mystical tradition has never died, but has often been very hard to find.

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See also Orgiastic cults

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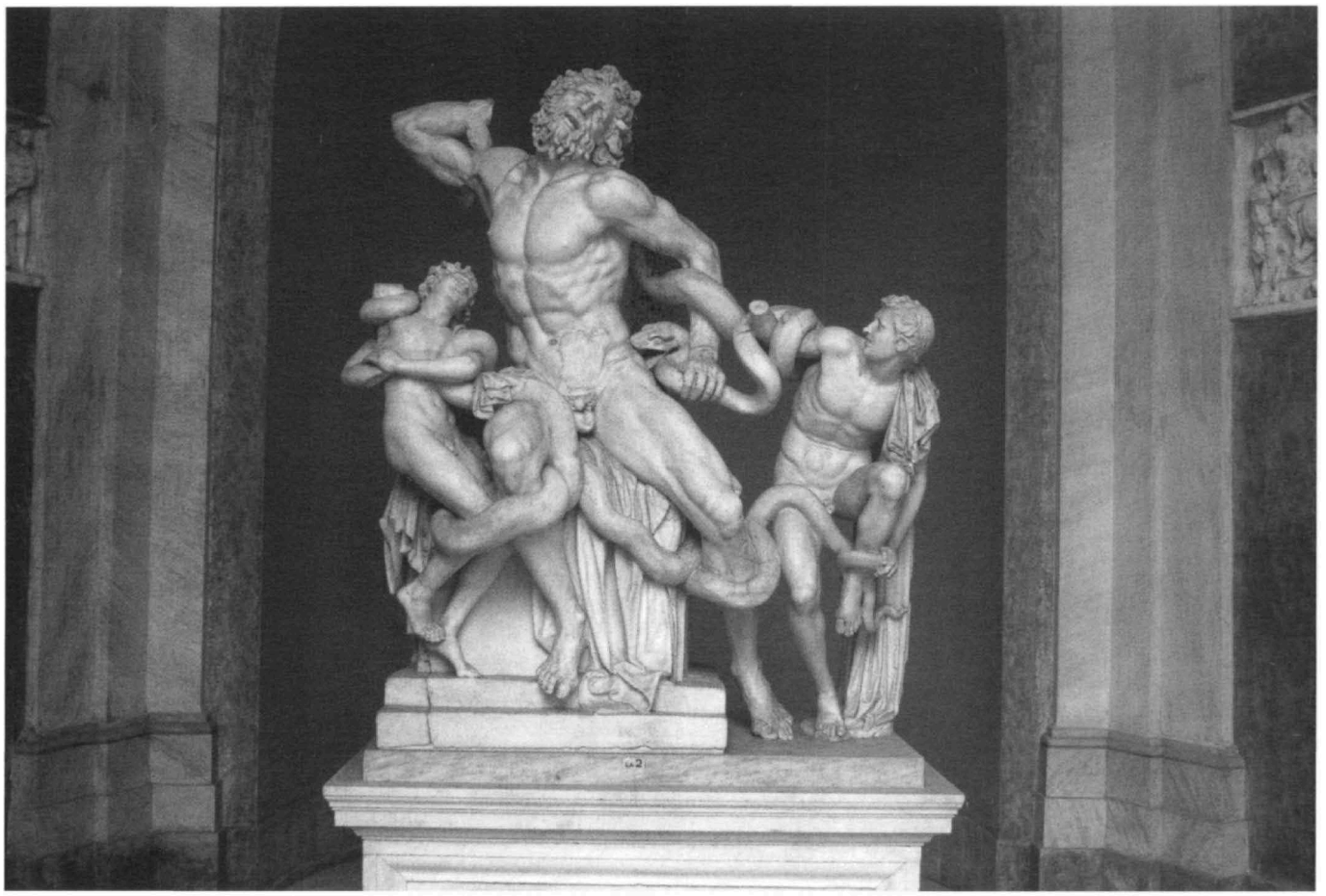
Mythology

The Greek word *mythologia*, which occurs for the first time in Plato, simply means "storytelling". But in modern usage "mythology" refers both to the corpus of myths and to its systematic study. Taken in the former sense, Greek mythology consists of a large number of stories about gods, heroes, the nature of the cosmos, and religious practices. According to one well-known classification associated with early 19th-century folklorists and students of non-classical legends, including the brothers Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm (cf. H.J. Rose, *Handbook of Greek Mythology*, (1964), ch. 1), these stories consist of three main types.

(1) Myths proper, i.e. pre-scientific and imaginative explanations of real or supposed phenomena which appeal to emotion rather than reason. As these phenomena are mostly natural, nature myths are preponderant. The stories are mainly concerned with gods, their birth, their relationship to one another, victories over monsters and rivals, love affairs, special powers, connections with shrines, or rituals. They are often aetiological in purpose, in that they attempt to provide explanations of phenomena which appear wonderful or puzzling. They are concerned with the causes of all manner of things from apparent movement of the heavenly bodies to the shape of a neighbouring hill or the origin of a local custom.

(2) Legends or sagas, i.e. accounts of heroes who were thought of as actually having lived in the distant past and as having taken part in quasi-historical events, such as battles and adventures, which were generally accepted as actually having happened. Thus the story of the Trojan War, whose origin tradition traced to Paris' abduction of Helen, is thought to reflect a concerted attempt by the Achaeans, a conquering feudal aristocracy, to seize the Black Sea trade at the beginning of the 12th century BC. It seems to have consisted in a blockade of the fort of Ilium, thus interrupting Trojan communication with neighbouring countries, and the issue seems to have been decided by the economic and military exhaustion of the Trojans which led to the subjugation of the cities allied with them and finally to the fall of Ilium itself. Thus the story is based on some kind of memory of the past and, with the exception of the part played by the gods (which really belongs to myth proper), the progress of the war is described in largely realistic terms. It is a human story unfolding in a human environment. With constant repetition through many generations such legends undergo all sorts of mutations – additions (mostly of imaginary and therefore picturesque material), omissions (mostly of real details), modifications, and rehandlings. Occasionally, the story may be completely fictional, but it will nevertheless be modelled upon real semi-historical narratives. On the other hand, there are instances of fragments of real history being preserved in legends of the peasantry over an extraordinary length of time.

(3) Folk tales told for popular entertainment, mostly stories of adventure dealing with natural or supernatural matters. Varieties include fairy tales, animal fables, and stories about witches, giants, ogres, and magical objects. Despite these supernatural elements, the main character is generally a human being, usually of humble origin, striving to achieve a human goal in spite of, or with the help of, such fantastic forces. The theme may also be a contest or trial, e.g. to defeat a monster



Mythology: marble statue group of the priest Laocoon and his sons being attacked by serpents, *c.*50 BC, Vatican Museums, Rome

or win a bride; or it may involve a more domestic challenge such as circumventing a malicious stepmother or jealous brothers or sisters. Many of these characteristically involve trickery or ingenuity or the use of magic. There may also be an element of wish fulfilment or the acquisition of a treasure or a great reward for apparently small but often highly moral actions, such as the solving of a riddle. A story, such as that of Cadmus, Perseus, Heracles, or the Argonauts, may contain elements from more than one of these types.

The ancient Greeks themselves had various attitudes to their myths. Some people no doubt accepted them as literally true and considered their narratives to be historical accounts. However, many thoughtful people must have found it difficult to accept them or their implications. Their reaction was broadly twofold: rationalization, which appears to have begun with Hecataeus of Miletus (550–480 BC); and allegorization, which probably began with Theagnes of Rhegium in the 6th century BC and, through its use by the Stoics, persisted until late antiquity and survives in the work of some early Christian writers and artists.

Myths performed a number of important functions in ancient Greek society in the various spheres in which they were employed. Turned into epic, they served to preserve and immortalize the famous deeds of men (*klea andron*). They provided education (often intertwined with entertainment) as examples or allegories. They gave pleasure and aroused feelings which, in some cases such as tragedy (if one follows the interpretation of *katharsis* as purgation) may have been considered therapeutic. Myths were also employed, especially in rhetoric, to explain the present in terms of the past, and to justify political or military decisions.

Greek mythology probably originated from the primitive forms of worship which existed in ancient Crete from about 3000 BC, and which were associated with animistic and magical beliefs. Over time such beliefs evolved into a body of legends involving natural objects, animals, and the anthropomorphic gods, and some of these legends found their way into the corpus of Greek myth. It may be observed that many of the principal Greek myths are connected with centres of Minoan and Mycenaean civilization. The legends of Perseus and Atreus are associated with Mycenae itself, while that of Oedipus is associated with Thebes, and that of Heracles with Thebes and Tiryns. It is therefore possible that these myths existed in some form in Mycenaean times.

Clay tablets from the time of the Mycenaean civilization (which reached its peak between 1400 BC and 1200 BC) provide earliest records of Greek mythology, and suggest that some of the main Greek gods and goddesses were known in the late Bronze Age. According to them, Poseidon was the principal god of the Mycenaeans, while Zeus held a less important place. The presence of the formulae "mother of the gods" and "Drimius, son of Zeus" suggests a divine genealogy. During the so-called Dark Age this mythology combined with that of the Dorians to form the mythology of Classical Greece.

The variety of factors that contributed to the formation of Greek myths and mythological personages resulted in the lack of unity, consistency, or coherence that pervades Greek mythology. The immense diversity stems partly from geographical considerations, since in widely differing regions there evolved different conceptions of the gods of the Greek world and varying rituals of propitiation. Moreover, the myths are often found in fragmentary form and in sources ranging in date from the 2nd millennium BC to the beginning of the Christian era, and it is important to realize that the older sources do not necessarily preserve earlier or more authentic traditions. In many cases the myths and fragments belong to large mythological cycles current in various communities and often not known to us in their entirety. Moreover, the myths contain elements originating in a varied historical and cultural background. In particular, the Mediterranean peoples, who worshipped an earth goddess, were conquered by successive waves of Hellenes bringing with them some form of tribal sky god. Thus, while gods like Zeus represent mainly the Indo-European cultural element, Demeter, Aphrodite, and Rhea probably represent Minoan-Mycenaean and Near Eastern elements. In fact, many deities, such as Demeter, Athene, and Zeus himself, combined in a single divinity both Mediterranean and Hellenic traits. Moreover, the myths have been subject to interpretation by poets and philosophers who have utilized many strands and varied traditions of the mythological cycles. The diversity of local legends may serve to explain the frequent sexual alliances of gods and heroes with their close relations, an idea repugnant to Greek custom. This may be the result of blending together of different legends representing a god and goddess (such as Zeus and Hera) either as husband and wife, or as brother and sister.

Greek myths are nevertheless relatively free of cloudy, grotesque, and horrible details such as are found in the legends of many other nations. Even their monsters are not particularly ugly or uncouth; nor is there much that is dreadful in their witches, ghosts, and demons.

Present knowledge of Greek myths rests principally on ancient Greek literature. The earliest surviving literary sources are the poems of Homer and Hesiod. The *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* focus on events surrounding the Trojan War, but involve the activities of the gods and refer to earlier legends such as the Theban cycle, the voyage of the Argo, and the exploits of Heracles. Hesiod narrates the birth of the cosmos, the succession of divine rulers, the ages of human existence, the origin of mankind's sufferings, and the source of sacrificial practices. Other sources of myths are the Homeric hymns, fragments of the cyclic poets, lyric poets (especially Pindar), the tragedians and comedians, Hellenistic poets and scholars, and writers under the Roman empire such as Plutarch and Pausanias. To these must be added various representations in the visual arts, among which temple friezes and vase paintings are of special importance.

Greek religion was not based on revelation and, with few exceptions (mostly associated with mysteries) did not involve spiritual teaching; and, although state officials in charge of religious matters are not unknown, there were no formal structures and no written codes embodied in a sacred book. There was, therefore, a great variety of beliefs and practices, and a resulting multitude of variations in the myths. The Greek myths embrace most of the themes commonly found in the mythologies of the world such as creation and origins (aetiological myths), birth of gods and other divine beings, death and the afterlife (eschatological myths), and the renewal and rebirth of the world.

Greek myths show certain characteristic features. They embody an anthropomorphic and non-fantastic view of the gods: the gods are depicted in human form and have human feelings. Strange and scandalous details, which have survived in locally established traditions, are usually suppressed in Homer and other archaic poets. The gods lived on Mount Olympus in Thessaly, in a society that ranked them in terms of authority and powers. They moved freely, however, and individual gods came to be associated with the three principal domains – the sky, the sea, and the underworld – while the earth was held in common. They were immortal, and controlled all aspects of nature. Human lives were totally dependent on their goodwill. Relations between men and gods were generally friendly; but the gods severely punished mortals whose behaviour was unacceptable to them. Excessive arrogance, ambition, or even extreme prosperity provoked divine wrath and punishment. Consequently, there emerged the idea of a dual motivation according to which human destiny came to be viewed as the outcome of joint action by men and gods. Hence the *Odyssey* attributes the destruction of both Odysseus' crew and Penelope's suitors to their own folly and the action of divine justice. Similarly, the Sophoclean Oedipus, while attributing his blinding to Apollo, nevertheless says that it was his own hand that did it (*Oedipus Tyrranus*, 1329–31]. Since the Greek gods were largely personifications of natural phenomena, Greek mythology emphasized human weakness in facing the awesome powers of nature.

Most, if not all, heroes of Greek legends were mortal. They were subject to birth, old age, and death. Nevertheless, they associated with the gods, and many of them claimed their descent from the gods. The majority of Greek heroes and heroines belong to one of two principal groups, namely, those who lived before the Trojan War (such as Jason, Theseus, and Oedipus) and those who fought in that war (such as Hector, Achilles, and Odysseus). Some of the heroic tales, such as those of Helen and Achilles, appear to go back to Indo-European times, while others, such as that of the cattle-raiding Heracles, may go back even further. Another distinctive feature of Greek mythology is the prominence of initiatory myths. It has been pointed out that early accounts of pan-Hellenic expeditions contain many elements of male initiation, while legends of heroines reflect the final transition into womanhood.

As scholars such as Peter Walcot (1966) and Martin West (1971) have demonstrated, Greek mythology is also heavily indebted to the rich mythologies of Anatolia and Mesopotamia, probably through contacts during the Early Iron Age. In his *Theogony* Hesiod has incorporated some violent myths of Hurrian origin concerning, among other things, the cannibalism of the gods which, at a later date, evinced the protests of Pindar: "It is not for me to call one of the blessed gods a cannibal: this I avoid." The castration of Uranus by his son Cronus derives ultimately from the Hurrians through Hittite and Phoenician intermediaries; the division of the universe by lot between Zeus, Poseidon, and Hades (*Iliad*, 15. 187–93) derives from the Akkadian epic *Atrahasis*; and the

figures of Oceanus and Tethys (*Iliad*, 14. 201) derive from Apsu and Tiamat in the Babylonian creation epic *Enuma Elish*. The last great wave of mythological invention was the result of Greek colonization of the Mediterranean and the Black Sea during the 8th and 7th centuries BC. Not only the *nostoi* but also the much older voyage of the Argonauts enabled newly founded colonies to relate themselves to the pan-Hellenic past as reflected in these myths and legends. Dynasties and heroic feats were among the more favoured themes of Archaic legend; but with the evolution of a more organized society, family relations received greater attention. Stress within the family leads to lies, betrayal, counter-seduction, and other forms of inhuman revenge – situations which Aristotle advised the poet to seize upon – but occasionally the family acts together to repel stresses from outside. The implicit drama of family stress is not confined to semi-realistic legends such as those of the houses of Labdacus and Atreus, but is also exemplified in the myths of the gods. Moreover, Athenian tragedy, in particular, concentrated more on the role of the individual in relation to the city-state and the value of democratic institutions. A large number of the stories belong to the category of aetiological myths, i.e. they originated as explanations of the birth or function of natural phenomena or religious rituals. In the latter case, it often happens that the myth survives in a detached form even after the ritual has disappeared. Many such myths are recorded by Pausanias (2nd century AD). Closely related are the myths of metamorphoses which, though found as early as Homer (e.g. Niobe and Proteus), came into their own in the Hellenistic age. The Hellenistic versions are aetiological in that they explain a present creature or landmark, though they lack the moral symbolism and the correspondence of animal and human traits characteristic of Ovid's narrative.

The commonest themes of Greek myth emphasize such preoccupations as contests and quests, particularly involving monsters; the relations between men and gods, whether of love, protection, or oppression; and the already mentioned stresses within the family, leading to acts of vengeance and displacement. Other themes emphasize fertility (though it did not find in Greece many different forms of mythical, as distinct from ritual, expression) and the displacement of elders. Eschatological myths include narratives of the imaginary world of the dead: how gods or defunct mortals pass beneath the earth, what they see on their way, the geography of the underworld and the aspect of its rulers and their subjects, the sufferings caused to the dead by neglect of their funerary rituals on earth, and so on. The developed and detailed eschatology is reflected not only in Near Eastern-type stories of disappearing gods, but also in the theme of heroic *katabasis*, or descent into Hades, e.g. that experienced by Heracles, Theseus, Orpheus, and Odysseus. The so-called Orphic tablets of the late 4th century BC instruct the dead about the topography of Hades, the springs of remembering and forgetting, and what the soul must say to prove its purity. Similar Orphic beliefs are also attested by Plato. Herodotus, probably rightly, traces such eschatological myths and rites to Egypt, but Mesopotamian influence cannot be ruled out (cf. G.S. Kirk, 1970, pp. 260–61).

Although the collection and interpretation of myths as a serious discipline did not begin until the latter part of the 18th century, ancient Greeks were not without thinkers and writers who reflected critically on their myths and expounded them. The first Greek physicist, Thales of Miletus (6th century BC), is represented as adopting a critical attitude towards the myths. By maintaining that the earth floats on water and that things come from water and go back to water, he attempted to correct, with the help of foreign myths known to him, what he saw as defects in the mythical cosmology of the Greeks. Criticism of the myths thus constituted a search for a rational understanding and control of the world. Myths lend themselves to change and adaptation to altered historical circumstances, and in ancient Greece this process continued down to the time when the claims of truth had to satisfy the new requirements of an emerging rationalism. Xenophanes attacked the anthropomorphic depiction of the gods in the myths, and this attack took on a moral dimension with him as well as with Pindar, Euripides, and Plato, on the grounds that the gods were depicted as immoral, adulterous, vengeful, and generally inferior to human beings. Allegorical interpretations (both physical and moral/psychological) were basically reactions to these attacks.

Herodotus (2. 53) believed that many Greek rituals were inherited from the Egyptians, and that the systematization of the Greek pantheon was due to Homer and Hesiod, who gave the deities their titles and distinguished their several provinces and special powers. Before that, the Pelasgians, on all occasions of sacrifice, called upon "the gods", but gave neither title nor name to any of them. Thus, according to Herodotus, and in the words of J. Harrison the mythology (or theology) of the Greeks "was not in the main the simple outcome of popular faith; still less was it a compilation due to a priesthood; it was the work of the poets". Prodicus of Ceos taught that the gods were personifications of natural phenomena. Plato employed myths and mythical modes to provide an insight into the deeper truths of philosophy not accessible to dialectical reasoning (cf. especially the *Symposium*). Although Aristotle is known to have been critical of the myths as fanciful and failing to embody truth about human life and the world, he realized their value in producing the tragic effect and, in his *Poetics*, advised would-be poets to keep as far as possible to the traditional stories. In the 4th century BC the mythographer Euhemerus in his *Sacred History* gave expression to the widely accepted belief of his time that myths were nothing other than distorted history, and that the gods were in effect kings and heroes who had been glorified over time and were worshipped for their deeds. Thus Zeus was an ancient king of Crete who rebelled against his father Cronus, the former king, and overthrew him. Biographies of other gods were similarly provided. Against this it has been argued that, to make a dead man into a god, one must already believe in some sort of gods, so that this theory cannot serve as an explanation of the origin of either religion or mythology.

During the Hellenistic period Greek beliefs were gradually modified under the influence of new philosophies (such as Stoicism) and the influence of neighbouring civilizations, but the myths recorded and adapted by Callimachus and his contemporaries were not directed at the general public (as were those of the Classical Greek poets), but at a small circle of connoisseurs. The Hellenistic and early imperial period saw a number of collections of myths compiled by scholars in order to elucidate allusions in the Classical authors. Most significant

in this respect was the collection of mythological scholia on Homer which circulated as a separate book at least during the first five centuries of the Christian era. There were also collections which concentrated on a single theme, such as the book of star myths compiled by Eratosthenes, and the famous *Bibliotheca* ascribed to Apollodorus which organized the myths according to families. It is chiefly to collections such as these that we owe our knowledge of the lesser-known Greek myths. With the coming of Christianity, the gods of antiquity came to be interpreted either euhemeristically or as inferior demons, while the myths themselves came to be rejected as untrue or were interpreted allegorically as moral or exemplary stories – an approach which persisted until the Renaissance. A striking example is the 3rd-century fresco from the Catacombs of Domitilla in which the risen Christ is represented as Orpheus returned from Hades. Appropriated thus by Rome, both pagan and Christian, Greek mythology has been repeatedly represented through the ages in the literature, painting, sculpture, drama, dance, and music of the west; and its impact on certain other cultures (e.g. Hindu and Buddhist legends) has now been established, even though the theory of Greece borrowing from India still has its adherents also.

The study of Greek myths in the modern age began in France during the 18th century, but soon shifted to Germany and England. The 19th century was dominated by the work of Heyne, who emphasized the historical, natural, and national aspects of myth. Friedrich Creuzer (1771–1858) was the principal modern exponent of the symbolic interpretation, and his best-known opponent was C.A. Lobeck (1781–1860), author of the *Aglaophamus* (1829), who emphasized the need to examine carefully the source of a tale and determine its date. K.O. Muller's main interest was the determination of the provenance of the myths. The most prominent in their application of the comparative method to the study of mythology were the German J.W.E. Mannhardt (1831–80) and the Briton Andrew Lang. The oriental philologist F. Max Muller revived the doctrine that mythology sprang from imaginative treatment of physical forces, while the school of psychological thought associated chiefly with the names of Sigmund Freud and Karl Jung has devoted considerable attention to myths and tried to explain their genesis. In the 20th century the classical attitude to myth has been dominated by the trends initiated by J.G. Frazer. The new knowledge of comparative anthropology was applied to the study of myth and religion by Jane Harrison, A.B. Cook, Gilbert Murray, and F.M. Cornford. The driving force behind their work is the idea that the motives of custom and myth in primitive societies can illuminate those of more developed cultures, including that of the ancient Greeks. They therefore used the findings of comparative social anthropology to elucidate enigmatic practices of ancient Greek religion. The centre of the group was Jane Harrison, author of *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion* (Cambridge, 1903) and *Themis* (Cambridge, 1912), who had studied the works of Darwin, Freud, Marx, and Nietzsche. Other influences included Durkheim, Levy-Bruhl, and Bergson. Under these influences they furthered the concept of collective beliefs and emotions, inspired by E.B. Tylor's idea of a special kind of "primitive mentality", an idea which has since been drastically revised by Lévi-Strauss in his *La Pensée sauvage* (Paris, 1962). Comparatively little has been achieved since then, apart from following their views or moving away from them. This is true of M.P. Nilsson, H.J. Rose, Karl Kerenyi and Mircea Eliade, Robert Graves, G.S. Kirk, R. Farnell, L. Deubner, and most recently W. Burkert. However, their attention has been drawn more to cults, festivals, and other aspects of Greek religion than to myths proper, whose study they have nevertheless influenced, and recent work has concentrated mainly on the relationship between myth and ritual and the explanatory and normative functions of myth. Meanwhile, widely differing views on the speculative function of myths have been expressed by Bronislaw Malinowski on the one hand and Claude Lévi-Strauss on the other. The recent interest of Classicists in gender studies has resulted in the production of several works on women in Greek mythology, and the need to study Greek heroines independently, rather than as mere counterparts to the heroes, has been duly emphasized.

D.P.M. WEERAKKODY

See also Gods and Goddesses, Heroes and Heroines

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N

Nationalism

As a protean and resilient phenomenon, nationalism has stimulated scholars to attempt to trace its rudimentary manifestations far back in history: from the ancient Greeks' ethnocentric sentiment of cultural identification and arrogance towards the non-Greek world, to medieval movements of cultural separatism, usually linked to the emergence and consolidation of states. Nationalism both as a movement and an ideology, however, is principally a phenomenon of modern history, of explosive force and magnetism, whose energy has remained unabated over the last two centuries to the present day.

In the late 18th century and the two first decades of the 19th, and springing from the ramifications of the European Enlightenment and the cataclysmic impact of the French Revolution, Greek nationalism introduced a vanguard approach of social collectivity and attachment against the traditional background of the Ottoman-ruled lands. Imbued by liberal and secular European tenets, Greek intellectuals within and outside the Ottoman empire produced a matrix of a new Balkan ethnography which moulded and politicized Greeks' hitherto unformed sense of ethnic belonging, particularly among the Orthodox Greek-speaking subjects of the empire. They questioned the homogeneity of the enslaved and religiously self-identified society of the Balkans, articulated in the system of the *millets* (religious communities) and underpinned by the ecumenical values of the Orthodox Church, and they sought to reintegrate that society into fresh collectivities on the basis of distinction and differentiation, notably of language and the memory of their own perceived past. The Greek War of Independence (1821–27), leading eventually to a truncated Greek kingdom, was the successful outcome of this ideological ferment of the so-called Greek Enlightenment (1750–1821), which, out of an inextricable blend of nationalism and liberalism, cultivated and rallied collective beliefs around the idea of a nationally defined political entity: the nation state.

Once independence was attained, it was clear that within the confines of the newly established kingdom the Greek nation was lacking the cohesion, uniformity, loyalty, and enthusiasm with which the Greek intelligentsia had endowed it in the prerevolutionary stage. National allegiance and identity were objectives still to be pursued, rather than intrinsic, let alone primordial, attributes of the free nation. They were in serious competition with local attachments, social cleavages, and sectional political interests, already at work from the time of the struggle for independence. Even the Greek language, conceived of as an integrating factor, was in practice a pluralism of idioms to the point of confusion, aside from the fact that the nation embraced non-Graecophone groups which had actively participated in the Greek cause. Thus, in consolidating the national community, the Greek state was to play a decisive role; in this, it was largely in line with the major process unfolding in modern European history, in which nation states were indoctrinating their peoples with national and nationalist culture. Through national institutions, namely the army, the administration, the judiciary, and education, not only did the state extend and secure control over society, but it also imbued its citizens with national and nationalist values. To this process of statecraft-building with ideological implications subscribed the uncanonical proclamation in 1833 of the autocephalous status of the Greek Church and its independence from the ecumenical patriarchate, initiated by the Bavarian regency. Disregarding the Orthodox Church's deep-seated traditions, Greek nationalism made that highly influential and supranational authority comply with national prerequisites and, in time, develop as a component part of nationalist policies.

The early years of the Bavarian administration witnessed a readjustment of Greek nationalism in the formation of the political ideology of the new state. Stripped of its liberal and democratic origins, nationalism maintained its secular tradition and predilection for ancient Greece to sponsor the vision of a classicist state entertained by the new ruling elite. Classicism, as an ideological facade of the prospect of Europeanization, introduced an externally directed national ideology which, in its attempt to define Greek culture as "European" in the eyes of Europe, reproduced in cultural terms the subjugation of a rural, traditionally minded population to a governing elite. The gradual subsidence of the political legacy of the Greek Enlightenment, recorded *inter alia* in the revival of Orthodoxy as a backlash to the state-directed secular crackdown, reflected the response of the traditional culture and society to unfamiliar postulates claiming national originality. To mend this antithesis there would be an attempt in the course of time to mitigate Neoclassicism in favour of forms linked more deeply to Greek culture in the light of an organic concept of society.

This was put forward with the formulation of the so-called

Great Idea in its national sense -- an overarching nationalist vision which became the Greek symbol of collective identity and destiny. Initiated in 1844 by John Kolettis in a speech in the National Assembly, the new doctrine visualized the unity of Hellenism far beyond the bounds of the Greek kingdom to comprise all the Greeks living under Ottoman administration, with the addition of the Greeks of the Ionian islands. By integrating state territorial ambitions with religious impulse and folk mythology, the doctrine of the Great Idea cemented the national identity and would enthral the nation to the point of furnishing its raison d' être for nearly the next 80 years. At home, the new doctrine acted as an exemplary diversion of social dissatisfaction, and strengthened national unity, which, from the very inception of the independent kingdom's life, had been undermined by significant centrifugal forces. It is symptomatic of its homogenizing intent that the Great Idea was inaugurated in the midst of a national rift generated at the time by the heated debate, crossing the confines of the National Assembly into everyday politics, over the eligibility of the heterochthonous Greeks to enjoy an equal status with their autochthonous fellow citizens in the Greek state. As to foreign policy, it set territorial enlargement as a national exigency, and related any course of external policy to the extent to which it would realize its maximalist goals; for the Great Idea, however ambiguous in representing a precise foreign-policy programme itself, was broadly construed as a restoration of the Byzantine empire with Constantinople resurrected as the Greek capital.

Greek nationalism found in the person of Jakob Philipp Fallmerayer, a German historian, both a virulent critic and an unintended source of vigour and dynamism. By denying modern Greeks their direct natural connection with their ancient ancestors, Fallmerayer launched by reaction in Greece a prolific literature aimed at elaborating and solidifying the injured Greek national identity. The result was that out of that national trauma, Greek nationalism re-emerged fully fledged, gaining momentum, flexibility, and self-confidence. Rectifying the selective and vulnerable dogma of the Greek Enlightenment, which had opted for Classical Greece alone as the field of reference of the Greek national consciousness, Greek nationalism, thanks to the historical works of Konstantinos Paparrigopoulos, a history professor at Athens university, aptly incorporated the repudiated medieval Byzantine past in the national ideology. His five-volume *History of the Greek Nation* (published between 1864 and 1875) furnished the printed embodiment of the new national self-perception. In this way Hellenism transmuted itself into a cultural entity which assumed a more convincingly uninterrupted continuum from Homeric times to the present. Furthermore, in quest for authoritative evidence for this reconstructed concept of national history, a nationalist-orientated academic discipline – folklore – attracted keen scholarly preoccupation with a typically Romantic approach.

Of all the attributes of the now culturally based Greek nationalism, its inviting nature was the most instrumental factor in advancing foreign-policy aspirations. Embracing the unredeemed Greeks in one united nation state implied the integration of all the Greek-inhabited territories, which ethnologically presented an uneven and, in some regions, hopeless ground for straightforward territorial reshufflings. After the nationally compact Ionian islands were incorporated into Greece (1864), the rest of the targeted territories, particularly those of the more northerly Balkan heartland and the vast provinces of Asia Minor, were inhabited by peoples not only of various ethnic origin, but usually of floating and unshaped ethnic feelings. These could roughly be described as a rural and linguistically assorted majority, mostly Orthodox in the Balkans and Muslim in Asia, although religious confessions were much intermingled as well, with large numbers of Orthodox Christians and Muslims living on either side, not to mention the Jews. Consequently, winning over all these populations to the Greek national idea was a challenge to Greek nationalism, which in its fresh and inviting cultural guise allowed the equal accession of the Albanian-speaking, the Vlach-speaking, or the Turkish-speaking Orthodox with that of the Greek-speaking, provided they could learn to recognize themselves as members of the envisaged national community, regardless of ethnic origin. In cultivating Greek national identification among these groups, the hegemonic rank of Greek culture and education in the Balkans gave Greek nationalism a valuable advantage over rival nationalist sentiments propagated in the relevant lands from the other Balkan national states. Through an expanded and expansive cultural network of primary schools and societies run by local communities and sponsored in the areas by Greek consular authorities, Greek nationalism sought to incorporate local populations psychologically and thus to strengthen its claim to the coveted territories they inhabited. Against the background of European imperialism in the Balkans, the collision of the Greek Great Idea with the contending ones of the other Balkan states over the ethnological mosaic of geographical Macedonia accounts for the emergence of the turbulent Macedonian question from the last third of the 19th century onwards. At the same time, the discreet antagonism between the Greek state and the patriarchate in Constantinople for influence over the Ottoman Greeks gradually died down in favour of Athens, which assumed the role of the undisputed "national centre" for the destinies of the unredeemed brethren. Early on, this claim had been postulated symbolically on the accession of George I to the throne as "king of the Hellenes" (1863) in contrast to the mere "king of Greece" with which his predecessor Otho assumed the Greek crown.

In parallel to its territorial dimension as a unifying vision, the Great Idea embodied the orientations of sociopolitical camps at home over the evolution of Greek society. More specifically, the translation of the Great Idea into politics gave rise to two divergent paradigms personified at this stage in the conflict between Trikoupis and Deliyannis, or Venizelos and his rivals in the 1910s–20s. The first view stood for the construction of an efficient and responsible infrastructure of a modern state as a precondition of pursuing the enlargement of the Greek boundaries. The second one, by contrast, gave the top priority to the territorial issue and the special role Greece could play, not so much within the western European framework, as in the Balkans and the east. In other words, the treatment of the Great Idea as national ideology related to the options before the question of modernization and Europeanization of the country.

The debacle of the 1897 Graeco-Turkish War came as a bitter affront to the assertions and aspirations of Greek nationalism. Launched in a climate of popular furore and conspicu-

ous military unpreparedness, the war, the first involving the national army since the independent state was founded, brought the Greeks down to earth, confronting them with the discrepancy between the inflated national dreams and their actual potential. Nationalist intellectuals, however, by hurling every obloquy at the state, were anxious to qualify the demoralizing effect of the defeat so as not to taint the Great Idea as the ideology of national integration. What was defeated, they contended, was the state as an administrative mechanism, not the nation as a collective spiritual and indestructible unity destined to achieve distinction in history.

To this intellectual and psychological milieu belonged the eastern Greek vision of the scholar and diplomat Ion Dragoumis, arguably the foremost nationalist theoretician of his time. Out of an ambiguous blend of notions deriving from nationalism, socialism, and orientalism, Dragoumis propounded the idea that Hellenism was bound to thrive and rule over any other cultural and ethnic element in the Ottoman empire, provided it opted for the east as its privileged geocultural space. In place of the Greek state's aspirations for prompt enlargement and territorial conquest, Dragoumis reposed his firm belief in the assimilating potential of Hellenism, to which he attributed elemental cultural impact, to decide what he saw as an intrinsic and long-running process.

Such elaborations of Greek nationalism induced a rupture between the nation and the state, which, from the time the national state was achieved, had been perceived as aiming to be united. Only with the political ascendancy of Eleftherios Venizelos at the head of the Greek state, and the realization of the enlargement of Greece in the Balkan Wars (1912–13), did the ideological antithesis subside and the two entities become reconciled anew. Yet, at the apogee of Greek ambitions, with the Greek army marching into Asia Minor evoking the prospect of realizing the summit of nationalist yearnings, the Great Idea came to its shattering end in the wake of the Asia Minor disaster of 1922.

From the interwar period onwards, Greek nationalism shed its irredentist dimension, adhering to the state borders acknowledged by the Treaty of Lausanne (1923). Moreover, the eclipse of the Great Idea, from being the hegemonic culture of Greek society for nearly the whole of its independence period, induced an intellectual and cultural ferment in the light of the profound socio-economic crisis and political fluidity of the time. This gave rise to competing ideological trends revolving around the theme of national identity and nationalism. In a climate of reorientation and introspection, the discourse of the time sought to redefine the national identity and pin down "Greekness" in a way compatible with a sense of national sufficiency. Politics became interwoven with divergent nationalist approaches in the attempt of contending social forces to express themselves within a floating national framework. More specifically, it was at this stage that trends ranging from disciplinary nationalism and monarchic populism to lower-middle-class radicalism and Greek agrarianism elbowed one another in the wake of the retreat of the People's Party's (conservative) influence after the 1922 defeat. This ideological fragmentation, however, correlated to the stalemate of the modernizing endeavour of Greek society through republican forms, and led to the authoritarian and quasi-fascist nationalism of the late 1930s.

From the late interwar period onwards nationalism became manifestly associated with the right. This ideological appropriation deprived it of much of its hitherto unifying role as a cross-party point of reference and entangled it crudely in party politics and political conflicts. General Ioannis Metaxas, always obsessed with the idea of the organic state and of the disciplined undifferentiated society, had early pronounced in favour of self-sufficiency, including the territorial question, as a precondition of the creation of a "new Hellenic civilization". Once in office by virtue of usurped power, his "Regime of 4 August 1936" expounded the notion of the "Third Hellenic Civilization", an attempt to meld the ancient Greek and Byzantine cultures into a third quasi-fascist form deriving from imitation of contemporaneous fascist models.

In the 1940s, and throughout the anomalous constitutional period following the Greek civil war (1945–49), nationalism assumed a further populist complexion to operate in the terms of the "national schism" between nationalists and communists. It provided an ideological arm of the right against the rising popularity of the left-wing movement, with a view to compromising its opponents by hijacking the national sentiment for its exclusive use. Lastly, the 1967 colonels' junta attempted ephemerally, next in succession after the Metaxas dictatorship, but in a more ungainly manner, to produce a new grandiloquent version of Greek nationalism, now labelled "Helleno-Christian Civilization" – a term dating back to Greek Romanticism, coined in 1850 by the historian Spyridon Zampelios. As an ill-digested mixture of nationalist postulates and slogans, however, it only added to nationalism's discredit among the people, who perceived it as an abuse of sound patriotism. The dictators' abortive effort to enforce the union of Cyprus with Greece, leading ultimately to the Turkish occupation of the northern part of the island (1974) – the last area of substantial Greek population in the region remaining outside the borders of the Greek state and the last unredeemed land still pending in the minds of the Greeks after World War II – drove the last nail into the coffin of nationalism in its territorial aspect in contemporary Greece.

Whatever the ideological and political cleavages, Greek nationalism in the post-1922 state demonstrated a remarkably effective and, in retrospect, homogenizing role in the ethnological field. As an example of cultural and intellectual socialization it coalesced with state policies orientated to national compactness as a safeguard to territorial integrity. The massive influx of some 1.5 million refugees from Asia Minor, along with the parallel exodus of the Muslims (excluding western Thrace) as provided by the Population Exchange Convention of Lausanne (1923), cemented national homogeneity not only in overall numbers, but also specifically in regional ratios, for the bulk of the incoming refugees were channelled for settlement to Macedonia and Thrace, with their own ethnological peculiarities; the process was further advanced by the departure of the secessionist-inclined Slav-Macedonian element with the end of the Greek civil war. These population developments, particularly in the light of the traditionally centralized administrative and educational state system transmitting the values of Greek nationalism, allowed Greece to emerge as an overwhelmingly homogeneous society (95.6 per cent Greek-speaking and 97.9 per cent Orthodox according to the 1951 census), a picture consolidated to a maximum in time. Allowance

should be made, however, for the unrecorded, mostly illegal, massive immigration from the Balkan and eastern European states in the 1990s, which today has added remarkable linguistic and ethnic diversity to contemporary Greece.

The disintegration of the former Yugoslavia (1991), engendering a variety of destabilizing effects in the Balkans, rekindled nationalist overtones in Greek political rhetoric as a side-effect of the nationalist-defined and, not infrequently, inflammatory discourse in and about southeastern Europe during the 1990s. Far from containing implicit territorial ambitions, arguably with the exception of marginal extremist groups, this was symptomatic of Greece's concern lest it should become unintentionally entangled in a broader Balkan crisis; in fact it spasmodically reflected insecurity for its own territorial integrity in the long run, especially in the light of Turkey's proclivity to aggrandizement. Once again, at any rate, nationalism was afforded the climate to reiterate its role at home for ideological manipulation and social cohesion.

Lastly, as a current sign of the tenacity and universality of nationalist stereotypes outside the country, it is perhaps worth remembering the vituperative criticism that appeared at times in the European press attributing rampant nationalism to Greece's Balkan policy. By disparaging the Greeks more or less as a racial medley, not only did it descend to a nationalist-defined controversy, which it allegedly repudiated, but, worse, it crystallized an anachronism in terms of Greek nationalism itself, in that it resuscitated the obsolete and long-abandoned racially based version of Greek nationalism.

RENNOS EHALIOTIS

See also Enlightenment, Enosis, Folklore, Great Idea, Identity, Macedonia

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NATO

Drawn up at the outset of the Cold War, the North Atlantic Treaty of 1949 brought into being the primary alliance of the Western states and united their determination "to preserve their security through mutual guarantees" (NATO, 1995, p. 17). Since 1949, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) has provided the military and political structure which enables the goals of the alliance to be implemented. Greece acceded to the treaty and became a NATO member in February 1952.

Various considerations led Greece to join NATO. During the Civil War (1946–49), the official Greek government's primary concern had been to avoid defeat by the communist forces and other members of the left-wing resistance – an objective achieved in part by direct and extensive American military and economic backing. By 1952, NATO membership was perceived as the mechanism to consolidate and formalize these existing security links with the USA. Also instrumental was the "northern danger": Greece's perception of the security threat from neighbouring communist Albania, Yugoslavia, and Bulgaria, and its assumption that NATO membership would couple Greek defence to Western security priorities. The last factor was Greece's objective in maximizing political independence from the USA while simultaneously ensuring American security guarantees. Alliance membership appeared to offer not only protection against Balkan communism, but also "a door to a community of democratic European states and a partial emancipation from exclusive American control" (Veremis, 1988, p. 242). Despite earlier reservations on the part of Great Britain and the Scandinavian countries, by 1952 the existing NATO members considered Greek membership as essential because "as Cold War tensions heightened, Greece was increasingly viewed as a bulwark against communism" (ibid., p. 241). Within the alliance's containment strategy, inviting Greece and Turkey to join simultaneously also offered the prospect of formalized and extended pan-Mediterranean security arrangements to contain the Soviet fleet in the Black Sea.

Between 1952 and 1974 Greece was steadily integrated into NATO's military structure. In October 1953 agreements were concluded with the USA which authorized construction of military bases and supporting facilities in Greece. Expanded throughout the 1950s, these bases were essential instruments of containment vis-à-vis the Soviet Union (and its Balkan allies) and formed a credible NATO commitment to the defence of Greece. Against what was then perceived as the major threat to Greece – Warsaw Pact expansion – the facilities strengthened NATO's strategic capabilities in the area, guarded Aegean Sea approaches to the Mediterranean, and provided key surveillance facilities for monitoring Soviet forces in the eastern Mediterranean. During the military junta (1967–74), military cooperation was extended through the 1972 home-port agreement which allowed the stationing of US Navy carrier forces near Athens.

After 1974 Greece's political relations with NATO deteriorated. In domestic political terms the overthrow of the military junta in 1974 accentuated widespread public perceptions in Greece that the USA had openly and unequivocally supported the dictatorship. Moreover, NATO's inability to deter (or stop) the Turkish invasion of Cyprus throughout July and August of 1974 was interpreted as a tilt in favour of Turkey. The result was a cooling of relations with the USA but also a threat re-evaluation: Turkish, rather than Warsaw Pact, expansion was now considered the major threat to Greek sovereignty. These factors were instrumental in the Karamanlis government's decision to withdraw from the NATO military structure in August 1974.

Between 1974 and 1980, and outside the NATO military structure, the New Democracy administration's political relations with the alliance were constrained by two areas of dispute with Turkey. The first arose as Turkey contested, *inter alia*, Greek mineral rights in the Aegean and prerogatives in the Aegean Flight Information Region (FIR), and also Greece's long-standing policy of a 16-km airspace for its Aegean islands. The second stemmed from Turkish attempts to take advantage of Greece's withdrawal from NATO to promote Ankara's role and operational control in the alliance's southern region. Despite the fact that key disputes with Turkey remained unresolved, Greece began the process of reintegration into the NATO military command in October 1980.

After 1981, and the election of Papandreou's Panhellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK), the new administration's rhetoric emphasized the removal of American bases from Greek soil, non-alignment, and consolidation of the view that the major threat to Greece's security came from Turkey rather than the Soviet bloc. Despite the anti-NATO tone of his policy statements, however, and the internal strains on the alliance brought about by requests for NATO to extend a security guarantee for Greece's frontiers against Turkish aggression, "Papandreou's eight-year tenure brought no major shift in Greece's broader relations with NATO" (Papacosma, 1995, p. 252).

Since the end of the Cold War in 1989, Greece's military commitment to NATO has remained significant in terms of the allocation of its own land, maritime, and air assets. However, the demise of the Soviet Union and increased volatility in the Balkans have strained Greece's political relations with its NATO allies on important questions. During the Cold War, Greek and Turkish security interests were "accommodated within NATO, and where antagonisms flared, they were contained to the point of avoiding war" (RUSI, 1994, p. 60). Since 1989, however, increases in Greek and Turkish arms imports under NATO's "cascade" programme (whereby smaller alliance members qualify to receive free heavy

weaponry from allies) and volatility in the Aegean caused by Turkey's challenges to Greek territorial waters have heightened regional tensions. In addition, the revival of Greece's traditional friendship with Serbia and its positions on the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia and the Turkish Kurds have brought Greece's policies "into direct opposition with western powers" (ibid.) leading to criticism from its NATO allies.

Since joining NATO, Greece's political relations with the alliance have been volatile. This has reflected Greek perceptions since 1974 that the primary threat is intra-alliance in the form of potential Turkish aggression, and more recently from Greece's historical and cultural links with states and groupings in the Balkan region. However, Greece's military relations with NATO have been cordial and reflect successive administrations's realpolitik calculations about the overriding benefits that the alliance can provide. These benefits – that Greece can counterbalance Turkish influence within the alliance on the Aegean and Cyprus questions, maintain access to American military aid, and benefit from the "cascade" programme – are the fundamental factors that bind Greece's defence and security interests to NATO membership.

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See also Turkey

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Naucratis

City in Egypt

Naucratis, on the east bank of the Canopic branch of the Nile, 84 km southeast of Alexandria, was a Greek city in Egypt. It was the birthplace of Athenaeus, and Sappho's brother Charaxas visited the city on business.

Naucratis has been identified with the mounds of Kom Ga'if. Excavations of the site were first carried out in 1884–86 by W.M.F. Petrie and E.A. Gardner, followed by D.G. Hogarth in 1899 and 1903. Since 1977 an excavation and survey by an American team led by W.E. Coulson have been under way. Half the site was destroyed by local people in the 19th century and a lake now covers the area of the old excavations. Modern excavations thus focus on the outskirts of the site and its surrounding territory.

Although both Herodotus (2. 178–9) and Strabo (17. 1. 18) provide lengthy information on Naucratis, many questions relating to the city remain unanswered and subject to dispute. It was initially established as a trading settlement (*emporion*) in about 650 BC, during the reign of the pharaoh Psammetichus I (664–610 BC) and under pharaonic control. Under Amasis (570–526 BC) the Hellenion was built by Ionians from Chios, Teos, Phocaea, and Clazomenae, and by Dorians from Rhodes, Cnidus, Halicarnassus, Phaselis, and Aeolian Mytilene. Aegina, Samos, and Miletus had erected their own temples dedicated to Zeus, Hera, and Apollo (Herodotus, 2. 178–9).

The earliest Greek pottery at the site, about 21 known examples, dates from the last quarter of the 7th century BC and belongs to the transitional and early Corinthian period. There are substantial quantities of middle Corinthian and early Attic black-figure ware, dating from the end of the 7th/early 6th century BC onwards, which probably reflect the extensive scale of Greek activity in Naucratis from the end of the 7th century BC. Nearly all archaic pottery found there accords with information given by Herodotus on the joint establishment of Naucratis by a number of Greek cities: there are ceramics of Rhodian type; Chian and Samian pottery; *fikellura* of Rhodian, Samian, or Milesian production; Clazomenian, Spartan, Corinthian, and Athenian vases; and Aeolian (Lesbian) plain pale grey *bucchero*.

Architectural remains are in very bad condition. Dedicatory inscriptions and offerings to temples help to identify to which gods or goddesses temples were erected. The temple of Aphrodite, not mentioned by Herodotus, lies in the southern part of the town. Temples to Hera and Apollo stand next to one another, and a small shrine to the Dioscuri (again not mentioned by Herodotus) was excavated in the northern part of the site. In this area of the city a large sanctuary was discovered. Inscriptions on vases unearthed there mention several deities, sometimes just "the gods of the Greeks", and these dedications give grounds for identifying this sanctuary as the Hellenion mentioned by Herodotus, the joint foundation of several eastern Greek states. Archaeological material from these temples shows that these cults date back to the early days of the settlement, and the temples were rebuilt or replaced several times in different periods.

East of the temple of Aphrodite was a small factory that produced faience scarab seals. It was active mainly in the first half of the 6th century BC. There were also local workshops producing Greek-style pottery (identified by style and technique) for local use as votives. Faience scarabs and figure vases were well known throughout the Greek world. In the 6th and 5th centuries BC there are isolated instances of Greek-manufactured objects directed to specific sites in Egypt. Thus, the inhabitants of Naucratis, not a large settlement, supported themselves by trade and craft work. In the literature, Naucratis is often compared with such commercial outposts of the British empire as Hong Kong or Shanghai.

The exact status of Naucratis is disputed. According to Herodotus and some modern scholars, the settlement was divided into two parts: a polis, inhabited by permanent settlers,

and an *emporion* (trading settlement) peopled by Hellenion (visitors). It is possible that when Naucratis was under Persian rule in the 5th–4th centuries BC it was a polis. What little evidence exists (decrees and a tombstone with the ethnic of settlement as part of a personal name) is not very clear. By the Ptolemaic period, immediately after Alexander's conquest of Egypt, Naucratis did have the status of an autonomous polis. It had its own laws (including a ban on intermarriage), citizenship, and coinage. Graeco-Macedonian rulers recognized the site as a centre of Hellenic culture. With the Macedonian conquest the separate sanctuary area (the northern part of the settlement) lost its importance and was combined with the rest of the city (the southern part of the settlement). The settlement was reformed and adopted the Milesian calendar and laws.

In the Roman period Naucratis retained its Greek constitution; citizens had no right of intermarriage with Egyptians. It had a *boule* (council) and held annual public games. It remained a trade and craft centre throughout the Ptolemaic and Roman periods.

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See also Egypt

Summary

A Greek city in Egypt, Naucratis began as a trading station established *c.*650 BC. Archaeology confirms the statement of Herodotus that it was a joint foundation by a number of Greek cities. The inhabitants lived by trade and craft work. By the Ptolemaic period it was an autonomous polis with its own laws and coinage.

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Naupactus

Port on the gulf of Corinth

Naupactus (modern Nafpaktos) is a strategically located port on the northern coast of the gulf of Corinth, just east of its narrowest part. Originally called Locris (Apollodorus, 2. 8. 2–3), it became known as Naupactus ("ship-construction" or "shipyards") after the Heraclid Temenus built a fleet there (see also Pausanias, 10. 38. 10; Polyaenus, *Stratagems*, 1. 9; Suda s.v. *Naupaktos*). According to Apollodorus, this fleet was later destroyed at Naupactus when one of the Heraclids, Hippotes, killed a prophet whom he mistook for a Peloponnesian. The killing of this prophet apparently angered the gods, who brought doom upon the Heraclid forces and their fleet.

Other myths or legends associated with Naupactus are not extensive. Aeschylus (*Suppliant Women*, 260–70) relates that Apollo's son Apis, a prophet and healer, came from Naupactus and rid the Argolid of monsters that threatened humans. One tradition also suggests that Ktimenos and Antiphos, Ganyktor's sons, murdered the poet Hesiod at Naupactus (Pausanias, 9. 31. 6; Plutarch, *De Sollertia Animalium*, 969e), and that Hesiod was buried there (Pausanias, 9. 38. 3). Numerous references exist to an epic poem called the *Naupaktia*, which according to Pausanias (2. 3. 9) described Jason's life on Corfu after his expulsion from Iolkos. The authorship of the poem was uncertain; though Pausanias (10. 38. 10) reports that by tradition the poem was usually attributed to a Milesian, he believed that the author was Carcinus of Naupactus.

The strategic importance of Naupactus emerges in the 5th century BC. In the early 450s BC the Athenians, under the command of Tolmides, captured Naupactus from the Ozolian Locrians, who had apparently colonized Naupactus during the first quarter of the 5th century BC. After capturing Naupactus (probably by the mid-450s BC), the Athenians colonized it with some Messenians, who had rebelled against the Spartans, were besieged by them on Mount Ithome, and eventually surrendered. The Spartans, however, at the behest of the Delphic oracle, allowed the Messenians to leave the Peloponnese, after which they were received by the Athenians, who colonized Naupactus with Messenians because of their mutual enmity towards the Spartans. Having an ally at Naupactus would allow the Athenians to put both military and economic pressure on the Spartans' ally, Corinth. With Athens' own port in the east and Naupactus in the west, the Athenians could dominate the Greek seas. (See Thucydides, 1. 103. 1–3, 2. 9. 4; Isocrates, 12. 94 (*Panathenaicus*); Diodorus, 11. 84.6–7, 12. 44.3, 12. 47. 1; Pausanias, 4. 24. 7, 31. 7, 10. 38. 10).

Messenian occupation of Naupactus continued for the next few decades, and when the Peloponnesian War broke out in 431 BC, Messenian hatred of the Spartans and their friendship with Athens allowed the Athenians to use Naupactus as a base of operations against the Spartans and their allies. With Naupactus at their disposal, the Athenian naval presence in the gulf of Corinth could counter the Spartans' allies Corinth to the east, as well as the Spartan-controlled port of Patras. Moreover, thanks to superior naval forces, the Athenians held sway in the gulf of Corinth during the Peloponnesian War. Phormio's victory over the Peloponnesians in 429 BC, despite being outnumbered in ships more than two to one, is still admired for its tactical brilliance (see Thucydides, 2. 69.1, 2. 83; Diodorus, 12. 47. 1–48. 1; Pausanias, 4. 26. 1; Polyaenus, *Stratagems*, 3. 4). By the century's end, though, the Spartans had crushed the Athenians, and between 403 BC and 397 BC they expelled the Messenians from Naupactus (see Xenophon, *Hellenica*, 3. 2. 21–3. 1; Diodorus, 14. 34. 2; Pausanias, 4. 26. 2; 10. 38. 10).

After the expulsion of the Messenians, Naupactus came under Locrian control. Between 395 BC and 389 BC the

Locrians were again supplanted by the Achaeans, who held Naupactus until 366 BC when Epaminondas drove them out. After this, Naupactus again became a Locrian possession. How long the Locrians retained Naupactus is not clear, but Demosthenes (9. 34) indicates that in 342 BC the Achaeans held the port and this continued until 338 BC when Philip II of Macedonia seized it and handed it over to the Aetolians.

Naupactus resurfaces in 217 BC as the site of a conference between Philip V of Macedonia and the Aetolians and Achaeans, a meeting that resulted in a peace accord between the two sides (Polybius, 5. 102–103). Livy reports that Roman commanders made use of the port in 211 BC and 208 BC, and that the Aetolians used it as a meeting place in 200 BC, 193 BC, and 191 BC. The Romans besieged Naupactus in 191 BC when the Aetolians revolted against the Roman cause. After two months, though, the siege was ended through negotiations (Livy, 36. 35), but the enmity between the Aetolians and Romans ultimately became irrelevant since Greece became a Roman province in 146 BC.

During the later Roman republic and empire, little mention of Naupactus exists other than the Caesarian Calvisius' expulsion of a Pompeian garrison there in 48 BC. In the 2nd century AD Pausanias (10. 38. 6–7) describes a few shrines and sanctuaries dedicated to Poseidon, Artemis, Aphrodite, and Asclepius, the last of which was in ruins in Pausanias' day and of which a few remains are extant.

After the division of the Roman empire in the 3rd century AD, the Byzantines controlled Naupactus. In 431 the bishop Callicrates represented Naupactus at the third Ecumenical Council at Ephesus. At the fourth Ecumenical Council (451) at Chalcedon the bishop Eirenaios represented Naupactus. In AD 551 Procopius (*On the Wars*, 8. 25. 17) reports that Naupactus and several other towns were levelled by an earthquake. Naupactus was rebuilt and in the mid-10th century it is listed in the theme of Hellas (Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos, *On the Themes*, 5. 12). After the sack of Constantinople in 1204 by the Venetians and the Crusaders, the Venetians claimed Naupactus. During the Venetian occupation the name Lepanto appears, although Naupactus remained in use. "Lepanto" appears to have evolved from "Nepantum", a corruption of "Naupactus", which seems to have been further corrupted to "Lepanto".

The Venetians controlled Naupactus until 1361, when it fell to the Catalans. By 1407, however, the Venetians recovered the city, but in 1499 lost it to Bayezid II and his Ottoman Turks. On 7 October 1571 Christian forces commanded by John of Austria crushed an Ottoman fleet, under Uluç Ali Pasha, in a conflict now known as the Battle of Lepanto, which was the first major Christian victory over an Ottoman navy that had previously been considered invincible. The Christian victory checked Ottoman efforts to control the Mediterranean. The Battle of Lepanto was the last major battle in which galleys were the primary naval vessel employed. It is also worth noting that the Spanish novelist Miguel de Cervantes lost the use of his left hand in this battle.

Though Christian forces were victorious at Lepanto, Naupactus remained an Ottoman possession until the Greeks finally cast off Turkish rule in 1830. Other than the German occupation of Greece during World War II, Naupactus has remained under Greek control. Today Naupactus has about 10,000 inhabitants, a pleasant beach, limited remains of Byzantine architecture, sculpture, and inscriptions, and a primarily Venetian castle whose ramparts embrace the town's harbour. Naupactus' importance, though, has greatly diminished since the 5th century BC, due to its relative isolation from the northern interior of Greece and its location in one of the least populated regions of Greece. From 1980 to 1986, for example, Naupactus was not listed by name among the principal ports of Greece (*Statistical Yearbook of Greece: 1988*, pp. 396, 399).

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Summary

A port on the north shore of the gulf of Corinth, Naupactus was important during the Peloponnesian War. After 1204 it was in Venetian hands and was known as Lepanto. In 1571 it was the site of a major sea battle between Christians and Turks. Since then it has declined in importance.

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Nauplia

City in the Peloponnese

Nauplia (modern Navplion, medieval Anapli or Napoli di Romania), an important and picturesque harbour town of about 12,000 people, is situated on the Argolic Gulf in the Argolid region of the northeast Peloponnese. It lies beside the sea at the base of two summits: Akronavplia (or the Its Kale), a relatively low but precipitous promontory of *c.*84m, and the Palamidi, a rocky peak of some 215m on which stands an imposing fortress. The town is now best known as a cultural

and tourist centre, but it has had a long and illustrious, if sometimes very troubled, history.

Tradition associates Nauplia both with the mythical Nauplius, son of Poseidon, and with Nauplius the Argonaut who avenged himself on the Greek participants in the Trojan War after they betrayed and killed his son, Palamedes. Settlement at the site may be traced as far back as the palaeolithic period, with remains from that date and from neolithic times found on Akronavplia. During the Bronze Age the main centre of habitation seems to have been the Pronoia area to the east of the old town; Mycenaean chamber tombs have also been found nearby. The settlement continued to exist in the Dark Age and a cemetery of the Geometric period has been excavated. Traces of occupation continue until the Hellenistic period, but evidence is rather limited. Indeed, historical accounts mention that Nauplia was destroyed by its neighbours, the Argives, during the reign of king Damocratidas (no later than *c.*600 BC), after which the town became the harbour of Argos (as it may have been in Mycenaean times). By the Roman period the site was deserted since Pausanias, who visited it in the 2nd century AD, reports only a sanctuary of Poseidon there; even the fortress walls were in ruins by his day.

The period of desertion evidently lasted for several centuries, but Akronavplia may have been refortified as early as the 3rd–4th century AD and, by the 6th century, Nauplia was once again a thriving and developing centre, becoming the seat of a bishop by 879 and of an archbishop by 1189. During the Komnenian revival in the 12th century, a number of churches were built in the area and the town, which probably occupied the western (seaward) end of the fortified promontory of Akronavplia at this time, with only the harbour below, became a fairly important commercial centre enjoying trade relations with the Venetians. As the central authority of the Byzantine empire waned in the later part of the century, Nauplia briefly came under the semi-independent control of the local Greek magnate Theodore Sgouros and subsequently of his son Leo, who also ruled Argos and Corinth. The Franks arrived in 1204, however, following the sack of Constantinople by the forces of the Fourth Crusade and, after determined resistance, the town eventually fell in 1210 to Geoffrey de Villehardouin, although the Greeks continued to hold out at the seaward end of the promontory of Akronavplia in one of the two fortresses which had been constructed there.

Following the fall of Argos in 1212, control of Nauplia was given over to the Burgundian de la Roche family which had established itself at Athens, and it remained, directly or nominally, in their hands for more than a hundred years. In the 14th century the town came into the possession of the Enghien family and thence passed, in 1389, to the Venetians, despite an attempt by Theodore I Palaiologos, the Byzantine despot of the Morea, to bring it back under Greek control from Mistra. Nauplia became one of the most important Venetian holdings in Greece and retained its prominence into the 16th century, but its viability was gradually undermined by the growing Turkish presence in the Peloponnese and, after a long and bloody siege, the town surrendered to them in 1540. Another period of prominence as the Turkish capital of the Morea was followed by a renewed decline in the 17th century until, in 1686, Nauplia was retaken by the Venetians. The town's fortunes revived once again, its population expanded, and, now the Venetian capital of the Morea, it was given the name 'Napoli di Romania'. It was at this time too that the Venetians, beginning with the general François Morosini, embarked on a campaign to strengthen the fortifications on both Akronavplia and the Palamidi (using designs provided by the French engineers LaSalle and Levasseur), as well as those on the island of the Bourtzi (Agioi Theodoroi) which guarded approaches to the harbour. In 1715, however, only a year after the work was completed, the Turks invaded again and, despite the magnificent fortifications, the inadequate garrison proved to be no match for the far superior Turkish force. After a siege of only eight days the Palamidi fell and the Venetians, who unsuccessfully attempted to take refuge in the fortress on Akronavplia, were either massacred or sold into slavery. This proved to be the end of Venetian control not only of Nauplia but of the whole Peloponnese.

The next phase in the town's history comes with the Greek War of Independence. In 1821 the Greeks besieged the Palamidi and, when it fell the following year, they finally recovered Nauplia from the Turks. This event did not bring immediate peace, however, for internal rivalries among the Greek leaders led to a struggle for control of the town. On 7 January 1828 Count Kapodistria moved his provisional capital to Nauplia, and it was there, in 1831, that he was assassinated; the bullet hole is still visible in the wall of the church of St Spiridon in the centre of the town. On 25 January 1833 Otho, the first king of Greece, arrived in Nauplia and, during that year and the next, the town enjoyed a brief but glorious phase as the capital of the country until it relinquished this role to Athens in September 1834. For the rest of the 19th and the early part of the 20th century Nauplia continued to be a prosperous provincial town and port, but memories of its troubled past were reawakened during the German invasion of Greece in April 1941 when it became one of three main sites in the Peloponnese used for the evacuation of Allied troops; the operation was a desperate one and some serious losses were incurred. Liberation did not come until the autumn of 1944.

Much of Nauplia's charming Neoclassical architecture dates to the period of revival in the first half of the 19th century, but there are many reminders of the Turkish occupation still evident in the town, most strikingly perhaps in the fountains and mosques, one of which (the Voulevtiko), at the southwest corner of the main square (Syntagma), was the site of the first Greek parliament between 1827 and 1834. Even more noticeable are the traces left by the long Venetian presence: in addition to the fortifications which still dominate Nauplia, a number of their churches and other buildings remain, including the former naval barracks which stand at the west end of the main square and now house the Archaeological Museum.

Today Nauplia has put its violent and troubled history behind it and prides itself as a cultural and artistic centre. Tourism, both international and Greek, has brought prosperity, but this has not been allowed to spoil its charm or its architectural heritage. A flourishing and beautiful town, Nauplia's older buildings, squares, and monuments have been carefully maintained and restored in recent years, while new development, including housing, some industry, and a sizeable army

base, has been controlled and largely confined to areas outside the old town.

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Summary

Situated on the gulf of Argos, Nauplia was the port for Argos in antiquity but was deserted by the 2nd century AD. Flourishing again by the 6th century, it became the seat of a bishop by 879 and of an archbishop by 1189. Taken by the Franks in 1210, Nauplia passed to the Venetians in 1389. Turkish after 1540 (but Venetian again from 1686 to 1715), Nauplia played a prominent role in the War of Independence. In 1833–34 it was the first capital of Greece.

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Navy

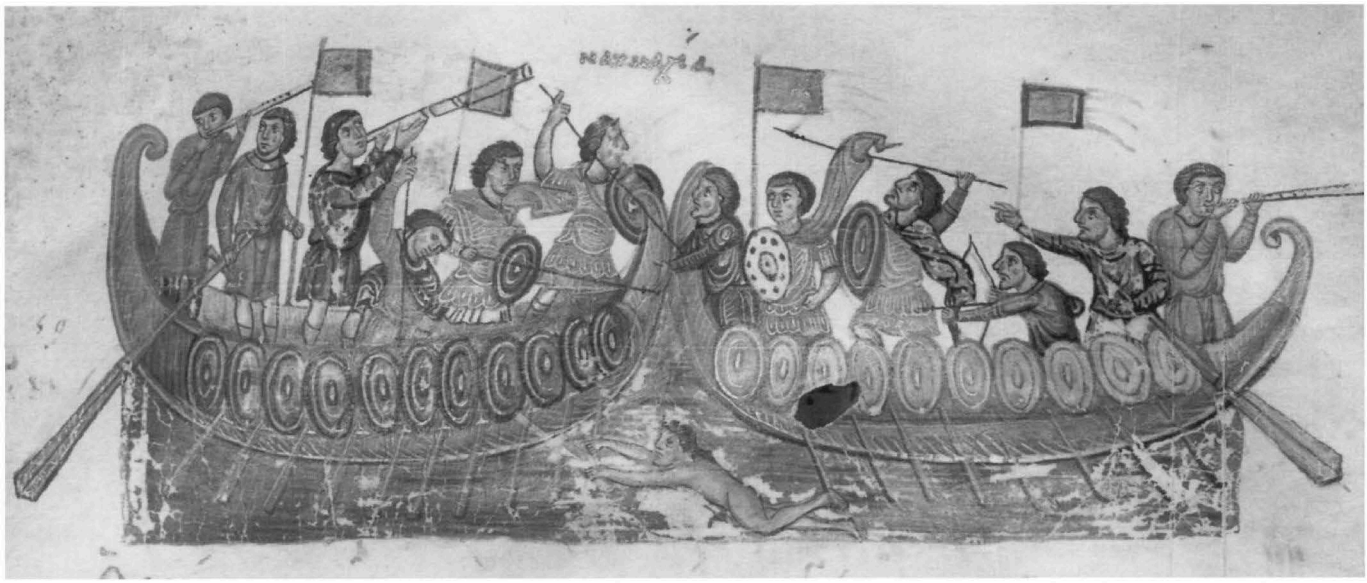
Greece has a mainland coastline of about 16,600 km together with over 4000 islands, islets, and rocks. It occupies an important geostrategic position in the eastern Mediterranean and merchant shipping has become a significant element of the national economy. Not surprisingly, Greece has a long naval history and maritime tradition, and it is to its naval fighting abilities "that Greece owes its existence – an existence whose character was formulated and strengthened by the sea" (Alexandris, 1987, p. 92).

The development and employment of maritime power was a vital characteristic of Greece's ancient history. In the 2nd millennium BC the Minoan empire in Crete emerged as the first organized naval power in the world. Later, during the 5th century BC, the success of Athens and the "golden age" of Pericles depended on the systematic development of sea power. Though the first Persian invasion of Greece by Darius in 490 BC was defeated by the Athenian army at Marathon, the Athenian politician Themistocles was quick to recognize that, in any future attack, land forces alone would not be enough in the face of the vast numerical superiority of the Persian army. Using new-found revenues from the state silver mines at Laurium, the Athenians decided to build a large fleet. The principal fighting element of the new fleet, and a significant Athenian technological innovation, was the trireme – the fastest warship of its time, which could ram and sink enemy ships without exposing itself to the risk of grappling and boarding its opponents.

Themistocles' rationale for developing a naval capability was subsequently vindicated. During 480 BC the Persians, under the generalship of Xerxes, attacked northern Greece with land forces and a fleet of over 500 ships. The invading army destroyed an outnumbered Spartan force at Thermopylae and then engaged in an indecisive naval battle with a Greek fleet off Artemisium. At the subsequent Battle of Salamis, the Persian and Greek fleets were evenly matched in numerical terms, but the edge provided, *inter alia*, by the triremes enabled the Greeks to win a decisive victory. The Battle of Salamis conclusively demonstrated the ability of Athens to wage war from the sea and it was an essential precursor to its wealth and dominion.

After the defeat of Athens by Sparta and its allies in 404 BC the role of seapower in Greece declined relative to the part played by land armies. Throughout the period of Macedonian rule, for example, despite major military victories and conquests, there were no remarkable naval feats. Because of his unfamiliarity with maritime affairs, Alexander the Great elected to develop a small navy and avoided engaging his enemies at sea. Instead, Alexander achieved sea control indirectly by attacking and capturing the naval forces of his enemies from land. Though Rhodes subsequently became an important maritime power and formulated the "Rhodian Sea Law", the oldest maritime code in the world, and though the Greeks struggled to control sea routes to the western Mediterranean against the sizeable navy of Ptolemy, in the Hellenistic and Roman periods the development and use of force at sea remained subservient to maintaining strength on land.

The Byzantine empire relied heavily on its navy at key moments to prevent foreign invasion. Byzantium's fleet played an important role in defeating attacks by the Arabs and during the Gothic wars. Other notable naval successes included the fleet's ability under the emperor Herakleios (610–41) to prevent the Persians, in alliance with the Avars, from attacking Constantinople, and beating off the Arab Muawiya's attempt to capture Constantinople in 674–78. The major naval victories of the Byzantines were dependent upon two factors: organization and technology that were superior to those of their adversaries. In organizational terms the fleet was arranged as part of the empire's system of themes during the 7th century. Functionally, it was divided into the imperial navy (*vassilikon ploimon*) of Constantinople, and the navy of the themes (*thematikon ploimon*), which covered the provinces of the empire, operating under a commander-in-chief of the navy. This structure was instrumental in defeating the empire's naval opponents. In technological terms the fleet also had a decisive edge. The principal battleships of the Byzantine fleet were "dromonds": boats with sails and two banks of oars crewed by up to 300 personnel. The combination of the ramming spur of the dromonds and the skill with which the Byzantines manoeuvred their vessels provided a formidable capability. However, the more significant technological factor, and a strictly guarded state secret, was "Greek fire". Invented by the Syrian Greek Kallinikos, Greek fire was an inextinguishable mixture of sulphur and other combustible materials that was hurled at enemy vessels either by catapult or rudimentary hand grenades, or was piped through a hose. This brilliant technical achievement of Byzantine naval science was a further precursor to maritime success.



Navy: illustration from an 11th-century manuscript of the *Cynegetica* of Pseudo-Oppian (3rd century AD) showing two warships about to meet in combat, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Venice

It is important to note, however, that Byzantine naval policy was not without its limitations. The most serious was the tendency to neglect and underfund the fleet when there was no immediate naval threat to the empire. Notable here was the increasing weakness of the fleet after the invasion of the Seljuks in the 12th century, a weakness demonstrated by the fact that the empire was forced to enlist the help of the Venetians and grant major trade concessions in return. By this stage, Byzantium had made the fatal mistake of relying on the navy of Venice and thus lost its own control of the sea in the longer term.

Despite the absence of naval forces during the Tourkokratia, the years between 1453 and 1821 were important for Greek maritime development in a number of respects. The period of the Turkish occupation witnessed the emergence and growth of the Hellenic merchant marine, and an associated increase in seaborne trade. The environment in which Greek merchant shipping had to operate was hostile: merchantmen had to fight frequently against pirate vessels and the warships of the European powers that regularly blockaded the Mediterranean sea routes. A consequence was that Greek crews became trained in the art of sea warfare and acquired a knowledge of basic military organizational structures. This was to prove significant in the War of Independence after 1821 because Hellenic merchant shipping was easily converted into a rudimentary naval force which then harassed and skirmished with Turkish maritime assets.

The origins of the modern Greek navy can be traced to developments in the late 19th century. In 1884, at the request of the Greeks, a French Naval Training Mission was invited and the Naval Cadet School was established. During 1907 the General Naval Staff was created and, in 1909, a British Naval Training Mission was invited. By 1911, in response to the growth in Turkish naval capabilities, the Hellenic navy had acquired three battleships and the battlecruiser *G. Averoff*. The procurement of a submarine capability followed and during World War I the naval air force became an organic part of the Hellenic navy. Despite the occupation of Greece during World War II the navy continued operations from abroad in support of the Allied war effort. By 1953, following the adoption of the concept that a unified direction was required for the Greek armed forces, the Hellenic navy adopted what remains its present organizational structure.

Today the general staffs of the navy, army, and air force are directed by the Ministry of National Defence, through the National Defence General Staff. The Hellenic navy is headed by the Chief of the Hellenic Navy General Staff, who also acts as Commander Eastern Mediterranean (COMEDEAST) in the NATO command structure. It is organized under three major commands: Fleet Command (at Salamis), Naval Training Command (at Skaramanga), and Naval Logistic Command (at Athens). The operational concept of the Hellenic navy reflects "the combined requirements of national and NATO strategic concepts" (Drikos, 1992, p. 32). The major roles of the Hellenic navy are fourfold: to perform sea control missions in COMEDEAST's area; to protect the Greek coast and islands; to provide support to Greek and allied armed forces; and to safeguard Greek interests including the economic zone of the sea bed in the Aegean and Ionian seas. Since the end of the Cold War the ambit of Greek naval responsibility has included planning for operations aimed at preventing the development of regional crises and/or restoring international law and peace, and providing the allied naval forces with appropriate units to support the monitoring or enforcement of United Nations resolutions.

The composition of the Hellenic navy reflects these national and alliance priorities. In personnel terms the regular strength is approximately 19,500 (2600 officers) with a further 23,500 reservists. The Hellenic navy has four destroyers (*Charles F. Adams* class) and 11 frigates (six *Kortenaer*, three *Knox*, and two *Hydra* (Meko 200)) with anti-surface, anti-air, and anti-submarine capabilities for deployment in sea control missions. Sea denial roles are covered by eight Type 209 *Glavkos* submarines. The navy's ability to project power ashore with amphibious forces is provided by ten landing ships and 57 associated craft. Finally, it should be noted that the Greek

merchant marine plays a vital role in NATO military planning: it provides some 20 per cent of all merchant ships assigned to NATO, and 21 per cent of ships assigned for the trans-Atlantic sea lift of external reinforcements.

Throughout the centuries the interests of Greece have been sustained by its long-standing maritime tradition. In the words of a recent Chief of the Hellenic Navy General Staff: "Greece preserves its long naval tradition by maintaining a dominant presence in the [Mediterranean] area by the acquisition and operation of a substantially powerful, flexible and efficient naval force" (Drikos, 1992, p. 32).

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See also Fire (Greek), Ships and Shipping

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Naxos

Island in the Cyclades

At 428 sq km in area, Naxos is the largest island of the Cyclades. It is also the most fertile, being provided with a large coastal plain to the southwest. The interior of the island is mountainous, the highest peak being Mount Zas, which takes its name from the father of the gods; an inscription on the mountain reads "Mountain of Zeus Milesios". The cave of Zas on this mountain is said to be the place where Zeus and Dionysus were reared, and Naxos is said to have been called both "Zia" and "Dionysia" in ancient times. Dionysus is especially associated with Naxos, where he was said to have taken Ariadne from Theseus. Fittingly, Naxos was known for its viticulture in ancient times and continues to produce wine to the present day. Other produce, such as grain, figs, olives, and citrus, is also abundant and it is not surprising that Naxos has been renowned for its prosperity.

Naxos is also rich in marble, as well as the emery used to work it. It is the sole source of emery in the Cyclades, and its white marble is plentiful but coarser than Parian marble. Naxian sculptors are first in evidence in the early Cycladic period, when they produced fine vessels and the stylized figures with triangular heads that are unique to the Cycladic culture. Many have been found in the area of Grotta, near the site of modern Naxos city, which appears to have been inhabited almost continuously over the past 5000 years. The later Bronze Age was less productive, but at the beginning of the Archaic period in the late 7th century BC Naxos was at the forefront of Greek marble sculpture production. Indeed, it has as good a claim as anywhere in Greece to be the birthplace of the Archaic style of monumental statuary. The nearby island of Delos received many statues from Naxos, including the female figure dedicated by Nikandre, which is the earliest surviving complete marble statue of monumental size, the Naxian sphinx, and a colossal *kouros*, which was famous in ancient times but is now lost. *Kouroi* were youthful male figures, pictured naked with one foot advanced, and often associated with Apollo. They are the most abundant Naxian work, including several unfinished sculptures remaining in Naxian quarries. A 10m-long unfinished colossus is locally believed to represent Apollo, but has a wedge left by the chin that could represent a beard, in which case it would be disqualified as a *kouros*. The entire area of the quarry is, in fact, associated with Apollo, including the nearby village of Apollonia. A large marble temple, variously attributed to Apollo and Dionysus, was erected on a small island outside Naxos city. It is said to have been commissioned by the tyrant Lygdamis. Today only a pair of doorposts and a lintel remain as a landmark. By the time that sculpture passed into the severe Classical style in the late 6th century BC, Naxian marble had faded from prominence. The reasons for this decline, and for the unfinished statues, are unknown.

Lygdamis had risen to power in Naxos in the middle of the 6th century BC, and carved himself an empire in the surrounding islands with the help of Pisistratus, tyrant of Athens, to whom he had given aid at the time of his exile and restoration. By 528 BC the Naxian tyranny had weakened, and the deposed oligarchs were recalled. Interestingly, among the few records of these events, there is mention of unfinished statues to be returned to them. Twelve years later, according to Diodorus, the Naxians controlled a thalassocracy, which lasted a decade. Coinage was becoming widespread in the Aegean at this time, and Naxian influence on the silver trade may have led to the story that coinage was invented on Naxos. In 499 BC the island was conquered by the Persians. The Naxians helped to expel the Persians in the last stages of the war, but did not fully regain their former power. They joined the Delian League, then later resigned from it. Athenian influence was succeeded by Spartan after the Peloponnesian War, although Naxos was the site of a major Athenian victory in 376 BC.

Naxos: view of Naxos town: 360 years of Venetian rule have left their mark on the island, not least in the survival of a substantial Roman Catholic minority in the upper town

Along with the rest of Greece, Naxos passed through the control of the Macedonian, Roman, and Byzantine empires. After the Fourth Crusade in 1204 the Venetians gained title to the Cyclades. The produce and emery of Naxos were among the goods that made them eager to secure the islands for trade, but not so eager that the state was prepared to undertake their governance directly. Instead, a Venetian of prominent family, Marco Sanudo, was given official sanction to capture what he could. He besieged and conquered Naxos, then took the neighbouring islands without resistance, establishing Naxos as the capital of the Duchy of the Archipelago by 1207. The Sanudi built many towers and fortifications, the most notable being the fortified upper section of Naxos city, which remains predominantly Roman Catholic in contrast to the Greek Orthodoxy of the rest of the island. The Crispi dukes succeeded the Sanudi around the time of the Turkish conquest of mainland Greece. Although the Turks did not take control of the duchy until 1564, they twice ravaged Naxos and demanded tribute. Piracy was also taking a toll at this time, as it had frequently in the past, and the people of Naxos became impoverished and discontented. Finally, the last of the Crispi line so disgusted his subjects that they volunteered to accept another ruler from the Turks. Unlike the Franks, the Turks never settled on Naxos, only sending necessary officials. In 1821 the Naxians won their independence, and in 1830 they joined the new Greek state. At that time the people of Naxos, especially those living in remote mountain villages, retained many uniquely Hellenic traditions and practices, having felt little outside influence for many centuries, despite their foreign rulers.

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See also Cyclades

Summary

The largest island of the Cyclades, Naxos is rich in marble and emery. Naxian sculptors were prominent in the Cycladic period and especially in the Archaic age. In the late 6th century Naxos dominated the Cyclades. After the Fourth Crusade in the early 13th century Naxos became the capital of the Duchy of the Archipelago. It fell to the Turks in 1564.

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Necromancy

Belief in necromancy, the employment of the spirits of the dead in divinatory or magical techniques, is attested from almost all periods of the Greek tradition; while treated with disapproval or scepticism by some, and at times subject to harsh legal sanctions, its existence and validity appear, nevertheless, to have been widely accepted on a popular level. It forms only one part of a much wider range of belief and practice concerning the dead within this tradition, however, and also contains elements drawn over time from neighbouring cultures, such as Judaism.

Although the idea of necromancy almost certainly goes back to prehistoric times, the first evidence for it in the Greek literary tradition is found in the *Odyssey* of Homer (10. 501–11) where an elaborate sacrificial ritual for summoning the spirits of the dead is described by Circe and then carried out by Odysseus and his men. A number of references to it in writings of the Classical period suggest a general attitude of intellectual scepticism but popular belief (see, for example, Aeschylus' *Persae*, 609–842, Aristophanes' *Birds*, 1553ff., and Plato's *Laws*, 10. 909b; cf. 11. 933a–e). Herodotus (5. 92) recounts how the Corinthian tyrant Periander sought the help of the oracle of the dead on the river Acheron in Thesprotia and, much later, Plutarch (*Consolatio ad Apollonium*, 109b-d) also refers to such a cult (*psychomanteion*); in the latter case, at least, the ritual concluded in an incubation, with the spirits appearing and revealing in a dream vision the information being sought. Evidence that necromancy continued to find a place in the Greek tradition during the Roman imperial period may also be found, for example, in such works as Lucian's satirical *Menippus* (or *Nekyomanteia*), written in the 2nd century AD, and Heliodorus' *Aethiopica* (6. 14–15), written in the 3rd; both describe necromantic practices in some detail and at least provide evidence of popular views on the subject, if not necessarily of their own belief in its efficacy or acceptability. The information they give is paralleled by contemporary treatments of the subject in a number of Latin authors, while the Romans legislated severely against necromancy and various references show that the allegation of involvement with it could form a useful and dangerous weapon for attacking political or other opponents.

Apart from information to be obtained from literature, there is also a wealth of material evidence for belief in necromancy from the older Greek tradition, particularly in the form of inscribed curse tablets. These tablets, together with bound figurines and similar objects that belong to related practices, were being placed in graves and at other places where the spirits of the dead might be thought to lurk from at least the 5th century BC, but their use appears to have been most common in the Hellenistic era and does not fade away until the advent of Christianity. Material evidence of ancient necromantic practice also comes from archaeological excavations such as those near Ephyre in Epirus which have uncovered the remains of an elaborate oracle of the dead, evidently conducted in an underground chamber beneath a sanctuary complex; there are many indications (see, for example, the episode recounted by Herodotus) that this area around the river Acheron was that most widely associated in Greek antiquity with necromantic rituals, but it seems that similar oracles existed from time to time at other locations notorious as entrances to the underworld. The oracle of Ephyre, which evidently developed from the 4th century to peak in the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC, appears to demonstrate that necromancy was not confined to individual belief and practice but also played a role in highly organized and officially sanctioned oracular cults, although some have challenged this view.

Much of the information on necromancy provided by the various literary sources, as well as that derived from the curse tablets, tallies closely with technical material on the subject to be found in surviving manuals of magic. Thus many passages in the Greek magical papyri (2nd century BC to 5th century AD) reveal that the spirits, or perhaps "ghosts" of the dead (the usual term is *nekydaimon*), were believed to act as intermediaries between the magician and the chthonic powers; especially useful were those thought to be trapped in some way between the worlds of the living and the dead, those, for example, who had suffered an untimely or violent death (the *aoroi* or *biaiothanatoi*). Made vulnerable and weak by their marginal status, these souls still possessed the power to bridge the divide between the different levels of existence and so were ideal instruments of the magician in effectuating the aims of a particular procedure, whether this was a curse, a love spell, or a divination. Furthermore, because these spirits fell within the sphere of control normally ascribed to the major deities of the underworld and to others, such as Hecate or Hermes Psychopompus, these greater powers also came to be associated with and invoked in such magical procedures as attempts were made to ensure their compliance. At other times in these sources, however, the notion of the spirits of the dead as mere intermediaries (and often as more or less witless beings) is replaced by one that treats them as malevolent forces in their own right, quite capable of vindictively pursuing the victims of the magician who is manipulating them and, indeed, of turning on their employer if due precautions are not taken. In both cases, however, it is clear that the spirits of the dead were thought to be of crucial importance in empowering many techniques of ancient Greek magic and this undoubtedly explains why, at least in popular belief, magicians were associated with such things as the theft of corpses, ritual murder, and infanticide.

Although the Church always strongly condemned belief in magic and sought to discredit its intellectual foundations, the emergence of Christianity did not immediately destroy belief in necromancy. The story of the "witch" (*engastrimythos*) of Endor in the Old Testament (1 Samuel 28:3–25), in which Saul consulted the spirit of Samuel in an undeniably necromantic ritual that correctly predicted his imminent death, thus appeared to provide clear biblical validation for the concept, although a more doctrinally acceptable explanation was available. Indeed, even the central events of the Christian story, the death and resurrection of Jesus, might, to those unversed in the

niceties of theology, appear to be the ultimate proof that the souls of those who had died an untimely and violent death could act as intermediaries between the worlds of the living and the dead, while certain elements in the cult of saints and their relics might also reflect necromantic tendencies.

Passing references to necromancy in the works of writers from all periods of the Byzantine era (e.g. from Iamblichus, John Chrysostom, and Synesius of Cyrene in the 4th and 5th centuries AD to Nikephoros Gregoras in the 14th) confirm that it continued to find at least some place in conceptions of divination and magic. Indeed, necromantic techniques are also generally implicit, if only occasionally explicit, in many of the procedures outlined in Byzantine and early modern magical manuals dating from the 15th–19th centuries; the most common summoning and divinatory rituals are thus clear survivals of ancient traditions that originally involved using the spirits of the dead as intermediaries. It is nonetheless clear that distinctions between various supernatural intermediaries apparent in the ancient tradition were largely lost in this period. Orthodox Byzantines, echoing the doctrinally acceptable explanation for necromancy that was developed by the early Christian Fathers, did not view the spirits employed in it as actually being those of the dead but rather as demons disguised as such. As the rich variety of ancient spiritual beings was reformulated into the simpler paradigm of the demons that Christian culture had created, explicit awareness of much of the old content of the magical tradition disappeared, including ideas of necromancy: it seems likely that even the practitioners of sorcery in later periods may have been unaware that many of the rituals prescribed in their manuals were originally necromantic techniques as opposed to methods of summoning and manipulating demons.

This process appears to have continued and, in common with a decline noticeable in many magical practices and beliefs, most explicit traces of necromancy disappeared from the Greek tradition in the 20th century. There is, however, evidence that, as late as the 1970s, villagers still believed that the old methods of divination and sorcery, implicitly underpinned by necromantic techniques, were being practised by professional magicians, and some divinatory practices (such as forms of lecanomancy) associated with necromancy in the ancient world survive to this day.

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See also Divination, Magic, Oracles

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Nektarios of Aegina, St 1846–1920

Metropolitan of Pentapolis

St Nektarios of Aegina is probably the most widely revered modern saint in the Greek Orthodox world. Canonized by the ecumenical patriarchate in 1961, he was the object of local veneration from the time of his death, and reports of the miraculous cures effected by prayer at his tomb or use of oil from the lamp hanging above it rapidly spread his fame. More than 20 churches in Greece are dedicated to him, and others have been erected throughout the Greek diaspora.

Although consecrated metropolitan of Pentapolis (with effective control of the Alexandrian patriarchate churches in Egypt) at the age of 46, Nektarios was never a successful Church establishment figure. He was suspended from office a year later, and subsequently asked to leave Egypt, for "moral and ethical" reasons "known to the patriarchate"; and although retaining the title of metropolitan, he was never to serve as a hierarch again (the patriarchate of Alexandria was finally to rescind his suspension in 1998, expressing regret at his treatment and naming 1999 "the year of St Nektarios"). His irregular canonical status as a priest unattached to any jurisdiction was never resolved, and his subsequent posts (as preacher in Euboea and Phthiotis, and subsequently as director of the Rizarios school, a secondary school and seminary in Athens) were gained on the strength of his academic theological education at Athens university and the intercession of influential Egyptian friends. Similarly, the canonical status of the nunnery that he founded on Aegina in 1904 remained unresolved at the time of his death 16 years later, as did the status of two female subdeacons whom he had ordained there during the last years of his life.

Nektarios was a prolific writer throughout his life, a systematic and thorough expounder of dogmatics, ethics, and pastoral theology: many of his books were intended for class use in the Rizarios school or as handbooks for the clergy. He shows an extensive knowledge of the Fathers, especially the Three Hierarchs, the hesychasts, the Fathers of the *Philokalia* and St Nikodemos of the Holy Mountain, and the Kollyvades, but also does not hesitate to draw upon the philosophers of Classical Greece. Writing at a time when Athens was under the influence of a westernized court, he is careful to point up the differences between Orthodox, Protestant, and Roman

Catholic positions on such questions as papal supremacy and the *filioque*, and compiled a two-volume history of the Great Schism which asserted the impossibility of reunion. He also wrote several volumes of religious poetry for private devotional use, a *Catechism*, and a harmony of the Gospels based upon Tischendorf's *Synopsis Evangelica*. With the spread of his cult in recent years many of these volumes have been reprinted.

Nektarios was deeply concerned by the inability of the contemporary Church to respond to the challenges posed by westernization, scientism, and the scepticism of a newly educated laity: many of the upper clergy were in his view cynical careerists, while rural priests had little theological knowledge. Being denied active participation in the Church's ministry, he sought to remedy these needs by education, first by training seminarians who were both spiritually and dogmatically competent, and later by a project (unrealized) for a girls' school adjacent to his monastery on Aegina offering a syllabus of religion, ethics, handicrafts, and home economics. Nektarios realized that "in educating the mothers we educate their children", and often quoted St Kosmas the Aetolian's slogan "schools–letters–schools". His foundation of a nunnery dedicated to the Holy Trinity on Aegina, although primarily a response to a direct request from a group of his spiritual children, may also have been an active response to the low ebb of much contemporary monasticism: it may not be insignificant that one of the convent's founding members (and its first abbess) had home connections with the founder of the Zoe movement.

Throughout his life those that knew him were impressed by the saint's spiritual charisma (he was a constant practitioner of the Jesus Prayer), by his unfailing self-sacrificial generosity towards those in need, and by his spiritual power as a preacher, confessor, and exorcist. He gave his own clothes away to the poor, and rebuilt the ruined church and conventual buildings of the Aegina nunnery at his own expense. He raised the theological standards and the spiritual tone of the Rizarios school, where many key churchmen of the interwar years passed through his hands, but was frequently at odds with the school governors, whose accusations of organizational incompetence were given seeming weight by his customary refusal, following the example of Christ, to speak in his own defence or to spare financial thought for the morrow.

It is perhaps ironical that St Nektarios should gain widespread veneration as a posthumous wonderworker: his own writings on the miraculous (e.g. *God's Revelation to the World*, 1892) address with caution the radically divided attitudes of his contemporaries – suspicion and contempt among the educated (including many of the higher clergy), and uncritical adulation from the ignorant. Nektarios defends the reality of miracles as a means of divine self-revelation, and insists that their breach of natural laws must be viewed as evidence for the existence of a spiritual domain within the natural, where such laws do not obtain; but he also emphasizes that miracles were never intended as a basis for faith, and can never replace the believer's life of prayer and obedience to the gospels.

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Biography

Born Anastasios Kephalas in 1846, Nektarios studied theology at the University of Athens. He was consecrated Metropolitan of Pentapolis in 1892 but suspended in 1893 and later asked to leave Egypt. He became a preacher in Euboea and Director of the Rizarios school in Athens. In 1904 he founded the nunnery of Hagia Trias on Aegina. He died in 1920 and was canonized in 1961, the first modern saint of the Orthodox Church.

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Nemesius

Bishop of Emesa in the late 4th century

More is known of Emesa than of this bishop of the see. Situated on the Orontes in Syria, it reached a level of modest prosperity. What may be said with certainty about Nemesius is to be derived from an analysis of his treatise *On Human Nature*. Attempts have been made to identify him with the Nemesius with whom Gregory of Nazianzus was acquainted. He was a pagan, a governor of Cappadocia, in whom Gregory detected signs of Christian sympathy, even the possibility of his being won over to the faith. Gregory addressed four letters to him, also dedicating a poem urging conversion. Such an identification is only conjecture, calling as it would for acceptance of the view that he had, in fact, been converted *c.*390, encompassing within a decade elevation to the episcopate, the composition of a treatise, and death. It seems wiser to remain content with ignorance of his life and concentrate on his writing.

Written by a bishop, emerging as significant in apologetic terms, and with relevance for specifically theological debates of its day, *On Human Nature* incorporates a wide conspectus of non-Christian thinking on the nature of the psyche, as Nemesius reviews a selection of opinions drawn from writers including Plato, Aristotle, Epicurus, Plotinus, Porphyry, Iamblichus, Posidonius, among other Stoics, and Galen. In a treatise that appears not to have been finished (there are references to discussions never written) there are inconsistencies and ambiguities. Yet it is worthy of study, containing a serious exploration of long-standing questions of the body–soul relationship.

In attempting to represent a human being as an identifiable psychophysical entity, Nemesius shows Neoplatonic influence. The psyche is immaterial, its highest part being *nous* ("intellect"), and the argument is developed on regular anti-Stoic

lines. Yet he never plays down the essentially Christian doctrine that the soul, no less than the body, is part of the created order. He presents the human being as a microcosm, an image of the whole of creation, the bond (*syndesmos*) of creation, a being on the borderline of the intelligible and the sensible worlds, which, since both are part of divine creation, are not dualistically opposed but are capable of meeting in humanity, spirit, and matter harmoniously combined into a unity. The status of mankind is stressed in the view that the whole of the rest of creation exists for the benefit of man. He lives within the constraints of physical existence, while preserving an essential kinship with the intelligible through the rationality of the human mind. The soul, however, is not pure reason, in its embodied state being linked with passions. There is some ambiguity, coming from his Neoplatonic predilections, as to whether the soul may nevertheless remain in some recognizable sense impassible. Nemesius has his own borderline positions. It is still clear that, whatever his tensions, he contrives to maintain some firm views. He is committed to the reality of human free will, over against fatalism of any kind, whether it be Stoic or grounded in the Manichaean dualism to which his native Syria was prone. Again, his knowledge of the human body, derived from medical writers such as Galen, is extensively used in his writing and shows a deep interest in the whole human person. Physiology is no embarrassment. Rather it is the start of an exploration into the interaction of soul and body, of the modifications that can be traced within what is perceived as a psychophysical unity. Importantly, the senses are given a place of respect as a fascinating part of the whole human composition.

While this work aims at a survey of non-Christian sources, it still reflects interest in specific contemporary concerns of the Christian Church. In Christology Nemesius shows affinities with Antiochene thinkers such as Theodore of Mopsuestia in stressing the completeness of the human nature taken by Christ, being critical of what he saw as the deficiency of Apollinarius in this respect. Eunomius, representing a form of Arianism attacked by the Cappadocians, was from another angle subject to the censure of Nemesius.

Shadowy though he may have been, Nemesius cast certain shadows before him, aided perhaps by his very obscurity. The attribution of *On Human Nature* to Gregory of Nyssa, whose own writings on the soul were well known, and with whom Nemesius has affinities, must have furthered the promulgation and acceptance of the work. John of Damascus draws on it extensively, bestowing the authority of one who was widely seen as the culmination of Greek patristic theology, while its translation into Latin made it accessible to Albertus Magnus and Thomas Aquinas. Again, during the Renaissance, Nemesius emerged into publication, sometimes disguised as Gregory of Nyssa, but increasingly often recognized under his own name. As well as influencing the theory of Christian anthropology, this "Christian eclecticism" (Gilson) has been thought to affect later Byzantine aesthetic perceptions, as Nemesius' awareness of the value of the sense of touch led to a greater appreciation of the tactile in art.

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Biography

Nothing is known of the life of this 4th-century bishop of Emesa in Syria except that he was the author of a treatise on the nature of the psyche called *On Human Nature*. It is a survey of non-Christian sources but it reflects interest in contemporary concerns of the Christian Church.

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Neo-Orthodoxy

The term "Neo-Orthodoxy" has been widely used in Greece since the 1980s to designate an unorganized and multi-dimensional religious and intellectual current. The term was coined from the leftist journal *Scholiastis* in 1983 as a negative characterization of the religious quest of some left-wing intellectuals, men of letters, and artists (e.g. S. Ramphos, K. Zouraris, K. Moskof, D. Savvopoulos, N.-G. Pentzikis) who showed an unusual degree of interest in the Orthodox tradition and in the spiritual legacy of Athonite monasticism. These personalities from the left camp, which had never traditionally been on good terms with religion in general, were influenced by some progressive theologians and clerics (e.g. C. Yannaras, P. Nellas, abbot Vasileios Gontikakis). These had inititated a fresh quest for the rediscovery of a forgotten but authentic Orthodox tradition (e.g. the hesychast tradition of the 14th century), away from the conventionalism of the Church hierarchy, the pietistic precepts of Orthodox fundamentalists, and the superficial acquaintance of the general Greek public with Orthodoxy. This quest was thought to be a productive encounter with the genuine, uncontaminated sources of Greek Orthodox civilization, clearly differentiated from the West. Yet, the individuals involved in this movement never accepted the term of opprobrium "Neo-Orthodox", which they consid-

ered misleading. This term, nevertheless, has been generally established and used, in journalistic and scholarly circles alike.

Because Neo-Orthodoxy was in essence an unsystematic endeavour, no clear definition of the movement has yet been provided. Neo-Orthodoxy was not some sort of Orthodox revival, which has been a much wider phenomenon since the 1960s. It is therefore preferable to describe Neo-Orthodoxy with reference to some important events of the early 1980s: an unofficial dialogue between Orthodoxy (as differentiated from Western Christianity) and Marxism/communism; a tract from the Holy Community of Mount Athos concerning the education of the Greek nation; a widespread interest in Athonite monasticism and Orthodox spirituality; the debates concerning C. Yannaras's election to a chair of philosophy at the Panteion University of Athens, and heated discussions about the relationship between philosophy and theology as well as between Orthodoxy and rationality; the appearance of the new theological journal *Synaxi*, in which articles by Neo-Orthodox thinkers were published; the first publication in 1983 of *Oramata kai Thavmata* [Visions and Marvels] by the War of Independence general Yannis Makriyannis, which was considered to be an authentic document of the popular Orthodox ethos; and finally, the record *Ta Trapezakia Exo* [The Tables Outside] and various interviews by the popular singer D. Savvopoulos, who often and explicitly acknowledged his great debt to Orthodoxy. These examples reveal various enquiries in the religiocultural domain to locate the idiosyncrasy of the Greek Orthodox tradition.

Neo-Orthodoxy, however, was initially a marginal and remained basically an elitist movement. It had no mass appeal, except among some educated individuals and certain university students (e.g. the Greek Christian Orthodox Socialist Youth and its journal *Simadia*). An important reason for this was that Neo-Orthodoxy was supported neither by the official Church nor by the political parties. Another reason was that the movement lacked the organization necessary to ensure its longevity and wider impact. Additional reasons can be found in the radical sociopolitical changes and the collapse of Marxism-Leninism in Eastern Europe, which has meant that the aim of an Orthodox–Marxist rapprochement has in fact been unproductive. These events notwithstanding, there was a renewed interest in Orthodoxy in Greece in the 1990s in the wake of the revival of Orthodoxy in former Eastern bloc countries. This enabled several Neo-Orthodox thinkers to become involved in a wider attempt to locate the particular Greek Orthodox way of life and to construct a modern Greek identity with reference to its Hellenic and Orthodox past in order to face the challenges of the modern competitive world system. Some Neo-Orthodox thinkers were consequently called Hellenocentric as well and the influence of their ideas was manifest in overt and covert forms alike. Though there was never an official Neo-Orthodox programme, it is useful to outline some basic features that characterize this broad current of ideas, in addition to the positive appreciation of Orthodoxy.

First, the Neo-Orthodox opposed the Orthodox hardliners, the uninformed neutrals, and the enthusiastic westernizers. They considered both the past and the modern Greek intelligentsia as myopic because of its neglect of Greece's own incomparable cultural resources. The result was the modern disorientation of the country between the Scylla of traditionalism and the Charybdis of modernity, viz. westernization. The Neo-Orthodox thus intended to consider the history of Greece from an inward perspective and not according to western historiographical presuppositions. Second, the Neo-Orthodox put particular emphasis on a personal, experiential philosophy as well as on a communal way of life, as exemplified in the communalist tradition of the Orthodox east during Byzantium and the Tourkokratia. This perspective understood the human person as an erotic being in relation to other humans and the entire material world. The idea of personhood constituted for the Neo-Orthodox a clear difference between the Orthodox ethos and western individualism. In this context, they also distinguished between religion and ecclesiastical Orthodoxy. The former signified the satisfaction of fragmented individualistic needs, the latter the total fulfilment of human life. Third, the Neo-orthodox attempted to find the diachronic elements of Greek Orthodox culture and the underlying structure of Hellenicity from ancient times through Byzantium to the present, away from western adulterating influences and indigenous distortions. They did not support the uninterrupted continuity (ethnic/national) of Hellenism over a span of 3,000 years, but looked for features of Greek duration, patent and latent alike, throughout this long period. For them, Hellenism never represented a narrow geographical area (*topos*), but a specific way (*tropos*) of life. Finally, the Neo-Orthodox emphasized the exquisite value and superiority of the Greek Orthodox culture as well as the "aristocracy" of the Greek nation. This entails the abandonment of the inferiority complex of modern Greeks, especially vis-à-vis the West and its cultural imperialism. Greek Orthodox culture has an unsurpassed cosmopolitan universalism and can furnish viable solutions to the pressing problems of the contemporary international environment. The Neo-Orthodox criticism of the West, however, does not mean its wholesale rejection, but a fruitful interaction with it.

In short, the Neo-Orthodox movement should be understood in relation to the deep identity crisis and orientation problems that have tantalized modern Greece since its foundation. Despite its influence on contemporary Orthodox theology and Greek culture in general, Neo-Orthodoxy has drawn serious criticism from various perspectives, Orthodox, Marxist, and otherwise, as an elitist, nationalistic, isolationist, illusory, idealized, ahistorical, unfounded, biased, and even heretical current. This is indicative of deep cleavages within the modern Greek religious, intellectual, and socio-political scene with regard to all aspects of Greek identity, namely its past, its present, and its future.

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Neoclassicism

The establishment of the modern Greek state in 1833 signalled a concerted national turn towards ancient Greek culture. The monuments of Classical Athens provided initial inspiration. Neoclassical architecture, introduced by the Bavarian government (1833–62), became the dominant architectural style throughout the 19th century. It offered concrete references to the ancient Greek past and provided a common vocabulary for the modern Greek nation. Furthermore, as a widespread European style, it created a visual link between Athens and other European cities that Athens aimed to emulate. By the late 19th century, the development of new internal and external influences redefined the cultural orientation of the Greek nation, signalling a turn away from Neoclassicism, and towards a closer examination of local vernacular architecture.

While Classical architecture originated in ancient Greece, Neoclassicism was a western European architectural movement. Developed in the second half of the 18th century, it was initially inspired by Roman antiquities, because they were more accessible to European architects and scholars. A desire for adventure, archaeological curiosity, and the search for architectural inspiration were the main reasons that brought young architects first to the Italian peninsula, and later to Greece. Travel had always been an important aspect of architectural education, allowing one to experience important buildings in situ, and to expand one's knowledge beyond the few published examples. By the 18th century travel came to be expected of professional architects, while the range of architectural sites on the itinerary continuously expanded.

Although today the Parthenon is one of the most revered ancient buildings, its artistic prominence was not always undisputed. Originally, the ruins of Roman antiquity were considered superior to those of Greece, in part because the Greek works were less familiar to western scholars. During the Ottoman period, visits to the Greek lands were less common, being both cumbersome and expensive. The art historian J.J. Winckelmann was the first to challenge the artistic superiority of the Romans over the Greeks in his *Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums* (1764); for him Hellenistic art was superior to both the Classical Greek and the Roman periods. The publications of Le Roy, *Les Ruines des plus beaux monuments de la Grèce* (1758), and especially Stuart and Revett, *The Antiquities of Athens* (1762–1830), offered the first scientific descriptions of Classical Greek architecture. By the early 19th century, taste and aesthetic preferences had shifted towards Greece, and the artistic production of Athens in the 5th century came to represent the highest standard of artistic excellence. But while antiquity provided the inspiration, 18th- and 19th-century architects could not simply copy existing ancient buildings. First of all, most of them lay in ruins, or were partially underground and had to be reconstructed in the imagination. Secondly, the functions of the ancient monuments differed radically from the needs of modern society. The layout, design requirements, and building materials of Neoclassical museums, hotels, private clubs, or banks were uniquely modern. It was rather in the relationship and proportion of the parts and in the decorative vocabulary that architects sought inspiration in antiquity.

After the establishment of the Greek kingdom, several young, foreign, and foreign-trained architects travelled to Greece, full of dreams for grand projects and archaeological restorations. Most notable among them were the Danish brothers Christian Hansen (1803–83) and Theophilos Hansen (1813–91), and the Greeks Stamatios Kleanthes (1802–62), who was trained in Berlin under Karl Friedrich Schinkel, and Lysandros Kaftantzoglou (1811–85), who was educated in the Academy of San Luca in Rome. The first major Neoclassical structure was the royal palace (1836–43), designed by Friedrich von Gaertner (1792–1847), who worked in Munich for Otho's father, king Ludwig, and came to Athens only briefly to supervise the construction. The imposing palace, while uninspired in its design, sent a welcome signal of permanence to the war-torn country. Its construction encouraged other wealthy Greeks from abroad to move to Greece and contribute to the country's reconstruction. Yet, it was the buildings of the Athenian trilogy – the University, the Academy, and the Library, all on Panepistimiou Street – that stamped the elegant Neoclassical vocabulary on the Athenian landscape, and were emulated by other architects and builders throughout the 19th century. The University (1839–64) was designed by Christian Hansen, while the Academy (1859–87) and the Library (1884–1902) were the work of his brother Theophilos. Also noteworthy are the Polytechnic (1861–76) and the Arsakeion School (1846–52) by Kaftantzoglou, the Archaeological Museum (1866–89), designed by Ludwig Lange (1808–68) and Panagiotes Kalkos (1818–75), and the Zappeion Exhibition Hall (1874–88) by F. Boulanger and T. Hansen.

Many of the architects involved in the rebuilding of Athens also worked on archaeological excavations and restorations. The simplicity and austerity of the ancient examples were often reflected in their own creations, thus forging a Neoclassical idiom that was unique to Greece. By the end of the 19th century, however, this simplicity gave way to a much more decorated style that also borrowed from the rounded forms of Italian Renaissance architecture. The most prominent architect

Neoclassicism: Athens University, designed by the Danish architect Christian Hansen in 1839–42

in the late 19th and early 20th century was the prolific Ernst Ziller (1837–1923), who designed the house of Heinrich Schliemann (1879), the Royal Theatre (1895–1901), several hotels and civic buildings, and numerous houses. In his competent hands, this turn-of-the-century development of ornate Neoclassicism became synonymous with national Greek architecture.

The Neoclassical style of the capital was quickly exported to the rest of Greece. In fact, some of the best-preserved examples of Neoclassical architecture can be found in the Aegean islands, notably in the capital of Syros, Hermoupolis, and in many cities of the mainland, for example, Piraeus, Nauplia, Patras, etc. Local builders, having been apprenticed under trained foreigners, went on to apply what they had learned to more modest building commissions of their own. Even humble residences began to assume a regular, symmetrical façade, a scaled-down version of the major Athenian structures.

Some scholars have also used the term "Neoclassical" to describe the rational, orthogonal town plans of the 18th and 19th centuries that were inspired by Enlightenment theories and were initiated by the army of Napoleon I in France and Italy. Engineers from the French army also laid out some of the first cities designed under the regimes of Kapodistria (1828–31) and Otho. Characterized by regular geometry and symmetry, the plans consisted of rectangular building blocks, arranged around a central civic and administrative square. These regularly planned cities provided the backdrop for the new civic buildings in the Neoclassical style that were erected after the liberation. In the period between 1828 and 1912, more than 175 settlements were planned on the Greek mainland. Among others, new plans were designed for the following cities and towns: Argos (1829), Corinth (1829), Patras (1829), Eretria (1834), Nauplia (1834), Sparta (1834), Kalamata (1860), Thebes (1879), Volos (1882), Larissa (1883), Amfissa (1896), etc. While these plans did not completely erase the existing street patterns, they imposed a high degree of regularity on them.

New plans signalled an era of independence from Ottoman rule, national unity, and westernization. Greece, of course, was not the only country to undergo such modernizing, urban transformations. In fact, the Ottoman empire also invited western-trained architects and planners to design new civic and government buildings and to make proposals for urban transformations. And many of the foreign architects who worked in Greece worked in other countries as well. Theophilos Hansen's design for the Vienna parliament (1874–83), for example, bears a marked resemblance to his design for the Athenian Academy. Nevertheless, while there are stylistic similarities among the various Neoclassical buildings in Europe, their symbolic meaning is closely tied to the specific history and

culture of each location. As the poet George Seferis remarked, the Athenian Academy is so embedded in the Greek culture that, "most of the time, when we speak about the Greekness of a work of art, we are speaking about the Academy building" (G. Seferis, *Dokimes*, vol. 1, 1974).

Though prominent, Neoclassicism was not the only architectural style in 19th-century Greece. Byzantine architecture also provided inspiration for new buildings, as is evident in the work of Kaftantzoglou, Kleanthes, and several other architects known primarily for their Neoclassical buildings. In fact, when Otho announced an architectural competition in 1846 for the completion of Athens cathedral, he stipulated that the design be in the Greek-Byzantine order. Connection with the Byzantine epoch strengthened the Christian tradition of the modern Greek nation and helped to forge a continuous historical line from antiquity to the present.

By the turn of the 20th century, the Classically based, intellectual underpinnings of the modern Greek culture were challenged by a new wave of writings that focused on local people, customs, and traditions. The architect Dimitris Pikionis (1887–1968) was one of the first to study the vernacular landscape, exalting the "natural" and "true" elements of Greek popular (*laiki*) architecture. He urged his students to study the methods of traditional builders and adapt them to their own designs. His own work, however, like the work of most of his contemporaries, while it borrowed extensively from local vernacular architecture, was also influenced by the international modern movement. The sunset of Neoclassicism in Greece, however, was not only the result of ideological shifts in architectural theory and practice. Increasingly, technological and industrial advancement, rather than attachment to antiquity, was considered the true demonstration of progress. An unstable economy, combined with the continuous military undertakings that came to an end with the Asia Minor disaster of 1922, also forced the country to concentrate on the present and the future. The few Neoclassical buildings that survived the wholesale rebuilding of the 1960s and 1970s are once again revered and restored, often to house the offices of banks, international companies, art galleries, and small hotels.

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See also Architecture (Public)

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Neomartyrs

The Orthodox Church considers as neomartyrs all those who have been persecuted for their faith by heterodox oppressors. Although most of the new witnesses to the faith suffered martyrdom at the hands of their Muslim masters, it is wrong to impute their persecution only to the latter. The term neomartyr was used for the first time in the 8th century by the iconodules to qualify those persecuted for their Orthodox beliefs regarding the veneration of icons. Several cases of martyrdom occurred also during the reign of Michael VIII Palaiologos (1259–82) resulting from his policy on the union of the Churches, and under Frankish and Venetian rule.

Had it been possible to account for all the neomartyrs, including the 20 monks of the Mar Saba monastery in Palestine who were killed by the Arabs in 797, the 42 defenders of Amorion who refused to embrace Islam and died a martyr's death in 838, or the 13 monks killed under the Lusignans in Cyprus in 1231, with all the anonymous witnesses to the faith whose memory was lost through the long centuries of persecution and foreign invasion, the official count of 162 neomartyrs who fell during the period of Tourkokratia proper would easily swell to a few hundred.

The traditional martyrs of the early Church were primarily bearing witness to the faith they were holding; in a sense they were witnesses to the events directly related to their salvation. The neomartyrs were living testimonies of a more complex set of truths and values. In most cases they were forced formally to renounce their faith and embrace Islam. Their conversion implied not only a change of religion but the total denial of their identity. When they "turned Turk" they had to assume a foreign lifestyle, name, attire, manners, and, above all, a fundamental change of attitude towards their fellow Christians including members of their own family.

Akylina's father had converted to Islam to avoid punishment for killing a Turk. The girl, who was raised as a Christian, objected vehemently to embracing Islam and was brought by her own father to the Turkish authorities. All along she was encouraged by her mother not to renounce her ancestral faith. She was badly whipped for several days and she expired in her mother's arms on 27 September 1764.

For many renegades their apostasy came at a high price and led to banishment from their former community, bringing upon them hatred and isolation; life in these conditions, although relieved of the burden of excessive taxation imposed upon the non-Muslim Ottoman subjects, became unbearable and led to the repudiation of their former abjuration. This was usually followed by a sincere *metanoia* (repentance), a quest for guidance from a spiritual father, usually at an Athonite monastery, and an ardent desire to make in public a formal declaration of their ancestral faith. Their spiritual guides were reluctant in granting them permission to suffer martyrdom. Nevertheless, at their unmitigated insistence, they complied with their wish to efface the stigma of apostasy by an ultimate

act of sacrifice; indeed, martyrdom seemed to be the only honourable way to regain and reclaim their lost identity for all eternity.

The *Life* of St Polydoros of New Ephesus (first published in Venice in 1799) offers interesting details on the painful process undertaken by an apostate for his re-entrance into the Church. Having pronounced the *Shahada*, the Islamic confession of faith, in a bout of drunkenness while on a business trip to Egypt, he was unable to cope with the consequences of his conversion. He sought spiritual advice from a hierarch in Beirut, who advised him to retire to a monastery of Mount Lebanon. Desiring martyrdom, he went to Acre; from there he boarded a ship for Egypt and after several adventures he finally reached Smyrna with the intent of making a public confession of his faith; he was prevented from accomplishing this by the spiritual fathers of Smyrna, who were mindful of the consequences on the Christian population of a second martyrdom in the same city only a few weeks after the beheading of the neomartyr Alexander the Dervish. He left for Chios where he received approval for his martyrdom from "a foreign spiritual father". After an intense period of penance and preparation with fasting, prayers, genuflections, *parakliseis* to the Theotokos, and readings of martyrs' Lives, he came to such contrition, crying bitterly during many sleepless nights, sighing from the depths of his heart and calling on Theotokos to help him, so that those who saw and heard him were moved to profound mercy and sympathy. He went to New Ephesus (Kushadasi) where, following an illuminating interview with a Turkish judge, which includes a rare catechetical exposition of the faith to a non-Christian, and being offered the option of departing to live as a giaour, holding "whatever religion he may please, Frankish or Armenian", he persisted in his desire to die for Christ and he was hanged on 3 September 1794.

The Orthodox Church did not keep an official register of neomartyrs and never followed specific rules concerning the canonization of saints. St Nikodemos of the Holy Mountain put together a collection of *Lives* from hearsay and from *Lives* existing in manuscript form at the Athonite monasteries. Another source must have been the Akolouthiai, liturgical offices published for the local veneration of the neomartyrs. The ordering for the composition of such a service to commemorate the martyrdom of two Spezziots in Chios by "the Bishop of Scio" addressed in a letter to the Spezziots is quoted by Hasluck, who concludes that "the admonition of the bishop was duly attended to". The result of St Nikodemos's compilation is the *New Martyrologion*, published in 1799 in Venice. As is the case with other works of St Nikodemos, characterized by their popular tenor, the main purpose of this work was to stem the tide of apostasy and, as put forth in the Preface, to incite Christians "to burn from divine love, so that they also in turn may be ready to endure the martyrdom for Christ".

The inclusion of a neomartyr in the assembly of the saints was not necessarily dictated by ecclesiastical approval but rather by popular canonization and local veneration. A moving account of the local cult of an anonymous neomartyr of Skiathos (his name is rendered simply as the "Shepherd") is given by A. Papadiamantis in his short story "Poor Saint". St John the Russian was all but unknown in Greece until some Cappadocian refugees, following their exodus from Asia Minor, brought his miraculously preserved body from Prokopi to their new settlement of Neo Prokopi in Euboea in 1925.

It is important to note that in the assembly of neomartyrs several non-Greek Christians were venerated throughout the Orthodox world. Under the name of Ioannis alone one may count a Turkish dervish (?1814), Ioannis the Goldsmith from Sumna, Bulgaria (?1802), Ioannis the Wallachian (?1662), not to mention St John the Russian. One Ioannis from Trebizond, martyred in Akkerman (?1492), was buried in Suceava of Moldavia and his cult was popular throughout the Slavic world.

LAMBROS KAMPERIDIS

Summary

Neomartyrs are Christians who have been persecuted for their Orthodox faith. The term was first used in the 8th century to refer to those who defied iconoclasm. In the 13th century there were others who refused to accept the union of the Orthodox and Catholic Churches, but most suffered their martyrdom as a result of Muslim oppression during the Tourkokratia. For this period the official number stands at 162.

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Neophytos Enkleistos 1134–1219

Cypriot monk

Neophytos Enkleistos (the Enclosed, or Recluse) was a Cypriot monk and author, an unusual founder of a famous monastic institution from the base of his cliff hermitage above Paphos. The site, still active today, has important frescos that indicate much about the process and understanding of sanctification in later Byzantine practice.

His life is given in his own autobiographical accounts which survive in the Typikon (monastic constitution) he wrote for his community. He was born near Leukara in southern Cyprus in 1134. In 1152, when he was 18, he left his family, which was poor, and was tonsured at the monastery of St John Chrysostom on Mount Koutzoubendi. Working there for five years in the vineyards, he received a literary education and was promoted to the office of subsacristan (parekklesiarch). In 1159, when he was 25, he made a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, visiting Jerusalem and the renowned monasteries of

Palestine. After spending some time in the Mar Saba monastery he was confirmed in his vocation to be a hermit. He tells, however, how a vision instructed him that God awaited him in another place, and so he made his way back to Cyprus. He left the monastery of Koutzoubendi, trying to make for the monasteries of Mount Latros where he intended to become a hermit. Arriving as an unknown in Paphos, and waiting to take ship there, he narrates his providential adventure, as he was taken for a deserter and thrown into the local prison. There he was robbed of the money he had for his fare, and only just escaped from a long term of imprisonment. Completely penniless, and shaken by his experience, he left Paphos and went a short distance up into the surrounding hill country looking for a suitable place of retirement. On 24 June 1159, a day that he regarded as auspicious, for it was the birthday of John the Baptist, patron of monks, he found a soft escarpment with a cave, at the end of a ravine. He tells how he tested the tranquillity of the site, living only with the wild birds, until September of that year when, satisfied as to its suitability, he began to enlarge the cave for his permanent use, completing his work on the Feast of the Cross (14 September) the following year.

After five years, in 1165, he set out to find a relic of the True Cross, indicating his intention to make a permanent religious foundation, and, being successful in his quest, brought it back for the cave church that he had made adjoining his cell. In 1166 he was also instructed by the newly elected bishop of Paphos, Basil Kinnamos, to receive ordination as a priest and to accept monastic followers. On the arrival of the early disciples, he enlarged the primitive Enkleistra, and it became a series of cells stretching across the whole length of the escarpment. The small church, dedicated to the Holy Cross, served as the Katholikon for the foundation, still reached by a ladder, though today an arched walkway has been constructed. In 1183, the 24th year of his seclusion, the whole cell and church were painted, under the patronage of Basil Kinnamos, by the fine iconographer Theodore Apseudes. The wall-paintings are among the most interesting on Cyprus, not only because of their quality, but for what they reveal historically, for the series most unusually depicts the founder Neophytos being carried to heaven by two angels – and this was painted several years before his death. After the initial paintings, in the late 12th or early 13th century, the nave of the church was enlarged once again and decorated with additional saintly ascetics and Passion scenes.

The depredations of Richard the Lionheart had caused much disruption to rural life on Cyprus, and Neophytos castigates the king in his writings. Pilgrims and aid-seekers began to cluster round the monastery, and many attempted to join the community. Neophytos regulated this by stating categorically in his Typikon that the foundation was not to receive monks unless they were genuine penitents (*Typike Diatheke*, 13), and for good measure he had this text written in the narthex of the church, and ordered it to be read aloud each Sunday. In 1196 the influx of monks and visitors seeking guidance and help became too much for the recluse, who decided to abandon his original cell and carve out a place for himself higher up the escarpment, much more difficult of access. The story of his adventures excavating this "New Sion" are recounted in a small work called *Theosemeia* in which he narrates his miraculous deliverance from a rock fall. The seclusion was so effective here that he seems to have been forgotten on more than one occasion (for he complains about it) when his community, overwhelmed with the needs of visitors, neglected to send him any food for the day. The original monastery was also enlarged, and he tells in the Typikon of the later gardens, herds, and buildings that had sprung up (*Typike Diatheke*, 18–20).

In this later period of expansion Neophytos developed his work of writing, setting out instructions for the permanent regulation of a community. Bishop Basil and his own brother John, who had become the *hegoumenos* (abbot) at Mount Koutzoubendi, encouraged him in his literary work. In addition to his monastic instructions, he also wrote panegyrics, homilies, and a commentary on the Song of Songs. His work shows an intelligent awareness even of theological controversies taking place in Palestine and Constantinople, as well as offering sharp comment on contemporary political problems in Cyprus. For 23 years he lived in strict seclusion in New Sion, acting as founder and *higumen* of the community around him, until his death in 1219. In accordance with instructions he gave in advance in the Typikon, a new *higumen* was chosen to succeed him, who was to be installed in the seclusion of the founder's cave after the customary funeral rites had been observed, and after the founder's body had been buried in the original cell below, which was now set apart as a shrine adjacent to the cave church.

The life of Neophytos has recently been interpreted as an example of blatant self-glorification. The preparing of a tomb for his body, together with frescos in the church where that body would be received, and the supplying of texts indicating both his stature as a founder and how the Theotokos miraculously saved him from death, have been pointed to as all the necessary elements to comprise a Byzantine "canonization" – icon, relics, and hagiography – which in this case had all been made ready by the protagonist himself before his death. Another commentator has called this not self-glorification but rather "une transparence enfantine". In the Byzantine religious mindset, however, it was a commonplace that the faithful pursuit of the monastic life would almost inevitably lead the founder (one seen as specially inspired by God) to heavenly glory. What strikes the modern observer as peculiarly self-aggrandizing is more a reflection of the widespread belief in the Byzantine ascetical doctrine of *apatheia*: that years of dedication to God in the monastic life would stabilize the "Abba" in the very life of God himself – a deification even in this world. The fresco that has caused most controversy is that of the founder, over the site of his tomb, being lifted up by two angels. This should be properly interpreted not as a pre-death self-canonization, but as an iconic prayer of intercession that the monk Neophytos, having lived the angelic life on earth (the monastic state), would be admitted into the company of the other monastic saints who line the walls of the church. It is also clear that this expectation that the monastic complex would continue to be a place of pilgrimage after the founder's death (as it had been already in his lifetime) was a view shared widely, not least by the bishop who commissioned the wall paintings, and by the larger community itself.

The monastic complex has survived to the present day with its (later) church and community buildings around a fountain

courtyard, opposite and below the surviving Byzantine troglodyte church and upper cell of the founder. The continuing popularity of the place testifies to the enduring warmth of the relationship between the Greeks and their local monastic settlements. There is a lively tradition of the later "invention" of the relics of the founder, and the saint's skull is today preserved in the lower church where it continues to act as a pilgrimage focus.

J.A. McGuckin

Biography

Born in 1134 in southern Cyprus, Neophytos "the Recluse" became a monk at the age of 18. In 1159 he visited the Holy Land and spent time at the Mar Saba monastery. Returning to Cyprus, he became a hermit above Paphos. He enlarged his cell to take disciples and it became a monastery. He died in 1219 and his relics remain a focus of pilgrimage.

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Neoplatonism

"Neoplatonism" is a modern label for the Greek philosophy of the late ancient, early Byzantine period (late 3rd to 7th century AD). The label is inadequate. First, "Neoplatonism" amounted to Greek philosophy in general: it incorporated Aristotelian, Stoic, and Pythagorean tenets (Epicureanism was rejected) and had no other philosophical competitors. Second, there were many diverse, often rival, brands. Third, "Neoplatonism" is very different from the standard Plato, yet shows close links with some renditions of the late Plato and the early Academy. The Neoplatonists fostered allegiance to the Classical past (Neoplatonists wrote most of the commentaries on Aristotle and Plato), but simultaneously promoted a fresh, dynamic philosophy.

Neoplatonism was consolidated and brought into mainstream academic teaching by the Athenian school, and especially Proclus. Its principal founders were Plotinus, Porphyry, and Iamblichus.

The Neoplatonists were primarily philosophers with their own ideas about truth and reality. They reasoned that these come in degrees or levels, each appropriate to the means of knowledge in use. Sense-perception addresses the physical mode of things, reason the conceptual, abstract, or mathematical mode of things, and direct intellectual apprehension the essences, principles, and Forms of true reality. However, all knowledge and being derive from an ultimate principle, the "One", which by definition is beyond the system.

In descending order, the main metaphysical levels were, the One, Being/Intellect (*ousia/nous*), and Psyche (as self-organizing life/soul/mind). Body and Matter in themselves were considered passive. More detailed orderings made explicit the functions of the One (transcendent – causal, determinative – unlimited), and the structure of Being/Intellect as essence, potency (*dynamis*), and overt actuality (*energeia*).

Neoplatonism is neither just idealism nor realism. Objects are contained in consciousness, and differ according to the mode of awareness and cognition. At the level of pure intellection, being and thought coincide. However, phenomena and reliable conceptions depend on transpersonal realities, which are self-sufficient.

Psyche in Greek philosophy meant the self-propelled (*autokineton*) life that defines living beings. Human psyche consists of a rational (mind) and a non-rational life (self-movement, senses, instincts). With the psyche man can compare sense-perceptions and thoughts, mentally weigh evidence, and arrive at conclusions and understanding (*logos*). Each psyche, however, has only a "particular" perspective. Because of this combination of self-motivation and limited vision, which is its individuality, it "dares" to leave its level, and invariably "fall" into body. Yet, psyche is an extension of atemporal, unlimited, objective principles. To these it yearns to "ascend" by the Neoplatonic routes of love, contemplation, and faith.

From their readings the late Greek philosophers concluded that Plato was nearest to a complete account, provided his writings were interpreted correctly. Aristotle, Plato's rival, was valid for the domain of sense-experience, ordinary language, and basic logic. Neoplatonic education, as taught at Athens and Alexandria, thus started with Aristotle and progressed to Plato; studying could last six years. Learning stimulates the

soul to reflect on its self, and through it on the levels of reality that substantiate it. Salvation comes with the deepening of knowledge, for philosophy aids the soul to recover its full integrity. This is preserved by a unity, which is of divine origin.

Accordingly, Neoplatonists studied an encyclopaedic range of subjects and philosophies, including literary works and criticism, psychology, politics, Pythagoreanism, Stoicism, and Hedonism. First they trained in ethics and logic, i.e. the basics of good living and sound reasoning. Then they learnt physics and mathematics (geometry, arithmetic, astronomy, and harmonics) as the representations of reality. Thinking about being, existence, properties, and causes, and about concepts, knowledge, and truth brought the students nearer to the core concerns. In the final step of "analysis", they encountered the ultimate foundation of metaphysics, epistemology, and ethics: the unconditioned, ineffable unity, whose traditional appellation is God.

Plotinus (3rd century AD) was born in Hellenized Egypt, and first sought philosophy with the scholastic teachers of Alexandria. Having found them disappointing, he turned to an Ammonius Saccas, who propounded the agreement of Plato with Aristotle. Among his audience were Longinus and the Christian Origen. After 11 years, and a short adventure in the East, Plotinus settled in Rome, where he attracted a large circle of followers, including senators.

For Plotinus, inward contemplation of human nature takes the philosopher on a journey of discovery. Man's inner capacities reveal universal realities, and exemplify deep philosophical issues. The relation of body with psyche, for example, shows the difficulty of referencing immaterial existence by the normal material-bound standards. He regarded Plato correct, and Aristotle selectively wrong, especially on the categories of being. Yet, Plotinus' doctrines were not dogmas but the results of lengthy debates with his followers. He was conscious of his unorthodox Platonism: that the Forms are identical with the contents of divine Intellect (interpretation traceable to the 2nd-century Aristotelian professor Alexander of Aphrodisias), and that an aspect of human psyche remains undescended in body. Later Neoplatonists accepted a modified articulation of the former, but rejected the latter.

Plotinus' writings were edited and publicized by Porphyry. Although Porphyry records their chronological order, he arranged them in six thematic groups of nine, henceforth known as the *Enneads*. In this they conform to an ascending scale from ethics and physics, to psyche, *nous*, and finally on to the divine One. This is the hierarchy of virtue, being, and knowledge, which will typify later Neoplatonism and its curriculum.

Porphyry (3rd to early 4th century AD) was born in Hellenized Phoenicia of Syrian parents, and first studied at Athens with the prominent scholastic Longinus. From him he inherited breadth of learning and source material, organized, critical thinking, and clear, concise expression. However, he became more attracted to Plotinus' philosophy. After five years, he disagreed with Plotinus, left him, and pursued his "harmonization" of Aristotle's logic and metaphysics with Plato. Nevertheless, Plotinus entrusted him with the publication of his doctrines. Porphyry disseminated widely their new philosophy with his numerous writings (including a key work on vegetarianism and ecological philosophy) and high scholarly reputation.

For Porphyry, Aristotle is true, within the limits of sense-experience, physical reference, logic, and semantics. Plato addresses the intelligible but intangible reality. In ethics and religion, Porphyry promoted the ideal of the simple living philosopher-priest. He was the first to write on the "Chaldaean Oracles", proverbs written in Greek but of uncertain origin, that later Neoplatonists used as revelatory support for their ideas; he was also the first to elevate faith, love, and truth alike to the divine virtues. Porphyry saw reason as the surest path to God, and rejected Christianity and Gnosticism as irrational or fraudulent. Indeed, the "harmonization" was motivated by his concern to defend Hellenic philosophy.

In the meantime, Plotinus' chief spokesman, Amelius, had also left him and settled in Apamea, Syria. Amelius bravely postulated that the Platonic Forms must be infinite (subsequent Neoplatonists rejected it), and, unlike Porphyry, believed that ritual practices enable contact with divinity. Further, he introduced a tripartite distinction in *nous*. His first doctrine influenced Theodore of Asine, a student of Iamblichus, but was rejected by other Neoplatonists. The last two show influence from Numenius, a Neopythagorean who flourished at Apamea in the 2nd century AD. He had introduced ideas later typical of Neoplatonism (Plotinus was once accused of plagiarizing Numenius): the Forms as contents of *nous*, threefold divisions, the Pythagorean reading of Plato, theurgy, and the value of revelatory oracles.

The Syrian Iamblichus (4th century) was at first an acolyte of Porphyry, but disagreed over the role of theurgy. After a short stay at Caesarea, he established a school at Apamea, which seems to have offered both philosophy and conventional rhetorical education. Iamblichus' school proved exceptionally popular, only to be surpassed by that of his student Aedesius the Cappadocian, at Pergamum. Their students spread and influenced the Byzantine empire from its very beginning. Iamblichus' student Sopater of Apamea advised the emperor Constantine the Great, and presided over the consecration of Constantinople's foundation in 330. Aedesius, through Maximus of Ephesus, converted the emperor Julian (361–3) from Christianity to a universalist "Hellenism".

Iamblichus took Porphyry's "harmonization" of Aristotle with Plato further into ontology and psychology, and added Neopythagorean number metaphysics. He sought to mathematize all areas of philosophy and religion, because mathematics made possible their scientific study. He analysed the Neoplatonic levels into transcendent and immanent aspects, and, for the first time, he saw time not as a by-product of psychological activity but as substantial reality. He concluded, against Porphyry, that divinity cannot be reached by reason but by an appropriate act of transcendence: supra-rational theurgy. Against Plotinus, he pointed out that embodied souls do not access higher planes, but are fully immanent in matter. Nevertheless, they contain a divine spark which is the source of salvation both of individual souls and of matter.

The Iamblichean version incorporated most of Porphyry and Plotinus, but rejected Theodore of Asine. In a modified form it was eventually accepted by the chief mainstream schools of Athens and Alexandria. Through them the

Neoplatonic educational philosophy became the curriculum of Byzantine higher educarion until the 15th century.

At Athens in the late 4th to 5th centuries AD, the self-styled "Academy" was the premier centre of higher learning, and the beneficiary of major endowments by aristocratic families. It was successively headed by Plutarch of Athens, Syrianus, and Proclus. They taught a curriculum mainly based on Aristotle and Plato, where the former is the necessary preparation for the latter. Against Iamblichus, they restored Plato's dialectic over Pythagorean number metaphysics, and a single One as both transcendent and causal. The Athenians' theoretical developments included the "ones" (*henades*) as the transcendent existents and essences of beings at all levels, matter as the direct emanation of the One and Good, space as body and light, etc.

Proclus was succeeded by Marinus and Isidore. The last scholarch of Athens was Damascius (taught by Ammonius Hermeiae at Alexandria). He highlighted the metaphysical, epistemological, and linguistic problems of transcendence, which led him to new expressions of scepticism (theology as scepticism relative to dogmatic rationalism and science resurfaced periodically, notably in the 13th-century Byzantine Metochites). With the emperor Justinian's ban on public teaching by pagans in 529, the Athenian school closed. After an unsuccessful journey to the Persian emperor, the Athenian scholars dispersed. But one of them, Simplicius, flourished after the closure, writing and teaching privately somewhere in the Byzantine empire. He wrote the most extensive commentaries on Aristotle. They are invaluable for both new and old ideas, particularly the reports of the first Greek philosophers, the Presocratics.

In this period, Alexandrian philosophy came from Athens. The first to be unambiguously a philosopher at Alexandria was Hierocles, a student of Plutarch of Athens. The next head, Hermeias, was taught by Syrianus (to whom he was related), and was succeeded by his son Ammonius, taught by Proclus. Ammonius of Hermeias, in turn, taught Damascius, Simplicius, and John Philoponus who edited several of Ammonius' lectures, which had originated in Proclus. Some evidence suggests that the Alexandrians were specially interested in the relation of Being to divine Intellect.

The Alexandrian school was not as rich or self-sufficient as the Athenian, which was the complaint of its next head, Olympiodorus. Yet, he continued to flourish even after Justinian's ban, still as a pagan public teacher. It is evident from Olympiodorus' lectures that he was the first to promote deliberately the conciliation of "Hellenic" philosophy (Neoplatonism) with Christianity, in the classroom. All subsequent heads at Alexandria were Christians but philosophically remained Neoplatonists. One of its later members, Stephanus, took the sole philosophy chair at the imperial university of Constantinople (610).

Greek Christians influenced by Neoplatonism included the Cappadocian Fathers of Orthodoxy, Basil, Gregory of Nazianzus, and Gregory of Nyssa (4th century). They were educated at Caesarea, Athens, and Alexandria. There they learnt the power of logical argument and the sophistication of Greek philosophy through Neoplatonism. Familiarity with Plotinus and Porphyry is evident, as well as exposure to Iamblichean ideas, which were prevalent at that time and place. For example, God's creation is expressed in "remaining, procession, and return", while God's wisdom emanates as light. In Christian theology, the Cappadocians were influenced by Origen (3rd century) who had been a fellow student of Plotinus under Ammonius Saccas at Alexandria.

In early to mid 6th-century Alexandria, a Christian student of the Neoplatonist Ammonius, the grammarian John Philoponus, composed vast commentaries on Aristotle. He employed his Neoplatonic education in defence of Monophysitism. He wrote against both other Christians and the pagan philosophers, particularly Proclus. Thus he provided the first philosophical arguments in favour of Christian cosmology, creation, and the perishability of the physical cosmos.

At Gaza the rhetorician Aeneas, a student of the Alexandrian Neoplatonist Hierocles, founded a Christian school. It promoted the philosophical value of Christianity through (Neo)Platonism. His friend Zacharias, later bishop of Mytilene, converted from Monophysite Christianity to Orthodoxy, and wrote against Ammonius of Hermeias.

The corpus attributed to Dionysius the Areopagite was written in the late 5th century, but gained Orthodox recognition after its defence by John Scythopolis (early 6th century), Maximos the Confessor (7th century), and the Patriarch Germanos (8th century). It is immersed in Proclus' Neoplatonism, at least in terminology, ranging from the tripartite distinctions of essence-power-activity and of participation, to the apophatic theology and theurgy. Nevertheless, it adhered to Christian doctrine, and contained novel formulations.

The so-called Aristotelian renaissance of 7th-century Byzantium was owed to the Neoplatonic integrated curriculum of Plato *and* Aristotle. Maximos the Confessor (saint in both the Greek and Latin Churches) introduced fresh philosophical rigour into Orthodox theology. For this he employed the typical Neoplatonic distinctions, such as intelligible versus sensible created being, essence–power–activity, and remaining–procession–return.

The Neoplatonic elements in Orthodox theology also surfaced in the major controversy over the role of icons. Proclus had written extensively on the modal existence as a principle, thing in itself, and as "image" (*eikon*), and on the relation of "archetype" to "image". Such philosophical concepts helped those who supported the veneration of icons (e.g. John Damascenus) to win the argument, and thus maintain the physical domain, and the means of understanding it, intellect, in divine grace.

Among the prominent Byzantines who wrote on Neoplatonism were Psellos (11th century), George Pachymeres, Nikephoros Blemmydes, and Nikephoros Choumnos (13th to 14th century), Plethon and his student Bessarion (15th century). At the invitation of the Medicis, Bessarion flourished in Italy. The Florentine Academy became the epicentre of western European Renaissance.

Through Neoplatonism, Greek universal learning informed the rise of Arab, Jewish, and European philosophy and theology. In the east, Neoplatonism influenced Islamic (Avicenna, Averroes) and Jewish thought (Gabirol). In the west, Neoplatonism influenced mystics and scholars (often through Porphyry and the commentaries on Aristotle): Boethius, king Alfred the Great, Duns Scotus, Richard St Victor, Anselm of

Canterbury, Abelard, Eriugena, Albertus Magnus, Grosseteste, Aquinas, and John Milton; the Renaissance figures Ficino and Pico, the humanists Sir Thomas More and Ralph Cudworth, and the astronomer Johannes Kepler. In modern literature Neoplatonism inspired William Blake, Samuel Coleridge, Percy Shelley, and W.B. Yeats. In modern philosophy, Neoplatonism influenced Benedict Spinoza, and the Idealists such as George Berkeley, Henri Bergson, Georg Hegel, Francis Bradley, John McTaggart and, in the 20th century, the London University professor F.C. Copleston.

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See also Academy, Philosophy, Plato

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Nero AD 37–68

Roman emperor

Nero (54–68) had a more complex relationship with Greece than any Roman emperor before or after him. Although other men, such as the Egyptian Amasis (Herodotus, 2. 178) and the Roman general Antony (Plutarch, *Antony*, 23), had been called philhellenes, Nero as Roman emperor had unprecedented power to express his love for Greece on a vast scale. Nero's philhellenism can be divided into two categories: first, there is his own personal pursuit of Greek culture, music, and literature; secondly, there is his adoption of a foreign policy that was beneficial to Greece as a country.

Early signs of Nero's love of Hellenic culture are clear from his enthusiasm for the Greek language: under Claudius, he gave speeches in the senate in Greek on behalf of the Rhodians and the Trojans. Some critics have suggested that Nero did not write these speeches himself (cf. Tacitus, *Annals*, 13. 3. 3: Nero was "the first ruler to need borrowed eloquence"). That may be so, but his public demonstration of competence in the Greek language certainly contrasts with previous emperors, such as Tiberius, who could speak Greek fluently, but only ever did so in private. Another early sign of his philhellenism can be seen in his staging of Pyrrhic dances by young Greeks in AD 57 (Suetonius, *Nero*, 12. 2). Yet it was not until after the murder of his mother Agrippina that Nero was able to give full and free expression to his personality. In AD 59 Nero himself performed on the cithara at the Juvenalia, where he celebrated the first shaving of his beard (Suetonius, *Nero*, 11. 1; Tacitus, *Annals*, 14. 15. 1; Dio, 61. 19. 1). Not only Nero but certain Roman aristocrats also appeared on stage, acting dramatic roles. Yet the Juvenalia took place within the palace grounds in private: it was not until AD 64 that the 27-year-old Nero made his debut on the public stage, at Naples (Tacitus, *Annals*, 15. 33–34 and Suetonius, *Nero*, 20. 2–3). Conspicuously, he avoided Rome for this performance, perhaps anticipating a hostile reaction.

Yet his confidence quickly grew. In AD 60 he had instituted a quinquennial contest along Greek lines called the Neronia, in which participants competed for prizes in oratory, singing, playing the lyre, and poetry (Tacitus, *Annals*, 14. 20. 21; Suetonius, *Nero*, 12. 3; Dio, 61. 21. 2). According to the sources, at the second Neronia in AD 65, despite the senate's attempts to dissuade the emperor from performing, Nero recited a poem on stage and then accompanied his singing on the lyre (Tacitus, *Annals*, 16. 4. 5; Suetorius, *Nero*, 21; Dio, 62. 29. 1). If these festivals were designed to inspire fellow Romans with a passion for Greek culture, Nero was unsuccessful. Subsequent historical and literary accounts cast the emperor in a tyrannical light, partly because the spectators at his shows were increasingly obliged to become the focus of attention themselves: either they performed on the stage or their reactions to Nero's display were carefully monitored by imperial agents. Nero's manipulation of his fellow Romans was too overbearing and superficial, rather as when Peter the Great tried to make his fellow Russians more "western" by getting them to shave off their beards.

When Nero died, the pretence of philhellenism that had gripped Rome perished with him. The new Flavian dynasty

bolstered their own power by reversing many of Nero's policies and ideologies. Thus, Vespasian rejected Nero's infamous Golden House as an imperial residence, rehabilitated the colossal golden statue of Nero to represent the sun, and refurbished the temple to the Divine Claudius, which Nero had deliberately neglected. The theatrical philhellene Nero had temporarily redefined the imperial identity, but this proved unpopular with the senate, so the more austere Vespasian wisely took as his role model Augustus rather than Nero. Yet there is evidence that Nero was missed by some. After his death, no fewer than three men appeared, each one falsely claiming to be the emperor. The first surfaced on the island of Cynthus in AD 69 (Tacitus, *Histories*, 2. 8–9), the second in Asia Minor in AD 80 (Dio, 66. 19), and the third among the Parthians in AD 88–89 (Suetonius, *Nero*, 57. 2). Whatever their personal motives, such impostors clearly hoped to win the public approval of those who, long after the emperor's death, "used to lay spring and summer flowers on Nero's grave" (Suetonius, *Nero*, 57). The fact that all three pretenders materialized in the east suggests that Nero's posthumous standing there was much stronger than in the west.

Nero's treatment of Greece itself can be seen as inconsistent. After the fire of Rome in AD 64, the emperor sent agents to Greece to remove treasures (including statues of the gods) from shrines at Athens, Delphi, Olympia, and Thespiae. Pausanias says that Nero "robbed Apollo of five hundred bronze statues, some of gods and some of men" (10. 7. 1). This move may have been necessitated by short-term financial expediency, but it should warn us not to over-romanticize Nero's relationship with Greece. He owes his reputation as a philhellene above all to his liberation of Greece from taxation and Roman administration. This flamboyant emancipation took place at a special celebration of the Isthmian games at Corinth on 28 November AD 67, while Nero was conducting an artistic tour of Greece. By this action he recalled the actions of Titus Flamininus in 196 BC, who had also liberated Greece (Polybius, 18. 46). On a damaged marble stele a version of Nero's speech from this occasion is preserved, together with a decree from Akraiphiai in Boeotia honouring the emperor (*Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, edited by Hermann Dessau, 1892, reprinted 1979, no. 8794). Although Nero told his Greek audience that he acted "not out of pity for you but out of goodwill", there are hints in the speech that his action was not entirely altruistic. Nero also boasted proudly that although other leaders had liberated cities, only he had liberated a province. The competitive emperor seems concerned here, not with promoting the well-being of Greece, but with bolstering his own reputation. At one point Nero even wishes paradoxically that Greece were still at its peak so that more people might enjoy his favour. This, surely, is a revealing formulation, which puts into perspective Nero's reputation as a philhellene, as did the fact that he called his Greek games the Neronia, after himself. The Akraiphiai decree shows that in AD 67 there was gratitude in Greece for the liberation, but this may not reflect universal opinion: as Tacitus says in a different context, "Services are welcome as long as it seems possible to repay them, but when they greatly exceed that point they produce not gratitude but hatred" (*Annals*, 4. 18). In any case, Nero died so soon afterwards that no consolidation of the grant was possible. After the civil wars of AD 68–69 the new emperor Vespasian complained that Greece had forgotten how to be free and Nero's gift was swiftly cancelled.

Nero's benefaction had an immediate impact in the short term, as the Akraiphiai decree shows, but did his treatment of Greece make any long-term difference? In some ways, it was a mixed blessing for Greece to have received such a conspicuous benefaction from this disgraced emperor. Even in the Akraiphiai decree Nero's name was deliberately erased from the stele after the senate had condemned the dead emperor to oblivion (*damnatio memoriae*). Nero himself was quickly cast in the literary tradition as a yardstick for monstrosity even by Greek writers, as when Philostratus makes Vespasian say that he would rather have Nero come back to life than surrender the empire to Vitellius (*Vita Apollonii*, 32). Even so, despite the backlash against Nero, there are signs that some Romans began to embrace Greek culture. Juvenal (2nd century AD) included in one satire a xenophobic tirade about Rome being infiltrated by Greek habits (*Satires*, 3. 58–125), and under Trajan (AD 98–117) new senators were recruited from Athens and Sparta, which resulted in significant cultural interaction. During the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD there was a period of cultural renaissance in Greece, which became known as the "Second Sophistic". Some scholars suggest that Nero's short-lived liberation of Greece even provided the spark that caused this intellectual revival. Nero's unsubtle attempts to inculcate philhellenism in his fellow Romans certainly failed, but the theatrical liberation of AD 67 still heralded a remarkable new era of literary creativity in Greece.

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Biography

Born in AD 37, Nero succeeded Claudius as emperor in 54. After the death of his mother Agrippina he felt free to indulge in his love of Greece. He himself sang and performed on stage, and he introduced Greek-style games at Rome (called the Neronia). In 66–67 he toured Greece and liberated the province from Roman administration and taxation. The gift was cancelled soon after his death in 68 but it may have helped to pave the way for the Second Sophistic movement of the 2nd and 3rd centuries.

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Nestorius *c.*381–*c.*451

Archbishop of Constantinople

Nestorius was born in Germaniceia in the province of Syria Euphratensis (east Syria) and at an early age entered the monastery of Euprepeia near Antioch. In Antioch he acquired, like John Chrysostom before him, a great reputation as a preacher, strongly influenced by the theological views of Theodore, bishop of Mopsuestia (died 428), and in general by the Antiochene school of theology. Theodore's biblical commentaries used scientific, literary, and historical methods of interpretation that contrasted with the allegorical method favoured by the Alexandrians. This involved an understanding of Christ as subsisting in two complete natures, Godhead and manhood united by will, or, as Theodore expressed it, by "good pleasure", into one intimately related but outward person (*prosopon*). As Nestorius himself was to write towards the end of his life, "The Maker is in every way other than that which is made" (*Bazaar of Heraclides*, p.27). The unity between the *Logos* (Divine Word) and the man, Jesus Christ, was achieved by the *Logos* uniting himself with the human Jesus, a view justified in scripture from Philippians 2: 6–7: Jesus Christ, "being in the form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal with God, but made himself of no reputation and took upon himself the form of a servant and was made in the likeness of men". This voluntary self-emptying of divinity enabled the *Logos* to form a union of wills with Jesus, to become a single personality, share in human experiences, including the cross and death, and so redeem mankind.

This Christology, however, differed fundamentally from that of Alexandria. The Alexandrians stressed the divinity of Jesus Christ as one divine person, as stated in John 1:14: "the Word became flesh and dwelt among us". Godhead and manhood were therefore fused in a unity of essence, a hypostatic union as Cyril of Alexandria would claim, not simply a conjunction (*synapheia*) of wills in one personality.

These contrasting concepts were long-standing and had existed side by side without open conflict through the first quarter of the 5th century. However, on the early death of archbishop Sisinius (426–27) the clergy of Constantinople failed to agree on a successor. The emperor Theodosius II thereupon broke the deadlock by sending for the presbyter Nestorius. The latter's character and lack of judgement created a crisis between the two Christologies.

The Constantinopolitan historian Socrates wrote of Nestorius (*c.*439) that he was "a man of extreme lack of tact, ignorance, and garrulity" (*Historia Ecclesiastica*, 7. 29), qualities he showed in the first days of his episcopate. The Arians, though finally condemned as heretics at the second Ecumenical Council at Constantinople in 381, were still respected in the capital, as were other dissenters, such as the Macedonians and Novatianists. Nestorius deprived the Arians of their chapel within the walls of the city and soon afterwards acted against the Macedonians, Montanists, and Novatians. "Give me, O emperor, the earth purged of heretics, and I will repay you with heaven. Assist me in destroying heretics and I will help you harry the Persians", he had said during his consecration sermon (Socrates, loc. cit.). He was as good as his word. Unfortunately a fire broke out in the city shortly afterwards, which earned Nestorius the title of "firebrand" and alienated the inhabitants from him.

Nestorius had brought a number of Antiochene priests with him. On 24 November one of these, the presbyter Anastasius, preached a sermon in which he attacked the term *Theotokos* ("one who gave birth to God") as applied to the Virgin Mary. Nestorius insisted that Mary was the bearer of Christ and that the proper term was *Christotokos*. Socrates (*Historia Ecclesiastica*, 7. 32) points out that *Theotokos* was not a novelty in the east and could be found in the writings of Eusebius of Caesarea and Origen. Nestorius in his view was simply ignorant. Nestorius' antipathy to *Theotokos* did not go unnoticed by Cyril, archbishop of Alexandria, who had official and unofficial agents in the capital. These kept him quickly, if inaccurately, informed of Nestorius' views and actions. Soon afterwards, early in 429, Pelagian exiles led by Julian, bishop of Eclanum, arrived in Constantinople. Though Nestorius informed pope Celestine (422–32) and requested, somewhat peremptorily, information about them, he did not receive them unfavourably, thus antagonizing the papacy and the powerful North African Church led by Augustine.

For the moment the issue between Nestorius and Cyril was the term *Theotokos*. However, the see of Alexandria had long coveted the primacy over the eastern Churches accorded to Constantinople at the council of 381. Cyril, annoyed by reports sent to him by his agents that Nestorius was making mischief for him with the emperor, wrote urging him to cease his opposition to *Theotokos* (June 429), and implying that Rome might be concerned about Nestorius' doctrine. In the spring of 430 he composed the five-book *Adversus Nestorium* (Against Nestorius) for his monastic and Alexandrian audience. Nestorius, though unpopular in the imperial city, retained the ear of the emperor.

He does not seem to have replied to Cyril's attacks, and early in 430 Cyril tried once more. Again there were

complaints about Nestorius' alleged hostility, but this second Letter to Nestorius contained a full-dress statement of Alexandrian Christology. Cyril stressed the union (*henosis*) of the two natures of Godhead and manhood in the Incarnate Christ's one divine person. Reject this personal union, he argued, and the alternative was two Sons, one divine and the other human, while *Theotokos* followed naturally from the single divine person. For good measure Cyril sent a copy of his letter with a Latin translation to pope Celestine.

Nestorius replied to Cyril in June 430. He pointed out that in the Creed of Nicaea Christ was described as "Lord Jesus Christ", thus indicating his existence in two complete natures in the same person, Christ. Christ suffered and died in his bodily nature, while the divine Word remained as it was, not subject to change or suffering. The body served as "its temple" which God raised "in three days" (cf. John 2: 13). This clarification of doctrine, Nestorius added, coincided with the exceedingly prosperous state of the empire. A copy, but not translated, was sent to Celestine.

Not surprisingly, the pope took Cyril's side. Celestine remembered that Ambrose of Milan had spoken in terms suggesting that Mary was Theotokos. At a council held in Rome in August 430 he condemned Nestorius, ordering him to recant his views within ten days on pain of deposition. He empowered Cyril to see that the sentence was carried out. The emperor, however, still supported Nestorius. A third letter by Cyril in November 430 set out 12 statements regarding the doctrine of the Incarnation to which he demanded Nestorius' assent. "You must declare in writing and on oath that you anathematize your impious tenets and believe what we believe." Some of Cyril's statements verged on Apollinarian heresy, and now opinion in the bishoprics under the jurisdiction of Antioch began to rally to Nestorius. Before Cyril's letter with its 12 anathemas could be delivered to Nestorius, the emperor had decided to summon a General Council at his archbishop's request to meet at Ephesus at Whitsun the following year.

During the following months opinion hardened on each side. Nestorius gained the support of the Syrian bishops, but Cyril was assured of that of Rome and the majority of the bishops in Asia Minor who were jealous of Constantinople's exercise of metropolitan authority over them. He also had the backing of the powerful and ambitious Juvenal, bishop of Jerusalem. In the event, Cyril accompanied by 50 Egyptian bishops arrived at Ephesus early in June 431. His allies, apart from the papal delegates, arrived shortly afterwards. Without waiting for the arrival of John, bishop of Antioch, and the Syrians he opened the council on 22 June. The question at issue was whether his or Nestorius' doctrine accorded best with the Creed of Nicaea, regarded in East and West alike as the touchstone of orthodoxy. Since the crucial statement in the Creed was that Christ was "of one substance with the Father", the odds were stacked heavily in Cyril's favour. Nevertheless he made doubly sure. As Nestorius was to state, the council was Cyril's. "Cyril presided; Cyril was accuser; Cyril was bishop of Rome [i.e. behaved as if he were the pope]; Cyril was judge" (*Bazaar of Heraclides*, p.117). By the evening of the same day Nestorius had been condemned as "the new Judas", deposed from his see, and deprived of ecclesiastical orders. The crowd and Memnon, bishop of Ephesus, shouted in delight.

This was not quite the end. On 26 June John of Antioch arrived at Ephesus with 68 bishops. At once he excommunicated Cyril and Memnon and all the bishops who had accepted Cyril's 12 anathemas. Deadlock was not broken by the arrival of papal legates early in July and their support for Cyril. By August, however, the scene moved to Constantinople. In the complicated negotiations that followed, Nestorius was sacrificed in return for the healing of the breach between Alexandria and Antioch, which took place in 433 through the Formula of Reunion. He returned to his monastery at Antioch. Later (*c.*435) he was removed in exile to the Great Oasis in Upper Egypt where he died, believing that the papacy in the person of pope Leo and the *Tome* he wrote in 449 had vindicated his two-nature theology of the Incarnation. It was there that he composed his long apologia, known as the *Bazaar* [or *Book*] *of Heraclides*.

The "tragedy of Nestorius" will always be debated. On the then current interpretations of John 1: 14 and the Christology of the Council of Nicaea Cyril was in the right. The decision of the Council of Constantinople in 381 that declared Constantinople to be "the new Rome", reserving only the primacy of honour to Rome and the papacy, was unacceptable to him and also to the see of Alexandria. Moreover, Nestorius' lack of tact and statesmanship contributed to his fate. On the other hand, his defence of the full humanity of Christ and interpretaion of the Incarnation in that sense preserved the Church from a purely Platonic understanding of the life and work of the Master. Generations better equipped to consider that event in terms of history will be grateful to Nestorius and his Antiochene allies.

Nestorius' views survived to inspire the majority Church in Persia during the 5th and later centuries. Nestorian missionaries took their faith along the Silk Route to eastern China from the 7th century. In the 14th century the Nestorian Church suffered severely through persecutions by the Muslim Mongols. It survives as the Church of the Assyrian Christians, living in mountainous areas in Kurdistan.

WILLIAM H.C. FREND

See also Heresy

Biography

Born in Syria *c.*381, Nestorius entered the monastery of Euprepeia at Antioch and may have been a pupil of Theodore of Mopsuestia. He gained a reputation as a preacher and was summoned by the emperor Theodosius II. He became archbishop of Constantinople in 428. He incited controversy and was opposed by Cyril of Alexandria and Pope Celestine. Deposed by the Council of Ephesus in 431, he died in exile in Upper Egypt *c.*451.

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New Testament

The Greek equivalent of our phrase "New Testament" is *kaine diatheke*, which signified initially the new covenant cemented in Jesus Christ. Since, however, Christians are sons and heirs to God, the *diatheke* is also represented in the apostolic writings as a testament whose provisions were made irrevocable by the death of the testator, God himself (Hebrews 8: 16; Galatians 3: 15). Hence the Latin *novum testamentum* became the title of the book in which the legacy was sealed. Though Clement of Alexandria writing around 200 would appear to have been the first to speak of a body of Christian writings as a *kaine diatheke*, and the description of its contents as a "canon" is even later, there can be little doubt that all the works comprising our New Testament were accepted as authoritative by the end of the 2nd century. By this time, the status of other works that had temporarily enjoyed the same authority was waning, and though the "apocryphal gospels" might continue to be cited, it was always as historical testimonies, not as arbiters in doctrinal controversy. The earliest Greek catalogues of the New Testament date only from the 4th century, but a Latin canon, the Muratorian Fragment, whose contents suggest a date before the end of the 2nd century, is sometimes thought to have been based on a Greek original. Although this text implies that date and provenance were criteria of admission, even ancient witnesses admit that they do not know the author of Hebrews or Revelation, yet accept them on the endorsement of the Church.

The first writings of our New Testament to be called "scripture" (2 Peter 3: 16) are the letters of St Paul, which, where authentic, must have been written before AD 65. The ones most commonly reckoned to be authentic (1 Thessalonians, Galatians, Romans, 1 and 2 Corinthians) are addressed to Gentile Churches that were not yet free from pagan ways of thinking or secure against the Judaizing tendencies that may be represented by the letter ascribed to James. Philippians and Philemon, which are probably genuine works of Paul's imprisonment, accord a new importance to the human Christ as a model of patient suffering and humility. The letters to the Colossians and Ephesians (only one of which is likely to be genuine) issue precepts that are suitable for all churches and supported by a doctrine of election in the pre-existent Christ. The letter to the Hebrews, much of which reads like a commentary on difficulties in other Pauline letters, reflects a time of widespread persecution and apostasy, and may well have been written by a late follower of Paul. Few scholars now accept the Pauline authorship of the pastoral epistles (Titus, 1 and 2 Timothy) which, in extolling the ecclesiastical hierarch as a bulwark against false teaching, savour more of the 2nd century than the 1st. Also 2 Thessalonians appears to be a spurious document, written for a time when persecution had aroused false expectations of the End. Affliction and apostasy also furnish the occasion for 1 and 2 Peter and the letter of Jude; the last two are all but identical in places, and few would now attribute any of the three to their titular authors.

The tendency to emphasize (perhaps even to exaggerate) the diversity of the New Testament is apparent in modern study of the four gospels. Tatian already presumed their canonicity when he compiled his *Diatessaron* around AD 170, and ten years later they were already a fourfold cord of truth to Irenaeus; it is common now, however, to maintain that each was intended for a different audience and originally current in different regions. If we may rely on the Ignatian correspondence, Matthew's gospel was used in the district of Antioch around AD 100. John's, though claimed by Ephesus, is first attested around AD 130 in Egypt; the Rylands papyrus, which tells us this, does not tell us whether the readership was orthodox or Gnostic (if indeed it makes sense to ask). Tradition attributes both texts to apostles, while revering Mark as a disciple of Peter and Luke as a companion of Paul. The evidence for the latter claim is furnished by the Acts of the Apostles, to which Luke's gospel is a preface. Most modern critics, however, doubt that any is the product of an eyewitness, and believe that all of them presuppose the events surrounding the fall of Jerusalem in AD 70. Mark's gospel, the least regarded in the early Church, is now often believed to be the source for the narratives of Luke and Matthew, though the "Griesbach hypothesis" argues that it is rather a digest of them. These "synoptic gospels" are the source of ecclesiology and ethics for the main Churches, while that of John has generally been accepted as a more "spiritual" record, furnishing materials for Christology and Trinitarian dogma. The three letters attributed to John denounce opponents of his teaching as the Antichrist; in Revelation, the only book that claims to be by a man named John, the Antichrist is a human tool of Satan, and his oppression of the saints is prophesied in vivid detail. The authority of this text was doubted even in the 3rd century, both because of its dubious authorship, and because of the unfruitful speculations to which it led.

Greek is the language of the whole New Testament, and probably the first language of all its authors, though in some cases (especially the words ascribed to Jesus in Matthew's gospel) it is tinged with Aramaic idioms. The one Greek book that can be said to have served the canonical authors as a model for style or content is the Septuagint, and although the resulting dialect is often described as the common Greek or koine of the period, it contains a large number of idioms not found in other literary works. Even Luke, who shows some knowledge of Classical conventions, would not have satisfied a contemporary purist. The oldest complete Greek manuscripts of the New Testament, the Codex Vaticanus and Codex Sinaiticus, are dated to the 4th century. Since the Reformation, the recovery and translation of the most primitive texts have preoccupied western scholars; the Greek Church, on the whole, has shown little interest in this enterprise. This is not

because the New Testament plays no part in eastern Christendom; it supplied the only prooftexts for the ecumenical councils, and has always been regarded as a treasury of wisdom by the mystics. In the patristic era, distinguished commentaries on the gospels and the letters of Paul were produced by Origen, Didymus, Theodore, Chrysostom, Cyril, and Theodoret. Theodore, Theodoret, and Chrysostom, the "Antiochenes", even anticipate the modern interest in the historical circumstances of Paul's writing, and therefore tend to interpret him more literally than their western counterparts. Moreover the Greeks, no less than western Christians, rely upon the New Testament to establish the authority and clarify the meaning of the Old. Nevertheless, the New Testament is not, in Greek eyes, the source of Christianity, but a witness to the apostolic teaching that the Orthodox tradition both inherits and upholds.

MARK EDWARDS

See also Christianity

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Niarchos, Stavros 1909–1996

Shipowner

Stavros Niarchos was one of the "Golden Greeks", a group of entrepreneurs (another was his long-standing business rival, Aristotle Onassis) who made vast fortunes for themselves and acquired fame and often notoriety in the international jet set of the post-war world. Niarchos was born in Piraeus in 1909; his parents, originally from the southern Peloponnese, had emigrated to the US, but returned to Greece before Stavros was born. He thus missed the chance to acquire US citizenship.

His family was comfortably off until 1923, when his father went bankrupt; the experience was probably traumatic and Stavros, 14 at the time, is said to have vowed never to be poor again. In 1928 he started work as an office assistant in the flour-milling firm owned by his maternal uncles, the Coumandaros brothers. He managed to persuade them to invest in ships to carry the grain to their mills, resulting in large savings on grain importation costs and bigger profits; he himself then invested in the ships. In the late 1930s he acquired a 60 per cent share and operational control of one of his uncles' ships and started building a shipping company.

At the outbreak of World War II, along with most of the Greek shipowners, he chartered his modest fleet to the Allies. He joined the Greek Navy and at the end of the war he was demobilized with the rank of lieutenant. For three years after the war (1945–47) he was the Greek honorary naval attaché in New York.

Most of his ships did not survive the war, but Niarchos collected considerable sums in insurance, having had the foresight to insure against war risks before the war, when the premiums were still low. With the insurance payments he started to buy and build ships on a large scale, starting with Liberty and Victory bulk carriers and T2 tankers. His business fortunes were helped at different times by sharp rises in freight rates; the Korean War, the Suez crisis, and the Six-Day War all worked in his favour.

Niarchos's success was at least partly based on his talent to analyse and forecast business trends. Both Niarchos and Onassis had foreseen that oil and its transportation were going to be crucial for the world economy. In the 1950s both men pioneered the supertankers: in 1954 Niarchos ordered the largest tanker in the world at the time, the 45,000-tonne *World Glory*. Supertankers proved to be immensely profitable, allowing for the investment to be recouped quickly, sometimes in as few as four voyages. In 1953 Niarchos (along with Onassis) was prosecuted by the US Department of Justice for acquiring ships not intended for US citizens. Though a compromise was

worked out, he transferred his operations to Europe soon afterwards.

Niarchos's early fortune was based on ships. By 1956 he owned more than 50 ships with more than 2 million tonnes' capacity. Ten years later he had 72 ships and another 16 on order. By the late 1970s his fleet had shrunk to fewer than 30 ships. Nevertheless in the early 1980s he still reputedly had one of the largest private tanker fleets, between 4 and 5 million tonnes deadweight. By 1986 this had come down to around 3 million tonnes deadweight, and before his death it had shrunk further to around 1 million tonnes (18 ships), ranking him 15th among Greek shipowners.

However, even if he is known primarily as a shipping magnate, Niarchos diversified early on. In the 1950s he had fought his arch-rival, Onassis, for the franchise of Olympic Airways (and lost); in 1956 he founded the Hellenic Shipyards in Skaramangas, with more than 10,000 employees at one time; and in 1970 he acquired a lucrative oil refinery in Aspropyrgos (both enterprises are near Athens). He also owned stud farms in France and the US as well as racehorses, and real estate all over the world, including a private island, Spetsopoula, 100 km south of Piraeus (bought in 1957; Onassis retaliated by buying the island of Skorpios in the Ionian Sea soon afterwards), the 18th-century Hôtel des Chanalleines (originally a present of Louis XIV to his son, the Duc de Maine), and other real estate in Monte Carlo, St Moritz, Antibes, Normandy, and the Caribbean; he is also believed to have been the largest private investor in Citibank.

His art collections were fabulous. As early as 1958 he had bought the E.G. Robinson art collection, to which he continued adding: reputedly he owned ten Renoirs, six Gauguins, and seven Van Goghs, works by El Greco (including his magnificent *Pietà* of 1585), Rubens, and Goya. By the mid-1980s only 15 per cent of his wealth was in ships, the remaining 85 per cent believed to be invested in art, gems, and gold as well as property and racehorses. This diversification (along with sheer size) cushioned his fortune from the effects of the shipping slump of the 1980s. At the time of his death, *Fortune* magazine ranked Niarchos the 32nd-richest person in the world, with an estimated fortune of more than $5 billion.

Niarchos's lifestyle style was flamboyant – to the point of vulgarity, some said; and though he was more private than his arch-rival Onassis, he was nonetheless a legendary spender, lavishing hospitality to guests. In the 1950s it was said he was attending or giving five or more parties a week, some on his luxurious yachts or his private island.

His personal life was turbulent. Two marriages, in 1930 and 1939, lasted one and six years respectively. In 1947 Niarchos married Evgenia Livanou, daughter of Stavros Livanos, himself a Greek shipowner. A year earlier Onassis had married Tina Livanou, the younger of the two sisters, so the two men became brothers-in-law; this did nothing to diminish their business rivalry. Niarchos's marriage to Evgenia proved the longest-lasting of his five marriages: they had four children. They separated in 1964 when Niarchos married Charlotte Ford (daughter of Henry Ford II); they had a daughter, Elena (whom he never formally recognized) but the marriage was declared invalid since Niarchos's marriage to Evgenia had not been formally dissolved in Greece. In 1967 his marriage to Charlotte Ford was dissolved and he returned to Evgenia. She died in Spetsopoula in 1970 in rather mysterious circumstances, from a sleeping-pill overdose (though the post-mortem also showed signs of physical abuse). Niarchos was charged with murder but the charges were later dropped. Nevertheless he left Greece soon after. In 1971 Niarchos married Tina Onassis, former wife of his business rival and formerly his own sister-in law; some said he did it to spite Onassis. Tina died in Paris in 1974. Niarchos never remarried, though he allegedly had a series of affairs, including, it is rumoured, one with Pamela Harriman, the former wife of Winston Churchill's son, Randolph.

In 1991 Niarchos underwent back surgery, which made it difficult for him to walk. His last years were spent in isolation, in a sterilized room in his villa in St Moritz, from which he communicated by microphone with his family and visitors. He died in Zurich on 15 April 1996. Throughout his life Niarchos would say: "'I am Greek and I feel Greek." He proved his affection for his homeland in his will. His legendary fortune was split between the four children from his marriage with Evgenia and the Stavros Niarchos Foundation, a non-profit body financing charitable projects, many in Greece.

GEORGE KAZAMIAS

See also Ships and Shipping

Biography

Born in Piraeus in 1909 to a well-off family, Niarchos was 14 when his father was bankrupted. Joining the family flour-milling business in 1928, he persuaded his uncles to invest in ships and in the late 1930s he himself started a shipping company. His pioneering of oil tankers in the 1950s was particularly successful and his wealth became legendary. He died in Switzerland in 1996.

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Nicaea

City in northwest Asia Minor

Nicaea (modern Iznik) is strategically located on main highways at the edge of a lake in northwest Asia Minor, a day's journey from Constantinople. A centre of Hellenism in the Hellenistic, Roman, and Byzantine periods, it played a major role in the history of the Christian Church.

Established originally by Antigonus I, Nicaea was refounded around 300 BC by Lysimachus who named it after his wife. From 281 to 74 BC it was one of the centres of the kingdom of Bithynia. Under the Romans, Nicaea controlled a vast territory, and struck an extensive and varied coinage. It was built on a rectangular plan and adorned with numerous

Nicaea: view of the Lefke Gate which according to an inscription was dedicated to Hadrian in AD 123

public buildings, some of them on an extravagant scale that attracted unfavourable comment from Pliny, who governed the region from AD 110 to 112. Few monuments have survived from these peaceful centuries. The troubles of the 3rd century, however, produced powerful surviving fortifications that allowed Nicaea to resist all attacks for a thousand years.

Nicaea was an early centre of Christianity (a late tradition has its church founded by St Andrew) and home of several saints and martyrs. In 325 the first Ecumenical Council met there. The emperor Constantine presided over the gathering of 318 bishops who defined orthodox doctrine against the Arians, producing the creed that is still recited. During late antiquity Nicaea flourished as an administrative centre, but suffered from devastating earthquakes and the growth of nearby Constantinople. Several of its buildings were restored by the emperor Justinian in the 6th century.

In the 8th and 9th centuries Nicaea was a major bastion against the Arabs, protecting the approaches to Constantinople and successfully resisting capture. It was headquarters of the Opsikian theme, the military province closest to the capital, and thus seat of a general, garrison, and civil administration. In 787 the city gained further renown as the site of the seventh Ecumenical Council, at which Orthodoxy was restored after a long period of Iconoclasm. In the prosperous centuries that followed, Nicaea remained an important regional centre, home of churches and monasteries, and withstood foreign and domestic enemies. Nevertheless, it fell into the hands of the Turks in 1081 and became the centre of their first state in Asia Minor. The First Crusade recaptured the city in 1097 after a memorable siege, and returned it to Byzantine rule.

The greatest age for Nicaea was the 13th century, when for a moment it was capital of the Byzantine empire. After the capture of Constantinople by the crusaders in 1204, the new emperor Theodore Laskaris (1205–22) took up residence in Nicaea, where he was joined by numerous refugees including leaders of the aristocracy and the Church. Its powerful walls and strategic site made it a suitable capital for the exiled empire, and a valuable base for repelling the attacks of the Latins of Constantinople, the Seljuk Turks, and breakaway Greek states. With the election of a new patriarch in 1208, Nicaea became the spiritual capital of the Orthodox Church. As such, it was the site of synods and negotiations with the Catholics. The Nicene empire reached its height under John Vatatzes (1222–54) who usually resided in the southern part of his domains, but still devoted much attention to Nicaea. The patriarchate was richly endowed as the state expanded and prospered. The city also became an important centre of learning: leading scholars of the day studied and taught there, and an imperial school provided education in rhetoric and poetics.

The most noteworthy products of this revival are two elaborate speeches of the 13th century in praise of Nicaea.

The recapture of Constantinople in 1261 introduced a period of rapid decline as the patronage of Church and state was removed. As imperial attention shifted to the west, Asia Minor was rapidly lost. By the early 14th century Nicaea was one of a few walled cities holding out against the Turks. After a long blockade it finally succumbed in 1331. By then it was virtually deserted.

Although the first century of Ottoman rule brought considerable recovery, the Christian community dwindled away rapidly; by 1381 it no longer had the resources to support a bishop. During the next five centuries only a handful of Christians remained in the constantly declining town. By the end of the 19th century they were using Turkish in their liturgy. Hellenism finally came to an end in 1921, when the last standing church was despoiled.

The most impressive remains of Nicaea's glorious past are the fortifications. A product of the late 3rd century, they were extensively rebuilt by Leo III (716–41) after a major Arab attack, and by Michael III (842–68) who used Nicaea as a base for his advances to the east. An earthquake of 1065 provoked further repairs, but it remained for the Laskarids to execute the greatest rebuilding. Theodore I added several powerful towers, while John Vatatzes doubled the circuit by the addition of a low outer wall. Distinctive styles of construction reflect a thousand years of the city's history.

The only excavation has been in the Roman theatre, the remains of which reveal the state of Byzantine Nicaea: during the whole period the theatre was abandoned and used as a quarry for restoring the walls, and as a dump. Much of the area within the walls was in fact empty after the 6th century.

Although the palace where the first Council was held has long since disappeared, the site of the seventh still stands. The church of St Sophia, converted into a mosque soon after the Ottoman conquest, was built in the 5th or 6th century, rebuilt in the 9th and 11th, and expanded by Vatatzes. The church of the Dormition (originally the monastery of Hyacinth) had the longest continuous history. A product of the 6th or 7th century, it was richly decorated with mosaics (which show an iconoclastic period) and cut marble. It appears to have been the cathedral during the empire of Nicaea. Several other churches, mostly of the Laskarid period, are attested by texts and remains.

CLIVE FOSS

Summary

A city in northwestern Asia Minor, Nicaea was a major Greek centre in the Hellenistic, Roman, and Byzantine periods. It was also an early centre of Christianity, the seat of the First and Seventh Ecumenical Councils. It flourished in the 13th century as the capital of the Byzantine empire in exile. It preserves massive fortifications and the remains of churches.

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Nicander

Poet of the (?)2nd century BC

Nicander of Colophon, a Hellenistic poet of disputed date (probably 2nd century BC), wrote at least 20 works, most in dactylic hexameters or elegiac couplets. Like other erudite Hellenistic poets, he also wrote works of a lexicographic and linguistic nature in prose. A "metaphrast", he converted the prose treatises of earlier writers into epic verse, even when he had no expert knowledge of the subject. Only his *Theriaca* (958 hexameters on poisonous creatures and on antidotes for their bites and stings) and *Alexipharmaca* (630 hexameters on antidotes to poisons) are extant. Among his more influential lost poems are *Georgics* and *Melissourgika* [Bee Keeping], both of which were used by Virgil in his *Georgics*, and *Heteroioumena* [Metamorphoses], which directly or indirectly provided Ovid and Antoninus Liberalis with material for their *Metamorphoses*. Fragments of other poems, for example on geography and local history, are extant, but of many attested works (such as Nicander's rendering in epic verse of the Hippocratic treatise *Prognostic*) there is almost no trace.

The poem *Theriaca* is probably an adaptation of the prose work *On Wild Animals* by an early 3rd-century BC expert on poisons, Apollodorus. Both *Theriaca* and *Alexipharmaca* also discuss the effects of plants on the human body, and for this Nicander likewise appears to have been indebted to Apollodorus, who in turn might have used Diocles of Carystus' work *Rhizotomikon* [Root-Cutting].

The ostensible aim of *Theriaca* is to help those suffering from the stings and bites of snakes, lizards, tortoises, turtles, frogs, toads, fish, scorpions, spiders, bees, wasps, beetles, moths, and flies. Like other Hellenistic scholar-poets, Nicander in fact strives to amaze his readers with a dazzling display of technical virtuosity in the poetic representation of a recalcitrant, unpoetic subject. Seemingly disparate, incompatible elements – archaic epic diction (including numerous Homeric hapax legomena), bold neologisms, technical zoological terminology, epic verse, botany, medical prescriptions ostensibly addressed to a physician, and learned allusions to earlier poetry (especially to Callimachus) – are skilfully woven into a recondite, affectively rich poem.

Exploiting the tensions between his science and his poetry, between his subject and his presentation thereof, Nicander in *Theriaca* describes the poisonous aggressors and their poisoned victims in such a way as to convey his predecessors' "objective" zoological, botanical, and medical expertise, while also using striking metaphors, similes, and aetiological myths to evoke the physical peril, the aesthetic revulsion, and the fright and terror to which the victims are exposed. The tension between science and poetry, which is also reflected in many lexical, semantic, metrical, and syntactic strains in Nicander's language, is thus cleverly translated into a suggestive tension between the victim as scientific object and as terrorized subject in need of the poet's aid.

Further evidence of the poet's aspiration to display technical virtuosity is the insertion of an "epic" catalogue of 82 plants (*Theriaca*, 837–914) in the concluding section on general remedies – plants whose "clinical" applications are not specified – and the covert integration of an acrostic signature of

Nicander's own name (*Theriaca*, 345–53) in a purple passage on the burning thirst caused by the bite of a smallish viper, the dipsas. *Theriaca* ends not only with another reminder of the poet's name and of his birthplace (Clarus, near Colophon), but also with a bold attempt to assimilate Nicander's didactic metaphrasis to Homeric epic: "And now you should hereafter preserve the memory of Homeric Nicander, too, whom the snow-white town of Clarus nurtured" (*Theriaca*, 957–58).

Nicander's hexametric poem *Alexipharmaca* exhibits many of the same characteristics as his *Theriaca*. After a proem addressed to Protagoras of Cyzicus, it presents 22 substances and entities – animal, vegetable, and mineral – that are fatal or harmful to human beings. Some of the more notorious toxic substances known to antiquity are included: hemlock, aconite, opium, henbane, and blister beetle. In each case, the poet first describes the symptoms produced by the poison, and then the antidotes. The poem ends with a *sphragis* (authorial "seal") very similar to the one in *Theriaca*: "And now you should hereafter preserve the memory of Nicander, composer of songs, and guard the law of Zeus, protector of guest-friendships" (*Alexipharmaca*, 629–30). In both extant "seals" Nicander therefore presents a poetic, not a scientific self-understanding ("Homeric Nicander", "composer of songs"), signalling that his poetic identity is a key to understanding his extant works.

Nicander's influence on later Greek and Latin literature was considerable. Not only did Virgil, Ovid, and Antoninus Liberalis draw on his works (see above), but Lucan, Pliny the Elder, Erotian, Aelian, and Athenaeus of Naucratis also benefited from direct or indirect familiarity with Nicander. In the 1st century BC the enormously learned scholar Didymus ("Chalcenterus") appears to have made extensive use of Nicander's lexicographic contributions. Although Dioscurides only twice cites Nicander's views in his *Materia Medica* (3. 29, 4. 99), Galen in his pharmacological works quotes a number of verse passages from Nicander. Papyrus fragments from the 1st to 3rd centuries AD further confirm Nicander's popularity in the Roman empire.

An invaluable corpus of ancient scholia became attached to Nicander's two extant poems. The extant scholia not only explain many of Nicander's words, expressions, and references but also report extensively on the views of Hellenistic authors whose works are lost, including three of the six attested ancient commentators on Nicander. Furthermore, the scholia offer rich data on folk traditions, including superstitions concerning spiders, snakes, toads, frogs, wasps, and salamanders.

Extant Greek paraphrases of *Theriaca* and *Alexipharmaca* were composed by Eutecnius some time after the 2nd century AD. They are included in one of the most famous Byzantine scientific manuscripts, the illuminated "Vienna Dioscurides" (Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek) produced in Constantinople in AD 512–13. Eutecnius' prose versions here are accompanied by magnificent illustrations of snakes, insects, spiders, scorpions, and other animals. These illustrations also appear in a 10th-century copy of the "Vienna Dioscurides" (now in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York). In the 10th century a remarkable illuminated manuscript of Nicander's two poems was produced (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Suppl. gr. 247). It contains images not only of the snakes, scorpions, plants, etc. mentioned by Nicander, but also of human figures displaying the effects of the poisonous substances or illustrating Nicander's mythological allusions. In the 13th century Maximos Planudes also showed a keen interest in Nicander, producing a manuscript (Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana) that contained both poems.

The scholia, paraphrases, and illustrations are further evidence not only of the interest that Nicander continued to stir among the later ancient and Byzantine cultural elite but also of their fascination with the amalgam of science, folklore, myth, poetry, and magic that is characteristic of much of the ancient Greek toxicological tradition. This fascination continued to a striking degree in the 16th century, during which many printed editions, several translations into Latin, including one in epic verse, and a verse translation into French were published. A critical appreciation of Nicander's technical virtuosity was widely shared in the early modern period.

HEINRICH VON STADEN

Biography

Born at Clarus near Colophon probably in the 2nd century BC, Nicander wrote at least 20 works, of which two survive: *Theriaca* on poisonous creatures, with remedies against their stings and bites, and *Alexipharmaca* on antidotes to poisons. Both are indebted to Apollodorus. They mix superstition with botany and medicine. Lost works include poems on geography, local history, and medicine.

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Nicopolis

City in Epirus

Situated on the isthmus of the Preveza peninsula 6 km north of Preveza, which is itself at the entrance to the Ambracian Gulf opposite Actium, Nicopolis was founded by Octavian on the site of his army encampment during his campaign against Mark Antony in 31 BC. From the outset it operated as an administrative centre serving the cities of northern Epirus. Self-consciously Greek, it never accepted (unlike Corinth) the status of a Roman *colonia*. Its pride in its status is instanced by Epictetus, who lived there at the end of the 1st century AD (*Dissertationes*, 4. 1. 14), and confirmed by its coinage that continued to be minted until the reign of Gallienus (AD 253–68). During its early years, in the reign of Augustus, it had been chosen as the site of the Actian Games, celebrated every four years and given equal status with the major Panhellenic games.

Christianity came early to Nicopolis. Paul asks Titus to come to him there for he "had determined there to winter" (Titus 3: 12) at an unknown date, depending on the chronology of Paul's last years. There was a well-organized community in the city in the early 3rd century AD, for Origen visited Nicopolis *c.*220 and found a copy of the scriptures there, which he used as an authority in compiling the *Hexapla* (Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 6. 16. 2). In the 4th century Nicopolis achieved metropolitan status and, as elsewhere in the Hellenic world, Christianity gradually became the predominant religion in the city. Two large basilicas dating from the early 6th century have been discovered and excavated. One, built by bishop Alkison (died *c.*515) within the city's walls, measured 68.90 by 31.60m; the other, built by bishop Dunetios, had excellently preserved mosaics. The site of the metropolitan's palace was found near Alkison's basilica.

Nicopolis's ecclesiastical pre-eminence was matched by its civil position as the capital city of Epirus under Diocletian's reconstruction of the imperial provinces. It remained an important city in the 4th and 5th centuries and survived seizure by Gaiseric's Vandal fleet and army in 475. It was at the height of its prosperity as a Christian metropolis during the early part of the 6th century, but it became involved in the wars between the Byzantines and Goths for the control of Italy, the Gothic leader Totila laying its surrounding territory waste in 551. Nicopolis seems to have survived the Slav invasions better than most Byzantine cities in the Balkans, for it was still worth contesting between the Byzantines and Bulgars in the 10th and 11th centuries. Final decline did not set in until control fell to the Bulgars in 1040. More recently Nicopolis was the site of a signal Greek victory over the Ottomans in 1912.

WILLIAM H.C. FREND

Summary

A city in Epirus, Nicopolis was founded by Octavian in 31 BC. As Augustus, he chose it as the site of the Actian Games. Under Diocletian it became the capital city of Epirus. It survived the Slav invasions but declined after falling to the Bulgars in 1040. It was the site of a major victory over the Ottomans in 1912.

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Nomokanon

Compilation of secular and sacred law

Nomokanon comes from the Greek words *nomos*, meaning "law", and *kanon*, meaning "rule" or "measure" (*kanon* is the Greek word for a measuring stick or ruler). The word, appearing first in the 11th century, referred to collections or compilations consisting of both sacred and secular laws relevant to Church government; hence, *nomos* – referring to secular law – and *kanon* – referring to sacred law. Justification for mixing civil and sacred law in a canonical list included the important role that civil leaders played in securing the physical protection, political well-being, and ecclesial practice of the Church. (It should be kept in mind that lists of secular laws included sacred law as well.)

Perhaps the most difficult obstacle facing the early Church was lack of cohesiveness. In the first three centuries at least, it lacked substantial political, doctrinal, legislative, and liturgical unity. Constantine established a political stability that made subsequent institutional ordering possible. That ordering, or at least the foundation of subsequent ordering, included theological and doctrinal development, the establishment of codes of conduct for Church officers, and the development of a juridical system to oversee and regulate the Church.

The numerous legislative and regulatory questions facing the early Church included proper liturgical practice, requirements for admission to the Church, relations among Churches and Church officers – Church organization – relations between Church law and secular law, the proper disposition of heretics, enforcement of Church regulations, etc. On many such questions the New Testament writers were silent, though clearly their writings put forward standards of moral action. In response to this need for guidelines there arose various declarations of Church law – canon law – giving directions on such problems. These declarations were gradually committed to writing. The sources for these written declarations included: (1) alleged writings of the apostles, e.g. *Apostolic Constitutions*; (2) common practice or custom; (3) formal councils, both parochial (e.g. Sardica) and ecumenical, foremost of which was Nicaea; (4) civil laws and collections of civil laws such as the *Codex Justinianus*; (5) doctrinal and regulatory declarations made by certain of the Church Fathers (the epistles of Basil were important in the East), the pope, and other high ecclesial officers – such decisions are called "decretals". A brief history of canonical collections will clarify the concept of *nomokanon*, which is, after all, a species of canonical collection.

The growth of Church government was gradual but steady. Given their relative circumstances, local Churches formulated unwritten rules of conduct and Church procedure based upon the limited directions available in scripture as well as certain other texts such as the *Apostolic Constitutions* (*c.*380), an eclectic book of instruction and directions allegedly written by the apostles. This text has appended to it 85 apostolic canons of which a substantial number deal, like many other early canonical material, with clerical behaviour.

A group of proximate local Churches would often hold formal regional councils in which to harmonize their practices and procedures as well as deal with regional issues, such as how to adjudicate disputes between bishops or how to deal with lapsed clerics. Such conciliar resolutions were called "canons" or rules of conduct and government. Important examples of such parochial councils include Ancyra (314), Neo-Caesarea (315), and Antioch (341). These councils issued lists of their resolutions and decrees. Canon 1 of Ancyra, for example, forbids presbyters and deacons who have observed pagan sacrifice from returning to their priestly functions. Canon 18 deals with rogue bishops who engage in sedition or disruptive behaviour in another Church's region.

Ecumenical councils, councils to which all or nearly all bishops were invited, met for similar reasons as regional councils and also issued canons. Their resolutions often incorporated all or part of the regional canons while adding to them depending on the nature and scope of issues before them. The Council of Chalcedon (451), for example, refers to the *corpus canonum* – a body of canons – which developed over previous years as more and more regional councils issued their canonical lists. Ecumenical councils would incorporate material from earlier lists and, like the regional councils, would incorporate decretals, instructions given by the Church Fathers. Of particular decretal importance were the 96 canons of Basil the Great. Also important were the canons of certain archbishops such as Dionysius, Peter, Athanasius, Timothy, Theophilus, all archbishops of Alexandria, and the Cappadocian theologians Gregory of Nyssa – brother to Basil the Great – and Gregory the Theologian.

The first seven ecumenical councils, Nicaea particularly, acquired an authority and standing such that their canons served as a kind of metacanon for all other councils. So St Augustine of Hippo, at the regional Council of Carthage (419), insisted that a particular resolution should not contradict the Nicaean canons. Ecumenical councils, while deciding doctrine, therefore, incorporated other lists of canons in their own resolutions.

As the number of canonical lists grew, there were efforts to compile and catalogue them. Thus, at Antioch, in the late 4th century, there arose a *syntagma canonum* containing the resolutions of the earliest regional councils, Ancyra, Neo-Caesarea, Gangra, Antioch, and Laodicea. This list is the *corpus canonum* referred to at Chalcedon. Subsequent compilers add to this list the ecumenical councils of Nicaea, Constantinople I, and Chalcedon (451). As Munier points out, the foundation of canon law consists of this *syntagma* along with 6th-century additions: the canon of Ephesus (431), the 133 canons of the Council of Carthage (419), and the Council of Sardica (343).

The number, growth, and intramural inconsistencies of canonical collections led to the Council *in Trullo* (Constantinople 692), which canonized the canonical collections, so to speak, by establishing one approved list of canonical collections (Canon 2). The list included the decretals of the Church Fathers, the 85 apostolic canons from the *Apostolic Constitutions*, the *syntagma* of Antioch, the canons of Constantinople (394), and the 102 canons of the council itself.

Roughly simultaneous to and paralleling the growth of canonical lists, the emperors Theodosius and later Justinian had compilers gathering secular law, largely in an effort to establish a single, harmonious set of laws to be observed by the entire empire. Theodosius and Justinian wished to replace early compilations such as the *Codex Gregorianus*, a collection of laws issued between 196 and 295. Early lists were inconsistent with each other and contained irrelevant and obsolete material. The *Codex Theodosianus* (438), named after Theodosius II who commissioned it, was a collection of all the imperial constitutions published since the time of Constantine I. The compilation included commentary and relevant material from other jurists and became the legal code for the entire Roman empire. It was superseded by another compilation: the important *Corpus Juris Civilis*, a compilation of secular laws arranged according to topic. The corpus included four other compilations, the *Codex Justinianus*, a collection of imperial constitutions from Hadrian to Justinian I, the *Digest*, *Institutes*, and *Novels*. This work, like the previous collections, included material relevant to ecclesiastical problems and controversies including numerous ecclesiastical regulations. Basil I began yet another collection (finished by Leo VI, 888) intended to incorporate but modernize previous collections. Named the *Basilika*, "imperial laws", it contained much edited material from the *Corpus Juris Civilis* and its compendia, and, like previous collections, the civil laws contained much material governing Church action. The concept of *nomokanon* refers, most precisely, to the practice of combining materials from lists of canon law as well as civil law. Such intermixing of kinds began as early as the 4th century as the emperors directly involved themselves in the conciliar resolutions. Of such nomokanonical lists there are two that are most noteworthy: *Nomokanon of Fourteen Titles* (630) and *Nomokanon of Fifty Titles* (*c.*570). The *Nomokanon of Fourteen Titles* was the most important source of canon law for the Eastern Church, much of which was incorporated into other collections of canons. It was compiled during the rule of the emperor Herakleios (7th century) as a chronological list of canons. Subsequent editions that incorporate additional canonical legislation appear in the late 9th (by Photios?), 11th (by Theodore Bestes), and 12th (by Theodore Balsamon) centuries. Theodore Balsamon includes a commentary. Among the sources of civil laws incorporated into the work is the *Corpus Juris Civilis*.

Another important canonist in the East was John III Scholastikos, patriarch of Constantinople (565–77), who composed the *Nomokanon of Fifty Titles*, which introduced a more efficient cataloguing system over previous lists; i.e. John arranged canons by topic rather than chronological sequence. This work included all 85 apostolic canons and 67 fragments from the epistles of Basil, and other conciliar resolutions.

Rome also had its *nomokanons* and nomokanonists. The most important compiler in Rome was a monk named Dionysius Exiguus who compiled, in the mid-6th century, a

number of canonical lists remarkable for their breadth. His book of decretals, the *Liber Decretorum*, and his compilation of eastern, North African, and Roman lists, the *Liber Canonum*, which included 20 resolutions of Sardica (343), 138 canons of Carthage (419), 50 apostolic canons, and resolutions from 8 eastern councils (Nicaea, Ancyra, Neo-Caesarea, Gangra, Antioch, Laodicea, Constantinople, and Chalcedon) together formed the *Dionysiana* given by pope Hadrian I to Charlemagne in 774 as a basis for legislative and juridical conduct.

Efforts to harmonize and eliminate irrelevant canons were undertaken by Theodore Balsamon, patriarch of Antioch, who wrote a commentary on the *Nomokanon of Fourteen Titles* and by Matthew Blastera (died 1346), a monk living in Thessalonica.

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See also Canon Law, Councils

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Nonnus

Epic poet of the 5th century AD

Although Nonnus was born in Panopolis, he most probably lived in Alexandria, and travelled extensively in the eastern part of the empire, particularly Asia Minor and Constantinople. He wrote an epic poem of approximately 25,000 lines with the title *Dionysiaca*. As the title suggests, it is about Dionysus, dealing particularly with the subject of Dionysus in India (books 13–40). There was a fascination with Dionysiac themes in both art and literature in late antiquity and Nonnus was not the first to deal with this topic: Euphorion and Dinarchus from Delos were his predecessors in the choice of Dionysiac themes in poetry.

His work stands on the borderline between the ancient and the Byzantine worlds. There is an apparent imitation of Homeric forms, although the metrical similarity is strictly technical. The decision to write an epic poem would almost inevitably put an author in competition with the Homeric poems. Nonnus uses Homeric vocabulary, although as a student of Hellenistic poetry he transforms it into more sophisticated usage. He is inspired by Homeric narrative techniques as well as the epic heroic atmosphere, which he tries to recreate in his own work. Passages such as the two proems, the weaving of Aphrodite in book 24, the shield of Dionysus in book 25, the theomachy in book 36, the various extensive catalogues (books 13, 14, and 26), as well as the presentation of the gods bear witness to both a structural and a more substantial inheritance from Homer. Nonnus was also influenced by Hellenistic poetry. There are many parallels with some love epigrams of the *Greek Anthology*. His use of *propemptika* (dirges) and erotic narrative, as well as his erudite concern with aetiological stories and pastoral motifs, place him in the literary tradition of the Alexandrian school. The pastoral mode is only too evident in the episodes of Actaeon and Ampelus, and Hymnus and Nicaea.

The context of the *Dionysiaca* is inspired by Alexander's expedition to India, the "new Dionysus". This gives Nonnus the opportunity to present an accumulation of various legends and fables on the Dionysiac tradition, with the defect of creating a heavily erudite style, as many scholars argue. Such condemnations, however, do not take into consideration the literary tradition that Nonnus had inherited and the transition in the literary tradition that took place at this very time, with the result that even recent scholarship lacks appreciation of late antique poetry. The historical element that is inserted in an epic context reshapes the poetic ideals of the epic. On the other hand, a rigorous rhetorical tradition has been established and plays an important role in contemporary literary products. There is also a significant debate as to whether there are intertextual allusions to Latin poetry, particularly Ovid and Virgil, which has not yet reached a conclusion. His choice of fusing Dionysian motifs with Alexandrian legends could be appropriated by the emperors who campaigned in the east, revealing also that literature is not alien to contemporary politics, and has a cultural, historical, and even political context.

A major innovation is Nonnus' choice to make Dionysus the central hero of an epic that clearly is indebted to the Homeric epics, even though Dionysus is almost absent in Homer. There was a rich literary and artistic tradition associated with the figure of Dionysus that Nonnus exploited. Dionysus, the wandering god, who transformed himself from youth to old man and vice versa, enjoyed an immense popularity and proved to be the other side of the coin to the Alexandrian theme. Dionysus had a particular appeal to contemporary ideological tensions, for both pagans and Christians. According to Eusebius, Dionysus played an important role in soteriological hagiography, since he appeared from antiquity as a god offering salvation. John Malalas, a historian of the 6th century AD, argued that Dionysus was a mortal, stating that his tomb could be found at Delphi. Glen Bowersock (in Hopkinson) writes that the parallel between Christ and Dionysus was responsible for producing the semi-theatrical work *Christos Paschon* [Christ Suffering], in which Christ replaces Dionysus in a verse borrowed from Euripides, an identification that lies, according to Eusebius and Malalas, at the heart of the Nonnian epic.

Nonnus is also believed to be the author of a paraphrase in epic hexameters of St John's gospel, with the title *Metabole of*

John's Holy Gospel. This is not a simple paraphrase of the gospel, and it renders the personality of Nonnus even more complicated. Some scholars have argued against Nonnian authorship of this work, adducing mostly stylistic arguments. Although the Christian religion had long been established in the Roman empire, the polarities of paganism and Christianity still existed. Some scholars have argued that it is due to Nonnus' conversion to Christianity that the *Dionysiaca* was left unfinished; others say that the domination of pagan motifs was not as unacceptable as we may think for a Christian poet, and place Nonnus' conversion much earlier, if it ever happened.

ANDROMACHE KARANIKA-DIMAROGONA

See also Poetry (Epic)

Biography

Born in Panopolis in Egypt in the first half of the 5th century AD, Nonnus probably lived in Alexandria and travelled widely in the eastern empire. He was the author of an epic poem entitled *Dionysiaca* in 48 books which deals particularly with Dionysus in India. He is also credited with a poetic paraphrase of St John's gospel.

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Normans

The Normans were former Vikings who had settled in Normandy under Rollo in 911 and had become Frenchified. It is said that they were great assimilators who, once established, aped the manners of their neighbours, perhaps as a form of self-improvement, doing so in Normandy, England, southern Italy, Sicily, Antioch, and Edessa. The Byzantines themselves employed the Normans as mercenaries, as did most of the other kingdoms of Europe.

It seems likely that it was its reputation as a land of milk and honey that first attracted the Normans to southern Italy. The Norman kingdom that was established in 1130 was regarded as one of the strongest and wealthiest monarchies in western Europe, yet there never was a Norman masterplan for its creation: it emerged as events took their course. At all times the Normans were a tiny minority in Italy, far fewer in number than their fellows who had invaded England in 1066.

The first definite reference to Normans being employed as mercenaries by the Lombard nobility of southern Italy is in 1017. The year 1030 was something of a landmark too when Rainulf le Tonnelier (Ralph the Cooper) was granted land at Aversa by Sergius IV, duke of Naples. Around 1035 Drogo, Humphrey, and William from the impoverished Norman family of Hauteville arrived and entered the service of Gaimar of Salerno. In the years 1038–40 Byzantine forces campaigned against the Muslims of Sicily assisted by Gaimar and Norman mercenaries. The Lombards, backed by the Normans, rose in revolt against the overbearing conduct of the Byzantine general George Maniakes. It was not until the last stages of the rebellion in 1042 that the Normans began to take advantage of the situation. Up to 1040 they had seemed content to remain mercenaries. During the next century they established their hold over southern Italy and Sicily, capturing Messina (1061), Bari, the last Byzantine base in Italy (1071), Palermo (1072), and Syracuse (1085).

In 1046 Robert de Hauteville (Guiscard) arrived to join his half-brothers Drogo and Humphrey. In 1057 he succeeded them as count of Aversa. The most famous of the Norman adventurers, he was in many ways an appalling man who had gained his by-name from his stratagems but one who became a national hero and was placed by Dante in Paradise. Just as Guiscard (d. 1085) was not interested in his lands *per se* but went on to ever further conquests, so his brother Roger (d. 1101), who joined him in 1058, seems to have been a man of genuine political ability who held Sicily as a fief from his brother.

The Normans were hated in Italy and not surprisingly neither the western nor the eastern emperors would recognize their conquests. Their initial reception by the popes had been hostile too; in 1053 Leo IX had led an army against them which they had defeated at Civitate. Yet in 1059 there was something of a reconciliation when the pope recognized Guiscard as duke of the yet unconquered Sicily, seeing in the Normans a strong power to the south of Rome that might be used to counterbalance a strong imperial presence in northern Italy. Friction between pope Gregory VII (1072–85) and Guiscard troubled relations between the monasteries of southern Italy and their would-be Norman patrons. Following the reconciliation of Gregory and Guiscard at Ceprano in June 1080, lavish grants were made by Guiscard and his second wife to Montecassino and other monasteries; their example was followed by lesser Normans in southern Italy. In 1084 it was the Normans who rescued Gregory VII from Rome and the clutches of the German king and Holy Roman emperor Henry IV (1050–1106) and his antipope Wibert (Clement III), but with appalling bloodshed and destruction. Gregory spent the last year of his life under Norman protection at Salerno.

There was little response among the Norman rulers of southern Italy to Urban II's call for a crusade in 1095. Only Bohemond, prince of Taranto, left in 1096. On Guiscard's death in 1085 he had been passed over as ruler of southern Italy in favour of his half-brother Roger Borsa (d. 1111) and he seemed to have no future in the south. In 1098 he became prince of Antioch.

It was Guiscard's nephew Roger II (died 1154) who became count of Sicily in 1105, and it was he who united the Norman

territories in southern Italy. First he was recognized as heir to Guiscard's mainland territories by pope Honorius II in 1128 and one year later he secured recognition as suzerain by Robert II of Capua. In 1130 he took advantage of a papal schism between Innocent II and Anacletus II to secure a royal coronation from the latter who was desperate for support. The Norman counts of Sicily had become kings of Sicily and southern Italy. Once established, the Norman kings took part in the dynastic history of Europe.

In any Mediterranean-orientated society Sicily will be of immense commercial and strategic importance. Their possession of the island led its Norman rulers into military ambitions elsewhere in the Mediterranean, although interestingly when they turned from infiltration to outright conquest they met with middling success. In 1091 Malta was conquered, but attacks on the coast of North Africa (approximating to modern Algeria) in 1118 and 1123 did not result in a permanent settlement. Norman attempts to conquer the southern Balkan peninsula were similarly frustrated by Byzantine and Venetian opposition. First in the years 1081–85 Guiscard's attacks on Corfu and Dyrrachium (Durazzo) were checked by Alexios I; in 1107 Bohemond was defeated in a second attack on Dyrrachium and was forced to sign the Treaty of Devol acknowledging Byzantine suzerainty over his principality of Antioch; in 1147 Roger II raided Thebes and Corinth carrying off silk workers to Sicily; and finally in 1185 the Normans briefly occupied Thessalonica before being driven out by a Byzantine relieving force under Alexander Branas. The occupation and the Norman's behaviour towards the Greeks were described by Eustathios of Thessalonica. All in all, Norman attempts at conquests in the Byzantine empire were heavily defeated. Neither Byzantium nor Venice could tolerate one power controlling both shores of the southern Adriatic.

In southern Italy and Sicily there emerged a cosmopolitan and remarkable state – one that owed little to Norman institutions but relied upon Greeks, Muslims, and settlers brought in from mainland Italy where the official languages were French, Greek, Arabic, and Latin, and where four religions coexisted in apparent harmony. It is a state all too easy to eulogize. Through time Latin elements came to predominate in the administration, Muslims were largely confined to the fortress settlement of Lucera, and Greek priests came under considerable pressure to Latinize. Norman Sicily appears none the less remarkably tolerant for its age and the capture of Palermo in 1072 stands as a monument to wise concessions and compares favourably to the capture of Jerusalem in 1099.

PETER LOCK

See also Sicily

Summary

The Normans first appeared in Italy as mercenaries to the Lombards in 1017. After 1040 they began to make their own conquests, taking Messina (1061), Bari (1071), Palermo (1072), and Syracuse (1085). The Norman kingdom of Sicily was established in 1130. But the Normans had no success against the Byzantines in the Balkans.

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Novel

Ancient

Five complete lengthy fictional prose narratives (conveniently called "novels" or "romances") survive from Classical antiquity: *Callirhoe* by Chariton of Aphrodisias (8 books; probably 1st century AD); *Ephesian Story* by Xenophon of Ephesus (5 books; probably pseudonymous; 1st–2nd century AD); *Leucippe and Cleitophon* by Achilles Tatius (8 books; late 2nd century AD); *Daphnis and Chloe* by Longus (4 books; 2nd–3rd century); and *Ethiopian Story* by Heliodorus of Emesa (10 books; 3rd–4th century AD). In addition Photios in the 9th century read and summarized at length two works now lost: *The Wonders beyond Thule* by Antonius Diogenes (24 books; late 2nd century AD) and *Babylonian Story* by Iamblichus (16 books; soon after AD 165). Since the 19th century, our knowledge has been supplemented by the discovery of papyrus fragments of several more lost novels, the most important of which is the so-called *Ninus Romance*, probably of the 1st century BC and thus the earliest known example of the genre.

The extant works form a tightly knit corpus of "ideal" romances, all sharing essentially the same plot: a beautiful and noble couple fall in love and, either before or just after marriage, pass through a number of adventures, generally including separation and extensive and perilous journeys during which they encounter pirates and suffer shipwreck, apparent death, and unwelcome amatory advances from rivals of both sexes, remaining faithful to one another until they are eventually reunited and return home, implicitly to live happily ever after in a state of wedded bliss. The patron gods of the romantic world are Tyche (Chance) and Eros; the role of the protagonists is generally to suffer nobly and lament tragically, rarely to act decisively. Despite the skill that some novelists show in characterization, the interests of the form as a whole are with plot rather than psychology. However, all the individual writers vary the basic formula to some extent, and some of the papyri are radically different in tone and content, indicating that the apparent uniformity of the genre is in fact largely due to the tastes of Christian Byzantium.

The novel was the last of the literary genres to appear in antiquity, and much scholarly labour has been devoted to the question of its origins. Particularly influential was Erwin Rohde's hypothesis that it arose from a combination of travel stories and Hellenistic erotic narrative poetry. Others have suggested that the novel evolved out of Hellenistic historiogra-

phy, with its concern for emotional effect, or New Comedy, with which it shares plot elements of amatory intrigue, or obscure local legends, or have sought the roots of the Greek novel in the narrative traditions of Egypt and the Near East. More recently, however, a consensus has emerged that the undoubted similarities and references to earlier literature – particularly the central texts of Homeric epic, and Classical tragedy, rhetoric, and historiography – are less a sign of the genre's origins than of a deliberate self-positioning in the Classical tradition on the part of its exponents.

This bears on the important question of the readership of these early novels. There is very little direct evidence on this point. The novel was neglected by ancient critics, to the extent that there was not even an agreed term for this type of literature before the Byzantine period. The few references to novels and novel-reading are unanimously uncomplimentary. This silence played to the prejudices of 19th-century scholars against romantic fiction, and gave rise to a widely held view that the novel was intended for a mass readership created by the spread of literacy in Hellenistic times, and including such marginal groups as women, young people, and the half-educated. However, as physical objects the novel papyri are indistinguishable in quality from other texts, in no way suggesting a cheap and down-market product, and their numbers remain relatively modest, although we cannot be certain to what extent any given copy may have circulated from reader to reader. Even the simplest of the novels would require a high level of literacy on the part of its readers, and the intertextual play of most of them implies an audience intimately familiar with a wide range of literature. In other words, it looks as if the people who bought and read novels were more or less those who read the rest of Greek literature.

This conclusion in its turn implies that the novel as a genre emerged to supply a market demand for pleasurable reading among the educated urban elite of the Greek east in the Hellenistic and imperial periods. We must not, of course, assume that every reader at every period had the same motive for reading novels, but it seems likely that the novel, as a form, was intended for private reading and that the thematic centrality of love reflects a new concern with the individual self. Moreover, all the novels deal in some oblique form with the question of what it means to be Greek and stress a continuity with the Hellenic past that pointedly ignores the very existence of Rome. Interestingly, none of the surviving novelists was a native of the Greek mainland, and several of them were of non-Greek extraction, indicating that the national identity they assert was cultural rather than racial. The central feature of the romantic plot, the exclusive and passionate love of a heterosexual couple, is an important cultural innovation. The Classical model of disparity between sexual partners with an interior dialectic to master potentially disruptive emotions is replaced by a fully reciprocal passion, viewed positively as a valid basis for personal happiness and marital stability. It is difficult to know to what extent the sexual ethic of the novels reflects a movement towards romantic behaviour in real life, but the aspirations it embodies are as much civic as personal. The marriage that is consummated or resumed at the climax of the plot is not just a way of socializing passion, but is in itself a social function, a celebration of the ancestry and self-perpetuation of Hellenic aristocracy and its values and culture.

The earliest novels have a distinctly historical thrust, as if legitimizing their problematic fictionality by filling up the unwritten corners of history. The earliest known novel takes the legendary figures of Ninus and Semiramis – accepted as historical from Herodotus onwards – and transforms them into romantically attached adolescent cousins coyly seeking parental assent to an early marriage. Chariton sets his story in the years following the Peloponnesian War, with a heroine who is a historically attested daughter of the Syracusan statesman Hermocrates, and a Persian king Artaxerxes facing a revolt in Egypt apparently modelled on that of 360 BC. Among the fragmentary novels is one whose protagonists are the son of Miltiades and the daughter of Polycrates of Samos, and whose scenario plays out around events recorded by Herodotus. Later novels emancipated themselves from literal historicity, and in some cases moved their plots into more exotic locations, which none the less adhere to a geographical and historical verisimilitude defined by Greek literary tradition.

There is a marked division among the five extant novels between, on the one hand, Chariton and Xenophon, who are relatively simple in construction and expression, and, on the other, the three later authors, whose erudition and complexity are clearly linked with the rhetorical renaissance known as the Second Sophistic. Chariton tells his story with pace and skill, in a style modelled on that of Xenophon, maintaining the pose of a historian roughly contemporary with the events he narrates. Although his is probably the earliest European novel to have survived, it is already playing with the ethical simplicity of its generic stereotypes. Its heroine, for example, is apparently kicked to death by her beloved but jealous husband near the beginning of the book. Reviving in the tomb, she is stolen by tomb-robbers and taken to Miletus, where she discovers that she is pregnant and reluctantly agrees to a bigamous second marriage for the sake of her unborn child. The second husband, who fills the conventional role of rival, is no villain, but a cultivated and morally scrupulous gentleman, agonizing over his infatuation. Xenophon's novel is, in terms of literary quality, the weakest of the five: baldly narrated and luridly imagined adventures succeed one another rapidly and with little rational connection, prompting the theory that what we have is only an epitome of a more satisfactory original. Of the sophistic novelists, Achilles Tatius is the only idealistic novelist to employ a first-person narrator, and his story often comes close to parodying the genre: the heroine Leucippe, for instance, would be only too happy to lose her virginity prematurely to the hero and narrator, Cleitophon, and is saved only by a comically sexual dream that leads her mother to interrupt their illicit tryst. Later, the theme of apparent death takes a Grand Guignol twist when Leucippe is ritually disembowelled before her lover's eyes and her entrails cooked and eaten, only for him to learn a couple of pages later that her sacrifice was an elaborately staged trick with a retractable knife and a sheep's bladder. Cleitophon for his part, when Leucippe is apparently decapitated, obsessively maintains his chaste devotion despite being married to an amorous and increasingly frustrated widow from Ephesus; but when his beloved and his wife's husband return miraculously from the dead, he casually consummates the now void marriage on a jailhouse floor before escaping disguised as a woman. Achilles packs his pages with sophistic digressions and rhetorical debates, for example

on the relative merits of heterosexual and homosexual intercourse or the effects of love in the natural world. Of the two novels summarized by Photios, that of Antonius Diogenes was untypical of the genre: immensely long and relegating the love interest to subordinate episodes, it dealt primarily with travel and geographical paradoxography, leavened by a dose of black magic and the supernatural, and was elaborately structured as a series of concentric narratives, including some plausibly serious Neopythagorean philosophy. Iamblichus' novel seems to have been full of sensational and melodramatic incident, and innovated by keeping its lovers together in body but separated by psychological forces such as the heroine's homicidal jealousy.

The ideal romance was not the only form of fiction written in ancient Greek, but the absence of critical discussion from antiquity makes it impossible to know precisely how fictional genres were conceptualized. The old distinction between the serious idealistic Greek romance and the comic-realistic novel represented by the Latin writers Petronius and Apuleius seems untenable in the light of the recent identification of fragments such as those of the *Phoenician Story* of a certain Lollianus, which combine blood-curdling horror and scatological comedy. It may be that other boundaries, such as that between full-length novels and *Milesian Tales*, short stories of scabrous content, are equally illusory.

With the probable exception of Heliodorus, the production of novels apparently ceased early in the 3rd century AD, although papyri indicate that they were still read, at least in Egypt, in the 7th. The disappearance of the genre may be partly due to its inherent limitations and progressive ossification, but the most important causes must be sought in the changing cultural circumstances of late antiquity which removed its market appeal. However, motifs from the romances find their way into Christian narratives such as hagiographies, martyrologies, and apocryphal acts, and at least one of them (*Metiochus and Parthenope*) was absorbed into Near Eastern traditions. In Byzantium, Heliodorus and Achilles Tatius were to some extent privileged by the fact that their authors were believed to be Christian; Achilles' protagonists even resurface as the parents of St Galaktion of Emesa! Despite spasmodic signs of interest, including Photios in the 9th century and a spate of learned imitations in the 12th, the survival of the rest was precarious, and they had little direct influence either on the later vernacular romances or on the birth of the modern Greek novel, both of which looked to models from western Europe.

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See also Romance

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Modern

The rise of the novel in 18th-century England is not normally associated with ancient or medieval Greek novels such as those by Longus or Heliodorus as these were not part of the regular Classical curriculum. It was different in Greece where in the early 19th century a revival or interest in Classical culture led to claims that Greeks had invented the novel. Thus the first Greek novels published after Independence, with their strong emphasis on romantic love, undoubtedly have affinities with ancient and medieval models. This is true of the first modern Greek novel, *Leander*, published in 1834 by Panayotis Soutsos, although references to Johann Wolfgang Goethe and Ugo Foscolo in the preface show other influences. Soutsos's brother Alexandros in the next year published *The Exile of 1831* dealing with recent history in the fashion of Sir Walter Scott. With inspiration both from Greece and Western Europe, a rich Classical and Byzantine heritage, and a turbulent and sometimes tragic history to draw upon, Greek novelists have no shortage of material. Indeed, it could be argued both that individual Greek novelists became confused by the wealth of subject matter, and that the history of the Greek novel as a whole is confused by the variety of different influences.

Most 19th-century novelists were strongly realist, but Greece lacked professional novel writers like Charles Dickens

and Honoré de Balzac, and until the end of the century did not really have a novel-reading public as in Western Europe. A few names stand out. Pavlos Kalligas's novel *Thanos Vlekas* (1855) owes something to the ancient Greek novel with its highflown style and simple allegory of the fight between good and evil, although there are nice touches of social realism. Emmanouil Roidis's *Pope Joan* (1866) is a bitter satire against the Orthodox Church. Both authors had been educated in the West; a more typically Greek product was Alexandros Rangavis's *Lord of the Morea* (1850), a historical novel owing a debt to *The Chronicle of the Morea* and to Scott. Towards the end of the century, although often fiction writers chose to write short stories rather than novels, there were moves forwards under the influence of Emile Zola towards total realism and to experimentation with novels challenging the realistic convention. Andreas Karkavitsas's *The Beggar* (1896) and Alexandros Papadiamantis's *The Murderess* (1903) display both these characteristics.

In the 20th century pressing political events such as the disaster in Asia Minor, World War II and the subsequent Civil War, and the ideological clashes between left and right played an important part in a great many novels. Simultaneously, novelists were affected by literary movements in the West, notably symbolism, and by a wish to bring in Greece's Classical and medieval past. Greece's most famous novelist is Nikos Kazantzakis (1883–1957). Like many other Greek writers of fiction, he was also active in poetry and drama, most of his novels being written towards the end of his life. *Zorba the Greek*, published in 1946, although written in the period of the Nazi occupation, deals with 20th-century Crete, but has references to Plato's dialogues, and like his earlier epic poem *The Odyssey* is full of links to the literature of the world. *Christ Recrucified*, written in 1949, but published in 1954, is set in Anatolia just before the disastrous war of 1919–22, but reflects on perceptions Kazantzakis had gained outside Greece, reaches outside the bounds of realism, and has echoes of the Civil War, a subject to which he returned in *The Fratricides*, posthumously published in 1963, but written much earlier. Kazantzakis is the Greek novelist most readily available in translation. He is hardly typically Greek, having spent most of his life as a novelist in the United States, but his novels do reflect Greece's explosive and encyclopedic heritage.

Less well-known novelists with a rather longer career are Stratis Myrivilis (1892–1969) and Ilias Venezis (1904–73). Both lived in Mytilini, and both were affected by the Anatolian campaign. Both gave a new edge to that type of Greek novel which had concentrated on life in a small community, adding a few romantic touches. Myrivilis's *Life in The Tomb* (1924) dealing with World War I and Venezis's *Number 31328* (1924) dealing with the aftermath of the Anatolian campaign are clearly based on first-hand experience but ask deep metaphysical questions. Later novels by both authors such as *The Mermaid Madonna* (1949) by Myrivilis and *Aeolian Earth* (1943) by Venezis ran into difficulty with censorship under the Metaxas dictatorship and the war years. Experimental novels such as Yorgos Theotokas's *Argo* (1933) show the weight of history with which the Greek novel has to contend. There are references to contemporary historical characters such as Venizelos and Mussolini as well as glances back to Byzantine history and Classical legend, and the novel is full of religious symbolism as well as including links with European fiction. And yet, in spite of the breathless speed of its second volume, *Argo* achieves a kind of detachment as well as preserving its essential Greekness. Both of these latter features are lacking in the work of M. Karagatsis (1909–60) whose tragic characters, all foreigners, are driven to their doom by a sexual passion too powerful for them to control.

Karagatsis and Theotokas were able to bring Greek fiction into line with the main stream of European literature, as represented by such authors as Gustave Flaubert and Fyodor Dostoevsky. Another group of writers based on Thessalonica were more interested in writers such as James Joyce and tried to break away from realism altogether. Yannis Skirimbos (1893–1984) anticipates Samuel Beckett. Nikos Pentzikizis (1909–92) has a hero in his first novel who turns himself into a pot plant before drowning himself in despair in a manner reminiscent of some of Franz Kafka's heroes.

These experiments came to a fairly abrupt end with the imposition of the Metaxas dictatorship in 1936, followed by three years of Axis occupation. None of the writers previously mentioned was particularly sympathetic to communism or subject to censorship and repression, but a number of the novelists who had seemed experimental in the 1920s and early 1930s now returned to more traditional themes, often reverting to the experiences of their early years, sometimes delving back into the remoter past. Myrivilis and Venezis wrote about rural villages before 1922, Theotokas about Constantinople at the turn of the century, Pentzikis in his second novel *The Dead Man and the Resurrection*, finished in 1938, published in 1944, described the history of Thessalonica. Kosmos Politis (1888–1974), who had previously written novels about smart Athenian society, in *Eroica* (1937) deftly blended memories of his native Smyrna with parallels from the *Iliad*. Both novels contain innovative touches and, as with Melpi Axioti in *Difficult Nights* (1938), perhaps try to do too much in linking modernist trends with the weight of oral tradition and in trying to be both European and Greek.

Two women novelists, writing at the very beginning of the Civil War, chose to retreat to the 1930s, although both *Straw Hats* (1946) by Margarita Lymberaki and *Contretemps* by Mimika Kranaki (1947) are full of ominous portents, and the latter novel touches upon the German invasion and the People's Army. Angelas Terzakis and Karagatsis wrote long novels, *Without a God* (1951) and *The Yellow File* (1956) respectively, which end on the brink of World War II, but contain implied criticisms of communism. *The Yellow File* is an elaborate construction about the life of a novelist who thought he could view the world with scientific objectivity and even reform it accordingly, but ignored human nature. There were realistic attempts to portray the war. Yannis Beratis, who also wrote experimental novels, produced in 1946 an account of the Albanian campaign and the struggle of the right-wing guerrillas in Epirus in *The Broad River* and *Itinerary of 1943*. Theotokas wrote *Sacred Way* (1950) and *Invalids and Travellers* (1964) about the war against the Germans and the Civil War in the same almost documentary fashion.

Experimental novels did not really become more popular until the more prosperous 1960s, although Lymberaki published *The Other Alexander* (1950), a curious allegorical novel about two branches of a family with an explicit reference

to the Civil War. Tatiana Gritsi-Milliex in *Behold A Pale Horse* (1963) and Stratis Tzirkas in *Drifting Cities* (1960–65) wrote accounts of recent events from a left-wing viewpoint with a certain amount of experimentation. The best-selling novel of the 1960s, frequently reprinted thereafter, was *Farewell Anatolia* by Dido Sotiriou (1962). This dealt with the Anatolian disaster, but said that it was international capitalism which had brought it about. Other allegorical novels were *The Dam* (1967) by Spyros Plaskovitis, a surprising last novel by Theotokas, *The Bells* (1966), and Pentzikis's masterpiece, *The Novel of Mrs Ersi* (1966), a good combination of traditional Greek motifs and western postmodernism.

Novels by Lymberaki, *The Rite* (1976), by her daughter, Margarita Karapanou, *Cassandra and the Wolf* (1977), *Usurped Authority* (1979) by Alexander Kotzias, and *Fools' Gold* (1979) by Maro Douka reflect the conditions under the Colonels, and *The Box* (1974) by Aris Alexandrou is an allegorical tale of the Civil War made more bitter by recent experiences. All of these works deal with Greek history, but not as objective truth; the narrator's search for the exact truth in *The Box* is shown to be as empty as the box in which he supposedly carries the papers which record his mission. *Fool's Gold* admits that the heroine's reminscences of the 1967 coup may be inaccurate, and points out the inadequacy of language to describe reality.

Three novels of the 1980s, *History* (1982) by Yoryis Yatromanalakis, *The Seventh Garment* (1983) by Evyenia Fakinou, and *The Life of Ismail Ferik Pasha* (1989) by Rea Galanaki, all deal with the recent Greek past, all recall the ancient Greek past, and all try to come to terms with modern Western influences. Like other writers, notably Kazantzakis, they may be accused of taking on too much, of trying to do many things at once; at the same time they achieve a fair amount of success, and the way forward for the Greek novel looks as promising if as baffling as it does for the novel in general.

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O

Obsidian

Obsidian is a kind of volcanic glass, normally dark blue to black in colour. It is exceptionally hard, fractures in the same way as flint, and, like flint, was employed to provide razor-sharp cutting edges for tools (including knives and sickles) and weapons (including arrowheads). Studies of the techniques of manufacture of marble figurines have suggested that obsidian implements were among the tools employed.

In use from the Palaeolithic period, obsidian seems to have been most commonly employed in the Aegean during the Neolithic and Early Bronze Age, before bronze had become widely available. In the Late Bronze Age, vessels were occasionally manufactured of this material, usually a variegated type.

Investigation of the extent to which obsidian continued to be used in later antiquity has proved somewhat inconclusive but it seems likely that, in addition to flint and chert, it was a regular alternative to metal in places where the latter was unavailable because of cost or inaccessibility. Today these materials are still sometimes used by primitive agricultural communities for the "teeth" of sickles and threshing sledges, and they have been employed for gun flints.

The only two ancient Aegean sources of obsidian are on the islands of Melos (in the southwestern Cyclades) and Yiali (by Nisiros in the Dodecanese). That on Melos was the earlier and by far the most important; Yiali obsidian was used for most of the Late Bronze Age vessels mentioned previously. Melian obsidian is widely distributed on prehistoric sites in the central and south Aegean and on the Greek mainland as far north as Thessaly. Sometimes it is found in the form of finished artifacts, sometimes as unworked cores. The finer blades were struck off larger "cores", or else detached by "pressure flaking" with a wooden tool.

Obsidian was probably an important item of trade in prehistoric times. One theory sees the commodity exploited by the Melians and exported by them, either worked or unworked; another holds that the raw material was removed by visitors to the island, without reference to the locals, and worked elsewhere.

The significant contributions of obsidian to the Greek tradition seem chronologically limited to the prehistoric phase. It certainly played an important part in technological developments which affected warfare and various "industries" and crafts. Just as important however was its role in stimulating trade and contact, and in giving the Aegean area in general and Melos in particular some economic and cultural sway over their neighbours. Apparently Melian features in the pottery of other islands, and Cycladic exports to and influence on sites on the Greek mainland in the Early and Middle Cycladic periods, may have been brought about in this way.

In Classical and later times the use of obsidian helps to demonstrate the natural dependence of poorer and more remote communities on cheap and accessible raw materials, and thus relatively primitive technology. In this way clearly documented uses of the material can often illuminate prehistoric finds where direct evidence for the function is lacking. Such links also suggest a long and continuous history of use.

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Odessa

City on the north Black Sea coast

Odessa, now a city of more than one million inhabitants, is in Ukraine between the estuaries of the Dnieper and Dniester. Though long sought by the tsars, it was only in the time of Catherine the Great (1762–96) that Russian rule over the north coast of the Black Sea became a reality. Under Catherine two cities were founded in this newly acquired territory. The first was Kherson, near the mouth of the Dnieper on a site wrongly identified with ancient Greek Cherson. In 1794, two years after the Treaty of Jassy had further extended Russian rule, Catherine decided on a second port on the recommendation of Joseph de Riba, a Naples-born Spanish adventurer of Irish extraction. The site selected was Khadzhibei. Again a Greek name was chosen: Odessa; and again the identification was erroneous, for the new port lay far from the ancient Greek colony of Odessos which is Varna in Bulgaria. Perhaps it was hoped that the name would attract Greek merchants. The feminine *Odessa* for *Odessos* is said to have been chosen by Catherine at a court ball.

Odessa was at once an enormous success: it was soon the fastest-growing city in Europe. It "had no infancy", as a contemporary said. It occupied a splendid position on cliffs rising 60 m above the sea, a contrast to the dreary steppe to the north. The climate was benign, but for the dust storms from the thin limestone soil which turned to mud in winter. The deep harbour had ice only in January. Already by 1805 Odessa was the busiest port in the Black Sea. Until the Crimean War (1853–56), the black earth lands of Ukraine supplied much of western Europe with wheat, and even later in the century Odessa continued to supply Italian needs, for the high gluten content of wheat from Ukraine made it especially suitable for pasta. Religious toleration, encouragement of foreign immigrants, and low tariffs led to a burgeoning population swollen by runaway serfs, a "European Australia". Visitors remarked on the easy atmosphere which tolerated smoking in the streets, a practice frowned on in St Petersburg.

From 1803 to 1814 the governor appointed by the tsar was Armand Emmanuel du Plessis, Duc de Richelieu, a great-nephew of the cardinal, a hero of Byron and Pushkin and later minister of Louis XVIII. Richelieu was an attractive figure – modest, industrious, affable, and a good linguist – who mixed freely with the inhabitants. To him Odessa owes its gridiron plan, its spacious streets, and characteristic acacia (actually, locust) trees. Under his governorship, the population rose from 7500 to 35,000. In 1838 the American traveller John Stephens found Odessa with its broad, straight streets just like an American city. In the 1860s Mark Twain shared the same feelings. A Swiss visitor heard 20 tongues spoken and claimed that ten religions were practised. Italian then Greek were the principal business languages. Half the wheat exported from the docks went to Italy and the street names were in Italian as well as Russian.

Within a year of its foundation, Greeks, whether transient merchants or settlers from the archipelago, made up about 10 per cent of the population. A Greek battalion fought with the Russians against the Turks, and the Greek community made a financial contribution to the Russian war effort against Napoleon. By 1817 there were three Greek insurance companies, who established what became known as the second-best school in Odessa. Many Greek merchants became rich and powerful. Among these were the Inglesi, one of whom, Dimitrios, became mayor in 1818–21. John Ralli, whose family originated on Chios and whose connections extended over three continents, served as United States consul from 1832 to 1859. Stephens describes meeting him. Ralli was president of a society for the welfare of animals, although the ferocity of his dogs was such that rumour claimed they attacked his own servants. Also from Chios was the Rodonachi family with members in Livorno and Marseilles. Greek churches were built (one remained open in the Soviet period) and a monastery of St Panteleimon on the model of the Russian monastery on Athos (it is now the planetarium). The Mavrokordatos family contributed to industrial and cultural life. In 1814 a house in Odessa, now a museum, was the birth place of the *Philiki Hetaireia*. Greek coffee houses flourished. Later in the century, the Greeks were eclipsed by the Jews who became the second-largest group in the city after the Russians. The Greeks tended to resist the policy of assimilation favoured by the Russian authorities. There was endemic hostility between the Greek and Jewish populations and the pogrom of 1871 arose from Jewish–Greek rivalry. By the time of the censuses of 1892 and 1897 less than 2 per cent of the population spoke Greek and Greek-speakers were only the sixth-largest group. Many were only temporary residents. By then about half the population spoke Russian or Ukrainian, while just over 30 per cent spoke Yiddish.

During the Crimean War an Anglo-French squadron bombarded Odessa. The base of the statue of Richelieu was damaged, but a frigate, the *Tiger*, was lost and one of its guns is displayed not far from the statue. The years before World War I saw a decline in the fortunes of the city: development was inhibited by shortages of coal, wood, and fresh water; the railway was slow to come; industrial discontent grew and political and nationalist dissent flourished, as did crime. In June 1905 the mutinous battleship *Potemkin* sailed into Odessa; in subsequent disturbances some 600 people were killed and the docks were destroyed. (The famous scene on the monumental steps in Eisenstein's film is largely invention.)

The modern visitor can still enjoy the spacious boulevards with planes and chestnuts, as well as the acacias. Many buildings have been restored in pleasing pastel colours. The vines which festoon many apartment blocks produce grapes for New Year parties. The archaeological museum houses important exhibits from the Greek colony of Olbia on the Bug; these include coins, figurines, vases, and an inscription in Latin and Greek confirming privileges granted by the emperor Antoninus Pius (138–61). Other finds displayed are from Berezan island and from Tyras, Panticapaeum, and other Greek colonies on the northern shore of the Pontus.

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See also Black Sea, Crimea

Summary

A city on the coast of the Ukraine, Odessa was founded by Catherine the Great in 1794. It grew fast and by 1805 was the busiest port in the Black Sea with a cosmopolitan population. The principal export

was wheat. The Greek community was rich and powerful for much of the 19th century. It was the birthplace of the Friendly Society (*Philiki Hetaireia*) in 1814.

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Ohrid

City in western Macedonia

The history of medieval and modern Ohrid – which is located on the northeast shore of Lake Ohrid very close to the site of ancient Lychnidos on the Via Egnatia – is mainly distinguished by ecclesiastical developments. The local diocese, which played an important role in Balkan history, was under Greek control for centuries.

The earliest references to medieval Ohrid are linked to the spread of Christianity in the Slavic Balkan areas in the late 9th century. As a result of Boris I's decision to adopt the Christian faith and to opt for the Eastern Ortbodox Church, the Christianization of the south Slavs was accelerated and the basis for the foundation of a Bulgarian Church was laid down, in a period when Bulgarian rule extended in the western Balkans as far as the Adriatic. Yet, the establishment of the Orthodox Church proceeded differently in the eastern and western parts of the Bulgarian dominions. In the eastern part, the task was undertaken by Greek-speaking Byzantine clergy sent directly from Constantinople. But the Christianization of the western Bulgarian dominions in Macedonia and Albania was initiated by a mission of Slavonic-speakers led by St Clement and St Naum, both of whom were disciples of St Constantine (Cyril) and St Methodios who had led the Moravian mission (863). St Clement arrived in the region in 886 and settled in Ohrid, which is first recorded with respect to those events. There he worked towards the training of a Slavic-speaking clergy and also organized the building of churches and monasteries, including the earliest (trefoil) phase of St Panteleimon in Ohrid (which later became a mosque and is known as the *imaret*).

More emphasis was given to Ohrid later, when Samuel (*c.*976–1015) chose to establish a Bulgarian patriarch there in the heyday of his shortlived empire. In fact, Samuel's ecclesiastical arrangements were followed by his great enemy, the Byzantine emperor Basil II (976–1025), who, after crushing the last remnants of Bulgarian resistance in 1018 and aiming at the integration of the west Balkan Slavic population into the Byzantine empire, took the decision to preserve a Bulgarian Church based in Ohrid. His plans materialized in the formation of the archbishopric of Bulgaria, an autonomous ecclesiastical body under the patriarchate of Constantinople, with authority over the lands of Macedonia, Serbia, and Albania which were incorporated into the Byzantine state in 1018. Apparently the archbishopric of Ohrid had no authority over the eastern areas of Bulgaria proper. Moreover, the area of its jurisdiction was reduced in periods when the Serbians had their own independent Church, i.e. between 1219 and the Ottoman conquest, and after 1537 with the establishment of the Serbian patriarchate at Peć.

Basil II's plan was to preserve the Slavic character of the archbishopric of Bulgaria, so the first archbishop he appointed, John, was a Slav. The decision to Hellenize the archbishopric was taken by his successors who, as a first step, replaced John with a Greek archbishop, Leon, who is especially renowned for building the cathedral church of St Sophia in Ohrid. So began the line of Greek archbishops that lasted until the archbishopric was abolished in 1767. Among them were some important scholars, such as Theophylact (late 11th–early 12th centuries), whose works include a *Life of St Clement*, and Demetrios Chomatenos (d. *c.*1234), who crowned Theodore Doukas of Epirus emperor of the Romans in 1224. Apart from the archbishops, the other senior clergy were Greeks too, and Greek was the official language. Nevertheless, Slavic was not completely excluded and was used by many of the lower clergy.

The Greek dominance of the archbishopric was not affected by Bulgarian (1205/07–15 and 1230–46), Serbian (1334–71), Albanian (from 1371), or Ottoman (from the 1390s onwards) rule in Ohrid. As a matter of fact, this Greek dominance of the archbishopric became a primary factor in the development of Greek cultural influence, not just in Ohrid itself, but in the rest of the archbishopric's jurisdiction as well. The Greek element of the town's population was not limited to the staff of the church, but included many among the local elite, both landowning and commercial, and probably others. A distinguished personality among the Greeks of Ohrid was Prodromos Sgouros, who patronized the building of the Peribleptos church in the 13th century. Three centuries later, this church was rededicated to St Clement (it still bears this name) and became the archbishop's seat, after the church of St Sophia was converted into a mosque. As with several towns in Macedonia that had a strong Greek element, the history of Ohrid in the 18th century is marked by the development of Greek education and the foundation of Greek schools. It is unquestionable, however, that the majority of the town's population were Slavic, as they are today. The Greek element of Ohrid declined and finally perished in the years after 1913, as a result of the town's annexation by Serbia and the subsequent abolition of Greek educational and ecclesiastical institutions.

KONSTANTINOS P. MOUSTAKAS

Summary

A city now in the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Ohrid is first mentioned in the 9th century when St Clement arrived to establish Christianity. It was probably the capital of the empire of Samuel of Bulgaria. Basil II established a Bulgarian Church with an archbishopric at Ohrid. From later in the 11th century until 1767 (when the archbishopric was abolished) the archbishops and senior clergy were Greeks. Local elites were also Greek to a considerable extent until 1913, when the town was annexed by Serbia.

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Olbia

City on the north Black Sea coast

Olbia, situated on the right bank of the river Hypanis (today Bug), near the mouth of the river Borysthenes (now Dnieper) in modern Ukraine, was founded by the Milesians, possibly as early as the end of the 7th century BC (according to the finds). It was one of the largest Greek colonies on the north coast of the Black Sea and was well known in the ancient world. Surrounded by native tribes (Scythians, later Sarmatians), Olbia had close, but sometimes tense, relations with its hinterland. Already in the first half of the 6th century numerous small settlements had developed on both banks of the Hypanis and Borysthenes, the most important of them on the island of Berezan.

Written sources about Olbia are rather scarce (and are for the most part inscriptions), but there are rich archaeological finds; as there was no later reoccupation of the site, it has consequently suffered only from being used as a quarry in the 18th and 19th centuries for the construction of the Turkish (and later Russian) fortress at Ochakov, and for building houses in the neighbouring village of Parutino. The area has been excavated in many campaigns since 1901.

The ancient city had a triangular shape with an upper town and a lower one which is now largely submerged beneath the waters of the Bug. The upper town began to be settled in the 6th century BC; some of the excavated streets go back to that time (it has now become clear that Olbia never had a unified rectangular street system, as was long assumed). About 550 BC the temenos of Apollo Iatros was constructed, some 20 years later that of Apollo Delphinios, and – to the south of it – the agora followed. About 500 BC the style of private housing changed from dug-out dwellings to surface buildings.

The city was most prosperous from the 5th to the 3rd centuries BC. Its harbour was one of the main emporia on the Black Sea for the export of cereals, fish, and slaves to Greece, and for the import of Attic goods to Scythia. Its silver and bronze coins (not minted but cast) circulated widely. In the 5th century Olbia may have been intermittently under the sway of a local tyrant or of Scythian princes; at the beginning of the 4th century the city acquired a democratic constitution (*demos* and *boule* appear regularly in inscriptions). Already in the middle of the 5th century it had undertaken intense building activity (around this time Herodotus visited the city to gather information about the surrounding regions). The territory of the city increased, with the lower town now being populated as well; a water supply system and probably also the first city wall were built. The construction of private houses reached a peak at this time; the houses (built with stone or brick walls and tiled roofs), of one or two storeys, often had a cellar, wall painting, and mosaics. In the necropoleis found to the north, west, and south of the city many graves had vaulted tombs in a form characteristic of the north Pontic area.

The central *temenos* (precint), dominated by the Ionic temple of Apollo Delphinios, was enlarged and given its trapezoidal form; apart from the main altar (with a platform probably for the priest and three holes for wine offerings), there were several other buildings in the precinct (further altars, a treasury, a cistern, a workshop for bronze). In the agora area a gymnasium was built, probably with a bath (enlarged in Hellenistic times). The western *temenos*, with a columned hall at its entrance, contained sanctuaries for Apollo Iatros and later for Hermes, Aphrodite, and the mother of the gods, a building of unclear function with three round and six rectangular altars. Since the 6th century BC one of the most important cults in the lower Bug region had been that of Achilles, imported by the Milesian colonists and originally centred on the island of Leuce (thought to be the dwelling place of the great hero), where the inhabitants of Olbia erected several monuments with inscriptions; countless magical graffiti, including the name of Achilles, were found in Olbia itself and its surroundings. Moreover, in the central *temenos* little plates made from bone with graffiti on them testify to the existence of a thriving community devoted to Orphism (a mystery cult centred around Dionysus and Orpheus) at Olbia in the 5th century. Many works of art (sculpture in stone, clay, and bronze and reliefs), imported from Greece as well as of local origin, have been found, such as a late Archaic *kouros* (naked youth) of limestone from the gymnasium, the famous grave stele of Molpagores' son Leoxos (490/480 BC) showing a naked youth in Greek style on one side and a person in Scythian clothing on the other, and the votive relief of the *sitones* (see below). There was also extensive local production of vases.

Reports of further political events are scarce. At the beginning of the Hellenistic period (probably around 325 BC) Zopyrion, Alexander the Great's governor of Thrace, made an unsuccessful attempt to take Olbia by force. New building activity shows the ongoing importance of Olbia as well as the persistence of threats from outside: numerous fortified farmhouses were built in the vicinity; the agora was provided with an impressive portico, and other new public buildings were constructed, the town walls renewed, and several towers added; a new cult, that of the god Demos ("people"), was established. Since the middle of the 3rd century BC, however, the whole agricultural territory of Olbia was repeatedly pillaged by invading barbarians, which put the nutritional base of the city severely at risk. A board of five *sitones* (food commissioners) was then installed who had to procure cereals and distribute them among the inhabitants; later the city tried to check famine, social unrest, and external threats by courting the leaders of the semibarbarian "Mixellenes" as allies. This

led to the loss of the city's independence. In the middle of the 2nd century BC Olbia was under the overlordship of the Scythian king Skiluros, and in the 1st century BC it became part of the Bosporanian kingdom of Mithridates Eupator. The biggest disaster, however, came with the sack of the city by the Getae under King Burebista in 55 BC: Olbia was burned down and lost two-thirds of its settled area. Still, it continued to exist, albeit on a much smaller scale; more and more native people were integrated among the citizens, and these Scythian elements began to play a major role in the political life of the city. Olbia was in this state when it was visited by Dio of Prusa during his wanderings (i.e. shortly before AD 96); Dio has left a vivid description of the city (which he calls Borysthenes, as others do, because of the proximity of the harbour of Borysthenes on the river of that name) in his *Borysthenitic Discourse*. In the 2nd century AD a new period of prosperous stability began: under Antoninus Pius a Roman garrison built the citadel in the southern part of the upper town; under Septimius Severus the region was incorporated into the province Lower Moesia. Two destruction levels show that Olbia was burned down twice in the 3rd century, probably during the so-called Scythian or Gothic wars. When exactly it ceased to exist is uncertain: Byzantine coins found at the site suggest that a settlement (though very much reduced) may have outlasted antiquity.

BALBINA BÄBLER

See also Black Sea

Summary

Olbia was a Milesian colony on the north shore of the Black Sea, founded in the late 7th century BC. It flourished especially from the 5th to the 3rd centuries BC. Its harbour was an important entrepot and fine buildings were constructed. Ruled by Scythians in the 2nd century BC and by Mithridates Eupator in the 1st, Olbia was sacked by the Getae in 55 BC. On a reduced scale it continued to exist, possibly into the Byzantine period.

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Old Calendarists

Greek Orthodox traditionalist movement

Orthodox Christians who refuse the Gregorian calendar, introduced into the Greek Church in 1924, are called Old Calendarists. By the 6th century AD the calendar promulgated by Julius Caesar as Pontifex Maximus (46 BC) had displaced the Macedonian calendar, widely used in the Greek east since apostolic times. The Julian year is 11 minutes and 14 seconds longer than the solar year. Thus by 1324 the Byzantine astronomer Nikephoros Gregoras observed that the spring equinox was falling seven days earlier than at the time of the First Council of Nicaea (325), which had stipulated that Easter be celebrated on the first Sunday of the full moon following the spring equinox and after the Jewish Passover. Informed of the discrepancy, the emperor Andronikos II Palaiologos refused to alter the calendar. The discrepancy was ten days by the 15th century, when Pope Gregory XIII promulgated a new calendar which excepted from a leap day those century years that are not divisible by 400 (e.g. 1700, 1800, 1900, 2100) and renamed 5 October 1582 as 15 October. Thus the spring equinox was restored to 21 March, its date at the time of Nicaea. One consequence of the Gregorian reform was that Easter might be celebrated on or before Passover.

The pope dispatched Greek legates to Constantinople to win the approval of the patriarch, Jeremias II, for the calendar reform. Jeremias rejected the new calendar as an affront to tradition, a unilateral break with the paschal calendar of Nicaea, and potentially an instrument of Latin proselytism. Jeremias and the patriarchs of Jerusalem and Alexandria imposed anathemas on anyone who might accept the new calendar and *paschalion* (set of dates for Easter) of the pope (1583, 1593).

A change in the attitude of the Constantinople patriarchate is apparent from the encyclical of 1920, "To the Churches of Christ wheresoever they may be", which proposes the adoption of a common calendar as a first step towards uniting the various Christian denominations. The adoption of the Gregorian calendar was promoted by two churchmen with close ties to the Venizelist party, Meletios Metaxakis and Chrysostomos Papadopoulos. As ecumenical patriarch, Meletios convened a Pan-Orthodox congress (10 May–8 June 1923) which recommended a programme of liberal reforms including adoption of the Gregorian calendar and *paschalion*. In February 1923 the revolutionary dictatorship of Colonel Nicholas Plastiras installed Chrysostomos as archbishop of Athens and imposed the Gregorian civil calendar in Greece. With the help of the Plastiras regime Chrysostomos won the permission of the General Synod and the ecumenical patriarchate to proceed with the change of the ecclesiastical calendar on 10/23 March 1924. By retaining the traditional paschal calendar Chrysostomos could argue that he had not incurred the anathemas against the Gregorian calendar imposed by Jeremias and his successors.

The monks of Mount Athos rejected the calendar change and patriarch Photios of Alexandria was sharply critical. Nevertheless, the clergy of the Church of Greece by and large accepted the new calendar. Resistance to the Gregorian calendar within Greece was primarily a lay movement, with the

support of zealot monks from Mount Athos including Arsenios Kotteas, Parthenios Skourlis, and Matthaios Karpathakis. In April 1926 the Church of Greece declared all who refused the calendar change schismatic and excommunicated, and attempted to close the chapels of the Old Calendarists. The apparition of a cross in the sky over the chapel of St John the Theologian on Mount Hymettus on the vigil of the Exaltation of the Cross (14/27 September 1925) afforded miraculous confirmation to hundreds of Old Calendarist worshippers. In 1926 Kotteas founded the "Holy League of the Zealot Monks of Mount Athos" for the purpose of organizing the Old Calendarists. In November 1927 the movement received its first martyr in the person of Catherine Routis, killed by police while seeking to prevent the arrest of an Old Calendarist priest. Traditionalist periodicals such as the *Voice of Orthodoxy* (1927) and the *Orthodox Herald* (1930) were founded. By 1930 there were about 800 chapters of Old Calendarists in Greece.

The movement remained without bishops until 1935, the same year that the monarchy was restored in Greece. At this time Chrysostomos Kavouridis of Florina and two other metropolitans of the state Church were emboldened to break with the new calendar and formed the Synod of True Orthodox Christians of the Church of Greece. They proceeded to consecrate four new bishops, including Matthew Karpathakis. The seven bishops were then put on trial by the Church of Greece; three recanted and returned to the state Church while the others were banished or confined to monasteries.

A split among the Old Calendarists developed after 1937, when metropolitan Chrysostomos of Florina declared that the state Church was to be considered only potentially and not definitively schismatic. Rejecting this position, bishop Matthew constituted his own synod and in 1948 proceeded uncanonically to consecrate four new bishops by himself. The Matthewite synod, currently under archbishop Andreas, continues to deny the validity of all sacraments in the state Church.

Chrysostomos died in 1955 without leaving any successor bishops. In 1962 archbishop Leonty of the Russian Church Abroad travelled to Greece where, together with Akakios Pappas who had been consecrated by other prelates of the Russian Church Abroad, he consecrated three more bishops for the Florinite group without the permission of his synod. On the death of archbishop Akakios in 1963, Auxentios Pastras was elected archbishop of the Florinite synod, a post he held until 1985 when he was deposed for simony in the unauthorized consecration of a defrocked New Calendarist churchman. Since then the Florinites have been led by archbishop Chrysostomos Kiousis. Another schism arose in 1995 when six bishops left the synod under threat of canonical judgement; two of these, Paisios and Vikentios, were attached to the ecumenical patriarchate in 1998. In 1986 bishop Kyprianos Koutsoumbas of the Florinite Synod was deposed for his close relations with New Calendarist clergy. His Synod in Resistance has since then established relations with the Russian Church Abroad. Kyprianos has consecrated numerous bishops, most of whom are not Greeks, and has undertaken an active apostolate against the ecumenical activities of the state Church. Unlike other Old Calendarist groups the Synod in Resistance does not require chrismation before offering the Eucharist to those baptized in the state Church.

The number of Old Calendarists in Greece may be estimated at 150,000. About 60 per cent of these are associated with the Florinite synod of Chrysostomos Kiousis, 20 per cent with the Matthewites, and the remainder with other groupings. Most of the zealot monks on Mount Athos, including the monastery of Esphigmenou and several sketes, are associated with the Kiousis synod. Other important monasteries include those of Kerateas, Kozani, Examilia and Agion Taxiarchon in Corinth, and Koimisis tis Theotokou on Mount Parnes.

The diverse Old Calendarist synods regard the ecumenical activities of the state Church and the patriarchate of Constantinople as evidence that the calendar change was not merely an attack on the liturgical unity of the Church. They see adoption of the papal calendar as part of a programme to undermine Orthodox traditions and to reduce the Church to a position of equality with other religions.

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See also Calendar, Zealots

Summary

Old Calendarists are those Orthodox Christians who continue to follow the Julian calendar, denying the validity of the Gregorian calendar which was introduced by pope Gregory XIII in 1582. The Gregorian reform was rejected by patriarch Jeremias II at the time and was not adopted by the Greek Orthodox Church until 1924. Divided into several synods, Old Calendarists in Greece today number perhaps 150,000.

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Oligarchy

Rule by the "few"

Oligarchy ("rule by the few") was a fluid term that first emerged in 5th- and 4th-century BC Greek historical, political, and philosophical texts. In a precise context, oligarchy meant broad-based constitutional government by property owners of the Greek city states, who as exclusive citizens could both vote and hold office; but in a wider sense, oligarchs came to be identified as any group who, whether through legal means or by force, sought to check the power of democracy.

Government during the later Mycenaean period (1600–1200 BC) was dynastic, controlled by a king (*wanax*) who occupied a centralized fortified palace and its surrounding countryside. And while Linear B tablets reflect cadres of other high political officials, rule was clearly in the hands of a supreme chief who claimed power through inherited privileges.

Myths and stories found in later Greek literature give the impression that local chiefs (*basileis*) controlled tribal organizations during the Dark Ages (*c.*1200–700 BC). Powet was probably in the hands of a single individual, and was passed on to male children. Whereas there were obviously a select few local princes who consulted the king, most government was not constitutional, but based largely on the ability of local potentates to muster subservient shepherds and farmers into successful military bands.

The emergence of more than 1000 Greek city states in the 8th century BC ushered in the first period of truly constitutional government in the Mediterranean – local communities were now often represented by independent landowners who sought political power commensurate with their hoplite infantry prowess and agricultural expertise. Yet, this transition from aristocratic government to rule by property owners was not automatic, but often characterized by periods of autocracy, as transitional tyrants for two or three generations – most often in the commercial, seafaring states near the isthmus or in the islands – might wrest control from noble families in the purported interest of the common people. In some areas of Greece – Thessaly and Sparta are good examples – vestiges of monarchy, coupled with consulting bodies of aristocratic families and supported by serfdom, continued for centuries.

By 700 BC many poleis were beginning to establish governments by property-owning citizens, which might constitute a third to half of the resident native-born male population. Aristotle later called such constitutions either "polities" ("polis governments") or "timocracies" – rule by those who enjoyed influence, prestige, and property. In fact, such timocratic governments were moderately oligarchic, allowing small landholders to vote on legislation proposed by elected senior officials.

By the 5th century BC the rights to participate in the assembly and hold office were extended to the landless poor at a few cities – most notably Athens – as part of a slow liberalizing Panhellenic trend that would be characterized by office-holding by lot, public works, navies, urban fortifications, and subsidized pay for jury service and assembly attendance. During the rise of democracy in the 5th century, the definition of oligarchy crystallized as a reactionary alternative to more egalitarian constitutions, and the two words democracy ("power of the people") and oligarchy ("power of the few") first appeared in the Greek language and in clear antithesis to each other.

In reality, it was often difficult to calibrate whether a city state was oligarchic or democratic, since most had councils and elective officials. Aristotle later attempted, without much success, in book 4 of his *Politics* to create a typology of constitutions, characterized by four variants of both oligarchic and democratic government. But "the few" and "the people" were relative terms – some "oligarchic" states might have very low property qualifications and a high percentage of citizen participation, while the offices of nominally "democratic" constitutions could de facto be staffed exclusively by more prosperous landholders.

By the late 5th and 4th centuries, and especially during the Peloponnesian War (431–404 BC), oligarchy took on a far more precise definition: rule of those with capital and in alliance with Sparta. Thus the great revolutions at Corfu and elsewhere during the war were not marked so much by disagreements over the voting franchise or the constitution per se, as by strife among larger landowners and businessmen against those without money. The former welcomed the intervention of Spartan infantry to protect their interests, the latter looked to the Athenian fleet to champion the cause of the poor, who saw democracy not so much as voting privileges but rather as entitlements and subsidies for the landless. Indeed, Aristotle concluded that oligarchy had come to mean simply "rule by the rich", democracy "rule by the poor".

The defeat of Athens (404 BC) did not result in a spread of oligarchies championed by the victorious Spartans. Rather, the increasing monetarization of the Greek economy and the corruption of census rubrics brought on by the demands of the war led to a rise in democratic government. States in Boeotia and in the northern Peloponnese increasingly liberalized their constitutions to include participation by most native-born residents, and often gathered neighbouring communities into federal leagues under democratic auspices that would survive into Roman times. Coups by both radical and moderate oligarchs at Athens, Argos, and Mantineia were often short-lived. The harsh nature of Spartan hegemony, and the insular nature of Spartan society, did little to encourage a return among the city states to oligarchic rule.

Most Greek thinkers, themselves aristocrats, preferred moderate oligarchies, as consistent with the traditional values of the old agrarian polis, and a bulwark against the financial and cultural liberalism spawned by imperial Athens. Thucydides felt the brief rule of 5000 property owners at Athens in 411 was the best constitution in the history of the state. Aristotle lamented the passing of the rule of a middling agrarian population that had avoided the extremes of both reactionary autocracy and radical democracy. The so-called "Old Oligarch" – author of an anonymous 5th-century BC political tract – described the reckless dynamism of Athens largely in terms of its abandonment of traditional oligarchic restraint. Plato's political ideas are confusing; he clearly did not favour democracy but instead looked to government based on either natural or enforced hierarchies.

In the later 4th century BC the wealthy of the polis continued to yearn for government by the few, and now looked not to traditional oligarchies, but rather to the growth of

Macedonian monarchy. Philip II and his son Alexander the Great sought to subsidize wealthy politicians in the Greek city states, promising local autonomy to oligarchic cadres who could maintain order, provide tribute, and furnish manpower for the Macedonian cause. The successors of Alexander in both Greece and Asia Minor continued to favour such oligarchies, which were increasingly narrow groups of wealthy urban elites, often absentee owners of estates in the countryside. Class strife in the ancient world is largely a Hellenistic phenomenon, and was waged by those dispossessed farmers who increasingly became the urban unemployed or rural serfs, and now lacked both the freedom and the rights that had existed under traditional oligarchy.

The nomenclature of Hellenistic government as it survives in the histories and on inscriptions is confused and often euphemistic. It can be assumed that reference to "the people" and "the council" usually meant a select few, who governed under the aegis of monarchy and on the basis of vast wealth. While there were still democratic councils among the federated leagues in Achaea and Aetolia, most city states were increasingly governed by elites owing allegiance to kings. Gone was any traditional idea of oligarchy as the rule by a substantial landowning minority of the town's residents, who were responsible entirely for a community's defence, foreign policy, and financial health. Popular rule in the Hellenistic age simply meant for most cities control by the indigenous rich in service to a foreign monarchy. No local oligarchies in the Hellenistic age enjoyed real autonomy.

After the Roman conquest of Greece (146 BC), most Hellenic provinces were run by local oligarchic councils who reported to a Roman executive proconsul. While deliberations were often by consensus vote, and while the language of constitutional government might suggest popular assemblies, in fact foreign executives, backed by the legions, retained the real power. In general, the Romans found that local elite oligarchies ensured that taxes were promptly paid and social unrest minimal.

After the breakup of the western empire (5th century AD) Greek oligarchic councils continued to enforce the law of the emperor at Byzantium. The Turkish occupation changed little, as Greek aristocrats now managed affairs under Ottoman auspices. The basis of Greek constitutions during the 19th and 20th centuries was in theory democratic, but in fact characterized more by extended periods of autocracy as local dynasts, dictators, and generals seized power from elected assemblies. Following a practice established since Classical times, Greek officials, who distrusted popular assemblies and sought to rule by the advice and consent of a few wealthy men, used the nomenclature of democracy, not oligarchy. After the 5th century BC the term oligarchy would for ever describe reactionary autocracy and plutocracy rather than the original, more liberal Greek notion of simple majority rule by moderate property owners.

VICTOR DAVIS HANSON

See also Government

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Olive

The olive is a fruit-bearing tree that is imbued with a symbolic meaning and a practical value that make it of pivotal importance to the understanding of everyday life in Greece, of the socioeconomic realities of the country, and of ritual practices, beliefs, and customs. The olive is the national tree of Greece, while olives and olive oil are its national products.

The olive is one of the oldest cultivated trees in the world. The Greeks were among the first to engage in its systematic cultivation, in the Early Bronze Age, that is in the 3rd millennium BC, though archaeological evidence reveals that olive-oil production started much later, in the Late Bronze Age. Its extraction was facilitated by the introduction of the lever press, which in various combinations remained in use up to the 20th century.

Olives constituted an important ingredient in the diet of the ancient Greeks. It has been suggested that a wealthy household would consume approximately 200–330 kg of olive oil per year. It had many uses, and in antiquity it was considered to be a "luxury product". It was first used as a perfume or as an essential substance in the production of perfumes and ointments for bodily care, probably because of its therapeutic and cleansing qualities. It was also often used as a means to heal maladies; Hippocrates, the father of medicine, suggested more than 60 uses of olive oil for healing purposes. From the 6th century BC onwards, olive oil was introduced to food and acquired great economic significance. At around the same time it was also increasingly used for lighting. Olive wood was employed for building and in the making of various artefacts. Occasionally olive kernels and wood were also used as fuel.

The olive tree is evergreen and is characterized by its longevity and durability. These three distinct characteristics earned it a central position in Greek religion. Moreover, its sacred symbolism was derived from the great economic importance of its fruits and their products. It is for this reason that the olive tree was considered to be the sacred tree of the goddess of wisdom, Athena, who was said to have created it on the Acropolis in her contest with the sea god Poseidon for the control of Attica. The olive branch was a symbol of peace and victory and at the Olympic Games olive wreaths adorned the heads of victors. Similarly, olive oil was given as a prize to the victorious athletes at the Panathenaic Games. Because of its

Olive: range of varieties for sale in an Athens market. The olive remains the most enduring material ingredient of Greek culture.

symbolic value olive oil was frequently also used for ritual purposes. It was used to smear bodies before burial, offered in the form of libation to the dead and the gods, and fed the lamps in the temples.

The uses of olive oil in the Orthodox Christian tradition were not new inventions, but they reflected these ancient and solidly consolidated practices. Its symbolism was enhanced by the similarity of the Greek word for oil – *elaion* – to *eleos*, meaning "mercy". It thus symbolized God's mercy and grace and was used in the sacrament of unction for the anointing of the sick and for the forgiveness of sins. In liturgical practice oil was used for various kinds of anointing. It is the basic substance of the "chrism" used in baptism, confirmation, and holy orders. From the 7th century onwards coronation ceremonies involved anointing with oil. Olive oil is also used for the oil lamps that burn in front of icons, and many Greek Orthodox today, seeking miraculous healing, use this sanctified oil to anoint themselves. Due to its association with the strengthening of the body, in strict periods of fasting the Greek Orthodox abstain from oil, but not from olives, which are probably one of the most widely consumed food substances during fasts. Finally, olive oil of the best quality is often offered by the faithful to the church as a gift to the saints and to God.

According to historians, in the 12th century more olives were produced in the southern Peloponnese than anywhere else in the world. In the late Middle Ages, however, there is evidence that the systematic cultivation of olive trees was restricted, particularly in the main olive-producing areas of Greece, such as Crete. This was probably due to the unstable political and socioeconomic conditions, and to the prevalence of cereal and vine cultivation. Moreover, the development of stock raising in this period resulted in the replacement of olive oil by pig fat in food and in lighting.

During the period of Ottoman rule, expropriation of land and high taxes prevented any increase in the production of olive oil. It still remained a luxury product because of its high price, and its consumption was governed by strict economic restrictions, reflecting the social divisions of the day. By contrast, raw olives with bread occupied a central place in the nutritional diet of peasants, farm labourers, and of the poorer and middle classes of the Greek urban population.

The olive fruit and olive oil became important factors for the economic development of the newly founded Greek state. Olive groves owned by Turks passed to state ownership and, eventually, to private ownership for a price. Thus in the 19th and 20th centuries there was a noticeable rise in olive plantings and increased production of olives and olive oil. From that time onwards, olive cultivation became one of the most significant sources of income from the agricultural sector of the Greek economy. Just before World War II modern oil-processing factories were installed, which not only resulted in increased production of oil for domestic consumption but also for exports.

Olive trees with vines and citrus trees provide the arboricultural character of Greece today. Olive groves exist in most parts of Greece, since the trees can be grown in poor soil and on rocky terrain with little irrigation. The warmer and drier areas favour the production of olive oil, while the cooler areas favour the production of raw olives. Olives cover 17 per cent of the Greek cultivated land. There are more than 120 million olive trees, of which 95 million are used for the production of oil. The average annual production of olive oil is 250,000 tons. Crete produces the greatest quantity of olive oil (30 per cent), followed by the Peloponnese (26 per cent), Lesbos (10 per cent), and the Ionian islands (8 per cent); 450,000 Greek families are engaged in olive cultivation and the average annual consumption of olive oil is 18.5 kg per head, the greatest in Europe.

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See also Agriculture

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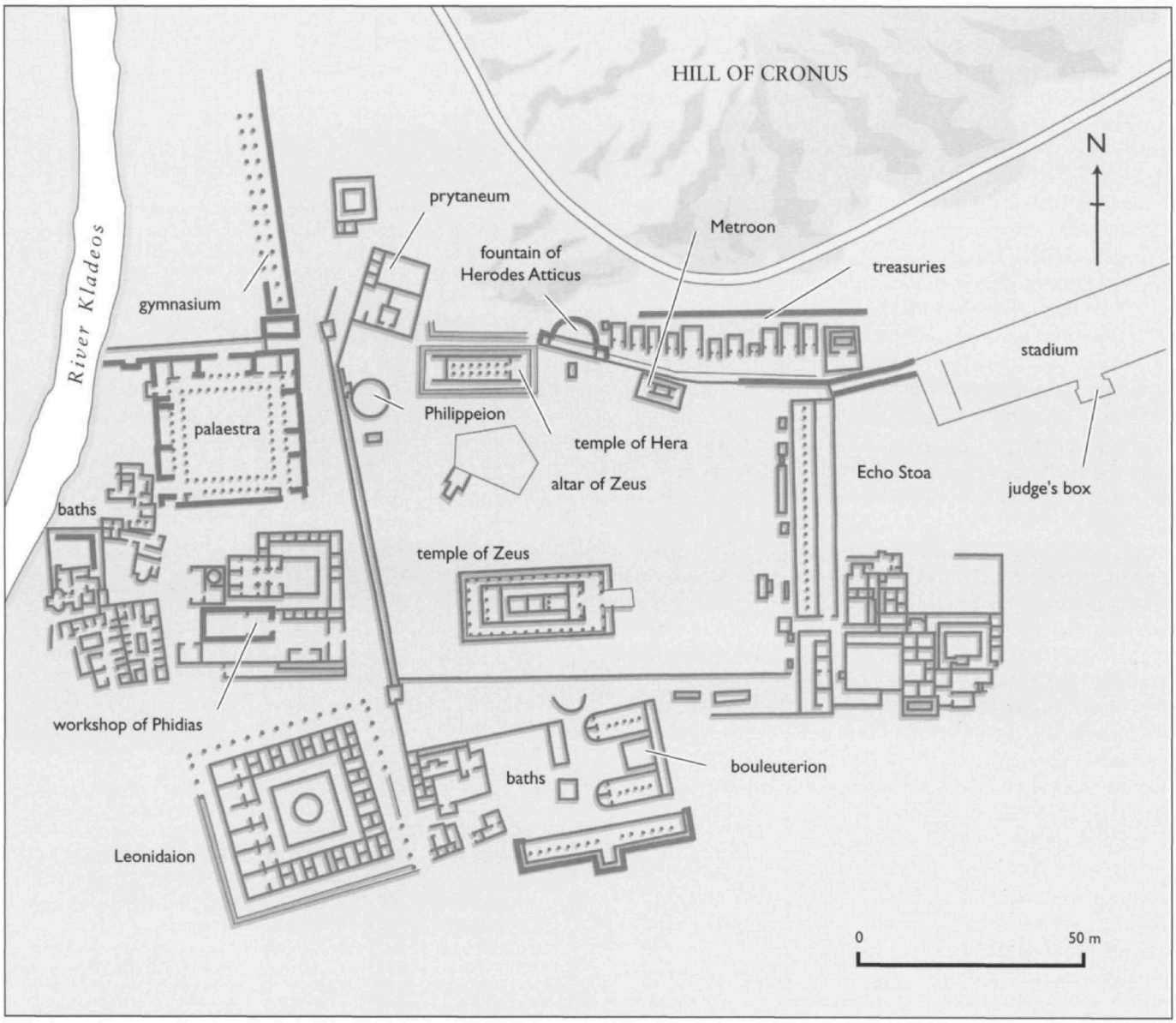
Olympia

Sanctuary in the Peloponnese

Olympia is situated in a valley at the confluence of the Alpheus and Cladeus rivers in Elis in the northwest of the Peloponnese. It attracted not only pilgrims and athletes to the sanctuary, but developed into a kind of fairground for traders, artists, and literary figures. Olympia at the time of the festival was said to be crowded, hot, noisy, and full of flies. There was a taboo against females, certainly married women, from participating in the festival. Girls, however, had their own festival there called the Heraia. The importance of Olympia, an otherwise insignificant place, may lie in its association with the cult of Zeus. Strabo also records that its reputation came from its oracle of the Earth Goddess.

The site was not identified during the Middle Ages, but was discovered by Chandler in 1766, albeit covered with some 4 m of alluvium from the changing courses of the rivers. French archaeologists under Maison started digging in 1829 and removed to the Louvre some of the metopes from the temple of Zeus. The later school of German archaeologists to work on



27. Olympia

this site include Curtius, Dörpfeld, Furtwängler, Kunze, Mallwitz, and Sinn. Many recent discoveries are changing traditional ideas about Olympia, especially dating.

The traditional belief is that there are Mycenaean remains as early as 1500 BC, that the first shrine to Zeus was built about 1000 BC, that athletics were first recorded in 776 BC, and that the games ended in AD 393 with the edict of the Christian emperor Theodosius I. Mallwitz, however, has argued that there is no convincing evidence for a Mycenaean sanctuary, but that Olympia became a sanctuary first in the 9th or 8th century BC and that athletics came later. The foundation date of 776 BC for the games is derived from the lost victory list of Hippias of Elis, but the archaeological evidence of the site, especially the appearance of wells in the eastern part near the stadium at the end of the 8th century BC, may point to a date closer to 700 BC. Recent inscriptions with the names of victors show that the games were still going strong in the 3rd and 4th centuries AD. Coins and other finds in the stadium seem to suggest that the games extended for at least a century longer than the traditional closing of AD 393, and that Christianity, far from destroying pagan cults, existed side by side with them.

The Altis was the walled, sacred area, a grove consisting largely of plane and olive trees. The chief shrine there was the great altar of Zeus, said to be 7 m high, but Olympia was not dedicated to Zeus alone, for Pausanias (5. 14. 4–10) records more than 70 altars in the Altis, although most of them are not directly connected to Zeus and the games, and very few of them can be located with any accuracy. The oldest shrine was that of Pelops. The major buildings in the historical period included the temple of Zeus, the temple of Hera, the precinct of the Earth Goddess, the precinct of Pelops, and the 12 treasuries, which were used by the city states as "bank vaults" and for the display of wealth. Outside the Altis *inter alia* were the council chamber for the Hellanodikai (officials and judges), the workshop of Phidias, and primitive bathing places. In the 4th century BC were added the Metroon, the Echo portico separat-

ing the Altis from the stadium, the Phillipeion erected by Philip II of Macedon (showing the political importance of Olympia), and outside the Altis the Leonidaion (the guest house) and southern portico. In the Hellenistic period the triumphal archway into the stadium from the Altis was built. Several baths date from the Roman period, as the site became more developed. A good water system was made possible by Herodes Atticus in the 2nd century AD with the construction of the monumental fountain known as the nymphaeum. A Christian basilica was built on the foundations of the workshop of Phidias. Other buildings are being discovered including the clubhouse in the southwestern corner of the site. The Altis was also used as a "Hall of Fame", where victorious athletes were allowed to set up statues of themselves. Bases of statues of Zeus (Zanes) were erected at the foot of the Hill of Cronus at the expense of athletes who had cheated.

Traces of three stadia remain to the east of the Altis on approximately the same site, a flat area at the foot of the Hill of Cronus. Stadium I was partly within the Altis and dates from the Archaic period, though little is known about it. Stadium II, dating from the late 6th century BC, had artificial embankments for spectators on the north and south. Stadium III was more elaborate and was located about 75 m to the east with additional embankments on the east and west together with a judges' box. The altar of Demeter can still be seen in the stadium. The palaestra and gymnasium were added in the Hellenistic period, but it has recently been suggested that the gymnasium was used not for athletic training, but for cultural purposes. Nothing remains of the hippodrome, although its location between the stadium and the Alpheus river, the elaborate starting device in the shape of the prow of a ship, and other features are known from Pausanias (6. 20. 10–19).

The most famous work of art, the monumental statue of *Zeus* (more than 13 m high) was made of gold and ivory by Phidias, and was considered one of the seven wonders of the ancient world. It stood in the entrance to the Doric temple of Zeus built by Libon, but no longer survives, having been transported to Constantinople in the 4th century AD, where it was destroyed by fire. The museum sculptures include the pediments and metopes of the temple of Zeus, the colossal head of Hera, the *Nike* of Paeonius, the *Hermes* of Praxiteles, clay sculptures of the head of Athena and of Ganymede and Zeus, thousands of bronze statuettes, bronze sheets with reliefs, and various bronze weapons, architectural bronzes, and tripods (the most common votive offering at Olympia).

Olympia was partly destroyed by the invasion of the Heruli in the 3rd century AD and the later invasions of the Slavs. An earthquake in the 6th century destroyed the temple of Zeus and other buildings. The changing courses of the Alpheus and Cladeus have covered parts of the site, especially the hippodrome (still unexcavated). Today Olympia is a tourist attraction, with a museum area (originally founded in 1886, but now a modern building). The stadium, as we now see it, is based on the stadium as it was thought to be in the 2nd century AD, with start and finish lines visible about 200 m apart. It remains unimpressive to look at (by comparison with the stadium at Delphi) with grassy banks, dusty track, and no seats for spectators (as it probably was originally), and is totally unsuitable for modern sports. For every modern Olympiad the Olympic torch is ritually lit at the site of ancient Olympia.

NIGEL B. CROWTHER

See also Olympic Games

Summary

Located in the northwestern Peloponnese, Olympia is associated with the cult of Zeus. It probably first became a sanctuary in the 9th or 8th century BC. The festival of athletics (traditionally dated to 776 BC) may not have begun much before 700. Finds suggest that it continued well into the 5th century AD (beyond the traditional closing date of AD 393). Many buildings were destroyed by earthquake in the 6th century AD.

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Olympic Games

The Olympic Games were the principal athletic games in the ancient world. First recorded in 776 BC, they were banned in

AD 393, but survived in some form until the early 6th century, and were revived as a global event in 1896.

Greek myth attributes the establishment of the Olympic Games to the Idaean Dactyls, the iron-working attendants of the mother goddess Adrasteia who are identified with the guardians of the infant Zeus, to Heracles, and to Pelops in celebration of his conquest of Oenomaus in a chariot race. The traditional date for their establishment in 776 BC may, therefore, indicate merely a revival, but nothing is known of their possible earlier history. They were held at Olympia, a sanctuary named for the presiding deity Zeus Olympios (i.e. of Mount Olympus). Although there is evidence at Olympia, in the western Peloponnese, for habitation from the Early Helladic period, in the Archaic, Classical, Hellenistic, and Roman periods it was only a sacred site (the altis) with an associated stadium and an increasing number of buildings for administration, training, and lodging. It was first under local Pisatan and from *c.*470 BC under Elean control.

In 776 BC the games consisted of no more than the stade race with athletes drawn from the surrounding area, the inaugural winner being traditionally a local baker, Coroebus. Other athletic events were added in the late 8th century BC, equestrian and boys' events in the 7th century BC, and further additions followed, including competitions for trumpeters and heralds in 396 BC. Many of the early victors were Spartan, but by the 6th century BC the games were truly Panhellenic, competitors travelling from all the Greek-speaking areas of the world and especially from southern Italy and Sicily. The games grew also in duration, from one day to six days in the Classical period. During the Hellenistic period there was no lessening of popularity, as Hellenistic monarchs vied with each other to add new buildings. Although the Roman conquest initially involved a vast diminution in the games' prestige, they now become open to at least some non-Greeks (the last known victor, of boxing in AD 369, was Varazdates, the crown prince of Armenia). In the late 1st century BC, however, king Herod of Judaea became president of the games and by a huge endowment encouraged a revival that was continued by subsequent imperial patronage: Augustus' right-hand man Agrippa repaired the temple of Zeus and both Tiberius and Germanicus won chariot races, while at games postponed for his own convenience (held probably in AD 67) Nero competed in and fraudulently won various events (including chariot racing and some unique musical and literary competitions). Still very popular in the 2nd century AD, the games suffered during the uncertainty of the following century and the sanctuary had to be fortified *c.* AD 268 because of the threat of the marauding Heruli. Held every four years without intermission from 776 BC until AD 261, they may possibly have been held only sporadically thereafter. Despite St Paul's enthusiasm for athletics, the games' combination of nudity and paganism must have made the growing number of Christians agree with the words of St Cyprian: "True Christians must shun with eyes and ears those vapid, dangerous, tasteless performances." They certainly would have come under the ban of the edict of Theodosius I in AD 393 that closed pagan cults and sites, but archaeological evidence suggests use of the stadium at Olympia until the early 6th century, and in some form they continued at Daphne, near Antioch, until AD 521.

Through most of their history they were the premier athletic festival. Next in rank were the Pythian Games, held quadrennially at Delphi in honour of Apollo and including many musical competitions, and the other two "crown games", the Nemean and the Isthmian, both held biennially in honour of Zeus and Poseidon respectively. The Olympic Games furthermore served as a model for many other festivals, some of which proudly proclaimed themselves "isolympic".

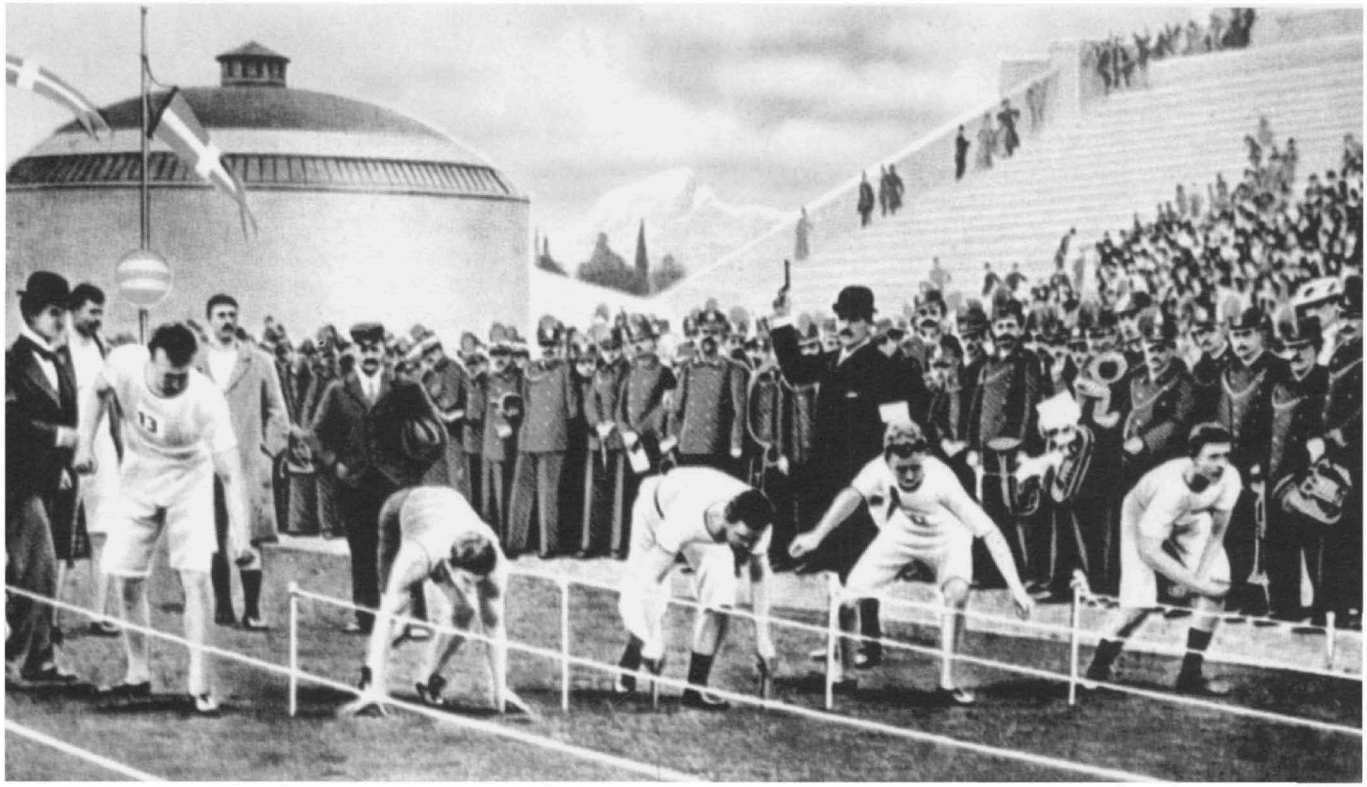
In the Classical period the first day of the celebrations was probably devoted to sacrifices, prayers, oath taking, and the checking of qualifications. Competition began on the second day. The sacrifice of 100 oxen (hecatomb) was the religious highlight of the third day, and the sixth day ended with further sacrifices and a celebratory banquet for the victors. In addition to the athletic competitions the festival gave visitors a huge fair with a wide array of entertainers, hucksters, and pickpockets.

Before the games Elean heralds proclaimed the Olympic Truce: this demanded safe conduct for all competitors and spectators travelling to and from Olympia and forbade any state to make war against the Eleans. Politics did, however, still intrude into the games, as Pheidon, tyrant of Argos, temporarily took over their organization in the early 7th century BC, and the Spartans turned the celebration of 428 BC into an anti-Athenian demonstration, while being themselves debarred from participation in 420 BC for their refusal to pay the fine imposed by Olympic law for attacking an Elean fortress.

Women, but according to Pausanias not girls, were banned even as spectators since athletes competed nude (there were separate games for girls held at Olympia in honour of Hera, but documentation is sparse). Athletes were required to train at home for at least ten months prior to the games, and during the 30 days of practising at Elis the poorest were weeded out by the judges since only the best would not do dishonour to Zeus. Judges were all Pisatan and later Elean and famous for their impartiality. Infringements of the rules for events resulted in beatings on the spot, disqualifications, and fines, the last of which were spent on statues (*Zanes*) erected in the sanctuary to give warning to others. Although prizes were merely garlands of wild olive, victors were generally richly rewarded by their home states. Since they could also win valuable prizes in kind and, increasingly in the Hellenistic period, monetary prizes at minor festivals, many were undoubtedly professional. Paid trainers became common from the 5th century BC and by *c.*50 BC athletes had formed their own trade union.

With the publication by the historian Timaeus, *c.*300 BC, of a synchronic list of Olympic victors (*Olympionikai*) the practice arose of dating other events by the Olympic quadrennia, Eratosthenes adding the refinement of subdivision into individual years (e.g. summer 774 to summer 773 BC is the third year of the first Olympiad). Despite problems of equating this system with the bewildering variety of other dating systems known in the Classical world, it survived well into the Byzantine period.

The first modern figure interested in a revival of the ancient games seems to have been Gustav Schartau, who held the *Jeux Olympiques Scandinaves* in Sweden in 1834 and 1836, but these were for winter sports. More serious revivals began in England and Greece. William Penny Brookes, a physician of Much Wenlock in Shropshire, established in 1850 his Annual Wenlock Olympian Games, which have since been held most years up to the present. These emphasized athletic events, but included also other games such as cricket, association football,



Olympic Games: starting line of the 100 m sprint at the first modern Olympic Games, Athens, 1896

and quoits. Other Olympic Games sprang up in imitation elsewhere in England (four already by 1870). In Greece the poet Panagiotis Soutsos first suggested a revival in 1835, but it was not until 1859 that, with money from the millionaire Evangelis Zappas, his efforts reached fruition in Panhellenic games which were held in what is now Athens' Plateia Koumoundourou; and even then governmental interference resulted in athletics being overshadowed by displays of industry, agriculture, and animal husbandry. The Zappas Games were held sporadically until 1889.

International Olympic Games are due to the vision of the Frenchman, Pierre, Baron de Coubertin. His original impulse came from reading Thomas Hughes's *Tom Brown's School Days* in 1875 and Hippolyte Taine's *Notes sur l'Angleterre*, whose remarks on English education suggested to him that an introduction of ball-games into the French educational system might enable the youth of his country to compete with the Prussians, who had made *Turnen* (gymnastics) a vital part of their curriculum. Becoming less chauvinistic, being increasingly in touch with Brookes, and, ironically, being inspired by the German excavations of ancient Olympia between 1875 and 1881, he conceived the idea of Olympic Games with athletics at their centre being held every four years, as in antiquity, but open to nationals of every country and held at different sites to promote the idea of world peace. In June 1894 he convened an international congress in Paris, at which the body that came to be the International Olympic Committee (IOC) was formed, under the presidency of the Greek Demetrios Vikelas, and the decision taken (after, it seems, some clandestine negotiations) to hold the first modern Olympic Games in 1896 at Athens (instead of London, the choice of the majority of delegates). The games were duly held in the ancient and now reconstructed Panathenaic Stadium, but, eschewing a mere antiquarian revival, they included such events as cycling, fencing, and lawn tennis and rewarded with medals the first three competitors rather than, with a vegetal crown, only the winner.

Summer games have been held quadrennially since 1896, but, unlike in antiquity, there have already been cancellations due to war (3 out of the first 13, which have, however, all been counted in the numbering of the Olympiads). Figure skating featured in the games of 1908 and various winter sports events were held in 1920, though not sanctioned by the IOC, but from 1924 to 1992 official winter games were held quadrennially (apart from the cancelled celebrations of 1940 and 1944) in the same year as the summer games: thereafter winter games were held in 1994 and 1998 and have been scheduled to take place in the future quadrennially between the summer games. Equestrian events have been part of the summer games in 1900 and since 1912, but in 1956 were held separately (at Stockholm rather than Melbourne). From 1912 to 1948 medals were awarded for different categories of architecture, literature, music, painting, sculpture, and even "Merit for Aeronautics" (one gold) and "Merit for Alpinism" (three gold). Although women first competed when a Greek unofficially joined the marathon for most of its course in 1896, they did not appear in appreciable numbers until the 1920s, partly because of de Coubertin who claimed, as late as 1935, that "their role should be chiefly, as in the ancient games, to crown the victors". About 245 representatives from 14 nations took part at Athens in 1896, since when numbers have grown, to more than 10,000 from 197 nations in 1996. Britain is the only

country that has not failed to send representatives to all the modern Olympic Games, including the irregular ones, since 1896 (Greeks did not participate in the winter games until 1936). The exclusion of professional athletes began to break down in 1962. Its practice had been due to both the mores of the times and the misconception that all ancient Olympic athletes had been amateurs.

All events at the first celebration in Athens were individual except for tennis doubles and gymnastic "teams" (rowing was cancelled due to rough seas), but association football, cricket, croquet, polo, rugby union, water polo, and the tug-of-war were introduced in 1900. Thereafter many sports and events have been included, as part of the official programme and as "exhibition sports", and many have been discontinued. Achievements by Greek nationals have been modest. With the exclusion of the poorly attended intercalated games at Athens in 1906, Greeks had won up to 1998 a total of 21 gold (including one in sculpture) and 60 other medals. Of these only one, a gold, has been won by a woman and none at the winter games.

The only ceremonial features of the modern games to have any ancient forerunners are the Olympic oath and flame. The latter is a deliberate reminiscence of the flame on the altar of Zeus that burned during the ancient festival and of ancient torch-relays, which were in fact more cultic than sporting: it was introduced in 1928 and first kindled at Olympia and brought to the site of the games by a relay of runners in 1936. De Coubertin is responsible for establishing the Olympic motto, creed, flag, and oath. The motto, "citius, altius, fortius" ("faster, higher, and more strongly"), he adopted from a Parisian schoolmaster, Father Didon, in one of whose schools the words are inscribed over the main entrance. The creed, emphasizing, in complete contrast to the ancient Greeks, that participation is more important than victory, de Coubertin claimed came from a sermon by Ethelbert Talbot, bishop of Central Pennsylvania, that was delivered in St Paul's Cathedral at the time of the games in 1908, but its wording is more probably the baron's own remembrance of a passage in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (9. 5–6), whose context is erotic. The flag with its five interlocking rings dates from 1914 and was probably inspired by the two rings that symbolized the union of two French athletic associations: de Coubertin intended the six colours to represent the flags of the nations that had competed in the five games so far held (this, rather than continents, probably explains also the number of rings). The oath was devised by de Coubertin for the games in 1920.

Among the incalculable influences of the Greeks in the modern world the Olympic Games are probably the one of which the general public is the most aware.

A.R. LITTLEWOOD

See also Olympia, Games and Sports

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Olympus, Mount

Mountain in Thessaly

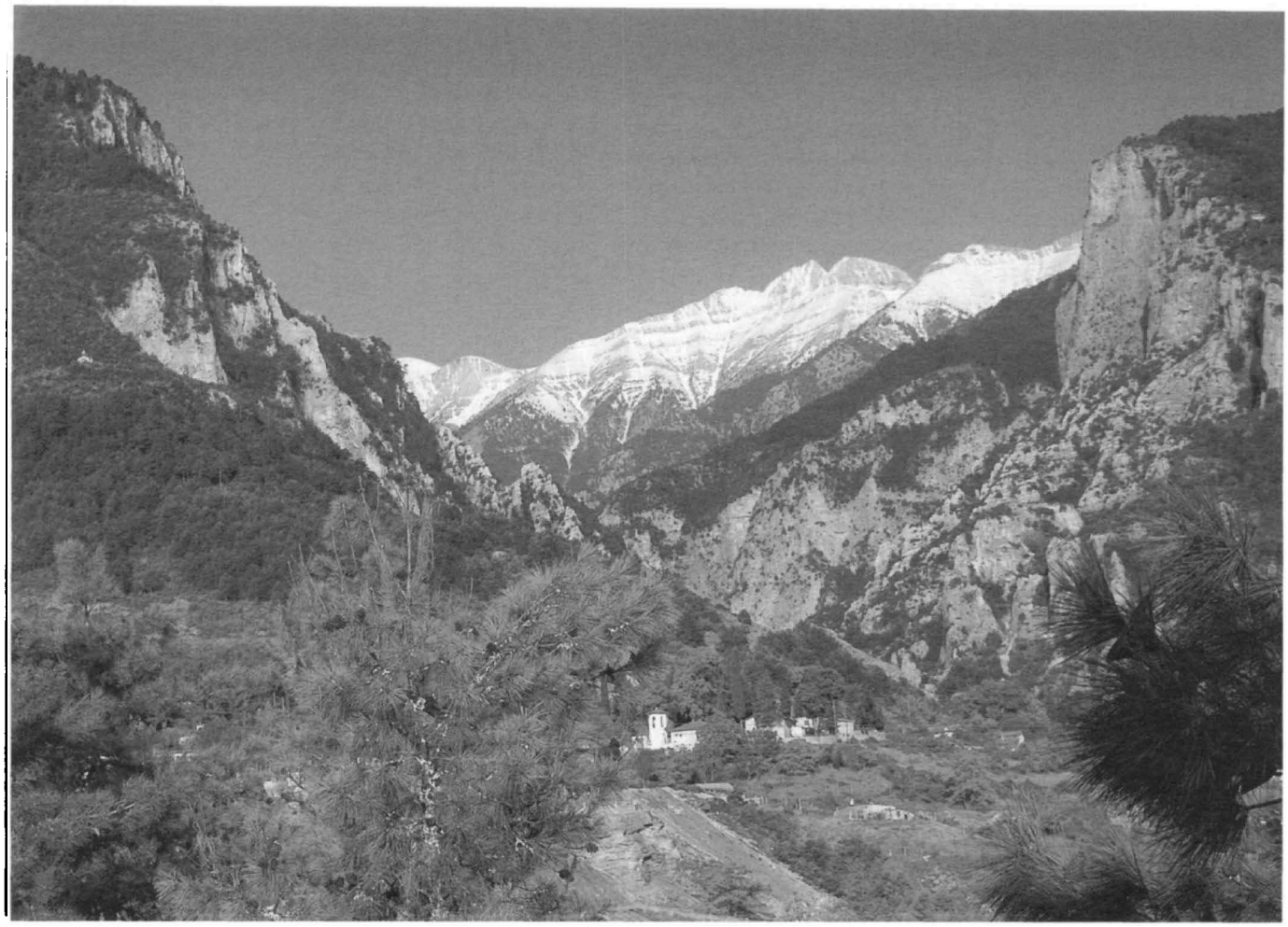
Olympus is the highest mountain in Greece and the second highest in the Balkan peninsula. It bears the ancient name "Thessalian Olympus" and is the deified mountain bridging Thessaly and Macedonia. It occupies the northeastern part of Thessaly and the southwestern end of central Macedonia, and straddles the boundaries of the counties of Larissa (province of Elasson) and Pieria. The mountain is shaped like a vault, having at its peak a plateau, from which other peaks rise by more than 2500 m. Above a gorge, some 600 m deep, the peaks rise of Mytikas or Pantheon (2,917 m), Stefani or the Throne of Zeus (2,909 m), Skala (2,866 m), and Scholio (2,911 m), forming a semicircle.

Olympus is a large mountain covering a relatively small area. Its width from east to west is no more than 25 km, from north to south 28.5 km, its perimeter 150 km, and its area 500 sq km. It is distinguished by its pointed peaks, its lengthy ridges, and its steep slopes that are traversed by deep gorges. Its main body, known as High or Upper Olympus, is distinguished from Lower Olympus (of which some specialists consider it to be a part) by the stream of Ziliana, the plain of Carya, and the river Elassonitiko.

The rock consists mainly of limestones and dolomites. From the streams that run down the mountain slopes only one has water throughout the year, the river Enipeas that passes through Litochoro; the rest are seasonal. The vegetation is limited. Typically alpine at 2,000 m and above, the lower zone is covered by forests, which in the higher regions consist of fir trees and in the lower of pines. The eastern side has more forests than the western. More than 1,700 plants have been registered in the area, i.e. about 25 per cent of the entire Greek flora. The fauna does not present any particular features. Some 32 different species of mammals have been identified as well as 108 bird species, while the mountain is famous for its many kinds of butterflies. In antiquity Pausanias reported the existence of lions on Olympus.

The climatic conditions are highly variable. At the foot of the mountain the climate is typically Mediterranean, while the northern and eastern slopes have greater rainfall. Average temperatures range from 0° to 20° C in the summer, and in the winter from -20° to +10° C. The mountain is covered by snow for about seven months of the year, usually from November to May.

Historically Olympus has been the target of various expeditions and was known as an ideal place for hunting (e.g. by



Mount Olympus, with several peaks over 2900m, is the highest mountain in Greece, seen here from the east

Sultan Mehmet IV). The botanists Theodor von Heldreich and Theodoros Orphanidis carried out a great deal of research on Olympus in the 19th century, while one ambitious expedition was undertaken by the German geographer H. Barth. In 1937 the first National Greek Forest Area was established on Olympus in order to protect the geomorphology, the fauna, and the flora of the mountain. Since 1981 this protected area has been incorporated in the "Programme on Man and the Biosphere" of UNESCO.

In ancient Greek mythology Olympus was considered to be the sacred mountain of Greece. After the victory of Zeus over the Titans, it came under the control of Zeus and became the home of the Olympian gods. Zeus' throne was believed to be at the highest peak, while the other gods resided on the surrounding ones. The mountain was also connected with Orpheus, who taught the Orphic mysteries and died there. It was also dedicated to the Olympian or Pierian Muses.

The name "Olympus" appears for the first time in the Orphic texts and is subsequently mentioned as such by all ancient Greek writers. It is generally held to be derived from a name used by the Aeolians, who lived on the western and southern shores of Asia Minor, and dates back to 1800 BC. The etymology of the word is uncertain.

Olympus was of great symbolic importance to the ancient Greeks. As the home of the gods, it symbolized immortality, high honour, and ideals. The epithet "Olympian" was given primarily to Zeus and thus signified grandeur and godliness. It occupied a central position in ancient Greek religion and cosmology, was connected with a specific philosophical world-view and attitude towards the world. The Olympian gods were the symbols of a particular *Weltanschauung*, which permeated ancient Greek culture as a whole. It is no wonder that, according to one view, while Delphi represented the *omphalos* (navel) of the earth, Olympus constituted its head (= mind).

In historical times the regions around Olympus were populated by various Greek tribes. Its mountainous routes were of the utmost importance during military expeditions, ranging from the period of the Persian Wars to the Roman conquest of Greece. At the foot of the mountain several significant cities were founded, including Dion and Pythion. The first human settlement on Olympus must have been established around 1000 BC near Hagios Vasileios and Mesonisi, where several tombs have been uncovered dating from 1000 to 700 BC. Further archaeological excavations and topographical research have unearthed numerous inscriptions, coins, and artefacts from various historical periods that point to relations with both Thessaly and Macedonia.

The great mythical value of Olympus has left an indelible impact upon the popular consciousness of the Greeks, who still consider it a majestic place. Olympus is also considered the

focal point at which ancient Greece meets modern Hellenism. Many legends have been created about the peak of Olympus touching the sky and therefore the divine. Numerous popular songs have been composed praising the mountain. Under Ottoman rule Olympus became the hiding place of many klephts and *armatoloi* and was extolled in demotic traditions. During the Greek War of Independence it was also a place where various military operations took place.

The location of Olympus almost at the centre of Greece has created an idiosyncratic system of socio-economic dependences. Up to the beginning of the 18th century its position in the economic life of the country was of no particular importance, but under later Ottoman rule it functioned as the guardian of Greek sociocultural traditions that remained untouched by foreign influences. While many villages have been depopulated due to the unfavourable conditions obtaining in the Greek countryside, the villages on or around Olympus retained their populations because of the various economic opportunities on the mountain. From the latter half of the 18th century onwards, there was a noticeable economic development in the area, due to the establishment of commercial ties between Thessaly and the greater Balkan area as well as Central Europe, which transformed the inhabitants of Olympus into the main bearers of commerce in central Greece. This financial prosperity went hand in hand with significant cultural developments, since many schools, libraries, wealthy mansions, churches, and monasteries were established around the mountain. Even today the greater Olympus area remains an important centre of various economic and cultural activities, and therefore a considerable tourist attraction.

NEKTARIOS DROSOS

Summary

The highest mountain in Greece (2917 m), Olympus lies on the borders of Thessaly and Macedonia. In mythology it was the home of the gods, and Zeus occupied the highest peak. It still has many legendary associations. During the Tourkokratia it preserved many Greek cultural traditions. In the War of Independence it was a focal point for banditry.

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Olynthus

City in Chalcidice

Olynthus was located at the head of the Cassandra gulf on the Chalcidice peninsula, approximately 4 km inland from the sea. It was built on two flat-topped hills rising about 30–40 m above the surrounding plain. According to mythology, the city was named after Olynthus, a son of Heracles and Volve. Another myth refers to Olynthus as a son of the king of Thrace, Strymonas, who was killed during a lion hunt. Thus, Vraggas built the city of Olynthus to honour his brother's memory. The ending of the word Olynthus implies a pre-Hellenic provenance for it. Although the location of the city has been known since the 19th century, it was in the 1920s and 1930s that extensive excavations were carried out by the American Archaeological Mission led by David M. Robinson. The destruction of Olynthus in the mid-4th century BC has preserved a full ground plan as well as individual details of housing, providing unique information for the Classical Greek city.

In the Neolithic period a small settlement was established on the south hill of Olynthus, but Bronze Age remains are lacking. Occupation begins in about the 7th century BC. Herodotus (8. 127) and Thucydides (2. 99) reported that around 650 BC the district was inhabited by the Bottiaeans, a Thracian tribe, under whose rule the city of Olynthus remained until 479 BC. Together with other towns in the area, Olynthus supplied troops and ships to Xerxes in 480 BC, while during the Persian retreat from Greece (479 BC) Artabazus besieged and captured the city, suspecting a revolt. He then slaughtered its inhabitants and handed Olynthus over to Critobulus of Torone. Around that time new settlers from nearby Chalcidian communities immigrated to Olynthus, which thus became a Chalcidian city.

By the mid-5th century BC Olynthus was a relatively small city. As a member of the Delian League, it paid on average 2 talents of tribute from 454 to 432 BC, much less than other neighbouring Chalcidian cities (e.g. Scione paid 9, Mende paid 8, Torone paid 6). The archaeological remains from this period down to the last third of the 5th century BC are exclusively concentrated on the south hill. Two streets ran roughly north–south along the east and west sides of the hill separated from the brow by one or two rows of rooms. Two cross-streets running east–west have also been excavated, while public buildings were located at the north end of the hill. Moreover, a section of the fortification wall was uncovered in this area.

In 432 BC, facing Athenian aggression, Perdiccas, king of Macedonia, persuaded the inhabitants of a number of coastal Chalcidian cities to move inland to Olynthus and to form a single fortified city (Thucydides, 1. 58). This moving up (*anoikismos*) is thought to have given the impetus for the expansion of the old city of Olynthus to the flat-topped hill to the north, and for the laying out of a new grid-planned section of the city there. Olynthus thus became the chief city west of the Strymon and revolted against Athens.

The north hill was not inhabited until the *anoikismos* of 432 BC. This area, measuring 600 × 350 m, was laid out on an orthogonal plan, according to the Hippodamian town-planning system, with a few irregularities. Seven parallel "avenues"

5–7 m wide, running from north to south, were traversed by streets 5 m wide. Each of the blocks thus formed was 35.40 ¥ 86.34 m and usually included ten houses, grouped in two rows of five separated by a narrow alley. On the east side of the hill, however, the blocks were shortened to allow the roads to follow the topography of the hill.

The population of Olynthus numbered 15,000 inhabitants at the end of the 5th century BC. The houses at Olynthus, sometimes two-storeyed, were grouped around an open courtyard, with rooms on two or more sides. As in most ancient Greek houses, the courtyard was located in the southern part of the house with the portico and the main rooms to the north. The rooms had earth floors, unplastered walls, and very few or no features specifying their function. The houses at Olynthus are modest, lacking large common areas; exceptional are a few "villas" with mosaic floors which stood on the southeast slope of the hill (e.g. the Villa of Good Fortune, the House of the Comedian). Public buildings have been excavated both on the south and the north hills. The agora (marketplace) of Olynthus was located on the west side of the north hill and consisted of an open plaza (85 × 130 m), a stoa with shops, a building with a central colonnade (*bouleuterion*), and a fountain house. The three cemeteries of Olynthus were situated outside the city walls.

The city was fortified by a brick wall against which the first row of houses rested. Originally the city wall followed the contour of the hill. However, during the course of the 4th century BC, the city expanded to the east, creating a new suburb down on the plain. The agora occupied a free space where the old and the new settlements met.

The establishment of the Chalcidian League – a political union of certain cities of Chalcidice under the leadership of Olynthus – in 423 BC contributed substantially to the further development of the city. Following the end of the Peloponnesian War the development of the league was rapid. Around 390 BC it concluded a treaty with Amyntas, king of Macedonia, and by 382 it had extended its domination over the majority of Greek cities west of the Strymon and had even taken possession of Pella (Xenophon, *Hellenica*, 5. 2. 12). The league also issued its own coinage. In 382 BC Sparta was persuaded by an embassy from Acanthus and Apollonia, which was threatened by the rapid growth of the league, to send an expedition against Olynthus. Three years later (379 BC) the Lacedaemonians invaded Olynthus and the confederacy was dissolved. After the demise of Sparta, however, Olynthus re-established a league with 32 cities and became very powerful.

When the war between Athens and Philip II broke out in 357 BC, both powers sued for alliance with the league. Olynthus was at first in alliance with Philip, who offered the fertile region of Mygdonia as well as Potidaea to the Chalcidian League (356 BC). Subsequently, alarmed at the growth of his power, the Olynthians dissolved their alliance with the Macedonians and concluded an alliance with Athens (352 BC). Philip used as a pretext the Olynthians' refusal to hand over his brothers Arrhidaeus and Menelaus, who had taken refuge in their city, and razed Olynthus to the ground and sold the people into slavery for having broken their oath as his allies (348 BC). Demosthenes, the Athenian orator, delivered three Olynthiac speeches, urging Athens to send forces to protect Chalcidice. By the time the Athenian fleet reached Chalcidice, Olynthus and other cities of the Chalcidian League were being besieged. Olynthus was partially reoccupied after 348 BC, but a few years later most of the survivors were sent by Cassander to settle in Cassandreia in 315 BC.

ELENI ZIMI

Summary

A city in Chalcidice about 4 km from the sea, Olynthus was occupied from the 7th century BC and was ruled by the Bottiaeans until 479 BC. Its inhabitants were slain by the retreating Persians and the city was resettled as a Chalcidian colony and member of the Delian League. Perdiccas of Macedon in 432 BC persuaded the inhabitants of several neighbouring towns to move to Olynthus, thus increasing its size. From 423 it headed the Chalcidian League. In 348 BC it was destroyed by Philip II.

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Onassis, Aristotle 1900 (or 1906)–1975

Shipowner

Aristotle Onassis is the most famous Greek shipowner of the 20th century. His name is synonymous with fame, wealth, and success; he is the archetype of the cosmopolitan, self-made, and talented entrepreneur. During the years when he dominated world shipping, from the mid-1940s to the mid-1970s, Onassis was a focus of publicity, often extravagantly presented by the world's mass media. His exuberant personality rendered him highly popular, a popularity that stemmed not only from his successful entrepreneurial activity, but also from his intense and glamorous private life.

Onassis was born the son of a tobacco merchant in the prosperous and cosmopolitan Greek community of Smyrna either in 1900 or 1906. The destruction of the city in September 1922 after the unsuccessful campaign of Greek forces in Asia Minor brought him to Greece along with hundreds of thousands of Greek refugees from the Ottoman lands. He stayed only one year in Athens before he followed the immigrant wave from the eastern Mediterranean to South America. Arriving in Argentina in 1923, he initially worked there as a telephone operator. His first business activity was related to his family business, and very soon he was importing tobacco from Greece; at the same time, he expanded his business in Buenos Aires, and soon produced cigarettes for women. Within a

decade he had accumulated enough capital to turn, in 1933, to shipping, an entrepreneurial interest that lasted until his death.

When Onassis bought his first two steamships from the London office of the Dracoulis brothers, world shipping (and consequently ship prices) were at rock-bottom levels. This was a time of negative growth rates in world shipping, with the exception of the Greeks, who took advantage of the crisis and bought ships when everybody else was selling. Consequently the Greek-owned fleet in the interwar period had become the second biggest tramp operator in the world after the British, carrying bulk cargoes between third countries. This was a fleet that had seen a continuous rise since the formation of the Greek state in the late 1820s. During this period traditional shipping families came mainly from five islands – Cephalonia, Ithaca, Andros, Chios, and Kassos – and kept chains of branch offices that stretched from the ports of the Black Sea to the main economic and shipping centre of the world, London. They formed an international and exclusive informal shipping "club". Up to World War I these shipping families carried grain from the Black Sea to western European ports, with coal as the main return cargo. The expansion to the Atlantic routes, on a more massive scale, took place during the war, when Greece was neutral and the closure of the Dardanelles meant the loss of the Black Sea grain cargoes. The sea route on which Greek shipping thrived, and in which it replaced the British fleet during the interwar period, was from Argentina to northern Europe; carrying cargoes of grain and returning cargoes from the UK with coal. Hundreds of Greek ships visited the river Plate during the 1920s and it was then that Onassis met Kostas Gratsos, an Ithacan from a traditional shipping family, and subsequently a close friend and collaborator. Following the tradition of Greek seafarers he named his first two ships after his parents: *Socrates Onassis* and *Penelope Onassis*. These were second-hand vessels, cargo steamships of Standard B type, built in 1919.

In Buenos Aires, however, Onassis learnt the practices not only of Greek shipowners but also of the Norwegians, the other big international tramp operators. Norwegian shipowners were involved in a new trade, oil, and the ships that carried it, tankers, and it was Onassis's insight that made him realize the potential of oil as the world's main energy source. In 1938 he ordered his first tanker in Gotnenburg and became the first Greek shipowner to enter this market. Various legal difficulties created by the Greek government of Metaxas in some European ports led him to hoist the Panamanian flag on this new tanker together with another ship of his fleet (the Panamanian flag was already used by other traditional shipowners such as Kulukundis). The advantages of this decision were evident within two years. The outbreak of World War II found Onassis's ships under flags of countries that remained neutral. Hoisting the flags of Panama and Sweden, his ships were free to travel anywhere and could earn high profits, since transportation needs were very great during the war.

The earnings that came from the operation of the fleet during the war formed the basis of his post-war development. If his ships had been under the Greek flag they would have been requisitioned by the Greek government and the responsibility for their operation would have been taken over by the Allied forces, as happened with the Greek-flag ships. Onassis was one of the few who could exploit the opportunities offered by neutrality during the war. His involvement in shipping convinced Onassis that Buenos Aires was no longer the best place to be, and during the war he transferred his business to New York. It was there that he was introduced to the circles of traditional Greek shipowners, many of whom had also just moved to New York from Greece and London because of the war.

Greek shipowners kept a very tight international business and social circle; through their business they had formed international maritime networks based on Greek identity and Greek culture. Kinship, island, and ethnic ties – all of which implied trust in business apart from contributions to the actual organization and function of the shipping firm – provided the same advantages as membership of an elitist private club: access to information about the market, chartering, sales, and purchases of second-hand ships; shipbuilding, ship-repairing, and scrapping; financing from credit institutions; Premium and Insurance (P&I) clubs; and links with all other aspects of the shipping industry through access to London, the world's main maritime market. The intrusion of Onassis, a "foreigner", into the shipping world brought a much-publicized conflict with the leading figure of the Greek shipping community, Manolis Kulukundis, particularly on the controversial subject of the American-built ships, the Liberties, that were made available after the war to shipowners of allied governments on state guarantee. But Onassis took care to become a member of the community by the traditional Greek method: in 1946 he married the younger daughter of Stavros Livanos, a prominent Greek shipowner from Chios, and was thus "officially" admitted to the international Greek shipping family. An important aspect of this exclusive shipping clique that has played a major role in the growth of the fleet has been the constant competition and imitation of each other's practices even within individual families. In 1947 the other big shipowner and "foreigner" in Greek shipping circles, Stavros Niarchos, married the elder daughter of Stavros Livanos.

It was in these immediate post-war years that Onassis, together with Niarchos, was the first shipowner seriously to enter the tanker market. At this time the destroyed shipyards of Germany and Britain were looking for contracts that could contribute to their reconstruction. Onassis became one of the pedestals of this reconstruction and in 1949 he placed an order for the building of 16 tankers in the West German shipyards of Howaldswerke on very favourable terms. The opportunity to enter the tanker market was given by the Norwegians: because of foreign currency shortages, from 1948 to 1951 a ban was placed on the import of ships in Norway. Norwegian shipowners, who had been heavily involved in tanker shipping during the interwar period, were thus unable to benefit from the trade boom created by the Korean war in 1951, leaving the door open to Onassis, Niarchos, and other Greek shipowners to enter the tanker business.

Traditional families had always saved the profits of existing operations to buy a new ship; in so far as they depended on credit, it was usually limited to the guarantees that the mortgage on the ship provided and was paid off as quickly as possible. The ships they operated were largely tramp ships involved in the dry-cargo market. By contrast, Onassis and Niarchos entered the tanker market by using credit rather than cash for

the purchase of ships, and they guaranteed their loans with five- to ten-year charters from large American oil companies. This method of financing had first been used by the Norwegians in the interwar period. American banks could not refuse credit to previously unknown clients who made such compelling cases for loans.

By competing with each other, these two leading shipowners further developed ship-financing methods: rather than ordering one tanker at a time, they started ordering whole new series of tankers, backed by a single charter. Ordering a series of vessels at one shipyard reduced costs and also guaranteed employment in the yards for a number of years. The shipbuilders were able to exploit the economies that the increased scale of production provided and thus were able to offer reduced prices. Onassis was also the first to realize that costs could be reduced if the carrying capacity of a ship was increased. This realization encouraged him to become the first shipowner in the world to build a "supertanker": *Tina Onasis*, built in 1953, with a tonnage of 45,320 deadweight was considered a technological achievement. The tactic that Onassis used to enter the oil market was soon followed by many traditional Greek shipowners. Even more important for Greek-owned shipping, however, was the fact that Onassis and Niarchos succeeded in penetrating the US financial markets, by securing finance for their projects, and thus paving the way for other Greek shipowners.

In less than a decade Onassis became one of the biggest independent tanker owners. His entrepreneurial spirit, however, and international orientation brought him into direct contact with the oil-producing countries, and consequently into trouble with the oil-consuming countries and US multinational interests. By signing an agreement with Saudi Arabia, he provoked the wrath of the oil companies and created an international scandal. According to the agreement, Onassis was to transfer tankers of 500,000 GRT to the Saudi Arabian flag, and pay a certain amount per carried ton to the Saudi Arabian government. In return, the Saudi Arabian government agreed to give priority to Onassis's tankers in the loading and transportation of oil. It is not difficult to imagine what effect an independent Saudi Arabian tanker shipping company would have on the interests of oil companies and the countries they represented. The reactions were immediate: the US State Department protested to the Saudi Arabian government, and the British government brought the issue before the European Organization of Economic Co-operation (which claimed that the contract would cause discrimination against other maritime nations). Onassis was attacked on all fronts: US and European oil companies refused to charter his newly built tankers; his newly acquired whale-hunting fleet was attacked by Peruvian warships in the Pacific Ocean (partly motivated by Peruvian whaling interests); and the American government demanded taxes of 20 million dollars. Not surprisingly, the Onassis–Saudi Arabian agreement was never enforced; but luck turned this financial crisis to an extremely profitable outcome: the closure of the Suez Canal in 1956, which increased the world tanker demand and hence the freight rates, came at a time when Onassis was the only shipowner who had a large number of tankers free for charter. Thus, he not only avoided bankruptcy but also strengthened his financial status and further increased his fleet.

Despite the fact that Onassis's name was associated with tankers, his fleet also consisted of cargo ships and bulk carriers. This protected him from the risk of depending on a sole charter market. Besides, his interests were not restricted to bulk shipping: in 1950 he had already created one of the biggest whale-hunting fleets in the world. Moreover, among his investments that gave him weight and reputation was the acquisition in 1953 of the famous hotel and casino Hôtel de Paris in Monte Carlo. For a short period Onassis tried unsuccessfully to enter the shipbuilding industry, acquiring the Scottish shipbuilder Harland & Wolff. Banking was another sector in which Onassis was interested: he bought a small bank in Switzerland, the Banque de Dépôts, which was sold after his death.

During the 1950s he invested heavily in Greece. In 1957 he purchased the Greek national airline for the huge sum of 35 million dollars. The company was renamed Olympic Airways and within a short time it expanded its network of domestic and international destinations, contributing to the development not only of the tourist industry but of Greece as a whole. Onassis invested a great deal in the development of Olympic, although he never considered it his main business, unlike his son Alexander who was dedicated to it. In the late 1960s he proposed to the Greek government a 700-million-dollar project, which included the building of a refinery, investment in the aluminium industry in cooperation with the Aluminum Company of America, and the construction of an electricity-generating company. This project, which was partly in collaboration with Niarchos, was cancelled by Onassis in 1972, for reasons that were never made clear.

Factors that contributed much to the entrepreneurial success of Aristotle Onassis included his talent to recruit good advisers and loyal employees and his ability to communicate with them and take advantage of their ideas and proposals. Kostas Gratsos, who came from a traditional shipping family and was effectively his right-hand man, not only gave him the benefit of his valuable experience but also saw that his ships were manned by highly skilled seamen from Ithaca, one of Greece's traditional maritime islands. Onassis's talent for selecting and trusting able young men proved valuable even after his death, and many of his faithful executives and employees continue to stand up for his interests to the present day.

Onassis's private life was as colourful as his business career. In 1946 he married Tina Livanos, the younger daughter of Stavros Livanos, one of the biggest shipowners of the Greek-owned fleet in the 1950s. Tina, who was more than 20 years his junior, gave him two children, Christina and Alexandros; but their marriage lasted only until 1958. For the next decade Onassis's name was linked with the world-famous Greek soprano Maria Callas in what proved to be a long-lasting passionate affair that marked both their lives. But Aristotle Onassis again shook the international social circles by his marriage to Jackie Kennedy, widow of the assassinated American president, which took place in October 1968 on Skorpios, his private island in the Ionian Sea. Onassis's extraordinary raison d'être came to a halt five years later. The death of his son Alexander at the age of 25 in an aeroplane accident in 1973 was a tragedy from which he never recovered and he died in Paris two years later.

At his death, apart from his deposits in 217 banks around the world, his own bank in Switzerland, 25 per cent of Harland & Wolff, his island of Skorpios, his skyscraper in New York, and his fleet of 56 ships of 2.5 million tons deadweight, the rest of his wealth was estimated to be about one and a half billion US dollars. This consisted of investments in European, Latin American, and US companies in finance and banking, industry, real estate, shipping and transport, the construction industry, tourism, and other general enterprises. Onassis's entrepreneurial talent was still there, even after his death, and survives to the present day, as reflected in his will and in his choice of executors.

His daughter Christina inherited half of Onassis's assets while the other half went to the Alexander Onassis Foundation, set up in 1975 and named after her dead brother. Christina was in control of the business for a short period but she entrusted the running of her property to a group of Onassis's collaborators, who have continued since her death in 1988 to manage it for her daughter Athina. The Alexander Onassis Foundation remains one of the largest and most active foundations in Greece; under the management of a team of executives whom he chose, it continues to run successfully the fleet and other profit-making organizations as well as a wide range of charitable activities that he planned.

Aristotle Onassis, "Ari" as he was popularly known, personally created the myth of the Greek tycoon, and 25 years after his death his legend still makes headlines. Books, films, and documentaries on his life are still being produced. He epitomizes the Greek entreprencur par excellence. It is certainly no coincidence that Anthony Quinn, the actor who impersonated Kazantzakis's hero Zorba the Greek, was also the one chosen to play Onassis on screen.

GELINA HARLAFTIS

See also Ships and Shipping

Biography

Born in either 1900 or 1906 in Smyrna, Onassis fled to Athens after the Asia Minor disaster and emigrated to Argentina in 1923. There he imported tobacco from Greece until he had enough capital in 1933 to turn to shipping. He took advantage of the slump, and later of the need for transport in World War II, and invested in supertankers for oil in the 1950s. In 1957 he bought the Greek national airline. His wealth was legendary. He was married first to Tina Livanos and secondly (after a long affair with Maria Callas) to Jacqueline Kennedy. He died in Paris in 1975.

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Onomastics

Onomastics is the study of names and naming practices. In this article, names are defined as personal names (place names are a different, though related and interesting, study), and Greek personal names are names borne by Greeks, whether in Greece itself or elsewhere in the world where Greeks have settled. In antiquity, as today, that imposes a very wide geographical scope, for already by the 8th century BC Greek cities were sending colonies abroad, in a diaspora which would leave Greeks settled on the Black Sea, in Asia Minor, north Africa, Sicily, south Italy, and beyond. Names always reflect the concerns and values of society, and are responsive to political, cultural, and religious influences. Changes over time are to be expected, but it is important also to register that there have always been regional variations, at any one time, within the Greek-speaking world.

Modern interest in the collection and study of ancient Greek personal names began in the early 19th century. Almost all the evidence available at that time came from literature, which, even when it includes historical works, can paint only a partial picture of a society. The picture, however, was about to be transformed by the discovery and publication of documentary evidence provided by inscriptions, papyri (for Graeco-Roman Egypt), coins, and artefacts. Documentary evidence is important because it gives the names of relatively ordinary people, and because it is found in all parts of the Greek world, and not just the main centres of literary output, above all Athens.

Inscriptions on stone, by far the greater part of documentary evidence, record citizen lists, decrees, treaties, and judgements but also the more personal tombstones, religious dedications and curses, and the manumissions of slaves. New documentary evidence continues to be discovered, published, and analysed, but it is already clear that the names of upwards of half a million individuals have survived, and tens of thousands of different names. From the 8th century BC the volume of documentary texts increased steadily, reaching its first peak in the Hellenistic age. It is during this period that the fundamental features of ancient Greek naming practices can be observed and documented. It is, however, worth noting that two earlier sources, Mycenaean texts and the Homeric poems, push back the history of Greek onomastics, albeit partially, by a further 500 years.

Dating mainly from the 13th century BC, and written in Linear B, a pre-alphabetic script comprising ideograms, numerals, and syllabic signs, Mycenaean records have been found at Mycenae, Thebes, Tiryns, and Pylos on the mainland, and Knossos and Cydonia in Crete. There are many uncertainties in interpreting the names in these documents, because the spelling is ambiguous and because, being inventories, they supply no context, but Mycenologists are agreed that the basic formations of Greek names as described below were already in place, including familiar names such as Theodora and Alexandra. The same is true of the Homeric epic poems, the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, which are generally agreed to be the culmination of an oral tradition which may reach back to the 13th century BC. It is, however, interesting to note that the names of the main actors in the drama – Priam, Hector, Agamemnon, Menelaus, Helen, Cassandra, Odysseus, Penelope – thought of today as among the most famous of

"Greek" names, did not continue in use in the Archaic and Classical periods. They enjoyed a revival under the Roman empire, especially outside Greece, in Italy and in parts of Asia Minor.

Greek naming conformed to the Indo-European pattern found throughout most of Europe until relatively recent times, by which a child received one given name. In public contexts, and for legal purposes, the given name was followed by the name of the father (patronymic), very rarely by that of the mother (metronymic). In certain circumstances, an indication of citizenship (ethnic) would also be given. These three elements – given name, patronymic, and ethnic – are the fundamental elements of nomenclature. The last two are also the building blocks of a much later development, family names or surnames.

In antiquity, as today, there was a tradition of naming the firstborn son after the paternal grandfather, and the second after the maternal grandfather (there is less ancient evidence for the naming of daughters). In leading families whose tenure of public office is recorded, it is sometimes possible to trace this pattern over two or three hundred years. Conservatism in namegiving ensured the preservation of names even after the concepts embodied in them had passed away, sometimes against the tide of new forces.

The patronymic generally took the form of the father's name in the genitive case (thus, Alexandros Philippou); but in areas of the Aeolic dialect (especially Lesbos and the facing coast of Asia Minor, and Thessaly and Boeotia on the mainland) the patronymic adjective was used (and applied to wives as well as children), formed by making an adjective out of the father's name. This usage was common in Homer (e.g. Ajax Telamonios, Ajax the son of Telamon); a second form found in Homer, in which the father's name is given a termination with patronymic force *-ides* (Hector Priamides, Hector son of Priam), survived in the historical period, for example Simonides and Bacchylides, but as an independent form deprived of patronymic force.

While the patronymic was important in identifying and sometimes legitimizing the individual, its use varied according to place and context. The 2nd-century AD writer Pausanias (2. 7) commented that the citizens of Sicyon in the Peloponnese recorded on their tombstones the name but not the patronymic of the deceased. From this statement it might be inferred that the use of the patronymic was standard everywhere else, but tombstones, which survive in their thousands, show that in most parts of western Greece and in Boeotia the patronymic was not generally recorded, while in nearby Thessaly it usually was.

Use of the ethnic also varied, according to context. The purpose of nomenclature is to identify, and at home an individual did not need to indicate origin. The city or regional ethnic was, therefore, used only when abroad. By contrast, in a city with an internal political organization of demes, such as Athens, Rhodes, or Eretria in Euboea, the demotic was given. At Athens, in the late 6th century, Cleisthenes' reforms required that the demotic should replace the patronymic (*Athenaion Politeia*, 11. 4), but by the 4th century it had become standard practice to give both. Thus, at Athens, "Alcibiades son of Cleinias, of the deme Scambonidai", abroad "Alcibiades son of Cleinias, of Athens".

The Greek grammarians knew two ways of classifying names. They were either "simple" or "compound" in formation, and, as to content, they were either based on the names of gods, "theophoric", or they were secular.

Simple names consisted of a noun or adjective, alone or with a suffix: for example, from the adjective *aristos* ("excellent", "best"), the names Aristos, Arist-ion, Arist-ullos, etc., feminine Arista, Aristo, Arist-ulla, etc. Compound names were formed by combining nouns, adjectives, verbs, or adverbs in various patterns. Thus, Aristo-teles, Arist-ippos, Aristo-kles, Aristo-boulos, Aristo-damos. The order could be reversed: Aristo-nikos or Nik-aristos. Compounds were often turned into a so-called "hypocoristic" form which could be shorter (for example, Kleommas from Kleomachos) or longer (Sophroniskos from Sophron). Women's names could take neuter as well as feminine terminations, and covered broadly the same range of form and content as men's, including military and political connotations, for example Alexandra, Stratippa, Demostrata. Abstract names such as Harmonia ("harmony"), Eukarpia ("fertility"), Glukera ("sweet") did exist, but seem to have originated as slave names.

Within these broad rules, the Greeks showed almost limitless inventiveness; some components, such as *polis* ("city") appear in more than 50 different forms. The following are just a few examples: parts of the body (*kephalos* "head", making Kephalos, Kephal-ion), animals (*leon*, "lion", making Leon, feminine Leaina, Leont-iskos, Aristo-leon; *hippos*, "horse", making Hippo-stratos, Strat-ippos, Hippo-krates, Krat-ippos, Fil-ippos), plants (*ampelos*, "vine", making Ampelos, Ampel-ion, Ampel-ides), political institutions (*demos*, "sovereign people", making Demo-sthenes, Demo-stratos, Arche-demos, Dem-archos), defence or protection (the verb *alexo* making Alex-andros, Alexi-demos, Alexi-polis). Though usually laudatory, attributes could also be (at least to us) pejorative, and yet were passed down from generation to generation: thus, *aischros*, "ugly", making Aischr-ion, Aischr-a, *gaster*, "stomach", making Gastron.

Theophoric names could take the adjectival or the compound form. The most common of all Greek names were the adjectival forms based on Apollo (Apollonios), Dionysos (Dionysios), and Demeter (Demetrios); but a greater range was provided by compounds in which the name of the god was followed by *-genes/geneia* (birth), *-dotos/dota* and *-doros/dora* (giving/gift), *-philos/phila* (loved/loving), *-kles/kleia* (renown), *-phanes/phaneia* (manifestation), etc. Thus, from Zeus, root Dio-, Dio-genes/Dio-geneia, Dio-dotos, Dio-doros, Dio-philos, Dio-kles/Dio-kleia, etc.

Theophoric names could be formed from cult titles of gods, and from lesser deities such as nymphs and river gods; the river Asopus in Boeotia, for example, gave rise to names such as Asop-ios and Asopodoros, which are found only in Boeotia and Athens. There was also the generic type from *theos* ("god"): Theo-genes, Theo-dotos, Theo-doros, Theo-kles, etc. The arrival of new divinities was duly marked in nomenclature; thus, from the late 4th century BC, worship of the Egyptian goddess Isis gave rise to Isi-doros, Isi-dotos, Isi-genes, etc., that of the god Sarapis (later spelling Serapis) to Sarap-ion, Sarap-ias, Sarap-is, etc.

The first major disturbance to the pattern of Greek nomenclature came with the arrival of the Romans who had a wholly

different system of nomenclature, with three names, *praenomen*, *nomen*, and *cognomen*. After the Romans conquered Greece, Greeks receiving Roman citizenship would adopt the *praenomen* and *nomen* of the donor (a conquering general, later the emperor or a governor); in this way, names like Julius and Flavius first made their way into Greek nomenclature. The third name, the *cognomen*, was usually Greek: thus, Tiberius Julius Alexander, Titus Flavius Alcibiades. The Romans indicated filiation in a brief formula which came between the *nomen* and the *cognomen*: for example, G(aius) Julius G(aii) f(ilius) Caesar. Greeks sometimes adopted this system, but often simply appended the patronymic to the *cognomen*. A new name-form developed, especially in Asia Minor, with the suffix *-ianus* (e.g. Herodianus from Herodes) which sometimes gave the name a patronymic force.

Christianity was destined to make a permanent impact on Greek nomenclature, but the change was neither sudden nor simple. Several different currents fed into the main stream. Some "Christian" names were in fact Jewish, for example John (Joannes), Anna, and Maria. In time, but not much before the 4th century, names incorporating new values appeared, such as Eusebius and Euphemia. Of the old names, the neutral theophoric names such as Theodora and Theophilos were retained, and some new compounds formed which had not occurred before, such as Theo-doulos (slave or servant of God), comparable to Christo-doulos (servant of Christ). More potent factors were at work, however. The appeal to parents by the 4th-century writer John Chrysostom to name their children after saints and not ancestors is a reminder of the inherent conservatism of naming, but also a background for the renewal of old pagan names with a new authority. Saints and martyrs were as likely as not to bear "pagan" names such as Demetrius, Dionysia, and Alexandra.

During and after the struggle between Christianity and paganism, Roman names, by now absorbed into Greek nomenclature, continued in general use. After AD 212, when citizenship was granted to all free inhabitants of the empire, Aurelius was the normal *nomen*; after the reign of Constantine (whose own name became a common "Christian" name after his conversion to Christianity), it was Flavius. In the correspondence of Libanius, in the 4th century, the names of recipients show a mixture of Roman names such as Marcus, Proclus, Modestus, Priscianus, and Ioulianus; old Greek names such as Andronikos, Alexandros, Dionysios, and Leontios; and a certain number of distinctly Christian names such as Eusebius, Eustathius, Euphemius, and Ambrosius. A century later, in the correspondence of the Christian Isidorus of Pelusium, Christian names such as Eulogius, Eulampius, Cyrillus, and Serenus account for a greater proportion, but there are also surprising survivals such as Isidorus, Serapion, and Apollonius. Overall, by this period, a general simplification in nomenclature had taken place, the patronymic had largely disappeared, and the ethnic fallen into disuse.

Invasions and political quarrels marked the end of the Roman empire, within which the Greek-speaking world was contained. The "Greek" world survived in the east, in the Byzantine empire. There began a period of transition in nomenclature. Biblical names and those with pious meaning, which marked the ascendancy of Christian values, remained in use, but names of new rulers, such as Basileios, Leon, Alexios, also enjoyed a vogue. Family names began to be adopted, but only by ruling families. By the 13th century, however, the personal names Ioannes, Georgios, Demetrios, and Maria had established a lasting ascendancy. By that time, too, it was usual for monks to adopt a new name on entering the monastic life, and a class of names developed which was reserved for them, e.g. Gerasimos, Isaias, Iakovos, Makarios, though some continued to bear pagan names such as Dionysios, and even Hermes and Alcibiades.

The two main influences in post-Ottoman Greek nomenclature are Christianity and antiquity. Examples of the former are Ioannes/Yannis, Demetrios/Dimitri, Nicholas/Niko, Spiridon/Spiros, Konstantinos/Kostas for men, Eleni, Anna, Maria, Demetra, Konstantina for women, and of the latter, Aristoteles, Sokrates, Xenophon, Demosthenes, Leonidas, Miltiades, which were never forgotten but widely given from the 18th century onwards. Both male and female names are often familiarized by the addition of a hypocoristic termination such as *-aki*, *-oula*, or *-ita*, for example Petraki from Petros, Elenitsa from Eleni. The importance of the personal name is shown by the custom of celebrating name-days (the festival of the saint in question) rather than birthdays.

Hereditary family names or surnames developed sporadically from about AD 1000, at first mainly among ruling families, whose family names were often derived from locations, towns, and monasteries. The widespread use of surnames dates only from the War of Independence (*c.*1832). Many surnames take a patronymic form, with the terminations *-opoulos* or *-ides* (e.g. Konstantinopoulos, Apostolides), or are derived from trades (Metaxas, "silk weaver", Petalas, "blacksmith"), or physical characteristic (Kephalas, "head"). It is primarily in surnames that distinct local variations are to be found, reflecting past history, often occupation by foreign powers. Italian, especially Venetian, occupation left its mark in both personal and family names in Crete, the Ionian islands, and the Cyclades. Many surnames in Cephalonia, for example, have the termination *-atos* (Marinatos, Laskaratos), the Italian *-ato*. Surnames in *-oglou*, reflecting the Turkish "son of" and equivalent to Greek *-opoulos*, are particularly common among Greeks from the Pontic area of Asia Minor.

ELAINE MATTHEWS

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Opera and Operetta

Modern musical drama, like other forms of European classical music, was transmitted to Greece primarily through the Ionian islands, which were ruled successively by Venice, France, and Britain during the Ottoman domination of the mainland. Yet ancient and even medieval Greek precedents for sung drama are not lacking. Classical tragedies were originally performed with melodies by their authors that were sung for centuries. After the decline of ancient theatre, some of its musicodramatic elements persisted in the imperial ceremonial, popular entertainments, and Orthodox worship of Byzantium. Nevertheless, despite the efforts of some commentators to find evidence for the existence of Byzantine musical theatre in such texts as the hymns of Romanos, only a single sacred drama from around the late 14th century has come to light, the strongly liturgical character of which has been affirmed by Symeon of Thessalonica and modern scholars. Contemporary Greek musical drama may therefore be linked to antiquity only indirectly through the medium of Italian opera, the late Renaissance creators of which were deeply influenced by the humanist rediscovery of Classical tragedy.

The earliest documented stagings of Italian opera in the Ionian islands were mounted in 1733 at the San Giacomo theatre in Corfu. Operatic performances by visiting Italian troupes became increasingly frequent over the next century, during which theatres were also constructed on the islands of Zakynthos (1813) and Cephalonia (1838). While it appears that local musicians did not participate to any significant extent in the production of opera before 1840, from the early decades of the 19th century Ionian-born composers were setting Italian libretti to music. The doyen of this first generation of native composers was Nikolaos Halkiopoulos-Mantzaros (1795–1872), whose early one-act comedy *Don Crepusculo* of 1815 is the oldest extant Greek opera. Invited to Naples for study in the 1820s by Zingarelli, Mantzaros later returned to Corfu where, in addition to composing further operas and the music for the Greek National Anthem, he exercised considerable influence as a teacher. By the middle decades of the 19th century operas by such Greek composers as E. Lampelet, P. Carrer, and S. Xyndas were being performed alongside works by Donizetti and Verdi not only in the Ionian islands, but in Italy itself. Around this time Ionian composers and a few Italian expatriates introduced modern Greek themes to opera in a series of historical works based on the mainland's revolt against the Turks. These paved the way for the première in Corfu of Xyndas's *The Parliamentary Candidate* (1867), the first opera composed to a Greek libretto. Development along these lines continued until the outbreak of World War II, after which the musical culture of the Ionian islands went into a serious decline that was compounded by the destruction of several theatres in the earthquake of 1954.

The introduction of opera to mainland Greece occurred on 4 July 1837 when a group of Italian tightrope walkers employed an orchestra of ten to stage the first act of Rossini's *The Barber of Seville*. Despite the complete omission of Rosina's role due to the lack of a female singer, this performance was so enthusiastically received that an Italian opera company arrived the very next month to mount the entire work. After 1840 royal patronage and growing audiences stimulated increasingly frequent visits to Athens, Patras, Piraeus, and Syros by Italian and later French troupes, all of whom were evidently unaffected by the protests of Greek cultural conservatives incensed by what they perceived to be the immorality of many libretti. The mainland's growing operatic scene also soon attracted the attention of Ionian composers including Carrer, whose patriotic opera *Markos Botsaris* – which includes in its first act a lament sung by an old klepht ("O Yero Demos": Old Demos) that proved to be so popular that it virtually became a folk song – was previewed in Athens before the royal family in 1858 and premièred in Patras in 1861. S. Samaras, N. Lampelet, D. Lavrangas, and other members of the Ionian school would subsequently dominate Greek opera until the first decade of the 20th century. Ionians were also instrumental in the creation of the first Greek opera troupes at the end of the 1880s, one of which survived long enough to tour Egypt and Turkey. A more durable Athenian company, the *Helleniko Melodrama* founded by Lavrangas, inaugurated its existence with performances in 1900 of Puccini's *La Bohème*. These touched off an unprecedented wave of enthusiasm for opera that was sufficient to allow the troupe to serve as Greece's main operatic ensemble until the creation of the present National Opera (*Lyriki Skini*) in 1939.

Opera in the Italian tradition was gradually eclipsed on the mainland during the second decade of the 20th century by the rise of Greek operetta. Although French companies had been staging performances of operetta in Greece since the 1870s, the appearance of native operetta may be attributed more immediately to the Athenian revues of the early 1900s. The success of these pastiches of pirated foreign melodies encouraged the impresario I. Papaïonannou to found the *Hellinike Operetta* in 1909 to produce entire Viennese operettas in Greek translation. Other companies were soon founded, and in 1914 the veteran opera composers Samaras and Theophrastos I.

Sakellarides (1883–1950) wrote the first Greek operettas. The latter, who was the German-trained son of the famous cantor John Sakellarides and Papaïoannou's principal conductor, composed more than 103 musical works for the stage including the enduringly popular *O Vaphtistikos* (The Godson, 1918). His main compositional rival was the bass Nikos Hatziapostolou (1879–1941), who wrote music combining elements of French operetta with contemporary Athenian popular song. From the première of Hatziapostolou's *I Moderna Kamariera* (The Modern Chambermaid) in 1916 until the late 1920s, operetta reigned as the chief musical entertainment of Greece's westernized bourgeoisie. Other composers of operetta during this period included the classically trained Lavrangas, Lampelet, and Yiannis Konstantinides, who wrote popular music under the pseudonym Kostas Yiannides.

As the urban Greek public shifted its allegiance to operetta, Manolis Kalomiris emerged at the head of a so-called National School of composition to challenge the supremacy of Italianate classical music. While continuing the later Ionians' use of folk material in such operas as *To Dachtylidi tis Manas* (Mother's Ring, 1917), Kalomiris employed it in a manner derived from contemporary central European music. Greek opera thereafter began to fall along a spectrum running from the works of the National School to pieces firmly within the western mainstream such as *Soeur Béatrice*, composed in 1918 by Dimitri Mitropoulos (1896–1960) on a text by Maeterlinck. Despite the general decline of opera and operetta in Greece after World War II, T. Antoniou, A. Logothetis, Mikis Theodorakis, and many other Greek composers have continued to write significant musical dramas for production both at home and abroad.

ALEXANDER LINGAS

See also Song

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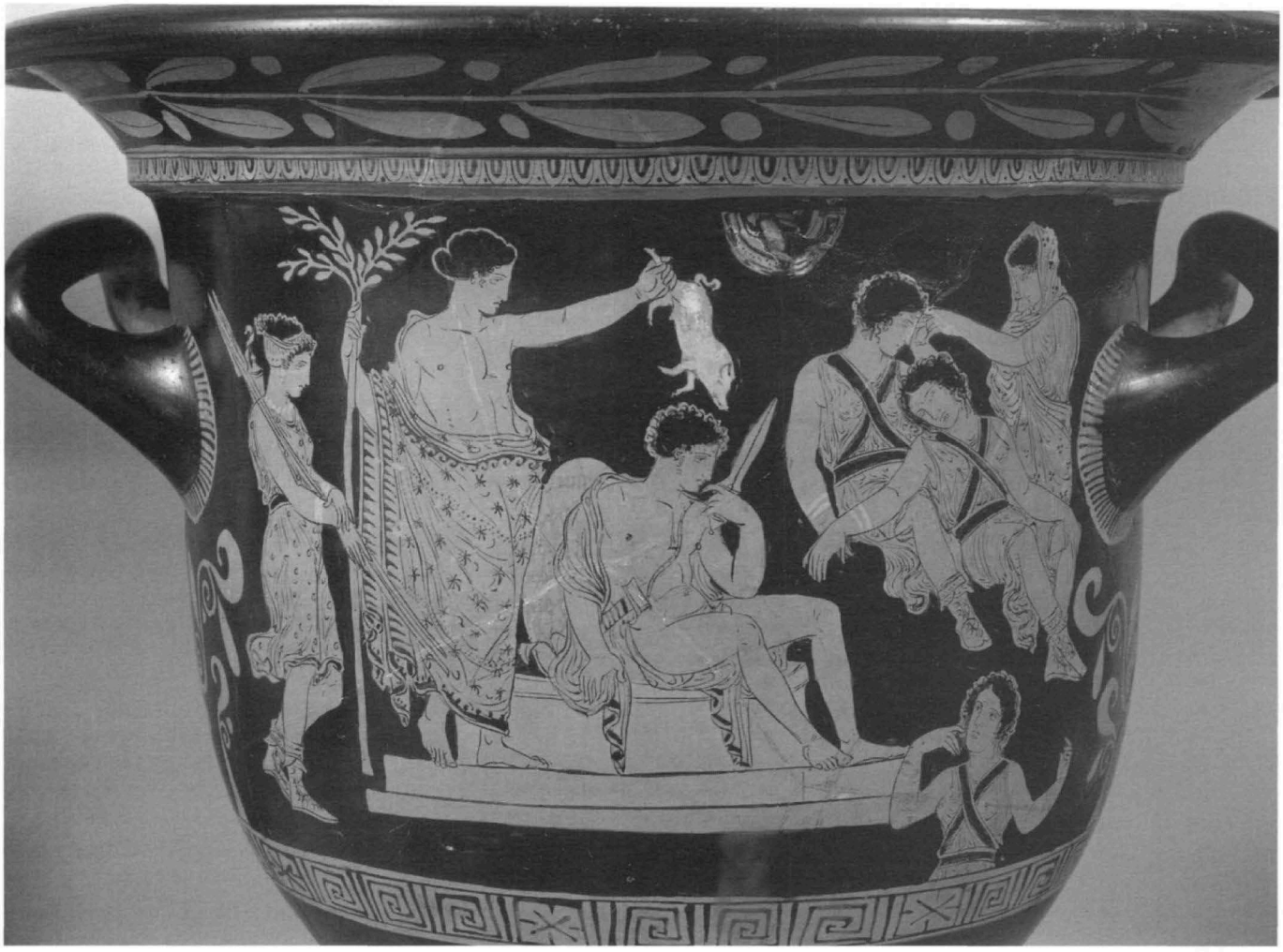
Oracles

Oracles were both utterances of (usually) gods, with or without an intermediary and in response to human questions, and the places where such utterances were made. At reputedly the oldest Greek oracular site, that of Zeus at Dodona in Epirus, the god was believed to make his response known through the rustling of the leaves of a sacred (probably Valonia) oak or the cooing of a dove (probably a ring-dove) perched there, which signs were interpreted by priests. By the 5th century BC, however, priestesses (later at least called "Doves") under the inspiration of Zeus simply gave affirmative or negative responses to questions scratched by enquirers on lead tablets, of which about 80 still survive (the most legible is in the museum at nearby Ioannina).

Far more is known about the oracle of Apollo at Delphi, which probably originated in the late 9th century BC (references to an earlier oracle of another deity on the site are subject to much modern debate). After a possible stage when its oracles, similarly to those at Dodona, merely involved interpretations of the rustling of the leaves of a laurel tree, already at the beginning of the Archaic age a local woman known as the Pythia was believed to act in a trance as Apollo's mouthpiece.

The procedure was as follows. Originally just once a year (according to Plutarch, *Moralia*, 292e), on Apollo's birthday, but from perhaps the 6th century BC on the seventh day of every month (except for the three months of winter when Apollo was believed to be among the Hyperboreans), consultation could take place, provided that the ominous behaviour of a goat sprinkled with cold water was favourable. Authorities (the Delphic Amphictiony) gave precedence first to Delphians and then favoured states and individuals. This was presumably often won by such costly gifts (most notably by the Lydian king Croesus) that some states even built treasuries at Delphi to house them (the best-preserved today is that of the Athenians). All enquirers had first to place on an altar an inordinately expensive cake (*pelanos*) as fee. Accompanied by the resident representative of his city (*proxenos*), the enquirer passed over the threshold of the temple, made blood-sacrifices, and entered the inner sanctuary, where he kept silence as a priest (*prophetes*) put the previously supplied question to the unseen Pythia, who was seated upon a tripod, and converted her response into intelligible, though often ambiguous, hexameters. The geology of the site and toxicology respectively prove untenable the ancient reports that the Pythia's trance was induced by mephitic vapours emanating from a chasm or by the properties of laurel leaves: it was probably merely self-induced by an uneducated and pious old woman of great religious susceptibility. The *prophetes*, we may assume, formulated responses on the bases of common sense, the desires of the enquirers, and Delphic interests (although the "Medizing of Apollo" during the Persian Wars has been much exaggerated, the oracle did later fall under the influence of both Philip of Macedon and the Aetolian League). A much cheaper and more common form of oracle at Delphi, and one that came to be practised on other days of the month, was cleromancy, by which one of two presumably differently coloured beans was drawn to give an answer of "yes" or "no".



Oracles: Attic red-figure krater showing Orestes as a suppliant at the shrine of Apollo in Delphi, 4th century BC, Louvre, Paris

Despite rivals, most notably the oracles of Zeus at Dodona and, from the 5th century BC, Ammon at Siwa in the Egyptian desert, the most famous oracle in the Archaic and Classical ages was that at Delphi. Although the vast majority of consultants were individuals, it played also a prominent political role (Sparta even maintained a standing commission of ambassadors called Pythii to transact Delphic business). Some evidence suggests that in early times it was consulted over the removal of unpopular rulers, but later it was never involved in internal politics. Although its public importance became most apparent in the belief of virtually all states that Apollo's approval was essential in the planting of colonies, it also both pronounced on the advisability of waging war and was involved in arbitration between states. In the 4th century BC, however, most public consultations were on cultic matters, and even these became rare after *c.*300 BC. In the Hellenistic period its functions were largely lost in the revival of local oracles, especially those of Asia Minor. Quintus Fabius Pictor enquired of Delphi in 216 BC about the proper rituals for ensuring victory over the Carthaginians, but after the Punic Wars the Romans usually had sufficient confidence in their own abilities to dispense with Greek oracular aid including Delphi's.

Other oracles offered a considerable variety in consultative practices, including the use of male spokesmen for the god, such as the *thespiodos* of Apollo's shrine at Claros in Asia Minor who drank from a sacred spring. At some sanctuaries priests interpreted "divine" signs such as those apparent in the flames (empyromancy) on Zeus' altar at Olympia. There were also oracles that dispensed with intermediaries, often giving their answers by lot (as with the beans at Delphi) and even dice but most notably by means of incubation, which was practised most commonly by those suffering from disease, insanity, or injury. In this, during a ritual sleep at a sanctuary, consultants were believed either to be healed by a god (often Asclepius) with or without divine helpers or sent a dream that prescribed treatment (Aristophanes describes in detail one such night at the Asclepieum in the Piraeus at *Plutus*, 653–747). Physicians were frequently in attendance subsequently to effect the cure. A bizarre, unmediated but non-medical parallel is afforded by the oracle of Trophonius at Lebadea in western Boeotia. Here the enquirer, after lengthy and elaborate preliminaries, had to thrust himself into a claustrophobic subterranean pit, where the chthonic deity made revelations to him and whence he emerged terrified and barely conscious to be questioned by priests and restored to sanity by relations (graphically described by Pausanias, 9. 39. 5–14).

Although Plutarch (d. after AD 120), himself a priest at Delphi for the last 30 years of his life, wrote on the decline of

oracles (*De Defectu Oraculorum*, *Moralia* 409e–438e), inscriptions from the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD on the building of the oracle of Apollo at Claros prove its continued popularity for public consultations by neighbouring states. During this period too various charlatans sought to exploit human gullibility by oracle-mongering. The most notorious of these was Alexander of Abonuteichos in Paphlagonia, whose tricks, involving a live snake apparently attached to a lifelike artificial head (whose jaws he could manipulate) and a hot needle to remove the wax seals of consultants' written questions, are hilariously excoriated by Lucian (*Alexander* or *False Prophet*).

Some well-established pagan oracles certainly survived into the early Byzantine period (the emperor Julian consulted several, including Delphi and Dodona, before embarking on his war against the Sassanian Persians). However, their anti-Christian utterances, many of which had been collected by the Neoplatonist Porphyry in his lost *On the Philosophy of the Oracles*, hastened their suppression. Christians associated them with demons and witches, built churches on their sites, and even forged oracles, such as one of Apollo confessing that his temple at Cyzicus was now the home of the Theotokos. Although Constantine I closed the Asclepieum at Aegae in Cilicia, pagan incubation survived into the 5th century AD, and the practice itself continued throughout the Byzantine period (and has not completely died out today), Christian saints simply supplanting the older gods.

During their heyday the authority of oracles was such that no certain case of disobedience is known. Even among philosophers only the Epicureans denied their claims. Nevertheless, since typically an oracle did not initiate action but either merely expressed approval or disapproval or chose between alternatives put to it by consultants, it could be manipulated into giving apparent blessing to a dubious enterprise. Even the pious Xenophon was chided by Socrates for asking Apollo to which gods he should sacrifice before setting out as a mercenary on the expedition of Cyrus instead of enquiring if he should join it at all (*Anabasis*, 3. 1. 5–7). Bribery was also practised, but not as often as ancient authorities claim.

Collections of oracles had less authority except in the case of the most famous, the Sibylline oracles. Originally a single prophetess, the word sibyl (probably not Hellenic and therefore suggesting the existence of pre-Greek prophetesses) had become at least by the 4th century BC a generic term for such women throughout the Greek world and later beyond. They were believed to prophesy in the normal manner either under the influence of a god (Apollo for Virgil's sibyl in *Aeneid* 6) or through their own inspiration. Collections are first heard of in connection with the books offered to Tarquinius Priscus (traditionally king of Rome 616–579 BC), the last three of which he bought and had preserved in his new temple of Capitoline Jupiter. Upon its destruction in 83 BC a collection was made from scattered copies, and this was still being consulted as late as AD 363. The surviving Sibylline oracles, in Greek hexameters, date from the 2nd century BC to the 7th century AD and are of mainly Jewish origin with some pagan and some Christian material, which last claims the Sybil as an independent witness to the Christian faith, supports Christian morality, attacks paganism, and prophesies the suppression of certain pagan cults.

The Chaldaean oracles, again written in hexameters and surviving only in fragments, were traditionally ascribed to a father and son named Julian in the 2nd century AD. These offered a philosophical guide to how in a dualistic world believers might empty themselves of evil matter to ascend to a triune deity consisting of a monadic Paternal Intellect, a dyadic Second Intellect, and the Cosmic Soul, which was identified as Hecate. They were much used by the Neoplatonists (especially Porphyry and Iamblichus), fascinated Psellos in the 11th century and were known to Plethon in the 15th.

Among Byzantine collections of oracles is one written in iambics, purportedly by the emperor Leo VI (886–912), which predicted civil war in Constantinople and the rise of a saviour monarch. It had considerable popularity into the Tourkokratia, when messianic prophecies continued to appear. An interesting example of these appears in the massive *Book of Oracles* (containing both fulfilled examples and others awaiting fulfilment), which Païsios Ligarides dedicated in 1656 to tsar Alexis Michajlović who he wrongly predicted would be the liberator of the Greeks from Ottoman rule.

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See also Divination, Necromancy

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Oral Tradition

Oral tradition, since it is by definition not fixed by writing or recording, is continually in a state of change: rather like

language itself, it is transmitted from person to person and created afresh in the course of every such transmission. There are two indirect routes to knowledge of oral tradition before our own day. The first is by way of authors who explicitly record tales or literature that reached them by word of mouth, or who depict the performance of oral texts. The second is by way of literature that we may judge for stylistic or comparative reasons to have oral origins.

Thus, although the oral literature and history of early Greece are unknowable to us by any direct means – we can have no real evidence that precedes the first written texts, those of Hesiod, Homer, and Archilochus – all three of these still have much to tell us, indirectly, of the oral literary milieux from which they evidently derive.

Hesiod tells us (*Works and Days*) of his victory in a poetry competition in the course of funeral games; it has been supposed that the *Theogony*, his other surviving genuine work, was the winning poem. Evidently other winning poems, in other similar competitions, were not necessarily written down. It has also been hypothesized that the Homeric poems were composed for competitive performance of a similar kind. Hesiod describes the origin of his poetic inspiration as a gift by the Muses; this is typical of the solutions offered by oral poets for the difficult question why some people are able to compose long narrative poems while others are not. His livelihood as a farmer – if we accept the autobiographical framework of *Works and Days* as true to life – is by no means unusual for epic poets in other cultures.

The two great Homeric epics say nothing at all about their own origin, except for brief invocations of a "goddess" or Muse. It was traditionally held, in later Greece, that they were composed for oral performance. Many have thought that the repeated scenes in the *Odyssey* in which singers perform at feasts are depictions of how the two epics themselves were performed. The use of stylized and repetitious formulas throughout these epics was imitated, with varying accuracy, by later authors of Greek and Latin literary epics, but it was viewed as little more than a curious quirk of the Homeric style until, in the 1930s, Milman Parry showed that these formulas were the building blocks with which long oral narrative poetry is typically, and necessarily, composed.

Parry's demonstration drew on his fieldwork among the oral epic poets of modern Bosnia. Equally important for those who wish to use the Homeric poems as historical sources was the evidence gathered by Parry and his co-worker, Albert Lord, demonstrating the rapid transformation of epic poems in the course of successive performances. It has been gradually accepted that poems recorded in the 8th century BC (or the 7th, as many now believe) could scarcely retain any accurate and identifiable historical detail concerning events of around 1200 BC, the traditional dating of the fall of Troy. The language and the social background would also predominantly reflect the period at which the epics were recorded.

In 5th- and 4th-century BC Greece the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* had become classics, learned by heart by many schoolboys. There were professional reciters whose business was to perform Homer; the main character of Plato's *Ion* is in this trade. Traditions of that kind can continue for a long time: the Sanskrit poems of the *Rig Veda* were transmitted similarly for many hundreds of years. In its fundamental aims, of accurate recitation and literal transmission, such a tradition differs entirely from those in which oral epics were originally composed.

The earliest non-epic Greek poetry now surviving is that of Archilochus. His iambic poems, and those of Hipponax, belong to a tradition of ritualized insult and obscenity that is not visible in the Homeric poems but for which there is some independent evidence from Classical Greece.

The Homeric poems do depict oral performances in various lyric genres that were soon to turn into written literature. The mythological and praise poetry of athletic games and banquets, as described in the *Odyssey*, may seem closer in style and occasion to that of Simonides and Pindar than to that of Homer himself. Wedding songs, depicted in the *Iliad*, are recorded in writing from Sappho onwards. Funeral laments are also described in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, and these have been a major genre of Greek oral poetry at many later periods. Working songs, too, have remained a feature of oral tradition: some later ones, such as the Rhodian "Swallow song", are directly recorded in Classical texts.

Thus, between 700 and 550 BC many poetic genres were turned over to literary composition and written transmission. In the 5th century BC prose was to follow. The sources of Herodotus' information, and of Thucydides', were almost wholly oral, the reliability of their narratives naturally varying – as oral tradition generally does – with the length of the period over which the information had been transmitted. History, from this point onwards, was written; records of local and genealogical history, in particular, help to show us how much had until then depended on oral transmission and collective memory. What of the stories of the gods? Greek mythological storytelling, although serving as a source for Hesiod, Homer, Pindar, and many other poets, may always have existed as a prose genre and as such remained essentially oral. Its wealth, even in Roman times, can be judged from the rich records of local mythology gathered by the scholar Pausanias of the 2nd century AD . A storyteller depicted in Longus' *Daphnis and Chloe*, a novel of about the same date, told an apposite mythological tale to the two lovers, and was rewarded for it (generously!) with a kid.

In Classical and Roman times epic narrative probably disappeared completely as a genre of Greek oral poetry. Later, it was to reappear. The 15-syllable "political" metre, whose earliest use may possibly have been in laments, emerges as the vehicle of Byzantine Greek popular verse, of which the best-known example is the *Digenis Akritis* epic. Like certain other medieval European epics, this was several times recorded in writing, in versions so radically different from one another that oral tradition (rather than a manuscript stemma) must be what separates them. The historical background to *Digenis Akritis* is the prolonged warfare between Byzantines and successive Muslim powers on the Anatolian plateau from the 10th to 12th century AD. Armenian, Turkish, and Arabian oral epics deal with the same historical nexus. Common features are the highlighting of local nobility rather than distant royalty, and the importance of intermarriage between opposing families – as in the parentage of Digenis, "the twice-born", himself.

There is much additional evidence for oral poetry and its context to be found in Byzantine literature. Examples include such major works as the *Chronicle of the Morea* – not neces-

sarily oral in origin but linguistically, stylistically, and metrically close to oral texts and quite at odds with the classicism of high Byzantine culture.

The political verse is still ubiquitous in modern Greek oral poetry, *tragoudi*. Several genres can be distinguished nowadays, none of which attains epic length. They include the short-lived and still-imitated *rebetika* that were once symbolic of the criminal subculture of Athens. Typical, though, are poems of 12 to 40 lines, usually described by folklorists as "ballads", often evoking a figure or an incident of established tradition and thus already familiar to the audience. Some legends that recur in these ballads are shared by several neighbouring cultures. "The Bridge of Arta" tells of a wonderful structure that could not be successfully completed until the architect's young wife was immured in it: this story is known in all the Balkan countries – in Romania, for example, it is familiar as "Master Manole". Specifically Greek are the *klephtika*, tales of the brigands or freedom fighters of Turkish-ruled Greece; and Digenis Akritis remains one of the heroes of the songs that can still be heard in oral performance in parts of modern Greece.

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Orchomenus

City in Boeotia

Orchomenus, cited by Homer as a paradigm of a wealthy city (*Iliad*, 9. 381), is often qualified as Minyan. The eponym Minyas is a shadowy, almost non-existent figure, but the place was real enough, and its reputation justified, at least in the Mycenaean period.

Situated in the northwest corner of the Copais, Orchomenus dominated the whole of this quadrant of Boeotia. Settlement was more or less constant from the Neolithic period. The most striking surviving monument is the Mycenaean tholos tomb (14 m in diameter) called the Treasury of Minyas. Also from the Mycenaean period isolated finds of pottery and fresco fragments have been found on the lower slope of the hill into which the tholos tomb was set. From the area of the convent east of the tomb have come numerous wall painting fragments. The economy of Mycenaean Orchomenus seems to have depended on crops grown in the Copaic basin. The Mycenaeans – like their British successors of the 19th century AD – constructed a system of hydraulic works to control the waters flowing into the basin in order to render the larger part of it free for cultivation. The canals were directed to a number of swallow holes – *katavothrai* – on the eastern shore and in the northeast corner of the Copais, which was protected there by the island fortress of Gla, which was both a control point – since the northeast bay of the Copais is the only part of the basin not visible from Orchomenus – and a refuge. Gla was abandoned at the end of Late Helladic IIIB. This suggests that the drainage works of Minyan Orchomenus were no longer functioning, the bureaucracy which maintained them having broken down. Nothing is known about relations between Mycenaean Thebes and Mycenaean Orchomenus: the legends concerning the war between Orchomenus and Thebes are more likely to reflect events during the 6th century BC than those of the Bronze Age.

In Archaic Boeotia there were still two major spheres of influence, one around the western half of the Copais under Orchomenus, the other covering the rest of the territory and more loosely tied, with no obvious dominant state. The power and influence of Orchomenus in the Archaic period may be reflected in the tradition that Orchomenus was a member of the Calaureian Amphictiony. This association was based at a sanctuary of Poseidon on the island of Calaureia (Poros) in the Saronic Gulf, for which evidence goes back to the 7th century BC. Eventually, Orchomenus, as it tried to extend its control to the east, and Thebes, moving westward, ran into each other, the result being the confirmation of Theban supremacy over the rest of Boeotia. This was assured by the fourth quarter of the 6th century, and is reflected not only in the literary traditions, but in contemporary inscriptions.

However, the new Boeotian League which emerged towards the end of the 6th century under the leadership of Thebes was by no means an autocratic association. One sign of this is the appearance late in the century of a distinctive Boeotian coinage, which means that there was not only an accepted common standard, but also a common economic policy. That the policy was consensual is shown by the facts that not only Thebes but at least nine other member states had their own mints, and that Orchomenus, although reduced, was allowed to issue its own small denomination coinage with a distinctive symbol of grain(s) of corn on the obverse, rather than the otherwise general Boeotian shield.

During the Persian invasion of 480/79 BC, Orchomenus joined Thebes and most of the rest of Boeotia in Medizing. In the period after the Battles of Tanagra and Oenophyta (456

Orchomenus: Church of the Dormition, built in 874 according to a Bulgarian style similar to that of Hagia Sophia at Ohrid

BC), when Athens dominated Boeotian affairs, Orchomenus may have been a member of the Delian League, but by 446 it had become a place of refuge for disaffected Boeotians of the oligarchic persuasion, who eventually defeated an Athenian force at nearby Coronea and threw the Athenians out of Boeotia.

Orchomenians fought on the left wing in the victorious battle of Delion (424), but it appears that, as the 5th century drew to its close, Orchomenus was being gradually stripped of its power and influence, with Thebes growing progressively more dominant within the Boeotian League. By the end of the century Orchomenus had lost control of Chaeronea and Lebadea, and was contributing only two of the 11 federal Boiotarchs.

It is not surprising that Orchomenus became a centre for anti-Theban sentiment. During the Corinthian war (which began in 395) it seceded to Sparta, and was protected by a Spartan garrison until at least 375. After the King's Peace (387/86 BC) Orchomenus, like the other poleis of Boeotia, formally regained its independence.

After the expulsion of the Spartan garrison from Thebes in 379/78, the Thebans gradually re-established themselves as the dominant power of Boeotia, and confirmed their status at the battle of Leuctra (371 BC). The Theban-led Boeotian League established the Basileia, games in honour of Zeus Basileus at Lebadea, which had formerly been dependent on Orchomenus. This Zeus was the original patron deity of Orchomenus, and the location of his sanctuary on the hill of Profitis Elias was an open provocation to the Orchomenians, and a public proclamation to all who passed by – since the hill is clearly visible from the road to Delphi – of the political pretensions of the Boiotoi, that is, the Thebans. The Thebans went even further, and in 364 razed Orchomenus.

This destruction was not permanent, as Theban power waned after the death of Epaminondas, and hostility between Thebes and Phocis drew closer to open warfare. Orchomenus was functioning again as early as 359 BC, and during the Third Sacred War it was mostly in the hands of the Phocians. But at the end of this war (346 BC) Philip II of Macedon handed Orchomenus back to Thebes, when it seems to have been destroyed and the population dispersed.

However, after Chaeronea (338), Philip restored the city, and Alexander the Great even commissioned an engineer (Crates) to drain the Copais, but this enterprise was not completed, and Orchomenus never really recovered its former stature. During the Hellenistic period it fell upon bad times, was compelled to borrow money – which it had difficulty repaying – and relied increasingly on the generosity of individual citizens for its public operations. It is clear that under the Romans Orchomenus had shrunk to the status of a village, which indeed it has remained until relatively recently.

After antiquity, settlement persisted at the foot of the hill Akontion, focusing on the villages of Skripou and Petromagoula (now joined into one and called Orchomenus).

The outstanding monument surviving from this period is the church of the former convent of the Koimisis tis Theotokou (AD 874), one of the earliest cruciform churches in Greece. Its builders used blocks from an ancient temple and the nearby theatre (4th–3rd centuries BC).

Aside from the tholos tomb, theatre, and church, the most impressive remains are traces of city walls on the Akontion hill and, on the acropolis proper, fortifications built by the Macedonians late in the 4th century BC. No certain trace has been found of a Mycenaean palace, or of the sanctuary of the Charites – the Graces – whose cult Pindar mentions in *Olympian* 14, nor of the supposed tomb of Hesiod.

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Summary

A city in western Boeotia 11 km northeast of Lebadea, Orchomenus was important in the Bronze Age and famed in myth, but in historical periods was subordinated to and by Thebes. Its outstanding monuments are from the Bronze Age (the "Treasury of Minyas", a tholos tomb; the fortress of Gla in the northeast corner of Lake Copais), the early Hellenistic period (a theatre), and the 9th century AD (church of the Dormition).

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Orgiastic Cults

The term *orgia* designated certain ceremonies and religious rites, with particular reference to initiation into a specific cult. Usually there were secret rites that had a symbolic function. The term "mystery" is also used. As Walter Burkert remarks, ancient mysteries were a kind of personal religion, since the initiation depended upon a person's decision to participate in a cult, and its practice enforced hope and belief in prosperity and future life. Such cults usually consisted of a variety of activities, such as purifications, processions, sacrifices, and dramatic enactments. The word mystery (*mysterion* in Greek) comes from the verb *myein*, meaning "to close". The *mystai*, those who participated, were required to keep their mouth closed and not to reveal secrets to those who had not been initiated. The word "orgiastic" in its modern sense probably best describes certain cults, particularly towards the end of the Hellenistic time, when a fusion of religions from various origins took place. The most important cults of this kind were Eleusinia, Thesmophoria, Dionysia, Orphica, Cabeiria, and mysteries for the worship of Cybele, Isis, and Sabazius.

The general idea of passing beyond the limits of morality in as many directions as possible lies behind the existence and performance of many orgiastic cults. Moreover, the psychological need to ritualize all possible polarities of human nature, so as not to be excluded from a community but rather belong to one, is another factor that explains the wide reception they had in antiquity. Herodotus (8. 65) speaks of 30,000 people attending mysteries. The roots of many orgiastic cults are hidden in the mists of prehistory, since they developed from rural festivals that celebrated the power of nature and fertility. The notions of death and resurrection are associated with many principal figures of the mysteries, for example, Dionysus, Persephone, Adonis, Attis, Osiris, and the Mithraic bull.

The Eleusinia were a mystic cult centred around the myth of the rape of Persephone, daughter of Demeter, by Hades, and the search of the mother for her daughter. The explanation of the natural phenomena and the human hope for rich agricultural production and fertility were treated in a symbolic manner. A series of purification rites took place. Many citizens of Athens were initiated in these mysteries, and although there is some uncertainty as to what went on, there are plenty of literary and archaeological sources to help us reconstruct the image of the Eleusinian mysteries. They continued to exist throughout the Roman period, until the 4th century AD, when the emperor Theodosius abolished them.

The Dionysiac cults, which had more of an orgiastic character in the modern sense of the word, included much wildness and extravagance. The cult of Dionysus had many festivals, for example, the City and the Rural Dionysia, the Anthesteria, and the Oschophoria. Besides the official celebration in honour of the god, there were also private celebrations that involved ecstatic worshipping of the god and going beyond one's self. The phenomenon of maenadism, as described in Euripides' *Bacchae*, is one example of extravagant rites that, even if they are mythical, still retain the element of self-transcendence that orgiastic cults promoted. Women in a state of ecstasy abandoned their homes and joined frenzied dances on the mountains swinging thyrsi and torches. This cult involved as a sacramental meal the devouring of an animal as it was bleeding. There is evidence of *orgia* of this type on Mount Parnassus by women controlled by Apollo who admitted Dionysus to Delphi and assisted the establishment of his cult in a milder form.

The Orphic cult promised life after death, and was related to oriental and Egyptian ideas of the afterlife. It involved many expiation rites. The worship of Cybele, or the Great Mother, is the result of much religious syncretism. The orgiastic character is strongly associated with her due to the institution of eunuch priests, the self-castrating Galloi. As with the Eleusinian mysteries, there is a mythic narrative corresponding to the ritual practice. Attis, the young lover of the goddess, was castrated and became her follower. Various rites were associated with the worship of Cybele, such as the *taurobolia* (slaughter of a bull) and *kriobolia* (sacrifice of a ram), perhaps dating from the 2nd century AD, when the initiate had to be drenched in the blood of a sacrificed bull or ram.

The Cabeiria was a mystery cult that took place in Samothrace and acquired importance second only to the Eleusinian mysteries. Ancient writers talk about the cult of the "Great Gods" in Samothrace. It is possible that the Great Mother of the Gods as well as Hecate and a certain Zerynthia Aphrodite were worshipped in Samothrace. Archaeology reveals that the shrines were active until the 3rd and possibly 4th century AD. As at Eleusis, the two important stages were those of preparation and initiation. But whereas in the Eleusinian mysteries one had to wait for at least a year between the two, in Samothrace they could be achieved on the same day. All the initiation rites occurred at night. The most important buildings found are the Anaktoron, where the initiation took place, built in the 1st century BC (but replacing an earlier structure), the Hiera Oikia (sacristy) where all the preparations were made, the Arsinoeion, built between 289 and 281 BC by Arsinoe, the wife of Lysimachus, a place for sacrifices and gatherings, and the actual shrine (Hieron). Many votive offerings have been excavated as at Eleusis, and it is possible to see the ruins of a theatre.

Cults associated with foreign gods such as Mithras, Serapis, and Isis were important in Greek religious life until late antiquity. Orgiastic cults continued to exist even after pagan times and within Christianity, and some blended into Christian ceremonies, although there was conscious opposition, particularly by Church Fathers. After the establishment of Christianity, many of the places that were important for ancient mysteries were destroyed, as happened at Samothrace.

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See also Festivals, Mysticism, Religion, Women's Cults

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Origen AD 184/85–254/55

Christian writer

As a native of Alexandria, Origen encountered the thought of Philo and the Valentinian "Gnostics", though he does not admit to learning much from either. He may have succeeded Clement as the head of the Catechetical school, and one of his works, the lost *Stromateis*, derived its title from his predecessor. He also found time to study with a teacher of Greek philosophy named Ammonius. This may be the same Ammonius who taught the Neoplatonist Plotinus, but those who identify the Christian Origen with Plotinus' fellow pupil of that name are merely cherishing an indifference to the facts. Origen's talents earned him first the patronage, then the enmity, of bishop Demetrius of Alexandria, and he migrated from the province to Caesarea, where his friends conferred on him the rank of presbyter. The breach with Alexandria was now irreparable, but in Caesarea Origen became an indefatigable teacher and a celebrated author, enjoying both the friendship of an empress and the general admiration of the Church.

Origen was the earliest Christian writer to make use of the Old Testament in Hebrew rather than Greek. The six columns of his *Hexapla* contained the Hebrew text, a transliteration of this into Greek characters, the Septuagint, and the later Greek translations or revisions made by Symmachus, Aquila, and Theodotion. Since he maintained the authority of the Septuagint against well-founded criticism, his object was more probably to establish the text of this than to replace it with a more accurate translation. Nevertheless, having had a "Hebrew" teacher, he acknowledged the Jewish canon (Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, 6. 25), and his commentaries and homilies, which cover most of this and our New Testament, did not extend to the Apocrypha. The purpose of his exegetic writings was to bring every part of the Bible home to the thoughts and lives of his contemporaries; whereas his heretical precursors had appealed to uncanonical gospels, he applied the tools of allegory to the scriptures, introducing a distinction between the body, soul, and spirit of the text (*De Principiis*, 4. 2. 4 etc.). He argued that the spiritual sense was present everywhere, and might sometimes be the only one, as in the Song of Songs; but the bodily or literal sense was not discarded except when it appeared to condone absurdities, immoralities, or defections from the apostolic faith.

This faith he upheld at the greatest length in his eight books against the dead philosopher Celsus; they presented Christianity both as the heir of Judaism and as the philosophical antidote to the errors, pains, and vices of the world. This work, perhaps composed to mark the thousandth anniversary of Rome in 248, is largely orthodox, but in his earlier *De Principiis* (On First Principles), the first Christian experiment in systematic theology, he allowed himself more freedom in speculation. He appears to have held, for example, that our souls lived in a higher state with God before they descended into this world, where they must undergo a purifying chastisement for their sins (*De Principiis*, 1. 4 etc.). This process after death will be extended to the body, and, though each must attain perfection in his own time, the whole created order will eventually be saved (*De Principiis*, 2. 8–11 etc.). These views, whatever they owe to Platonism, rest on a fundamental tenet of Greek theology, that no one ever suffers more from God than he or she deserves. Equally seminal for Orthodox doctrine was his teaching on the Godhead, for he was the first to say that in this Trinity or triad of three hypostases the Spirit and the Son are coeternal with the Father, though their existence and activity depend upon his will (*De Principiis*, 1. 2, *Commentary on John*, 2. 10, etc.).

Origen undoubtedly saw himself as an exegetic theologian, whose reading of the scriptures was conditioned by the teachings and traditions of the Church. While he is glad from time to time to find a friend in Plato, he never takes a philosophical statement as his starting point or advances a conjecture that cannot be grounded on some sacred text. He takes it as an axiom that God the Word is present in every sentence of the

scriptures (*Philokalia*, 5), and says that in his use of philosophical tools he was "spoiling the Egyptians" to enrich his own understanding (ibid. 13). Even his anthropology could not be independent of his Trinitarian doctrine. The Spirit first converts us by addressing the rational element, next the Son instructs our souls in virtue, and finally the Father gives us everlasting life, wherein the spirit and the soul will be united to the proper kind of body (*De Principiis*, 1. 3. 8 etc.). The germs of the threefold mystical way – the purgative, the illuminative, and the unitive – are discernible in this scheme, but it neglects the body less than many later speculations. The Spirit is our sole guide while our body is still at war with us; when this has been refined by immortality, we can be at last "one Spirit" with the Lord.

Among his disciples Origen numbered Eusebius of Caesarea, who profited greatly by his scholarship, and Gregory of Nyssa, who adopted his universalistic theory of salvation. In Gregory's time, however, it was already necessary to borrow silently, for Origen stood accused of many heresies: for example, of believing in the transmigration of souls, of denying the resurrection of the body, and of making the second person of the Trinity inferior to the first. His heresies were exposed in the *Ancoratus* and *Panarion* of Epiphanius of Salamis, who seemed disposed to condone the anthropomorphite heresy rather than follow Origen in abandoning the literal sense of scripture. He charged him with denying not only the bodily resurrection, but the fall of man in Adam, and his tract in defence of the Septuagint suggests that he saw an insidious purpose even in the *Hexapla*. Origen was condemned in 553 by the Second Council of Constantinople, and in consequence most of his writings were destroyed. All that survives in Greek is a number of homilies, passages from the *Commentary on Matthew*, the greater part of the *Commentary on John*, the *Contra Celsum*, the treatises *On Prayer* and *To the Martyrs*, the newly discovered *Dialogue with Heraclides*, and the *Philokalia*, a compilation of excerpts made by Basil the Great and Gregory of Nazianzus. We depend on the Latin renderings of Jerome and Rufinus for most of the rest, including the *De Principiis*; but in the West the uncertain status of the Constantinopolitan Council has allowed such theologians as von Balthasar to pay more open tribute to his *Commentary on the Song of Songs*, a seminal work of Christian mysticism. Jerome's regard for Origen and Rufinus turned to hatred under the spell of Epiphanius, but it was Origen's example that inspired his Latin translation of the Old Testament from the Hebrew. In eastern Christianity Origen's influence, where perceptible, is a testimony to his intellect, his honesty, and the many abiding merits of his work.

MARK EDWARDS

Biography

Born in Alexandria in AD 184 or 185, Origen was educated at the catechetical school under Pantaenus and Clement and learnt philosophy from Ammonius. He may have succeeded Clement as head of the school before moving to Palestine in 215. He wrote extensively about textual criticism, exegesis, and systematic theology and was ordained a priest. Recalled to Alexandria, he was later banished and settled at Caesarea. He died at Tyre in 254 or 255.

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Orphism

The term "Orphism" is somewhat ambiguous, as it is not clear exactly what it refers to. The ancients never spoke of Orphism but only about Orpheus, the presumed author of Orphic books, and of certain Orphic rites. A book became Orphic simply by being ascribed to Orpheus. The question of whether Orphism existed as a religious movement or merely as a set of beliefs described in the Orphic literature remains controversial. The rise of Orphic ideas and the nature of Orphic practices remain obscure despite some recent discoveries. The unifying factor, Orpheus, is a mythical figure of Thracian origin whose

main characteristic was a unique gift for music. This characteristic features in a number of ancient stories about Orpheus; he is said to have enchanted Hades with his song so that his prematurely dead wife Eurydice returned to life (cf. Plato, *Symposium*, 179d); to have taken part in the Argonauts' expedition and outsung the Sirens (cf. Pindar, Pythian 4. 167f.); and to have been beheaded by Thracian women while his head continued to sing (*Symposium*, 179d, *Republic*, 620a).

Through his achievements Orpheus appears as a great shaman – somebody whose spirit can affect the whole of nature, from plants and animals to souls and even gods or Hades. These achievements are often the subject of the Orphic poems, usually hymns or longer poems of theogonic or cosmogonic content, most of them now lost or only partially preserved. Such Orphic poems presumably started to circulate from the 6th century BC and they became popular in 5th and 4th centuries BC, as the testimony of various authorities suggests (e.g. Euripides, *Hippolytus*, 952ff.; Plato, *Republic*, 364e, *Cratylus*, 402b, *Philebus*, 66c, *Laws*, 829e). A relatively recent find, the Derveni papyrus, discovered in a tomb in northern Greece and dating from the late 4th century BC, contains a commentary on an Orphic theogony and proves that such Orphic poems were in circulation already in the 5th century BC. In the 6th century AD Damascius *(De Principiis*, 123–24), discussing the Orphic account of the beginnings of the world, talks of three Orphic theogonies, of which he had only indirect knowledge. According to the core of Orphic cosmogony Chronos, the primordial divinity, gives birth to Aether and Chaos and they generate a world-egg.

The link between these poems and a cult of Orpheus is difficult to determine. The Derveni papyrus, buried and burned with an unknown Greek, makes even clearer the close linking of religious practices to a specific text. Orphism seems to have been very much a book religion. Plato talks of purveyors of purifications and rituals which bring deliverance from unrighteousness, claiming that these people perform rites in accordance with books by Musaeus and Orpheus *(Republic*, 364e–365a). The most ancient testimony to Orphic practice comes from Herodotus. With reference to the prejudice against introducing woollen articles into temples or being buried in them, Herodotus says that this is an Egyptian custom and "in this they agree with the practices which are called Orphic and Bacchic, though they are actually Egyptian and Pythagorean" (2. 81). Herodotus is not the only one who identifies Orphic with Bacchic rites. In Euripides' *Hippolytus* (953) Theseus uses the verb *baccheuein* for Orphic rites. Archaeological evidence further supports the close relation between Orphic and Bacchic rites, and Orpheus often figures in artistic depictions of predominantly Dionysiac themes. Orpheus is sometimes said to be the initiator of the cult of Dionysus (Hecataeus), but at other times he is presented as having neglected the worship of Dionysus after his journey to Hades, instead venerating the sun (Aeschylus, *Bassarai*) for which his punishment was his assassination by a group of Thracian women. We hear of active *Orphikoi* in Athens and in southern Italy in the 5th century BC and we know of their distinctive views (e.g. Aristotle, *De Anima*, 410b28f.), but little is certain about their rites. Ancient sources speak of Orphic rites (*teletai*), though without giving precise information (Aristophanes, *Frogs*, 1032, *Rhesus*, 943; Plato, *Protagoras*, 316d), and also of participants in these rites (*Orpheotelestai*) (e.g. Theophrastus, *Characters*, 16. 11). Presumably the mysteries referred to, at least in some of those occurrences, are the Eleusinian mysteries. In some sources Orpheus is mentioned as their founder (Diodorus Siculus, 1. 23. 2f.), and Orphic mysteries are sometimes identified with the Eleusinian mysteries (Pausanias, 1. 37. 4). Orphic ideas indeed permeated the Eleusinian and also the Theban mysteries of the Cabiri. Orphics were particularly concerned with the purity of the soul, which was deemed to be imprisoned in the body. This purity was sought through an ascetic way of life with strict rules, especially about diet, such as abstinence from meat (Euripides, *Hippolytus*, 952–55; Plato, *Laws*, 782c–83c), but also from eggs, beans, and wine. Orphics believed in an afterlife and the transmigration of the soul, a feature which brings Orphism closer to Pythagorean ideas rather than to the Eleusinian mysteries. There is a certain common ground between Orphism and Pythagoreanism and perhaps some rivalry between them, to judge from such contradicting testimonies as that according to which Pythagoras and the Pythagoreans were the true authors of Orphic poems and that Pythagoras was indebted to Orpheus.

Orphic literature proliferated in the Hellenistic and the imperial eras. In the religious syncretism of late antiquity the name of Orpheus continued to fascinate, but now there was even less concern for demarcation between Orphic and other religious cults. A significant revival of interest in Orphic literature occurs with the Neoplatonists. Orpheus was now not only an inspired poet but also a theologian. The Orphic poems were interpreted allegorically and, under this interpretation, were held to be in accord with the doctrines of Platonic philosophy. The Orpheus legend had a considerable impact on Christianity. Although the Orphic rites were dismissed, the story of Orpheus charming nature with his music was interpreted as a prefiguration of Christ charming human souls with his teaching (Clement, *Protrepticus*, 7. 74. 3–6). Christ in his role of the Good Shepherd is said to be the new Orpheus (Eusebius, *Laus Constantini*, 244. 14–31). The figure of Orpheus which is often found in catacombs stands for Christ, who can also be depicted as Orpheus himself.

The Byzantines knew of the Orphic literature, which they still ascribed to Orpheus. The Orpheus legend was used as a metaphor of the power of poetry and music (Theophrastus of Ochrid, 1. 353. 3, cf. Arethas, *Scriptat Minora*, 2. 5. 27–6. 3, and Nicetas Choniates, *Orationes*, 129. 26–29). Psellos referred to Orphic rites (*Philosophica Minora*, II, opusc. 19. 48), while Anna Komnene contends that he emulates Orpheus in moving the souls of her readers (*Alexiad*, 1. 7. 14–20). In the 15th century Plethon showed vivid interest in the Orphic texts and Ficino translated some of them into Latin.

In modern Greek literature the presence of Orphism is striking. The impact of Orphic doctrines can be detected already in Palamas, but Orphism becomes prominent in the work of A. Sikelianos, who was very much inspired by ancient mystery religions. Orphic ideas permeate his early poems (e.g. his *Elaphroiskiotos*), but they become central in a series of lyric poems entitled *Orphica* (written between 1927 and 1942). Later in his life Sikelianos, engaged in the composition of tragedies, wrote *The Last Orphic Dithyramb* or *The Dithyramb of the Rose* (1932), a dialogue between Orpheus

and the chorus, which was actually enacted in Athens in April 1933.

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Orthodox Church

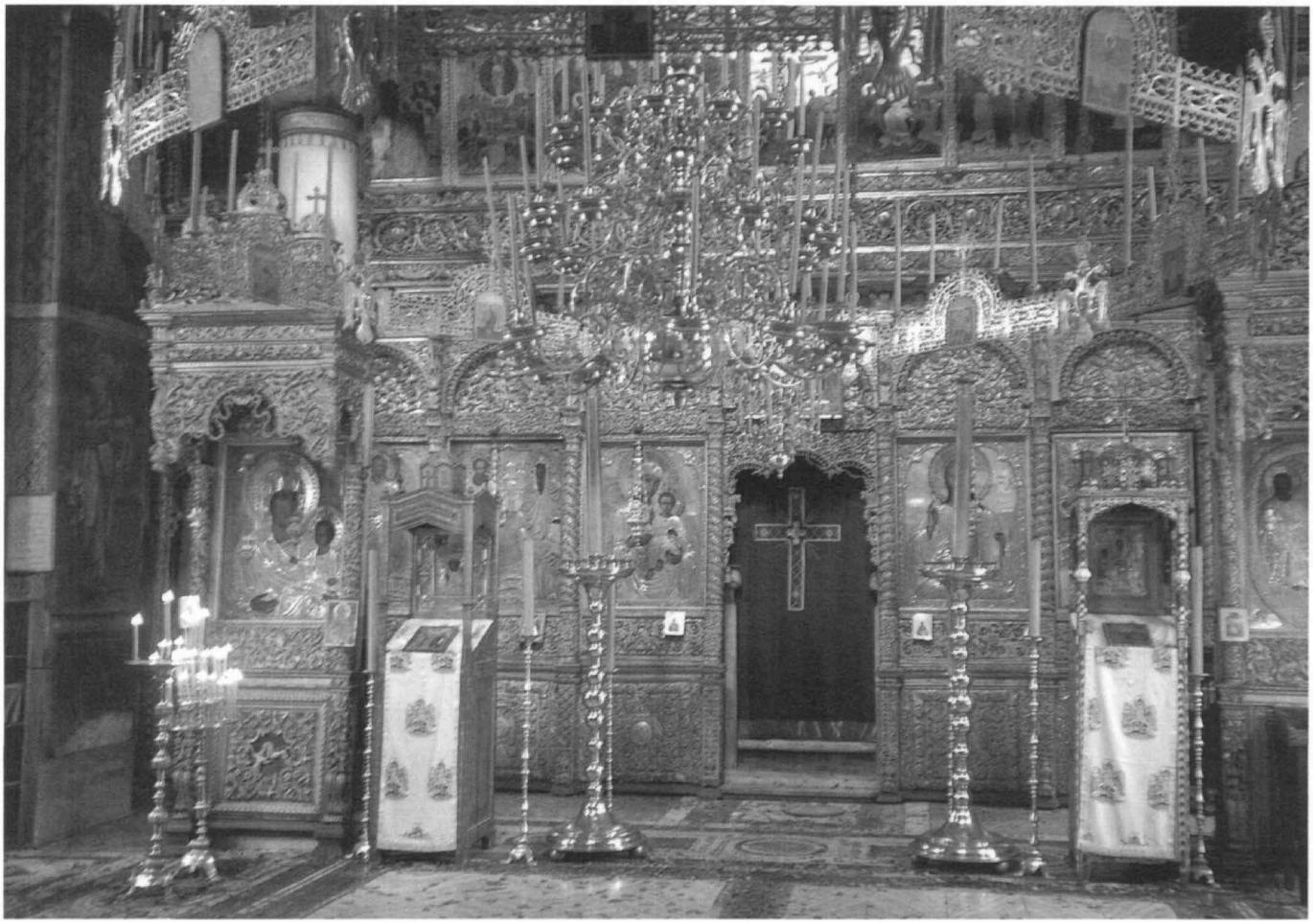
The Orthodox Church appears externally as a communion of self-governing jurisdictions – in 2000 the patriarchates of Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, Jerusalem, Moscow, Bucharest, Peć and Belgrade, Sofia, Georgia, and the archbishoprics of Cyprus, Athens, Warsaw, Tirana, and Prague (covering both the Czech and Slovak Republics). They are held together formally by mutual acceptance of each other's orthodoxy and canonical legitimacy; a common adherence to the decisions of the seven ecumenical councils, as also to the principle of conciliar and synodal government of the Church (going back to the apostolic council in Jerusalem) in general; rejection of the 8th-century (794) Frankish and 11th-century papal addition of the *filioque* ("and from the Son") to the affirmation in the Niceno-Constantinopolitan creed of 381 that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father; strong commitment to tradition, which includes both the Bible and much subsequent patristic teaching; and consequent opposition to any individual – whether the pope or other believers – altering or reforming that tradition without the consent of the ecclesial body at large.

Most important internally is a common manner of worship, centred around the eucharistic liturgies of St Basil and St John Chrysostom, but including numerous other service books, largely preserved as elaborated by the 9th century at the monasteries of Mar Saba near Jerusalem and the Stoudios in Constantinople. This shared tradition of worship represents for the Orthodox both a foretaste of God's kingdom and its already present reality. Even at a superficial level, committed Orthodox Christians almost certainly spend longer in ecclesial worship than most other Christians. Five examples of services of worship may illustrate some distinctive elements in the Orthodox tradition.

The *Chairetismoi* ("Salutations"), in the service books reserved to matins for the fifth Saturday in Lent, are in the Greek world sung partially on the four previous Friday evenings as well. The theological explanation for the service's popularity would be in terms of wonder at the Incarnation and devotion to the Mother of God. Furthermore, the rhetorical poetry is among the best in medieval Greek and still accessible to many Greeks today. Central to the service's creation historically, however, is the *Akathist* hymn (the title indicates that all remain standing throughout), written to celebrate the miraculous deliverance of Constantinople during the sieges by the Avars and Persians in 626, and by the Ummayads in 674 and 717–18. The central refrain – "To you, the general who fought for us, your city offers a hymn of victory" – retains such deep emotional resonance for Greeks that it is customarily chanted at moments of national exaltation or danger. Thus, whereas the service books transmitted to the Rus contained but one such service a year, today in the Greek world the hymn is central to five, an illustration of the close link between Orthodoxy and the history of those peoples who in their majority still adhere to it.

The matins service on four successive evenings from Palm Sunday announces Christ's arrival as bridegroom of the Church. Each believer acknowledges the absence of a wedding garment and hence unreadiness to join the wedding feast. No one who attends these services can doubt that Orthodox Christians share the common Christian insistence on personal responsibility. It is equally evident, however, that this is seen not primarily in terms of ethical norms (such as the Ten Commandments) but as an existential commitment and response to God (or lack of it), through such figures as the chaste Joseph and the unchaste but devoted harlot, the avaricious traitor Judas, and (on Good Friday) the repentant thief.

Western Christians have criticized Orthodox believers both as negligent of moral rules and as overly ascetic: the nub of any difference lies in the emphasis on personal response to God and one's neighbour, on the pattern of such parables as that of the Pharisee and the Tax-Farmer, the Prodigal Son, the Good Samaritan, and the Last Judgement, which are probably the Gospel passages most deeply etched in the ecclesial and individual consciousness of Orthodox Christians. Sin is seen less than in the West as a series of transgressions, and more as a falling-short from what is the best in human behaviour. This in turn is nothing less than the pattern set by Jesus, the Son of God incarnate. What God seeks of us then is what his Son



Orthodox Church: interior of the katholikon of the monastery of Chilandari, Mount Athos. Every available surface is decorated to create an image of heaven on earth

demonstrated on earth, namely fully human behaviour at the limit. This means sharing in the self-offering of his ministry, not acquring a sense of righteousness through the fulfilment of moral law.

The "Lamentation" service on Good Friday is the second most popular service in the Orthodox world. From Good Thursday the focus shifts to Jesus' Passion. Good Friday matins, sung late on Good Thursday, hymns Christ's action in redeeming us from "the curse of the law". There is also repeated emphasis on Jesus in his passion being simultaneously one of the passionless Holy Trinity. Furthermore the whole natural world is seen as participating in astonishment at the mystery of divine acceptance of such humiliation. The nub of the Lamentation itself, however, lies where Jesus' humanity joins with ours. We identify with someone who is betrayed by a friend; unjustly accused and condemned by his own people; condemned again, beaten, and executed by soldiers of a foreign power; and whose beloved ones, chiefly his mother, lament the deprivation of their most precious relationship through his death. The Orthodox Good Friday services dwell much less on the details of physical suffering than on the existential pain caused by death.

The fourth service, Paschal matins, is the most popular of all. Jesus' human experience was one of life lived, and in the end suffering endured, at its limits. What followed, namely the women's and then apostles' witness to his resurrection, implied something beyond a merely human drama, namely that God has involved himself in the human condition in order to encounter and heal its most basic problems. These are seen to be human subjection to physical, psychological, and conventional ethical law, with an ultimate end in physical death. The purpose of God's action is seen as making it possible for human beings to replace this bondage by a free and loving relationship with him and with other human beings, such liberation to be crowned by a life of eternal communion. Hence the Paschal hymn's repeated proclamation of Christ's defeat of death by death giving life to those in the tombs.

The Eucharist, less dramatic or obviously popular, has had the most continuous influence. It is not a meeting of individuals for common worship but the coming together of the local community to enter into communion with God, which explains why, in contrast to Western custom, there can be only one liturgy celebrated in any church by any priest on any one day. Each community is local but also universal, because through its presiding bishop it is in unity with all similar communities in the same thank-offering of praise.

The worshipping community approaches God both as creators in God's image, building, painting, adorning, preparing, serving, reading, and singing in the church; and as participants in its prayer of thanksgiving, praise, and self-offering.

God's response to this Eucharistic worship with the offering of the holy gifts of bread and wine, fruits of nature transformed by human hands, is, by giving himself, to bring those who pray into communion with him, revealed as three persons in an eternal communion of love, who calls human beings into communion among themselves as with God. This represents an even more fundamental sense in which human beings have been created in God's image, and can come to be in his likeness also.

It is from within the tradition of worship that one can best understand why certain issues that have exercised Western Christians have not much exercised Orthodox believers, whereas others are considered so vital that not a word may be added to or subtracted from the traditional formulation.

The Orthodox tradition did not develop a doctrine of predestination because it seemed at variance with Christ's ministry and the free response that this self-evidently demands from every human being. Neither is it seen as compatible with a loving Father, nor also is any concept of juridical satisfaction. Equally, long Western "either–or" debates on justification have frequently bemused Orthodox Christians, since to them the purpose of human life is to move into an ever closer relationship of communion with God.

It is indeed on the doctrine of God that Orthodox theology has concentrated. The first two ecumenical councils, of Nicaea (325) and Constantinople (381), elaborated a creed that is above all Trinitarian. In the earlier part of the 4th century St Athanasius of Alexandria taught that only if Jesus were as fully God as his Father could it be true that God had become man so that man might become God. In its latter part the Cappadocian fathers, St Basil, St Gregory of Nazianzus, and St Gregory of Nyssa, developed the doctrine of three persons and hypostases of God sharing a unity of nature. As St Basil expressed it, that unity of nature did not take priority: unity derived rather from the hypostasis of the Father, in a personal relationship of birth-giving with the Son and a personal relationship of procession with the Holy Spirit. In modern terms this means that ultimate reality lies in the eternal free and loving relationship of the divine persons, all three of whom are genuine subjects, not in the divine nature. The implications of this for life and liturgy have been illustrated above.

During the 5th to 7th centuries there were fierce disputes over the relationship between the divine and the human in the Son of God incarnate. The Council of Ephesus (431) determined that, since Jesus was Son of God at birth, Mary should be described as *Theotokos* or "Mother of God". The Council of Chalcedon (451), without denying that there might be legitimate use of one-nature language, elaborated what is for the West the classic statement of a two-nature theology. This caused ongoing schism in the East. The Fifth Ecumenical Council, in Constantinople (553), tried to bridge the divide. By accepting that a person of the Godhead had suffered in the flesh, it emphasized the priority of the divine person in relation to the two natures. This might have but did not heal the division, which had become ecclesial, dividing non-Chalcedonians from Chalcedonians in separate jurisdictions. Nor did the desperate attempt by emperors in the 7th century to assert that there were indeed two natures but only one will in Christ. Ultimately, and after the effective martyrdom of St Maximos the Confessor, one of the greatest Orthodox theologians, his view prevailed in the Sixth Ecumenical Council in Constantinople (680–81), namely that Christ, together with his divinity, had a fully human nature, including a human will and mode of activity.

If the Fifth Ecumenical Council conformed to imperial plans, the Seventh, held in Nicaea (787), like the Sixth, represented the defeat of a previous imperial position imposed through persecution on an important section of the Church. Iconoclasm had been resisted above all by monks and women within the empire, and by the Church as a whole outside it. In justifying the veneration of icons, St John of Damascus emphasized that it was through matter that God had worked out mankind's salvation and that veneration for the person materially depicted was intended not for the material object but for the person represented. Later opponents of iconoclasm pointed out that since the Son of God had become incarnate he could be pictured. This had the beneficial consequence of balancing concern regarding the exact relationship between the divine and human natures in Christ with a vision of Christ as one of the divine persons, who had become human.

There were other beneficial consequences. The Orthodox Church became pre-eminently a Church with a positive and indeed Eucharistic attitude to matter, encouraging its use in harmony with God and his creation, rather than for utility or self-gratification. The relevance of such an attitude in relation to our century's ecological crisis is evident. Then again, while the conciliar tradition had long antedated Constantine, and while he himself in presiding at Nicaea had worked to achieve a decision representing a genuine consensus by the episcopate, it was inevitable that emperors would use their power and quasi-religious status to impose their view. After iconoclasm emperors could be and were more easily resisted, if they presumed to take doctrinal initiatives.

Theological debate did not end with the seven ecumenical councils. There are at least two more that are considered by many Orthodox to aspire to ecumenical status. The first is the council held in Constantinople (879–80) under patriarch Photios, when all, including the papal legates present, decided against any credal insertion (meaning the Frankish *filioque*). The other is the council in Constantinople (1341) that supported the Athonite monks led by St Gregory Palamas in their distinction, taken from the Cappadocians, between God's nature or essence, incommunicable to human beings, and his outgoing energies, which could be and are received by humans, sometimes indeed in experiences that resemble the Transfiguration of Christ. A remarkable feature of the 13th to 15th centuries is the strong bond that linked those who shared this "hesychast" theology across ethnic boundaries in a comradeship and service to the cause of Orthodox Christianity, buffeted as it then was by Islam from the East and the papacy from the West.

Apart from the distinction between God's essence and energies, the theological initiative from the 13th century to the 19th lay with the dominant West. Many Orthodox were attracted by elements of Western thought and spirituality but the combination of military and jurisdictional aggressiveness prevented their general acceptance. Jurisdictional expansionism by the papacy was indeed even more effective than particular doctrinal or ritual disagreements in spreading and cementing the schism. Latin military success in Antioch in 1100 and in

Constantinople in 1204 entailed the replacement of an Eastern by a Latin hierarchy under papal jurisdiction. This was unacceptable to local Christians.

If the later papal claim to universal jurisdiction has created the greatest problems between the traditional centres of Christendom, other jurisdictional disputes have not been far behind. The doctrinal history of the 5th and 6th centuries was scarred by rivalries between Constantinople and Alexandria, Rome and Constantinople, Alexandria and Antioch. And if its missionary efforts among the Slavs and resistance to papal ecclesiastical imperialism made the patriarchate of Constantinople generally acceptable as the moving force in Orthodoxy for several centuries, especially effective in nurturing emergent Muscovy, this did not remain true for ever – Moscow itself, effectively autonomous from 1448, was acknowledged as an autocephalous patriarchate in 1589. Still less was it true during the emergence of nation states in the 19th century, which led to autocephalous national jurisdictions, bitter nationalist hostility between Orthodox Christians, and indeed secular control of many Orthodox Churches.

Again, if the Orthodox were the first Christians to object to Rome's ecclesiological hegemonism, they were slow in developing theological alternatives and have been positively remiss in implementing them. It was in mid-19th-century Russia that Alexey Khomyakov argued for *sobornost* or "conciliarity" as the basis for an Orthodox ecclesiology. This has been theoretically accepted but too often practically ignored or limited to such a narrow group as to lack meaning for the body of the Church as a whole.

Today jurisdictional disputes still mar the worldwide witness of Orthodoxy. The patriarchate of Constantinople's coordinating role as primus inter pares is agreed, but little else. The diaspora from the Orthodox heartlands remains largely though not totally split along ethnic lines and jurisdictional disputes exist in several traditional Orthodox lands as well. Most important, the fundamental equality of bishops is often sacrificed in practice to theologically questionable direction by central patriarchal or archiepiscopal bureaucracies, while within their own dioceses many bishops display a parallel indifference to the spirit of conciliarity. There are also Orthodox countries where the weight of history leads many bishops and ordinary believers alike to assimilate responsibility to Christ and the Church with national loyalties.

If in jurisdictional and ecclesiological terms the Orthodox Church falls short of its own standards, it remains true that its witness in the 20th century has been notable. Few Christian Churches at any period could point to numbers of martyrs surpassing those under Soviet rule. None has faced the full force of a totalitarian state for so long, without external support, and yet survived. Since about 1960 there has been a remarkable revival of monasticism, of missionary spirit, and of theological reflection among the Orthodox in many parts of the world, while, contrary to some Western prejudice, Orthodoxy has not in general proved an obstacle either to democracy or to the civil society.

It was inevitable that Orthodox participation in the theological debate of the 20th century would lead to some reformulation, but not that Orthodox Christian theologians should be so creative or influential. Theological revival had begun in 19th- and early 20th-century Russia; after the Revolution of 1917 a series of powerful Russian theologians, patristic scholars, and pastoral leaders worked in the West, among them Nikolai Berdayev, Sergei Bulgakov, Georges Florovsky, Vladimir Lossky, Alexander Schmemann, John Meyendorff, and metropolitan Antony of Sourozh, who has also attempted to realize the vision of Orthodox ecclesiology in his diocese.

From the 1960s there has been a contribution to the restatement of Orthodox theology both by converts to Orthodoxy, such as Olivier Clement and bishop Kallistos (Ware), and by theologians from other Orthodox lands, especially Greece. Best known abroad are Christos Yannaras and John Zizioulas, whose attitude to the West differs although their theology, both belonging to the Cappadocian tradition of acknowledging the free and loving communion of the persons of the Holy Trinity as the fundamental reality on which all else should be based, is related. As metropolitan of Pergamum, John Zizioulas is the foremost exponent of Orthodox ecclesiology and ecology alike. This last has been strongly supported by two successive patriarchs of Constantinople, Demetrios and, since 1991, Bartholomaios. Metropolitan Anastasios of Tirana has set a notable example through the manner in which he began rebuilding the Church in Albania, a witness all the more valuable for coming at a time when a revived combination of religion and nationalism has become as dangerous to Orthodoxy as it was a century ago.

The Orthodox attitude to the worldwide ecumenical movement, despite the enthusiastic participation of the late patriarch Athenagoras, and the help it gave to Churches then under persecution behind the Iron Curtain, has been ambivalent, suspicious of politicization but effective in attempting to develop points of theological consensus. There are also dialogues with all the major communions, which proceed at the same deliberate pace as dialogue among the Orthodox themselves. Although there have been important agreements on specific issues, it is unlikely that dialogue will bear rich fruit until the Orthodox see their way towards a gradual implementation of their ecclesiology in practice and are able to work out the relative weight of history and theology in the interpretation of tradition. It is clear, however, that many Orthodox, not least members of the international youth movement Syndesmos, are looking in these directions.

It is also clear that the Orthodox combination of humanity, as for instance in the tradition of a married priesthood, forgiveness of divorce, and, in the recent debate, acceptance of contraception, with a liturgical, ascetic, and theological outlook uncompromised by modernism and self-proclaimedly based on Christian tradition, has drawn forth an answering chord from many Christians in the West, after centuries of ignorance and contempt.

COSTA CARRAS

See also Councils, Ecumenism, Liturgy, Schism

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Orthodoxy and Hellenism

The encounter between Orthodox Christianity and Hellenism (traditional ancient Greek culture) was an event of great significance not only for European but also for world history. The intense, multi-faceted, and longsranding meeting of two different currents ranged from open hostility to dynamic interaction. Yet, it should be pointed out from the outset that in the so-called Helleno-Christian synthesis these currents were by no means equal partners, for Christianity was always in control of the situation. The appropriation or the rejection of the various elements that made up Hellenic civilization was carried out in most cases on the basis of Christian criteria and expediencies without taking into consideration the relevant Hellenic perspectives. This also explains the systematic Christian persecution of paganism in the Byzantine era as well as the understandable reactions of the followers of the Hellenic tradition.

Christianity, though initially a Jewish movement that originated in Palestine, soon came into contact with the prevailing Hellenic culture of the day, as evidenced by the "Hellenists", i.e. the Greek-speaking Jews, who might have adopted Hellenic customs as well (Acts 6: 1; 9: 29; 11: 20). Tension arose on the part of Jewish Christians when Gentiles were admitted to Christianity and the Christian Church started to expand in the non-Jewish world. Paul's confrontation with Hellenism at Athens provoked indifference and mockery (Acts 18: 32), for to preach Jesus crucified as the power and the wisdom of God was certainly a folly to the Gentiles (1 Corinthians 1: 23). These events marked the very early meeting of the emerging Christianity with the Hellenic world. Up to the era of emperor Constantine I (324–37), the Christian attitude towards Hellenism was conditioned by Christianity's delicate position in the Roman empire. The main intention of the Christian Church was to establish and legitimize itself in society as well as to evade Roman hostility and open persecution. Thus Hellenism was not initially the prime enemy, and Christian writers took varying stands on it. For example, in the 2nd century there were several Christian apologists (e.g. Justin Martyr, Athenagoras), who, among other things, tried to defend the new faith against the objections of the learned followers of Hellenism. Their interest also lay in discovering

Orthodoxy and Hellenism in harmony: a cenobitic brotherhood on Mount Athos

the positive aspects of Hellenic philosophy (e.g. Platonism) and incorporating them into Christian theology. In other cases, there were more systematic critiques and denigrations of Hellenic philosophy and religion from a Christian perspective (e.g. by Hermias, Theophilus of Antioch, Tatian, Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Athanasius of Alexandria). These attacks were in some cases caused by the reactions of pagan writers (e.g. Celsus, Lucian of Samosata), who tried to refute and ridicule Christianity.

The institutionalization of Christianity in the 4th century marked a decisive further development in its relationship with Hellenism. Paganism, as embodying the Hellenic religion and world view, was systematically criticized and attacked by Christian political and religious leaders. Despite some short-lived but unsuccessful pagan revivals (e.g. under emperor Julian, 361–63), the future of paganism was its inevitable extinction. Yet the 4th century also signified a turning point in the Christian appreciation of Hellenism. Secular wisdom, based on Hellenic philosophy, was deemed useful for Christian purposes. The Cappadocian Fathers, namely Basil of Caesarea, Gregory of Nyssa, and Gregory of Nazianzus, managed to incorporate Hellenic philosophy into the elaboration of Christian doctrine in their struggle against the various heresies. The articulation and systematization of "revealed Christian truth" was made possible through the use of the vocabulary of Hellenic natural philosophy, of words such as *logos*, *hypostasis*, and *ousia*. In this way, they successfully synthesized philosophical speculation with Christian teaching and dogmatics. The metamorphosis of Hellenic thought into the Christian framework involved simultaneously a critique and rejection of Hellenic myth, polytheism, and practice. Basil of Caesarea is known for his speech to Christian youth on how to profit from the Hellenic tradition by avoiding its erroneous doctrines and pitfalls. In general, the Cappadocian strategy proved to be an important and productive innovation in the development of Christian thought that was followed by many theologians in the following centuries. From this perspective, the development of early Christian doctrine was seen in terms of a process of "Hellenization".

In the Byzantine period the noun "Hellene" was used in a pejorative sense mainly referring to paganism, but also to denote a polytheist of any sort. Although the Hellenic language and culture were present throughout Byzantium, the simultaneous opposition to paganism persisted as well. The Church always feared any potential revivals of pagan rites, traditions, and world views. The Hellenic element in certain views of Origen was condemned by the Fifth Ecumenical Council in 553. The search for truth and certainty in Hellenism was also condemned by the Seventh Ecumenical Council in 787. The Church viewed suspiciously any preoccupation with the Hellenic tradition, especially if such study was pursued independently of the ecclesiastical tradition. Byzantium experienced such a Hellenic renaissance from the 9th century onwards; the philosopher John Italos was condemned in 1082 for serious deviations from Orthodox doctrine, while Michael Psellos was also suspected of being influenced by Hellenism. The charge of "professing Hellenism" was often brought in Byzantium to condemn specific doctrines derived from ancient

tradition, such as cosmology and anthropology. And the revival of the Hellenic tradition in the last days of Byzantium produced an important pagan thinker in George Gemistos Plethon, who hoped that the Hellenic religion would eventually replace Christianity. Nevertheless the term "Hellene" was used by the Byzantines to define themselves after the 13th century, despite the fact that the Church still disliked it. Yet the Orthodox critique of Hellenism was not blind and indistinctly articulated. Rather, the Byzantine Orthodox appropriation of Hellenism has been carried out in a gradual, careful, and very eclectic way on the basis of Christian principles. It is thus no accident that the portraits of several Greek philosophers (e.g. Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Plutarch) are found in wall-paintings of some churches in the greater Balkan area and even on Mount Athos.

Under Ottoman rule the Church remained the principal bearer and promoter of the Byzantine tradition (*Romiosyni*) and its attitude towards Hellenism. It is true that an awareness of the ancient heritage existed among the Greek population at both a higher and a popular level throughout the Tourkokratia. The wide-ranging Hellenic revival, however, in pre-independence Greece, which was influenced by western interest in Hellenic antiquity, went hand in hand with a neglect of or even a critique of the Byzantine heritage in the context of the Greek Enlightenment. These events alarmed the Church, which feared an undermining of its authority and faced the threat of irreligion and atheism. It is no wonder therefore that in an encyclical of March 1819 patriarch Gregory V described the practice of giving Orthodox children Hellenic names as inappropriate. The same problem was encountered in the 19th century when religious decline and indifference towards Christianity were attributed to the widespread worship of antiquity. During that period there was also an antithesis between those who saw discontinuity in Greek history and those who supported the view that the Greek nation had continued uninterrupted throughout the ages. This controversy also touched on the debated correlation of Hellenism with Christianity, and the Hellenic and the Romaic models of identity, and was temporarily solved through the development of Greek historicism (e.g. in Konstantinos Paparrigopoulos's monumental *History of the Greek Nation*, 1864–75), while the term "Helleno-Christian" was first coined in 1852 by Spyridon Zampelios.

The relationship between Orthodoxy and Hellenism in modern Greece is an unresolved issue, and a matter of increasing complexity due to the serious problems of identity and orientation that Greek society continues to face. Apart from the difficulties with the West, an ideal synthesis of the Hellenic tradition with the Byzantine Orthodox Romaic heritage still remains a desideratum. Beneath the official rhetoric of the Church and the state about the allegedly harmonious Helleno-Christian synthesis, there lie a number of varying and even contradictory evaluations of both Hellenism and Orthodoxy, which attest to the persisting dichotomies of modern Greek culture. Thus, the various ways in which Hellenism and Christianity are correlated in modern Greece can be summarized in the following eight categories.

In the first place, there exists an extremely negative view of Hellenism from an Orthodox perspective and an emphasis on the incomparable superiority of Christianity. Hellenism is in principle viewed as an enemy and no more than a few harmless elements from the Hellenic tradition are accepted. This negative evaluation of Hellenism, especially on the basis of moralistic criteria, was expressed at the turn of the 19th century by the hieromonk Athanasios Parios, who reacted against the Hellenic revival of the day. Such a mentality was evident later in the thought of the popular preacher Apostolos Makrakis (1831–1905), who argued against the re-establishment of the Olympic Games. Today it is exemplified by the metropolitan of Florina, Avgustinos Kantiotis, who fears a pagan renaissance and who manifests an extreme reaction to any remnants of the Hellenic tradition. For example, he is not only against giving Greek Orthodox children Hellenic names, but against anything that is reminiscent of Greece's heathen heritage. These views are also held by most Greek Orthodox fundamentalists.

In the second category there is a more positive and balanced appreciation of Christianity's encounter with Hellenism and their dynamic interaction in history. This general perspective is shared by the official Church as well as by various ecclesiastical and theological circles. Such an Orthodox policy towards Hellenism does not rule out the possibility of an eventual conflict with it, especially when certain Hellenic remnants appear independently of the predominant Christian context. This is the main reason for the Church's disapproval of the *Anastenaria*, the fire-walking rituals in northern Greece.

The third category refers to the most positive correlation between Christianity and Hellenism and their smooth historical continuity, which is the line officially propagated by the Greek state, by the Church, and by the politicians. In the context of this mythology, the harmonious synthesis of these two traditions is extolled, for having given rise to the Helleno-Christian civilization, an unprecendented worldwide cultural phenomenon. In this case, all differences between them are minimized and considered unimportant, while the Helleno-Christian ideology is also incorporated in the national expediencies of the Greek state.

The fourth category has to do with the Neo-Orthodox current, which criticized the aforementioned attempts to correlate Christianity with Hellenism and suggested a specific approach to this question. The Neo-Orthodox objective was to find the diachronic features of the Greek way of life over a span of 3000 years, patent and latent alike. Thus, apart from any discontinuities between Hellenism and Christianity, there is a great span of Hellenicity that remains to be discovered and instrumentalized in contemporary Greece.

The fifth category refers to the practical, unofficial correlation of Hellenic/pagan and Christian elements in popular worship and rituals all over Greece. In many cases, the Church tolerates this fusion between official and popular religiosity provided that the non-Christian elements do not function independently. Such survivals were earlier used by ethnologists to demonstrate the continuity of Greek culture from ancient to modern times.

The sixth category deals with the private, idiosyncratic, and particular interpretations of the relationship between Hellenism and Christianity on the part of various intellectuals, artists, and men of letters (e.g. Kostis Palamas, K. Tsatsos). These are usually syncretic views, which have little in common

with the official state and Church ideology and belong to the personal worldview of these individuals alone.

In the seventh category we encounter various Hellenocentric currents, which promote the incomparable superiority of Hellenism over Christianity and criticize the latter as a Jewish religion. Christianity is accepted in some cases only if it discards its Jewish past and is Hellenized entirely in order to become truly the national religion of the Greeks.

In the last and eighth category there are various neopagan groups that emphasize the unbridgeable chasm between Christianity and Hellenism. They feel that they are in danger from the predominant Orthodox milieu in Greece, they intend to revitalize the Hellenic religion, and they ask for more freedom to express their ideals and visions.

This typology with regard to modern Greece attests to fundamental contradictions in the heterogeneous culture of the country. Despite the official propaganda and rhetoric by both Church and state, it is obvious that modern Greeks appreciate in quite varying and even contradictory ways their Hellenic and Christian past and the formation of Greek identity, which is still rent by major internal cleavages. In addition, the manifold influences coming from the West exacerbate this conflict and contribute to the serious identity crisis of modern Greeks in the contemporary global environment.

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See also Paganism

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Orthodoxy and Nationalism

The interconnection between Orthodoxy and nationalism constitutes a much-discussed and debated issue, especially in the light of the radical changes in eastern Europe, the collapse of Marxism-Leninism, the conflicts in the former Yugoslavia, and the rise of previously suppressed ethnic groups. National awakening in eastern Europe including Greece has sought in the past as well as in recent times a necessary religious legitimation, for religion has often been used to harden national boundaries and to forge national aspirations. This poses the question of the relationship of the emerging nationalism to Orthodoxy. Nationalism in this context should be distinguished from ancient and later forms of patriotism, from love of one's own country, and from related visions and struggles. Nationalism as a modern phenomenon belongs to the new set of secular values that were germinated by the Enlightenment and the French Revolution and have been evident in the Balkans since the second half of the 18th century. There are a number of different ideas about Orthodoxy and nationalism in Greece today, promoted either by the Church and the state or by different religious, political, and intellectual circles.

Historically speaking, nationalism was always extraneous to Orthodox Christianity, which aimed to transcend racial boundaries and ethnic identities (cf. Galatians 3: 28) and become a universal religion (cf. Matthew 28: 19–20). The fact that Orthodoxy and Greek national identity are now closely related does not mean that this was always the case. The situation was quite different in the Byzantine empire, when Orthodoxy was officially used, among other things, as a means to unite this multiethnic sociopolitical unit. For this reason, nationalism has been repeatedly condemned by the Orthodox Church as a serious deviation from the authentic Christian spirit. Such a condemnation came from a synod of Eastern Orthodox patriarchs in Constantinople in August 1872, which castigated "phyletism" (nationalism) as a heresy. This calls into question a widespread opinion in modern Greece about the intimate relationship between Orthodoxy and nationalism, which regards Orthodoxy as the sole factor in safeguarding Greek ethnic identity under Ottoman rule and as the champion of nationalism. Such views, which are part of state propaganda and national mythology, often obscure the diversity of historical facts. Under Ottoman rule the supranational Orthodox Church, along with the communities and the family within the *millets*, preserved various ethnic identities mainly by distinguishing Christians from Muslims. This was a distinction of a religious and not of a national character. The Byzantine supranational ecumenicity was preserved by the spirit of the Orthodox Church, its great monastic centres, such as Mount Athos, and the Phanariots. Hence, the nationalization of the Orthodox Church is a much later phenomenon, while in certain Balkan areas (e.g. in Romania) the Orthodox Church, in isolation from the West, has clearly retarded national awakening.

The first serious encounter of the Orthodox Church with the nationalistic ideas coming from western Europe occurred during the Greek Enlightenment (1774–1821). The Church as well as the nobility of the Phanariots envisaged a restoration of Byzantium emerging from the fall of the Ottoman empire. What they had in mind was a supranational unit of Orthodox Christians, for example in the form of a Balkan Confederation or Commonwealth. In no way did they anticipate the foundation of a separate national Greek state such as the western powers and various Greeks, influenced by the Enlightenment, intended to bring about. This is the reason why the Church, in collaboration with the Sublime Porte, was generally against the spread of revolutionary ideas, which were given a strong impetus by the French Revolution, among Ottoman subjects. For the same reason, several Orthodox prelates did not regard the outbreak of the Greek War of Independence favourably.

Among the many influences of the Enlightenment on Greek thought were changes in the perception of history. Popular attention was directed away from the shared past of the Orthodox Christian peoples that had emerged after the fall of Byzantium to the search for a particular historical lineage in a remote and even mythical past as a means of distinguishing different peoples. In the case of the 18th-century Greeks, this meant their direct continuity from ancient Greece. In the area of political discourse, there was also a major change. The concept of the subject was replaced by the liberal notion of the citizen incorporated into a new sociopolitical and economic unit, the nation state, which led to the disappearance of localism and traditional communities.

All these profound changes, which were intensified by the French Revolution, had a destructive impact upon the tradition of the Byzantine Orthodox Commonwealth during the 19th century in the wake of the break-up of the Ottoman empire and the foundation of the modern Balkan nation states. The enmeshment of nationalist sensibilities in politics and religion even affected Mount Athos, a monastic centre where several ethnic traditions had coexisted harmoniously for centuries. It signified also the integration of Byzantium into the frame of specific national identities and aspirations, a development contrary to the spirit of that multiethnic empire. In the case of Greece, this happened after the foundation of the independent Greek state in 1832. The Orthodox Church was subjected to the state and was transformed into a national Church through a unilateral proclamation of its autocephaly after its separation from the patriarchate of Constantinople in 1833. Apart from this, it was later used in the service of a major nationalistic plan, the "Great Idea" (*Megali Idea*), that is, the restoration of the Byzantine empire and the liberation of many occupied lands (e.g. in Asia Minor) from the Ottoman yoke. The Greek Church, weakened by its structural defects and socially marginalized by the state, tried to acquire new ways of remain-

Orthodoxy and Nationalism: officers of the Greek Air Force take part in a religious procession on Mount Athos

ing vital and socially active. As a result, in attempting to revive the polymorphous role that it had played during the Ottoman domination, the Greek Church identified fully with the expansionist plans of the state and abandoned its traditional supranational character. This transformation took place in radical and diverse ways during the 19th century and continued into the 20th century as well.

Orthodoxy and nationalism are correlated in modern Greece in various ways. Mention must be made first of the specific perspective through which several Orthodox circles have viewed their history since the 19th century. In order to create an unbroken continuity from the past and to demolish the threat of Panslavist propaganda, they considered Byzantium and its civilization as "Greek" or as predominantly Hellenized. Such an interpretation of Byzantine history has triggered several heated debates. While the existence of Greek culture in the Byzantine empire cannot be denied, its "Greek character" should not be understood from a modern nationalistic viewpoint, for the Byzantines never considered themselves as Greeks in this sense.

Similarly, certain Orthodox circles in modern Greece think of the Orthodox *millet* during the Tourkokratia as Greek from a contemporary nationalistic perspective. The Greek control of the *millet-i-Rum* notwithstanding, this included Serbs, Romanians, Bulgarians, Vlachs, Albanians, and Arabs as well. The patriarchate of Constantinople, mainly in Greek hands, promoted various elements of Greek culture, but it was not the centre of a Greek polity. In many instances, it tried to dilute Greek elements by incorporating them into a wider Orthodox identity. The aforementioned supranational and unifying character of the Church, imbued with the Byzantine tradition, remained crucial throughout this period, though in the long run it too fell victim to the inescapable forces of nationalism.

Another specific aspect of the correlation between Orthodoxy and nationalism can be observed in the idealized interpretation of Greek history as a whole that has been introduced by some modern Greek theologians and intellectuals (e.g. by the Neo-Orthodox current). They have tried to identify the alleged diachronic principles and constants underlying Greek Orthodox civilization as distinct from that of the West. But their emphasis upon the uniqueness, exclusiveness, and superiority of Greek Orthodox culture has served as a basis for promoting nationalistic sentiments and ideologies. In addition, their demonic view of the West creates a mentality of separatism, isolationism, and fear ill-suited to today's global environment. Orthodox singurality is thus used as a remedy for the many defects of contemporary Greek society in comparison with the West.

Additional nationalistic features can be observed in the way certain Orthodox circles and individuals, usually fundamentalist-orientated, consider Greek Orthodoxy. They think that Greek Orthodoxy is a more authentic form of the original

Christian tradition, because the New Testament and many patristic texts were written in Greek. Consequently, they consider that Greek Orthodoxy is superior to other related faiths (e.g. Russian/Slavic Orthodoxy) and the Greek nation as the "new Israel" with a monopoly of the truth, a burdensome heritage, and a universal mission to save the world. Orthodoxy is thus considered the most crucial element in Greece's superiority over other peoples.

The most significant manifestation of the correlation between Orthodoxy and nationalism in modern Greece can be seen in the numerous ways that the Church and state collaborate. Although there is often tension in their relations, both of them usually legitimize one another and try to preserve their coexistence. The Church is officially hailed as a crucial protector of Greek national identity. The state is also interested in gaining from the promotion of Orthodoxy worldwide (e.g. in the Orthodox patriarchates of the east, in many former Eastern bloc countries), which is asumed to be the bearer of Hellenism and of national interests as well. Public opinion is influenced by this and tends to conclude that without Orthodoxy Greece cannot survive. Furthermore, the alliance between Greeks and Serbs in the recent Yugoslav war was also due to their common Orthodox tradition. Such policies have often provoked neighbouring peoples (e.g. in Albania) into fearing an expansion of Greek nationalism through the influence of Orthodoxy.

Through its enmeshment in nationalism, the Church looked for other ways of remaining socially influential, despite the fact that its social presence today is limited by its largely conservative and reactionary policies. On the one hand, the Church has created its own mythology and promoted its image as a bastion of Greek national identity throughout history. An aspect of this mythology is the widespread theory that the Greek nation (*ethnos/genos*) and Orthodoxy were identified under Ottoman rule. Such a theory is often used to consolidate the diachronic unity between Orthodoxy and Greek national identity and to oppose a separation between Church and state. On the other hand, the Church's involvement in Greek nationalism proved to be very useful from another perspective. Thus the Church was able to counterbalance its numerous structural defects and polish its tarnished public image. And its strong participation in national issues (e.g. the Macedonian question) alleviates to some extent the negative image it usually conveys in other areas.

The use of Orthodoxy to promote Greece's national interests has been criticized by several Greek Orthodox theologians and intellectuals. Yet the vision of a renewed Orthodox Commonwealth in the Balkans, far removed from national differences and divisions, seems to belong to a distant past due to the inescapable forces of nationalism. It is thus highly unlikely that the future in the Balkans will include a universal Christian empire with one emperor and one patriarch ruling jointly according to the Byzantine model. The development of historical realities since the 19th century has seriously challenged and finally destroyed this Byzantine ideal. The fact that Orthodoxy and nationalism are inextricably intertwined in a variety of ways in modern Greece therefore serves to show that such a common Balkan Orthodox future is illusory.

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See also Church–State Relations, Commonwealth, Enlightenment, Great Idea, Nationalism

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Ostracism

One of the most remarkable and at the same time controversial institutions of the Classical Athenian democracy was ostracism, a procedure whereby once a year any citizen (usually a leading politician), could be banished by a vote of the people. The term itself derives from the method of voting, which involved writing the name of the victim on a potsherd (*ostrakon*).

In the sixth prytany of every year the assembly voted by a show of hands whether or not to hold an ostracism; if it decided to do so, the ostracism took place in the Agora during the eighth prytany. The citizens voted by tribes in an enclosure, and if at least 6000 votes were cast, the man who received the highest number was obliged to leave Attica within ten days. He suffered no loss of citizenship (*atimia*) or property rights, but could not return to Athens for a period of ten years. The main ancient account of ostracism is found in the *Athenaion Politeia* (chapter 22), which attributes its introduction to Cleisthenes in 508/07 BC. Both attribution and date have been questioned, since ostracism was not in fact used for another 20 years; and a fragment of Androtion (Jakoby, *Fragmente de griekischen Historiker*, 324 fr.6, in Harpocration s.v. Hipparchus) has been taken to indicate an alternative tradition, that ostracism was introduced shortly before 487. However, the text of Androtion is very uncertain, and the *Athenaion Politeia* version is to be preferred. Later sources, notably Aelian (*Varia Historia*, 13. 24), record that ostracism was originally held in the Boule (council) and that Cleisthenes was himself the first victim of his own procedure, but this third tradition is also to be rejected.

The purpose of ostracism was to end rivalry between politicians that could potentially be harmful to the interests of the state. According to the *Athenaion Politeia*, Cleisthenes' original intention was to prevent future tyrannies, and it was subsequently aimed against those who were too powerful. Its early victims, indeed, were "the friends of the tyrants": Hipparchus son of Charmus (487), a relative of the tyrant Hippias; Cleisthenes' nephew Megacles (486), a member of the Alcmaeonid family that was suspected of attempting to betray Athens to the Persians at the battle of Marathon; and probably Callias son of Cratius (485), another supporter of Hippias. One sherd bearing Callias' name has a drawing of a Persian archer on the reverse. However, it is unlikely that ostracism, even though it was introduced in the aftermath of the fall of the Pisistratid tyranny, was designed specifically as a check on the tyrants, for which more direct and secure action could have been taken, and this seems very much like an inference from the identity of the first victims. Rather, it will have been introduced by Cleisthenes as part of his political struggle against Isagoras.

Later victims of the 480s were also connected with the Persians, at least by the voters: Xanthippus, the father of Pericles (484), had married into the Alcmaeonid family, and one *ostrakon* bears an elegiac couplet possibly associating him with their curse; Aristides (482) appears on another which claims he was a "brother of Datis the Mede"; while other *ostraka* refer to their victims as Alcmaeonids and "one of the traitors". But both Xanthippus and Aristides were recalled early under an amnesty passed in 480 before the Persian invasion. Other prominent victims of ostracism were Themistocles (*c.*470), Megacles again (sometime in the 470s; 4647 of the Ceramicus *ostraka* bear his name), Cimon (461), the elder Alcibiades (*c.*460), and Pericles' rival, Thucydides son of Melesias (443). The last man to be ostracized was the demagogue Hyperbolus (probably 416); the practice subsequently fell into disuse, though the law remained in force, and was replaced by the *graphe paranomon* (indictment for unconstitutional activity).

Over 10,000 *ostraka* have been found, on the Acropolis, in the Agora, and in the Ceramicus cemetery, and these record the names of over 130 different men. This suggests that there were no lists of candidates; and while those actually exiled will regularly have been ostracized for their political policies, other citizens clearly featured in the voting as a result of personal enmities. Indeed, Plutarch records the occasion when a voter wished to cast his *ostrakon* against Aristides, because he was tired of hearing the latter being called "the Just" (*Aristides*, 7. 7). That this citizen was unable to write the name of his victim is evidence for illiteracy in Classical Athens, although the procedure seems to presuppose widespread literacy. One find, of 191 *ostraka* on the Acropolis with the name of Themistocles, also has a bearing on this question, since they are written in only 14 hands, but furthermore is clear evidence for a concerted campaign against him by political opponents.

The fourth speech in the corpus of Andocides purports to be an oration delivered at an ostracism. The occasion is, however,

historically impossible, and it is extremely unlikely that speeches were made on the day of the voting. It is stated in section 6 of this work that ostracism was used only in Athens, but in fact there were similar procedures in other states, including Argos, Megara, and Miletus.

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Otho 1815–1867

King of Greece

Otho, the son of Ludwig I of Bavaria, of the house of Wittelsbach, was selected by the three guarantor powers, Great Britain, France, and Russia to be the first king of Greece at the age of 17 by the London Protocol of February 1832. As he was still a minor, during the first two years of his reign he was guided by a three-member regency appointed by his father, namely Armansberg, Heydek, and Maurer.

Otho landed at Nauplia, the Greek capital, in January 1833 and was enthusiastically received after the ravages of a civil war that followed the assassination of Count Ioannis Kapodistria. Ludwig of Bavaria played an active part in making appointments of leading Bavarian officials for service in the Greek kingdom, thus prejudicing the country's independent status and alienating the Greeks from the Bavarian dynasty.

The regents set about creating a centralized and secular state with rationally designed institutions. For instance, they unified the legal system, the administration, and the army and in 1833 they created a Greek national Church, subordinating it to state rule, and severed its administrative ties with the Patriarchate of Constantinople. However, this programme was perceived by the civilian and military leaders of the 1821 revolution as a restriction of their privileged position. Moreover, the enormous task of state-building, which fell initially upon the regents, later on proved far beyond Otho's mental capabilities.

In December 1834 the nation's capital moved from Nauplia to Athens, and the following year King Otho became of age and the regency was terminated. Nevertheless, the Bavarians Count von Armansberg and Rudhardt served successively as heads of governments (in 1834 and 1837 respectively). The Greek army was still extensively manned by Bavarian officers and this period has been dubbed "Bavarian rule".

King Otho's Roman Catholic faith became an additional source of irritation for the Greeks. This was later compounded by the absence of an heir, who was expected to join the Greek Orthodox Church, and entitled Russia to interfere in Greek affairs as defender of Eastern Orthodoxy. Otho married Amalia of Oldenburg in 1836. One of the high points of his reign was the founding of the University of Athens in 1837, an institution which filled all Greeks with expectations of national progress.

Once of age, King Otho, sovereign by divine right according to his own perception of monarchy, sought to take control of government by interfering in its daily business. He wished to neutralize the effect of party activities by sending party leaders as Greek diplomats abroad and by short-lived alternating alliances with all Greek parties. As the parties were under the patronage of Great Britain, France, or Russia, his policy also incurred the favour or hostility of the respective "protecting" power. He was ultimately forced to yield to a general demand for a constitution by a revolt staged in Athens on 3 September 1843.

The constitution of 1844 was a compromise between the king and the political parties and put an end to Otho's absolute regime. The period of his constitutional reign began with Alexander Mavrokordatos, the leading figure of the English party, as Prime Minister for a few months. Ioannis Kolettis, the leader of the French party, followed for a period of three years, until his death in 1847. Through his close collaboration with Kolettis, Otho was able to control parliament and obtain a stable if ineffective government. After Kolettis's death the monarch assumed personal control of state affairs.

The king inherited from Kolettis the idea of Greek irredentism, the *Megali Idea* or "Great Idea", the driving principle of his personal foreign policy. As a destabilizing factor in the regional balance of power, Otho further alienated the Great Powers. The Crimean War in 1853 between Russia, and the western allies, Great Britain and France, over the integrity of the Ottoman empire, constituted a test for Otho's foreign policy. Otho and the Greek nation could not turn down the opportunity for territorial expansion. Despite the opposition of France and Great Britain, the king personally encouraged insurgency in Thessaly and Macedonia. The outcome was an occupation of the country by France and Britain between 1854 and 1857 and the establishment of a pro-ally government in Athens under Mavrokordatos. Otho's resistance to foreign pressure earned him tremendous popularity. However, the Russian defeat was a setback for Greek national hopes and the king's irredentist activities.

British enmity towards King Otho persisted throughout the remaining years of his reign and undermined his authority. During the same years university students and young intellectuals challenged Otho's absolutist methods of government and questioned the sincerity of his nationalism in a spirit of liberalism. An abortive attempt on Queen Amalia's life in 1861 was

followed by a revolt of the garrison in Nauplia in February 1862, which was suppressed by force. While the king toured the country to placate anti-dynastic sentiments, a rebellion spread from western Greece to the capital and on 10 October 1862 a revolutionary committee under Dimitrios Voulgaris declared the end of Otho's reign.

Thereafter Otho lived in exile in Bavaria, emotionally attached to Greece, and died in 1867. His reign is usually viewed in comparison to that of his successor, King George I. Posterity has tended to emphasize Otho's pedantry, stubbornness, and authoritarian methods of government. However, for his persistent irredentism he has been acknowledged as a patriotic ruler with the best interests of his country at heart, ready to stand up to foreign coercion. Finally, his state-building programme, with its distressing as well as its beneficial implications, has left a lasting contribution to the modernization of Greece.

KATERINA GARDIKAS

Biography

Born in Salzburg in 1815, the second son of Ludwig I of Bavaria, Otho was chosen at the age of 17 by the guarantor powers to be the first king of Greece. He landed at Nauplia, the capital, in January 1833. In 1834 the capital was moved to Athens. The country was ruled by a three-man regency until 1835. Otho ruled absolutely until 1844 when he was forced to accept a constitution. He married Amalia of Oldenburg in 1838 but she produced no heir. He was deposed in 1862 and lived in exile in Bavaria until his death in 1867.

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Ottoman Period (Tourkokratia)

1453–1821

Tourkokratia, which literally translates as "Turkish rule", is the term used to designate the period during which the core territories that today comprise the Greek state were under the control of the Ottoman empire. Usually the dates given for this period are 1453–1821, that is, the year of the fall of Constantinople to the time of the first battles of the Greek War of Independence in the Peloponnese.

These dates are not wholly accurate, however. The year 1453, while by far the most symbolically evocative and memorable, was simply the moment that marked the definitive end of a centuries-long period of transition from Byzantine to Ottoman rule in Anatolia and southeastern Europe. The 1453 fall of Constantinople (described in the excellent eyewitness Greek accounts of Doukas, Chalkokondyles, Sphrantzes, and Kritoboulos) was merely the last of a long series of Byzantine defeats at the hands of the Ottomans. From at least the time of the 1204 sack of Constantinople during the course of the Fourth Crusade, the Byzantine empire could be said to have been in a serious state of "decline"; territorial losses had been suffered at the hands of invading Turkomans as early as the 11th century, most notably at the 1071 Battle of Manzikert, following which the Byzantines lost control over much of Anatolia.

Under Osman (1280–1324), founder of the Ottoman dynasty, all territory surrounding Bursa was taken by the Ottomans; Osman's son Orhan (1324–59) took Bursa itself (1326) and went on also to capture Nicaea (1331), Nicomedia (1337), and Scutari (1338). Orhan's successors, Murad (1360–89) and Bayezit (1389–1402), consolidated and expanded Ottoman rule over central Anatolia, and moved into Europe. By the time of Mehmet II's (1451–81) conquest of Constantinople, the city was the sole remaining island of Byzantium in a vast sea of Ottoman holdings.

Similarly, 1821 is not an entirely accurate date to give as the end of Turkish rule of Greece. It marks rather the very beginnings of independent Greek rule in the region. The vast bulk of territory now contained within the Greek state remained under Ottoman control long after 1821. Epirus, Greek Macedonia, and the island of Crete were gained in the course of the Balkan Wars, Thrace in the aftermath of World War I; the Dodecanese islands were joined to the Greek state only as late as 1947.

Throughout the course of the 19th century the dominant guiding principle of the Greek nation state was the *Megali Idea* ("Great Idea"), a grandiose irredentist-expansionist programme that envisioned the recapture of Constantinople from the Turks, the recreation of the Byzantine empire, and the extension of Greek territories to include all Greeks. As the Greek prime minister John Kolettis put it in an 1844 speech to parliament, "The Greek kingdom is not the entirety of Greece, only a part of it, the smallest and poorest part of Greece." This ideology unwisely propelled Greece into war with Turkey in 1897, in which Greece suffered a humiliating defeat. Some 25 years later Greece again went into battle with the hopes of liberating further supposedly Greek territories from Turkish control. The result in this case was the psychologically and physically devastating Asia Minor "catastrophe" of September 1922, in which the Armenian, Frank, and Greek districts of Smyrna (Izmir) were destroyed and over 30,000 Christians killed, and as a result of which the Greek military presence in Asia Minor was completely eradicated. Four months later (January 1923) a treaty was negotiated providing for the exchange of populations between Greece and Turkey. The result was that some 1.5 million Orthodox Christians were sent from Turkey to Greece in exchange for 350,000 Muslims living in Greece. Arguably, the final end of Toukokratia came only with this definitive death of the *Megali Idea*.

That the period of Ottoman domination was so long (no matter how one chooses to demarcate its beginning and its end) brings to the fore one central question regarding the history of Greece and the Greek people, namely, how did so disparate a group of peoples emerge from so lengthy a period of foreign rule, with some sense of national identity and group cohesiveness intact? That is, how were notions of "Greece" and "Greekness" cultivated, propagated, and disseminated over the course of Tourkokratia?

The answer, of course, is complex, and involves questions both of Hellenic continuity and of assimilation and change.

The assumption of continuity between modernday Greece and the Classical period is now widespread, but it is, historically speaking, a fairly recent formulation. The notion that contemporary Greeks were the direct descendants of the Classical Greeks, most particularly those of the 5th century BC, was first articulated by Georgios Gemistos Plethon in the 15th century, just years before the fall of Constantinople to the Ottoman Turks. During this early period of Tourkokratia, however, the notion of continuity with the Classical past was a minority one. When, with the fall of Constantinople, many of the Greek community's intellectuals emigrated to the west (most notably to Venice and its holdings), the idea of Hellenic continuity went with them. For the first three centuries of Tourkokratia, the dominant factor in the unification of the Greek people was not a sense of continuity with the Classical past, but rather with the more recent past age of Byzantium. Thus the Orthodox Church was the central institution in the consolidation and propagation of ideas of Greek communal unity.

Political as well as cultural factors contributed to the establishment of the Orthodox Church as the pivotal instrument of Greek cultural survival during Tourkokratia. The Ottoman conquest brought the far-flung Greek populations of the south Balkans and the Levant under the jurisdiction of a single ecclesiastical authority, the ecumenical patriarchate. During the Ottoman period, the ecumenical patriarchate, according to the Ottoman bureacratic system, enjoyed wide-ranging authority (both ecclesiastical and secular) over the Greek Orthodox populations of the Ottoman empire. Moreover, the ecumenical patriarchate had jurisdiction over all other Orthodox Christian populations of the empire – which included Arabs, Albanians, Bulgarians, Romanians, Serbs, and Vlachs. This remained an accepted feature of the Ottoman hierarchical structure until the 18th and 19th centuries, when these other Orthodox populations came to resent not just Ottoman dominance, but Greek Orthodox hegemony as well. This administrative arrangement meant that the patriarch was, in effect, the ruler of an empire within an empire. Indeed, he enjoyed the imperial privileges of raising taxes and administering justice, along with a host of other secular as well as religious interventions in the lives of his Orthodox subjects.

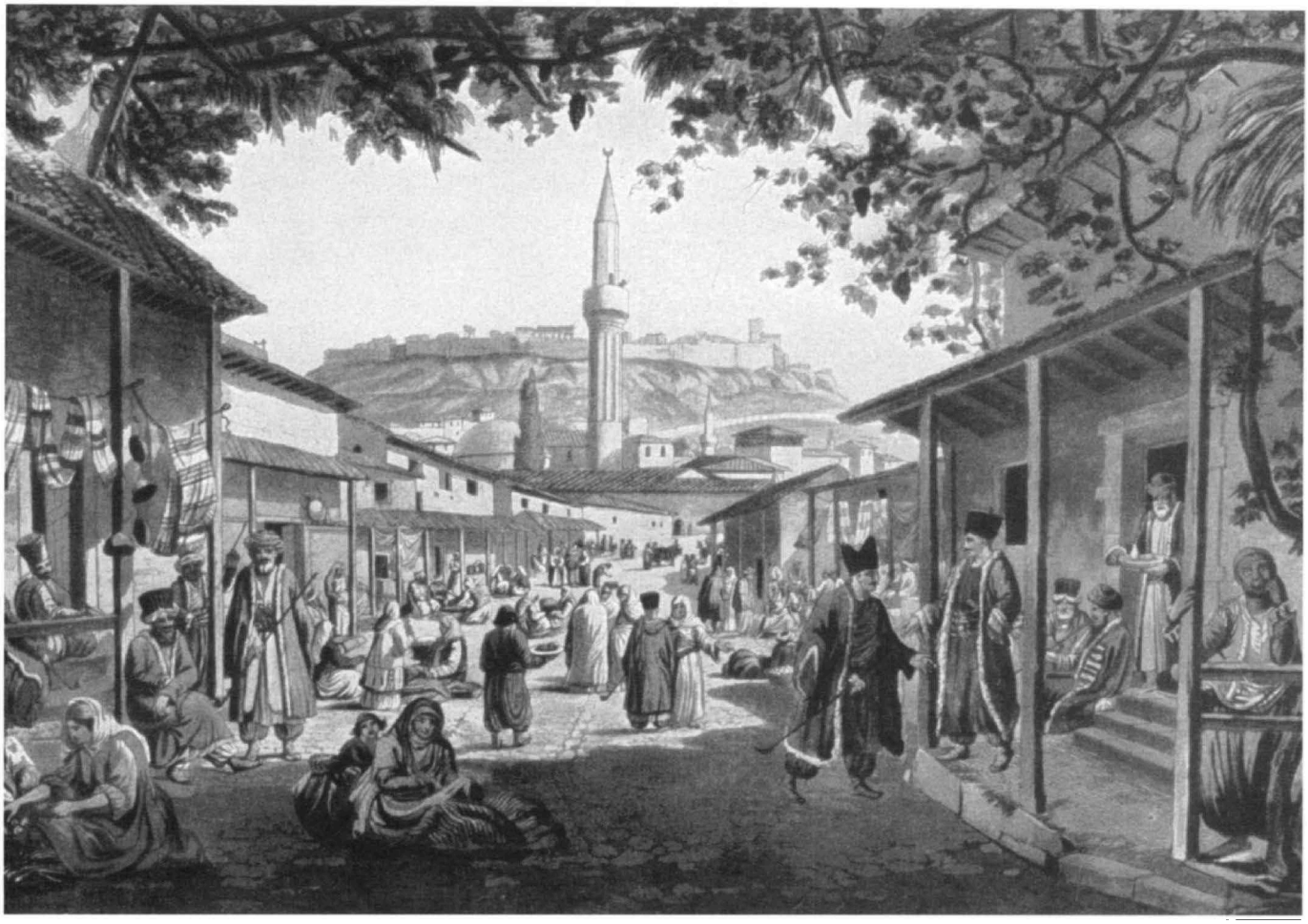
This administrative arrangement worked side by side with the cultural climate of the day to guarantee the centrality of the Orthodox Church to the programme of Greek cultural survival during the Tourkokratia. At the time of the fall of Constantinople it was widely believed that the Ottoman invasions were best seen as the result of divine intervention, as a punishment for the Orthodox peoples' conciliatory attitude towards the Latin (Roman Catholic) Church during the late Byzantine period. According to this formulation, the rule of Muslims (who would leave the Orthodox Church to its own devices) was preferable to the rule of Catholics (who would force a heretical form of Christianity upon the Greeks). Thus Turkish rule was viewed as both punitive and protective, as an event that reflected the will of God. Indeed, one strong strand of early modern Orthodox apocalypticism argued that "it was the will of God for the City [Constantinople] to be Turkified." This belief that the Tourkokratia was in some way the product of God's will later provided a strong justification for the Church's opposition to the Greek revolutionaries of the late 18th and early 19th centuries.

The highest levels of the Orthodox hierarchy, then, clearly fared well under Ottoman control. Indeed, they enjoyed wider-ranging administrative powers than had the Church of the later Byzantine period, they had control over a wide array of subjects (not only the Greek Orthodox, but all Orthodox peoples within Ottoman territories), and they were largely left alone by the Ottoman state.

It is somewhat more difficult, however, to assess the state of the vast non-elite sector of the Greek community during the Tourkokratia. The primary reason for this, of course, is related to the problem of available sources: whereas the Church and other official institutions are mentioned in Ottoman records, and kept their own records as well, there is little literary record for the vast bulk of the Greek populace during the Ottoman period.

One sector of the Greek populace that clearly fared well during the Tourkokratia, particularly during the later Ottoman period, was the mercantile bourgeoisie. During the course of the 17th century the Greeks of the empire became the dominant force in trade, both domestic and international. Of particular consequence was the Greek mercantile community of the diaspora – Greek business outposts were to be found throughout the western Mediterranean, in northern Europe, and in Russia, and as far east as Calcutta. These diaspora communities maintained close contacts with the Greek trade centres of the Ottoman empire (Ioannina, Thessalonica, Istanbul), and were responsible for the transmission to the Ottoman Greeks not just of material goods, but of European intellectual and political ideologies as well. Indeed, the rise of this commercial bourgeoisie was arguably the most important direct precursor to the 1821 War of Independence. Greeks of the diaspora endowed schools in Greece; organized Greek presses which printed educational and, later, revolutionary materials for Ottoman Greek consumption; and also were an important point of contact for the increasingly large numbers of Ottoman Greeks who travelled to Europe in pursuit of a university education.

The rise of Greek mercantile success is directly correlated to the beginnings of Ottoman "decline", particularly in Europe. Following the reign of Suleyman (1520–66), there were no further serious imperial attempts at expansion in Europe, and Greeks came increasingly to be the bridge between the Ottoman east and the European west. Because of their growing wealth and commercial influence, Greeks also came to play an increasingly influential role in the political workings of the empire. This was most evident in the case of the so-called Phanariots, a small Greek Constantinopolitan elite on whom the Ottoman government began to rely heavily in the late 17th and early 18th centuries. Valued for their linguistic abilities, they were used as the official translators in Ottoman negotiations with the powers of Europe, and came through this function to have a significant influence on the diplomatic relationship between the Sublime Porte and the west. Their role as translators gave them high office in the Ottoman imperial fleet, as a result of which the fleet itself came to be manned largely by Greek sailors from the islands. Members of the elite Greek Phanariot class were also appointed to important provincial posts in the empire, most notably in the Danubian principalities (Moldavia and Wallachia), where they served as *hospodars*, or princes.



Ottoman Period: Athens during the Tourkokratia. By the 19th century the Acropolis was in ruins and the rest of the city had shrunk to little more than a village.

The tale of Greek life under Tourkokratia is not, however, one only of success and continuity. It must be kept in mind that while the historical record tends in general to tell us about the "winners" (commercial, political, and intellectual elites), usually far less is recorded about history's "losers". While it is quite remarkable that the Greek communities of the Ottoman empire mainrained such a distinctive sense of identity and even flourished under Ottoman rule, the Greeks also suffered a number of economic and cultural losses as a result of Ottoman rule.

First and foremost, despite the relatively benevolent policies of early Ottoman sultans (most notably Mehmet II, under whose rule the city of Constantinople was captured by the Ottomans), sizeable numbers of Greek Orthodox Christians converted to Islam during the Tourkokratia. This tendency towards conversion was most marked in the 15th and 16th centuries, although it was a feature of Greek life throughout the Turkish period. In this early wave of conversions the greatest number occurred in the Greek Orthodox populations of Asia Minor, where it is thought that up to 50 per cent of the Greek population converted to Islam between the 13th and 15th centuries. Many of those who did not convert were assimilated linguistically, and used the Turkish language of their conquerors rather than the Greek of their ancestors. The result of this linguistic shift was one of the more interesting syncretisms of the Ottoman period, *karamanlidika*, a form of the Turkish language written (transliterated) in Greek script.

In addition to such gradually perceptible cultural shifts, conversions were also undertaken in dramatic and sudden fashion, at times by whole villages at a time. Such conversions were usually the result of financial pressures; Greeks who converted to Islam were spared the heavy tax burden of the empire's non-Muslim subjects, and could expect to enjoy other privileges as well. Some of these converts remained crypto-Christians (that is, in their private lives they continued to practise Orthodoxy, but for all official purposes called themselves Muslim), but the vast majority within the span of a few generations lost their connection with Orthodox Christianity.

During the final centuries of the Tourkokratia, when central Ottoman government was relatively weak, Greek subjects of the Ottoman empire became increasingly vulnerable to the predations of various provincial governors. Such governors, often of Albanian origin (as was the case with Osman Pasvanoglu of Vidin, Ali Pasha of Ioannina, and Mehmet Ali of Egypt), were, by the late 18th and early 19th centuries, far more interested in establishing their own political power than in acting as representatives of the Istanbul government. Greek populations living in their territories were thus subject not just to the usual imperial taxes, but also to whatever financial structures these governors chose independently to impose.

Thus, by the early revolutionary period Greek aspirations for independence were as likely to be articulated as opposition to such governors as to the Ottoman government itself. They also were likely to be articulated in anticlerical terms, for by the 18th century the Church hierarchy was widely regarded as a corrrupt entity which relished the privileges granted it by the Ottoman administrative system. Such resentments were cast in increasingly economic and class-based terms, as the Greek intellectual elites of the diaspora began in the wake of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars to disseminate ideologies of nationalism and liberalism to the Ottoman Greeks.

The origins of Greek revolutionary thought are thus best identified as both external and internal, as a combination of factors accruing from the collective experience of the Tourkokratia, intellectual and political changes in Western Europe, Ottoman decline, and shifting perceptions of Greekness and Hellenic identity. The Tourkokratia has oftentimes been portrayed as a static, changeless period of Greek history, during which little economic, political, literary, or ideological evolution was seen. It is perhaps better understood as a fascinating time of Greek interaction with both the Islamic East and the Catholic and Protestant West; a time of gradual formulation of a new, distinct, Hellenic identity.

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See also Conversion to Islam, Diaspora, Patriarchate of Constantinople, Phanariots, Rumeli

Summary

Dated from 1453 to 1821, the period of Ottoman domination of Greece in fact extended from early in the 14th century to well into the 20th. For much of the Ottoman period the ecumenical patriarchate in Constantinople exercised wide-ranging authority over the Orthodox peoples of the empire. Thus the Church was central to the survival of Hellenism. From the 17th century on, Greeks dominated trade in the empire. Diaspora communities also began to absorb ideas of Enlightenment from the West, leading to the formulation of a new Hellenic identity.

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Ottomans

The Ottomans were a Turkish people who emerged in Asia Minor in the second half of the 13th century AD as the Seljuk empire declined. They rapidly became a threat to the Byzantine empire, but their expansion was momentarily checked by Timur, whose victory over the Ottomans at Ankara in 1402 gave a brief stay of execution to the weakening Byzantines by splitting the Ottoman territory between three rivals. When the Ottomans reunited under one ruler, they resumed their expansion at a slow rate designed to provoke response neither from Crusaders from western Europe nor from Timur's successors in Asia. Constantinople fell to the Ottomans in 1453, and they disputed the remnants of the Byzantine empire first with the Byzantine successor states and then with the Genoese and Venetians who had seized various ports and islands in the Aegean. Simultaneously they continued to absorb Syria, Palestine, Egypt, and north Africa, and to push northwards into the Balkans, until they were turned back at the gates of Vienna for the second and last time in 1685. Thereafter, the Ottomans went into a slow decline, exacerbated by the loss of the Peloponnese in the Greek War of Independence in the 1820s and cessions of Attica, Boeotia, and Euboea in the 1830s, Thessaly and Epirus in the late 1870s and the early 1880s, Macedonia and Crete in 1913, and Thrace after World War I. The last sultan was deposed after World War I, and Kemal Atatürk founded a secular republic which sought closer ties with Europe.

Osman, the eponymous founder of the Ottomans, was one of the beys who founded a *gazi* state on the marches of the Byzantine empire. As a *gazi* (warrior) state, his *beylik*, or principality, was devoted to waging *gaza* or holy war against the infidel, and this identification as a *gazi* state was to persist for many centuries, giving the Ottoman empire its raison d'être, at least until the conquests stopped. (Then, because the system had been geared to conquest and not to maintaining a static frontier, Ottoman institutions lost their dynamism and began to decay.) The Ottoman principality, like the other Turkish *beyliks* in Anatolia, was fostered by the pressure of population and need for expansion, the decay of the Byzantine frontier defence system, and the religious and social discontent in the Byzantine frontier areas. Additionally, the Byzantine empire, though substantially reunited after the fragmentation of the first part of the 13th century, never recovered from the Fourth Crusade in AD 1204, when the Crusaders, intervening at the instigation of the Venetians in a struggle for the succession to the Byzantine throne, took Constantinople and carved up the Byzantine empire among themselves.

Though the Ottomans formed only one of many Turkish principalities engaged in holy war against the Christians, they eventually outstripped their rivals as well as their enemies for several reasons. The other *beyliks* were fought to a standstill at the Aegean, so they turned from holy war to trade, and conse-

quently developed commercial and cultural ties with western European peoples such as the Venetians. This replacement of *gaza* with trade allowed leadership to pass to the Ottomans, who could demand support from the other Turkish principalities against the common enemy. The other *beyliks* also suffered from dynastic wars, because each bey would divide his territory among his sons and try to rule over them from the centre, whereas the Ottomans, facing greater external pressure, better preserved their unity.

Osman's successors reached the Dardanelles by 1345, allowing the Ottomans to intervene in Byzantine internal politics and establish a foothold on the peninsula of Gallipoli, thus opening the door to Europe. Murad I took Adrianople in 1361, forcing the Byzantine emperor and various Balkan rulers to acknowledge Turkish suzerainty and defeating the Crusaders at Nicopolis on the Danube. Attempts to centralize the state, however, ceased when Timur defeated Bayezid I in 1402. The defeat created a decade-long interregnum during which Bayezid's three sons contended to see who would rule the Ottomans. Mehmet I re-established unity in 1413, conciliating local rulers in Anatolia and Rumelia, the land the Ottomans took from the Byzantines in Thrace. In restoring unity, he was helped by the "men of the sultan" (*gilman*), who ran the empire and the army and who had a vested interest in the return of centralized authority, since they were uncertain of their position and rights as long as rival sultans existed.

The waxing of Ottoman power, and the concomitant waning of Byzantine power, were two sides of the same coin. The Byzantines were prey to political, social, and religious divisions. Civil wars and lack of central authority allowed local lords to do as they pleased, and the central administration was unable to loosen their grip on the estates it wished to return to its own control. The Ottomans, for their part, won the allegiance of the Christian peasantry by abolishing feudal and manorial rights and commuting feudal service into payment of a tax directly to the state. They also took the politically shrewd step of supporting the Orthodox Church. This put them on the side of the peasantry and against that portion of the Byzantine nobility that sought help from the Catholic world, so that the peasantry disowned their ruling class. Indeed, on the eve of the fall of Constantinople, the Grand Duke Loukas Notaras is supposed to have said, "Better the turban of the Turk than the tiara of the pope", speaking in this for many Byzantines and displaying an attitude that doomed last-minute attempts to gain strong western European support against the Ottoman assault on the city. The Ottomans also sought to cement their hold on newly conquered territories by settling them with Turks who would form a landed aristocracy that was expected to fight in time of war (the *sipahis*). Furthermore, the Ottomans maintained their legitimacy, and their status as *gazis*, by proclaiming any Muslim rivals to be rebels against religion. The Ottoman sultan claimed to be caliph, "commander of the faithful", though he could not prove descent from the Prophet Muhammad as required by Islamic law. Such a claim was only one of many tensions between Ottoman political practice and Islamic political theory, along with the tensions between *Kanun*, Ottoman administrative law, and *Shariah*, Islamic religious law, and over the position of Islamic scholars in the state.

Mehmet II, the conqueror of Constantinople, saw himself as the heir to a world empire. This stemmed in part from the heritage of Osman, in part from the teachings of Islam on sovereignty, and in part from his claim to be emperor of the Romans as a result of his conquest of Constantinople. Other Islamic states henceforth hailed the sultan as *Qaysar-i-Rum* ("Caesar of Rome"). Mehmet wanted to have all the religions in his empire under his watchful eye and saw to it that the Greek Orthodox patriarch, the Armenian patriarch, and the Jewish chief rabbi lived in his capital, which he moved from Adrianople to Constantinople. In fact, he made the Orthodox patriarch the head of *Rum millet*, or the community of Orthodox Christians. As the new capital, he rebuilt and resettled Constantinople, whose population had sunk dramatically under the last Byzantine emperors, using forced resettlement to increase the number of its inhabitants. He also tried to recreate the Byzantine empire under his own rule, eliminating the empire of Trebizond and the despotate of Morea, two Byzantine successor states which had sprung up in the wake of the Fourth Crusade, and occupying ports in the southern Crimea and, briefly, Otranto in Italy which had once belonged to the Byzantines. He eliminated the family of Gattilusi, related to the last Palaiologoi emperors, and therefore possible pretenders to the Byzantine throne. Mehmet's attempt to establish himself as the heir to the Byzantine emperors, and the fact that he spoke Greek and maintained a library of Greek books, led 15th-century authors such as Laonikos Chalkokondyles and Kritovoulos Imvriotes to hope that Greece would culturally influence the Ottomans as it had the Romans 17 centuries before, when "captured Greece took captive its uncivilized conqueror", as the Roman poet Horace once said. Islam, however, disinclined the Ottomans to accept the cultural legacy of infidels, so these hopes died stillborn.

Mehmet centralized the Ottoman state, seeking to consolidate the gains of the previous half-century. He put the *yeniçeri* or Janissaries under his own control and made them the nucleus of his army. He chose the grand vizir, along with the other officers of the state, from among his own slaves. Although he left the administration of justice to the cadis, he entrusted its execution to his own slaves. Thus he retained for himself the last word on finance, justice, and military affairs, especially as the grand vizir, powerful as he was, could not give orders to the commander of the Janissaries, for example. Mehmet's policies in claiming the legacy of the Byzantine empire led him into conflict with Hungary in the Balkans and Venice in the Aegean and Morea.

Mehmet's successors continued the policy of expansion into mainland Greece, the Balkans, and the Near East. The Shiite Safavids came to power around the turn of the 16th century in Persia, providing a bulwark against Ottoman expansion to the east, but Mehmet II's grandson, Selim I, defeated the Mamluks and took Egypt. The most successful of these successors was Selim I's son, Suleyman the Magnificent (1520–66), who continued the Ottoman expansion in the Balkans against the Hungarians and Austrians, forced Venice to cede its last strongholds in the Aegean and the Morea, fought the Persians, waged a naval war in the Indian Ocean against the Portuguese over the spice routes to Syria and Egypt from southeast and east Asia, and intervened in European politics, allying with

Ottomans: the governor of Mount Athos with the insignia of his office. Karyes was reckoned to be a hardship posting.

Francis I of France and the corsairs of Algiers against the Habsburg Holy Roman Emperor Charles V.

After the death of Suleiman the Magnificent on campaign against Austria in 1566, the Ottoman empire went into a slow decline over the next three and a half centuries. There are many symptoms of this decline, which themselves had a pernicious effect on the empire. After Suleiman the Magnificent, sultans rarely took to the field with their armies, or indeed interested themselves in the great affairs of state. Up until the early 17th century Ottoman princes had been sent out to rule *sancaks* (military districts) in Asia Minor and thereby gain practical experience of administration. When the sultan died, his sons scrambled to be the first to reach the capital and become the new sultan, since the losers would be strangled to obviate future civil wars. Such a Darwinian approach to the succession, with the losing princes killed *pour encourager les autres*, produced an excellent series of sultans down to Suleiman the Magnificent, as princes were encouraged to prepare themselves as much as possible to rule. After the early 17th century Ottoman princes spent their lives in idleness in the palace in Istanbul, waiting for their turn to rule, and the long and enervating confinement sapped whatever abilities the princes might initially have had.

This lack of interest at the top in governing led to abuses by the sultan's underlings. When the sultan did not rule his officials, they conspired to rule him. Faction and intrigue among the great personalities of the imperial court, including the *Valide Sultan*, or sultan's mother, the *Haseki Sultans*, or women who had borne the sultan a male child, and the Ottoman princesses who sought to advance the careers of their husbands and children, increasingly determined policy and too frequent appointment, dismissal, or transfer of high officials made administration less efficient, because it encouraged them to capitalize on the offices while they held them, to the detriment of longterm policies. In addition, the abandonment of the *devshirme*, or levy of children from the conquered populations, which filled the ranks of the *gilman*, opened civil offices to those who could most successfully intrigue or bid for them, not those best qualified to hold them through training and experience.

The system also showed the strain of prolonged warfare, though *gaza* had been the original basis for the state, and the advancing frontier had not only yielded material rewards, but, perhaps more importantly, an ethos and purpose to the Ottomans. Formidable obstacles hindered campaigns against the Persians in the east and the Austrians in the north: time and

distance, the opposite extremes of the arid climate of the desert in summer and the frozen climate of the Balkans in winter, and serious logistical problems attendant on operating armies far from Ottoman bases with 16th- and 17th-century methods of transport. The Habsburgs built a defensive barrier, further hindering the Ottoman advance, and the Ottomans in turn built their own defensive barrier, so war between them tended to become a conflict of sieges, shortened because an Ottoman army marching north from Istanbul at the beginning of the campaigning season in April would only reach the northern marches of Ottoman rule in late July or early August and so have only two or three months in the field before the end of the campaign season. In addition, the Ottoman army failed in the late 17th and 18th centuries to keep up with the tactical revolution in warfare brought about by the development of the mobile field gun and the flintlock musket. Furthermore, its budget was eaten up by pay increases for the Janissaries, who came to behave more and more like the Praetorian Guard in the Roman empire during the 3rd century AD, while the feudal landowners of Asia Minor and Rumelia, on which the Ottomans had relied for military manpower in earlier years, were hard hit by inflation and, from the beginning, excluded from the highest offices, which were only open to the *gilman*. Now the *gilman* intrigued for the estates which had supported the feudal aristocracy, and holders of these estates bought exemptions from service.

The position of Greeks under Ottoman rule was ambiguous. On the one hand, as a whole they were a conquered people, and mainland Greece languished in poverty, although the islands were slightly more prosperous, to the degree that Ottoman control was lighter. On the other hand, a small elite, inhabiting the Phanar quarter of Istanbul and therefore called the Phanariots, managed to win a privileged position for themselves under Turkish rule. They applauded the ultimately successful Ottoman efforts to expel the Genoese and Venetians from the Aegean and Morea, especially because the western Europeans were Catholic heretics who were preventing the revenues of their holdings from reaching the Orthodox patriarch in Istanbul and diverting the Moreot export trade for their own benefit. In addition, once the *devshirme* was given up and the *gilman* lost their grip on the civil offices in the state, Greeks took over from the Serbs and Croats who had filled such offices. Greeks filled the posts of Dragoman (translator) of the Porte and Dragoman of the Fleet, and the fleet itself was largely made up of Greek sailors. In addition, Greeks filled the offices of *hospodar* of Moldavia and *hospodar* of Wallachia, actually ruling those lands for the Ottomans. Both the Porte and the European embassies in Istanbul needed members of the relatively westernized Greek aristocracy to serve as go-betweens, and, by 1793, the permanent Ottoman diplomatic missions at Vienna, Paris, London, and Berlin had Greek Christian chargés d'affaires.

The Ottomans also did much to enrich Greek merchants by ruining their Italian rivals while themselves abstaining from commerce. Greek shipowners dominated the Black Sea and grain trades, and Greek business houses in Thessalonica developed a commercial network in Italy as well as in lands ruled by the Ottomans. The economy of the Ottoman empire as a whole, however, was stagnant, because it was based on agriculture and geared towards local self-sufficiency, not towards trade. In addition, despite repeated attempts at political and military reform throughout the 18th and 19th centuries, those running the empire found it difficult to solve the problems facing an empire that could not compete politically, economically, and technologically with the western European nations. The last of these reform attempts was led by the Young Turks in the early part of 20th century, and their miscalculations in foreign policy, which led them to support the Central Powers against the Allies and become involved in their defeat in World War I, brought an end to the Ottoman empire.

The War of Independence ended the relatively favoured position of the Phanariot elite in the Ottoman regime. Turkish reprisals against the Greeks can be symbolized by, though they did not begin or end with, the execution of the last Greek Dragoman of the Porte in 1821. British, French, and Russian intervention caused the Ottomans to grant independence in 1832 to a Greek state whose northern boundary ran from the Gulf of Preveza to the Gulf of Volos, though it was not until 1913 that a majority of Greeks lived under Greek rule.

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See also Phanariots, Rumeli

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P

Paestum

Greek colony in Campania

Paestum (Poseidonia) was an important Greek colony in Campania in southern Italy and is the site of well-preserved Greek temples. Located about 80 km south of Naples, Paestum is about 700 m from the sea and just south of the Sele river.

The site saw human habitation as far back as the early Stone Age; roving hunters moved through the area, leaving behind tool artifacts. Neolithic farming is evidenced from the archaeological record, and recent excavations have recovered remains from the Bronze Age, e.g. a large graveyard 1.6 km north of the city, and houses in the southern sector of the ancient walls. Sherds of Mycenaean pottery suggest some, though probably indirect, contact with the Greek mainland. In the environs of Paestum 8th- and 7th-century sites have been recovered.

Paestum was founded between 650 and 600 BC by colonists from the Italian city of Sybaris, which was itself a colony established in 720 near Croton on the Ionian Sea by Greeks from Troezen and Achaea. The city was called Poseidonia, or the City of Poseidon. At about the same time, the sanctuary of Hera at Foce del Sele was established about 8.5 km north of Paestum; this sanctuary included a temple, altars, stoas, and a treasury. In the 6th century BC Paestum flourished through trade with the Etruscan cities to the north. Its political importance increased when Etruscan influence waned and the mother city Sybaris was destroyed in 510 BC. Many of the Sybarites fled to Paestum, and this, coupled with the great fertility of the plains and the city's strategic position on the trade routes, caused a further economic boom. Around 400 BC the Italian people called Lucanians descended from the interior mountains and invaded Campania, soon taking over Poseidonia. The city continued to prosper, however, and enjoyed a strong, vibrant industry and commerce. Soon the Lucanians' expansionist policies brought them into conflict with the Greek cities further south, especially Tarentum. The Greeks called upon Alexander, the Molossian king of Epirus and brother-in-law of Alexander the Great, for assistance. Alexander was initially successful, reaching as far north as Paestum where he defeated the Lucanians in 332 BC. The following year, however, Alexander died and Paestum fell again under the rule of the Lucanians. Soon another power appeared on the scene: Rome. Rome gradually became involved in Campania in response to the Greek cities' calls for help against the Lucanians. In 280 BC Tarentum reacted to this intrusion in their sphere of influence by calling upon Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, for assistance. Pyrrhus was soon defeated, abandoning Italy in 275 BC and thereby allowing Rome to assume control of the whole of southern Italy. Rome established a colony at Poseidonia in 275 and renamed the city Paestum. The city's status became *socius navalis*; this meant that Paestum, although nominally autonomous, supplied Rome with a quota of sailors and transport ships (as opposed to land troops, as in the case of other Italian cities).

Paestum proved very loyal to Rome, even in the darkest times. Throughout the First and Second Carthaginian Wars of the 3rd century BC Paestum's loyalty never wavered – even when much of Campania and all of Lucania defected to Hannibal after the disastrous Roman defeat at the battle of Cannae in 216 BC, and even as Hannibal feasted in the city of Capua, just a few days' march to the north. Paestum also maintained allegiance to Rome during the Social War of 91–88 BC, when many of Rome's allied cities in central and southern Italy revolted in an effort to achieve full Roman citizenship. As a reward for its unswerving loyalty, Paestum retained the right to mint its own coinage until the 1st century AD. Later in that century the emperor Vespasian settled a number of sailors at Paestum.

Paestum's gradual decline began as early as the 2nd century BC. The completion of the great highway, the Appian Way, diverted the major trade route away from the southeast coastal area to the ports on the Adriatic. Even a new local road, the Via Polilia, bypassed Paestum. Despite a somewhat renewed building programme in the 2nd or 3rd century AD, the city suffered malaria epidemics as well as flooding and swamping due to the silting of local rivers. By the 5th century the city had been reduced to a village of houses clustered around the temple of Athena, which by now had been converted to a Christian church. There are records of a bishop residing in the city as late as the 7th century, and an 8th-century basilica was erected. In the 9th century the inhabitants moved to the hills because of constant raids by the Saracens.

Paestum contains some of the best-preserved and most important Greek temples in the ancient world. The city walls, with a perimeter of nearly 5 km, date to the 5th century BC, with renovations done in the subsequent two centuries; 24 round and square towers ring the walls, with four main gates.

The Greek city was laid out with two sacred areas in the north and south, separate areas containing public buildings, and houses laid out in gridlike blocks. The south sacred zone contains two magnificent temples, both dedicated to Hera. The so-called "Basilica", dating to *c.*550 BC, is extremely well preserved. The adjoining, mid-5th-century temple, also dedicated to Hera but erroneously called in earlier literature the temple of Poseidon, is one of the best examples of Doric architecture. The two temples formed the centre part of a sacred precinct of Hera. The northern sacred area contains the 5th-century temple of Athena (originally thought to have been dedicated to Ceres); its design is radical, being the first Greek temple to incorporate both Ionic and Doric elements. The Greek agora, or marketplace, was situated just south of the Athena precinct, as recent excavations have shown. A circular meeting-house (*bouleuterion*) and an underground shrine flanked this area.

The Roman colonists radically restructured Paestum in accordance with typical Roman city planning. A large forum was mapped out between the two sacred zones, with the *cardo maximus* and *decumanus* roads leading into the forum (the *cardo* even replaced the Sacred Way that had run behind the two Hera temples). The open court of the forum was flanked by such buildings as theatres, markets, baths, an ampitheatre, a gymnasium, and smaller temples.

Paestum is surrounded by important archaeological sites, many of which are still being excavated. Three major necropolises have been located, ranging in date from the 3rd millennium to the 4th century BC. The paintings of early 5th-century BC tombs are important for the history of Greek art. At Santa Venera, 1 km south of the city, a large sanctuary has recently been discovered; dated to the 5th century BC, the complex was dedicated to Aphrodite (not Bona Dea, as once thought).

Paestum is an extremely important city for the study of ancient Greek architecture, south Italian tomb painting, Roman city planning, ancient religion, and pottery and burial customs.

STEVEN M. OBERHELMAN

Summary

Founded between 650 and 600 BC by Greek colonists from Sybaris in south Italy, Paestum (then called Poseidonia) flourished as a result of trade with Etruria. In the 4th century BC the city fell to the Lucanians and in 275 BC to the Romans who renamed it Paestum. It was reduced to a village by the 5th century AD. Paestum has some of the best-preserved Greek temples of the Archaic and Classical periods.

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Paganism

The word "paganism" derives from the Latin *paganus*, which literally means a peasant, villager, or rustic. Later on it came to signify the heathen, who drew their followers mainly from the rural population and thus were distinguished from the Christians, who were represented principally by the urban lower and middle classes. This article is concerned with the longstanding conflict between paganism and Christianity and with the passing from the ancient Hellenic world to the Christian Roman empire. The encounter of paganism and Christianity took place at various levels and exhibited different characteristics as it continued into the Byzantine period. Because the term "paganism" has also been used in modern times very broadly, objections have been raised to it. In the present context, however, it refers solely to the non-Christianized Hellenic world.

The institutionalization of Christianity as the official religion of the Roman empire by Constantine I (324–37) did not mean the immediate disappearance of paganism, which remained influential throughout the 4th century and had solid popular support. Under Julian (361–63) there was a short-lived, systematic, though unsuccessful attempt to revive paganism, which earned him perpetual Christian enmity. Outside politics, there were also a number of intellectuals who did not convert to Christianity and supported paganism, such as the rhetorician Libanius, who praised Julian's pagan revival. In addition, at the popular level people continued to adhere to pagan cults, sacrifices, and habits, especially in the countryside. These pagan survivals provoked the intervention of Theodosius I (379–95), who supported Orthodoxy, closed the oracle at Delphi, suspended the Olympic Games, and prohibited with harsh laws the celebration of pagan cults and the visiting of pagan temples. These measures resulted in the large-scale closure or destruction of pagan monuments.

Nevertheless, paganism did not become entirely extinct, and survived especially in rural areas. Sometimes there was a fusion between Christianity and paganism, manifested in syncretic religious remnants (e.g. in the northern Greek city of Philippi which was late entering the mainstream of Christian practice). It was Justinian I (527–65) who attacked the Hellenic past by forbidding the teaching of philosophy and law at the Academy of Athens in 529, and thus deprived paganism of a renowned

school of higher education, in which Proclus, Simplicius, and Damascius had excelled as teachers. The systematic development of Christian missions also had a negative impact upon pagan survivals in the Byzantine empire. These radical events signified the social marginalization and even the extinction of pagans in many places. Yet, pagan elements were incorporated into Christianity in various open and covert ways. Many Church Fathers (e.g. the Cappadocians) had a thorough knowledge of Hellenic philosophy and used it selectively in the articulation of Christian dogma. The Hellenic tradition always formed part of Byzantine education and culture, notably after the 9th and especially after the 12th century when admiration for Classical authors was strong. Pagan cultic places were often transformed into Christian churches for various practical or artistic reasons. And pagan rituals in transmuted forms were incorporated into or replaced by relevant Christian ritual activity. These cases show that the meeting of paganism with Christianity was multifaceted and ambivalent and that under certain specific conditions remnants of the ancient religion coexisted with Christianity.

Certain aspects of paganism survived in the later centuries of Byzantium, manifested in everyday life and habits as well as in local cults, especially in the countryside. This continued to provoke Christian reactions. Canon 62 of the Council in Trullo of 692 explicitly condemned the continuation of pagan practices. In the 9th century the existence of some "Hellenes" is mentioned in the southern Peloponnese (Laconia) by Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos. In the 12th century the learned archbishop Eustathios of Thessalonica in his work *De emendanda vita monastica* (On the Improvement of Monastic Life) criticized the groups of monks who organized raiding parties in Greece and destroyed pagan temples. Paganism was defeated in the long run mostly for external reasons (e.g. persecutions, barbarian invasions), but also for internal reasons (e.g. stagnation and lack of innovation, the elitism of later pagan leading figures, isolation). The Church, despite its selective appropriation and conditional acceptance of Hellenic elements, always tried to keep them under control and feared their autonomous presence and function. During iconoclasm both parties accused one another of paganism. A preoccupation with the study of antiquity and ancient philosophy was often viewed suspiciously and led at times to accusations of professing paganism, especially during the 10th and 11th centuries, as the trial of the philosopher John Italos in 1082 demonstrates. The Church was particularly critical of any attempted revivals of paganism to the detriment of Christianity. The most conspicuous case from late Byzantium was that of the Neoplatonic philosopher George Gemistos Plethon in Mistra, who attempted to redirect Byzantine society and culture towards hitherto neglected Hellenic sources. Plethon believed in the Olympian gods and constructed a pagan system with a calendar, prayers, hymns, and liturgy. Yet his vision was not only unrealistic but was also met with Church reactions, and his book *On the Laws* was burned after his death by the patriarch of Constantinople Gennadios II Scholarios.

During the Tourkokratia there was an awareness of the Hellenic past at both the intellectual and the popular levels, albeit in many cases diffused and mixed with various beliefs and superstitions. However, growing signs of a Hellenic – but not strictly pagan – revival among the subjugated Greeks can be observed especially in the late 18th and early 19th centuries and in the Greek War of Independence, which had been given a strong impetus by European Philhellenism, Neoclassicism, and Romanticism. This renewed interest in Greek antiquity was viewed suspiciously by members of the Orthodox Church (e.g. patriarch Gregory V and the hieromonk Athanasios Parios), who feared that it would lead to indifference to Orthodox spirituality and tradition. This worship of antiquity was current in 19th-century Greece too and was closely connected with the conflict between the Hellenic and the Romaic–Byzantine models of Greek identity. It is no wonder therefore that various strategies were developed to overcome this cultural schism by attempting to view Greek history and culture diachronically as a unified system (e.g. the Helleno-Christian synthesis, which survives to this day). It should be noted, however, that in these attempts Hellenism was usually taken out of its pagan context and set up on the basis of Christian criteria. Yet, Orthodox fears of a pagan restoration were evident in the 19th century as the accusations against Theophilos Kairis in 1838–39 and A. Makrakis's opposition to the re-establishment of the Olympic Games in 1896 show. Such developments forced other Greeks in turn to emphasize the pagan character of the Hellenic tradition and the fierce confrontation of paganism with Christianity in history (e.g. the anti-Christian tragedy *Julian the Apostate*, written by Kleon Rizos Rangavis [1842–1917], which was entered for the Voutsinaios prize and provoked the Church's reaction).

In modern Greece elements of the pre-Christian Hellenic tradition still survive and are evident in popular customs, rituals, and worship, even within a Christian framework. These were identified from the late 19th century onwards by the now discredited "survivals" approach of folklorists in their attempt to show the diachronic unity of Greek culture. Idiosyncratic pagan trends and remnants can also be observed in several contexts, ranging from A. Papadiamantis's flirtation with paganism in the old sense and the continuing sanctity of place, to the Delphic festivals of A. Sikelianos. There have also been attempts to revitalize elements of Hellenic culture and its religious tradition in ways that would help the country to face the challenges of the modern world. This revival has nothing to do with the historical, patriotic, and national promotion of ancient Greece, which is done systematically by the state and others. Rather, it aims at a more serious acquaintance with the spiritual founts of Hellenic civilization with a view to re-establishing them. These Greek organizations and currents can be subsumed under two overlapping categories: "Hellenocentric" and "neopagan".

The term "Hellenocentric" refers generally to a wider Hellenic revival, expressed in various forms, with an emphasis on Greece's ancient heritage and usually at the expense of the Orthodox tradition. The most characteristic trend in this category is centred around the monthly journal *Davlos* (Torch), published since 1982 and devoted to all aspects of Hellenic culture. The common features of this trend include: the promotion of elements of Hellenic culture and the unique, unparalleled contributions of the Hellenes to universal civilization (in language, writing, politics, democracy, science, technology, philosophy, theatre, and athletics); the superiority of the Hellenic race, spirit, and culture worldwide as the only real

alternative to the deep crisis of the West, since Hellenes are to be regarded as an autochthonous population designed to become leaders of the world; the fundamental antithesis and unbridgeable chasm between Hellenism and Judaism and the devastating criticism of the Old Testament and Zionism; the need to purge Christianity completely of its Jewish background and give to it a more Hellenic character; the sharp critique of Christianity's intolerance and persecution of dissidents over the centuries; and the rejection of hybrid combinations of Hellenism and Christianity (e.g. the Helleno-Christian synthesis, nationalistic Christianity, the *Romiosyni*-theorists, the Neo-Orthodox proposals) because of their artificial nature. Needless to say, similarly idiosyncratic views are expressed by other groups and journals as well as by individual authors.

The second category, which basically shares the features of the above groups, but is distinguished from them by its more explicit relation to paganism. It aims not only at reactivating the cultural values of ancient Greece, but at re-establishing the Hellenic religion as well. The traditional conflict between Christianity and paganism lies behind these efforts. The term "(neo) paganism" is used today to indicate various currents (e.g. in the USA and Britain), including an earth-respecting spirituality, goddess worship and spirituality, witchcraft, healing practices, magical rituals, various festivals, Gnostic elements, occultism, spiritualism, shamanism, ecology, nature religion, and other elements. It is, however, important to distinguish such broad esoteric movements from certain ethnic neopagan awakenings in various European countries (e.g. Odinism/Druidism in the Anglo-Saxon world, Romuva in Lithuania, Romanism in Italy). The ethnic character of this particular form of neopaganism points to the authentic, ancestral, and autochthonous traditions in various countries that existed long before the importation of Christianity and which differ fundamentally from revealed religions.

Modern Greek neopaganism has a predominantly ethnic character and remains in close relation to the Hellenic tradition and religion. The latter are considered comprehensive cosmogonic, psychological, and eschatological systems aiming to provide people with a serious religio-philosophical meaning of life. There are various independent neopagan groups, whose aim is the defence of the pre-Christian tradition and the creation of Hellenes in the literal meaning of the word. They criticize the pseudo-worshippers of antiquity, the Hellenized Christians, the New-Agers, and the Hellenized nationalists and fascists, because they all disregard the importance of the Hellenic religion and use antiquity for selfish purposes and objectives. The neopagan attempt to de-Christianize or de-Byzantinize modern Greece is evident in many instances (e.g. in the use of the Hellenic months and calendar of feasts as well as in the replacement of BC and AD by more neutral chronological indications). Thus, neopagans not only consider a correlation between Hellenism and Christianity as impossible, but they depict their multiple anthitheses in the most negative way. They also organize some relevant festivities (e.g. to celebrate the summer equinox) and sometimes have their own private places of worship. There are several such groups and movements: the Diipetes, which publishes a journal of the same name with the subtitle "In the Defence of the Ancient Psyche"; the Ellines Eidololatres, the Megali Ethniki Ekklisia ton Ellinon, the Desmos ton Achaion, the Phaethnos Ethniki Ekklisia, the Ypato Symvoulio ton Ellinon Ethnikon, and their related journals. It should be mentioned that these groups do not accept as their self-designation the terms "neopagans" and prefer some other terms such as "Gentile Hellenes" (Ellinikos Ethnismos) or "Followers of the ancestral Hellenic religion and way of life" (Archaiothriskoi, Archaiotropoi, or Ellinotropoi).

It goes without saying that these trends have met with the staunch opposition of the Orthodox Church, which has officially condemned the independent function of pagan ritual survivals (see the encyclicals 2565/24 January 1994 and 2598/19 June 1995 against the *Anastenaria*, the fire-walking rituals in northern Greece). Similar but more extreme is the reaction of Orthodox fundamentalists who are against anything that is reminiscent of the Hellenic past and religion (e.g. the ceremonial lighting of the flame at Olympia for the Olympic Games). This is because Orthodox Christianity has developed a specific understanding of and attitude towards Hellenism in general that is clearly incompatible with Hellenocentric or neopagan visions. Yet, the latter, though marginal and not especially influential until now, reveal a variety of orientation patterns that unavoidably contribute to the persisting crisis of modern Greek identity.

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See also Antiquity, Identity, Orthodoxy and Hellenism

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Painting

Ancient

The origin of Greek painting is difficult to ascertain. Ancient literature is filled with references to famous painters and paintings, but very few paintings survive. Archaeological evidence provides some knowledge of the painter's craft and subject matter. There are specific descriptions by Aristotle, Plutarch, Pliny the Elder, Quintilian, Lucian, Cicero, and Pausanias. They extol the artistic talent of the Greeks, whose art was avidly collected and used to adorn public and sacred buildings. Among ancient painters, the most celebrated were male, yet it was not an exclusionary craft; Pliny names female artists as well. The gradual evolution from painted temple metopes and plaques, stelae, wooden panels, and pottery resulted in painting so illusionistic that horses were said to neigh when confronted with a painted image of another horse.

Antecedents of Greek painting occurred during the Bronze Age cultures of the Minoans and Mycenaeans. Murals on the palace walls of Crete and Thera were partly influenced by Egyptian art, but the subject matter and function appear to be completely different. There is an inherent liveliness and naturalism in the landscapes, figures, and animal motifs. Topics are religious (funerary or sacrificial rituals) or purely decorative. In both cultures marine and floral motifs were depicted on vases. Mycenaean painting is related to Minoan art, with military themes and abstraction becoming evident.

In Greece vase painting arose *c.*900 BC with the Geometric period. Figures were black silhouettes formed by circles, triangles, and squares. During the Orientalizing phase there was progress in distinguishing musculature and identifying facial characteristics. In Archaic black- and red-figure vase painting males and females are presented in mythological or everyday scenes. Overlapping figures indicate depth. Details are scratched into the dark figures for drapery, hair, and other features. Red-figure painting allowed for greater expressive freedom by using a brush loaded with paint for details rather than a stiff etching tool. From the second half of the 6th century BC artists' signatures are common, the painter writing *egrapsen* ("he drew") after his name.

According to one legend, drawing began in Greece when a woman traced the outline of her lover's shadow on the wall. Ancient writers relate that great achievements in Greek mural and panel painting occurred during the 5th and 4th centuries BC. The use of flat colours within an outline progressed to forms modelled in light and shade; buildings were depicted in perspective; and figures and objects were illusionistically set into space using cast shadows. The most celebrated painters, who included Polygnotus, Apollodorus, Zeuxis, Parrhasius, Pausias, Nicias, Apelles, and Protogenes, were renowned for their ability to create *trompe-l'oeil* effects on flat surfaces. Many paintings were on panels that could be transported to cities and art markets, thus spreading the fame and fortune of the artists.

In the early Classical period Polygnotus from Thasos was regarded as the "inventor of painting", completing huge murals depicting the lives of the Greek heroes. He used four colours in his palette: white, red, ochre, and black, and in various combinations. His most famous subject was a series of paintings of the Trojan War placed in the Propylaea on the Acropolis. His ethnic depictions were especially celebrated and spectators could read the thoughts of the characters from their expressions.

During the later 5th century BC Apollodorus of Athens developed the use of shadows and perspective. Pliny stated that Zeuxis "entered the gates of art which Apollodorus had opened". Pliny's description of the painted grapes of Zeuxis

reveals a new peak in illusionistic art: birds flew at the panel to peck at the fruit, though his rival, Parrhasius, painted a curtain so convincingly that even Zeuxis was fooled. Parrhasius of Ephesus lived in an ostentatious manner, wearing a purple cloak and golden wreath around his head and singing as he worked.

An important representative of the school of Sicyon was Pausias, who is associated with improvements in colour. In an allegory of *Drunkenness*, a glass bowl was rendered so realistically that a woman's face was reflected in it. Many of his panels were taken to Rome by admirers to decorate the imperial capital and villas of aristocrats. In the Athenian school Nicias was highly esteemed and fits our contemporary picture of the passionate artist. He was so involved in his painting that he would forget to eat. Nicias was very particular about his subject matter as well, saying that what one painted was as important as how one painted. As with Pausias, many of his paintings were brought to Rome; one was placed in the Roman Senate, another in the temple of Concord.

Apelles, the favourite painter of Alexander the Great, is the artist who surpassed his contemporaries and predecessors in skill, fame, and fortune. He left his native Ephesus for Sicyon to complete his training and was taken by Philip of Macedon to his capital Pella when his talent was recognized. Upon Alexander's accession, Apelles became the court painter. He used a thin black glaze to unify his compositions and enhance the brilliance of the paints. Apelles was by all accounts a pleasant man and supportive of his friends. He apparently purchased several paintings by Protogenes at a high price to show his appreciation of his friend's work. Protogenes of Rhodes lived in poverty most of his life but remained dedicated to art, probably saved from starvation by the generosity of Apelles.

Several female painters also achieved a high level of success. Helena, daughter of an Egyptian, is credited with the *Battle of Issus* depicting Alexander's defeat of Darius from which the famous mosaic copy in Pompeii was made. Pliny names quite a few others: Timarete, who painted an Artemis at Ephesus; Eirene, painter of a maiden of Eleusis; Calypso, who painted portraits; Aristarte, who painted Asclepius. Iaia of Cyzicus mostly did commissioned portraits of women as well as a self-portrait with the use of a mirror. She was noted for the rapidity and excellence of her work. Her paintings sold for much higher prices than those of her contemporaries. Another painter, Olympias, is known only for her pupil, Aristobulus. In some cases, the women were daughters and pupils of other painters whom Pliny names. Iaia remained single all her life, devoted to her craft.

There are numerous Graeco-Roman murals in Pompeii, Herculaneum, and other small towns nearby which were perfectly preserved by the eruption of Vesuvius in AD 79. Unfortunately, the paintings are unsigned; some are possibly copies from famous compositions done by Greek painters. The murals themselves have been categorized into four basic styles ranging from simple reproductions of marble surfaces to elaborately conceived and depicted landscapes, architectural compositions, portraits, and panel paintings set within ethereal frames.

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See also Pottery

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Byzantium

The two arts of painting and mosaic may be separated in modern thinking, but in the Byzantine mind they were one, and such evidence as there is suggests that the same craftsmen practised in both media, using mosaic when money was available, and painting where it was not. Furthermore there is a lack of surviving painted church decoration between the 4th and 11th centuries. This account must therefore be read in conjunction with the article on Byzantine mosaic.

Byzantine painting can be defined as the painting of the Christian Roman empire that continued until the fall of Constantinople in 1453. Since Rome had more or less conquered Greece in the 1st century BC, and Roman culture was thoroughly Hellenized, it follows that the strongest influence on early Byzantine painting was the style of the Classical world. This can be seen in the surviving paintings of the catacombs in Rome, where the subject matter is derived mainly from the Bible, but the style shows simplified Classical figures and landscapes. A second influence, less well charted because less has survived, was Jewish and oriental. Scenes from the Old Testament can be seen painted on the walls of the synagogue of Dura Europus, a city on the Euphrates on the borders of modern Syria and Iraq.

Byzantine painting can be divided into three phases: early Christian and Byzantine up to the period of iconoclasm (726–843); middle Byzantine, from 850 to the sack of Constantinople by the Latins in 1204; and late Byzantine, from 1261 to 1453. The early years of Christian painting were clandestine and rudimentary, depicting symbolic images such as fish or peacocks and simple biblical scenes. The conversion of Constantine the Great in 311 heralded official church building on a grand scale, and all of the churches required painted or mosaic decoration. The usual form of church was the basilica, and the ruins of these can be found all over the territory of the late Roman empire. Little is left of their painting or mosaic decoration because of the widespread destruction of images during the iconoclast period of the 8th to 9th centuries.

The salient difference that emerges between the Classical temple and the Christian church is that the decoration of a temple was concentrated on the exterior of the building, whereas the decoration of a church was largely within it. A

form of painting and mosaic that originates in the Classical world is the individual portrait or icon. Small portable icons executed in mosaic have been discovered from the Roman period, and portraits painted in encaustic from the Hellenistic period in Egypt are well known. These are the prototypes of the Christian icon which became as significant to the individual worshipper as were church decorations to the act of corporate worship. Another form of painting that was to assume even greater importance as the centuries passed by was the illumination of the Bible and of other Christian devotional manuscripts. Bible illustration seems to have provided the earliest subject matter, and while prototypes for Old Testament illustration may have been found in Jewish painting, an entirely new iconography was invented for New Testament scenes and figures. For the Old Testament, the Quedlinburg manuscript of the 5th-century AD provides evidence for what was expected of a painter. The actual illustrations have largely flaked away and underneath are simple written instructions directing the painter to make images of the people relevant to the biblical scene, and put in the buildings or landscape and animals relevant to the text. In this way a new iconography was evolved that changed little over the Byzantine period and the experienced observer can usually identify a scene even if only a small fragment of it remains. Another form of early Christian painting that must have been widespread is pilgrimage souvenirs, such as the Vatican Palestinian reliquary depicting the Crucifixion and other Christological scenes. This type of image may well have spread Byzantine iconography throughout the Christian world.

The Byzantine style of religious painting can be seen as already well evolved in a few surviving icons in the monastery of Mount Sinai, notably the 4th- or 5th-century panels of *Christ* and *St Peter*. In manuscript, the Rabbula Gospels (now in the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Florence) and the Rossano Gospels (in the cathedral museum at Rossano) already show the increasing use of gesture and linear drapery lines to exaggerate the sense of movement and emotion in a symbolic way. By contrast the survival of strongly Hellenistic elements can still be seen in manuscripts such as the Paris Psalter of 950–70, but in general the great 10th-century manuscripts show a fusion of styles with the figures developing increasingly linear effects but architecture, landscape, and other subsidiary elements retaining more from the Hellenistic past. The only painted church decoration of note from the 10th century is in Tokali New Church in Cappadocia and this has a marked linear quality. In the early Christian period, Byzantine painting can thus be seen to inherit forms and techniques from the ancient world while constantly striving for liberation from them.

The encaustic technique of painting on panels with a wax medium was inherited from the Hellenistic art of Egypt, and it was commonly used for icon painting up to the 6th century. Thereafter it was superseded by the use of glues, egg, and oil media. On walls Byzantine painters used the fresco technique of painting on fresh lime plaster, and then finishing with an egg or glue medium for colours that were incompatible with lime. Fresco painting was known in ancient Egypt, Greece, and Rome but the Byzantines modified their inherited craft and adapted it to the increasing linear emphasis that appears in Christian painting from the 6th century onwards. Rome and ancient Greece had striven for the softer effects of blended colour that gives the illusion of realistic depth in a painting. The Byzantines rejected this in favour of linear patterning that emphasized the otherworldly nature of images and placed them in a spiritual dimension suitable to a religious image. For this purpose the Byzantine technique evolved with a use of thick opaque colours that are often juxtaposed in contrasting sequences close to each other.

The conflicts of style and subject matter that characterize the early period of Byzantine painting more or less disappear in the period 850–1204. The Iconoclast controversy served to focus agreement in the mind of the Church hierarchy. A theological justification for the use of images was worked out by St John of Damascus, and the idea that a church represented heaven on earth became widely accepted. The acceptance of this premise meant that scenes depicting the life of Christ and the Virgin and images of the saints were not just didactic illustrations for the benefit of the congregation. The scenes and images were held to bear a constant and continuous reality by virtue of their illustrated presence and the congregation was absorbed within them and partook of the sacred drama. Christ was present by virtue of his image, usually in the dome, and from thence he looked down upon the congregation and was with them. Similarly it was possible to communicate directly with the saints through their painted image. This belief that the image provided a direct contact with the spirit of the figure portrayed may itself be seen as a continuing reflection of the ancient Greek belief that a god was directly accessible through his or her statue and in some magical way he or she was even present in the statue. A new architectural form evolved for this new conception of a church. Domes were added to the simple basilican plan, and the plan evolved into the centralized domed church usually in the form of a cross-in-square. The painted icon continued to serve its purpose as a focus of worship for the individual owner, but increasingly icons became a part of corporate worship in the altar screen or iconostasis of a church and in religious processions.

The continuity of Hellenistic illusionism can best be seen in the middle Byzantine period in the grander manuscript illustrations such as the Paris Psalter of 950–70, which was made under imperial or aristocratic patronage. Individual illuminations in such a manuscript might almost be mistaken for antique works, but elsewhere the surviving tradition was less obvious.

The best coherent survivals of church decoration of the period 950–1100 are in the crypt of the church of Hosios Loukas in Stiris, in the New Church of Tokali in Cappadocia in Turkey, and in Hagia Sophia at Ohrid in Macedonia; there are a few provincial examples surviving in Italy, Egypt, and Cyprus. All of these churches bear witness to parts of the post-iconoclastic system of iconographic order: the image of Christ in the dome; the Mother of God in the semidome of the apse; the great feast days celebrating the life of Christ on the upper walls and in the vaults of the church; the first communion of the apostles on the apse walls; and the company of saints in the ground register or distributed wherever there might be a space such as in the soffits of arches or in decorative borders. In Cyprus good-quality examples of this orderly church decoration survive from throughout the 12th century. Another group of painted churches in Cappadocia represent provincial deco-

Painting (Byzantine): St Saviour in Chora, now known as the Kariye Cami, Istanbul, apse, fresco of the Resurrection, *c.*1315–21

rative work of the middle Byzantine period. The style of painting varies considerably throughout the Byzantine empire according to place and date, but all the quality work shows adherence to an orderly rule of figural proportion that makes for coherent unity in a decoration. The tendency to linear elaboration of draperies continued to develop from earlier centuries, culminating in the elaborate wind-blown style of the end of the 12th century, best seen in the churches of Nerezi in Macedonia, at Lagoudhera in Cyprus, and in fragmentary decorations elsewhere in Greece, Russia, and Turkey.

The Latin conquest of Constantinople in 1204 marks a century of uncertainty in the field of religious painting with an assumption on the part of some scholars that painting of the Byzantine style in this period is all by western artists. However that may be, it can be seen that surviving Byzantine painting from the late 13th and 14th centuries exhibits important changes. The most salient of these is the tendency towards narrative in the scenes rather than the monumental iconic approach. This may be compared with narrative in ancient Greek sculpture where a single scene may illustrate events that are separate in time, place, and action but which are related to the central character or happening. A good Byzantine example is the scene of the Nativity of Christ where the Mother of God and newly born child in the manger are surrounded by subsidiary events depicting the journeying Magi, the annunciation to the shepherds, and the washing of the child by midwives. Another change in church decoration is the striking tendency to give figures greater bulk and weightiness so that they sometimes assume a sculptural quality. Painting of this period is best seen in Macedonia, Greece, and the Balkans, and in Constantinople.

There is a final flourish of late Byzantine painting of which good examples survive at Mistra in the Peloponnese and in Serbia. The narrative element became further developed in this late period and the weightiness of figures disappears in favour of an almost effeminate elegance and lightness that bears an affinity with the contemporary international Gothic style of western Europe. A variant of the late style in Russia moved in the opposite direction and developed the earlier Byzantine linear styles almost to a state of abstraction. Byzantine painting continued to thrive in the 16th and 17th centuries with vigorous schools of painting in Crete, Cyprus, Serbia, Dalmatia, and Russia. Its final impact in the West may be said to come in the works of El Greco, a Cretan by training.

In summary, Byzantine painting was born out of the pagan Classical world, and the continuity of Greek ideas can be seen in all the variations of the Byzantine style. Earlier scholarship tended to concentrate on finding Classical prototypes for features of Byzantine painting, but contemporary scholarship, while recognizing the influence of Classical work, stresses the

individual character of the Byzantine achievement, so that the idea of a renaissance of Classical art in Byzantium is now less prominent. The continuity is rather to be sought in the sense of orderliness, proportion, and harmony in figural work that underlies the work of ancient Greece and which is present in all good Byzantine painting.

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See also Icon, Iconoclasm, Mosaic, Renaissance (Palaiologan)

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Tourkokratia and Modern

The fall of Constantinople in 1453 marks only a nominal break in the history of Greek painting, which continued to be predominantly ecclesiastical in function (wall paintings and icons) and Byzantine in stylistic character. But the scale of activity and its organization were considerably modified since, with the Orthodox community now poorer and oppressed, fewer and smaller churches were built, and painters were no longer located in major urban centres. The important monastic communities (e.g. Mount Athos, Meteora), however, retained their status and influence. The most important early school was in Crete, with another, less clearly defined, in Macedonia (perhaps in the region of Kastoria). (In the discussion that follows, representative works of the artists mentioned appear in brackets following the artist's name.)

But even at this early stage the seeds of stylistic change were being sown in those parts of Greece (Crete, the Ionian islands, and the Dodecanese) that were at the same time free from Ottoman control and in contact with western Europe (especially Venice). There Renaissance forms and subjects, foreign to the Byzantine tradition, influenced the development of painting. With the appearance of Cretan artists on the Greek mainland in the 16th century, such ideas spread more widely, and the trend was intensified when further emigration followed the fall of Crete in 1699. During the final phase (1700–1830) of post-Byzantine art (the term is used to refer to the period between the fall of Constantinople and the establishment of Greek independence) there was much activity in the field of church painting. This included both lively innovation and a determined adherence to tradition.

For some, at least, of the period so far discussed decorative painting plays an important role. Such work is found in the buildings of Rhodes during the rule of the Knights of St John (1309–1522). On the mainland most examples belong to the houses of wealthy merchants and are not earlier than the mid-18th century. But from then on they are plentiful.

At that time external contacts were increasing with the weakening of Ottoman control; artefacts in western taste were widely accessible; and western Europeans were increasingly interested in Greek culture and in visiting its country of origin. The ever-strengthening current of western influence – in the status of artists and the type of work demanded, as well as in style – was particularly evident in the Ionian islands. Thus, if the beginning of "modern" Greek painting is defined without strict reference to chronology but as the point when artists started seriously to move away from the conventions of Byzantine and folk art in favour of those of western painting, the late 18th and early 19th century hold the key.

With the installation of a Bavarian monarch (Otho, 1833) as king of Greece, the destination of the first Greek artists to study abroad was assured. Thus the Akademie der Bildenden Künste in Munich, with its tradition of academic realism, was the most influential institution in the formation of the artistic ideas of the first post-independence generation of "modern" painters. Formal teaching of painting in Greece was established around 1840 with the institution that was later (1863) to become the Polytechnic. To begin with, the teaching establishment was mainly foreign. From the turn of the century, however, artists studied in other countries (Austria, Denmark, France, Italy) as well. Thus new currents entered the world of Greek painting. Most significant was that of Impressionism, through Greek artists based in Paris. The consequent move away from strict realism of representation was a crucial one in the history of Greek painting. Subsequently, all the major developments in 20th-century western European art have been accessible to Greek painters and absorbed by them in varying degrees.

Sources and influences

The influences of the Renaissance from which Greece was largely isolated are most evident in Crete, the Ionian islands, and Rhodes, none of them initially under Ottoman control. The work of Michael Damaskinos (*c.*1535–92/93, *The Adoration of the Magi*, Hagia Aikaterini Sinaitiki, Herakleion), a member of the Cretan school who specialized in icons, shows a perceptibly increasing concern with the softer features and tones and less austere feeling of Italian painting as well as the use of some Italian subjects and motifs. Damaskinos, like other Cretan painters, worked in Venice for several years and would have executed commissions regularly for Catholic patrons. In the Ionian islands painters such as Panagiotis Doxaras (1662–1729, *The Holy Family*, Koutlidis Collection) and, later, Nikolaos Koutouzis (1741–1813, *Portrait of a Nobleman*, National Gallery, Athens) adopted a thoroughly western style for both religious and secular subjects. Particularly striking evidence of western influence is provided by a non-ecclesiastical aspect of their work – portraits; indeed the very development of portraiture demonstrates a new role for painting and a new social milieu.

In spite of the increasing infiltration of western forms, the prevailing climate remained (and has continued to be) overwhelmingly Byzantine. In the remote Agrafa region of northwestern Greece, Dionysios of Phourna (*c.*1670–after 1744), in his *Painter's Manual*, prescribed strict adherence to a traditional Byzantine approach in both subject and style. Among those who followed his precepts was George Markou of Argos (1719–46) who decorated several churches in Attica including Moni Petraki in Athens. A more informal approach displayed in the work of some Epirot painters (e.g. Panagiotis of Ioannina) stems from their background as artisans decorating house interiors in a "folk" style. More recent church decoration, not infrequently undertaken by major artists (Engonopoulos, Kontoglou, Kopsidis, Parthenis), usually has a strong and explicit undercurrent of tradition.

Apart from Frankish Rhodes, which is a special case because of its direct links with the crusader Knights of St John, the interior decoration of houses (*arkhontika*) and public buildings developed particularly in central or northern Greece and in areas with a prosperous merchant class (the shipowners of Pelion, the fur traders of Siatista). Greek traders carried on much of the commerce of the Ottoman empire. The painting was done by artisans, members of travelling bands of builders and craftsmen. The small village of Chioniades, near Konitsa in Epirus, was especially known for its painters. The style of such work is simple and direct, sometimes crude: the motifs are often largely decorative, but land- and seascapes – including actual places (a view of Chalcis in Euboea, 1832, by I. Pagonis is in the K. Makris collection in Volos) – are common, and there are occasional portraits. Decorative and ecclesiastical painting were often closely related and the interchange of motifs and style is evident. I. Pagonis, who came from Chioniades, worked extensively in the Pelion area between 1800 and 1838, and later lived there, decorating both houses and churches (such as Agia Marina in Kissos, Pelion, 1802). Foreign influences include elements derived from European rococo and baroque. The illustrations (1837–39, now in the National Historical Museum and the Gennadeion Library, Athens) for General Makriyannis's *Memoirs* of the 1821 uprising by Panagiotis Zographos also fall into this category. Theophilos Chatzimichail (1873–1934), Greece's best-known "primitive", painted both panels and murals in an expansion of this tradition (*Limnios Kekhagias*, 1930, Theophilos Museum, Mytilini).

A "western" style of interior decoration, though copying ancient prototypes, can be seen in the paintings of Heinrich Schliemann's house, the Iliou Melathron in Athens (1879; following ancient "Pompeian" styles), or the original Athens University building (1839–49; king Otho in the company of personifications of noble qualities, ancient Greeks, etc.).

Mainstream secular painting

Although the hold of Byzantine art had been weakened through the influences of the West and of folk painters, it was only with the arrival of king Otho and his retinue in Greece that direct European contacts were possible for Greek artists as a whole and that mainstream, non-ecclesiastical painting became firmly established. In this context the influence of the Munich Academy (see above), where an academic approach with careful attention to accurate representation and an interest in genre subjects (cf. Nikephoros Lytras's *Return from the Panygyri of Pendeli*, Koutlidis Collection) were the dominant characteristics, was fundamental. Important Greek painters who studied there included Theodoros Vryzakis (1819–78), Nikephoros Lytras (1832–1904), Nikolaos Gyzis (1842–1901), and Georgios Iakovidis (1852–1932). Gyzis was subsequently a professor at Munich, and highly influential on Greek students, while Lytras and Iakovidis both taught at the Athens School of Fine Arts, thus encouraging the spread of the ideas of the Munich school from within Greece itself. The only indication of the Greek origins of these painters is (sometimes) the choice of subject – e.g. the historical events and portraits of Vryzakis (*Lord Byron at Missolonghi*, 1862, National Gallery of Athens) and the seascapes of Konstandinos Volonakis (1837–1907, *To limani tou Peiraia*, Piraeus Municipal Collection).

Increasing contacts with other centres – of which Paris was by far the most significant – radically changed the direction of Greek painting, away from academic realism and towards Impressionism. Here the important figures were Konstandinos Parthenis (1878–1967, *To limani tis Kalamatas*, 1911, National Gallery, Athens) and Konstandinos Maleas (1879–1928, *Topio Delfon*, National Gallery, Athens). Although European ideas were generally slow to be accepted in Greece, other subsequent 20th-century developments are all represented to varying degrees (e.g. the expressionism of Georgios Bouzianis (1885–1959) in paintings such as *Nude*, National Gallery, Athens).

The Greekness of Greek painting

This question became a central issue – indeed an aim – in the work of the so-called Generation of the '30s, a diverse group that included such artists as Iannis Moralis (1916–), Nikos Hadjikyriakos, known as Ghika (1906–94), and Ioannis Tsarouchis (1910–89), and can be examined most constructively in the context of their paintings.

As Lydakis has rightly pointed out, the definition of "nationality" in the painting of any country is a highly complex issue, although one that is often treated very superfi-

cially (to identify nationality on the grounds merely of subjects chosen, for instance, would be absurd). Major trends (Impressionism, abstraction) are international and the work of individual artists varies enormously in the extent to which it shows or does not show, universal, local, or individual features. "Nationality" can be defined only on the basis of a somewhat intangible blend of local atmosphere (including subject, treatment of light, topography, etc.), elements of style or subject derived from local tradition (whether continuous or retrospective), and attitude.

The role of tradition is crucial. Unsurprisingly, because of the unbroken continuity of icon painting and church decoration and the crucial role of the Orthodox Church in Greek national life, Byzantine subjects and style have exercised important influences on secular painting. In recent times this can be seen most clearly in the work of Photis Kontoglou (1898–1965, *Maria Kontoglou*, 1928, private collection; also paintings of Greek mythological and historical subjects in the Athens Dhimarkhion) and his pupils, including Rallis Kopsidis (1929–). It is interesting to note that Nikos Engonopoulos (1910–86), for all the surrealism of much of his work, also painted churches, including part of the Orthodox church of Hagios Spiridon in New York. Earlier Parthenis too had brought his distinctive style to bear on church painting (such as his panels for Agios Alexandros at Palaio Phaliro, Athens). The intermingling of folk and Byzantine styles, noted earlier in the context of post-Byzantine Epirot painters, is evident still in the work of Kopsidis in the monastery at Pendeli (scene of the *God-Protected Mountain of Pendeli*).

That folk art was still flourishing in the earlier 20th century is evident in the work of Theophilos Chatzimichail, who painted both murals and, less common in this tradition, panels, but its influences are evident also in the work of other artists. The most interesting case is that of Ioannis Tsarouchis, some of whose figures and decorative elements are clearly in this vein (*Sailor*, 1950, private collection, and *Protomayia*, 1965, National Bank of Greece). The artist expressed great admiration for Theophilos. In Tsarouchis's work are fused a range of elements including, apart from folk features, occasional references to Byzantium (he was for a time a pupil of Kontoglou), the Classical past (*Piraeus in Antiquity*, 1965), and Greek topography.

The use of ancient motifs and compositional forms, as found for instance in the grave monuments of Moralis (*Memorial Composition*, 1958, artist's collection), shows how such elements can be incorporated into work that is Classical in a much broader sense than of a simple reference to antiquity. Often, however, the use of ancient or archaeological motifs is retrospective rather than traditional since, with the exception of occasional features such as the Late Antique Fayum portraits which are clear antecedents to the Byzantine style, there is no continuity of use from antiquity.

Other more superficial but recurrent elements, which are local in the sense of reflecting the preoccupations of a sea-orientated people and traditional in that they occur sporadically in paintings of all periods, include a strong interest in ships and the sea. This is sometimes tied to naval battles of the War of Independence (Volonakis's *The Disembarkation of Karaiskakis at Phaleron*, National Bank of Greece), sometimes to ships themselves. Noteworthy also is a curiosity (Maleas's *Santorini*, National Gallery, Athens) about the effects of light, shade, and colour, thrown into prominence by the vibrant Aegean atmosphere and encouraged by the influences of Impressionism. Artists have also been attracted to modern genre themes that represent endemic features of the Greek social scene such as family life, kafeneia (Tsarouchis's *To Kafeneion*, 1955, Methenitis Collection), etc.

Since the abstract movement of the 1950s and 1960s such tendencies have been less evident, in the context of a stronger internationalism and a greater concern with art theory. Nevertheless ancient and Byzantine art continues to inspire and provide subject matter for Greek artists (such as D. Mytaras's *Ap' to Ergastiri*, 1989), as do the unique landscape and atmosphere of Greece itself (as seen in K. Papatriandaphyllopoulos's *Coast of Attica*, 1988, Philaniotou Collection).

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See also Renaissance (Veneto-Cretan)

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Greek Painting: The 19th Century, n.d. (Corfu Annexe)

Greek Painting in the Early 20th Century, n.d. (Corfu Annexe)

Greek Painting: The Generation of the Thirties after the War, n.d. (Corfu Annexe)

Greek Painting: The Thirties, 1996 (Corfu Annexe)

Paisy Velichkovsky, St 1722–1794

Athonite monk

The Ukrainian St Paisy Velichkovsky was in the Greek-speaking world for only 17 years. He was on Mount Athos from 1746. He had been tonsured *rasophor* (novice) in the Pecherskaya Lavra of Kiev whence he came via the Danubian principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia. When he arrived on the Holy Mountain he walked northwards from the Great

Lavra. The exertions of journey on foot and the heat of the day caused him to fall seriously ill. He was cured by monks in the Pantokratoros skete, near which he then settled as a hermit, having searched in vain for a spiritual father. In 1750 he was visited by his former mentor, the Elder Vasily, who tonsured him with the small *schema* (habit) and after a while returned to Wallachia. Three months after Vasily's departure St Paisy was joined by another Wallachian, Monk Vissarion, who begged to be his disciple. St Paisy refused and they lived for some time sharing everything and submitting in spiritual obedience to each other. The two monks were soon joined by others from the Danubian principalities and Ukraine. Eventually St Paisy reluctantly agreed to be their spiritual leader. The brotherhood had to move into the larger cell of Sts Constantine and Helen, belonging to the Pantokratoros monastery. When he had 12 disciples, in 1757, St Paisy was granted a charter from Pantokratoros, to make another of its dependencies, the Prophet Elijah cell, into the Prophet Elijah skete. In under five years he was in charge of a brotherhood 60-strong. He had originally planned for a community of no more than 16 monks, but he was unable to turn people away. Eventually he was asked by the Holy Community to move to the debt-ridden monastery of Simonopetra, on the other side of the peninsula. He arrived there with 35 brethren on 15 April 1762. Unfortunately, Turkish creditors were clamouring for the 50,000 lei owing to them; and St Paisy, unable to cope with the debts, left the Holy Mountain the next year for Moldavia, whence he never returned.

This terse account of his all too brief sojourn on Athos gives little indication of the important role he played in Greek spiritual life and of his influence on subsequent Athonite history. The Prophet Elijah skete became the centre for Russians on Athos at the time, for the so-called "Russikon", or Russian monastery of St Panteleimon, was probably inhabited only by Greeks and southern Slavs in the latter half of the 18th century. The Russians whom the Greeks invited back to St Panteleimon in 1839, and whose successors took over the monastery, originated from the skete. Until 1992, when the last of its brethren representing the Russians were expelled, the skete was the oldest Russian Athonite house in modern times to be continuously in Russian hands.

During his 17-year stay St Paisy's renown spread all over the Holy Mountain. He had spiritual children of many nationalities, and was even confessor to Patriarch Seraphim I, who was living in retirement in Pantokratoros monastery. Word about St Paisy spread to other countries, particularly to the Danubian principalities, Ukraine, and Russia.

St Paisy's ability to attract pilgrims from abroad is remarkable because in the mid-18th century the Orthodox Church was undergoing a crisis. The Athonite community was having to cope with the increased *harach* (tax). Some monasteries, such as Simonopetra and St Panteleimon, were becoming depopulated and bankrupt; others were reverting to idiorrhythm and being abandoned by their senior monks, who were absent on alms-gathering missions. In post-Petrine Russia, which had tenuous links with the Holy Mountain, monasticism was hardly thriving. Perhaps the Orthodox world was yearning for such a luminary as St Paisy.

His personal qualities transcended ethnic barriers. Few Slavs had such good relations with Greek Athonites. The year after he left, the Greeks were extremely well disposed to the Russians because of him: the Holy Community offered to pay the *harach* that had been imposed on the skete by the civil authorities and apologized to the skete for the inconvenience that might have been caused. In the 1798 charter Pantokratoros granted the Prophet Elijah skete "substantial rights and privileges" in recognition for the "considerable benefit and help" received by the monastery from its "blessed and most venerable founder and father the Elder Paisios"; yet, somewhat less than a century later the monastery and its skete were embroiled in bitter quarrels and most of these privileges were taken away.

Paisy himself knew that facilitating harmonious international relations was a gift others did not have. When in later years he gave the Rule to Abbot George of Cherniça he told him to accept only Romanians into the brotherhood in order to avoid misunderstandings and conflicts. As the leader of a multinational community St Paisy was perforce a consummate linguist: Article 15 of the Rule he drew up in 1763 for the Dragomira monastery stipulated that "since our community is composed of three nationalities, then three languages, Greek, Slavonic, and Moldavian" must be known by the abbot. He learnt Moldavian before he came to Athos, when he and many other Small Russian monks were on the move between eastern Ukraine and the principalities in search of places where they could lead an eremitic existence under the guidance of spiritual fathers and without interference from the world outside. Acquiring Greek, however, required saintly dedication. In the tradition of the Elder Vasily and his other mentors, St Paisy sought out patristic texts and copied them, usually at night.

In his first years on the Holy Mountain he searched everywhere for these texts, but nobody knew of their whereabouts. Greek Athonites were so ignorant that they were not only incapable of reading them but many had never heard of them. He eventually found some of the texts he was looking for in a remote cell, copied them, translated them, used them as his spiritual guide, and taught from them. He was thus one of the first revivers of hesychasm on Athos and once again spread the teaching of Sts Gregory Palamas, Symeon the New Theologian, and Gregory of Sinai. There is evidence that St Paisy was a supporter of the Kollyvades, who sought to uphold an exact observance of the holy canons and the liturgical rules, and whose primary concern was to safeguard Orthodox faith and life in its total integrity. A little over a decade after St Paisy left Athos, the general Greek Orthodox revival of patristic traditions was further promoted on the Holy Mountain by Sts Nikodemos the Hagiorite and Makarios of Corinth, who published the *Philokalia*.

Although St Paisy began his Athonite life as a hermit, he was most influential as a leader of the cenobitic community. The admired harmony of his self-sufficient yet poor skete, the first on Athos to be a cenobium, counterbalanced the new trend of lax idiorrhythmic freedom, which seemed to be gaining the upper hand. St Paisy, the publishers of the *Philokalia*, and others, such as St Kosmas the Aetolian, were influential at the same time that feelings of revolutionary independence were stirring in all Greeks. Turkish oppression seemed at its worst; but just as in the Peloponnese, Church schools were opening and the Athoniada was founded. It is

remarkable that St Paisy, a Slav, should be associated in this way with the resurgence of the Greek national Church.

NICHOLAS FENNELL

See also Athos, Kollyvades

Biography

Born in the Ukraine in 1722, Paisy studied at the theological academy in Kiev and was tonsured as a monk there before moving to the Danubian principalities. In 1746 he arrived on Mount Athos and settled as a hermit. In 1757 he was put in charge of the Prophet Elijah skete where by 1762 the brotherhood had grown to 60. He promoted hesychasm and translated the *Philokalia* into Slavonic. In 1763 he left Athos and founded a monastery in Romania where he died in 1794.

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Palaiologos family

Byzantine imperial dynasty (1259–1453)

The earliest antecedents of the Palaiologoi are unknown but the family had emerged as an important member of the new landholding elite by the second half of the 11th century and was soon interconnected by marriage with other such families, in standard "aristocratic" practice. The first identified scion of the family was Nikephoros Palaiologos, a commander under the emperor Michael VII Doukas (1071–78). His son, George, was a loyal lieutenant of Alexios I Komnenos (1081–1118). Several members of the family served as generals and regional governors through the 12th century, and one of them, Alexios Palaiologos, rose to prominence at court on the eve of the Fourth Crusade by marrying Irene, daughter of emperor Alexios III (1195–1203). Their daughter, Theodora, married a cousin, Andronikos Palaiologos, who served as Grand Domestic (*Megas Domestikos*), or army chief, in the Byzantine government-in-exile of the Laskaris dynasty in Nicaea.

Their son, related by blood to three earlier families of emperors, was Michael Palaiologos, who followed his father in important military commands. Michael's restless personality and selfish machinations repeatedly won him the suspicion of the emperors John III Vatatzes (1222–54) and Theodore II Laskaris (1254–58). Exploiting the unstable regency for Theodore's young son, Michael boldly usurped the throne (1259). Defeat of rival forces at Pelagonia (summer–autumn 1259) and then the recovery of Constantinople itself (July 1261) gave him prestige as the restorer of rightful Byzantine sovereignty. But his ambitious programme of imperial recovery strained his realm's resources, while his abortive engineering of Church union with Rome for diplomatic purposes caused great dissension and hatred among his subjects.

His son and successor, Andronikos II (1282–1328), if well intentioned and good-hearted, was unequal to the task of adjusting the restored Byzantine empire to its reduced realities. A struggle for the throne between him and his grandson, Andronikos III (1321/28–1341), initiated the internal strife and dynastic conflict that repeatedly plagued the dynasty. Any hope for revival was further dispelled by renewed strife when, during the tumultuous minority of the legitimate successor, John V Palaiologos (1341/55–1391), the throne was contested by John VI Kantakouzenos (1341/47–1354). The latter's talents proved futile in the face of Serbian and Ottoman Turkish challenges; the achievement of sole rule by John V then brought to power a mediocre and hapless leader who presided in futility over the humiliating reduction of his dwindling realm to Turkish vassalage.

John V's son, Andronikos IV (1376–79), and then his grandson, John VII (1390), made shortlived efforts to seize the throne from him. Another of his sons, his legitimate successor Manuel II (1391–1425), was a man whose great abilities were wasted by the hopelessness of his situation, but who steered his wasted realm as well as he could between accommodation and hostility to the Turks. His eldest son and successor, John VIII (1421/25–1448), attempted to do the same, but his too-zealous commitment to Church union brought dissension without any reward of western aid. John's younger brother, Constantine XI (1449–53), was left to bear the ultimate burden, dying on the walls of Constantinople when the Turks stormed the city in May 1453 and ended the Byzantine empire.

Over the generations, diplomatic marriages gave the Palaiologoi a wide range of foreign connections, supplying them with Bulgarian, Russian, Serbian, Hungarian, Italian, Franco-Greek, Franco-Cypriot, diversely Levantine, Armenian, Trapezuntine, and even Turkish spouses. (By the same token, as with so many dynasties, such wide matrimonial mixing meant that the Palaiologoi could be considered a "Greek" family rather more in cultural than in strictly ethnic terms.) One case of such involvement was the north Italian house of Montferrat, with which Byzantium had long had a love-hate relationship. Theodore Palaiologos, a younger son of Andronikos II and his Latin wife Yolande-Eirene of Montferrat, was established in 1306 as marquis of Montferrat, and his descendants survived as an Italian dynasty until 1533, in the meanwhile producing a princess, Sophia, who was briefly (and unhappily) married to John VIII Palaiologos.

An important branch of the Palaiologan family became identified with the flourishing appanage of the Morea in the Byzantine Peloponnese. Following a younger son of John V, Theodore I (1388–1404), Manuel II's second son Theodore II (1407–43) ruled it in association with and then followed by his younger brother Constantine (1428/43–1448). It was also shared with Manuel's fifth and sixth sons, Demetrios (1449–60) and Thomas (1430–60).

This Moreot branch of the Palaiologan family was to play a curious role in the post-Byzantine Hellenic tradition. Following the Turkish capture of Constantinople (1453) and the final conquest of the Morea (1460), Demetrios surrendered to the sultan to become a Turkish dependant, dying in 1470, while Thomas fled to Italy where he became a pensioner of the pope and a diplomatic pawn, dying in 1463. Of Thomas's children, one daughter, Helena, married a Serbian prince, while the other, Zoe/Sophia, made a famous marriage (1472) to Ivan III of Moscow, becoming the mother of Vasili III and the grandmother of tsar Ivan IV "the Terrible", and helping to feed the Muscovite image of the "Third Rome". Of Thomas's two sons, the elder, Andreas, eked out a wretched existence at the papal and other courts, merchandising his titles and dying miserably and childless in 1502; while the younger, Manuel, fled to Constantinople in 1476 and became a Turkish subject, fathering two known sons.

At this point, the securely documented principal line of the Palaiologoi ends. But a vast number of genealogical claims have been made, asserting descent mostly from the sons of Manuel II (primarily Thomas and Demetrios but also the third son, the short-lived Andronikos), though some putatively linked to various earlier branches on the family tree. None of these claims can be proved conclusively, but their persistence – down into the international ex-nobility circles of our own time – is tenacious. There have been lively claimant branches in Romania, Malta, France, and England.

England, indeed, was most productive of would-be Palaiologoi. A curious claimant flourished until as late as 1988 on the Isle of Wight. On the other hand, we know something of a "Theodoro Palaeologos of Pesaro in Italye", who claimed descent from a supposed John, a putative son of Despot Thomas of the Morea. Born around 1560, Theodoro was a professional assassin and adventurer who, exiled from Italy, settled in England, saw military service in the Netherlands, and died in 1636: his tomb may still be found in the parish church of Landulph in Cornwall. Of his three known sons, one, Theodore, was born in 1611 and died in 1644 fighting in the English Civil War on the Parliamentary side, which won him a grave in Westminster Abbey still to be seen. The eldest, John, born in 1609, fought at the battle of Naseby in 1645 and subsequently settled on Barbados in the West Indies. There he joined his younger brother, "Ferdinando Paleologus", who, born around 1615, had left England before the Civil War to become one of the early colonists of the island; Ferdinando died there in 1678 and his grave is still visible, with a marker added in 1906.

Though most of the numerous pretensions to Palaiologan ancestry are dubious at best and clearly bogus at worst, it is not impossible that a few have merit, or derive from distant relatives or retainers of the family who conventionally adopted its name; but there is no secure way that any can be proved. Nevertheless, the idea that descendants of the last family of Byzantine emperors survived in the West persisted over the centuries, even among the Greeks themselves. When they had won independence in the 1820s, the early leaders of the newly created nation of Greece sent a delegation to western Europe to locate any verifiable Palaiologoi. They returned without success in their quest, but it is a tribute to this family's historical reputation that Greeks, at that early stage of defining their Hellenic identity for the modern world, should still have thought of connecting themselves with the prestige of the Byzantine imperial tradition through a hoped-for dynastic survivor.

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See also Renaissance (Palaiologan)

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Palamas, Kostis 1859–1943

Poet, critic, journalist, novelist, and dramatist

Palamas is the top-ranking representative of the so-called *Genia tou '80* (Generation of the Eighties) which gave new spirit to modern Greek literature after the period of Romanticism. The work of Palamas as poet and critic covers a span of more than half a century and represents a milestone in the history of letters of Greece by establishing a whole new set of literary values which find their expression in the *Nea Athinaiki Scholi* (New School of Athens) whose founder and foremost champion Palamas was.

After losing his parents at the age of eight he came into the custody of his uncle at Missolonghi and it was there that he spent his schooldays and part of his youth. In 1875 he began studies in law in Athens, but before long he broke them off and decided to devote himself to poetry and literature. Early literary endeavours were published in 1875 in the *Attikon Imerologion* (Attic Journal) of Irenaios Asopios, and a collection of poems titled *Eroton Epi* (Words of Love) was submitted in 1876 to the writers' Voutsinaios competition. Both works show the influence of Romanticism and are written in katharevousa.

The change occurred in 1886, the year of publication of a collection of poems by Palamas called *Tragoudia tis Patridos mou* (Songs of my Homeland). The poet had meanwhile fully adopted the message of Demoticism and by and by he would become one of the leading figures in the battle for its prevalence. The poems are the very incarnation of the values which the *Genia tou '80* had in mind: themes are taken from folk songs, popular traditions, and the history of the Greek nation, the linguistic instrument being Demotic. Quite evident is the influence of the *Eptanisiaki Scholi* (Ionian school), especially that of Dionysios Solomos, but also of Nikolaos Politis, the great champion of folklore research and founder of the new academic field of studies in modern Greek folklore. The folklore element quite often served as a basis in the works of Palamas, especially in the novel *Thanatos Pallikariou (*A Young Man's Death) (1897) and the play *Trisevgeni* (Thrice Noble) (1903). In 1889 he published *O Ymnos tis Athinas* (Hymn to Athena), a long poem which three years later won a prize at the writers' *Philadelphios* contest at the enthusiastic proposal of Nikolaos Politis.

Full recognition as a poet came in 1892 with the publication of a new collection of poems called *Ta Matia tis Psychis mou* (The Eyes of my Soul), the title being a line from a poem by Solomos. Linguistically the author is here strongly influenced by the views of Yannis Psycharis (the champion of Demoticism whose *To Taxidi mou* (My Journey) had been published in 1888), holding them in such high esteem as to focus in his prologue almost exclusively on the issue of national language. The collection was also awarded a prize at the writers' *Philadelphios* contest at the suggestion of Aristotelis Provellengios. A year later Georgios Kalosgouros emphasized that the value of the poems lay in their Greek character, the author's orientation to the West, and his acknowledgement and acceptance of Solomos's legacy.

In 1895 Palamas accepted the challenge of writing the hymn for the first Olympic Games in modern times, a commission that confirmed his full recognition by the Greek learned upper classes.

In 1897 he was appointed secretary to the University of Athens (later he became secretary-general) and in the same year he published the collection of poems *Iamvi ke Anapesti* (Iambs and Anapaests), part of which was set to music by Manolis Kalomiris. Next followed the collections *Taphos* (The Grave) (1898), poems on the death of his four-year-old son Alkis, *I Chairetismi tis Iliogennitis* (Greetings to the Sunborn) (1900), and *I Asalevti Zoi* (Still Life) (1904) which contained the poems "Phinikia" (The Palm Tree) and "Askreos", both much discussed because of their content, as well as the famous "I Trilogia tou Thymou" (The Trilogy of Anger), a violent attack on the rigid attitude of the conservative circles of his time regarding matters of language. The first version of his trilogy was written in 1901 on account of the so-called *Evangelika*, dramatic events which had been caused by the translation of the New Testament into demotic by Alexander Pallis; it was revised in 1904 because of the *Orestiaka*, new wild demonstations directed against the translation of Aeschylus' *Oresteia* into a simplified katharevousa by Georgios Sotiriadis. Palamas, who had been a supporter of both these "revolutionary" events, consequently had to withstand the fierce attacks of the disciples of purism, thereby even losing his position as secretary-general to the university for 11 months.

Almost at the same time he worked on his two great epic poems, *O Dodekalogos tou Giphtou* (The Twelve Words of the Gypsy, 1907) and *I Phlogera tou Vasilia* (The King's Flute, 1910). Both works arise from the national humiliation brought about by the disastrous Graeco-Turkish war of 1897, each one expressing in its own way the yearning but also the hope for recovery. There is also a thematic blending of Classical, Byzantine, and modern history while, as for language, the wealth of the Byzantine vocabulary is apparent. In this connection it is interesting to note that in the field of historiography the first attempt to show the continuum in the sequence of antiquity–Byzantium–modern Greece was made in 1853 by Konstantinos Paparrigopoulos in his book *Istoria tou Ellinikou Ethnous apo ton Archaiotaton Chronon mechri Simeron* (The History of the Greek Nation from Antiquity to Today).

In *O Dodekalogos tou Giphtou* the poet identifies with the wandering hero who tries in vain to put down roots somewhere for good. The restless figure of the protagonist and the many adventures and sufferings he has to undergo reflect the state of the Greek nation. *I Phlogera tou Vasilia* on the other hand is centred on the Macedonian fight against the Bulgars, which is why the poet narrates the heroic deeds of the Byzantine emperor in such detail. Central to both works is the idea of the inner cohesion, the uninterrupted continuity, and the evolutionary progress of Hellenism in space and time, as well as the adoption of European values.

Palamas's lyrics comprise the following collections of poems: *I Kaimi tis Limnothalassas* (The Sorrows of the

Lagoon) (1912), *I Politia ke i Monaxia* (City and Loneliness) (1912), *Vomi* (Altars) (1915), *Ta Parakaira* (At the Wrong Time) (1919), *I Pentasyllavi* (Pentasyllabes) (1925), *I Lyki* (The Wolves) (1925), *Ta Pathitika Kryphomilimata* (Sentimental Whisperings) (1925), *Dyo Louloudia apo ta Xena* (Two Flowers from Abroad) (1925), *Dili ke Skliri Stichi* (Harsh and Timid Verses) (1928), *O Kyklos ton Tetrastichon* (The Cycle of the Tetrastichs) (1929), *Perasmata ke Chairetismi* (Passages and Greetings) (1929), *I Nychtes tou Phimiou* (The Nights of Phemios) (1931). As for his writing in prose, much of it is still unpublished and is preserved in the Palamas Archive in Athens.

Equal in importance to his lyrical work are the critical writings of Palamas: *Grammata* I (Letters) (1904), *Pezi Dromi* I, II (Prose Ways) (1928), III (1934), *I Poiitiki mou* (The Art of my Poetry) (1934), etc., in which he expresses his views on poetry and on literature in general and examines their relationship to society. These views were subject to change during his long career as an author but only with regard to aesthetic judgement, the stressing of certain aspects of the poet and his work, or the use of specific tools of criticism; the general pattern for evaluating the manifestations of Greek or world literature remained unchanged. In his view, literature expressed the national soul which is made up of the popular living language of the day (demotic and not katharevousa). Since the national soul finds its expression in the works of the Ionian school, especially in those of Solomos, all productions and writers of the modern Greek literary scene were evaluated in comparison to them. Palamas regarded Solomos as the poet who expressed best the national soul because his works are the very incarnation of the three nation-forming ideas, namely the idea of Beauty, the idea of Fatherland, and the idea of Language (*Idea tou Oraiou, Idea tis Patridos, Idea tis Glossis)*. His critique of Solomos's work, written in 1901, is still regarded as a significant and substantial study of the subject.

The influence of Palamas's work on both the writers of his day and those that followed is evident. A number of minor poets (Konstantinos Manos, Miltiadis Malakassis, Lampros Porphiras, Ioannis Gryparis etc.) are to be found in his shadow and the upgrading of his work by later leading figures in the literary scene (George Seferis, Odysseus Elytis, Yiannis Ritsos) serves only to confirm the magnitude of the poet's lasting presence.

A large part of the lyrical and critical work of Palamas was edited by Georgios Katsimbalis and Konstantinos Kasinis. The latter completed his predecessor's research and in cooperation with the Foundation Kostis Palamas published his work in 16 volumes, together with a corresponding index. Also in collaboration with the Foundation the fourth volume of the correspondence was published in 1994.

ALEXANDRA-KYRIAKI WASSILIOU

Biography

Born in Patras in 1859, Palamas was brought up by his uncle in Missolonghi. In 1875 he began studying law in Athens but gave it up to devote himself to writing. He is the foremost representative of the so-called "Generation of the Eighties" which gave new spirit to modern Greek literature after the period of Romanticism. He was founder and champion of the "New School of Athens" and one of the leading figures in the battle for the prevalence of the demotic form of the language. He died in Athens in 1943.

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Palestine

The name Palestine is derived from the Peleset (the biblical Philistines), a people settled on the coast of Palestine in the 12th century BC by the Egyptians to look after their interests; attempts to link them with the Mycenaean Greeks are highly speculative, though there are cultural similarities. There were contacts with Greece from the earliest period, but they were not especially significant, though the southern range of the cities of the Phoenicians, who had a decisive influence on the development of Greek culture from the 10th to the 7th centuries BC, overlaps into Palestine.

Palestine really enters Greek history with the conquest of the Persian empire by Alexander the Great of Macedon, who took it over on his way to Egypt in 332 BC. With the division of Alexander's empire on his death, Palestine was initially controlled by the Ptolemies of Egypt, and the attractions of Greek culture made themselves felt almost at once. In particular, Ptolemy recruited a large number Palestinian Jews to populate the new city of Alexandria. This new Jewish community became exclusively Greek-speaking (and was responsible for the translation of the books of the Old Testament into Greek – the Septuagint – with momentous consequences both for

Christianity and for the development of the Greek language), and its continuing contact with the Jews of Palestine was one of the means by which the international Hellenistic culture made its influence felt in Palestine. Thereafter, though the local Semitic language, Aramaic, continued to be the first language of most people in the region, knowledge of Greek spread very widely, and it seems likely that many people would have had at least some knowledge of the language. By 198 BC the Ptolemies had been driven out by the Seleucids, and subsequently one section of the population of Palestine, the Jews, reacted strongly against the spread of Hellenization (the issues are obscure, but seem to be related to the introduction of Greek institutions, such as athletics, into Jerusalem); the outcome was a rebellion which, thanks to the Seleucids' problems with the Parthians and the Romans, ultimately led to the setting up of a Jewish state under the Hasmonean dynasty. Though the ideology of the new state was "anti-Greek", the attractive influence of Hellenism continued to exert itself. The kings, for example, took Greek names (Aristoboulos, Alexander), and while the non-Jewish cities of Palestine were trying to establish ancient links with Greek culture (Joppa, for example, claimed to be the place where Perseus saved Andromeda from the sea monster, and other non-Greek cities invented Greek founders), the Jews went one better and claimed that Sparta was a Jewish colony (1 Maccabees 12: 5–23). Later, when Herod became king under the protection of the Romans, the Temple he built in Jerusalem was essentially in a Hellenistic style. Herod, indeed, founded a new city on the coast, Caesarea, which was entirely Hellenistic in nature, and equipped with the standard institutions of the Greek lifestyle, including theatres, statues, and temples.

The reduction of Palestine to a Roman province, and the crushing of two Jewish revolts in the 1st and 2nd centuries AD, removed the Jews from effective control of the region, and thereafter the process of Hellenization followed the same pattern as elsewhere in the Roman empire. The growth of Christianity, however, gave Palestine a new significance in the Greek world. Herod's foundation, Caesarea, was a particularly influential centre for the development of Christian thought. The Alexandrian theologian Origen worked there in the 3rd century towards the end of his life, and founded a school that played a decisive role in the formation of the eastern tradition of theology. In the next century the Christian historian Eusebius was bishop there. Later, with the establishment of Christianity as the official religion of the empire, Palestine became the home of a monastic tradition that was one of the roots of Orthodox monasticism. The patronage of the emperors from Constantine onwards resulted in the construction of major shrines in places important in Christian tradition, especially the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. As a result, a long tradition of "religious tourism" had by the 4th century developed into pilgrimages proper, travel to sacred sites in the hope of accumulating spiritual benefits. The special position of Jerusalem is shown by the decision of the Council of Nicaea (325) to raise its bishop to the status of patriarch, fifth in precedence after the bishops of the politically more significant sees of Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, and Antioch. Though politically a backwater, Palestine continued to be spiritually significant throughout the Byzantine period, and after the Arab conquests Byzantine emperors regarded the protection of religious communities there as one of their special responsibilities.

Under the period of Ottoman rule, Palestine remained an important goal for Greek Orthodox pilgrims and was, like most parts of the Ottoman empire, the home of a substantial population of Greeks engaged in trade and commerce. Most important of all, however, was the guardianship of the Holy Places, always a matter of contention between Greeks and Latins, and regarded as a matter of crucial importance by the Orthodox Church. The Grand Dragoman Alexander Mavrokordatos (died 1709) used his political leverage with the Turkish sultan to secure the transfer of many of the Holy Places of Jerusalem from Latin to Greek control (working with Dositheos, the patriarch of Jerusalem); to his great credit he also made every effort to ensure that unfettered access was given to Christians of all denominations. With the decline and break-up of the Ottoman empire, and with it the Ottoman economic system, the Palestinian Greek community dwindled. By the middle of the 20th century there were perhaps only about 5000 Greeks living within the Jerusalem patriarchate. There is a substantially larger (though still small) Greek Orthodox congregation in Palestine (though it is under increasing pressure), but most of its members are Arabic-speaking. The patriarch, however, and the higher clergy are still Greek (a fact that has recently caused some tension). Greeks still run a number of the holy places (most importantly, large sections of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre), and there are several Greek churches and monasteries, particularly in Jerusalem. Devout Greeks still go on pilgrimage to the Holy Land.

RICHARD WALLACE

See also Jews, Pilgrimage, Septuagint

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Pallis, Alexandros 1851–1935

Scholar, poet, and translator

Known first as the "great demoticist", Pallis was an early advocate of the recognition of *dimotiki* or vernacular Greek as a viable language option for the modern Greek state. In the crucial decade of the 1890s he embraced and perpetuated the cause of demoticism and became "a perfect example of the chains of transmission so important in Greek literary life" (Bien, 1972).

Although spending most of his life away from Greece, in India and in England, Pallis remained closely associated with the language question in Greece. The complexity of the language problem itself – what was to be the official language

of Greece – is staggering and has always been an integral part of the Greek struggle for self-determination. At least since the 1880s, the question has centred on the debate between the demoticists, who argue for a "living language", a form of Greek that mirrors the everyday speech of the people, and the "purists", who argue for katharevousa, the more purified Greek of the educated classes.

Pallis supported the linguistic and cultural theories of the influential demoticists, Dimitrios Vernardakis and especially Yannis Psycharis, remarking: "My eyes were first opened by Vernardakis and practically by Psycharis. The internal need which required me to change was common sense." The publication of the first substantial literary work written in demotic, *My Journey* by Yannis Psycharis, was a singular event, which demonstrated to Pallis that scholarly works could be successfully written in vernacular Greek. Remaining loyal to the tradition of Psycharis, Pallis produced numerous translations including Shakespeare's *The Merchant of Venice*, Euripides' *Cyclops*, book 1 of Thucycides, and some of the writings of Kant. He produced critical editions of the *Antigone* by Sophocles and book 18 of the *Iliad*. Of special note is an original work, *Brousos* (*Journey*), published in 1923, a satirical indictment of the conservative traditions of modern Greek society and its failure to respond to the needs of a modern generation.

Pallis's most significant and controversial achievements were his translations, into lively demotic, of the New Testament gospels (1901) and the *Iliad* (1904). His decision to translate these works was carefully considered. The gospels, written in "Byzantine Greek", formed the basis of the Orthodox faith. The writings of Homer were also important in the Greek consciousness. Although few modern Greeks could read either the *Iliad* or the *Odyssey* in the original, these epics provided a link to the ancient civilization of Greece. The translation of these revered works into demotic constituted a revolutionary act. In 1901, when the Athenian newspaper *Akropolis* began the serialization of Pallis's translation of the gospels, riots broke out in Athens. The translation was vehemently attacked in all sectors and was considered "anti-religious, anti-national, full of vulgar words, degrading the true meaning of the Gospel". Pallis was labelled a "traitor", and "an evil little creature that ought to be excommunicated". Despite all the controversy, the translation was clearly ahead of its time.

Pallis dedicated his translation of the *Iliad* (1904) to Psycharis, demonstrating his continued loyalty to his mentor. The importance of this translation cannot be overestimated. When composing his own translation of the *Iliad*, the novelist Nikos Kazantzakis acknowledged his debt to Pallis: "I want this translation to be at the same level as Pallis." In his translation Pallis does not treat the work as a single composition written by one author; indeed, he does not even mention Homer on the title page. He translates the poem into 15-syllable lines reminiscent of a collection of oral demotic folk ballads or heroic songs in the klephtic tradition. Pallis may have gone to extremes in this translation, but he remained steadfast in his support of Greek as a spoken language; he was interested above all in making this classic work accessible and familiar to the average Greek. Pallis's definitive translation became very popular and soon the preferred translation in Greece. It was adopted by the Ministry of Education in 1976 for use in high schools until it was replaced in the 1980s by the translation of Ioannes Kakridis and Nikos Kazantzakis.

In addition to his translations, Pallis was also an epigrammatist and a poet who published poems for both children and adults. His collection of poems for children, entitled *Little Songs for Children* (1889), is included, together with some of his other poems, in a second collection entitled *Empty Walnuts* (1915). In his poems he demonstrates his skills as an educator with a continuing interest in the impact of a living Greek language on future generations. He conveys a "freshness, a gaiety and a joy of life" that is especially appealing to young people. He was concerned to provide "a living education for neo-Hellenic youth" and to ensure that the transmission of Greek culture should not be mired in the past but remain a living tradition.

Pallis appears to have given and commanded great respect and admiration. He remained a loyal and steadfast colleague and friend, especially to Nikos Kazantzakis. When Kazantzakis was soliciting subscriptions for the publication of his work on Dante, Pallis seems to have been among the handful that responded. He died in England in 1935.

JANE JURGENS

Biography

Born in 1851 to a family from Epirus, Pallis studied philology in Athens. He lived most of his life in India and England pursuing a commercial career, but he remained closely involved with the Greek language question. Known as the "great demoticist", he produced translations of the gospels and the *Iliad* as well as poems of his own in the demotic form of the language. He died in England in 1935.

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Palmyra

City in Syria

Palmyra is known today – as it was in very ancient sources – as Tadmor. It lies in the heart of the Syrian desert, 200 km northeast of Damascus, at an important oasis and astride major trade routes. The geographical location of the city provided an unprecedented opportunity for the commercial exploitation of its immediate and powerful neighbours, Parthia to the east and Rome to the west. Indeed, the city derived much of its fabled wealth from maintaining a monopoly on the luxury trade between east and west. In this respect it can be said that Palmyrene trade was also responsible for advancing western goods and cultural ideas into farther corners of the east.

Palaeolithic material has been found there and the site is mentioned in Assyrian sources of the 2nd millennium BC. Biblical references suggest that it was founded by Solomon but this has long been recognized as a confusion with Tamar. Nevertheless at the time of the writing down of 2 Chronicles – perhaps by the 4th century BC – it would seem that the site had become well enough known to have engendered this confusion. The story was even repeated by the 1st-century AD historian Josephus, who describes the grandeur of the site known as Tadmor by the Syrians and as Palmyra by the Greeks. Throughout its later history Palmyrenes used the Seleucid calendar of 312 BC, although it is uncertain whether the city ever fell directly under Macedonian control.

Funerary monuments, architectural fragments (often incorporated into later monuments), and inscriptions are known from the 1st century BC, although the extent of the early city is not fully known. The earliest known attention by the western powers seems to have been an abortive cavalry attack against the city by Mark Antony in 41 BC. That this sortie was repulsed has led to the suggestion that the city was walled at this time, indicating a substantial settlement, although no archaeological proof has been forthcoming. However, inscriptions make it clear that from the reign of Tiberius (AD 14–37) Palmyra became part of the Roman world.

One of the most enduring aspects of Palmyra's cultural independence is the inscriptions which abound in its remains and record so much of its history. Palmyrene was a dialect of Aramaic but its script was related to Hebrew and Nabataean, developing into a mature monumental style by the 2nd century AD. However, from the 1st century AD Palmyrene inscriptions had become infiltrated by Greek administrative words such as *boule* (council), *strategos* (general or senator), *proedros* (president) and *grammateus* (secretary) transliterated into Palmyrene. In about AD 130 the emperor Hadrian visited the city and gave it the new epithet Palmyra Hadriane, and under the Severans it was made into a *colonia*. Even after this period,

Palmyra: remains of the Temple of Bel, dedicated in AD 32

Latin was rarely used and most inscriptions were in both Greek and Palmyrene. Palmyrene military units controlled the desert caravan routes as well as serving under Rome – as far away, indeed, as on Hadrian's Wall.

At the height of Palmyrene power and prosperity in the mid-3rd century AD, one of its leading citizens, Septimius Odenathus, was largely instrumental in saving Roman Syria from Persian aggression. He was rewarded with a string of titles and established almost royal power. After his death in AD 267 he was succeeded in all but name by his powerful widow Zenobia. Her "revolt" against Rome ultimately led to the downfall of the city when it was finally besieged and then sacked by the Roman emperor Aurelian in AD 272. After this the semi-independence of Palmyra and its brilliant culture were eclipsed and Palmyra was never again as important. Nevertheless a military garrison was set up in the late 3rd century and it had a large enough Christian community to elect a bishop by the mid-4th century.

This distinctive culture largely manifested itself in the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD but it was apparent earlier with the building of the great temple of Bel dedicated in AD 32. This building appeared to be Classical in design, resting on a Greek-style *krepidoma* (stylobate), and peripteral. However, the placing of a doorway off centre on one of its long sides was distinctly oriental as was some of its architectural decoration. Later, in the 2nd century AD, temples such as those dedicated to Baal Shamin and that to Nebo were in conventional eastern Roman style on a podium. However their *temenoi* (precincts) displayed an older repertoire; that of Baal-Shamin incorporated a distinctive Rhodian peristyle and the colonnade around that of Nebo was, unusually, Doric. Indeed most Corinthian decoration at the site was of a freer Hellenistic rather than severe Roman style. Such Greek-inspired ideas of civic munificence extended to the profusion of honorific statuary celebrating the great and good of the city. Many were placed on the brackets that adorned nearly every column of the great colonnaded street – itself a distinct element in eastern Roman architecture as was the *tetrakionion* (4-columned porch) that marked a major street junction. The agora (early 2nd century AD) contained a basilical building – unusual in the east – that is thought to have been a *kaisareion* of the imperial cult. Larger houses in the northern suburbs were of Hellenistic peristyle type, and even the earlier of the curious tower tombs are reminiscent of Hellenistic *hypogaia* (underground chamber).

It is with the sculptural arts of Palmyra that there is a more distinct break with Classical forms. There was a heavy emphasis on relief with humans and deities wearing distinctly oriental garb, the men with trousers and the women heavily veiled and bejewelled. The orientation was frontal and entirely lacks the realism of Roman portraiture. This was also usually the nature of religious reliefs; but it is interesting to note that the cult statue of the rebuilt 2nd-century AD temple of Allat was in fact a Roman copy of a 5th-century BC Greek statue of Athena. The Palmyrene pantheon remained oriental but was infiltrated by Graeco-Roman deities.

The striking ruins in the Syrian desert testify to the former grandeur of a city with the usual appurtenances of Graeco-Roman civilization. However, the city displays a unique position in the Hellenic east, one that preserved a measure of political, commercial, and above all cultural interdependence.

JULIAN M.C. BOWSHER

Summary

A city in the Syrian desert, Palmyra lies astride major trade routes between east and west. It formed part of the Roman world from the 1st century AD but retained its cultural independence. It reached the peak of its prosperity in the mid-3rd century AD when Septimius Odenathus saved Syria from the Persians. His widow Zenobia revolted against Rome, and the city was sacked by Aurelian in 272.

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Pamphylia

Region of southern Asia Minor

Pamphylia consists of a broad plain along the southern coast of Asia Minor, between the more difficult mountainous territories of Lycia to the west and Rough Cilicia (Cilicia Tracheia) to the east. It is framed by mountains to the north, through which passes give access to central Anatolia. The mountains are snow-covered in winter, and give rise to rivers, the most important of which is the Eurymedon, ensuring that the plain is well watered and fertile. It is a lush region (modern crops include cotton and bananas), and is obviously a desirable area in which to live.

In antiquity its population seems to have been of mixed origin, as, indeed, its name "all tribes" suggests. It would have been known in the Bronze Age to traders sailing from the Aegean to the Levant and Cyprus, and there is a tradition of Greek settlement in the area, though whether this goes back to that period, or, more likely, reflects something of the movement of peoples in the disturbed times at the collapse of the Bronze Age states is unclear. The legendary founders of this settlement include Mopsus, a seer who was the son of Manto, daughter of Teiresias. He drove the Carians from Clarus in Ionia, where he inaugurated the famous oracle. His name has been identified on Hittite documents, and on a Luwian Phoenician inscription at Karatepe, and may therefore be Anatolian in origin, assimilated into a Greek tradition of settlement. This all brings out the mixed origins of the peoples of Pamphylia, but by the Classical period Greek certainly was established as a language of the region, in a dialect which was related to Arcado-Cypriot, implying that the Greeks did arrive at the same time as they did in Cyprus, when the dialect indicates a unity between this region and the Greek homeland. An exception seems to have been the city of Side. Arrian, writing in the 2nd century AD, says this place was founded by settlers from Cyme, but once

Pamphylia: the main street of Perge looking north

they had arrived they promptly forgot their native Greek and began to talk in a foreign tongue, which was not the usual (and, by implication, non-Greek) language of Pamphylia, but a "new" dialect of their own. Such stories reflect the mixed origins of the Pamphylians of the Classical period. There is virtually no archaeological evidence to illuminate this very early period.

By the end of the 6th century Pamphylia was part of the Persian empire. The Ionian revolt, in conjunction with the rising in Cyprus, probably sought to exclude Persian influence in this strategically important area, but failed. This policy was revived by the Athenians under Cimon, culminating in the presence of an Athenian fleet in the waters off Pamphylia and the battle of the Eurymedon, when the Persian fleet was driven up the river and annihilated. This may have led to the inclusion of the Pamphylian cities in the Delian League. The evidence for this is slight; the Athenian tribute list of 425 BC, when the tribute paid by Athens' allies was sharply increased to pay the costs of the Peloponnesian War, includes Celenderis in Cilicia and in Pamphylia Perge and Sillyon, as well as another Pamphylian city the name of which is now missing from the inscription but which is generally identified as Aspendos. Pamphylia was hardly within Athens' area of interest or control at this date, but a reasonable explanation is that the list includes, rather optimistically, all places which were once part of the alliance, and for this the period following Eurymedon is the most likely. What is clear is that when Athens and the Persian king, whether tacitly or by treaty agreement, recognized each other's sphere of influence, Pamphylia was in Persian hands; the inability of the Athenians to retain control is a reflection of the setbacks they experienced after Eurymedon, and the geographical difficulty of defending the Pamphylian communities.

Pamphylia remained under Persian control until the arrival of Alexander the Great. He first occupied Perge, where he was received by envoys from Aspendos, who surrendered their city to him, asking in return to be left free from the imposition of a garrison. Alexander agreed, but demanded in return 50 talents to pay his troops, and all the horses bred there as tribute to Darius the Persian king, implying that he did not recognize it as a Greek city to be liberated from Persian control. He also occupied Side, but had to besiege Sillyon, at which Aspendos reneged on its agreement; it was then forced to accept a governor and to give hostages. In the Hellenistic period Pamphylia first came under the control of the Ptolemies of Egypt. In the wave of Greek settlement in Egypt instigated by Ptolemy II many of the Greeks came from Pamphylia, the most distinguished of them being Apollonius of Perge, one of the greatest of Hellenistic mathematicians.

Pamphylia, however, remained vulnerable, Ptolemaic control being disputed by the Seleucid kings and by the neighbouring Pisidians. In the 2nd century BC it was taken over by

the Pergamene kings, who founded the fifth of the great Pamphylian cities – Attaleia, the modern Antalya. Through this it was incorporated with the kingdom of Pergamum into the Roman province of Asia, eventually becoming part of a joint province with its western neighbour Lycia. Attaleia had by then lost territory through its support of the pirates in the troubled times of the 1st century BC, and was forced to accept under Augustus a settlement of legionary veterans of Italian origin.

It was the period of Roman peace which brought the greatest prosperity to the Pamphylian cities, though its inland mountainous areas seem to have remained more backward. Before this the cities were probably restricted places. Arrian desribes Aspendos when it rebelled against Alexander as built on a very steep hill, the base of which was washed by the river Eurymedon. Similarly Perge includes a steep-sided hill, which may be the original settlement; small-scale excavations (not yet published) which are being carried out here may throw light on its earlier development. In the Hellenistic period Perge was extended to include a large area of flatter ground below this hill, and this was surrounded by strong fortifications, with regular tall towers to accommodate the latest forms of torsion artillery, and an imposing main gate at its southern end. Even so the place was further extended in the Roman period, with a great theatre and adjacent stadium constructed outside the earlier limits.

Perge, above all, demonstrates the strength of the Hellenic city tradition in the Roman period, when it was the metropolis of Pamphylia. During the 2nd century AD, when the region was untroubled by any major historical occurrences, the architecture of Perge was greatly enhanced, not as a part of some remote imperial gesture of support but through the wealth of its local aristocracy. The main street, running from the acropolis to the southern gate, exemplifies this; broad, paved, lined with colonnades, and with an artficial stream down its centre fed by a splendid fountain at its northern end and running in a sequence of low waterfalls as it descends towards the city gate. The theatres of Pamphylia are equally spectacular. Perge has an auditorium built against a hillside, as does Aspendos. Aspendos is structurally complete, though the decoration of its stage building has gone. At Perge the stage building has collapsed (it is now, slowly, under reconstruction) but the elements of its elaborate facade survive. At Side the theatre stands on flat ground, its auditorium supported on a vaulted substructure, though this is built entirely in the local cut-stone tradition, not employing the Roman concrete technique.

Pamphylia escaped the worst consequences of Roman decline in the period of the late empire. It was the creation of an Arab fleet in the mid-7th century AD that exposed its weakness. Prosperity seems to have suffered as a result of the rise of Islam and the loss of whole sections of the Byzantine empire, and the population of the cities declined as a consequence. The great city walls enclosed areas too vast to be defended, and unnecessary for the population. The circuit of Side was reduced, the theatre being incorporated into an inner line of defence. But the decline continued, and further Arab threats in the 10th century resulted in a similar reduced fortification at Attaleia, much of which has been destroyed only recently. At the present time, only Antalya survives as a flourishing, rapidly expanding, but essentially non-Hellenic city.

R.A. TOMLINSON

Summary

A region of southern Asia Minor, Pamphylia ("all tribes") had a cosmopolitan population in antiquity. By the Classical period the Greek language was established but the region remained under Persian control until the arrival of Alexander the Great. The prosperity of the area is indicated by the size of the Hellenic cities of Perge, Sillyon, Side, Aspendos, and Attaleia.

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Panselinos, Manuel

Artist of the 13th–14th centuries

Manuel Panselinos is the name given to the master who made the important paintings in the church of the Protaton at Karyes, the capital of Mount Athos. Neither the exact date of the rebuilding of the Protaton nor the date of the paintings themselves is known. It is generally assumed that the church was rebuilt in the 13th century and it is likely that it was painted as soon as the building work was finished, since a Byzantine church could not function without its paintings.

The attribution of the paintings to Manuel Panselinos originates in oral Athonite tradition that was recorded only in the 17th century. In the 18th century the monk Dionysios of Fourna, author of the *Painter's Manual*, wrote down Panselinos's proportional rules for constructing the human figure, together with detailed measures for making the head and the face. He tells us that Panselinos came from Thessalonica and that he surpassed and eclipsed all ancient and modern painters in his abilities. There needs to be good reason to reject the Athonite attribution of the Protaton paintings to Panselinos, for oral tradition is enmeshed in the slow-moving, close-knit monastic community of Mount Athos. Two pieces of circumstantial evidence support this tradition. The first is that his proportional rules for painting, as written down by Dionysios, agree precisely with the proportions of the figures in the Protaton paintings. The second is the existence of an important series of church decorations of the late 13th and 14th centuries in southern Serbia and Macedonia, which are now termed works of the Macedonian school. The paintings in these churches follow the rules of Panselinos, as described by Dionysios, and they all show stylistic affinities to the paintings of the Protaton, while maintaining an individuality that makes it unlikely that they are by the same master.

Dionysios also tells us that many other churches on the Holy Mountain were painted by Panselinos, but these have either been overpainted with later work, or they have been destroyed. The sole surviving fragment that is certainly by Panselinos is the head of a saint from the Katholikon of the Great Lavra.

The church of the Protaton was transformed from a basilica and rebuilt as a cross-in-square at ground level, while retaining the basilican form at higher levels. This rather ungainly compromise made it difficult to give the church a standard Byzantine iconographic programme. Panselinos shows superb ability in overcoming these difficulties and has created painterly solutions in the placing of scenes and of figures that do much to unify the awkward spaces he had to decorate. Thus the upper register of the north and south walls is devoted to standing figures of the 46 forefathers of Christ descending from Adam to Joseph, the husband of Mary. The figures are enumerated as in the Gospel of St Luke. The majestic rows of figures emphasize the basilican shape and echo figural decorations of the 5th and 6th centuries, such as at Ravenna. The middle registers are devoted to scenes from the life of Christ and Mary, his mother. Here the painter innovates by sometimes leaving out the vertical red borders between scenes and by adding subsidiary if related episodes within the main scenes. Thus St John the Baptist is depicted preaching repentance in a preliminary episode to the main scene of the *Baptism of Christ*. The ground register is traditional in being devoted to standing figures with a strong emphasis on monastic and warrior saints.

In style Panselinos gives a dignity to his figures that owes much to the Hellenistic tradition of Byzantine painting. But he breaks with earlier developments in suppressing the excessive linear elaboration of 12th-century painting in favour of a much greater elegance and weightiness to his figures that recall developments associated with Giotto in Italian art of the 13th century. Similar comparisons can be made between Giotto and Panselinos with regard to the depiction of emotion in such scenes as the *Lamentation*.

Panselinos can also be distinguished as the finest painter of the Macedonian school of painting that flourished in Athonite monasteries and in Thessalonica, Macedonia, Serbia, and Constantinople in the first half of the 14th century. The earliest dated church of the Macedonian school is the Peribleptos (St Clement) at Ohrid, of 1295. More factual information about Panselinos will become available after the projected restoration of the church of the Protaton and its paintings.

DAVID WINFIELD

See also Painting

Summary

According to Dionysios of Phourna (18th century), Panselinos (*fl.* *c.*1300) was from Thessalonica, was the greatest artist of all time, and invented the proportional rules for constructing the human figure. Nothing else is known of him. But he is credited with having made the wall paintings in the church of the Protaton at Karyes on Mount Athos.

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Papacy

The papacy is both an institution and a concept. It is as a concept that the papacy mainly figured in relations between the see of Rome and Byzantium. The patriarchal see of Rome was recognized as such at the Council of Nicaea in 325, clearly the outstanding bishopric in the western Roman empire. By tradition the see of Rome was founded by St Peter *c.*AD 40 and was hallowed by both his and St Paul's martyrdom in the city.

In 313 the Roman emperor became the protector and benefactor of the Christian Church. The idea soon emerged that a Christian empire should have spiritual aims, but who should define these aims? The Church Fathers, imbued with Roman law and an awareness of the needs for stability, hardly ever questioned the authority of the emperor and developed the idea of divine right. The transference of the capital from Rome to Constantinople in 330 threatened a diminution in the prestige and influence of the patriarch of Rome. The First Council of Constantinople in 381 gave the primacy of honour to Rome, but it also gave to the patriarch of Constantinople the same rights and privileges as the pope. This last point was restated at the Council of Chalcedon in 451 but not accepted in Rome.

After 330 the bishop of Rome was freed from the imperial presence and thus from direct imperial pressure. Distance and the role that the popes assumed in the 5th century – of defending, feeding, and administering the city in the face of barbarian attacks – meant that they were less inclined to acquiesce in imperial decisions and more inclined to adopt social and political theories that were never developed in Byzantium to even a remotely comparable extent. They were none the less theories and did not mean that the papacy, lacking an army of its own, behaved any more independently than did the Byzantine Church; but it did have the freedom and the necessity to look for other protectors than the emperor in distant Constantinople. In 753 and again in 773 the popes were to appeal to the Frankish kings for military support against the Lombards. The coronation of Charlemagne as emperor of the Romans by Leo III (795–816) in Rome in 800 outraged the Byzantine idea of one Roman empire.

Pope Gelasius I (491–96) had defined the limits of imperial and sacerdotal authority and had stated that, of the two responsibilities, the obligation of the bishops was the heavier

since they were responsible to God for the souls of kings themselves. Until the 10th century the main question at issue was one of imperial interference in the ecclesiastical sphere. This had happened at Chalcedon in 451, and during the 8th century was marked by papal opposition to iconoclasm. The emperors sought to bring pressure on Rome by placing Illyricum under the jurisdiction of Constantinople. The 9th and 10th centuries were to see competition between Orthodox and Catholic missionaries to gain converts in Moravia, Bulgaria, and Scandinavia, while the issue of Illyricum remained unresolved.

The reform movement of the 11th century enhanced papal prestige in the west and raised once again the universalist claims of the papacy. These are summarized in a letter written by Pope Leo IX to the Byzantine patriarch Michael Keroularios in 1054 when use was made for the first time of that celebrated forgery the Donation of Constantine. This document, written in the 8th or 9th century, purported to record a grant by Constantine I to Pope Silvester of imperial powers in the west, jurisdiction over all clergy, and primacy over all patriarchates. The 11th century also saw a move on the part of the papacy for the union of the Greek and Latin Churches in one *respublica Christiana*. One manifestation was the proclamation of the First Crusade by Urban II in 1095. The drive for union was always on Western terms with the Greek Church seen as in error and, after 1054, as schismatic. No concession was made to Greek traditions or feelings. The scale of the task and the issues involved were never appreciated in the West and consequently led to failure and to increased tensions between the two communions. This was true of Innocent III's policy towards the Latin empire after 1204, of Gregory X at the Second Council of Lyon (1274), and of Eugenius IV at the Council of Ferrara-Florence in 1439. Fourteen years later the papacy was equally ineffective at raising western support for the beleagured city of Constantinople.

PETER LOCK

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Papadiamantis, Alexandros 1851–1911

Short-story writer, novelist, translator, and journalist

Alexandros Papdiamantis is perhaps the best-known writer of prose fiction in Greece and occupies a legendary status as a writer. Although none of his writing was issued in book form during his lifetime, Papadiamantis's novels and numerous short stories have been frequently anthologized, and more recently, made available to younger readers in accessible, but controversial, demotic translations. A veritable industry has grown up around his life and work. His novella *I Phonissa* (The Murderess, 1903) has been adapted for the stage, as well as for the cinema in Kostas Ferris's award-winning 1974 feature, while his late "novel" *Ta Rodin' Akrogiala* (The Rosy Shores, 1907) has recently been adapted for the cinema by Efthimios Chatzis (1998). Papadiamantis's influence over subsequent Greek writers has been immense and the poet Odysseus Elytis has written extensively on his fiction (1977).

Papadiamantis was born on 4 March 1851 on Skiathos, one of the northern Sporades islands, then on the frontier of the newly established Greek kingdom. His father, Adamantios, was a priest (whence the writer's surname) and his mother's family were local landowners who came originally from the southern Peloponnese. On his mother's side he was a cousin, and close friend, of the writer Alexandros Moraitidis (1850–1929).

Papadiamantis's formal education was minimal. After attending school at Chalcis, he registered as a student in the Philosophical School of the University of Athens (1874) and for a time was a classmate of the writer Georgios Vizyinos (1849–96). Financial hardship, however, soon forced Papadiamantis to abandon higher education. He turned to a career in journalism, eking out a living as a translator for the newspapers *Ephimeris*, *Akropolis*, and *Asti*, and weighed down, after his father's death in 1895, with the responsibility of looking after his sisters. Together with Grigorios Xenopoulos (1867–1951), Papadiamantis was one of the first among the new generation of professional Greek writers to make a living from their writing. He died on 3 January 1911 in Skiathos where he had been living since 1908.

It is only in the last ten years, and due largely to the editorial diligence of Nikos Triandaphyllopoulos, that the full range and quality of Papadiamantis's translations have come to light. His translations include works by, among others, Mark Twain, Bret Harte, Jerome K. Jerome, and Alphonse Daudet. At the instigation of his friend, the writer and historian Yannis Vlachoyannis (1867–1945), Papadiamantis also translated the histories of the Greek revolution by George Finlay and George Gordon. Perhaps Papadiamantis's most remarkable translation, however, is a compelling version of Fyodor Dostoevsky's *Crime and Punishment*, translated from the French and serialized, with a preface by Emmanouil Roidis (1836–1904), in *Ephimeris*. In 1992 this translation was published in book form for the first time.

Papadiamantis's literary career was launched with the publication of the historical novel *I Metanastis* (The Emigration, 1879; published in English as *The Emigrant Woman*) in the Constantinopolitan newspaper *Neologos*. Set in the late 18th century, the romance centres on the adventures of a young Greek woman, Marina, who is left orphaned after a plague devastates Marseilles. In 1882 Papadiamantis's second novel, *Oi Emporoi tou Ethnou* (The Merchants of Nations), was published under the pseudonym Bohème, this time set in the 12th and 13th centuries. Two years later his third novel, *I Giftoula* (The Gypsy Girl), appeared in *Akropolis*. Papadiamantis's last novel takes place in the mid-15th century and explores the political and religious intrigues that divided Byzantium on the eve of Constantinople's capitulation to the

Ottomans in 1453. One of the central characters is the Neoplatonist philosopher Plethon.

In 1885 Papadiamantis published the novella *Christos Milionis*, based on a well-known folk poem and centring on Greek resistance to the Ottomans a century before. This novella is often taken to mark a bridge connecting the historical novels with the subsequent fiction. From 1887 onwards Papadiamantis, like many of the so-called 1880s generation, cultivated the short story, although *Vardianos sta Sporka* (Guardian of the Plague Ships, 1893), *I Phonissa* (The Murderess, 1903), and *Ta Rodin' Akrogiala* (The Rosy Shores, 1907) were described as novels on their publication. Numerous short stories evoke the historically rich texture of Greek rural life and the physical beauty of the Greek landscape. Papadiamantis belonged to a group of writers who gathered around the figure of Nikolaos Politis (1852–1921), the founder of folklore as a discipline in Greece and one of the chief advocates of the new ethographic literature. Writing in his autobiography about this folkloric movement, Papadiamantis's contemporary Georgios Drosinis (1859–1951) observed that the object was "to find themes from outside the cosmopolitan centres of city life in the freedom of the Greek life of the mountains and the sea". Many of Papadiamantis's short stories are, in fact, set on his native Skiathos and are replete with accounts of local traditions and customs. While the term *ithographia* remains one of the most controversial words in the Greek language, the designation is usually taken to refer to a current of folkloric realism which drew its inspiration from similar tendencies in Europe and Russia. The preferred genre of ethographic writing was the short story which centred on descriptions of local, contemporary life, with particular attention paid to rustic manners and customs. Yet, as the critic and novelist Alexandros Kotzias has pointed out, something in the region of a third of Papadiamantis's stories are set in Athens. Along with Michail Mitsakis (1863–1916) and Ioannis Kondylakis (1861–1920), he should be regarded as one of the most important Athenian writers.

Even within his lifetime, myths had accumulated around Papadiamantis. The photograph taken of him in Dexameni by his friend Pavlos Nirvanas with an early Kodak shows Papadiamantis dressed in his long overcoat (a gift sent to him from England by the writer Alexandros Pallis), and has become symbolic of the writer's otherworldliness. In his fictional biography of Papadiamantis (1948), Michalis Peranthis famously characterized the writer as a "worldly-monk" (*kosmokalogeros*). Papadiamantis continues to be promoted as a champion of Orthodoxy and traditional Greek values, in opposition to the disruptive impact of a cosmopolitan modernity. While it is certainly the case that in a number of his short stories and articles he deplores the slavish imitation of foreign ways, his fiction consistently undermines the sentimental idealism of the rural community celebrated by many of his contemporaries. Conversely, Papadiamantis's fiction tackles issues such as emigration, endemic poverty, social inequality, and prejudice. A number of his most memorable characters are neither Orthodox nor Greek, such as the kind-hearted Bavarian doctor in *Vardianos sta Sporka*. Many of his protagonists are both victims and victimizers. Papadiamantis's best-known work is *I Phonissa*, subtitled by the author "a social novel". First published in the journal *Panathenia* (1903), the narrative focuses on the activities of an old woman, Frangoyannou, who roams the island of Skiathos killing female infants and is eventually drowned in the sea "midway between divine and human justice".

Although much of Papadiamantis's fiction is written in katharevousa, his writing exploits the full range of the Greek language from the gruff demotic of the local Skiathos idiom, to liturgical Greek, back to antiquity. In a celebrated passage in his short story "The Black-Kerchiefed Woman" (1891), for example, the narrator quotes lines from the *Iliad* when he likens the wind rippling a cornfield to the waves of the sea.

Critical responses to Papadiamantis's fiction have not been unreservedly positive. In his *History of Modern Greek Literature* (1948), the influential critic K.T. Dimaras famously condemned Papadiamantis's myopic vision and the "closed world" which he depicted in his fiction. Critical assessments continue to be polarized between those who construe Papadiamantis as a deeply traditional writer and those who argue that his fiction is, in fact, highly experimental and questioning. In the first case, Papadiamantis's biography provides the overarching framework within which his work must be read, even while his fiction is scrutinized for any documentary evidence it might furnish. In the second case, an attempt is made to ignore extraneous material and concentrate exclusively on exhaustive textual exegeses. Georgos Kechayioglou's structuralist reading of the short story "Love in the Snow" (1981) and Georgia Farinou-Malamatari's pioneering study *Narrative Techniques in Papadiamantis* (1987), for example, draw attention to both the linguistic range of Papadiamantis's prose and to his fiction's innovative narrative strategies. Criticism of Papadiamantis has not been without its share of rancour, as in the acrimonious debate that followed the publication of Panayiotis Moullas's controversial anthology (1974) in which he argued that Papadiamantis's writing was symptomatic of the author's ungratified sexual impulses, and of an overriding feeling of impotence that derived from a dominant father and a suffocating environment. More recently, however, critics have sought to avoid the worst excesses of these formalist and biographical approaches by combining close readings of the texts with an awareness of the wider cultural and political contexts within which Papadiamantis's writing was produced and consumed. The bibliography of secondary work on Papadiamantis is immense. Between 1981 and 1992 a new five-volume edition of the *Collected Works* appeared, edited by Triandaphyllopoulos. In 1992 a Greek journal was established devoted to Papadiamantean studies.

ROBERT SHANNAN PECKHAM

See also Novel

Biography

Born in Skiathos in 1851, Papadiamantis was educated at Chalcis and enrolled at the University of Athens but was forced to abandon his studies. He became a journalist, and later a short-story writer, novelist, and translator. He wrote three historical novels and some 200 short stories and translated many works from French and English. He died in Skiathos in 1911.

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Papadopoulos, George 1919–1999

Leader of the military junta that seized power in 1967

Born and raised in the rural environs of Patras within a priest's family, George Papadopoulos grew up in the spirit of middle-class conservative ideals. An excellent student and cadet, he had always distinguished himself with high marks and significant rankings. As a result, after graduation from the military academy in 1940, he was appointed to good positions in the army, especially in intelligence posts.

As a junior officer, he participated for a short period in the Albanian campaign and afterwards, like many of his colleagues, took part in the resistance movement against the Axis. When Greece was liberated in late 1944, another series of appointments in the intelligence service was supported by special training in the USA.

Moving among officers of high standing and displaying close understanding of the politics of Greece, Papadopoulos soon became involved with serious-minded groups which were concerned and worried by the political instability of the postwar period. Meanwhile, all such groups expressed fears of the communist threat that resulted from the state of flux of Greek politics, a threat that was also prolonged by the Cold War.

Papadopoulos had been a senior officer and had received broad recognition of his qualities within the military, but he was unknown to the general public, as he remained away from the public eye. The only time that his name was publicly mentioned was in 1964 when, serving in Thrace, he staged the destruction of military matériel, blaming the incident on the communists. Following this episode, which offered him favourable exposure, he was assigned to the First Army group, and shortly thereafter to the General Army Staff headquarters in Athens. Political developments stimulated the military hierarchy to concerns about its future as well as the danger of a liberal government assuming a leading role in national policy making. This situation caused Papadopoulos and his colleagues to fear that the eventual return of George Papandreou to power could mean the restructuring of the "ranking officers of the armed forces who were, in the main, anti-communists and supporters of the monarchy".

Fear of the destabilization of the military status quo was the primary reason on which the colonels moved in on the night of 20 April 1967. Rumours of an imminent coup had circulated for several months, and it was no surprise to the Athenians, when waking up on 21 April, to find that the parliamentary government had been toppled. The race to power was won by the colonels who, having formed the structure of the armed forces, were capable of mobilizing them effectively. For some years a number of groups had been toying with the idea of a coup, which is why even the identity of those responsible for 21 April represented an enigma for the first few days. Swift action by the armoured units combined with deployment of selected personnel under Papadopoulos's instructions enabled them to assume key positions in the capital, to take over communication posts, and to detain several thousand citizens involved in political movements. The coup d'état of April 1967 brought to power a small group of officers led by Papadopoulos who managed quickly to secure the reins of power through the imposition of martial law. The king had no choice but to comply. He accepted the cabinet proposed by the colonels and placed as its head the former attorney general of the Supreme Court Konstantinos Kolias, a man who commanded general respect. Brigadier Stylianos Patakos took over the Ministry of Interior, and colonel Nikos Makarezos the Ministry of Coordination. Papadopoulos maintained a low profile, remaining minister to the prime minister's office.

While the new regime tightened its grip, relations with representatives of the civil government as well as with foreign governments continued to deteriorate. The situation in Cyprus was no closer to a resolution and relations with Turkey became strained due to the clashes on the island which reached critical levels in October and November 1967, resulting in casualties. Turkey threatened to land forces in Cyprus. In an attempt to reach a compromise Athens recalled general George Grivas from Cyprus, thereby arresting the guerrilla war against the

British, as well as reducing the Greek forces on the island from several thousand to 950.

The humiliation over Cyprus isolated Papadopoulos and his regime. King Constantine saw this as an opportunity to attempt a counter coup which he staged on 13 December 1967, assisted by the Third Army Corps of Thrace in east Macedonia. This attempt quickly collapsed and the king realized right away that he did not have the support needed for such an undertaking. He fled from the country while the junta began exercising tighter control of the government. This was the moment when Papadopoulos assumed the position of prime minister and minister of national defence.

Greece's isolation had a negative effect especially with regard to relations with the USA and the countries of the Common Market (now the EU). President Johnson suggested that the continuation of military aid to Greece would depend to a great extent on the return to a more democratic system of government. At the same time the Council of Europe threatened Greece with expulsion if steps were not taken towards installing a more democratic government. As a result of these pressures, in September 1968 the regime called for a plebiscite, attempting to legitimize the new constitution of the military government. Signs of weariness eventually began to appear in Papadopoulos's government. The student movement and the large demonstration at the Faculty of Law in Athens signalled the beginning of the end of the colonels' rule. Then discontent and disapproval in the navy, with the destroyer *Velos* under admiral Nikos Pappas defecting to Italy, showed strong evidence of the changing mood of the country, and alerted Papadopoulos and his colleagues who tried to gain a temporary victory by abolishing the monarchy and instituting a republic with Papadopoulos as president. Furthermore, he started meeting, secretly at first, and later publicly, old political figures who would be prepared to participate in an effort to bring democratic rule back to the country in preparation for parliamentary elections. Public opinion, however, did not seem to favour these attempts and the efforts of the junta to impose its authority were rapidly waning. It was then that a serious student demonstration occurred at the Athens Polytechnic which ended in bloodshed on 17 November 1973, halting the efforts of the regime to restore democracy. Papadopoulos was toppled by his colleague Dimitrios Ioanides whom he had appointed from the start of his regime as chief of the military police. Thus the reign of George Papadopoulos came to an end and the new junta took over.

The Ioanides government was even weaker than the Papadopoulos government of late 1973, and in 1974, in an effort to regain lost prestige, general Ioannides attempted to overthrow president Makarios of Cyprus and to bring about the union of the island with Greece. This fatal mistake not only brought about the dramatic fall of the junta, but also resulted in the invasion of the island by Turkey.

In those tragic days, all political parties joined together under the aegis of Constantine Karamanlis, and gradually normal life was resumed in Greek politics and society. As was to be expected, the members of the junta were tried and its leaders were sentenced to death, a penalty which by the personal intervention of premier Karamanlis was commuted to imprisonment for life.

Throughout the duration of his rule, George Papadopoulos proclaimed that Greece is the country of the Christian Greeks and this concept was no doubt well rooted in the dictator's mind. However, power obscured from him the crucial question of how the Greek people felt in their everyday lives about being governed by a man who had been unknown to the general public, but who more importantly had assumed office without the consent of the people.

STELIOS ZACHARIOU

See also Junta

Biography

Born in 1919 near Patras, Papadopoulos graduated from the military academy in 1940. After war service he became involved with right-wing political groups. Fearing destabilization of the military position, he led a coup on 21 April 1967 which resulted in the imposition of a military junta. After a failed counter-coup by the king in December 1967, Papadopoulos became prime minister. He was toppled in 1973 by his colleague Dimitrios Ioanides. The junta was ended in 1974 and its leaders were sentenced to death. Papadopoulos's sentence was commuted to life imprisonment, and he died in 1999.

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Papagos, Alexandros 1883–1955

Soldier and politician

The son of a lieutenant general, Alexandros Papagos surpassed his father by reaching the rank of field marshal. Following his retirement from the military, he felt compelled by the situation of the country to enter politics, becoming prime minister for the last three years of his life.

He received his basic training in Athens, and enjoyed further military studies in Belgium with the Brussels Military Academy and the Cavalry Institute between 1902 and 1906.

As a result of his brilliant student career he had no difficulty in achieving rapid promotion and important positions. As second lieutenant in 1910 he was assigned as adjunct to the Ministry of the Army, and by 1912, when the Balkan Wars erupted, he was promoted to lieutenant in the cavalry, having been among the officers close to prince Constantine, commander of the Greek armies in Epirus. For his dedication to duty and for his conduct in battle he was commended for bravery in the Bizzani campaign of February 1913, which resulted in the liberation of Epirus by Greek forces. Such distinctions enabled him to achieve high positions: in the first cavalry regiment of Thessalonica, as staff member of the Athens cavalry brigade, staff member of the third Greek army in Thessalonica, and finally, in 1917, a cavalry major.

In 1917 the clashes between royalists and Venizelists reached their peak, dividing the country into two camps and thus affecting the career of the royalist Papagos, who for a while received minor appointments in the Cyclades and Crete away from decision-making locations. In 1920, as lieutenant colonel, he fought in the disastrous Asia Minor campaign and after that, when an "ecumenical" government took over in 1926, he was promoted to the rank of colonel and given the command of the Larissa cavalry division, a position which he held until 1931. Thereafter he served as commander of the Larissa headquarters, and later, as major general, commander of the first and third army groups.

The career of general Papagos in the military was supported by his involvement in politics in which he always stood on the royalist side. In the company of his close colleagues, he became involved in small coups which were commonplace during the turbulent period 1926–1932 in Greece, serving as minister of defence in the governments of Icondilis (10 October 1935–30 November 1935) and Demertzis (19 December 1935–5 March 1936). This brought him membership of cabinets from time to time and, when the military regime of Ioannis Metaxas took over in 1936, the position of inspector general of the army was entrusted to Papagos. Soon thereafter, as the first clouds of World War II began to gather, he was named commander in chief of the army staff headquarters. This position gave him the opportunity to embark on a thorough and rapid restructuring of the Greek armed forces as well as to prepare the defence of the country against the (by then obvious) plans of the Axis to invade Greece through Albania. This sudden invasion was begun by Italy in October 1940, at a time when the greater part of Europe had already been occupied, or had capitulated to the Axis.

Much to the surprise of the military experts and students of history, the efforts to reorganize the army paid off when the Greek forces not only arrested the invasion by Italy, but by counterattacking managed to occupy half the territory of Albania. This represented the first victory of the Allied forces against the Axis, and part of that glory was recognized as being due to General Papagos. As expected, Germany could not ignore the defeat of the Italian forces; nor could Greece continue to be victorious in the Albanian campaign against the Italians. So Hitler helped Mussolini by attacking and occupying Greece in April 1941. The Greek army capitulated and the occupation of Greece followed, bringing immense problems to the people while numerous pockets of resistance sprang up throughout the country.

During the occupation (1941–44) Papagos was arrested and sent to concentration camps in Germany. Upon the defeat of the Axis powers he returned to Greece, devoting most of his time to writing, first his personal experiences in German concentration camps, and then his magnum opus which was an extended military study of the war in Greece of 1940–41 containing much valuable military information.

Highly appreciated for his accomplishments, but lacking popular recognition and high honours, Papagos was promoted to full general by the Greek parliament in 1947. Shortly thereafter, he was recalled to active duty by the national government and placed in charge of the campaign against the communist guerrilla forces.

By September 1949, under the leadership of Papagos, the Greek armed forces had managed to suppress the partisans. In recognition of his qualities and as an expression of the nation's appreciation, Papagos was promoted to field marshal, an honour which had never before been given to a member of the military.

An active and dynamic man like Papagos could not remain idle for very long. Conscious of the needs of his country, he assiduously dedicated himself to the creation of the Ministry of National Defence and the Academy of National Defence. He was also responsible for raising the moral and material standards of enlisted officers and for supervising Greece's membership of international alliances and finally NATO.

Greece, however, had been undergoing a period of political instability since the end of World War II. Antiquated political methods and the weak parliamentary multi-party system remained a barrier to the necessary social and economic development of the war-devastated country. A strong personality was needed to secure Greece in the Western camp, and it was found in marshal Papagos.

Though he had little experience of politics, he recognized the need for a powerful leader, and brought together the old political parties to form the Greek Rally party which in 1952 won a great electoral victory, using a system of proportional representation. Thus marshal Papagos formed a strong cabinet of distinguished personalities, quickly stabilizing the political environment in Greece during the following three years. The economy too showed signs of revival following the devaluation of the drachma on 9 April 1953, healing some of the wounds of the war.

Nevertheless, in 1953 he took the initiative in claiming the independence of Cyprus from Great Britain, resorting to various vague promises made to Greece both before and during World War II. He was also motivated by the British policy at the time of granting independence to countries that had been crown colonies. His claim embittered the British, creating a rift in diplomatic relations. In October 1955, following a period of illness, field marshal Papagos, prime minister of Greece, died. His memory is venerated by the Greek people in general and by the military in particular.

STELIOS ZACHARIOU

Biography

Born in 1883 the son of a soldier, Papagos was educated in Athens and pursued military studies in Brussels from 1902 to 1906. He served in the Balkan Wars of 1912–13 and in 1917 supported the royalist side against Venizelos. He fought in the Asia Minor

campaign in 1920–1922. As chief of general staff under Metaxas he restructured the armed forces which gave him credit for the success in Albania in 1940. After the war he entered politics and became prime minister from 1952 until his death in 1955.

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Papanastasiou, Alexandros 1876/79–1936

Founder and prime minister of the first Greek republic

Alexandros Papanastasiou was born in Tripolis, in the Peloponnese, the second son of a schoolmaster holding a PhD in philology who was later head of directory at the ministry of education. His studies at the law faculty of Athens University (1895–99) were followed by graduate studies in sociology, politics, and economics in Heidelberg and Berlin (1901–05) and further studies in London and Paris (1905–07). On his return to Athens Papanastasiou played the leading role in the foundation of the Sociological Society (1908) and its journal, *Social and Law Sciences Review*. He supported the modernization-motivated Goudi military coup of 1909, to whose leader colonel N. Zorbas the Sociological Society submitted a reform programme drafted by Papanastasiou. In 1910, with the members of the Sociological Society and on a reformative socialist platform, he founded the People's Party, which from 1915 was to become the left wing of Venizelos's Liberal Party.

Papanastasiou first entered parliament as a People's Party deputy for Arcadia in the first revisionary national assembly of August 1910 and again in the second one of November 1910, heading a seven-member group of the so-called Sociologists. He volunteered in the first Balkan War, taking part in campaigns on Chios and in Epirus. In the National Schism in 1916 he followed E. Venizelos in the establishment of a parallel/rival provisional government in Thessalonica. As its representative in the Ionian islands he succeeded in June 1917 in organizing the landing of Greek and French troops in Preveza, thus blocking the Italian advance in Epirus. He first held ministerial office as minister of communications (1917–20) in the 1917 Venizelos government formed in the wake of king Constantine I's departure and Venizelos's return to Athens as unopposed premier. In this capacity he worked hard for the reconstruction of Thessalonica and other damaged towns in Macedonia.

Following Venizelos's surprise defeat in the election of November 1920, and the return of Constantine to the throne, sanctioned by a rigged plebiscite, Papanastasiou expressed bitter criticism of the monarchy. With his *Republican Manifesto* of 12 February 1922 he pronounced against the return of Constantine as endangering the advantageous position Greece had attained by the Treaty of Sèvres (1920). Arrested for this and sentenced to three years' imprisonment, he was released in the wake of colonel Nikolaos Plastiras's military coup of 1922. Meanwhile, alienated from Venizelos and the Liberal Party, he founded the Republican Union in 1922 as a republican coalition of lower middle, agrarian, and working classes to pursue a purely anti-royalist policy. Following the election of December 1923, he entered the fourth Constituent Assembly as head of 70 deputies of his party (out of 398). In January 1924, within one month of the forced departure of king George II from Greece "on leave", Papanastasiou, as leader of the opposition in the national assembly, proposed the abolition of the monarchy and the establishment of a republic. This he effected as prime minister in his first government, formed on 12 March 1924, with the proclamation of the first Greek republic on 25 March 1924, fully ratified by plebiscite (receiving support of 69.95 per cent) the following month. Despite its parliamentary character, the Papanastasiou cabinet retained an authoritarian stance due to its distinct association with a group of "republican" army officers. Within four months the authority of his government had been sufficiently injured, especially because of the inextricable as well as troubled civil–military relationship, to step down on 19 July, after defiance broke out in the navy.

Initially tolerant, in fact conciliatory, towards general Pangalos's coup of 25 June 1925 and the general's early disingenuous maneouvres for a civil cabinet, Papanastasiou came out in time overtly against the dictatorship, and was banished to the island of Santorini in February 1926, as a result of his protests at the suppression of *Democracy*, his party's press organ. In the election of November 1926, following the restoration of the republic, the Republican Union, now subtitled "Agrarian and Labour Party", won 6.48 per cent of the vote and 17 seats in the assembly. Papanastasiou participated in the all-party government of Zaimis in December 1926, taking on the ministry of agriculture (1926–28). Within the term of office of the same assembly, he was elected head of the parliamentary committee on the promulgation of the republican constitution of 1927. In the election of August 1928 Papanastasiou's Republican Union / Agrarian and Labour Party cooperated with the Liberal Party and won 6.71 per cent of the vote and 20 seats in the assembly.

In October 1929 Papanastasiou presided at the peace conference held in Athens, where he expounded the idea of Balkan union as a model for that of the European states. One year later he chaired the first Balkan Conference in Thessalonica, achieving distinction for his dedicated work on the idea of Balkan cooperation. This initiative he pursued with unfailing interest at the ensuing Balkan conferences held from

1931 to 1933. In the same years he attended international congresses of agrarian and radical parties.

Papanastasiou formed his second ephemeral government in May 1932, but resigned eight days later over a quarrel with the Liberals relating to the social care issue. He became deputy for Mantinea in the election of September 1932, his Agrarian and Labour Party winning 5.89 per cent of the vote and 8 seats. He last held office as minister of national economy and (provisionally) agriculture in the last Venizelos government in January 1933. He was elected a senator in March 1933 but resigned a few weeks later. Persecuted and arrested in the abortive Venizelist coup in March 1935, he was eventually acquitted by a military court. He abstained with his party from the election of June 1935. He opposed the Kondylis dictatorship and pronounced publicly against the scheduled, and finally rigged, plebiscite of November 1935 for the return of king George II. He won a seat as deputy in the election of January 1936, his party commanding seven seats in the revisionary assembly. He died in Ekali, Attica, in November 1936 during the dictatorship established that August by General Metaxas, to whom, as president of a still parliamentary government in April, Papanastasiou had denied a vote of confidence.

Papanastasiou represents a revitalizing and socialist-oriented element in Greek political and social thinking of the first decades of the 20th century. His ideas were related to the rise of socio-economic and political radicalism before and during the interwar period; they may be traced back to the ideological and intellectual trend that began in the late 19th century with the inchoate efforts of the first Greek socialists. In the light of his sociological background he initiated a seminal discourse on the social question of Greece and drew attention to cardinal matters of social justice and economic development, notably land reform and the protection of the lower and working classes. His sociologists, combining academic prestige with political action, played a leading role within and outside the national assembly, and exerted influence on Venizelos's Liberals to promote the modernization of Greek society. The views he put forward, pioneering to a significant extent, came as a response to the country's vague quest for a renewal, which found its earliest expression in the Goudi military coup. Already in the programme he drafted then, unambiguously entitled "What is to be done?", he had comprised a constellation of measures to give substance to the call for a modern state, including distribution of *çiftliks* (large estates), general income tax, educational reform, proportional electoral system, compulsory social security for the workers, etc. In line with this, he aspired with increasing militancy in his political career to the reform of iniquitous institutions, democratization of the state, and to the elevation of the feebler social strata in all aspects of life. Education attracted his particular care, including training for former dropouts, and, as first republican premier, he founded the Thessalonica university, despite mounting reactions.

In foreign policy Papanastasiou stood for the union of the Balkan states, reviving the prerevolutionary vision of Rigas, and attended all four Balkan Conferences held from 1930 to 1933, behind which he was the driving force. Regarding Graeco-Turkish relations, in particular, he saw in the 1922 Catastrophe and the ensuing exchange of populations, which removed a perennial source of discord, an opportunity for a lasting understanding between the two countries, a policy that was realized shortly afterwards by Venizelos.

RENNOS EHALIOTIS

Biography

Born in the late 1870s in Tripolis in Arcadia, the son of a schoolmaster, Papanastasiou studied law at the University of Athens and continued his studies in Heidelberg, Berlin, London, and Paris. In 1910 he founded the People's Party and entered parliament that year as deputy for Arcadia. He served as minister of communications in Venizelos's government of 1917–20. Imprisoned for his *Republican Manifesto* in 1922, he became prime minister of the first Greek Republic in 1924–25. He was a supporter of Balkan union. He died in 1936.

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Papandreou family

Georgios Papandreou (1888–1968) was born in the village of Kalentzi in the Peloponnese and studied law at Athens and political science in Germany. A politician of the liberal centre, he became prime minister of the Greek government in exile in Cairo during the war and faced the communist insurrection upon his return to Athens in the winter of 1944. He found his true calling in Greek politics late in his life as the rallying force of a wide coalition that made up the Centre Union Party and challenged the authority of a conservative state. He defeated Constantine Karamanlis's ruling party in the elections of 1963 but resigned from his office as prime minister because of his disagreement with king Constantine II over the control of the military. This crisis of the mid-1960s caused the subsequent military intervention of 1967.

His flamboyant style and his turbulent family life left an indelible mark on his elder son, Andreas Papandreou (1919–96) who was born in Chios while his father was the prefect of the island. Andreas began his studies at Athens University and completed them at Harvard. He became part of the "new left" establishment in the USA during his career as professor of economics at Minnesota and Berkeley, and returned to Greece in 1961 to head the Centre for Economic Studies. He was elected deputy of Achaea in 1964 and served as minister of coordination in his father's Centre Union government between 1964 and 1965. As the left-wing advocate of his party he became a prime target of the military junta that took over in 1967. He was released from confinement through the intervention of US president Lyndon Johnson and allowed to leave the country. Throughout his years in exile he campaigned against the military regime and founded the Panhellenic Liberation Movement (PAK) which was later transformed into the Panhellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK). He returned to Greece two months after the fall of the junta and became a leading light of the political scene. He was a member of parliament from 1974 to 1996 and prime minister from 1981 to 1989 and 1993 to 1996.

Andreas Papandreou has been the most accomplished turncoat in Greek politics. A person of immense personal charm and with an intelligence quotient that towered over his own generation of politicians, he performed about-turns in policy without alienating his supporters. When the ratification of Greece's accession treaty to the European Community was brought before parliament for discussion in 1980, Papandreou and his PASOK deputies walked out of the debate and declared their unyielding opposition to the EC. Once in power (a year and half later), this negative attitude was dropped as $800 million from EC funds were directed to Greece's rural areas. In his second term he became the champion of the EC in Greece.

Papandreou's most significant action as premier *vis-à-vis* the EC was the Greek Memorandum which set conditions to future enlargement demanding the implementation of the "Intregrated Mediterranean Programmes" designed to finance and assist Mediterranean countries of the EC with structural impediments to development. At the December 1985 summit in Luxembourg, Papandreou withdrew his reservation for the amendment of the Rome Treaty which would facilitate the decision-making process in the EC by limiting the use of the veto. The measure was advantageous to the Community's larger members and Papandreou's cooperativeness was rewarded with the formal recognition of the "convergence" between the economic structures of member countries – a principle which favoured the weaker states, including Greece.

While in opposition (1974–81), Papandreou vowed that his future government would withdraw Greece from NATO and remove American bases from Greek soil. However, his defence policy after his October 1981 electoral victory did not deviate substantially from that of his predecessors. In 1983 he signed an agreement with the United States that renewed the tenure of American installations and then celebrated with his followers the beginning of the process of removing the US bases from Greece.

Papandreou's foreign policies, stripped of their more sensational declaratory aspects, were not as different from those of many other Western states as was widely believed. Yet he insisted on creating the impression of being a far greater maverick than his actions would seem to imply. In doing so he was addressing a Greek public that was thrilled with the prospect of attracting European attention after years of docile agreement on basic Western tenets of foreign and security policy. Furthermore, his tactics of appearing as an uncompromising champion of Greek interests, combined with widespread promises of social benefits, were the binding tissue that kept the wide spectrum of his followers together.

During Papandreou's terms in power, a significant income redistribution was effected but this was not accompanied by economic growth and was mostly financed by loans. The implication of this social policy was that its cost would burden future taxpayers.

As a politician who improvised from day to day, rather than planning ahead, Papandreou postponed confronting the mounting problem of Greece's debts until his final term in office. By then his health did not allow him more than a few hours of work per day, but somehow this last term proved to be the most constructive. After a bumpy start, Greece improved relations with Albania and FYROM (Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia) and the economic ministers imposed an austerity programme in line with European Union convergence requirements, which survived Papandreou's leadership.

He was survived by three sons and one daughter. His eldest, Giorgos, was in 1998 alternate foreign minister.

THANOS M. VEREMIS

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Paparrigopoulos, Konstantinos 1815–1891

Historian

Konstantinos Paparrigopoulos is known as the national historiographer of Greece. He lived in a period of rapid changes in the Balkans, interminable political struggles, and ideological resurrections both outside and within the newly established independent Greek state. Born in Constantinople, he would have been raised and educated within the illustrious Phanariot society of rich merchants if the revolutionary events of 1821 had not left him an orphan and his family obliged to look for a safer environment in Odessa. It was not until 1830 that his family sought a permanent residence in Greece. The youthful Konstantinos never received a university education, but he had the advantage of attending classes given by the liberal Georgios Gennadios (1786–1854). Practically a self-made scholar, he became a polymath and a polyglot, as shown by his remarkable familiarity with the principal French, German, and English works on Greek history. From 1834 to 1845 he worked for the Greek Ministry of Justice, but resigned because of the rivalry between the native (*autochthones*) citizens, who were supposed to have actively participated in the revolution and thus the destinies of the nation, and the freshly settled immigrants, only nominally Greek (the *eterochthones*), the educated elite. This rivalry, indicative of the factional strife that plagued Greek society, was indeed a traumatic experience for Paparrigopoulos, but it convinced him that his compatriots needed to subscribe to a higher vision of national unity in order to override sectional interests. The propagation of such a vision in the 1840s, rooted in the irredentist Great Idea, provided the essential political and intellectual stimulus that turned him into the historiographer of Hellenism par excellence.

Before his appointment as professor of history at the University of Athens in February 1851, Paparrigopoulos published several studies related to historical issues either as monographs or as newspaper articles – some of them subsequently included in his *Istorikai Pragmateiai* (Historical Essays, Athens, 1858). The starting point of his literary career may be considered his work *Peri tis Epoikiseos Slavikon tinon Phylon eis tin Peloponnison* (On the Slavic Colonies in the Peloponnese, 1843), followed by his *To Teleutaion Etos tis Ellinikis Eleutherias* (The Last Year of Greek Freedom, 1844). The former was a critical reply to Jakob Philipp Fallmerayer, who in his *Geschichte der Halbinsel Morea während des Mittelalters* (2 vols, Stuttgart, 1830–36) maintained that after the extensive Slavic conquests at the close of the 8th century the original population of northern Greece had practically disappeared. Thus the modern Greeks, according to Fallmerayer, were Byzantinized Slavs. Coming at a time when the Greeks were seeking that necessary consciousness of their identity and pre-statehood nationality with a view to enlarging their frontiers to take in the huge non-liberated lands, which included (*inter alia*) Constantinople and the coastal regions of Asia Minor, such discouraging racist theories as Fallmerayer's naturally caused widespread resentment. For Paparrigopoulos, it was essential to show that casting doubts on the archaic origins of the modern Hellenes, and thereby depriving them of the distinction of having preserved and even consolidated Orthodoxy during the Byzantine period, was wrong as a "scientific" historical account and pernicious for the nation's self-consciousness and development. In the latter work, Paparrigopoulos examined the fall of Greece to the Romans in 146 BC. The substance of his theoretical approach to the study of Greek history is there delineated clearly and unequivocally, and his faith in the continuity of the Greek nation is pervasive. Discord and division are recurrent themes in the traceable chain of Greek historical development, yet the concept of unity through evolution should predominate in any thoughtful examination of Greek history.

The aims and ideas presented throughout Paparrigopoulos's early writings place him directly in the camp of the conservative, anti-modernist Neohellenic intelligentsia, which was concerned with affirming the legitimacy of irredentism by invoking historical, broadly cultural, and religious factors. Romantic nationalism and religious fundamentalism contributed to the decline of the liberal tenets of the 18th- and early 19th-century Greek Enlightenment, and inevitably clashed with its enthusiasm for westernized educational and institutional reforms. Markos Renieris (1815–97) in his *Dokimion Philosophias tis Istorias* (Essay on the Philosophy of History, Athens, 1841) confidently declared the collapse of individualism and asserted the superiority of the Christian religion over the secularist tendencies of the 18th century, associating the failure of the Enlightenment with the historically justified political aspirations of Greece in the east. The genuinely ideological use of historiography becomes manifest in the works of Paparrigopoulos's predecessors. In his preface to *I Konstantinoupolis* (Constantinople, 1851) Skarlatos Byzantios (1798–1878), while arguing that medieval Hellenism and the Byzantine empire are part and parcel of Greek history, tried to establish the unbroken continuity of the Greek nation. Spiridon Zambelios (1815–81), in the Introduction to his *Asmata Dimotika tis Ellados* (Greek Popular Folk Songs, 1852) and *Byzantinai Meletai* (Byzantine Studies, 1857), highlighted the inexorable religious and ethnic bonds of the Byzantines with the modern Greeks. The national continuity was similarly emphasized by turning attention to the glorious – usually Christianized – Classical past, the defeat of the Persians, the Athenian empire, and the civilizing march of the Graeco-Macedonians in the east under Alexander the Great. In several texts replete with linguistic archaisms (serving as a proof of the diachronic unity of Hellenism), Alexander emerged as the symbol of Greek unity and provided the impetus for recovering the universal glory of the past. Konstantinos Asopios's speech of 1856 as the new rector of the university was characteristically devoted to Alexander. In introducing the new version of his speech (Athens, 1858), he stressed once again that the king of Macedon was the symbol of unity for the Greeks (*symbolon enotitos*). Not surprisingly, J.G. Droysen's *Geschichte Alexanders des Grossen* (Berlin, 1833) was very popular and a Greek translation by K. Frearitis was published in 1859.

The ground for Paparrigopoulos had been chalked out. Between 1849 and 1852 he issued a *General History of Greece* for use in schools, covering the Classical period and the Middle Ages, a prelude to the magnum opus that followed. In its two volumes he stands out prominently as the ideological spokesman for Greece. The ethnological continuity of the

Greek people is traced through three substantially interconnected stages of their historical development. At each stage, the nation had fulfilled a great mission: the Classical period gave to the nation (and indeed the whole of humankind) the institutional and normative framework of political existence; Byzantium fulfilled the apostolic duties of Christianity; during the third period, which started with the liberation from the Ottoman yoke, the nation is destined to fulfil the political and religious programme of the Great Idea. In his *Istoria tou Ellinikou Ethnous* (History of the Greek Nation, 5 vols, Athens, 1864–75) Paparrigopoulos went even further, arguing that the nation's pagan ancestors, and especially the Macedonians Philip and Alexander, were predestined by divine providence (*theia pronoia*) to pave the way for the Greek Christian empire that flourished in the Byzantine era.

The arguments put forward in the *History* are scholarly and the investigations conducted often exhaustive. But Paparrigopoulos was concerned with the development of national consciousness. He was a servant of Greek society and wrote history in a manner that had meaning and significance for his audience. He believed in progress from age to age, in which however the past was ineradicably embedded in the present. To some extent Paparrigopoulos followed contemporary historians in western Europe who envisaged the unfolding of the past as subject to a series of general laws. In his "Poion to ek tis Istorias Ophelos, kai Pos Deon na Spoudazomen autin" (What is the Use of History, and How We Must Study It, *Amyna*, 4 February 1872) he insisted on an "immutable and universal law of humanity", which he immediately resolved into a cofunctioning of "external change" with "a cluster of immovable ethical values". On another level, a nation is subject to its own particular historical laws such as those revolving around patriotism, religion, and language. The annals of history instruct that no nation can ever attain glory through the unchecked exercise of "infidelity, lawlessness, licentiousness, ignorance". Earlier Paparrigopoulos defined the "technical" qualifications required of a historian: precision, good judgement, ability to elaborate on the character of historical actors, imagination in recreating the past, excellent use of the linguistic apparatus (*History*, vol. 2, Athens, 1862, pp.106–07). Paparrigopoulos was well read in European historiography. The names of E. Gibbon, F. Guizot, the liberal utilitarian G. Grote, the representatives of the romantic school J. Michelet and A. Thierry, T.B. Macaulay, and many others are often mentioned in his narrative. Indeed his familiarity with scholars with diverse approaches to historical material is striking. Some of them were distinguished representatives of the interdisciplinary, empirical *Altertumswissenschaft* (science of antiquity). Paparrigopoulos was competent to apply the new streams to his subject, but Greece urgently needed a moralizing prophet and a dramatist of the achievement and the imperishable glories of the nation.

The "Epilogue" of the *History* was published independently in 1877, summarizing the major themes and arguments. A French version appeared as *Histoire de la civilisation hellénique* (Paris, 1878). A second and final edition of his *History* appeared between 1885 and 1887. During the last years of his life he was actively engaged in politics and diplomacy. He was involved in the Association for the Propagation of Greek Letters, which claimed on the basis of E. Stanford's new ethnological map (London, 1877) that Macedonia as far north as the Balkan mountains was predominantly Greek; he also presided over the Central Committee of the Council of National Defence, established to coordinate and support the revolutionary movements at the time of the eastern crisis, in which the irredentist ambitions of Greece culminated. At the close of his life he published another volume of *Istorikai Pragmateiai* (Historical Treatises, Athens, 1889), and left his "last will", *Ta Didaktikotera Porismata tis Istorias tou Ellinikou Ethnous* (The Didactic Conclusions of the History of the Greek Nation) to be published posthumously in 1899.

Paparrigopoulos's legacy was by any standard prodigious. His treatment of Classical Greece reproduced to a great extent the conclusions of European historiographers, but his handling of the Byzantine Greeks broke new ground. Ideology and erudition coalesce in his historical masterpiece. His successors at the University of Athens, especially Spyridon Lampros (1851–1919), Pavlos Karolidis (1849–1930), Konstantinos Amantos (1874–1960), and Sokratis Kougeas (1876–1966), persevered in exploring aspects of the "unity and continuity" of Greek history, with emphasis on the restoration and rehabilitation of Byzantium. Most importantly, Paparrigopoulos's scheme of the historical development of the Greek people (invested with moral and Christian overtones) which was designed to forge national consciousness and encourage irredentism, despite its obvious contextuality, still informs central aspects of contemporary cultural and political discourse: occasional idealization of historical figures, educational Hellenocentrism, the rhetoric over the unbroken line from the ancient to the modern Greeks, incidental resort to nationalist doctrines, and romantic historicism to distract from pressing social and economic problems are not uncommon in Greece today. It is not unrelated to the ever-pervasive appeal of Paparrigopoulos that the *History* passed through another edition, this time rendered in modern Greek, in 1983. Interestingly, the historian has lately become a source of constant reference. It is a common practice among social scientists who are searching into the origins of Greek nationalism to reduce Paparrigopoulos to a mere propagandist of the Great Idea whose prejudices fatally flawed his historical understanding. In doing so not only do they underestimate the copious scholarship and ignore the various influences that converge in his work, but they also misinterpret the ideological stance of the *History* as being the *History* itself.

KYRIACOS DEMETRIOU

See also Great Idea, Historiography

Biography

Born in Constantinople in 1815, Paparrigopoulos fled with his family to Odessa in 1821, then in 1830 they moved to Greece. He did not receive a university education but attended classes given by Georgios Gennadios and published a number of historical works before being appointed Professor of History at the University of Athens in 1851. His five-volume *History of the Greek Nation* appeared in 1864–75. In his last years he was involved in politics and diplomacy. He died in 1891.

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Paphos

City in Cyprus

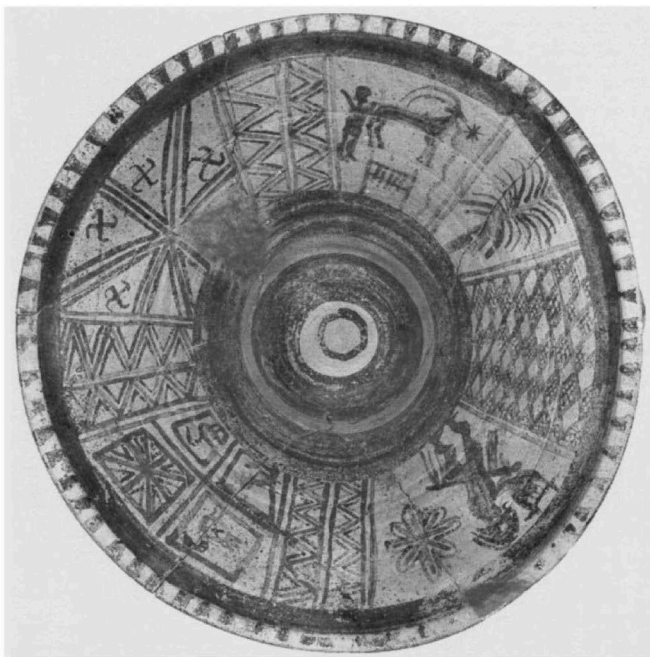
The kingdom of Paphos was already established in the 12th century BC, together with the other kingdoms of Cyprus which flourished mainly in the 1st millennium BC. The site of ancient Paphos (often referred to as Palaipaphos) lies about 15 km southeast of the modern town of Paphos, at a distance of about 1 km from the sea, under the houses of the modern village of Kouklia. In the 1950s the French archaeologist Jean Bérard tried to prove through excavation that ancient Paphos was situated near the northern outskirts of the modern town, but the results were negative.

The site of Old Paphos has been known since the 19th century, mainly because of the remains of the temple of Aphrodite which survived above ground. It was then that the first excavations were carried out, and the first inscriptions from the site of the temple were brought to light which mention the Great Goddess of Cyprus. According to legend the founder of Paphos was Kinyras, representing the indigenous population, but at the end of the Trojan War (soon after 1200 BC) the king of the Arcadians, Agapenor, came to the island with other Arcadians and founded a city of which he became the king. Behind these myths may lie the historical events which are attested by archaeological evidence, namely the beginning of the Achaean colonization of Paphos. Paphos must have been an important urban centre during the 12th century BC. This is reflected by the magnificence of the architectural remains of the temple of Aphrodite and the wealth of the tombs excavated in the Evreti locality which yielded gold jewellery, carved ivory mirror handles, seals, and other artifacts. The Achaeans mingled with the local population and by the 11th century BC, when the process of colonization was completed, there is evidence for the use of the Greek language in the area. On a bronze skewer, found in a tomb of the 11th century BC, there is an engraved inscription with the Greek name Opheltes in the genitive in a form which is peculiar to the Arcadian dialect. Extensive excavations in the early Geometric cemeteries of Old Paphos have brought to light ample evidence for the influence which the Achaeans exercised on the material culture of Paphos (pottery, bronzes, and other objects) as well as on tomb architecture. It should be mentioned here that it is in the tombs of Paphos that there is material evidence for early contact with the Levantine coast, clearly the result of trade which may have been the source of wealth for the Paphians.

Recent archaeological excavations at the site of the temple of Aphrodite have proved beyond any doubt that the original temple was established early in the 12th century BC. It may have been dedicated to a local goddess of fertility, whose worship had a long tradition in the area of Paphos (since the Chalcolithic period). By the time of the Homeric epics, however, the temple is known as the temple of Aphrodite. It was to Paphos, according to Homer, that Aphrodite fled after she had been caught red-handed by her husband Hephaestus in her love affair with Ares. There she had a temple with a fragrant altar (*Odyssey*, 8. 360–66). The temple must have contributed considerably not only to the fame of Paphos as a religious centre throughout the Hellenic world and also the Levantine region, but also to the economic growth of the town. The goddess of Cyprus, Aphrodite, is referred to in Greek literature as Kypris or Paphia. Paphos is comparable to Delphi; the Greek lexicographer Hesychius (1st century AD) refers to Paphos and Delphi as the "omphalos of the earth".

The actual remains of the 12th-century BC temple are too scanty to allow an accurate reconstruction. Based on representations of the temple on seals and coins dating from the Hellenistic and Roman periods, it may be suggested that the original temple consisted of a large courtyard with a perimeter wall constructed of large well-hewn blocks of stone, some of which still survive in situ. There must have been a tripartite structure (as shown in later representations), a holy-of-holies, in the central part of which the sacred aniconic symbol of the goddess, a conical meteoric stone which actually survived, was kept.

The history of Paphos during the early decades of the 1st millennium BC is known mainly from archaeological discoveries in its rich cemeteries. In particular, a tomb of the 8th–7th centuries BC yielded not only rich tomb gifts, but also evidence of special funerary customs, namely the sacrifice of horses with their bronze gear; there were also iron firedogs and skewers, a bronze shield, pottery imported from the Aegean, bronze vessels, and other grave goods. This was not the tomb of an ordinary man. Both the architecture of the tomb and the wealth of the gifts which it contained justify comparison with the "royal" tombs of Salamis, where members of the royal family or prominent citizens, members of the aristocratic elite,



Paphos: interior decoration of a kalathos of the 11th century BC found in a tomb at Xerolimni

were buried. Numerous terracotta votive figurines have been found in the area of the temple of Aphrodite which betray the two cultural traditions to be found in Paphos, and also throughout the island, during the Archaic period, when the island was under the Assyrians: the Greek tradition illustrated by figurines of the goddess with uplifted arms, a type which was introduced from the Aegean in the 11th century BC, and figurines of a Phoenician type.

Assyrian rule over Paphos and the rest of Cyprus is reflected by the so-called prism of the Assyrian king Esarhaddon, which commemorated the reconstruction of the royal palace at Nineveh in 673/72 BC. Ten tribute-paying kings of Cyprus are mentioned, one of whom is "Ituandar, king of Pappa". His name is Greek, Eteandros, which is known also from other inscriptions. Other kings of Paphos with Greek names are also known from inscriptions of the 6th century BC, namely Stasis and his son Onasicharis.

Paphos suffered the same political fate as the other cities of Cyprus. After the Assyrians, the Egyptians ruled Cyprus for a while (669–545 BC). In 545 the kings of Cyprus submitted voluntarily to Cyrus, king of Persia, whose rule was ruthless. Paphos took part in the Ionian revolt against the Persians, together with the other cities of Cyprus, in 499. The Persian army besieged Paphos and a fierce battle was fought outside the northeast gate of the city. Archaeological excavation revealed some dramatic moments of this siege. The Persians built a mound outside the gate to reach the height of the city walls, but the besieged undermined it with countersiege works. To build the siege mound the Persians used stones and sculptures pillaged from a nearby Archaic sanctuary. The sculptures include fine heads of limestone, some of them illustrating Egyptianizing stylistic trends, but other sculptures such as a marble winged sphinx betray the influence of Greek art. Mention should be made of the discovery of a Greek bronze helmet, no doubt belonging to a Greek soldier who defended the city against the Persians. Paphos, together with the other cities of Cyprus, fell under the Persian yoke once more.

The names of several kings of Paphos of the Classical period are known from their coinage. One of the best known is king Nikokles. He seems to have objected to the lust of the cult of Aphrodite, and introduced to Paphos the cult of Hera, the goddess of family life. Finally, in about 320 BC, he transferred his throne from Palaepaphos to Nea Paphos, about 15 km to the northwest, near the coast, where he built a temple to Artemis Agrotera, demonstrating again his feelings against the cult of Aphrodite. Nikokles was responsible for the building of a harbour and the defences of the new city, remnants of which have been uncovered in recent years, in the western part of the city, with monumental gates and ramparts. The vertical rock face provided adequate protection against possible attacks from the seaward side.

Nea Paphos flourished under the Ptolemies. In the 1st century BC they transferred the seat of government from Salamis to Nea Paphos, which was more easily accessible from Alexandria. The mint of Paphos was quite important during the Ptolemaic period, as is illustrated by a hoard of 2484 silver tetradrachms found during recent excavations. Several Greek gods were worshipped at Nea Paphos including Zeus Polieus, Leto, Apollo Hylates, Artemis, Aphrodite, and Hera. The city had a gymnasium and a theatre. A playwright of the 3rd century BC who was a native of Paphos is known by name, Sopatros. Among the political-religious institutions of Paphos, the "Koinon Kyprion" (the confederation of the Cypriots) aimed at the promotion of the ruler cult. The city must have had monumental buildings, but none of these has survived. The splendour of the rock-cut "tombs of the kings", imitating those of Alexandria, echoes the importance of the Ptolemaic city.

Palaepaphos, with its temple of Aphrodite, continued as a religious centre during the Hellenistic and Roman periods, but its economy declined considerably, having lost the status of capital of the region.

The Romans favoured Paphos to a considerable extent and they retained it as their capital and as the headquarters of the Roman garrison. Culturally, however, as in the rest of Cyprus, the Hellenistic civilizations lingered on. The spacious and luxurious villas with their polychrome mosaics, which have been uncovered during recent excavations, illustrate the importance of Roman Paphos. In the Acts of the Apostles it is mentioned that St Paul and St Barnabas preached Christianity in Paphos, and Sergius Paulus, the governor of Paphos, was converted to Christianity in AD 45.

The repeated earthquakes of the 4th century AD destroyed the splendid buildings of the city, although some of them were repaired and continued to be used down to the 5th century. Christianity prevailed completely by the 4th century, in spite of some efforts to revive the old pagan religion. Paphos regained part of its old splendour during the early Christian period.

VASSOS KARAGEORGHIS

Summary

A city in southwest Cyprus, Paphos flourished mainly in the 1st millennium BC. It was an important centre in the 12th century BC when Achaean colonization began and the temple of Aphrodite was established. Greek culture mixed with Assyrian in the Archaic period,

followed by periods of Egyptian and Persian rule. New Paphos flourished under the Ptolemies and became the island's seat of government, while Old Paphos declined.

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Papyrus, parchment, and paper

Stone, metal, clay, pottery, wood, wax, and other materials were all used as writing materials from an early date, but it was the lightness and convenience of papyrus, parchment, and paper that made writing a portable and accessible activity.

Evidence for the use of papyrus (from which we get our modern word paper) dates from the 3rd millennium BC in Egypt, and it was used in Greece from at least the end of the 6th century BC, as proved by its depictions on pots. An early Greek word for papyrus, *byblos*, may indicate that it came to Greece from Phoenician Byblos at the same time that the Greeks obtained their alphabet in the 8th century.

The papyrus plant, although cultivated in Palestine and Sicily in antiquity, was native to Egypt, where it was produced commercially for purposes as varied as material for boats, for sandals, and, of course, for writing. The primary production area was the lower Nile and delta, probably giving rise to Alexandria as its principal distribution centre later. Pliny (*Naturalis Historia*, 13. 74–78) provides the most extensive, if sometimes faulty, description for the manufacture of papyrus sheets in antiquity. The triangular-sectioned stalk was sliced into strips *c.*30–40 cm long, the centre pith providing the most prized grade of material, the outer strips the least prized. Strips of similar quality were set parallel to each other on a flat surface; a second layer was then placed at right angles on top and the two layers were pressed to release the natural gluten in the papyrus, which served as the bonding agent for the dried sheet. After drying, the sheets were smoothed with a smooth stone or shell before being attached to other sheets with a wheat paste and vinegar (probably to kill mould) by overlapping sheets by 1–2 cm. For writing from the left, the left sheet overlapped; for writing from the right, the right sheet overlapped. Individual sheets might be used for accounts and records, but literary works often used about 20 sheets in a book roll *c.*6–8 m long by 0.11–0.24 m wide. Customized rolls of different dimensions have produced examples more than 40 m long but customers generally bought a "regular" book roll and then cut or added according to need. One of these rolls would accommodate a dramatic text of *c.*1500 lines, two books of Homer, or one book of a prose writer such as Thucydides.

Most often the inside of the roll had the horizontal strips of papyrus. This helped to reduce the strain caused by rolling and unrolling but, more importantly, the horizontal grain aided writing and became the primary writing surface. The outside, composed of the vertical strips of papyrus, was not regularly employed as a writing surface although many exceptions exist. In addition, since the inks applied by reed pens were water soluble, the writing on the surfaces of both papyrus and parchment was often sponged or rubbed off and then reused (as a palimpsest). In order to protect the papyrus when rolled up, the first sheet, called the protocol (*protocollon*), was often attached at right angles to the grain of the next one. Occasionally parchment was used to reinforce the vulnerable sheet and the roll was wound around a cylinder to help protect it. Cedar oil was used to repel worms.

A variety of animal skins also served as writing materials. Two processes were used to procure a suitable surface although the initial stage was the same: the skin of the freshly slaughtered animal was temporarily cured to inhibit decay, allowing later processing, or the skin was immersed in a solution to help loosen flesh and hair, which were then removed. At this point the processes diverged. Hides steeped in tannins produced durable and flexible leathers. In the second process, hides were first slaked in lime and then rubbed with calcium oxide. Next they were stretched on a frame and gently air-dried in an environment that maintained a moderate temperature. At that point the hides were removed from the frames and smoothed with pumice or chalk to increase their whiteness. The final product, which might also be thinned by shaving, was parchment (goat or sheep) or vellum (kid or calf). The stiff and durable material was then cut into sheets and sewn into rolls with hair-sides on one surface and flesh-sides on the other. Later, in the 1st century AD, both parchment and papyrus were bound into codices (see below).

Papyrus was the favoured material throughout antiquity, even though hides were used as writing surfaces in Asia Minor from the beginning of the 1st millennium BC and in Greece probably from the 6th century at least. The theory that papyrus was eventually surpassed by parchment and paper since they have a better surface and are lighter in colour is not true. Pliny's (*Naturalis Historia*, 13. 21) statement that parchment was invented at Pergamum (*pergamena* is its name in Latin and Greek) also seems unlikely, but its surge in popularity probably arose in the first half of the 2nd century BC when problems with papyrus supply from Egypt gave the Pergamene rulers the opportunity to increase its prominence and distribution. During the Middle Ages parchment, even though more expensive, became the prized writing material largely as a result of its durability and wide availability, which was not governed by geographical restrictions and climate. Its use for liturgical purposes and then for legal and medical documents

contributed to its success. Not until the 12th century did parchment begin to lose its position as the pre-eminent writing material, when the Moors introduced into Spain rag paper, an invention of ancient China that had steadily gained in popularity from the beginning of the 2nd century AD.

Book rolls were the most common medium for both papyrus and parchment throughout most of Greek and Roman antiquity. Wood tablets and hollowed wood tablets containing wax inserts, upon which accounts and temporary texts and exercises could be scratched or chalked, were joined together by a clasp or leather thong through holes and used as a type of notebook as early as the beginning of the 1st millennium BC in the Middle East and certainly by the early 5th century BC in Greece. The book roll, however, remained the preferred medium for longer, permanent texts. By the 1st century AD papyrus sheets and folded sheets of parchment began to replace the ungainly wood tablets. This produced a less cumbersome notebook that eventually, in its most common form, consisted of quires (gatherings) of four wide sheets of parchment folded along the vertical axis and sewn along the fold. The resulting codex (book) had eight leaves (folios) making sixteen pages, which were bound within a sturdy covering.

The new medium, however, did not win immediate acceptance among a seemingly conservative writing community. Doctors and astrologers may have promoted the use of such notebooks, but the acceptance and eventual domination of the codex over the ubiquitous book roll has been plausibly attributed to the newly emerging Christian religion. The codex provided a format that was clearly superior for recording and recovering information, and was convenient to carry, especially in contrast to the incredibly cumbersome book roll. For the first time it was possible to examine texts quickly and efficiently. The distinct format of the codex may also have been attractive to the new religion, which sought to set itself apart from the book roll of Jewish and pagan tradition.

From the 2nd century AD Christianity regularly employed the codex to record the Old Testament, New Testament, and Apocrypha. This use in conjunction with the growth of Christianity itself led directly to the acceptance of the codex as the standard format for the written word. Early Christian codices are all very utilitarian, but by the 4th century elegant volumes were being produced that contained elements foreshadowing medieval book illustration.

After the advent of writing, the innovation of the codex represents perhaps the most important advance to promote learning. Now real research could be recorded easily and efficiently.

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See also Books and Readers

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Parmenides *c.*515–*c.*440 BC

Philosopher

Parmenides was a Presocratic philosopher who lived in the southern Italian town of Elea (near the modern town of Agropoli). He was the first of a group of philosophers who are called Eleatics, the others being Zeno and Melissus. Parmenides also appears as a character in Plato's work *Parmenides* and is the probable inspiration for the character of the Eleatic Stranger in the same author's *Sophist* and *Politicus*, written a century after his death.

In the ancient world Parmenides and his successors were celebrated as opponents of the possibility of change. Just as Heraclitus was supposed to maintain, as a basic proposition, that everything is in constant change, so Parmenides and the

Eleatics were held to be committed to the denial of the possibility of any change. But as with Heraclitus, this characterization somewhat distorts the emphasis and focus of their concerns. It is more accurate to construe these philosophers as early metaphysicians. Their concern lay with the nature of what there is and what is real. Change comes into the discussion through this motivating interest.

Parmenides' words are preserved for us through extensive quotations in Simplicius, writing some 1000 years later in the 6th century AD. His work is a poem which, after a hieratic introduction invoking divine assistance, contains two notably contrasting parts. In the first part he expounds the truth, while in the second he relays the erroneous opinions of unenlightened speculators. In the Way of Truth (as it is often called) he argues that if something can be spoken and thought about, it must exist; nothing is not a possible subject for investigation. "You cannot say or think what is not there", is his controlling refrain. Any possible subject for investigation, *is*.

As the argument advances, he establishes further facts about this existent subject: it is without beginning or end, single, whole, and invariant. Parmenides establishes each of these conclusions on the same basis as his original argument: the position that he will endorse commends itself because it enables him to avoid thinking or talking about nothing. As the author of this ongoing argument, he insistently reminds us of the conditions for any rational communication. He concludes this part of his argument by comparing his subject to "a well-rounded sphere, everywhere equally balanced from the centre".

Parmenides then passes to an account of a less enlightened way of thinking, which he declares to be thoroughly false but still wishes to expound. This account differs from the Truth in being comprehensively dualistic. Opposing pairs – such as Night and Day – are admitted into the scheme of things, rather than the introduction of the one requiring the exclusion of the other. Yet even here the method of argument is resolutely hard-headed and rationalistic, bearing the stamp of the author of the Truth.

Was Parmenides' Way of Truth meant to be an account of the physical universe or of some quite different order of reality, or of some monadic element in either of these schemes? Some would regard the question as quite anachronistic, and certainly any detailed answer to it is underdetermined by his own words. His argument points in the direction of every one of these philosophical developments, while not favouring or excluding any of them. The comparison of reality to a sphere may indicate spatial extension but it need not.

Parmenides' originality and achievement consist in four points. First, he introduced questions concerning existence into the explicit agenda of philosophy; he is the father of ontology. Secondly, he grounded this ontological discussion in the conditions for successful talk and thought. This is a feature of method that he shares with Heraclitus; both philosophers thus deserve the credit for first raising issues in epistemology. But in Parmenides the control exercised by considerations of language is paramount. He is the first philosopher of language. Thirdly, he expounded profound paradoxes about the possibility of change; thereafter no philosopher could assume that change was an unproblematic phenomenon. Finally he was the first philosopher to use argument. He advances from one statement to another with the armoury of "therefore" and "since". According to some current conceptions of philosophy, this last feature of his work would suffice to establish him as the first philosopher.

Parmenides and his immediate Eleatic successors bequeathed a powerful agenda of problems to subsequent Greek philosophers. The sophists of the following generation of 5th-century BC philosophers included Gorgias, who wrote a nihilistic essay in the Eleatic style *On What There Is Not*. These thinkers also developed epistemological paradoxes of change – for example, that learning and enquiry are impossible because there is no intelligible way for someone to advance from a condition of ignorance to one of knowledge. This is a version of the paradox of enquiry, first adumbrated in Plato's *Meno*. In later works, notably *Sophist*, Plato confronts the central Parmenidean claim that *what is not* is unintelligible and undiscussable. His highly original analysis of this issue turns on securing a sense for "not" according to which it means "other than".

Aristotle's philosophy is greatly influenced by Parmenides, even though the influence appears to be negative. In his own ontology, the ability to bring about and undergo change is a deeply important fact about most things that exist; and his programme of philosophical enquiry is organized accordingly. Therefore he regards Parmenides, with his utter rejection of the significance of change for natural substances, as a wrong-headed maverick. But he is compelled to give an account of change that removes from it any air of paradox. Aristotle achieves this with analyses that involve his novel concepts of potentiality and actuality and of matter and form. The motivation for these influential doctrines is a desire to show that change, so far from being mysterious as Parmenides had argued, is intimately bound up with the nature of everyday substances.

Aristotle's anti-Eleatic polemic was in part directed against certain contemporary philosophers, sometimes known as "Megarians". These included Eubulides, Philo, and Diodorus Cronus, who were interested in modal logic. Their interest in rigorous argument, and their paradoxical theories about possibility and necessity, bear the stamp of Parmenides.

From this point on Parmenides' direct influence wanes; but his philosophical personality looms large as philosophers from Kant onwards have pondered the idea that there are – or may be – limits to what can enter the scope of rational enquiry and discussion. Are there truths that transcend human powers of ratiocination? Parmenides in effect replied "no" to this question; and even those philosophers who are inclined to reply otherwise, must acknowledge the posing of this fundamental philosophical question as Parmenides' greatest legacy.

J.D.G. EVANS

Biography

Born in Elea in southern Italy *c.*515 BC, Parmenides was the first of a group of philosophers known as the Eleatics. He was the first philosopher of language. He is said to have visited Athens when aged 65. He appears as a character in Plato's *Parmenides*. He wrote a philosophical poem which survives only through quotations in Simplicius (6th century AD). He died *c.*440 BC.

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Parren, Callirrhoe 1859–1940

Feminist and journalist

Born to Stylianos and Sophia Siganos, in Platania Amariou Rethymnis, Crete, on 1 May 1859, Callirrhoe qualified as a teacher in 1878 and taught in schools in the Greek communities of Odessa and Adrianople. Back in Athens, she married, in 1886, the Constantinople reporter Ioannis Parren who was for years director of the Athens News Agency. Having observed the low intellectual level of women around her and their superficial and purposeless lives, especially when they had no children, Parren dreamed of working to raise women's level of awareness as social agents and in their role as mothers in the newly emerging modern Greek nation. With the encouragement of her husband, Parren published the first women's newspaper, on 8 March 1887, thus introducing female reportage to Greece. Through the *Ephimeris ton Kyrion* (Ladies' Newspaper, 1887–1917), Parren was soon established as one of the leading intellectuals of the country involved in the cultural discussions of the time. Through the pages of her weekly, Parren promoted women's issues and confronted governments with women's rights to education and equal employment opportunities. She soon had a number of talented women contributing to the paper which became a forum for the literary expression of women as well as a thesaurus of information on home economy, health, beauty, child rearing, world news, especially matters relating to the feminist movement and women's achievements in developed countries. Parren began receiving invitations to represent Greek women at international congresses of women (Paris 1889, London 1899, Chicago 1893, etc.).

Her desire to see her country a better place turned her into a social activist. Besides women's issues, her weekly articles addressed all the needs of Greek society and forced the government to pass appropriate bills. She mobilized women and organized fundraisers, often recruiting the support of the queen and the princesses of Greece, to redress social injustice, for which she was later decorated with the Silver Cross of the Phoenix (1921), the Silver Medal of the Academy of Athens (1936), and the Gold Cross of the Phoenix (1936). Her activities ranged from founding institutions – such as Sunday Schools for Poor Women and Girls (1890); Women's Hospital for Incurable Diseases (1892); St Catherine's Asylum (1893), offering needy working girls and unmarried mothers accommodation and support; the Children's Asylum, a day-care centre (1896); the Association for the Protection of Animals (1896); St Sophia Children's Hospital (1896); The Epheveion (adolescent penitentiary) in the Averof Prison (1896), furnished with full grade-school and hospital – to making the government take protective measures such as banning the employment of under-age children and night shifts for children and women in factories, and to consider hiring women as state employees; and to pressing the University of Athens to open its doors to women in 1891 and the Polytechnic School in 1896. The causes to which Parren applied her social agenda were endless, her main goal always being to empower women, enforce social justice, and raise the awareness of Greek society to offering women equal opportunities. After her return from the Chicago World Congress of Representative Women, she founded the Association of Greek Women in 1896, offered relief to the refugees of the 1896 Cretan uprising. During the Graeco-Turkish War (1897) it organized surgical units at the front, directed and operated solely by women, and came to the succour of war widows and orphans. Parren is also remembered for founding the Lyceum of Greek Women (1911) whose purpose is the preservation of folk music, dances, and costumes from all over the country.

While promoting her social agenda, Parren realized that without the vote women had no real power to effect changes through legislation. Thus, although at the beginning she did not demand suffrage for women, in 1894 she presented prime minister Charilaos Trikoupis with a suffrage petition carrying thousands of women's signatures. She repeated the demand during the premierships of Theodoros Deliyannis (1897) and Demetrios Gounaris (1921). Although they received the petition favourably, none dared propose a women's suffrage bill. It was only in April 1949, and under pressure from the United Nations Charter, that women over 21 were granted the right to elect and be elected in municipal elections. In a 1952 amendment to the Constitution women were granted the vote in general elections, a right which they exercised for the first time in 1954.

Among her other activities, Parren adopted literary discourse as a means to promote her feminist and social agenda. All her novels are deeply enmeshed in the ongoing cultural debate about women and the changing concept of women's roles in the developing Greek society. Her first three novels – *I Cheiraphetimeni* (The Emancipated, 1900), *I Magissa* (The Sorceress, 1901), and *To Neon Symvolaion* (The New Contract, 1903) – comprise a trilogy under the title *Ta Vivlia tis Avgis* (The Books of Dawn) and refer to Parren's vision of a new era of equality and justice between the sexes, in which men and women, having had equal opportunities in education and the workplace, would develop responsible and honest characters which would lead to relationships of equality and happy lives together. At the same time, the three novels illustrate Greek society's vision of the messianic role women were expected to play in the regeneration of the nation in their role as mothers who would raise a generation of Greeks with a strong sense of national identity and ready to sacrifice themselves for their country. Parren also wrote *Choris Onoma* (Without a Name, 1905–06), *To Marameno Krino* (The Withered Lily, 1907–10), and *To Aspro Triantaphyllo* (The

White Rose, 1915–17), all serialized in her weekly. And she wrote plays: *I Nea Gynaika* (The New Woman, 1908), based on *Ta Vivlia tis Avgis* and performed in 1907, was the third of a trilogy of plays she intended to write in order to delineate the evolution of Greek woman from Homeric times to the present. *Penelope* and *Aspasia* would be representations of the perfect woman of Homeric and historical times but no manuscripts of these plays have been discovered so far. Consistent with her goal to raise Greek women's educational level, Parren researched and began to write but never completed the *Istoria tis Gynaikos* (History of Women, 1889) in three volumes: *Ai Gynaikes tis Proistorikis Epochis* (Women of Prehistoric Times); *Ai Gynaikes ton Indon kai tis Kinas* (Women of India and China); and *Ai Ellinides apo tou 1508 mechri Simerou* (Greek Women from 1508 to the Present). From the diaries of her travels, only *Ta Taxidia mou: Souidia* (My Travels: Sweden) was published. Accounts of her other trips appeared in the *Ephimeris ton Kyrion*.

Parren was admired and supported by men such as Gregorios Xenopoulos and Kostis Palamas who dedicated poem 95 from "Ekato Phones" (A Hundred Voices) in *I Asalevti Zoi* (Still Life) to her, the finest representative of "the new woman", capable of elevating man's world and human society. When Parren died on 16 January 1940, she was granted a state funeral. In 1991, the City of Athens offered a plot in the principal cemetery in Athens where Parren's bust, made by the well-known Greek sculptor Costas Valsamis, was erected. On this spot a memorial service for Parren has been held on International Women's Day every year since 1992. Her legacy, which was dimmed by the two World Wars, was reclaimed in the late 1970s and her literary works, forgotten for almost a century, are now being studied and reprinted.

MARIA ANASTASOPOULOU

Biography

Born in Crete in 1859, Parren qualified as a teacher and taught in schools in Odessa and Adrianople. In 1886 she married the journalist Ioannis Parren. She founded and edited the *Ephimeris ton Kyrion* (Ladies' Newspaper, 1887–1917), wrote novels and plays, and made Greece aware of women's issues. She died in 1940 and was granted a state funeral.

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Parthians

The Parthians were originally the people who lived in the Achaemenid province of Parthia, (Parthava in Old Persian), which comprised the region of Chorasan in northeastern Iran and of southern Turkmenistan. The Parthians later came to be identified as the people of the Parthian empire, founded by the Parni, a nomadic people, who entered Parthia from the north-east in the mid-3rd century BC and adopted the name "Parthians" for themselves. Through gradual expansion the Parni / Parthians built an empire, which lasted for almost 500 years, from 246 or 238 BC to AD 224, and which stretched from the Euphrates to the Indus. Until the Parthians revolted against the Seleucid empire, Parthia remained a satrapy; during the reign of Antiochus III (223–187 BC) the Parthians were still regarded as vassals. Early Parthian coins bear a Greek legend and show that the Parthian kings did not always use a royal title; by the middle of the 1st century BC Parthian script was used and kings had adopted the Achaemenid royal title of "king of kings".

The expansion of Parthia from kingdom to empire was a gradual process which lasted over 100 years. After the death of Antiochus III in 187 BC, Parthian troops under Phraates I (176–171 BC) began campaigns against the mountain people north of the Elburz mountains, followed by campaigns south of the Elburz, led by his successors. Territorial conquest on a large scale was undertaken by Mithridates I (171–139/38 BC), who first secured the eastern lands for the empire, Bactrian territory in 160 BC, and eastern Iran in 150/145 BC. During the 140s BC Media was conquered and the Seleucids were driven out of Iran, allowing Mithridates to campaign against Babylonia and Elymais. With Adiabene, Gordyene, and Osrhoene, in northern Mesopotamia, as client kingdoms, and control of Dura-Europus won in 113 BC, the long period of Parthian conquest and expansion was completed.

The Parthians were ruled by the Arsacid dynasty, named after the founder of the empire, Arsaces I (*c.*248/238–217 BC). First establishing their power in the cities of Hecatompylos and Nisa, the Parthian kings then centred their power in Ctesiphon and Vologesocerta. The Parthian nobility was headed by the royal councillors (*ordo probulorum*), followed by the Parthian aristocracy (*pelatai*), the *douloi* (servants), and possibly a slave population. Organized in *regna*, client kingdoms of the Parthian king, which paid tribute and provided military service, the empire comprised a multitude of peoples who spoke different languages and dialects. Parthian became the administrative language of the empire, though other languages, such as Greek, Aramaic, Middle Persian, and Sogdian, were

also used. Parthian culture shows distinctive features in art and architecture, most notably the vaulted *iwan* halls and the planning of cities and fortresses.

Parthian influence on the Classical world increased after 20 BC, with the establishment of diplomatic relations between Augustus and the Parthian king Phraates IV (38–3/2 BC). Phraates IV returned the standards taken from Crassus (54/53 BC), Decidius Saxa (40 BC), and Antony (36 BC), while Rome acknowledged the Euphrates as the border between the two empires, and returned Phraates' son to the Armenian throne. The diplomatic treaty marked Roman recognition of the Parthian empire, but Roman propaganda manipulated the event into a public demonstration of Roman superiority over the Parthians, expressed in literature and art. Parthia was considered to be yet another vast, oriental – and therefore inferior – empire, which Rome made little effort to understand.

In literature, the Parthians were stereotyped as cruel, uncivilized barbarians. They were on a par with the Scythians, and with the decadent Persians of the past, being interchangeably referred to as Medes, Persians, or Achaemenids. Roman art after 20 BC shows a preoccupation with the depictions of Parthians as typical barbarians. The statue of Augustus of Prima Porta, dated to 17 BC, prominently displays a Parthian on Augustus's breastplate, "offering" the Roman standards. Parthians were represented as kneeling subjects, as in the case of a huge bronze tripod, or standing as supporting figures in architectural designs. Bronze ornaments representing mounted or dead barbarians in Parthian dress were mass-produced. Statues of Parthian barbarians, first seen at the Basilica Aemilia in the Roman Forum, were sculpted from coloured marble, *marmor Phrygium* or *marmor Numidicum*, symbolizing oriental luxury and colour. Their un-Roman build and stature identified the Parthians as people who were not part of the civilized world of the *orbis Romanus*, but of the *orbis alter*. A Parthian arc was built after 20 BC, depicted on gold and silver coins. Trajan celebrated his shortlived victory over the Parthians with an *aureus*, describing himself as Rex Parthus, and a coin, bearing the legend "Parthia Capta", depicted two barbarians huddled together in front of a *tropaeum*. Blurring the distinction between Persians and Parthians, Roman emperors sought to compare the Greek–Persian wars of 490 BC and 480/79 BC with Rome's fight against Parthia, in an effort to legitimize Roman ambition to conquer Parthia. The restaging of the battle of Salamis in a vast *naumachia* (ship battle) by the Tiber in 2 BC to celebrate the opening of the temple of Mars Ultor was one of a number of public demonstrations hinting at the Greek–Persian wars, but implying Rome's fight against Parthia. According to Roman ideology, the Parthians were an eastern, barbarian power steeped in oriental luxury, military aggressors who threatened the western world. Roman propaganda was to demonstrate that Rome was dealing with defeated barbarians, not with a political and military power that was equal to Rome. The Romans upheld this view throughout the existence of the Parthian empire and then imposed it on the Parthians' successors, the Sassanians. The Sassanians, for their part, rigorously tried to erase Parthian culture, and it remained largely forgotten until the late 19th and 20th centuries when excavations began in the Near East and the past of the Persian empires was revived. First excavations at Nisa, undertaken by Russian scholars between 1948 and 1961, began to unearth archaeological evidence of the Parthian period, from which emerges, and continues to emerge, a picture of the Parthian empire independent of hostile Greek and Roman sources.

MARIA BROSIUS

Summary

Originally denoting the inhabitants of the Achaemenid province of Parthia, "Parthians" came to mean the people of the Parthian empire which lasted from 246 or 238 BC to AD 224 and stretched from the Euphrates to the Indus. For the Romans the Parthians were the stereotype of cruel, uncivilized barbarians. Recent excavation shows them in a different light.

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Pastoralism

Pastoralism, that is to say the phenomenon of animal husbandry, has tended to go hand in hand to a greater or lesser degree with an agrarian economy. Pastoralism can be linked to a farming economy or, at the other end of the scale, be associated with transhumance, the seasonal movement of flocks from one area to another. Pastoralist communities would have a high reliance on domesticated animals for their livelihood.

The first evidence for sheep and goats on Crete as well as mainland Greece comes in the early Neolithic period, that is to say the late 7th millennium BC. Evidence for pastoralism on Crete in the Bronze Age has been presented by excavation of the Early Minoan II site of Myrtos. Some 90 per cent of the animal bones were from ovicaprids, and the excavation suggested that the wool was being processed in individual homes. Indeed it has been suggested that the settlement of Myrtos was possibly seasonal. Also from Crete come some models of sheep from inside a Middle Minoan I bowl found at Palaikastro.

Pastoralism in Arcadia is reflected by the appearance of small bronze dedications during the 6th century BC. These can show shepherds wearing a distinctive conical hat, sometimes

wearing a cloak and boots. Often the shepherds carry a sheep or ram under their arms, though one from Mount Lykeios had a small calf on his shoulders. One figure, now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York and said to have been found near Andritsaina, carries an inscription, "Phauleas dedicated [this] to Pan". Many of these Arcadian figures were probably dedicated in the sanctuary of Zeus Lykaios or the sanctuary of Pan (described by Pausanias, 8. 38. 5). Such types are similar to the now lost dedication made by the Arcadians of Pheneus who commissioned a statue of Hermes by the Archaic sculptors Onatas of Aegina and Calliteles (Pausanias, 5. 27. 8). Pausanias described a statue of the god "in a tunic and a cloak with a peasant's cap on his head and carrying a ram under his arm". Such dedications may suggest specialized pastoral communities. On the island of Rhodes in the Classical period one of the social groups was called a *sunnoma* which suggests that the members had a common right of pasture.

Evidence for pastoralism appears in the faunal material from excavations at Greek sanctuaries. Sheep and goats appear to have been favoured for sacrificial victims at many sanctuaries. Ethnographic evidence shows that culling of flocks can take place in the early summer before there is a lack of suitable pasture for large flocks, or for younger animals in the spring. If pastoralism is geared to the production of milk, then males and ewes which have stopped lactating are likely culling victims.

Pastoralism can also be detected in the epigraphic record. For example, in the 5th and 4th centuries BC the Attic demes of Marathon, Thorikos, and Archia were sacrificing a number of wethers or ewes in their festivals. Such evidence for flocks makes up for the limited information for Attica available from literary sources. One such example may be the 4th-century BC legal case where sheep – the flock consisted of some 50 animals – were seized from a farm not far from the hippodrome (Demosthenes, 47. 52–53). A male lamb was sacrificed in the early summer on Mount Hymettos in Attica in the cult of Zeus Epakrios, presumably to coincide with the use of the higher winter pasture.

Pastoralism also makes its appearance in literary sources. For example, at the start of the *Theogony*, Hesiod was taught to sing as he tended flocks on Mount Helicon. Clearly the agricultural economy of Askra, so well known from the *Works and Days*, included a pastoral dimension; it should be noted that its pastures are only some 5 km from the lower slopes of Helicon. Aristotle (*Politics*, 1319a.19–23) noted pastoral communities as one of the best forms of democracy (after arable farmers). A more detailed account of sheep can be obtained from the Hellenistic writer Aeschylides (and recorded in Aelian, *On the Characteristics of Animals*, 16. 32), who noted that on the island of Ceos sheep were fed with the by-products of agriculture, such as fig leaves, olive leaves, and husks from pulses, to save on the poor pasture. Such reliance on agricultural products would keep the flocks close to the communities. The converse of this was that the flocks themselves were a ready source of dung which could be used to enhance the productivity of the cultivated plots and fields. However, one reason for the low profile of pastoralism in ancient sources is that shepherding was probably a humble occupation compared to that of arable farming.

The evidence from inscriptions and to a lesser extent literary sources suggests that flocks were usually owned by members of the social elite. For example, one of the mutilators of the herms in 415 BC at Athens had 84 sheep and 67 goats among his confiscated property. The flocks themselves appear to have been cared for by individuals of much lower status, sometimes slaves. Although there are some dedications known from herdsmen, they may have been hired.

One feature of pastoralism is the movement of flocks from summer to winter pasturage, transhumance. This may involve moving flocks from the summer pastures in the mountains to lower areas, sometimes over long distances. There are two main types: the first where the shepherds are drawn from lowland communities, but use the mountains for pasture in the summer; the second, so-called "inverse" transhumance, where the shepherds are themselves mountain dwellers, and only come to lower areas in winter or for markets. In recent centuries transhumance may involve the movement of whole communities, requiring winter and summer settlements. In medieval Crete the main community was often considered the winter one, often situated at less than 200 m, but by the mid-19th century the reverse was true with communities choosing to make the summer settlement their main centre. An ancient example detected in the literary sources is Sophocles' mention of the Theban and Corinthian shepherds on Mount Cithaeron in the story of Oedipus (*Oedipus Rex*, 1132ff.). However, such transhumance was over short distances; such pastures on Cithaeron lie only some 20 km from Thebes, and 30 km from the Corinthia. This can be contrasted with modern transhumance in the northern Peloponnese which might cover some 100 km. Another ancient example comes from the late 1st century AD on the island of Euboea where Dio Chrysostom (*Orations*, 7. 11–15) mentioned flocks and herds of cattle. Evidence from ancient border disputes suggests that such long-distance transhumance was unlikely.

Border disputes between neighbouring poleis could sometimes hinge on grazing rights. One such dispute in the 2nd century BC, marked by inscriptions giving details of the agreement, was between Epidaurus and Hermion in the southern Argolid. The text of the agreement indicates that pasturage was one of the issues at stake, along with cropping. The agreement records that there had already been a decision "concerning the payment of fees to tax collectors for the pasturage of goats". The border area in question was clearly delineated in the agreement, and on the ground it corresponds to an area of some 30 sq km with land rising to nearly 800 m. It may have been used for winter grazing, although it has been observed that in recent times the same area is traversed by transhumant shepherds taking flocks between Arcadia (Valtetsiotes) and the southern Argolid. Such recent patterns in Greece are thought to have been dependent on the landholding patterns developed during the Tourkokratia. The southern Argolid was thought to be a particularly attractive area for flocks, as there were ready markets on the offshore islands of Hydra, Spetsae, and Poros.

The number of goats using such land is hard to estimate, if only because other areas of grazing land would probably have been in use, but it has been suggested that something like ten herds each of 200 goats would not be unreasonable. If such numbers were using this area, it was clearly profitable to tax the land's use. A hint at the profits from such activity is

Pastoralism: shepherds pen goats for dawn milking near Paleokerasia, central Greece

revealed by a dedication made in one of the sanctuaries of the polis of Epidaurus by one Timainetos in the mid-4th century BC. Timainetos made an offering to the Dioscuri as "a tithe from the goats". Although Timainetos may have been one of the tax collectors, he is more likely to have been an owner.

Such disputes in the Argolid over such marginal territory were not unknown. Epidaurus had been in two further separate disputes with its neighbours, Corinth and Arsinoë (the renamed polis of Methana). It is perhaps significant that at the polis of Troizen in 146 BC there was a group of resident Arcadians. It has been plausibly argued that it was this group of individuals, who had been drawn to, and settled in, the marginal areas of the poleis of the southern Argolid, that was causing the tensions.

Such tensions may reflect the reasons for the 2nd-century BC boundary dispute between Delphi and its neighbour Ambryssos. The boundary between the two cuts across modern transhumance routes, and there is a possibility that grazing rights lay behind the ancient dispute. Such disputes emphasize the general view that mountain regions were considered to be the property of those dwelling in urban communities even though the majority of people chose not to dwell there.

The problem of neighbouring communities seizing flocks may explain the reason for the building of extensive walls for some cities in the Peloponnese. It has been argued, partly on the basis of Polybius' account of a raid on Messene in the 220s BC (4. 3. 8–4. 1), that one of the reasons for its new wall system in the 4th century was to serve as protection for flocks.

There seem to have been restrictions on grazing on land owned by some of the sanctuaries. For example, the inscription from Arkesine on Amorgos relates to some land which was the property of the sanctuary of Zeus and which restricted the pasturing of animals. A 4th-century inscription from Chios restricts pasturing and the spreading of dung on what must be considered sacred land. However, estates belonging to the temple of Delian Apollo on the islands of Delos and Mykonos included grazing land.

Grazing could be the prerogative of citizens who were given specific rights of pasture; such was the case at Tegea in Arcadia. Such rights could then be bestowed on specific individuals for services to the community. In the 1st century AD the citizens of Methana in the Argolid granted grazing rights to a resident of Corinth, L. Licinnius Anteros, in return for his acting on their behalf as *proxenos* ("consul") in the centre of Roman administration in the province. Such honours may in fact have become meaningless during the Hellenistic period, as sometimes they were bestowed on individuals who dwelt so far from the grazing areas that they are unlikely ever to have been in a position to take up the rights. In Hellenistic Boeotia the cities of Akraiphia, Kopai, and Orchomenus granted grazing rights on water meadows around Lake Copais as repayment for unpaid loans.

Pastoralism in Greece today is very different from what it is likely to have been like in antiquity. Rather than being linked to subsistence economies, flocks are intended to generate cash income. On contemporary Crete flocks can consist of some

400 sheep which require the care of two or three men. Flocks in antiquity are likely to have been used to produce wool and dairy products – sheep cheese from Ceos apparently sold for 90 drachmas a talent in the Hellenistic period – as well as meat. Traditional transhumant patterns are being disrupted. For example, the Sarakatsans of northwestern Greece used to exploit the plains around Ioannina until settlers from Turkey took over in 1927. Subsequently, the Sarakatsans have looked to large urban populations such as Athens for their markets.

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See also Animals, Transhumance

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Patmos

Island in the Dodecanese

The small island of Patmos, the most northerly of the Dodecanese and only 39 sq km in area, has achieved a world-wide fame out of all proportion to its size solely through its biblical associations. More than any other of the Greek islands it has, on account of its being where St John the Evangelist wrote the Apocalypse, become established as the one where the Hellenic world was integrated most closely with New Testament history.

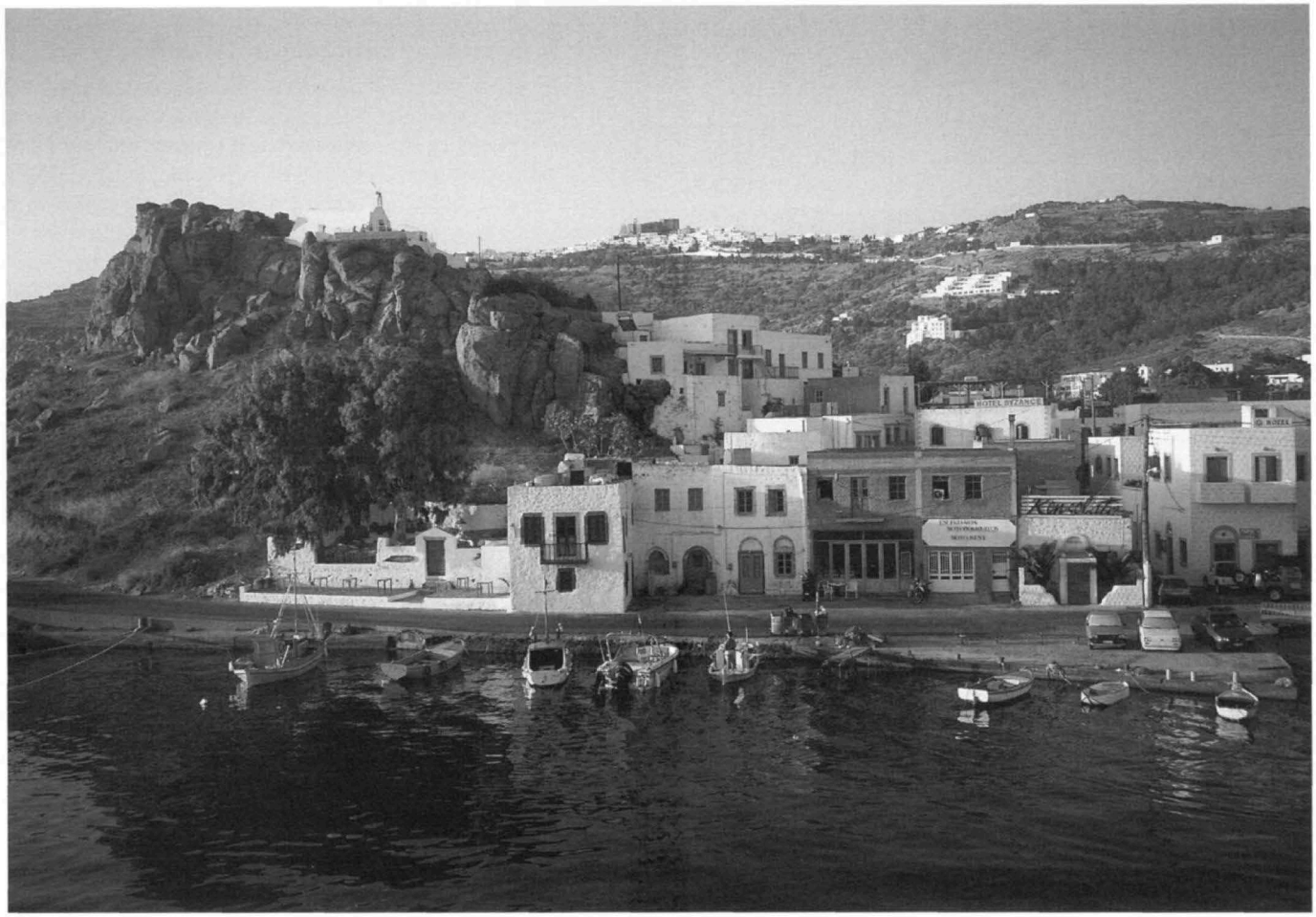
Patmos lies some 56 km off the coast of Asia Minor and 34 km from its much larger neighbour, Samos, to the north. It was never blessed with good agricultural conditions, having poor soil and little water, and has no deep natural harbour; it is quite hilly, with its highest point rising to 270 m. In early Hellenic history it was recorded as being peopled first by Mycenaeans, and later by Dorians and Ionians, but was only mentioned once in passing by Thucydides.

During the Roman period Patmos was used as a place of exile for political prisoners, and it was for this reason that St John (also known as St John the Theologian or St John the Divine, in Greek St John Theologos) was banished to the island, probably in AD 95, during the reign of the emperor Domitian. This association of the island with a major New Testament figure received surprisingly little attention during the earlier Christian centuries, and there is evidence of only one basilica being built here before 1088. It was then that almost a millennium of neglect was ended when the emperor Alexios I Komnenos granted to a monk from Bithynia, Osios ("the holy") Christodoulos, permission to found a monastery here dedicated to St John Theologos. It is this foundation, accompanied by a chrysobull of the emperor (still held by the monastery) and the grant of many privileges, that permanently changed the fortunes of the island, with the monastery's fame and prestige growing with every century.

The island was not named in the Deed of Partition of 1204, and the Venetians, after they had taken it over, seem to have allowed it substantial independence and granted a number of privileges. In the same way the Knights of Rhodes (the Hospitallers) never used Patmos as a base for harassing Turkish shipping, and this may have been the reason for the Turks allowing the abbot to collect the taxes that formed the island's annual tribute after 1454, treating the island and its inhabitants with considerable tolerance. The growing fame of the island made it the target of many later attacks, although the fortifications of the monastery ensured that no assailant was ever able to take it by force. Like the rest of the Dodecanese, Patmos did not return to full Greek control until 1947, when Italian rule ended.

The association of Patmos with St John has been responsible for two major foundations: one is the monastery mentioned above; and the second is the theological college, founded in 1669 when refugees arrived from recently occupied Crete. Its position as one of the leading theological colleges of Greece gives it a continuing importance for the Hellenic world, while the cave of St Anne, which is the traditional site of the writing of the Book of Revelation, is a dependency of the college.

The visitors that come to the island in their thousands each year ensure that the monastery dominates not only the landscape and appearance of Patmos, but also the life of the island. Its most prominent feature is its sequence of massive walls which continued to be strengthened and rebuilt until at least the later 17th century, giving it the aspect of a major fortress. They effectively protected the monastery from the plague of pirates which were to be the bane of Aegean life throughout the later medieval period and well into the 19th century. Within them the monastic buildings have grown, developed,



Patmos: the monastery of St John, founded in 1088, is on the skyline in the middle of the picture

and expanded, undergoing constant modification, rebuilding, and refurbishment. The two earliest building periods of the monastery were from 1088 to 1093 (within the lifetime of the founder) and the mid- to later 12th century, but the process of expansion has continued into relatively recent times. The earliest surviving parts are the later 12th-century *parekklesion* (side chapel) of the *katholikon* (main church), dedicated to the Theotokos, of which the contemporary frescos are the earliest in the whole monastery, and the *trapeza* (refectory), also of comparable date.

The library of the monastery contains one of the greatest collections of manuscripts in Greece, second only to some of those in the monastic libraries of Mount Athos, while the many rich and interesting objects in the treasury well reflect the monastery's fame and prestige. Among them are an 11th-century miniature mosaic icon of St Nicholas with a silver frame and other exceptionally fine 13th-century icons. It is, of course, objects of this kind, many of them made from precious metal, that are most liable to dispersal. They were brought to Patmos by donors from many parts of Europe, with Russia, Georgia, Romania, Moldavia, and Italy among the countries represented. Almost all objects of metalwork that remain date from the 18th century or later, reflecting the large losses that are known to have occurred. Manuscripts, some of which are now to be found in major public collections, also left the library at different times.

The cave of St Anne, where St John traditionally wrote the book of the Apocalypse, was not mentioned by Osios Christodoulos, and seems only to have been adopted in the 12th century; some wall-paintings in the sanctuary, discovered in 1973, are thought to be of this date and constitute the best evidence for its first identification. Nevertheless, it is probably true that the image of St John Theologos dictating to the deacon Prochoros in the cave, which appears on countless icons and gospel illustrations, is the form in which Patmos became most widely known during the medieval period and later.

PAUL HETHERINGTON

Summary

The most northerly of the Dodecanese islands, Patmos has been occupied throughout Greek history but only achieved fame in the Christian period. It was on Patmos that St John composed the Book of Revelation. In his name a monastery was founded in 1088 and a theological college in 1669.

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Patras

City in the northwest Peloponnese

Patras is a commercial and industrial city in the northwestern Peloponnese, the capital of Achaea prefecture, the largest municipality, and the most important cultural and spiritual centre of western Greece. It is also the major port of the country for passengers travelling to and from the western Mediterranean. Patras is the third largest municipality in Greece after Athens and Thessalonica with a population of about 300,000. The city is divided into an upper and a lower town (Ano and Kato Poli). The upper town is built on a hill, whereas the lower is on a slope that extends to the sea. The city is located at the foot of Mount Panachaiko or Vodias, which is about 9 km from the sea. Patras is one of few Greek cities to have been built according to a city plan; its roads are straight and at right angles to each other. The establishment in 1966 of the university reinforced the role of the city as an important cultural centre. Even from the years of Ottoman occupation, the city was a big export centre and a major port to the western Mediterranean. Because of its strategic geographical position it developed early industrial enterprises such as the cotton-spinning mill that was established in 1844.

The name of the city is believed to be derived from Patreas, a mythological hero who is regarded as its first settler *c.*1100–1080 BC, although other opinions exist, e.g. that the name is derived from Patrous a district of Egyptian Thebes and was given to the city by a tribe that came from there, or from Patar, a town in Asia Minor. The most probable explanation seems to be the first one. Patreas' father was a nobleman from the region of Laconia in the southeastern Peloponnese who took shelter near Patras after he was found guilty of conspiracy against the authorities. Patreas then conquered the nearby towns and villages and unified them under the name of Patras. Pausanias (2nd century AD) described the city as a cosmopolitan one with many temples, statutes, and groves.

Patras was one of the 12 cities that made up the Achaean League, an ancient Greek version of the contemporary European Union. The city followed the policy of the league and neither fought against the Persians nor took part in the civil wars between the Greek cities. During the Peloponnesian War, Patras was a passive ally of Sparta without being actively engaged in the conflict.

The Achaean League was dismantled in 338 BC by Philip II of Macedon because it supported Athens against him. In the wars against the Romans, Patras and the re-formed Achaean League supported Philip V. However, after the Romans had defeated him and declared the city independent, it joined the Roman camp. Patras, like all Greek cities, became subject to Rome in 146 BC. After the battle of Actium in 31 BC the city was granted many privileges. It was declared independent and had its own council. It did not pay any taxes and the only liability imposed on it was acceptance of the Roman judicial authority.

According to tradition, St Andrew spent his last years in Patras and suffered martyrdom there *c.*AD 60. Patras was Christianized during the reign of Constantine the Great (307–336). The city was destroyed twice by the Goths, during the Byzantine period it suffered many raids from pirates, and in 805 it withstood a formidable siege by Vandals.

In the 9th century Patras was a thriving commercial city, and had established itself as a silk- trading centre. In 1204 Patras was occupied by Franks and again became a prosperous city for about 200 years. In 1408 the city came under the aegis of Venice and flourished commercially but in 1446 it was burned by Sultan Murad as it resisted the Ottoman invaders. After a brief period of protection by Venetian and Greek nobles, the city was captured by the Ottomans in 1461 and remained under their rule until the eve of the Greek revolution (1821). A brief period of resistance against the Turks in 1769, when the Orloff brothers came with their fleet to liberate the town, ended with the killing of its residents and the torching of the city. Patras was rebuilt and at the time of the Greek revolution was the main port for agricultural exports to western Europe.

In the city was based the Peloponnesian branch of the Society of Friends (*Philiki Hetaireia*), the principal revolutionary organization. From the start of hostilities Patras was one of the first cities to act against Ottoman rule and one of the first to be liberated. Despite the bravery of the rebels, the Turks could not be dislodged from the castle. Turkish reinforcements occupied the city which remained under Turkish rule until 1828 when the French philhellene general Messeaun liberated the Peloponnese. In October 1828 Messeaun delivered the city to the first Greek governor, Count Kapodistria.

During the following years the city rapidly grew into a big municipality with dynamic industrial and commercial enterprises. Moreover, it became the country's gateway to western Europe, and the export centre of agricultural products such as olive oil, tobacco, and currants. After World War II its port was established as the main transit centre to Europe and handled increasing numbers of passengers to and from Italy as the country became a member of the European Community. In addition, Patras is considered to be the main centre of culture in western Greece, renowned for its carnival that takes place during the winter.

DIMITRIOS GKAMAS

Summary

A city in the northwest Peloponnese, Patras was probably named after the mythical hero Patreas. As a member of the Achaean League it took no part in the Persian and Peloponnesian Wars. Under the Romans it was granted generous privileges and prospered. It was among the first cities to join the revolution of 1821. It is now a major port, industrial centre, and university town.

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Patriarchate of Constantinople

In the ancient Church certain cities with patriarchs (members of the episcopate enjoying a position of prominence and special regard) were designated patriarchates. Thus, some, but not all, patriarchs oversaw a patriarchate. As early as the 4th century, patriarchates functioned as jurisdictional centres over smaller ecclesiastical regions, such as provinces and metropolitanates, within the neighbouring territory of the patriarchate. (This organization was a rough adaptation of the structure of Roman civil government.) Constantinople was one such patriarchate, with jurisdiction over Asia, Pontus, Thrace, and Greece.

It was claimed that the apostle Andrew founded the see of Constantinople and ordained Stachys its first bishop. The claim is doubtful and seems to have been motivated by a desire to convey an ancient, apostolic authority to Constantinople equal to that of Rome, whose Church claims to have been founded by St Peter. Such apostolic status could help resolve disputes concerning ecclesial primacy – Constantinople's claim could prove ecclesial superiority over Rome, given that Andrew was the first called of the apostles. If Stachys was nominated patriarch, it implied that Constantinople was endowed with the nobility and honour of a bishop; patriarchy certainly did not have the formal ecclesiastical sense it later acquired – on a par with that of a bishop or archbishop of Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, or Jerusalem, with specific ecclesiastical jurisdiction and correlative duties. That ecclesiastical jurisdiction included the right to decide canonical and moral issues as well as to ordain bishops to the principal sees within the provinces of a patriarchate. Regardless of such claims to apostolicity in the early Church after the 4th century – the incomparable role the patriarchate played in the formulation of Christian dogma is beyond dispute – the patriarchate of Constantinople enjoyed a preeminence second only to Rome. This status was due, in part, to the fact that Constantinople became the capital of the Roman empire and the patriarch was given authority by imperial decree as well as by ecumenical council. Canon 28 of Chalcedon (451), for example, declares Constantinople a "New Rome" and gives its Church the "equal privileges" (*isa presbeia*) to those held by the Church of "Old Rome". See also Canon 3 of the Council of Constantinople (381).

Constantinople formed part of the important ancient pentarchy: five sees which enjoyed particular ecclesiastical status and authority. The pentarchy comprised Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem, and in the east this organization was viewed as an alternative to Rome's claim of primacy. The patriarchs of each of these sees succeeded the apostles in their status as heads of the Church and they had, according to *novella* 109 of Justinian I, final authority to govern the Church. Such equality, though, was more hoped for than realized. While Justinian I nominated the patriarch of Constantinople "ecumenical", i.e. with authority over the entire Byzantine empire, the papacy continued to insist on primacy in ecclesiastical matters, along with jurisdiction over all the eastern patriarchs. (The papacy had previously refused to acknowledge Canon 3 of Constantinople (381), giving the patriarch of Constantinople honour second only to Rome.) After the 6th century the papacy became less able to contest primacy as Rome lost political autonomy and stability. Due to loss of other members of the pentarchy – Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem – to Arab invasions, the power of the patriarchate of Constantinople continued to increase. In the 9th century, however, the papacy began to regain ecclesiastical power as it learned to accommodate regnant political forces. The papacy employed its new-found strength, along with a tradition of ecclesial independence from Constantinople, to reassert its primacy.

This rivalry between the patriarchs of Constantinople and the popes of Rome culminated in 1054 when papal legates placed a bull of excommunication on the altar of Hagia Sophia. The bull excommunicated patriarch Keroularios of Constantinople, who responded by excommunicating, in turn, the papal legates. (These excommunications were rescinded in 1965 by mutual agreement between Pope Paul VI and Patriarch Athenagoras.) Roman dominance culminated in the establishment of a Latin patriarch in Constantinople in 1204 when the incumbent Greek patriarch, John X Kamateros, recognized the authority of Pope Innocent III. Subsequent Greek patriarchs ruled in exile at Nicaea until 1261. After the restoration of Greek patriarchal rule, however, the patriarchate was weakened by internal controversies, e.g. reunion with the Latin Church, as well as by exrernal political pressures. The external political pressures – the advance of the Turks – forced the emperor to take a politically and religiously divisive step: to solicit aid from the Church's theological rival, Rome. In response, the pope demanded a number of theological concessions – "innovations" in the Greek view – including acceptance of the *filioque* clause as well as observance of papal jurisdiction and the Roman rites. Proposals and counterproposals were made over the course of months at the Council of Florence (1438–39), and finally accepted by the Byzantine delegation. But much to the displeasure of the emperor John VIII, a majority of Orthodox believers were unwilling to abide by the terms and conditions of the agreement, believing that it required them to embrace heresy. The quip "Better to see the turban of the Turks reigning in our city than the Latin mitre" expressed common sentiment. Signatories of the Florentine reunion agreement, such as Gennadios II Scholarios, sensing the futility of their compromise as well as domestic political dangers, repudiated their signatures on returning home. The beginning of the end for the Byzantine patriarchate occurred in 1453 with the fall of Constantinople to the Turks.

Under the Turks the authority of the patriarchate was severely curtailed, and yet, paradoxically, also increased. The patriarch no longer had to share authority with the Christian emperor and thus the patriarch became the supreme religious figure of the Eastern Church. Furthermore, the sultan Mehmet II, conqueror of Constantinople, extended the patriarch's authority over all Greek- and non-Greek-speaking Christians under Turkish rule, giving the patriarch civil as well as religious authority. The patriarchate thus acquired both religious and civil power over more Christians under the Ottoman Turkish empire than it had under the Byzantine emperors, since the sultan (and the patriarch) now regarded previously independent Christian Churches as falling under the authority of the patriarch. The patriarch, in short, now also became the emperor of the Christian empire, and his vestments – a mitre

in the shape of the imperial crown, among other insignia – reflected the accretion of authority.

At the same time, patriarchal authority was severely curtailed by the sultan's required subordination of the patriarchate to himself. This practice, which continued under subsequent sultans, allowed the patriarchs to serve only at the goodwill and pleasure of the sultans, who directly and indirectly influenced the selection and retention of patriarchs. The sultans, for example, levied heavy taxes on each succeeding patriarch and persecuted the patriarchs severely, often making them responsible for any political instability created by the general Greek population. (In the 18th century, for example, 48 patriarchs served in 63 years.) Additionally, the religious (and physical) survival of the patriarchate required a certain political legerdemain, which occasionally engendered suspicion concerning the fidelity of the patriarch to the Orthodox faith. Among the sacrifices required of the patriarchate by the sultan was the appropriation of Hagia Sophia, which he turned into a mosque.

Gennadios II Scholarios, who was captured by the Turks on the fall of Constantinople but later released, became the first post-Byzantine patriarch. He served intermittently; the sultan, not yet confident of how to deal with the patriarchate, had him removed and reinstated. Gennadios's policy of accommodation with the Turks was finally unsuccessful and he was removed in 1465. His tenure provided the paradigm for his successors: a precarious reign marked by varying success at finding a harmonious modus vivendi. The political control of the patriarchate reached its apogee in the 17th and 18th centuries, during which time Greek bishops were given control over Bulgarian and Slavic sees and the local patriarchates were dissolved. The centralization of control included imposing Greek as the liturgical language, and Orthodoxy became identified with Hellenism. This cultural and religious identification led to a rather destructive form of Greek nationalism, subsequently alienating many of the foreign sees. Resentment at Greek control and the breakup of the Turkish empire led the various branches of the Orthodox Church to declare themselves independent of the patriarchate of Constantinople. Likewise, after the Greeks won independence, the Church of Greece declared itself independent of the patriarchate.

In the 17th century the patriarchate found contact with Protestantism useful in its quarrels with Rome, though beyond this utilitarian alliance patriarch Cyril I Lukaris was thoroughly sympathetic with certain Protestant views. Though most branches of Orthodoxy asserted and gained their independence in the 19th and 20th centuries, today the patriarchate continues to be viewed as spiritual leader by all Orthodox Christians. It has direct jurisdiction over, among other sees, the Orthodox Churches in North and South America, Australia, and western Europe. Politically, the patriarchate exists precariously under control of the Turkish government, suffering from efforts to diminish its authority even further.

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See also Orthodox Church

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Patronage

Patronage in the sense of established relationships between patrons and their clients is a common feature of many societies. The modern Greek nation state established in 1830 was based on a Western model of centralized administration under a monarchical government, whose autocratic powers were only partially checked by the introduction of a parliamentary constitution in 1844. This structure was imposed on a rural population of subsistence farmers. Inevitably the taxes levied on villages to support a distant administration of ministries, civil servants, and armed forces were seen as a regime of exploitation that drained resources from families and returned nothing.

That local communities seldom resisted, or negotiated with, central authorities was due to the segmented structure of such groups. Categorical obligations to their families that restricted individuals to forms of social and economic cooperation within a narrow circle of kinsmen and friends made corporate action on any scale difficult. It is true that in recent years producers' cooperatives have flourished but they are regarded, nevertheless, as organizations backed by the external authority of the state and villagers who act as their local officials are distrusted. Generally collective enterprises are undermined by consideration for the material interest and prestige of individual families. Instead, the heads of families have looked to form exclusive alliances in, or more often outside, the local community by offering their social, economic, and electoral support in exchange for a patron's influence in dealings with merchants, shopkeepers, or local agents of the state.

Typical patrons within the village are the elected president of the village council, whose signature and recommendation are needed on application forms to ministries and banks; the coffee shop owner, who may support a limited system of credit to his customers; and other men with wealth or outside connections. The client will refer to his patron as his "friend" to disguise the discomfort of his voluntary subordination. Nevertheless, if a "friend" uses his "means" (*mesa*) to protect and assist a man, the latter is under a general obligation to support his benefactor politically. Factions and clienteles loosely organized around relationships of friendship and patronage have historically been the basis for mobilizing support for national political parties in the Greek countryside.

If men cannot trust one another in their own community, the situation is much worse in their relations with people

outside it. They expect to find that merchants exploit them and that public servants will be at least indifferent. Town Greeks, for their part, hold markedly ambivalent attitudes towards villagers. There is a nostalgia for the austere traditional values that to some extent still survive in the countryside, but a deep contempt for the material and social limitations of peasant life. Despite the fact that most are themselves migrants, or the children of migrants, from the villages, the myths of their own history in the ancient city state and Byzantium are principally urban, and the styles of Western city life are the models to which they aspire. Apart from that they themselves share the belief that the family must be the principal object of moral duty and financial aspirations, which leaves little margin for concern about others. Where civil servants are concerned, the authority of the service, and their own position in it, are best preserved by keeping a villager in his place. This proper social distance is destroyed if undue concern is shown for a villager's affairs that is based simply on his rights as a citizen. Much business in public offices is done in the presence of more than one official. The ethos tends to be one of conscious self-importance, and the fact that many civil servants are themselves sons of peasants only increases this sensitivity. Within the public service itself status and position are defended by a reluctance to delegate the right of decision to junior officials. This in turn makes it difficult for any official to use his own judgement without referring to his seniors. This attitude, aptly termed *evthynophovia*, fear of responsibility, is transmitted to the public as an indifference based on a mechanical and inflexible interpretation of administrative procedures. Even trivial questions may be referred to Athens for a ruling. If delays are to be avoided in relatively routine applications for pensions or licences of various kinds, or exemptions are to be obtained in more complex cases, the need for "friendly" intervention is believed to be essential.

The search for an intermediary begins with the relationships that a villager has already established. As has been suggested, he may look to the president or some other influential villager or kinsman who can find the intermediary for him. Another possibility is that a villager may sell produce, grain, tobacco, or milk to a particular merchant who advances him credit, keeps him in debt, buys his produce at less than the market price, but in exchange for these benefits of an economic and assured supply is prepared to protect the welfare of his commercial client with his patronage. Provincial town doctors and shopkeepers, to whom villagers often turn in difficulty, are competitive and anxious to build and hold clienteles; lawyers are even more numerous and of many grades. There is a considerable amount of litigation in Greek rural life. If a villager has confidence in his lawyer this may have developed into a persisting relationship and, as the professional "fixer" in Greek society, the lawyer may be the most satisfactory intermediary. To confirm any of these relationships a man may ask a patron to become the godfather of his child, seeking to raise their association above the level of mere reciprocal advantage.

A critical institution in these relationships is the *parea*, the informal gathering of the town's professional elite which is sometimes to be seen sitting drinking in a public place such as the lounge of the best hotel. This group may include the prefect, senior army and police officers and civil servants, lawyers, doctors, judges, and the more substantial merchants. By their mutual acceptance and public recognition of one another they emphasize the exclusive status that they share. Not to respond to the reasonable requests of a friend in the elite circle is to threaten one's membership of it, even one's professional prospects and career. Friends and dependants of other members of the circle will not be sent for legal advice or as patients or customers. In the case of public servants there may be pressure to block promotion, or post a man elsewhere. Crucially, from time to time, the local member of parliament will arrive from Athens to enter into his notebook the favours asked of him, either directly by individual constituents or through the mediation of a member of the local elite.

Although the framework of party organization is based, to a considerable degree, on networks of friendship and patronage, it is not suggested that political behaviour is reducible simply to those kinds of personal relationship. Even in the countryside the personal obligations and relationships that at various removes link a deputy, or a candidate, to the voters are not, of course, unaffected by the scale and power of the national party he represents. A man is adopted as a candidate on a party list because he is influential and possesses an existing social or professional clientele. Equally the fact that he has been chosen by a party that may form the government adds considerably to his influence, particularly if the potential patronage is considerable. The traditional pattern of rural patronage is still the method of political recruitment in many country areas, but the considerable increase in agricultural incomes in more prosperous districts, where the greater part of the produce is sold in national and international markets, has greatly reduced the sense of insecurity which creates the need for the favours and protection of old-style personal patrons.

In urban areas the links between voters and the patronage of members of parliament have never been so comprehensive. But Greek towns are heavily populated with small family concerns of every kind. The need for loans and trading licences, negotiations with tax officials, the necessity of building a clientele of customers in a market generally too small to justify the proliferation of small competing businesses, draw him inevitably into relationships with professional, commercial, and political patrons and "friends" in terms not dissimilar to those already examined for rural patronage. The common feature in the two situations is the vulnerability of the client in defence of his independence. The principal difference is that in the city such relationships cannot provide a complete system of political recruitment. It remains true, however, that in the city political patrons work for their supporters, that a man with more than a routine difficulty in dealing with a government office, a hospital, a school, or any other institution will immediately attempt to find an influential friend or intermediary without whose aid he feels impotent and defeated, and that in any social or professional exchange when something is apparently conceded an obligation will be perceived and not forgotten. But any account of Greek patronage is inadequate that simply emphasizes reciprocal manipulation in an unequal relationship. The recognized ability to perform important favours is in itself the most significant and valued mark of status and prestige. Even when there is no reason to build a clientele, or mobilize votes, Greeks still need to demonstrate their social power and benevolence by the number and quality of their dependants. This is so in many societies, but in Greece

values of honour and self-regard give this process a particular impetus.

J.K. CAMPBELL

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Paul, St

Christian apostle of the 1st century AD

Little more is known of Paul, the second founder of Christianity, than of Jesus Christ, the first. His own letters inform us that he was born an Israelite of the tribe of Benjamin, that he became a rigorous Pharisee, and that he persecuted Christians with zeal (Philippians 3: 4–6). It is widely believed, on the evidence of Acts 21: 39, that he was a Roman citizen from Tarsus in Cilicia. His writings partly corroborate Luke's story, which appears in Acts three times with variations, that he encountered the risen Christ while he was carrying his instructions to Damascus. The remainder of Luke's narrative is, however, not so easily reconciled with Paul's allusions to his own history. Where his biographer states that he always preached the Resurrection in the synagogues before turning to the Gentiles, the letters show compassion for the Jews but never speak of them as an object of his own ministry. Paul boasts of eight beatings and three shipwrecks (2 Corinthians 11: 24–25), yet the one flogging and the one shipwreck recorded in Acts both occurred too late to have figured in his reckoning. Acts knows nothing of the 14 years between Paul's conversion and his appointment as the "Apostle to the Gentiles" (Galatians 2: 1–7); Paul's account of a meeting with the Apostles in Galatians 2 cannot be harmonized with Luke's description of the apostolic council in Acts 15. Luke knows nothing of Paul's escape from Damascus under the governorship of Aretas (2 Corinthians 11: 32); Paul claims none of the miracles that Luke attributes to him. Nevertheless, the two records may be complementary rather than contradictory, and a tentative chronology of the letters may be built on Luke's divisions of Paul's labours into four successive journeys, each beginning from Jerusalem. The first began and terminated in Asia Minor, the second included leading cities of Greece and Macedonia, the third retraced the first two with a protracted stay at Ephesus, and the fourth brought Paul to Rome.

If Paul and Luke are both reliable witnesses, the letter to the Galatians would have been written to the churches of south Galatia between Paul's first and second meetings with the Jerusalem elders, as recounted in Acts 11 and 15. The text is a fierce polemic against the "men from James" (Galatians 2: 12; cf. Acts 14: 19), who in Paul's view have betrayed the first agreement by demanding the circumcision of gentile Christians. Paul maintained that the law had been superseded by the new covenant in the death of Christ (Galatians 3: 15), the carnal circumcision by an inward crucifixion, and the "faith that works by love" (6: 14; 5: 6). The apostolic council ruled in favour of Paul (on circumcision at least), but in the course of his second journey he found that deaths in Gentile churches had raised fears about the salvation of the body. Writing from Corinth (1 Thessalonians 3: 6; cf. 18: 5), he told the Thessalonians that the imminent return of Christ would rouse the dead from "sleep" and then the living would be taken up to join them "in the air" (1 Thessalonians 4: 13–17). Soon after, while he was passing through the Troad and Macedonia, he developed a richer doctrine in three letters to the Corinthians (1 Corinthians 16: 5; 2 Corinthians 2: 13; Acts 20: 1–6), which now survive as two. Every believer, he argued, is a member of a new body, that of Christ, which is united by love and diversified by gifts of the Holy Spirit. We must therefore keep our own bodies free from sin, and commemorate that of Christ in a common Eucharist, where the rich share with the poor. After death our animal body will be transformed into a spiritual body, which, like the true Temple of Israel, will be a "house not made with hands". For the present, the hope of future glory must sustain us as we suffer in the flesh.

Paul's voyage to Rome, occasioned by his own appeal to Caesar after he suffered a Roman flogging, was pre-empted by the letter which he sent to that city while bearing a collection to Jerusalem at the end of his third mission (Romans 15: 25–26; cf. Acts 21: 17). Declaring that Greeks and Jews owed their salvation to one another, he exhorted them to renounce their external pieties, to acknowledge the universal reign of sin in our present bodies, to embrace the resurrection with its promise of inward and outward renewal, and thus to live according to the new law of the Spirit, which is fulfilled in love and purity of heart. His subsequent imprisonment is attested by three letters, though the causes remain obscure. Whether he is enjoining Christ's humility on the Philippians (Philippians 2: 5–12), or warning the Colossians not to follow manmade heresies (Colossians 2: 3–23), or sending back the runaway Onesimus to Philemon, his thoughts are now consumed by the glorious destiny that awaits the "slave of Christ" (Philippians 1: 1; Philemon 1: 1; Colossians 4: 3). According to tradition Paul was decapitated in the Neronian persecution of AD 64, though not perhaps before he achieved his goal of visiting Spain (Romans 15: 24).

Paul may have been the earliest writer to place the confession of Christ as Son of God at the heart of the gospel. He was also the first to offer any theory of atonement, describing Christ as a sacrifice (1 Corinthians 5: 7), as one who became a curse for us (Galatians 3: 15), and as a mercy-seat (*hilasterion*) for our sins (Romans 3: 24–25). His account of the Last Supper (1 Corinthians 11: 23–25) found its way into the liturgy, and his argument that it is better not to marry (1 Corinthians 7) seemed to justify the celibacy of monks. He was variously interpreted, and both Catholics and Gnostics can be reckoned among his heirs. It was therefore almost inevitable that those who wished to claim him should attach his name to spurious compositions. The letter to the Ephesians would

appear to be a summary of Paul's mature doctrine by another hand. In the letter to the Hebrews his thoughts are encased in a carapace of arguments and expressed in texts more suited to its (supposed) recipients. The author of 2 Thessalonians was evidently desirous to acquit Paul of a false belief that the world was soon to end. The three "Pastoral Epistles", addressed to Timothy and Titus, were produced to lend authority to the episcopate which developed after his death. They already betray the legalistic, patriarchal, and anti-Jewish sentiments which mar many later readings of the apostle. Among early commentators, Origen took Paul's distinction between the inner and outer man as the key to an allegorical interpretation of scripture, while the Antiochene school of Theodore, Theodoret, and Chrysostom gave more weight to his personality, his audience, and the circumstances of his writing. All agreed, however, that he was preaching not so much freedom from the law as freedom to obey it in the Spirit; hence the Greek Church has resisted antinomian exegesis, with its concomitant beliefs in total depravity and irresistible predestination. Holding that Paul intended to change his hearers and not merely to formulate doctrine, Greek theology emphasizes the ethical and sacramental elements in his thought.

MARK EDWARDS

See also Christianity

Biography

Born (as Saul) at Tarsus in Cilicia, Paul was a Jew and a pharisee who persecuted Christians. Converted to Christianity *c.*AD 33, he became known as the "Apostle to the Gentiles". He undertook four missionary journeys and wrote epistles to many young churches. He was imprisoned in Rome and executed, probably in AD 64.

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Paulicians

Dualist sect

Paulicians was the name given to a group of militaristic dualist heretics who were active in Armenia, eastern Asia Minor, and later Thrace throughout the Byzantine era. There is still much scholarly debate over the nature of this sect due to the conflicting information contained in the sources. Peter of Sicily, who was sent as an ambassador by the Byzantine emperor to the Paulician state based in Tephrice in 869, is the most important source. According to Peter, the group originated with Paul of Samosata in the 3rd century, from whom they took their name. This identification has led to much confusion since there were two Pauls associated with Samosata, one a bishop of Antioch who promoted the Adoptionist doctrine and another, the son of a woman named Callinice, who was reputed to be a Manichaean. However, this woman could not have been a Manichaean since her son lived well before Mani's birth. It is more likely that she was a Gnostic, possibly even a Marcionite. Nevertheless, the confusion has led to the tradition of associating Paulicians with Manichaeanism.

The true origin of the sect probably goes no further back than the 7th century when an Armenian by the name of Constantine of Mananali learned the heretical doctrines in Syria and later took the name Silvanos, a companion of St Paul. He taught his followers to read only the New Testament and rejected those Manichaean doctrines which conflicted with Christianity. However, Peter of Sicily claimed that the sect used the teachings of the New Testament only for the ordinary members of the sect and had a secret teaching reserved for a select few in which dualist doctrines were taught. Dimitri Obolensky sees in this the influence of the Gnostic Marcionite sect with whom the Paulicians came into contact in Armenia. These contacts, coupled with the reforms of Constantine, made the Paulicians closer to Marcionism in doctrine than Manichaeanism. In addition, Obolensky notes some similarities with Messalian beliefs and concludes that Paulicianism arose under the combined influence of Manichaean, Marcionite, and Messalian sects. He also affirms that all the main tenets of Paulicianism, such as belief in the two principles, denial of the Incarnation, rejection of the Old Testament, anti-sacramentalism, etc., are derived from Manichaeanism and further argues that the absence of certain Manichaean doctrines, such as abstention from meat and sexual intercourse, as well as the Manichaean creation myth, were due to the reforms of Constantine-Silvanos. The Paulicians estab-

lished themselves in Asia Minor under a succession of leaders who took Pauline pastoral names. The use of the name "Paulician" may actually be a reflection of the high regard in which the sect held the apostle Paul. The churches they founded were also named after places associated with St Paul.

Armenian sources, on the other hand, point to a tradition that the Paulicians were actually an Armenian sect dating back to the 5th century. The earlier sources do not mention them by name and scholars are not sure if they can be identified with these earlier heretical groups. However, in the 7th and 8th centuries they are specifically mentioned by name in the "Canons and Constitutions" of the Council of Albania, the Council of Dwin, and in the tract *Against the Paulicians* by John of Otzun. The Armenian sources also differ from the Greek in their characterization of Paulician doctrine by claiming that the Paulicians followed the Adoptionist doctrines of Paul of Samosata who argued that Christ was originally an ordinary man who was adopted by God as the Son of God for his extraordinary virtue, a condition which any equally righteous person can achieve. This argument was first advanced by Fred Conybeare who, in 1891, discovered a manuscript of the tract *The Key of Truth*. The theology of this work reflects Adoptionist Christian beliefs and even contradicts some known Paulician doctrines, such as dualism and rejection of the sacraments. Conybeare claimed that this work was a true manual of the Paulician Church and that it confirms that the Paulicians were Adoptionists, the descendants of Paul of Samosata, a position which has received more recent support from Nina Garsoïan. This argument was originally rejected by Steven Runciman, and later Paul Lemerle, who identified this Adoptionist Armenian group as the Thonraki, a sect which shared some doctrinal similarities with the Paulicians and were later confused with them. The Paulicians were also iconoclastic. Some of their number were later invited into the Byzantine empire by the iconoclastic emperors Leo III (717–41) and Constantine V (741–75). Garsoïan argues that it was during this time that they probably came under the influence of Gnostic dualism (which is how their beliefs are characterized by the Greek sources). Here they were then described as descendants of the Manichaeans who believed in the two principles of good and evil and equated the material world with the evil principle. All the sources agree that the Paulicians rejected the authority of the Orthodox Church and its sacraments and images, including the cross. The Paulicians were eventually driven from Constantinople by the empress Theodora in 842. They fled to eastern Asia Minor where they organized themselves militarily and established their own state centred around Tephrice. This fact in and of itself should cast doubt on the characterization of them as Manichaean, since Mani did not advocate warfare for his followers and even forbad the killing of any living thing. The Paulician state was eventually crushed by Basil I in 872 and a number of Paulicians were forcibly settled in Thrace around Philippopolis, where they are subsequently believed to have influenced the Bogomils.

The Paulicians would occasionally reappear in later Byzantine sources. Anna Komnene recounted the experiences of her father Alexios Komnenos (1081–1118) with this sect. The Paulicians revolted against the Byzantines in 1078, but were suppressed by Alexios Komnenos before he became emperor. Despite this experience, in 1081 the Paulicians made up part of Alexios's army in his campaign against Robert Guiscard. After Alexios's defeat at Dyrrachium the Paulicians deserted and returned to Philippopolis. Alexios had to wait until after his victory over the Normans at Kastoria (1083) to punish the Paulicians for their treachery. Unable to attack the Paulicians in their stronghold at Philippopolis, Alexios lured a delegation of Paulician representatives to appear before him at Constantinople. Once this delegation arrived in Constantinople, Alexios had the Paulician leaders arrested and imprisoned. Later, he agreed to pardon those heretics who apostatized and accepted baptism. Those who continued to resist conversion were exiled to some islands. Later that year (1084) a mutiny broke out under the leadership of a Paulician named Traulos, who was a servant in the imperial household, and was only suppressed with great difficulty. In 1114 Alexios established his headquarters at Philippopolis and took the opportunity to try personally to win the heretics over to Orthodoxy. Despite his failure to convert the leaders of the Paulicians, Anna reported that hundreds of their followers accepted conversion. The apostates were later settled in a new city located near Philippopolis called Alexiopolis or Neokastron. Alexios then returned to Constantinople where he resumed his theological debates with the imprisoned Paulician leaders. Only one of them relented and embraced Orthodoxy while the others were unregenerate and remained in prison until their deaths.

Another source which mentions the later activities of the Paulicians is the 14th-century account *The Life of Saint Hilarion of Moglena*, written by Euthymios of Trnovo, which includes a description of the saint's efforts to suppress the large number of heretics residing in his diocese, which included Bogomils, Paulicians, and Monophysites.

JOHN F. SHEAN

See also Heresy

Summary

A heretical sect of Armenian origin, the Paulicians appeared probably first in the 7th century and established themselves in Asia Minor. They were iconoclasts and dualists, but there is debate about the precise nature of their beliefs. In the 9th century they had their own state centred on Tephrice. They appear occasionally in the sources throughout the Byzantine period.

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Pausanias *c.*AD 115–180

Travel writer

All our information about Pausanias' life has to be gathered from his work: he was not yet fully adult in AD 130 (8. 9. 7); the first book of his work must have been written before Herodes Atticus' great building programme in Athens, i.e. before AD 160; his historical references stop around AD 180. We know next to nothing about his personal life; his work lacks a prologue (where ancient writers usually introduced themselves) and a dedication; even his name is known only from the early Byzantine geographer Stephanus (who used Pausanias' work as a source around AD 535). Pausanias originated from Lydia, probably from Magnesia ad Sipylum, because he describes this region with extraordinary care and knowledge. He was born into a wealthy family of the city's elite; his work shows him to be a highly educated man, and he had the means to dedicate his life to extensive travelling (apart from Greece, he knows the whole of western Asia Minor, large parts of central Anatolia, Syria, Palestine, and Egypt). As he rarely mentions living people, we know nothing about his friends or the circles he associated with.

Pausanias' work, the *Periegesis Hellados* (Guide to Greece) in ten books (about 900 printed pages), is very probably completely preserved. Because parts of Greece are missing in the description and the work has no epilogue, it was sometimes thought that it remained incomplete or that the last part had been lost; this, however, is unlikely, for numerous cross-references throughout show that it was written following an elaborate plan from the beginning. Periegesis as a genre arose in Hellenistic times (3rd and 2nd centuries BC), but before Pausanias these works were mostly monographs on very restricted themes. Pausanias' Greece comprises the Greek mainland on the Balkan peninsula; the ten books deal with: (1) Athens, Attica, Megara; (2) Corinth, Argolis, the island of Aegina; (3) Laconia; (4) Messenia; (5) and (6) Elis (with a detailed description of Olympia); (7) Achaea; (8) Arcadia; (9) Boeotia; (10) Phocis (above all Delphi), and parts of Locris. On the one hand, Pausanias aims to select the most valuable and remarkable from the abundance of curiosities that he saw, but on the other hand he also wants to be as comprehensive as possible; so he often describes small and remote places. Each book starts with an introduction about the legends and mythology of the region, and Pausanias also gives historical explanations concerning the monuments he describes.

In the 19th and early 20th centuries Pausanias was considered a third-rate author, harshly judged by, for example, the influential scholar Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, and accused of plagiarizing older works and not really having seen the things he described. Only since the beginning of the 20th century has it become clear how conscientiously Pausanias fulfilled the task he had set himself, and how astonishingly reliable he is. For a whole series of ancient places he was the decisive guide for modern excavators: at Mycenae, Heinrich Schliemann was the first to understand Pausanias' passage about the town and to draw the right conclusions – namely, that the graves must lie *behind* the Lion Gate; when the monuments of Troezen were excavated in 1941, their identification was possible only because of Pausanias' precise report. His systematic description of Messene, too, was confirmed by the finds; in the town of Callipolis, which according to Pausanias was totally destroyed by the Celts in 279/278 BC, excavations brought to light the completely burned buildings.

Pausanias was well versed in ancient Greek authors, above all lyric and epic poetry (which he often quotes) and, of course, the historians, of whom Herodotus was his great model. In his historical digressions he can be careless, and it is sometimes unclear whether he is giving his own interpretation or quoting from an older source and, if so, from which. On the other hand he is very reliable when he extracts historical facts directly from a monument: he reports hundreds of inscriptions, many of which have been confirmed by finds and have often proved very helpful for the transcription and historical setting of them.

Pausanias never explicitly states his personal preferences, but they become clear from his selection. First of all, it is its age that makes a site or cult interesting to him; this taste for the ancient is characteristic of the 2nd century AD and shared by many of his educated contemporaries. A more personal trait is his preferring religious monuments to profane ones. In matters of art, Pausanias again shows the high appraisal of the past characteristic of his epoch: he bestows the first place on Phidias, the second on Alcamenes (4. 10. 8); he appreciates some sculptures of the 6th and all of the 5th century BC, as well as the sculptors Cephisodotus and Praxiteles of the 4th century; but only Damophon of Messene of the later period; he has no regard for Polyclitus and Lysippus; nor does he even mention Hellenistic art or Pergamene "baroque". Similarly, the buildings that please him are from the 5th and 4th centuries BC.

Historically, Pausanias is interested in the period of independent Greece (mostly the 4th century BC); he judges Greek states according to their behaviour when Greek freedom was endangered; in his eyes, only Athens always did its duty. Though living in the Roman world, Pausanias feels totally Greek, as his work shows throughout. He exhibits no open resentment towards the Romans, but they are foreign rulers, and unlike some other contemporaneous writers (e.g. Aelius Aristides) he does not regard Roman world dominion as logical or natural; he points out the brutalities and pillagings of Roman generals, above all of Sulla. However, as things improved in the 2nd century AD, Pausanias several times praises the philhellene Roman emperors Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, and Marcus Aurelius, who showed respect and care for Greece and its heritage; but he never appreciated Greece's loss of freedom.

Unlike other "intellectuals" of his time, Pausanias did not catch the public eye and apparently failed to reach the readership for whom he wrote, perhaps (as Habicht suggests) because by the time of his writing the great wave of Roman "philhellenism" was already over. Another reason for this neglect may be the curiously mixed character of his work: for people who just wanted a traveller's guide the long historical digressions were boring, while those more interested in history did not want to read descriptions of buildings and works of art they did not have before their eyes. Apart from Stephanus of Byzantium (see above), the only attested reader of Pausanias in antiquity may have been Aelian (*c.*AD 200). In Byzantine times, too, he is apparently ignored by Photios, but Arethas read him and probably commissioned a minuscule copy of the text (now lost), which in turn was read by Maximos Planudes (late 13th

century) and Nikephoros Gregoras (14th century); some excerpts are already found in the *Suda* lexicon. Around 1400 Arethas's manuscript came to Italy, establishing Pausanias' presence in the west, which was to be so valuable for archaeologists in the 19th and 20th centuries.

BALBINA BÄBLER

Biography

Born *c.*AD 115 to a wealthy family in Lydia, probably at Magnesia ad Sipylum, Pausanias was well educated. He had the resources to spend his life travelling and writing about his travels. He knew Asia Minor, Syria, Palestine, and Egypt; but his only surviving work is a "Guide to Greece" in ten books. Nothing is known of his life but he probably died *c.*180.

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Pelagonia, Battle of

Battle fought between Nicaeans and an alliance of Epirots and Latins in 1259

The decisive battle of Pelagonia (near modern Bitola in former Yugoslavian Macedonia close to the Greek border) in 1259 saw Greek forces engaged on both sides to decide the future fate of the Latin empire in Constantinople. This empire was founded in 1204, when a joint enterprise of Venice and western knights, the so-called Fourth Crusade, conquered Constantinople. Although the crusaders had taken the capital, they did not succeed in gaining control over the whole territory of the collapsed empire in Asia Minor and the southern Balkan peninsula. Seljuk rulers and the newly refounded (1185/86) Bulgarian state seized their advantage. Greek resistance sprang up in various provincial areas and resulted in two regional powers, the despotate of Epirus and the empire of Nicaea (modern Iznik, *c.*160 km southeast of Istanbul). In armed rivalry they tried to reach a common aim, the recapture of Constantinople for the Greeks.

In 1258 the Epirot leader Michael II hoped that a change in Nicaean rulership might offer the opportunity to strengthen his position. By marriage ties he arranged an alliance with two Latin powers also interested in Balkan affairs: Manfred of Sicily, the illegitimate son of Frederick II of Hohenstaufen, pursued plans similar to the Norman ambitions of the 11th and 12th centuries and had already (1257/58) occupied parts of the Albanian coastland; William (Guillaume) II of Villehardouin, prince of Achaea (Peloponnese), wanted to extend his influence beyond the Corinthian Gulf, thus finally becoming the leader of the Latin rulers in the entire region. Their common opponent, Michael VIII Palaiologos, now emperor of Nicaea, recognized the imminent danger. After diplomatic negotiations had failed (see Akropolites, 1978, p. 79), in the spring of 1259 Michael's general and brother John Palaiologos attacked Michael II's positions in western Macedonia (around Ohrid) and forced the despot himself to retreat to Valona (modern Vlore in Albania). Here he got reinforcements from Manfred (400 heavily armed cavalry). William's forces, who came from the south, met him at Arta (summer 1259). The united armies crossed the Pindus mountains and marched in an easterly ark (see *Chronicle of Morea*, 3618–39, 3672–95) northwards (via Servia and Soskos) towards Prilep, which apparently had to be relieved (Akropolites, 1978, p. 81) before an attack on Thessalonica. The advancing forces suffered from constant attacks by swift Cuman archers on horseback. When tempers were frayed a quarrel flared up among the allies (see Pachymeres, 1984, 1. 31). As they were encamped around Pelagonia one night, a secret messenger from the Nicaean army reached Michael and somehow convinced him that his Latin partners would soon desert the common cause for their own profit. (The weak points in the triple alliance from the very beginning – diverging interests and the different cultural backgrounds of its members, cf. Gregoras, 1978, 3. 5 – now caused its breakdown.) Immediately the despot retired, and most of his soldiers did so before dawn. On the following day John's army attacked the numerically shrunken and certainly shocked enemy and won a decisive victory (September 1259), in which once again archers played a major part (*Chronicle of Morea*, 3950–4091). William was taken prisoner and only released two years later in exchange for considerable territorial concessions in the Peloponnese, where a new Greek–Frankish frontier was drawn. Michael II – after a short setback due to Pelagonia – was able to regain his local dominion, backed by Manfred, for whom the Epirot despotate served as a protective shield against Nicaean attacks on his Albanian possessions. For Baldwin II, Latin emperor in Constantinople, the outcome of Pelagonia extinguished any hope of political survival. On 15 August 1261 Michael VIII Palaiologos solemnly entered the traditional capital of the renewed Byzantine empire.

EWALD KISLINGER

Summary

At Pelagonia (near Bitola in the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia) a battle was fought in 1259 between an alliance of Michael II of Epirus, Manfred of Sicily, and William II of Villehardouin on the one hand and Michael VIII Palaiologos of the empire of Nicaea on the other. Palaiologos won a decisive victory on the strength of which he was able to recapture Constantinople from the Latins in 1261.

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Pelion, Mount

Region in Thessaly

Mount Pelion, often referred to as the mountain of the centaurs, has been an inspiring place from antiquity to the present day. Its place in mythology is marked by many references in Homer, Pindar, the tragedians (especially Euripides), and Apollonius Rhodius. It is situated in central Greece, in Magnesia, north of Mount Ossa. It was believed to be the home of the centaur Chiron, the wisest of the centaurs, associated with the education of many heroes such as Heracles, Achilles, Jason, and Asclepius. In Hesiod's version of the Gigantomachy, Mount Olympus was challenged when the Giants tried to pile Pelion on Ossa. Jason used timber from Pelion in order to build the ship *Argo* for his voyage to Colchis with the other Argonauts to get the golden fleece. The marriage of Thetis and Peleus was celebrated on Mount Pelion. Although it has an eminent position in Greek mythology, it was most probably not settled extensively in ancient times, except for some areas on the coast, e.g. Pagasae, Iolkos, Aphetae, Orminion, and, in Hellenistic times, Demetrias. There are, however, archaeological remains of sanctuaries, such as the temples to Zeus Akraios on the Pliasidi peak and to Apollo Koropaios at Boufa (on the west coast).

In Byzantine times Pelion was a monastic mountain. Many monasteries were built on the western slopes in particular. Excavations in the village of Lafko have brought to light Byzantine ceramic objects. Pelion has also played an important role in modern Greek history. During the Ottoman period several villages were granted administrative privileges that encouraged the practice of trade. The village settlements date from the 16th century, as is the case with many mountain areas in Greece. A number of communities were first established around monasteries. The Ottomans preferred to be in the plains rather than the mountains and that was an important factor in the movement of the local population towards the mountains. Due to the rich vegetation and abundance of water it was easy to develop a strong agriculture, and later, with various capital investments, industry and trade. Soon Pelion's commercial interests spread not only to the rest of Greece but to important commercial centres of Europe and Asia. Until the end of the 18th century it was a centre not only of the textile industry but also of shipbuilding.

Many villages became exceptional intellectual centres in which famous schools were established, particularly in the period of Greek Enlightenment. Milies, one of the most famous cultural centres of Pelion, had a school and a library rich in rare books that survives until today. Intellectuals such as Anthimos Gazis and Gregorios Konstantas are associated with the place. Zagora, Pelion's largest village, also had a library and a school where many fathers of the Greek revolution studied, including Rigas Velestinlis. Most information concerning Pelion for the 18th and 19th century comes from scholars such as Dimitrieis, Daniel Philippides, Nikolaos Magnes, and Nikolaos Georgiades. Intellectual life was very lively and was particularly associated with the debate about the Greek language. Philippos Ioannou and Gazis argued for the archaizing form known as katharevousa, whereas Konstantas and Philippides (both directors of the Milies school) were zealous supporters of demotic. The above-mentioned scholars were also part of the Greek Enlightment movement that promoted the belief in a solid education and scientific research in all disciplines. Korais was associated with the views of Gazis in the linguistic debate, and Katartzes with those of Philippides. The late 18th-century patriarch Kallinikos was a native of Zagora.

Pelion is also of interest for the artistic trends that were developed there both in secular and in religious painting. Popular art adorned the interior of many mansions, particularly in the villages of Makrinitsa, Portaria, Zagora, Drakeia, and Hagios Laurentios. The famous folk artist Theophilos Chatzimichail lived and worked in Pelion for some time until 1927. Many villages have post-Byzantine churches such as St George and St Kyriaki in Zagora, the Dormition of the Virgin in Mouresi, and the church of Panagia in Portaria, and bear witness to a strong iconographic tradition in the area. What is more interesting for the art historian is the folk element that has been incorporated into the received Byzantine tradition. As with post-Byzantine iconography in general, particularly in the 17th and 18th centuries, there are obvious influences from the Western and Russian traditions. The local architecture is perhaps the most distinctive feature of Mount Pelion. The traditional "tower" type houses with many small, narrow windows and several storeys (an architectural style believed to have developed in wartime) cling to the slopes of the mountain. The roofs of the local grey or greenish stone have become typical of the mountain. Makrinitsa, perhaps the most famous village nowadays, is a fine example, one of many, of the traditional architecture. With its highly attractive landscape which combines both mountain and sea and distinctive traditional colour, Pelion has also become a major tourist centre.

ANDROMACHE KARANIKA-DIMAROGONA

Summary

Mount Pelion, in central Greece, was important in mythology as the home of the centaur Chiron, but the area was not much settled in antiquity. In Byzantine times many monasteries were built on its

slopes. During the Tourkokratia it developed as a commercial centre (textiles and shipbuilding); as an intellectual centre (schools and libraries); and as an artistic centre (with folk art incorporated in the post-Byzantine tradition).

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Pella

City in Macedonia

The fortunes of Pella, which became the chief city of the Macedonian kingdom, mirror those of the kingdom itself. The city was situated in the region known as Bottiaea, to the north of what was until quite recently the lake of Giannitsa, the ancient lake Lydias. This was originally an inlet of the sea, but the major rivers which flow into it, the Haliacmon, the Loudias, and the Axios, gradually caused it to silt up, and it was finally drained in the 1930s. In Classical times, in the 5th and 4th centuries BC, the southern part, near the original Macedonian centre of Aegae, had already silted, but there was still open water to the north, accessible from the sea by boats. There was no dry route across it from the south at this time, and the land route had to skirt the silted, marshy area. The incorporation of Bottiaea into the Macedonian kingdom, at an uncertain date before 500 BC, gave the Macedonians access to the Axios valley and the lands beyond, where there were rich silver mines, certainly exploited by the Macedonians in the reign of Alexander I, in the first half of the 5th century BC, though their hold on this region was somewhat precarious. As a result, the old centre of Aegae was in effect at one end of the Macedonian kingdom, and gained access to the extended territories only by the roundabout overland route. When at the end of the 5th century the king Archelaus sought to modernize and so strengthen his kingdom, one of his most important actions was to develop a new capital at Pella, more in the centre of the extended state.

Not much is known about Archelaus' foundation. He built a palace on the low hill which seems to have functioned as the acropolis. The cemeteries of this city have been partly excavated, and their position suggests that the town extended only on the immediate slopes of this hill, to the south of it. The town was probably sacked (though there is no archaeological evidence for this as yet) by the Illyrians during their incursion in 359 BC, which almost destroyed the Macedonian state.

Under Philip II the Macedonian kingdom revived and reached unprecedented bounds, and with it, Pella. A new plan was laid out covering an area of at least 1.5 × 1.2 km, with the acropolis at the northern end, and the city extending down to the water's edge to the south. Within this a regular grid plan was laid out, with blocks measuring 110 × 48 m, running north to south and separated by streets some 6 m wide. On the flatter ground below the acropolis was the agora, a vast, near-square space 200.15 × 180.50 m. It was approached by a principal east–west street, noticeably wider than the others, an arrangement which seems to have been pioneered by the agora named after its town planner, Hippodamus, at Piraeus. This is town planning on a lavish scale. It is comparable, in general size, with the late 5th-century BC layout of Rhodes, but the detailed plan, with its repetition of blocks in the proportion 2:1, is not quite the same as Rhodes, where the blocks are subdivisions of square units demarcated by wider streets. The best antecedent for Pella seems to be the enlarged city of Olynthus (late 5th century) in Chalcidice, which is closer to hand and a more obvious model for town planners employed by Philip, even though he had destroyed the Greek city. Olynthus, however, does not have the large central agora. Evidence for the actual development of the city within this plan is as yet only partial. The agora was surrounded by stoas which seem to have been continuous on all four sides of it, with a double row of rooms behind them, some of which were certainly used as shops. The northern part may have been more official, the southern part commercial, the dividing line being the main road which passes through the colonnades into the central square. However, the architectural development of this agora appears to be relatively late, of the late 3rd century BC, the time of Philip V, rather than of the original layout by Philip II.

The most striking feature of Pella is undoubtedly a group of luxurious houses situated south of the agora. One of these, designated by its excavators the House of the Rape of Helen (from the subject of a scene depicted on one of its mosaic floors), occupied half of one of the street blocks. Its rooms were arranged round a large courtyard embellished by 8 × 8 Doric columns. The main rooms on the north side, with the mosaics, were surmounted by an upper floor, with a gallery of Ionic columns overlooking the court. The House of Dionysus, two blocks to the east, was even larger, taking up two-thirds of a street block. A doorway with a two-column porch gave on to an entrance hall running east to west between two courtyards, that to the north with 6 × 6 Ionic columns, that to the south with 8 × 8 Doric. The north side, again, was surmounted by an upper floor, with, probably, another gallery overlooking the court. All the mosaics in these houses are splendid examples, with figure scenes, made from complete pebbles, the earlier system, rather than the cut tesserae used in late Hellenistic floors at Delos and elsewhere.

These houses are of a particular magnificence, and, as far as the archaeological evidence goes, without parallel in the Greek world. Yet at Pella they are only two among others, and though this may well represent the wealthiest part of the city, they should not be regarded as special or public buildings. What they indicate is the degree of wealth achieved in Macedon as a result of the conquests of Philip and Alexander, to which period, from their architecture and contents, they undoubtedly date. The House of the Rape of Helen measures nearly 50 × 50 m (actually 2350 sq m), that of Dionysus about 50 × 65 m (3160 sq m), in contrast to the houses in Olynthus,

which are approximately 15 × 15 m (215 sq m). Houses of a similar scale to those of Pella are implied by the street plan of Hellenistic Alexandria, but are there associated with a layout rather of Rhodian type. Houses in other Classical cities, where evidence exists, are only of the same size as those at Olynthus.

Pella thus indicates a level of luxury beyond that of the Classical cities, the benefits, doubtless, of conquest and empire, but demonstrating what the Macedonian kings had achieved. This, in turn, makes clear some of the motivation behind the fact that not all the citizens of Athens (to name only one of the Classical cities defeated by Philip) were inclined to oppose collaboration with the Macedonians.

The agora shows signs of sudden and unexpected destruction. One of the shops was a potter's workshop, containing moulds for terracotta vases decorated in relief. The systems of decoration depict, among a variety of subjects, scenes from the Homeric poems. That they remain as they were stacked in the shop, and also the overthrown columns of the luxury houses demonstrate that the city was destroyed by an earthquake, rather than the hostility of the Romans at the conclusion of the Third Macedonian War or the subsequent insurrection. But in the longer term Pella was ruined rather by the silting up of the lake, and the rise of Thessalonica, more conveniently placed by the sea, to serve as the principal harbour town of Macedonia. Pella was virtually extinguished. The Romans developed a new town a short distance to the west, but it never flourished. Thus Pella played only a brief part in the development of the Hellenic tradition. It was, however, a vital stage in a continuity which passed not only to Thessalonica, as its direct successor, but also to Alexandria as the outstanding city of the Hellenistic world.

R.A. TOMLINSON

Summary

The capital of the Macedonian kingdom from the end of the 5th century BC, Pella was sacked by the Illyrians in 359 BC and rebuilt by Philip II on a grand scale. The size of the city and the opulence of its houses indicate the benefits of empire won by Philip and Alexander. The city seems to have been destroyed at some point by an earthquake, but in the longer term it was eclipsed by the silting up of the lake and the rise of Thessalonica.

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Peloponnese

Region of southern Greece

The Peloponnese (Peloponnesus) is the southernmost part of the Greek mainland, and has an area of 21,439 sq km, which is 16.24 per cent of the total area of Greece. An island originally, it was twice united and separated from the mainland by intense geological upheavals. It is thought to have been named after the legendary hero Pelops and, although it is called *nesos* (island), implying that the entire region was thought of as an "island", i.e. a separate part of Greece, it is actually a broad peninsula. On the west, south, and east it is bordered by the Ionian, Mediterranean, and Aegean seas respectively; but it is connected to the mainland of central Greece (Attica and Boeotia) by the isthmus of Corinth, formed by a subsequent retreat of the sea. In the 19th century this land bridge was cut to make the Corinth Canal, which almost made the Peloponnese into an island once again. Physically, the land is rugged and mountainous in its interior, and settlement is largely confined to the coastal plains and river valleys. Most villages cling to the steep mountainsides while the valley floors are reserved for farming. Products include wheat, citrus fruits, olives, tobacco, figs, and grapes. However, the greater part of the Peloponnese is mountainous, uncultivable, and poor. Sheep and goats of the pasturage and swine of the oakwoods are the main livestock that can be reared on about 50 per cent of the surface which consists of chalk and limestone. Climate and flora vary greatly according to the geographical and geological conditions: Arcadia and the east are almost entirely continental while the western parts are subject to maritime influences; the climate is purely Mediterranean along the coasts, but the centre has a relatively continental climate. In 1991 the population was 1,086,935, which is 10.59 per cent of the total population of Greece. It has been estimated that the civic population in 400 BC may have been 500,000 or 600,000.

The topography is complex. The north consists entirely of highland, from the lower mountain chains of the Argolid peninsula westwards successively through Cyllene (Ziria), Chelmos, Panachaicum, and to the south Erymanthus and Maenale towards the centre, all with extensive areas above 1500 m. Three chains run southwards from this mass, the lowest to the west beginning with Lykaion and running through Ithome to form the Messenian peninsula; Taygetus in the centre, with the highest summit of the Peloponnese (2409 m) forming the peninsula now called Mani, running to Cape Taenarum (Matapan); and Parnon to the east, running to Cape Malea. These parallel chains once formed part of the huge arc stretching from Albania through central Greece and Crete to Asia Minor. This original system was destroyed by the subsidence which created the large gulfs and most of the plains in the interior. In the Isthmian province and Argolid, as in the eastern parts of central Greece, the predominant direction of the ranges is west to east. The western and southern divisions of the Peloponnese are characterized by larger plains, forming a kind of counterweight to the smaller, closely enclosed plains, as around Tripolis, Mantinea and Arcadian Orchomenus, Pheneus, and Stymphalus. Along the north and west coasts are well-watered and well-drained terraces, the uplifted remnants of earlier coastal plains.

The eastern coastal plain, known as the Argolid, is dominated by the citadels of Argos and Mycenae. The fertile coastal strip in the north is divided into Corinth in the east and Achaea in the west; it includes Patras, the important port city and centre of tourism and the wine trade. The monotonous plain of Elis (Ilia), which extends down the west coast, is partially composed of the alluvium deposited by the river Alpheus. The southern coast is split into three promontories, the largest of which, Mani, is an extension of the Taygetus massif. Taygetus is flanked by Laconia round Sparta and Messinia round Kalamata. Both are alluvial plains and are free from winter frost.

In spite of its being a virtual island and with deeply indented gulfs between the mountain chains providing some good harbours, the Peloponnese had little communication with the sea. Arcadia, which is the most central of the regions, and whose pasturelands were 600–800 m above sea level, did not touch the sea at all and was nearly inaccessible. The Peloponnese had relatively few harbours and little or no hinterland except in the Argolid and Elis. Consequently, naval operations against the coast were rendered more difficult: hence the importance of Halieis for Athens and Argos during their alliance in the mid-5th century BC, and of Pylos and Methone. The capes were all dangerous, Malea notoriously so, as attested by authors belonging to different periods, such as Homer and Thucydides. The importance of Tiryns and Mycenae in Bronze Age Greece may have been due to the existence of an "isthmus" route from the Gulf of Argos to Corinth. Following the destruction of Tiryns and Mycenae, Argos began to develop and in the 7th century BC reached its peak as one of the most powerful cities in Greece.

The name Peloponnese does not appear in Homer, who knows the entire peninsula by the name of Argos, one of its well-known Mycenaean city states. The name is first attested in the *Cypria* (fr. 11, Allen), a poem belonging to the Trojan epic cycle and now preserved only in fragments. The next known occurrence is in the Homeric *Hymn to Apollo*. The philosopher Anaxagoras saw in it an appropriate unit to measure the size of the sun. The geographer Strabo, writing during the reign of the Roman emperor Augustus, devotes a considerable portion of his eighth book to the Peloponnese. During the latter part of the second millennium BC Mycenaean civilization flourished at centres such as Mycenae, Tiryns, and Pylos. The commercial and cultural influence of Crete, if not the political and military, began to be felt during the later part of the Mycenaean period, as shown by the Minoan-influenced design and decoration of palaces at Tiryns and Mycenae, and the impact of Minoan art revealed in the later shaft graves.

In historical times the Peloponnese consisted of six divisions: Achaea, Arcadia, Argolis, Elis, Laconia, and Messenia. These were separated from one another by mountains, and this fact hindered intercourse between them by land. Thanks largely to the landscape these regions maintained their identity throughout antiquity. Thus Elis was the region of the Alpheus plain and adjacent coasts. Achaea was made up of the steep northern valleys, their outfalls, and the coastal strip. Arcadia consisted of the central mountains and basins including the plain of Megalopolis. Messenia consisted of the southwestern peninsula and the Pamisus plain, while Laconia comprised the Eurotas valley and the southeastern peninsula. Corinth controlled the isthmus and its neighbourhood, while Argos dominated the plain. The Peloponnese was the home of several very powerful ancient city states, foremost among which were Sparta and Corinth. The decline of Greece's golden age has been traced to the Peloponnesian War (431–404 BC) fought between two factions led by Sparta and Athens, and admirably chronicled by Thucydides. The ensuing period was covered by Xenophon in his *Hellenica*. The complex and somewhat fragmentary topography may have been one factor that encouraged federalism and *sympoliteia* (union of states). The hegemony of Sparta promoted a regional solidarity, though it was never complete. Spartan domination of the Peloponnese was followed by Macedonian rule which ended with the Roman conquest of 146 BC. During the Hellenistic and Roman periods the southern coastal cities of Gythium and Methone played an increasingly important role as useful stations on long-haul east–west routes; and Methone, in particular, maintained its importance in this regard until the 19th century. It had been mentioned by Homer as being "rich in vines", and was famous for its wine and bacon under the Venetians, who built a fort to protect the shipping route around the Peloponnese.

In late antiquity the Peloponnese was part of the province of Achaea and retained its urban character: it contained 26 cities according to Hierocles. However, building activity practically came to a halt in the late 6th century AD either as a result of general decline or due to hostile invasions, primarily from the Slavs. In spite of the presence of Slavic toponyms, some of which are not beyond question, the extent of Slavic penetration of the Peloponnese is debatable. The Slavs apparently did not occupy the eastern cities which underwent rapid Hellenization. There were, however, independent Slavic communities in the peninsula as late as the 14th century.

From the late 7th century the Peloponnese constituted part of the theme of Hellas, and became a theme in its own right from the early 9th century. Its capital was at Corinth; and Leo Skleros may have been the first *strategos* (commander). Arab pirates ravaged the coasts of the Peloponnese in the 9th and 10th centuries, until Byzantium regained Crete in 961. Thereafter the region prospered with ample evidence of agricultural production, commerce, and industry in cities such as Corinth and Patras.

Although ancient geographers compared its peculiar shape to that of a leaf of the plane tree, in the Byzantine period the Peloponnese was often known as the Morea ("mulberry"). The name was first applied to the mulberry-growing northwestern district of Elis and then to the entire peninsula by the 14th century. Under the Byzantine empire the Peloponnese suffered repeated incursions by warrior tribes from the north. In the 13th century it was taken by the Franks, who held it for two centuries until it reverted to the last Byzantine emperors. In 1204 most of the Peloponnese had been taken over without serious struggle by the leaders of the Fourth Crusade, notably William I of Champlette and Geoffrey I Villehardouin. The land was divided into baronies, loosely under the authority of the principality of Achaea. By 1248 the conquest was complete, but the Frankish defeat at the battle of Pelagonia in 1259 and the surrender of Mistra and other territories by the Treaty of Constantinople in 1262 initiated the revival of Byzantine power in the Peloponnese which, from now on, was

divided between the despotate of the Morea and the various Frankish states.

The Turks first entered the Peloponnese in 1446, and by 1460 they had conquered all of it except for the Venetian strongholds of Nauplia and Methone. One of its rulers, Thomas Palaiologos, brother of the last Byzantine emperor Constantine XI (1449–53), fled with his family to Corfu and thence by himself to Italy, where pope Pius II granted him a lodging and an annual pension which he enjoyed until his death in 1465.

With independence in the 19th century the Peloponnese became part of the new nation of Greece. Patras (Patrai), the major city in modern times, located in the northern Peloponnese, has continued to grow in commercial importance since the War of Independence and is today the third largest city in Greece.

Historically, the Peloponnese is one of the most famous parts of Greece. It includes such well-known sites as Corinth, Epidaurus, Mistra, Mycenae, Olympia, and Sparta. It has the most varied ruins of ancient Greece, making it one of the best-known centres of tourism. It is therefore not at all surprising that Pausanias, in the latter half of the 2nd century AD, devotes the greater part of his *Guide to Greece* (books 2–8) to a description of the Peloponnese and its historic sites. Blessed with abundant physical beauty and replete with important archaeological sites, the Peloponnese is a land every corner of which evokes some ancient myth. Its cities, towns, and spas were important centres in antiquity and remain so to the present day.

D.P.M. WEERAKKODY

Summary

The part of the Greek mainland south of the isthmus of Corinth, the Peloponnese (or Morea) is almost an island. In the Bronze Age Mycenae, Tiryns, and Pylos were flourishing centres, as were Sparta and Corinth in the Classical period. The Peloponnesian War (431–404 BC) marked the end of the Greek golden age. The last two centuries of Byzantine rule saw a cultural revival based on Mistra. Nauplia was the first capital of independent Greece (1833–34).

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Peloponnesian War 431–404 BC

The Peloponnesian War is the name given to the great conflict between Athens and Sparta and their respective allies that broke out in 431 BC and ended with the surrender of Athens in 404 BC. Warfare was not continuous: ten years of fighting (often called the Archidamian War after the the Spartan king Archidamus II, who led the first three invasions of Attica) were concluded by the Peace of Nicias in 421 BC; eight years of uneasy peace and occasional clashes followed, during which the Athenians' great Sicilian expedition was disastrously defeated (413 BC), before the peace was abrogated (also in 413) and the final phase, sometimes known as the Ionian War, began.

The Thirty Years' Peace of winter 446/45 BC, which had ended the earlier period of sporadic warfare between Athens and Sparta, had removed all Athenian footholds from the Peloponnese and the isthmus of Corinth and appeared to regulate relations between the two states for the future. But the Athenians' control of the subject allies that formed their empire was unimpaired and, when their continuing expansionism led them in 433 BC into actions over Corfu, Potidaea, and Megara that were not against the letter of the peace, but were seen by the Spartans' most influential allies, the Corinthians, as against its spirit and hostile to themselves, the Spartans decided to go to war if the Athenians did not back down (late 432 BC). Despite some busy Spartan diplomacy, Pericles persuaded the Athenians to stand firm and hostilities began in spring 431 BC, with the Spartans widening the issues by demanding that the Athenians free their subject allies (Thucydides, 1. 139).

At the start the Spartans expected to achieve their aims quickly by invading Attica, provoking the Athenians into battle and defeating them, an expectation shared, says Thucydides (7. 28), by most other Greeks. But, although they led Peloponnesian armies into Attica in five of the first seven years of the war and did a great deal of damage to Athenian agriculture, they could not draw the Athenians out to fight, an assault on their fortifications being out of the question. Meanwhile any hopes they had of challenging Athenian naval power proved groundless. Without the resources to build and man a large enough fleet, they tried to obtain Persian help, but

the Persians were not interested so long as Athenian naval power was unimpaired, and the same factor deterred Athens' maritime allies from rebelling and transferring their money and rowers to support the Spartans; in the first ten years of the war just one of them, Lesbos, revolted in 428 BC and in 427 BC learned the hard way that the Spartans could do nothing effective to help them. One area of the Athenian empire, the Chalcidice peninsula, was vulnerable to the Spartans' land power, but they were slow to exploit this advantage, despite the fact that the Corinthians had been able to send a small army to the area in 432 BC to help Potidaea and that the Potidaeans did hold out under siege until winter 430/29 BC, while other smaller rebels nearby were never subdued. Eventually in 424 BC Brasidas did take a force to Chalcidice and, despite having only 1,700 hoplites, who were volunteers and liberated helots, won over a number of the Athenians' allies and their substantial colony at Amphipolis.

The Athenians' unassailable fortifications and their dominant fleet kept them safe from immediate danger provided that they avoided major battles on land, but, despite Pericles' public confidence in their financial strength (Thucydides, 2. 13), they were not adequately funded for a long war. It is possible that Pericles, who evidently directed their strategy, planned to use the fleet for offensive operations and that the attack he led on Epidaurus in spring 430 BC was the beginning of them, but the onset of the plague at that moment put an end to any such notions. Lasting two and a half years, its severity was exacerbated by the congestion caused by refugees from the countryside, where the longest of the Peloponnesian invasions, lasting 40 days, was in progress, and it seems that overall the Athenians lost from it up to a third of their fighting men. In the short term their war effort was brought to a standstill and they unsuccessfully sent envoys to Sparta to negotiate terms for peace, before Pericles rallied them; he himself died of the plague in autumn 429 BC and thereafter, in Thucydides' view (2. 65), his steadying influence was sorely missed. The Spartans, however, failed to exploit the Athenians' difficulties and their recovery was spirited. They reacted vigorously to the revolt of Lesbos in 428 BC, raising 200 talents from the first ever property tax on citizens, and crushed it the following spring.

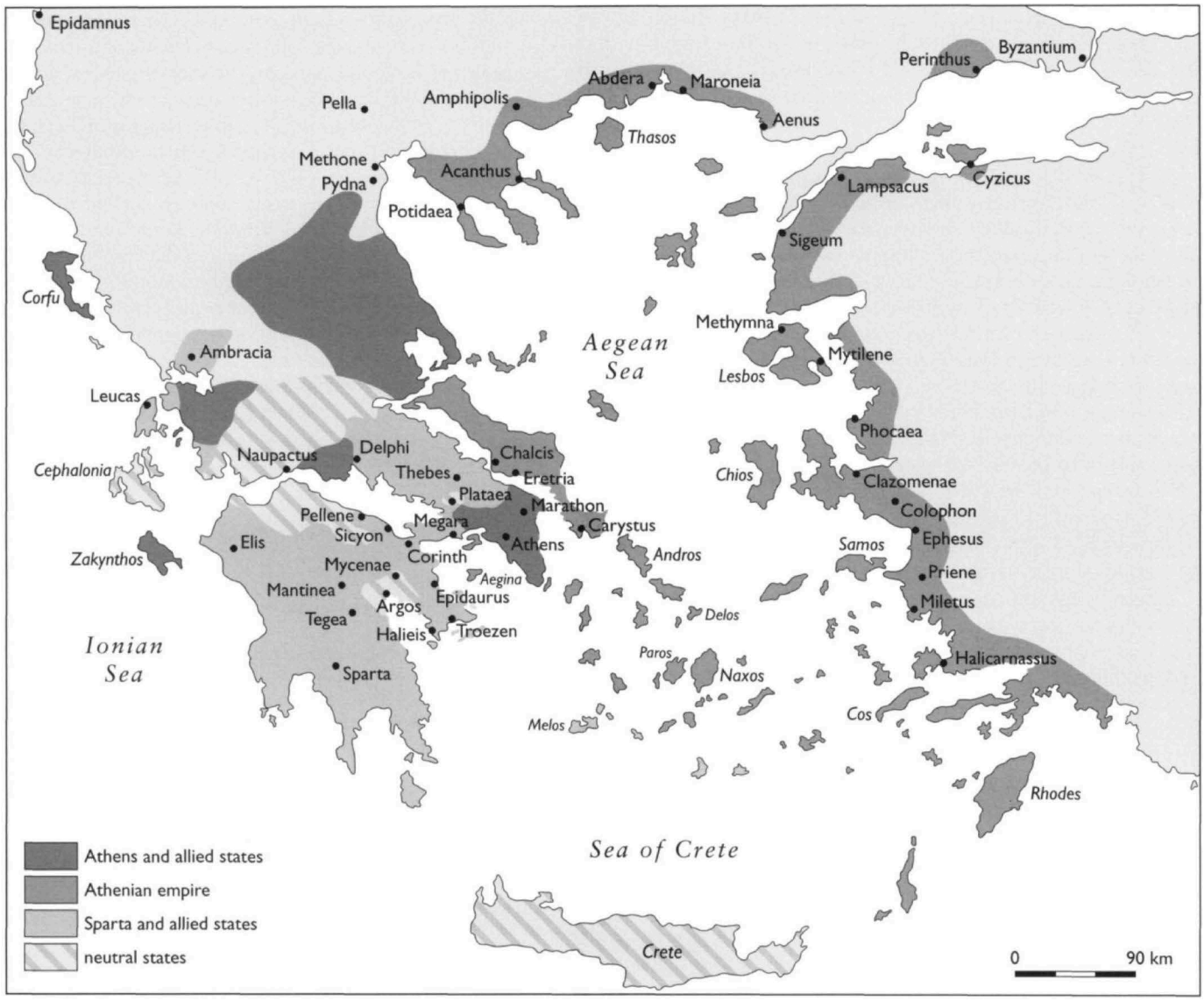
After some small-scale offensive operations in 427 and 426 BC, including the dispatch of 20 ships to support their allies in Sicily against the Syracusans, in the summer of 425 BC the Athenians won a major victory near Pylos in the southwest Peloponnese. A fleet of 40 ships en route for Sicily was used by the enterprising general Demosthenes to fortify a small peninsula. A Spartan attack on the fortifications failed, the Spartan fleet that entered the bay was defeated, and a Spartan force that was put on the island of Sphacteria at the bay's entrance was cut off. The Spartans thereupon obtained a truce, so that they could send envoys to Athens about peace, and were evidently ready to ignore the interests of their allies on whose behalf they had claimed to go to war, in order to remove the Athenians and rescue their men. The Athenians, however, prudently demanded the concession of footholds on the isthmus and on Peloponnesian coasts that they had held before 446 BC as a guarantee that the Spartans would not renew the war within a few years once they had surrendered their advantage, and negotiations broke down. The Athenians then kept the Spartan ships that had been given as surety for the truce and later stormed Sphacteria, taking prisoner 292 hoplites, whom they held in Athens as hostages against any further invasions of Attica. Early the following summer (424 BC) they captured the island of Cythera, off the south coast of Laconia, and, using it and Pylos as bases for ravaging Spartan territory and as refuges for Spartan serfs, they had high hopes of victory; to pursue this, the previous winter they had decided to increase their revenue from their allies to about three times the prewar figure.

At this point, however, things went wrong for the Athenians. First, their 60 ships returned from Sicily unsuccessful after the Greek cities there had made peace with one another. Then an attempt to win over Megara, whose territory they had raided regularly since 431 BC, failed. This setback was not disastrous, but in the autumn an ambitious attack on Boeotia ended with a defeat in a pitched battle near the frontier close to Delium in which 1000 precious hoplites were lost. By this time Brasidas' small army had reached Chalcidice and was winning over allied cities, and, when he had crowned these successes with the capture of Amphipolis, the Athenians agreed to conclude a one-year truce (spring 423 BC). Although it did not lead, as the Spartans hoped, to a permanent peace, there was little fighting in southern Greece when it expired. The Athenians concentrated on trying to recover lost allies in Chalcidice; first Nicias and then Cleon had some success, but, when the latter was defeated and killed in a battle outside Amphipolis, in which Brasidas also perished, they too were ready to compromise.

The treaty as agreed in spring 421 BC, the Peace of Nicias, provided *inter alia* for the return of prisoners, the withdrawal of the Athenians from Pylos and Cythera, and the restoration to them of Amphipolis and their revenues from Chalcidice, but its terms were never fully implemented. The Athenians gave back the prisoners from Sphacteria, but, because the Spartans could neither force the Amphipolitans to return to their control nor persuade other important allies, including Corinth and Thebes, to ratify the treaty, they kept Pylos and Cythera. In a flurry of diplomatic activity, which led to some renewed warfare, it looked at one time as if Sparta and Athens might combine against the former's allies; and then that the Spartans might be defeated by a combination of the hitherto neutral Argives and other disaffected allies, Elis and Mantinea, backed to some extent by Athens; but the Spartans won a crucial battle near Mantinea in 418 BC and recovered the leadership of the Peloponnese, although the Argives remained allies of Athens.

Athenians had fought at Mantinea, but the peace remained in force with neither side eager to resume full-scale war. Nevertheless, the Athenians were still restless and, disinclined to do the hard work necessary to recover Amphipolis and their control of the north, their thoughts turned to Sicily, where, according to Thucydides (3. 86 and 4. 65), they had had conquest in mind when sending the ships in 427 and 425 BC. In the spring of 415 BC, lured by an appeal from non-Greek Segesta, they voted to send a fleet of 100 triremes and an army to the island under Nicias, Alcibiades, and Lamachus in the hope that they would conquer it and use its resources to achieve final victory over the Spartans at home.

Despite a slow and indecisive start, the recall of Alcibiades to face a charge of sacrilege and the death in battle of



28. Alliances at the start of the Peloponnesian War, 431 BC

Lamachus, the Athenians in summer 414 BC were about to put Syracuse under siege and it seemed likely to surrender, but the arrival of Gylippus, sent out by the Spartans, on the advice of the exiled Alcibiades, to organize the city's defence, turned the tide and in the winter the Athenians became more besieged than besiegers. Nicias recommended the recall of the expedition, but the people at home preferred to send substantial reinforcements (spring 413 BC). This was to no avail, because the Athenians failed to regain the initiative and, with the Syracusans establishing naval superiority and Nicias unwilling to agree to withdrawal without the people's approval, the whole force was destroyed.

This defeat was catastrophic for the Athenians, not only for the losses of men, ships, and money, but also for its consequences in the Greek homeland. The Spartans had already declared the war renewed and established a garrison at Decelea in northern Attica that served as a base for year-round ravaging and a refuge for some 20,000 slaves over the remaining years of the war. They now began to send fleets into the Aegean, where the destruction of Athens' naval power was encouraging its allies to revolt and the Persians to intervene in the hope of recovering control of the Asiatic Greeks.

The Athenians, however, despite internal discord, fought back, matching the Spartans almost ship for ship, limiting the revolts of allies and recovering some cities, while the Persians restricted their commitment to intermittent financial backing of the Spartan navy, even when in winter 412/11 BC the western satraps guaranteed their support in a treaty in which the Spartans recognized the Persian king's right to rule over all the Asiatic mainland. The Athenians indeed survived a short-lived oligarchic revolution in the summer of 411 BC and their fleet, which had remained loyal to democracy and had shrewdly accepted Alcibiades back from exile to join its leaders, won two battles, in the second of which, off Cyzicus in the Propontis (Sea of Marmora) in the summer of 410 BC, all the Spartan ships were destroyed or taken.

A Spartan peace offer was now rejected and the Athenians pressed on with the recovery of lost allies, but the process was incomplete in 407 BC, when the arrival in the eastern Aegean of a competent Spartan admiral, Lysander, coincided with the

Persian king's appointment of his son Cyrus to take charge in the west and make effective his support of the Spartans. Lysander's victory at Notium led to Alcibiades' withdrawal into exile, an indication of continuing dissension at Athens. This again showed itself in 406 BC, when, after the Athenians had defeated Lysander's successor off the Arginusae islands, eight of their victorious generals were prosecuted for failing to pick up the survivors in a storm and six of them were executed. Then in 405 BC Lysander was restored to the command, lured the Athenian fleet into the Hellespont (Dardanelles), and in a surprise attack took 170 of their 180 ships almost without a fight, as they were beached for the night near Aegospotami. It was the decisive blow. Up to this point the war could still have ended in stalemate or even victory for the Athenians, but these were their last ships and now Lysander cut their corn-supply lifeline, took over their allies, and expelled their colonists from the Aegean and then joined in the siege of Athens, which ended inevitably in surrender (spring 404 BC). Some of the Spartans' allies wanted Athens destroyed, but Sparta was content to reduce the Athenians to the status of a subject ally, with most of their fortifications demolished and, soon after, their democracy replaced by a repressive pro-Spartan oligarchy.

The war has always been seen as a turning point in the history of ancient Greece. Both protagonists, the victors as much as the vanquished, were irremediably weakened. A serious shortage of manpower combined with defects of character and judgement to bring down the Spartans' new Aegean empire within ten years and only Persian support enabled them to keep their control of the Peloponnese as far as 370 BC. The Athenians recovered remarkably and briefly were again the leading city, but they lacked not only the wealth, but also the vigour and dynamism of their 5th-century BC ancestors. Neither of these states nor the Thebans, whose strength and confidence grew significantly during the war, could effectively unite Greece against the expansion of Macedonian power under Philip II. In 338 BC he defeated the combined army of Athens and Thebes at Chaeronea and then could afford simply to ignore the Spartans' refusal to join in his settlement of Greek affairs.

This was certainly a sorry episode in Greek history not only for the long-term damage it inflicted on Greek freedom, but also for the extremes of cruelty practised by some of its participants. In 427 BC the Spartans killed all the surviving defenders of Plataea, an ally of Athens, when they surrendered; in 421 BC the Athenians did the same to Scione, a rebellious ally; and in 416 BC, during the formal period of peace and following no known act of recent hostility by the victims, they attacked Melos and on its surrender killed all the men of fighting age and sold the rest of the population into slavery; in 413 BC the Syracusans butchered many defenceless Athenians in the final disaster and sent the rest to the stone quarries. Other atrocities were committed when within cities the partisans of the two protagonists clashed in bitter civil strife (*stasis*), most notably at Corfu in 427 BC.

In contrast to these barbarities were the admirable doggedness and heroism of the defenders of Plataea (429–427 BC) and especially the remarkably resilient spirit of the Athenians that enabled them to recover from the plague of 430–428 BC and the Sicilian disaster of 413 BC. Remarkable too were their continued public patronage and enjoyment of art and drama through the times of crisis right to the end. The Erechtheum on the Acropolis was built during the war and many of the surviving tragedies of Euripides, some of those of Sophocles, and 9 of Aristophanes' 11 extant comedies come from these years, performed at public festivals at public expense. The war, however, provided the essential comic situations of Aristophanes' *Acharnians* (425 BC), *Peace* (421 BC), and *Lysistrata* (411 BC), and the tragic consequences of warfare were vividly echoed in Euripides' *Troades* (415 BC) and *Hecuba* (*c.* 424 BC). But its greatest contribution to the development of the Hellenic tradition was in inspiring Thucydides to write his history. With his strict sense of relevance and careful collection and treatment of information he set standards of objectivity and scientific analysis that no other ancient historian, Greek or Roman, could match, while at the same time being a master of dramatic narrative and at conveying the tragic quality of history.

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See also Political History 490–323 BC

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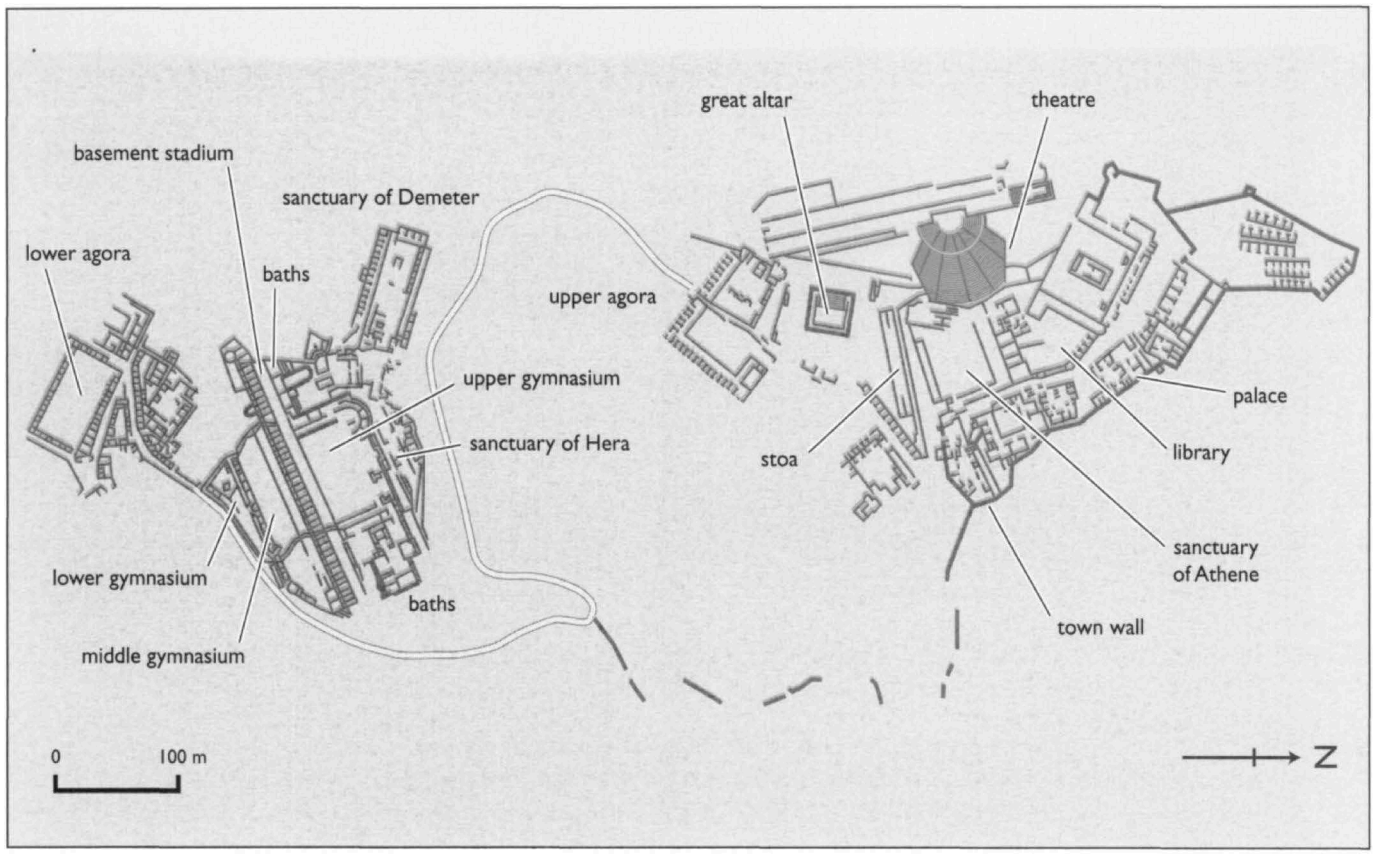
Pergamum

City in northwest Asia Minor

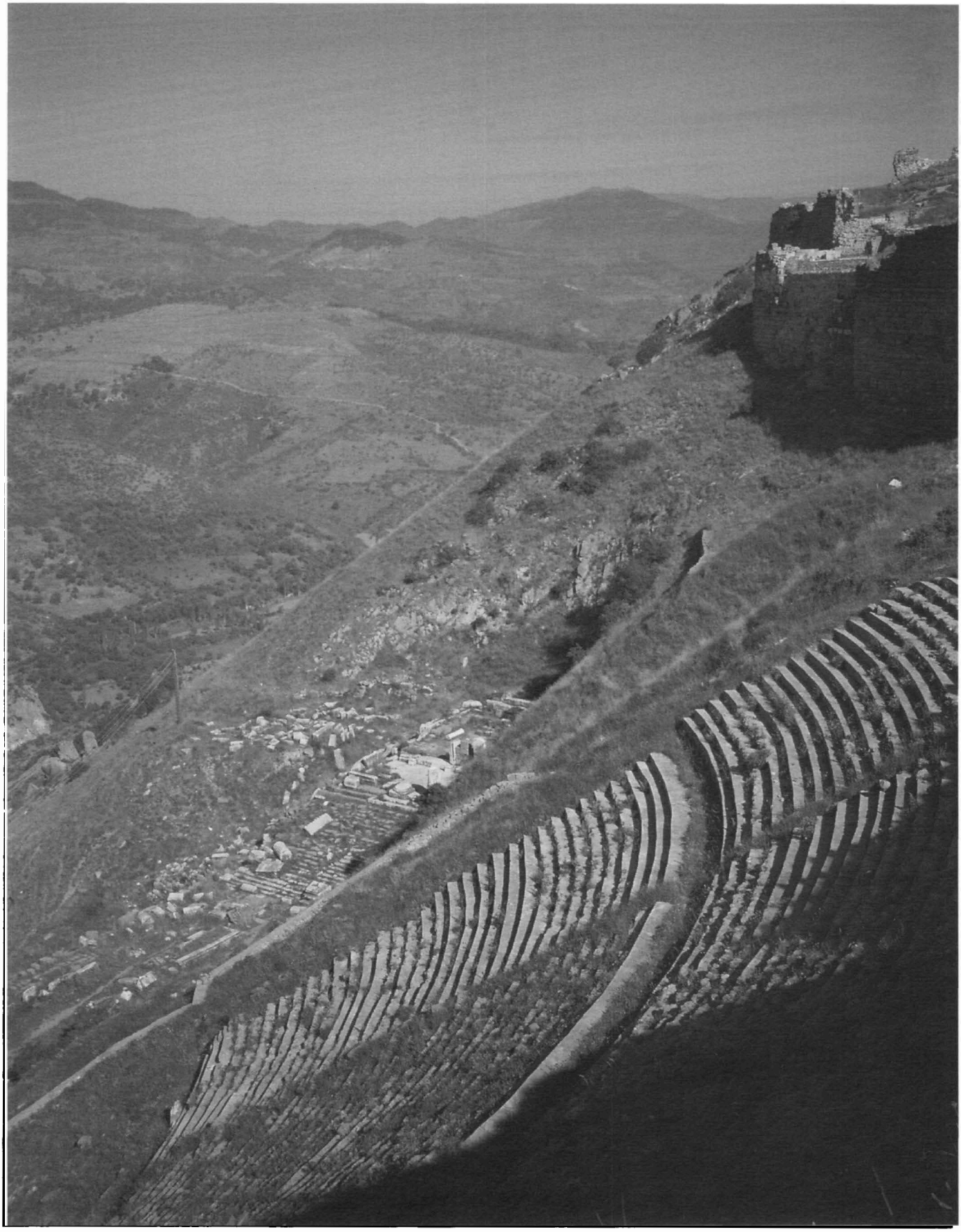
Pergamum was the elegant capital of the Hellenistic kingdom of the same name that was founded by the Attalid dynasty in



29. Pergamum

the early 3rd century BC. The city, in the region of ancient Mysia in northwestern Turkey, was *c.*20 km from the sea and was connected to its port at Elaea by the Caicus river. Pottery sherds show that there was Greek settlement at this site as early as the 8th century BC; in the early 5th century BC when the territory was under Persian control its governor was a Greek from Eretria. After the conquests of Alexander the Great in the late 4th century BC, Lysimachus, one of Alexander's successors, took Pergamum as part of his kingdom. He deposited a sizeable portion of his royal treasury there under the care of his general Philetaerus. In 281 BC Lysimachus was killed in battle, and Philetaerus, seizing the moment and the treasury, installed himself as ruler of the new kingdom of Pergamum and founder of the Attalid dynasty. With Athens having been in decline since the 4th century BC, the Attalids set as their goal the preservation of Classical civilization and Pergamum was to be a new Athens, the centre of Greek culture and art. During the reign of the fourth Attalid king, Eumenes II (197–159 BC), Pergamum was transformed from a modest Greek city into a magnificent Hellenistic metropolis with a population of more than 100,000 people. When the last king, Attalus III, ceded his estates to Rome in his will in 133 BC, Pergamum became the capital of the Roman province of Asia. The city continued to grow under the Romans and, at its peak in the 2nd century AD, the population was about 150,000.

The site is divided into two areas – a lofty acropolis (*c.*400 m high) and the plain surrounding it. Remains of numerous public buildings and private houses are found in both areas. The walled citadel was terraced from north to south providing building levels that were connected by a winding road. With the exception of a few andesite structures, the view from the plain was of white marble Hellenistic and Roman buildings rising one above the other. At the summit, an aqueduct supplied water that was piped to public fountains, baths, and private dwellings. Nearby were military barracks, storerooms, a large temple honouring the deified Roman emperor Trajan (AD 98–117), and the "palaces" of the Attalid kings, which were merely large peristyle houses. On the second terrace was the sanctuary of Athena, honouring the patron deity of the city, which contained a small 3rd-century BC andesite Doric temple surrounded by spectacularly carved 2nd-century BC marble stoas. The north stoa provided access to the renowned Pergamene library. Behind the library and the Athena sanctuary, built into the steep southwest face of the citadel, is the precipitous theatre (it has the steepest *cavea* of all Greek theatres), with seating for 10,000 persons. The area at the base of the theatre is so narrow that the wooden stage building was removed when not in use so that it would not impede pedestrian movement. On the third terrace is the foundation of the Pergamum Altar (*c.*165 BC), arguably the most spectacular of all monuments from the Hellenistic period. This large square marble structure (*c.*35 × 35 m), which has been partially reconstructed in the Berlin Museum, consisted of a tall podium adorned with over-lifesized figures in very high relief depicting the Battle of the Gods and the Giants. A broad staircase led up to an Ionic peristyle court behind whose columns was a lengthy relief showing the life of the hero Telephus, mythic founder of Pergamum and adopted ancestor of the Attalids. The function of the "Altar" has been debated since its excavation in the late 19th century. Is it an altar, a victory monument, a dynastic



Pergamum: the Hellenistic theatre with seating for 10,000. It has the steepest cavea of all Greek theatres.

monument, or a *heroon* (i.e. a cult building for the worship of a hero)? The monument is in the form of a sacrificial altar (although it is much larger than all other examples) and the sculptural themes can be related to Attalid military victories and the political achievements of the dynasty. The lengthy relief telling the story of Telephus suggests most strongly, however, that its primary function was as his *heroon* (Webb, 1998). Among the remaining buildings on the terraced citadel are the *heroon* of the deified Attalid kings and several large complexes including the upper market or agora, the sanctuary of Demeter, the sanctuary of Hera, three gymnasia, large public baths, and the lower agora. There were also private houses, individual shops, small public baths, workshops, a tavern, and other establishments important to everyday life. At the base of the citadel was the main gate in the city wall.

The city in the plain was built primarily in the Roman period and contained a stadium, an amphitheatre seating 50,000, a theatre seating 30,000, various smaller public buildings, houses, tombs, and the vast temple of the Egyptian gods. From the area of the theatre a colonnaded street led to the famed healing centre, the sanctuary of Asclepius. The cult at Pergamum, founded in the 4th century BC, experienced continuous expansion and by the 2nd century AD the Asclepieum was the principal healing centre in Asia Minor. Medical treatment incorporated physical therapies, e.g. diet, exercise, baths, etc., but also spiritual procedures, e.g. incubation (dream therapy). The huge complex consisted of a large colonnaded court around and within which were temples, a library, a theatre seating 3500, fountains, pools, men's and women's latrines, sleeping rooms for incubation, and a large treatment building.

Pergamum declined as the power of the Roman empire waned in the 3rd century AD. The buildings on the lower acropolis, in the surrounding plain, and the sanctuary of Asclepius were abandoned with the exception of the temple of the Egyptian gods, which was converted into a Christian basilica. The upper acropolis continued in use, but comprised mostly modest houses built into and over the ancient structures. The city suffered severe damage from foreign invaders on a number of occasions, and the upper acropolis was refortified at least three times – in the 3rd, 7th, and 12th centuries. Even though Pergamum was home to one the "seven churches" of Asia Minor (Revelation 1: 11), was a major intellectual centre until the end of the 4th century, and was made a bishopric at the end of the 14th century, it had a small population and was relatively obscure throughout the Byzantine period. When the future emperor Theodore Laskaris visited the site in the mid-13th century, he recalled the greatness of the ancient city and equated the contemporary poorly constructed dwellings that lined the narrow streets to mouseholes in houses.

While the city of Pergamum as a whole was the glory of the Attalids, and the Pergamum Altar is the most important structure for modern admirers of the dynasty's accomplishments, the building that was central to Pergamum's role in the preservation of Classical civilization was the library. Second only to the library at Alexandria in the ancient world, it is estimated to have owned 200,000 volumes. Since the kings supported scholars in all the academic disciplines, one can assume that the holdings consisted of works representing the entire range of Greek learning. It is not clear what eventually happened to the contents of the library. In his *Life of Mark Antony* Plutarch relates a story that Antony gave the entire collection to Cleopatra as a gift. But Plutarch himself is unsure of the story's veracity, and there is no evidence that it is true. Since Pergamum continued as a centre of scholarly pursuits for four centuries after the deaths of Antony and Cleopatra, it is likely that at least a portion of the ancient collection remained intact during that period. In connection with the development of the library, Pergamum was also famous for the production of parchment, which eventually replaced papyrus as the preferred writing material in antiquity. Contrary to Varro's account (Pliny, *Naturalis Historia*, 13. 70), the Pergamenes did not invent parchment, for treated animal skin was used as a writing material very early in the Near East, and Herodotus (5. 58) mentions that it was used by the Ionian Greeks in the 6th century BC (Finegan, 1959, pp. 390–99). It is likely that Pergamum's reputation was based on the fine quality and large quantities it produced not only for consumption at home but also for export to Rome. The increased use of parchment facilitated the development of the more convenient and accessible codex (paged book), which supplanted papyrus and parchment rolls by the 4th century AD.

PAMELA A. WEBB

See also Attalids

Summary

Pergamum was the capital of the Attalid kings who controlled much of western Asia Minor in the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC. The city was a major centre of Greek culture and art. In 133 BC it became the capital of the Roman province of Asia. The library at Pergamum, along with that at Alexandria, owned the most important collection of Classical Greek works in the ancient world. Pergamene production and dissemination of fine-quality parchment facilitated the development of the more convenient codex book format.

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Pericles *c.*492–429 BC

Athenian statesman

Pericles was born around 492 BC. His mother's family, the Alcmaeonidae, had been prominent in Athenian politics throughout most of the 6th century BC. His maternal great-uncle Cleisthenes held the office of eponymous archon in 525 BC. The family spearheaded efforts to overthrow the tyranny held by Pisistratus' sons. That accomplished, Cleisthenes "took the common people into his political coterie" (to paraphrase Herodotus) and reformed the constitution.

Pericles' father Xanthippus was a hero of the Persian Wars. He showed himself to be firm, even ruthless, in siege operations against a Persian garrison at Sestos on the Hellespont. Earlier in his career he had prosecuted Miltiades, a prominent member of a rival family, and very nearly got him condemned to death. This antagonism between the two families was to continue into the next generation.

If we are to believe Plutarch, a certain shyness, a degree of social reticence, seems to have been one trait of Pericles' personality. For his entry into the public sphere Pericles acted as *choregos*, financial backer, for Aeschylus' drama about the Persian Wars, *Persians* (472 BC). Although Themistocles is not named, his spirit pervades the play. Themistocles had shrewdly foreseen the importance of maintaining an effective fleet of warships, and he persuaded the Athenian voters to forgo a one-time dole so that such a fleet could be built. Pericles was later to make maritime invulnerability the cornerstone of Athenian policy.

Pericles' first serious political opponent was Miltiades' son Cimon. As a general and public figure he garnered personal support through private largesse and especially by using war booty to improve the city's appearance and amenities. From him Pericles appears to have learned that such benefactions were a sure way to win votes.

Cimon was by disposition conservative and had a personal affinity for things Spartan. After a stunning series of victories against the Persian forces he made two serious mistakes. He laid himself open to charges of mismanagement after completing a lengthy campaign to bring a powerful rebel state, Thasos, back into the alliance. Pericles was among Cimon's prosecutors, but the attack failed (463 BC). Sparta was also reeling from the aftermath of an earthquake. Its numerous subject class, the helots, had revolted and the Spartans called on the Athenians for help. Cimon led a large Athenian force to aid Sparta, Athens' "yokemate", as he termed it, but when these troops were inexplicably sent away, the people's anger turned against him and he was ostracized, that is, obliged to leave Athens for a ten-year period. Pericles and a political associate, Ephialtes, saw their chance to carry out a reform of the senior judicial council at Athens, the Areopagus. This reform signalled a change in the direction of Athenian politics: from now on more power was to be wielded by the common people, and probably at this time the ordinary citizens who sat on the numerous Athenian juries were given a stipendiary daily allowance for the days when the courts were in session.

Athens' foreign policy suffered a serious setback in 454 BC. A revolt by a Libyan prince from the Persian empire failed, and two separate Athenian and allied support expeditions were lost. If Pericles supported the venture, the debacle appears not to have been brought up against him. During this period he was also taking careful note of the successes of other prominent Athenian commanders, such as Myronides and Tolmides. In 455 BC the latter led an Athenian naval force around the Peloponnese, and won some important victories. Not to be outshone, a few years later Pericles led a similar force that tried with only limited success to establish an Athenian presence in northwest Greece. Pericles may also have learned from Tolmides the advantages to be gained from the system of "cleruchies", pockets of Athenian settlers sent out to troublespots to prop up Athens' interests. In 451 BC Pericles sponsored a measure to restrict Athenian citizenship to those who could prove that both their mother and their father were citizens. What Pericles hoped to achieve by this measure is uncertain.

By the mid-5th century BC Pericles had a clearly formed vision of Athens as head of a maritime empire so powerful that the Spartans would have to concede superiority to the Athenians. His ambitions were fuelled by the huge financial surplus in the treasury of the Delian League, since 454 BC (probably) housed in Athens. Against strident opposition from such conservatives as Thucydides, son of Melesias, who was possibly related to Thucydides the historian, Pericles proposed that some of the money should be diverted to pay for an extensive building programme. The sources name Pericles himself in connection with a few of the projects, especially the statue of *Athena Parthenos* ("the Maiden"), executed by the Athenian sculptor Phidias, and an elaborate new odeum, a music hall that abutted the theatre of Dionysus, and it seems clear that he was the driving force behind the whole enterprise. These vast public works were intended not only to beautify Athens but also to give employment to its people. An estimated two to three thousand individuals were continuously employed over a period of 16 years, from 447 BC to the outbreak of the war with the Peloponnesians in 431 BC.

Some ancient sources assert that a formal peace was concluded between Athens and its allies and the king of Persia. A formal treaty around 449 BC would make it easier to explain the freedom that Pericles felt in applying to the building programme funds collected for military purposes. On the other hand, several ancient authorities claimed that the inscription purporting to record the peace was a forgery. Whatever the truth of the matter, there was a cessation of hostilities after some important successes against the Persians around 450 BC by league forces under Cimon (now returned from ostracism), so that Pericles would not have been taking a great risk in redirecting part of the league's war chest to other purposes.

In 449 BC or 448 BC the Spartans launched a "Sacred War" to defend (as they claimed) the Delphians' claims to be supervisors of Apollo's shrine. Pericles responded with a counterexpedition that restored control to the original claimants, the Phocians, with whom Athens had entered into an alliance some years before. Inscriptional and other evidence suggests serious disaffection among the allies, especially in Ionia, in the late 450s BC. In every case Athens was quick to react, by armed intervention and other means. Although the sources do not connect Pericles' name directly with any of these measures, there can be little doubt that he was prepared to take all necessary steps to see that the allies were kept tightly under Athens'

Pericles, elected ruler of Athens during the city's golden age. Roman copy of a Greek original, Vatican Museum

control. In 446/45 BC two important nearby states, Megara and Euboea, rebelled. Pericles responded with quick military action and both revolts were quashed. A Peloponnesian force that had advanced as far as Eleusis to lend support to the rebels returned home without having accomplished anything, and in the upshot a treaty of peace for 30 years was signed between the two superpowers: Athens repudiated claims to certain areas in the Peloponnese and Acarnania in northwest Greece, and in effect agreed to extend its empire only by sea. A sop had been thrown to the Spartan Cerberus, but it was becoming increasingly clear that it would not remain permanently quiescent.

In 440 BC Athens' powerful island ally Samos revolted. Again, Pericles' response was quick and tough. After several naval engagements and a protracted siege, the rebels were brought to heel. One of Pericles' colleagues for the first year of the campaign was the dramatist Sophocles, and several anecdotes survive of the shared command. Samos' longterm rival, Miletus, had figured in the preliminaries to the war, and this gave the gossipmongers and the comic poets a golden opportunity to spread the report that Pericles had got Athens involved as a personal favour to his mistress, Aspasia, who had originally come from Miletus; he had been in a relationship with her for some years after his own marriage to an aristocratic lady, not named by our sources, had broken down. By Aspasia Pericles had an illegitimate son, Pericles the Younger.

By the early 430s BC war between Athens and Sparta and their respective allies appeared inevitable. Athens responded to various provocative incidents with increasing firmness, and Pericles himself threw down the gauntlet with one or more decrees intended to cripple commercially the neighbouring state of Megara, an erstwhile ally of Athens but whose culture and language linked it firmly with Dorian Sparta. The Spartan side voted for war in the spring of 432 BC and invaded Attica a year later. Pericles himself survived the war's outbreak by only two years, succumbing in the autumn of 429 BC to the effects of a plague of a now unspecifiable type. Pericles' own strategy of defence was partly to blame. He persuaded the Athenians who lived in the countryside – a substantial portion of the populace, according to Thucydides – to move to the city and refuse any challenge to a land battle. Such an encounter would inevitably be to the advantage of the Spartans, who had a near-perfect record in infantry fighting. Although the Athenians did not abandon Pericles' defensive strategy, out of intense frustration at their sufferings they briefly removed him from the generalship, only to reinstate him shortly afterwards. With a break of only a few years after 421 BC, when a peace treaty between the combatants was nominally in effect, the war dragged on until the Athenians had to witness not only defeat but the humiliation of looking on as their fortifications were dismantled by a Spartan occupying force in 404 BC.

The sources make out Pericles to have been a competent and popular general, but probably not a brilliant one. He had rivals, generals such as Tolmides and Myronides, whose achievements might have become part of the permanent record had they had their own eulogists, and he had colleagues in the generalship, men such as Hagnon and Phormion, in whose selection Pericles perhaps had a hand and on whose abilities and loyalty he knew he could rely. But the real reasons for Pericles' enormous popularity – he was reportedly re-elected to the generalship continuously from about 443 BC until his death – was that he had a vision of Athens' potential for greatness and he knew how to achieve it in practice. He possessed outstanding oratorical skills, a speaker on whose lips, to paraphrase the comic poet Eupolis, a kind of persuasiveness settled enabling him to outstrip his rivals like a champion runner. Above all, he was acknowledged as a man of personal and financial integrity. Plutarch crowns his praise by remarking that Pericles "did not increase the property left to him by his father by one drachma", in marked contrast to what was believed about other popular leaders. His death at a critical moment in the history of Athens was a cruel stroke, with parallels on the contemporary Athenian tragic stage.

"The Periclean age" has become a useful label for Athens in the period 460–430 BC, a time of outstanding achievement in drama, philosophy, architecture, and the plastic arts. It may be an overstatement to say that Pericles was personally responsible, but it can hardly be denied that Athens' accomplishments were due in large part to the high degree of material prosperity that control of its empire had brought to the city, to his vision of what could be achieved through wise use of public funds, and to his firm hand at the tiller of the city's affairs. His carping critics might call it a tyranny, but in fact it was responsible democratic government in which the individual most fitted to lead was given a mandate by the citizens to lead them, and for a period of sufficient duration that his best expectations of them were given the chance to be realized.

ANTHONY J. PODLECKI

See also Athens, Classical Period, Peloponnesian War, Political History 490–323 BC

Biography

Born *c.*492 BC the son of Xanthippus and great-nephew of Cleisthenes, Pericles was *choregos* (financial backer) for Aeschylus' *Persians* in 472 BC. In 463 he was among the prosecutors of Cimon. After the ostracism and death of Ephialtes, Pericles became popular leader of Athens. His vision was of Athens at the head of a maritime empire. He instituted a vast programme of public building works. His ambitions for Athens led to the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War. He died of plague in 429 BC.

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Persian Wars

The Persian Wars are usually taken to refer to the two Persian expeditions to Greece in 490 BC and 480/79 BC. They imply that a continuous state of war existed between Greece and Persia during this period, thus portraying Persia as being preoccupied with the subjection of Greece. In fact, a distinction should be made between the campaign of 490 BC, under the command of two Persians, Datis and Artaphernes, and the invasion of 480/79 BC, led by the king, Xerxes. The campaign of 490 BC should be seen as a direct reaction to the involvement of Athens and the Euboean city of Eretria in the uprising of the Greek cities of Ionia, known as the Ionian Revolt (499–492 BC); the expedition of 480/79 BC was a Persian invasion, prepared on a large military scale and led by the king himself. The term "Graeco–Persian war" would perhaps more accurately describe the military aggression of 480/79 BC.

In 499/98 BC, under the leadership of Aristagoras, tyrant of Miletus, some of the Greek cities of Ionia revolted against Persia. By the time of the Ionian Revolt, tyrannical rule in the Greek cities of Asia Minor, which were under the control of the Lydian kingdom, was already established as the favoured form of government, and it continued after the Persian conquest of Lydia in 546 BC. This was in line with the Persian policy of allowing local forms of government, language, culture, and religion of the different peoples of the empire to continue, and through this policy of political tolerance limiting resistance to Persian rule. Aristagoras had been approached by exiles from Naxos to help them regain power on the island; after having obtained the approval of the Persian king Darius I (522–486) and of Artaphernes, the Persian satrap of Lydia and brother of Darius I, he left for Naxos. If successful, this campaign would increase Persian political influence in the Aegean, and establish Aristagoras' personal standing with the king. However, after an unsuccessful siege, which lasted four months, the Persians were forced to leave Naxos, and Aristagoras, faced with the personal consequences of the failed expedition, revolted against Persia, abandoning tyrannical rule in favour of *isonomia* (equal rule), with the intention of gaining popular support from other Greek cites for his revolt. His attempts to win Spartan support for his movement failed when the Spartan king Cleomenes refused to become involved in a military conflict overseas. Only Athens and the Euboean city of Eretria offered support, sending 20 and five ships respectively. This fleet arrived in Miletus in the spring of 498 BC, and a first attack was directed against the Lydian capital Sardis. The city was successfully defended by Persians and Lydians, but when a fire broke out the city quickly burnt down. A battle near Ephesus initiated by the Persians and Lydians against the Ionians forced the Ionians to retreat to their respective cities (Herodotus, 5. 102). After this defeat the Athenians and Eretrians abandoned the revolt and returned to Greece.

Gathering momentum, the revolt now spread to cities in the Hellespont, Caria, and Cyprus. Here the rebel Onesilus was killed, probably in the summer of 497 BC, forcing the Ionian ships to leave the island. Between 497 BC and 496 BC Daurises and Hymaees, both sons-in-law of Darius I, successfully fought the rebellious cities in the Hellespont, while Artaphernes and Otanes launched attacks in Caria. Aristagoras, having lost

control over the revolt, fled to Myrcinus in Thrace, where he was killed (Thucydides, 4. 102. 2–3).

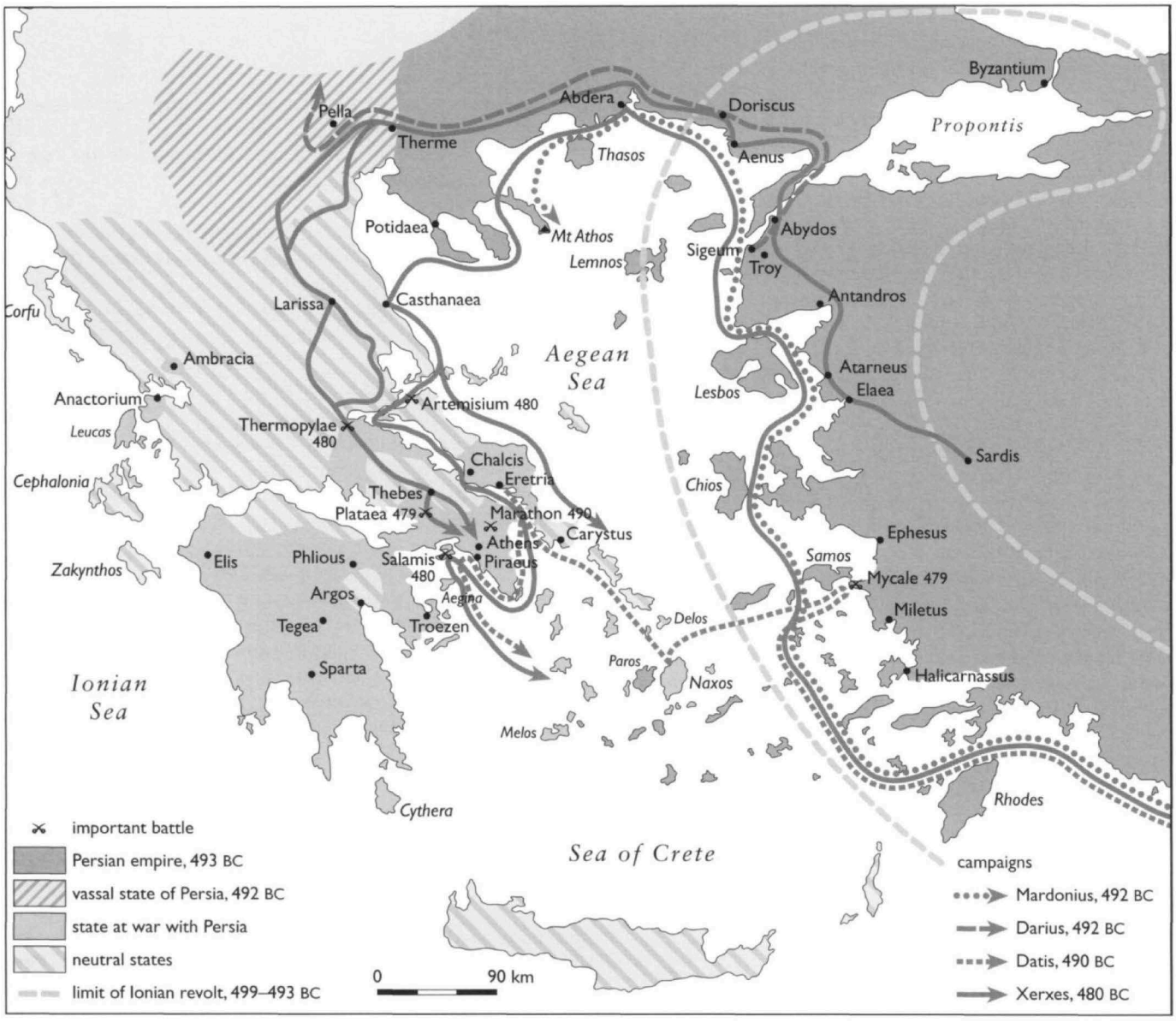
Persian military and naval forces retaliated with a battle off the coast near Lade and an attack on Miletus, which was taken in 494/93 BC. Its inhabitants were taken to Susa and resettled near the Red Sea. Following Miletus' defeat, other cities surrendered, and part of their population likewise was taken to Persia. In 493 BC Artaphernes began the reorganization of Ionia, and in the spring of 492 BC Mardonius, son-in-law of Darius I, was sent to Asia Minor to continue implementing political reforms of the cities of Ionia (Herodotus, 6. 43). Although Herodotus tells us that Mardonius introduced democracy to the cities of Asia Minor, we know of at least two cities, Lampsacus and Samos, which continued their tyrannical rule after 492 BC.

In preparation for a punitive campaign to be led against Athens and Eretria, the Persian king sent an embassy to Greece in 491 BC demanding from the individual states earth and water, the symbolic signs of the recognition of Persian supremacy. Thrace, Macedon, Thasos, Aegina, and other islands complied with this demand, but neither Athens nor Sparta submitted. In 490 BC the campaign was led by Datis and Artaphernes, the son of Artaphernes (Herodotus, 7. 74). Their first target was Naxos, which, offering no resistance, was burnt and looted. From there they proceeded to Eretria and took the city after a seven-day siege (Herodotus, 6. 100–01). A few days later the Persian fleet landed near Marathon, upon the advice of Hippias, the former Athenian tyrant who had found exile in Persia, and who now acted as adviser to the Persians. In the ensuing battle the Persians were defeated by the Athenians, who were under the command of Miltiades. Retreating to Phalerum, the Persians then decided to abandon the attack and to return home. Neither Herodotus' account of the battle nor his casualty figures (6400 Persian dead, but only 192 Athenians) can be given any credibility. While Plataea had sent 600 soldiers in support of the Athenians, Spartan forces arrived a day after the battle.

The Battle of Marathon marked the first military encounter between Greeks and Persians on the Greek mainland, and, although it was won through favourable circumstances and good fortune rather than by military superiority, it had a huge ideological impact on the Greeks. For the Persians, their punitive mission had been successful as far as Naxos and Eretria were concerned. Persian interest in Naxos in 499 BC and the retaliation of 490 BC in fact identify the Persian objectives for their military action, i.e. to assert Persian control in the Aegean. In this regard the campaign of Datis and Artaphernes had been successful. The limited military force used in this campaign, the fact that Darius I had sent envoys to demand earth and water from the Greek cities in order to avoid involving other Greek states, and the fact that the king himself did not participate in this campaign do not allow us to argue that the Persian campaign of 490 BC had been an attempt to subject Greece as part of an expansionist plan.

Nevertheless, Athens still had to be punished, and it meant that a new expedition was prepared over the next four years in which Darius I gathered an army from all parts of the empire, while the king's fleet was prepared and transport vessels were built (Herodotus, 7. 1). But in 486 BC a revolt which broke out in Egypt claimed priority; because Darius had died, aged 66, in December of that year, it fell to Darius' son and successor Xerxes to quash this revolt, which he successfully did by 485/84 BC. Xerxes then turned his attention to the expedition to Greece, carrying out his father's military plans. In 482/81 BC he probably also quashed a revolt in Babylonia under Belshimanni. In Greece the victory at Marathon had not resulted in the political unity of Greek states. A war between Athens and Aegina had broken out and lasted until 481 BC. Themistocles' proposal of 483/82 BC to built an Athenian fleet was accepted as a military plan against Aegina, and was on a par with the fortification of the Piraeus, the Athenian harbour, which Themistocles had advocated during his archonship ten years previously. The discovery of the silver mines at Laurium in 483/82 BC meant that Themistocles now possessed the finances to back his plan. At the same time Persian preparations for a military attack on Greece began. First, Persian envoys were sent to Greece to demand earth and water, which were offered by Thessaly, the people from the Malian Gulf, Locris, Thebes, and Boeotia. No ambassadors were sent to either Sparta or Athens. After Xerxes had gathered his army in Sardis, he crossed the Hellespont and marched via Dorsicus to Therma in Thessaly (Herodotus, 7. 127–31). At the battle of Thermopylae, which was fought on land, the Persians defeated the Spartan troops under the command of Leonidas, but a naval battle fought off Cape Artemisium on the same day was indecisive, the Persian fleet having suffered heavy losses in a storm, and the Athenians withdrawing their ships to Salamis after three days of battle. The Persian army advanced through Phocis and Boeotia to Attica and seized the Acropolis of Athens, the inhabitants already having been evacuated to Salamis and Troezen. With Attica under Persian control the Peloponnesians began building fortifications at the isthmus of Corinth, and those Peloponnesians who were still in Attica abandoned their positions. In September 480 BC Xerxes attacked the Greek navy at Salamis but the narrow straits made it impossible for the large Persian vessels to operate and they suffered heavy losses. Xerxes withdrew his naval forces, which returned to Cyme and Samos, but Mardonius and 10,000 elite soldiers were left to continue the war on land, and to destroy the Peloponnesian fortifications in the next campaigning season. Through a Persian ally, Alexander of Macedon, Mardonius offered the Athenians a peace agreement, including the promise to rebuild the destroyed temples, but the Athenians refused. In the spring of 479 BC, after wintering in Thessaly, Mardonius proceeded through Boeotia without any opposition and retook Athens. The Athenians, having received no support from Sparta, had to evacuate the city again. A second envoy, Murychides, was sent to the Athenians, but he also failed to persuade them to accept the peace. Faced with an Athenian ultimatum, the Spartans finally sent 5000 Spartiates, 35,000 helots, and 5000 *perioikoi* (dwellers in dependent towns). At the ensuing Battle of Plataea Mardonius was killed and his death decided the outcome of the battle. The Spartans took the Persian camp and forced Thebes, who had remained loyal to Persia, to surrender. Their main Persian supporters were sent to Corinth and killed. The Persian troops, now led by Artabazus, returned via Thrace, Macedon, and Byzantium to Persia.

In Asia Minor Chios and Samos began a revolt when the Spartan king Leotychidas was asked by six Chians to assist in



30. The Persian Wars, 499–479 BC

a conspiracy against the tyrant Strattis, while on Samos people turned against Theomestor. In the face of the approaching Greek fleet on Samos Xerxes withdrew his naval forces to Mycale, where a battle with the Greek forces caused the defeat of the Persian army. The battle of Mycale marked the end of the Greek–Persian war of 480/79 BC. Over the next three years Samos, Byzantium, and the Hellespont were taken by the Greeks. For Xerxes his unsuccessful expedition to Greece had no repercussions in the Persian empire, where he continued to rule until his death in 465 BC, while for the Greeks the Persian Wars soon acquired the status of myth, laden with ideological propaganda. This was the beginning of Greek nationalism, marked by the Greeks' identification of themselves as Hellenes and the Persians as barbarians. In fact, neither during the period of 490 to 480/79 BC nor during the actual war of 480/79 BC had Greek political unity ever existed. Some Greek states had remained allies of Persia throughout that period, and during 480/79 BC the Greek states hardly acted as a unified force against Persia. The political rift between the anti-Persian Aristides, who initiated the Delian League, and the anti-Spartan Themistocles after 479 BC showed that even within Athens political opinion towards Persia was divided. Yet ideologically the Battle of Marathon and the victories at Salamis and Mycale boosted Greek morale beyond reality. In retrospect the war between Greece and Persia had become the symbol of the fight for freedom fought by small states against the might of an empire.

The Greek–Persian wars quickly acquired a mythical dimension. Aeschylus' play *The Persians*, performed in 472 BC, shows a Hellenized version of the Persian court, the decadence of Persia, and the hubris of Xerxes, while an earlier play by Phrynichus, *The Fall of Miletus*, performed in 493 BC, was an embarrassing reminder for the Athenians of their half-hearted efforts to defend the freedom of the Greeks of Asia, and the author was fined 1000 drachmas. Herodotus' *Histories*, written around 430 BC, used the huge figures given for the

Persian forces, in contrast to the small number of Greek forces, to demonstrate how successful a united Greece could be. Yet in his account Corinth, which fought against the Persians alongside the Greeks, was discredited, perhaps already in light of the political climate of the 430s BC in which Corinth emerged as an enemy of Athens. In antiquity itself the terms "Persians" and "Persian Wars" became powerful means of political propaganda. Augustus staged the Battle of Salamis in a specially excavated arena by the Tiber in 2 BC, the opposing sides being called "Athenians" and "Persians". In AD 39 Caligula's bridge across the bay of Naples was an imitation of the bridge which Xerxes had built over the Hellespont, used for a demonstration of military manoeuvres, during which the emperor paraded the son of the Parthian king Artabanus II (Josephus, *Antiquitates Judaicae*, 19. 5–6). Following Augustus, Nero also staged a sea battle in Rome, casting shadows on his intended war against Armenia in AD 57/58 (Dio, 61. 9. 6). In the later empire Lucius Verus in AD 161 and Caracalla in AD 214 took contingents of Spartan auxiliaries on their eastern campaign—symbolic gestures which were to reflect the Roman fight against the Persian/Parthian power. In AD 235 Gordian III staged a festival for the goddess Athena Promachus for the Athenians at Marathon, again a symbolic gesture made prior to his eastern campaign. In modern times the fight between the Greeks and the Persians received an additional propagandistic note. It became symbolic of the fight of Western Europe against the Orient. Greece, seen as the birthplace of democracy, architecture, literature, and philosophy, and which had defended its values against the oriental despotism of the Persian king, now represented European and Western values upheld against the perceived threat of the Orient, which became equated with despotism, decadence, and effeminacy.

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See also Persians, Political History 490–323 BC

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Persians

The Persians were an Iranian people, identified by their language as Indo-Europeans. Earliest written records identify three different regions of ancient Iran inhabited by Persians: Parsua, southwest of Lake Urmia; Parsumash, in the central Zagros mountains in northwestern Iran; and Parsa, in the southwest. Persian settlement in Parsa (Greek Persis, modern Fars) is first attested in the 7th century BC, and was the result of a migration process which had begun early in the 1st millennium BC, followed by a gradual process of acculturation, in which Persians lived alongside the indigenous Elamite population. It is this region that gave its name to the first Persian empire, which stretched from Egypt and the eastern Mediterranean to the Indus river, and which lasted from 559 BC to 331 BC.

In an exceptionally short but successful period of military expansion Cyrus II, who held the royal title of "king of Anshan", an adaptation of the Elamite royal title, built the Persian empire, first conquering the Median empire of Astyages in 550 BC, followed by the conquests of Lydia in 547/46 BC and Babylonia in 539 BC. With Cyrus II's annexation of the countries of eastern Iran and Central Asia, probably in the 530s, and the conquest of Egypt by his son Cambyses II (539–522 BC), the expansion of the Persian empire was concluded. Though Darius I (522–486 BC) undertook an expedition against the Scythians (518/17 BC) and maintained control over the Aegean (490 BC), his main concern was the consolidation of the empire, focusing on the administration of the provinces of the empire, the satrapies, established in the time of Cyrus II.

The Persians were organized in tribes, among them the Pasargadae, Maraphians, and Maspians. Prominent families of the Persian nobility formed the political elite under the Persian kings. As satraps, they represented the king in the lands of the empire, and were responsible for collecting tribute, levying military troops, and executing the political will of the king. The term "Persians" was first used in the royal inscriptions of Darius I to identify an ethnic class of people, while the king identified himself and the royal family as Achaemenids, descendants of the eponymous founder of the empire, Achaemenes. Though Darius' claim to an Achaemenid lineage might be pure creation in order to legitimize his kingship, the identification of the Persian dynasty as Achaemenids was recognized by Greek and Roman writers. Darius I defined the ethnic term "Persians" further to classify a Persian nobility, who also may have been identified by a common script and language, Old Persian, introduced by Darius I, and by the common worship of Ahura Mazda, the principal god of the Persian kings. The many peoples of the empire were permitted to maintain their distinctive character through their own language, culture, and religion, a latitude by which the Persians aimed to minimize the risk of revolt against their rule in the satrapies. The presence of the satrap, who represented the splendour of the king in the provinces, nevertheless influenced the local elite to adopt and imitate Achaemenid values, which were expressed in architecture as well as in luxury goods such as gold and silverware, jewellery, and Persian-style fabrics and fashion.

The Greeks used the term "Persians" as a general reference to the peoples of the Persian empire, regardless of their ethnic identity. Greek contact with the Persians began as early as the 6th century BC, when the Ionian Greeks under Cyrus II were part of the workforce which built Pasargadae, the first royal city of the Persians, and later Persepolis. In the same century the domestic chicken was introduced to mainland Greece; it was known as the Persian bird (Cratinus, 259; Aristophanes, *Birds*, 485, 707). Achaemenid gold and silver vessels served as models for the "Achaemenid *phialai*" (libation bowls) in the late 6th and early 5th century BC, but Persian influence on Greece increased significantly after the Greek–Persian wars of 490 BC and 480/79 BC, when Greek awareness of the Persians and Persian culture was reflected in literature, art, and architecture. Persian luxury goods became a desired commodity among the Greek elite. Persian garments, imported as well as imitated, were luxury items for wealthy Greeks, and pottery reflecting Persian-shaped vessels was increasingly used. Athenian buildings like the Odeum were built after the Achaemenid model of a hypostyle hall. With the establishment of the Athenian empire in the mid–5th century BC, Athens regularly summoned its allies to Athens to celebrate the Great Panathenaea, during which the latter offered a cow and a panoply, while at Eleusis they were required to present first fruits during the Eleusinia. The procession of the allies can be seen as the Greek adaptation of the tribute or gifts being brought by peoples of the Persian empire, as depicted on reliefs at Persepolis. Intriguingly, during the Panathenaea, the *kanephoroi* ("basket-carriers") carried parasols, a distinctive attribute of the Persian king.

After the collapse of the Persian empire in 331 BC, first Alexander and then the Seleucids adopted many Persian practices, maintaining the satrapal division of the empire, Persian administration, collection of tribute, and the levying of military forces. Adopting Persian dress and royal court ceremony, Alexander even saw himself as the legitimate successor to the Achaemenid throne. In the Hellenistic period the close cultural contact in Asia Minor between the Greek/Lydian community and the local Persians probably led to the Greek assimilation of the cult of Artemis with that of the Persian goddess Anahita, when inscriptions refer to the Greek goddess as "Artemis Anaitis" and "Artemis Persike".

In the Roman period the term "Persians" acquired an extended meaning, generally referring to the people of both the Parthian and the Sassanian empires. European knowledge about the Persians was gradually all but forgotten, except for the names of kings and geographical places, preserved in the books of the Old Testament. Here Cyrus II was perceived as a benign ruler, who allowed the return of the Jewish exiles in Babylon, and who supported the rebuilding of the temple of Jerusalem. Early accounts of ancient Persian ruins were due to individuals travelling through Persia, though their identification was not always possible. Knowledge about the Persians began early in the 19th century with the decipherment of the cuneiform script by Georg Grotefend and Henry Rawlinson and the archaeological excavations of the Persian royal cities of Susa, Pasardagae, and Persepolis.

MARIA BROSIUS

Summary

The Persians were an Iranian people whose empire stretched from Egypt and the eastern Mediterranen to the Indus and lasted from 559 to 331 BC. Provinces of the empire were ruled by satraps. Greek contact with the Persians dated from the 6th century BC. Persian influence on Greece increased after the Persian invasions of 490 and 480/79. After the fall of the empire in 331 BC many Persian practices were adopted by Alexander and the Seleucids.

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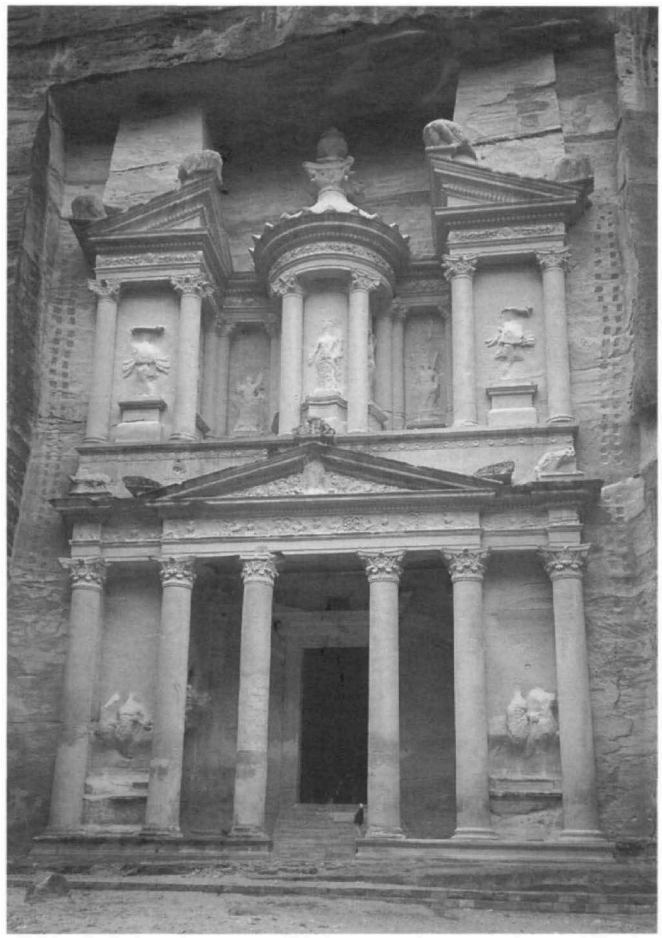
Petra

City in modern Jordan

The city of Petra (in modern Jordan) lies approximately 85 km south of the Dead Sea, in a mountain valley close to Wadi Araba. In the Hellenistic period the city was the capital of the Nabataeans, an Arabic people first mentioned in 312 BC. The Nabataeans were renowned for trade, and Petra was well positioned as a focus for long-distance transport.

The city was in contact with the Greeks from, probably, the 4th century BC onwards, and the Nabataeans became somewhat Hellenized at least as early as the 2nd century BC. Their earliest coins, dating from the 1st century BC, derive from Greek models and show figures in Greek dress. However, the Nabataeans never became wholly part of the Greek world and, instead, showed a remarkable cultural conservatism. Thus, while they adopted Greek (instead of their own Semitic language, related to pre-Islamic Arabic) as a written and legal language after the 4th century, Nabataean names remained commonplace for settlements and other aspects of the environment into the early Byzantine period.

The earliest mention of Petra by name (also in 312 BC) is in a Greek source – written by the author Diodorus Siculus – and coincides approximately with the earliest datable material archaeologically associated with structures in the city. This



Petra: the so-called Treasury has the most ornate façade of all the rock-cut tombs

material comprises sherds of 4th-century BC Greek pottery and the earliest occupation of the city may well date from that period. The city was then occupied through the Nabataean, Roman, and early Byzantine periods.

Although Petra was a flourishing commercial centre and an important city, probably the most famous aspect of its archaeology is the series of *c.*800 rock-cut tombs with monumental façades, some in "Classical" style. These were carved in the sandstone cliffs around the town and included rows of tombs with their façades lining narrow natural rifts in the rock, which provide very spectacular settings. They were probably constructed in the Nabataean and Roman periods, although only one of these is closely datable by an inscription – the "Sextius Florentinus tomb", which can be ascribed to the early 2nd century AD.

The rock-cut tombs are today known by modern names, such as the "Treasury", "Deir", and the "Urn Tomb", but although some tombs show indications of reuse, such names need have no bearing on their early history. Although these façades look like buildings, the town itself was not rock-cut; the façades represent an elite cemetery for its inhabitants.

In AD 106 the Nabataean realms, including the city, were peaceably annexed by Rome. In the early Roman period it continued to thrive as a trading town and was elevated to the status of a *colonia* in the early 3rd century. Romanizing facilities – such as a theatre, monumental fountain, and colonnaded street – were constructed, and the city's elite became partially Romanized. The importance of the city in the Roman world appears to have continued into the 4th century AD, when it became the seat of a bishop, later a metropolitan.

Petra retained its status as a city, and was under effective Byzantine administration, into the 6th century. It was elevated to the role of capital of Palestina Tertia and new walls were built. As in other early Byzantine provincial cities, older constructions were reused and remodelled: for example, the shops along the colonnaded street were replanned and an inscription shows that one of the Nabataean tombs (the "Urn Tomb") was consecrated as a church (perhaps the first cathedral of Petra) in 447. These modifications have often been misinterpreted as indications of decline, but this interpretation is not sustainable in the light of newly available evidence.

Until recently, conclusive evidence regarding the character of early Byzantine Petra was lacking. But the discovery of 50 rolls of papyri, comprising a 6th-century archive, has transformed modern understanding of the later phases of the town's history. These were found in the storage room of an elaborate 5th- and 6th-century church, probably the cathedral, destroyed by fire. The archive provides a great amount of information about the town in the 6th century, demonstrating that it was still a focus of administration and occupation and the population included soldiers, clerics, farmers, a doctor, and craftspeople. The city was densely populated and there were houses with terraced roofs and internal yards.

Although this has clarified the situation in the 6th century, the end of the city is very obscure. Nevertheless, claims that it ceased to be used in the mid-6th/early 7th century have been shown wanting. New archaeological and textual information suggests that Petra may have survived in some form into the 7th century, and the church archive contains papyri of late 6th-century date. The city may have been bypassed by invading Islamic forces, perhaps because of its highly defensible location, and then peacefully abandoned. The probable cathedral was disused after having been set on fire, although whether this was by attackers, by chance, or by inhabitants unwilling to see it fall into enemy hands is uncertain. So, too, is the date at which the fire occurred: 7th-century pottery found in the church is attributed to "squatters" occupying the site following the fire, but ceramics found in Byzantine churches are generally associated with continuing use. Once its Byzantine inhabitants departed, the city was deserted, only to be rediscovered by European archaeologists in the 19th century.

KEN DARK

Summary

A Nabataean city 85 km south of the Dead Sea in modern Jordan, Petra had contact with Greeks from the 4th century BC and was to a degree Hellenized by the 2nd century BC. Greek language and Greek-style coinage were adopted, but other cultural features remained Nabataean. It became a bishopric in the 4th century but was deserted in the 7th. Today it is most famous for its rock-cut tombs.

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Phaestus

City in Crete

Phaestus is located in the Mesara plain in south central Crete. The Mesara is the largest fertile plain outside the Greek mainland and has always been a focus for cultivation and settlement. Its edges are defined to the north by the Ida range (Mount Psiloriti) and to the south by the Asterousia ranges, which block access to the southern coast; the plain runs into the Libyan Sea to the west at the bay of Mesara. Phaestus, along with Hagia Triada, is located on a ridge rising some 100 m above the plain and running east–west in the middle of it. Phaestus is set on the eastern summit of this ridge, with a commanding view of the plain below and to the east, while Hagia Triada is located at the west end, overlooking the Ieropotamos river where it runs into the sea.

Occupation of the Phaestus site is attested by deposits of pottery and by scraps of architecture from as early as the late Neolithic period (*c.*4000–3500 BC) and also in the Early Minoan period (*c.*3500–2150 BC). However, the principal architectural remains uncovered by the extensive excavations attest to the grandeur and importance of the site during the "palatial" period of Minoan civilization (*c.*2000–1450 BC). As at Mallia and Knossos, Phaestus went through two principal periods of use at this time, the protopalatial (*c.*2000–1700 BC) phase and the neopalatial (*c.*1700–1450 BC) phase, thus around 550 years during which a great deal of continuity of social structure and religious practice is evidenced at the site.

Although second in size to Knossos, Phaestus is the principal site in Crete for the study of the protopalatial period. At Knossos and Mallia, reconstruction work in the neopalatial phase obscures much of the earlier history of the building complexes, but careful excavation by the Italian team at Phaestus since 1900 has revealed much detail about the earlier period. Principal architectural features are a massive western facade of cut ashlar blocks, clearly forming the public face of the building, which fronts on to a west court that is built on three levels. The preservation of the protopalatial court and facade is due to the removal of the facade wall some 8 m to the east and the raising of the central part of the court by at least 1 m during the neopalatial rebuilding phase.

The west court is paved with flagstones and marked by characteristic "raised walkways", present at the other palaces and plausibly interpreted as defining processional routes. One branch of these walkways leads to the "theatral area", a flight of low steps backed by a wall, interpreted as a place for people to stand or sit while watching or participating in events in the west court. A shrine has been identified in the immediate vicinity. A second branch leads to the protopalatial entrance to the palace, considerably simpler than its neopalatial successor and located further south. A third branch leads by a winding route to the lower west court, where the facade of the palace continues, behind which lie rooms interpreted as workshop and possibly domestic areas.

The principal effect of the neopalatial remodelling of the western area was to create a massive propylon leading off the west court, apparently to serve as a monumental entrance to the palace. This entrance may also have served to limit access to the palace, since exits from it were small. Beyond lie the storage areas and the central court. Both features were present, in slightly differing forms, in both protopalatial and neopalatial periods. The storage areas consist of rooms containing massive pithos storage jars, for storing grain, oil, or wine; caches of Linear A tablets and clay sealings found in this area, principally of the protopalatial phase, have revealed much of the workings of the bureaucracy of the palace. In particular, not only jars but also doors seem to have been sealed, and seals often bore the impression of multiple seals, perhaps an indication of hierarchy in the palace personnel.

The paved central court was colonnaded and furnished with a fine north entrance. The possible functions of the central courts of Minoan palaces remain obscure, with suggestions ranging from a simple place of gathering to the possibility of bull-leaping ceremonies (also given as suggestions for uses of the west court). The court is aligned with the remote Kamares cave in the mountains to the north, where excavation revealed characteristic sacred cave deposits, including examples of the old palace pottery style now called "Kamares" ware. North of the court is a series of rooms forming the characteristic "Minoan hall complex" of the neopalatial period, with two halls and anterooms, light wells, corridors, and a lustral basin. This area seems to form an equivalent to the "domestic quarter" at Knossos. Other sections of the palace have been identified with workshop, ceremonial, public, or private space.

Although the size of Phaestus is not great, it is spectacular by prehistoric standards, and not all of the area has been excavated. The palace buildings represent a flourishing and highly complex centre, whose relationship to its hinterland is still far from clear. The storage facilities seem impressive, but probably do not represent the whole output of the Mesara, so it seems likely that only partial concentration of harvest at the centre was occurring. By the neopalatial period a number of lesser centres ("villas") had sprung up in the countryside and seem similarly concerned with the organization of agricultural production. But in the protopalatial period, archaeology has revealed little infrastructure that can be associated with the palaces in the countryside. It seems likely that the symbolic and ideological aspects of the palaces were always primary and that

the coming into being and flourishing of these places depended on the importance attached to such aspects by most, if not all, of the population. The difficult question of what portion of the population might have lived in a town around the palace has not been resolved for either phase.

Phaestus suffered, with much of Crete, at the end of the neopalatial period, as a result of either natural catastrophe or human intervention, or both. Some LMIII occupation is attested, and it is assumed that the site is signified by the Linear B *pa-i-to*, but in this last period of the Bronze Age the focus of occupation was the west end of the ridge, at the site of Hagia Triada. In the neopalatial period a large Minoan villa was constructed here, with characteristic features such as a "Minoan hall complex" and storage areas. Neopalatial finds from Hagia Triada are in many ways more impressive than those from Phaestus itself in this period, including a Linear A archive associated with storage areas, frescos, copper ingots, and objects regarded as high art. In the later Bronze Age a large building, interpreted by some as a Mycenaean megaron, was built at the site. This has been taken as an indication of Mycenaean control of the area at this time; it certainly points to new occupation in the area with a complex organization. The surrounding area includes a large number of houses and a large open space with a complex of storage places or perhaps of shops.

Evidence for post-Bronze Age occupation at Phaestus has come to light in various excavations on the ridge. At the palace site a temple, probably dedicated to Rhea, has been investigated at the southwest edge of the excavations. This was founded in the 8th century and used throughout the Classical and Hellenistic periods. Other geometric remains including houses were located west and southwest of the palace, and elsewhere on the ridge. Occupation certainly continued through the Archaic and Classical periods, although historical and archaeological evidence is rare. The Hellenistic period represents something of a revival. Phaestus was one of the city-states of Crete, and both the palace site and other sites on the ridge, including Hagia Triada, have revealed substantial remains of settlement. Apart from the temple of Rhea, there was also a temple to Apollo or Asclepius, a city wall, and paved roads. Phaestus remained independent, though subject to Gortyn, until the mid-2nd century BC, when it was sacked by Gortyn and not reoccupied.

Roman remains are few, but in Byzantine and Venetian times churches and a monastery were founded on the ridge, including the church of Hagios Georgios Galatas with 14th-century frescos, and tombs have been located in some excavations. The site of Hagia Triada was occupied by an Ottoman Turkish village until 1897.

MICHAEL J. BOYD

See also Minoans

Summary

The site of Phaestus in the Mesara plain of south–central Crete has been occupied since the late Neolithic period but its principal remains are of the Minoan palatial period (*c.*2000–1450 BC). Though second in size to Knossos, it is the chief site for the study of the protopalatial period. It continued to be occupied until the mid-2nd century BC when it was sacked by forces from Gortyn. The Minoan villa at nearby Hagia Triada has yielded impressive finds.

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Phanariots

A social, economic, and political elite under Ottoman rule

The Phanariots were an influential nobility that was especially active in the last two centuries of the Tourkokratia. They were named after the Phanar district in Constantinople on the south sea-front of the Golden Horn, where these families settled and lived. The area also became a significant centre of Greek presence at that time due to the transfer of the Ecumenical Patriarchate from the Pammakaristos monastery to the church of St George in Phanar at the turn of the 17th century. In the course of time, the Phanariot oligarchy managed to distinguish itself by its educational and cultural status, its commercial and financial activity, and its concomitant prosperity. This enabled the Phanariots to form a distinct social class within the society of Constantinople and to hold vital positions in the Ottoman administration from the second half of the 17th century onwards. From the Phanariot milieu came also a few patriarchs (e.g. Samouil Chantzeris). The Phanariots' intimate relationship with the Orthodox Church, in whose affairs they often interfered, is evident from their numerous benefactions. These developments attest to their great influence in the Ottoman empire, a fact that had significant repercussions for the Greek subjects too.

The Phanariots were not descendants of old, eminent Byzantine families who had remained in Constantinople after the fall of Byzantium, as some Phanariots later claimed and as is still erroneously believed. The Phanariots came mostly from provincial elite families who had moved to Constantinople later. Nor were they ethnically exclusively Greeks: some Romanian and Albanian families were included in their ranks. The Phanariots acquired an enhanced social status when important changes were made in the structure of post-Byzantine Greek society. In fact, there was an internal rivalry between the decaying old Greek aristocracy of Constantinople and the emerging class of new rich Phanariot families looking for positions of power and privilege within Ottoman society. Among Phanariot family names the following may be mentioned as prominent: the Aristarchis, the Mavroyenis, the Chantzeris, the Mourouzis, the Rangavis, the Racovitza, the Ypsilantis, the Neroulos, the Mavrokordatos, the Ghika, the Kallimachi, the Soutsos, the Karatzas, the Rosetti.

The first high office held by Phanariots was that of principal interpreter (*megas dierminevs*) to the Sublime Porte, which needed capable and skilled diplomats with a knowledge of western languages for its negotiations with European states. The first interpreter to be appointed was Panayotis Nikousios (1613–73), who was succeeded by Alexander Mavrokordatos (1641–1709) known as the Exaporite (*ex Aporrhiton*, "of the Secrets"), a man of remarkable erudition and skill, who negotiated the Treaty of Karlowitz in 1699. In fact, this office became a Phanariot monopoly throughout the 18th century until 1821. The last interpreter, Konstantinos Mourouzis, was executed in 1821 at the outbreak of the Greek War of Independence. Another office held by the Phanariots was that of interpreter to the High Admiral of the Ottoman Fleet (*dierminevs tou stolou*). The holders of these two offices were often in a position to extend their influence far beyond their immediate duties. Thus, as principal interpreters, they managed to influence the direction of Ottoman foreign policy in a decisive way and had contacts with many Western leaders, noblemen, and state officials. Further, as interpreters for the Ottoman fleet, they followed the *kaptan pasha* (admiral) and had the opportunity as intermediaries to deal with various issues pertaining to the Greek population in the Aegean islands.

Aside from these two offices, the most important post held by the Phanariots was that of prince (*hospodar*) of the Danubian principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia from the beginning of the 18th century. These regions belonged to the Ottoman empire, but retained their autonomy and were ruled by local princes. Although this office had already been given to Greeks (e.g. the Kantakouzenos family) in the 17th century, Moldavia from 1709/11 and Wallachia from 1715 were governed until 1821 exclusively by Phanariots drawn from a total of 11 families. In the capitals of these principalities, Jassy and Bucharest respectively, the Phanariots established their own courts with an entourage of courtiers and officials comparable to the imperial court in Constantinople. Due to the opportunities for wealth and power offered by these fertile regions, the competition between the Phanariot families for this post was particularly strong and there were constant plots and intrigues among them in Constantinople either to secure it or to overthrow an incumbent. In this way, the corruption of the Ottoman governmental system permeated also the Phanariot milieu in its various dealings with Ottoman authorities. It is no wonder then that Phanariot princes usually remained in office for a short time (an average of less than three years), though they often tried to incapacitate their rivals in the capital by various means, e.g. through their confidential agents (capuchehaia) in Constantinople.

An important contribution of Phanariot rule in the Danubian principalities had to do with the promotion of Greek culture through education. The organization and reform of the princely academies of Bucharest and Jassy transformed these cities into great centres of Greek culture, where numerous eminent, western-educated Greek intellectuals lived and taught (e.g. Nikolaos Zerzoulis, Nikephoros Theotokis, Josephos Moisiodax, Daniel Philippidis, Benjamin Lesvios, Stephanos Doungas, Konstantinos Vardalachos, Nikephoros Doukas, Stephanos Kommitas). Thus, the principalities became important channels through which Western ideas and influences reached the Greek world. Some Phanariots showed a particular predilection for making contacts with 18th-century Western intellectuals, for translating Western books into Greek, for publishing their own contributions in various fields (e.g. medicine, poetry, political thought and ethics), for stocking libraries, and for supporting intellectual endeavours (e.g. publishing books, inviting scholars to teach). The debt owed to these activities becomes evident from the dedications of many books by Greek scholars to Phanariot princes.

Other Phanariots (e.g. Dimitrios Katartzis) were supporters of the Ottoman empire and introduced certain social and intellectual reforms in the principalities without, however, calling into question the existing status quo. After the start of the French Revolution many Phanariots expressed certain reservations towards Western philosophy and some even collaborated with the patriarchate of Constantinople (e.g. at the patriarchal press) to suppress its impact in the East, though they acted out of their own interests too (e.g. in order to castigate the ambitious mercantile class supporting the Greek Enlightenment and the restructuring of society). But again, the Phanariots never resorted to blind reactionism and counter-Enlightenment, as many Orthodox clerics did; and some of them translated French works into Greek. The impact of the Phanariots is evident from the statement of a Greek intellectual in 1719 that the Phanar was no longer found in Constantinople, but was transferred to Bucharest. A large Greek merchant community had also settled in the principalities and did good business with central and western Europe. The establishment of Phanariot rule in the Danubian principalities thus facilitated the coexistence of a Greek bourgeoisie with Romanian boyars.

The Phanariots were strongly influenced by various elements of Greek culture, which they promoted through their writings and in other ways during their rule in the Danubian principalities. On the other hand, they were also influenced by the cherished heritage of Byzantine Orthodoxy. Some of them actually dreamed of recreating the Byzantine empire. Due to their involvement in the Ottoman administration, their social status, and their alliance with the Orthodox Church, the Phanariots were not bound to any specific national tradition, which explains why they did not favour the revolutionary ideas coming from the West.

The Phanariots and their wide influence in the Ottoman empire were viewed – even during their lifetime – from differing perspectives. In popular sentiment they were often identified with the Ottoman rulers and were criticized for having served principally their own interests in wealth, power, and prestige, and indirectly those of the Ottomans. As such, they were portrayed as oppressors of the Greek people (e.g. in the satirical poem *Rossanglogallos* at the beginning of the 19th century, which was directed against all the ruling elites of pre-independence Greece). They were also thought to have complete control of the Orthodox Church. From the middle of the 18th century there was an attempt to marginalize the Phanariots, initiated by an emerging Greek social class, led principally by merchants, who during the Greek Enlightenment sought positions of power and influence within society. There were also other critiques of Phanariot policies at a more sophisticated level, e.g. by Adamantios Korais. The most devastating attack on the Phanariot aristocracy was that by the physician Marc-Philippe Zallony in 1824, who depicted them as intriguers, ambitious, greedy, and totally neglectful of

the Greek population of the Ottoman empire. It is no wonder then that the designation "Phanariot" was sometimes used pejoratively to indicate a love for intrigue and rapacity. It is true that the Phanariots in the principalities were influenced by the feudal traditions of the previous Romanian landowners, a fact that changed the early bourgeois character of their social class and transformed them into a feudal aristocracy. Aside from these, the Phanariots were accused by Romanian historians and others of neglecting the individuality of the Romanian lands and of serving Greek interests by the imposition of Hellenism. Thus, they failed to identify with the aspirations of the Romanian people. Yet, it is also argued that the intellectual endeavours of the Phanariots exerted a major impact upon other Balkan peoples generally (e.g. the Romanians), since the Hellenization process in southeastern Europe was of utmost importance for the cultural development of these regions. Moreover, to spread the Greek language and education at that time in the greater Balkan area was not the same as the promotion of a Greek national identity.

Despite these negative assessments of the Phanariots and their social class, it cannot be denied that their rise to high positions in the Ottoman administration did not serve Ottoman interests alone, but had beneficial repercussions for the Greek population too. It should not be forgotten that court machinations and illicit give-and-take were the principal means of survival within the corrupt Ottoman system. The Phanariots were no exception to this prevailing tradition. And indirectly, they played a significant role in the articulation of political and intellectual aspects of Greek life. In the Phanariots the subject Greek people acquired an influential political entity that functioned both as a shelter for the development of letters and as a source of considerable prestige. Nor should it be forgotten that many Phanariots were executed by the Ottomans in retaliation for their activities and those of other Greek subjects. This proves that the Ottoman authorities considered the Phanariots as being close to the Greek people and their cause. As mentioned above, the Phanariots envisaged a restoration of the Byzantine empire with its centre in Constantinople. But this does not mean that the Phanariots were entirely against the Greek War of Independence. After all, it was Alexandros Ypsilantis (1792–1828) who started the unsuccessful Greek uprising in the principalities in 1821. Several other Phanariots (e.g. Dimitrios Ypsilantis, 1792–1832; Alexandros Mavrokordatos, 1791–1865) played a significant role later in the Greek War of Independence. The outbreak of this war led to a massacre of many Phanariots in Constantinople and brought an end to their power. Of those that survived, some remained in Turkey, some settled in Greece and Romania, while others emigrated to the West.

All in all, the Phanariots, aside from their caste system and their various ambitions, did act as catalysts for significant developments in the Ottoman empire vis-à-vis the Greek Orthodox population, and it was through their mediation that the first substantial encounter of the Greek world under Ottoman rule with western Europe before the Greek Enlightenment took place. Generally, they showed a bipolarity in their overall orientations and activities, oscillating between preserving traditions and introducing innovations in various fields. Their many critics and their undeniable flaws notwithstanding, the Phanariots represented a distinguished chapter in the history of post-Byzantine Hellenism that left an indelible mark upon eastern Europe.

VASILIOS MAKRIDES

See also Ottoman Period

Summary

The Phanariots, originally Greek Christian residents of the Phanar district in Constantinople, formed a social, economic, and political elite under Ottoman rule. From the 17th century on they held important positions in the Ottoman administration, notably as interpreters to the Sublime Porte and as princes of the Danubian principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia. They played a significant role in the survival of Hellenism both politically and culturally.

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Phidias

Athenian artist of the 5th century BC

Phidias, son of Charmides, was Athens' most prominent artist in the period between the start of the radical democracy and the beginning of the Peloponnesian War (*c.*462–431 BC). He was probably born around 490 BC. He was reputedly a pupil of Hegias and Hageladas of Argos (who also were supposed to be the teachers of Myron and Polyclitus), who introduced him to the new technique of bronze casting.

His earliest works can be dated only approximatively: they are a group of bronze statues in the sanctuary of Delphi, showing the victorious Athenian general Miltiades surrounded by gods and heroes (Pausanias, 10. 10. 1); an over-lifesize statue of *Athena Areia* (with a height of more than 3 m), whose clothes were of gold and flesh of marble, for a newly built temple at Plataea (Pausanias, 9. 4. 1; Plutarch, *Aristides*, 20; probably recognizable in the so-called Athena "Medici" type); and a giant bronze statue (about 9 m) of *Athena Promachos* ("front-fighter") on the Acropolis of Athens (Pausanias, 1. 28. 2). All these monuments were commissioned by the Athenian state as memorials of the victories at Marathon (490 BC), Plataea, and Salamis (480/79 BC); today it is widely believed that they were constructed around 460 BC, when because of its foreign policy situation (tensions with Sparta and Thebes) Athens was very much inclined to point to its leading role in the Persian Wars.

These works must already have won Phidias great fame by the middle of the 5th century BC; he apparently had connections with influential people in the city (above all Pericles) who decided what was to be built at Athens and by which artist. So when in 448 BC the city decided to rebuild the Parthenon with a huge statue of Athena Parthenos, Phidias was again commissioned to create this statue. More controversial is the question of how big a role Phidias really played in the building of the Parthenon itself and how many of its pediments, metopes, and friezes were really made by him: Plutarch (*Pericles*, 13) calls him "overseer" (*episkopos*) and credits him with a near-omnipotent role as leader and organizer; this, however, does not fit very well with our knowledge of democratic Athens, where many people had a surprisingly large say even in matters of art. On the other hand, the coherent conception of the building's exterior sculpture and its many connections with Athena Parthenos indicate that Phidias must have been at least a very influential supplier of ideas.

Phidias' fame rested chiefly on his *Athena Parthenos* and his *Olympian Zeus* (see below). Both were made of gold and ivory laid over a wooden core and additionally decorated with other precious materials. The *Athena* was 12 m high and her garments consisted of more than a ton of gold (consuming a sizeable part of the state treasury of Athens); her extended right hand held a Nike (goddess of victory), her left a spear and a shield embellished on the outside with an Amazonomachy, on the inside with a Gigantomachy; furthermore, a snake (the symbol of the mythical Athenian king Erechtheus) was curled up inside the shield. Lapiths and Centaurs adorned Athena's sandals, and her pedestal displayed the birth of Pandora in relief. At the centre of her aegis a Gorgon was displayed, and the triple crest of her helmet sported a sphinx and two Pegasi, its cheek-pieces griffins. The statue was finished in 438 BC, the exterior sculpture of the Parthenon in 432 BC. During this time Phidias had several other, minor public commissions: the statue of *Athena Lemnia*, also on the Acropolis; the so-called *Mattei Amazon* for a contest in Ephesus; and a cult statue of *Aphrodite Ourania* ("the heavenly") for Elis near Olympia.

Plutarch (*Pericles*, 31f.) reports that Pericles' enemies prosecuted Phidias for allegedly embezzling ivory from *Athena Parthenos* and for blasphemy (because he allegedly included his and Pericles' portrait on the *Parthenos*' shield); but the evidence for this trial (about 434 BC) is very contradictory, and Phidias' death in prison is almost surely a later fiction, for his workshop at Olympia, which has been found (with tools, terracotta moulds, and even a cup bearing his name), must be dated to the 430s BC. The *Olympian Zeus* (Strabo, 8. 353f.; Pausanias, 5. 10. 2ff.) was even bigger than the *Parthenos*: enthroned, he held a Nike in his right hand and a sceptre in his left; the throne itself was richly embellished with Graces, Seasons, Nikai, Sphinxes, the slaughter of the children of the Theban queen Niobe, and an Amazonomachy; Phidias' brother or nephew Panaenus decorated the screens between the legs of the statue with paintings of *Hellas and Salamis*, some of the *Labours of Heracles*, *Hippodamia and Sterope*, and *Achilles and Penthesilea*. Another Amazonomachy could be seen on Zeus' footstool, and the statue's pedestal showed the birth of Aphrodite. At some point in the 420s BC Phidias disappears from our sources; according to some, he was killed by the people of Elis, but there is no real evidence for this.

Reliable sources for Phidias' life are few; brief mentions by Aristophanes (*Peace*, 605–18) and Plato (*Meno*, 91d; *Protagoras*, 311c) provide the only contemporary written testimony; more informative, but not always reliable, is Plutarch's *Life of Pericles* (late 1st century AD). In his *Olympic Discourse* of AD 97 Dio Chrysostom stages an imaginary defence of the *Olympian Zeus* by Phidias himself against those who doubt

Phidias: copy of the statue of Athena (the Minerva with Collar) by Phidias, Louvre, Paris

that the majesty of a god can be rendered in human form; and in the 3rd century AD the Neoplatonist philosopher Plotinus pays an even more handsome tribute to this statue, which became one of the seven wonders of the world: he says (*Ennead*, 5. 8. 1) that Phidias did not make it from any earthly model, but that his imagination grasped what Zeus would look like if he wanted to make himself visible.

We do not really know what happened to Phidias' works in later antiquity. By the end of the 5th century AD most of them had probably already been destroyed; what at this time still survived of valuable artwork was in most cases transferred either to Rome or to Constantinople (the Neoplatonist Marinus (*Vita Procli*, 30) records that *Athena Parthenos* was taken out of the Parthenon during the lifetime of his teacher Proclus, but says nothing about the further fate of the statue). Probably the last mention of a work of Phidias may be found in the account of Niketas Choniates (*c.*1155–1217) that a statue of Athena (possibly the Promachos from the Acropolis) was destroyed by a raging mob who believed that her outstretched hand had lured foreign enemies into the city of Constantinople.

BALBINA BÄBLER

See also Ivory, Sculpture

Biography

Born *c.*490 BC the son of Charmides, Phidias was the most famous artist of 5th-century Athens. He was said to have been a pupil of Hegias and Hageladas of Argos. His fame rested largely on his statues of Athena Promachos for the Parthenon and of Zeus for Olympia. The extent of his role as overseer of the Parthenon as a whole is uncertain. He died probably in the 420s BC.

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Philhellenes

The term "philhellene" was first used in ancient Greece with regard to allies of the Greeks or to foreign rulers who imitated Greek ways. With the revival of interest in Greek culture and civilization during the Renaissance the term began to be used of any admirer of the ancient Greeks.

However, the established sense of philhellenism focuses on a multi-faceted yet specific 19th-century historical phenomenon, the manifold support by foreigners for the struggle of the Greeks for independence, particularly during the war years 1821–30. Philhellenism in this sense is sometimes defined in vague or contradictory terms; despite some good monographs on the subject, there is still room for an in-depth analysis and new interpretations.

Philhellenism should be seen in the context of 19th-century European cultural and political trends, notably Clacissism, Romanticism, and above all liberalism and radicalism. An all-embracing analysis of the phenomenon must take account of all the forms in which support for the Greek struggle for liberation and the establishment of a modern Greek state expressed itself.

Philhellenes: memorial to the philhellenes in the church of the Transfiguration, Nauplia. Nauplia played a major part in the War of Independence.

Up to the late 18th century interest in Greece was confined to an admiration for classicism by members of the educated middle and upper classes of western Europe. There was a steady stream of foreign travellers visiting the very lands where Greek civilization was born and flourished, and their numbers increased considerably in the early years of the 19th century. On their return home many of them published their impressions from the Levant, but – significantly and in contrast with earlier accounts – the new emphasis was not only on the material remains of ancient Greek civilization but also on the modern inhabitants of the region, who were now presented as having a direct link with the celebrated figures of antiquity. Manifestations of continuity with the Classical past were eagerly sought and publicized; the degenerate state of the contemporary Greeks was attributed to their harsh fate under the domination of infidels, while their aspirations for independence found a sympathetic response. The wave of sympathy was inflamed by the romantic movement and its widely circulating literary products with an oriental theme, the most influential being those by Byron (*Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* and *The Giaour*) and Chataubriand (*Les Martyres* and *Itinéraire de Paris à Jerusalem*).

Coming as it did soon after the national/liberal insurrections in other parts of Europe, the outbreak of the Greek revolution was viewed with great hostility by the European powers which, ever since the Congress of Vienna (1815) had been striving to maintain the status quo and not challenge the legitimacy of sovereigns. Predictably, this negative reaction on the part of a repressive establishment united the opposing forces in a common front supporting the Greek cause. They came from all walks of life: there were liberal and radical university students, Classical scholars and intellectuals; decommissioned soldiers of the now underactive European armies, persecuted Bonapartists, political refugees from repressive regimes, and former fighters of the failed risings in Spain, Portugal, and Italy; Christian philanthropists, social reformers, and even plain adventurers, dropouts, and speculators.

A great number of the philhellenes who would take active part in the conflict headed for Greece in the first year of the war. They generally had unrealistic expectations of the situation in the field and of the role they were destined to play themselves. Many were soon to be disillusioned by the almost total absence of planning and organization, the lack of pay, and the shortage of supplies. They could not understand or participate effectively in the traditional method of warfare practised in the region, which was based on undisciplined irregulars and had little use for regular soldiery of the European type. The harsh conditions, the war atrocities, and

the infighting for dominance among the Greek factions compounded their disappointment. Although westernized leaders of the Greeks made repeated attempts to organize a regular corps of foreign volunteers, such corps were shortlived and made little impact on military developments. After the decimation of a philhellenic battalion at the Battle of Peta (September 1822) the first phase of philhellenic activity in the field virtually came to an end.

Nevertheless, the movement continued and philhellenic committees were founded by philhellenes and Greeks of the diaspora in many European and American cities. Their aims were to promote the Greek cause with publications and appeals, to make collections, and organize military and humanitarian aid. Meanwhile the stream of new volunteers arriving in Greece was never interrupted, but it increased dramatically following the revival of philhellenic feeling in 1825, in the aftermath of Byron's death at Missolonghi and the subsequent heroic struggle and dramatic fall of the town of Missolonghi itself. In the meantime, the staying power of the insurgents had made the European governments reconsider the status quo in the eastern Mediterranean, where there was an increasing antagonism between Russia, France, and Britain, as each of the three wanted to expand its influence and trading interests in the region. This resulted in an uneasy triple alliance which, following the Battle of Navarino (1827), negotiated the establishment of the modern Greek state.

The number of people who helped the Greek cause systematically, many of them without ever having set foot in Greece, is impossible to estimate, but it is thought that around 1200 foreign volunteers participated in the war. These last came from all over Europe, but mostly from Germany, followed by France, Italy, and Britain, with a strong presence of Irish and Scots. Smaller numbers came from Switzerland, Poland, the Low Countries, and the United States; there were also Scandinavians and Spaniards. Some of the foreign professional officers – for example, Karl Normann, Charles Fabvier, Richard Church, Frank Abney Hastings, and Thomas Gordon – assumed roles of military leadership and participated in major battles, but on balance the military contribution of foreign volunteers was not a decisive factor in the outcome of the war. Their symbolic contribution to the Greek cause far outstripped their practical help.

While in most cases of philhellenism it is difficult to disentangle genuine affection for the Greeks and a sincere solidarity with their cause from other considerations, this is not the case with politicians of that period who pursued policies favourable to the Greek cause (a notable example is George Canning); therefore, they should not strictly be ranked among the philhellenes. However, in the category of philhellenes belong, along with the soldiers, a great number of others who supported the Greeks in many different ways. There were prominent figures who gave financial, moral, and ideological support, such as Charles James Napier and Frederick North (later Earl of Guildford) or Samuel Gridley Howe, who not only offered his services as a doctor during the war, but also toured America to collect donations for the Greek cause and organized relief for the war refugees. There were academics who became the guiding force in Greek committees, such as Professor Thiersch. There were theorists such as Jeremy Bentham, who prepared a draft for the Greek constitution, and reformers such as Leicester Stanhope, who promoted liberal and educational reforms in Greece. There were businessmen and philanthropists, such as Jean-Gabriel Eynard, who worked indefatigably, using his international contacts, personal funds, and organizational skills for the regeneration of Greece, both before, during, and after the liberation. Many of these people have left histories of the war, or first-hand accounts of their efforts and experiences in Greece (e.g. Maxime Raybaud, Howe, Gordon, George Finlay, or William Humphreys).

Most of the survivors who had come to Greece as volunteers did not stay in the country for long and, with few exceptions, left after the liberation. However, the philhellenic movement did not die with the end of the War of Independence. Ardent philhellenes, such as King Ludwig I of Bavaria, continued to show an active interest in the country. In the years to come philhellenic sentiments, generating humanitarian relief and even military aid, likewise kept surfacing during insurrections in the unliberated parts of Greece throughout the 19th century. As late as 1896–97 there was a philhellenic legion composed of Polish and German volunteers.

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See also Independence (War of), Romanticism

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Philip II 383/82–336 BC

King of Macedonia

The famous historian Theopompus said of Philip II that "Europe had never produced such a man at all as Philip, the son of Amyntas." Yet the same sentence can also be translated "Europe had never endured such a man at all as Philip, the son of Amyntas." The enigma reflects the mixed views of both Theopompus and other Greeks of the 4th century BC. Moreover, the conundrum persists today. Philip's dubious reputation stems from the hostility shown towards him by many of the ancient writers who treated his life and deeds. His mortal enemy was the eloquent Demosthenes, whose portrait

of him entirely in black has had the greatest impact on the historical imagination from antiquity to the present.

Philip was born in either 383 or 382 BC to Amyntas, king of Macedonia, and Eurydice, a princess of Lyncus. The northern connection proved vastly important to him, for the Illyrians in the northwest, the Paeonians in the north, and the Thracians in the northeast posed continual threats to Macedonia. The Greeks too exploited Macedonian weakness whenever possible. Philip spent three of his early years as a hostage in Thebes during the hegemony. There he learned much from Epaminondas and Pelopidas about Greek life. In 359 BC he returned home, and at the age of 24 ascended the throne.

At the outset Philip defeated the invading Paeonians and Illyrians, and coped with Athens, which supported the pretensions of Argaeus to the throne. This was the first of many Athenian acts of aggression against Philip. Success freed him for intervention in Thessaly at the request of the noble Aleuadae family. This friendly connection served him well by protecting his southern border and later allowing him direct entry into the mainstream of Greek affairs. Hence, by 358 BC Philip had confronted all his enemies by a combination of might and diplomacy.

Philip next built a new, mobile, formidable army, and in 357 BC he used it to conquer Amphipolis, which secured his eastern border and gave him command of the riverine commerce of the Strymon valley. Declaration of war by Athens failed to stop his move into the rich mining region of Mount Pangaeus. In 356 BC he seized Crenides, also rich in gold and silver, the income from which provided him with more than 1,000 talents a year. Now freed from economic worries, in 356 BC he suppressed discontent among the Thracians, Paeonians, and Illyrians, and obstructed Athenian ambitions in the northern Aegean. With his conquest of Pydna, Potidaea, Anthmus, and Methone by 354 BC he gained control of the entire Macedonian coast. Victories in the north and peace in the south gave Philip a secure kingdom, which he further consolidated by winning the complete allegiance of the nobility and moving Macedonians from their mountain fastnesses to newly established cities in the plain. Urban life thereby flourished, and many of these cities survive today in altered form.

Philip entered the main current of Greek affairs by invitation, not by design. In 355 BC Greece had become embroiled in the Sacred War, sparked when the Phocians illegally seized the sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi, whereupon they systematically plundered it. The members of the Amphictyonic Confederacy, which included Thessaly and Thebes, had vainly striven to dislodge the temple robbers. In 354 BC the Phocian general Onomarchus attempted to drive Thessaly from the war by supporting the rebellious tyrants of Pherae. The Thessalians appealed to Philip for help, and he proved so successful that Pherae entreated Onomarchus for relief. After hard fighting, Onomarchus drove Philip from Thessaly, but in the following year Philip defeated Onomarchus at the Battle of the Crocus Plain. Philip added a symbolic meaning to his victory, for he announced that he came to Greece as a champion of Apollo, whose sanctuary he intended to liberate. He came to Greece not as a foreign invader but as the pious defender of Greek religion.

Philip used his victory in Thessaly wisely by bringing it and its federal government completely over to his side. He systematically conquered the strategically vital harbour of Pagasae, next won Pherae, and reduced the rest of Thessaly to his will, the culmination of which was his election as archon of the Thessalian Confederacy. His new position in Thessaly permanently altered the face of Greek politics. He was now the most powerful man in Greece, and no single state could stand against him.

Alarmed by Philip's success in Thessaly, Athens strengthened its position in Thrace. In 352 BC it gained the Chersonese from Cersebleptes. After a campaign in the northwest that took him nearly to the Adriatic, Philip in 351 BC made sweeping gains in Thrace that threatened Athenian designs more closely. In the following spring Philip attacked Olynthus to remove the last major impediment in his political road. In 352 BC Olynthus had made peace with Athens, a breach of its earlier treaty with Philip. In 349 BC Philip declared war, whereupon Olynthus concluded an alliance with Athens. Yet an Athenian relief force proved too small to accomplish anything. Forgoing a direct attack on Olynthus, Philip instead reduced 32 surrounding allied cities, most of them scattered throughout the region. In 348 BC he conquered Torone and Mecyberna, the port of Olynthus, thus closing the trap. Athenian help availed nothing, and in 346 BC Philip took and razed Olynthus. Athens had none the less openly declared war on Philip.

The years 347–346 BC proved fruitful for Philip. At the request of Thessaly and Thebes he marched into Phocis to end the Sacred War. His presence intimidated Athens into making peace. In 346 BC Philip and his allies and Athens with its naval allies concluded the Peace of Philocrates. All other states were excluded. While the negotiations were still pending, Philip defeated Cersebleptes, thus giving him control of the Chersonese. He now stood on the western side of the Hellespont, where he anchored the eastern flank of his empire both militarily and diplomatically.

After the peace Philip campaigned in the north from 344 to 340 BC, during which he subdued the Illyrians as far north as Albania, Epirus, and Thrace, where he established Philippopolis. These expeditions took Macedonian power north of the Great Balkan range. In the northeast he attacked Perinthus and Byzantium in 340 BC, but Athenian and Persian aid foiled his plans. In 339 BC Philip decided that Athens' time had come. Entering central Greece through the Dhema pass, he outflanked Thermopylae and reached Elatea, just three days' march from Attica. Demosthenes rallied first Athens and then Thebes to war. Throughout the year they parried Philip's thrusts, but in 338 BC he reached the small plain of Chaeronea unopposed. The ensuing battle was marked by hard fighting on both sides, but the Macedonians cut through the stubborn front of the Thebans and smashed the Athenians. Even though Philip had not vanquished all of Greece, he was nevertheless *hegemon* (commander) of it.

Military victory was crowned with political consolidation. In 337 BC Philip summoned the Greeks to a congress at Corinth. There he established the so-called League of Corinth that forged a general alliance of Greeks and Macedonians. Each member state received protection from external attack and freedom from outside interference in local affairs. Delegates of the cities met in common assembly to formulate policy, and Philip was elected *hegemon* to implement its resolutions in peace and lead it in war. One of his first acts was to

summon the Greeks to a great crusade against Persia under his leadership. Contingents were assigned and muster ordered for the following spring.

His work in Corinth done, the lord of Greece returned to Macedonia to celebrate his seventh marriage and to prepare for the Persian expedition. His last wedding proved to be his last act. Philip entered the theatre at Aegae at the head of the wedding procession only to be struck down by an assassin. The party who instigated the deed was never discovered. All tracks had been too carefully covered. Alexander, soon to be called the Great, quickly and effortlessly ascended the throne. Philip was buried with great pomp, but his achievements did not die with him.

Philip's legacy reached from his day to this. He inspired the Macedonians to resist Rome, and even Roman victory did not erase his memory. As late as the 19th century his fame remained alive in Macedonian legends, and numerous myths perpetuated the memory of his famous kingdom. Folklore also attributed many of the ruins of antiquity to him. During the Greek War of Independence he served as an inspiration but in a mixed fashion. Although some Greeks compared him to various Turkish leaders, most saw him as a champion against the barbarians. Since World War II the communists and their successors have tried to establish a Slavic state of Macedonia, against which the Greeks have reasonably objected. In the midst of this controversy Philip returned to uphold the Greek cause. In 1978 Greek archaeologists discovered at Vergina a royal tomb that was almost certainly Philip's. Whosesoever it was, it is purely Greek, dating from the late 4th century BC, incontestable proof of Philip's success in cultivating Hellenism in northern Greece. That heritage is as strong today as it was at his death.

JOHN BUCKLER

See also Macedonia

Biography

Born in 383 or 382 BC the son of Amyntas and Eurydice, Philip spent three early years as a hostage at Thebes where he learnt much about Greece from Epaminondas and Pelopidas. Returning home in 359 he became king of Macedon at the age of 24. By a series of campaigns he established Macedonian supremacy and at Chaeronea in 338 he defeated an alliance of Athenians and Thebans. He was assassinated at Aegae in 336 BC.

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Philip V 238–179 BC

King of Macedonia

The young prince Philip was left fatherless as a boy of 9 in 229 BC upon the death of his father Demetrius II. He was placed in the care of a regent, a royal relative named Antigonus Doson, and was sent to Aratus of Sicyon, a Greek statesman and head of the Achaean League, in order to learn about Greek affairs. The effects of this education on Philip's later behaviour are impossible to calculate. He acceded to the throne in his own right in 221 BC, and quickly became embroiled in the Social War in which he and the Hellenic League faced the Aetolians, Sparta, and their allies. This war (217–200 BC) marked his transition into a mature king.

Philip was a brilliant military commander whose flair got him further than the odds against him should have allowed (although he experienced some spectacular setbacks), but he was reckless and foolhardy. The destruction of the kingdom of Macedonia and the eventual domination of northern Greece by Rome must in large measure be laid at Philip's door. He became alienated from Aratus (and his possible moderating influence) when he fell under the influence of Demetrius of Pharos, an Illyrian dynast whom Rome had placed in control of the Adriatic island of Pharos (Hvar in modern Croatia) and then displaced. Demetrius therefore harboured a deep-seated grievance against Rome, and incited Philip in the same direction. The final break came with Aratus' death in 213 BC, after Philip had seduced Aratus' daughter-in-law. Aratus died, claiming that Philip had poisoned him.

Philip irritated Rome by interfering in Illyria by land and sea, and by staging campaigns in Greece against Roman allies and on behalf of its enemies. Rome's declaration of war on Philip was probably inevitable. Three Macedonian wars against Rome and its allies ensued. Philip's military successes, continued meddling in the affairs of other Greek states, and alliances with various other Hellenistic monarchs increased Rome's suspicions of his political motives and led it to regard him as a dangerous threat. Paradoxically, the Romans claimed to be protectors of Greek freedom against Philip. The appointment of the great Roman general Flamininus to the command in the Second Macedonian War led to Philip's decisive defeat at the Battle of Cynoscephalae (in Thessaly) in 197 BC.

Philip was allowed to remain king, but a fine of 1,000 talents was levied on Macedonia, and his elder son Demetrius was taken to Rome as a hostage. Philip was confined to his kingdom and concentrated on rebuilding his country, with considerable success. He needed to be seen as an active ally of Rome in its further campaigns in Greece while in reality he bridled at his treatment. He continued to pursue an active foreign policy in Thrace, which only fuelled Rome's continued suspicions against him. After Demetrius had returned from Rome, his dubious actions and demeanour led his father to fear him as a Roman-inspired pretender to the throne. Perhaps encouraged by his younger son Perseus (who stood to benefit), Philip had Demetrius killed, thereby clearing the way for the accession of Perseus to the Macedonian throne.

Philip set forth on a great tour of his kingdom, but fell seriously ill in Amphipolis in 179 BC and died soon after. Perseus

inherited a kingdom that was far stronger than it had been at the beginning of Philip's reign. The irony of Philip's reconstruction of Macedonian manpower and its economy lies in the fact that Perseus thought that the country was strong enough to face Rome a third time – this time with fatal results.

It is not easy to assess Philip V's place in the Hellenic world. He is one of the last larger-than-life figures to emerge from the Hellenistic monarchies, but, his dynamic personality aside, this is due to the abundant ancient evidence about his life and career. Given his unique place in history between Greece and Rome, he was an object of fascination to Greek as well as to Roman historians. The flaws in Philip's character are clear and his military genius is undoubted, but hindsight shows that this dangerous combination ultimately opened northern Greece to Roman rule. The final assessment of F.W. Walbank still cannot be bettered:

> But perhaps the greatest irony of all lies in this, that the king of Macedon, who was renowned above all for his energy, speed and enterprise, who opened his reign as the "darling of Greece" ... should claim his place in world history, not for any of these things which he initiated, but solely as the unwitting instrument that enabled the culture of Greece to spread along the paths of the legions to Rome, and so to the western civilisation that grew up after her.
>
> (Walbank, 1940, p. 275)

E.E. RICE

See also Antigonids

Biography

Born in 238 BC the son of Demetrius II, Philip was adopted (after his father's death in 229) by Antigonus Doson and sent to Aratus in Sicyon to be trained. He succeeded Antigonus as king of Macedonia in 221 BC. He was a brilliant commander and restored the fortunes of his kingdom, but he antagonized Rome. Fearing the treason of his elder son Demetrius, Philip had him killed. Philip died at Amphipolis in 179 BC.

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Philo

Jewish philosopher of the 1st century AD

Philo, born in the latter half of the 1st century BC, belonged to a wealthy priestly family in the large Jewish community in Alexandria. Of the course of his life we know nothing save that in AD 39/40, as an old man, he was part of an embassy to Rome to plead the religious rights of the Jews with the emperor Caligula. He was the author of a large number of predominantly philosophical works, many of them taking the form of a commentary on passages from the Pentateuch in the Alexandrian Greek translation known as the Septuagint, in which he sought to reconcile God's revelation to Moses, in which he deeply believed, with the Platonic philosophy of his day (nowadays known as Middle Platonism). Because he believed in the inspired nature of the Septuagint translation, he had no need for recourse to the original Hebrew text, and there is no real evidence of his knowledge of the Hebrew language. His Hellenized Judaism was probably typical of many Greek-speaking Jews of his day, but stands at a distance from the contemporary emerging Rabbinic tradition, in which form Judaism was transmitted to the Middle Ages and beyond to the present day. There are consequently no explicit traces of Philonic influence on subsequent Jewish tradition, and no Jew mentions him by name until Azariah de Rossi in the 16th century. His writings were treasured and preserved by Christians, especially of the Alexandrian tradition.

As with the Stoics in their reconciliation between philosophy and the Homeric epics, Philo's method of reconciliation was allegorical exegesis. His Platonic reading of the divine revelation to Moses in the Pentateuch yields a metaphysical view of God and the cosmos, and of the place of the human within it, that is in many respects typical of the Middle Platonism of his day. His God is one and transcendent and consequently utterly beyond any human comprehension: Philo has a good claim to the title of "the father of negative theology". This one transcendent God is manifest in the universe through his "powers" (*dynameis*), in which his kingly rule and beneficent providence are manifest. The highest of these powers (and sometimes apparently distinct from them) is the Word, or *Logos*, which has some of the characteristics of the Stoic *logos*, some of the Platonic *nous* (or intellect), but is uniquely regarded by Philo (responding to the language of the scriptures) as the utterance of God, as the one who speaks, pre-eminently to Moses. Here, and in other ways, we find in Philo a sense of God's personhood, lacking in his Middle Platonic contemporaries. In his understanding of creation, the account of Genesis is read in the light of Plato's *Timaeus*, and the cosmos, informed by the world-soul, is modelled on the soul–body unity of the human person. In his ethics Philo for the most part follows the Stoics.

Because so much of Philo's work survives, compared with contemporary Middle Platonists, he is an important witness to the philosophical matrix from which Neoplatonism developed, even though his own influence on the Neoplatonists themselves may not be very great. His Platonized Hebraism, however, paved the way for Christian Platonism; it is for his influence on

Christian thinkers that he is important, beginning with Clement of Alexandria and Origen in Alexandria in the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD, and manifest in the 4th century in exegetes such as Didymus the Blind, also an Alexandrian, and the Cappadocian Fathers, especially Gregory of Nyssa. In his *Life of Moses* Philo provided a two-part interpretation of the biblical account of Moses' life: the first part tells the biblical story of Moses, and the second part, through an allegorical account of events from that life, provides an account of how the mind relates to God and the world. Gregory of Nyssa's own *Life of Moses* is clearly inspired by Philo's, and presents Moses' life in the second part as an allegory of the Christian life, understood as the ascent of the soul to God. Through Gregory's version, Philo's *Life of Moses* became one of the models for the *Lives* of the saints, perhaps the most popular form of literature in the Byzantine world. Philo's fundamentally contemplative ideal of the philosophical life had a profound influence on Christian monasticism (already with the Cappadocian Fathers, the "philosophical life" is a synonym for monasticism), and his work *On the Contemplative Life*, in which he gives an account of the life of a Jewish community called the *therapeutae* ("servants" or "worshippers" [of God]), was taken by Eusebius and many after him to be an account of an early Christian monastic community.

ANDREW LOUTH

See also Jews

Biography

Born in Alexandria in the second half of the 1st century BC, Philo was a leading exponent of Jewish culture. He accompanied an embassy to Rome in AD 39/40 to the emperor Caligula. He wrote many philosophical works in the form of commentaries on scripture. His writings paved the way for Christian Platonism and were more influential on subsequent Christian thought than Jewish.

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Philodemus *c.*110–40 BC

Philosopher and poet

Philodemus of Gadara studied philosophy in Athens, choosing Epicureanism from the several schools there as the doctrine he would follow for the rest of his life. After Athens, and perhaps after a stay in Alexandria, he lived in and around the bay of Naples, where Greeks had settled earlier but whose pleasant surroundings were attracting Romans; many of them were eager to be instructed in the ways of Epicureanism by Siro and Philodemus, both of whom made the acquaintance of Virgil and his circle of friends. Philodemus seems also to have attracted L. Calpurnius Piso Caesoninus, the father-in-law of Julius Caesar, as his patron. When Mount Vesuvius erupted in AD 79, covering Pompeii and nearby towns, the impressive villa on the shore of Herculaneum was found upon excavation in the 18th century to contain the charred papyrus remains of a library comprising, for the most part, Greek Epicurean texts, many by Philodemus. It is usually assumed that Piso was the villa's original owner. Since Philodemus refers in one of his works to his own house as "a humble cottage", he would not have lived in the villa himself, as is sometimes thought.

In addition to the papyrus remains found at Herculaneum, we also have about 35 Greek epigrams written by Philodemus which were preserved in the manuscripts containing the *Greek Anthology*. Although Epicurus discouraged his followers from writing poetry, Lucretius, Philodemus, and some others found ways to justify their poetic activities. What makes Philodemus particularly interesting is that among his prose treatises are several concerned with the composition of poetry and music, which prove to be among the most important theoretical writings on these subjects from Greek antiquity. In his *On Poems* Philodemus argues that poetry is to be judged not by its didactic or instructional value but rather by criteria that are largely but not entirely aesthetic. Poetry, that is, should play with ideas; but if one truly desires to be instructed in the ways of philosophy, there is no substitute for lectures and prose argument. Other writings by Philodemus on literary subjects are *On Music*, *On the Good King According to Homer*, and a *Rhetoric*. In these, as in most of his prose, Philodemus typically reviews and criticizes the various views proposed by others before offering his own views. This methodology is welcome in that it provides information otherwise unknown about obscure theorists of the Hellenistic period. Unfortunately, however, the fragmentary nature of the Herculaneum papyri is often such that isolated sentences, even if largely comprehensible in themselves, cannot be assigned to their proper authors.

Much of Philodemus' writing is ethical in nature. From one large work, *On Vices and Virtues*, and substantial fragments from several other books are extant: *On Flattery* (book 7), *On Household Management* (*Oeconomicus*, book 9), and *On Arrogance* (book 10). Other works preserved to varying degrees are *On Frankness*, *On Anger*, *On Death*, and an untitled ethical work now called, after its first editor, the *Comparetti Ethics*. Philodemus' writings thus nicely complement those of Lucretius, who concentrated almost exclusively in his Epicurean poem on the nature of matter and the causes of natural phenomena, with almost no attention paid to ethical concerns.

Only on the most important subject of death do Philodemus and Lucretius overlap to any appreciable extent, for Epicurus was convinced that only by learning to live without fear of death could mankind achieve and maintain the state of *ataraxia* (lack of disturbance) necessary for happiness. The Epicurean view, denying that there is any life after death or any reincarnation, or that the gods have any concern for our welfare (see Philodemus' *On the Gods*), was used to argue that we should be happy with what little is required to satisfy the basic needs of the body. Philodemus' personal and gentle treatment contrasts noticeably with Lucretius' harsh way of dealing with this subject.

Other ethical works by Philodemus are *On Piety*, *On Frankness*, and *On Anger*. Frankness, or freedom of speech, is not to be taken too literally: Philodemus is here concerned with the appropriate language that one should use in various circumstances, which often calls for caution rather than complete truth. In *On Anger* Philodemus argues, against the Stoic position, that there are indeed times when a display of anger is appropriate.

Philodemus also wrote a work on scientific method, *On Signs*, and some histories of philosophy. It seems, however, that most, if not all, copies of his prose were destroyed in AD 79, although Diogenes Laertius (3rd century AD) may have organized his biographies of Greek philosophers (which end with a lengthy, favourable life of Epicurus) along the lines he found in Philodemus' history of philosophy. Philodemus' poetry, however, which had a much wider audience than his prose, survived on its own to influence contemporary Roman poets (Virgil, Catullus, Horace) and their immediate successors (Ovid, Tibullus, Propertius). Selected epigrams were incorporated by Philip of Thessalonica into his *Garland* of epigrams, which in turn found its way into the *Greek Anthology*, where Philodemus was read and admired from the Renaissance until the present day.

DAVID SIDER

Biography

Born at Gadara in Syria *c.*110 BC, Philodemus studied philosophy in Athens and became a follower of Epicureanism. Moving to Italy, he settled near Naples. Through L. Calpurnius Piso Caesoninus he was acquainted with many students of Greek literature including Horace and Virgil. Some 35 poems of his survive in the *Greek Anthology*. Some of his prose writings survive in charred papyri rescued from Piso's villa in Herculaneum. He died *c.*40 BC.

Writings

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Philokalia

Anthology of Christian texts

The title "Philokalia" is an ancient one. It means, literally, "love of the beautiful"; beauty being understood, on the basis of the Platonic tradition, as coincident with the Good on the highest level. In Christian usage it was employed by St Basil and St Gregory of Nazianzus as the title of their compilation drawn from the works of Origen. It became a familiar designation of works of compilation in later centuries. The most famous such compilation is that edited and published by St Makarios of Corinth and St Nikodimos of the Holy Mountain: *The Philokalia of the Holy Neptic Fathers* (Venice, 1782).

It is likely that this anthology was based in part on earlier Athonite compilations. This was certainly the view of the Slavonic translator of the *Philokalia*, St Paisy Velichkovsky. No one manuscript or group of manuscripts has, however, been satisfactorily identified as the source. The material was gathered by St Makarios on Mount Athos and presented to Nikodimos in 1777. Nikodimos revised and corrected the text, providing a preface and notes for each of the authors represented. It was Makarios who arranged for its publication in Venice.

The material dates from the 4th to the 15th centuries and provides an excellent summary of the eastern Christian spiritual tradition. The earliest material is from Evagrius of Pontus (*c.*345–99). There are also significant works of (Pseudo-)Macarius (4th century), St Diadochus of Photice (5th century), St Mark the Monk (5th century), St Maximos the Confessor (580–662), St Hesychios of Batos (?8th century), St Peter of Damascus (?12th century), and many texts from the 13th- and 14th-century hesychasts. The anthology covers a great range of writers, virtually all from a monastic background. The selection may have been partly influenced by the availability of texts. The *Apophthegmata Patrum* and the *Ladder* of St John Klimakos, works that would have been available in abundance on Athos, are absent. The selection from (Pseudo-)Macarius is from the less familiar Collection IV of his works. Among the authors selected, St Maximos the Confessor and St Gregory Palamas carry particular weight. There are no texts from western writers, with the one exception of St John Cassian who, in fact, stands very much in the eastern Christian tradition.

The focus of the texts is prayer. They deal primarily with the inner life of the monk. The writings are a school of *nepsis* (vigilance) and *hesychia* (stillness). Later texts put special emphasis on the practice of the Jesus prayer as a means of attaining true prayer of the heart. The writings have as their aim, as the title page puts it, "the purification, illumination, and perfection of the spiritual intellect through moral philosophy on the levels of action and contemplation". The tradition of the *Philokalia* is deeply experiential: theology is never separated from the living experience of God. As Abba Evagrius puts it: "If you are a theologian, you will pray truly. If you pray truly, you are a theologian." This is a sentiment echoed nearly a millennium later by St Gregory Palamas: "Our devotion lies not in words, but in realities." The *Philokalia* has as its aim the achievement of such perfect union between man and God that man may be said to be deified: all else is subordinated to that goal.

Despite the monastic provenance of the texts, the *Philokalia* was aimed at monastics and laypeople alike, as the title page states: "for the common benefit of the Orthodox". They are intended to be read within the context of the living tradition of the Church and under the guidance of a spiritual father. More than that, these texts were published to reanimate and reinvigorate the genuine tradition of the Orthodox Church. Both Makarios and Nikodimos belonged to the movement for liturgical and spiritual renewal known collectively as the Kollyvades. Against the prevailing mentality of the Enlightenment and the spiritual decline of Greece under the Tourkokratia, the Kollyvades looked to a patristic and Byzantine *ressourcement*, to a recovery of the ascetic and mystical tradition of the Church. Even Athos had not been immune to the mindset of the Enlightenment, as witnessed by the establishment of the Athonite Academy under Evgenios Voulgaris (1716–1806). The *Philokalia* represents a kind of response to the dry scholasticism of Enlightenment-influenced theology. It stands as a call to reacquire the experiential, lived theology of the eastern Christian tradition. It provides an alternative to the divorce between theology and mysticism, nature and supernature, time and eternity, implicit within the modern western mentality. It is perhaps for this reason that it has proved so attractive to the contemporary West.

The influence of the *Philokalia* in the Greek-speaking lands was not initially very great. Its early influence was most palpable in Romania and Russia. It was reissued in Greek only in 1893, and not published again for more than 60 years, in 1957–63. The fact that no translations appeared in modern Greek until the 1960s may also have restricted its influence. As St Paisy Velichkovsky observed: "These books are written in the purest Greek tongue, which few among the Greeks understand much of now, except for learned people, and many do not understand it at all; therefore such books have fallen into all but complete oblivion." There are echoes of a response to the call of the *Philokalia* in writers such as Alexandros Papadiamantis, but it is only in the latter half of the 20th century that the kind of *ressourcement* urged by and typified in the *Philokalia* has begun to take hold in Greece. Much of the stimulus to this response has come from outside, most notably from the "Paris school" of the Russian Orthodox diaspora. Figures such as Demetrios Koutroublis have acted as catalysts in this process. It is a renaissance that is now firmly rooted in Greek soil. The monastic revival of modern Greece, in particular, owes a great debt to the "mystical school of noetic prayer" that is the *Philokalia*.

MARCUS PLESTED

See also Kollyvades

Summary

In Christian usage the term *Philokalia* was applied to compilations of spiritual writings. Most famously it is applied to the compilation made by St Makarios of Corinth and St Nikodimos of the Holy Mountain and published in 1782 with the title *The Philokalia of the Holy Neptic Fathers*. It incorporates a wide range of mystical writings from the 4th to the 15th centuries which form a summary of the Eastern Christian spiritual tradition.

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Philopoemen *c.*252–182 BC

Achaean statesman

Philopoemen, son of Craugis of Megalopolis in the Peloponnese, grew up against the background of the political activities of the Achaean League (a federation of Greek cities in the Peloponnese) under its most famous leader Aratus of Sicyon. He became the pupil of Demophanes and Ecdelus, the liberators of Megalopolis from the tyrant who ruled the city in the mid-3rd century BC. Since Demophanes and Ecdelus had been pupils of the famous philosopher Arcesilaus of Pitane, head of the Academy in Athens, theories have been put forward about their philosophical influence upon the young Philopoemen. It can at least be said that they were staunch opponents of tyrannical government wherever they found it, and Philopoemen's predilection for federal government stayed with him throughout his life.

Philopoemen espoused the policies of the Achaean League, especially its strong anti-Spartan bias. He fought with the league against Sparta at the Battle of Sellasia in 221 BC, playing a prominent role that was lavishly praised by the historian Polybius (see below), and spent the next 11 years in Crete apparently furthering Macedonian interests there. His return to the Peloponnese coincided with the power vacuum in league politics left by the death of Aratus in 213 BC. He began holding league offices in 210 BC, and was elected its general for the first time in 208 BC.

Philopoemen finally helped to defeat the Spartan usurper Nabis, and forcibly united Sparta to the Achaean League in 192 BC, and he fought for its continued membership despite attempts to detach it by rival factions supported by Rome. His harsh treatment of Sparta alienated even some Achaean supporters and led to Spartan complaints in the Roman Senate. Philopoemen fell out of favour with Rome when he and his supporters maintained that various suggested solutions to Peloponnesian problems were none of Rome's concern but internal league affairs. He furthered his beliefs through league policies in the face of growing Roman involvement in the Peloponnese, although his intransigence caused a rift in the league. The political situation was unresolved when Philopoemen was captured in battle in Messenia in 183/82 BC and he died in prison, perhaps poisoned by his captors; poison was, of course, alleged by his political heirs.

Before his dramatic public funeral, Philopoemen's ashes were borne in an emotional procession back to Megalopolis by the young Polybius (later the historian), whose father Lycortas

had been a friend and close political ally of Philopoemen (Lycortas succeeded Philopoemen as general of the league and continued to carry out his policies vigorously). In his later *Histories* Polybius, understandably profoundly affected by these earlier events, depicted Philopoemen as a great folk hero of the Achaean League and a great Greek patriot standing firm against the threat of Rome. Because the writings of Polybius are our best historical source for this period, his picture of Philopoemen has coloured later appreciation of him. Most modern scholarship would now argue that Philopoemen's vision was parochial and his policies blinkered by his opposition to Sparta and Rome. With the benefit of hindsight it is clear that the Achaean League could not in the end resist the power of Rome, and Philopoemen's activities led to greater Roman interference in Greek affairs and to the ultimate defeat of the Achaean League in 146 BC.

In his *Life of Philopoemen* Plutarch (1. 4) says that a certain Roman called Philopoemen "the last of the Greeks". Plutarch himself interprets this to mean that "Greece produced no great man after him, nor one worthy of her" (Loeb translation), but this is clearly a banal observation that is manifestly untrue. The explanation of this enigmatic statement has been widely debated by modern scholars. The most plausible interpretation is that Philopoemen was the last Greek in this turbulent age to achieve local political independence – albeit temporary – for his state. In this case it was the Greek Achaean League against the dominant power of Rome. Like Aratus before him, who had achieved similar freedoms, and because no later Greek was to have equal success in this regard, Philopoemen was thus worthy of extravagant praise and the accolade "the last of the Greeks" (see Errington, 1969, pp.216–27).

E.E. RICE

Biography

Born *c.*252 BC the son of Craugis of Megalopolis, Philopoemen was a pupil of Demophanes and Ecdelus. He fought for the Achaean League against Sparta at the Battle of Sellasia (221 BC) and then served 11 years in Crete. Returning to the Peloponnese on the death of Aratus, he became general of the league in 208. In 192 he brought Sparta into the league but lost favour with Rome. Captured by Messenians, he died in prison in 182 BC.

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Philoponus, John

Philosopher of the 6th century AD

John Philoponus was born in Caesarea around 490 and died in Alexandria after 567, perhaps even after 574. The biographical information about him is extremely scanty. The name "Philoponus" is a nickname, presumably given to him either because he was a "lover of work" or because he belonged to the Alexandrian guild of *philoponoi* or church helpers. He was also called "Grammarian", a title that is usually taken to imply that he never succeeded in obtaining the chair of philosophy. He seems to have been a Christian by birth. He was a student of Ammonius, who was a son of Hermeias and head of the Alexandrian Neoplatonist school.

Philoponus' activities extend into several fields, but his chief claim to fame is his massive attack on the Aristotelian science of the time, in particular Aristotle's assumption of the eternity of the world. He wrote at least three treatises for this purpose. The first, *De Aeternitate Mundi contra Proclum*, was written in or shortly after 529 and is thought to have been intended as a demonstration to the authorities that it was unnecessary to extend their measures against the Neoplatonists of Athens to Alexandria because the Neoplatonists there had reached an understanding with the Christians. Most of the surviving fragments of the second work, *De Aeternitate Mundi contra Aristotelem*, are preserved by Simplicius, but some more fragments have also been found in Arabic and Syriac sources. In *De Opificio Mundi* Philoponus argues that there is no inconsistency between the cosmogony of the Bible and science.

In all these treatises Philoponus' arguments are primarily based on a central contention, which springs from the Christian conception of creation, namely that the universe had a beginning. The object of his attack was the dominant Aristotelian view that postulated the eternity of the universe and the dichotomy of heaven and earth, according to which the celestial region has an invariable structure whereas things in the sublunar region may be contingent. Philoponus refuted Aristotle's doctrine that the celestial bodies are made of indestructible aether – i.e. the fifth element whose natural movement is circular – by referring to astronomical observations that prove that the stars have specific motions not homocentric with the universe. In fact, he argued that the sun and the stars must be composed of fire, and that the different colours indicate differences in material composition. Thus, he inferred that the heavenly bodies are not distinct from the terrestrial ones, and hence are not eternal. Philoponus moreover argued, against the Aristotelian and Neoplatonic belief in the eternity of the world, that the universe, like every organic entity, is composed of parts that actually change at different rates, which may be extremely low.

In addition, Philoponus criticized Aristotle's explanations of dynamics, and proposed his own innovative theories on velocity in a void and on impetus. He believed, unlike Aristotle, that void is possible and that velocity in a void need not be infinite. Of great importance also is his doctrine of the impetus, in which he developed earlier ideas of Hipparchus and Ptolemy and rejected the Aristotelian conception that a body can perform a motion other than its natural one only as long as a force acts on it; it was supposed, for example, that a projectile is kept moving by the constant push of the air behind it. Philoponus, on the other hand, advocated that an immaterial kinetic power is imparted by the thrower to the object thrown and keeps the projectile moving until the power is consumed. Later, Philoponus expanded impetus theory into a unifying system by claiming that God impressed different kinds of impetus into bodies at the time of the Creation. Philoponus'

theory of light is also related to his concept of the impetus, in that he regards light as an impetus emitted from the luminous body and propagated to the eye according to the laws of geometrical optics. This conception is opposed to that of Aristotle, who regarded light as the actualization of a potential state of a transparent medium, thus in no way associating it with motion.

Though not all of these ideas were entirely new, they were argued by Philoponus with great detail and thoroughness, and were often to prove more influential in Philoponus' version than in those of his predecessors. In particular, Philoponus' theory of the impetus was very influential, even if his eventual influence was delayed by theological controversy. For since he was anathematized in 600 for his views on Christology, his theories were marginalized and first taken up by Islamic philosophers in the 12th century. They became known in the Latin west only in the 13th century, some by direct translation, but most as filtered through Arabic sources, so that they were not attributed to him, with the result that modern scholars have believed them to be discoveries of the philosophers of the 13th century. He finally came fully into his own with the extensive Latin translations of the Renaissance, so that he came to be acknowledged by such thinkers as Galileo, and his ideas contributed to the breakaway from Aristotelian science.

Similar views are expressed in Philoponus' commentaries on Aristotle's physical works, namely in his commentary on the *Physica*, the *De Generatione et Corruptione*, and the *Meteorologica*. In addition, Philoponus composed commentaries on Aristotle's logical works, the *Categoriae* and the *Analytica Priora et Posteriora*. Simplicius accuses him of not being competent in logic, and modern logicians may agree. However, it is still the case that Philoponus' logical commentaries often record interesting views that are not preserved by his predecessors, and which proved to be quite influential to the Byzantine logical tradition. Finally, we also have Philoponus' commentary on Aristotle's *De Anima*, part of which was translated into Latin in 1268 by William of Moerbeke. There is no doubt that all these commentaries constitute, to a large extent, Philoponus' revised version of the notes taken at Ammonius' lectures. However, careful comparison with the commentaries attributed to Ammonius himself suggests that Philoponus was an independent thinker, who at times even points out that he is dissenting from his teacher's doctrines.

In the later part of his life Philoponus turned to controversial issues of Christian doctrine. Several theological treatises have been attributed to him, but the evidence for his authorship in some cases does not seem to amount to proof. Most of these works are transmitted in Syriac. According to the notice of him in the *Suda*, he was declared by the doctors of the Church to have fallen into the heresy of Monophysitism and Tritheism. Several of his early theological works, including the *Arbiter* or *Diaetetes* and the *Letter to Justinian*, prove that he was a supporter of the monophysite view that Christ had only one nature, not two, one human and one divine. A treatise entitled *On the Trinity* or *On Theology*, which was written in 567, and a later one *Against Themistius*, reveal his tritheistic doctrines, according to which the Trinity should be viewed as three substances.

Philoponus' other works include the oldest extant account in Greek of the plane astrolabe and a commentary on Nicomachus' *Introduction to Arithmetic*, which was a standard text used in the quadrivium. Grammatical treatises on accentuation are also ascribed to him (*De Vocabulis Quae Diversum Significatum Exhibent Secundum Differentiam Accentus* and *Tonika Parangelmata Ailiou Herodianou peri Schematon* [Accentual Rules of Aelius Herodianus on Logic]); probably none of these works has come down to us in its original form, because their utility invited alterations and abridgements by other teachers. Finally, some manuscripts attribute to him writings on medicine, but that is most probably a mistake, though an influential one, for it seems to have earned him a great reputation as a physician among Arabic authors.

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Biography

Born in Caesarea *c.*AD 490, Philoponus was apparently a Christian and a pupil of Ammonius, head of the Neoplatonist school in Alexandria. He became a teacher in Alexandria. As a philosopher he attacked Aristotle on the eternity of the world. As a theologian he supported the Monophysite view of creation. He died probably in the 570s.

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Philosophy

Ancient Greeks were the first to practise philosophy – that is, they did not just provide world views or narratives, but argu-

ments and reasons. Greeks were highly competitive and fond of adversarial, critical debate. To do this effectively, the philosophers abstracted and analysed, which led them to distinguish specialized areas of inquiry or method. They considered nothing exempt from scrutiny. Philosophy was universal in scope, inclusive of politics, physics, astronomy, cosmology, mathematics, ethics, psychology, religion, and literature. On the whole, epistemology (how and what we know) was closely connected with metaphysics (what are the nature and causes of things), while ethics (literally habits and conduct) was an extension of psychology (theory about life).

The philosophers were small groups of dedicated individuals, usually conscious of their difference from ordinary citizens. The Pythagoreans first organized a philosophical society, which distinguished between occasional followers and more permanent members, and had its own rules of conduct. Plato established his Academy (387 BC) with the benefit of the Pythagorean example, and made it an autonomous fellowship for advanced universal study. In the Roman empire philosophy schools were centres of higher learning, passing this heritage to Europe and Islam. Thus, the Greek philosophical methods and practices became international and intrinsic to university education.

Greek philosophy is summarized here in the following periods: early philosophers (Presocratics, Sophists, and Socrates); Plato and Aristotle; the schools (Sceptics, Epicureans, Stoics, Lyceum, Academy); break, new trends, and state recognition (Middle Platonists, Aristotelians, Sceptics, Neopythagoreans, Plotinus); Neoplatonists and the end of the independent schools; Byzantines; and post-Byzantine and modern Greek philosophers.

Early Philosophers

The first philosophers (6th–5th century BC) abstracted for the purpose of understanding, provided varied accounts of their ideas, and tested their conclusions and common sense by taking them to logical extremes (e.g. paradox-making). They were disparate individuals or small circles of friends known by their home town or leader. Their generic labels, however, serve an ulterior bias. Aristotle called them "physicists", because he wanted to show that they were limited to studying only one of his four causes, the material. Moderns call them "Presocratics". Yet, all were interested in ethics, too, and several were Socrates' contemporaries. Moreover, Socrates' reputation as a philosopher is owed completely to Plato's genius for philosophical writing and foresight in establishing a self-perpetuating school.

Greek philosophy until Plato is very fragmentary and doxographical. Some (e.g. Socrates, Pythagoras) preferred not to write, and the rest left records that did not survive intact. Our two main sources are Aristotle and the Neoplatonist Simplicius.

The Milesians (flourished 6th century BC) proposed parsimony. The world as one experiences it is due to one principle (*arche*) taking many shapes and forms. For Thales this principle was multiphase water, for Anaximander infinitude, and for Anaximenes diffuse air. The Pythagoreans (6th–4th century BC) asserted that pure numbers are the permanent principles of physical things. They also arrived at the peculiar doctrine of the transmigration of psyche, not just from religious belief but from logical conclusion: the principle of life, psyche, cannot not-live.

Heraclitus (late 6th century), the "riddler", alluded to the interrelatedness of things and their constant change by employing paradoxical ("everything is and is not") or obscure ("everything flows") sayings. Fire exemplifies the variety and contradictions of things. Philosophers, therefore, have to pay closer attention to reason and account (*logos*). On the other hand, the Eleatic Parmenides (early 5th century BC) made the startling claim that certainty in word, thought, or existence can only apply to something positive, unitary, and unchanging. Zeno followed this by showing the paradoxes entailed by change and plurality in ordinary events.

The Athenian Anaxagoras (5th century) responded to Parmenides with the theory that the world is a mixture of all substances, and change is just the rearrangement of stuffs. *Nous* (intellect), the stirrer of the mixture, alone is incomposite. Empedocles (influenced by Pythagoreans) was the first to invent the notion of fundamental cosmic constituents, the elements. He suggested four: Fire, Air, Water, and Earth. Democritus theorized that all things, including souls, are really temporary regroupings of an infinite number of tiny, invisible "indivisibles" (*atoma*). Thus what truly is and what appears are different.

Socrates (5th century BC) also upheld that there are invariable principles of things but sought them through the "right reason". Ordinary conversations on ethics and knowledge are soon transformed into probing tests how to define things (virtue, etc.), so they are valid for all possible occasions. For his purpose Socrates employed extensively counter-argumentation. This was typically practised by the Sophists (lit. "the clever ones"), mainly for the purpose of winning lawsuits for their paying clients. Prominent sophists, however, such as Protagoras and Gorgias, were philosophically interested in the problems of communicable account (*logos*), ethics, and the origins of human judgement.

Plato and Aristotle

Plato and Aristotle (5th–4th century BC) consolidated earlier thought (Parmenides, Heraclitus, Anaxagoras, Empedocles, Socrates), and originated an unprecedented advance in conception and expression. They were responsible for a basic division in philosophy.

Plato was Socrates' most eloquent follower. What survives are his public treatises, the dialogues, which were written as Socratic debates on key philosophical problems. Plato was also influenced by the Pythagoreans, when he was involved with power-politics at a Greek colony in Sicily. The later Plato shifted his attention, but towards what: logic, politics, or Pythagorean-type metaphysics? Plato remains controversial, for every party wants to claim the first major philosopher as their own.

Aristotle was a student at the Academy for 20 years until Plato's death. After empirical studies on the natural world, he returned to Athens to start his own philosophy and school, the Lyceum, or Peripatos. Aristotle's philosophy bears some similarities with Plato's, but in other respects it contradicts it, and in the fundamentals it is different in scope. Unlike Plato, what

survives are his internal school lectures (see below on the Lyceum and on Andronicus).

For Plato, truth is found in reality, which to be unfailingly valid has to be separate from the changeable world around us. Reasoning and mathematics point the way to full, precise knowledge (*episteme*) of the "true realities", the "Forms". One of these, the Good, is ultimate. Physical things, properties, and sensations are merely the "appearances" (*phainomena*) of the Forms.

For Aristotle, reality lies in nature. The "forms" are merely the essential definitions of things. Change can be philosophically known because it involves the "actualization" of the "potential" to gain the thing's proper definition (e.g. for an oak seed to become an oak tree). However, a thing may be logically stripped, abstracted, of its various physical and mathematical properties until the philosopher examines only its essential substance, and ultimately the pure being (*on*).

The elements of the physical world for Plato are minimal shape-quantities, since mathematical properties underlie physical qualities. But for Aristotle, they are minimal qualities (hot, dry, moist, cold), because the constituents of sense-perceived things must be sensations.

In logic, Plato developed the "dialectical" analysis, but Aristotle constructed the formal "syllogism" and critically distinguished the terms of scientific knowledge. In ethics, Plato boldly prescribed the ideal virtues of both individual and society, but Aristotle analytically described the problems of choice, constantly relying on the opinion of the moderate majority.

The Schools

The period from the 4th to the 1st century BC saw the establishment of philosophical schools at Athens, their proliferation, and greatest rivalry. Unfortunately, of their thousands of books, few survive complete, and scholars must rely on collections of fragments and reports.

The first new talent was Pyrrho (360–270 BC). He pointed out that neither reason nor sense-perception can form knowledge, leaving the suspension of all judgements. Psychologically and ethically it offers "well-being" as relief from all theories. This "sceptical" approach did not survive as an independent school, but was adopted by the Academics.

Epicurus established the main branch of his school at Athens in 306 BC. He followed Democritus' atomism, but went far further. Philosophy is practical wisdom gained empirically. Ethics shows that the natural impulse of living beings is to gain pleasure and avoid pain. Happiness is the autonomous pursuit and holding of enduring pleasure. This is found in philosophy, companionship, and modest delights. Knowledge is attained with the veridicality of sense perception, assisted by natural conceptions. Such is the "yardstick" (*kanon*) and "discerning mean" (*kriterion*) of truth.

The highly acclaimed Stoic school was founded in 300 BC by the Cypriot Zeno. He was succeeded by Cleanthes, and Chryssipus (head, 232–206 BC). They subdivided philosophy into logic, physics, and ethics, after the Old Academician Xenocrates. For Stoics, philosophy is practical, based on the world as it is. The natural world is analysed into one continuous body causally joined by a universal *pneuma* and organized by reason-principle (*logos*), which can be worshipped as divinity. Ethics shows how to lead a life according to nature, guided by reason. The "psychotherapeutic" benefit is "apathy", freedom from troublesome passions, which brings the "well-being" of happiness. Physics and logic show how natural things are constituted, and become known through the presentation (*phantasia*) on the physical senses. Stoics developed sophisticated distinctions about substance, knowledge, and logic, and their terminology influenced subsequent philosophy.

Of the older schools, Aristotle's Lyceum fell into decline. His successor Theophrastus continued the interest in natural science and philosophy. Yet, it seems that its philosophical naturalism and rationalism were better explored by Epicureanism and Stoicism, while science was better served at the new science school, the Museum of Alexandria. Strato rejected a good deal of Aristotle's physics.

Plato's Academy underwent the greatest transformation. His immediate successors (Speusippus, Xenocrates) elevated mathematics and considered the Forms as mathematical objects. But Arcesilaus (Middle Academy) abandoned systematic philosophy, and returned decidedly to the Socratic critical questioning, using it to attack Stoicism. With Carneades (New Academy), the Platonic school became the champion of scepticism, extending and formalizing it. Carneades' refutation of Stoicism proved lasting.

Break, New Trends, and State Recognition

The first break happened in 86 BC, when the Roman consul Sulla sacked Athens. Institutions, including the Academy and the Lyceum, were destroyed. Philosophy diffused outside Athens and Greece, and freelancers advanced new trends. New schools often claimed succession from the original.

The Platonist Antiochus of Ascalon (1st century BC) reacted against the sceptical Academy. Instead he endorsed the positive value of Socratic thought, and showed that Aristotle and the Stoics developed particular views of Plato. Eventually this dealt the final blow to independent Stoicism: from now on there emerged Stoic Platonizers, such as Posidonius, the proponent of "universal sympathy". Nevertheless, Stoicism flourished among Romans, from Seneca and Epictetus (1st century AD) to Emperor Marcus Aurelius (2nd century AD).

Plutarch of Chaeronea (AD 45–125), head of a Platonic school at Athens, promulgated the dualism of good and evil cosmic agents. He and the Neopythagorean Numenius proved the most influential of this period's Platonizers; their doctrines entered Gnosticism, and similar Near Eastern religions. Moreover, in the 2nd-century *Handbook of Platonism* by one Alcinous, the Aristotelian forms were incorporated as the objects of sense perception. Alexandrian Platonists included the Jewish theologian Philo (who originated the Bible's agreement with Plato), and the famous physician Galen. The 2nd- and 3rd-century AD Alexandrians St Clement and Origen pioneered Christian philosophy while arguing continuity with Platonism.

Around 60 BC Andronicus of Rhodes recovered Aristotle's lectures, and edited them in the systematic form known to this day. He also started writing commentaries, amending and criticizing the doctrines as he saw fit. The Aristotelian Aristocles (2nd century AD) advocated Plato's agreement with Aristotle,

so long as the latter remained the fulfilment of the former. He taught Alexander of Aphrodisias.

Scepticism found a new exponent in Sextus Empiricus (*c.*AD 200). He showed that every philosophical position has equally strong but opposite arguments, which leads to the suspension of judgement (later employed in negative theology).

Hadrian and the Antonine Roman emperors inaugurated a series of state recognitions of Athenian learning. In AD 176 the emperor Marcus Aurelius established four Athenian professorships ("successors") in Platonism, Aristotelianism, Stoicism, and Epicureanism. They were the highest-paid teachers in the empire, attracting 50 per cent more salary than the equivalent rhetoricians. However, the 3rd-century Roman civil wars starved imperial funding. Of the independent successors only the Platonists endured.

The Platonic professor was probably Atticus. He maintained dualism, and was fiercely anti-Aristotelian. The Aristotelian professor of about AD 198/209 was Alexander of Aphrodisias. He was the great systematizer of Aristotelianism, and the proponent of influential interpretations. Particularly, he identified the object of thinking with the thinking activity and intellect. This strongly attracted Platonists, such as Plotinus, who made the Forms both objects and contents of intellect.

Individual Neopythagoreans especially flourished in the 2nd century AD. For them, the pure Plato was Pythagorean. Nicomachus, author of the *Introduction to Arithmetic* (later a textbook), held unity to be the ultimate principle of the Forms as numbers. Numenius of Apamea differentiated God the creator from God supreme, and asserted that matter is both active and evil. An allied Neopythagorean was possibly Ammonius Saccas, the Alexandrian teacher of Plotinus and the Christian Origen.

Plotinus (3rd century) settled in Rome, where he attracted a wide circle of followers, including senators. He saw reality as a continuum emanating from a transcendent One, made identical to Plato's Good. It becomes differentiated into Intellect and Soul, as degrees of being. Matter is informed by them but itself is a privation, the source of evil. For Plotinus, Plato was the philosopher who came closest to this truth. Plotinus entrusted his student Porphyry to edit and publicize his works. Porphyry had already left because he disliked Plotinus' diminishing of Aristotle.

Neoplatonists and the End of the Schools

After his departure from Plotinus (AD 268), Porphyry elevated Aristotelian studies and assimilated Stoic ethics and logic, all within a revised Platonism. Iamblichus (4th century) increased dramatically the popularity of this "harmonization", and added Neopythagorean ideas: mathematics is the reliable basis of knowledge, embracing theology. With this merger of most of Greek sectarian thinking (Epicureanism alone was rejected) into a new, unified Hellenic philosophy came the domination of higher education of the Mediterranean world.

Single schools of philosophy appeared at Apamea, Pergamum, and at the chief place of learning, Athens, where the new school called itself the "Academy" (Plutarch of Athens, Syrianus, Proclus). From Athens, philosophy schools spread to Alexandria (Hierocles, Hermeias, Ammonius), and through Alexandria even to a Christian Platonic school at Gaza.

The philosophers of the 4th to 6th centuries AD bear the modern, inadequate label "Neoplatonists". They rejected dualism, whether Gnostic, Christian, or Platonic/Pythagorean. They proposed that knowledge, reality, matter, religion, and ethics are multimodal, founded on One unqualified principle. Aristotelian logic and metaphysics are valid for the modes relating to sense perception, and to things referenced to or abstracted from body and senses. Platonism is valid for the modes fixed by intellect, for the incorporeal, permanent realities, and the One.

The Neoplatonic schools were centres for research and teaching. Accordingly, they offered an encyclopaedic education. It encompassed science (physics, mathematics, astronomy, medicine), the study of literature, interpretation (exegesis), and politics.

However, in AD 529 came the second break in the history of Greek philosophy. Emperor Justinian banned public teaching by pagans. This and the increased enforcement of state-regulated teaching ended the millennium of independent schools of philosophy.

The Athenian school closed, and after an unsuccessful trip to the Persian court, its scholars dispersed. However, Simplicius flourished after the ban as a private writer. Continuity in private would account for the story that the 7th-century Greek monk, Theodorus, who became archbishop of Canterbury, studied philosophy at Athens.

The Alexandrian school survived the ban by compromising with local authority. One of its later members, Stephanus, occupied the prestigious, sole philosophy professorship at the Imperial Academy of Constantinople (610).

Byzantines

Byzantine philosophy from the 6th to 9th century was largely a continuation of the late antique but applied to the rational grounding of Christian doctrines, such as God's transcendence and immanence, and the coexistence of divine and human natures in Christ. Due to the Neoplatonic transmission, both Aristotle and Plato were taught at the Imperial and Patriarchal Academies. Maximos the Confessor (a saint in the Greek and Latin churches) clarified the Orthodox tenets, particularly the relation of God to being and generation. John of Damascus elucidated the function of divine representations in the controversy against iconoclasm.

The value of Hellenic philosophy having been demonstrated, 9th- to 12th-century Byzantines turned increasingly to the ancients. Patriarch Photios and bishop Nicholas of Methone championed Aristotle, while the university professor Michael Psellos promulgated Plato, Plotinus, and Proclus. The autonomy of philosophy was enhanced.

Despite the territorial decline of 13th- to 15th-century Byzantium, philosophical study increased. The reorganizer of education, Nikephoros Blemmydes, returned to the Neoplatonic programme of harmonizing Aristotle with Plato, which was further cultivated by his student the emperor Theodore Laskaris, and by George Pachymeres. Nikephoros Choumnos fostered an Aristotelian mainstream in the university and the Church. Theodore Metochites, however, employed

scepticism against both religionists and rationalizers, and pointed to the limits of knowledge. George Gemistos Plethon rejected all religious dogmatism and saw philosophy (Neoplatonism) as the sole guarantor of truth. With his visits to Medici Italy he inspired the founding of the Florentine Academy. His student Bessarion later settled in Italy, where he became cardinal and envoy to European courts, promoting Platonic and Aristotelian studies.

Outside the Greek world, Islamic thought grew after its direct contact with Greek philosophy at Alexandria. Jewish thinkers profited from Greek philosophy first in 1st-century cosmopolitan Alexandria (Philo) but mainly during the Islamic period. Western European philosophy was born through Latin Neoplatonism (including Boethius) and Augustine. Aristotelianism flourished in the 13th–16th centuries. The 17th-century "mechanical philosophers" and empiricists rejected both Aristotle and Platonists, and instead took for a model the neglected Greek atomism of Democritus and Epicurus. Eventually this led to the separation of science from philosophy. From the 18th century onwards, Aristotelianism and Platonism influenced idealist philosophers (Hegel, Kant, *et al.*), while 19th- and 20th-century phenomenologists and existentialists often build on or react against the Hellenic-based views of intellection, being, and existence.

Post-Byzantine and Modern

The Turkish conquest of Greece and Constantinople (1453) was followed by a dark age. Intellectuals, such as Bessarion, John Argyropoulos, Dimitrios Chalkokondylis, and the Laskaris brothers, emigrated to Italian universities. At home, encouraged by special Ottoman privileges, education survived under the auspices of the Church at the Patriarchal Academy, schools in the Aegean and Ionian islands, Ioannina, and Asia Minor.

The revival of Greek higher learning formally starts with the return from Padua of an Athenian émigré, Theophilos Corydalleus. He had been in Galileo's circle, and studied Aristotle and the commentators. Corydalleus taught at Athens *c.*1610–20, then in the Ionian islands, and finally became head of the Patriarchal Academy. He exerted a lasting influence on the philosophy (logic and neo-Aristotelianism), education, and language of post-Byzantine Greece, but also precipitated the tensions over its identity: secular or religious; Classical, contemporary, or traditional; homegrown or imported?

From 1670s to 1770s, Mavrokordatos and other members of the Phanariot community (the administrative class at Constantinople) introduced more western European influence with their liberal education. Some adhered to rationalism and neo-Aristotelianism (from Padua), others advocated John Locke's empiricism, which broke ties with ancient tradition. The Ionian Evgenios Voulgaris, head of the shortlived Academy on Mount Athos (1750s), unusually combined avant-garde empiricism with Classical Greek expression.

The period leading to Greek independence (1820s) brought a deepening in professional philosophy and a confidence to debate home-grown material, influenced by Locke and Kant. Josephos Moisiodax rejected all scholasticism and authority (particularly Corydalleus), and defined "sound philosophy" to be practical. Athanasios Psalidas courageously arrived at the philosophical impossibility of knowledge, which leaves ineffable revelation. Benjamin Lesvios promulgated the unity of empiricism with mathematics, and the human self-licence for free action. Adamantios Korais rejected the Byzantines and scholastics as grammarians void of philosophy. He promoted emancipation through rational education and the study of Classics. Daniel Philippidis expounded language philosophy, where philosophical meaning derives from word usage, and argued for the "analytic" against the "synthetic". He also put philosophy at the basis of education. Nikephoros Doukas, however, pointed to the coherence of ancient Greek, and urged the teaching of philosophy in that language. Konstantinos Koumas went further in favour of experimental science, against didactic philosophy.

The first decades of modern, independent Greece (1830s to 1870s) saw the great philosophical activity of the Ionian Academy, and the establishment of the Athens University (1837-) where the Ionian Neophytos Bambas was the first philosophy professor. The Ionian Academy used French rationalism and Scottish psychology for a new philosophy of self-consciousness. Peter Braïlas-Armenis (Ionian Academy, 1824–64) introduced a conciliation of idealism with realism, and Spyridon Komnos (later director of the National Library 1870–75) advanced the philosophy of Victor Cousin, including his Neoplatonism. Nineteenth-century Greek thought also bore the influence of Hegel. Several considered German idealism (e.g. problems of One and Many, being and existence) as the return of philosophy to its Greek roots. Supporters of idealism included Paul Kalligas and Philipp Ioannou.

In the 20th century positivism was promoted by Theophilos Voreas (philosophy chair at Athens), who was also an influential sponsor of philosophy in education. Neo-Kantianism and Platonism were championed by Charalambos Gieros, Ioannis Theodorakopoulos, and Konstantinos Tsatsos. The election of Tsatsos as the first constitutional president (1975–80) of the new Greek Republic honoured the free-loving engagement with intellectual argument for itself and for the benefit of individual and civic life, which has characterized Greek philosophy since the beginning.

LUCAS SIORVANES

See also Academy, Aristotelianism, Astronomy, Atomism, Cosmology, Ethics, Government, Logic, Lyceum, Mathematics, Medicine, Neoplatonism, Physics, Scepticism, Stoicism, Theology

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Phoenicians

"Phoenicians" is a term used first in Classical sources to describe the people occupying the cities of the Levant coast between Syria and Israel. It was a term developed by the Greeks and its origins may be a Greek form of "Canaan" or, as is more usually assumed, it derived from the word for purple dye with which Phoenicians were associated. Linear B tablets contains a word *po-ni-ka* which probably referred to this dye.

The Phoenicians were inextricably linked to the sea; their cities were those independent Canaanite states which had not been absorbed by the Aramean or Israelite expansion. Among the Phoenician cities were Arvad, Beirut, Byblos, Sidon, Tyre, and Tarsus. The names of the coastal cities became synonymous with the Phoenicians; so in the *Odyssey* Eumaeus describes the Phoenician sailors who took him captive as Sidonian, from the city of Sidon (Homer, *Odyssey*, 4. 84). Phoenician also describes the descendants of colonial populations which the people of the Levant established elsewhere in the Mediterranean. Among their better-known colonies are Citium (in Cyprus: see Michaelidou-Nicolaou, 1987) and Carthage.

The Phoenicians are best known in ancient Greek literature for their commercial enterprise which paved the way for their foundation of new settlements, the majority of which were located in the western half of the Mediterranean (Frankenstein, 1979). The major colonization phase predated the emergence of Greek colonies; Thucydides (6. 2. 6) realized that Phoenician settlements in Sicily predated Greek activities on the island.

The Phoenicians transmitted much of their own culture and that of others from the Near East to Greece with the diffusion of their settlements and their highly developed trading activities. However, the Greek image of the Phoencians has done much to limit the popular image of their culture: rich in religion, craftsmanship, and writing. It is easy to forget that the Greek figure Heracles is in fact a reincarnation of the Phoenician god Melaurt. The poor survival of Phoenician writing makes it difficult to trace other influences. Few literary texts have survived, and the majority are brief religious dedications, honorific cult decrees, or funerary monuments inscribed on stone. The Phoenicians were also famous for their glassware (Pliny, *Naturalis Historia*, 36. 65) and their metalwork – they are said to have discovered the silver mines of Cadiz in southern Spain (Diodorus Siculus, 5. 20).

The spread of the Phoenicians westwards throughout the Mediterranean diffused an important orientalizing influence. The Phoenicians had absorbed many cultural aspects of the Assyrian and Mesopotamian civilizations, and so their influence on Greek civilization was not restricted to the transmission of their own culture. Communities on Cyprus display considerable absorption of Phoenician culture. The building styles, metalwork, and ivory objects indicate the degree of Phoenician presence; even the designs and decoration on indigenous pottery imitate Phoenician ware. Citium, in northeast Cyprus, and its inhabitants were described as Phoenician up to historical times; their most famous citizen was Zeno the Stoic philosopher.

Probably the most important legacy of the Phoenicians was the adoption of their alphabet by the ancient Greeks. The Greek alphabet developed out of the Semitic alphabet perhaps as late as the 8th or early 7th century BC. Herodotus had first suggested that the Greeks learnt their alphabet from the Phoenicians (Herodotus, 5. 58. 1–2). The word "alphabet" is derived from the first two letters of the Phoenician alphabet, *aleph* and *beta*.

The trading activities of the Phoenicians brought them into contact with the Greek world very early on. Many Greek communities may have had an element of Phoenician population; Herodotus describes how Euboea was originally settled by Phoenician travellers. Representations in Greek literature of Phoenician traders conjure up pictures of hostile pirates or pacific merchants. Their trading movements required sailing skill and well-constructed ships. The shipbuilding timber of the Levant coast was famous in antiquity. It is quite likely that the Phoenicians invented the bireme sometime in the 8th century BC: their warships were fitted with rams and must have influenced Greek shipbuilding technology. In the 6th to 4th centuries BC the Phoenicians supplied fleets to the Achaemenid kings whilst under Persian rule, and later to Alexander the Great when he overran the coastal cities in the 330s.

Phoenician presence within Greek communities expanded from the 5th century onwards. From the end of the 4th century the Phoenicians themselves were absorbing different aspects of Greek culture. This is best seen in the bilingual inscriptions of the Hellenistic period set up to worship Phoenician deities.

More is known about the Phoenicians from their own colonies in the Mediterranean (e.g. Sicily, Sardinia, Malta, Spain, and North Africa) than is known from their native coastal cities (Bunnens, 1979). Some sites, apparently known in antiquity as Phoenician, suggest a different ethnicity from their inscriptions in Aramaic. It is almost certain that the Greek idea of "Phoenician" was very broad, and may have been applied to traders from the eastern Mediterranean seaboard rather than the identifiable Phoenician centres (Morris, 1992). Their cultural presence outlived any political strength in the Hellenistic and Roman periods.

GRAHAM OLIVER

See also Alphabet

Summary

A seafaring people from the cities of what is now Lebanon, the Phoenicians established trading settlements throughout the Mediterranean (Cyprus, Sicily, Sardinia, Malta, Spain, north Africa). They brought to Greece not only their own culture and alphabet but also the cultures of their Assyrian and Mesopotamian neighbours. Few texts survive but they were famous for glassware, metalworking, and shipbuilding.

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Photios *c.*810–*c.*893

Patriarch of Constantinople, statesman, scholar, and writer

Born around 810, or a little later, into an upper-class family which had been persecuted by the iconoclasts but which had a tradition of public service, Photios himself rose to the position of *protasekretis* (head of the imperial chancellery) and took part in an embassy to Baghdad (in 838, 845, or 855). Upon the forced resignation of Ignatios as patriarch in 858, Photios, the neutral candidate, was chosen to succeed him with the backing of Bardas, the uncle of the youthful emperor Michael III. For the next eight years Byzantium enjoyed one of the most successful periods in its history, effective rule being in the hands of Bardas and Photios. Among their most far-reaching triumphs were the baptism of the Bulgar tsar Boris-Michael and the mission of Constantine (Cyril) and Methodios to Moravia. Photios's speedy election from layman through all the degrees of the priesthood to patriarch in a mere five days was, however, uncanonical though not unprecedented (it is strikingly similar to the election of, among others, his uncle Tarasios) and embroiled him with the papacy. After initially accepting with reluctance the validity of Photios's election, pope Nicholas I condemned it, a move repeated in Constantinople in 867 when the new emperor Basil I, siding with the extremist Ignatian party and desiring western help against the Arabs, deposed Photios and restored Ignatios. However, after Ignatios's death in 877, Photios was recalled from exile, reinstalled as patriarch, and reconciled with the papacy. Later, having taken the part of Basil in the emperor's quarrel with his son Leo, Photios was once more both deposed and exiled on Leo's succession to the throne in 886. Photios's death is unrecorded, but it probably occurred after 891.

In the "Photian schism" both political and ecclesiastical factors were involved in the pope's claims to authority over Illyricum and Bulgaria and in the doctrine of papal supremacy. To bolster his position, however, Photios brought up a purely theological point in his condemnation of the western Church's unofficial addition to the creed of the *filioque*, which gives a double procession to the Holy Spirit from the Son as well as from the Father. The *filioque* and papal supremacy remain today the two main obstacles to the reunion of the Roman Catholic and the Orthodox Churches. Photios's principal exposition of his arguments, the lengthy treatise *On the Mystagogy of the Holy Spirit*, entitles him to be classed as a theologian. This claim may be strengthened by the theological discussions in his *Amphilochia*, by some of his *Homilies* and *Letters* (in particular an encyclical to the oriental patriarchs), and by a polemical treatise on the Paulicians which is, however, based upon a work by Peter of Sicily. Regarded in the East as a saint and the upholder of true doctrine, Photios was vilified for centuries by Catholics in the West who suppressed or were ignorant of his reconciliation with the pope. They regarded him simply as the villainous opponent of the papacy and the arch-destroyer of Church unity. His rehabilitation came as recently as the middle decades of the 20th century through the meticulous research of the Czech Byzantinist Father Francis Dvornik.

Whether or not Photios was ever a teacher at an institution of higher education in Constantinople before his elevation to the patriarchate is fiercely debated by scholars, but that he and his older contemporary Leo the Mathematician were the leading intellectuals of their day there can be no doubt, and they can be regarded as the prime movers in the cultural revival of the middle Byzantine period. The tradition of Byzantine humanism, which can be said to have continued until the fall of the capital in 1453, was in its inception largely due to them and especially to Photios. Both men immersed themselves in and encouraged a study of ancient texts, but Leo had more a scientific and philosophical bent, Photios a literary one. Photios's own writing aims at a harmonious combination of levels dictated largely by his subject matter, but he never descends to the vulgar and shies away from the pretentiousness of indulging in figures of speech for their own sake. Although he has a tendency to abstraction, he can be graphic and some of his descriptions are brilliant. His use of Classical (and biblical) allusions is often subtle and employed in imaginative ways, and it is notable that he has the courtesy to avoid them when addressing an audience that would presumably have been unable to appreciate them. His vocabulary is varied and shows evidence of his enormously wide reading, a by-product of which is his surviving *Lexikon*, probably a youthful work, which he entitles *Alphabetical List of Words which Lend Particular Elegance to the Compositions of Orators and Prose-writers*. This was written ostensibly for the benefit of a friend reading Classical authors, but Photios's lexical interests continued into his later career when he made additions to the *Etymologicum Genuinum*.

Some of his 19 *Homilies* are traditional in form, but others are innovative in introducing into sermons secular aspects of political speeches and the *ekphrasis* (rhetorical description). The most notable examples of the former are two homilies on the attack by the Rus on Constantinople in 860, and of the latter one on the church of the Virgin of the Pharos and its symbolism and another on an image of the Virgin (most probably the surviving mosaic in Hagia Sophia), both of which are of inestimable value in depicting a Byzantine's emotional reaction to a work of art.

Photios's 299 *Letters* are addressed almost exclusively to emperors, civil and ecclesiastical leaders, and foreign dignitaries. Some are tracts, such as that on the duties of a monarch addressed to Boris-Michael of Bulgaria and that on the heresy of the Theopaschites sent to Ashot of Armenia. Others cover the whole range of epistolary topics from recommendation to consolation to reprimand. Many were written in exile defending his position and encouraging his friends who were suffering because of their support for him. The *Amphilochia* consists of answers to 329 theological, philosophical, linguistic, and even scientific problems addressed to Amphilochios, metropolitan of Cyzicus. Some of these answers are to be found also among his *Letters*.

Photios's most famous work is the *Myriobiblon* or *Bibliotheca*, a collection of 280 chapters containing reviews of 386 books allegedly requested by his brother Tarasios. It is an astonishing work, but there has been no scholarly consensus on its date, purpose, and manner of composition. Slightly more than half the texts are of theology, hagiography, and ecclesiastical history. Others are scientific – geographical, agricultural, medical, lexical, and grammatical. The remainder are of secular literature with an emphasis on historiography and oratory, but including six romances. "School texts" such as Homer, the tragedians, Aristophanes, Plato (and Aristotle) are omitted, presumably because they were well known, and there are only two chapters on poets (one on the 5th-century poetess Eudocia and one on five Egyptian poets). The reviews vary greatly in size, but typically contain the author's name, title, dedication, biography, summary (often including quotation), and evaluation which both corrects errors of fact and doctrine and comments on stylistic features. Of the books mentioned 78 survive today only in part (51 of these only in fragments) while 110 are completely lost, of which 81 are nowhere else even attested. Photios thus remains the sole witness to the existence of a sizeable quantity of Classical and Byzantine literature.

A.R. LITTLEWOOD

See also Humanism

Biography

Born *c.*810 to a distinguished family, Photios served as head of the imperial chancellery and participated in an embassy to Baghdad. When Ignatios resigned as patriarch of Constantinople in 858, Photios was chosen to succeed him though he was still a layman. Basil I deposed him in 867 and restored Ignatios; but on Ignatios's death in 877 Photios was reinstated. Deposed again by Leo VI in 886, Photios died in exile *c.*893. As a scholar he was one of the instigators of the 9th-century cultural revival.

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Photography

The ancient monuments of Greece were an obvious subject for photographs, from the very first moments when the practical techniques of photography were invented. This occurred in 1839, with the separate processes developed by Louis Daguerre in France and William Henry Fox Talbot in England. Daguerre's process produced a positive image of the subject photographed on a silvered copper plate. The resulting pictures were of a very high quality, but suffered from the distinct disadvantage that only the single original photograph was produced (called, after its inventor, a daguerrotype). Fox Talbot's system (called talbotype, or, more generally, calotype) produced in the first instance a negative image on paper, which was then used for the second stage to produce a paper positive. The results of Fox Talbot's system did not, at first, have the quality of the daguerrotypes; the double process, the texture of the paper, and the patent restrictions demanded by Fox Talbot (unlike Daguerre, who encouraged the use of his process) militated against them. But calotypes did have the immense advantage that a large number of prints could be made from each negative, while the only way to reproduce the results of Daguerre's system was to make engraved copies, which inevitably put the skills of the engraver between the published result and the original photograph.

The earliest photographs of Greece were daguerrotypes. They followed in a tradition of artists' images of Greece and its antiquities that went back to the 18th-century travellers and artists. A French publisher, Noel Lerrebour, sent trained daguerrotypists to various parts of the world, to secure images as the basis for engravings published in a work entitled *Les Excursions Daguerriennes*. The photographer sent to Athens was Pierre Joly de Lotbinière, a French Canadian. His original photographs do not survive, but the published engravings include, inevitably, a view of the Parthenon, with the little Turkish mosque still standing within it, photographed in September 1839. Others are a view of the temple of Olympian Zeus, with the column later blown down in a gale still standing, and the "stylite's hut" still in position on the entablature, and a view looking out through the ruins of the Propylaea.

The oldest original daguerrotypes of Greece to survive are now in the Gernsheim collection in the University of Texas. They were made in 1842 by Girault de Prangey. One of them shows the Byzantine "Little Metropolis", with the modern cathedral of Athens under construction in the background. The best early calotypes were made in 1848 by the Revd. G.M. Bridges, and were sold in a portfolio, together with a variety of other photographs from different regions. The production of such portfolios became the favoured method of selling photographs, and, with improvements in the technique of making the original negative, put an end to the daguerreotype system, which was obsolete by the 1850s. The new negative system was developed in 1851 by Frederick Scott Archer, who used glass plate negatives, which were coated with a wet collodion emulsion. The process was still cumbersome (the plate had to be prepared and exposed before the emulsion dried) and in practice could be used only by professionals, who thus had a ready market in the increasing numbers of travellers to Greece, or artists, such as Sir Lawrence Alma Tadema, who made a vast collection of photograph prints, including the Classical monuments of Athens, as a basis for his Neoclassical paintings.

The last calotypes were made in the early 1850s, and include excellent photographs by Alfred Normand, now in the library of the French School of Archaeology at Athens, showing among other subjects the west end of the Acropolis before the excavation of the Beulé gate, and the temple of Olympian Zeus, again with its "stylite's hut", just before the gale that felled one of its columns. Then the wet-collodion process led to what has been justly termed the golden age of photography in Greece. Many photographs were produced by foreigners and sold elsewhere. An early example is James Robertson, employed by the Ottoman mint in Constantinople, who began photographing in Athens (as well as elsewhere) in 1853: he is probably responsible for a series of photographs of Athens of that date collected by field marshal Sir John Lintorn Simmons. Photographers based in London who made and sold excellent photographs of Greece include Francis Frith, whose first Greek photographs date from 1859 or 1860, and Francis Bedford, who visited Greece and other countries in the east Mediterranean at the express command of queen Victoria, accompanying the prince of Wales in 1862.

The climax of this phase came in the late 1860s and early 1870s, and is associated above all with three photographers, William Stillman, former American Consul in Canea and subsequently correspondent in Rome for *The Times*, who made photographs for his great album *The Acropolis of Athens* in 1869; Pascal Sebah, who had his photographic establishment in Constantinople; and Felix Bonfils, who worked from Beirut. Using very large glass plates, all three took photographs of unsurpassed quality, which found a ready market both in the form of albums and as individual prints. Those of Stillman were eventually sold by the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies in London, who still possess an original negative of 1869, as well as the negatives of a later series taken by Stillman in 1882.

All this stimulated the development of photographic establishments in Greece itself. The earliest Greek photographer, Kostas Makedonas, began experimenting with the techniques in 1848, but the first fully professional studio in Athens was that of Phillippos Margaritis, who won prizes in international exhibition, for his photographs of the Acropolis and Athens in the mid-1850s. He also found a ready market for portrait photographs made for individuals in Athens. A slightly later photographer, Petros Moraitis, worked for an extended period in the 1860s, 1870s, and 1880s, and was the first holder of the title of Photographer to the King of Greece; again, much of his work comprises photographs of individuals, as well as views of the monuments. Other important Greek photographers included the Rhomaides brothers, in the later part of the 19th century. They took the usual views of ancient sites for tourists, but also worked specifically for archaeologists; they were the

Photography: view of Athens from the southeast by William Stillman, 1869

photographers for the Athens Archaeological Society, and took the photographs of the German excavations at Olympia in the mid-1870s.

By the late 19th century photography had become a much simpler and faster process. Ready-made dry photographic plates removed the necessity for working with wet chemicals while taking the actual photographs. Stillman's second series of Athenian views were made with dry plates, though the results lack something of the quality of the earlier series. The subsequent development of roll film put photography within the reach of virtually every tourist, and though the professional photographers continued to flourish, they are now too numerous even to list.

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Physics

Physics is one of the basic sciences in the development of human civilization. The semantic framework that defines modern physics was formulated through a series of procedures and modifications that are themselves studied by historians of science.

For many, the foundations of physics are based on the formulations proposed by certain ancient Greek philosophers concerning the interpretation of the world and the phenomena

that evolve in it. These philosophers included Pythagoras, who attempted to pinpoint the physical principle of sight *c.*500 BC; Parmenides, who denied the reality of motion; and Anaxagoras, whose thoughts were directed in the opposite direction. Certain atomistic philosophers should also be mentioned, such as Leucippus, Epicurus, and Democritus. But it was Aristotle who formulated a system of physical philosophy that dominated Western civilization up to the 17th century, when the so-called "scientific revolution" took place and many Aristotelian views were rejected or reformulated, notably by Isaac Newton and his successors.

Aristotelian natural philosophy was the basis for further research about natural phenomena through observation. The main contribution of Aristotle was that he created a cohesive framework of principles and rules which govern the world, including both living creatures and non-living matter. For Aristotle there was no dispute about the reality and objectivity of the material world that is understood through human senses. He argued that there is no vacuum, a concept which he considered problematic to the way he tried to explain physical phenomena, and especially to the way he determined the movement of bodies. Aristotle made a distinction between natural motions and violent motions.

Another significant contribution of Aristotle was to transmit the hypothesis of Empedocles that the fundamental elements of all bodies are fire, air, water, and earth. These four elements were considered to be the only simple bodies for centuries, until modern chemistry proved that air was a mixture of several gases and water a compound of hydrogen and oxygen. This supposition was also compatible with the theory expressed by Aristotle that all bodies move in a way that brings them to their physical place. Lighter bodies move upwards, heavier ones downwards towards the centre of the earth. This was an example of natural motion, while the motion of a projectile was a violent one. Concerning the fall of heavy bodies Aristotle stated that they are attracted by means of their heaviness. The closer the bodies come to the earth's surface, the more the property increases. The impossibility of a vacuum, incidentally, led Aristotle to formulate a principle analogous to that of inertia.

During the Hellenistic period physics retreated as a discipline of science and other, more descriptive fields, such as geography and natural history, became more popular. Meanwhile, the influence of the Neoplatonic school was maintained. At Alexandria several scholars, such as Ammonius and his student Philoponus, tried to link ancient Greek natural philosophy with the Christian faith.

Little is known about the understanding and development of physics in Greek Orthodox Byzantium. The absence of detailed texts does not necessarily mean that physics was not studied during this period. Indeed, the Fathers of the Church such as St Basil the Great and his brother Gregory argued that it is not possible for man fully to understand God, and accordingly the laws he gave to the universe. Therefore physics, as the science responsible for finding out what these laws are, took the form of a commentary on what the scriptures say on related subjects.

Nevertheless during the reign of Herakleios (610–41), Stephanos of Alexandria taught Plato, Aristotle, and the subjects of the quadrivium, namely arithmetic, geometry, music, and astronomy in the "university" of Constantinople. In the 7th century Kallinikos of Heliopolis in Syria is said to have invented Greek fire. In the following centuries a number of works were written dealing with mathematics, medicine, astronomy, and astrology but few may be considered as relevant to physics. In the 12th century Michael of Ephesus published a commentary on the *Generation of Animals* and other works of Aristotle.

During the Latin occupation of Constantinople (1204–61) the sciences developed in the empire of Nicaea. One of the most prominent figures of that period is Nikephoros Blemmydes (1197/98–1272). Blemmydes taught in his own monastery at Ephesus and his writings include an *Epitome of Physics*. But the main subjects of interest during this very creative period were once again mathematics and astronomy.

Throughout the Byzantine period, Aristotelian philosophy constituted the dominating "paradigm", acquiring a characteristic that prevented the expression of criticisms and speculations. At the same time, the Church also accepted it, both in the West and in the East, since theologians believed that the Aristotelian model of the world coincided with the writings of the Holy Scriptures. Therefore the support for Aristotelian philosophy shown by the official Churches made it even more difficult to contradict it.

It should be noted that – as with all works that endure the passage of time – ideas and views that were not initially expressed by Aristotle but were due to medieval annotators were gradually incorporated into the corpus of Aristotelian ideas. Commentary on Aristotle's works was also the first direction taken by Greek scholars concerned with physics after the fall of Constantinople in 1453. Of significance were Gerasimos Vlachos, Nikolaos Koursoulas, and Alexandros Mavrokordatos, with Theophilos Corydalleus also playing a leading role. Corydalleus influenced the thought of the period to such an extent that it became known as the Corydallic period and its methodological approach formulated a new school – that of Corydallism. In his work he tried to escape from strict adherence to Aristotelianism and to develop a more creative approach to it. The influence of Aristotelian thought is also evident in the way that Alexander Mavrokordatos determined the procedure for teaching physics. But a wave of doubt about Aristotelianism arose from the middle to the end of the 18th century.

A new way of thinking about physics, which was formed in 17th-century Europe – especially in the theories of Isaac Newton, René Descartes, and Gottfried Leibniz – reached the Greek intellectual scene via Italy. There, at the University of Padua, Nikiphoros Theotokis, Nikolaos Zerzoulis, Evgenios Voulgaris, and Josephos Moisiodax were taught experimental physics by the distinguished Italian scholar Giovanni Poleni. At the same time, they came into contact with the literature of international scholarship and thus had the opportunity to acquire and to study the most significant physics books of that period, which would later be used as sources for their own writings.

Of the four scholars mentioned above, Theotokis, with the publication of his work *Elements of Physics*, was responsible for introducing physics at that period to southeastern Europe. The most radical was Moisiodax, who believed that Aristotelian thinking poisoned the hearts of the young since it

rejected evolution. In practice, however, European physics was successfully combined with certain basic principles of Aristotelianism, such as the maintenance of the inductive method, and Greece has continued to play a full part in the subsequent development of physics as an academic discipline in the international tradition.

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See also Aristotelianism

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Pikionis, Dimitris 1887–1968

Architect

Distinguished architect, city planner, and painter, Dimitris Pikionis merged in his work the basic tenets of modern architecture with essential elements of Greek tradition.

Pikionis was born in Piraeus and studied civil engineering at the Athens Polytechnic. There he was the contemporary of such future celebrities as painter Giorgio de Chirico, Byzantinist Anastasios Orlandos, and the historian of Athens Dimitris Kambouroglou. He studied painting and architecture in Paris and returned to Greece in 1912 to join the campaigns of Balkan Wars and World War I. In 1925 he became associate professor at Athens Polytechnic.

In 1932 he designed the primary school complex in Pevkakia at the foot of the Lykabettos hill. A stark functional structure, it maintained the scale that was appropriate for its fragile environment. After 1935 Pikionis began to combine the universality of modernism with the particular aspects of Greek tradition, ancient, Byzantine, and folk. In 1943 he was elected full professor in Athens and after the war he worked for the Ministry of Reconstruction by travelling all over Greece in search of the authentic features of Greek architecture. In time he gave up modernity for tradition.

The period 1950–57 was his most creative. Among other works he designed the Xenia hotel in Delphi, the Potamianos home in Philothei (suburb of Athens), and his masterpiece, the unification of the archaeological site around the Acropolis, the hill of Philopappos, and the tourist kiosk of St Demetrios Loumbadiaris. The work involved the creation of two spiral paths, one leading from the main road of Dionysios Areopagitis to the Acropolis and the other to the Philopappos monument on the opposite hill. Pikionis made these paths with a mixture of marble and stone fragments that cancel out all reference to the industrial present. This most conclusive of Pikionis's creations is not a work of reconstruction but a journey into the collective cultural subconscious (as Jung would put it). At a time when the Athenian landscape and its natural environment were disappearing under the onslaught of the postwar construction boom, Pikionis designed this monumental walk around the ancient citadel to preserve the fading memory of a pre-industrial habitat.

In 1961 he became honorary professor of the Munich Academy of Fine Arts and designed a children's playground in Philothei, the town hall of Volos, and an ecclesiastical centre of learning on the island of Tinos. In 1966 he became a member of the Academy of Athens. Pikionis was a figure in Greek architecture with a profound influence on a select number of Greek intellectuals. His attachment to the Greek landscape and local tradition defied the universality of modernism, but he equally rejected the elements rooted in the land and in human dwellings.

THANOS M. VEREMIS

Biography

Born in Piraeus in 1887, Pikionis studied civil engineering at the Athens Polytechnic and painting and architecture in Paris. He fought in the Balkan Wars and in World War I. In 1925 he became an associate professor at Athens Polytechnic. As an architect his principal works were the Xenia hotel at Delphi, the Potamianos home in Philothei, and the landscaping of the Acropolis. He died in 1968.

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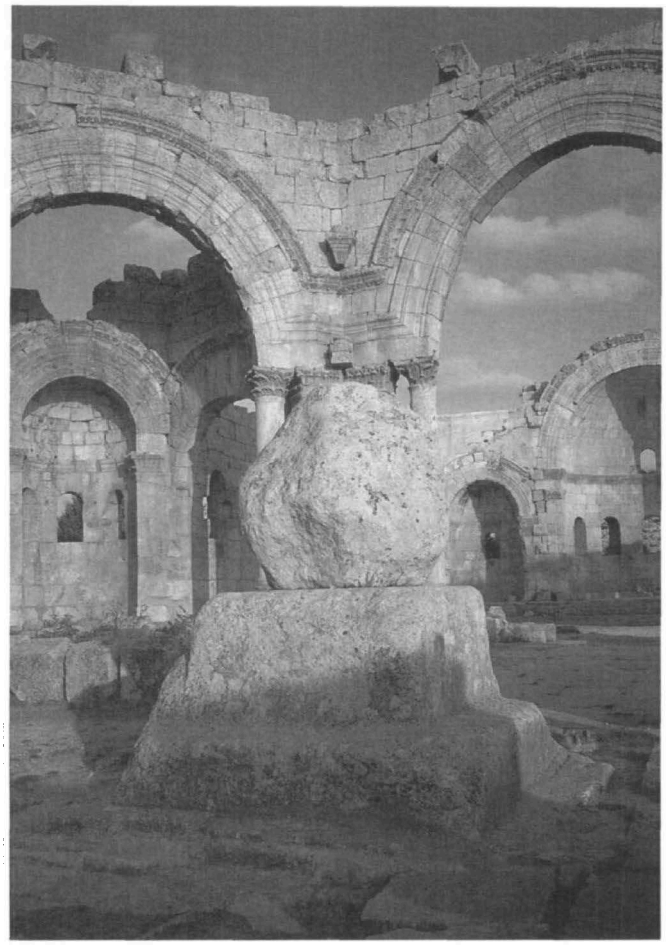
Pilgrimage

Pilgrimage, in the Greek context, is an awkward term for the "journey of a pilgrim". The Latin word for "pilgrim", *peregrinus*, a foreigner living outside the territory of Rome and travelling to a shrine or sacred place (to fulfil a religious duty, to pray, and to receive blessings or some other religious benefits), refers specifically to the aspect of travelling, the journey. The



Pilgrimage: pillar of St Symeon the Stylite at Qalat Seman, Syria. Pilgrims have removed so much of the stone that little remains

Greek words for pilgrimage (*proskynisis*, literally "veneration") and pilgrim (*proskynitis*), however, come from the verb *proskyneo* meaning "I kneel and worship", which has an entirely different connotation. Greeks go to shrines and sacred centres for the purpose of veneration: to kiss the icons, to venerate the relics, to make confession, and to discuss personal matters with their spiritual fathers. In the Greek context, therefore, the core meaning of pilgrimage is not the "journey" but the "veneration".

Holy place, in the Greek context, is an equally awkward term for a "sacred centre". The early Christians did not attribute holiness to places, and indeed had no holy places for the first three centuries. There is no evidence that Jewish Christians or other Christians designated sites as holy or sacred before the beginning of the 4th century. Their attitude towards holy places and pilgrimages was, in fact, negative. Eusebius of Caesarea (*c.*260–339), for example, was extremely reluctant to countenance any talk of holy places. Moses had promised a holy land to the Jews. Holy places were what Jews and pagans had. On the other hand, Christianity was a spiritual religion and Jesus had promised his followers a "much greater land, truly holy and beloved of God, not located in Judea". Only a heavenly Jerusalem could be the holy city for the Christians. Pilgrimage was prescribed neither in the Bible nor by the Church Fathers.

The Greek pilgrimage tradition originates in remote antiquity, when the population of every town honoured their tutelar deity in solemn processions to his or her temple. At the time of the original Olympic Games, the temple of Zeus at Olympia became the "pilgrimage" centre for multitudes from every Hellenic country. The shrines of the oracular divinities, that of Apollo at Delphi in particular, attracted private and official visitors all year round. Visiting cult centres was also common among the ancient Israelites. With the restriction of Yahweh worship to Jerusalem, the sanctuary on Mount Moria became the principal centre of Jewish pilgrimage.

Cyril of Jerusalem (d. 386) was the first bishop to embrace the emperor Constantine's enthusiasm for building churches on biblical sites in Jerusalem, which he did after the Council of Nicaea in 325. "Others merely hear", Cyril told his catechumens; "we see and touch." Historical curiosity combined with pious zeal began to motivate an ever-increasing number of Christians to go and see the biblical sites where Jesus was born, lived his earthly life, and was crucified and resurrected.

To Cyril, Jerusalem was a holy city not because God had been involved there in the past, but because it had "a specific quality in the present". The ritual processions around the churches and the related sites replaced the prevailing pagan, Jewish, and Samaritan cults in places that had a biblical association. This brought the physical sites and the narrating of the corresponding biblical events into close proximity. In Jerusalem, story, liturgy, and site became one; the past became the present. The commemoration of the life of Christ thus affected the choice of biblical narrative to be read, so that it suited not only the site, but also, and in the course of time more exclusively, the liturgical season.

Before the end of the 4th century Jerusalem as a holy city evoked mixed feelings. Gregory of Nyssa, for example, considered it necessary to excuse his visit to Jerusalem by stating that travelling there did not bring man closer to God. The early Christians did not consider their churches as temples of a divinity. They were rather built for the specific purpose of congregating and gathering "the living temples" (i.e. Christians) of God into one. It was the gathered community and their liturgy that were holy, not the church that housed it nor the place per se.

Attitudes towards relics were also hesitant at first. Jerome, responding to the attack on the cult of relics and holy places in Palestine by Vigilantius (born 370), realized that the means used to honour God were similar to those already used for honouring gods, and that martyrs were now honoured in ways that were previously considered idolatrous.

The decisive and final shift in attitude corresponds to Augustine's own acceptance of the prevalent belief in the everyday occurrence of miracles, which arose in the two first decades of the 5th century. His change in attitude was brought about when, almost daily in his pastoral work among his congregations, he was witnessing miracles wrought by the relics of St Stephen which had recently been discovered and brought to Africa.

In her account (*c.*381–84) of the prevailing custom of visiting *martyria*, or churches that had been built on the tomb of a martyr or a saint, the pilgrim Egeria remarks that specific passages from scripture became attached to specific sites and the events associated with them: readings *apta diei et loco*. She

also notes that the monks in the region of Charra of Mesopotamia lived in seclusion and came out only occasionally, notably at Easter and for the feast of the martyr, to participate in the liturgy in the *martyrium*.

The cult of martyrs prepared the way for the idea of holy places, and gave the place a new sacred significance; it bridged the need to make the present (in post-Constantinian conditions) the past of the persecuted Church. It abolished the gap between the generation of martyrs and later generations. The places were derivatively rather than intrinsically holy, however, being the sites of historical events of sacred significance. The miracles witnessed in the *martyria* in particular seem to have been the cause of the rapid growth of the pilgrimage movement in the early 5th century. The cult of images became popular, too, due to the miracle-working icons.

Since it was not the place but the congregation and the relics that were originally regarded as holy in the early eastern Churches, visitors or pilgrims did not need to make the journey to the temple or to the "holy places" of Christendom. To them, pilgrimage implied spiritual participation in the life of Christ, as expressed in the liturgy. This attitude gave rise to another kind of pilgrimage, namely that of visiting holy men and women who had dedicated their lives to perpetual prayer: monks and ascetics. When Basil of Caesarea, for example, visited Palestine in 351, he went there to stay with the monks and ascetics to unlock the secret of their holy lives. He wanted to learn about personal spiritual pilgrimage; the destination was the heavenly city of God, as experienced on an internal level.

With the growth of the ascetic movement, the monasteries in 4th-century Egypt soon gave it the status of a second Holy Land. Travellers who visited Jerusalem felt the need to visit the ascetic houses of the Nile too. Most monasteries became pilgrimage centres in the following centuries. Notable among these were St Catherine's on Mount Sinai, built in the 6th century on the site of the Burning Bush at the foot of the craggy peak where God delivered the Tablets to Moses, and the great monastery of Stoudios in Constantinople. This development went hand-in-hand with the cults of relics and images, and with the veneration of holy men and women. All newly founded monasteries had some relics, which also became objects of veneration on the death of well-known hermits and spiritual fathers.

Between the early 4th and the mid-7th centuries, men and women, young and old, rich and poor came to the biblical sites in the Holy Land, following in the footsteps of Constantine's mother Helena. At first it was the Old Testament site of Mount Sinai in particular that attracted the pilgrims, but these were later superseded by the sites associated with the life and Passion of Christ. The pilgrimages turned into a circuit of sites starting from the tomb of Christ at the Holy Sepulchre. Pilgrims descended from the Mount of Olives on Palm Sunday and formed a citywide procession during which thousands of visitors were entertained and exploited by the many commercial fairs and festivals.

The growth of pilgrimage was accelerated by the belief that sanctity was somehow transferable through physical contact. Some pilgrims therefore came to the Holy Land to intensify their faith by means of prayer and through revelation, others brought offerings and votives. Many came for miraculous healing of various diseases and illnesses, and there were those who came to seek advice, and to do penance.

Travel was slow. It was speedier by sea and more comfortable. Most pilgrims went overland by donkey or on foot, the daily distance being around 30 km. The Bible, maps, guidebooks, and letters of introduction were the prerequisites of every pilgrim. Letters of transit were needed at the frontiers before permission was granted to join the official highway system known as the *cursus publicus*. Along the pilgrimage routes were local guides who pointed out the sites and assisted in dealing with hostile natives, bandits, and robbers. Travelling in groups was more or less obligatory under these circumstances.

A pilgrimage could be made at little expense, because the local Christian community was obliged to take care of travellers. There were both Church- and state-endowed hostels as well as commercial hotels and camping grounds. The indigent and the sick found their haven in the church hostels, as did monks, nuns, and theologians. The merchants traded as they travelled. The aristocrats could afford themselves some comfort during the journey, and the soldiers were used to camping. The bureaucrats were always welcomed at the state-endowed hostels. In principle, therefore, a pilgrimage could be made by anyone.

When pilgrimage became part of popular religion, it inspired the production of a wide variety of minor pilgrims' *evlogia* ("blessing") artefacts, such as small pieces (diameter 1–10 cm) of sanctified earth, identifiable by the stamped impression. The token of Symeon the Stylite the Younger (521–92), in which the seal impression shows the saint on his column flanked by angels with crowns or palm fronds, and a monk climbing a ladder towards him, was the most common *evlogia* at the time. These pieces of portable pilgrims' tokens, "the *evlogia* made from dust and blessed by him", were carried home for their apotropaic and medicinal powers. In the hour of need they were crumbled into dust and applied externally, either dry or in a paste. The effect was believed to be both prophylactic and curative.

With Palestine and Sinai in Arab hands, pilgrimage to the Holy Land became virtually impossible. Constantinople, the heart of Byzantium, became the new pilgrimage centre. The great monastery of Stoudios and the other 350 monasteries in the capital soon became havens for thousands of pilgrims and visitors. Pilgrimage to the tombs of famous spiritual monks, notably those of the healer monk Theodore of Sykeon (died 613) and the wandering hermit Luke the Stylite (died 953), became an important Byzantine religious phenomenon, and continued to be so throughout the era.

With Constantinople in Turkish hands from 1453, Mount Athos became the new heart of Byzantine monasticism and pilgrimage. The Athonites were attracting monks and pilgrims from non-Greek lands, including the various Balkan countries and Russia, as early as the 10th century. During Ottoman rule (1430–1912), the monasteries of Mount Athos became pan-Orthodox centres of pilgrimage, with a large network of benefactors among the wealthy Serbs and Russians in particular. European bibliophiles visited it too, in search of lost manuscripts and rare books, but also for spiritual reasons. Today more than 40,000 men from all over Europe visit the Holy Mountain every year. In the modern Greek context a visit there

is by definition a pilgrimage in the sense of venerating the icons and relics, as well as making confession to a spiritual father, receiving his advice for the future, and experiencing, with the monks, the presence of God in the services. This is also why the tomb of the famous spiritual Athonite monk of our time, Father Paisios, near Thessalonica, is rapidly becoming a pilgrimage centre. Other significant centres include the convent of the Annunciation at Ormylia on the Chalcidice peninsula, and the Kechrovouni convent on the island of Tinos, renowned for the increasing number of educated women visiting the shrine of the Mother of God.

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See also Martyrdom, Relics

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Pindar *c.*518–*c.*438 BC

Lyric poet

Pindar is best known today for his four books of epinician (victory) odes which were written on commission to celebrate victories at the great games of ancient Greece. By a mixture of direct praise and the interweaving of heroic legends, they glorify the aristocratic life, whose pinnacle is victory at the games and recognition for it.

In the 2nd century BC Pindar's work was divided into 17 books, roughly according to genre. Of these the four books of epinician odes survive virtually complete. Fragments of poems in other genres survive: hymns, paeans, dithyrambs (two books), processional hymns (two books), maiden songs (three books), choral songs (two books), praise songs, and dirges. These poems, where the evidence allows of an opinion, were, like the epinicians, written on commission. In the circumstances, it is difficult to disentangle the poet's own sentiments and autobiographical material from the restrictions and demands imposed by the conventions of the medium. Many of the opinions and value judgements expressed are revealed, on comparing the epinician odes of Bacchylides, as part of the baggage carried by a writer in this genre: it celebrates victory through toil, but victory and toil appropriate to aristocrats who have the time to exhaust themselves in the non-productive pursuit of kudos. Nevertheless, it is possible, by judicious examination of internal allusions and external sources (e.g. victors' lists), to get some idea of the progress of Pindar's career, at least as a writer of epinicia.

The epinician odes are divided into *Olympians* (14), *Pythians* (12), *Nemeans* (11), and *Isthmians* (8 as well as fragments). Not all celebrate victories in these games: *Nemeans* 4 and 9 record victories at the Adrasteia in Sicyon; *Nemean* 10 a victory at the Argive Heraia; *Pythians* 2 and 3 are epistles to Hieron of Syracuse; *Isthmian* 2 an epistle to Xenocrates of Acragas, and *Nemean* 11 celebrates the appointment of Aristagoras of Tenedos to a magistracy. Almost all of the latter, however, make some allusion to the games, and follow the same overall pattern as a typical epinician.

This pattern – very roughly speaking – is, at some point in the poem, to give the details of the victory or set its scene briefly and, as soon as possible, to present one or a series of stories associated with the legendary traditions of the homeland of the victor and/or patron. The linking passages are often tenuous. Consider for example the very earliest epinician (*Pythian* 10, for a Thessalian winner in the boys' double foot race), where Pindar compares his technique to that of a bee, which flits from one theme to another (lines 53–54). Early as the ode is, it already fixes the mould in which most were cast: the victor and his family are introduced and praised, especially his father, whose good fortune extends as far as a mortal's can; but even farther are the Hyperboreans, with whom Perseus once feasted; there follow praise of the Hyperboreans and a brief allusion to the slaying of the Gorgon, whose severed head turned men to stone; no miracle is beyond belief; the finest victory hymn flits like a bee from one theme to another; the poet hopes that his poem will glorify the victor in the eyes of others, and praises the ruler of Thessaly (who seems to have commissioned the poem from him).

The victors range from the very rich who entered victorious chariots to boxers and wrestlers. There is even one *aulos* player (*Pythian* 12 for Midas of Acragas). But all are encompassed within the aristocratic ideal of nobility and noble deeds. Pindar's most distinguished patrons were the Sicilian tyrants Hieron and Theron and members of their entourages. It is clear that the poet spent several months at least in Sicily, during the Olympic year 476 BC. He wrote three odes (*Pythians* 9 in 474 BC, 4 and 5 in 462 BC) for Arcesilas of Cyrene, in which he alludes to his own family connection with the Spartan clan of Aegeidae. But those for whom he wrote the largest number of victory odes (11) were victors from Aegina: he may have spent the years immediately before and after the Persian invasion of 480–479 BC on this island (*Isthmian* 5 of 480 BC refers to the battle of Salamis, and *Isthmian* 8 of 478 BC to the removal of the danger threatening Hellas). At *Nemean* 7. 61 he calls himself a *xenos* (guest) of the Aeginetans. It is to be remembered that not all Thebans supported the dominant faction of Medizers: 400 fought with Leonidas at Thermopylae

(Herodotus, 7. 202), and after the Battle of Plataea the victorious Hellenes punished only the leading Medizers at Thebes. If it is true that Pindar was later criticized at Thebes for writing in praise of Athens, this must also be seen in the same context of divided loyalties.

Pindar's epinician career began when he was 20 in 498 BC, with a commission from Thessaly (*Pythian* 10). In the year of Marathon he had his first commission from Sicily (*Pythians* 6 and 12 for Acragas). During the 480s and early 470s BC he wrote for Boeotian Orchomenus (*Olympian* 14), Athens (*Pythian* 7 for an Alcmaeonid), Attic Acharnae (*Nemean* 2), and Aegina (*Nemean* 5, *Isthmians* 5, 6, 8). The decade or so following the Persian invasions marks the high point of his popularity and production in this genre: three odes for Thebans (*Isthmians* 1, 3, 4), three for Aeginetans (*Isthmian* 8, *Nemeans* 3, 4), one for Cyrene (*Pythian* 9), and an impressive thirteen for Sicily and southern Italy (*Olympians* 1, 2, 3, 6, 10, 11, 12, *Pythians* 1, 2, 3, *Nemeans* 1, 9, *Isthmian* 2). There are signs, however, that towards the end of this period Pindar found it harder to get patrons (*Isthmian* 2 of *c.*470 BC is a letter to Xenocrates of Acragas which seems to be a request for payment). For the rest of his epinician career, he cast his net more widely: there were still Aegina (*Olympian* 8, *Nemeans* 6, 7, 8), although that island's conquest by Athens almost completely cut off this source (only *Pythian* 8 of 446 BC comes from after the conquest), and Thebes (*Pythian* 11, *Isthmian* 7), but also, on the mainland Opous (*Olympian* 9), Corinth (*Olympian* 3), and Argos (*Nemean* 10), and overseas Rhodes (*Olympian* 7), Cyrene (*Pythians* 4 and 5), Tenedos (*Nemean* 11), and Camarina (*Olympians* 4 and 5).

Pindar's poems were probably meant to be sung, and many to be accompanied by dancing. The music and choreography have been lost, and only the words remain. His poetry, regardless of the genre, is characterized by a controlled extravagance of language, and a skill and agility in linking apparently disconnected themes into a satisfying whole, which is unmatched by any other poet (one has only to compare the epinician odes of Pindar and Bacchylides to see how pedestrian the latter appear by contrast).

The epinician genre more or less died with Pindar, or rather with the drying-up of the supply of patrons. The tyrannical regimes of Sicily and Cyrene had been replaced by more broadly based governments, and in general rich individuals had other claims upon their resources, particularly in the unsettled conditions that prevailed throughout the second half of the 5th century BC. The result is that Pindar's poetry, when it was used as a model by later poets, was mined only for its extravagance of imagery and apparent convolution of expression. The poets of the Pléiade, for example, wrote so-called Pindaric poetry, which fails because it completely misses not only the music and dance, which were integral features of the original, but also the occasion to which the epinician genre is bound.

It was Aristophanes of Byzantium who divided the text of Pindar into 17 books; Aristarchus (2nd century BC) subsequently worked on the text, and Didymus (1st century BC) produced extensive commentaries. By the 3rd century AD only the epinicia were still circulating widely, perhaps, as Eustathios later claimed, because they had more of human interest and less of mythology than the other genres, and were also less obscure (Drachmann, 1926, Praefatio, 34). They were thus more suitable to be used as school texts. Later, in Byzantium, Pindar was studied more for his language than for his qualities as a poet. Eustathios (d. 1194) heralds a revival of scholarly interest, to be followed by editions made by Thomas Magister, Moschopulos (both 13th–14th centuries), and Triclinius (14th century).

ALBERT SCHACHTER

See also Poetry (Lyric)

Biography

Born *c.*518 BC at Cynoscephalae in Boeotia, Pindar wrote lyric poetry in several genres, divided later into 17 books. Of these, four books of epinician (victory) odes survive. These were written on commission to celebrate victories at the great games. By mixing direct praise with references to heroic legend, they glorify the aristocratic life, of which victory at the games was the pinnacle. Pindar died *c.*438 BC.

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Pindus

Mountain range in northern Greece

The Pindus mountain range stretches like a backbone through northern Greece in a position roughly analogous to the Pennine chain in England, with the difference that the Pindus is far higher and more impenetrable. Its highest peak, Smolikas, is over 2600 m above sea level, and the central Zygos or Katara pass is over 1700 m. There is now one other road over the Pindus through Konitsa, and a tunnel is being built to get over the difficulty that the Zygos pass is often closed by snow. In ancient times great generals such as Alexander the Great and Caesar won praise for their daring and leadership in crossing the Pindus, and up until modern times travellers crossing the mountains found it a hazardous experience.

The Pindus is not one range, but a series of limestone and greenstone ranges with high plateaux in between. These plateaux provide excellent summer pasturage, but are obviously difficult of access. Hence transhumance has been practised in the Pindus from ancient times until the present day with shepherds driving their flocks into the mountains each spring, returning them to the plains of Epirus and Thessaly in

the winter. Such transhumance has been particularly associated with the Vlachs. There is no certain evidence linking the Vlachs with the Pindus until the 14th century, although it is known that there were Vlachs in Thessaly and Vlachs practising transhumance before this date. The Pindus is the place where the largest concentration of Vlachs in the Balkans can be found, but there are also Greek villages in the area.

In Classical times there are references to tribes such as the Tymphaei living in the Pindus, but little is known about them. Strabo, perhaps going back to Hecateus, is well informed about the rivers which rise in the mountains (the Haliacmon, Peneus, Aous, Aspropotamus, and Arachthus) but is vague about the people of this area. In the Roman era there was no road across the Pindus, the roads in Epirus and Thessaly going from north to south rather than east to west. Strabo mentions towns at Tricca (modern Trikkala), Aeginium, Aethicia, and Chalcis (possibly modern Chaliki), all on the Thessalian side of the Zygos pass. The western side would appear to have suffered from the brutal Roman punishment of the Molossian defection in 168 BC.

The harsh climate of the Pindus and the absence of east–west routes are likely to have protected the mountains from barbarian invasions. The emperor Justinian (527–65) may have included some fortifications in the Pindus as part of his grand plan to defend the Balkans, and this might explain the presence of Latin speakers in the area. The ethnology of northern Greece is a difficult subject, since in spite of the remarkable survival of Greek there was undoubtedly a Slav invasion to the west of the Pindus in the 7th century, a Vlach presence in Thessaly in the 11th century, and in the 14th century incursions of both Albanians and Vlachs into the central Pindus area.

Under the Ottomans the economy of the Pindus mountains would appear to have taken on a more settled pattern. Villages like Samarina and Perivoli appear to have been founded as summer settlements; in return for tax privileges the inhabitants of such villages, themselves used to making long journeys, became the guardians and guides of other travellers making these journeys. The summer pastures provided a rich source of revenue, and merchants from Pindus villages travelled all over the Balkans, becoming very wealthy in the process. With the collapse of Ottoman authority, inhabitants of the Pindus including *armatoloi* (militia) and klephts continued to profit from their key position in the mountain passes, alternatively keeping the law and breaking it. In general the Pindus suffered at the end of the 19th century through brigandage, guerrilla war, and the creation of new boundaries which played havoc with the economy of the region. Brigandage was not unknown between the wars. In World War II control of the Zygos pass was a key factor in the Italian invasion (which failed to reach it), in the subsequent German occupation, and in the Civil War which followed. In all this warfare Pindus villages suffered badly, as the flocks which had been their livelihood were sacrificed for food, and the move from winter to summer pastures became impossible.

In the last half century the Pindus has revived. New roads have made travel much easier. Metsovo, in the heart of the Pindus, has become a minor tourist resort with skiing in winter, a pleasant climate in summer, and picturesque ethnic costumes for the visitor. Smaller villages have become more accessible, although it still takes a rugged bus ride to reach famous Pindus villages such as Samarina and Sirrakou, and electricity did not reach Chaliki until the 1980s. The biannual migration on foot from summer to winter pastures has now almost vanished, although the higher villages are still abandoned by car and lorry before the winter. The extensive pine forests provide, through timber merchants, an alternative form of employment to the sheep and goat breeding of the past, although wool products are plentiful in the tourist shops and mutton and cheese are staple items in Pindus meals.

T.J. WINNIFRITH

See also Armatoloi, Brigandage, Vlachs

Summary

A mountain range stretching through northern Greece like a backbone, the Pindus represents a barrier between east and west. The rugged terrain and harsh climate protected the mountains, though Albanians and Vlachs penetrated the central Pindus in the 14th century. During the Ottoman period merchants from the Pindus villages prospered but in the late 19th and early 20th centuries the economy was disrupted by brigandage.

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Piracy

Ancient sources show that piracy has always coexisted with sea voyages and maritime trade. In the age that Homer described in the *Odyssey*, piracy was a profession that men entered as a recognized way of making a living. It was so widespread, and the consequences to its victims so disastrous, that settlements often moved away from coastal areas (where they were a target for raids) to locations further inland and were surrounded by protective walls (Thucydides, 1. 7).

War and piracy have always had much in common. The acquisition of booty was a vital element in ancient Greek warfare and in ancient sources it is frequently very difficult to distinguish between warfare and piracy. At the end of the Archaic period, however, with the development of organized states with mercenary armies, a distinction emerges. In the 5th century BC opportunities for plunder provided the impetus for several military offensives. During the Peloponnesian War each side plundered the other's territory by both land and sea. Several generals even used the methods of pirates to help finance their wars. These practices continued in the Hellenistic period. For example, Philip II of Macedon used the proceeds of piracy to finance the building of his navy. Another incentive to piracy lay in the custom of reprisals against an enemy.

As means of accumulating wealth, trade and piracy have much in common. Piracy posed a considerable threat to merchants: the pirates of Zancle were ideally placed to attack and seize ships passing through the straits of Messina between

Italy and Sicily. The Taurian tribes in the Crimea and the Thracians developed an organized system of wrecking ships for plunder (Diodorus, 20. 25; Xenophon, *Anabasis*, 7. 5. 12). This system became so widespread in Roman times that the Romans were obliged to impose penalties on wreckers. Illyrian pirates were another source of trouble. According to Polybius (2. 5), the Illyrians had always been in the habit of pillaging along the extensive Roman seaboard; as the principal cities were located in the interior, help against such raids was distant and slow to arrive, allowing the Illyrians to overrun and plunder the surrounding territory unmolested.

Piracy and the slave trade were also closely connected. The largest centres for both activities were Crete and Cilicia, and pirates would often sell their captives into slavery. This was not always the case. Strabo, writing about the northeastern Black Sea coast, says of the local population that they lived by robbery at sea. Their boats were slender, narrow, and light, holding only about 25 people, rarely as many as 30. The Greeks called them *kamarai* (11. 2. 12). Their cruellest practice was to wander on foot night and day looking for people to kidnap but "they readily offer to release their captives for ransom, informing their relatives after they have put out to sea" (Strabo, 11. 2. 12). In this part of the Pontus pirates would attack Greek cities.

The control of piracy is usually considered to have been one of the prime functions of the Roman garrisons established along the eastern coast of the Black Sea under the principate. In the middle of the 3rd century AD large bands of marauders from the Pontus would make their way into the Aegean, plundering both shores, penetrating as far south as the coast of Lycia and Pamphylia, and forcing their way inland as far as Cappadocia (Zosimus, 1. 28; Ammian Marcellinus, 31. 5. 15).

The authorities of Greece and of countries on the Black Sea tried to fight piracy to make the sea safe for voyagers and merchants. The king of the Bosporan kingdom, Eumelus (310/09–304/03 BC) "in order to protect those sailing through Pontus Euxinus ... waged war against the Heniochi, Tauri, and Achaei who were engaging in piracy and cleansed the sea of such pirates, for which he was praised not only in his own kingdom, but also throughout the universe, for traders everywhere spread the word about his determination" (Diodorus, 20. 25).

Piracy in the Black Sea was a matter of concern to the rulers of non-Pontic countries as well. Even Pericles was aware of these dangers, and it is possible that one of the reasons for his Pontic expedition was to protect Athenian interests and trade in the Black Sea from local pirates (Plutarch, *Pericles*, 50; Diodorus, 20. 25). An inscription (228–225 BC) from a temple wall in Samothrace gives us some details of Egyptian methods there: the *strategos* (commander) of the Hellespont and Thrace is thanked for the precautions taken to safeguard the island against marauders who regularly threatened to seize the temple treasures: a detachment of horse, foot, and catapult men had been dispatched to the island (*Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*, 3. 502).

In the Archaic and Classical periods the aim of pirates had been to satisfy their own needs through plunder. Rulers had resisted this. In the Hellenistic period there was a gradual change in the nature of piracy: it became more concerned with supplying the demand for slaves throughout the Greek world. Rulers began to come to an accommodation with pirates and the slave trade became one of the sources of revenue for their states. From the 3rd/2nd centuries BC local rulers were no longer concerned about piracy. On the contrary: in the Pontus, for example, they colluded with them. As Strabo reports: "[Achaei, Zygi, and Heniochi] sailing sometimes against merchant vessels and sometimes against a country or even a city ... hold the mastery of the sea. And they are sometimes assisted even by those who hold the Bosporus, the latter supplying them with mooring places, with a marketplace, and with means of disposing of their booty" (11. 2. 12). At this time Tanais became a large and famous marketplace in the Bosporus, where slaves, hides, and other goods of the sort possessed by nomads were brought for exchange for clothing, wine, and other trappings of civilized life (Strabo, 11. 2. 3).

Piracy in the Byzantine and Ottoman periods continued to be a source of wealth and slaves. A distinctive feature of the Ottoman system was the formation of the Mamluks, Christian slaves taken as children and trained to form an elite military caste, who long ruled in Egypt and exerted considerable influence in Constantinople.

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See also Slavery

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Piraeus

The Piraeus (in Greek: Peiraieus) is a rocky limestone peninsula situated at the northeastern end of the Saronic Gulf about 10 km southwest of the centre of Athens. Its chief features are the hill of Munychia (modern Kastella or Kastellon), which rises abruptly in the northeast, and Akte, a lower plateau that extends southwest towards the sea. According to Strabo (*Geography*, 1. 3. 18) Piraeus derives from *peran* meaning "opposite" because the peninsula was originally detached from the mainland. It possesses three harbours: from east to west these are Zea (modern Limen Zeas or Pasolimi), Munychia (modern Tourkolimani or latterly Mikrolimani), and Cantharus or Goblet (modern Kentrikos Limen). Cantharus was also known as Megas Limen or Great Harbour in antiquity. There is little archaeological evidence for any settlement that predates the 5th century BC. The region entered history in 510 BC when Munychia was fortified by the tyrant Hippias,

who intended to make it the seat of his government after being driven out of Athens ([Aristotle], *Constitution of Athens*, 19. 2).

The Piraeus became important in 483 BC when, on the initiative of the politician Themistocles, the Athenians voted to allocate the proceeds from a new strike at the silver mines of Laurium to finance the building of a fleet. At the same time work began on a fortification wall to safeguard the Piraeus against attack. Previously the sandy bay of Phalerum, which lies to the east and which is "the place where sea and city are nearest" (Pausanias, 1. 1. 2), had served as a roadstead for the Athenian navy, though it afforded little shelter. Thanks to Themistocles' initiative the Athenian fleet was able to play a decisive part in the defeat of the Persians in the straits of Salamis in 480 BC. Without the development of the Piraeus, Athens would never have acquired its maritime empire. Naval inventories reveal that in the 4th century BC Zea was the largest naval port with no fewer than 196 shipsheds, while the Great Harbour accommodated 94, and Munychia 82. The naval headquarters are likely to have been concentrated in the Great Harbour.

The fortification of the Piraeus was also destined to have profound consequences for its political development since it was the *thetes*, the lowest property-holding group, who served as rowers and who, when Athens became dependent on its sea power, came to acquire a leading position in foreign-policy decisions. From this evolved the intimate association between democracy and the Piraeus, whose population, in Aristotle's phrase, was "more democratic" than that of Athens (*Politics*, 5. 1303b10–12). As an administrative unit the deme of Piraeus was "a law unto itself" (Whitehead 1986, p.122). One of the clearest indications of its anomalous nature is the fact that its demarch was appointed by lot by the entire citizen body of Athens, whereas all other demarchs were appointed by their demes.

In 458/57 BC the city of Athens became linked to the Piraeus by the construction of two diverging long walls that incorporated the Piraeus and Phalerum. This wedge-shaped area could now be sealed off from the rest of Attica in time of war. Shortly afterwards a middle wall, known as the southern Long Wall, was built parallel to the western one, thereby eliminating the bay of Phalerum. Around the middle of the 5th century BC, and probably at Pericles' suggestion, the town planner Hippodamus of Miletus was invited to "cut up the Piraeus" (Aristotle, *Politics*, 2. 1267b23), which he did according to a grid pattern.

The Piraeus now began to develop as an urban entity that came to rival Athens in size. It also became the leading commercial port in the eastern Mediterranean. Since Athens was now very largely dependent on imported corn, the commercial quarter, which was known as the Emporion, was vital to its survival. The Emporion was situated along the eastern and northern shorelines of the Great Harbour. In 431 BC Pericles could boast with justification that "all the produce of every land comes to Athens" (Thucydides, 2. 38). A duty of 2 per cent was levied on all cargoes passing through the Emporion. We receive some indication of the volume of goods that it handled from the fact that in 399 BC, when trade can have barely recovered from the crippling effects of the Peloponnesian War, the state collected 1,800 talents in harbour dues.

The Piraeus was home for a very large number of metics who came from all over the Greek world and beyond. Their presence, which is evident from a variety of foreign cults established around the port, must have lent it a very cosmopolitan flavour. Among the most prominent of these cults was that of the Thracian goddess Bendis, situated on Munychia (Plato, *Republic*, 1. 327a). Others include the Egyptian gods Isis and Sarapis, and the Phoenician Baal. It was here, too, that the cult of the healing god Asclepius was first introduced into Attica around 420 BC. According to Pausanias the most notable sight in the Piraeus was the Diisoterion or shrine of Zeus Soter and Athena Soteira (1. 1. 3).

Like any thriving port, the Piraeus possessed its sleazy underworld. Aristophanes' description of the spectacle of a man defecating in a brothel, as observed by Trygaeus as he flies over the Piraeus, was evidently intended to convey the distinctive flavour of the region (*Peace*, 164f.). Though many prosperous Athenians and metics lived in the Piraeus, given the size of its population, it is plausible to suppose that it also contained a large number of multiple dwellings or *synoikiai*, the ancient Greek equivalent of the modern tenement.

The Piraeus was critical to Athenian strategy during the Peloponnesian War when, on Pericles' advice, the decision was taken to abandon the countryside of Attica, turn Athens into an island, and coop up the entire population within the fortified area of Athens, the Long Walls, and the Piraeus. This led to a very severe outbreak of the plague, which reduced Athens' population by perhaps as much as one-third. The peace terms to which Athens agreed at the end of the war required the destruction of the Long Walls and the Piraeus circuit (404 BC). The Piraeus subsequently played a leading part in resistance to the Spartan-backed Thirty Tyrants when exiles under the command of Thrasybulus seized Munychia and drove out the Thirty.

The circuit walls and shipsheds were rebuilt by the Athenian general Conon in 393 BC. Before long the Piraeus resumed its importance as a naval and commercial port of first-rank significance. In the middle of the 5th century BC it was able to accommodate more than 350 triremes. In 330 BC Philon's so-called Arsenal was built in Zea, described by Pliny (*Historia Naturalis*, 7. 37. 135) as one of the most admired buildings of antiquity. This was not an arsenal as such but a warehouse for the storage of the sails, oars, and tackle that were removed from triremes when they were at berth. No traces of the building remain and it can be reconstructed only from the precise specifications that are preserved in an inscription authorizing the work to be undertaken. Ironically, within a decade of its completion, Athens had suffered a defeat at the hands of the Macedonians that eclipsed its naval power for ever.

Under Macedonian domination (322–229 BC) the garrison on Munychia Hill became one of the four "fetters of Greece". The Piraeus now began to decline steadily in size and importance. In the 2nd century BC it served as a Roman base for naval operations against the Macedonians. Lacking the glamour that attached to the name of Athens, the Piraeus never attracted royal patronage in the Hellenistic era. The only evidence of building activity is the impressive and well-preserved theatre overlooking Zea Port, which was

constructed around the middle of the 2nd century BC. In around 120 BC several major festivals were revived and celebrated on a grandiose scale, notably the Diisoteria and Munychia, whose festivities incorporated nautical manoeuvres performed by ephebes.

In 86 BC the Piraeus was ruthlessly destroyed by the Roman general Sulla who spared "neither Philon's Arsenal nor the docks nor any of its other famous architectural works" (Appian, *Mithridatic Wars*, 41). One of the few buildings to escape destruction was the Diisoterion, though all traces of the shrine have since disappeared. A number of important bronze statues, including those of *Apollo*, *Artemis*, and *Athena*, which were deliberately buried at this time, came to light in 1959. Though it continued to function as a port, notably for the flourishing trade in neo-Attic sculpture that the Roman market demanded, the Piraeus never recovered its importance in antiquity. When Pausanias visited it in the 2nd century AD, very few buildings of note were standing. In 1040 Harald Hardraade, who later became the king of Norway, captured the port on behalf of the Byzantine emperor. In the Middle Ages it was merely a fishing village.

When Athens became the capital of Greece at the end of the Greek War of Independence, the ancient name of Piraeus had been forgotten. The port was then known as Porto Leone, after the figure of a lion that had been removed by the Venetians in 1687. It was now renamed, and from 1835 onwards it came to be furnished with quays and other modern harbour facilities. It also acquired many impressive Neoclassical buildings, though sadly many have either been destroyed or are in disrepair. In 1923, following the destruction of Smyrna, more than 100,000 Greek refugees fled to the Piraeus from Turkey. In World War II the port was destroyed by German bombs. It was subsequently rebuilt with US aid.

Today the Piraeus is the largest port in the eastern Mediterranean. More than half the country's imports and exports pass through it. It is also Greece's third largest city with a population of close to 200,000. The Kentrikos Limen functions as both a commercial and a passenger port, whereas Mikrolimani and Pasolimani handle only yachts. Many major industries, notably engineering, cigarettes, paper, textiles, and chemicals, are situated on the outskirts of the city. The Piraeus is also the headquarters for the Greek navy and an important fishing centre. Thanks to railway and road connections, it is once again closely linked to Athens.

The only traces of the ancient city that are visible today include portions of the 4th-century BC circuit wall, the theatre at Zea, some shipsheds, and the restored tomb of Themistocles on the promontory of Alkimos. Virtually all that remains of the Hippodamian layout is confined to a series of boundary markers, though the modern street plan follows the course of its ancient predecessor.

ROBERT GARLAND

See also Harbours, Navy, Ships and Shipping

Summary

The port of Athens, Piraeus possesses three harbours. It was fortified in 483 BC when Athens began to build a fleet. In 458/57 BC it was linked to Athens by the Long Walls. In the mid-5th century BC the city was planned by Hippodamus of Miletus. The harbour could accommodate 350 triremes. Piraeus declined in the Macedonian period and was destroyed by the Romans in 86 BC. Its importance returned in the 19th century.

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Pisistratus

Tyrant of Athens in the 6th century BC

Solon's reforms had (perhaps inevitably) left none of the contending parties completely satisfied. He himself had proudly proclaimed that he was taking up his position "amidships" in the ship of state, i.e. that he would not go to either extreme, satisfying neither the demands being made by those without property that the ancestral land of Attica be redivided so that all would literally have a portion of it, nor the insistence of the aristocrats that the running of the city's affairs should be left entirely in their hands: "to each side what it deserved". The years 590/89 and 586/85 BC were designated in the official records as (literally) "anarchic", because no chief magistrate had been elected, due to internal dissension. In 582/81 BC an otherwise unknown individual named Damasias attempted to hold on to the archonship for an illegal period beyond his official tenure, and there are indications of an experiment with some kind of block election of archons by social and economic grouping. With continuing unrest of this kind, it was only a matter of time before some opportunist succumbed to the temptation that Solon himself said that he had been strong enough to resist, of initiating a coup d'état and taking all power effectively into his own hands. (This had already happened in many other Greek states in the preceding two generations, and for a man in such a role the Greeks themselves had borrowed, possibly from the Lydians, the term "tyrant".)

The later tradition remembered, and even thought it had evidence, that Solon himself both foresaw and tried to warn the Athenians of an impending coup by his kinsman (and, the gossipers said, former lover), Pisistratus. The men were related on the side of their mothers, both tracing their descent from an early king, Codrus, and thus from a junior branch of the royal house of Pylos. What can safely be asserted is that the remains of Solon's poems have a scattering of dark hints that, if civil unrest should continue, Solon himself envisaged that an unscrupulous would-be autocrat would emerge to try to respond to the people's demands; but in what survives of his work Solon nowhere mentions Pisistratus by name; nor does it seem likely that he would have overlapped with Pisistratus' early, tentative gropings for power by more than a year or two.

Our earliest and fullest account of Pisistratus' coup comes from Herodotus (the chronology for the early Pisistratean period is uncertain, but we are in the late 560s BC). What gave Pisistratus his chance was the fact that the city was beset by factional strife, the "Men of the Shore" being led by Megacles, son of Alcmaeon (Megacles had married into the "tyrant" family of Sicyon), and the "Men of the Plain" by a certain Lycurgus. Pisistratus organized his own followers under the title "Men from beyond [or "across"] the Hills". Attempts have been made to discover here a classification beyond the merely geographical, perhaps according to some division along ideological or economic lines, but no suggestion has been entirely convincing. It seems most probable that the names were chosen to give a rough indication of where the leaders lived and where they derived their support. Herodotus' flair for the dramatic may be leading him astray, but what he reports is that Pisistratus staged an attack on himself by his enemies, even going so far as to wound himself and claim that his enemies had done it. He reminded the Athenians of his services to them in earlier hostilities against Megara, and asked for a bodyguard. Thus reinforced, he established himself in power on the Acropolis, where the Athenian kings had resided in the Mycenaean period. His opponents put aside their squabbling and joined forces to drive him out, but Pisistratus was able to outmanoeuvre them by entering into a marriage alliance with Megacles. The alliance, like the marriage that was its surety, proved shortlived, and Pisistratus once again went into exile, this time for a ten-year period (on the likeliest chronology, *c.*557–547 BC). He took the opportunity to make sure that he had the resources, financial and in manpower, to gain a secure grip on power. He turned to northern Greece, founding a colony on the Thermaic gulf and exploiting sources of silver near Mount Pangaeus; with this wealth (perhaps converted into a personal coinage) he hired mercenaries and called for additional support from Thebes, Argos, and the island of Naxos. Pisistratus and his troops landed near Marathon, near his family holdings and original power base in Attica at Brauron, and marched on Athens, to good omens and, if not exactly token opposition, at least a resistance that was only half-hearted; his sons were able to reassure the Athenians of their father's good intentions. To all but the disgruntled leaders of the aristocratic faction and their immediate coteries it must have appeared that a period of stability, no matter whose hand was at the tiller, was far preferable to the almost half-century of turmoil and the politics marked by family rivalries that had preceded it.

Greek writers of later periods invariably looked back on a time of autocracy as distasteful; the personal performances as well as the character of these early tyrants tended to be blackened, their shortcomings if not invented then considerably exaggerated and turned into bizarre perversions and even crimes. It is all the more surprising, therefore, that in our major sources Pisistratus comes off with a relatively clean record. Herodotus comments that Pisistratus ruled "without disturbing the previously existing offices or altering any of the laws; he administered the state according to the established usages and his arrangements were wise and salutary". Of course there was no office of "tyrant", nor do we have any indication that he assumed an actual title, such as "Protector of the Constitution", but Thucydides reports that he "took care to see that one of his own men was in the archonship". The writer of the *Constitution of Athens* remarks: "his rule was more like a constitutional government than a tyranny".

Pisistratus may have started as just another faction leader, but he seems to have grown in his rule. He took particular care to introduce measures that would perhaps not unify Attica in a literal sense (a role that political myth assigned to Theseus), but would at least make residents of outlying districts of the city itself feel loyalty to Athens as an integrated political entity. One especially strong weapon he had was that the religious cults tended to be situated locally and were invariably organized by the aristocratic families of the particular area. Archaeological and other evidence indicates that Pisistratus sponsored new or revitalized cults that broke down these local and class barriers and fostered a sense of unity. Thus at neighbouring Eleusis, where people of every class (including slaves) could be inititiated into the mysteries of Demeter, which promised some kind of personal survival after death, a new *telesterion* or initiation house was built, and a shrine to Demeter was established in the city itself as a kind of district office of the cult. The career of the poet-dramatist Thespis (himself a somewhat legendary figure) was launched at Athens in the 530s BC, and it is possible that from this date there were regular performances there of some kind of proto-tragedy in honour of Dionysus. Probably another shrine to Dionysus, the Lenaion, was built in the Agora during this period. There were also various new cults of the god Apollo with separate cult titles (Hypoakraios on the west slope of the Acropolis, Patroos on the west side of the Agora), and one in particular, Apollo Pythios, appears to have been designed to compete with Delphi, with which Pisistratus was on rather cool terms. Pisistratus undertook a ritual purification of Apollo's sacred island of Delos (by removing graves, making sacrifices etc.) immediately upon his final, firm assumption of power. This should probably be seen as an attempt to shift people's attention away from Delphi, and is an anticipation of the centrality of Delos in Athenian imperial propaganda a century later.

There is no concord among archaeologists as to specifics, but most agree that an ambitious building programme was undertaken on the Acropolis. There was a large temple to the city's patron goddess, Athena (variously styled the "Hekatompedon" or Athena's "Old Temple"), and architectural sculpture survives – including the lively and amusing sea monster dubbed "Bluebird" in the Acropolis museum – that suggests that there are other "shrines" on a more modest scale. There was also a temple to Athena Nike, the "Bringer of Victory", at the west end of the Acropolis, on the site where a later temple greets today's visitors to the precinct. Nor were sacred structures the only ones in this building scheme (whether by Pisistratus or his sons – it is often difficult to be sure that the remains predate Pisistratus' death in 528 BC). A fountain house named Enneakrounos, "Nine Spouts", was built southeast of the Agora to bring fresh water down from the hills northeast of the city, guaranteeing an efficient and orderly water supply for the residents of Athens. The name of Pisistratus' son Hipparchus is associated with an improvement in the road system connecting the central city, specifically the Altar of the Twelve Gods in the Agora which Hipparchus is said to have dedicated, with the outlying districts. Hipparchus was also remembered as an artistic entrepreneur; he is said to

have invited the poets Anacreon and Simonides to take up residence in Athens, and to have been responsible for collecting manuscripts of Homer's epics, perhaps as some kind of official text for competitions at the Panathenaic festival, which was probably not founded by Pisistratus, but may have been expanded under his patronage.

The Athenians were thus encouraged to be proud of their city and to visit it, if they lived in the countryside, as often as possible. Realistically, however, a rural Athenian spent most of his or her time on the family farm in the 6th century BC, even as later in the 5th century BC. Sculptors and artisans might be based in the city itself, and the upsurge in exports of fine black-figure Attic pottery suggests a thriving industry of production and export, but Pisistratus seems also to have taken to heart the plight of the Athenian farmer. He is reported to have made loans to the poor so that they could make a living by farming (but he also charged a land tax of 5 or 10 per cent), and he set up a system of circuit judges who travelled the Attic countryside and settled legal disputes. As already noted, Pisistratus appears to have been careful in his observance of the forms of Athenian civic life, and, if a story told by the *Constitution of Athens* can be believed, he once even came before the Areopagus court to answer a charge of homicide; we are told that the plaintiff, perhaps not surprisingly, failed to appear. His rule was later remembered as a golden age, the "age of Cronus" (in contradistinction to the rather harsher Olympian rule of Cronus' son and successor, Zeus). There is probably a good deal of truth to this, although the foreshortening of time and dimming of collective memory may have done something to enhance his reputation with later generations of Athenians.

The evidence of his dealings with the other aristocrats is somewhat ambiguous. The Alcmaeonidae, Megacles' family, chose to play the role of martyrs. When Pisistratus died (probably 528 BC), there was no rush to substitute a different form of government or damn his memory, as happened with other Greek tyrannies; his eldest sons, Hippias and Hipparchus, may have been worried about possible competitors to succeed Pisistratus, and Herodotus reports that they had arranged for the assassination of the elder Cimon, who had won multiple victories in the Olympic Games and so might have appeared as a plausible contender for supreme power. What appears to have been the sons' preferred tactic of neutralizing opposition, however, was diplomacy and cooption. There is inscriptional evidence that in the years immediately after Pisistratus' death the chief archonship was held by his son Hippias (526 BC), Cleisthenes the Alcmaeonid, the later lawgiver (525 BC), Miltiades, future victor at Marathon (524 BC), and the younger Pisistratus, the tyrant's grandson (523 BC).

The family's control of Athenian government finally came to an end in 510 BC after a period of turmoil. An assassination attempt in 514 BC was only partly successful: the tyrant Hippias' younger brother Hipparchus was killed though Hippias himself escaped. The sources uniformly report that the Pisistratids' rule (to give the family the name by which ancient writers refer to them) became much harsher. The aristocrats saw an opportunity to dislodge the family that had held the dominant position at Athens for 36 years, but this was managed only after several failed attempts, and with the assistance of some formidable propaganda from the Delphic oracle as well as an armed invading force led by a Spartan king.

Pisistratus' reign was crucial to the development of Athenian democracy. Under Pisistratus Athens' leading and ever-contentious families were either exiled or reduced to political impotence. If he had tampered with the Solonian institutions, much (though perhaps not all) would have been lost; Cleisthenes in 508 BC would have had to start, so to speak, from scratch. As it was, the Athenians were given a tantalizing taste of the fruits of political stability and peace (no foreign engagements of any consequence are recorded for the period of Pisistratus' rule, and it is a continuing puzzle whether he even maintained a standing army and navy). Athenian manufacture and trade flourished, and the fruits of this increased prosperity went to enhance life in both city and countryside. Local workers and craftsmen were given employment, and designers and artists were imported from the more artistically advanced regions of the Near East, such as Ionia. Athenians came to see that the advancement of Athens' interests was best viewed as a community enterprise and that, as their city prospered, so did their own individual circumstances. A century later, under Pericles, Athenians of all stripes and classes were to discover how advantageous a full public treasury could be.

ANTHONY J. PODLECKI

See also Tyranny

Biography

Born in the early 6th century BC, Pisistratus first seized power in Athens in the 560s BC. After a ten-year exile (*c.*557–547) in Macedonia, he returned to Athens in 546 and established a tyranny. The city flourished and the period of his rule was remembered as a golden age. He died *c.*528 BC and was succeeded by his sons Hippias and Hipparchus.

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Plants

Greece is a very diverse country, with high mountains and a varied climate. Like other Mediterranean countries, it escaped the worst ravages of the ice ages. Its flora is the richest in Europe after Spain's. Most of the plants do their growing in the winter or spring, and are dormant through the harsh dry summers.

Typical Mediterranean vegetation is supposed to be dominated by evergreen trees such as prickly oak, phillyrea, and arbutus. These are very adaptable: they exist in either a tree or a shrub form according to the degree of browsing, burning, and woodcutting, and can change from one to the other (see the article on Landscape). However, in less arid places, deciduous oaks and other deciduous trees are prevalent and increasing. There are also conifers, such as Aleppo pine, mountain fir, and Cretan cypress. The aromatic, sticky, and spiny plants of dry hillsides – cistus, thyme, Jerusalem sage – are undershrubs, which cannot turn into trees. There are innumerable grasses, annual and perennial legumes, and orchids. Colourful weeds of cultivation, such as wild gladiolus, now rarely seen in the rest of Europe, frequent old-fashioned olive groves.

Nearly all crop plants in Greece, except the olive, are introduced rather than indigenous. Cereals, vines, legumes, and some vegetables were familiar to the ancient Greeks, but many other crop plants have been introduced from other continents. Greek agriculture and cuisine were transformed by the introduction from the Americas of plants such as tomato, potato, maize, tobacco, and most beans. Although most wild plants were known to the ancients, some weeds have been brought in along with exotic crops. The yellow *Oxalis pes-caprae*, now one of the commonest plants, arrived from South Africa a little over a century ago. Irrigated cultivation has produced a universal set of tropical, weedkiller-resistant weeds.

Many Greek plants are generically Mediterranean: Aleppo pine is found almost everywhere from Spain eastwards, except in Crete. Most evergreen trees and shrubs and grey-green undershrubs also prevail in other Mediterranean countries, though the species may differ. However, Greek vegetation has its own peculiar character. The common evergreen oak is the prickly oak, *Quercus coccifera*, not holm oak or cork oak as in other countries. One of the common deciduous oaks is *Quercus macrolepis*, whose huge acorn-cups were exported for tanning leather.

Many species are restricted to particular altitudes. Mediterranean plant communities tend to form zones at various heights above sea level, with deciduous oakwoods predominating in the lower mountains, fir- and pinewoods above these, and special alpine plants above the tree line. This zonation, however, is relatively weak in Greece, and in Crete there are really only two zones: the alpine desert and the rest.

Greece has outliers of Central European vegetation, extending southwards in the mountains. Beechwoods, for example, extend in the Pindus mountains well within modern Greece; they are accompanied by wild strawberry and even primrose.

Endemic plants are those found nowhere else but Greece. Some are common: the Greek fir tree, abundant in the mountains to within sight of Athens, is peculiar to Greece. Many others are confined to a particular mountain or group of mountains: Macedonia is particularly rich in them.

Crete is a miniature continent with high mountains, deserts, and jungles, and a profusion of cliffs and gorges. Some Greek plants, such as Aleppo pine, do not extend to Crete, and the island has many species of Asian rather than European affinities, with a few African. In misty ravines in the western mountains are royal fern and bog pimpernel, more characteristic of cool damp Ireland; not far away are spiny shrubs outlying from the Sahara. Crete also has the largest concentration of endemic plants in Europe. Cliffs, gorges, and the alpine desert are full of strange specialized plants. Others, often of arresting beauty, are common and conspicuous.

Examples of Cretan plants are cypress, an Asian tree native nowhere else in Europe; Cretan pine, which is also Asian and different from Greek pines; *Origanum dictamnus*, a Cretan endemic famous since antiquity as a medicinal herb, still common in the gorges; *Ebenus cretica*, one of the most beautiful plants in Europe, common in Crete and found nowhere else; the glorious blue *Petromarula pinnata*, an endemic on cliffs and Venetian walls; and *Hyoscyamus aureus*, golden henbane, common on the city walls of Herakleion (where it has been for at least 400 years), its only European locality.

Greek plants are at their best between March and May, when the annuals, the wonderful bulbs, and the many species of orchids are in bloom. Later in the year visitors should explore the high mountains.

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See also Botany, Landscape

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Planudes, Maximos *c.*1255–*c.*1305

Scholar and translator

Typical of the best Byzantine polymaths, Planudes's range of scholarly activities paralleled the traditional disciplines of the Byzantine educational curriculum. He wrote not only treatises on grammar, rhetoric, and the correct usage of vocabulary but also commentaries on and texts of literary, rhetorical, mathematical, and astronomical works, as well as original rhetorical

pieces exemplifying good prose style. As director of a school in Constantinople, he energetically provided texts and treatises for his students, who included scions of prominent families and some nascent scholars or public officials. Planudes's interests and energies, however, transcended the needs of a school curriculum.

Planudes extended the scientific knowledge of his time through his activity with texts. With the help of the patriarch of Alexandria and of the emperor Andronikos II Palaiologos (1282–1328), he obtained a text of Ptolemy's *Geography*, then reconstructed its missing maps himself. He copied out Aratus' *Phaenomena*, which was regularly used as an astronomical textbook, and also used Ptolemy to correct its factual information, neatly excising the obsolete sections of Aratus and substituting passages in the same style and metre. Although Planudes violated the integrity of the original, he maintained and enhanced its literary quality and scientific purpose.

Planudes extended traditional literary studies beyond the mere copying and annotation of Classical authors. He collated different manuscripts of the same text and attempted to make emendations, thus producing a modest critical edition in the modern sense of the word. He and his younger associate Demetrios Triklinios are regarded as "the latest Byzantines whose activities had any lasting effect on classical texts" (Reynolds and Wilson, p. 77). Planudes also searched out rare but interesting literary texts. He selected, adapted for school use, and copied in his own hand an anthology of epigrams, systematically arranging and subdividing them. This collection, which was frequently recopied, was the only one to preserve the so-called *Greek Anthology* until the larger *Palatine Anthology* was discovered in the 19th century (380 epigrams still survive only in Planudes's anthology). He confided in a letter that he was undertaking the task of producing a complete collection of Plutarch's writings "because, as you know, I am completely devoted to the man" (Letter 106). This massive task would not be completed by Planudes's associates until after his death, when the last section of the *Moralia* was finally located and copied. His circle reintroduced nine plays of Euripides that had been omitted from the traditional school curriculum and were preserved in a single manuscript, now lost (this contained part of the entire works of Euripides in alphabetical order; the plays we owe to this circle are *Helen*, *Electra*, *Heraclidae*, *Heracles*, *Suppliant Women*, *Iphigenia at Aulis*, *Iphigenia among the Taurians*, *Ion*, and *Cyclops*). Although the discovery of this manuscript has been credited to Dimitrios Triklinios in Thessalonica, new evidence suggests that Planudes may have been responsible for finding it.

Planudes advanced the development of arithmetic and geometry by editing texts and by adapting an earlier anonymous essay (1252) on Indian calculation. His adaptation improved the process of extracting square roots, contained the first use of zero as a place holder in Byzantine arithmetic, and demonstrated Persian scholarly influence through the use of eastern Arabic number forms. (His source used western Arabic forms.) He annotated Euclid's *Elements* and also collated an edition and produced a commentary for Diophantes's *Arithmetic*, a notoriously difficult work studied by advanced mathematicians among Planudes's contemporaries. His edition improved the text of Diophantes and his commentary provided explication of some vexed problems more clearly than Diophantes's original. The recent discovery that Byzantine scholars in the circle around Planudes accomplished a vast recension of astronomical and mathematical texts sometime after 1296 suggests that he participated in an effort so significant that manuscripts owned by Bessarion in the 15th century were influenced by it.

In his broad literary and scientific interests, Planudes exemplifies the late Byzantine polymath. In his commitment to translating Latin literary works into Greek, however, he was extremely unusual and perhaps even unique in his time.

Some of Planudes's translations figured in the religious and political controversies surrounding the union of the Eastern and Western Churches. His translation of Augustine's 15-book philosophical treatise *On the Trinity* drew criticism from both parties. In 1305 an anonymous Dominican in Constantinople labelled the work "not a translation but a falsification"; in the 15th century the anti-unionist patriarch Gennadios I Scholarios complained that Planudes's translation failed to clarify the nature of the procession of the Holy Spirit, while Cardinal Bessarion, a fervent supporter of ecclesiastical union, warmly commended him as a translator. Planudes also translated "one of the most read books of the Middle Ages" (Schmitt, p. 132), the anonymous theological treatise *On the Misdeeds of the Age*, erroneously attributed to both Cyprian and Augustine.

The translation of Latin theological writings into Greek involved the risk that he would raise suspicions of anti-Orthodox sympathies. Was it to counter such suspicions that Planudes became a monk? Curiously, the only other Byzantine of this period who may have translated Latin literary works into Greek was also a monk, Manuel Holobolos, an Aristotle scholar and teacher in the Patriarchal Academy under Michael VIII. The Greek translations of two rhetorical works by Boethius, *On Various Topoi* and *On the Hypothetical Syllogism*, are attributed in manuscripts both to Planudes and to his less famous senior colleague. Only stylistic analysis and comparison can determine which scholar produced these translations, probably the first from Latin literature in 13th-century Constantinople.

Whatever Planudes's reasons for becoming a monk, the volume and variety of his translations from Latin indicate that his activities as a translator extended throughout his scholarly career. Some of these translations served pedagogical purposes. He translated part of Priscian's *Grammatical Instruction* in his own essay *On the Syntax of Parts of Speech*, and he selected and translated aphorisms from the *Sayings of Cato*, a collection preserved in numerous manuscripts and cited in the 14th-century novel *Imberios and Margarone* and in Emmanuel Georgillas's 15th-century poem, *The Plague of Rhodes*. Planudes may also be the anonymous Byzantine translator of the pseudo-Aristotle's *On Plants*, a work that survived only in Latin.

Planudes's remaining translations from Latin were purely literary in their appeal – Boethius' *Consolation of Philosophy* with a *Life of Boethius* appended, Cicero's *Dream of Scipio* with Macrobius' *Commentary*, Ovid's *Heroides*, his *Metamorphoses*, and perhaps a selection from his *Amores* as well as four lines of Juvenal's *Satires*. Except for the metrical translations of Juvenal and of the *Sayings of Cato*, these are prose paraphrases, embellished with rhetorical figures and

preserving a slightly foreign flavour in diction. They were extremely popular among early western humanists, who used them as aids to learning Greek; Petrarch, for instance, owned a copy of the Cicero / Macrobius translation with marginal references to the Latin text, and in the 15th century Ambrogio Traversari reported reading both Latin and Greek versions of Boethius' *Consolation*.

The works translated by Planudes represented staples of a good Latin library. Planudes may have encountered educated Latins conversant with these works and a library containing them in the Franciscan and Dominican friaries that probably operated in Constantinople during the Latin occupation. He acquired both his knowledge of Latin and the texts he translated in the east, for he had mostly completed his translations by 1296, when he made his only visit to the west.

Planudes's translations from Latin endorsed the value of this foreign tradition for cultured Greek readers. An interest in Latin literature as evidenced by translations had faded at Constantinople until its revival during the early Palaiologan period, which also valued Arabic and Persian science and literature. Translation then languished until the mid-14th century, when the controversy over ecclesiastical union prompted such scholars as Demetrios and Prochoros Kydones, Manuel Kalekas, and George Scholarios to translate Latin theological writings. In this period Planudes was credited with translations of works by Caesar, Cicero, pseudo-Donatus, Augustine, Thomas Aquinas, Petrus Hispanus, Hilarius, and Macrobius. These false attributions, still quoted in the scholarly literature, provide eloquent if flawed testimony to the enduring fame as a translator that the Byzantine polymath Planudes achieved.

ELIZABETH A. FISHER

See also Translation into Greek

Biography

Born *c.*1255 in Nicomedia and baptized with the name Manuel, Planudes worked as a scribe in the imperial palace from 1283. On becoming a monk, he took the name Maximos and, though abbot of the monastery at Mount Auxentios, he remained in Constantinople. His pupils included Manuel Moschopoulos and George Lekapenos. In 1296 he visited Venice on an imperial embassy. He translated many Latin authors and made important contributions to Greek scholarship. He died *c.*1305.

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Plastiras, Nikolaos 1883–1953

Politician

Nikolaos Plastiras played a leading role in the events of the revolution of 1922, and, serving on several occasions as premier during the post-World War II era, upheld the democratic principles of his country.

As a young man, Plastiras lived in Karditsa in central Greece. When he completed his schooling, he enlisted in the Greek national army (1903) and, as a commissioned officer, participated in the Macedonian struggle of 1905. Before the outbreak of the First Balkan War (4 October 1912), Plastiras was admitted to the cadet school (1910–12), graduating with the rank of second lieutenant. During the Balkan Wars Plastiras showed great courage and leadership in the battlefield and was highly respected by his fellow officers and his superiors.

At the outbreak of World War I, Plastiras had already been promoted to the rank of lieutenant. The political and ideological friction between King Constantine I and Eleftherios Venizelos led to a division in both the political and the military ranks. The Venizelists believed that Greece should enter the war on the side of the Allies, while the Royalists supported a more neutral stance, hoping to avoid armed opposition against Germany. In September 1916 Plastiras joined the supporters of Venizelos and assumed the command of one of the battalions of the 6th regiment of the Archipelagos division. While commanding his battalion, Plastiras participated in the military operations on the Macedonian front, and proved once again his leadership and valour. He was promoted to lieutenant colonel in 1919 and given the command of the 5/24 regiment which fought in the Ukrainian campaign against the Bolsheviks, showing the same qualities that he had exhibited during the Balkan Wars. After the end of this campaign, and with the rank of colonel, Plastiras was reassigned to Asia

Minor, where the campaign against the Ottoman empire was under way.

In Asia Minor Plastiras was recognized for his contributions in every phase of the military campaign, especially the period 1921–22, when the Greek forces, having overextended their supply lines, came under heavy fire from the troops of Mustafa Kemal and the Turkish nationalists. During that period Plastiras conducted an orderly retreat, supporting the general exodus of the Greeks from Asia Minor. Plastiras remained on the coast of Asia Minor and was a witness to the disaster of Hellenism in Ionia. Immediately after the humiliating defeat in Asia Minor, Plastiras, in collaboration with colonel S. Gonatas and captain D. Phokas, succeeded in forcing king Constantine I to flee by instigating a coup. As a member of the powerful triumvirate that ruled Greece, Plastiras played a leading role in the political developments and financial difficulties that Greece had to face following the influx of refugees from Asia Minor. He assumed responsibility for the verdict that was passed on the six high-ranking personnel who were accused of being responsible for the Asia Minor disaster, and worked diligently for the rapid reformation of the Greek national army. Plastiras also made every effort to tackle the socioeconomic problems created by the inflow of the refugees. After the elections of 22 November, when Gonatas assumed the presidency, Plastiras continued to play a key role in political decision-making. He supported the negotiations in Lausanne, and was responsible for the final ratification of the decisions of the Greek delegation which led to the signing of the agreement in July 1923.

Exhausted by the events of the past several years, Plastiras withdrew from the political scene. However, a few months later, in October 1923, as a result of the movement of general P. Gargalidis and general G. Leonardopoulos, Plastiras once again became fully involved in politics in the effort to stop the Royalists from returning to power. Although successful in preventing another dictatorial government from taking over, Plastiras realized the importance and necessity of a return to parliamentary democracy. He called for elections, which were promptly held in December 1923, and shortly thereafter, despite his popularity, he quietly withdrew from the political foreground.

A decade later, and anxious about the future of his country's national identity, Plastiras perceived as a major threat the anti-Venizelist government that was voted into office following the elections of 5 March 1933. He acted decisively against the new government by instigating a military coup. The failed coup was criticized by the public and by Venizelos himself, and Plastiras went into voluntary exile in Paris until 1935. That year, however, the Royalist cause had gathered sufficient momentum to secure the return of the king, despite the efforts of the Venizelists in support of parliamentary democracy. This effort reached its pinnacle with the institution of the Metaxas dictatorship in 1936. In exile Plastiras maintained a very distant and at times hostile stance to the Metaxas regime, and did not return to Greece until after the end of World War II. However, he continued to be politically active and was a strong supporter of the National Democratic Hellenic Union (EDES).

World War II devastated the socioeconomic foundations of Greece. The tragedy continued as liberated Greece fell under the shroud of a brutal civil war. Archbishop Damaskinos and the British government recalled Plastiras to Greece, inviting him to assume the premiership in place of George Papandreou. During his shortlived first period in political office (3 January–8 April 1945) Plastiras succeeded in bringing the National Liberation Front (EAM) to the negotiating table in Varkiza to reach a peace agreement. An adamant supporter of peaceful solutions, Plastiras always spoke out against the violence of the civil war and campaigned strongly for a cessation of hostilities.

The conclusion of the civil war brought hope of a new beginning in rebuilding the devastated nation. In this optimistic environment Plastiras returned to the political foreground by creating the National Progressive Centre Party (EPEK). In the elections of 5 March 1950 his party secured 45 seats, winning 16.4 per cent of the popular vote. Shortly thereafter Plastiras entered a coalition with Sophokles Venizelos and George Papandreou in order to strengthen his government and initiate a campaign of national unity, essential for the future of Greece. The desire which Plastiras expressed to breach the social gap resulting from the civil war came under increasing scrutiny by the parliamentary opposition. He was criticized by members of his own coalition government and less than six months after his assumption of the premiership Plastiras was forced to resign. Despite personal attacks, Plastiras was returned to power in the elections of 9 September 1951, when he won 23.5 per cent of the popular vote and increased his party's representation in parliament by 29 seats.

Once again his political career was short-lived. Now 68, weary, and ailing, Plastiras was no longer capable of defending his political beliefs. On 16 November 1952 Alexandros Papagos and the Greek Rally Party defeated EPEK, forcing Plastiras to resign. He died a few months later on 26 July 1953, having valiantly represented his country and upheld his moral values in both the political and the military sphere at transitional and crucial moments of Greek hisrory.

STELIOS ZACHARIOU

Biography

Born in 1883 and brought up in Karditsa in central Greece, Plastiras graduated from the Cadet School in 1912 and fought with distinction in the Balkan Wars. In World War I he joined the Venizelists and in 1919 fought in the Ukraine against the Bolsheviks. In 1921–22 he organized the Greek army's retreat from Asia Minor and instigated the coup that overthrew King Constantine. He was briefly prime minister in 1945 and again in 1950–52. He died in 1953.

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Plataea

City in Boeotia, site of a battle in 479 BC

Plataea was a city of southern Boeotia situated in the plain between Mount Cithaeron and the Asopus river. As the result

of an attempt by Thebes to force it into the Boeotian Confederacy, the city joined an alliance with Athens in 519 BC. It subsequently provided support to the Athenians against the Persians at Marathon (490), Artemesium, and Salamis (480), before being sacked by the Persians in 479.

After the Greek victory over the Persian fleet in the bay of Salamis and Xerxes' subsequent withdrawal, the Greek forces still had to confront a substantial Persian army under the command of Mardonius. Plataea became the site of the great final battle between the Persian forces and the assembled Greek resistance in 479. The Greek victory ended the threat of Persian domination of Greece.

Mardonius, who had retired to Attica after Salamis, moved his forces to the plains of Boeotia, probably to provide more favourable terrain for his cavalry. The Peloponnesian forces, which had assembled at the isthmus, marched first to Eleusis where they were joined by the Athenians under Aristides, and then moved across the Cithaeron range along the main road and the pass of Eleutherae (Gyphtokastro).

Perhaps before engaging the Persians, the Greek allies swore the "Oath of Plataea", a pledge to fight to the death against the Persians, remain loyal to one's allies, and not rebuild the temples destroyed by the Persians. Denounced even in antiquity as a forgery (Theopompus, *FGrH* 115 F 153), scholars still debate its authenticity and its location and date of swearing.

At the battle the Spartan regent, Pausanias, led the Greek forces to victory against a numerically superior Persian foe. Herodotus' estimate for the Persian force (300,000 Persians and 50,000 Medizing Greeks, i.e. Greeks who sided with the Persians) is not accepted, although his numbers for the Greek forces (38,700 hoplites and 71,300 light or unarmed auxiliaries) are given more credence. Modern estimates give the Persians a cavalry of 10,000 with 50,000 to 70,000 infantry (plus support), perhaps 20,000 Medizing Greeks, and another Persian force of 40,000 under another commander, Artabazus.

Many details of the battle itself are still not agreed upon. After more than two millennia, changes to topographical features have made troop positions and movements impossible to prove. Even the specific date of the engagement is unknown, although mid-August of 479 is widely accepted. The general strategies of the two sides, however, seem clear: the Persians wished to employ their cavalry on the plain, while the Greek force, using hoplites in phalanx formation, preferred not to give them that advantage.

With the main Persian force assembled along a front, perhaps 8 km long, north of the Asopus with a 2-km square wooden stockade (*c.*900 acres/360 ha) to their rear, Pausanias utilized the rough terrain of his position on the lower slopes of Mount Cithaeron successfully to fight off the Persian cavalry, killing their majestic commander Masistius. Pausanias then shifted his line westward towards Plataea and the Asopus, perhaps in need of better water supplies, and moved further down the slopes. The Persians were able to deny the Greeks the river by employing their mounted archers to harass parties sent to collect water. Eventually the Persians also choked up the Gargaphia spring, a major water source for the entire Greek force; this may have forced the Greeks to attempt a more desperate course of action.

For eight days the two forces faced each other across the Asopus, neither side willing to give up its favourable terrain to attack. But after four days of raids by Mardonius' cavalry, which cut the Greeks' supply lines, Pausanias made the decision to attempt a night withdrawal to secure provisions. Confusion during the withdrawal resulted in the division of the Greek forces: the Athenians were isolated on the left, the centre just outside Plataea itself, and the Lacedaemonians and Tegeans on the right.

Mardonius, sensing that the advantage was his, ordered a general assault but, after a furious battle, the Spartans defeated his Asiatic and allied troops. The Athenians held his Boeotian allies, who fought well but disengaged under the protection of the Theban cavalry once the battle against the Greek right had been lost. Mardonius himself died in the battle, triggering a Persian retreat into the stockade where they were slaughtered once the Greeks breached its walls. Artabazus, who had maintained his troops in reserve, watched the battle develop into a rout, then retreated to Byzantium without fighting. Attempts have been made to depict the Greek victory as a brilliant ploy on the part of Pausanias, but it is impossible now to determine whether the victory was a result of luck or a clever plan.

Casualties are difficult to estimate, but the Persians probably lost about 10,000 non-European warriors and 1000 Medizing Greeks; the Greek forces suffered casualties of perhaps just over 1000 men. The Greeks had won a resounding victory that demonstrated they could inflict tremendous punishment upon a numerically superior Persian force. The Persians were no longer a military threat to the Greek mainland.

Booty from the battle was tremendous. Dedications from the spoils were made at Olympia, the isthmus, and Delphi (the triple entwined serpent-column, the remains of which is now in Istanbul, was erected on a gold tripod at Delphi). So luxurious were the spoils that this is the moment cited in antiquity when the Greeks became enamoured of wealth.

To complete their victory, the Greeks turned to punish Thebes for its support of the Persians. After a short siege, several ringleaders were surrendered to allies, who quickly removed them to the isthmus where they were executed. Theban hegemony over Boeotia was also broken.

Even more than Marathon or Salamis, the victory over the Persians at Plataea determined the course of European history. Xerxes had been defeated at sea and on land. Instead of becoming a Persian satellite, the Greeks formed the Delian League and went on the offensive.

Plataea faded in significance after the battle until the middle of the 5th century when it joined the new Boeotian Confederacy with control of two votes. The Theban assault on the city in 431 is regarded by many as the real beginning of the Peloponnesian War and, although most inhabitants had fled to Athens for refuge, the remaining inhabitants only surrendered in 427 when the city was razed to the ground. Plataea was rebuilt after the war and remained independent until seized by the Thebans in 372, when refugees once again fled to Athens. Philip II of Macedon restored the city after the battle of Chaeronea (338) and the Plataeans exacted revenge against Thebes in 335 when they helped Alexander the Great destroy their old enemy. Although loyal to Rome during the Third Macedonian War, the city suffered along with the other Boeotian cities during the campaigns of Sulla in 86 BC.

Two cults, the Homonoia and the Eleutheria, which celebrated the great victory over the Persians, provided some fame for the city in the Hellenistic and Roman periods, but other than the restoration of its walls under Justinian (527–65) little else of significance is known about the city.

ANDREW N. SHERWOOD

See also Persian Wars

Summary

A city in Boeotia, Plataea was an ally of Athens and supported the Athenians at Marathon and Salamis before being sacked by the Persians in 479 BC. It was the site of a decisive Greek victory over the Persians in that year which finally removed the Persian military threat to Greece. The city continued to exist into the early Byzantine period.

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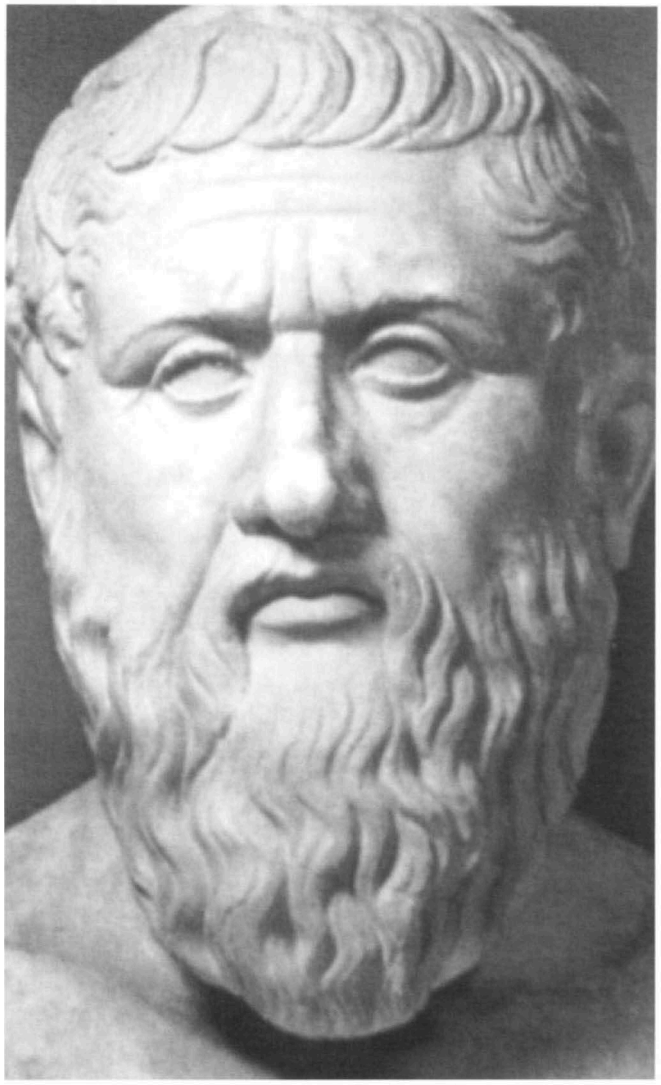
Plato 429–347 BC

Philosopher

Plato was destined for an active life in Athenian politics. He was a member of an Athenian family that traced its origins back to the famous lawgiver Solon, and although his close relatives Crito and Charmides were discredited by their actions during the constitutional disturbances of the last decade of the 5th century BC, Plato could have carved out his own path. As Plato himself tells us in his *Seventh Letter* (now taken to be genuine by most scholars), he indeed began adult life with the usual political ambitions and was invited by his relatives to join them. Their actions were repellent, but what finally deterred Plato from ever taking part in conventional political life was the way in which powerful people brought charges against Socrates that led to his death, an action that in Plato's mind condemned both the oligarchic forces and the democratic masses. He would now devote his life to unconventional politics; that is, "having decided that all existing cities are badly governed", he would investigate "the nature of justice in both the individual and the state".

Plato would have had very few models for his own investigations. Greeks by and large looked to poets for ethical paradigms and heroes. Heraclitus wove ethical doctrines into an intentionally enigmatic prose text that lacked the detail and argumentative rigour that Plato desired. Some of the Sophists dealt with ethical matters but did so less with a desire to learn the truth and more in order to train students to come out on top in any morally ambiguous situation. Plato found his model in what was then a minor genre, the Socratic dialogue; that is, a prose drama in which Socrates and one or more fellow speakers (dialogists) would raise and analyse, or at any rate discuss, ethical matters. According to Aristotle, the first to write Socratic dialogues was a certain Alexamenos of Teos. There is also credible evidence that an Athenian, Simon the cobbler, would scribble notes for himself that he would later work up into a more polished form. How philosophical these earlier dialogues were we can only guess. They may have been similar to the chatty and anecdotal Socratic dialogues of Xenophon that are still extant. But whereas Xenophon was chiefly interested in retelling those conversations in which Socrates expressed his own views, Plato was more drawn to the Socrates who, when it came to the most important qualities of ethical life, preferred to withhold his own opinions, frequently willing to bring the discussion to an impasse (*aporia*) rather than impose upon his fellow dialogists a conclusion that he himself could not fully endorse.

Socrates did this in part because, as he himself is made to say in Plato's *Apology*, the profession of one's own ignorance is a necessary first step on the way to the truth. He also, again according to Plato, believed that whatever truth one does attain will occur only as a result of one's having actively



Plato, Roman copy of a Greek original

wrestled with the matter and elicited it out of one's own soul – a difficult matter, to be sure, but possible for a bright person who is asked the right questions. Plato, who no doubt often found himself in this situation with Socrates, proceeded to shape both real and imagined dialogues with this intriguing old man into a powerful literary form. There is therefore no voice within the dialogues that declares itself to be that of the author arguing his own cause; nor does Plato even put himself forward as narrator of any dialogue. The reader is thus put on constant guard, never sure at first or perhaps even after consideration whether any particular idea expressed by Socrates or anyone else comes with Plato's own endorsement. This is Plato's way of reproducing Socrates' habit of encouraging would-be philosophers to work things out as much as possible by themselves.

Quite naturally, therefore, apart from the speech that forms the *Apology*, Plato's earliest dialogues tend to end in the doubt that earns them the label "aporetic". Plato brings Socrates together somewhere in Athens with one or more acquaintances. Whether or not they have a specific question for him, Socrates soon raises the level of discussion from the ordinary to the philosophical. In the *Laches*, for example, the question of how fathers can educate sons in bravery quickly becomes an investigation of the very meaning of bravery. The *Euthyphro*, *Lysis*, and *Charmides* deal likewise (and respectively) with the other commonly recognized virtues of piety, friendship, and *sophrosyne* (for which "temperance, prudence, moderation" are but inadequate translations). The *Hippias Major* (whose authenticity is still doubted by some) seeks to define *kalon* ("good" or "beautiful"), a term that comprises both aesthetic and moral values. Perhaps most aporetic of all is the *Hippias Minor*, which manages to shock even Socrates when the dialogue leads him and Hippias to the statement that the man who does wrong willingly is superior to the man who does so only involuntarily. And while not aporetic, the moral message of the *Crito* is clear: Socrates owes a debt to Athens that will not allow him to escape from prison, where he lies under sentence of death.

A question that is raised more than once in these early dialogues, most noticeably in the *Laches*, is how, supposing that we can ever attain a sufficiently correct opinion concerning these individual virtues, can one generation instil them in the next. This is an important question at any time, but Plato's 4th-century BC Athens was still feeling the effects of Socrates' 5th-century BC Sophists, the professional teachers who come off so badly in Plato's dialogues not so much for their pretentious ways and their love of money as for their claim to be able to teach virtue. Whereas Hippias in the *Hippias Minor* is artfully led to an immoral conclusion unwillingly, the Sophists of the *Euthydemus* with malicious glee delight in their ability to twist the normal ambiguities of ordinary language into startling paradoxical statements, a skill that they claim will enable a citizen to excel in the law courts or wherever such "eristic" skills are valuable. The question of whether virtue can be taught at all is addressed head on in the *Protagoras*. At first, Protagoras understandably argues with a sceptical Socrates that virtue (*arete*) can indeed be taught, and by no one so well as he. In the course of the discussion, however, they somehow change sides so that by the end it is Socrates who now believes that virtue is teachable, Protagoras arguing against his earlier position. This aporetic turnabout, artfully stage-managed by Socrates and Plato, has the desired result that Socrates' young friend who had been on the point of paying Protagoras his huge fee to learn virtue is now almost certainly deterred from doing so.

Whereas up to this point Plato was content to reveal the essentially immoral nature of sophistic teaching by indirection, in the *Gorgias* he starkly reveals the results of these ill-thought-out doctrines. Gorgias himself is shown merely to be morally purblind. His students, however, Polus and Callicles, provide examples of the totalitarian political character who embraces the idea that might makes right. Another student of Gorgias reveals in the *Meno* how little he knows about the nature of virtue (as opposed to its many manifestations in different people and situations).

Having shown in so many dialogues both the existence of widespread ignorance on ethical matters and the necessity for exposing its many forms, it was time for Plato to flesh out some of the many hints he dropped in the aporetic dialogues of a more positive doctrine. In the deathbed setting of *Phaedo*, Socrates not only elaborates on his earlier statements in the *Apology* and *Crito* on the necessity of devoting one's life to the

study of wisdom (which is the very serious meaning he gives to the word *philosophia*), he describes the immortality of the soul and those entities he calls Ideas or Forms. (In the *Meno* real learning was said to be the immortal soul actually recollecting what it had known before.) Although the metaphysical nature of the Forms is often studied by itself, when viewed in their contexts the Forms clearly represent an essential part of Plato's overarching ethical programme. While it is not difficult to enumerate the qualities of these unchanging, eternal, and immanent Forms, it is quite another thing to explain how one might attain direct apprehension of them for oneself.

The *Phaedo* shows how even Socrates' own most devoted followers can accept the immortality of the soul (not a difficult thing for a Greek) and yet prove incapable of absorbing it into their philosophical belief. The immortality of the Forms is even more difficult to incorporate. The *Symposium*, primarily about love, likens the apprehension of the Forms to the initiation into a mystery religion, which cannot be revealed to an outsider. In the *Republic*, however, Plato took the plunge, sketching out (his metaphor) an elaborate scheme for instituting and governing a state where justice would prevail in both its own constitution and in the very souls of its citizens. Its first book (of ten) is modelled on an aporetic dialogue in which the object of discussion is justice. Socrates, however, not allowed to run off after having dispelled various mistaken notions, is compelled to continue with a more positive doctrine of justice, which, it turns out, governs some of the cardinal virtues treated in earlier dialogues. Maintaining the proper relationship among the parts of the soul makes for a just individual, who in turn along with a like-minded citizenry will serve the state – whether as ruler or follower – so that all elements work together in a harmony that Socrates calls justice. Rulers can come only from that elite group of men and women who have pursued a course of education so rigorous that they are able to apprehend the Form of the Good, the nature of which demands that they work for the good of the state. Complementary to the idea that Good demands good is the Socratic paradox that nobody does wrong willingly.

The *Phaedrus*, like the *Symposium*, seeks to understand love through speeches; here, however, Socrates emphasizes less the content of a speech than its form, which, it is argued, should be clearly and naturally articulated. This notion of proper composition calls for a discussion of what Plato will develop in later dialogues, namely analysis of the subject to be defined by a process of collection (of all similar things) and division (of the whole into its parts). The *Phaedrus* is one of Plato's great literary accomplishments. On the whole, however, it may be said that after having considered, with some justification, the *Republic* as the culmination of all of his earlier virtue-oriented writings, Plato now felt free to explore and develop some of the logical consequences of his theory of Forms. This is not to say that the later dialogues lack all literary touches – the *Theaetetus*, for example, is informed by metaphors of pregnancy and birth that illuminate the process whereby Theaetetus is questioned on the meaning of knowledge – but it must be admitted that the *Sophist*, *Statesman*, and *Philebus* have far fewer readers (outside philosophy departments) than the earlier dialogues. Among late dialogues, perhaps only the *Timaeus*, with its fascinating attempt to describe the cosmos by marrying Greek science and religion, commands a wide readership. The *Laws*, the longest dialogue, both complements and, as an older and more conservative Plato must have imagined it, corrects the picture of the ideal state described earlier in the *Republic*.

Plato's influence on later thought was felt immediately and has lasted until the present. The school he founded in the sacred grove known as the Academy lasted until the 6th century AD. Aristotle, denied advancement with the Academy, continued with his own school in Athens and in his writings continued until the end of his life to argue with his teacher. Nor could any other school of western philosophy ignore him; they either adopted, adapted, or overtly rejected the basic doctrines of Plato.

DAVID SIDER

See also Academy, Aesthetics, Philosophy, Socrates

Biography

Born in Athens in 429 BC to an ancient and wealthy family, Plato was destined for a political career but decided to devote himself to philosophy after the death of Socrates. He founded a philosophical school known as the Academy whose original aim was to train prospective statesmen. He visited Syracuse several times in a vain attempt to convert Dionysius II to his philosophical ideas. He published his theories in the form of dialogues, dramatic conversation pieces, of which some 30 survive. He died in 347 BC.

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Plethon, George Gemistos *c.*1360–1452

Philosopher

The philosopher George Gemistos (he adopted the pseudonym Plethon around 1439) was both one of the most original thinkers of the Byzantine period and also a significant influence on the development of Platonic studies in Italy during the Renaissance. Little is known of the first 50 years of his life, but from an early stage he held unorthodox views, taking an interest in Neoplatonism and Zoroastrianism. Around 1410 he was exiled from Constantinople by the Byzantine emperor Manuel II Palaiologos, on suspicion of heresy and paganism, and sent to Mistra in the Peloponnese where he spent most of the remainder of his life, attached to the court of the despots of the Morea.

In spite of his relegation to a distant province, Gemistos's powerful personality soon attracted a number of promising students to study under him, including the future cardinal Bessarion, George Hermonymos, Laonikos Chalkokondyles, and Demetrios Rhaoul Kavakis. He became the centre of a lively literary circle and acquired a reputation as the most brilliant exponent of Platonism.

Gemistos also appears to have regarded himself as an adviser to the young despot of the Morea, Theodore II Palaiologos (1408–43), perhaps in conscious imitation of the similar role played by Plato at the court of the tyrant Dionysius II of Syracuse. Between 1415 and 1418 he wrote a series of rhetorical works that drew heavily on Platonic ideas and which offered solutions to the ills then afflicting the Byzantine empire. His *Advisory Address to the Despot Theodore on the Peloponnese* and his *Address to the Emperor Manuel on Affairs in the Peloponnese* proposed various reforms to improve the condition of the Byzantine province of the Morea. He urged the establishment of a standing army, composed of Greeks rather than of mercenaries. To encourage recruits soldiers should be exempt from taxation, but the monastic vocation was to be discouraged because it burdened society with idle mouths. Some of his proposals reflect the utopianism of Plato's *Republic*, notably his suggestions that the Morea should be ruled, under the despot, by a council of dedicated, moderate men, and that all property should be held in common. Both works advanced the idea of Hellenic nationalism as opposed to the traditional universalism of the Byzantine empire.

A turning point in Gemistos's life occurred in 1438 when, at the age of nearly 80, he joined the retinue of the Byzantine emperor John VIII to attend the Council of Florence. He played little part in the union of the Churches but engaged in lively debate with Florentine scholars on the relative merits of the philosophies of Plato and Aristotle. Gemistos naturally took Plato's side, even going so far as to adopt the pseudonym Plethon, with its connotations of "a second Plato". During his stay Plethon circulated his Greek treatise *On the Differences of Plato and Aristotle*, in which he rejected the philosophy of Aristotle and championed that of Plato. The work was interpreted by many as an attack on Christianity, largely because Plethon made no secret of his admiration for those aspects of Plato's thought that were incompatible with Christian doctrine, particularly the concept of *metempsychosis*, the transmigration of souls. Others, however, were deeply impressed by his work, especially the Florentine humanist Marsilio Ficino who later played a leading role in the Platonic Academy established by Cosimo de' Medici at Careggi near Florence in 1462. Plethon can therefore be credited with having aroused the initial interest in Platonism that was later to have a profound influence on the development of Florentine political thought.

Plethon's latter years were spent teaching and writing at Mistra. He produced an essay on Strabo that adopted a sceptical approach to the ancient geographer, rejecting monsters and mythical realms. However, his last work, *On the Laws*, was his most controversial, advocating a new religion based on a synthesis of Neoplatonism and Classical paganism, stating that Zeus was the supreme god, and containing hymns, prayers, and liturgies to pagan deities. Not surprisingly, the work caused considerable offence to the Church authorities, and the patriarch of Constantinople George Scholarios later ordered that all copies be burned on pain of excommunication.

Nevertheless, some fragments of *On the Laws* survive, including a few autograph manuscript sheets. These, along with the *On the Differences*, ensured that the debate on the relative merits of Plato and Aristotle that Plethon had initiated in Florence would be continued after his death in 1452. The controversy was revived in earnest in 1458 when George of Trebizond wrote his *Comparisons of Plato and Aristotle* with a view to exposing Plethon as a heretic, and provoked a series of responses by the members of the Academy of cardinal Bessarion in Rome. Bessarion's *Against the Calumniator of Plato* (1469) which, unlike Plethon's book, was available in Latin, completed the work of his teacher by convincing the Italian humanists that Plato's philosophy was compatible with Christianity and worthy of study in its own right.

Thus it was in Italy, rather than his native land, that Plethon's influence was to be most lasting. By a curious turn of events, it was to Italy that his remains were to return. In 1464, during a campaign against the Turks in the Morea, Sigismondo Malatesta, hereditary ruler of Rimini, came across Plethon's grave at Mistra and had the philosopher's bones exhumed and transported back to Italy. They were reinterred in the Tempio Malatestiano in Rimini, where Plethon's tomb can still be seen.

JONATHAN HARRIS

See also Mistra

Biography

Born in Constantinople *c.*1360, Gemistos taught in the city until *c.*1410 when he was exiled to Misrra on suspicion of heresy and

paganism. There he remained for the rest of his life attracting a large number of distinguished pupils. He promoted Platonism and Hellenic nationalism. In 1438 he attended the Council of Florence where his teaching had a profound impact on humanist scholars. He died at Mistra in 1452.

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Plotinus AD 205–269/70

Philosopher

Plotinus was the most influential and important philosopher of ancient Greece after Plato and Aristotle. His philosophical system, though based primarily on Plato, was deeply influenced by Aristotle. Stoicism, too, was an important ingredient as well as the ideas of those intervening philosophers and scholars who commented on, developed, and frequently sought a rapprochement between the thought of their great predecessors. His influence, at first direct, on his sucessors Porphyry, Iamblichus, and Proclus and, subsequently, indirectly through them, on later thinkers had a profound and lasting impact on the way in which Greek philosophy, and particularly Plato, was viewed and on the development of Christian theology, particularly in the Orthodox tradition, which was more receptive of Platonic ideas than the western Church. It is, then, important to grasp some of the basic tenets of Neoplatonism that were given their classic shape by Plotinus, though refined and systematized by later Neoplatonists.

Although Plotinus was deeply imbued with the philosophy of Aristotle as well as that of the Stoics, he regarded himself primarily as a follower of Plato, the hidden implications of whose works he sought to explicate and develop. The term Neoplatonist is modern and Plotinus would have regarded himself simply as a Platonist. He came from Lycopolis in Egypt and was educated in the philosophical schools of Alexandria. Political circumstances brought him to Rome where he founded a school in a private house. He did not start to write down his ideas until he was 50 years old and his system was well thought out, but his treatises give the impression of a lively philosophical dialogue, at times almost of a seminar, in which problems, issues, and objections are thoroughly aired. His treatises were not published until many years after his death by his pupil Porphyry who arranged them in sets of nine: hence the curious title *Enneads*. One result of Porphyry's diligent work as an editor is that Plotinus is the only philosopher of antiquity whose works survive in their entirety.

Plotinus laid great emphasis on the two-world view of Plato, who regarded the physical world as an image of a transcendent world of archetypal Forms and the true home of the soul which, during its earthly life, may be considered to be in exile. Plotinus, however, gave far greater stress to this sense of exile and the necessity for the soul to divest itself of its earthly burdens and return to its original home by a process of moral and intellectual effort leading to mystical union with the supreme principle. At the same time, however, he could see the physical world, in the optimistic context of Plato's *Timaeus*, as the best possible image of its divine maker, indeed as a god in its own right. The idea of return to God as father from exile in this world and the spiritual earnestness with which it was expressed by Plotinus were naturally appealing to Christian writers such as Basil. For Plotinus, however, this return of the soul was not dependent on the grace of God but on the innate capacity that we all have, if only we would use it, to recognize our own worth, our kinship, and ultimate identity with the divine. Plotinus himself had little time for religious cults and even less time for those such as the Gnostics who denigrated the physical universe as the creation of a fallen God.

Equally appealing and influential was Plotinus' complex development of Plato's transcendent world into three levels: above all is the One, the source of all, which gives rise to Intellect (*nous*) from which Soul derives. Although these levels of reality are subordinate to each other, they provided a fertile source for Christian Trinitarian theology. Less obvious but more subtly influential were his complex speculations about the relationships within Intellect which provided a model and a language that Christian theologians could employ to describe mutual relationships within the Godhead. For Plotinus thinker, thinking, and object of thought are substantially identical, though conceptually distinct.The concept of the One also proved influential. For Plotinus this ultimate principle, source of all unity, was beyond all description. It could be indicated only by affirming what it was not. This so-called negative or apophatic theology was to have a long following, including Gregory of Nyssa and pseudo-Dionysius. Equally influential was the way in which Plotinus attempted to describe and analyse his personal mystical union with the One, "the flight of the alone to the alone".

The *Enneads* were read and quoted by Eusebius of Caesarea, Basil the Great, and Gregory of Nyssa. They became fashionable again in the 11th century partly through the interest of Michael Psellos, who also knew Proclus' commentary on them. In the 15th century Gemistos Plethon's Neoplatonic religion owed much to Plotinus and it was his pupil Bessarion who brought manuscripts of Plotinus to the west. But the indirect influence of Plotinus is probably of even greater importance for the Greek east. Although Plotinus had never been official head of the Academy or even visited Athens, his interpretation of Plato gradually became accepted and more systematically

developed under a sequence of Academy heads including Plutarch of Athens, Syrianus, and, most importantly of all, Proclus, whose works had a profound influence on pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite.The great pagan philosophical and Christian centre of Alexandria was also influenced both directly and through the Academy at Athens, as scholars moved freely between the two cities. Although this form of later Neoplatonism was in many respects quite different from that of Plotinus, the *Enneads* remain the vital source and the most dynamic exposition of Neoplatonic ideas and thus the essential text to which all subsequent Neoplatonists have returned and from which all modern study of Neoplatonism takes its start.

ANDREW SMITH

See also Neoplatonism

Biography

Born at Lycopolis in Egypt in AD 205, Plotinus was educated in Alexandria where he was a pupil of Ammonius Sacas. In 245 he moved to Rome where he founded a school and taught philosophy. His pupils included Porphyry. Plotinus was the greatest of the Neoplatonists and wrote philosophical treatises which were published after his death by Porphyry as *Enneads*. He died in Campania in 269/70.

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Plutarch *c.*AD 50–120

Prose writer

Plutarch came from the Boeotian town of Chaeronea where he lived for most of his life. In his writings there are regular references to various local landmarks, such as the tomb of Lysander on the road leading from Delphi to Chaeronea (*Lysander*, 29. 3). These details cumulatively suggest his fondness for his birthplace, which he once wryly said that he did not wish to leave, for fear of making a small place even smaller (*Demosthenes*, 2. 2). In addition we have an inscription from the base of a statue which was found in Chaeronea: "Philinus dedicated to the gods [this statue of] Plutarch the benefactor" (W. Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*, 3rd edition, 1915–24, 843B). This inscription shows that Plutarch had a warm relationship with his home town, but it is clear from his writings that he still found time to travel. Thus at Ravenna Plutarch claims to have seen a statue of Marius (*Marius*, 2. 1), and in northern Italy, when he was travelling with his friend the ex-consul Mestrius Florus, he visited the civil war battlefield at Bedriacum (*Otho*, 14. 2). For the last 30 years of his life Plutarch was a priest at the Greek sanctuary of Delphi (*Moralia*, 792F) and the knowledge of antiquities that he acquired there can be seen throughout his works. For example, Plutarch notes that there existed at Delphi a statue of *Aphrodite of the Tomb* and he uses this fact to suggest why the Romans used to sell items for funerals in the precinct of Libitina/Venus (*Moralia*, 269B). In addition he wrote whole essays that draw on his knowledge of Delphi, including *On the Pythia's Prophecies* and *On the Delphic E*.

Plutarch undoubtedly loved Greece, but at the same time he was a Roman citizen, as we know from an inscription that refers to him as Mestrius Plutarch (Dittenberger, 843B). This name suggests a link between his acquisition of citizenship and his friendship with Mestrius Florus, who was one of a circle of influential Plutarchan contacts that also included Sosius Senecio, to whom the *Parallel Lives* are dedicated. Thus Plutarch was a Janus figure, a Roman citizen who retained a strong Greek identity, but who could see positive qualities in both cultures. Plutarch valued the stability that came with the Roman imperial system (*Moralia*, 317C), but saw the influence of Greek culture on Rome as valuable and even as necessary: "for the time in which Rome reached its greatest success was the time when it welcomed Greek studies and education" (*Cato the Elder*, 23. 3).

Plutarch's most remarkable achievement lies in his vastly rich and varied body of written work. The Catalogue of Lamprias, which is itself incomplete, lists 227 different works. Today we possess 78 essays by Plutarch on a range of topics, which are known collectively as the *Moralia*, and 50 *Lives*. Subjects that Plutarch addresses in the *Moralia* include philosophical questions, historical issues, religious antiquities, rhetoric, and literary themes. Plutarch's most popular works, however, are the *Parallel Lives*, in which he presents pairs of biographies, one of a Greek and one of a Roman protagonist, including in most cases a brief comparison or *synkrisis* at the end. These *Parallel Lives* were not Plutarch's first attempt at writing biography. Probably before AD 96 he had composed the *Lives of the Caesars* about the eight Roman emperors from Augustus to Vitellius. Unfortunately, only the *Galba* and the *Otho* have survived, although there is some material in the *Moralia* that it is tempting to think may have appeared in the other lost imperial *Lives of the Caesars*. For a man who claims that his knowledge of Latin was acquired later in life (*Demosthenes*, 2. 2. 4) researching these imperial biographies cannot have been easy and Plutarch certainly did not have the advantages of the later imperial biographer Suetonius, whose post as imperial secretary gave him access to some unique documents and archives about the emperors. However, Plutarch persevered with his reading of Latin sources when researching the subjects of his *Parallel Lives*. This strategy of pairing Greek and Roman lives was innovative and symptomatic of an era when interaction between Greek and

Roman cultures was gaining momentum: the *Parallel Lives* appear to have been written early in the 2nd century AD under the more enlightened principates of Trajan (emperor AD 98–117) and Hadrian (emperor AD 117–38). Previously, biographers such as Cornelius Nepos and Varro had certainly written groups of lives centring on men of a particular profession, such as orators, poets, and generals, but Plutarch allowed himself the potential for developing vivid and subtle portraits by restricting himself to delineating only two subjects at a time in the *Parallel Lives*, apart from the one double pairing of *Agis and Cleomenes* and *Tiberius and Gaius Gracchus*. His biographical corpus as a whole was extensive, but he kept his readers' interest alive by his tremendous powers of description and by his astute eye for detail. As Plutarch famously says: "Nor is it always the most famous actions which reveal a man's good or bad qualities: a clearer insight into a man's character is often given by a small matter, a word or jest, than by engagements where thousands die" (*Alexander*, 1. 1–2). Rather than offer long authorial analysis of an individual's personality, Plutarch often allows character to emerge from carefully chosen anecdotes, which enable readers to draw their own conclusions about the subject of the biography. Moreover, Plutarch often devotes considerable attention to characterizing other protagonists in his biographies. For example, his portrait of Cleopatra in the *Antony* is unforgettably vibrant, and by serving as a foil to Antony, the Egyptian queen further deepens our understanding of the Roman general.

Plutarch's writings rapidly became popular. In the Byzantine era there were more transcriptions made of Plutarch than of any other ancient author. Strikingly, one scholar, John Tzetzes (died *c.*1180), when he fell on hard times, resigned himself to selling almost all his library but refused to part with his Plutarch. The individual to whom we owe the greatest debt for the preservation of Plutarch's works is undoubtedly Maximos Planudes. In 1294/95 Planudes, who was devoted to Plutarch, assembled a group of scribes whose task was to make copies of a large portion of the *Moralia*, as well as the *Galba* and the *Otho*. The *Parallel Lives* and the remaining essays from the *Moralia* were added to the project in 1296. Without Planudes's determination to collect the scattered pieces of the Plutarchan corpus we would almost certainly have had a much more fragmentary knowledge of Plutarch's work today. Testimony to the continuing interest in Plutarch can be found in the pervasive but inaccurate medieval tradition that the author had served as tutor to the emperor Trajan, just as Aristotle taught Alexander. There is even a Latin version of a "letter" supposedly written by Plutarch to Trajan and consisting of a compilation of quotations from the surviving works. During the Renaissance Plutarch was translated into French by Amyot (*Lives* 1559 and *Moralia* 1572) and into English (via the French) by North (*Lives* 1579). Material from Plutarch was also used by William Barker in 1578 to supplement the incomplete text of Appian on the civil wars. Such translations provided crucial inspiration for Shakespeare and Montaigne. More recently Mary Shelley made Frankenstein's monster a devotee of Plutarch's *Lives* and Harry S. Truman allegedly learned some valuable political lessons through reading the *Lives*. Today Plutarchan studies are thriving on a global level: not only is there *Ploutarchos*, the journal of the International Plutarch Society edited by Dr F. Titchener, but one can also access *Chaironeia*, a lively site devoted to Plutarch on the World Wide Web maintained by the University of Texas.

RHIANNON ASH

See also Biography and Autobiography

Biography

Born in Chaeronea *c.*AD 50, Plutarch spent most of his life there, though he was a Roman citizen and he did travel to Egypt and Italy. For 30 years he was a priest at Delphi. His writings were copious and varied: 78 essays (*Moralia*) and 50 *Lives* survive. He died soon after AD 120.

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Poetry, Epic

Ancient

"Homer is enough for everyone", remarked Theocritus (16. 20), and interestingly this is true: the Homeric poems stand at the beginning of extant Greek literature, and the scope of their achievement is such that they constitute defining examples of what came to be known as epic poetry, as well as becoming a fixed standard against which all subsequent epics were assessed. An epic on the Homeric model is a substantial narrative poem that is composed in dactylic hexameters, that has an elevated tone, and that concerns the exploits of gods and heroes, the subject matter being drawn from traditional myth. Epic poetry also had numerous conventional features: formulaic language, frequent archaisms, extensive use of parataxis, ring-composition, type-scenes (e.g. describing arming, dining, etc.), digressions, and extended similes. This picture is consistent with modern notions of what constitutes epic; the ancient understanding of the genre, however, remains uncertain in important respects. The word "epic" – derived from *epos*, literally "word" – seems originally to have been used chiefly of poetry composed in dactylic hexameters (not only the Homeric poems), but also didactic poetry in the Hesiodic tradition and of philosophical poems by early philosophers, such as Parmenides and Empedocles. In later antiquity the term was applied more narrowly to the genre exemplified by the Homeric poems. It is not clear precisely when *epos* became "epic" in the modern sense, although it seems that some idea of an epic genre is implicit in Aristotle's treatment of poetry.

Aristotle's *Poetics* was enormously influential in consolidating and determining ancient views of the genre. Although ostensibly concerned with tragic poetry, the *Poetics* refers to the Homeric poems more often than to any tragic text, and Aristotle's keen engagement with epic is everywhere in evidence (chapters 23 and 24 are particularly relevant). Central for Aristotle is the organic unity of plot (*mythos*), which must comprise a "beginning, middle, and end". As in the case of tragedy, epic plots should be compact, and their unity should reside in events, not character. In this light he called attention to the conspicuous superiority of the Homeric poems and compared them favourably with other products of the early epic tradition. Later critics occasionally offered a broader definition of epic, suggesting, for example, that didactic and pastoral poetry be included (Quintilian, 10. 1. 46, 10. 1. 85), but the view implicit in Aristotle's *Poetics* remained dominant, constituting a point of departure for later poets.

As early as Aristotle (e.g. *Rhetorica*, 1406b3; *Poetics*, 1459b35), commentators had regularly viewed many of the conventional features as simply characteristic of epic dignity; during the 20th century scholars have determined that the style of Homeric poetry and the character of its narrative were indicative of the oral nature of epic poetry in early Greece, and that many apparently idiosyncratic features of these poems were rooted in a tradition of at least partially improvised song. This has led to a widely accepted distinction between "primary", or traditional oral epic and "secondary", or literate epic, the familiar tradition of epic poetry composed with the aid of writing by a literate poet.

It is important to note that the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* were not the sole products of the early epic tradition. There is evidence for a series of poems called the Epic Cycle, which seem to have offered an account of the world from the beginning to the close of the heroic age. None of these poems is extant, but fragmentary evidence – most notably summaries of a number in various late mythographers (of especial importance are those by Proclus) – allows us to form some impression of the series. Best attested are the poems describing the Trojan War. The *Cypria* provided the background to the war and events leading up to the point at which the *Iliad* begins. There is some evidence to suggest that the beginning and the end of the *Iliad* were adapted to fit more comfortably in the sequence. The sequel to the *Iliad* was provided by the *Aethiopis*, the *Little Iliad*, and the *Iliou Persis*. These poems follow the Trojan myth from the death of Hector to the sack of Troy and the departure of the Greeks. The *Nostoi*, which detailed the homeward journeys of some of the central Greek warriors, marks a transition to the *Odyssey*, the action of which was followed by *Telegonia*, which brought an end to the story of Odysseus' life. In addition to the Trojan War epics, the Epic Cycle is known to have comprised shorter poems on largely unrelated mythic themes: a *Theogony* and *Titanomachy*, covering ground familiar from Hesiod; and an *Oedipodia*, *Thebais*, and *Epigonoi*, providing influential treatment of Theban myths. Other early epics were no doubt in circulation in antiquity, and some may have been included in the Epic Cycle, but no trace of such an ascription can be found among extant ancient sources. We are aware of a number of other poems from the 7th and 6th centuries BC that are often described as epics, although that term may simply mean that they were hexametric. Some of these shadowy poems, such as the *Naupactia* and the *Theseis*, seem to have treated traditional myths; others, like the *Arimaspea* ascribed to Aristeas of Proconnesus, seem to have had affinities with other poetic traditions.

The whole Epic Cycle was ascribed to Homer by many, but other poets are frequently named. Among them are Stasinus, Arctinus, Lesches, and Thestorides, although today these poets are at best little more than names. The Homeric ascription is none the less telling, for it reflects the character of these poems and the way in which they complement the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, and in this latter point we can discern the underlying motivation for the formation of the Epic Cycle. As the adjustments made to the beginning and end of the *Iliad* suggest, the cycle's sequence is not natural and indicates some kind of editorial intervention. The precise nature and date of this intervention, however, remain uncertain. Whereas explicit mention of the cycle as a whole is not found until late antiquity, the Trojan cycle seems to have been current at least as early as the 4th century BC, when the alternative beginning of the *Iliad* is first attested.

Although evidence of the existence of the Epic Cycle is too fragmentary to allow any certainty, it is likely that the cycle, along with the Homeric poems, represented a fixing of the oral

tradition of epic in textual form, and this may be true of the other epics known from the early period. The transition to "secondary" epic seems to begin in the 5th century BC. Panyassis of Halicarnassus, who was a kinsman of the historian Herodotus, wrote a *Heraclea* that was well regarded by ancient critics. Although the few surviving fragments seem to reflect the conventional language of oral epic, we seem for the first time to be confronted with a poet who was clearly a historical personage. More noteworthy was the *Thebais* of Antimachus of Colophon, who flourished at the end of the 5th century BC. Although few fragments of any length survive, it is clear both from what little remains and from the ancient *testimonia* that Antimachus' work was characterized by a new sensibility that manipulated the language of epic in a selfconscious way. For subject matter Antimachus looked back to the Theban myths of the *Thebais* from the Epic Cycle, but his treatment seems to have anticipated the learned and allusive manner of Alexandrian poetry. Another notable development from about the same time is the work of Choerilus of Samos, whose *Persica* treats a historical subject, the Persian invasion of Greece. Hexametric poetry on historical subjects is first attested in the second half of the 8th century BC with the *Corinthiaca* ascribed to Eumelus, but Choerilus' *Persica* is the first known work to present what is clearly an epic treatment of such a theme. Although this poem survives only in brief fragments (some of them on papyrus), we are fortunate in having a few lines (fr. 317 *SH*) that seem to derive from a passage (possibly the proem) in which the poet addressed the issue of stylistic innovation.

It is difficult to gauge with certainty the degree to which epic flourished in the post-Classical world. There is considerable evidence for poems in hexameters – a number clearly of some length – and this has led many to conclude that the literary landscape of the Hellenistic world was richly populated with many epic poems that are now lost. Other scholars are more sceptical, arguing that hexametric poetry is not necessarily epic; these lost poems could easily have been accounts of historical events or panegyrics. Whatever the truth of the matter, it remains nonetheless true that the Hellenistic world provides some striking responses to the challenge posed by the Homeric poems. The most obvious of these is the *Argonautica* of Apollonius of Rhodes, a product of the scholarly world of the royal library at Alexandria and the only epic extant from the period between the Homeric poems and the imperial period. Apollonius' epic is a creative reworking of the Homeric poems that recounts the expedition of Jason and the Argonauts in quest of the golden fleece. Apollonius' response to Homer is flexible and subtle, drawing on Homeric language and narrative manner yet producing an epic very different from the Homeric poems, one that is very much rooted in the tastes and preoccupations of the literary circle of the Alexandrian court.

Equally notable was the epic written by Apollonius' contemporary, Callimachus, whose (now fragmentary) *Hecale* represented a striking attempt to produce a new kind of epic. The poem recounted the reception of Theseus by a humble old woman named Hecale on the night before the hero was to face the bull of Marathon. The time-frame of the poem seems to have covered little more than a single day, but through the careful use of digression, flashback, and foreshadowing, the poet offered considerable insight into the two central figures. The focus on Hecale's humble hospitality rather than the celebrated combat with the bull seems to indicate a deliberate attempt to reposition epic tone; it is as though the *Odyssey* were to be retold from the point of view of Eumaeus or Eryclea.

The most influential successors to the Alexandrians were Roman poets such as Virgil, Ovid, and Lucan. But Greek epic continued to be composed in the imperial period. Quintus of Smyrna, writing in the 3rd century AD, produced the *Posthomerica* in 14 books, which dispenses with the familiar epic proem and continues directly from the last line of the *Iliad* to treat the Trojan myth that originally formed part of the Epic Cycle. On a more ambitious scale was the *Dionysiaca* of Nonnus of Panopolis. Composed in 48 books – the aggregate total of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* – this poem narrated the birth of Dionysus and his battles in India. Nonnus' elaborate language and highly rhetorical manner constitute an attempt to forge a new kind of epic style; in his detailed literary and mythological learning Nonnus is reminiscent of the Alexandrians. The influence of Nonnus can be detected in the small-scale epics on Trojan themes by Colluthus and Tryphiodorus.

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See also Oral Tradition

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Byzantine and Modern

Epic is a notoriously difficult genre to define. It would be possible to argue that medieval and modern Greece have had no epic after the first Byzantine centuries, making this article a very short one. The medieval *Digenis Akritis* is as much a romance as it is an epic, while the epic deeds of the heroes of the revolution of 1821 were sung in the brief framework of the klephtic ballads. The most characteristic Greek epics of the 20th century, those of Kostis Palamas and Nikos Kazantzakis, also have a lyrical intensity (Palamas) and a philosophical depth (Kazantzakis) which would lead many to exclude them from the genre. However, if one retreats a little from the demand for fully fledged epics and looks for the characteristics of epic in poems which are shared with other genres, a considerable number may be found. The major characteristics of epic will here be assumed to be length, narrative, heroism, a number of books divisible by 12 (in the tradition of Homer and Virgil), and a sense that the poem concerned represents, in some totalizing way, a community at an important stage of its history.

In early Byzantium the literary tradition of the ancient epic was still alive, being used for histories of cities and encomia of famous personalities. There was also a genre of epic on mythical subjects, which reached its climax in the 4th century with the *Dionysiaca* of Nonnus of Panoplis, recounting in 48 books of hexameters the story of the god Dionysus in India. Despite their refined Classical form and subject matter, these poems show an increasingly medieval world view. After Nonnus, poems with epic tendencies abandoned the hexameter, which linguistic developments had made increasingly difficult to write in and restricted to an audience of a small caste of literati. Epic came to be composed in the Byzantine 12-syllable line: the best-known examples are a series of poems by George of Pisidia celebrating the achievements of the emperor Herakleios. After the 7th century the epic dimension of poetry is lost, to reappear, probably in the 12th century, in *Digenis Akritis*. The metre then used was the 15-syllable political verse – the national metre of modern Greece, used in all the poems discussed below until the end of the 19th century. During this period it may with some justification be felt that any medieval or modern Greek epic could only have been written in that metre.

At the beginning of the 20th century, when several of its manuscripts had been found, the medieval poem *Digenis Akritis* was hailed as the "national epic of the modern Greeks". However, it was soon discovered that such nationalist labels were inappropriate. The society represented in the poem is that of the Byzantine-Arab borders, and its hero acts as a policeman against bandits, mainly Christians. One may speculate that oral epics played some role in the genesis of the poem, and that at least one of them, the "Lay of the Emir" (Digenis's father), celebrated the exploits of an Arab raider against Byzantium. However, the axis of the poem's narrative and the inspiration of much of its heroism is the relationship between Digenis and his wife, whom most of the bandits are seeking to steal from him – and this is the basis for the categorization of the poem as a romance. It is unfortunate that neither of the surviving medieval manuscripts of *Digenis Akritis* is internally convincing, while later versions, based on a fusion of the two medieval poems, move steadily away from the epic.

The *Chronicle of the Morea* also deserves to be examined as an epic. The society concerned is that of the Greek Peloponnese under a ruling caste of western crusaders. The poem is expressly written to remind a generation growing up in the early 14th century of the exploits of their ancestors, who won the principality in 1205 after the Fourth Crusade. The poem is very long and has many heroic passages, together with others which suggest that the author was more at home with administration and documents than on the battlefield. No modern society is able to sympathize with the anti-Byzantine and anti-Orthodox spirit which pervades the Greek text of its oldest manuscript. There is a later text of the same type, the *Chronicle of the Tocco*, which celebrates the exploits of a family of Italian origin which ruled parts of the Ionian islands and Epirus in the early 14th century.

The *Erotokritos* of Vitsentzos Kornaros presents itself as a romance, a categorization that is uncontested. However, in this long poem there is also much that is heroic, and other epic characteristics (like the long parade of the champions in book 2), reminiscent of many epic catalogues. It is also plain that the choice of cities and areas from which the champions hail is made with care to represent a version of the thoughtworld of the mixed Venetian-Greek society of 17th-century Crete.

Primary epic has usually existed in close connection with the oral poetry of the area where it arises, and we must turn to Greek oral poetry of the late Turkish period, the first date at which it is possible to study surviving collected material. The chief tradition of the *demotika tragoudia*, the name by which Greek folk songs have come to be known, consists of short ballads, rarely exceeding 100 or so lines in length. Some of the most intense of these, as stated above, celebrate the klephts, the bandit freedom fighters who caused great troubles to the Turkish rulers of Greek lands and were to play a major role in the revolution of 1821. These are intensely heroic, but anti-epic in their brevity.

The prehistory of Greek folk song is, of course, a matter for speculation, for live oral traditions constantly change. This has not prevented a series of historians of Greek literature from linking a number of heroic ballads collected in the last two centuries with the epic romance *Digenis Akritis*, and calling them the Akritic Cycle. Jumping back half a millennium or more, these ballads have been judged in close proximity to the medieval poem, often as its source. As a result, it was once traditional to begin histories of modern Greek literature with a chapter on an epic cycle of Akritic ballads, most of the earliest surviving examples of which date from the 19th century. There are indeed many features which link these ballads to the world of Digenis, not least the appearance in some of them of the names Digenis and Akritis, though other names, like Konstantinos and Porphyrios, are just as common. But the medieval elements are combined with many later features, and the Akritic cycle certainly does not form a cohesive group. A few poems like the *Lay of Armouris* (which survives in a manuscript of similar date to the later of the medieval *Digenis Akritis* manuscripts) form a useful bridge between medieval literature and modern folk song. About most of the Akritic Cycle, however, though some distant relationship to the epic may be admitted, it is unwise to attempt precision over the nature of the connection.

At the margins of the ballads there survives a separate tradition of historical songs, chiefly found in the 20th century in Crete and Cyprus. It is tempting to link this tradition with a few post-Byzantine narrative poems with heroic themes, particularly that on Michael the Brave of Romania. One could make the hypothesis that these were imitations of oral narrative poetry, and trace the genre further back to the chronicles of *Tocco* and the *Morea*, which may well be in traditional Greek form in spite of their non-Greek stance. But this hypothetical narrative oral tradition, with its promise of an epic dimension, is as tenuous as the medieval Akritic Cycle of ballads.

When one turns from folk song to the written poems of the 19th century that are closest to the epic definition, two names stand out, Gerasimos Markoras and Athanasios Valaoritis. Both are among the demoticist successors of Solomos in the Ionian islands. Both take the brief form of the klephtic song and expand it, keeping the epic ideology and atmosphere. Markoras was inspired by the heroic self-sacrifice of the defenders of the Cretan monastery of Arkadi (1866) to write

the poem *The Oath*, a moving example of the genre. Valaoritis used this style for several poems, including *Athanasios Diakos*, a poem with a klephtic subject to match its style. Valaoritis's work is often regarded as more verbose and less successful than that of Markoras.

Greece ended the 19th century in the grip of the Great Idea, the desire to extend the kingdom to cover all areas where Greeks lived. This was at times combined with weak political leadership, leading to crises culminating in that of 1897, a humiliating defeat at the hands of the Ottoman empire. The resultant mixture of aspiration and shame was the motive which led Palamas to write his two great "epico-lyrical" poems *The Dodecalogue of the Gypsy* (1907) and *The King's Flute* (1910). Both poems link the Great Idea to Byzantium and both are in 12 sections, though only the second is in 15-syllable verse. The first makes the astonishing choice of a gypsy hero, who in the first half rejects the foundations of Greek civilization and in the second presides over their rebuilding in a radically new form. The Byzantine setting gives opportunities for prophecy of the degradation of the Greece of Palamas's time. The gypsy hero is able to examine Hellenism with a ruthless external eye, without special interests or preconceived ideas: his portrayal is clearly influenced by Nietzsche's Superman, though Marxist ideas are also present. The poem demands radical change, if Greece's politics are to fulfil the national purposes. The scope is certainly epic, but there is also a smaller-scale lyric dimension, assisted by a free and flexible metrical form, which provides most of the best moments. *The King's Flute* portrays Byzantium at the height of its glory, and narrates a symbolic journey made by the emperor Basil II from Constantinople to Athens, clearly foreshadowing the continuation of Hellenic Byzantine tradition in modern Greece. There are many opportunities to refer to and quote early poetry in modern Greek, and especially folk song. These literary echoes are in the end a significant anti-epic feature of the poem.

The Great Idea led to the Asia Minor disaster, and a need to rethink Greece's place in the world, within the universal ideological ferment which followed World War I. In the years between 1924 and 1938 Nikos Kazantzakis was writing his epic *Odyssey*, in which all the competing currents of the time and all the varied sides of the poet's complex personality and intellect play major roles. There are 24 books and 33,333 lines. The plot begins with Odysseus' return to Ithaca, and continues with his further travels, events which are too many and complex for summary here. The scale is cosmic, the narrative subordinated to the poem's profound philosophical dimension, the language full of abstract and extreme demoticist forms, and the initial impact rather bewildering for most readers. In fact it has often been said that, despite its obvious epic claims, the *Odyssey* is an intensely personal poem, reflecting not so much the tortured world between the wars as the tortured reaction to that world of its creator, whose personality holds together many disparate elements. The poem was well served by its translator Kimon Friar, who made it somewhat more accessible in English than in the original.

The problems of the same period were faced by George Seferis in a quite different way, though using some elements of the epic framework. His poem *Mythistorema* was composed in 24 units and makes constant reference to the Homeric stories. But each unit is only a few lines in length, and the narrative elements are fractured and distorted by various modernist techniques. Seferis obviously feels that this is as close to epic as his degenerate times could come.

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Poetry, Lyric

Ancient

"Lyric" is a term commonly used to describe a wide range of Greek poetry; it is in fact applied to most poetic forms, excluding stichic hexameters and drama. The word itself suggests a more precise meaning: it is derived from *lyra* ("lyre"), and this indicates that lyric poetry was originally performed to the accompaniment of a stringed instrument, its range later being broadened to include iambic and elegiac poetry. The modern usage of the word can be imprecise. Lyric poetry was not considered a literary genre until the Hellenistic period; in early texts we occasionally find the word *melos* ("song"), and so "melic" is a convenient modern term often employed to designate lyric proper, although this obscures the fact that elegy also was sung. Greek lyric comprises both solo song (often called monody) and choral poetry, although it is unlikely that ancient scholars made this distinction. Apart from the victory odes of Pindar, no early Greek lyric poetry survives in an independent manuscript tradition, so that we are forced to work with fragmentary texts, some of which are preserved on lacunose (mutilated) pieces of papyrus and others quoted by later authors. Complete poems are all but nonexistent. Still, despite such incomplete evidence, considerable variety can be discerned in the extant lyric texts. These poems are characterized by elaborate metrical patterns, often organized in strophes consisting of three or four lines, sometimes in larger units of corresponding strophe and antistrophe followed by an epode of a different metrical character.

The performance of song can be imagined as taking place in a variety of settings, the performers being no doubt either soloists or communal groups. In the celebrated scene in the *Iliad* Achilles may be giving such a performance when he sings "the glorious deeds of men" while accompanying himself on the lyre (9. 186ff.), although that passage has regularly been understood as referring to heroic song in the epic tradition (the

songs of Demodocus in *Odyssey*, 8 are similar). The *Iliad* also mentions songs that are familiar from the later lyric tradition: the paean, most familiar as a hymn to Apollo (1. 472–73, 22. 391), the *threnos* or formal lament (24. 720ff.), the *ailinos* or dirge (18. 570), and the *hymenaios* or wedding song (18. 493). These songs are all rooted in the religious traditions of Greek communities, and cult seems to have constituted one of the commonest settings for the performance of song, and, perhaps more important, the religious context seems to have influenced the character and development of principal lyric genres. This is not to say that song was confined to sacred occasions; doubtless it featured in many secular settings too. Brief fragments of soldiers' marching songs (*Poetae Milici Graeci*, edited Page, 1962, frr. 856 and 857) and songs sung at work (*PMG*, fr. 869) suggest that Greek life was alive with song – in fact, early Greek society has been characterized as a "song culture".

Modern knowledge of Greek lyric begins in the 7th century BC, and the period from then down to the 5th century BC witnessed an extraordinary flowering of lyric; in fact, this period is often called the Lyric Age of Greece. It is sometimes said that lyric poetry was "invented" at this time, but there was clearly already a long tradition of popular song, and the preservation of poetry beginning in the 7th century BC no doubt coincides with the relatively recent introduction of writing and its use for recording poetry, a process that also brought about the preservation of the Homeric poems. These early lyric texts became the objects of considerable scholarly interest, first in the school of Aristotle, and later in the great library at Alexandria, where the texts of the central poets were edited and annotated. It is largely through the eyes of Hellenistic scholarship that we today view the fragmentary remains of the work of these poets, and we still make considerable use of that system of classification and categories, although it is clear that it imposed distinctions that obscure as well as clarify the issues. Perhaps the most pernicious is the rigid formal distinction between monody and choral song. Stesichorus and Pindar are classified as choral poets, and their surviving works have been seen to reflect a tradition of choral song that also stands behind the choral poetry of Greek drama; but recent discussion has challenged this view, and it now seems likely that this firm classification may be misleading, and that both monodic and choral performance were possible.

Working from the texts preserved in the library at Alexandria, scholars established a canon of nine lyric poets of the Archaic and Classical period. This list is avowedly selective, purporting to include only the finest exponents of lyric poetry, and we know incidentally of a number of lesser figures. Nevertheless the Alexandrian canon gives some impression of the character and range of the poetic activity in the early period. In chronological sequence, first comes Alcman, who was active in Sparta in the mid-7th century BC. He is best known from an extensive papyrus fragment containing a portion of a long *partheneion* ("maiden song"), a genre for which the poet was well known, in which a chorus of nubile young girls sing a song that strikingly combines both traditional myth and self-presentation at a local religious festival. Much remains teasingly uncertain, and we are reminded of how closely bound much of early Greek poetry was to the occasion for which it was intended. Next we encounter Alcaeus and Sappho, who both composed monody on the island of Lesbos and represent what was clearly a distinctive Aeolic tradition of song. Alcaeus' poems seem to have been sung against the backdrop of the political factions in Mytilene at the close of the 7th century BC. Sappho lived during the same period, and the remains of her work afford a tantalizing glimpse into the private world of young women as they prepared for marriage. Stesichorus was born in Himera, in the western part of the Greek world. He seems to have been a contemporary of the Lesbian poets, but the fragments of his work betray little of his world; he composed large-scale lyric treatments of traditional myth, and his strongest affinities seem to be with the epic tradition. It has generally been assumed on formal grounds that Stesichorus' poetry was choral, but recent scholarship has increasingly been inclined to see these poems as the products of a tradition of solo song. Ibycus and Anacreon both seem to have moved in the world of the tyrants of the 6th century BC, and we can gain from the extant passages of their poetry an arresting impression of the aristocratic symposium. Simonides of Ceos, his kinsman Bacchylides, and the Theban Pindar are the great lyric voices of the Classical age; they composed in an impressive range of genres, but it is the surviving victory odes by Pindar and Bacchylides that give us the clearest picture of their art.

The latter part of the Classical period witnessed the decline of lyric poetry. The bold experiments of dithyrambic poets of the "new music" led to the subordination of poetry to music. In the Hellenistic period changes in social organization seem to have led to a severing of that important connection between occasion (especially religious festivals) and specific poetic forms. Once free of the need to produce the familiar forms for traditional occasions, poets were able to reconsider the established genres and give them new expression. During this period the epigram emerged as a remarkably flexible form, and quickly became the favoured medium of small-scale poetic expression. Lyric poems, however, continued to be composed, although many seem to have been prompted by special occasions and there is little impression of a continuous tradition of lyric song. From the imperial period little survives of importance. The *Anacreontea*, a collection of poems written after the manner of Anacreon, are variable in quality, but exerted considerable influence on western poetry. More interesting is Hadrian's freedman, Mesomedes, who lived in the 2nd century AD. A collection of 13 poems survives in a manuscript tradition that also preserves musical notation for four of them; there are also two poems preserved in the *Palatine Anthology* (14. 63 and 16. 323). Mesomedes employed a number of metres and attempted to produce novel verbal effects and colouring in poems on a striking range of subjects.

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See also Song

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Byzantine and Modern

Byzantine poetry is Christian poetry. Although educated men of the eastern Roman empire continued to display their erudition and training in the writing of Attic Greek on ancient (mythological or historical) themes, even they knew that their tradition was suffocating them. In fact the Greek language had played a crucial role in the diffusion of Christianity after 313 and slowly the simple style of the Septuagint and New Testament began to be used for poetry of religious feeling.

The pagan traditions were dealt a near-death blow when the emperor Justinian I closed the schools of Athens in 529, and so this is a good date to start calling Greek literature "Byzantine"; it lasted until 1453, when Constantinople fell to the Ottoman Turks. Classical mythology was supplanted by the rapidly developing Christian mythology, and Byzantine poetry, even of the most formal kind, could appeal to the average citizen, for whom religion was meat and drink.

The change of the metrical system from Classical quantity to modern stress and syllable count caused poets more trouble than changes in diction and grammar. Amazingly, the poems of the influential George of Pisidia observed both systems simultaneously; no wonder his production was limited. His most popular poem praised the victory of his patron, emperor Herakleios (610–41), over the Persians. Since George, the rhythm of spoken Greek has been the rule.

Formal Byzantine poetry took three main forms, all lyrical. In the 4th and 5th centuries short hymns, or *troparia*, were most popular. In the 6th and 7th centuries these yielded to long metrical sermons, called kontakia. And in the 8th and 9th centuries cycles of hymns, called canons, were the rule. Much religious poetry was set to music and it is poorer read silently on the page. Luckily, some of it, such as the magnificent *Akathistos* hymn (date unknown, but early) is still sung in church.

The greatest of the kontakia poets was Romanos the Melodist, possibly a converted Jew from Emesa, living in the 6th century. His music, now lost, was as renowned as his verses, which are lyrical, clear, rich in metaphor, and dramatic. But the flaws that make Byzantine poetry less popular than it deserves are evident in him: grandiloquence and love of size.

The canon, which usually consists of eight or nine long odes, did nothing to curb this inflation. Probably the greatest writer of canons was St John of Damascus (*fl.*730); deeply religious, he nevertheless revived Classical metres, perhaps because music was flooding the poetic tradition. Also important was Kassia (*fl.*840), Byzantium's only poetess. Her great poem on Mary Magdalene is sung for the evening of Tuesday in Holy Week. It concludes:

> who will trace out my multitude of sins and the abysses
> of thy judgements, my saviour of souls?
> Do not pass by thy slave
> in thy boundless mercy.

Symeon the New Theologian (949–1022) is often considered Byzantium's greatest poet after Romanos. Though overlong, his hymns are full of undoubted feeling. Symeon introduced the metre which now became the rule for 800 years. This is the so-called "political verse", a 15-syllable iambic line similar to the English fourteener. But after Symeon, it seems, there was nowhere to go.

Among the educated, the refined Hellenistic tradition maintained its appeal, and it still breathed in the epigram. The *Palatine Anthology*, comprising poems from the 1st century BC to the 10th century AD, was compiled in the 10th century and added to in the 14th. Poems worthy of their predecessors were composed by Agathias Scholasticus (536–82) and Paul the Silentiary (*fl.*563), and personal lyric poetry never vanished entirely. But after Symeon inner necessity in general gave way to rhetorical display.

The importance of anonymous folk poetry kept growing and came to a rich flowering during the Tourkokratia; because Ottoman domination forestalled the Renaissance and intellectual and religious development ceased, the common ancestral roots thrust deeper. Perhaps the earliest and most remarkable of these productions was the epic cycle *Digenis Akritis*, about a heroic Byzantine borderguard fighting the Saracens. The cycle's origins – before the 10th century – are lost in time, and many of its folk songs were not written down until the 19th century. After the Venetians conquered Constantinople in 1204, many popular verse romances were turned out. The folk poetry of Turkish Greece is extensive: love songs, satiric comments on politics, laments, imitations of foreign models, evocations of place, wrestlings with death, and much more: it is from this fertile loam that modern Greek poetry was waiting to spring. It needed only one more nutrient: freedom.

It might have started in Crete, which evaded Ottoman domination until 1669, and where higher education was in Italian. Vitsentzos Kornaros (1553–1617), who wrote Greek in Latin letters, composed a long romance, *Erotokritos*, that became for the Cretans what the *Iliad* was for Classical Greece; Cretan folk musicians perform it to this day. Though based on a French work, its diction is the most fluent, lyrical, and natural since the Hellenistic age. The ease and variety of the flow in strict metre and rhyme keep it fresh and delightful throughout its elaborate plot turnings. A medieval love story, it is full of wisdom:

> The Cycles with their circling paths that rise and fall aright;
> Time's Wheel that comprehends the Whole, from depth up
> to the height,
> And bears the whims of Destiny and never then turns back,
> But as it whirls all Good and Evil whirl within its track,
> The clanging clash of angry war, the spur of hate and spite,
> The rapturous embracing and the languorous kiss by
> night ...

Erotokritos remained Greece's national poem until Elytis' *Axion Esti*. Had the Turks not stifled this remarkable efflorescence (it includes poetic drama and El Greco), Cretan dialect might have prevailed.

Erotokritos, klephtic ballads, vigorous folk songs, heroic narratives, and freedom – something had to come of this. Dionysios Solomos (1798–1857), the father of modern Greek poetry, lived in Corfu, which was never under the Turks. Critics call the poets of the Heptanese, of whom he was chief, the School of the Ionian islands. Like his model Kornaros, he was educated in Italian; as an adult he learned to write Greek from Greece's first prime minister, Charilaos Trikoupis.

However imperfect, a more limpid Greek has never been written. It is no coincidence that his output coincided with the War of Independence of 1821. Though he never visited free Greece, its spirit suffuses his work much more than it does that of the Romantic poets of Constantinople, who relocated to form the Old School of Athens. The first stanzas of Solomos's *Ode to Liberty* are now the Greek national anthem, and his *The Free Besieged*, about the heroic resistance at Missolonghi, is often accounted the greatest modern Greek poem. His lines on the Turkish massacre of Chios rival Simonides.

On the deepblack ridge of Psara
Glory walking in solitude
meditates on the bright young heroes
and on her hair she wears a wreath
woven of the scanty grasses
remaining on that desolate land.

Solomos also introduced European metres new to Greek. Though his work is mostly fragments, every line has proved a seed for the future.

The new poetry was an adventure, but what were its influences, diction, forms, and themes? Like Solomos, whom he did not know, Andreas Kalvos (1792–1869) was educated in Italian, and lived for a while in Corfu; born in Zakynthos, he also lived in Italy, France, Switzerland, and England. He published only two books, of ten odes each, and they are so original that, though he was long neglected, modern poets continue to turn to him for a genuine exaltation of Greek; he devised one way to write Greek poetry when nobody was quite sure how to do it. His freedom from fixed metre helped too. As an imagist, Kalvos is supreme and startlingly original:

The circlechasing sun
enriches the sea
with the scent
of golden citrons

Elytis wrote of him: "He was – both for the uncompromising line of his life and for his original poetics – the only one who could be considered our distant forerunner."

Aristotle Valaoritis (1824–79) continued the values of the Ionian School. Rigorously demotic and exuberantly romantic, he had a deep and immediate influence, especially on the New School of Athens, which produced much enduring poetry. The New School, which dominated the later 19th century, made a conscious attempt to be both Parnassian and demotic, both classicist and folkloristic; it took the whole tradition of Greece for its subject. Though many fine poets wrote under its banner, its great figure was Kostis Palamas (1859–1943), who went beyond the parameters of the school in theme and time and whose funeral was a state affair. His huge output includes long poems (his masterpiece is *The Twelve Books of the Gypsy*), songs, meditations on philosophical, historical, and social themes, and critical works. His great poetry collection, *Life Immovable*, is both intensely lyrical and vigorously masculine. With Palamas we enter the 20th century, which has produced as much and as various first-rate Greek poetry as any.

Like Solomos and Kalvos, Constantine Cavafy (1863–1933) had imperfect Greek. He was born in Alexandria of a Constantinopolitan family, was educated mostly in England, and was not a Greek citizen. Spending his life as a minor official in Alexandria, he produced a small body of work that, for all its hard diffidence, first strikes the modern note, influencing dozens of modern writers. "I am not a Greek", he said, "but a Hellene." Though he clearly learned something from Robert Browning, he sounds like no previous poet; Seferis thought he got it from Suidas. If Solomos introduced a singing folk-like language, new themes, and high vigour, Cavafy was a dry, scholarly poet of the Greek diaspora, whose careful rhythms resemble prose and who, eschewing imagery (simile and metaphor) entirely, relies on direct statement. The notes of alienation, irony, and isolation later struck by Eliot and Seferis were first struck by him.

No new lands will you find, you'll find no other seas.
The city will follow you. To the same streets you will
turn again. And you will age in the same neighbourhoods;
and in these same houses you will grow grey.

W.H. Auden wrote that Cavafy had "a unique perspective on the world", and that perspective, though it carefully cherishes and builds on Hellenism, has travelled everywhere.

Influenced by French Symbolism and later Surrealism, modern Greek poetry developed rapidly in Athens; for all its being a tiny country, Greece has produced an extraordinary number of world-class poets. Although Seferis and Elytis – both recipients of the Nobel Prize for Literature – are deservedly the most famous, such fine poets as the suicidally gloomy Karyotakis (1896–1928), the exuberantly dithyrambic Sikelianos (1884–1951), and the imagistic and much-translated Ritsos (1909–90) are only the apex of an immense pyramid of poetic activity. And the novelist Kazantzakis wrote, among other works in verse, a frenzied philosophical continuation of the *Odyssey*, longer than the original. As with nearly all Greek writers, the care and passionate advocacy of the Greek language was of first importance to him.

The middle of the 20th century, during which Greece suffered so much from war and foreign occupation, was dominated by the diplomat-poet George Seferis (1900–71), a symbolist who, through essays, translation, and his own masterpiece *Mythistorema* (1935), brought T.S. Eliot's influence into Greek. Overburdened with exile and hopelessness, Seferis's poetic protagonist continually finds salvation in aesthetic values:

We brought back
these carved reliefs of a humble art.

A very erudite man, constantly wrestling with his heritage, he wrote the leanest Greek of all, and helped fix its Protean slipperiness.

Where Seferis was chaste in diction, pessimistic in theme, ironic and allusive in tone, and faint in rhythm, Odysseus Elytis (1911–96), for all his craft, seems to be overflowing with Greece, its eros, landscapes, traditions, language. His book-long poem, *Axion Esti*, especially as set to music by Theodorakis, has helped Greeks to engage their tradition as a living organism. Although Elytis is full of the Aegean – its islands, girls, skies, depths, flora – he also wrote about the war, about history, about childhood, about love. In his long career he kept experimenting, writing mostly in free verse, but also in various species of closed measures, in slang, in formal diction – he changed strategy with every book. So great was his presence that today's young poets have had to avert their eyes from him for a long while before yielding. A song from his *Axion*

Esti has become for Greeks an anthem of independence and is the best-known contemporary poem:

*A solitary swallow * and Spring's great worth is found*
*It takes a lot of work * to make the sun turn round*
*Their shoulders to the Wheels * it takes a thousand dead*
*It also takes the living * to offer up their blood.*

*God my greatest Masterworker * high in the mountains*
You built me
*God my greatest Masterworker * You have surrounded*
me with sea!

Sensuous in his youth, in old age he wrote profound meditations on death.

Throughout the Byzantine and modern periods – some 1500 years – Greece produced little dramatic or satiric verse of value. But the fount of lyricism has never ceased flowing, and an astonishingly prolific record of a people's and a language's intense joys and sorrows remains for us to read for ever.

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See also Epigram, Hymnography

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Political History to 490 BC

Although a preoccupation with defining personal and collective relationships both within and between communities can be assumed to date back at least as far as the Neolithic period, the current state of knowledge makes it impossible to write a coherent political "prehistory" of Greece prior to the emergence of the polis (city state). While archives of Linear B tablets are now known from Mycenae, Tiryns, Midea, Thebes, Pylos, Knossos, and Chania, they are chiefly administrative records and inventories of commodities stored in the palaces; no texts have yet emerged that parallel the royal decrees and diplomatic documents of the Near East. What is known is that the Mycenaean palaces employed large workforces of specialized labourers (including slaves) dominated by an administrative hierarchy under a *wa-na-ka*, sometimes assisted by a *ra-wa-ke-ta*. The Pylos tablets reveal that the "kingdom" of Pylos was divided into two provinces, governed by a *da-mo-ko-ro* and a *du-ma*, and that each province was further subdivided into districts under the authority of a *ko-re-te* who was assisted by a *po-ro-ko-re-te*. Nothing is recorded about the relationships that existed between palatial centres, though a recent tablet from Thebes appears to attest the presence of a Lacedaemonian.

Even less is known about the succeeding Dark Age due to the complete absence of literary material prior to the adoption of the Phoenician alphabet in the 8th century BC. Inferences for this period are largely based on archaeological investigation or analysis of institutional forms and social structures in the Homeric epics (though there is considerable debate as to whether Homeric society is in any sense historical and, if so, whether it reflects the social and political conditions of the Dark Age, the 8th century, the 7th century, or an amalgam of each). Scholarly opinion is divided as to whether Dark Age society was predominantly hierarchical or egalitarian and whether the communities of this period were subject to individuals whose authority derived from personal charisma and social standing or – as the Homeric poems and later political theorists suggest – to hereditary monarchies. Consensus remains elusive, though recent interpretations of the archaeological evidence incline towards the view that Dark Age communities were not as small as previously assumed and may have been characterized by a weak form of ranking, though

31. Principal sites of the Dark Age and Geometric period

political leadership was probably an achieved rather than ascribed status.

The political history of Archaic Greece is essentially the history of the polis (plural: poleis), though in western Greece the prevailing form of organization was the *ethnos* – a large territorial entity characterized by scattered settlement and loose "federal" ties between communities, particularly in the religious and military domains. The word polis is conventionally translated as "city state" to indicate its dual status as both (1) an urban centre housing a single, unitary decision-making body whose authority extends over not only the settlement itself but also the surrounding territory (including second-order habitation sites) and (2) a community of citizens, fully enfranchised or not, who are entitled to own property within the territory of the polis and whose citizen status is predicated on either agnatic (patrilineal) descent from a citizen or a grant of citizenship from the central authority. While some possible continuities with features of the Mycenaean states cannot entirely be discounted and although poleis continued to be founded throughout the whole period of Greek antiquity, the crucial era for the formation of this type of organization would appear to be the 8th century BC. Archaeological evidence in particular indicates that this was a time of increasing settlement nucleation – perhaps accompanied by a more sedentary way of life and demographic increase which would itself necessitate a greater division of labour and specialization – as well as of a new preoccupation with defining territoriality through the foundation of sanctuaries in both urban settings and marginal rural areas.

The 8th century also witnessed the commencement of colonization of areas outside the Aegean and a symbiotic relationship has been posited between this and the emergence of the polis. The processes of social exclusion through which the polis was forged may have created a new group of outsiders who

decided to form communities overseas, but the immediate imperatives of colonial foundation – settlement planning, allotment of land, and procedures for decision making – probably exerted a feedback effect on the communities of the Greek mainland.

The rise of the polis should not be confused with the advent of democracy (the Athenian democracy hardly predates the reforms of Cleisthenes at the end of the 6th century BC, or in its more familiar "radical" form the measures undertaken by Ephialtes and Pericles in the middle of the 5th century) and ultimate authority in the poleis of the Archaic period invariably rested with the elite. The provisions of the Spartan "Great Rhetra" (conventionally – though not uncontroversially – dated to the mid-7th century BC) imply that deliberation and the right of veto lay with the two kings and their advisory council of 28 elders, drawn from the wealthier families, while the function of the popular assembly was merely to accede to the motions placed before it. A law from the temple of Apollo at Cretan Dreros, dated to 650–600 BC and stipulating that the office of kosmos could not be held by the same individual twice within a ten-year period, makes it clear that the function of early legislation was concerned less with defining rights and privileges within the citizen body as a whole than it was with regulating the distribution of power within the elite classes.

The word demos, which in democracies of the Classical period signified the entire citizen body, is in this period employed to denote those who are not of elite status, and the poetry of Hesiod, Theognis, and Solon testifies to a sharp division between elite and non-elite groups as well as to the growing importance of wealth (as opposed to birth) in recruitment to the governing classes. One of the many grievances which the demos held against the "bribe-devouring lords" who governed them (Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 38–39) appears to have been the fact that there was no clearcut dividing line between poor citizens and slaves: among the social problems that the Athenian statesman Solon had to address in the early 6th century BC was the practice whereby poorer citizens took out loans on the security of their person, risking enslavement in the event of default.

From the 7th century BC onwards certain members of the elite recognized that popular discontent could be mobilized for political ends and appealed to the demos for support against their rivals in establishing tyrannical regimes (the thesis that tyrannies emerged as a result of a sudden radical reorganization of military equipment and tactics – the so-called "hoplite reform" – is less religiously held today). The earliest tyrannies are attested in the area of the Corinthian isthmus: at Corinth itself Cypselus seized power *c.*655 BC; at about the same time Orthagoras gained control at Sicyon; and at Megara Theagenes established a tyranny *c.*640 BC. Towards the end of the 7th century, tyrannies were established at Mytilene on the island of Lesbos and Miletus on the coast of Asia Minor and in the middle of the 6th century Polycrates seized power on the island of Samos. A tyranny is attributed to Pheidon at Argos, though dates for this enigmatic figure range from the 8th to the 6th century BC. About 630 BC Theagenes of Megara assisted his son-in-law Cylon in a coup at Athens, but the attempt was unsuccessful and Athens remained free from tyranny until *c.*546 BC when, on his third attempt, Pisistratus established himself as tyrant. The reason for Cylon's failure and Pisistratus' two failed attempts is probably that the vast and differentiated territory of Attica militated against any unified sentiments of collective consciousness among the Athenian demos (Pisistratus' eventual success was achieved through a mercenary force rather than the support of the demos). Popular support for tyrannical regimes was often shortlived as rival elite claimants also joined in courting the favour of the demos. Alternatively, elite factions might call upon outside help: the Spartan expulsion of Pisistratus' son Hippias in 510 BC was reputedly instigated by the wealthy Athenian family of the Alcmeonidae.

Relationships between poleis in the early Archaic period are characterized by the counteracting tendencies of aggregation and competition and conducted mainly at the level of the elite – the majority of citizens constituted a landbound peasantry whose horizons rarely exceeded the territorial limits of the polis, though specialist craftsmen, merchants, and mercenaries would often seek employment in other (Greek and non-Greek) cities. The elite classes maintained more cosmopolitan networks of support through guest friendships (*xenia*) and intermarriage (*epigamia*). This policy is demonstrated most clearly by the tyrants: guest friendships existed between Pisistratus and Lygdamis of Naxos (Herodotus, 1. 61), between Periander of Corinth and Thrasybulus of Miletus (Herodotus, 1. 20), and between Polycrates of Samos and Amasis, pharaoh of Egypt (Herodotus, 2. 182), while intermarriage guaranteed bonds of friendship between Periander and Procles of Epidaurus (Herodotus, 3. 50) and Theagenes and Cylon (Thucydides, 1. 126). The practice was not, however, limited to the tyrants alone: Isagoras, the Athenian archon (chief magistrate) for 508/07 BC, was a guest friend of the Spartan king Cleomenes (Herodotus, 5. 70); the Athenian Alcmeonidae contracted a guest friendship with King Croesus of Lydia (Herodotus, 6. 125); and among suitors from the most important families of Greece, it was the Alcmeonid Megacles who won the hand of Agariste, daughter of the Sicyonian tyrant Cleisthenes (Herodotus, 6. 130).

Aside from forging bonds of friendship, the elites also competed among themselves to win *kleos* (repute) and *kudos*. Archaeological evidence from Olympia indicates that the origins of the sanctuary date back to the 10th or even 11th century BC, long before the formal institution of the Olympic Games (traditionally dated to 776 BC), and that the sanctuary originally served as an arena for competitive display through the dedication and circulation of prestige goods. Such conspicuous consumption served to assert an individual's status in the eyes of his peers as well as to guarantee his authority in his home community.

In the 6th century BC, however, elite habits came to be increasingly integrated within the more collective framework of the polis. The practice of contracting individual guest friendships was usurped and institutionalized at a civic level by appointing an official *proxenos* ("consul") in another city (a Locrian is already described as a *proxenos* of Corfu on a limestone cenotaph dated to 625–600 BC). New regulations regarding *epigamia* stipulated the communities into which one might marry, and the glory that individuals won in agonistic competitions at the Panhellenic sanctuaries of Olympia, Delphi, Isthmia, and Nemea was now redirected to reflect credit on the victor's polis. Cities, alongside individuals, vied with one

another to dedicate expensive offerings and treasury buildings at the most important sanctuaries of Greece. These shared cult places provided a locus for the proclamation of common bonds between Greek cities, but it was those perceived commonalities that provided a defined framework for poleis to publicize not only their parity but also their distinct identities.

Warfare was simply a more violent manifestation of this agonistic spirit which employed shared rules and ritualized norms within which poleis might assert their independent identities. One of the earliest wars of which we hear is the Lelantine War fought between the neighbouring Euboean cities of Eretria and Chalcis, probably towards the beginning of the 7th century BC. Thucydides (1. 15) asserts that the rest of the Hellenic world participated in the conflict through alliances with one of the main protagonists, and isolated notices from Hesiod, Archilochus, Theognis, Herodotus, Plutarch, and Strabo have been ingeniously marshalled to draw a picture of a conflict between two massive trading leagues; in reality, however, it is far from clear that each of the sources refers to the same war and it is more likely that the story of an original conflict between two neighbouring cities was exaggerated over time by a tradition that cast the Lelantine War in similar terms to the Trojan War. Certainly wars in the Archaic period generally involved powerful neighbours – for instance, the mid-6th-century "Battle of the Fetters" between Sparta and Tegea (Herodotus, 1. 66) or the long-running dispute between Argos and Sparta over the Cynourian region of the Peloponnese, which may already have run intermittently for about a century by the time of the mid-6th century when each side put forward 300 picked men to fight a "Battle of Champions" (Herodotus, 1. 82). Warfare in this period required the preselection of a time and place (generally a level plain) at which two armies of citizen hoplites (heavy infantry) confronted one another; in conforming to prescribed rules and rites both as preliminaries to the battle and in the conduct of the battle itself, hoplite armies played out a regulated (if lethal) game to determine which city was the victor.

Polis autonomy was also guaranteed within the leagues and amphictionies ("dwellers around") that are said to have emerged during the Archaic period. Though its origins are hazy, one of the earliest is said to have been the amphictiony of central Greek states, organized around the sanctuary of Demeter at Anthela, which is thought to have been the predecessor of the Delphic Amphictiony charged with administering the sanctuary of Pythian Apollo. Strabo (8. 6. 14) refers to a Calaurian amphictiony, centred on the sanctuary of Poseidon on Calauria (modern Poros) and including the cities of Hermione, Epidaurus, Aegina, Athens, Prasiae, Nauplia, Orchomenus, and, later, Sparta and Argos, though there is no independent testimony for this amphictiony prior to the Hellenistic period. By the beginning of the 6th century, if not earlier, six Dorian cities in Asia Minor had organized themselves into a league (the Dorian Hexapolis) centred on the sanctuary of Apollo Triopios near Cnidus, while 12 Ionian cities constituted a similar federation (the Ionian Dodecapolis) focused on the sanctuary of Poseidon Heliconius at Mycale. Towards the end of the 6th century BC Sparta created a new hegemonic Peloponnesian league in which allies were required to follow wherever Sparta led by land or sea.

It is likely that an increase in the incidence of hostilities between poleis, together with the need to field larger citizen armies, contributed to growing calls for a broader base of political inclusion. An inscription from the island of Chios attests to a "popular council" (as opposed to an aristocratic council) by 575–550 BC, and a few decades earlier the Athenian Solon is said to have established a new probouleutic council (*boule*) of 400 which coexisted with the aristocratic council of the Areopagus, though it is unclear exactly how powerful this council was prior to its reconstitution as the Council of 500 under Cleisthenes in the last decade of the 6th century and the reorganization of the Areopagus under Ephialtes in the 460s. Solon also established the right of appeal to popular jury courts and formalized the admission of the lowest property class of Athenian citizens (the *thetes*) to the popular assembly, though the aristocracy continued to exert considerable influence – particularly in rural areas – until Cleisthenes engineered a radical reorganization of the citizen body into demes distributed among ten new tribes.

The rise of Lydia and especially Persia in the 6th century BC had profound consequences for the cities of eastern Greece. By 546 the cities of Colophon, Magnesia, Smyrna, and Ephesus had fallen to the Lydians, and following the defeat of Croesus of Lydia the Greek cities of Asia Minor became the possession of the Persian king Cyrus the Great. In about 520 Cyrus' successor Darius I assessed the cities for tribute within the new satrapies that he had established and launched attacks on the islands of the Aegean as well as advancing into Thrace, where he accepted the submission of the Macedonian king Amyntas *c.*500 BC. In 499 the Ionians initiated their ill-fated revolt from Persian dominion, and Herodotus (5. 97) argues that it was the support afforded the Ionian rebels by Athens and Eretria on this occasion that provoked Darius' successful assault of Eretria and unsuccessful landing at Marathon in 490. The Athenian victory against overwhelming forces at Marathon served as a key founding-myth of Athenian identity throughout the 5th and 4th centuries BC.

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See also Archaic Period, City State, Colonization, Dark Age, Mycenaeans, Sanctuaries, Tyranny, Warfare

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Political History 490–323 BC

The immediate effect of the Athenian victory at Marathon was to prompt Darius' son Xerxes to launch a new and greater invasion in 480 BC. His force, incorporating various Greek contingents including the Thebans, was repulsed by the Greeks, under the hegemony of the Spartans but without the Argives, in the battles of Artemisium, Salamis (both 480), Plataea, and Mycale (both 479). These victories, and the glorious defeat at Thermopylae (where the fighting on land coincided with the naval battle at Artemisium), were of utmost importance in the fostering of Greek self-belief and were commemorated in verse, prose, art, and architecture for centuries afterwards. But they are also indicative of two of the major themes of Greek history in the 5th and 4th centuries BC: the persistent external threat posed to the Greeks by the Persian empire, and the constant internal, interstate rivalries which served to undermine Greek political stability.

Athens was the first state to assert this new-found confidence, when the Spartans withdrew from the command of the Greek forces in 487. The Spartan king Pausanias captured Byzantium, but his arrogant behaviour led to his recall to Sparta. A new alliance was formed, comprising the Ionian states, most of the Aegean islands, and cities of the Hellespont and Propontis regions, with a base on Apollo's island of Delos (hence the modern title "Delian League") and under the leadership of Athens, which claimed to be the Ionians' mother city. Delos housed the treasury of the league, to which most of the members paid an annual tribute (others, most notably Chios, Lesbos, and Samos, provided ships). The history of the *pentekontaetia* (roughly the 50-year period 480–430 BC) is dominated by the Athenians' increasing hold on the Delian League and its transformation into an Athenian empire, and the largely ineffectual opposition to Athens by the Spartans and their allies (loosely termed the Peloponnesian League). Although the early campaigns of the league were aimed at dislodging the Persians from western Asia Minor, culminating in the Athenian general Cimon's victory at the river Eurymedon (466), almost from the start Athenian ambitions were barely disguised. Cimon's coercion of Skyros (*c.*475) was followed by that of Carystus in Euboea (*c.*472), Naxos was forcibly prevented from seceding (*c.*467), and Thasos was harshly dealt with after revolting in protest against Athenian interference in Thasos' mainland possessions (465). Athenian confidence was further fuelled by the development of the democracy. Cleisthenes' democratic reforms of 508/07 BC were buttressed by the rising importance of the board of ten elected generals at the expense of the archons, and by the reforms of Ephialtes in 462, in which the powers of the Areopagus were divided between the assembly, the council, and the law courts. Soon after, Pericles introduced pay for the jurors and members of the council, and in 451 he passed a law which restricted citizenship to those who were the legitimate sons of an Athenian mother as well as father.

The Spartans, meanwhile, were unable to check the expansion of Athens. Although the threat of Argos, Sparta's main rival in the Peloponnese, had been crushed in 494, internal problems with the Arcadians were followed by a serious helot revolt after an earthquake *c.*465. Cimon led a force of Athenians to assist the Spartans, but in his absence Ephialtes passed his reforms and Cimon was dismissed. After subduing the revolt, Sparta finally took action to secure its interests in central Greece, but Athens' main opponents during the First Peloponnesian War (*c.*461–446) were the Corinthians. Corinthian aggression led Megara to leave the Peloponnesian League and side with Athens, and Corinth suffered heavy losses in the early stages of the war. Athenian power now reached its peak in Greece and the Aegean under the leadership of Pericles: Aegina was forced into the league (458), and after an initial defeat at Tanagra had been reversed at Oenophyta, Boeotia came under Athenian control (457–446). The Athenians were confident enough to pursue war on two fronts, dispatching an expedition to Cyprus in 460 which was sent on to Egypt to support Inarus' revolt against Persia, but this force was destroyed in 454. The league treasury was subsequently transferred from Delos to Athens, and the Peace of Callias was concluded with the Persians in 450, ending open hostilities until 413 (it is not quite certain that a formal peace was made). Back in Greece, the war ended in 446 as Boeotia revolted and the Athenians were defeated at Coronea. Megara returned to the Spartan fold and was used as the base for a Spartan invasion of Attica, and Euboea also rebelled. The Thirty Years' Peace was concluded, by which Athens lost control of Boeotia (whose major cities formed the Boeotian Confederacy) and other recent acquisitions, and which satisfied the Corinthians, who prevented Peloponnesian intervention against the Athenians when Samos revolted in 440. The peace held until 431, despite continued Athenian expansionism (e.g. the establishment in 437–436 of the strategically important colony of Amphipolis on the east bank of the river Strymon) and increasing oppression of the allies, especially by means of cleruchies (settlements on conquered territory). But in Thucydides' view war was inevitable, and in his opinion Spartan fear of the growth of Athenian power was the truest cause of the outbreak of the main Peloponnesian War (431–404). It was precipitated by a series of grievances among Sparta's allies, including the Athenian alliance with Corfu against Corinth (433), the Megarian Decree (?432), which restricted access to the Athenian agora and to harbours of the Athenian empire, and Aeginetan complaints that their autonomy under the terms of the peace had been infringed. The Spartans and the Peloponnesians now attempted to liberate Greece from Athenian domination, but the first ten years (the Archidamian War) resulted in stalemate and the Peace of Nicias (421). On the resumption of hostilities Athens suffered various setbacks, including the disastrous failure of the great expedition to Sicily (415–413), the subsequent secessions of Chios, Miletus, Thasos, and Euboea, the renewal of Persian interference in Greek affairs (413) and their commitment to the Spartans (407), and the temporary overthrow of the democracy by the oligarchy of the Four Hundred (411). Nevertheless, the fighting continued (the Ionian War) with some notable Athenian successes until they were finally defeated at Aegospotami (405). Persian money was no small influence here. The city itself fell in 404, and the Spartans installed the shortlived and hated regime of the Thirty Tyrants (404–403).

Sparta's victory in the Peloponnesian War, far from curtailing hostilities, was only the beginning of a series of struggles in the 4th century, as various states in turn asserted their claim to supremacy and were overthrown. The victorious Spartan

32. The Second Athenian Confederacy, 377–355 BC

general, Lysander, quickly made himself and his country unpopular with his policy of establishing oligarchic decarchies in numerous cities, and fear of Sparta's expansionist policies in Asia Minor, central and northern Greece, and the west led to the Corinthian War (395–386). Athens, with a restored but less radical democracy, had recovered remarkably from defeat and now joined in an anti-Spartan alliance with Thebes (which had gained control of the Boeotian Confederacy during the Peloponnesian War, but had fallen out with Sparta and received Athenian democratic exiles during the rule of the tyrants), Corinth (whose relations with Sparta had also deteriorated in 404 when the Spartans refused to destroy the defeated Athens), Argos (Sparta's old enemy), and Persia (reversing the former alliance). The Athenian Conon led a Persian-sponsored fleet to victory at Cnidus (394), but despite much fighting around Corinth the allies were unable to inflict a fatal reverse on the Spartans and the war was ended by the King's Peace. This treaty, negotiated by the Spartan Antalcidas and imposed by King Artaxerxes II, guaranteed the Greeks' autonomy, but in exchange for Persian control of the cities of Asia, Clazomenae, and Cyprus. The peace had the additional effect of strengthening Sparta's position in central and northern Greece, enabling the coercion of Olynthus and dissolution of the Chalcidian Confederacy. The Boeotian Confederacy was also dismantled, but the Spartans, whose king Agesilaus II was implacably hostile to Thebes, went too far in occupying the Theban acropolis, the Cadmea (382), which the Athenians helped liberate in 379. Thebes subsequently joined the Second Athenian Confederacy (378), which was formed to ensure the Spartans' compliance with the terms of the King's Peace. Athens was careful not to repeat the mistakes of the 5th-century empire, guaranteeing no internal political interference or tribute, and membership grew rapidly in the period 378–373. But so too did Theban power, as it re-established the Boeotian Confederacy under Theban control, and the Spartans' military dominance was ended for good at the Battle of Leuctra (371). A decline in the number of full Spartan citizens (*homoioi*) had set in during the 5th century, as changes in

the pattern of landholding deprived many Spartans of the ability to contribute to the common messes on which their citizenship depended. Now Athens and Sparta were forced to forget past differences and unite in opposition to Thebes, which tried to supplant Athens at sea and to undermine Sparta's position in the Peloponnese by the foundation of Megalopolis in Arcadia (*c.*370–367) and Messene in Messenia (369). While the Peloponnesian League finally collapsed (366), the Thebans, led by Epaminondas and Pelopidas, enjoyed a brief period of hegemony, which ended with Epaminondas' death at the Battle of Mantinea (362).

One other major player in the 370s was Jason, the tyrant of Pherae in Thessaly, who made an alliance with Thebes after 375, captured Pharsalus (375/4), and became *tagos* (supreme magistrate of Thessaly). His unification of Thessaly provoked Phocis (373–371), but he went on to gain control of Perrhaebia and was planning a Persian invasion when he was assassinated (370).

Athens, meanwhile, was beginning to return to its old ways. Attempts to recover Amphipolis (from 368), which had surrendered to the Spartan general Brasidas in 424 and had since remained independent, the installation of cleruchies, especially that in Samos (366), and increasing political and judicial interference in confederate states made the Second Athenian Confederacy unpopular; and eventually Byzantium, Chios, and Rhodes rebelled in the Social War (357–355). Athens and Sparta also became involved in the Third Sacred War, backing Phocis against the Delphic amphictiony (355). All the time a new threat to Greek independence was growing, as Philip II of Macedon (ruled 359–336) first consolidated his position and then began expanding his kingdom. Amphipolis was captured in 357 while Athens was involved in the Social War, other northern Greek states were annexed, and Philip secured Thessaly in 352. Athens finally began to wake up to the threat, and opposition to Philip was promoted by Demosthenes. It was too late, however, to save Olynthus (349–348), and without Greek support the Athenians were forced to negotiate the Peace of Philocrates (346). Before ratifying the treaty Philip accepted the invitation of the Delphic amphictiony to lead resistance to Phocis, which was destroyed. Further expansion in Illyria and Thrace, and the besieging of Perinthus and Byzantium, delayed the final attack on Greece, which culminated in the destruction of the Theban, Corinthian, and Athenian forces at Chaeronea (338). This was the end of Greek political independence: the League of Corinth was formed the next summer (337) with a common peace which provided for the autonomy of member states, prohibited constitutional change, and put Philip at the head of the governing council (*synedrion*). At the foundation meeting Philip announced his plan to invade Persia, but he was assassinated before he could carry it out (336).

Philip's successor was Alexander III the Great, who accomplished his father's plan in a series of brilliant campaigns (334–323). Before departing on his great expedition Alexander made a show of strength in southern Greece, and when Thebes revolted during Alexander's campaign on the Danube, he returned to destroy the city and enslave its inhabitants (335). Alexander left Greece under the control of Antipater, who crushed a Spartan rebellion led by Agis III, supported by Elis, Tegea, and the Achaean Confederacy (331). Athens refused to support Agis and remained subdued in the 330s and 320s, its leading politician being Lycurgus. He was responsible for re-establishing the city's finances, increasing the navy, and a rebuilding programme, which included an arsenal, docks, and the theatre of Dionysus. Alexander's death sparked the struggles of the successors and in the Greek sphere the Lamian War (323–322), in which a coalition led by the Athenians and Aetolians was almost successful. But the crushing defeat at Crannon resulted in the suppression of the Athenian democracy by Antipater, which was temporarily restored in 318 by Polyperchon before the tyrannical rule of Demetrius of Phalerum (318–307).

The momentous struggles of mainland and eastern Greece in the 5th and 4th centuries should not be allowed to overshadow the events in the western Greek world, in Sicily and southern Italy. Here too the Greek communities faced the double threat of external powers and internal rivalries. Those in Italy had local, indigenous rivals (e.g. the Messapians massacred the Greek Tarentines *c.*470), as well as the major power of the Etruscans; while those in Sicily faced the threat of the Carthaginians. The main western Greek state was Syracuse, whose power rose greatly under Gelon, the tyrant of Gela, who seized Syracuse in 485 (his brother Hieron becoming tyrant of Gela). He was prevented from helping the mainland Greeks in 480 by the Carthaginian Hamilcar's invasion of Sicily, but won a crushing victory at Himera. Gelon was succeeded in 478/77 by Hieron, who defeated the Etruscans in a naval battle with the help of Cumae (474). Democracy was restored after Hieron's death (466), but Syracuse became involved in wars with another leading Sicilian state, Acragas, and with the Sicels, who under Ducetius defeated the joint forces of Syracuse and Acragas in 451. Ducetius himself was in turn defeated by the Syracusans in 450 and exiled, but returned to found the colony of Caleacte, which resulted in another war between Syracuse and Acragas. Syracusan victory was later followed by successes against Athens (427–424, 415–413), but further interference by the Carthaginians resulted in the destruction of Himera and other cities (409). The democracy was overthrown in 406 by Dionysius I, who fought four wars against the Carthaginians and extended Syracusan power over most of Sicily and much of southern Italy. He died in 367 and his successor, his eldest son Dionysius II, was opposed by Dion (356) in a civil war which was ended by the intervention of the Corinthian Timoleon on behalf of exiled opponents of Dionysius. Timoleon put down tyranny in Sicily, defeated the Carthaginians (341), and re-established stable government, but after his retirement (*c.*336) an oligarchic government was installed until Agathocles became tyrant (317) and once again subdued most of Sicily.

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See also Classical Period, Delian League, Democracy, Macedonia, Pelopponesian War, Persian Wars, Sicily

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Political History 323–31 BC

The chaos resulting from the unexpected death of Alexander III the Great in Babylon in 323 BC lasted for several decades before the establishment of the three major Hellenistic Greek kingdoms which form the focus of the history of the next three centuries. The kingship fell jointly to the son and half-brother of Alexander, the satrapal appointments were rearranged, and the successors (the name traditionally used for Alexander's generals) fought each other and jockeyed for positions of ever greater power. Some were killed early on in this power struggle, and successive regents of the two kings died. The kings were returned to mainland Greece (which in effect signalled the end of Alexander's Asian empire) where they became pawns in the hands of those seeking to establish mastery over Macedonia and Greece, and the remaining successors continued to fight each other in Asia Minor.

It was probably inevitable that both kings would be murdered, as also were eventually all the immediate members of Alexander the Great's family, thereby extinguishing the Argead dynasty of kings of Macedonia (to which Alexander and his father Philip II belonged). In 306–305 BC the surviving successors assumed the title of "king", thus acknowledging finally that Alexander's kingdom was now split among several rulers even if they did not yet have fixed geographical kingdoms. A major landmark of this period was the Battle of Ipsus (in Phrygia) in 301 BC, in which the Macedonian general Antigonus the One-Eyed was defeated and killed by a coalition of the other successors, who divided the spoils of the territories he controlled among themselves.

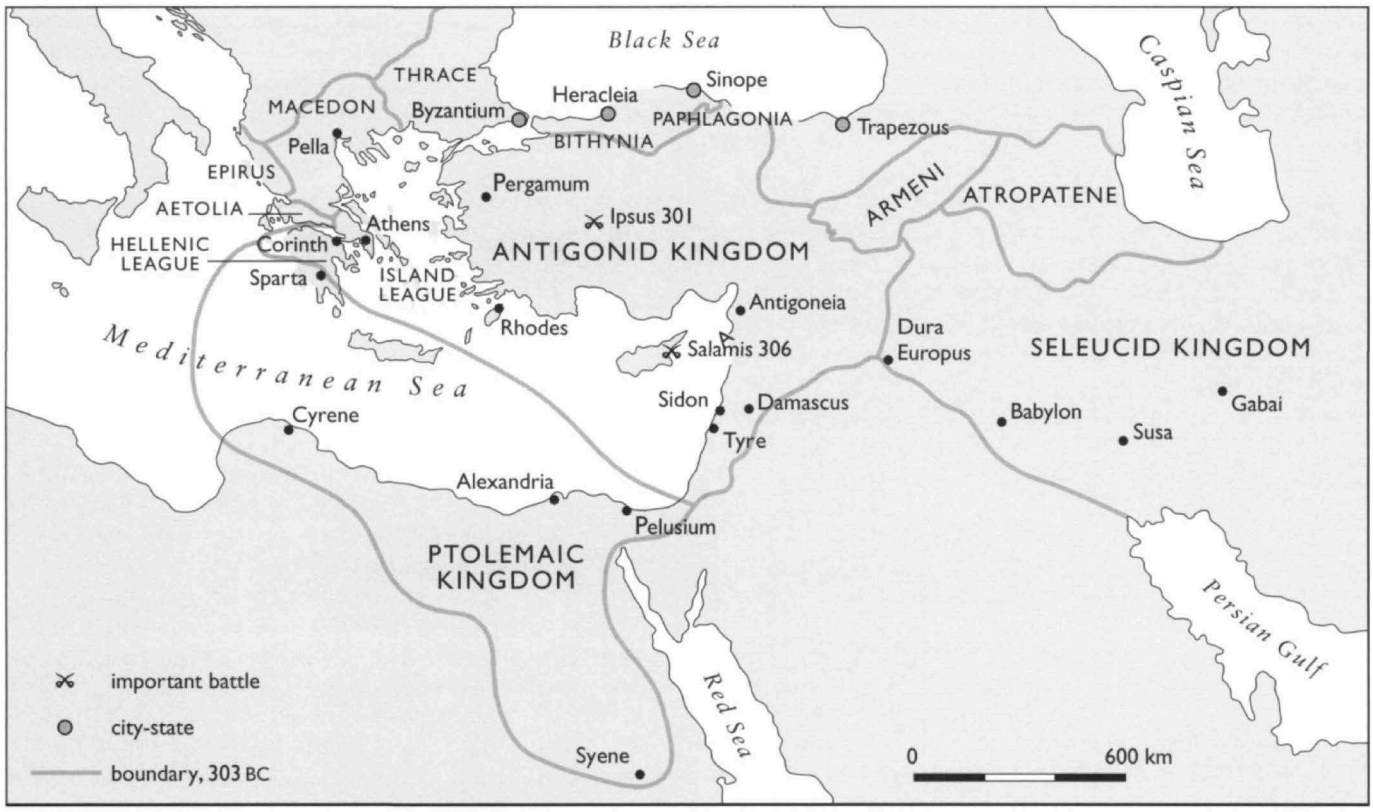
Antigonus' ambitious son Demetrius (known as Poliorcetes, "the Besieger", because of his siege of Rhodes in 305/04 BC) unsuccessfully tried to re-establish his father's Asian empire while also intervening in Greece. It was only when his son Antigonus Gonatas securely established himself on the throne of Macedon in 277/76 BC that the Antigonid dynasty of kings of Macedon was created.

Third-century Macedonian history is characterized by warfare on the northwestern borders with Illyria and by attempts to control mainland Greece by both diplomacy and guile. Judging from the low numbers of Macedonian troops recorded in various encounters, it appears that the country suffered the effects of severe depopulation as a result of Alexander the Great's removal of some 40,000 men in their prime in the 4th century BC. Finally, in 229 BC, the accession to the throne of the boy king Philip V under the care of a regent left the country potentially vulnerable. When he assumed control in his own name in 221, Philip unwisely thought that he could prevail against the growing power of Rome, whose suspicions about Greece were becoming ever stronger. Three Macedonian Wars were fought, leading to Philip's defeat at Cynoscephalae in 197, and to his son Perseus' even more catastrophic defeat at Pydna in 168. After Pydna, Macedonia was ruthlessly sacked and the kingship abolished. The region became a full province of Rome in 146 BC.

Mainland Greece suffered various vicissitudes during this period. Athens, usually under Macedonian control, was constantly split between pro- and anti-Macedonian factions and experienced severe internal political stasis. A major revolt against Macedonia is attested in 287 BC, and the Chremonidean War in the 260s signalled the final unsuccessful attempt of Athens (this time allied to Sparta) to overthrow the Macedonian yoke. A Macedonian garrison was imposed, Macedonian officers were installed in Athenian political posts, and the activity of the Assembly was curtailed. This was a severe humiliation to a city which was the birthplace of Greek democracy. Athens became politically unimportant after this period, but remained culturally pre-eminent, even if eclipsed by the new Greek city Alexandria in Egypt. During the next centuries many notable figures of both Greek and Roman origin came to study in Athenian philosophical and rhetorical schools.

During this period politics in the Peloponnese revolved around the Achaean League (a powerful federation of Peloponnesian cities), a stubbornly independent Sparta, the interference of both Macedonia and Rome, and the attempts of the league to manipulate all parties to its advantage. Despite some flirtations with social and economic reform in the 3rd century, Sparta was finally forcibly united with the Achaean League in 192 BC, which was in turn defeated by Rome in 146 BC. The Greek city of Corinth was sacked with a savagery which shocked the Greek world. The region was first incorporated into the Roman province of Macedonia but became the separate province of Achaea under the Roman empire.

Events in mainland Greece in the Hellenistic period arguably take second place to events in the new Greek kingdoms established in Asia after the wars of the successors. Ptolemy, a Macedonian general of Alexander the Great, received the satrapy of Egypt after Alexander's death and developed it into a wealthy and powerful kingdom to be ruled



33. The successor kingdoms to Alexander's empire

by himself and his descendants. Being content with Egypt, Ptolemy wisely avoided any temptation to extend his territory at the expense of the other successors, but he displayed a defensive strategy by establishing control over nearby Cyprus and Cyrenaica (a large region in modern Libya). His capital was the coastal city of Alexandria in the north of the Nile delta, founded by Alexander during his visit to Egypt in 331 BC. Alexandria – superbly situated for east–west trade – quickly became the jewel of the Mediterranean, taking over from Athens in cultural terms, and grew into a great city as a result of encouraged immigration from the rest of the Greek world.

Third-century Ptolemaic Egypt is characterized by good kings, relatively stable government, and enormous prosperity. Although there were brief interventions in mainland Greece, Egypt's major foreign problem was an ongoing dispute with the Seleucids (see below) over the area called Coele (in Greek "Hollow") Syria, the region comprising much of the modern Middle East. A series of Syrian wars were fought during the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC, with varying outcomes. By the middle of the 3rd century Ptolemy II had developed the largest and most powerful naval fleet ever known in the ancient Greek world (although the navy did experience a few defeats in battle), and Egypt became the protector of the Mediterranean, securing the safety of trade and travel against the threat of pirates. At the end of the 3rd century the kingdom was shaken by a native revolt in which Nubia (southern Egypt) seceded for a time.

In the 2nd century the growing interest of Rome in eastern Greek politics was combined with weak Ptolemaic kings and continued Syrian wars. The Ptolemaic habit of brother–sister marriage led to even worse cases of incest, resulting in several multiply interrelated claimants to the throne at various periods. Rivals were murdered, princesses were married off to foreign kings to seal temporary alliances, and the support of Syria and Rome was sought by different factions. The last Ptolemaic queen was Cleopatra VII, descended from an illegitimate royal line. Julius Caesar came to Egypt in the mid-1st century BC in the course of his war with Pompey the Great, and fought on Cleopatra's behalf a war against her brother-husband (the so-called "Alexandrian War"). Their love affair resulted in the birth of a son. Cleopatra turned to Mark Antony after Caesar's assassination, and their even more famous love affair ended with a naval defeat at the Battle of Actium in 31 BC at the hands of Octavian (later the emperor Augustus). Both committed suicide, the Ptolemaic dynasty ended, and Greek Egypt became a province of Rome.

The Seleucid empire was established by Seleucus, a Macedonian general of Alexander the Great who had received the satrapy of Babylon during the various divisions of Alexander's empire. He was eventually confirmed as ruler also of the territories east of the Euphrates – the huge Asian empire of Alexander which included modern Iran, Iraq, Afghanistan, and Pakistan as far as India. Seleucid control over much of this vast territory was nominal, with several royal expeditions during the next three centuries in not always successful attempts to reconquer or pacify various regions. After the battle of Ipsus in 301 Seleucus received the area of greater Syria (the northern part of the Middle East, not to be confused with the boundaries of the modern state of Syria), and this became the heartland of his empire, now with an outlet to the Mediterranean. A new capital city was founded at Antioch on

the Orontes river (the city of Antakya in modern Turkey), with a seaport on the coast at Seleuceia in Pieria. Antioch became one of the greatest and most important Greek cities of later antiquity. Seleucus also encouraged Greeks from all over the Mediterranean to inhabit his kingdom, and the early Seleucid kings were enthusiastic city founders, founding several cities throughout their empire in which Greek urban lifestyle, institutions, culture, and language were established and continued for centuries.

During the 3rd and 2nd centuries the Seleucids fought several wars against the Ptolemies for the control of adjoining Coele Syria (see above), and suffered dynastic disputes and revolts by brothers, cousins, and eastern satraps. Expansion into Asia Minor came up against the growing power of the Attalid kingdom of Pergamum, and in the 2nd century Rome's unfavourable attention focused on king Antiochus III the Great because of his troublemaking alliances with other Hellenistic kings and forays into mainland Greece. In 191 BC Roman forces defeated Antiochus at the Thermopylae pass in central Greece (the site of the famous battle of the Persian War in the 5th century BC). He refused harsh Roman demands and an ultimatum that he withdraw to Syria. Risking all in battle, he was decisively defeated by a Roman army at the Battle of Magnesia in 189 BC. The resulting Peace of Apamea in 188 meant that the Seleucid empire was no longer a Mediterranean power, and successful revolts in the eastern territories decreased the extent of its influence.

Later Seleucid history is dominated by catastrophic dynastic disputes and the rise of pretenders to the throne which led to constant civil wars (much of the conflict was aided and abetted by Ptolemaic kings who intervened in devious ways in order to weaken their main rivals). The situation deteriorated to the extent that the Syrian people offered the throne to the king of Armenia in 83 BC. After appealing to Rome, the last Seleucid king, Antiochus XIII, was temporarily restored to the throne in Antioch under Roman protection in 69 BC, but in 64 BC Syria was made a Roman province.

The rise of the kingdom of Pergamum also lies in the age of Alexander's successors. Philetaerus, of mixed Macedonian and Paphlagonian background, is first seen in the entourage of Antigonus the One-Eyed, then in that of Lysimachus of Thrace, and finally in that of Seleucus I. He had been put in charge of the stronghold of Pergamum, a city in northwest Asia Minor (now Bergama in modern Turkey), as well as a substantial treasury. The descendants of Philetaerus gradually established their independence from the Seleucids, and deprived the Seleucid empire of large areas of Asia Minor by cunningly intervening in Seleucid civil wars. Attalus (after whom the Attalid kingdom of Pergamum is named) was the first ruler to take the title of king in the late 230s BC, as a result of his military victories over Celtic mercenaries (called Galatians) in Seleucid employ. By means of lavish sculpted dedications, Attalus depicted his victories as important achievements, and himself as the champion of Greek freedom against a renewed barbarian threat. The Attalids early on were allies of Rome against Philip V of Macedon, and established the beginnings of an overseas empire in the Greek islands of Aegina, Andros, and Euboea.

Attalus I's sons continued as Rome's allies against various Greek foes, and Pergamum was rewarded with vast grants of territory in the reassignment of territory in the Peace of Apamea in 188 BC. After the Galatians were finally decisively defeated, Pergamum became the most powerful kingdom in Asia Minor, and extensive building operations on the acropolis transformed Pergamum into a magnificent Greek city. A library of Greek literature rivalled those of Athens and Alexandria (some scholars say that parchment, called in Greek *pergamena* after the city, was invented there to remove dependence on Egyptian papyrus), and monuments proclaiming in mythological terms the Attalids as the defenders of Hellenism and civilization against barbarism were erected. These are among the greatest creations of Hellenistic art. In order to reinforce their place in the Hellenic world, the Attalids also dedicated lavish buildings at Delos, Delphi, and Athens (the stoa of Attalus II in the Athenian Agora is a famous example of their beneficence towards Greek cities).

The Attalid dynasty came to an end in 133 BC upon the death of its last king, Attalus III, who for uncertain reasons bequeathed his kingdom to Rome, thereby giving Rome a free rein to intervene in Greek Asia Minor.

During the Hellenistic period the Greek cities of Asia Minor and the islands suffered different fates under the shifting control of various Hellenistic monarchs. The Dodecanesian island of Rhodes maintained its democratic independence for some time despite attempts by the kings to control it, and it gained a position of considerable power and prestige in the Greek world at this period. Its position on the east–west trade routes and the facilities provided by five harbours in the capital guaranteed considerable economic prosperity. Bravely resisting a year-long siege by Demetrius Poliorcetes against immense odds in 305/04 BC, Rhodes built up its navy and gradually replaced the Ptolemies as protector of Greek cities in the Aegean against marauding pirates. Friendship with Rome ensured rewards for Rhodes in the Peace of Apamea in 188 BC, and it was granted extensive territory on the mainland of Asia Minor. The democratic system of government on Rhodes allowed for the development of anti-Roman factions, however, and Rhodes was punished for its support of Macedonia in the Third Macedonian War. It was forced into an unequal alliance with Rome in 164 BC, and thereafter ceased to be an independent political power, although it remained a prosperous and highly cultured city.

The Hellenistic age saw the expansion of Greeks and the Greek way of life into Asia Minor, the Middle East, Egypt, Iraq, Iran, Afghanistan, and Pakistan as far as India. Some settlements were not as successful and long-lasting as others, depending upon the fortunes of the Hellenistic empires, but Greeks and the Greek language lasted in these areas throughout the Roman empire until it phased into the world of Byzantine Greece. It could be maintained that the Hellenistic period had a more cosmopolitan Greek culture than that of the parochial city-states in the Classical period. Unfortunately, the Greek world was ultimately unable to resist the power of Rome in political terms, but, far from extinguishing Greek culture, Rome itself became captivated by Greek scholarship, philosophy, and literature.

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See also Antigonids, Attalids, Hellenistic Period, Ptolemies, Rhodes, Seleucids

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Political History 31 BC–AD 330

Many discussions of the history of Roman Greece begin with the famous line from Horace: "Graecia capta ferum victorem cepit" ("Greece, the captive, took her savage victor captive", *Epistulae*, 2. 1. 156). It is true that Greek ideals and language captured and dominated the eastern Mediterranean world, but politically Greece became part of the Roman sphere of influence long before the triumphs of Augustus and the poems of Horace. As early as 229 BC the Romans had established protectorates over Greek towns, such as Corcyra, Apollonia, Dyrrachium, and Issa, and in the mid-2nd century BC the Romans arrived to stay in the eastern Mediterranean region. In 146 BC the Romans, led by L. Mummius, destroyed the Achaeans near Corinth. Corinth was razed, its treasures were shipped to Rome, men were massacred, and other inhabitants were sold into slavery. The Achaean League was dissolved, and Greece ultimately became the site of much bitter Roman warfare throughout the 1st century BC. The Civil Wars brought Pompey and Caesar and then Octavian and Mark Antony to Greece, where the combatants depended upon men and material aid from the Greeks, putting significant psychological and economic burdens on the population.

Once the east was conquered, the Romans needed to manage their new territories. The organization of political control in Greece was complicated by Roman respect for Greek culture and traditions, so that the province's administrative status underwent several changes throughout the centuries of Roman rule. Shortly after the Battle of Actium (31 BC) Octavian created the new province of Achaea (roughly the area of modern Greece without Crete, Macedonia, and Thessaly). The idea of a unified Greece rather than politically independent city states took root in this era, even though parts of what we now consider Greece remained separate. Epirus was eventually (though temporarily) made into a separate province as well. The province of Achaea was at first under the control of the Senate (i.e. "proconsular"), but both Achaea and Macedonia were, according to Tacitus (*Annales*, 1. 76), officially turned over to the emperor in AD 15. After AD 44 "proconsul" and "praeses" are both used to describe the governor of Achaea, and the province seems to have, de facto, reverted to proconsular rule. The Greeks briefly enjoyed some independence under a grant from Nero. At the Isthmian Games in AD 66/67 he declared Achaea free, though this status was overturned by Vespasian only a few years later. Achaea was formally made proconsular again in either Diocletian's or, more likely, Constantine's reign, after which the governors of

34. The Hellenic world in the Roman empire

Achaea are known only as proconsuls or consuls until they disappear from the record in the 5th century AD.

After the conquest the Hellenistic leagues endured (at least 12 are known), but they were of little bureaucratic importance. Instead, the Greek provinces were ruled through their well-established cities where small groups of local elites played important roles as Roman managers and representatives, and ran the day-to-day provincial business. Among the most important duties of the cities and their managers was the collection of imperial revenues. It was likely that as early as the reign of Augustus (as Octavian was styled from 27 BC onwards) regular taxation was levied. Both a "head tax" (*tributum capitis*) and a "land tax" (*tributum soli*) are attested under the Principate. Other levies included customs and port taxes, sales taxes, and special levies in times of need. Though statistically relatively low (probably less than 10 per cent), taxation was despised by the provincials and felt to be oppressive, and may well have been devastating to subsistence farmers and other poorer provincials. Not all cities, however, were subject to regular taxation and control by the provincial governor. Pliny (*Epistles*, 8. 24. 2–3) states that the cities most revered for their Classical history were granted freedom and immunity from levies (these included Amphissa, Athens, Corinth, Delphi, Elateia, Pallanteion, and Sparta). But even these cities were sometimes asked to provide contributions from a sense of "friendliness" to the Romans. Strabo (*Geography*, 8. 5. 5) notes that the Spartans "were held in particular honour, and remained free, contributing to Rome nothing else but friendly services [*philikon leitourgion*]". Of particular importance to the economic health of Greece, however, is the crucial fact that, whether regular or sporadic, resources were drained away from Greece into the coffers of the larger empire.

In addition to any economic burdens, the Greeks experienced a mixed blessing from their location at the centre of the empire. Technically, Achaea was an unarmed province with little military presence, so the influence of the empire may often have been a degree less obvious and oppressive in Greece than on the frontiers. Only small contingents of soldiers, rather than significant garrisons, were found in the territory during the early empire. On the other hand, the economic stimulation that the frontier provinces experienced was missing in Greece, where insulation brought a measure of economic stagnation.

For the most part Greek citizens and cities were unmolested and enjoyed the fruits of the *pax Romana*, but there were examples of violent strategies in the imposition of early imperial control. The arrival of the Romans sometimes meant territorial and demographic manipulation. Particularly in the early years of Roman control under Caesar and Augustus, land was taken and redistributed to show pleasure or displeasure with one city over another. These were considered the rights of the victor over the vanquished. Cities and colonies were founded at will. Corinth, for example, was rebuilt, colonized, and grew under the support of Caesar and then Augustus. Augustus also

founded Nicopolis in Epirus, and Dium and Cassandreia in Macedonia, while Caesar was known to have created the city of Patras in Achaea and possibly Dyme nearby. Augustus not only manipulated territories, he moved people. Men were transferred, for instance, into Patras where the emperor "united them with the Achaeans also from Rhyope, which town he razed to the ground" (Pausanias, 7. 18. 7).

Recent archaeological and historical work supports ancient claims, such as those of Pausanias, that there was significant movement of populations and realignment of states under the emperors. Results from archaeological survey in Aetolia show a clear pattern of site abandonment in the Roman era which reflects the claims of Pausanias (7. 18. 8–9) that the province was "laid waste" by the emperor Augustus. Epirus, too, was depopulated – so much so that Strabo claims all remaining Epirots in Augustus' time would fit into a single city (7. 7. 6).

Over the course of the 1st and 2nd centuries AD in Greece, as elsewhere, there was a trend towards larger, but fewer, administrative centres such as Corinth, where the provincial governor and his staff were based. Corinth itself did not formally control other Achaean cities, or even mediate between them and the Romans, but it did show a particularly close connection to Rome. Corinthian coinage was modelled on Roman, its pottery showed clear western influences, and Corinth was the site of one the earliest overseas capitolia (though its precise location is still disputed). Clear benefits of empire also accrued to regions outside Corinth. As is well known, one way to emphasize one's political power and prestige was through patronage. The emperor Augustus began a long-imitated trend when he made Greece the beneficiary of such largesse. He continued to rebuild Corinth, which probably became the provincial capital at that time (and which remained Latin-speaking until the reign of Hadrian). Roman Messenia also shows signs of growing prosperity with the coming of empire. Pausanias (4. 31. 5–33. 2) lists numerous Roman-period structures, both civic and religious, which testify to an affluent way of life.

Many Roman emperors evinced a personal interest in Greek culture and history (sometimes, of course, this meant despoiling Greece of its art and antiquities). Nero, for example, was a devoted philhellene. He spoke Greek, attempted to cut a channel through the isthmus of Corinth (to improve communications and trade routes), became an Athenian archon, and was initiated into the mysteries of Demeter. Imperial dedications to Greece could be substantial, including buildings, roads, and other physical manifestations of their concern for Achaea and their own prestige. Trajan had built the Library of Pantaenus in Athens. Hadrian supported numerous projects including buildings at Delphi, many structures in Athens – creating a "New Athens" in the process – as well as stoas, temples, aqueducts, bridges, and baths throughout Achaea. In AD 131/32 Hadrian founded the "Panhellenion", a largely cultural organization of Greek cities (from Greece, Asia Minor, and north Africa) centred in Athens. The respect for Greek culture supported by the creation of this organization lasted well into the 3rd century AD. Throughout these years the Greeks kept their language, culture, and traditions, and continued to maintain control over their cities, which may help explain why, for the most part, the Greeks were loyal to Rome.

The late 2nd and 3rd centuries AD brought unwelcome changes to the Roman world as a whole. Civil wars, economic woes, migrations, and invasions from the north characterize this era in Roman history. Revolts erupted periodically in the 2nd century AD, including at least one in Greece: A small abortive rebellion occurred under the relatively benevolent rule of Antoninus Pius. The chaotic 3rd century AD brought civil wars and extensive Gothic raids to the Balkans. Greek territories were not immune. The restless northern peoples were no longer stopped at the borders of the empire after the death of Severus Alexander (AD 235). Thrace suffered the first assaults from Gothic invaders and related tribes. The emperor Decius was eventually killed by these invaders, which led to further raids and a civil war. The Danube and Rhine regions were the locations of most of this raiding activity, but in AD 254 raiders made their way as far south as Thessolonica. Many parts of Greece, especially coastal areas such as Athens, were severely damaged by these incursions. In the AD 260s further raids occurred. Gallienus repelled the intruders in AD 262, but he was soon forced to return to protect Greece again. Gallienus, just like Hadrian, was a philhellene, held the archonship in Athens, and was initiated into the Eleusinian mysteries. His support for Greece was sorely needed when in AD 268 the Heruli captured and wrought considerable destruction upon Athens. Eventually Gallienus expelled the Heruli, but such attacks were only slowed and would happen again in the future (most notably in the 5th, 6th, and 7th centuries).

In the 3rd century AD the empire was also faced with fiscal crises. Inflation worked to wreak havoc on urban financial structures. The content of silver coinage (the denarius) had become debased, while at the same time imperial mints were producing ever-growing quantities of money in an attempt to keep up with fiscal demands. The situation grew particularly painful for Greek cities and their elite, the *curiales* or *bouleutai* ("councillors"), who had drawn their revenues from civic lands, from taxes, and from local dues and tolls. Those leaders with access to goods, rather than money, were able to increase prices and rents, but they became hard pressed if they depended upon debased and devalued revenues. The *curiales*, thus, began to feel unable to carry out their administrative duties. The needs of the imperial treasury, as expressed by the Roman *correctores* (regional governors, normally senators) who now governed Achaea, led to the loss of autonomy for any remaining free Greek cities. Increasing demands on the province as a whole required new strategies for production, which strategies would eventually result in a late Roman (4th- and 5th-century) resurgence of economic prosperity in Greece.

Upon Diocletian's accession to the throne in AD 284, the empire was temporarily at peace and the emperor set about solving the more serious economic and social problems in the provinces. To fix the problem of ruling vast territories, Diocletian reorganized provincial administrative units. There were 45 official districts in AD 117, but 108 districts by the end of the 4th century. Diocletian had expanded the number of Severan provinces by creating smaller provinces for easier administration and methodically divided the empire into clear eastern and western sections. The province of Achaea (with its capital still at Corinth) was incorporated into the administrative structure of the east. Diocletian placed Achaea into the diocese of Moesia, though Constantine moved the province

under the jurisdiction of Macedonia in Illyricum. Northern Greece included the provinces of Epirus, Thessaly, and Macedonia. Crete remained a separate province. These provincial divisions continued to separate what we think of as "Greece" into several administrative units, but provided smaller territories that allowed for more efficient management and tighter control.

Once Diocletian stepped down from his office, conflict began again and the Balkans, Greece included, became a recruiting ground for Constantine's civil war with Licinius. Constantine, once in power, set about moving his capital to "New Rome" or Constantinople. In the tradition of earlier emperors, he felt it his right to remove art and artefacts from his provinces, including Achaea, to beautify his new capital. Nevertheless, 4th-century Achaea generally saw a renewal of building activity, an invigorated economy, and another revival of Greek letters after the hiatus of the civil wars. Subsequently, Achaean political, religious, and economic orientation was focused on the east and thus began the transition to the later Roman empire, or early Byzantine era in Greek history.

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See also Christianity, Roman Period

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Political History AD 330–802

The period AD 330–802 is dominated in its early phase by the dynasties of Constantine the Great and Theodosius the Great. The middle period contains the spectacular rule of Justinian followed by his less fortunate successors. The years from 610 to 802 witness the rise of two relatively long-ruling houses founded by Herakleios and Leo III the Isaurian, respectively. Each of these epochs is characterized by internal and external troubles, some being an outgrowth of unresolved earlier problems, while others were unique to their times. The history of these roughly 500 years reflects the efforts of the imperial government to find practical solutions to these difficulties, and at the same time to maintain the fiction of an empire undiminished in authority and power.

When Constantine the Great (324–37) inaugurated his new city of Constantinople on the Bosporus in AD 330, he set in motion a movement that would end with the two halves of the empire forming a Latin-speaking west and a Greek-speaking east, each with its own government and cultural life. If Constantine, who was the first ruler to protect the Christians among his subjects, had hoped to unite the empire under the banner of the new religion, he was to be disappointed. His reign and the reigns of his immediate successors were beset with Christological controversies and bickering within the ranks of the Church.

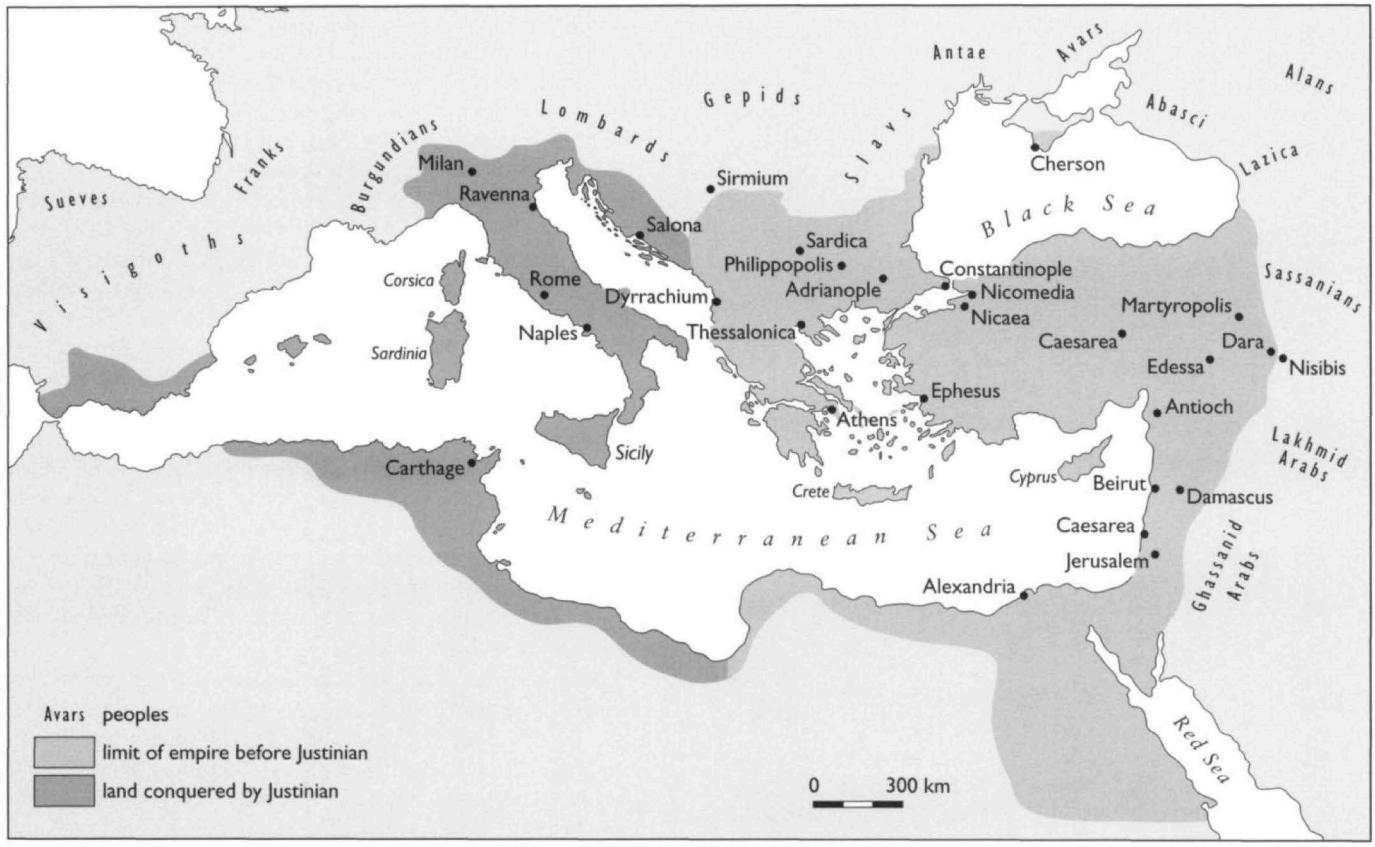
It was left to Theodosius I (379–95) to found the orthodox state, enforce uniformity, and in consequence deny toleration to pagans and heretics. Questions of dogma and definitions of the right faith were hammered out in ecumenical councils, of which the first dealt with the Arian heresy at Nicaea in 325 under Constantine, and the second with the establishment of Christianity as the state religion under Theodosius at Constantinople in 381.

The enemies threatening the security of the empire during this time were the Persians on the eastern borders, and the invading Germanic barbarians who had earlier threatened the Rhine frontier and later overrun the hinterland of Constantinople. The terrible defeat of a Roman army by a Gothic force at Adrianople (378) and the death of the emperor Valens in this battle brought Theodosius to the throne. He settled the Gothic threat by making the Visigoths *foederati* (confederates) of the empire, and he was able to secure a peace with Persia which ended for a time the ceaseless warfare in that region. This peace, however, depended on sacrificing the independence of Armenia which had been the apple of discord between Persia and the empire and was now divided between the two powers. It was timely, since the empire faced new dangers on its borders with the advance of the Huns.

In Church affairs there was bitter discord between Alexandria and Constantinople, both struggling for ecclesiastical supremacy. The matter was finally resolved in 451 at the Fourth Ecumenical Council at Chalcedon which decided in favour of Constantinople. The same council, in addition, was sowing the seeds of further conflict with its definition of the Orthodox faith. From now on the Eastern Church would find it impossible to please Rome as well as Syria and Egypt.

The reign of Justinian (527–65) is distinguished by the emperor's efforts to restore the Roman empire to its former size and to re-establish Roman authority in the territories lost during the barbarian invasions. The emperor's general, Belisarius, in quick succession wrested North Africa from the Vandals and began the conquest of Italy. Finally, a strip of territory in southern Spain was taken from the Visigoths.

In the internal affairs of the empire, Justinian quelled the rowdy circus factions in Constantinople when he put down the Nika uprising. The destruction that had been done in the capital during the rebellion allowed the emperor to embark on an ambitious building programme, the most impressive result of which was the church of Hagia Sophia. All of this activity needed money, and for this reason Justinian tolerated the excesses of his minister of finance, John of Cappadocia.



35. The empire of Justinian in AD 565

New dangers for the empire arose in the Danubian provinces with the first appearance of the Slavs and Bulgars. At the same time, an outbreak of plague in 542 created a serious shortage of recruits for the army. In the reigns of Justin II (565–78) and his successors the resources of the empire were unequal to the demands made on them. Justin himself became insane, unable to carry the burden of his responsibilities. He had provoked an outbreak of hostilities by his arrogant treatment of the Persians. At the same time, the Avars, a people of Turkic origins, together with hordes of Slavs, attacked the Balkans, and Italy was overrun by the Lombards.

The emperor Maurice (582–602) was able to obtain a favourable peace with Persia in 590 when he helped Khusrau, the heir to the throne, to regain his kingdom after a rebellion that had killed his father. Before Maurice could turn his attention to the dangerous situation in the Balkans, however, he himself was overthrown and killed in 602 in an army rebellion that elevated Phokas, an insignificant officer, to the throne. Phokas initiated a reign of terror that bled the aristocracy until in 610 he too became the victim of a revolt. The exarch of Carthage rebelled and sent his son, Herakleios, at the head of an army against Constantinople, where he founded a dynasty that was to last till 717.

Herakleios (610–41) came to the throne of an empire that was in mortal danger. The Avars and Slavs continued to be a threat, and the Persian king broke the peace on the pretext of avenging the murder of the emperor Maurice. Herakleios, leaving his capital in the care of the patriarch, went to Asia Minor to gather and train an army for the defence of his realm. For six long years the emperor campaigned against the Persians with great success, breaking the power of the Persian king. The benefit of his victory, however, was to be reaped by another. The reign of Herakleios saw the tribesmen of Arabia, possibly driven out by the increasing desiccation of their lands, and steeled by the new faith of Islam, overrun both Persian and Byzantine territories. Sassanian Persia succumbed to the new power in 628, to be followed in quick succession by Syria, Palestine, and Egypt. At the death of Herakleios in 641 the Byzantine empire was territorially more compact, comprising Asia Minor, some Balkan coastlines, north Africa, and Sicily.

With the loss of the eastern provinces came greater religious homogeneity. In the future, the Orthodox Church and the Orthodox empire were to be closely intertwined. The heart of the empire now lay in Asia Minor, and with Italy mainly in the hands of the Lombards, the eastern empire became distinctly Greek in language and culture. This was not necessarily clear at the time, and Constans II, Herakleios's grandson, attempted to move the seat of government once more to the west. The experiment ended when he was murdered in Sicily in 668. The last member of the house of Herakleios, Justinian II, reigned twice from 685 to 695 and again from 705 to 711. His arbitrary government became unpopular, and he was banished to Cherson after having been mutilated. In spite of this he was able to regain his throne with the help of the Bulgar khan Terbel, but was killed in an uprising in 711.

The importance of the Herakleian dynasty lies in the fact that it stayed the Arab invasions and preserved Asia Minor. When the Arabs built a fleet and became expert sailors, Constantinople was in grave danger from repeated attacks. Its strong walls, however, withstood the sieges, and in 678 the

Political History AD 330–802: silver votive platter showing the emperor Arcadius and two guards, 388. The son of Theodosius I, Arcadius reigned from 395 to 408, Academia de la Historia, Madrid

caliph Muawiya made peace. Three short reigns followed after the Herakleian dynasty, but in 717 the general of the Anatolikon theme, Leo III the Isaurian (or Syrian), ascended the throne, inaugurating the Isaurian dynasty that was to last until 802.

In 717 the Arabs returned to mount an assault by land and sea on the capital. The siege was abandoned the following year when a discomfited enemy withdrew after an exceptionally hard winter, and Leo's victory at Akroinon in 740 temporarily ended the Muslim advances in Asia Minor. Applying diplomacy, the Byzantines had been able to draw both Bulgars and Chazars to their side in the fight against the Arabs.

Internally, Leo, who had himself been brought to the throne by an army revolt of the Anatolikon and Armeniakon themes, understood the danger these large units posed for the ruler. He, therefore, restructured these territories creating smaller units that were less likely to provide any would-be usurper with the necessary resources. He is thought to have applied the same principle to the Karabisianon theme which housed the fleet.

In 726 Leo issued the *Ecloge* (literally "selection"), reforming the law of the empire. Far more than a mere compilation, this body of legislation reflects the influences of both custom and the orient. In family law, the *Ecloge* curbed the power of the *paterfamilias* by distributing rights and obligations more evenly between spouses; and in criminal law mutilation largely replaced the death penalty.

Leo's reign is remembered as the beginning of the conflict over the use of icons. Icons had a special place in popular worship but were opposed in some theological and intellectual circles. The motives for the emperor's sudden move against the veneration of icons are no longer understood, and possibly were not clear to his contemporaries either. It has been suggested by some that Leo, who came from the eastern provinces of the empire, had fallen under the influence of Arab culture. It is of some significance that the first order forbidding the veneration of pictures was issued in 723 not by a Byzantine ruler but by the caliph Jezid who ordered the removal of pictures from Christian churches in his domain. Others detect in the emperor's fight against icons purely political motives, proposing that Leo, in his bid for autocratic rule, hoped to liberate the people from the influence of the Church. The sources of this period are biased since only the accounts of the iconodules (supporters of icons) survive, making it difficult to grasp the intellectual background to iconoclasm in its totality. Leo tried to gain converts to his ideas by preaching against the veneration of icons which he saw as idolatry. He wrote to Pope Gregory II that this was his duty not only as emperor but also as high priest to his subjects.

Persecution of icon worship began with the removal of Christ's image from above the gates of the Chalke, the entrance to the Great Palace in Constantinople. The officer sent on this commission was lynched by a crowd. Significantly, it was the European theme, Hellas, that immediately revolted at the news. Leo was able to quell the rebellion but could convince neither the pope nor the patriarch of his move against icons. Leo's most formidable opponent, however, was John of Damascus, regarded as the greatest theologian of his time. As a Greek in the service of the caliph at Damascus, he was out of reach of the emperor. John wrote three speeches in defence of holy icons arguing in Neoplatonic terms that icons were merely symbols and a means to communicate with the sacred. His writings were to become the basis for the defence of icons.

With his edict of 726 Leo gave imperial sanction to the destruction of pictures, and the persecutions of the iconodules began in earnest. The emperor could not enforce his will in the west, however, and Pope Gregory III condemned iconoclasm. In a counter move, Leo placed the Churches of Calabria, Sicily, and Illyricum under the patriarchate of Constantinople which meant that the incomes from these territories would now flow directly to the eastern capital.

Leo died in 741 and was succeeded by his son Constantine V (741–75) who had been associated in his father's reign since the age of two. The *strategos* (commander) of the Opsikion theme, Artabasdos, who was related to the imperial house, immediately contested Constantine's succession. He posed as a restorer of images but was defeated in 743. Constantine then took advantage of unrest in the Caliphate, where the Abbasids had replaced the Umayyads and moved the centre from Damascus to Baghdad, to recapture territory in Asia Minor that had been lost in earlier campaigns. For some time, the fight between Arabs and Byzantines was to take on the character of border conflicts, a fact which was later immortalized in the epic of *Digenis Akritis*.

The danger facing the empire was now no longer to be seen in Asia Minor but in the rising power of Bulgaria. Constantine V fought nine campaigns against the Bulgars. In 763 he won a

great victory over the khan Teletz who in consequence became the victim of a revolt at home. After this the Byzantines interfered frequently in Bulgaria, which entered a phase of internal upheavals. While Constantine was thus engaged in the Balkans, Ravenna, Byzantium's outpost on the Adriatic, fell to the Lombards. With the eastern empire no longer an important power in Italy, in 754 Pope Stephen II crossed the Alps to seek an alliance with the Frankish monarchy which marked the beginning of a lasting relationship between the papacy and the Carolingians.

In his iconoclast policies Constantine was more radical than his father had been. The "headless synod" of 754 ordered the destruction of pictures, and was followed by renewed persecutions and executions reaching into the highest strata of society. Monasteries were closed down, and their lands were confiscated. Those monks that could escape fled to southern Italy where they founded monasteries and schools, thereby reinforcing the surviving Greek culture of the region.

Hated by the Orthodox Church for his heavy-handedness, the body of Constantine V Kopronymos was later removed from the church of the Holy Apostles where it had been buried. He was, however, also remembered for his great military successes by the people who, in times of danger, would pray at his grave for deliverance from their enemies.

The reign of his son Leo IV (775–80) was characterized by a much more restrained form of iconoclasm. Iconodules were left largely undisturbed, and monks returned to high positions in the Church. When Leo died prematurely in 780, his ten-year-old son became emperor Constantine VI with the iconodule empress Irene as regent. She systematically began to change the officials at court, advancing her own family. The monasteries flourished again under Irene, and she tried to achieve reconciliation with both the papacy and the Frankish power now under Charlemagne. An ecumenical council in 787 anathematized the iconoclast synod of 754 and re-established the veneration of icons. Irene herself signed the canons to that effect in the Magnamara palace in the presence of papal legates. Her name was invoked as a token of peace, and her government was hailed as the bringer of it.

The young Constantine was kept in the background, and his mother arranged several marriages for him. These were the cause of irreconcilable differences between them and in 797 Irene had him imprisoned in the palace and blinded in the very room where he had been born.

The subsequent reign of Irene (797–802) was marked by renewed hostilities and losses in warfare with both Arabs and Bulgars. The latter received tribute payments from that time on. Internally, Irene did much damage to the finances of the empire with a taxation policy that aimed to win her popularity. The most important event of her reign, however, came from the outside. Pope Leo III took the opportunity presented by her rule to crown Charlemagne emperor of a reconstituted western empire on Christmas Day 800 since, so the pope reasoned, there was now no longer an emperor in Constantinople. This signalled the end of the long-maintained fiction of a universal Christian empire with its centre at Constantinople.

In autumn of 802 a palace revolution ended the rule of Irene and she died a year later in exile on the island of Lesbos. It fell to her successor, Nikephoros I (802–11), to undo the damages of her reign and he addressed himself energetically to restoring the financial and military needs of the empire.

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See also Arabs, Bulgars, Byzantine Period (Early), Councils, Goths, Slavs

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Political History 802–1204

In 802 Byzantium was still recovering from the crises of the previous two centuries. Its realm, of Asia Minor, parts of Greece, Sicily, and toeholds in Italy, was threatened on every side. The vast and far richer Abbasid caliphate, then at its height, was the most obvious threat as Arab forces continued to harry Asia Minor, but the Bulgarian kingdom posed an equally serious threat close to the capital, and the rising empire of Charlemagne loomed in the west. Nikephoros I (802–11), who made important reforms that strengthened the administration after the extravagant reign of his predecessor Irene, recovered the Peloponnese, strengthened the Hellenic population of Greece, and hoped for greater success in the Balkans. Instead, his huge army met with disaster at the hands of the

36. The empire of Basil II in 1025

Bulgars, with Nikephoros becoming the first emperor to fall in battle since Valens in 378.

Although the Bulgars inflicted more defeats and advanced up to the walls of Constantinople, the death of their khan removed the immediate threat. These military setbacks provoked Leo V (813–20) to revive iconoclasm, remembering the great military successes of iconoclastic emperors in the 8th century. His murder, however, was followed by the devastating revolt of Thomas the Slav during which the Arabs landed in Sicily and – a more immediate threat to imperial naval supremacy close to home – occupied Crete in 828. Theophilos (829–42) laid the basis for recovery by tightening the administrative system based on military districts called themes, and improving the army. He issued new coinage, was an active builder, and presided over a cultural revival. Nevertheless, he suffered the humiliation of seeing Amorium, home of the dynasty, fall to Arab attack in 838.

The tide turned under Michael III (842–68). His victory in Asia Minor in 863 brought the centuries of Arab raids to an end, while his extensive fortifications laid the basis for advances to the east. He had restored veneration of images in 843, ending a long period of ecclesiastical turmoil. Byzantine influence now spread to the Slavic world thanks to the missionary efforts patronized by the highly learned patriarch Photios (858–67, 877–86). Although at first directed to Moravia, they soon led to the conversion of the Bulgars and Serbs to Orthodox Christianity. In 860, however, a potential new threat, a Russian fleet, appeared at Constantinople.

Basil I (867–86), an Armenian of humble origins, founded Byzantium's most successful dynasty, which presided over triumphant expansion, prosperity, and cultural flourishing for two centuries. Basil himself rebuilt the army and moved on the offensive in the east. He conquered much of southern Italy, which became a refuge for the Greek population of Sicily, finally lost with the fall of Syracuse in 878. Basil's work of reforming the laws and making them available in Greek was continued by his son Leo VI (886–912), a ruler famed for his learning, but also for his four marriages which caused serious dissent with the Church. External troubles also were not over: an Arab raider sacked Thessalonica, second city of the empire, in 904 and the Russians attacked in 907, but the greatest danger came from the Bulgars. To weaken them, Leo called in the Hungarians whose settlement permanently changed the map of Europe. Nevertheless, this was a flourishing time for the Bulgars whose king Symeon aimed at ruling the empire. During the regency that succeeded Leo, Symeon's victorious forces approached Constantinople and almost assured his aims of an imperial title and marriage, but the usurpation of Romanos I Lekapenos (920–44) saved the day for Byzantium. In the east Romanos extended Byzantine territory to Armenia and Mesopotamia, where in 944 Edessa fell and one of Christianity's most sacred relics, the sacred towel that bore the imprint of Christ's face, was transferred to Constantinople. He also gained significant victories over pirates and the Russians. Romanos began a legislative assault on great landowners who had been acquiring land from their smaller neighbours, a tendency that could weaken the system of military landholdings; the effort continued through the next several reigns. Meanwhile the legitimate emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos (913–59) devoted himself to the learning

that reached its height in this period. During the short reign of his son Romanos II (959–63) the great general Nikephoros Phokas finally reconquered Crete in 961, re-establishing Byzantine naval supremacy in the Aegean and making further advances possible.

Byzantium reached its apogee under Basil II (976–1025). During his childhood, the regents Nikephoros Phokas (963–69) and John Tzimiskes (969–76) annexed eastern Bulgaria after inflicting a signal defeat on the Russians, and extended imperial power ever further east, bringing much of Syria under control. Tzimiskes, perhaps the greatest general the empire ever had, conquered Damascus and Beirut and even approached Jerusalem in a movement that had many aspects of a crusade. Byzantine influence took deeper root in the west when Tzimiskes married his niece Theophano to the future Holy Roman emperor Otto III. The sole rule of Basil II began with a devastating series of civil wars, 976–89, which finally established imperial supremacy over the powerful landed magnates of Asia Minor, and ended their efforts to submerge their smaller neighbours. Thereafter expansion was rapid on all fronts: in the east Basil annexed much of Armenia; in the west he secured his position in Italy. Basil is most famous, however, for his unrelenting Balkan campaigns that brought Bulgaria under complete control and extended the empire to the Danube. His savage but effective victories earned him the name of Bulgaroktonos, "Slayer of the Bulgars". He was planning a campaign to reconquer Sicily when he died after the longest reign in Byzantine history. By then, the empire was the most powerful state in Europe and the Near East. Of the powers that threatened Byzantium in 802, the caliphate had collapsed, Bulgaria was reduced to insignificance, and the western empire was concerned with its own problems. The empire also enjoyed its greatest influence as the centre of the Orthodox world, vastly expanded in 988 when the conversion of prince Vladimir of Russia brought his country into the Byzantine sphere.

The glory of Byzantium faded with incredible rapidity. Within 50 years of Basil's death, new enemies had struck mortal blows from which the empire never recovered. Although the Komnenoi (1081–1185) effected a partial restoration, the state never regained the extent, wealth, or power it had under Basil II. Incompetent rulers, strife between military and civil factions, increasing decentralization, and frequent conspiracies and revolts combined with changing external circumstances to weaken the empire. In 1040 it was still strong enough to attempt the reconquest of Sicily and to annex further territory in Armenia, but these were the last gains. In the mid-11th century the Seljuk Turks appeared in the east, and the Normans in Italy. Both soon exerted pressure on a state in serious financial trouble. Extravagance had led in 1050 to the debasement of the gold coinage, which had maintained its purity since the time of Constantine and served as a universal standard. In 1054 the Byzantine Church split definitively with Rome, leaving a legacy of hostility that would never be repaired. Two years later the empress Theodora, last descendant of Basil II, died.

The military revolt that brought Isaac Komnenos (1057–59) to the throne in an effort to suppress corruption failed to solve the problems that the ineffectual regimes of his successors only compounded. Finally, Romanos IV (1068–71) made a major attempt to reform the army and to crush the constantly encroaching Seljuks. He met disaster at Manzikert in 1071. The Seljuk victory left Asia Minor open to the Turks who were soon ravaging every part of it, and could never be dislodged. In the same year the Normans took Bari, the empire's last outpost in Italy. During the next decade Turkish attacks combined with constant revolts to destabilize the empire and bring the almost total loss of Asia Minor. Economic collapse was not far away since the currency was drastically debased.

When Alexios I Komnenos (1081–1118) came to the throne, the empire was in ruins. Turks had occupied most of Asia Minor and the Normans landed in Albania and rapidly advanced into Greece. Recognizing the western threat as the most immediate, Alexios turned to Venice, long a subject, then an ally of Byzantium. In exchange for extensive concessions that gave them virtually free trade in the empire, the Venetians sent their fleet to rescue Alexios. This combined with the death of the Norman leader to allow Alexios to turn to the interior of the Balkans where he suppressed revolts and neutralized the invading Cuman and Pecheneg tribes. By 1094 the Danube was once again the imperial frontier. At the same time Byzantium advanced further towards feudalism as the emperor made considerable grants of land with immunity from taxation, especially to his relatives.

Alexios was ready to turn east when the uncontrollable forces of the First Crusade arrived in 1096. He sent them on to Asia Minor where their victories enabled the empire to regain considerable territory. The crusaders' reluctance to submit to imperial authority or to surrender Antioch, however, led to further conflicts, especially with the Normans. Finally in 1110 Alexios was free to move against the Seljuks, who now ruled a state in central Asia Minor. His successes ensured control over the rich coastal region and laid the base for further advances by his son John (1118–43), who consolidated Byzantine Asia Minor by acquiring additional territory and establishing a network of strategic fortresses that served as bases for advance. He campaigned successfully against the Seljuks, whom he confined to the Anatolian plateau. Much of his effort was directed to Cilicia, which he conquered, and to Antioch, which recognized his authority. In the west he consolidated Byzantine control and neutralized the threat from Hungary. His one failure was a war against Venice, after which he was obliged to renew their trading privileges.

During the reign of Manuel I (1143–80) Byzantium was renowned as a centre of wealth and culture, but also saw the beginning of a fatal decline. This was a time of considerable influence from the rapidly advancing West, reflecting the taste and preoccupations of the emperor who tended to neglect the ultimately much greater danger from the east. The immediate threat, though, came with a renewed war with the Normans and the unwelcome arrival of the Second Crusade in 1147. Manuel hurried the crusaders across into Anatolia where they met total defeat. With the expensive help of Venice, he defeated the Normans but failed in the last attempt to establish a Byzantine foothold in Italy. Manuel fought two successful wars with Hungary, which recognized his suzerainty, thereby gaining Dalmatia and the enmity of Venice, which felt threatened. In the subsequent war (1170–77) Manuel had once again to renew all the Venetian privileges. To balance them, he had made similar concessions to Genoa as his father had to Pisa. As

a result, most of the empire's trade was in the hands of the Italian states.

Manuel extended the practice of granting lands to subordinates who would collect taxes and contribute to the army. In this he strengthened his military (though at the price of an increasingly powerful aristocracy) while his new system of fortifications bolstered Byzantine Anatolia preparatory to a major advance against the Turks. He had already made a triumphal entry into Antioch, and entered into alliance with the crusaders of Jerusalem against Egypt. His ambitions in the east, however, came to disaster at Myriokephalon in Asia Minor in 1176. The imperial army that hoped to solve the Seljuk problem once and for all was completely crushed. In the aftermath major bastions fell permanently to the Turks, whose nomads encroached further on imperial territories. Although Byzantium was still the greatest regional power in 1180, Manuel had spent much of its treasury and prestige and his death was followed by a rapid collapse.

Resentment against the Italians and their privileges culminated in 1182 when traders were massacred and their quarters looted. Manuel's cousin Andronikos I (1183–85) seized power during the crisis, cleaned out corruption, and attacked the over-powerful aristocracy, but the disastrous Norman sack of Thessalonica led to his overthrow and murder by the urban mob. Isaac Angelos (1185–95) proved incapable of maintaining central control in the face of external threats and major revolts. Although the Normans were defeated, and the Third Crusade passed through without disturbance in 1189, a successful revolt that established a new Bulgarian empire in 1186 fatally undermined the Byzantine position in the Balkans. Revolts and widespread disorder increased under Alexios III (1195–1203) who had deposed and blinded his brother Isaac. When plans for a new crusade were announced, Isaac's son Alexios appealed for aid against his uncle, making fabulous promises to the crusaders. The Venetians agreed, despite the denunciations of the pope, to divert the crusade to Constantinople, where they arrived in 1203. The young Alexios IV assumed the throne but was unable to pay off the crusaders. When his efforts on their behalf provoked a revolt that deposed him, the crusaders attacked. On 12 April 1204, for the first time ever, Constantinople was taken by a foreign army. The city was mercilessly looted, a Latin empire established, and Byzantium permanently finished as a great power.

CLIVE FOSS

See also Bulgars, Byzantine Period (Middle), Commonwealth, Crusades, Iconoclasm, Normans, Russia, Schism, Seljuks, Venetians

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Political History 1204–1261

The sack of Constantinople in April 1204 marked the end of the Byzantine empire, at least temporarily. The French and Venetian Crusaders who had brought this about, whether by luck or by accident, sought to carve out lordships in Greece and the Aegean, and in so doing appropriated for their use the name Romania, which from thence fell from Greek usage as a geographic identification of the Byzantine empire. The partition committee of 24 men – 12 Franks and 12 Venetians – based their division on Byzantine tax registers compiled for Alexios IV in 1203. Possession and effective defence of the newly acquired territories were critical. While Niketas Choniates marvelled at the task that lay ahead for the crusaders, the latter sought to make a quick conquest by taking advantage of Greek demoralization and confusion, as well as the continued presence of the crusader army until March 1205.

By September 1204 the area south of the Rhodope mountains between Constantinople and Thessalonica was reported subdued. Up to March 1205 Greek resistance was light and an army led by Boniface of Montferrat, the ruler of Thessalonica, encountered little opposition in taking Thebes, Athens, and the island of Euboea. In much of central Greece the Latins were welcomed as liberators and, after they made concessions to Greek *archontes* (rulers) guaranteeing their own position in the new order and the continuance of Greek inheritance practices and the Orthodox religion, they were even hailed as the bringers of some hope of stability following the destabilization and disintegration which had characterized the provinces of the Byzantine empire in the last 20 years of the 12th century. This first campaign came to a halt before the fortresses of Acrocorinth, Argos, and Nauplia, where the first serious Greek opposition was led by Leo Skouros. Boniface had carefully avoided any trespass on potential Venetian territories in Epirus and he continued to avoid a possibly hostile encounter in the Morea too, when he allowed William de Champlitte and Geoffrey de Villehardouin to conquer that area. The conquest proceeded from Corinth west and south via Patras and Andravida. Three sieges and one battle are mentioned by the western chroniclers; they emphasize the ease with which the conquest proceeded and compromise was reached with the Greeks. There is much that is obscure here. The southeastern corner of the Peloponnese, the Skorta region, was not

37. The Greek world in 1214

conquered until the late 1240s, while many Greek landowners who saw no chance of reaching an accommodation with the Franks sought refuge in Epirus. By contrast, Latin expeditions to Nicomedia and Cyzicus in Asia Minor and up the Maritza valley to Philippopolis (modern Plovdiv) were contained and repulsed by the Nicene Greeks and the Bulgarians respectively.

When they captured Constantinople, the crusaders had not expunged all Greek resistance, as they clearly believed at the time. In July 1203, as the crusaders arrived on the Bosporus and his father-in-law, Alexios III (1195–1203), was deposed, Theodore I Laskaris (d. 1222) established himself at Nicaea; in the summer of 1205, following Latin defeat at the hands of the Bulgarians at Adrianople, he was proclaimed emperor. This Byzantine government in exile was eventually to recapture Constantinople in July 1261, but for now it contained Latin expansion into Asia Minor by securing its power base in Bithynia. The immediate and most serious threat to the Latin position came from the Vlacho-Bulgarians led by Kalojan. Eager to gain papal recognition for a Bulgarian empire, Kalojan had sought coronation as emperor and recognition of a Latin Church from pope Innocent III as early as 1203. Though his initial approaches to the crusading army had been friendly, they had been rebuffed and followed up by Latin incursions into his territory.

In April 1205 Kalojan inflicted a serious defeat on the crusaders at Adrianople and went on to launch raids into Thrace. On Kalojan's death in 1207 the Latin empire was granted a respite, and the subsequent power struggle among his successors was not resolved until the emergence of John II Asen as tsar of the Bulgars (1218–41). Asen contested control of Thrace with the Greeks of Epirus, whom he defeated at the Battle of Klokonitsa in 1230. Thereafter it was his proud boast that the Latins only survived in Constantinople by his leave. Certainly the Greeks rulers of Nicaea were to profit from his death, gaining many Bulgarian territories in Thrace and Macedonia and in 1246 capturing Thessalonica from the Greeks of Epirus.

Michael I Komnenos Doukas (1205–15) was the illegitimate son of John Doukas and the cousin of Alexios III. For a short time in 1204 he was in the army of Boniface of Montferrat, but left to lead Greek resistance in Epirus. Epirus had become a refuge for many who could not come to terms with the Franks and there was something of the fanatic about Michael's attack on the Latins in Thessaly. By 1210 he had recovered many towns from Latin control and had treated captured Latins with marked brutality. His brother and successor Theodore (1214–30) captured Ochrid (1216) and Thessalonica (1224). The Latin emperor Peter de Courtenay sought to relieve Epirot pressure on Constantinople by proceeding to his capital along the Via Egnatia with his force of 5000 troops. Somewhere along the way he was captured by Theodore and died in prison. Until defeated at Klokonitsa the Epirot Greeks seemed poised to recapture Constantinople itself. Their loss of Thessalonica to the Greeks of Nicaea effectively left the leadership of the Greek resistance in Nicaean hands.

Despite this instability in the north Aegean states, the principality of Achaea and the lordship of Athens and Thebes enjoyed some stability, with secure frontiers and an uninterrupted succession of rulers. The principality of Achaea certainly flourished and in the 1240s was able to offer substantial naval and financial support to the beleaguered Latin empire. In 1259 Prince William of Achaea (1246–78) formed an alliance with the rulers of Epirus to counter Nicene Greek expansion into Macedonia. At Pelagonia his army was deserted by the Epirots and was surrounded and defeated by the Greeks of Nicaea. William and many of his leading knights were captured. On 25 July 1261 the Byzantines recaptured Constantinople itself. Prince William ceded the towns of

Monemvasia, Mistra, and Maina. From then onwards the Frankish position in Greece was to be a defensive one, down to the extinction of the principality of Achaea in 1430.

The Venetians too gained much territory by the partition of 1205. In 1206 they began the conquest of Crete and licensed scions of noble Venetian families to set themselves up as rulers of the Aegean islands. Marco Sanudo became Duke of the Archipelago based upon the islands of Naxos, Paros, and Syros, while his cousin Marino Dandolo set himself up as lord of Andros. In Constantinople itself the Venetian *podestà* (chief magistrate) took the title of "*podestà* and despot of the empire of Romania and lord of a quarter and a half of a quarter of the same empire". There were plans at least among some of the Venetians in Constantinople for independence from the mother city, but such moves were quashed, and the title passed to the doge by 1217. In the Aegean the Venetians maintained two sorts of possessions – colonies like Crete, Corfu, Korone, and Methone, which were administered by officials sent out from Venice, and the *condominia*, which were conquered by private enterprise but ruled by Venetian noble families. The former saw the Greeks treated as subjects, with occasional revolts against Venetian rule. The latter were marked by the policy of accommodation and concession prevalent in the Frankish states of mainland Greece. With the exception of Corfu (lost to Epirus in 1214) Venetian occupation of these territories lasted well into the 15th century and in the case of Crete was to persist until 1669.

There was a third Greek successor state to the Byzantine empire, namely the empire of Trebizond, set up in 1204 by Alexios and David Komnenos with the help of Tamara of Georgia. The new empire was more a symptom of the fragmentation of Byzantine power in the late 12th century than a reaction to the Latin conquest. Alexios fled from Constantinople in September 1185 when his relative Andronikos I (1183–85) was dethroned. Alexios was criticized by Niketas Choniates for taking no action against the Latins in Constantinople. Isolated as they were and surrounded by enemies, the emperors of Trebizond concentrated their energies on survival, acknowledging the suzerainty of Seljuks, Mongols, and Ottomans in turn. The empire was to last until 1461, when it was incorporated in the Ottoman empire.

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See also Epirus, Latin Empire, Nicaea, Trebizond, Venetokratia

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Political History 1261–1453

In the period 1261–1453 the Byzantine empire was beset by a variety of internal problems and external crises which eventually led to the disintegration of the state and to the fall of Constantinople to the Ottoman Turks in 1453. It is necessary, however, to make a distinction between the first part of the period (1261–*c.*1350), when the state was relatively strong and prosperous, and the second half (*c.*1350–1453), when Byzantium was reduced to an "empire of the straits" as a result of civil wars and loss of territory to both Turks and Serbians.

The period began with high hopes following the triumphal entry into Constantinople of Michael VIII Palaiologos (1261–82) who removed form the throne the last Laskarid emperor, John IV (1258–61), and established the rule of the longest-lasting dynasty in Byzantine history, the Palaiologans (1261–1453).

The recovery of Constantinople had some important political consequences for Byzantine foreign policy. For one, it displaced the focus of interest of the Byzantine rulers from Asia to Europe. The papacy, Charles of Anjou, the French royal house of Valois, and the Venetians all became engaged between 1261 and 1314 in various efforts to retake Constantinople. In Michael Palaiologos' day, Charles of Anjou, brother of the French king Louis IX and master of Sicily, led a coalition including the despot of Epirus Michael II Angelos (*c.*1231–71) and the kings of Serbia and Bulgaria. Michael VIII deflected the coalition through a major concession on his part and masterful diplomacy. The concession was the Union of Lyons in 1274, according to which Byzantium recognized the primacy of the Roman Church. The papacy forced Charles of Anjou to abandon his plans for a time, but in 1281 pope Martin IV decided that Michael VIII had not really implemented the union and gave his full support to Charles of Anjou. The diplomacy of Michael VIII again prevented a Western expedition against Constantinople; he entered into negotiations with the king of Aragon and others, contributing significantly to the attack of Aragon on Sicily occasioned by the Sicilian vespers in 1282. Michael VIII's heir, Andronikos II (1282–1328), who repudiated the Union of Lyons, had to face yet another Western coalition in 1308–14, but good diplomacy and sheer luck saved the day. The matrimonial policy of the Palaiologan emperors also served the purpose of thwarting a possible Western attack on Constantinople. Andronikos II took as a second wife Irene/Yolanda of Montferrat, and his heir Andronikos III (1328–41) married Anne of Savoy.

The increasing involvement of the Byzantine empire in the West meant a more active Balkan policy vis-à-vis the despots of Epirus and Thessaly. It was, however, only in the first half of the 14th century that the emperors of Constantinople succeeded in subjugating the despotate of Epirus and the independent rulers of Thessaly. The city of Ioannina recognized Byzantine overlordship in 1318 and the rest of Epirus submitted in 1340. Thessaly was acquired piecemeal in 1333. In 1348, however, both Thessaly and Epirus fell into the hands of the Serbian emperor Stephan IV Dushan, and were never again fully reunited with Constantinople. In the Peloponnese the process of reconquest from the Latin principality of Achaea continued throughout the period; after 1349 the Byzantine

38. The Byzantine empire and its neighbours in 1350

possessions were organized as the despotate of the Morea, which became one of the most vital parts of the state.

The necessity for an active policy in the west led to neglect of the eastern boundaries of the empire that proved to have disastrous consequences in the long run. Michael VIII overtaxed the border soldiers (*akritai*) on the Byzantine–Turkish frontier and even withdrew troops from there for his western campaigns. The Turks themselves were in a condition of political and social turmoil after the collapse of the Seljuk sultanate of Rum under Mongol pressure. A powerful Turkish migratory thrust led to the collapse of the Turkish–Byzantine frontier in the late 13th century. The emperors in Constantinople became seriously involved with the problem too late and could do too little. Andronikos II made a number of efforts to remedy the situation: he personally campaigned in Asia Minor in 1282 and tried to mitigate the pro-Laskarid sympathies of the population of Asia Minor by visiting the blind John IV in his prison in 1290. The military successes of the able general Alexios Philanthropenos were shortlived and the rebellion that he led in 1295 ended his career. The Byzantine defeat at Bapheus, near Nicomedia, in 1302 by a Turkish force led by Osman brought the Ottomans to the fore for the first time. The Ottomans took Bursa in 1326, Nicaea in 1331, Nicomedia in 1337. Further to the south Ephesus, Miletus, and Sardis fell to

the Seljuk emirates in the first decade of the 14th century. In a misguided effort to halt the advance of the Turks, Andronikos II in 1303 hired the Grand Catalan Company, a group of undisciplined Spanish mercenaries who soon turned against their Byzantine masters, laying waste to Thrace, Mount Athos, and Thessaly, and eventually establishing the Catalan Duchy of Athens (1311–88) in place of the Frankish lords who had hitherto ruled Attica and Boeotia.

The territorial contraction of the empire and the decrease of its tax resources led to a feeling of restlessness among the powerful landed aristocracy. The Byzantine political elites became increasingly prone to support rival candidates for the imperial throne who promised high material rewards and tax exemptions to their followers. This competition for the diminishing resources of the state fuelled two major civil wars in the first half of the 14th century and exacerbated succession conflicts in the second half. The first civil war (1321–28) between the two Andronikoi, Andronikos II and his grandson Andronikos III, began when the former decided to disinherit the latter because of an amorous escapade that had led to the murder of his brother. Andronikos III was joined in his struggle against his grandfather by prominent aristocrats, such as the future emperor John Kantakouzenos, and succeeded in 1328 in ousting the old Andronikos. Andronikos III (1328–41) achieved the annexation of Thessaly and Epirus to the empire, and in 1333 joined an anti-Turkish alliance with Venice and the Latin lords of the Aegean. The promise of his short reign, however, remained unfulfilled after his death due to the onset of the second civil war (1341–48) which had even more disastrous consequences for the body politic than the first one. It was fought between the regency government of John V (1341–91), including his mother Anne of Savoy, the patriarch John XIV Kalekas, and the admiral of the fleet Alexios Apokaukos, on the one hand, and John VI Kantakouzenos (1347–54), on the other. Both parties in the conflict claimed to represent the rights of the young John V Palaiologos and, when John Kantakouzenos eventually entered Constantinople in triumph, he ruled in the name of the legitimate Palaiologan emperor.

The second civil war saw social conflicts on a scale unprecedented in Byzantine history. Before declaring himself co-emperor in the Thracian town of Didymoteichon, John VI Kantakouzenos had sent letters to prominent men in the cities, seeking their support; when his letter was read on 27 October 1341 in Adrianople, three men, one of whom was certainly a merchant, aroused the people of the city, who attacked the aristocrats and burned their houses. The civil war spread rapidly to the cities of Thrace and Macedonia. The most acute aspects of social conflict were visible in Thessalonica, where the opposition to Kantakouzenos was led by the Zealots, a group with radical social views that ruled the city from 1342 until 1349. Although the social alignments in this civil war are not always easily drawn, the main lines of division are clear. The merchants, perhaps the bankers, certainly the sailors, and in general the people whom contemporary authors call *mesoi*, i.e. the middle classes, supported the regency government. The landed aristocracy sided primarily with John VI Kantakouzenos, the winner of the civil war. Kantakouzenos was crowned co-emperor again in Constantinople in February 1347 and married his daughter Helen to John V Palaiologos. His victory was, however, bittersweet.

In his brief reign (1347–54) Kantakouzenos failed to stop the advance of the Serbians, his erstwhile allies during the civil war. By the middle of the 14th century the empire of Stephan IV Dushan (1331–55) stretched from the Danube to the gulf of Corinth, with only the city of Thessalonica remaining in Byzantine hands. In the second civil war and during his rule as a sole emperor, Kantakouzenos regularly used Turkish mercenaries, who thus became familiar with the rich resources offered by the Balkans. Kantakouzenos had employed first the emir of Aydin, Umur pasha, but subsequently concluded an alliance with the Ottoman house that was cemented by the marriage of his daughter Theodora to the Ottoman ruler Orhan (1326–62). In 1354 John V forced Kantakouzenos's abdication and assumed sole power over the greatly reduced territory of the empire consisting of Constantinople, Thrace, Thessalonica, parts of the Peloponnese, and Philadelphia and its immediate surroundings in Asia Minor. Both financially and politically the Byzantine empire was a ruined state.

The middle of the 14th century marks a break not only because of the territorial reduction of the Byzantine state, but also due to the rise in political influence and prestige of the Orthodox Church. Unlike the imperial office, the Church emerged unscathed and even strengthened from the period of the civil wars. The heightened prestige of the Orthodox Church enabled it not only to command the spiritual allegiance of the people, but also to fill the political vacuum left by the decline of the state's institutions. The Church had grown as a judicial institution since the reign of Andronikos II, who reformed the supreme court in 1296 to include ecclesiastical judges. In the second half of the 14th century the ecclesiastical courts grew in power and met much more regularly than the imperial ones. The rise of Church power in this period was, however, chiefly due to the revival of monasticism. The monasteries of Mount Athos had been detached from imperial control since November 1312, but it was the hesychast belief in the possibility of contemplating the divine light through rigorous asceticism that gave a new impetus to Orthodox monasticism. The monastic theology of hesychasm triumphed in two councils of Constantinople, the first in 1341 pronouncing the orthodoxy of the teachings of Gregory Palamas and condemning those of Barlaam and Gregory Akindynos, the second one in 1351 denouncing the opposition of Nikephoros Gregoras. Hesychast monks, such as Kallistos I (1350–54 and 1355–63), Philotheos Kokkinos (1354–55 and 1364–76), and Neilos (1380–88), captured the patriarchate during the second half of the 14th century and often influenced the will of emperors.

The middle of the 14th century marks also a new stage in the advance of the Turks. In 1354 the Ottomans acquired their first permanent foothold in Europe, the fortress of Tzympe in the Gallipoli peninsula. A fortunate accident allowed the Ottomans to capture the fortress of Gallipoli itself in 1356 after an earthquake had damaged its walls. From this time onwards, the Ottomans assumed control of the Dardanelles and crossed regularly into Europe. Philippopolis was conquered in 1363 and Adrianople *c.*1369. The most that John V could do was to seek closer ties with the West in the hope of a crusade. He journeyed to Hungary in 1366 and in 1369 to

Rome, where he declared his personal conversion to Catholicism. On his way home he was detained in Venice because of his debts and was forced to promise the cession of the island of Tenedos in the Sea of Marmara to the Venetians. The only result of John V's diplomatic efforts was the expedition of Amadeo of Savoy which restored Gallipoli to the Byzantines for ten years (1366–76).

The Ottoman advance, however, did not propel Byzantium into coalitions with other Balkan powers. In 1371 the brothers Vukasin and John Uglesa, rulers of Slavic principalities in Macedonia that emerged after the disintegration of Stephan Dushan's empire, were defeated by the Ottomans at the battle at Chernomen on the Maritza river. This Turkish victory opened up the Balkans for further Ottoman conquest. After the Battle of Maritza John V sought an accommodation with the Turks and became an Ottoman vassal obliged to join the sultan in his military campaigns. The desperate situation in the last years of John V's rule was further aggravated by the rebellions of his son Andronikos IV (1373, 1376–79) and his grandson John VII (1391). Thessalonica submitted to the Ottomans in 1387 and Thessaly in 1393. As an Ottoman vassal, the future emperor Manuel II (1391–1425) had to accompany Sultan Bayezid I "the Thunderbolt" (1389–1402) on campaigns in Anatolia and witnessed the conquest of Philadelphia, the last independent Byzantine city in Asia Minor. The Ottoman blockade of Constantinople began in 1394 and seemed to spell the imminent fall of the imperial capital.

Nevertheless, the life of Byzantium was prolonged almost miraculously for 50 more years. A Mongol army under the leadership of Timur invaded Asia Minor from the east and dealt a crushing blow to the Ottomans at the battle of Ankara on 28 July 1402, taking into captivity Sultan Bayezid himself. The civil war that broke out among Bayezid's four sons allowed Byzantium a much-needed breathing space. Manuel II Palaiologos, who had been in the west since 1399, returned immediately to Constantinople. An energetic ruler as well as author of numerous literary works, Manuel II negotiated the recovery of Thessalonica and supervised the reconstruction of the barrier walls across the isthmus of Corinth protecting the despotate of the Morea. In the first half of the 15th century the Morea became the most viable part of Byzantium and a centre of Hellenic revival exemplified in the ideas of the philosopher and political thinker George Gemistos Plethon (*c.*1360–1452). Its capital Mistra witnessed a remarkable cultural and artistic renaissance similar to the one that had occurred in Constantinople in the early 14th century. While the capital of the empire was slowly dying, the despots of the Morea managed to extend their boundaries. Manuel II's three sons, the despots Theodore, Constantine, and Thomas, succeeded in conquering the Latin principalities in the northern part of Peloponnese in 1430–32.

In the meantime, the Ottomans had renewed their expansionist policies. Constantinople was besieged in 1422 and the Byzantine empire became a vassal state of the Ottomans again in 1424. Thessalonica fell for a second and last time to the Turks in 1430. Manuel's son and heir John VIII (1425–48) again pursued a rapprochement with the West in order to ward off the Ottoman advance. He personally participated in the Council of Ferrara-Florence in 1438–39, where he signed the decree of union recognizing the primacy of the Roman Church. The Union of Ferrara-Florence, like the Union of Lyons a century and a half earlier, met with strong popular opposition. Moreover, the crusade of 1444 triggered by the union never reached Constantinople, but was crushed by the Turks at Varna. John VIII's brother Constantine XI Palaiologos (1449–1453), the last ruler of the Byzantine empire, accepted the Union of Ferrara-Florence in the hope of gaining military assistance from the West. He did not implement the union, however, until the eve of the Ottoman conquest, on 12 December 1452. Constantine XI Palaiologos fought bravely during the Ottoman siege of Constantinople and perished in the final battle on 29 May 1453. The despotate of the Morea survived the conquest of Constantinople by exactly seven years; Mistra fell to the Ottomans on 29 May 1460. Trebizond, the last outpost of independent Hellenism, submitted to the Turks in 1461.

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See also Byzantine Period (Late), Hesychasm, Mistra, Ottomans, Renaissance (Palaiologan), Serbs

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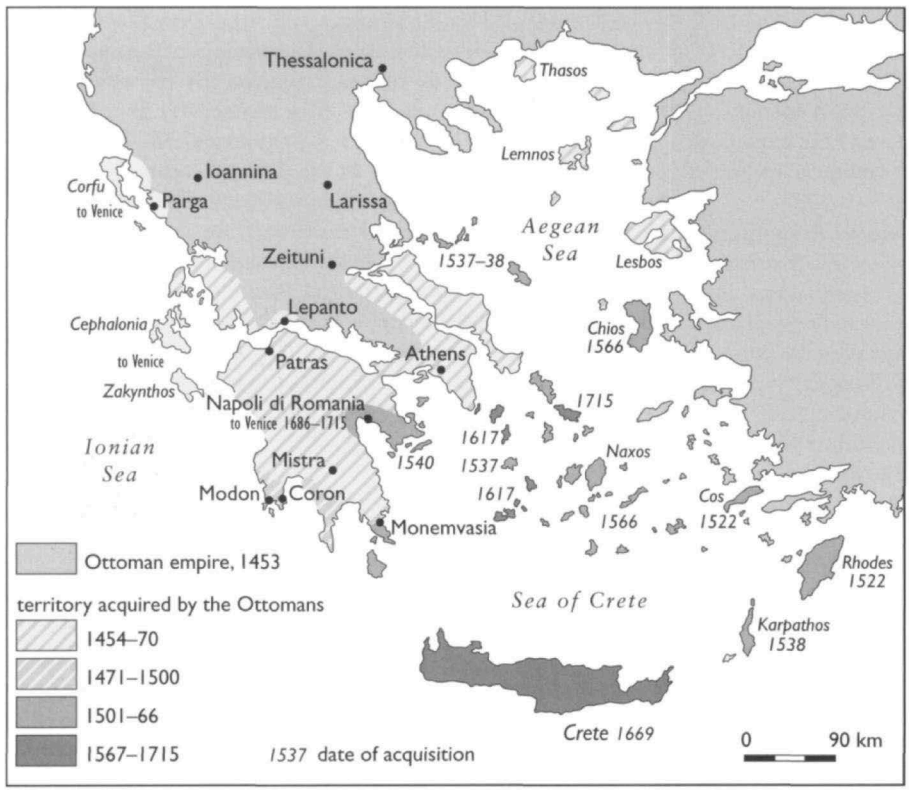
Political History 1453–1832

Those who seek the unbroken thread of the Hellenic tradition may find it at its most tenuous, and therefore vital, in the Ottoman period, when the Greeks had no political history. Even the conventional dates are unhelpful. True, in May 1453 the 21-year-old Sultan Mehmet II conquered Constantinople, when Constantine XI, last Byzantine emperor "of the Romaioi", died. True, in August 1832 the 16-year-old Bavarian prince Otto accepted the throne as king Otho of the "Hellenes" of Greece. But the dates are inconsequential and all the two Christian rulers had in common was that they acknowledged the ecclesiastical supremacy of Rome, while most of their Orthodox subjects did not. In fact most "Greek"



39. Greece under the Ottomans

Orthodox had been secular subjects of the Ottoman state for some decades before 1453 and were to remain so for some decades after 1832. But that did not make the Ottoman empire Byzantium with a turban either, despite their common lands and peoples. A surer link between the Byzantine and Ottoman empires was an attitude to empire. In a pre-nationalist world, neither existed for the convenience of its subjects. Each used an administration in Constantinople with the simplest aim of best exploiting its resources: to maintain or extend its empire by diplomacy, threat, or so far as a summer campaign could be supplied – which for the Ottomans stopped at Vienna in 1529 and 1683. In both the Byzantine and Ottoman empires the capital was the source of patronage. For example, Cyprus was for Byzantine administrators until 1191 and for Ottoman administrators from 1571 neither "Greek" nor "Turkish", but a medium-rank posting from the capital, like Bengal in the Indian Civil Service in the British empire.

Along with an administrative capital, Mehmet II (1451–81) also inherited religious and legal duties as a Muslim sultan, one of which was the recognition and protection of his *dhimmis*, or non-Muslim subjects. In 1454 Mehmet came to a settlement with his first chosen patriarch, Gennadios II Scholarios (three reigns between 1454 and 1465), who, unlike the last emperor, had rejected the union of the Roman and Orthodox Churches signed at Florence in 1439. The arrangement in effect defined a Greek as a religious subject of the patriarch who was responsible to the sultan, and in return for economic concessions gave the patriarchate extensive legal control of its flock. This settlement came only just in time to save the Greeks, for while those areas which the Turks had conquered since the 11th century had been largely Islamicized with the loss of the economic base of the Byzantine Church and state, the areas conquered after the settlement (e.g. much of the Balkans, the Morea in 1458, the Pontus in 1461, Cyprus in 1571, Crete by 1669) remained largely Christian. But for the momentous settlement of 1454, and subsequent ones between the Ottomans and the Armenian and Jewish communities, no contemporary documents survive. What is known only emerges in retrospective Greek tradition by 1520, and probably owes as much to wishful thinking of the benevolence of Mehmet II on the part of all parties (Ottoman included) as to its codification by the lawgiving sultan Suleyman I (1520–66), during whose reign the settlement largely worked its way through.

The tradition, and, until recently, modern historiography, is that Mehmet II and Gennadios created a *Millet-i Rum*, or semi-autonomous non-Muslim community, governed through the ecumenical patriarch. Neither sultan nor patriarch can really be described as Renaissance figures. Mehmet may have collected icons, employed Bellini, and discussed theology with Gennadios in Greek, but his "mightiest war", as he put it, was to make Constantinople a Muslim capital. Similarly, Gennadios may have been willing to compromise (he could do no other), but his writings are of conventional polemic impartially against Islam and Rome, and also demonstrate that the end of the world was to come in 1492 – a date then understandably postponed in popular Greek tradition to 1772. The mindset that sultan and patriarch shared was medieval. History is about practice rather than origins and all parties have found it convenient to let sleeping myths lie, for the *Millet-i Rum* worked that way in the end, and sounds logical, for Mehmet had the example of centuries of Islamic experience of dealing with non-Muslim minorities (and majorities) under the caliphate behind him.

However, the settlement was not preordained. Mehmet's first action on taking Constantinople was to execute his own prime minister, an almost hereditary post in the Anatolian Candaroğlu dynasty – henceforth his ministers were mostly converts who tried ever harder to please. His second action was not to turn to the patriarch (who in any case was in Rome) as his agent to deal with his Greek subjects, but to the last Byzantine prime minister, Luke Notaras, who famously preferred the turban of the sultan to the tiara of the pope. Notaras, however, was executed, and only then did the sultan seek out Gennadios as his patriarch and agent. Armenian and Hebrew traditions have it that he made similar arrangements to set up an Armenian patriarch of Constantinople in 1461, and a Jewish *haham* is claimed by 1492 – dates certainly too early, but such officers were in place by 1520. The point is that the Ottomans created Christian and Jewish institutions which had not hitherto existed, in order to keep their eye on a head of community in the capital. The very patriarchate of

Constantinople must be put in this category. In 1454 it was an Ottoman recreation on Ottoman terms. It is not known what Mehmet and Gennadios discussed, but they cannot have called it a *millet*, for the term was unknown to them. The conqueror and canonist may have been talking past each other, but in effect they seem to have made up a *Millet-i Rum* as they went along. The determinants were Constantinople and *Rum*. Constantinople makes the political history of the Greeks from 1453 to 1832 quite literally the history of the polis, or of the City; but while all Greeks, and by definition no Armenians, Jews, or Latins (who were without the law), were *Rum*, not all *Rum* were Greeks, for they included Slav, Arab, and other Orthodox subjects of the sultan and patriarch in Constantinople – to an extent that national risings after 1832 were as much against patriarchs as sultans, for the sees and churches of Jerusalem (1520), Antioch (1720), Peć (1760), and Ohrid (1767) fell in turn to the patronage of Constantinople. While the settlement of 1454 defined who a *Rum* was, it allowed a Greek-writing mandarin class to enter Orthodox service, whatever their origins – just as the Byzantine empire had done. But while terms such as "Hellene" only meant something on paper after 1832, Mehmet and Gennadios knew, without using it, what a "Greek" was in 1454, and the Greeks learned how to use the Ottoman patriarchate to establish a cultural control over other Orthodox subjects of the sultan.

Among the arts of the underdog, Ottoman patriarchs soon learnt how to use, if not raise, the *peşkeş*, or bribe of office, first voluntarily offered to the sultan by patriarch Symeon of Trebizond (three reigns between 1467 and 1486). The system percolated down to equivalent bribes offered for patriarchal patronage of his own sees and led to a spiralling of the cost of Constantinople, which did not produce many great shepherds in the revolving post, whose *peşkeş* their lay flock largely paid. Among the most impressive was Cyril I Lukaris (six reigns between 1612 and 1638) whose great rival was Cyril II Contari (three reigns between 1633 and 1639). If the Church was for auction, rival Western commercial and political interests found it a way into the Ottoman system. Cyril Lukaris, the so-called "Protestant Patriarch", was sponsored by Protestant, and Cyril Contari by Catholic, powers, who encompassed Lukaris's murder in 1638, of which Archbishop William Laud of Canterbury was concerned for further details before he was in turn executed in 1645.

Greeks outside Constantinople found opportunities within the Venetian empire, in Cyprus until 1551, Crete until 1669, the brief Venetian reconquest of the Morea thereafter, and in the Ionian islands until 1797, contributing, like El Greco (Domenikos Theotokopoulos), to a European culture which knew the Renaissance, Reformation, and Counter-Reformation. But this entry concerns their political history in Constantinople, not just the polis but the patriarchal quarter in the Phanar on the Golden Horn, where Phanariots entered the Ottoman civil as well as patriarchal service, as Grand Dragomans from 1661 and as rulers of the Danubian tributary provinces of Moldavia (from 1709) and Wallachia (from 1714) on the same, if more elaborate, terms that the patriarchate could obtain. All such slave princes endowed the Orthodox Church at the expense of their Romanian subjects, and some caught and promoted the Enlightenment too. But in Constantinople both Phanar and Church, Porte and *ulema* (the body of religious scholars) were at one, not with the *Revolutionary Proclamation* of Rigas Velestinlis (1797), but with the *Paternal Exhortation* under the name of the patriarch Anthimos of Jerusalem (1798): "When the last emperors of Constantinople began to subject the Eastern Church to papal thraldom, the particular favour of heaven raised up the Ottoman empire to protect the Greeks against heresy, to be a barrier against the political power of the Western nations, and to be a champion of the Orthodox Church."

If there had been any Greek readers of both Rigas and Anthimos, they would have been found among such burgeoning Greek commercial centres as Marseilles, Odessa, Bucharest, and Smyrna (where at nearby Kydonia (Ayvali) there was indeed a rising). But in 1821 the revolution began with the crossing of the river Pruth from Russia to modern Romania by Prince Alexander Ypsilantis to restore a "Great Idea" of Byzantium. The Romanians would not have it. On 25 March 1821 the metropolitan of Patras raised another banner in the Morea, where factors were quite different. It looked as if the southern Balkans were to fall apart under local warlords, such as Ali Pasha of Ioannina (1741–1822). Patriarch Gregory V (three reigns between 1797 and 1821) could only condemn the rising in the Morea and sultan Mahmud II (1808–39) could only hang his patriarch from his gate in the Phanar on Easter Sunday, 15 April 1821. In 1827 the untoward Battle of Navarino led to the independence of Greece, and in fact of Egypt, then unwanted by all parties. Politically, the upstart new state of king Otho was excommunicated by Constantinople until 1850, by when whatever understandings had been made between sultan and patriarch in 1454 entered a final phase. Patriarch Gregory V was canonized as a saint in Athens in 1921, but patriarchs Gennadios Scholarios and Cyril Lukaris await similar recognition.

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See also Ottoman Period, Patriarchate of Constantinople, Phanariots, Renaissance (Veneto-Cretan), Rumeli, Independence (War of)

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Political History since 1832

Greek political history since 1832 has indeed been turbulent. During these 170-odd years Greece has had six constitutions, the form of the regime changing from authoritarian regency and monarchy (1832–44), to constitutional monarchy (from 1844), to republic (1924–35), back to monarchy (1935–74), and again to republic (from 1974). The country's political history is further studded with around half a dozen successful or attempted coups, military or with military involvement (1909, 1922, 1923, 1925, 1933, 1935), two periods of dictatorship totalling a little over 11 years (1936–41, 1967–74), a long and destructive civil war (1946–49), and other periods of anomalous or irregular democracy. Yet, despite these events, Greek political history shows that the democratic system adopted by the country during the 19th century has enjoyed great legitimacy and popular support and has exhibited considerable resilience. Of course, this does not make Greece into an exemplary democratic state: repression, vote-rigging, even intimidation of opponents have at times been features of Greek political life, even up to the 1960s. This is explainable if it is taken into account that the system of government imported into Greece in the 19th century had to coexist with a much older and deeply embedded system where patronage and clientelism were the norm; and at the same time it was subject to "royal intrusions". The nature of Greek society (traditional and pre-industrial in the 19th century) and the lack of a staged evolution of democracy, along with the inevitable (regional and world) wars, economic crises, and internal upheavals, were to create tensions that manifested themselves as regime instability and turbulence in Greek political history.

The Treaty of London (1832) established an independent and "monarchical" Greek state whose crown was given to Otho, second son of king Ludwig of Bavaria. A three-man Bavarian regency ruled Greece until 1835 (when Otho came of age) in a highly authoritarian manner, showing little respect for Greek tradition and customs. Their rule (not least their handling of religious issues) caused resentment both among the common people and to the political and military elites, which considered themselves entitled to a share of power. A further problem was the constitutional question. A constitution had been promised by the Protecting Powers, and confirmed again in 1832; yet both the regents and Otho, despite domestic and external pressure, refused to grant it. However, on 3 September 1843 a popular uprising forced Otho to grant a constitution. The 1844 constitution established Greece as a democracy. Constitutional government did not significantly improve Otho's popularity; nor did it at first significantly alter the rules of the political game: elections in 19th-century Greece were often conducted in an atmosphere of irregularity and even violence, and Otho continued to intervene in politics.

Otho was deposed in 1862, by an uprising in the capital. His fall was the result of popular discontent with both his foreign policy and his domestic governance. He left Greece in October 1862. Otho's deposition was followed by a period of anarchy, while the Protecting Powers were looking for a suitable replacement. Prince Christian George of Denmark accepted the throne and in 1863 became George I, king of the Hellenes. Greek politics remained unstable: between 1864 and 1910 there were 42 general elections and 140 governments; Charilaos Trikoupis became prime minister seven times between 1875 and 1895. Between 1863 and 1909 Greece suffered a bankruptcy (1883) and a disastrous war with Turkey (1897), but also acquired the Ionian islands (1864) and Thessaly (1881). The Great Idea remained the main theme of Greek politics, but was now joined by the need for modernization. This period is characterized by an expansion of democracy, though the king retained considerable powers that provided the means for royal interventions. An important political development was the consolidation and regularization of democracy and its institutions. For a sizeable part of his reign a bipolar party system operated, with a stable if frequent alternation of the major parties in power. Another major development was the adoption of the principle of *dedilomeni*, a stipulation that the king has to invite the leader of the party with a majority in Parliament to form a government.

The year 1909 marks the first significant military intervention in politics. Pressure for modernization at home, exasperation at royal patronage, and fear of the effects of the Young Turk revolution in the Ottoman empire had been building up. In the summer of 1909 officers belonging to the Military League staged a pronunciamento. The army's demands and grievances were expressed in very moderate terms; surprisingly, the people quickly and openly embraced them, and the government and king equally quickly surrendered to the coup. Lacking the experience to govern, the Military League invited the Cretan politician Eleftherios Venizelos to assume the government of Greece (January 1910). Venizelos presided over a period of intense preparation for the conflict with the Ottoman empire that everybody expected. Venizelos's party, the Liberals, was dominant in parliament in all electoral contests between 1910 and December 1915. The successful conduct of the Balkan Wars was as much the result of careful preparation as of cooperation between Venizelos and George I. The assassination of the latter and the succession of Constantine were to end this. Constantine's intervention in politics in 1915 led to the painful period of the national schism. Venizelos and the king became two mutually exclusive poles. The nation and the country were deeply divided, and even a physical division took place when Venizelos formed the provisional government. The division of the country (but not the people) ended in 1917, when Constantine was deposed by Entente forces. He appointed his second son, Alexander, to succeed him.

Upheaval continued during the period 1917–36. Greece participated in World War I, and gained considerable territories in Thrace and Asia Minor, bringing closer the realization of the Great Idea. However, the country was still deeply divided between royalists and Venizelists; after Constantine's departure in 1917 Venizelos had recalled the parliament elected in June 1915. The death of king Alexander (October 1920) caused a political and constitutional crisis; Venizelos's fateful decision to find a solution by elections led to his defeat in November 1920. The victorious Populist Party quickly organized a referendum for the return of Constantine (December 1920), where the Liberals abstained. Constantine returned to Greece the same month. Purges of Venizelos's supporters now took place.

The Populists were to preside unwillingly over the territorial liquidation of the Great Idea. While the Gounaris govern-

40. Development of the Greek state, 1832–1947

ment decided to continue the war against Mustafa Kemal's nationalists in Asia Minor (begun in 1919), war fatigue, the withdrawal of financial support by the Entente, and Italian and French hostility led to the collapse of the front in Asia Minor and the 1922 disaster, with over a million destitute refugees arriving in Greece.

The defeat and the subsequent exchange of populations further radicalized Greece. In September 1922 the army revolted in Chios under the leadership of colonel Nikolaos Plastiras and marched on Athens; the government collapsed. A revolutionary committee, formed by a group of officers, assumed power. King Constantine abdicated and left Greece; crown prince George briefy became king. Six politicians (among them Dimitrios Gounaris, the former prime minister) and a general were accused of high treason, tried by a revolutionary court martial, sentenced to death, and executed in November 1922. The revolutionary committee defeated a royalist coup, following which George II had to leave Greece "on leave" (December 1923). The same month elections (from which the Populists abstained) produced a Liberal-dominated parliament, with a strong republican minority that pressed for the abolition of the monarchy. In January 1924 the revolutionary committee handed power back to civilians and dissolved itself. Government instability as well as popular anti-monarchist feeling (the monarchy had been associated with the Asia Minor debacle) allowed the republican minority to advance its aims: Greece was made a republic on 25 March 1924, an act retrospectively confirmed by a referendum three weeks later. Two-thirds of the electorate voted in favour of the republic; however, the royalist parties (as well as George II) refused to accept the regime change.

Instability continued under the republic. In June 1925 general Theodoros Pangalos overthrew the government and concentrated power in his own hands. He was himself overthrown by general Georgios Kondylis in August 1926. An all-party government was formed in November 1926 and surprisingly survived in different forms until the summer of 1928. However, the return of Venizelos to Greece in March 1928 hastened its fall. Venizelos resumed the leadership of the Liberal Party, and in July 1928 was invited to form a government. He won the elections held in the same month and those of September 1932 and January 1933. Venizelos governed Greece until March 1933. Another period of instability followed, laced with two abortive republican coups (March 1933 and March 1935). Venizelos, declared the nominal head of the second coup, had to leave Greece for France, where he died a year later.

Liberal and republican abstention in the elections of June 1935 produced a parliament monopolized by the royalists. Panayis Tsaldaris, the leader of the Populist Party, formed a government, but a putsch replaced him by Kondylis (October 1935), who hastily organized a referendum for the return to monarchy. The referendum of November 1935 was clearly rigged: 97 per cent of the votes were in favour of the monarchy and there were many reports of irregularities. Nevertheless, George II returned to Greece the same month. The January 1936 elections produced a hung parliament, with the balance held by the 15 communist deputies. The Communist Party of Greece (KKE) had been making limited progress since it was founded in January 1918; now it assumed centre stage. Workers' unrest in May 1936 and a general strike announced for 5 August 1936, both endorsed by the KKE, provided Ioannis Metaxas with the pretext for establishing a dictatorship.

Metaxas, leader of a marginal political party, had been appointed caretaker prime minister in April 1936, while negotiations for the formation of a coalition government were taking place. Metaxas's appointment had been aided by the death (by natural causes) of several major politicians (Kondylis, Demetzis, Venizelos, and Tsaldaris all died between January and May 1936) and also by the army's confidence in him. With considerable naivety the parliament had allowed him to rule by decree, initially for five months. On 4 August 1936, using as pretext the "communist danger", Metaxas with the consent of the king dissolved parliament, suspended the constitution, and declared martial law.

The "Regime of 4 August" which Metaxas founded proved quite durable. It remained in power until his death (January 1941) and even afterwards its rule was only relaxed. It was

characterized by political repression all round, with communists singled out for particularly harsh treatment.

The mainstream political parties remained in suspended animation throughout the 1936–44 period; the Metaxas dictatorship and the war and Axis occupation that followed did not allow for traditional political activity. The one exception was the KKE which, through its role in the resistance, emerged as a major player in the political game.

In 1944, after a series of crises in the Greek government-in-exile, an agreement (brokered by the British) was reached, creating a coalition government with communist participation, under George Papandreou. The coalition broke up in December 1944, during what is often seen as the half-hearted communist attempt to seize power. A series of weak and short-lived governments followed.

The single most serious political issue that dominated Greek politics during the Axis occupation was the future of the monarchy. Until 1944 George II had refused to accept a referendum as the means to decide the issue; nevertheless, the referendum was held in September 1946, after the national elections in March 1946 (where the KKE had abstained) had given a clear majority to the Populist Party. The referendum, held in a climate of disorder, resulted in the restoration of the monarchy. George II returned to a country sliding quickly into a bloody civil war that lasted until August 1949.

The post-1945 political scene briefly saw the resurrection of the pre-1936 Liberal/Populist division. The Civil War was fought by a series of governments formed by either or both groups. However, it was becoming clear that the division was weakening. New political forces were emerging: in the 1951 elections a new party, the National Rally (*Ethnikos Synagermos*) under marshal Alexandros Papagos displaced the Liberals and Populists as the largest single party in parliament; another new party that contested the elections was the United Democratic Left (*Enomeni Dimokratiki Aristera*), which was to act as an umbrella for communists and leftists until 1974. The election of 1952 ushered in a decade of rule by the Right. The National Rally ruled until Papagos's death in 1956 and was succeeded by Constantine Karamanlis whose Greek Radical Union (ERE) used National Rally cadres and support. Liberalization, begun under Papagos, continued alongside economic development and reconstruction. The political system came close to a breakdown in 1959, when EDA surprisingly became the largest opposition party in parliament. Though on that occasion the crisis was defused, the army and the Right were seriously alarmed. However, the catalyst that probably deepened the crisis was the victory of George Papandreou's Centre Union in the elections of 1963 and 1964. The army as well as the palace had been alarmed by the prospect of loss of power by the Right; the army felt that anti-communism (almost an institutional ideology after the Civil War) was being questioned by Papandreou. Furthermore, the palace considered the armed forces its exclusive domain and felt threatened by the attempts of the elected government to control them. The protracted government crises of 1965–67 were as much an attempt by the palace to influence politics as the result of multiple fragmentation of the Greek political parties.

The army seized its chance on 21 April 1967, when a group of officers staged a coup. Though the king was probably not informed of the coup, he cooperated with the new regime, swearing in a new puppet government. In December 1967 the king organized his own (abortive) coup. Its failure forced him to leave Greece and allowed the Colonels (after a period of regency lasting until 1973) to proclaim Greece a "presidential parliamentary republic".

The Colonels' regime ruled Greece repressively until July 1974, when the Cyprus debacle forced them to hand power to a civilian government. Karamanlis returned from France to a hero's welcome. He formed a centre-right coalition, presiding over a highly successful transition to democracy. Among his first actions was to legalize the KKE (illegal since 1947). Elections were called for November 1974 (the first in ten years) and were won overwhelmingly by Karamanlis's New Democracy. A plebiscite to decide on the regime issue in December 1974 resulted in favour of abolishing the monarchy. Throughout the 1974–81 period modernization of both society and politics continued apace; a major achievemat of Karamanlis was the entry of Greece to the European Economic Community in January 1981.

The elections of November 1974 and November 1977 were won by New Democracy. However, it became obvious that the Greek political scene was changing rapidly. PASOK, a new party led by Andreas, the son of George Papandreou, contested both elections on a radical leftwing platform, with strong anti-Western overtones. PASOK enjoyed a meteoric rise, becoming the main opposition party in 1977 and coming to power in a landslide victory in 1981. This was the first time a left-of-centre party had come to power since 1944. PASOK rule lasted until 1989. Beginning quite radically, it settled down and by 1986 anti-Westernism had been largely abandoned. PASOK rule quickened the pace of reconciliation and the ending of the Civil War divide, not least by recognizing all national resistance movements. PASOK's main failings were the introduction of rampant populism and reckless economic policies.

A political crisis erupted in 1985 over the election of the president of the republic. Karamanlis had moved to the presidency in May 1980, but resigned in May 1985 when in a surprise move PASOK announced it would not support his re-election. However, despite fears, both the political system and the ruling party proved durable. PASOK's downfall was the result of serious economic problems and corruption scandals involving top-level members of the government. Elections in June 1989 and Novernber 1989 resulted in hung parliaments and produced first a coalition government of the conservative New Democracy and the far-left Alliance of the Left, and then an "ecumenical" grand coalition governmment. New Democracy won the elections of April 1990 and formed a government with a very slim majority; surprisingly it lasted over three years.

In the summer of 1993 Antonis Samaras, a former foreign minister, broke away and formed his own party. The government fell in September. The elections of October 1996 were the last victory for PASOK leader Papandreou. He fell seriously ill in the following month and resigned the premiership in January 1997. He was succeeded as both leader of PASOK and prime minister by Costas Simitis.

GEORGE KAZAMIAS

See also Asia Minor Campaign, Balkan Wars, Civil War, Constitution, European Community, Graeco–Turkish War, Great Idea, Junta, Modern Period, Monarchy, Refugees, Republic, World War I, World War II

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Politis, Nikolaos 1852–1921

Anthropologist

Nikolaos Politis is considered the founder of folklore studies in Greece. He founded the Laographiki Etaireia (Folklore Society) in 1905 when the first volume of the journal *Laographia* was also published, in which Politis published an article setting down the epistemic and disciplinary parameters of folklore and delineating the basic operating principles of the discipline.

Politis's life spans the time of the solidification of the modern Greek state, a time during which the basic foundations for the state apparatus and national institutions were laid, alongside the institutional establishment and development of the arts. It was also the period when the most violent and heated debates over the Hellenic character of the modern Greeks were taking place, initially in western Europe and subsequently in Greece itself. These debates, which though resolutely rooted in the development of Enlightenment thought, were precipitated by the political changes and ethnic uprisings that were taking place in the Balkans in the 19th century. The developments in Greece, in particular, were met with a combination of suspicion and philhellenism. Suspicion, because there were many Europeans, ranging from politicians to intellectuals, who believed that modern Greece had no reason to exist because it lacked an organic connection with ancient Greece. Of these intellectuals, Jakob Philipp Fallmerayer was not the only one, although his theory (espoused in his *Geschichte der Halbinsel Morea*, 1830) was the one most vehemently refuted. Philhellenism, because there were just as many European politicians and intellectuals who believed that Greece had an absolute reason for existence despite the fact that it did not have an organic connection with ancient Greece. In either case the end result was the same, namely that ancient and modern Greece comprised two different civilizations, two different nations, two different languages, two unconnected (and not simply disconnected) entities. The debate was not simply academic, as it touched upon issues of the sovereignty of the modern Greek nation state, the political existence of which was debated and seriously threatened.

In this climate modern Greece had to prove that its civilization was indeed a continuation of the ancient one. Initially, the Greek state comprised only a small part of what is Greece today and every expansion and addition was achieved with war, after which the acquired portion had to prove that it belonged culturally and racially with the rest of Greece. This was a problem faced by all newly established nation states, that of Germany included. Germany became important in this framework for three reasons: first because that was the starting point of Fallmerayer; secondly because the most complete and crystallized articulation of folklore came from Germany, through the studies of Herder, Schmidt, Waschmuth, and the Grimm brothers; and finally because Politis studied in Germany, under Bernhard Schmidt, from whom he borrowed the methodology, while he turned to the British, especially Sir James Frazer and Edward Tylor, for the development of his own theory of folklore. Frazer's comparative theory, based on Darwinian evolutionism, and Tylor's theory of cultural survivalism provided the cornerstones of Politis's theory of folklore.

While Politis concerned himself with Fallmerayer's theory, which maintained that modern Greeks were not Greek at all but rather a blend of Slavs and Albanians, it would be a mistake to see Politis's efforts and contributions as exhausting themselves in a battle against Fallmerayer. This was a battle fought by his Greek colleagues in folklore research, primarily Spyridon Zambelios, Emmanouil Vyvilakes, Michail Lelekos, and many more, along with a large number of European and American philhellenes, such as Claude Fauriel, Lord Byron, Grindley Howe, and Edgar Quinet. What Politis effectively managed to do, with regard to Fallmerayer's theory, was to elevate the discussion and the debate from a purely national and political level to one of epistemology. Politis was engaged in a discussion with his European colleagues. It was through the example of Fallmerayer that Politis tried to advance the folklore studies and research already undertaken by the early (and untrained) Greek folklorists. Politis managed to place Greek folklore within the disciplinary framework that had

been established by the European folklorists. Nineteenth-century folklore tried to establish first the universality of the human psyche and secondly the theory that all civilizations operate within an evolutionary scale of their own which allows them to keep their cultural cohesion through the survivals (*epiviomata* was Politis's translation of the term proposed by Tylor) of behaviours and beliefs which, while belonging to earlier times, have divested themselves of their original meanings and have survived as cultural gestures. This process Politis understood as the one that leads to the attainment of truth and reason. He understood the comparative method as the key that would open the dialogue between the previous (barbaric) and later (civilized) points in the process of human civilization.

Prior to Politis's theories, the constructions of the cultural and racial continuities of the Greek nation had been situated within its diachronic linguistic cohesion. Politis, however, who was an erudite and scientifically informed researcher, knew only too well that there was more than one language spoken within the Greek state. He also knew, equally well, that the German romantic theories that viewed national and ethnic cohesion through the framework of linguistic homogeneity had already been tested and disproved in Greece, where many of the various ethnic groups that comprised the Greek nation were at least bilingual. For instance, the Arvanites spoke both Greek and Arvanitika, the Sarakatsans Greek and Romany, the Greeks in Asia Minor and the rest of the Ottoman empire spoke Greek and Turkish, without any dispute or uncertainty as to their Greekness. Politis turned elsewhere for his constructions of the continuities of the Greek nation. He turned to the idea of a common descent of the Greeks, which could be researched and proved through their character, the continuity of which could be shown through a comparison of modern folk models of behaviour with the corresponding ancient ones. In this manner Politis coordinated the orientation of Greek folklore theory with the German and British theories while attributing to it the archaeological texture that still circumscribes folklore as a discipline.

By establishing folklore as a discipline Politis set its epistemological parameters, so that some sort of order would be placed over the practice of folklore, thus guiding future research while delimiting the unscientific and highly individualistic nature of its the practice until then, which had resulted in research of dubious quality and relevance. Politis set out to teach folklorists in Greece what constituted their research object and the principles of classification and recording. The definition of folklore, as suggested by Politis in 1909, occurred in a political climate decidedly different from the one that had marked the beginnings of the discipline in the mid-19th century. The year 1909 was politically marked by Charilaos Trikoupis and his Liberal Party, of which Politis was a member. Ideologically this period was framed not by the archaeolatry which had marked the previous century but by a move forwards, towards the restitution of the state. This promising Greek reality was considered to be the achievement of the people, not of the scholars, and was appropriated by the rising middle classes. By this time the orientation had turned towards folk tradition, and the language of that tradition was the vernacular, the Demotic. The Greek countryside became the point of reference of the intellectuals and the scholars, and the demoticist movement found fervent supporters among the members of the philological circle established by Politis, despite the fact that he was not a demoticist himself. Besides the project of introducing demotic to the curriculum of primary and secondary schools, Politis was very much interested in modern Greek history, especially the period from the revolution of 1821 onwards. As a result of the combination of these interests came the establishment of the Historical and Ethnological Society of Greece which tried to combine historical and folklore research.

These were the official gestures of Politis. Unofficially he coordinated the first attempts at the creation of a demoticist literature in Greece. The poet Georgios Drosinis mentioned in a letter that he sent to Stilpon Kyriakidis that Politis had returned from Germany exhorting Greek intellectuals to apply themselves to a type of art that would be Greek in all of its expressions. With that in mind they established weekly Saturday evening meetings at a German beer tavern where, besides those who belonged to the circle of Hestia, many more came, among them Georgios Vizyinos, Antonis Meliarakis, Dimitrios Kambouroglous, Aristotelis Kourtidis, the gymnast Ioannes Phokianos, and the painter Nikephoros Lytras, among others. From that circle, which also included sculptors and architects, developed the Historical and Ethnological Society. Drosinis also mentioned that Politis encouraged him to write the *Agrotikes Epistoles* (Peasant Letters) and the *Eidyllia* (Idylls) and to make systematic use of his own *Paradoseis tou Ellinikou Laou* (Traditions of the Greek People).

Politis introduced and systematized the scientific approach to the study of Greek culture; he established or edited important journals which provided a forum for scholars and intellectuals of his day to publish their theories and research; and he legitimized the demotic as the medium of communication between the intellectuals and the people.

NENI PANOURGIÁ

See also Folklore, Identity, Language

Biography

Born in Kalamata in 1852, Politis while still a student wrote a study of the manners and customs of the Greek people, comparing the modern with the ancient, entitled *Modern Greek Mythology* (1869). He devoted his life to the establishment of folklore as a discipline. He published collections of *Proverbs* and *Traditions* and a *Selection from the Songs of the Greek People* and edited the journal *Laographia*. He died in Athens in 1921.

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Pollution

Pollution is related to the intensive exploitation of natural resources and raw materials to meet the needs mainly of industry, agriculture, and transport. It has occurred on a scale large

enough to cause serious environmental damage only following the industrial and technological revolutions of the 19th century and has today become a matter of major global concern. Incidents of pollution in earlier historical periods are scarce. A rare occurrence was the pollution caused by residues of silver, lead, and iron from the mine of Laurium in southern Attica, which were exploited from the 6th to the 1st century BC, the residues significantly affecting the biodiversity of the locality. Philosophical ideas on nature, resources, and the economic activity of man were, however, fundamental to ancient Greek thought and infiltrated everyday activities. In contrast to the anthropocentric principles of Judaism and Christianity, the gods of ancient Greek mythology were part of nature, bestowing a sacred aspect on its protection. The unity of nature was a paradigm for social behaviour, and moderation, the ruling standard in the ancient Greek world, influenced Greeks' attitude towards the environment as well as to every human pursuit. The irreversibility route of natural processes was emphasized by Heraclitus, and both Xenophon and Aristotle related economic activity and productivity to conservation of natural resources, and conceived of the ethical risk pertinent to overproduction. Such views were reflected in social organization; special rules applied to the cheese and leather industry, to the protection of vegetation from overgrazing by goats, and to the conservation and treatment of water. In Byzantium, although human activities and ideas did not revolve around ancient concepts of moderation and the unity of nature, water was also protected and treated with care, for its connection with hygiene was understood.

Industrial development and the intensification of agricultural production reached modern Greece later than other European countries, and never reached a comparable scale. As a result the effects of pollution are localized and often largely reversible. Variation in topography and climatic conditions and the geographical position of Greece in the Mediterranean basin have led to the development of a multitude of small habitats that are sensitive to pollution. They are extremely important for biodiversity and the protection of rare species, particularly birds and wild flowers. It is estimated that there are between 5000 and 6000 different species of vascular plants in Greece, of which 730 are endemic and more than 100 threatened by extinction. Bird species exceed 400, of which one in four is threatened. Both Greek and EU legal frameworks and guidelines for environmental protection are satisfactory, but implementation, coordination, and monitoring are poor. Adequate protection and monitoring are, however, achieved in 11 natural water reserves that fall under the umbrella of the international Ramsar convention, and the protection of ten forest habitats is assured by their status as national reserves.

Pollution of seawater is a major concern in Greece. The Greek coastline stretches for 16,000 km; it is not only the longest in the EU but one of the longest national coastlines in the world. Some 40 per cent of agricultural activity, 70 per cent of industrial activity, and 90 per cent of tourism are based on the coastal areas, resulting in a conflict of interests and making environmental protection hard to implement. However, seawater quality is generally good and less than 3 per cent of the waters fail to meet bathing quality standards. The greatest cause of organic pollution in coastal waters is the disposal of urban wastewater. Industrial heavy-metal pollution is localized, but data are lacking on local occurrence and levels of various xenobiotics (non-natural synthetic pollutants). Large areas of the Saronic and Thermaic gulfs are heavily polluted by both urban and industrial activities in Athens and Thessalonica respectively. Oil transport through the Aegean and the Ionian seas reaches 100,000,000 tonnes per year of which 10,000–60,000 tonnes are estimated to be disposed of in the sea either by tank cleaning or by naval accidents. This makes the Aegean Sea, together with the northern Adriatic and the Ligurian Sea, one of the three areas most heavily polluted by hydrocarbons in the Mediterranean. Although this does not usually affect coastal areas, the gulf of Pylos in the southern Peloponnese suffered two serious oil transport accidents in the 1980s. A special water-pollution problem for Greece derives from the disposal of olive-mill wastewaters during winter. This occurs particularly in olive-oil-producing areas such as the Peloponnese and the islands of Lesbos and Crete. Although non-toxic in the long term, olive-mill wastewaters may induce eutrophication (an excess of organic substrate overstimulating plant growth and in turn leading to anoxic conditions and death of organisms) in both seawaters and freshwaters.

Use of fertilizers in agriculture has tripled since 1950 but is still lower than in other EU countries. However, occasional occurrences of seawater eutrophication have been attributed to phosphate and nitrate fertilizers; rivers used for farm irrigation, like the Peneus in the plain of Thessaly, have been heavily polluted. The permeability of chalk rock, which is abundant in Greek subsoils and allows for solute leaching, contributes largely to such conditions, so that strict guidelines are needed to protect water from fertilizer and pesticide pollution.

Waste production per capita is among the smallest in the EU, but disposal is poorly organized and planned since only one in three designated disposal areas operates under full official licence. Waste increases dramatically in environmentally sensitive regions preferred by holidaymakers during the summer months; not only is it unsightly but rapid waste decomposition under high temperatures is often also a fire risk and threat to hygiene.

Energy consumption is directly related to pollution, particularly air pollution. Energy consumption per capita in Greece is less than 50 per cent of the mean consumption in the EU, and Greece contributes only by 0.3 per cent to the universal carbon dioxide production responsible for the greenhouse effect. However, energy consumption for transport is rising fast. Air pollution as a result of energy consumption is serious in Athens and its suburbs, where about half the population of Greece lives. The fact that the city is surrounded by mountains, except for the Saronic gulf outlet to the south, prevents the rapid dispersal of air pollutants, which are produced mainly by motor cars (60–70 per cent of smoke, nitrogen oxides, and hydrocarbons, and nearly 100 per cent of carbon monoxide). Measures to reduce traffic jams and improve petrol quality during the 1980s and 1990s have not been particularly successful and under certain weather conditions air pollution levels exceed safety limits. Acid rain, directly related to air pollution in Athens, has affected the marbles of the Acropolis, causing irreversible chemical calcination of their external surfaces. Most of the original pieces, however, have already been transferred to the Acropolis museum, their presence on the Acropolis being replaced by replicas.

Public opinion is very sensitive to the issue of radiation pollution in Greece and, since most regions of the country are vulnerable to earthquakes, no nuclear power plant operates (other than for purely scientific purposes). Technologically outdated nuclear power stations still operate, however, in Bulgaria near the northern Greek border, raising fears of a nuclear accident.

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Polybius *c.*200–*c.*118 BC

Historian

Polybius is an invaluable contemporary witness of the rise of Rome in the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC. Where so much is now lost, Polybius' history, at least in part, survives. He was a member of a prominent Megalopolitan family; his father Lycortas held the chief magistracy (*strategia*) of the Achaean League and was a strong advocate of Achaean autonomy in the face of the growing power of Rome. Polybius' own political career was terminated by the Roman victory over Macedon in 168 BC; he was among 1000 Achaeans deported to Italy, not to be released until 150 BC. In Rome he formed a friendship with P. Scipio Aemilianus, which was to bring him into closer contact with the workings of the Roman state and later enabled him to accompany Scipio abroad, for instance on campaign to Carthage.

During this period of enforced leisure in Rome he began his history, an ambitious work in 40 books that took the whole Mediterranean as its subject. After two introductory books the history proper begins with the 140th Olympiad (220–216 BC), the date at which Polybius believed the history of Italy and Libya merged with that of Greece and Asia (1. 3). He was concerned to explain to his fellow Greeks "how and by what sort of government in less than 53 years the Romans came to conquer and rule almost the whole inhabited world" (1. 1. 5, cf. 1. 3. 7–10 for Greek readership). The 53 years ended with the demise of the Macedonian kingdom in 168/67 BC. At some point, however, perhaps after reflecting on the Roman destruction of Carthage and Corinth, he decided to extend his history so that it covered not only Rome's acquisition of power (books 3–29) but also the years that followed, up to 145/44 BC (books 30–39). His purpose was to provide the information that would allow the reader to pass judgement on Roman rule; thus contemporaries could determine whether it should be avoided or welcomed and future generations whether it should be praised or condemned (3. 4). Polybius' own attitude to Rome has been variously interpreted, pro-Roman, anti-Roman, cynical, embittered, impressed; it is perhaps safest to say that he was ambivalent.

The first five books are complete, but the rest exist only in fragments, some quite substantial (in particular the remains of book 6). These are largely the work of Byzantine excerptors, although numerous citations can also be found in Strabo, Athenaeus, and Plutarch, a sign of Polybius' importance for later writers. The "Excerpta Antiqua", which date from no later than the 10th century AD, offer an abridgement of books 1–18, though without book 17. The remaining excerpts survive due to the thematic collections compiled under Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos and reflect the interests of 10th-century Byzantium. They fall under the following headings: *de legationibus* (on embassies), *de sententiis* (on sayings), *de virtutibus et vitiis* (on virtues and vices), *de insidiis* (on plots or ambushes), and *de strategematis* (on military stratagems). Some idea of what is missing can often be obtained from the Roman historian Livy who used Polybius extensively for events in the east in books 31–45 of his own history. None of Polybius' minor works is extant (on tactics, Philopoemen, the Numantine War, and perhaps one on the habitability of the equatorial region).

Polybius had strong views on the writing of history. He frequently breaks off to point out the failings of other historians, attacking the practitioners of sensationalist history (Phylarchus, Timaeus, Zeno of Rhodes) and scorning those who spend their time immersed in the library (Timaeus again, the subject of an extended critique in book 12). He himself stressed the importance of experience and autopsy; only someone with experience of war and politics could write satisfactorily on those subjects. For Polybius the study of history was of practical value, both for the politician and for anyone trying to cope with the vicissitudes of fortune; knowledge of the past helps in the present (1. 1). Polybius' outlook has been described as "utilitarian" and therefore distinct from his Hellenistic contemporaries (Walbank), but recently an attempt

has been made to discern a moralizing tendency in his work (Eckstein).

Book 6 was a digression on the Roman state, with particular emphasis on the constitution and army, both of which he considered fundamental to Roman success and especially to their recovery after the disastrous defeat by Hannibal at Cannae in 216 BC. His analysis of the constitution was very much the work of an outsider, depending heavily on the concepts and categories of Greek political thought. The strength and stability of the constitution, he argued, lay in its combination of kingship (consuls), aristocracy (senate), and democracy (people). However inappropriate this may have been as a model to interpret the Roman constitution, it has had an enormous influence on subsequent western political thought from Cicero to Machiavelli, Montesquieu, and beyond. Its impact in the east is less evident; it was worth excerpting but its theory of the value of divided power was hardly compatible with Byzantine autocracy.

In the Greek world from late antiquity onwards the influence of Polybius appears to have been limited, although he is frequently cited in reference works such as Stephanus' *Ethnica* and the *Suda*. His subject may have appealed, but his style and length deterred. He had long before been damned by Dionysius of Halicarnassus who numbered him among those writers no one reads to the end (*De Compositione Verborum*, 4). Of the historians of late antiquity Zosimus is probably the only one to show any significant awareness of Polybius, but even here the influence is formal and superficial rather than substantial. Echoes of Polybius have been detected in Byzantine historians such as Procopius, Agathias, and Anna Komnene, but nothing is explicit. Byzantine lack of interest is evident in his absence from Photios's *Bibliotheca* and the truncated state of the text.

ANDREW W. ERSKINE

See also Historiography

Biography

Born in Megalopolis *c.*200 BC, Polybius was the son of Lycortas, a wealthy aristocrat who was a leading figure in the Achaean League. Polybius went on an embassy to Alexandria in 180 and served as Hipparch of the Achaean League in 170/69. After the Battle of Pydna (168 BC) he was deported to Rome where he remained and became the friend of Scipio Aemilianus. He wrote a history of Rome's rise to power in 40 books of which 1–5 survive intact and the rest in fragments. He died *c.*118 BC.

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Polygnotus

Painter of the 5th century BC

Polygnotus was the son and pupil of Aglaophon of Thasos; his brother Aristophon and a younger Aglaophon, probably his son or his nephew, were also painters. Polygnotus, a distinguished artistic figure of the early Classical period, worked in Athens at the time of Cimon, the leader of the Athenian democracy from 472 to 461 BC. In the absence of any surviving fragments of his monumental painting, literary texts – and Pausanias in particular – are the sole source of evidence, giving often lengthy descriptions of Polygnotus' works.

Much of Polygnotus' painting in Athens was in buildings associated with Cimon. According to Pausanias, who lived in the 2nd century AD, the wall paintings that decorated the shrine of the Dioscuri, the Anakeion, located south of the Agora towards the Acropolis, and the Stoa Poikile on the south side of the Agora were attributed to Polygnotus (he was said to have refused a fee for painting the latter). His work in the Stoa or in the Anakeion gained him Athenian citizenship.

These paintings were on view in late antiquity when Pausanias travelled to Athens, but are not preserved today. Polygnotus represented the wedding of Castor and Polydeuces with the daughters of Leucippus in the Anakeion and painted a scene of *Iliou Persis* (Troy Taken) on the interior back wall of the Stoa Poikile. In the latter, he was said to have given to Laodice, Priam's daughter, the features of Cimon's sister Elpinice, who was the artist's mistress, an element implying the idea of individual portraiture in the works of art of the time. The scene was painted on wooden panels secured to the wall, a common practice among painters of murals in Classical Greece.

Pausanias also mentions a set of pictures from the Trojan cycle by Polygnotus in the Pinakotheke (picture gallery) of the Periclean Propylaea. He had painted wooden panels to replace those decorating the Archaic gateway to the Acropolis, which was destroyed by the Persians and later reconstructed under Cimon. Thus, his paintings were earlier than the Periclean building. *Achilles in Skyros* and *Nausicaa* were also in the Pinakotheke. Another painting attributed to Polygnotus was in Rome in Pliny's time, in the 1st century AD, and depicted a man with a shield. This was a fragment of a larger composition,

most probably a wall painting on wooden panels, which had been transported to Rome.

Polygnotus' most famous works, however, were at Delphi, in the Lesche (club-house), which was dedicated to the sanctuary by the people of Cnidus. Although the date of this dedication is unknown, it is usually assumed that the building was put up after the liberation of the city from the Persians, as a result of Cimon's Eurymedon campaign, and that the paintings were executed between 458 and 447 BC. Only the foundations of the building survive, on a terrace near the top of the sloping sanctuary, and it would have been impossible to reconstruct the paintings without Pausanias' description. Two scenes on wooden panels, including some 70 figures (humans and animals), often named, in a scale half lifesize, decorated the interior of the building, which consisted of a rectangular room with a roof supported by wooden pillars set round a central area where athletic exercises took place. One represented the *Iliou Persis* in a more detailed version than that in the Stoa Poikile at Athens, and the second was a depiction of the *Nekyia*, the Underworld. The scenes met in the centre of the north wall and each occupied half of it; it is possible that they extended over the short walls. Besides a detailed description of the composition, Pausanias also refers to the problems with which Polygnotus had to deal and his way of tackling them.

Recent reconstruction has suggested that the *Iliou Persis* and the *Nekyia* formed three self-contained compositions, each spreading over three walls. The former consisted of the sea scene, the altar scene, and the land scene, while the latter included the sacrifice of Odysseus on the north, Achilles and Patroclus in the centre of the western wall, and groups of heroes from both sides of the Trojan War on the south wall. This arrangement of the individual groups was no doubt intentional, so as to enable Polygnotus to focus on the main emphasis of the various subjects in his painting.

He is also said to have worked in Boeotia. He painted *Odysseus after the Slaying of the Suitors* in the temple of Athena Areia at Plataea, the foundations of which are dated after the battle of 479 BC. He also worked at Thespiae, not far from Plataea, where his wall paintings were restored in the 4th century BC by Pausias of Sicyon. One of his paintings portrayed Salmoneus, the king of Elis, with a thunderbolt, a rare subject in the art of the period, which might have been part of a larger scene.

The composition represented an important departure from the established principles of Archaic painting. The figures were not set down on the baseline of the picture, but were scattered on various levels, demonstrating a new concept for the representation of pictorial space, which is associated with the name of Polygnotus. The innovation is reflected in contemporary vase painting, as on the Niobid Painter *krater* (mixing bowl) from Orvieto, now in the Louvre, Paris. Moreover, Polygnotus' compositions were built up from figures in groups of two, three, or more. According to Pausanias, his paintings were characterized by a liking for quiet scenes with little action, often adaptations of earlier action themes to the new ideal of passivity, as in the change from the Sack of Troy into Troy Taken, as well as for the stillness of the figures. Ancient literary sources also attest that Polygnotus had a distinguished ability in the rendering of physiognomy, anatomy, and drapery to reveal the *ethos* (character) and *pathos* (emotion) of his figures. He presented them either before the action – in the process of taking a decision – or in their reaction after it. Another source for Polygnotus' art is Pliny's *Natural History*, compiled in the 1st century AD, which mentions that he painted women wearing transparent drapery and gave them headdresses of various colours, and also showed the mouth open and the teeth visible. Although certain elements of his art had appeared sporadically earlier, their combination by Polygnotus was pioneering.

ELENI ZIMI

See also Painting

Biography

The son and pupil of Aglaophon of Thasos, Polygnotus was a renowned painter who worked in Athens at the time of Cimon (*fl.*472–461 BC). Nothing of his painting survives. Pausanias and Pliny are our only sources. At Athens he painted for the shrine of the Dioscuri, the Anakeion, the Stoa Poikile, and the Pinakotheke. He also worked at Delphi and in Boeotia.

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Pomaks

Bulgarian-speaking minority in Greece

The Pomaks are Bulgarian-speaking Muslims to be found in Greece around Echinos in the Rhodope mountains northeast of Xanthi. In the 1951 Greek census 18,671 Pomaks were recorded, about 500 more than in the corresponding census of 1940. Every other minority in Greece shows a decline during these years. Both figures are likely, however, to be an underestimate. Pomaks are confused about their identity, and could have registered as Greeks, Slavs, or Turks. The census of 1951 was the last to show any interest in any minority apart from the Muslim minority, a blanket term to cover Pomaks, Turks, and Gypsies. A figure of 30,000 Greek Pomaks in 1998 is likely to be an overestimate, since assimilation has proceeded apace since 1951.

In Bulgaria there are about 200,000 Pomaks, equally confused about their identity. In the 1980s, when there was a strong Bulgarian national movement, Pomaks were persuaded to think of themselves as Bulgarians, and changed their Islamic names accordingly. In the 1990s a Turkish political party for a time held the balance of power in the Bulgarian parliament, Islam was supported from abroad, and the Pomaks began

changing their names back again. There are Slav- speaking Muslims in the former Yugoslav republic of Macedonia where they are called Torbeš and in Albania where they are called Poturs. None of these groups has had much contact with any other since World War II. Even the Greek and Bulgarian Pomaks, though both living in the Rhodopes, are not contiguous with each other, the Bulgarian Pomaks living northwest of Xanthi over a border that was very strictly guarded.

The origin of the Pomaks is shrouded in mystery and obscured by political prejudice. The Bulgars assert that they are native Bulgarians lured over to Islam in the early years of the Ottoman occupation. The Turks maintain that they are Turks who somehow learnt the language of their subjects. The Greeks, always anxious to prove the antiquity of a Greek presence in Macedonia and Thrace, suggest that the Pomaks are descendants of some ancient Greek tribe. An alternative theory is that they derive from pre-Ottoman Turks, who had entered the service of the Byzantine empire, and are thus in some sense part of the Greek commonwealth. There is little evidence to support any of these theories; in a curious way the Pomaks with their fair hair and blue eyes seem equally remote from Bulgarians, Turks, and Greeks.

Though the Rhodope mountains were outside the orbit of Classical Greece, their proximity to Constantinople meant that even in the darkest days of the Byzantine empire they were usually under Byzantine control. It is therefore surprising to find this area inhabited by a non-Greek non-Orthodox people. A possible explanation is that the Rhodopes, like Albania and Bosnia, were an area where the Paulician heresy was strong, being indeed the kind of place where heretics could be banished to keep them out of the way. For political and theological reasons such heretics would be ripe for conversion to Islam, particularly when the form of Islam on offer was Bekhtashism, tolerant and mystical. There may also have been less altruistic and more commercial reasons for conversion, in the shape of reduced taxes. Bulgarian speech is easier to explain. A strong Bulgarian empire in the 10th and 13th centuries was not far from the Rhodopes, and even in the 11th and 12th centuries there were many Slav-speakers in the restored Byzantine empire. The Rhodopes are a high mountain range, but not an impenetrable barrier as there are several passes through it. Indeed it looks as if the Pomaks – as cattle and sheep rearers, like the transhumant Vlachs and Sarakatsans – regularly moved across the mountains in search of summer or winter pastures, each preserving their identity through their separate language.

This image of the Pomaks as peaceful pastoralists receives a rude shock with their first definite appearance in history as partly responsible for the Bulgarian atrocities of 1876. It is fairly clear that the irregular Turkish troops or Bashibazouks against whom Gladstone contemptuously inveighed were Pomaks. The peace treaties of 1878 left the the Pomaks under nominal Turkish control, although they seem at the end of the 19th century to have achieved virtual independence. There were further atrocities in 1912. The Balkan War started and the Bulgarians took revenge. Pomak villages still remember this revenge, as Bulgarian villages remember 1876.

In 1913 western Thrace passed to Bulgaria, giving it an outlet to the Aegean. Ethnological maps and statistics of the area show some Greeks in the towns and along the coast, very few Bulgarians, and a large number of Muslims. A different picture would have been shown if language rather than religion had been used as a criterion, since the Pomaks would then have counted as Bulgarian, hard though this would have been in view of the recent massacres. After World War I western Thrace was awarded to Greece, as was eastern Thrace which had a higher proportion of Greek speakers. After the Asia Minor disaster Greece lost eastern Thrace, and there were exchanges of population which dramatically increased the proportion of Greeks in western Thrace. The Pomaks did not, however, take part in these exchanges. Western Thrace was exempted from the exchanges of Muslims and Christians which took place between Greece and Turkey; it would indeed have been difficult for the Slav-speaking Pomaks to have settled in Turkey. Nor did the Pomaks join in the exchanges between Bulgaria and Greece; recent hostilities between Pomaks and Bulgarians would have made this difficult, and the Greeks in Bulgaria lived along the Black Sea coast in an area very differrent from the Rhodope mountains. Thus the Pomaks remain in Greece as an uncomfortable and rather unhappy fragment since neither Bulgarians nor Muslims are exactly popular, the Rhodopes though beautiful are harsh, the border area is a sensitive one, and it requires a special permit to visit it.

T.J. WINNIFRITH

See also Muslims

Summary

Pomaks are Bulgarian-speaking Muslims who live in the Rhodope mountains of northern Greece. Their origins are obscure. They are probably transhumant pastoralists. They were unaffected by the exchange of populations with Turkey in the 1920s and today probably number fewer than 30,000 in Greece. There are about 200,000 in Bulgaria.

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Pontus

The Greek *Pontos* (Latin *Pontus*) has at least seven meanings or connotations, general and specific.

(1) In Greek mythology Pontos personifies the Sea, son of Gaia, the Land, who by Thalassa fathered another ancient sea god, Nereus. Hence (2) the *Euxeinos Pontos*, or Black Sea and,

by extension, the southeastern littoral of that sea, called (3) the Pontus.

How the sea became a land is no mystery. Greeks approached and named the land from the sea. But from the land, on which it turns its back, the Pontus is one of the most strikingly distinct regions of Anatolia. Geography and climate, economy and settlement conspire to make the Pontus as obvious a maritime enclave as the Lebanon is of Syria. The territorial boundaries of the Pontus run for over 500 km from Sinope in the west to the mouth of the Akampsis (Çoruh) river to the east. Often less than 50 km inland this strip is hemmed to the sea by the Pontic Alps. Sinope is the hub of the Black Sea, where the seafaring cult of Poseidon was replaced by that of St Phokas. The Akampsis marks one of the oldest and most stable divisions in the world, traditionally between Europe and Asia, actually between Byzantium and Persia, the Ottoman and Russian empires, and today between Turkey and Georgia. The Pontic Alps rise gently south of Sinope, where they are broken by the Halys (Kizilirmak) and Iris (Yeşilirmak) rivers, which allow access to an Inner Pontus along the Lykos (Kelkit) valley. South of Trebizond (the modern Turkish city of Trabzon) a pass through the Pontic Gates near Zigana at about 2500 m carries the most easterly practicable land route to Persia, until the Pontic Alps reach the Paryadres (Kaçkar Dağ) at almost 4000 m, before falling into the gorges of the Akampsis. The Pontic Alps offer extensive summer pastures for nomads from the interior and transhumants from coastal Pontus, a region streaked by steep, well-wooded, and densely populated valleys, each with its own dialect and tartan, which connect to a chain of Classical Greek colonies along the coast. Here Greeks encountered barbarians, such as Jason found, represented in fable and fact by peoples such as the Amazons to the west and the monstrous Mossynoikoi to the east. Perhaps the most persistent of local identities is that of Chaldia, a basin on the southern side of the Pontic Gates around modern Gümüşhane, which takes its name from the Urartu sun god Haldi. Chaldia was a Byzantine theme (military province) from the 9th century AD and a surviving Orthodox metropolitan bishopric thereafter. To Turks *Halt* indicates people on the other, or "wrong", side of the mountains. The Pontus is surrounded by less well-defined boundaries: Paphlagonia to the west, Cappadocia to the south, and Armenia to the east.

(4) As a political unit a kingdom of the Pontus first emerged in the late 4th century BC, in the aftermath of the conquests of Alexander the Great. Its focus lay inland along the Lykos and Iris valleys, particularly at Comana Pontica (Gömenek), with a great temple economy, and a royal capital at Amaseia (Amasya), where the rock-cut tombs of the Pontic kings overlook a gorge of the Iris. A series of six Pontic kings called Mithridates extended the Pontic state from the 3rd century BC. Pharnaces I moved the capital from Amaseia to Sinope in 183 BC whence Mithridates VI Eupator (120–63 BC) conquered the Crimea and challenged Rome, with disastrous results. Mithridates VI died old and in despair in the Crimea and was buried by Pompey at Sinope. The last Pontic king, Pharnaces II, was defeated at Zela (Zille) by Julius Caesar in 47 BC. These Hellenized kings and their feudal nobility were of Persian origin and ruled a mixed indigenous population, traditonally settled in the *Chiliakomon*, thousands of nucleated villages.

(5) The Roman province of Pontus retained much of this local character and at various stages was subdivided by Diocletian into two provinces: Hellenopontus (Diospontos) based on the city of Amaseia, and Pontus Polemoniacus, also based inland, at Neocaesarea (Niksar) on the Lykos, but with access to Polemonium (Boloman) beside a cape still named after Jason (Yasun). The civil and military division became part of the primary Byzantine theme of Anatolikon. The Roman province is reflected in ecclesiastical dioceses. The evangelist of the Pontus was St Gregory the Wonderworker of Neokaisareia (Neocaesarea) (d. *c.*270), himself converted by Origen, whose life was written by St Gregory of Nyssa. Neokaisareia remained the mother church and metropolis of the Pontus long after the Danishmendids took its great castle and Monastery of the Wonderworker at the end of the 11th century.

(6) With Turkish pressure from the interior, the political focus of the Pontus moved back to the ancient Greek coastal settlements and to Trebizond, capital of the Byzantine theme of Chaldia during the 12th century. The Gabras family, semi-hereditary and semiautonomous dukes of Chaldia, made a political entity of coastal Pontus before it was given political title with the dismemberment of the Byzantine empire, when in 1204 Alexios and David Komnenos aimed to restore the rule of their dynasty in Constantinople, but found themselves pre-empted by members of the Fourth Crusade. Frustrated by another, Laskarid, empire in exile at Nicaea, the Komnenoi settled for the original coastal Pontus, from Sinope to the Akampsis, including high Chaldia, with Trebizond as their capital. The Grand Komnenoi, "emperors and autocrats of all the East [Anatolia], of the Iberians [Georgians], and of the Land Beyond [perhaps the Crimea]", ruled the so-called empire of Trebizond as a Byzantine state, upon which their legitimacy depended, until 1461, when Cardinal Bessarion (*c.*1400–72), perhaps the best-known native of Trebizond, bewailed the loss of this last outpost of Hellenism. Indeed the patronage of such emperors as the Grand Komnenos Alexios III (1349–90) made the Pontus a flourishing part of the late Byzantine world, more populous than the Morea, with a cultural capital to match Mistra. Alexios III endowed Dionysiou on Mount Athos and his own great pilgrim monastery of Soumela. But, like Bessarion, he looked west too. The wealth of Trebizond partly depended on its natural resources and partly on the reopening of the route east through the Pontic Gates to Italian traffic with the Mongol empire from the mid-13th century. But for their security the Grand Komnenoi depended upon the intense local separatism of the Pontus, which the steep valleys engendered along with their own dynasties of warlords, of which the Gabras family were forerunners. The neighbours of the empire were now Turkmen, Mongol and Georgian, with whom the Grand Komnenoi intermarried. They fought their minor wars over summer pastures in the Pontic Alps which divided them. The Ottoman state was not a neighbour until Sultan Mehmet II's conquest of Trebizond (taking the emirate of Sinope on the way) in his summer campaign of 1461, when Bessarion heard of the fate of David, the last Grand Komnenos.

(7) The Ottoman conquest left a Pontic identity alive. From the 18th century local warlords (*derebeys*) controlled the valleys again, but the Pontic Greeks probably found greater economic reward running the revived silver mines of Chaldia

around Gümüšhane (Argyropolis). The mines were exhausted by 1829 when the Russians reached Gümüšhane, but the Treaty of Adrianople reopened the Black Sea to western shipping and subsequent Ottoman reforms brought civil order to the coast. By the 1840s the Pontic Gates were carrying most of Persia's overland trade to the west again through Trebizond. Greek bankers and merchants of Trebizond helped fund an astonishing revival of Pontic Greek culture, but this time schoolmasters from Athens taught villagers that they were descendants of Xenophon's Ten Thousand. Athens, not Constantinople, was the promised city. In fact, since the 1790s many Pontic Greeks found promise in the new cities of southern Russia, such as Odessa and Mariupol, and Pontic Greeks left in the wake of successive Russian invasions to recolonize the Caucasus. The opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 marked the end of the laborious overland route east through the Pontic Gates, but by then the economic focus of the Pontus had already shifted west to Amisos (Samsun), promised railhead of the Berlin–Baghdad railway. Amisos mushroomed as the last major Greek city of the coast, on the scale of Smyrna, where Pontic Greeks cornered the Ottoman tobacco monopoly. The exchange of populations of 1923, when 164, 641 Pontic Greeks left Trebizond alone for Greece seemed to be the final migration. It was not. After an initial honeymoon in the Soviet Union, Pontic Greeks were deported under Stalin in the 1940s, during and after World War II, from the Ukraine, Russia, and Georgia to Central Asia, where in Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan they were joined by Greeks from a very different background – that of the Civil War in Greece. From 1991 the Pontic Greeks (the name by which they refer to themselves) of the former Soviet Union started coming home in what promises to be the last and largest of all Greek migrations: it is potentially a matter of millions. For most, Athens is no more home than Ohio or Melbourne, where many had already settled. *Patrida*, or "home", is still the distinct green land and concept of the Pontus, which few Pontic Greeks have ever seen. Yet, both in Turkish Trabzon and in innumerable Greek colonies in Australia or America, a Pontic identity remains obdurately alive.

ANTHONY A.M. BRYER

See also Black Sea

Summary

Pontus is the land bordering the *Euxeinos Pontos* (Black Sea), specifically the southeast littoral from Sinope in the west to the modern border with Georgia in the east. The coast was colonized early by Greeks. A kingdom of Pontus emerged in the 4th century BC. The Roman Pontus was subdivided into two provinces. The area was part of the Byzantine theme of Anatolikon, but from 1204 to 1461 formed the independent "empire" of Trebizond. Many Greeks remained during the Tourkokratia who even in the diaspora refer to themselves as Pontic Greeks.

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Porphyry AD 234–*c.*305

Philosopher

Porphyry was one of the most influential philosophers and scholars of late antiquity, although from his vast output of more than 70 works only a handful survive. He was probably born in Tyre and bore the Syrian name Malchas. His international career is typical of many Greek-speaking Syrians of this period who made a considerable impact on the whole of the Graeco-Roman world. He was educated in Alexandria, at the Platonic Academy (under Longinus) in Athens, and finally in Rome where he studied under Plotinus. Perhaps his most enduring legacy was the introduction of Plotinus' philosophy to a wider world, achieved both by his careful edition of Plotinus' philosophical treatises under the title *Enneads* and his explanatory commentaries, which are now lost. Among others, Longinus, his former teacher, was grateful to Porphyry for sending him copies of Plotinus' work. A short and probably incomplete work popularly known as the *Sententiae* or *Ideas Leading to the Intelligibles*, which is the only substantial survival of Porphyry's metaphysics and which consists of paraphrases, summaries, and restatements of Plotinus' ideas, may have formed a part of these commentaries or of an introduction to Plotinus.

Porphyry's scholarly commentaries on the logical works of Aristotle and on some of the major Platonic dialogues (*Parmenides*, *Cratylus*, *Phaedo*, *Republic*, *Philebus*, *Sophist*, *Timaeus*) were so valued by his Neoplatonic successors that they were absorbed into their own works. Through Iamblichus, a fellow Syrian who may have studied with Porphyry, these works survive in the great commentaries of Proclus and later Neoplatonists. Porphyry was, in particular, responsible for securing a firm place in the Neoplatonic school curriculum for Aristotle's *Organon*, a virtually canonical set of his logical works. His *Isagoge* became, in both east and west, the standard introduction to Aristotelian logic and is frequently found in manuscripts of Aristotle's logical works. It is through Porphyry, too, that the ideas, and often the actual words, of earlier Aristotelian commentators (e.g. of Aspasius, Herminus, and Alexander of Aphrodisias) were handed on.

His vast learning, which provided an important source for Byzantine scholars, may be discerned in the fragmentary remains of bulky commentaries on Homer and other philological works on Pindar and Thucydides and, not least, in a *Chronology* that was an important source for Christian writers in their attempts to prove the greater, or at least equal, antiquity of the Jewish, compared with the pagan, tradition. But Porphyry fell foul of the Christians with the publication of his treatise *Against the Christians*. The work proved so damaging that it was publicly condemned in a number of imperial edicts and was fated to survive in fragmentary form, ironically, in the works of Christian polemicists seeking to counter its claims (e.g. Eusebius of Caesarea). Although Porphyry attacked a number of Christian doctrines (the divinity of Christ, the resur-

rection of the body), he reserved his chief criticism for the worldly quarrelling of Christ's disciples, especially Peter and Paul, and their distortions of his teaching. Most serious of all, however, was his devastating and scholarly attack on the authority of scripture itself and particularly that of the book of Daniel, which he proved to have been written after the events it was claimed to have prophesied. Porphyry is commonly referred to by Christian writers as the enemy of Christianity and his name was effectively invoked against the Arians who were dubbed Porphyrians, probably because of their subordination of Christ to the Father.

Unlike Plotinus, Porphyry was deeply interested in religion, to which he devoted several large works including a collection of oracles, *Philosophy from Oracles*, in which he apparently explored the philosophical content of oracles mainly from oracular centres in Asia Minor (Didyma and Claros). The attempt to relate philosophy to religion was one of his abiding interests. Realizing that the philosophical road to what he called "salvation" was open only to the few, he sought among the various religions (including Judaism) a common way of salvation open to all men. His failure to find such a way involved him in addressing serious questions about the assumptions of traditional religious practice and in expressing concern about its limited spiritual horizons. His *Letter to Anebo*, a probably fictitious Egyptian priest, raises these issues and was answered by Iamblichus in *On the Mysteries*, a work that can lay claim to being the first systematic attempt to grapple with the philosophy of religion. This work of Iamblichus was to be a momentous point in the reconciliation of pagan religious practice, particularly the salvific rites of theurgy, with philosophy. Iamblichus set the tone for Proclus who in this respect had a profound influence on pseudo-Dionysius and Michael Psellos, who tried to adapt his views to Christian sacramental theology. But, despite his more reserved views about such subjects as the effect of theurgic rites or the presence of the divine in statues, some of Porphyry's pious philosophical tracts survived as popular reading: for example, the *Letter to Marcella*, written to his wife, whom he married late in life, and in which he apologizes for an enforced absence with the explanation that physical separation means nothing to those whose true self is set at the level of "intellect" which is beyond all spatial restrictions; or *On Abstinence*, which advocates vegetarianism and a spiritualized religious practice. The charming essay *On the Cave of the Nymphs*, which presents a number of differing philosophical allegorical interpretations of Homer's depiction of the cave in which Odysseus hid his Phaeacian treasures (*Odyssey*, 13. 102–12), had an enduring influence as a model of Neoplatonic metaphysical allegory despite its unsystematic approach compared with the rigours of Proclus' method.

ANDREW SMITH

See also Neoplatonism

Biography

Born probably at Tyre in AD 234 with the Syrian name Malchas, Porphyry studied at Alexandria, at Athens under Longinus, and at Rome where he was a pupil of Plotinus. He wrote more than 70 works, of which few survive. He also edited the *Enneads* of Plotinus. His commentaries on Aristotle and Plato are much valued. He died *c.*305.

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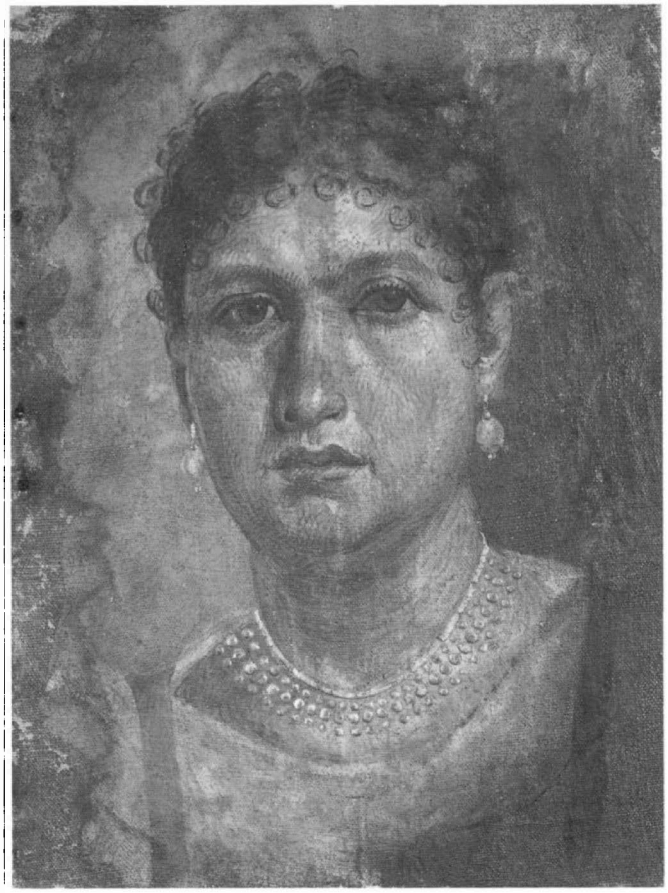
Portraiture

Realistic likenesses of individuals originated in the 4th century BC in Greece, although portrait prototypes had appeared two centuries earlier as dedication statues. An example of this type is the seated figure of *Chares* (British Museum, London), a hereditary priest from the temple of Apollo at Didyma. Similar categories of images from the later Archaic period are commemorations honouring victorious athletes, mainly at Olympia. In the 5th century BC the cult of the hero was prominent, but portrayals of athletes continued. There was a high degree of realism, although the works reflected an idealized picture of youth. Between 480 and 450 BC the practice of honouring the great citizens of Athens with portrait statues became acceptable, although only posthumously. During the Classical period images of military and political leaders, poets, and other heroic men were created so as to reflect their superhuman qualities.

With the end of the Peloponnesian War in the early 4th century BC a novel approach in rendering portraits evolved. Contemporary heroes and intellectuals were now honoured in public locations by private donors. A portrait of the philosopher Plato by the sculptor Silanion (Vatican Museum, Rome) was commissioned by a former student for the Academy in Athens. The sculpture is more of a mask, individual features that reveal nothing of the inner workings of the mind. Towards the middle of the 4th century BC, when the Greeks were encountering rising Macedonian power under Philip II, father of Alexander the Great, Lycurgus, appointed virtual dictator of Athens for 12 years, systematically commissioned a large number of public buildings decorated with portrait statues; he wished to revive the great heroes of the past as examples for modern Athenians to emulate. A large number of portraits were set up at public sites such as the theatre of Dionysus, where bronze statues of the great tragic playwrights Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides were installed. The likenesses of these individuals have an added quality of character and personality that contrasts with the idealized and detached countenances of the 5th-century examples. As full-length statues, their gestures and pose were as important as the features, reminding viewers



Portraiture: mummy portrait of a woman named Aline, Fayum, Egypt, *c.*AD 50, Aegyptisches Museum, Berlin

of their personality, character, and physique. Such statues were frequently inscribed with the subject's name, but rarely with the sculptor's. Portraits of women were rare before this time and restricted to generic statues of maidens, or as female types engaged in everyday activities on vase paintings. An exception to this trend is a portrait of an elderly priestess of Athena by the sculptor Demetrius who specialized in depicting elderly people.

In the last third of the 4th century BC Alexander the Great chose Lysippus as the official sculptor for his court portraits. The heroic ideal of the beardless young general became a standard mode of representation for the Macedonian king. The famous mosaic of *Alexander the Great and Darius* at the Battle of Issus (Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Naples) is a Roman copy of a Hellenistic painting probably painted in Egypt, perhaps by Helen, who trained under her father Philoxenos, in the 4th century BC. It is also known that Alexander commissioned the great painter Apelles and the gem engraver Pyrogoteles to portray him, in addition to the sculpted likenesses by Lysippus. Despite literary descriptions of the beautiful young general, no great images remain for posterity.

Subsequent Hellenistic rulers emulated this portrait type but eventually added their own distinctive style and individual characteristics to the mass-produced likenesses. The most significant change in the portrait tradition reflected the philosophical changes that had taken place. Aristotle, teacher of Alexander, identified men according to personality rather than classifying them according to their occupation, the practice of the 5th century BC. In sculptural portraits, therefore, there was a marked change from emphasizing external features to showing the characteristics that mirrored the psyche of the individual and reflected his or her inner life. Changing attitudes towards the physical and spiritual world are identified in the portrait of *Aristotle* commissioned by Alexander. The new biographical portrait encompassed the entire life of the individual and, as such, became a milestone in the development of the history of portraiture and art in the western world.

The portraits of Alexander's successors are more individualized, with the three major kingdoms in Egypt, Syria, and Asia Minor assimilating distinctive artistic traditions. General categories of portraits still persisted, that of the ruler and the intellectual. A desire to portray strong emotions resulted in a new emphasis in portrait-making that emphasized a kind of hyperrealism in depicting anti-heroic types. Drunken old women, defeated boxers, dancing dwarves, emaciated men, and languid lovers all promoted art and its spread, not only in public places of gathering, but at a popular level. Because of the vast numbers of portraits produced, there is ample evidence for multiculturalism and diversity in the ancient Greek world, shedding light on ordinary people as well as the aristocracy. With the Roman conquest of Greece, the changing tradition of creating and commissioning portraits of private citizens as well as public heroes was an important artistic and philosophical legacy passed on to Rome by the Greeks. Unfortunately, surviving painted portraits and likenesses created in mosaic are rare in the Greek world. As a result of the eruption of Mount Vesuvius in AD 79, however, several personalities have been brought to light by archaeological discoveries at Pompeii, Herculaneum, and Stabiae. A 25 ¥ 20 cm mosaic of an unidentified Pompeiian woman of the 1st century BC (Museo Nazionale, Naples) reflects the psychological portrait type popular in the Hellenistic era. Her likeness is formed with very small pieces of coloured stone, called tesserae, in a manner that mimics the subtle shading of the facial features. Likewise, the double portrait of a man and his wife (Museo Nazionale, Naples), discovered next door to a bakery in Pompeii, is painted with the cultural symbols of the middle class. He is holding a scroll and his wife, in her red-dyed robe, holds a wax tablet and stylus, perhaps for the accounts. For the merchant classes, it was important to show one's occupation and status in addition to a rather naturalistically rendered likeness.

In Egypt the painters of the Fayum were either Greek residents dating from the Ptolemaic period of the late 4th century BC, or those who had inherited the Greek artistic tradition. The art school established at Alexandria was an extension of Graeco-Macedonian art, a tradition that melded with the Egyptian manner of creating body doubles to which the spirit of the deceased could return. Culture was much the same under the Romans as it had been under the Hellenistic rulers, with the chain of artistic knowledge remaining unbroken for many years. The Fayum portraits bridged the gap between Hellenistic portraits and the abstract likenesses of Byzantine icons.

The wax portraits completed during the life of the individual and displayed in the home belonged to the traditions of Greek art. After death, the portrait panel was placed over the Egyptian mummy's face. Gold wreaths, jewellery, and hair

ornaments were painted on, contrasting with the impressionistic quality of the portrait. What is unique about the Fayum portraits is the way in which the personality is reflected through the faces of men and women in a psychologically compelling way. The Christian emphasis on the spirit with the body as a vehicle for the soul found a parallel in the Fayum portraits, particularly the eyes, which convey spirituality; they were the ideal stepping stone for the transition from painted portrait to icon. Portraits underwent a series of transformations from idealized image to the abstracted faces of Byzantine emperors and members of their court, which were represented in paintings, mosaics, coins, and jewellery.

By the end of the 3rd century AD true realism gave way to greater expressiveness, sometimes with an almost caricature-like effect. Yet the eyes maintained their dominant emphasis and spiritual character in the sacrifice of physical beauty in order to convey the beauty of the soul. The kind of artistic symbolism apparent in these and subsequent portraits persisted for a millennium. Sixth-century mosaic portraits in San Vitale, Ravenna, of the emperor Justinian and his wife Theodora reflect the pomp and ceremony of the court. The tesserae are larger in size, making the images bolder, brighter, and heavily resplendent with the trappings of their office as Christian rulers. Even coin portraits revealed the shift to abstraction, with bejewelled empresses and emperors in the regalia of Christian monarchs. The new frontality and enlarged eyes that had once been the realm of lower-class portraiture in the early empire were adopted by the Church and state as proper vehicles of expression in a new world of spirituality, ceremony, and status. Image was everything, naturalism secondary.

This new world order made a ready transition in portraiture to Byzantine icons and has been maintained to this day, in the icons of Virgin and Child, saints, and other holy figures prevalent in monasteries, churches, and homes. The custom of preserving the image of the deceased persists but in the more naturalistic manner of the Classical age. While modern technology has allowed for photographic likenesses, other grave memorials with relief carvings or portrait statues maintain the sculptural tradition of the past. One has only to visit the cemeteries and churches to glimpse the art of the portrait still celebrated in Greece.

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See also Icon, Painting, Sculpture

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Posidonius *c.*135 BC–*c.*51 BC

Philosopher and scientist

To call Posidonius a "historian" would be unduly reductive. Posidonius was a Stoic philosopher and a scientist, with a wide world-view that integrated cosmic, natural, and human phenomena. More than 400 testimonia and fragments testify to his contribution to knowledge, which ranges from mathematics, astronomy, and geology, to ethics, anthropology, and history. He meditated on the universe, seen by him as an animated organism, and on its generation and destruction. He studied the solar system, envisaged a lunar theory to explain the periodicity of tides and a new method of measuring the circumference of the earth, suggested "ethnic criteria" for naming the earth zones, and outlined a history of the circumnavigation of Africa. In human sciences his curiosity was stimulated mainly by customs, an essential element of what he called "ethology" (fragment 176 in the Edelstein-Kidd edition, E-K), i.e. character formation and characterization of people. He might be defined as a "primitivist" who idealizes the primeval stages of mankind as a golden age; but he was convinced that the ascent of man from barbarism to civilization was determined ultimately by "wise men" – legislators, inventors, imitators, or importers of foreign arts and techniques (testimonium 6; fragments 265–67 in the Jacoby edition; fr. 284 E-K) – as if there was an element of "progress" in his thought. Undoubtedly, he admired the presumed simplicity of "noble savages" and had no praise for the luxury and extravagances prevailing in his time either in decadent cities and royal courts (especially in the east: e.g. frr. 56, 58, 61a, 65, 77 E-K) or among the ruling elites of tribal societies (frr. 67, 152 in the Theiler edition, D-F). He eulogized the presumed virtues, frugality, justice, and religious devotion of the ancient Romans (frr. 256–61 and 265–67 E-K, with the exempla of Brutus, Marcellus, and Scipio), as against the current intemperance and corruption. Following Polybius, he probably looked at the crucial year of 146 BC as the completion of Roman imperialism and the beginning of its moral decline. Like Polybius, he was a Greek thinker who tried to explain the merits of Roman rule to his fellow countrymen and to persuade them to accept it, at the same time doing his best to persuade the Roman ruling class to behave in a way that was attractive to most of the subject peoples. He fully justified imperial rule, even the exaction of tribute by more intelligent nations, in return for protection and security for the weak, on the model of the relationship between the Pontic Heracleotes and the Mariandynians, who were allegedly reduced to serfdom by consent (fr. 60 E-K). He believed that riches spur men to do evil, and was ready even to acknowledge that tyrannical rule may provoke rebellions; yet he never justified revolts and described vividly the immoral and extravagant behaviour of rebel leaders (e.g. Athenion, tyrant of Athens: fr. 253 E-K; Demophilus, the leader of the rebel slaves in Sicily: fr. 59 E-K). In the light of such views it is not easy to decide whether

Posidonius sided with the Roman Optimates or with the Populares. His romantic view of the past invites comparison with the Gracchan tradition, but unlike it, his conservatism was definitely anti-revolutionary (fr. 51 E-K; cf. Jacoby, frr. 87, 110–12).

Posidonius' direct predecessors were Panaetius and Polybius, the first as his Stoic teacher, the second as chosen universal historian to continue his work. Yet Posidonius was not dogmatic, and continuation did not imply identification with the views and methods of his predecessor. He criticized Chrysippus (fr. 34 E-K), the grand master of 3rd-century Stoicism, and attacked Polybius for his biased report of Tiberius Gracchus' activities in Spain (fr. 271 E-K). In sciences and philosophy he used Plato extensively, and Aristotle, and occasionally many others, for example, the "astrologer" Bion (a disciple of Democritus), the philosopher Crates, the historian Callisthenes, the peripatetic statesman Demetrius of Phaleron, and the geographer Timosthenes. In ethnography Posidonius was comparative and moralistic in spirit. He valued autopsy no less than Herodotus, whom he mentions together with Heraclides Ponticus on the circumnavigation of Africa, and shared with him the main didactic purpose of pointing out the contrast between *Naturvölker* and civilization. An oriental Greek like Herodotus, Posidonius was no less inclined to ascribe to ancient eastern sages discoveries conventionally attributed to later Greek scientists – for example, the atomic theory, invented according to Posidonius not by Democritus of Abdera but by the Phoenician Mochos of Sidon before the Trojan War (fr. 286 E-K). In his repetitive descriptions of luxury banquets and receptions, drinking habits, etc., Posidonius echoes the Hellenistic motif of trust, best represented before him by Phylarchus of Athens and Agatharcides of Cnidus. He also probably used Ephorus, Polybius' main predecessor in universal history, and Timaeus; and he knew of Eudoxus of Cnidus' observation of Canopus when making his own (fr. 204 E-K). Finally, Artemidorus of Ephesus, who travelled in Gaul and Spain around 100 BC, was known to Posidonius, who occasionally disagreed with him (Jacoby, frr. 119, 223).

Posidonius was unquestionably the greatest Stoic philosopher of his age. Among his closest friends and admirers were some prominent Romans, such as Rutilius Rufus, Cicero, and Pompey, and his prestige in Latin literature is well attested (e.g. in Vitruvius, Seneca, Pliny, Quintilian, Tertullian, Lactantius, St Augustine, Macrobius, and Boethius). The Hellenic tradition starts with his disciple Jason, who succeeded him at Rhodes, and with Diodorus Siculus, who used Posidonius (with other sources) on the period covered by his *Events after Polybius* (146–*c.*86 BC). Posidonius' influence as an intellectual must have been extensive in his generation, but he soon began to be consulted, quoted, and at times criticized by scientists and philosophers mainly for specific points of their interest. Thus, for instance, his disciple Geminus, an astronomer, compiled an "epitome" of, or a commentary on, his *Meteorologica* (t 42, 72 E-K), and the philosopher Arius Didymus included in his doxography Posidonius' definitions of cause, substance, and matter, origin, destruction, and so on. Strabo, a great admirer of Posidonius, made full use of his geographic works, though criticizing his "aetiology" ("precisely what our school [i.e. the Stoic] avoids") and his rhetorical style (fr. 239 E-K).

Plutarch quotes Posidonius both on scientific and moral issues in the *Moralia* (and in his *Lives* of great Romans (Marcellus, Fabius Maximus, Marius, Cicero, Pompey, and Brutus). Galen used Posidonius extensively but critically, especially on ethics; Athenaeus, our main authority on Posidonius' historical works, aptly understands the relationship between his ethnography and his Stoicism; and Diogenes Laertius quotes his views on many topics, especially in book 7 (on the Stoics). Among later readers the most prominent is perhaps Cleomedes (now dated to the 4th century AD), who was interested in astronomy and physics. The *Suda* has an entry on Posidonius, and in the 12th century Eustathios made full use of his scientific and ethnological work in his commentaries on Homer and Dionysius Periegetes.

Surprisingly enough for a man of such reputation, with nearly 70 recorders, none of Posidonius' 30 or so works has reached us in its entirety. But perhaps modern evaluations of his achievements have been too high. The claims that in the history of ancient thought Posidonius can be compared to no one but Aristotle, or that he was the most important critic and philosopher of culture in the ancient world, are patent and unwarranted exaggerations, partly resting on questionable reconstructions of Posidonius' thought allegedly retrievable from later authors supposed to be his followers or even his plagiarists. At any rate, in the Hellenic tradition of Roman and Byzantine times Posidonius' place seems assured among the great thinkers of second rank – still a very high station.

DAVID ASHERI

Biography

Born at Apamea in Syria *c.*135 BC, Posidonius was educated in Athens under Panaetius but lived mostly in Rhodes. He participated in an embassy to Rome in 87/86 BC and travelled extensively in the west. His school in Rhodes was a centre for Stoicism. He wrote on a wide range of subjects including science, mathematics, geography, and history as well as philosophy. He died *c.*51 BC.

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Pottery

The introduction of pottery vessels is one of the defining features of the Neolithic period (*c.*7000 BC). Although at this time it was handmade, some Greek Neolithic pottery reached high standards of fabric, form, and decoration, the last mostly in geometric patterns. The products of the Neolithic cultures of Thessaly (Sesklo, Dimini) are particular noteworthy.

There was only limited continuity of features into the Early Bronze Age (*c.*3500 BC), when quite different types appeared and some early influence was exerted by Anatolian forms. The most interesting innovations are found in Crete (Vasiliki "teapots", the mottled colouring produced by manipulating the firing process) and the Cyclades (incised "frying pans" with representational motifs; painted patterns).

The Middle Bronze Age saw the rise of the Cretan palaces (*c.*2000 BC), the first widespread use of the wheel for pottery-making, and highly sophisticated ceramics. Some Cretan wares were extremely fine ("eggshell") and motifs, in the "light-on-dark" technique characteristic of the time, were subtly accommodated to the shapes. Potters on the mainland had some distinctive fabrics (Minyan, Matt-painted ware) but less decorative imagination, while Cycladic craftsmen derived their inspiration from Crete, at the same time showing individual enterprise in the development of shapes (panelled cup) and motifs (goblins).

The Late Bronze Age (*c.*1600 BC) was dominated, both politically and culturally, first by the later Cretan palaces, then by the Mycenaeans of the Greek mainland. In Crete a new system of decoration ("dark-on-light") succeeded, and was used at first for a combination of geometric motifs (spirals) and floral and grass designs, then also for a highly distinctive "marine" style. The Mycenaeans inherited all these features but imbued the pottery and other products of their material culture with distinctive stylistic and thematic features. In particular they simplified and stylized the decorative elements, which in Crete had been relatively naturalistic, to a high degree. Some shapes are also distinctive of their taste (*kylikes*, or high-stemmed goblets; deep bowls). A "pictorial style", the motifs of which are mainly birds, animals, and warriors in chariots, was less widespread. In the last phase of the Bronze Age (12th and early 11th centuries BC) a pictorial strain continued (including the new "Octopus style" of the Aegean) but pottery subsided into a more limited range of shapes with little or no decoration. In the sub-Mycenaean phase (mid-11th century BC) the pottery produced was poor in quality and restricted in variety.

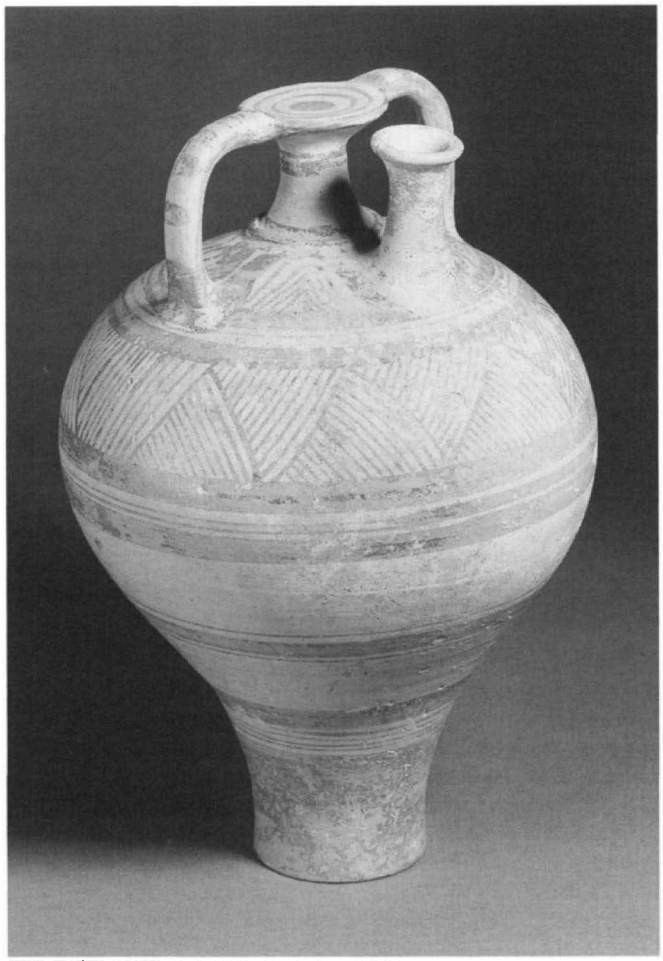
Although little Cretan pottery was exported beyond the Aegean in the Palace periods, within that area it was strongly influential. Mycenaean products reached a much wider audience – Cyprus (for which market much of the pictorial style was manufactured), the Near East, Egypt, southern Italy, and Sardinia. Philistine pottery of a late phase of the Bronze Age is derived from Mycenaean.

During the Protogeometric period (*c.*1025–900 BC) there was a great revival of quality, if not range, with new taut shapes and precise, often compass-drawn motifs, and craftsmen showed a fine sensitivity for the harmonizing the two. This characteristic quality continued to prevail in the subsequent Geometric period, when zones of decoration tended to multiply until they covered the whole surface of the vase. Schematic figures, geometric in character, also appeared, and some of the scenes in which they were shown may be the earliest pictorial versions of Greek myths. The largest vases (*c.*1.5 m high) were used as grave markers, and mourning and funerary scenes are common.

The Geometric style lasted to *c.*725 BC and beyond, but, in its later stages, enlargement of and greater concentration on the figured scenes brought a decline in the relationship of decoration to shape. This trend was partly due to the increasing interest of Greek vase painters in the arts of the east Mediterranean, where a fuller and non-geometric treatment of the human form was current (although not in pottery decoration). "Orientalizing" features (*c.*725–625 BC) are most evident in the adoption and treatment of bird and animal motifs.

Corinth was the most innovative centre at the time, and a new technique was introduced there *c.*700 BC. This was the so-called "black figure" method, which involved painting the figures in a clay slip (the black colour was achieved by the firing process) on the vase surface and incising details of anatomy, drapery, etc. with a sharp point; other colours were sometimes added. The precision of this method suited the fine detail required for the decoration of the tiny perfume flasks (*aryballoi*) which were the staple of the Corinthian industry.

The Athenians, with a preference for larger vases, initially drew their figures in outline, painting in the detail, but around 625 they too adopted the black-figure technique and used it increasingly for large-scale mythological scenes. Their pottery rapidly superseded that of Corinth in popularity. The stately magnificence of the work of the best Athenian black-figure painters (such as Execias and the Amasis Painter) of the mid-6th century BC is astonishing. Interest continued to be focused on the figured scenes (see below), although the elegance and symmetry of the shapes and the surface finish were also of excellent quality. Black-figure pottery was widely exported,



Pottery: stirrup jar from Knossos, 2nd millennium BC, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford

especially to the Greek colonies, and regional styles developed, in the case of the Etruscans even outside the Greek-speaking world.

Around 530 BC another new technique ("red-figure") was introduced and gradually became dominant. The vase surface itself was now covered with paint, the figures being left "reserved" to take on the natural colour of the clay when fired. Interior details were painted. The more natural body colour, and the greater fluidity that the painted line gave to dress and anatomy, allowed artists to depict more complex scenes in a more naturalistic way, but the otherworldly quality of black-figure was lost. During this period the art of wall painting was becoming prominent in Greece and there is good reason for thinking that vase painters adopted on occasion certain features (variable ground lines, landscape and background elements) that were better suited to the broad sweep of large panel pictures than to vase decoration.

Although there is no convincing explanation why pottery decorated with figured scenes in the red-figure technique ceased to be produced much after *c.*300 BC, it may be that the aesthetic effect had become much less satisfying, now that the importance of the relationship between shape and decoration had been forgotten in the quest for exciting narrative and spectacular effects, and borrowings from the world of free painting had proved counterproductive. Red figures were also less appropriate for vase decoration than black since, while the latter stay visually on the surface of the vessel and emphasize its volume and structure, the former seem to recede into the shape and deny its solidity.

From the time when the Greeks started to establish colonies and trading centres overseas (as early as the 8th century BC, but more intensively from the later 7th century BC), especially in south Italy and Sicily but also in other areas (the north Aegean, the Black Sea, Asia Minor), their pottery became more widely distributed, more influential on other cultures, and, in theory at least, more open to modification by the adoption of foreign ideas. In fact the influence of Greek pottery on that of other traditions was strictly limited (Etruscan vases are a marked exception) and the Greeks, whether at home or abroad, seem to have adopted little directly (the rhyton shape is one example) apart from a few superficial features, although exotic stylistic features were transformed into local idioms in the Orientalizing period. In particular, the black- and red-figure styles that are so admired today had no further influence until the Neoclassical movement of the 18th century (see below).

Although the red-figure style lasted longer (till the early 3rd century BC) in the Greek colonies of south Italy, in the Hellenistic period it was superseded by other forms of decoration. Painted figured scenes were less prominent, but minor decorative elements were applied in this way (West Slope ware). Figures were now depicted in relief on vases made in moulds (Megarian bowls). The tradition of relief decoration continued in the most widely known varieties of Roman figured pottery (Arretine and Terra Sigillata, the latter sometimes known as "Samian", although it has no significant connection with the island of Samos). Many Roman shapes were also inherited from the Hellenistic world.

Greece, as part of the Roman empire, succumbed to Roman forms in the field of pottery and, if the Hellenistic influences are discounted, the products of this period are Greek only in the sense that they were manufactured in the Aegean, where some local variants of more widespread types naturally appeared. Only relatively recently has serious scholarly attention begun to be focused on pottery of the late Roman and subsequent periods. The first synthetic work on Greek pottery after 1700 (with discussion of the late Roman and Byzantine background), an excellent study by K. Korre-Zografou, appeared in 1995. Treatment of these phases here is therefore more summary.

Byzantine pottery, which was based initially on late-Roman forms but later developed highly distinctive features with new decorative techniques (glaze from the 7th century, and sgrafitto, or incised designs), was the pottery not only of Greece in its ancient or modern territorial sense, but of the Byzantine world as a whole. Much of it was made in Constantinople and exported. During the post-Byzantine period, after the fall of Constantinople in 1453 and the spread of the Ottoman empire, there was at first little change in the pottery produced in the Greek world, though eventually there was a coarsening of style and an increase in local rather than centralized production. But Greek traders were involved in wide international contacts that resulted *inter alia* in the arrival, increasing popularity, and imitation of foreign wares in the Aegean. These came from both east and west.

Islamic influence was first passed into Greece through the products of the Asia Minor centre of Iznik (Nicaea), active *c.*1490–*c.*1700. The so-called Rhodian plates and other forms, whose attractive and colourful designs included flowers, human and animal figures, and ships, were widely distributed in the Aegean and further afield in the 16th and 17th centuries. In spite of the name these are now known to have been produced at Iznik but were mostly distributed through the island of Rhodes. In the 19th century and at the beginning of the 20th century products of the Koutalhaya potteries (established 17th century) were also distributed in Greece, and another important centre was Çannakale (18th and 19th centuries, surviving until 1922).

From the other direction, westerners (Venetians, Genoese, crusader Franks, etc.) had been involved in the Aegean from at least the 11th century, and more intensively after the establishment of the Latin empire at Constantinople in 1204. Some Greek merchants were resident in Italy (especially from the 16th century). There are occasional signs of the influences of knightly taste (falconry, armed combat) in the figured decoration of late-Byzantine pottery. Italian majolica was extensively imported and imitated from the 16th century; protomajolica is found in Greece in the 13th century.

In shapes, colours, and decorative techniques the late-Byzantine tradition remained strong, particularly in northern Greece (Epirus, Macedonia, Thrace) where the characteristic colouring and sgrafitto decoration are found into the 20th century. In the 19th century many regions and places in Greece developed their own distinctive products and styles and there was a good deal of exchange. Island potteries were particularly active (Samos, Siphnos). The spread of ideas and techniques was facilitated by travelling potters, especially those from the island of Siphnos. At the same time foreign products were popular and some types were specially ordered from abroad (Syros commemorative plates from Britain; others from France and Italy) for the Greek market. Many of the products (e.g. storage pithoi) of these potteries fulfilled purely practical functions, but fine wares were increasingly demanded for the table and for interior decoration, a special stimulus being given by the emergent bourgeois society that developed after the establishment of the kingdom of Greece in 1833. Ceramic decoration (especially antefixes) in a Neoclassical style was also popular for buildings of the 19th and earlier 20th centuries. After the exchange of populations in 1923, refugee potters from Asia Minor set themselves up in Greece, establishing workshops and factories and introducing new ceramic features. Although a few local potteries survive and some of the larger factories (e.g. Kerameikos in Athens) continue to turn out fine pottery, some of which reflects earlier traditions, most regional production has been superseded in recent years by featureless mass-produced or imported products.

Greek pottery, especially that of antiquity, has contributed to the spread and understanding of the Greek tradition in various ways. Perhaps the most striking example of its influence on a foreign ceramic tradition is a somewhat anachronistic one. From the late 18th century the British Wedgwood potteries made extensive use of shapes, decorative motifs, and figured styles directly derived from ancient black- and red-figured and mouldmade pottery. Apart, however, from one or two attempts to imitate black- and red-figure effects using modern techniques (the ancient methods were not then understood), the materials and techniques were different, even though the connections in style and subject are very marked. This trend of course was part of a much wider Neoclassical movement.

As regards the scholarly investigation of ancient Greece, pottery of the black- and red-figure styles has played a major role in the study of Greek mythology and everyday life as well as in disseminating knowledge, since it is by far the most abundant, as well as an exceptionally attractive, pictorial source. The vast amount of material available and the equally vast amount of academic effort devoted to ancient pottery have resulted in a detailed understanding of types and phases of development and of the precise origins of many classes and features. Invaluable for establishing both relative chronology and interconnections between different centres in antiquity, such material is fundamental to historical reconstruction. Recent research has greatly extended its usefulness in this way in the Byzantine and later periods.

In more general terms, ancient Greek pottery has come to be regarded, if often implicitly, as providing classic examples of ceramic quality and style. In fact, however, interest in its archaeological and thematic value has almost entirely overshadowed discussion of its merit as an integrated art form. Here, there are good grounds for arguing that the Geometric was the most successful period and that, however subtle and skilful the figured scenes depicted in the black- and red-figure styles, the very impact of these and their neglect of the structure of the vessel distorted that balance between decoration and shape that is essential to make a vase a work of art.

ROBIN L.N. BARBER

See also Painting

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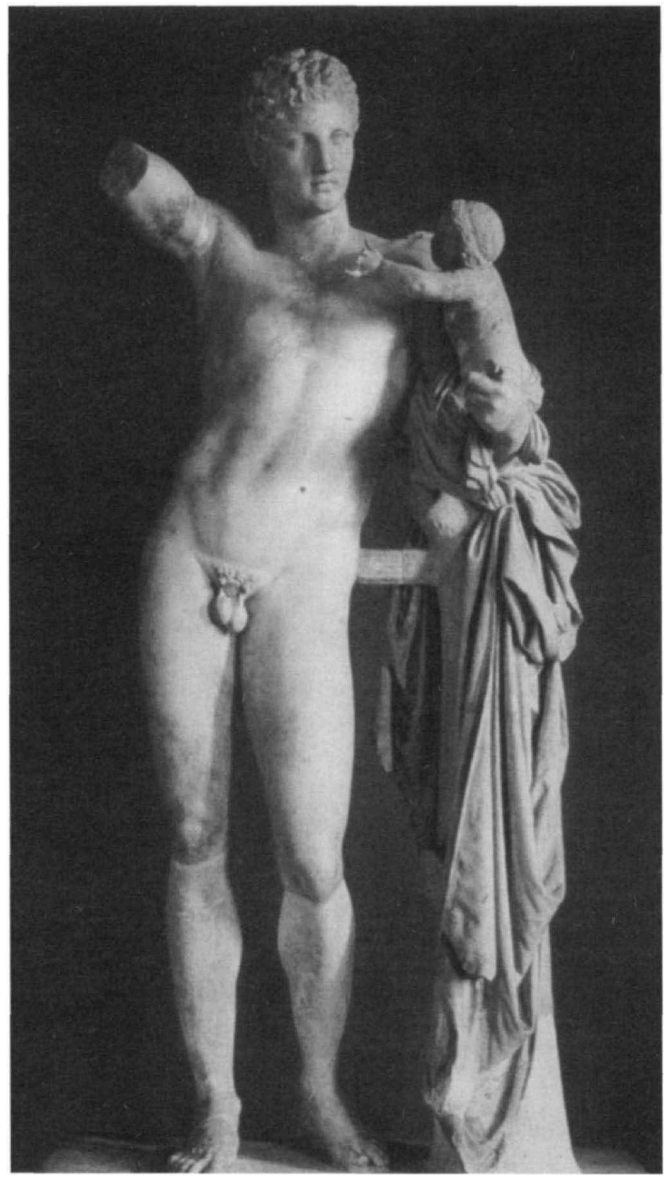
Praxiteles

Sculptor of the 4th century BC

Praxiteles was an Athenian sculptor active in the 4th century BC; Pliny (*Naturalis Historia*, 34. 50) places him in the 104th Olympiad (364–361 BC). It is likely that he came from a family of sculptors; his father was probably Cephisodotus, who created a famous statue of *Peace* (perhaps dedicated after 374 BC when Athens came to terms with Sparta). Praxiteles is likely to have been born around 400 BC and had probably died before 326 BC, when his son is known to have been responsible for naval liturgies at Athens. He was celebrated in antiquity, along with Lysippus, for achieving "realism" (Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria*, 12. 10. 1–10).

Praxiteles made statues in both bronze and marble, and was, according to Pliny (*Naturalis Historia*, 34. 69), "more successful" in the latter medium. Marble was the medium used for his most celebrated statue, the *Cnidian Aphrodite*, which in Pliny's day attracted people to the city of Cnidus (*Naturalis Historia*, 36. 20). Praxiteles had apparently been commissioned by the people of Cos to make a statue of Aphrodite, and he created two, one draped, and the other naked. The people of Cos rejected the former, while the naked statue was acquired by Cnidus and displayed in a circular temple so that the goddess could be viewed from all sides. One of the best descriptions was made by Lucian of Samosata (*Amores*, 13–14) in the 2nd century AD, who described it as "an exceedingly beautiful work of Parian marble". The original is likely to have had parts that were gilded or painted to enhance the work. There was a tradition that Praxiteles used his mistress, Phryne, as the model for the statue. Roman copies of a naked Aphrodite, clearly just concluding a wash, are thought to be representations of this work. The original was carried off to Constantinople where, according to the Byzantine chronicler George Kedrenos, it was displayed in the basilica of Lausus – along with many other statues of the ancient world including the chryselephantine cult statue of *Zeus* from Olympia – until its destruction in a fire in AD 476.

Praxiteles also made a comparable *Aphrodite* in bronze. This was carried off to Rome and was subsequently destroyed in a fire that consumed the temple of Felicitas where it was displayed. Praxiteles' continuing popularity in the Roman period is reflected by the way that his works were carried off to Rome. These were displayed in the gardens of Servilius, on the Capitoline, and in the collection of Asinius Pollio. Praxiteles' fame led him to be associated with the creation of the Mausoleum of Halicarnassus, one of the wonders of the ancient world.



Praxiteles: statue of Hermes attributed to Praxiteles, Olympia Museum

Phryne was celebrated in a gold statue made by Praxiteles at Delphi (Athenaeus, 13. 591b). Phryne herself came from Thespiae in Boeotia, and it was there that Praxiteles made a marble statue of *Eros*; Strabo records the tradition that Praxiteles had given it to his mistress as a gift. This statue was removed by the Roman emperor Caligula, returned by Claudius, and then snatched by Nero; in Pliny's day it was displayed in the lecture rooms of Octavia in Rome. Pausanias, writing in the 2nd century AD (9. 27. 3–5), recorded that, although the original had been destroyed by fire in AD 80, a copy of Praxiteles' work made by Menodorus of Athens could still be seen at Thespiae.

At Olympia Pausanias (5. 17. 3) saw a marble *Hermes* carrying the infant Dionysus in the temple of Hera that was attributed to Praxiteles. A *Hermes* was in fact discovered in the temple in 1877 and was accepted as Praxiteles' original until questioned in 1927. Although there is a possibility that it is an original that was touched up by later sculptors, scholars now

tend towards the view that the Olympia piece – perhaps the one seen by Pausanias – is in fact a work of the Hellenistic period, either by a member of Praxiteles' school or by somebody working in his style.

Pausanias (8. 9. 1) also recorded statues of *Apollo*, *Leto*, and *Artemis* in the temple of Leto at Mantinea. Although these statues have not survived, the base showing the *Muses* and *Marsyas*, mentioned by Pausanias, is preserved. These statues were dated to "the third generation after Alcamenes" who was active, according to Pliny (*Naturalis Historia*, 34. 49), in the 83rd Olympiad (448–445 BC).

Another of Praxiteles' works known from later Roman copies as well as representations on Roman coins is the *Apollo Sauroctonus* ("Lizard Killer"). This statue was described by Pliny as showing a young Apollo waiting to kill a lizard with an arrow. Altogether almost 70 works have been associated with Praxiteles, though some may be the works of members of his school or workshop.

Praxiteles' sons Cephisodotus (probably named after his grandfather) and Timarchus were also sculptors. Pliny (*Naturalis Historia*, 34. 51) places their activity in the 121st Olympiad (296–293 BC), although an inscription from a statue base shows Cephisodotus II was active in the year 344/43 BC (because it names the priest of Asclepius for that year). Further generations of sculptors can be traced into the Roman period.

DAVID W.J. GILL

See also Sculpture

Summary

Born probably *c.*400 BC Praxiteles was the son of Cephisodotus of Athens, himself a sculptor, and was active *c.*375–330 BC. He worked in bronze and marble and specialized in portraits, notably of gods. No surviving statues can be attributed with certainty to him, though several are ascribed to his school. His sons Cephisodotus and Timarchus were also sculptors. He died *c.*326 BC.

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Prehistory

Prehistory is the term used to describe societies which did not have written records. In Greek archaeology the term is sometimes used to include the Bronze Age, but more frequently (as here) it refers to the three periods of the Stone Age: Palaeolithic, Mesolithic, and Neolithic.

Because of its geographical position between Africa, Asia, and Europe, Greece is an area of great significance for the study of the movement of the earliest human groups between these areas, yet the discovery of the Greek Palaeolithic is very recent, dating from the late 1950s and early 1960s, when the first finds of stone tools were made in Thessaly and Epirus. The earliest and most important discovery to date is the human skull found in 1960 in the cave of Petralona, 75 km northeast of Thessalonica. The skull, which was initially thought to be that of a Neanderthal man (who lived in the middle Palaeolithic period) is now believed to belong to an archaic *Homo sapiens* (a more advanced, though earlier human being than Neanderthal) and to be at least 200,000 years old, much older than any of the stone tools found on Palaeolithic sites in Greece.

The earliest stone tools recovered from excavations and surveys are 50,000–30,000 years old and belong to the Levallois-Mousterian industry characteristic of the middle Palaeolithic. This industry, which is characterized by bifacial leaf points, is generally associated with Neanderthal man, who probably penetrated into northern Greece from central and southeastern Europe after the beginning of the last glaciation (a Neanderthal skull has been reported from the Mani peninsula in the Peloponnese). During the glacial periods northern Greece was positioned between the extremes of cold in the north and aridity in the south, and because it may have supported larger pockets of tree cover than areas further south, it was a favourable habitat for animals, and hence for hunter-gatherers. The groups which populated northern Greece are believed to have been small (about 25 people on average), and an extensive area such as Epirus may have had a total population of no more than 50 people at any one time.

In Epirus investigations in rock shelters (Asprochaliko, Kastritsa, Klithi) and open sites (Kokkinopilos and Grava on Corfu, which would have been attached to the mainland at the time) have yielded substantial quantities of middle and late Palaeolithic flint tools, animal bones (particularly of red deer and caprines), fish bones, sea molluscs, and plant foods. Research carried out by British archaeologists has highlighted the importance of the environmental setting of sites, such as their altitude and orientation. The use of the different sites by the highly mobile hunter-gatherer groups would have been conditioned by the time of the year, which affected the seasonal movement of animals, and by the specialized function of any one site. Subsistence strategies would have changed over time, following climatic and environmental changes. Conditions were at their most unfavourable during the glacial maximum (*c.*18,000 BC), but gradually gave way to a warmer, wetter climate, leading to the spread of deciduous forests and the downcutting of rivers around 10,000 BC.

In Thessaly middle and late Palaeolithic tools and fossilized animal bones were found on the banks of the Peneus river, while caves appear to have remained uninhabited. In the

Peloponnese the most important upper Palaeolithic site is the large cave of Franchthi, where occupation started about 20,000 BC and continued into the Mesolithic and Neolithic periods.

The Mesolithic (8th millennium BC) is a period of change, which is particularly noticeable in the greater dependence on seafood, but in Greece sites dating from this period are very rare, probably because many were coastal sites and may have been swamped by the rising sea levels in later periods. At Franchthi the range of plant foods (nuts, legumes, and, for the first time, cereals) suggests a year-round occupation of the cave. The sea was the most critical resource for the provision of food, and for communications, as shown by the presence in the cave of obsidian from Melos. The earliest burials in Greece are also found in the cave in this period.

The momentous change to a subsistence economy based on agriculture and animal herding and the birth of the farming village in Greece date from the 7th millennium BC, in Thessaly, the Argolid (Franchthi cave), and Crete (Knossos). Except for Franchthi, the earliest Neolithic sites had not previously been occupied (Crete had not been occupied at all), and because the animal and plant species used by the earliest farmers were not indigenous to these areas, it seems likely that the settlers came from lands where farming was already established, most probably Anatolia, sailing across the sea with the first domesticated animals and seeds on board their boats. Some pioneering explorations must have been carried out prior to full settlement, as the farmers seem to have identified advantageous environments for farming. The major areas of occupation and subsequent expansion were in Thessaly, particularly the Larissa basin, and they attracted settlement because of their good arable soil and possibly the natural irrigation system, through river valleys and flood plains, which prevailed at the time.

The Greek Neolithic (7th–4th millennia BC) is divided into early Neolithic, middle Neolithic, and late Neolithic. Between the early and late Neolithic settlement expanded steadily and increased in density. It was particularly successful in Thessaly; just over 100 sites were established in the Larissa basin in the course of the 1000-year duration of the early neolithic, and the number had increased to 150 by the end of the late Neolithic. Some sites did not survive from one phase to the next, but several new ones were founded in their place. All areas of mainland Greece, including Macedonia and central and southern Greece, were occupied by the end of the early neolithic, and island settlement, previously confined to Crete, Alonisos, Corfu and Antiparos (Saliagos), increased during the late Neolithic to include Aegina, Ceos, Mykonos, and Naxos. Although it has been suggested that successive waves of farmers arrived from the east throughout the Neolithic, it is more likely that the initial influx of people into the area was not followed by any equally significant number of immigrants.

The characteristic site in this period is the farming village, situated on a ridge or knoll and numbering a few hundred inhabitants. The dwellings were initially flimsy, but by the middle Neolithic the prevailing building type was a structure which, although only one storey high, could be fairly large, had a stone foundation, a superstructure of mudbrick or *pisé* (layers of clay) faced with plaster, and a flat or pitched roof of wattle and daub. Buildings with a megaron plan (rectangular with two rooms of uneven size) make their appearence in Thessaly (Otzaki, Sesklo) in the middle Neolithic.

The main means of subsistence was the cultivation of plant foods: cereal (wheat, barley, millet) and pulses (lentils, peas, vetch). Of less importance was the herding of domesticated animals; sheep and goats predominate on excavated sites, with pigs and cattle in smaller numbers. Fish or game could play a supplementary role in the diet depending on the location of the settlement. Neolithic society is largely believed to have been egalitarian, with the whole community involved in food production. A move towards social differentiation may have taken place in the late Neolithic with the establishment of settlements on marginal lands.

Among the crafts, pottery making was the single most important innovation of the period. For a time the farmers of the earliest villages did not produce ceramic vessels (the phase is known as the preceramic Neolithic), but made extensive use of perishable materials such as wickerwork, matting, wood, and hide. Once introduced, pottery reached very high artistic and technical standards, though the potter's wheel was still unknown, and it was made in a considerable variety of styles; the surfaces were painted in one or more colours (polychrome), were impressed or incised, and the patterns were mostly geometrical (chevrons, triangles, spirals, etc.). There are both chronological and regional differences between the styles. Much of the fine decorated pottery must have been non-utilitarian. Tools were made of bone and stone (both polished and chipped), as were beads, pendants, and other ornaments.

Clay figurines are among the most attractive artifacts of Neolithic Greece. The largest group consists of steatopygic female figurines of different types, but there are also seated male figurines, and models of houses and furniture. Once thought to be fertility goddesses, the steatopygic figurines are today believed to have had a variety of functions, as their use for one specific cult cannot be inferred from their contexts in graves and houses. Ritual was an important element in the life of Neolithic communities. Although no structures have been unequivocally connected with ritual ceremonies, these may have taken place in open spaces, as in other cultures. The nature of Neolithic religion is unknown. Suggestions have been made that it was an "animistic religion" and, if so, the figurines may represent the spirits of ancestors.

The Neolithic was a period of increased communications, by sea as well as land. Similarities between pottery styles and the movement of materials from one area to the other reveal contacts between settlements and regions. The most frequently imported material, and one which travelled in great quantities over great distances, was obsidian from Melos, out of which the sharpest cutting tools were made.

The greatest strides in the study of Greek prehistory have taken place in the last decades. New sites are being discovered with every new survey, and ongoing research is taking place into artefacts, as well as other areas relevant to the understanding of prehistoric man: strategies of exploitation of the environment, transmission of agricultural economy, seafaring, and human colonization of the islands. Progress has been made through the use of scientific techniques for dating deposits and sites, and for reconstructing the palaeoenvironment, but there

is much scope for work leading to a better knowledge of important environmental aspects, such as the configuration of the Greek shoreline, particularly during the Palaeolithic, and changes in climatic conditions and vegetation cover. More accurate dating of neolithic sites would lead to a better understanding of the divisions between periods, and of the correlations between the different local cultures and assemblages during the period.

In modern Greece the Neolithic period arouses a fair amount of interest, among both archaeologists and the general public. It is regarded as the period when many of the "good things" in our modern civilization first appeared, including art, religious thought, and above all farming and the village way of life, both of which have remained fundamentals of Greek life to this very day. Moreover, figurative art appears for the first time in this period, as do other more specifically "Greek" forms, like the megaron building plan. By contrast, the study of the Palaeolithic (and the Mesolithic) has yet to be assigned the position and given the support it enjoys in other countries. That it has not achieved such status may be due not only to the fact that it is still in its infancy or to the more impressive character of the products of later Greek cultures, but also to the fact that the achievements of man in this period are seen as having more significance at a global rather than at a national, Greek level. One of the leading archaeologists in the field, Geoff Bailey, made a plea in 1992 for increased support for training and research in Palaeolithic archaeology within Greece, stressing that this is the period when our species "acquired those most fundamental characteristics by which we define our humanity". It therefore deserves, and let us hope will receive, greater recognition in the future.

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See also Archaeology

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Prespa, Lake

Lake Prespa is one of the most remarkable natural phenomena in the Balkans. The most northerly border of Greece passes through the lake, as do those of the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia and of Albania. With Lake Ohrid, 30 km to the north, to which it is linked by underground water channels, it forms the Prespa World Heritage Park, as designated by UNESCO. There are actually two lakes in the region, Great Prespa and Small Prespa, divided by a narrow causeway. Great Prespa is an important wildlife refuge, although bird life has been adversely affected by falling water levels in the lake in recent years.

In ancient times there were Greek fishing settlements around the lake, but populations were small until the Roman period, when larger villages sprang up in connection with trade along the Via Egnatia that ran to the north of Lake Prespa. Prespa was an early centre for the growth of Christianity, and in the medieval period played a seminal role in the spread of Christianity to the Slav-speaking world. There are some important rock icons painted in caves above the lake that were once occupied by hermits, and many small churches and shrines in the vicinity. This Christian activity continued while Ohrid was an important town and religous centre under the Bulgarian empire. In Ottoman times the vicinity of the lake fell into economic decline and the extensive forests became notorious as centres of banditry and outlaws. The Prespa villages suffered badly in the Ilinden uprising in 1903, and in the First Balkan War in 1912. The lake remained within European Turkey until 1913.

Today the area of the lake has a complex ethnic mosaic, with most inhabitants in all three countries being of basically Slav descent. The Macedonian language is widely understood and spoken, but there are also substantial numbers of Vlachs, along with a few Albanian-speakers who have crossed the border in recent years. The main Greek element consists of people who were moved to this area after the influx into Greece of Asia Minor refugees after 1922, and others of a "national consciousness" who were moved here after the end of the Civil War in 1949. From 1946 to 1949 the headquarters of the Democratic Army of Markos Vafiades was situated near the lake, and it was bombed by the RAF and the United States Air Force in 1948–49.

The main village on the Greek side of the lake is Psarades, a fishing settlement of about 400 people. There is a very fine church, financed by a Russian philanthropist in 1906. Before the Civil War, Psarades was known as Nivica. Many inhabitants fled to Yugoslavia or Russia after 1949, and only returned in 1982 after the PASOK government amnesty for Civil War participants. In recent years some small-scale ecotourism has developed in the region. The main Vlach villages near the lake are Pili and Vronderon.

JAMES PETTIFER

Summary

Lake Prespa lies on the border between Greece, Albania, and the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia. It is connected to Lake Ohrid by underwater channels, and together they form the Prespa World Heritage Park. The area saw heavy fighting in the Greek Civil War. Most inhabitants today are of Slav descent, though there are Vlachs and Albanian-speakers too.

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Prevelakis, Pantelis 1909–1986

Novelist and poet

Pantelis Prevelakis, one of the most prominent Greek authors of the 20th century and a member of the so-called 1930s generation, was distinguished in many different genres of writing. He was born in the city of Rethymnon in Crete in 1909. Although he went to Athens to study law, he in fact studied art and literature in the universities of Athens and Paris. From 1935 he was a professor of art history at the School of Fine Arts in Athens. Very well educated, he was a prolific writer. His works include poetry, novels, plays, and critical essays.

He first appeared as a writer in 1928 with a collection of poems entitled *Soldiers* and in 1930 with a historical monograph, *Domenico Theotokopoulos*, in which his writing skills and his knowledge of art history are well combined. In 1939 he produced his first historical novel, *The Death of the Medici*. He was a loyal student of his teacher Nikos Kazantzakis, whose influence on Prevelakis is so strong that it puts him in the shade. The comparison with Kazantzakis is almost self-evident and has done undue damage to the reputation of Prevelakis. His critical volume *Nikos Kazantzakis and his Odyssey* is an excellent piece of literary criticism. With *The Naked Poetry* (1941) and *The Hours on a Greek Island* (1945) he reached his poetic maturity, enhanced by an ideological development associated with World War II.

Prevelakis began exploring his Cretan roots in prose in the novels *The Chronicle of a Town* (1938) and *Desolate Crete: The Chronicle of the Rising of '66* (1945) which, as the subtitle suggests, is about the 1866 rising in Crete, and the trilogy entitled *The Cretan: The Tree* (1948), *First Liberation* (1949), *The City* (1950). His work embodies the uncompromising struggle for liberty. In *The Cretan* he focused on the personality of Eleftherios Venizelos, the new political hero of the time who was charged by his Cretan soul to lead the Greek people. This work revealed the strength of Prevelakis's writing skills and his deep interest in contemporary reality. Another trilogy followed: *The Sun of Death* (1959), *The Head of Medusa* (1963), and *The Bread of Angels* (1966). His memories of his Cretan past were very important and there is often a sensitive autobiographical tone in his writing. The historical element was also an important aspect. His town of origin, Rethymnon, held a key position in his work: it represented all the ideological and emotional tensions that Prevelakis went through while trying to define himself. He was haunted by a crystallized idea of a certain lifestyle that he had known in Crete and wanted to know again whether or not he was still defined by the same place and lifestyle after all his travels and experiences. He sought to bridge the gap between his youth and maturity, with a need to refer to his own "Ithaca". He also published books on art history early in his career as an academic: *Italian Renaissance and Art* (1935), *Art in Modern Greece* (1938), *El Greco in Rome* (1941).

As many of Prevelakis's titles suggest, Crete and his notion of heroism were cardinal motifs in his work. It is often said that history outweighs fiction in his writings. He chose historical subjects for his plays as well, such as Florence under the Medici or the blowing up of the monastery of Arkadi. Once again the tragic aspect of life is the one that appears on his stage. All of his theatrical works – *The Sacred Massacre* (1952), *Lazaros* (1954), *The Hands of a Living God* (1955) – describe a moment of inner crisis and present a soul in constant dialogue with death. His faith in his heritage and the concept of tradition in a time of transition marks not only his humanism but also the path he chose as a writer. He did not believe in a modernity that denied its roots; on the contrary the tradition that he drew on proves to be in a constant state of dynamic renewal. His work *The Hands of a Living God* is overtly indebted to Dostoevsky, reflecting the dramatic process of a conscience. In his last work, *The New Erotokritos* (1971), using the traditional 15-syllable verse, he discovers a new lyric identity. With this work Greek poetry regained its link with tradition, creating at the same time a marriage between the traditional and the innovative. This is not the only marriage, however, since he also united the personal with the national, the fictional with the historical, the real with the symbolic. The complexity of this work reflects the synthetic mind of its writer. It is written in rhyming couplets, like its predecessor by Vintsentzos Kornaros, yet every couplet has a lyric autonomy, being in this way close to the folk-song tradition. The language in his novels and poetry owes much to the Cretan dialect of his time, although it is more polished. He published more than 30 books, poems, novels, essays, biographies, plays, and translations of other works, and was elected a member of the Academy of Athens.

ANDROMACHE KARANIKA-DIMAROGONA

Biography

Born in Rethymnon in Crete in 1909, Prevelakis was destined for a legal career. But instead he studied art and literature in the universities of Athens and Paris. He became a professor of art history at the School of Fine Arts in Athens and also studied under Kazantzakis, with whom he is often compared as a novelist. He also wrote poetry, drama, and criticism. He was a member of the Academy of Athens. He died in 1986.

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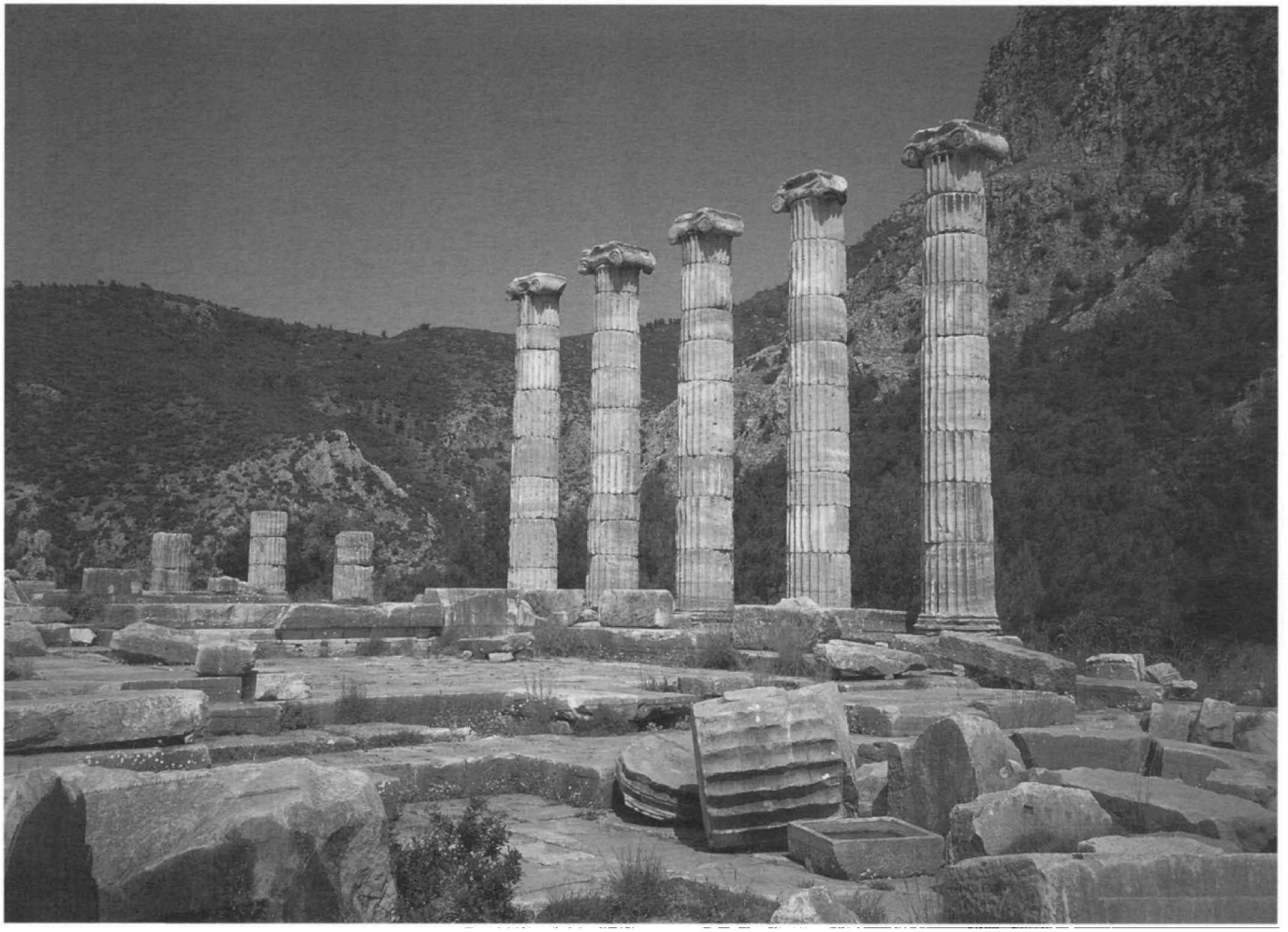
Priene

City in Ionia

Priene was a small Greek city (population *c.*4000) on a peninsula in Asia Minor *c.*30 km south of Ephesus that flourished



Priene: temple of Athena, dedicated in 334 BC

from the mid-4th century BC throughout the Hellenistic and early Roman periods. It is notable for being one of the most intelligible examples of ancient town planning, and its remains include most forms of public and domestic Greek architecture. The buildings, which are laid out on a grid plan, sit on the southern slope of Mount Mykale overlooking the Meander valley, *c.*15 km from the sea. In antiquity Priene was connected by a branch of the Meander river to its seaport at Naulochos on the bay of Latmos. The river silted up over time, however, causing the bay to become landlocked, and the city diminished in importance in later Roman times without access to a harbour.

Priene seems to have been founded originally at a different location, perhaps as early as the 2nd millennium BC, but its early history is known almost entirely from ancient authors, including Strabo, Herodotus, and Pausanias. In the 7th century BC it was one of the 12 major cities of Ionia and a member of the Ionian League. In the 6th and 5th centuries BC Priene was variously under the influence of the Lycians, Carians, Lydians, Phrygians, Athenians, and Persians. The city was refounded, probably by the Persian satraps the Hekatomnids, at its present location *c.*350 BC, and it is from this date and throughout the Hellenistic period that most of the extant remains come. Priene, along with the other Greek cities of Ionia, was freed from Persian domination in 334 BC by Alexander the Great, who lived there while he laid siege to Miletus on the other side of the bay of Latmos. After Alexander's death Priene came under the control of various Hellenistic kings – Lysimachus, the Ptolemies, the Seleucids, and the Attalids. Upon the death of the last Attalid king in 133 BC, Priene passed into Roman hegemony along with the rest of the kingdom of Pergamum. By the 3rd century AD, with the river silted up, the city dwindled to a town half its original size.

Priene was designed according to the philosophy of orthogonal town planning that was promoted by the renowned 5th-century BC architect Hippodamus of Miletus. Facing south to provide maximum light during winter, it was surrounded by a defensive wall with the main gate on the northeast and subsidiary gates on the southeast and west. High above and behind the city on the summit of Mount Mykale was a walled acropolis that was a permanent station for a military garrison. The urban water supply flowed down from the summit by aqueduct to reservoirs on the northeast of the city, and then was piped to public buildings and fountains. The streets were laid out as a grid, the six major streets on the east–west axis comprising a main thoroughfare 7.36 m wide and five others 4.44 m wide. These were intersected at right angles by narrower streets, 3.5 m wide, most of which incorporated steps because they lay on the north–south slope of the hill. The standard city block (insula) was 120 × 160 Attic feet. In the public

areas of the city the buildings often took up an entire block or more, while in the domestic quarters each insula usually accommodated four houses.

Priene displays all the components necessary to the Classical Greek city (polis). At its heart was its major monument, honouring the city's patron, the 4th-century BC temple of Athena. An inscription states that it was dedicated in 334 BC in the name of Alexander the Great, who furnished the funds that were needed to complete basic construction. The temple was built by the renowned Carian architect Pytheos, who was esteemed as well for his work on the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus, one of the seven wonders of the ancient world. As was common practice among famed architects in antiquity, Pytheos wrote about his general architectural theories and he used as illustration the temple of Athena at Priene. His book, unfortunately, survives only in the commentary of Vitruvius. The ceiling of the peristyle was highly unusual in that it contained coffers carved in very high relief with scenes depicting gods fighting Giants and Amazons. The statue of Athena that stood within the cella was a replica of the colossal figure of Athena from the Parthenon in Athens. In front of the temple was the altar of Artemis, an ornate rectangular structure adorned with nearly life-sized figures carved in high relief set between attached columns.

To the east of the sanctuary of Athena was the commercial and social centre of the city, the agora. This large, open rectangle (75.64 × 35.40 m) contained various shops and was the site of many public meetings and festivals. To the north and south of the agora were other public buildings: the bouleuterion, the council house; the prytaneion, a smaller administrative building; stoas; gymnasia; a stadium; various temples and sanctuaries; and the theatre, whose ruins are impressive especially since they preserve the 2nd-century BC stage building more completely than at most other sites of the period. Filling the insulae on the west and east sides of the city were private dwellings. The large number of houses surviving at Priene is particularly propitious, for ancient Greek domestic architecture can be studied to this extent at few other sites. The houses were relatively small, with several rooms surrounding an open court. While most appear to have been of one storey, some preserve stairs that would have led to an upper level.

Although Hippodamus was esteemed by Hellenistic Greeks as the inventor of formal city planning, Priene as a visual expression of his ideas was a relatively late example of orthogonal urban design. In the 2nd millennium BC Egyptian workers' villages at Kahun and Tell el-Amarna consisted of housing built in rectangular blocks along parallel streets. In the 5th century BC Herodotus (1. 180) describes the streets of Babylon as a grid, all being either parallel or perpendicular to the Euphrates river. In the Greek-speaking world, in the 7th century BC, both Smyrna in Asia Minor and Megara Hybleia in Sicily were built with parallel streets on orthogonal plans. Priene's position in the heart of the Hellenistic world provided it with greater influence than its size might otherwise have inspired. The fact that it was the site of an important temple built by a major architect also brought the city an extra measure of attention. Cities that were built or rebuilt under the Hellenistic kings or Roman emperors, e.g. Miletus, most assuredly were influenced by knowledge of orthogonal town planning at Priene.

Priene's influence seems not to have continued beyond the 3rd century AD when the city lost half its population and fell into disrepair. From that time it consisted primarily of poorly built houses and shops – constructed of materials from Hellenistic ruins – that extended over the original city streets destroying the grid plan. Priene was deserted from the 7th to the 10th centuries. Between the 10th and 13th centuries the site was reoccupied and Priene was a bishopric of the Metropolitan of Ephesus. But as with other bishoprics of impoverished Ephesus (e.g. Pergamum, Didyma), it was merely a small village of modest houses and chapels, and the bishop must have been little more than the equivalent of a parish priest. By the end of the 13th century Priene was deserted.

PAMELA A. WEBB

Summary

Priene was a small Greek city on the Meander river in Ionia (western Asia Minor) that flourished from *c.*350 BC to the later Roman empire. It is most notable as an example of Hippodamian town planning on the grid system, and for its wide variety of remains of public and domestic architecture. In late antiquity the river silted up and Priene lost its harbour and with it its importance.

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Priesthood

In Mycenaean Greece the king discharged religious functions that, for want of a better term, may be identified with those of a high priest. In Athens these functions came in time to be invested in an elected magistrate known as the *archon basileus* or king archon. However, in no period in antiquity did there exist any institution exactly comparable to our notion of priesthood. The word *hiereus*, which comes closest to "priest", denoted an official attached to a particular sanctuary who supervised the *hiera* (sacred objects) stored within that sanctu-

ary and who conducted the sacred rites connected with the cult. The most important of these were the performing of sacrifice, the purification of the sanctuary, the punishment of those who violated sanctuary regulations, and maintaining the buildings in good repair.

Since Greek religion did not concern itself much with morality, priests never functioned as spiritual advisers; their duties were primarily those of a liturgical and administrative nature. They were debarred from playing any part in the ceremonies connected with birth, marriage, and death because of the pollution that was believed to be associated with these events. Priests also lacked the technical competence and skill to pronounce upon matters arising from the practice of religious ritual; instead, when problems arose, particularly those having to do with pollution, religious experts known as *exegetai* were consulted.

Eligibility for priestly office was based on external qualifications. The most important qualification was the absence of any blemish or deformity, since it was believed that a blemish constituted evidence of divine disfavour. So far as we know, priests did not have to undergo any formal training, though they obviously had to be adept in the performing of their religious ritual. Since most temples were open to the public only a few days of the year, the holding of a priesthood was generally a part-time occupation. Priests were not paid for their services, though they were entitled to portions of meat from all the sacrifices performed in the sanctuary over which they had charge. Some had special seats of honour in the theatre of Dionysus. The more important priests were distinguished by their dress; the Hierophant of the Eleusinian Mysteries, for instance, wore a mantle, probably of purple, a headband surmounted by a wreath of myrtle, and carried a staff.

As a general rule, gods were served by priests, goddesses by priestesses. Some priesthoods were hereditary, others were for a fixed term. In democratic Athens the newer priesthoods were annual appointments for which all members of the citizen body were eligible. The more venerable ones, such as that of Athena Polias or Poseidon Erechtheus, were reserved for members of a particular *genos* or noble kin-group. With few exceptions the powers of a priest were strictly curtailed and there is no evidence for any involvement *qua* priest in politics. Even in matters that had to do with religion, it was the citizen body as a whole, rather than the priesthood, that took all major decisions, without consulting the priesthood, at least in any formal way. Priests were not in a position to challenge the legal or political authority of the state because they never acknowledged any corporate identity. Thus when Socrates was accused of violating religious law in 399 BC, a group of indvidual citizens conducted the prosecution. Even so, it is probable that the major priesthoods carried considerable prestige. The priestess of Hera in Argos was so important that the Greeks based their system of chronology on the number of years that she had been in office (Thucydides, 2. 1).

The concept of the Christian priest emerges towards the end of the 2nd century AD, largely due to the teachings of Cyprian. Priests now became celebrants of the Eucharist, a role previously confined to bishops. During the period of Turkish occupation, priests often served as intermediaries between the Turkish authorities and the Greek people. It was a priest, Germanos of Patras, who began the revolt against the Turks in the Morea in 1821, thereby instigating the War of Independence. Priests receive little money for their services and in order to supplement their salary they may charge for the baptisms, liturgies, exorcisms, and other services that they perform. They are permitted to marry before (but not after) ordination. The Greek Orthodox priesthood falls under the jurisdiction of the four patriarchs, those of Constantinople (properly known as the ecumenical patriarch), Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem.

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See also Cult, Women's Cults

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Printing

The beginnings of Greek printing are inextricably linked with the humanist current predominant in the period of the Italian Renaissance, and in particular with the desire of humanists, most of them Italian, to preserve works of ancient Greek literature, either in the original or in Latin translation. Byzantine scholars had begun to teach Greek in the West as early as the late 14th century, and Italian printers were the first to turn to the printing of Greek.

Greek incunabula (works printed before 1500) form a corpus of 80 books, published in three main cities: Milan, Florence, and Venice. The rest come from cultural centres of lesser importance, such as Parma, Vicenza, Brescia, and Reggio nell'Emilia. These works were for the most part grammars and dictionaries, though some of the monuments of Classical literature were also published, among them the five-volume series of the entire corpus of Aristotle's writings (Venice: Aldus Manutius, 1495–98), the complete works of Homer (Florence, 1488–89), the comedies of Aristophanes (Venice, 1498), and others.

The first endeavour to print a Greek book is dated around 1471, in Venice, and was due to the German printer Adam de Ambergau. The work in question was the *Erotemata* of Manuel Chrysoloras, in a Latin version by Guarino Veronese, which included extensive extracts in Greek. The first continuous Greek text was again Chrysoloras's *Erotemata*, which was printed with no indication of the date, place of publication, or printer, though probably in Bologna or Florence around 1475. The first dated Greek book was printed by Dimitrios Damilas of Crete in 1476, at the press of Dionigi Paravicino in Milan. It contains the *Epitome of the Eight Parts of Speech* by Constantine Laskaris, another grammar for the teaching of the Greek language to westerners.

Two Greek presses were established, both of them in Venice, before 1500, by Cretan men of letters and printers. The first operated in the house of two priests, Laonikos and Alexandros, for about a year, in 1486, and produced the

Psalter and the *Battle of Frogs and Mice*. The second, which was one of the most famous of the early presses, functioned from the beginning of 1499 to the end of 1500 and published the following works: the *Etymologicum Magnum* and the *Commentary on the Ten Categories of Aristotle* of Simplicius in 1499, and the *Commentary on the Five Voices of Porphyry* by Ammonius and the *Therapeutics* of Galen in 1500. To print these books, one of the most elegant character sets ever designed was cut by Zacharias Kalliergis; the texts were edited in part by Nikolaos Vlastos, who also financed the publications.

The Italian presses that published Greek books included those of Giovanni da Reno, Lorenzo de Alopa, Pellegrino de Pasquali, Uldericus Scinzenzeler, and others; the most famous of all, however, was that of Aldus Manutius in Venice. From 1494 Aldus collaborated with Greek scholars to print a large number of Greek books, totalling 18 incunabula, the first of which was the *Hero and Leander* of Musacus.

From the early decades of the 16th century, after the deaths of Aldus (1517) and Kalliergis (after 1523), the production of Greek books ceased to depend on Greek teachers and their pupils. The Italian presses, and also those in the north (Basle, Paris, Lyons, Strasbourg, and Frankfurt), were staffed by a considerable number of fine Hellenists and published important works of Greek literature, as well as first editions of the Church Fathers, in this way lending support to local humanist studies. The Greeks of the diaspora and Venice, for their part, realized that it was essential to publish "tools" for the teaching of Greek to the scattered Greek population, as well as liturgical books for the needs of the hundreds of Orthodox monasteries and churches to be found in the territories of the Ottoman empire. In view of the prohibition on the practising of the printer's art, though not the distribution of books, in the territory of the Sublime Porte, the Greeks of the diaspora successfully established publishing houses in Venice that functioned without interruption down to the early decades of the 19th century.

The presses founded in Venice were the fruit of the cooperation of Greek merchants, men of letters, and printers, and also Italians who owned printing workshops and the appropriate materials to print Greek texts, and who possessed the necessary permits. The most important establishments to emerge were those of Andreas Kounadis, Damiani di Santa Maria, Andrea Pinelli, Nicolini da Sabio, Nikolaos Glykys, Nikolaos Saros, Antonio Bortoli, Dimitrios Theodosiou, and many others. Commercially, many printers collaborated with these publishing–printing centres and businesses frequently changed hands or were financed by different supporters.

For their subject matter these presses relied mainly on the contents of liturgical books, such as gospel books, Menaia, anthologies, lives of saints, intercessions, books of hours, and prayer books. Nevertheless, a significant role was also played by many publications of a popular nature, which began to appear in the second decade of the 16th century with texts written by members of learned circles in Crete – books such as the *Apokopos* by Bergadis, the *Mourning for Death*, the *Story of Sossana*, and others. Another major source of material for the publishing programmes of these houses consisted of new editions of grammar books, mainly the *Grammar* of Manuel Chrysoloras, and those of Constantine Laskaris and of Theodore Gaza. These were aimed at the learned Greek public and the teaching staff of the private and monastery schools in the East.

In addition to the major centres of Greek printing such as Venice, efforts began in the early decades of the 17th century to establish presses in other centres of Hellenism. The first of these attempts was by the ecumenical patriarch of Constantinople, Cyril I Lukaris who, beginning in Lvov, Poland, and thereafter in collaboration with Nikodemos Metaxas in Constantinople, endeavoured to set up a press in the Phanar, in 1627. Lukaris's purpose was to circulate Greek books whose content would counter the proselytizing policy of the Catholic Church and Jesuit propaganda directed at Orthodox Christians.

Between this time and the end of the 18th century, Greek presses were founded in Mount Athos, Moschopolis, Bucharest, Jassy, Vienna, Trieste, Moscow, and St Petersburg, as well as Constantinople. The ulterior motive of these centres was to produce books not only to educate Greeks everywhere and to maintain Orthodox beliefs, but, from the beginning of the 18th century, also to disseminate the ideas of the European Enlightenment.

The most important centre of the Neohellenic Enlightenment was Vienna. Here the output of the Greek and Viennese presses was completely different from the traditional publishing map of Greek books: translations of European literature, scholarly treatises, new grammars and dictionaries, texts giving expression to modern Greek literature and poetry, as well as newspapers, literary journals, and single-sheet pamphlets of a nationalist revolutionary content. Printers of the calibre of Georgios Ventotis and the Markidis Pouliou brothers were active in Vienna, which not only developed into the most important publishing centre of Hellenism from the late 18th century on, but was also the centre from which the distribution of Greek books to the length and breadth of the countries around the Mediterranean was efficiently organized through a system of prior enrolment and permanent subscription.

Printing presses began to be established systematically in Greece from the early decades of the 19th century, as a result of the various historical circumstances that stamped this period. Presses were set up successively on Corfu (1798), Zakynthos (1819), Chios (1819), at Kydonies (1819), Kalamata (1821), Corinth (1821), on Hydra (1823), and at Missolonghi (1823). The pamphlets published by these presses were related to administrative decisions and decrees, and their revolutionary or informative content was associated with the Greek national uprising in 1821.

Printed works began to appear in Athens in 1824, at the instigation of the British colonel Leicester Stanhope, who believed that a press ought to be established in the seat of the new government to meet its needs for newspapers and other printed matter. Since that time, especially after Athens was proclaimed capital of the newly founded Greek state, important publishers and printers have honoured the age-old tradition of Greek books, and there are still some functioning presses that perpetuate the art of Gutenberg, such as those of C. Manousaridis, A. Kaliakatsos, and others. Athens and Thessalonica virtually monopolize the production of Greek books, which in recent decades has been aimed at the publica-

tion not only of original works, but also of a good many translations of international literature.

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See also Books and Readers

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Proclus AD 410/11–485

Philosopher

Proclus was head of the philosophy school at Athens from AD 435/36 until 485. By this time Neoplatonism had covered most of ancient Greek thought, including Aristotelianism, so there was no other philosophical school. Proclus taught and wrote on logic, theories of being, properties and causation (metaphysics); on knowledge, perception and truth (epistemology), theology and revelation, mathematics, physics, astronomy; and on the literature of Homer and Hesiod.

He was born in Constantinople but his family soon left for their family home, Xanthus in Lycia, probably around AD 415, to avoid the persecution of "Hellenes" (pagans) by the empress Pulcheria. He was sent to Alexandria to study law and to follow in his father's career, but underwent a conversion to Athenian philosophy while on a temporary visit to Byzantium at the time of the empress Eudocia's patronage of Hellenic learning and the institution of a university there (AD 425). At the age of 19 he went to Athens, where he studied Aristotle and Plato. He was elected head of the richly endowed Athens Academy at the age of 25; there he remained until his death aged 75, in the reign of the emperor Zeno.

Proclus asserted that the analysis of being leads to more simple and universal principles: from *physis* (nature) and *psyche* (soul) to *nous*, Life, and Essence. The simple are also more deep and fundamental: that renders them less explicit. Ultimately there is an unconditioned principle which can only be referred to as "the One" (*to hen*), but cannot be captured by any word or definition. Every entity, a stone, a human, or the world as a whole, is composed of the appropriate levels, plus its own "one" (*henas*). Each analytical level is known with befitting means: physical phenomena with the senses; mental images with imagination, conceptions, scientific laws, and mathematical objects with the reasoning mind; permanent, atemporal realities with direct intellection; the transcendent with faith (*pistis*), an intimate but incommunicable union between knower and object.

Things are defined and known by their properties. The latter originate in exempt, "imparticipable" realities (*hypostaseis*), but become known when they are correlated with, "partaken" by mind or experience. A "manifest" property is thus an "image" (*eikon*), representation, or a phenomenon. Proclus conceived of properties dynamically. A property in its "imparticipable" state "remains" unqualified. It spontaneously "proceeds", thereby informing others. It recovers its identity by "returning". Creation is a "procession"; contemplation and salvation are "returns".

Philosophy and theology have the same objects, just as metaphysics is the study of God (since Plato and Aristotle). For Proclus, the "ones" of self-sufficient realities are the deities of philosophical or popular religion. The scale of unity correlating with being is also the scale of divinity. The principal One is the all-transcendent God, but, for example, the "one" of principal Essence is God the Father, the "one" of principal *nous* (Intellect) is God the Creator, and the "ones" of subsidiary entities are the angels or incarnate saviours. The "procession" from reality to phenomena is thus accompanied by the descent of divine light to matter. This makes possible the salvation of mortal beings, which is the recovery of their unity. However, Proclus stressed that divinity is not fully fathomed by thinking, because it is indefinable. Theology needs something more, an active sympathy, *theourgia* ("divine work").

All beings, down to the lowest matter, partake of the Good God, but each in their own qualified manner. Evil results from ignorance, weakness, or some deficiency. According to Proclus, evil itself is nothing, a privation subsisting parasitically (*parhypostasis*: a "parallel existence").

Platonists reasoned that personal life, *psyche*, is a substance capable of life independent of the body. *Psyche* acts purposely, which implies rationality and volition. So psychology extends to metaphysics, life, mind, and ethics. For Proclus, *psyche* is in essence incorporeal and atemporal but its activities occur in some space or time. *Psyche* causes the body to move this way or that. Internally, it makes manifest dimensional images: the process of imagination. Images formed by the reasoning mind can be compared to those impressed by the senses, and correct them. However, for *psyche* to have full awareness of its unlimited source of inspiration, the *nous*, it must "return" by "ascending" to its proper level. From this level it "descends" when it becomes embodied. It falls because of its "daring" (*tolma*) generated by the individuality of its consciousness.

Science bridges the senses with reality, and provides understanding. Studying mathematics integrates reasoning with imagination, and trains the mind to contemplate. Mathematics mirrors the grand scale of being and knowledge. It extends from concrete things (mechanics and other applied mathematics) to abstractions, and then from models of reality to the hidden reality itself. Proclus was an observational and theoretical astronomer, and a physicist. He had the courage to reject Ptolemy's cosmology and Aristotle's physics. By applying his graded metaphysics, he proposed that the heavens and the earth are made of the same elements, except that they are in different modalities. Thus he reunified the scope of physical science. Further, he concluded that the place occupied by a mass-body, or by the visible universe as a whole, is a

three-dimensional volume-interval. He advanced the novel theory that this "space" is a massless body, consisting of pure, invisible light.

Proclus taught many prominent figures, including Byzantine statesmen. His student Ammonius became head of the Alexandrian school, and using Proclus' lectures taught Simplicius and the Christian Philoponus. Simplicius went to Athens with another Alexandrian, Damascius, subsequently the last head of the Athenian school. After Justinian closed it (AD 529) Simplicius wrote his influential commentaries on Aristotle. Philoponus proved the greatest philosophical critic of Proclus. Nevertheless, Proclus' teachings were maintained by the Alexandrian philosophers, including Stephanus, the appointee to the imperial university of Constantinople.

Proclus' hierarchy of being and divinity was adapted by pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite, and became central to Orthodox theology with Maximos the Confessor (7th century) and John of Damascus (8th century). Proclus' writings themselves continued to be studied by Byzantines through Psellos (11th century) to Plethon (15th century), or were deemed dangerous enough for renewed Christian refutation (Nicholas Methone, 12th century).

In Islam, Proclus influenced the Ikhwan al-Safa (10th century), a cornerstone of Shiite theology. In philosophy, the Arabs drafted compilations of Proclus' works under Aristotle's name. They were transmitted to the west as the *Liber de Causis*, and became an important source of Greek philosophy.

In the Latin west, Eriugena (9th century) promulgated the pseudo-Dionysian corpus. William Moerbeke, bishop of Corinth in the Latin occupation (13th century), translated Proclus' works and made them available to his friend, the Dominican theologian Thomas Aquinas. Proclus attracted great interest among western theologians, especially Nicholas of Cusa. During the Renaissance (Ficino, *et al.*) Neoplatonism and Proclus were important influences. Elizabethan literary figures such as Edmund Spenser also read Proclus. The trend continued to the 19th-century Romantics.

Proclus' mathematical science was valued by Galileo's circle, and profoundly influenced the 17th-century astronomer Kepler. In modern philosophy the editions of Proclus by the Frenchman Victor Cousin and the German Friedrich Creuzer opened him to the chief Idealists, particularly Hegel, who respected Proclus above Plotinus. In America Proclus was read by the Transcendentalists, notably Ralph Waldo Emerson.

LUCAS SIORVANES

See also Neoplatonism

Biography

Born in Constantinople in 410 or 411 to a family from Lycia, Proclus first studied law at Alexandria. In 430/31 he went to Athens to study Plato and Aristotle. At the age of 25 he became head of the Athenian Academy and remained there until his death. In addition to teaching he wrote widely on logic, metaphysics, epistemology, theology, mathematics, physics, astronomy, and literature. He died in 485.

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Procopius of Caesarea

Historian of the 6th century AD

Procopius, "a writer who must be accounted the most excellent Greek historian since Polybius" (Bury, 1958, vol. 2, p. 419), was born in Caesarea, Palestine, in the early 6th century AD. Appointed the *assessor*, or legal adviser, of the emperor Justinian's chief general Belisarius in 529, he accompanied him on his campaigns until the early 540s. The stirring events he witnessed, combined with his Classical education, inspired him to write a detailed account of the wars waged by Justinian. Divided geographically into *Persian Wars* (books 1–2), *Vandalic Wars* (books 3–4), and *Gothic Wars* (books 5–7), his history narrates the progress of Roman campaigns in these three theatres of conflict. In the year 550 he not only completed the first seven books of the *Wars*, but also the *Anecdota* or *Secret History*. This latter work disappeared from circulation almost immediately, it seems, not to reappear again until *c.*1000, when it is mentioned in the *Suda* as a piece of *psogos* (invective) and *komodia* (satire) about Justinian, Theodora, Belisarius, and Antonina. Procopius continued working in the 550s, producing one more book of *Wars* (book 8), covering the ongoing campaigning in Italy and the Transcaucasus. He also composed a panegyric, the *Buildings* or *De Aedificiis*, detailing the building work undertaken by Justinian in Constantinople, the east, the Balkans, and north Africa. Both these works were probably produced around 554, although some scholars have preferred to place them later in the 550s. Procopius died soon afterwards, and should not be

identified with the homonymous prefect of Constantinople in 562.

Procopius is among the very few Greek historians of the Roman empire whose works have survived in their entirety (as far as is known), and it is clear that he was quickly recognized as the leading authority on the events he relates. Agathias of Myrina, who continued his history of Justinian's wars for the period 552–59, mentions that "he [Procopius] who was so learned ... had read the whole of history, so to speak" (*Histories*, 4. 26. 4, translated Cameron). Both Agathias and, slightly later, Evagrius Scholasticus made use of Procopius' *Wars*: clearly this work enjoyed wide distribution (as Procopius himself notes at *Wars*, 8. 1. 1), although the *Buildings*, like the *Anecdota*, vanishes from view until much later. Before the hiatus that overtook Byzantine historiography in the early 7th century, a considerable number of historians, such as Menander Protector, John of Epiphania, and Theophylaktos Simokattes, continued to write "classicizing histories" similar to those of Procopius.

Procopius is but one in a long sequence of what are known as classicizing historians, so called because they wrote in a style which strove to emulate the historians of the 5th century BC, Herodotus and Thucydides. Although some classicizing historians may have had only a limited knowledge of these historians' works, it seems clear that Procopius at least was well acquainted with them. He owes a greater debt, perhaps, to the latter than the former: he aims to write in an "Atticizing" style, adopts a Thucydidean formula for dating campaigns, and on numerous occasions echoes Thucydidean phrases and sentiments (most notably in his description of the plague that struck Constantinople in 542 (*Wars*, 2. 22–23, modelled on Thucydides, 2. 46–53, a passage that influenced several later Byzantine historians)). But the interest in the esoteric and anecdotal visible in the *Anecdota* and the *Wars* is more reminiscent of Herodotus, as is the preface to the *Wars*.

In later times Procopius, as a successful exponent of the Atticizing style of historiography, remained popular among the Byzantine elite. The *Wars* were highly regarded, but some books more so than others: the patriarch Photios summarized only the *Persian Wars* in his *Bibliotheca*, while the chronicler Theophanes preferred to incorporate into his work a résumé only of the *Vandalic Wars*. One scholar has referred to a "Procopius renaissance" in the 12th century; certainly his works were used extensively by the historian Zonaras, and influenced the style of John Kinnamos. Around the same time he is among the authors recommended by the bishop of Corinth, Gregory, who praises the political and deliberative oratory in his work. Belisarius, in many ways the main focus of Procopius' narrative, became a heroic figure in popular literature of the later Byzantine period, although many of the stories concerning him do not come from Procopius. The contrasting depiction of events in the *Wars* and *Anecdota*, which initially led scholars to doubt the attribution of the latter to Procopius, has proved fertile ground for writers of fiction. The first modern scholar of Procopius, Felix Dahn, based his nationalistic novel *Der Kampf um Rom* (1876) on the *Gothic Wars*, while Robert Graves's *Count Belisarius* (1938) is little more than an imaginative reworking of the *Wars* and *Anecdota*.

Although Procopius' reputation as a historian has declined since Bury's time, he remains probably the most valuable primary source concerning the reign of Justinian; and his works continue to provide the framework for modern accounts of the period.

G.B. GREATREX

See also Historiography

Biography

Born in Caesarea in Palestine early in the 6th century AD, Procopius accompanied Belisarius on his campaigns until the early 540s as his secretary and legal adviser, visiting north Africa, Italy, and the east. He wrote an account of the wars of Justinian which survives in eight books. He also wrote the *Buildings* (on Justinian's public works) and the *Secret History* (a piece of satire). He died *c.*560.

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Procopius of Gaza c.475–c.538

Christian rhetorician and teacher in the humanities

Procopius was very proud of the ancient city of Gaza where he was born and spent most of his life, a place to which he added distinction. Among the most prosperous cities of Palestine, at the crossroads of trade routes in all directions, Gaza was a major trading post and port, a provincial centre, and a meeting point of peoples and languages. By the time of Procopius it had become prominent in Christian terms as the site of an important episcopal see. At the same time, Gaza saw the existence, in a period of decline, of a late-flourishing school of rhetoric where the Christian context allowed the coexistence of traditional expressions of pagan Greek culture, a school that attained a distinction that drew students from a wide area.

Procopius came to be regarded as the most important of the "Triad of Gaza", the other members being his brother Zacharias and the rhetorician Aeneas whom he probably succeeded as head of the school (*c.*491–95). Also notable in the school was Choricius, a student of Procopius, from whose funeral oration, together with Procopius' own letters (166 survive), may be derived a patchy account of his life. The dates are subject to debate, with *c.*475–538 emerging as more probable than *c.*465–528. (He was said to have died at the same age as Demosthenes.) Starting with a good Classical education in his native city, he went on to Alexandria and perhaps elsewhere before returning to a salaried post in Gaza. He remained as a rhetorician with public duties and as a teacher, despite attempts to lure him away to Antioch, Tyre, and Caesarea. His letters show a man of wide acquaintance, including distinguished and influential contemporaries in the spheres of medicine, law, and the Church, as well as among professional colleagues and students. His correspondence includes personal communications and letters of recommendation and consolation. They contain elements of personal concern, social awareness, and learned humour, revealing aspects of city life and, on occasion, verging on the lighthearted. Written in a highly polished, rather artificial style, these letters exemplify a continuity of Attic prose. Not only in style, but in content, is to be found continuity, a generous range of pagan Classical allusion being juxtaposed with aspects of Christian belief.

Alongside the teaching activity of which Choricius spoke highly, Procopius left examples of his rhetorical skill, in particular his celebratory oration on the emperor Anastasius I (491–518). In a forceful work of panegyric, following a pattern set by many predecessors, he achieves a measure of individuality within the bounds of conventional form. Tracing the emperor's career and emphasizing his vital part in the war against the Arabs, he looks for a wider context. As the city is set within the empire, so the empire itself has its place in the life of the human race, as the orator adumbrates a view of world history and a theory of government. Anastasius is depicted as a strong ruler, concerned for his subjects, especially the poor, and accessible to all classes in his pursuit of universal harmony. He represents a living law and exemplifies morality. Though there are discreet omissions, as when Procopius passes over various controversial episodes and disputes on religious matters, he contrives to maintain some balance within his idealized account.

Within the Christian sphere Procopius is more noted for an activity very different from any so far considered. The bulk (and it is extensive) of what has come down to us consists of catenae (*seirai*) of commentary on books of the Bible, composed of lengthy excerpts from established writers who include Philo Judaeus, Origen, Basil, Gregory of Nyssa, Clement of Alexandria, and Theodoret. He compiled comments on the books from Genesis to Ruth, in longer and shorter forms, together with collections on Isaiah, Song of Songs, and Proverbs. These display little evidence of shaping by a mind conscious of exegetical principles. Procopius adheres to no interpretative school, merely setting down side by side comments in an eclectic mass.

Yet another aspect of his interests is found in the account he gives of a series of pictures, all on traditional pagan themes. Introducing them with a rhetorical flourish on the all-pervading power of love, he vividly describes mythological motifs, involving figures such as Theseus, Ariadne, Phaedra, and Hippolytus, with a strikingly sensitive evocation of scenes from the *Iliad*, where the reader is brought to stand in emotional involvement with the defeated Priam before Agamemnon. The grouping of figures and the subtle variations of landscape emerge in telling detail. In a rather different mode are a stylized set of declamations on Classical subjects, such as Venus, Adonis, and Spring.

Though the attribution has been disputed, it may well be that the fragments of a work in which the writer disputes views held by the Neoplatonist Proclus come from Procopius. Proclus had connections with Gaza and Aeneas wrote of the influence of Neoplatonism, selective in acceptance and rejection.

It is not easy to form a unified view of Procopius, the elements of his interest being so diverse. It has been suggested that the large number of pagan references point to a preconversion phase in his life. This is not a necessary supposition. It is quite conceivable that a Christian layman, sitting lightly to exegetical principles in his understanding of a Christian past, might have found himself able to draw in purely literary terms upon the imagery as well as the style of a pagan past. If he considered that the religious struggle was over, he could feel at ease with the richness of that literary and rhetorical heritage which he felt to be his.

D.A. SYKES

See also Rhetoric

Biography

Born in Gaza *c.*AD 475, Procopius received a good Classical education and travelled to Alexandria. He spent his life teaching rhetoric at the school in Gaza where his pupils included Choricius. He wrote widely – letters, panegyric, and biblical exegesis – in a polished Attic style. He was a member of the "Triad of Gaza", the others being his brother Zacharias and the rhetor Aeneas. He died *c.*538.

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Prodromos, Theodore

Poet of the 12th century

Theodore Prodromos, also called Ptochoprodromos ("poor Prodromos"), lived at the time of the Komnenoi emperors, Alexios Komnenos (1081–1118), John II (1118–43), and Manuel I (1143–80), a contemporary of John Tzetzes. He was renowned for a strong satirical touch in his work and a propensity for complaining and begging. There is much philological debate as to how many people are referred to under the name Prodromos, some scholars arguing that there are two different people, others that there is only one. Various kinds of literature are believed to have been written by him, both prose and poetry, the content ranging from philosophical and rhetorical texts to satiric dialogues, religious, and even astrological poems.

Six poems are preserved under his name, known as the *Prodromika*, with a total of 2259 verses, all in the 15-syllable folk metre and in a language close to modern Greek syntax and morphology. They are petitions to the emperor, either John II or Manuel I Komnenos or other members of the imperial family. In the first poem the writer talks about his married life, contrasting his demanding wife with his stoic personality. In the second he complains about his poverty and requests some help from the emperor; there is no reference to his wife. In the third and fourth it seems clear that he has become a monk, and his barbs have as their target the monastic life. Again his descriptions are addressed to the emperor, whose patronage he seeks. In the fifth and sixth poems he complains about the misery that intellectuals have to go through, in comparison with other more lucrative professions. The strong autobiographical tone that he employs in his poems present an intense social reality and poses many questions, both from a narratological and from a historical point of view. Dimaras suggests that this is a hero of urban folk poetry, "who was presented each time by a different author and placed by him in social situations with different professions". The language contains many vernacular elements, and some works are believed to preserve the spoken language of the 12th century. If this is the case, and if Prodromos indeed came from an urban and even scholarly environment, then his choice is very significant for the history of the Greek language. A kind of popular wisdom is represented in the poems, revealing that, whatever his educational background, he was in contact with the oral tradition of his time. He mentions *Digenis Akritis* in two places in his work. His works are also an important source for the social history of his time. The "Prodromic" poems, even if they were not written by Prodromos, seem to be part of an extremely popular tradition. They circulated widely until late in Byzantine times, in many copies and in various versions. Adamantios Korais, a representative of the Greek Enlightment, edited some of the poems in his collection *Atakta* (1828). Korais was proposing his own solution to the Greek language problem, with the archaizing and the folk language competing strongly against one another, and the combination of the two in the Prodromic poems might well have provided him with some inspiration.

Although it has many defects from an aesthetic point of view, the *Rodanthe and Dosicles*, a romance written in 12-syllable verse (4614 trimeters), is a very interesting piece and is important for the history of the Greek novel. There was a revival and transformation of the Greek novel at this period and a protorenaissance in literature, which have been neglected by scholars. There was a rich novel tradition at the time of the Second Sophistic and in late antiquity that had a great influence on the 12th-century renaissance of the novel, both from the thematic and the linguistic point of view. Prodromos is also believed to be the author of a semi-philosophical dialogue on friendship in exile, and of an astrological poem of 593 political verses. Also attributed to him is a satiric poem, *Katomyomachia* (battle between cat and mice), written under the influence of the *Batrachomyomachia* (battle between frogs and mice) of the archaic Homeric corpus. He is associated with court poetry, verses that were recited at official celebrations and ceremonies. It is highly unlikely that all the above categories were part of one man's work, and the literary identity of Prodromos is unclear.

ANDROMACHE KARANIKA-DIMAROGONA

See also Romance

Biography

A variety of works written in the 12th century at the time of the Komnenoi emperors are ascribed to Prodromos (or Ptochodromos). It is unlikely that they were all written by one man. They include six autobiographical poems known as the *Prodromika*, the romance *Rodanthe and Dosicles*, the satirical *Katomyomachia*, an astrological poem, and a philosophical dialogue on friendship.

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Proselytism

The Greek term "proselytism" denotes the process of conversion from one belief to another and is mostly used in a religious context. The adjective "proselyte" signified initially the Gentile convert to Judaism; the newcomers to Christianity were also called proselytes. Christianity as a prophetic, missionary religion had a message to deliver to the world and stressed the radical changing of one's life. The Christian notions of sin, repentance, and the need for salvation signified the renunciation of all one's previous beliefs and ways of life, which had to be replaced by the wholesale adoption of the Christian faith and mode of living, either through conversion or adhesion.

In contemporary Greek usage the term "proselytism" has overtones of coercion. According to a law dating from the Metaxas government in 1938, it denotes the process of intrusion into an individual's religious belief and conversion

through secretive, devious, and fraudulent means. Conversion may thus occur in exchange for material goods, job and education opportunities, upward social mobility, and related promises. Proselytism may also take place by betraying a person's confidence or by taking advantage of his or her mental deficiency, naivety, inexperience, ignorance, or an emergency. Proselytism is considered to be an act of unfair religious or ideological competition and constitutes a violation of the individual's own conscience.

Theoretically, proselytism should be distinguished from genuine conversion after a fair dialogue. It is also vital to distinguish proselytism from the freedom to teach non-Christian religions, either in schools or to the public. But historically speaking, it is not always easy to distinguish clearly between proselytism and genuine conversions to Christianity. Under the wider umbrella of Christian missionary efforts, there was a variety of conversion methods including those that followed in the wake of colonialist invasion and conquest. Furthermore, Christianity's own proselytizing practices were to a large extent felt to be self-justified: since it was about the spread of the sole true faith, almost anything was allowed.

In Byzantium the establishment of Orthodoxy was of utmost importance for its political ideology. Conquered people were Christianized in order to be smoothly integrated into the empire. It goes without saying that any deviation from Orthodox standards was forbidden. All dissidents, whether pagans or heretics, especially when these engaged in proselytizing efforts, were prohibited or faced various penalties and repressive measures.

A similar situation can be observed under Ottoman rule, when the Church was particularly interested in safeguarding Orthodoxy. This period was marked by the systematic proselytism by Roman Catholics in the Levant, especially by the Jesuits. In 1577 pope Gregory XIII (1572–85) founded the Collegio Greco in Rome to initiate Greek students into Roman Catholicism and to employ them later in the East. The Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide, founded in 1622, and the Uniate Church worked towards the same ends. These acts often provoked a reaction from the patriarchate of Constantinople (e.g. in 1722) and even from the Ottoman authorities (e.g. in 1702). Despite these religious conflicts, it was in this period that the Greek term for religious freedom and toleration, *anexithriskeia*, was coined by Evgenios Voulgaris, but its semantic content differed from its western counterparts.

After the foundation of the Greek state the Orthodox Church, though deprived of its previous broad responsibilities, managed to retain its ideological authority, especially with regard to non-Orthodox currents and ideas. While its repressive potential was less strong than it had been before 1821, it was still in a position to condemn and occasionally to take harsh measures against proselytizing acts. A well-known case is that of Theophilos Kairis (1784–1853), who was condemned as the founder of a new religion to the detriment of Orthodoxy. From the beginning of the 19th century onwards, the most serious cases of foreign proselytism were undertaken by various British and American Protestant organizations, which developed wide missionary activities in Greece, ranging from translating the Scriptures and publishing to the founding of schools and mission stations. This provoked an Orthodox reaction, as manifested in patriarch Gregory VI's anti-Protestant encyclical of 1836, which, among other things, prohibited the Orthodox faithful from attending Protestant schools. Similar encyclicals were issued by the Church of Greece (e.g. on 22 March 1891). In Greek state legislation proselytism was also considered a major offence against Orthodoxy, the dominant religion (e.g. in the Constitution of 1844, Article 1, and that of 1864/1911, Article 1).

At present, Orthodoxy is still acknowledged as the dominant, established religion of the Greek state (Constitution of 1975/86, Article 3). The Church intends to keep the Orthodox faith that has been vouchsafed to it unaltered. Claiming a unique handle on truth, the Orthodox Church regards the existence of non-Orthodox on its exclusive Greek territory with disfavour. Its intention is to control them, defend itself, and warn its members through related encyclicals and long lists of heretical groups. These antiheretical measures are supported by the state and its legal system. This situation can be attributed to the close relationship between Church and state in Greece and the mythology about the inextricable historical connection of Orthodoxy with Greek national identity.

The privileged status that the Orthodox Church enjoys obviously implies certain restrictions regarding the circulation and dissemination of non-Orthodox systems and ideas. Proselytism is forbidden (Constitution of 1975/86, Article 13(2)) as a penal offence. Yet the simple right to be informed about or to teach non-Orthodox religions is hardly distinguished from proselytism. The latter is not confined to conversion through improper means, but is interpreted broadly and applied to a variety of cases, often leading to convictions. Discrimination against religious minorities is thus not uncommon, because of the fear that they might undermine the established religion and alienate Greece's traditional culture. While the freedom of conscience is accepted and "known religions" are allowed, religious rights for minorities are in practice restricted (e.g. concerning the establishment of their "houses of worship"). The related legal terminology is ambiguous and can be interpreted and applied inconsistently. Proselytism by non-Orthodox minorities is strictly prohibited; but proselytizing for Greek Orthodoxy through individual means or institutional mechanisms is encouraged. In some cases, though, legal measures against certain religious movements and their proselytizing methods are deemed justified, as was the case with Scientology (in Greece since 1983), which was forbidden in 1997 through a decision (no. 10493) of the Court of Appeals of Athens.

In fact, the Orthodox Church considers that all non-Orthodox religions are unacceptable, i.e. either as heresies or as erroneous beliefs. It is therefore not surprising that religious minorities (e.g. Jehovah's Witnesses, Roman Catholics, Protestants) feel endangered by this milieu, and some have appealed to international organizations (e.g. the European Human Rights Commission and Court) for protection, which have often decided in their favour. Yet the Church, supported by the state, does not intend to renounce its traditional exclusive rights on Greek territory. Such ambiguities create tension between the Orthodox Church and the religious minorities and subsequently between Greece and its European partners, while the demand for Greece's relative deconfessionalization and

greater liberalization in religious matters is repeatedly being voiced.

VASILIOS MAKRIDES

See also Conversion to Islam

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Prostitution

In ancient Greece the sex trade was not illegal and there was a ready market for prostitutes who, in contrast to later Christian sexual ethics, were not regarded as improper objects of male desire. For Athenian men, who usually married in their thirties and for whom marital fidelity was not a requirement anyway, females under the protection of citizens, whether unmarried girls or married women, were, at least formally, strictly off limits and erotic relationships with such women could attract the severest penalties. Sex with prostitutes was much less risky

and provided an outlet for "releasing the pressure of lust" (Xenophon, *Memorabilia*, 2. 2. 4).

Male prostitutes (*kinaidoi*) were much in demand; there was no overarching moral stricture on same-sex behaviour in antiquity and, while a man was expected to be the active sexual partner, the object of his desire could be male or female. However, just as relationships with respectable women were restricted, so too there were formal restrictions regarding male partners; men of actual or potential citizen status were considered improper objects of a fully sexual relationship. Indeed, there could be serious civic consequences for citizen prostitutes; those who subsequently exercised their civic privileges invited prosecution and civic dishonour (a good example is the case of Timarchus in the 4th century BC, documented in Aischines, 1). However most prostitutes in antiquity, male and female, were slaves, and thus had no status to compromise.

While the all-embracing term of *ergasia* ("trade") denoted prostitution in Hellenic antiquity, prostitutes did not comprise a homogeneous category and there existed a broad spectrum of practice and status for those involved in selling sex. At the bottom of the heap were common prostitutes (*pornai*) who walked the streets and worked in the brothels of the Piraeus and the Kerameikos, still Athens' red-light district today. For brothel workers (always female) life could be grim; in one 5th-century BC text a concubine who fears her lover may send her to the brothel resorts to poisoning him (Antiphon, 1. 14). Other prostitutes, male and female, sat in cubicles (*oikemata*) open to the street, displaying themselves Amsterdam-style to prospective clients.

The Athenian state involved itself in the regulation of prostitution: *pornai* paid tax to the state, while Philemon (fr. 4) claimed that Solon established state-run brothels for the provision of cheap sex to all citizens as a democratic measure. The state also controlled the fees of flute girls and male kithara players, hired to provide musical and erotic entertainment at symposia, often the site of sexual dalliance; the mere appearance of an Athenian woman at a symposium could bring her reputation into question (Isaeus, 3. 13–14). In later periods too public entertainers were assimilated to prostitutes, perhaps because of their public visibility.

Courtesans (*hetairai*), on the other hand, exercised at least some choice in the bestowal of their favours and were hired for companionship as well as sex. Courtesans who commanded extravagant fees (*megalomisthoi*) could become rich and famous; Phryne, possibly the model for Praxiteles' *Aphrodite of Cnidus*, was reputedly rich enough to rebuild the city wall of Thebes (Callistratus, *On Courtesans*). Sometimes permanent attachments to men resulted and it can be difficult to distinguish the courtesan from the concubine (Aspasia and Theodote, the mistresses respectively of Pericles and Alcibiades, are two examples). Prostitution could even provide a way out of slavery and there are many examples of men buying the freedom of a favourite girl; Herodotus (2. 178) claims that Rhodopis of Thrace was redeemed from slavery by Sappho's brother and became rich. However, Neaira of Corinth (a city renowned for its prostitutes) started life as a slave, was freed by her lovers, and then, following a legal prosecution, was sold again ([Demosthenes], 59). The sex trade offered a chance of social mobility to some but it was a precarious existence; prostitutes could come up in the ancient world, but they could also go down.

Certainly many ancient writers vilified prostitutes and condemned them for their extravagance and use of artifice; in the 4th century BC Alexis sneered at girls who compensated for their lack of natural charms with high heels, make-up, false breasts, and the ancient equivalent of a bustle (fr. 18). Men who frittered their money away on prostitutes or fought over them in the street also attracted criticism. Yet in pre-Christian Hellenic society it was not unacceptable for men to patronize prostitutes, who were regarded as a cure for dangerous desire, nor was the profession the object of religious disapproval; indeed Aphrodite was the tutelary goddess of prostitutes and temple prostitution in her honour is attested for Corinth (Strabo, 8. 6. 20), although this was unusual for Greece. Christianity, however, introduced a radically different slant on sexual continence. Marriage became the only proper outlet for male sexual desire and, indeed, a "defence against desire" (Brown, 1988). Paul advised one Greek community to marry rather than to burn (1 Corinthians 7. 9), while in the 4th century John Chrysostom, hugely influential in the Orthodox Church, envisaged marriage not as a celebration of sexual love but as a method of avoiding fornication (*De Virginitate*, 19. 1. 1–2). One consequence of this was the outlawing of same-sex behaviour between men; an imperial edict of 390 demanded that male prostitutes in Rome should be burnt. Orthodox theology regards desire as the spiritual effect of original sin and the Church still censures fornication and male homosexual acts.

Another effect of Christian teaching was the shifting of anxiety and blame concerning male desire on to female prostitutes. For medieval society all women were potential Eves, the embodiment of lust, but the prostitute represented the epitome of sexual temptation, the ruination of married men and celibate clergy. Religious anxieties about fornication were exacerbated by the large number of prostitutes in medieval society, driven into the sex trade through poverty. One (rather unsuccessful) solution was the attempt to redeem "fallen women", a social programme influenced perhaps by the example of the Magdalene. One ex-prostitute, Martha, sat in a shrine outside Byzantium exhorting women to avoid temptation (for the repentant prostitute theme see Ward, 1987). Attempts were made to redeem prostitutes by placing them in monastic homes, notably by the empress Theodora in the 6th century. From the 9th century this practice was established as law and female sexual subversives (prostitutes and adulteresses) were forced into convents to learn from the example of their betters and perform menial tasks, perhaps more a matter of punishment than salvation. In contrast, prostitution was used as a punishment for one early Christian martyr at least: Irene of Thessalonica was placed in a public brothel by the Roman prefect Dulcitius for her subversive religious behaviour (*Acts of the Christian Martyrs*, 22).

Finally, it is worth noting that in more recent times sex workers have born the brunt of moral panics about sexually transmitted diseases and perceived moral declines. As ever, the prostitute is at the sharp end of society's concerns about sexual

behaviour and her image is a reflection of both cultural anxieties and religious ethics.

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See also Homosexuality, Women

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Protestantism

On 31 October 1517 Martin Luther's 95 theses ignited the Reformation. While defending his theology at the Disputation of Leipzig (1519) he was surprised to hear that his views resembled those of Jan Hus, who had been burned at the stake by the Council of Constance in 1415. Scholars have debated whether the origins of the Hussite (the *Unitas Fratrum*) opposition in Bohemia and Moravia to the Roman Catholic Church arose from dim memories of the missionary work of the Greek Orthodox brothers Cyril and Methodios. Whatever the truth of that, in 1450 an individual named Constantine Platris Anglikos (probably of Lollard origins) arrived in Constantinople claiming to represent the Hussite Churches and seeking communion between them and the Greek Orthodox Church. With the fall of Constantinople in 1453 nothing came of this proto-Protestant contact with the Greek Church.

Luther himself did not make any direct contacts with the Eastern Orthodox, but in debates with Rome he did cite them as examples of Christians who did not conform with Roman beliefs and practice. A common opposition to the papacy soon led Protestants – Lutheran, Calvinist, and Anglican – to cite the example of eastern Christians and to seek contacts with them. While Luther did not engage in direct talks with the East, others did. His younger protégé Philipp Melanchthon made a Greek translation of the *Augsburg Confession*. This Lutheran summary of beliefs was sent to Constantinople with a request for further contacts. Melanchthon died in 1560 awaiting a reply. Embarrassed by the doctrinal differences, the patriarch had merely ignored the request.

Continual Lutheran requests for closer ecclesiastical relations eventually gained a response when a delegation of Lutheran scholars visited Constantinople in 1573. Unable to avoid the issue, patriarch Jeremias II wrote a point-by-point response to the *Augsburg Confession* explaining Greek agreements and disagreements with its 21 articles. The reply reached Germany in 1576, and further correspondence ensued. While no Lutheran–Orthodox union was achieved, the correspondence between Tübingen and patriarch Jeremias II was the first ecumenical approach by the West to the East.

The second major attempt to link Protestantism with Greek Orthodoxy occurred during the stormy ministry of Cyril I Lukaris, the Calvinist patriarch of Constantinople (1572–1638). Born on Crete, which was controlled by the Venetians at the time, he studied for a while in Venice. Travelling in Europe in the summers, Lukaris may have met Franciscus Portus in Geneva. Portus was a Cretan and a convert to Calvinism, who became the master of the scholarly production of Classical and biblical texts in Greek at Geneva. While serving as patriarch of Alexandria (1602–20), Lukaris was increasingly influenced by Calvinism through contacts with English and Dutch ambassadors and others. He carried on an extensive correspondence with many western Protestants, both Reformed, such as Antoine Léger, a Genevan minister, and Anglicans including archbishop William Laud. When he became patriarch of Constantinople (1621–38), he strove to reform the moral and spiritual conditions in the Church along Calvinist lines.

Lukaris's *Eastern Confession of the Christian Faith* (1629) was published in Geneva. It contains a mild Calvinism in its doctrines regarding scripture, justification, the sacraments, and predestination. Opposition to it was widespread. Lukaris was denounced and forced to resign five times by Greek clerical opponents who were often incited by the Jesuits. However, the sultan continued to restore him to office. He was finally falsely accused of inciting the Cossacks against the Turks and was executed by strangling upon the order of sultan Murad IV. The ecclesiastical opposition to Lukaris's doctrines produced a series of synods that officially repudiated them. A synod in 1638 anathematized both Cyril and the confession attributed to him. The synod of 1642 condemned the confession and Calvinism without mention of Cyril. The Synod of Jerusalem (1672) eliminated Calvinism from the eastern Church. The ultimate effect of Lukaris's ministry was that it forced the wider Greek Church to define itself more carefully in relation to both Latin Catholicism and Protestantism.

The third major attempt to establish ecumenical relations between Greek Orthodoxy and Protestantism was made with Anglicans. Patriarch Lukaris's correspondence with Anglicans led him to send to England the New Testament *Codex Alexandrinus*. He also sent Metrophanes Kritopoulos to study at Oxford and London (1617–24) and other Greeks to study at the request of the English. In the 17th century numerous commercial contacts between the English and Greeks in the eastern Mediterranean encouraged some to believe that closer ties might be possible. Many in England hoped that similarities in liturgy, ordination, sacraments, and views on church–state relations would make full communion possible. Eventually the theological distances proved too great.

In the 19th century Protestant missions, mainly American, became active in the Balkans and Greece, but with little success. Eventually small Protestant churches were established in Greece. At the end of the 20th century the Greek Evangelical Church (30 congregations, Presbyterian in polity) and the Free Evangelical Church (Congregational) were the largest Protestant churches in Greece. Pentecostals, the Church of England, and others had small congregations. Many of the Protestant congregations were composed of expatriates and American military personnel. After 1945 a neo-Pentecostal or charismatic movement spread widely in the Greek Church, growing to several hundred thousand in number.

In the latter half of the 20th century the main vehicle of contact between Greek Orthodoxy and Protestants has been through the ecumenical movement and the World Council of Churches. Mutual understanding has continued to grow, but deep theological differences remain.

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See also Ecumenism

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Psellos, Michael 1018–after 1081

Statesman, historian, and polymath

Born to a middle-class family in Constantinople in 1018, Psellos was baptized Constantine, but is better known under his monastic name of Michael. Extemely well educated by the scholar and later court rhetorician and bishop John Mauropous, Psellos embarked early upon a career in the civil administration when he was appointed judge of a theme before the age of 20. He was one of a group of young intellectuals (including his friends the future patriarchs Constantine III Leichoudes and John VIII Xiphilinos) who gained some real political power as advisers to Constantine IX Monomachos (1042–55). When, however, the emperor was forced to abandon some of the salutary reforms of the early part of his reign, the group's power rapidly declined. The liberally adaptable Psellos stayed on as long as was possible until he was ultimately forced to take refuge as a monk on Bithynian Mount Olympus in 1054 when the emperor lost his struggle for supremacy with the rigorously rigid patriarch Michael I Keroularios. Nevertheless, Psellos's return and revenge were swift, for in 1058, as chief minister of Isaac I Komnenos, he was given the role of principal prosecutor in the patriarch's trial, although his surviving speech was never delivered owing to Keroularios's sudden death. Upon Isaac's illness in 1059 Psellos ensured his own safety by persuading the emperor to abdicate in favour of Constantine X Doukas. He was, however, never again an important political figure, despite his own

claims and the fact that he became private tutor to the imperial children. He even had to retreat for a second time to a monastery, but this time to one in Constantinople and under his own patronage. After the accession of Michael VII Doukas in 1071 he fades from history. The date of his death is unknown, but some of his works were probably written after 1081 and he may have been still alive in 1095.

When in 1047 Constantine IX opened a law school headed by John Xiphilinos, protests by students of rhetoric that their opportunities to enter the civil service would now be curtailed persuaded the emperor to satisfy their interests as well. Psellos was consequently appointed "consul of the philosophers" (*hypatos ton philosophon*). Although it is unclear precisely what this position entailed, Psellos probably gained supervision of the private schools in the capital and taught rhetoric and philosophy under some form of imperial patronage. He makes many claims for himself as a teacher, most notably that he revived in Byzantium the study of philosophy, and especially of Plato, and introduced the new teaching method of *schedographia* (parsing) that involved the grammatical, stylistic, and historical analysis of a piece of dictation which was either taken from literature or composed for the purpose by the teacher. Psellos boasts that "people tug and pull at me, loving to hear my voice above all others because I know more than everyone else" and that his fame attracted as students Celts, Arabs, Persians, Egyptians, and Ethiopians. Despite a few surviving short addresses to students who did not pay attention, squabbled, or arrived late or not at all because of a shower, we know that he inspired at least one outstanding student, the philosopher John Italos, who succeeded him as "consul of the philosophers".

Psellos's main interest was philosophy, on which he wrote extensively and could rarely keep out of his work, whatever its subject. Despite his proclaimed attachment to Plato, and his genuine familiarity with his works, he frequently sees the philosopher through the medium of Neoplatonism (especially that of Proclus). This accords with his fascination for the occult – magic, alchemy, astrology, and Chaldaean theurgy. Although the treatise *De Operatione Daemonum* (*On the Working of Demons*) is almost certainly spurious, his interest in those subjects as well as his Platonism led to accusations of paganism, which he was more successful in fending off than was his student John Italos. Many of his philosophical works are derivative, especially his commentaries for students on Plato and Aristotle (whom he knew as well as he did Plato), and a collection of miscellaneous learning, often drawn from Plutarch, known as *De Omnifaria Doctrina*. Although he was not as original a thinker as John Italos, some of his works show an independent mind that wedded theology with philosophy and science in positing a divinely created *physis* (Nature) that works in accordance with immanent laws.

Psellos's chief claim to fame today, however, is as a historian. Although he wrote, probably in his youth, a brief traditional and only recently discovered chronicle, this claim rests on his *Chronographia*, an account of the reigns of 14 emperors from 976 to 1078. The *Chronographia* is a revolutionary piece of historiography based largely on his own observations. It is largely a series of often subtle and perceptive psychological studies of character, which are never stereotypical but frequently both complex and fluid. In denying providential causation Psellos attributes events to personal emotions and ambitions which he explores at length, and he presents his material in such a way that the reader gains vivid pictures of an unfolding drama. His reliability as a historian is generally admitted, but with the reservations that he is aware of little of what happened outside the capital, has sparse military interest, and exaggerates his own role in events (the most extreme example of egocentricity is his rewriting of the *Life* of St Auxentios to include details of his own biography). Although the *Chronographia* is idiosyncratic and inimitable and was not widely read, at least after its author's death, it expanded the horizons of subsequent Byzantine historiography, most notably in the works of Anna Komnene and Niketas Choniates.

Psellos's oratorical style was modelled especially on Plato, Aelius Aristides, and Gregory of Nazianzus. Among his surviving speeches are many addresses to the reigning emperors, for whom he also wrote speeches for them to deliver themselves, and a number of masterly funeral orations. Two of these, for his mother and his young daughter, are notable for his deep affection, which comes through also in many of his more than 500 letters and a touching little essay addressed to his infant grandson.

Literary interests are shown in many works: essays on the styles of the Church Fathers John Chrysostom, Basil of Caesarea, Gregory of Nazianzus, and Gregory of Nyssa, whom he compares with writers of the Classical period and the Second Sophistic; comparisons between the novelists Heliodorus and Achilles Tatius, and between Euripides and George of Pisidia; allegorical interpretations of Homer; explanations of contemporary phrases; occasional literary essays often of a humorous or satirical nature; and poems (37 genuine ones survive) on a variety of topics and which range in length from 2 to more than 1400 lines. Linguistic studies are further seen in essays on etymologies and grammar. Numerous other treatises attest to his interest in jurisprudence, mathematics, medicine, mathematics, music, geography, etc. On the practical side he asserts that he experimented with mechanical devices described by the ancient inventor Heron of Alexandria, and in an encomium on wine claims that he successfully extracted a friend's tooth.

Unfortunately some of Psellos's works still remain unpublished and many are available only in poorly edited form in widely scattered books and periodicals. To remedy this situation, since 1985 the German publishing house of B.G. Teubner has been issuing a series of newly edited volumes in a uniform scholarly edition. Very little has been translated into any modern language. Nevertheless, enough is known of Psellos to call him the "Cicero of Byzantium" in his combination of a political life with one as an intellectual and writer; but the range of his interests was far more extensive than the Roman's.

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See also Historiography

Biography

Born in Constantinople in 1018, Psellos was a pupil of John Mauropous. He became an adviser to Constantine IX Monomachos but had to resign in 1054, becoming a monk. He returned later to Constantinople but played little part in politics after 1059. He wrote extensively on many subjects, notably philosophy, literature, and

theology. But he is best known as a historian of the period 976–1078. He died after 1081.

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Psycharis, Yannis 1854–1929

Philologist

Yannis Psycharis is one of the most important figures of Greece's intellectual history. His influence, which was radical and fundamental, concerns mainly the direction of the development of the Greek language. He entered Greece's intellectual history at a time when the young Greek nation was searching for its identity and when it was deeply divided on the question of which language form should be the official one. The options were (1) a more archaic Greek aspiring to restore the Attic, (2) the demotic, i.e. the common language of the people, and (3) katharevousa ("purified") an artificial compromise solution advocated by Adamatios Korais. From his first publication, *Études de philologie néo-hellénique* (1885), and for the rest of his life, Psycharis became the most dynamic and persuasive supporter of the demotic.

From early childhood Psycharis was exposed to a number of different languages: the demotic Greek from his grandmother and the servants, Italian from friends, French from his family and from the schools in Paris, and later German. He also studied ancient Greek and Latin as well as the katharevousa. This rich language experience made Psycharis linguistically sensitive and gave him a better perspective. He studied historical and comparative linguistics at the universities of Paris and Bonn (in spite of the fact that his father sent him to Bonn in order to study law), when the predominant linguistic theory was that of the Neogrammarians. This theory demonstrates scientifically that language change is not degeneration caused by ignorance, but rather a natural development brought about by natural phonetic laws supplemented by analogy and borrowing. His teachers were the eminent linguists Michel Breal, Arsène Damsteter, Louis Havet, Gaston Paris, and Émile Legrand. He also attended lectures given by the founder of structural linguistics, Ferdinand de Saussure, while his philosophical views were shaped by his father-in-law Ernest Renan, and by the European positivist Hippolyte Taine. Taine and especially Renan encouraged Psycharis to direct his studies to the Greek language to which Psycharis turned decidedly in 1885. Psycharis was also influenced by his friend, the great literary figure Victor Hugo, and was inspired by the work of Dante. Psycharis had a very successful career as professor of Modern Greek at the École des Langues Orientales of the Sorbonne after succeeding Legrand. He held this chair until his death in 1929 when he was succeeded by another important Hellenist, André Mirambel.

Psycharis was a complex, passionate, and ambitious personality. He was both French and Greek, but with his native Greek side stronger than the French. He was also a scientist with literary aspirations. His work consists of an impressive number of scientific analyses of the Greek language and its dialects as well as of poetry, short stories, and a novel.

Given his background and his temperament it is not surprising that Psycharis entered the linguistic battle of Greece on the side of the demotic. Of his works the one which had the greatest impact was *To Taxidi Mou* ("My Journey", 1888), which is a novel, a travelogue, a philosophical treaty, and most importantly a linguistic manifesto. In it Psycharis expresses most clearly the arguments in support of the demotic and the charges against katharevousa. The book also contains extremely lyrical sections on love as well as insightful comments on historical and current figures from the Greek intellectual scene, but most importantly it constitutes the first attempt to use the demotic in prose. This step was very daring because, in spite of the fact that the demotic had made inroads into poetry (the Ionian school earlier with its major representative Dionysios Solomos and the Athenian school during Psycharis's time with Kostis Palamas and Angelos Sikelianos), prose writers hesitated to use it. Even demoticists such as Emmanouil Roidis, who had advanced important scientific

arguments for the demotic in his book *Ta Eidola* ("The Idols"), refrain from using it in their work. Thus *To Taxidi Mou* becomes a major turning point in Greece's literary development.

Psycharis's work and views on language met with a great deal of hostility in Greece. One of his critics was the linguist and first occupant of the chair of linguistics in Athens, George Chadzidakis, who, in spite of his early positive views on the demotic and his extensive studies of it, came to embrace katharevousa on the grounds that the demotic lacked a systematic grammar and richness of its vocabulary. Psycharis was also criticized for his extreme views on which forms should be considered licit in the modern Greek language. Because he believed that a language must operate on a pure system and that the only natural and thus legitimate system is that of the demotic on the grounds that it has emerged from the ancient language via natural diachronic phonetic laws, he proposed that katharevousa words which had entered the common language in their archaic morphology should be modified so as to follow the demotic rules. This purification programme in the direction of the demotic went against the sensibilities of most Greeks and Psycharis was attacked from many quarters. His supporters, who were referred to as *malliari* ("the hairy ones"), were ridiculed by attributing to them gross hyperdemoticisms. However, Psycharis also inspired a number of significant literary figures, the most important of whom was the highly respected poet Palamas, the leader of the Athens school of intellectuals whose demoticism found in Psycharis strong scientific support. Nikos Kazantzakis, later on, also considered Psycharis as his inspiration and his mentor on language matters.

Psycharis may not have been the only person to argue the case for the demotic. Indeed, Psycharis's arguments can be found almost intact in Solomos 50 years earlier. Nevertheless, Psycharis was the first to provide the demotic with a persuasive scientific basis and to demonstrate by his novel *To Taxidi Mou* that the demotic can be used in all forms of discourse.

IRENE PHILIPPAKI-WARBURTON

See also Language

Biography

Born in 1854 to a Greek family from Chios, Psycharis studied linguistics at the universities of Paris and Bonn and lived mostly in Paris where he became professor of Modern Greek at the Sorbonne. His chief contribution was to support demotic in the language question; but he also wrote poetry, short stories, and a novel. He died in 1929.

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Ptolemies

Greek rulers of Egypt

The Ptolemies, Greek kings of Egypt, formed a dynasty that ruled the country from 305 BC to 30 BC. The Ptolemaic dynasty takes its name from the first such king, Ptolemy the son of Lagus, a Macedonian childhood friend and later general of Alexander the Great. Alexander conquered Egypt (then part of the Persian empire, which he set out to destroy) in 332 BC, during the early stages of his great expedition to the east. While in the country, he founded the city of Alexandria on the western branch of the Nile delta on the coast of the Mediterranean Sea. As Alexander passed on, the city was left in the hands of an architect and a financial administrator and it appears to have functioned as a Greek city from early on. It later became the royal capital of the Ptolemies, and among the greatest cities of the ancient world.

When Alexander died in 323 BC, his empire was divided for purposes of administration among his generals; Egypt passed into the control of this same Ptolemy, first as satrap (the Persian term for a provincial governor) and then as king. Ptolemy ousted the financial administrator Cleomenes, and finally had him killed for peculation in the grain trade. The country remained firmly under Ptolemy's control throughout the power struggles that took place among Alexander's successors during the next 20 years. Generally he concentrated on consolidating his power in Egypt, eschewing the territorial ambitions of his fellow successors in Asia and Greece. In 305 BC Ptolemy declared himself king, as did other successors in their own territories.

Ptolemy I Soter ("Saviour", an epithet he received after helping the island of Rhodes during a siege) established a secure kingdom, which for the next three centuries was to be ruled by his direct descendants. A mark of his political acumen was the fact that he was the only one of Alexander's successors not to die a violent death in battle. Greek civilization and culture came to Egypt, and settlers from Greece and Macedonia were actively encouraged. Alexandria and other cities in Egypt grew with the influx of the new ruling class. Certainly it can be maintained that a veneer of the Greek way of life was imposed on the native civilization of Egypt. To Ptolemy I's early patronage can probably be attributed the foundation of the famous library of Alexandria, in which the works of Greek literature were codified, copied, studied, and therefore preserved for posterity. Attached to the library was the museum ("Shrine of the Muses", the patronesses of intellectual arts), a residential study facility which attracted the finest Greek scholars and writers of their day. Alexandria became the capital of Greek culture, overtaking Athens as its centre.

Ptolemy I made his son co-regent in 285 BC, and the latter on his father's death in 283 became Ptolemy II (later to receive the cult title Philadelphus, "sister-loving"). During his long reign Ptolemy II presided over the growth of Alexandria into a famous and rich capital. The library and museum flourished, the wealth of Alexandria and its kings became proverbial among contemporary writers, and Ptolemy II amassed the greatest navy ever known in the Greek world. The largest political clouds on the horizon were Egypt's constant dispute with

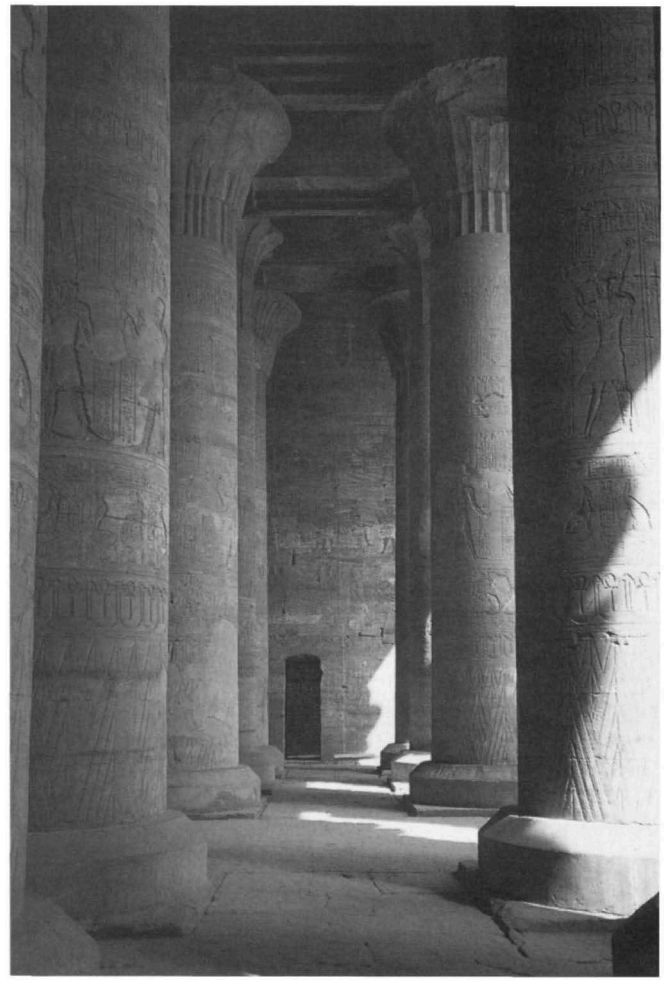
the Seleucid kings over Coele ("Hollow") Syria, the area known as the Middle East today. Two wars were fought over this territory in Ptolemy II's reign. In the mid-270s BC Ptolemy married his full sister Arsinoe (known as Arsinoe II Philadelphus), a clever woman who abetted his political schemes. This established the custom of royal brother–sister marriage in Ptolemaic Egypt, although at the time the Greeks were scandalized at the notion of incest.

Ptolemy III, known as Euergetes ("Benefactor"), succeeded his father in 246 BC. His reign is best known for the Third Syrian War, in which he invaded the Seleucid Syrian empire to support the claims of his sister Berenice Syra ("the Syrian") as queen to the Seleucid throne. (The Greek poet Callimachus wrote a poem called "The Lock of Berenice" to describe the dedication of a lock of hair by Ptolemy's queen, also named Berenice, to ensure his safe return from the war. The lock was, according to the poem, apotheosized into a constellation and subsequently spotted in the heavens. Although only fragments now remain of Callimachus' poem, it was translated into Latin by the Roman poet Catullus and is one of the most famous ancient poems.) The sister Berenice Syra had already been murdered when Ptolemy arrived. Although he captured some important cities in Asia Minor, this appears to have been the limit of Ptolemaic expansion.

So far the 3rd-century Ptolemaic empire had been characterized by good kings and stable government. With the accession of Ptolemy IV Philopator ("Father-loving") in 221 BC, the situation changed. Ptolemy IV's predilections were more for intellectual and dilettante pursuits than for politics, and he succumbed to the control of unscrupulous ministers. Although he won a great victory in the Fourth Syrian War at the Battle of Raphia in 217 BC, he failed to press for any concessions in the peace treaty. After Raphia, Egypt was shaken by severe internal revolts, and in 206 BC by the secession of Upper Egypt for 20 years. The lack of any positive foreign policy continued, and Ptolemy IV and his sister-wife were eventually murdered by his ministers in 205 BC, their deaths being kept secret for some time.

Ptolemy V Epiphanes ("Made Manifest") acceded to the throne as a child following his father's murder. Other Greek Hellenistic kingdoms unsuccessfully colluded to divide Egypt between them. The end of the Fifth Syrian War brought him a wife of the Seleucid house, the first of the Ptolemaic queens to be called Cleopatra. Ptolemy V was crowned in traditional Egyptian fashion at the old dynastic capital Memphis, south of Cairo. He was the first of the Ptolemies to be crowned pharaoh, although all had been depicted in native dress in statues and temple reliefs. The priestly decree of 196 BC which followed his coronation is the famous trilingual Rosetta Stone (now in the British Museum) written in outmoded Egyptian hieroglyphics, current Egyptian demotic, and Greek. The Greek part of the Rosetta decree enabled translators for the first time to decipher Egyptian hieroglyphics, one of the most important advances ever made in latterday understanding of ancient Mediterranean history.

Ptolemaic Egypt of the 2nd century BC was a fundamentally different world from that of the 3rd century BC. All the Hellenistic Greek empires were affected by the growing power of Rome and its increasing interest in the Greek east, and Egypt was no exception. Beginning with Ptolemy VI (a child king like his father), who acceded to the throne in 180 BC, successive Ptolemies warred among themselves and collateral relatives, reunited, ruled jointly, and fell out again. The practice of incestuous marriage between siblings may have had adverse genetic effects over generations. Fraternal civil wars, exile, incest, murder, and even matricide are well-documented features of Egypt in the 2nd century BC. A prime example of the rulers of this period is Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II, also called Physkon ("Potbelly"). He succeeded his brother Ptolemy VI, killed his nephew Ptolemy VII (the son of his brother Ptolemy VI and sister), married Ptolemy VI's widow, who was also his own full sister, and concurrently married the daughter of his brother and sister (his double niece). He produced children by both wives, and also an illegitimate son. It is almost inconceivable to imagine how this complex marital situation functioned, with a man married at the same time to both his sister and her daughter, but inscriptions attest to a triple joint rule for at least some of the period, although civil war did break out intermittently.



Ptolemies: hypostyle hall, nucleus of the temple of Horus begun in the reign of Ptolemy III at Edfu, Egypt

After Ptolemy VIII the situation did not improve. Quarrelling brothers found that the temptation to invoke Rome to support their side against their rival proved too difficult to resist. No strong king emerged to bring the matter under control, and the Alexandrian populace, increasingly

disgusted with the dynastic debacle, seized power. Finally, in the early 1st century BC either Ptolemy X or Ptolemy XI bequeathed the kingdom of Egypt to Rome, ensuring that the last half-century of Ptolemaic rule was inextricably entwined with the history of Rome.

The legitimate line of the Ptolemies died out with the deaths of Ptolemy IX, X, and XI. Ptolemy XI was actually established on the throne by the Roman dictator Sulla in 80 BC, but he soon murdered his stepmother (to whom he was then married), and was in turn himself murdered by the Alexandrian mob, who resented Rome's interference in their country as well as the murder of their queen. The succession passed to the illegitimate son of Ptolemy IX, who became Ptolemy XII, known as "Auletes" ("Flute player", indicating his frivolous tendencies). Auletes and his sister-wife Cleopatra V probably had six children together, among them the girl destined to become Cleopatra VII, the last Ptolemaic ruler of Egypt.

Far from secure on his throne, Ptolemy XII depended on the firm support of Rome. In 59 BC he paid a huge sum of money to be formally declared a friend and ally of Rome, but the wrath of the Alexandrian mob drove him into exile in 58 BC. Auletes fled to Rome to the protection of Pompey, one of the triumvirs (three generals who jointly ruled in Rome), and then to the city of Ephesus in Asia Minor. The two eldest daughters of Auletes appear to have ruled Egypt in his absence; one soon died, but the marriage of the other to the alleged son of Rome's Parthian enemy Mithradates VI caused consternation in Rome. From a Roman point of view, Ptolemy XII seemed preferable to his maverick second daughter; in 55 BC, with the help of Roman troops, he was escorted back to Egypt by Aulus Gabinius, the Roman governor of Syria, and reinstated on the throne. He had his second eldest daughter killed, and ruled until his death in 51 BC.

The eldest surviving child of Auletes was now Cleopatra, who was declared queen and who as Cleopatra VII Philopator ruled jointly with her younger brother Ptolemy XIII (then no more than a boy), whom she married in accordance with Ptolemaic custom. Ambitious ministers contrived to control the boy king and divide him from his sister, who even as a girl of 18 was showing signs of political cunning. Cleopatra was forced to flee Egypt. She then became involved in the consequences of the civil war between Pompey and his rival Julius Caesar. Caesar came to Egypt in pursuit of Pompey, and decided to support the claims of Cleopatra against her brother. The so-called Alexandrian War of 48–47 BC ensued in which Caesar and Cleopatra were victorious, and Ptolemy XIII killed. Cleopatra was reinstated on her throne by Caesar and married her younger brother Ptolemy XIV, ostensibly ruling jointly with him.

A legendary Nile cruise was then enjoyed by Cleopatra and Caesar, a married man some decades older than the queen. When he left Alexandria she was pregnant, and bore a son (probably Caesar's child) named Caesarion. Cleopatra spent the years 46–44 BC in Rome with Caesar and their son, but had no option but to return to Egypt after his assassination in 44 BC. Caesar's supporter Mark Antony and adopted son Octavian (later to become the Roman emperor Augustus) initially joined forces to defeat Caesar's assassins, but Antony and Octavian later became rivals for ultimate power in Rome. Antony's agreed control of the eastern part of Roman territory set the stage for Cleopatra's cataclysmic meeting with him in 41 BC, when he summoned her to meet him at Tarsus in Cilicia.

For 11 years Cleopatra was intermittently associated with Antony (who at the time was married to a succession of Roman women including, finally, Octavian's half-sister), and she bore him three children. Antony's political differences with Octavian, his liaison with a foreign queen deemed dangerous by the Romans, and Antony's and Cleopatra's apparent dynastic ambitions for their children meant that war was inevitable. Rome declared war upon Egypt. At the battle of Actium in 31 BC the combined forces of Antony and Cleopatra were defeated by Octavian, who pursued the couple back to Alexandria. With defeat now inescapable, Antony committed suicide, followed by Cleopatra some days later.

With the death of Cleopatra the Ptolemaic dynasty ended (her son Caesarion was killed, and the fates of her two sons by Antony are unknown). Egypt lost its independence and became a province of Rome until its conquest by the Arabs in AD 642. Despite the gradual decline of the Ptolemies from their glorious beginning in the 3rd century BC through to the petty internecine squabbles of the 1st century BC, Ptolemaic Egypt remained independent from Roman control longer than the other Hellenistic empires. The upper echelons of Greek society made it a Greek kingdom which can be credited with the creation, preservation, and transmission of Greek culture and ways of life.

E.E. RICE

See also Alexandria, Egypt

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Ptolemy

Astronomer and geographer of the 2nd century AD

Claudius Ptolemaeus (more usually known to English-speakers as Ptolemy) worked in Alexandria, and the astronomical observations he records suggest that he was active in the middle of the 2nd century AD. We know virtually nothing else about him.

Ptolemy's principal astronomical work, the *Mathematike Syntaxis* (Mathematical Treatise), is usually known in the modern world as the *Almagest*, which is derived from the Greek *megiste* ("greatest") with the Arabic definite article added to it, a name that bears witness both to the dominant position the *Almagest* established in ancient astronomy, and to its influence on later astronomers. The *Almagest* is the culmination of the attempts of Greek astronomers to create a mathematical model that would account for and predict the observed movements of the heavenly bodies (the fixed stars, the sun, the moon, and the five known planets), on the basis of regular movements in circles and taking the earth as the fixed point. This is indeed mathematically possible, but, looked at on this basis, the movements are very complex, and incorporate many very small variations, so that the weaknesses of any particular model might become apparent only when errors had accumulated over centuries of observation. Ptolemy's great achievement was to devise a model that not only produced a very close match to what was observed, but was also capable of modification and could be refined as new inconsistencies were identified. For this reason it was not seriously challenged for 1300 years; it was only in the 16th century that it was realized that the mathematics could be simplified enormously by taking the sun as the fixed point and having the earth as well as the planets move round it in orbits which were elliptical, not circular. Ptolemy builds principally on the work of Hipparchus, active some three centuries earlier, and uses the epicycles (orbits around the circumference of a circle whose centre is itself moving round the circumference of another circle) and eccentric circles (circles whose centre is not the sun) that were the basis of Hipparchus' system. Book 1 incorporates a Table of Chords which is in fact the equivalent of a modern sine table, and reveals considerable knowledge of trigonometry; Ptolemy certainly did not invent trigonometry (for it had already been used by Hipparchus), but his full and clear exposition of its principles is one of the foundations of the modern development of the subject. Book 2 deals with the geometry of the heavenly sphere; book 3 is on the sun; books 4 and 5 are on the moon; book 6 discusses eclipses; books 7 and 8 are on the fixed stars, and include a catalogue of stars; the rest of the work (books 9–13) deals with the complex problems of the movements of the planets. It is difficult to be sure which elements of the system described in the *Almagest* are Ptolemy's own, and which are derived from his predecessors (and indeed many of the observational data he uses must have come from earlier astronomers). It is, however, the sophistication and adaptability of the system that guaranteed that it would dominate subsequent astronomical thought, and for this Ptolemy can clearly claim the credit.

Almost as important and influential is his other main work, the *Geography*, an attempt to systematize and map everything known about the world at the time. We cannot tell whether Ptolemy himself ever produced such a map (the maps that are found in surviving manuscripts are certainly derived from Byzantine originals), but the material in the *Geography* is presented in such a way that drawing a map from it would be relatively easy. Ptolemy had predecessors in this (he himself acknowledges his dependence on Marinus of Tyre, who is otherwise unknown), but it is likely that the use of lines of latitude and longitude to define positions on the earth's surface may be Ptolemy's own original contribution. Impressive though the mathematical and geographical concepts in the work are, the factual basis on which the *Geography* rests was inadequate (and could hardly be otherwise, since for most of his information Ptolemy would have been dependent on the reports of others, and sometimes he would have had nothing to use but travellers' tales). Within the Roman empire his information is reasonably accurate, but further afield it is completely unreliable. Errors in some of the astronomical data on which he relies (observations of the time at which eclipses were observable in different places, for example) inevitably produce distortions. Nevertheless it was not until the 16th century that it was entirely superseded.

Less well known in the modern world, but almost as influential, was Ptolemy's *Harmonics*, which built on the work of Aristoxenus, and is most notable for the balance it strikes between empirical and mathematical approaches. It is an invaluable source of information on the views of earlier writers, and on ancient musical practice, and had great influence on the theory of music in the Middle Ages (through Boethius) and in the Renaissance.

Among Ptolemy's others works are: the *Tetrabiblos* (so called because it is in four books), an astrological work based on the principles of the *Almagest* and perhaps an attempt to put astrology on a scientific footing; the *Optics* in five books (surviving only in part, in a Latin version of an Arabic translation) which deals with reflection and refraction, and represents a substantial advance on Euclid's *Optics*; the *Planispherium* (surviving in Arabic and Latin translations) dealing with the geometry of the celestial sphere and in particular the system of stereographic projection of the heavenly sphere on to the plane of the equator; the *Analemma* (surviving only in Latin translation, with some fragments in Greek) on the orthogonal projection of the sphere on to a single plane; and the *Phaseis Aplanon Asteron* (of which only the second book survives) on the weather associated with the heliacal risings and settings of prominent stars. He is also said to have written a rather unimpressive minor philosophical work, *On the Criterion and the Ruling Faculty*. Proclus tells us that he tried to prove Euclid's controversial parallel postulate (Postulate 5) and gives us excerpts from the proof. Ptolemy is also credited with works on dimensions and on mechanical problems.

RICHARD WALLACE

See also Astronomy, Cartography, Geography

Summary

Ptolemy (Claudius Ptolemaeus) lived in Alexandria in the 2nd century AD but nothing else is known of his life. He wrote on astronomy (the *Almagest*), on geography, and on music (the *Harmonics*), and a variety of other subjects. His astronomical work went unchallenged until the 16th century.

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Purple

In ancient Greece the colour purple was an emblem of conspicuous consumption, a symbol of wealth and prestige. The most favoured dye was extracted from shellfish found in the Mediterranean, a process that was developed in the Near East by the Phoenicians around 1400 BC. They searched every coast known to them – from the Sea of Marmara to Asia Minor, from Greece to southern Italy, from Lebanon to north Africa – for murex shellfish, establishing factories and trade centres. Common species producing sea purple were *Murex trunculus*, with a blue-purple hue, and *Murex brandaris*, known to the Venetians as Turk's Blood because of its dark red stain. Producing purple was a painstaking and costly process despite cheap labour. Enormous quantities of the molluscs were needed for the potent colourfast pigment, which was extracted from the mucus glands of freshly killed sea snails. They yielded an almost black liquid called *anthos* (blossom) by Greek dye workers. Exposure to air and sunlight developed the purple hue. Modern experiments using 12,000 *Murex brandaris* and a high extraction technique have yielded 1.5 g of dye. Though it is difficult to equate ancient costs with modern currencies, the price of sea purple in Greece around 200 BC might be estimated at $28,000 a kilo. Dye workshops, with their spoil heaps of discarded shell fragments and bits of decaying shellfish, were neither clean nor savoury places of employment. The Greek geographer Strabo said that the Phoenician dye centres of Tyre and Sidon were so putrid that they were "unpleasant for residence". One could easily identify dye workers by their brightly coloured hands and arms as well as the smell that clung to their bodies and clothing.

The demand for purple exceeded its supply and in the ancient world cheaper and more plentiful substitutes were developed by diluting the true organic dye with water, urine, or honey, or by using animal or vegetable material that approximated to the desired colour. One such source came from the kermes insect called *coccus ilicis* which produced a colour between blue and red. There were industries devoted to the production of counterfeit purple from cheap materials such as mulberry juice, amaranth blossoms, and crushed bloodstone. Papyrus fragments found in Egypt containing dyeing recipes are based on four books attributed to the Greek philosopher Democritus, who reportedly dabbled in alchemy, converting substances that yielded the desired colour and lustre to textiles that would fool even connoisseurs of the coveted hue.

Ancient historians and poets wrote about purple textiles and their production. The most famous dye centre in Greece was at Hermione in Argolis; its textiles were in demand throughout the Mediterranean and coveted by the Persian court. Robes made at Hermione were entirely purple with a broad vertical white stripe. In Thessaly the workshops of Meliboea were praised by ancient writers for the quality of the dyes produced there. The town of Bulis in the Gulf of Corinth engaged more than half the population in harvesting and processing the molluscs. Spartan law prohibited dyers from the region as falsifiers of nature. Yet, with time, Pliny claimed that the shellfish along the Laconian coast and on the island of Cythera provided the best purple dye in the world. The islands of Euboea, Chios, Rhodes, Cos, and Cyprus yielded an excellent quality of purple. In the west the cities of Syracuse and Tarentum were also noted for their purple dye centres. In fact, a hill in Tarentum named Mount Testaccio is made up entirely of broken murex shells, both the *trunculus* and *brandaris* types.

The *Iliad* makes numerous references to garments of purple worn by kings and generals. In the *Odyssey* the hero Odysseus is given a cloak dyed sea purple by his wife, Penelope. Purple robes were deemed worthy offerings to Apollo at Delphi by king Croesus of Lydia, according to Herodotus. The poetry of Sappho relates the high esteem of purple garments as gifts for gods and goddesses. Greek lyric poets of the 5th century BC equated purple with the garments of heroes and gods. Parrhasius of Ephesus was notorious for his luxurious tastes including a purple cloak, which was considered to be well above his status as a painter. Plato, one of the Athenian moral majority, considered purple to be a decadent emblem of wealth and an effeminate article of clothing. However, despite the conservative views of Athenian philosophers, by the 4th century BC the use of purple was fairly widespread in Greece.

What had previously been a mark of Persian tyranny and decadence was transformed by Alexander's defeat of Darius in 330 BC into an accepted status symbol, when he exchanged his white Macedonian robes for the coloured trappings of royalty brought to the Mediterranean world by Phoenician tradesmen.

The Greeks did not associate the colour purple with the same mystical qualities as it enjoyed in the Near East. However, they too dressed their deities in purple and the ancient association of the colour with war persisted. Its psychological and aesthetic peculiarities were of the utmost importance. Greek generals wore purple and its significance was promoted in the dress of singers at festivals in honour of the gods. In the Classical and Hellenistic periods purple enjoyed a sacrosanct and noble status, adorning distinguished people. It was common, therefore, for great statesmen, actors, courtesans, and wealthy citizens to wear purple as a rather blatant show of power and status. A 4th-century BC grave of a woman in south Russia yielded some purple cloth that was painted on with a brush. The colour was frequently used as paint, rather than as a dye, and was also employed as a cosmetic.

The Romans, like the Macedonians, originally wore white or natural-coloured garments. However, over the course of time certain robes became associated with specific officials or priests for wear on festivals and other sacred occasions. One of these was the purple pallium of the priesthood. An old Roman family, named after Furius Purpureo, had the purpura shellfish as its insignia. Centres of international trade included the dye workshops of Greece, which were especially important in promoting a desire for the exotic and expensive colour. The first official documented to have worn a purple robe was an aedile named P. Lentulus in 63 BC. Purple stripes were worn on the togas of officials and eventually became the privilege of senators. As the colour became more popular, the purple trade flourished in Rome and dealt in many items, mainly textiles but also leather, ivory, pottery, marble, and stone. Porphyry, a deep purple stone imported from Egypt, was used as the material for sarcophagi for the royal family of Constantine the Great and for statuary of the Tetrarchs, to name a few examples.

In AD 383 an imperial decree was issued establishing a monopoly on the most costly purple dyes known as *blatta*. Only the emperor could wear robes dyed with the colour; private individuals who ignored the new law were charged with treason. Several late antique tombs, one from a necropolis near Nero's Circus in Rome and another from a Palmyrene tomb in Syria, have yielded shrouds and other garments woven in purple and gold threads. Entire garments have been preserved in the hot, dry climate of Egypt, in graves from the Fayum and Panopolis dating from the 3rd to the 8th centuries AD. Though Christianity had been established for centuries, the embroidered and painted scenes are direct quotations from the mythology of ancient Greece and Rome. According to modern research the colours were based on imitation purple extracts rather than genuine sea purple dyes.

During the Byzantine period the colour purple underwent a tremendous rise in prestige. The offspring of Byzantine emperors were born in the palace at Constantinople in a purple room that was swathed in purple drapes and were wrapped in purple swaddling clothes. The title *Porphyrogennetos* was added to the name of those born in this manner. Mosaics at San Vitale in Ravenna reveal the emperor Justinian and the empress Theodora with their respective attendants wearing gold-embroidered purple robes. Yet the tradition was not completely lost. The 6th-century Codex Porphyrius at Patmos with 33 purple parchment pages illuminated with silver and gold script can still be seen. Wilfred of Ripon, a late 7th-century Church Father, commissioned the four gospels on purple-dyed parchment. His altar at Ripon Minster in England was decorated in purple interwoven with gold thread, a custom that persisted in the medieval period for sacred purposes just as it had in antiquity. The crusaders were credited with bringing back to England some of the ancient art.

With the fall of Constantinople to the Turks in 1453 purple commerce ended and the secrets of its manufacture were lost until modern times. Pope Paul II permitted his cardinals to wear scarlet made with the kermes insect for their vestments, which was a great deal less expensive than true sea purple. The secret of the ancient craft was rediscovered in 1858 by a French zoologist named Henri Lacaze-Duthiers who was studying animal life in the Mediterranean. He noted that fishermen stained their clothing with the juice of a shellfish, initially yellow in colour, which turned a brilliant and colour-fast purple upon exposure to the sunlight. Earlier scholars had inquired into the problem of purple production based on the writings of Pliny and Aristotle but it took a scientific mind to correlate the methodology with the philology for a reproducible result. The chemical composition of purple was discovered in 1909 by Paul Friedlander of Vienna and since that time it has been possible to produce purple synthetically.

Purple still maintains its association as a colour used by priests and leaders of the Orthodox Church in Greece and other areas particularly during Lent, Advent, and other periods of preparation and mourning. Purple today is also identified with healing, fantasy, insanity, and passion throughout the western world.

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Pydna

City in Macedonia

Pydna was a Greek city founded on the east coast of Pierian Macedonia on the Thermaic Gulf in the 7th–6th centuries BC. An acropolis site on the coast south of the modern village of Makriyialos is now thought to have been its original location. The city played an occasional role in political events in Greece in the 5th and 4th centuries BC, and, as such, is attested by Greek historians of the period. The 5th-century king Alexander I of Macedonia was known as the "Philhellene", but his interests inevitably clashed with those of Athens in northeastern Greece. When the Athenian general Themistocles fell out of favour and fled from Athens, he was given refuge at Pydna by Alexander in the early 460s BC before escaping to Asia. In the build-up to the Peloponnesian War and the revolt of Potidaea in 432 BC, Athens briefly besieged Pydna, hoping to establish a base there for operations in the north.

In 410 BC the Macedonian king Archelaus I captured Pydna and refounded the city as a Macedonian town some distance inland to the northwest, probably to guard it from attack from the sea. This was the site of Macedonian and Roman Pydna, near the modern village of Alonia. The inland site continued to be inhabited after the coastal site was reoccupied after Archelaus' death in 399 BC. In the late 360s BC, during the establishment of the Second Athenian Confederacy, Pydna was among the cities seized by the Athenian general Timotheus to provide bases against Macedon and Chalcidice, but the Macedonian king Philip II, in the course of his campaign to subdue Greece, captured Pydna, probably in 357 BC, along with other Greek cities along the Macedonian coast. Pydna was treated harshly and garrisoned.

At the end of the 4th century BC Pydna briefly took centre stage in the violent political struggles that followed the death of Alexander the Great. Alexander's Epirot mother, queen Olympias (the first wife of king Philip II of Macedon), was a formidable woman and a dangerous opponent. She championed the claim to the Macedonian throne of her grandson, Alexander's posthumous child, and, to this end, engineered the deaths of the rival claimant Philip III Arrhidaeus (an illegitimate son of Philip II) and his powerful wife Eurydice. She thereby incurred the fury of Cassander, the son of the old regent Antipater, who had supported Philip III as the legitimate king. In the face of Cassander and a large army, in 317 BC Olympias and her royal retinue went to Pydna, whereupon the town was besieged by land and sea. Relieving forces from outside were persuaded to abandon Olympias, and many inside Pydna deserted to Cassander when a grievous famine incapacitated the besieged. In the spring of 316 BC Olympias surrendered to Cassander and was condemned to death in absentia by the general assembly of the Macedonians. Although she refused proffered exile, and Cassander's troops were too awestruck to kill her as ordered, Olympias was eventually murdered at Pydna by the relatives of some of her past victims. (The story of the siege of Pydna and the death of Olympias is told in Diodorus Siculus, 19. 35–36, 49–51.)

Three important inscriptions of a later date were found in the vicinity of Pydna which refer to the tomb of Olympias and the nearby burial of descendants of the Aeacidae, the royal house of Epirus to which Olympias herself belonged. These texts indicate, surprisingly, that members of this family were living at Pydna in the 2nd century BC after the Roman conquest of Macedonia (see below), and that the tomb of Olympias was revered. Pydna therefore occupies a complex place in the Hellenic tradition: on the one hand, it witnessed the first of many brutal deaths of Alexander the Great's immediate family, but, on the other, it sheltered Alexander's maternal Epirot descendants long after the Antigonid dynasty of Macedonian kings had been destroyed by Rome.

The tomb of Olympias has never been found, and a suitable historical context for its construction can only be surmised, but burials in typical Macedonian chamber tombs are known from this area (for example the so-called Tomb of Pydna, an elaborate multiroomed chamber tomb probably dating from the end of the 3rd to the beginning of the 2nd century BC).

Pydna is best known as the site of the great battle between the forces of the Macedonian king Perseus (son of Philip V) and the Roman general Lucius Aemilius Paullus in June 168 BC. The decisive Roman victory, in which some 20,000 Macedonians were killed and some 11,000 taken prisoner, brought to an end the Third Macedonian War and had catastrophic consequences for the future of Macedonia and northern Greece. Perseus and his family were eventually captured and sent to Rome. The king marched in chains in Paullus' triumph and died soon after in captivity, thus ending the Antigonid dynasty of Macedonian kings. The vast wealth of Macedonia, especially the royal palace at Pella, was plundered and taken to Rome to be paraded in the three-day triumph (see Plutarch's *Life of Aemilius Paullus*, 30–35, for an account of the staggering number of art treasures borne along on waggons). Paullus embarked on a "reign of terror" by allowing Epirus to be sacked (as many as 150,000 citizens were enslaved) and condoning other reprisals, even as he himself embarked upon an archaeological tour of Greece. The kingdom of Macedonia lost its independence as a nation, was divided into four republics with elected magistrates, and paid heavy taxes to Rome. It became a Roman province in 146 BC.

The aftermath of the Battle of Pydna had two unexpected consequences for the spread of the Hellenic tradition. The first was that a young man named Polybius, son of Lycortas of Megalopolis in Achaea, was taken to Rome among the hostages deported after Pydna and became a close friend of the influential Roman Scipio Aemilianus, in whose circle he travelled widely and became privy to Roman political life at a high level. Polybius returned to Greece in 146 BC and became a distinguished historian. His *Histories* cover the years 264–146 BC (focusing on the period 220–168 BC) when Rome established its control over most of the inhabited world, which Polybius – given his background – saw as a unique event and sought to explain. His lucid narrative remains the main historical source for the period when Rome became master of the Greek east.

The spread of the Greek artistic tradition was also a by-product of the Battle of Pydna. Plunder brought to Rome made the Roman people aware of masterpieces of Greek art in the media of bronze and marble statuary, painting, and toreutic art. Greek art had a profound effect on the style of Roman art because of this contact. It is perhaps a historical irony that Paullus commandeered for a statue of himself a pillar erected

at Delphi that was originally intended for a statue of Perseus. It was topped with a bronze equestrian statue of himself above a sculpted frieze depicting a battle between Romans and Macedonians, that is, a real rather than a mythological battle. The Greek tradition of this type of monument was adapted by the Roman general for his own purposes, and was perhaps the first in the great tradition of Roman historical reliefs.

The site of Pydna at Kastro continued to be occupied in Byzantine times (known then as Kitros; the modern village of Kitros is nearby). Fortifications dated originally from the time of Justinian, and there are remains of early Christian churches and a later 10th-century basilica. It was captured by the Franks in the early 13th century, and finally by the Turks at the end of the 14th century.

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See also Macedonia

Summary

A city in Macedonia founded in the 7th–6th centuries BC, Pydna was the site of the death in 316 BC of Olympias, mother of Alexander the Great. It was also the site of a battle in 168 BC at which Macedonian forces were decisively defeated by the Romans, ending the independence of Macedonia.

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Pylos

City (or cities) in the western Peloponnese

Pylos now refers to four distinct places in the western Peloponnese, largely as a result of the attempts to identify the site of Nestor's palace as described by Homer. These are discussed from north to south.

In 1907 the German archaeologist Wilhelm Dörpfeld discovered and excavated three tholos tombs and the ruins of a building at *Kakovatos*, *c.*40 km south of Pirgos. He therefore concluded the site was Pylos as, following Strabo, many Alexandrian scholars had postulated that the Homeric site lay in Triphylia, an area also notable for the sandy beaches characterized in the epics.

The site at *Ano Englianos* (50 km south of Kiparissia) was identified in 1938 by a Hellenic–American expedition and excavated in 1939 and 1952–64 by Carl Blegen of the University of Cincinnati. A Mycenaean palace on a low hill with associated tholos and chamber tombs has been uncovered. It is the most comprehensible of all the Mycenaean palaces, though it is less impressive with its mudbrick walling and low elevation. The most important discovery was an archive room beside the entrance containing over 1000 tablets inscribed in the Linear B script; others and other types of administrative records were found elsewhere on the site. The palace was decorated with wall paintings in fresco; it had a central hearth in the megaron surrounded by four fluted columns in wood with clay chimney above. In the private wing was a bathroom with small tub. Copious evidence of pottery in functional contexts as well as stores of wine and oil contributes with the texts to a still unique picture of Mycenaean elite life. There are remains of a lower town at the base of the hill but little excavation has been carried out here. Since 1990 further study of the site and the region in general has been carried out by the American School of Classical Studies. Finds are to be seen in a small museum at nearby Chora with the most important items in the National Museum in Athens.

The rocky promontory of *Koryphasion* lies at the north end of the bay of Navarino. This bay (like that of Methone to the south) was, and still is, an important feature in the safe navigation of the west coast of the Peloponnese and the history of the area reflects this importance. Heinrich Schliemann in 1888 (after a preliminary visit in 1874) investigated the acropolis area, which was known as Old Pylos, and the cave of Nestor at the north end. In 1896 a French expedition also undertook some exploration in the cave. Ancient pottery (Middle Helladic to Roman) came to light. The small rounded bay to the north may have been the Mycenaean harbour. The southern tip of the promontory was fortified in 425 BC by the Athenians under Demosthenes and Cleon in order to cut off the Spartan contingent on the island of Sphacteria which closes the large southern bay on the west. The engagement is described in detail by Thucydides (4. 3ff.) and by Peter Green in a modern semi-fictional account. One of the shields, captured from the Spartans on their surrender after the dramatic siege of 72 days and later dedicated in the Stoa Poikile in Athens, came to light in the excavations of the Athenian Agora and is displayed in the Agora Museum.

From the 6th to 9th century AD the site was the home of a colony of Slavs or Avars from which it acquired the name of Avarinos or Navarino as the bay has become known. In the late 13th century AD Nicholas II of St Omer built a castle, generally known at this period as Port-de-Jonc, on the acropolis which featured in various engagments thereafter. In 1423 the castle was purchased by the Venetians. After the northern entry to the bay began to silt up and Don John of Austria bombarded the site in 1572, a new castle (Neokastro) was built

on the southeast side of the bay overlooking the southern entry and what became known as Palaikastro diminished in importance. It was taken by the Turks in 1501. Morosini recaptured it in 1686 and effected a few repairs.

The charming modern Neoclassical town, also known as *Pylos*, was built by the French in 1829. It lies at the foot of Mount St Nicholas on which stands the handsome and well-preserved Neokastro, built by the Turks in 1572. Plans have been put forward for several museums to be organized within the castle, notably one for underwater archaeology. In 1825 Ibrahim Pasha made Neokastro the centre of his operations and proceeded to devastate the province of Messenia. Two years later, under the Treaty of London, Britain, France, and Russia agreed to demand an armistice as a preliminary to a settlement of the Greek revolt against the Turks. After some months of unsatisfactory demands and manoeuvres, a letter of expostulation was sent to Ibrahim asking him the refrain from his actions against the Greeks on land. When it was returned with the manifestly false answer that he had left Navarino, the three admirals (Codrington, de Rigny, and Heiden) decided to sail into the bay on 20 October. The combined allied fleet consisted of 26 vessels, the Turkish fleet of 18 larger vessels and a mass of smaller ones, totalling about 80. Following a small incident in which a Turkish fire ship opened fire, a full-scale battle ensued. By the end of the day the Turks had lost over 50 vessels and over 6000 lives. No single allied ship was lost. European reaction to the victory was mixed from jubilation to puzzlement: it was referred to in the king's speech to parliament of the following year (the work of the Duke of Wellington) as "an untoward event". It did however lead directly to the evacuation of the Morea by the Turks and the full establishment of an independent Greece.

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See also Independence (War of), Mycenaeans, Peloponnesian War

Summary

The ancient settlement of Pylos has been identified with four different places in the western Peloponnese: Kakovatos, 40 km south of Pirgos, site of tholos tombs; Ano Englianos, 50 km south of Kiparissia, site of a Mycenaean palace; Koryphasion, at the north end of the bay of Navarino, site of an ancient acropolis; and Pylos, the modern town. The area was the site of famous battles in 425 BC (on the island of Sphacteria) and 1827 (in the bay of Navarino).

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Pyrrho *c.*365–275 BC

Philosopher

Pyrrho of Elis is regarded as the founder of Greek scepticism. He is said to have studied with a certain Bryson and the Democritean Anaxarchus with whom he travelled to India in the campaign of Alexander the Great. His acquaintances with the "gymnosophists" and the "magi" are said to have influenced his thought. Pyrrho did not leave any writings, but some knowledge about his teaching comes from his disciple Timon of Phlius (*c.*325–235 BC), a literary man who wrote satires (*Silloi*) parodying all dogmatic philosophers and contrasting them with Pyrrho. Pyrrho did not establish a school of philosophy in the institutional sense. There were no successors after Timon, although ancient doxography tried to invent a succession down to Aenesidemus (1st century BC). Pyrrho's teaching as transmitted by Timon enjoyed a revival several centuries later with Aenesidemus and Sextus Empiricus (2nd century AD), who systematized it. Our main sources for his philosophy are a substantial *Life* by Diogenes Laertius (9. 61–108), fragments from the Peripatetic Aristocles' *History of Philosophy* (1st century AD?) preserved by Eusebius (*Praeparatio Evangelica*, 14. 8), and the writings of Sextus Empiricus (especially his *Outlines of Pyrrhonism*).

However, these later sources do not always represent Pyrrho's teaching and there is some evidence that his later followers imposed a certain interpretation on his philosophy. Yet, given the state of evidence, it is extremely difficult to distinguish Pyrrho's original teaching from the later interpretations of it.

Pyrrho was primarily a moralist. His aim was to live a life of tranquillity (*ataraxia*). He apparently argued that everything was utterly indifferent. He maintained that there is no difference between good and bad things, just and unjust, and the like, and argued that it is only a matter of convention or habit that people believe things to be good or bad. Pyrrho was concerned to refute any natural basis for evaluating a thing as good or bad, but apparently he did not make the further move to dispute the possibility of knowing whether things are good or bad. On the contrary, he dogmatically asserted that things are neither good nor bad, and that they are only designated as such by convention. He seems to have expressed his ideas using a language such as this: "*x* is no more [*ou mallon*] this than *y*." Using such a non-committal language (already used by Democritus), he avoided making any value judgements. Yet this is not tantamount to the sceptic suspension of judgement (*epoche*) with which he was later accredited. Although Pyrrho may have distinguished sharply between *x appearing y* and *x being y*, he was concerned with the evaluation of things and not with the perceptual experience of them, i.e. with the question of the possibility of knowing them or with the nature or their apparent characteristics; and as far as their evaluation was concerned he found them indifferent. Dispensing with value judgements, Pyrrho liberated himself from all the anxieties that conventional value judgements impose on us and thus he was able to live a life of tranquillity and lack of affection (*apatheia*). Pyrrho's aim of achieving detachment from human concerns is confirmed by a number of anecdotes. He took no precautions against dogs, carts, and precipices and he was always saved by his friends. Again Pyrrho did not seem to act in this way because he disputed the evidence of the senses but because he considered that things were indifferent to him and that whatever might happen was of no account to him. Although Pyrrho found it hard to be entirely indifferent, he did attain a remarkable degree of imperturbedness.

So Pyrrho's main thesis was apparently neither epistemological nor metaphysical but primarily ethical. Yet his attitude was interpreted as a sceptical one by his followers, Timon, and by the later Pyrrhonians who relied on Timon. Timon reports that Pyrrho argued that things in themselves are indifferent, unmeasurable, and inarbitrable. Hence our perceptions are neither true nor false, their testimony is unreliable, and we should think that something is no more this than that. The moral to draw was that we should not commit ourselves to views about the nature of things on the basis of our senses since things are elusive and undetermined. This attitude may lead us first to speechlessness and then to imperturbability, which finally makes up a good life – admirably achieved by Pyrrho. Timon obviously understands the "no more this than that" formula as concerning the trustworthiness of perceptions and beliefs. According to this interpretation indifference is a result of diffidence to perceptions and beliefs and not to the value of things themselves. This interpretation is patterned on the main idea underlying the history of Greek scepticism and it could easily be imposed on Pyrrho's teaching. Yet there might well have been aspects of Pyrrho's teaching that encouraged such an interpretation.

Pyrrho's scepticism enjoyed a revival with Aenesidemus, who seceded from the sceptical Academy under Philo of Larissa and appealed to Pyrrho's radical scepticism because he wanted to restore scepticism in its pure form, castigating Academic scepticism, which tended to become more and more dogmatic. With Aenesidemus and later Pyrrhonians the focus shifts clearly to epistemology. Aenesidemus disputed the anecdotes about Pyrrho's life and maintained that Pyrrho's philosophy was based on suspension of judgement. He also added that suspension of judgement may lead us to pleasure too. Aenesidemus is well known for the systematization of the Pyrrhonian arguments against holding a belief in ten modes. By means of these modes the Pyrrhonian sceptic would be able to question any dogmatic claim or demonstration and to show how ill-founded they were.

Many Pyrrhoneans after Aenesidemus were physicians of the empirical school of medicine. Most prominent among them was, of course, Sextus Empiricus. Sextus is for us today the major exponent of Pyrrhonian scepticism, but it is evident that he relies much on Aenesidemus. In his main expository work of Pyrrhonian philosophy, the *Outlines of Pyrrhonism*, Sextus makes interesting distinctions between the Pyrrhonian and the other philosophies and he devotes a long section on the significance of standard sceptical phrases.

Pyrrhonian scepticism, like all forms of scepticism, was polemicized by Christian intellectuals in the Middle Ages since it undermined Christian dogma. Photios obviously had access to some of Aenesidemus' works and he reports on them in his *Bibliotheca*. In the Renaissance Pyrrhonian scepticism, like most ancient philosophical systems, enjoyed a revival, but there is little trace of a considerable impact on modern Greek philosophy. Recently, though, Pyrrhonian scepticism has been found appealing and modern Greek intellectuals such as Nikos Demou have stressed that it offers an honest alternative to philosophical discussions.

GEORGE E. KARAMANOLIS

See also Scepticism

Biography

Born *c.*365 BC, Pyrrho of Elis was a pupil of Bryson and Anaxarchus. With Anaxarchus he travelled to India with Alexander the Great, where he was influenced by local sages. Pyrrho returned to Elis and lived quietly. He is regarded as the founder of scepticism but he left no writings and did not establish a school. Knowledge of his teaching derives from the writings of his pupil Timon of Phlius. He died in 275 BC.

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Pyrrhus 319–272 BC

Ruler of Epirus

Pyrrhus became king of the Molossians and created the kingdom of Epirus. As ruler of Epirus, he became one of the most respected military leaders of the Hellenistic age. He was revered in his own lifetime and later in antiquity for his expertise and military knowledge: Hannibal described him as the greatest of generals in both experience and ability. He is most renowned for his military successes which he achieved at the expense of heavy casualties to his own army – the so-called "Pyrrhic victory". However, while his career as a general and king was spectacular, he failed to fulfil the potential he promised. He fought against the rising power of Rome in southern Italy and in Greece against the Macedonian monarchs Demetrius Poliorcetes and Antigonus Gonatas. His career falls into three main phases: the establishment of his power in Greece (307–285 BC), his expedition in southern Italy (285–274 BC), and his return to and death in Greece (275–272 BC).

Pyrrhus, the son of Aeacides and Phthia, was born to a line that traced its ancestry back to Neoptolemus, son of Achilles. His career became wrapped up in the intrigues and intricacies of the early Hellenistic era known as the period of the successors. He became king of the Molossians in 307/06 BC while still only 12 years old when he was installed by Glaucias, king of the Illyrians, but he reigned for only five years before being expelled by Cassander in 302 BC.

In these early years Pyrrhus was embroiled in some way or other with Demetrius Poliorcetes, whom Deidameia, his sister,

had married in 303 BC and with whom he sought refuge. In 302 BC he served as a lieutenant to Demetrius Poliorcetes and Antigonus Monophthalmus on what was to be the losing side at the Battle of Ipsus in 301 BC, but remained loyal to Demetrius, acting as caretaker in Greece.

In 299 BC Pyrrhus was handed over as a political hostage to Ptolemy I. He married Antigone, the daughter of Berenice and Ptolemy I, and with the support of Egypt and Agathocles, tyrant in Syracuse, in the early 290s BC he became co-regent of Epirus with Neoptolemus. He soon removed his co-regent and consolidated his Epirot kingdom. He founded a city named Berenice (modern Preveza) in honour of his mother-in-law. On his wife's death, Pyrrhus married Larnassa, daughter of Agathocles, and received the islands of Corfu and Leucas as a dowry. A series of additional political marriages secured further territory around Epirus.

Following his success against Demetrius Poliorcetes' lieutenant Pantauchus, Pyrrhus added territory to his kingdom. He was given the title "Eagle" by the Epirots and began to decorate his helmet with a high crest and goat's horns at the side. The rift between Demetrius – who had declared himself king of Macedon – and Pyrrhus was widened by the death of Deidameia. In addition, Demetrius married Pyrrhus' estranged wife Larnassa, and took control of Corfu.

The rising power of Demetrius was met by the concerted efforts of Pyrrhus and other Hellenistic kings in the early 280s BC. Ptolemy sailed to Greece "to persuade the cities there to revolt", Lysimachus invaded the north of Macedonia from Thrace, and Pyrrhus attacked southern Macedonia (Verroia). The kingdom of Macedon was partitioned by Pyrrhus and Lysimachus, but Pyrrhus' successes were short-lived. The Aetolians shifted their support to Lysimachus, and Ptolemy ended his aid to Pyrrhus, who was forced to withdraw back to Epirus.

In 284 BC a request came from the people of Tarentum (and other Greek cities in Italy) to Epirus for help against Rome. Pyrrhus took up the invitation and fought for the cause of Greek cities in southern Italy. Early success at Heraclea with an army of infantry, cavalry, and elephants secured the support not only of Greek cities in Italy but also Italian tribes, the Bruttians, Lucanians, and Samnites. Pyrrhus then marched on Rome. Another victory was secured at Asculum in 279 BC, but again with some loss on the Greek side. Before he was able to consolidate these successes, he was distracted by another appeal, this time from the city of Syracuse in Sicily. There he fought in 278 BC the allies of Rome, the Carthaginians, and the Mamertines. In 276 BC Pyrrhus was recalled to southern Italy, was defeated by Rome in 275 BC, and returned to Epirus with a severely depleted army. He left a garrison in Tarentum but was never to return.

In Greece Pyrrhus embarked on a campaign in Macedonia in 274 BC before marching into the Peloponnese in 273 BC to respond to an appeal from Cleonymus. At Megalopolis he declared that he was fighting to liberate the Greek cities from Antigonus Gonatas, king of Macedon. His intentions are doubted by the ancient sources. Whatever Pyrrhus' plans, they were ended abruptly in 272 BC. During an attack on the city of Argos, he was killed: struck on the head by a tile thrown from the roof, he was beheaded by one of Antigonus' men.

Pyrrhus fought on behalf of the Greek cause for the cities of southern Italy and Sicily and had tried to liberate Greek cities from the king of Macedon, Antigonus Gonatas. At the time of his death he had established Epirus as a major power, and he had transformed Dodona into a major cultural outpost. However, his lasting legacy to Hellenic culture is his military exploits. His prowess as a military leader went before him, but his inability to secure victory without heavy losses has outshone his strategic and tactical expertise.

GRAHAM OLIVER

Biography

Born in 319 BC, Pyrrhus became king of the Molossians at the age of 12 but was expelled by Cassander in 302. He served Demetrius Poliorcetes but in 299 was given as a hostage to Ptolemy I. With the help of Agathocles of Syracuse he became ruler of Epirus and founded Berenice (modern Preveza). In 284 he supported the Greek cities of south Italy against Rome but was defeated in 275. He died at Argos in 272 BC.

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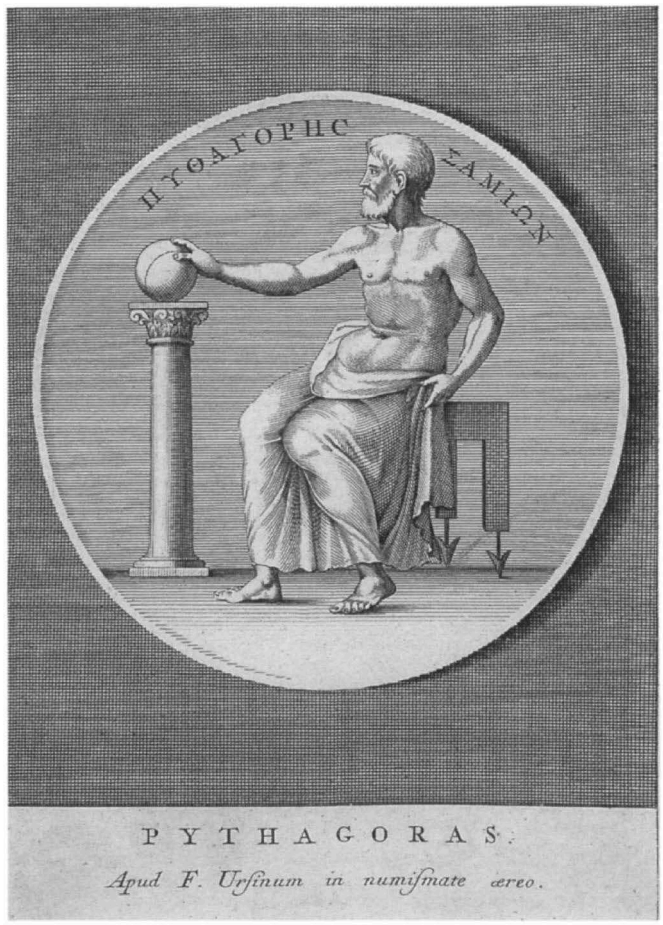
Pythagoras

Philosopher and mathematician of the 6th century BC

It is extraordinarily difficult to make any definite statement about Pythagoras, although he, and the philosophical tradition he founded, was clearly of the greatest importance in the development of Greek thought. He was born in Samos in the first half of the 6th century BC, son of Mnesarchus, a gem engraver. He moved to Croton in southern Italy around the middle of the 6th century, supposedly to escape the tyranny of Polycrates, and there formed a sort of society of followers ("Pythagoreans"), which involved itself in the politics of the Greek cities of Italy until there was a violent reaction, the Pythagoreans were massacred, and Pythagoras was driven from Croton; he died an exile in Metapontum. Nevertheless, there is clear evidence that in some places the Pythagoreans remained politically active in Italy well into the 4th century BC. The earliest reports represent him (sometimes in a negative sense) as a sage and wonderworker; he was reputed to have had a golden thigh, the ability to be in two places at once, and



Pythagoras

the power of prophecy. By the time that reasonably reliable reports become available (from the late 5th century BC onwards), he has already become a rather shadowy figure to whom a great variety of ideas could be attributed (and the situation is further confused by the reported practice of his followers of attributing all of their own ideas to him); Aristotle, who wrote an account (now lost) of Pythagoras, in his surviving works prefers to discuss "the Pythagoreans" rather than Pythagoras himself. Nevertheless, the fact that there was a group of serious thinkers who called themselves Pythagoreans (e.g. Philolaus, who composed a cosmology of which fragments survive, and Archytas, who did impressive work in mathematics and harmonics) confirms that Pythagoras' contribution to the development of thought, whatever it was in detail, was substantial and fruitful.

The ideas attributed to Pythagoras fall into two quite distinct categories (and indeed some ancient writers believed that this meant that he had two different sets of followers). First, he is said to have to have been a religious teacher, whose doctrines were based on the idea that souls migrate to new bodies (both human and animal) after death, and that by observing a series of rules and prohibitions the believer may achieve a better reincarnation in future lives. The most notorious of these rules were vegetarianism and abstinence from beans, and among others mentioned by various authorities are not picking up things that fall from the table, not touching a white cock, and not breaking a loaf of bread; they were as inexplicable in antiquity as they are now, and various attempts were made to interpret them allegorically as containing philosophical and moral truths.

It is, however, for his supposed contributions to mathematics and science that Pythagoras is remembered today. He and his followers are credited with making a crucial contribution to the early development of Greek mathematics, but it is very difficult to say precisely what this was, since it is to non-Pythagoreans (such as Thales and Anaximander) that most actual mathematical developments are attributed; the story that Pythagoras discovered the famous proof of the proposition that the square on the hypotenuse of a right-angled triangle is equal to the sum of the squares on the other two sides, the so-called theorem of Pythagoras, is found no earlier than Plutarch, who wrote in the 1st and 2nd centuries AD quoting one Apollodorus as his source (Plutarch tells us that on making the discovery Pythagoras sacrificed an ox to celebrate), and it is probable that the proof most often used today was devised by Euclid (*Elements*, 1. 47) rather than Pythagoras. Aristotle reports that the Pythagoreans claimed that "things are number" (though he could not understand what they meant by it), and certainly number played an important part in the Pythagorean picture of the world. Pythagoras is said to have discovered that the concordant musical intervals are produced by strings under the same tension whose lengths are in simple numerical ratios involving the first four integers (1:2 produces the octave, 3:2 the fifth, and 4:3 the fourth). Whether or not this is true (the reports come only in late authors), it began a process of applying the principles of ratio and harmony to the structure of the cosmos. So, the first four integers, represented by dots and arranged in a triangle, and their sum, 10, were thought to have special significance, and the Pythagoreans swore oaths by the *tetractys*, the diagrammatical representation of the relationships between these numbers in the form of an equilateral triangle. In some way, the generation of numbers, beginning with an original One, was the key to the understanding of the universe; the number of heavenly bodies was assumed to be 10 (because 10 was the perfect number), and their movement generated a musical harmony (which only the enlightened, like Pythagoras, could hear). Whatever Pythagoras' role in all of this, the idea that mathematics was fundamental to the universe, and that its study brought spiritual benefits, was undoubtedly a factor in encouraging the development of Greek mathematics beyond purely practical applications.

By the end of the 4th century BC Pythagoras had come to be regarded as the archetypical philosopher, and his supposed ideas had been incorporated into the mainstream of philosophy by the followers of Plato and Aristotle. We hear of very few philosophers who identified themselves as Pythagoreans, although preachers promulgating a popularized form of his religious ideas appear in new comedy. From the 3rd century BC onwards, however, he was sufficiently important a figure for a considerable number of forged documents to be produced under his name, a process that accelerated in the 1st century BC, when the school was refounded (the revived school is referred to by modern scholars as Neopythagoreanism, but is really a form of Platonism with a mathematical orientation); this later recreation and reinterpretation of Pythagoreanism makes the task of reconstructing the doctrines of the early

school considerably more complicated. Later, with the rise of Christianity, Pythagoras became a sort of pagan counter-Christ, and Iamblichus' *On the Pythagorean Life* (4th century AD) presents him as a semidivine sage and miracleworker, to whom the philosophical basis of a challenge to Christianity could be attributed. Interest in him continues well into the Byzantine period, and much of our information on later Pythagoreanism depends on the work of Michael Psellos (1018–after 1081), to whom we owe the survival of most of Iamblichus' work.

RICHARD WALLACE

See also Mathematics

Biography

Born in Samos in the first half of the 6th century BC, Pythagoras moved to Croton in south Italy in the mid-6th century. There he founded a society of "Pythagoreans" whose members were involved in the politics of Magna Graecia. His name is associated with religious teaching and important contributions to mathematics and science. He died in exile in Metapontum.

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R

Railways

The historical evolution of Hellenic railways is closely related to the economic and social development of the country. Their evolutionary phases can be broadly classified in two periods: from mid-19th century to the end of World War II and from the end of World War II till today. A major characteristic of the first period is the development of many independent networks that served local needs for the transportation of goods and people. The reason for that development was mainly the geographical shape of Greece. The distinctive characteristic of the second period is the consolidation of the industry under a state monopoly. The changing conditions in the transportation industry made the operation of local networks inefficient, and subsequently required the state to take over the management of all the rail networks.

The first railway line was opened in 1869 between Athens and Piraeus and was operated by the "Athens to Piraeus Railway Company". During the 1870s no new network was constructed but by the beginning of the 1880s the need for new railways was apparent. The road network was underdeveloped and transportation was efficient only by sea. The construction of railways at that time was seen as a means of accelerating economic development and further integrating Greece into the world market.

In the spring of 1882 the parliament made a detailed examination of the plans for the construction of long-distance railways. Lengthy discussions took place about the width of the gauge. The government insisted on the construction of tracks with a gauge of 1 m, whereas the opposition favoured the so called "international" line that had a gauge of 1.4 m. This disagreement may seem to be irrational but was justified because of the cost of the technology: the larger the gauge, the more expensive the associated works, such as bridges and tunnels. The advantage of the so-called "international" line was the higher travelling speed. In the end, the government's proposal was accepted because of the lower financial expenditure, and because the travelling speed was not so crucial at that time.

The peculiar physical shape of Greece together with the established routes for transportation by sea led to the construction not of a large, compact, national network that would connect the principal cities with each other, but of many small, regional, autonomous networks that connected the flat regions of the country with the major ports. It should be noted that before the 1920s communication between Greece and other countries was conducted exclusively by sea; the railway line that connected Greece with the Balkans and consequently with the rest of Europe was not operational until 1913. The main railway networks, apart from the Athens–Piraeus railway, were as follows.

Piraeus–Athens–Peloponnese Railways. One of the first networks in the country, 650 km long, its construction started in 1882 and was finished in 1904 after many difficulties. It followed a circular route around the Peloponnese and connected the majority of the Peloponnesian cities with the capital. The first section to be opened to the public connected the Corinthian Gulf with the Saronic Gulf. Thus there was no need to sail all the way round the Peloponnese in order to arrive in Piraeus. The passengers or merchandise arrived by boat in Corinth and were carried by the railway across the isthmus to the other side where waiting ships transported them to Piraeus.

Thessaly Railways. Construction started in 1882, after Thessaly was liberated from the Turks, and was finished in 1886. The network had two lines: the first was from Volos to Larissa and the second from Volos to Kalambaka, a total of 220 km. The opening of railways made the transportation of agricultural products from the plains of Thessaly to the rest of Greece and abroad from the port of Volos more efficient and accelerated the modernization of Greece's economic infrastructure.

Hellenic Railways. This was the major railway network with international standards that finally connected Greece with the rest of Europe. Construction lasted from 1900 to 1909. It connected Piraeus with Larissa and the then Greek–Turkish borders. Its construction was considered a priority for at least two reasons. The first was the ability to move troops quickly and efficiently from southern Greece to the Turkish borders; the second was the opportunity for the Greek network to be linked to the European railways.

In Macedonia the Ottomans constructed the first railway in 1871. It connected Thessalonica with Skopje and it had a length of 243 km. One year later the line from Constantinople ro Alexandroupolis was completed. The connection of these two cities to the international network was important because for the first time it was possible to transport goods and people easily and efficiently by land to Central and Western Europe.

The Eastern Railways Company had the responsibility of managing these lines and had a monopoly in the ports of Thessalonica and Alexandroupolis. These two cities became the gates of the Ottoman empire not only to Europe but also to the Mediterranean. During 1892 construction began of the line from Thessalonica to Monastiri (modern Bitola), the second centre of commercial and strategic importance in Macedonia. In 1896 Thessalonica was connected with Constantinople. The railway connection between Greece and Macedonia was delayed for many years by the Turks who were conscious of the strategic importance of railways in the event of a conflict. It was finally achieved with the liberation of Macedonia in 1912–13.

In 1920 the Greek State Railway Company was founded and began to acquire the international lines of the country, and in July of the same year the Athens–Paris intercity connection was established. During the years 1920–40 no major construction of new railway lines took place except for some small extensions to the Macedonian network.

The construction and operation of railways in the context of a traditional economy and society such as Greece inevitably brought with it a series of changes. The presence of railways in the flat areas of the country accelerated a large-scale economic and social transformation, especially after the connection with the rest of Europe. Although in the years preceding railway construction the society and economy were by no means static, the underdeveloped state of the road network had kept the rate of economic and social modernization extremely low, given that the only efficient means of transportation was by sea. Despite the fact that migration was already an established social characteristic and urbanization was also in progress, and although agriculture in the regions of the Peloponnese, Thessaly, and Macedonia had already been integrated with the world market, such social features and economic developments were confined within certain geographical limits or social groups. The agricultural and industrial potential of the country had not been fully realized and commerce was heavily restricted to the coastal areas. Seasonal migration, excluding islanders, was a venture engaged in only by transhumant shepherds and a class of artisans. The advent of railways established close contacts between towns and villages, the ports and the hinterland, the country and Europe. This supported industrial development, increased commerce, and accelerated social transformation. In addition, railways contributed significantly to the defence of the country. During the Balkan Wars the deployment of troops to the front line, was extremely rapid, given the circumstances.

The end of World War II found the country's railways seriously damaged. Their repair began at once and was finished in a relatively short period. Meanwhile, the construction of an adequate road network changed dramatically the pattern of communications. The regional rail networks could no longer survive because the transportation of goods and people by road was more efficient. The only way for them to continue in business was by merging with the larger networks. After a period of industrial consolidation in 1971 the Organization of Railways of Greece (OSE) was founded, a state monopoly that took over all independent railway companies.

Unlike the railways in Europe, the development of Greece's railway network after World War II was relatively modest, despite initial efforts. The reasons for this can be traced partly to the automobile's domination of the country's transportation and partly to the management of the organization. Instead of focusing on customer satisfaction, on the provision of adequate services, and on the modernization of equipment, the company simply became one more organization of an inefficient state. Evidence of this is the fact that 70 per cent of rolling stock and locomotives are between 20 and 35 years old. In the 1990s some effort was made to modernize and expand the network and introduce new trains. Moreover, plans have been put forward for privatization.

DIMITRIOS GKAMAS

See also Industry

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Ravenna

City in north Italy

Ravenna, particularly in the 5th and 6th centuries AD, was the site of a culture which, while largely Latin-speaking and involved in Italian affairs, also absorbed much from the Greek east; Byzantine rule after 540 acted "as an incubator, which helped preserve Ravenna's own traditions and made possible its development as a dynamic and independent society" (Brown, 1988). The nearby harbour of Classis, especially in the earlier part of this period, maintained trade and communications routes with the east. (This was one of the main reasons why the western emperor Honorius moved his capital to Ravenna from Milan in 402 and why it continued in use as capital of the Ostrogothic kings Odoacer and Theodoric, and of the Byzantine Exarchs.)

During the Ostrogothic period close contacts with the empire were maintained. Theodoric himself had spent much of his youth in Constantinople (as a hostage) and acknowledged Byzantine sovereignty – his coins continue to bear the emperor's head; eastern involvement in the affairs of Ravenna increased during the regency of Amalasuntha (526–34). Greek influence is already evident in the churches of this time, and particularly at the basilica of Sant' Apollinare Nuovo, begun as the palace church *c.*490. The plan remains that of the traditional Roman basilica but there are conspicuous eastern elements, most obviously the exterior polygon of the apse, the articulation with pilasters of the outer walls, and marble columns imported from the imperial workshops of Proconnesus. The mosaic saints of the nave (mid-6th-century Byzantine replacements for the originals of Theodoric's time),

Ravenna: interior of S. Apollinare in Classe, consecrated in 549, with an apse mosaic of the Transfiguration

processing from the palace to Christ and from Classis to the Virgin, are a departure from the separable panels and more naturalistic figures of earlier mosaic and may be the work of craftsmen either from the east or at least trained by eastern mosaicists. (In Ravenna it is never entirely clear, however, what was the balance between imported eastern expertise and evolving local tradition.)

San Vitale, the only building in Ravenna which is eastern in plan as well as decoration, was also founded under Ostrogothic rule (*c.*525) and Cyril Mango has suggested that even before 540 it was designed to make a pro-Byzantine statement. Its completion in the late 540s under Justinian I's appointee as the first archbishop of Ravenna, Maximianus, unambiguously asserted imperial dominance (and the victory of Orthodoxy over the Arian Ostrogoths). This is most evident in the mosaics of the apse where Justinian and his consort Theodora, in their most famous surviving representations, lead their courtiers (including Maximianus) in an offering to the church. These confident, bejewelled, glittering figures, emphatically present yet, in their lack of depth and volume, otherworldly, suggest at least an awareness of recent developments in eastern floor mosaics. Losses as a result of iconoclasm mean that the mosaics at San Vitale are the best surviving indication of what contemporary church decoration in Constantinople was like, although as ever there will have been room for local variation. Certainly there are significant differences between San Vitale and the church of Sts Sergius and Bacchus in Constantinople, overall the most similar in design: in Ravenna the emphasis is more vertical and the whole drawn together by factors including the "placement of arcades in both the upper and lower zones of the niches ... the slenderness of the surmounting arches" and "the flood of light from rows of huge windows in the ambulatory, gallery, and the clerestory zone of the centre room" (Krautheimer and Curčić, 1986).

No expense seems to have been spared in the construction and decoration of San Vitale. It is known to have cost the considerable sum of 26,000 *solidi*, dispensed by the banker Julianus, either on his own account or on behalf of Justinian's treasury. Julianus is also recorded as patron of the contemporary basilica of Sant' Apollinare in Classe which was enriched, like San Vitale, with mosaics, marble revetments, and Proconnesian capitals and column shafts. To this day the buildings of Justinian's time, glinting with gold, semi-precious stone, or silver tesserae, give the impression that Ravenna was a splendid and closely integrated Greek imperial city. But in a number of ways the Justinianic survivals are unrepresentative, a brief Byzantinizing interlude; it is easy to exaggerate subsequent Greek influence on Ravenna. Brown has gathered the

evidence: no Greek literature connected with Ravenna is known (although there were four Greek monasteries), Latin remained the dominant official language, the archbishops after Maximianus emanated from the see itself, eastern immigrants appear to have been rapidly assimilated, and the city is rarely mentioned in eastern sources. After Justinian's time there was little by way of magnificent church building or decoration; lack of resources and weakened trade and communication routes ended imports from the imperial workshops and restricted or redirected the movements of craftsmen between east and west. (Mosaic work at Sant' Apollinare in Classe was, however, undertaken in the later 7th century, including representations of Constantine IV, his brothers, and his son Justinian II.)

Partly as a result of this cultural divide, relations with the Exarchs and with Constantinople were sometimes difficult. Local and fiscal disputes resulted in the murder of several Exarchs and there was lasting resentment at the savage reprisals taken against prominent citizens of separatist sympathies by Justinian II in 709. Both fierce opposition to iconoclastic decrees and the perception that Constantinople could or would do little to protect the Exarchate from the Lombards contributed to the revolt of 727, and the latter impression was confirmed both by Liutprand's capture of Ravenna in 732 and by the fact that it fell to Venice to expel him soon afterwards. By the time the Lombards under Aistulf took the city again in 751, it must long have been obvious to many that Ravenna's future lay in different directions from Constantinople. By 757, with Frankish aid, it was part of the pope's domain. Eclipsed as a trading power by Venice, especially once the harbour silted up, the city soon became relatively obscure.

MARTIN GARRETT

See also Italy, Mosaic

Summary

Ravenna became the capital of the western Roman empire in AD 402 and later the capital of Ostrogothic Italy. During this time it absorbed much cultural influence from the Greek east. Captured by Belisarius for Justinian in 540, Ravenna remained a Byzantine possession until 751 when it fell to the Lombards. Ravenna's mosaics are among the best surviving examples of pre-iconoclastic Byzantine art.

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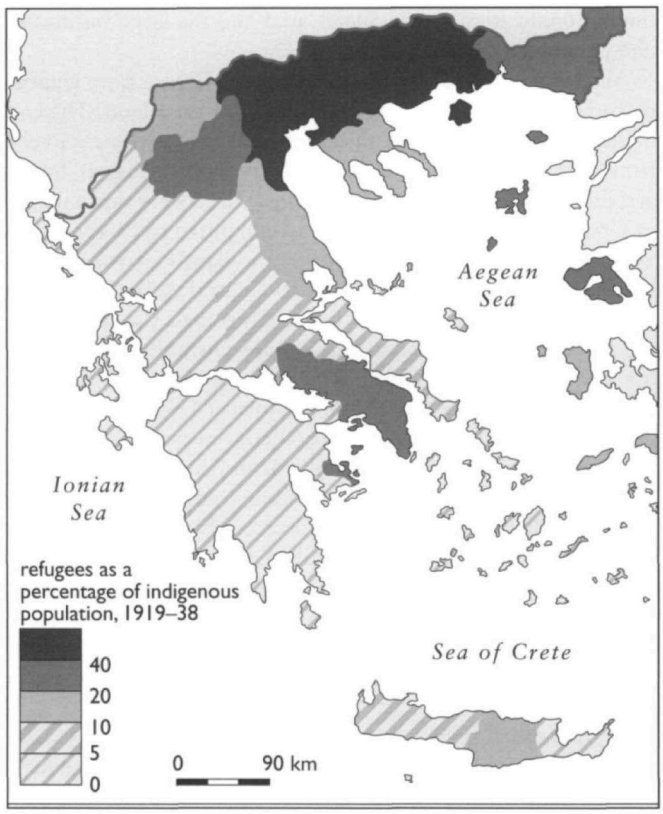
Refugees

Refugees have always played a significant role in the history of Greece. Even before the fall of Constantinople in 1453 groups of refugees from Greek lands conquered by the Ottomans sought refuge in Venetian-occupied Crete, the Ionian islands, and even the Italian states themselves. The flow intensified in the half century before the fall of Constantinople, when numerous Greeks (among them many intellectuals) emigrated to Italy, bringing with them the scholarship which helped underpin the Renaissance. The best-known example is the philosopher Plethon (who spent a year in Florence) but also Chrysoloras and Bessarion and Isidore of Kiev, of whom the last two became cardinals. Emigration continued after 1453: there is for example some evidence that a group of Greeks from Constantinople settled on the island of Patmos, probably in the second half of the 15th century. Following the fall of Crete in 1669 and the wars between the Ottomans and Venice, groups of Greeks (usually associated with revolts in favour of a western power) took refuge in the Ionian islands but also further west, in Italy, France, and even Britain; smaller groups went to Spain (Domenikos Theotokopoulos, known as El Greco, was such a refugee). A few hundred Greeks from Rhodes settled in Malta with the Hospitaller Knights of St John in 1530; between 1532 and 1534 several thousand inhabitants of the Peloponnese settled in southern Italy and Sicily after the failure of the campaigns of Charles V in the Peloponnese. Similar waves of refugees were generated after the Russo-Turkish wars of the 18th century, usually towards the Ionian islands but also further north (to Venice, Trieste, Austria, and Hungary) and west (to Naples, Livorno, even Minorca). Large numbers, mostly from the Black Sea coast (the Pontus), also settled in the Ukraine and the Crimea. In the second half of the 17th century groups of Greeks from Mani (in the southern Peloponnese) settled in Italy but also in Corsica. Still in pre-independence Greece, groups of refugees escaping from Turkish depredations left the plains and colonized much of the mountain uplands of the Greek mainland, forming virtually autonomous enclaves. Their relative freedom allowed them to play a major role in the spread of learning and the Greek Enlightenment, which in turn paved the way for the struggle for independence.

Refugees from throughout and beyond the modern-day Greek frontiers participated in the Greek struggle for independence (1821–30). The operations of the struggle created considerable upheavals throughout the Greek mainland, as well as the archipelago, Asia Minor, and Cyprus; large numbers of people were made refugees; several thousand Cypriots left the island in 1821. Some of these refugees (perhaps most) settled in Greece, but others emigrated to southern Russia, the Caucasus, western Europe, and the United States, where (among others) orphans from the War of Independence were settled or rehomed. Once the Greek state was formed, war refugees from throughout the Greek world settled within the new state, in large enough numbers to create the question of the *eterochthones* (or foreign-born Greeks) that was to remain controversial for some time.

However, the largest groups of refugees arrived in Greece in the course of the 20th century, usually (but not exclusively) as a result of the antagonisms of the Balkan states.



41. Density of refugees settling in Greece from 1919 to 1938

Chronologically the first wave of such refugees to arrive in Greece was from Bulgaria; the thriving Greek communities of eastern Rumelia, incorporated in the principality of Bulgaria in 1885, suffered during the early years of the 20th century. An example is the city of Anhialos (Anhiolu) on the Bulgarian Black Sea coast: almost exclusively Greek in 1900, it was destroyed in the course of a Bulgarian pogrom against the Greeks of Bulgaria in 1905, in retaliation for Bulgarian reverses in the Macedonian struggle. Numerous Greeks from Bulgaria subsequently sought refuge in Greece; most were settled in Thessaly.

The policy of Ottomanization pursued by the Young Turk regimes, especially after 1914, created a wave of some 90,000 refugees from Asia Minor, eastern Thrace, Pontus, and Constantinople; they sought refuge in Greece. The outbreak of World War I caused an intensification of the process of Ottomanization, and even more Anatolian Greeks were made refugees, often to allow for the settlement of Muslim refugees from the Balkans.

The largest wave of refugees was, however, yet to come to Greece, in the wake of the Greek army defeat in Asia Minor, in August 1922. The immediate aftermath of the defeat included the destruction of the Greek and Armenian quarters of the city of Smyrna, burnt by Turkish troops. Many of the Greek male inhabitants of the city faced death or deportation to work camps in the interior of Asia Minor; few were eventually to survive. Virtually all other Greek inhabitants of the city had to be evacuated to Greece; most arrived destitute, some with the clothes they were wearing their only possession. This was followed by a more orderly, but equally comprehensive evacuation of the coast of the Sea of Marmara and eastern Thrace, handed to the Turks following the Chanak affair in October 1922. The Lausanne Treaty of 1923 included a clause on the compulsory exchange of populations between Greece and Turkey; all Orthodox Christians of Turkey (with the exception of inhabitants of Constantinople) were exchanged for the Muslims of Greece (with the exception of the Muslims in western Thrace and some Albanians). The exchange began in 1922 and was completed by 1924.

The precise number of refugees is not known; little effort was made at the time to provide statistics of the mostly destitute populations coming into Greece. A considerable number of them also succumbed to disease shortly after arrival. It is estimated that between 1.2 and 1.5 million refugees entered Greece after 1922, while some 350,000–400,000 Muslims left. Over 45 per cent of the refugees were populations of rural origin, the rest urban.

The vast majority of incoming rural refugees were settled in northern Greece, in rural areas of Macedonia and Thrace; for the urban refugees, resettlement originally meant living in houses vacated by Muslim city dwellers, while a considerable proportion of them had to live in shanty towns created in the outskirts of large towns and cities. The settlement of the refugees was a colossal task. That of the rural refugees proceeded relatively quickly, and was almost complete by 1938. The urban refugees' resettlement proceeded at a much slower pace and was not completed until the 1950s. For both the urban and rural refugees, the process was highly bureaucratic, painful, and often humiliating.

The Asia Minor refugees contributed to the economic development of Greece in many ways: some of them (especially those coming from Smyrna) had enjoyed under the Ottomans a standard of living that was considerably higher than that of mainland Greece in the years before 1922. They brought with them much-needed entrepreneurial, industrial, and agricultural skills, but also a degree of political and cultural sophistication often higher than that of the mainland. They also became a ready pool of cheap labour for Greece's fledgeling industry. At least some of them became a target group for the – then new – ideas of communism: some of the most prominent-ranking members of the Greek Communist Party at the time were refugees. Greece's first Nobel Prize winner, George Seferis, as well as numerous other writers (Yorgos Theotokas, Ilias Venezis) and painters (such as Photis Kontoglou) that were to make a major impact in the country's cultural life were also refugees.

In politics, the refugees provided a relatively stable source of electoral support for the Venizelist side throughout the interwar years. It was the numerical strength of the refugees and their support for Venizelos that made it possible for him to return to power in 1928. The large numbers and relatively compact pattern of settlement (almost 90 per cent of the rural refugees were settled in whole villages in Macedonia and Thrace) also created a divide between refugees and non-refugees in the countryside; this divide (also mirrored to a lesser extent in cities) repeatedly degenerated into violent conflict in the interwar years and would endure for many decades.

The refugees from Asia Minor and eastern Thrace were by no means the last refugees to arrive in Greece. Greeks from Bulgaria continued to emigrate to Greece as prescribed by the

voluntary exchange of populations under the Neuilly Treaty signed in 1919 between Greece and Bulgaria. It is estimated that around 70,000 Greeks came to settle in Greece from Bulgaria between 1919 and the late 1930s. An estimated 100,000 Greeks from southern Russia, the Crimea, the Caucasus, and the Ukraine also came to Greece between 1920 and the outbreak of World War II, most arriving in the wake of the upheavals caused by the Bolshevik Revolution and the Civil War. Further numbers of Greeks also became refugees during the Axis occupation of Greece (1941–44) and the Civil War (1946–49). Over 100,000 Greeks were forced to leave Bulgarian-occupied eastern Macedonia and Thrace between 1941 and 1944. The refugees from Asia Minor that had been settled in the region after 1922 were specially targeted for expulsion by the Bulgarian occupation authorities. Some of the refugees from the Bulgarian-occupied areas never returned, settling in other parts of Greece after the liberation in 1944.

The Civil War resulted, among other things, in further numbers of refugees. During the Civil War a practice was developed by the National (Government) Army by which whole villages from areas controlled by the insurgents were evacuated and their inhabitants resettled. They were often moved to shanty towns, always near larger cities under government control. These were the *antartopliktoi* (victims of the guerrillas) or *kataphygontes* (those who sought refuge); it is estimated that some 700,000 persons or approximately 10 per cent of the population fell into this category. Once the hostilities were over, many did not return to their home villages, thus creating the first wave of the postwar population movement from the countryside that greatly increased the population of urban centres.

On the other side of the Civil War divide, both during the hostilities and following the communist defeat, considerable numbers of supporters of the communist guerrillas left Greece, some forcibly, most voluntarily; initially most went to Albania and Yugoslavia. They were subsequently resettled in the countries of the Eastern bloc and in the USSR, creating a string of Greek settlements ranging from the German–Polish border to Tashkent in Soviet Central Asia. They were banned from returning to Greece, at least until 1974; the bulk of them were only repatriated in the early 1980s.

In the 1950s and 1960s the Turkish authorities forced or "encouraged" tens of thousands of Greeks from Istanbul, as well as the Greek inhabitants of the islands of Imbros and Tenedos (given to Turkey in 1923), to emigrate to Greece; the pressure was especially strong during periods when relations between Greece and Turkey were tense, typically over differences related to Cyprus. Such an incident took place on 5–6 September 1955, when large numbers of Greek homes and businesses in Istanbul were looted by mobs, with some loss of life and massive destruction of property. The anti-Greek riots were organized with the connivance if not the support of the Turkish authorities and were the trigger for the large-scale exodus of the once thriving Greek community of Constantinople. While some Constantinopolitan Greeks emigrated to other countries, most settled in Greece. A considerable number of Greeks that had been living in Egypt also came to Greece following the Nasser revolution of 1956 and the nationalization of the Suez Canal and the large businesses and private estates that followed.

Yet another wave of refugees arrived in Greece from Cyprus in 1974, following the Turkish invasion of the island. The end of the Cold War brought more refugees into Greece: Greeks from the former Soviet republics (especially Georgia) began arriving in Greece in the early 1990s. They were descendants of Greeks from the Pontus who had emigrated to Russia in the 19th century. They had suffered at the hands of Stalin (who had had many of them deported to Central Asia); and while perestroika brought a revival in their fortunes, the collapse of the Soviet Union created a much more unstable environment for relatively small minorities such as theirs. An estimated 100,000 Greeks emigrated from the former USSR to Greece in the early 1990s, and this emigration continues.

The collapse of the Stalinist regime in Albania also resulted in a new wave of refugees: numerous ethnic Greeks from southern Albania streamed into Greece, also beginning in the early 1990s. While many are simply seasonal migrant workers, a number of them have settled in Greece more or less permanently. Finally, a number of political refugees fleeing from repressive regimes (most Kurdish, but also others from African and Asian countries) have sought and been granted asylum in Greece.

In the short term, the successive waves of refugees has invariably caused considerable economic and social problems to Greece: their resettlement and absorption has required and still requires considerable economic and social capital; and social division and tensions have also arisen, sometimes to boiling point. Similar tensions are to be observed today, with the large number of economic migrant workers and refugees in residence in Greece, some in a highly precarious economic state; the legal position of considerable numbers of them is also not very clearly defined. Yet, in the long run, the refugees have traditionally proved highly beneficial for Greece: not only have they contributed to the economic development of the country not least by bringing new skills and increasing the workforce; they have also given Greece a high degree of ethnic homogeneity, making it the most homogeneous national state of the Balkans.

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See also Asia Minor Campaign

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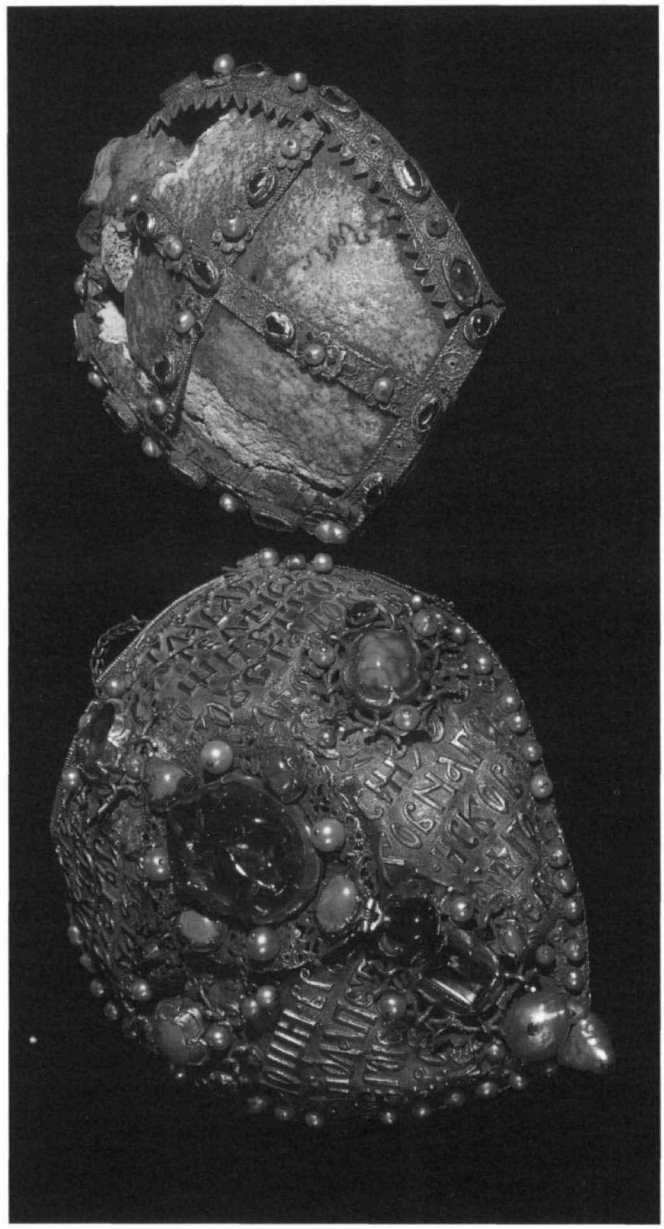
Relics

The veneration of relics (the physical remains of the saints, or articles closely associated with them) became a part of active Christian devotion from the 4th century onwards, and remains a distinctive aspect of the Greek Christian tradition to the present day. The practice also marks western Catholic Christianity, from its shared historical and doctrinal roots, but was decisively rejected by the Protestant Churches of the Reformation.

Biblical roots of the religious practice can be traced in the Old Testament narratives of Elisha assuming Elijah's cloak as an effective symbol of the transference of divine charismata to the new prophet (2 Kings 2: 14), or in the story of how the bones of Elisha raised a corpse to life when laid upon them (2 Kings 13: 21). The New Testament continued this oriental tradition of seeing even material objects as capable of being imbued with divine charisma, as for example in the stories of Jesus curing the woman who merely touched the fringe of his garment (Matthew 9: 20), the wonderworking talismans of Paul (Acts 19: 12), and the thaumaturgical shadow of Peter (Acts 5: 15). The standard Jewish-Christian practice of exhumation of the dead, and the subsequent reburial of the bones in an ossuary, perhaps also created a positive environment for the formation of a Christian cult of the dead. This was certainly alien to the widespread contemporary Roman mentality which regarded the relics of dead with distaste and fear (akin to modern European attitudes) .

The beginnings of the Greek Christian cult of relics have usually been referred to the devotion offered to the early martyrs, especially those of the 3rd and 4th centuries. Already the description of the martyrdom of Polycarp (mid-2nd century) speaks of the faithful gathering up his relics, "more valuable than precious stones and finer than refined gold", which were then taken back to a martyrium where his memory could be commemorated regularly. A similar aspect is seen in the account of Ignatius of Antioch's martyrdom, after which fragments of his body were "put into a coffin like an inestimable treasure". The cult of the martyrs became powerful and popular within the Church. The early martyria shrines were focuses of regular commemorations throughout the Christian world (eventually to become the Christian liturgical calendar) where Eucharistic celebrations and feasts were held around the tombs of the saints. The martyrs were believed to be immediately admitted to heaven with the power to intercede for the earthly Church, and to act as powerful patrons in adverse times. The cult of martyrs, obviously attached to their tombs and physical remains from the very logic of its origins, eventually spread in Christian practice to encompass other Christian heroes: notably confessors (those who had courageously witnessed but survived) and hierarchs. The holy ascetics of the 4th and 5th centuries became new focal points of Christian devotion.

By the time of the mid-4th century the cult of the relics of the saints was so widespread that a series of *inventiones* was taking place. The relics of past Old Testament prophets or other historic saints, such as John the Baptist, were discovered to popular acclaim. The form of the *inventio* usually followed a revelatory dream to a significant figure. In the 5th century Cyril of Alexandria had revealed to him the whereabouts of



Relic: two pieces of the skull of St John the Baptist, decorated with gold and semi-precious stones, Topkapi Palace Museum, Istanbul

powerful relics of martyrs who would do battle with Isis in his own generation. Ambrose of Milan discovered the relics of Sts Protasius and Gervase. The empress Eudoxia in the Holy Land discovered the relics of St Stephen and had a triumph in bringing them back to Constantinople. Dominant figures in the newly ascendant Christian empire thus sought to associate themselves with the mediatory efficacy of the saints in a political culture where intercession with the throne was viewed as the primary avenue to power. The discovery of relics also extended to the finding of notable objects of the Passion. The stories of the discovery of the True Cross, the nails from Calvary, and other sacred objects belong to this era. The *inventio* was often followed by a "translation" to a suitable place of worship, or the establishment of a new and splendid oratory. One of the most famous of these early translations was that of

St Babylas the Martyr, whose remains were brought by Caesar Gallus in 351 to a shrine adjacent to the great temple of Apollo at Daphne in Antioch. Later, when Julian learned that the oracle there had ceased to function, he indignantly sent back the saint's bones. Julian scornfully denigrated Christian churches at this time as having become little more than charnel houses.

Christian Constantinople, just as it rose in the ascendancy of political influence, also became a veritable repository of the most venerable cult objects of the ascendant religion. Up to the time of the Fourth Crusade (which had among its policies of depredation the explicit aim of forcibly taking famous relics to disseminate them among the princes of the west) Constantinople was a famous pilgrimage centre. It possessed two pieces of the True Cross (one taken from Jerusalem, one from Apamea), the pillar of scourging, the crown of thorns, the sponge, and the lance. Among its relics of the Blessed Virgin was the famous robe kept at the palace of Blachernae and used as a palladium for the imperial city (evidenced in the famous Greek hymn of the *Akathist*, and in the cultic celebration of the feast of the Protecting Veil). The shrines of saints in the city, with their relics, were innumerable. Demand for relics of the saints became so widespread that dismemberment of their bodies became commonplace in the East (though discouraged until much later in the Roman Church), and eventually the liturgical service of dedicating a new church was forbidden without the practice of placing relics of saints under (now within) the main altar. To this day, apart from relics within the altar in all consecrated Orthodox churches, the relics of saints must also be sewn into the *antiminsiou* (the cloth on which the sacred mysteries stand during the eucharistic liturgy), and without the *antiminsiou* no liturgy may be celebrated.

Some Christian writers in antiquity attacked the potential abuses of the veneration of relics. The first to do so was the 5th-century presbyter Vigilantius of Aquitaine, who was lambasted for his pains by Jerome. At this time Jerome enunciated the principle that the relics of the saints were venerated, but not worshipped, for the sake of reverence to the Lord whose martyrs they were. This was to remain, substantially, the central Christian theological principle of the cult. It is a matter of current debate whether relic veneration was attacked by the iconoclasts in 9th-century Byzantium, but John of Damascus certainly defended the practice of relic veneration, refining the standard Greek theology of relics in the process. The second Council of Nicaea in 787, and that of Constantinople in 1084, confirmed the basis of the doctrine for the eastern Church. Relics are henceforth regarded as sacred objects, veneration of which passes directly to the saint involved. As the saints in life were special vehicles of the divine grace of sanctification, so now those saints have access to the throne of God, and offer continuing patronage to their new kin groups, those within the Church who gather around their earthly remains. The relics themselves, like the icons, were regarded as possessed of particular grace. On the feast of the saint, or on the occasion of the translation, works of grace were expected from the saint, and, from ancient times even to the present in Orthodox practice, pilgrimages were made to the shrines on such special occasions.

Some modern commentators have regarded the Christian cult of saints' relics as a by-product of the ancient Hellenistic cult of the heroes, whose tombs were often located in the most notable ancient temples, and from whom benefits were often sought (such as the relics of Theseus translated to Athens in 469 BC, found by virtue of an oracle and a prodigy, at whose tomb the poor prayed for relief). It is difficult to speak collectively, or entirely to disregard numerous instances of superstitious abuse within Christian history, but it should be noted that the cult of the saints in antiquity was always carefully distinguished from the cult of the dead heroes by its literate defenders (usually monks or hierarchs). Apologetical writers such as the Syrian bishop Theodoret in the 5th century ruefully ask why the Christian practice has aroused so much antagonism in the Hellenistic world, when the temples themselves encourage the cult of heroes. Eusebius of Caesarea in the 4th century is also at pains to distance Christian devotion from Hellenistic superstitions. The refined Byzantine theology of the period after iconoclasm elevated the attitude towards relics (and icons) as illustrative of a Christian's whole attitude to sacramental efficacy – the principle at stake being to what extent a material form can act as a valid medium of spiritual grace. The east, with its firm belief in the direct incarnation of God in the flesh, took a positive view on that matter, and this is mainly why its active veneration of the relics of the saints is closely bonded with its very concrete theology of the deification of the flesh by Christ. For this reason, unlike western Christianity, the Greek Christian tradition saw relics as substantive to the true faith rather than peripheral.

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See also Canonization, Dead

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Religion, Ancient

In attempting to describe Classical Greek religion, it is necessary to state at the outset that the Greeks themselves had no word to describe our concept of "religion", no comparable conception of a sphere of life marked out from the "political" or the "secular". Greek religion, moreover, did not – like modern Christianity – focus upon a set of dogmas or principles to which a man or a woman consciously chooses (or declines) to adhere. Nevertheless, even without a body of sacred texts, without an organized Church with the professed purpose of ensuring uniformity, the Greeks shared a roughly coherent set of beliefs and ritual practices that merit description together.

Greek religion was polytheistic. A core group of so-called Olympian divinities (those who were held in myth to live on Mount Olympus) was often numbered 12, but the identity of the 12 varied: the Parthenon frieze featured Aphrodite, Apollo, Ares, Artemis, Athena, Demeter, Dionysus, Hephaestus, Hera, Hermes, and Zeus. Though some of these divinities would have been familiar to all Greeks – Zeus, Demeter, and Hermes, for example – there was great variation both in the deities worshipped and in the relative emphasis given to different deities in different Greek cities and regions. Poseidon was associated particularly with the city of Corinth, Athena with Athens, Hera with Argos and Samos. Different cult titles or epithets were applied to divinities in different areas: Athena Polias (or "of the city") in Athens or Zeus Lykaios (named after a local mountain) in Arcadia.

These relationships between cities and divinities were not exclusive or monogamous ones: Poseidon also held a central place in Athens, Athena in Sparta (even under the title "Polias"). Other local deities, however, such as the Arcadian goddess Despoina (or "mistress") or the Spartan Helen (though they may have shared certain attributes, or even sometimes fused, with Panhellenic deities), were more or less restricted to particular localities. In addition, there were a large number of lesser divinities such as nymphs (believed to inhabit and somehow to embody rivers, trees, and mountains) and heroes. The latter, a particularly disparate group, included the Panhellenic Heracles (also worshipped as a god); mythological characters, for example from the Trojan War; and historical individuals worshipped after their deaths, such as the Spartan Brasidas, the antagonist in the Peloponnesian War of the Athenian historian and general Thucydides. In Athens, the city that is best documented, we know of the existence of hundreds of heroes.

How are we to understand this confusion of deities? Were the Argive and Samian Hera, say, or the Spartan and Athenian Athena Polias, one god or two? The answer is probably that they were believed to be both different and the same. That the names of so many divinities, and the stories of their exploits, were common across the Greek world clearly means something, even if the devotees of a god's different cults were distinct. In his odes in honour of the victors of Panhellenic festivals, when a victor's home city possessed no cult of the Panhellenic deity in question, Pindar addressed himself to a different local manifestation of that god. In describing an instance of divine intervention, Herodotus will sometimes ascribe it at one moment to a named divinity, at another to a generalized divinity, "the divine", or "the god". A powerful principle in Greek religious thought was that the nature of the gods was fundamentally unknowable, and that the distinctions between divinities, and their characterizations through myth, were traditional, even arbitrary. Far from leading to widespread scepticism concerning the existence of the gods, this "uncertainty principle" seems, however, to have cushioned the individuated gods of myth and ritual from challenge.

The relationship between men and gods in Greek religion is often portrayed in modern accounts as more contractual than personal: the proper observation of ritual duties – especially of sacrifice, accompanied by prayer – was rewarded by good fortune in the form of, for example, a good harvest, the birth of children, or through negative blessings such as the absence of disease or a journey free of shipwreck. (The idea of personal salvation after death was not widespread, being limited largely to the mystery cults such as that of Eleusis.) Though a greater emphasis perhaps was given to ritual than in many other religious systems, the exchange was not quite so crudely commercial. In literature emphasis is often placed on the spirit in which propitiation of the gods was performed. A man's past actions may make his sacrifice unwelcome. Xenophon's account in his *Anabasis* of his journey into Asia with a group of Greek mercenaries, the so-called Ten Thousand, reveals also an extraordinarily warm piety.

Other differences between Greek religion and Christianity have also perhaps been exaggerated. The existence of sacred texts or an organized Church demonstrably fails to ensure more than a degree of uniformity in belief and practice. Though there was never in the Greek world any identifiable core set of beliefs to which adherence was demanded, there were limits to diversity and toleration: a number of prosecutions for impiety took place in the late 5th and early 4th centuries BC in Athens; the grant of divine honours to rulers such as Alexander encountered opposition. Though we cannot talk in a Greek context of "belief" in the sense of a personal leap of faith, the reality of Christian belief reveals a number of similarities to Greek religion. Just as Christian belief in an ever-loving and just god must explain the appearance of injustice, so Greek belief in the gods' unfailing response to propitiation must incorporate similar strategies for explaining exceptions. A similar pattern can be seen underlying other areas of Greek belief. The belief that gods punish unjust or impious actions – there was a considerable overlap between the ideas of the pious (*hosion*) and the just (*dikaion*) – is maintained by means of a number of such "let-out clauses": that retribution may occur through human agency, that it may follow immediately or be delayed even for a number of generations, or that, while the divine is, in general, just, it may also be capricious. The Greek belief in the reliability of oracular prophecy (from shrines such as Delphi, Dodona, and Didyma) similarly relies on a number of explanations for prophecies that are patently never fulfilled: that the correct interpretation was not discovered, that undue influence had been exerted (or even that the priestess had been bribed), that the consultant at the oracle had committed some error in procedure, or that some prophecies are simply misleading or dud.

A consequence of the lack of a clear separation of "sacred" and "secular", the lack of a distinction of Church and state, is that it is perhaps less easy to generalize on the political implications of Greek religion. A number of activities or aspects of

life that we would casually class as secular were in the Greek world coloured or shaped by religious practices or beliefs. The political relationships between Greek cities were regulated through religion: when one city founded a colony, the flame for the sacred hearth of that colony was taken from its mother city; the relationship of colonizer and colonized was a relationship of religious duty. Treaties between cities, termed in Greek *spondai* (or "libations"), were marked by oaths sworn by the gods, accompanied by sacrifice: Thucydides records how in the Peloponnesian War the Spartans ascribed a number of military reversals to their breaking of a treaty. Many official aspects of city life – politics, the administration of justice – were touched by religion: as the comic playwright Aristophanes reveals through a parody, the assembly meeting started with a prayer. Oracles and prophecies were also clearly introduced into arguments in the assembly. Greek tragedy and comedy themselves were performed in the context of religious festivals such as the festival of Dionysus. Though there were professional oraclemongers and diviners, priests never formed a separate caste in Greek society. Rather they were drawn from the population at large, sometimes by virtue of family, but increasingly by election or by lot. The magistrates of Athens or the kings of Sparta performed functions that we would classify as a mixture of sacred and secular.

Religion was also central to the Greeks' perception of their identity in relation to foreign peoples and one another. The Greeks represented their gods as universal and found equivalents for them among foreign peoples, saying, for example, that Dionysus was the Greek name for Osiris or that the Ethiopians worshipped Zeus and Dionysus "alone of the gods". There was consequently no need felt to "evangelize" foreign peoples; for a Greek to proclaim a "war of religion", a crusade, was unthinkable. Herodotus describes as madness the action of the Persian king in mocking the rites of the Egyptians. Nevertheless, it is arguably no coincidence that such, often imaginary, religious crimes are ascribed to foreign peoples (so-called "barbarians") rather than to Greeks. Stories of the punishment of such actions are often reported with relish. Moreover, though they may have espoused an ideal of toleration of foreign practices, and though they may have thought most foreign gods had equivalents in the Greek pantheon, the line was drawn at common worship. Though the long-standing Greek god Dionysus was perceived as of eastern origin, genuine newcomers such as Adonis, Sabazius, Bendis, and Asclepius (from within the Greek world) were assimilated into the cult system of a city only with difficulty and some reluctance. Panhellenic festivals such as the Olympic Games were closed to non-Greeks. Those Greeks who settled in Egypt built their own temples: the Hellenion for common use and other shrines of Zeus, Hera, and Apollo for settlers from Aegina, Samos, and Miletus respectively.

As this last example demonstrates, the citizens of different Greek cities were conscious of their distinct religious identities. Just as the Olympic Games were barred to non-Greeks, so certain city festivals were barred to non-citizens. Citizens belonged, however, to more than one religious community: phratries (or brotherhoods – groups based on, at least perceived, common descent), tribes, demes (or villages), and families, all had religious rituals associated with them and all were doubtless the focus for some feeling of community.

Perhaps the hardest issue in the study of Greek religion is the assessment of change. During the 5th century BC there was a particular upsurge in religious scepticism: the development of natural, "scientific", explanations of disease or madness, observations of the injustice of the gods, that the gods were created as a form of social control, or that the belief in divination was a popular superstition. It is important, however, not to see scepticism on such issues as heralding a general or widespread reaction against religious belief. A certain degree of questioning and doubt was integral to Greek religion in all periods. Many of these sceptical positions – the injustice of the gods, for example – were rooted in traditional attitudes. Such changes as occurred as a consequence of events – the failure of Athenian diviners during the Peloponnesian War, for example – were probably largely piecemeal. The Greeks to a large extent had prepared answers for such eventualities: most diviners are charlatans; not all forms of divination are equally reliable. There is no reason, or evidence, for supposing that such reversals sparked a general decline in divination or in religiosity. Perhaps the clearest changes in Greek religion occurred as a consequence of Alexander's conquest of the Persian empire. Not only were new gods such as Isis and Serapis absorbed, but the pattern of worship changed in response to new political realities: Greek cities came to terms with the powerful and distant rulers of the Hellenistic kingdoms, or with the growing power of Rome, by integrating them in their pantheons as gods.

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See also Afterlife, Cult, Divination, Festivals, Gods and Goddesses, Heroes and Heroines, Oracles

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Religious Brotherhoods

Missionary organizations in 20th-century Greece

Religious brotherhoods constitute an important feature of religious life in 20th-century Greece. Their appearance was due to the inability of the official Church to deploy a necessary missionary programme in the country. Their spiritual antecedents must be sought in various religious movements in Greece from the late 18th century onwards, which originated out of private initiative and remained in tension with the Church. The best-known brotherhoods are Zoe ("Life"), Sotir ("Saviour"), and Stavros ("Cross"), but there are some recent ones too (e.g. Lydia). Though there are several notable differences between them, they have some common characteristics.

The most influential brotherhood has been Zoe. It was founded by archimandrite Evsevios Matthopoulos (1849–1929) in 1907 in Athens. Its initial nucleus consisted of theologians and a few working men. The purpose of Zoe was the spiritual growth of its members and the expansion of Orthodoxy all over Greece. Its eponymous journal has been published regularly since 1911. Zoe was a semi-monastic organization and its members, some clerics but mostly lay theologians, had to accept the monastic vows of chastity, poverty, and obedience while living a cenobitic life. However, Zoe did not retreat from the world, but was based in urban centres across the country, engaging in religious activism in order to transform Greek society.

Zoe expanded rapidly and soon needed a more effective organization. Between 1927 and 1947 its influence all over the country under the leadership of archimandrite Serapheim Papakostas was impressive. Its many-sided activities included the publishing of the Bible, religious books, and journals; preaching, Sunday schools, and Bible study groups; charitable work; summer camps; various affiliated sisterhoods of devoted celibate women and numerous other associations for various social groups (e.g. parents, students, workers). In this way, Zoe brought about a revival in Greek religious life, which left its imprint in the years to come. After the end of World War II and the ensuing Civil War (1946–49), Zoe contributed to Greece's restoration. With the support of the state and the help of the "Christian Union of Professional Men" and its monthly magazine *Aktines*, edited by the law professor Alexandros Tsirintanis, its activities were incorporated in the 1950s into a broader quasi-messianic vision of creating a wholly new Orthodox Greece within the frame of a "Helleno-Christian Civilization". This led to the culmination of its power and prestige in that decade.

Between 1958 and 1960, however, an internal split appeared within Zoe. Three of the oldest founding members, including P. Trempelas (1886–1977), professor of theology at the University of Athens, decided to leave Zoe and create a new brotherhood, Sotir. Sotir claimed a return to the authentic spiritual heritage left by E. Matthopoulos and exhibited more conservative orientations than Zoe. Despite initial difficulties, Sotir managed to develop a stable organization and to expand its activities across the country. However, this schism had a negative impact upon the brotherhoods' influence. Numerous previous members dissociated themselves completely from them and criticized them for deviating from the true Orthodox tradition.

In the case of the brotherhood Stavros, things are different. It appeared first in 1959 and in a more organized form in 1966. Its founder was archimandrite Avgustinos Kantiotis, who in 1967 became bishop of Florina. Born in 1907, Kantiotis undertook extensive missionary activity in many dioceses and made headlines with his militant and uncompromising views on issues pertaining to Orthodox dogma and ethos. As a result, his conflicts with Church and state officials were numerous, but he did not change his attitude even after his elevation to a bishopric. Stavros has been influenced to a certain extent by Zoe, but exhibits some differences too. Kantiotis's charismatic personality remained of paramount importance for his movement, while the other brotherhoods were not dependent on one particular person. Furthermore, Kantiotis's critique was fierce and fanatical, whereas the other brotherhoods were generally milder in their overall attitude. Finally, as far as the Lydia brotherhood is concerned, it is based in northern Greece and was founded by archimandrite Theophilos Zisopoulos.

The most serious problem of the brotherhoods has been their relationship with the official Church. Although they belonged to the Church and their founders were Orthodox clerics, the Church hierarchy has always been critical of their independence, their social influence, and their elitism. In addition, the official Church organization for internal mission, the Apostoliki Diakonia ("Apostolic Service"), became active from the late 1940s onwards; in other words, relatively late in comparison to Zoe, which had been far more successful. Various accusations were brought against Zoe as early as 1914 and later in 1923, but without repercussions. The "cold war" between the Church and Zoe continued. Serious criticism of the brotherhoods appeared after the split between Zoe and Sotir, and was made known to a wider public through newspaper articles and the media. The brotherhoods were labelled as sectarian, puritanical, pietistic, and activist movements, modelled upon western religious orders such as Opus Dei. They distanced themselves from authentic Orthodoxy and

genuine ecclesiastical life through their independence from parish life and the local bishops. They were regarded either as being parasitic upon the Church or as lying entirely outside the Church body. Their political preferences and social conservatism, manifested in their general support of the military junta (1967–74) and of the policies of archbishop Ieronymos Kotsonis, a former Zoe member, provoked biting criticism. The brotherhoods were accused of attempting to control the Church and holding politicians under their religio-ideological influence. More recently, the brotherhoods were officially held responsible for spreading fundamentalist attitudes within the Greek Church in various long-standing violent conflicts, as manifested in the diocese of Larissa.

The brotherhoods have tried repeatedly to refute these accusations and show their historical roots in the Orthodox tradition. They have pointed to their contributions to Greek religious life, especially regarding the revival of sacramental practices and mission. They have also emphasized that their members remain in the Orthodox Church, since there has never been a schism between them. Clerics belonging to the brotherhoods are employed in several dioceses across the country. Their sectarian features (e.g. elitism, pietistic morals, tension with the surrounding secular culture) have not yet transformed them into full-fledged sects. Their intention to remain within the Church is evident in many ways. After all, Stavros's founder and leader A. Kantiotis is an Orthodox bishop. Two other eminent and learned hierarchs, the archbishop of Albania, Anastasios Yannoulatos, and the bishop of North and South America, Dimitrios Trakatellis, were previously members of Zoe. Nevertheless, the brotherhoods' independence and elitism may eventually lead them to separate from the Church, especially if they think that the Church is making dangerous compromises regarding the Orthodox faith. The emergence of Old Calendarists in 20th-century Greece through a schism shows that such developments can happen.

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Renaissance, Palaiologan

During its politically weak and socially decadent final two centuries (1261–1453), the Byzantine empire underwent a cultural renaissance that revitalized art, architecture, philosophy, music, religion, and other manifestations of the intellect and spirit. This flowering, a true renaissance fostered by Byzantium's last dynasty, the Palaiologoi, crucially influenced the Italian Renaissance and so all subsequent western culture. The Orthodox Balkans and Russia, whose conversion and religion depended on the Greeks, have a strong Byzantine character to this day, and the Palaiologan achievement properly includes their art. Many monuments and objects of Palaiologan art and religion (these two were the same to them) remain, though they represent a mere fraction of what was produced by the imperial workshops and under private patronage (what Greeks called the "poetic" cause). These prove that the empire's final weakness was political and financial only, and that under the Palaiologoi Byzantine culture was not at its last gasp, as older historians, following Gibbon in his magisterial *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (1776–88), tended to assert, but rather in a period of spectacular renewal till near the end. Greek high culture thus evolved for more than 2,000 years without a break.

Byzantine culture properly begins during the reign of the emperor Constantine the Great (died 337), who made it eastern (based on Constantinople) and Christian. Thus Byzantium developed a culture that was compounded of Classical and oriental elements, with an emperor as its heart and a patriarch as its soul. In this, Palaiologan culture is no different from that of Justinian's age. Though the Fourth Crusade, in 1204, was a disaster from which the Greeks never fully recovered – Venice carried off so much booty that its artistic tradition remained Byzantine for 250 years – from the embers the Palaiologan dynasty eventually rose in splendour. Michael VIII Palaiologos (1259–82), scion of an old Byzantine family, reconquered Constantinople in 1261 and, despite

reduced circumstances, undertook the restoration of houses, fora, market places, theatres, law courts, and churches, and encouraged the astonishing late flowering that we rightly call the Palaiologan Renaissance.

In ways unavailable to the West, this renaissance was a continuation; Greek intellectuals did not have to discover Plato and Euripides, for they had never forgotten them. And there was no Byzantine century without poetry, history, theology, and the copying and illuminating of manuscripts. The Italians, for their revival, were dependent on Byzantium for their Hellenism, just as the Byzantines had to look to the West for military succour, which never came, though several Palaiologan emperors were ready to submit to Rome for it.

Intellectual activity remained much higher in Byzantium than in the West. George Pachymeres (died *c.*1310) , for example, wrote a *Roman History*, a 13-volume work that is accurate and emphasizes the theological nature of recent events. He also composed a theological treatise on the doctrine of the Trinity. His collection of lectures (*Compendium of Four Mathematics*) on mathematics, music, geometry, and astronomy, which became the standard academic text in Byzantine culture, was one of the first to use Arabic numbers, and his compendium of the philosophy of Aristotle was also for school use. Theodore Metochites' *Philosophical and Historical Miscellany* is an encyclopaedic collection of tracts and essays on Classical thought, history, and literature, comprising more than 70 Greek authors; he also produced treatises on physics, astronomy, physiology, and Aristotelian psychology. His commentaries on Plato's *Dialogues* were an important influence on Neoplatonic thought, and his *Embassy Papers* an invaluable history. The emperor John VI Kantakouzenos (1341/47–54) retired to a monastery to compose his *Histories* and theological works. Their volume and quality are astonishing.

Byzantine art had always striven to reflect the divine shadow on earth, and to open a window on heavenly permanencies and the theological mystery of transcendent reality. Severely Platonist, it sought the divine lineaments, usually as a setting for the liturgy; secular art, though it existed, was minor. The art of the Palaiologan Renaissance, as developed in mosaic, fresco, and icon-painting – to say nothing of ivory carving, liturgical music, and textiles – continued this, but was gentler than its predecessor; it strove to please and observe as well as to inspire, and so is easier for us to enjoy.

Probably the greatest surviving masterpiece of Palaiologan art is the church of St Saviour in Chora at Constantinople, also known by its Turkish name, the Kariye Cami. Michael's son and heir, Andronikos II Palaiologos (1282–1328), was not fierce and calculating like his father but rather amiable and intellectual; he fostered the golden age of the great monastery complex on Mount Athos. One of his chief ministers, the same rich and pious scholar Theodore Metochites (died 1332), had the church built and decorated to his own excellent, classicizing taste. It is full of glittering mosaics of the highest quality, one of which shows Theodore himself in an immense oriental hat and rich robe offering his church to Christ. But perhaps the church's high point is the Resurrection fresco in the side chapel. These works, while they maintain traditional spiritual power, are replete with humanism, colour, movement, and narrative, attributes often associated with the Italian Renaissance.

After the plague of 1346 killed a third or more of the population of Constantinople, such an expensive, elaborate project was not attempted again; civil war and foreign threats worsened the situation. With the rise of the Ottoman Turks, Byzantines could see the end coming, and their art and thought turned inwards. Icons, often for personal adoration, now became the chief mode, and the one that best continued the tradition after the fall.

This inward turn was intensified by heschyasm, the religious cause célèbre of the day. Though inextricably intertwined with politics in the violent Byzantine way, this quietist doctrine became dominant on Mount Athos and its chief apologist, Gregory Palamas, was canonized. As the empire grew poorer, Athos's monasteries grew richer, and much Byzantine scholarship, so coveted by the West, was encouraged and preserved there. There frescos were painted, church decoration schemes formalized, and Byzantine chant developed to its present form.

Constantinople was not the only venue for the Palaiologan Renaissance. The prosperous city of Thessalonica was always an artistic centre. And the empire's last outpost was at Mistra in the Peloponnese, whose churches with their elaborate brickwork and richly coloured frescos can still be visited. The jewel of Mistra, however, was the philosopher Gemistos Plethon, who was celebrated throughout Europe; the manuscript of his last work, a strange amalgam of Christianity, Platonism, the Classical pantheon, and Zoroastrianism, was destroyed on his death in 1452 for its dangerously baffling thought.

When the peaceable sultan Murad II was succeeded by his brilliant and bellicose son Mehmet II (1451–81), the end was inevitable. On 29 May 1453 Constantinople fell for ever. No more a separate entity, its civilization became an element, indeed a crucial element, in the emerging culture of the West. The last emperor, Constantine XI Palaiologos (Odysseus Elytis hymned him as "the last Greek"), went down heroically fighting alongside his people; his body was never found.

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See also Byzantine Period (Late), Historiography, Mistra, Mosaic, Music, Painting

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Renaissance, Veneto-Cretan

The successful colonial development of Crete by the Most Serene Republic of Venice from 1211 until 1669 overlapped culturally with the period of the Renaissance in Italy. The island consequently became one of the most significant locations in Greek lands where new Western developments penetrated into the visual arts, literature, and music. The townscape of the capital city Candia (modern Herakleion) was soon developed into a vista of churches and houses of Gothic and Renaissance appearance, and the other two major ports of Rethymnon and Chania (called La Canea) were equally visibly westernized, and endowed with ornamental fountains and other amenities. The Venetian possessions in previously Byzantine lands after the Fourth Crusade had disrupted the empire in 1204 were, of course, extensive, but Crete, particularly after the fall of Constantinople in 1453, acted as a key cultural centre, and, through its maritime connections with Venice, was the recognized place of transit for Byzantine refugees and scholars between Byzantium and Italy.

An issue in understanding the westernization of Cretan painting is to what extent artists travelled backwards and forwards between Candia and Venice and to what extent western objects and artists came to the island. Precise information on artists, artist objects, patronage, and the intermarriage of Cretans and Venetians is available in the notarial archives of the dukes of Candia who, under the treaty of 16 September 1669 between Francesco Morosini and the Ottoman Turks, were given the concession of transport together with other valuables to Venice. The continuing study of these documents has allowed more precise discussion of the working practices and nature of artistic organization in Crete than in any other Byzantine or Hellenic community. Equally the existence of the Greek community in Venice which maintained contacts with Crete gave a permanent place in Italy where itinerant artists could expect support and patronage. From the archival documents we can construct a time sequence of the main artists and their families who worked in Crete (and some in Venice and elsewhere in Italy as well). Some of the most prominent names over the period are Nicholas Philanthropenos (active 1375–1440), Angelos Akatantos (*fl.*1436–*c.*1457), John Akatantos (*fl.*1435–77), Andreas Ritzos (1422–*c.*1492), his son Nikolaos Ritzos (*fl.*1460–*c.*1507), his son Maneas Ritzos (*fl.*1528–54), Andreas Pavias (d. after 1504), Nikolaos Tzafouris (d. before 1509), Angelos Bitzamanos (1467–1532), Theophanes Strelitzas Vathas (often known as Theophanes of Crete, *c.*1490–1559), Michael Damaskinos (1530/35–92), Georgios Klontzas (*c.*1530–1608), and El Greco (Domenikos Theotokopoulos, *c.*1541–1614). But there are many more documented artists, both during this period and in the 17th century. What is important for the Veneto-Cretan Renaissance is that these names can be connected with extant works, many with signatures, and so can be appreciated as distinctive artistic personalities during the period. This means that in Crete we can characterize the architectural nature of the built environment, both secular and ecclesiastical; we can track the careers of icon painters, manuscript painters, and wall painters; and we can also see how Cretan artists spread their ideas both as a result of other commissions in the Orthodox world (the most notable case being the wall paintings and icons of Theophanes the Cretan and his sons in monasteries at Meteora and Mount Athos) and through sales of icons in Italy and elsewhere in western Europe (some mass-produced in Crete and exported).

Politically Venetian Crete was administered by a governor, the duke, based in Candia. This was a short-term post for two or three years only, after which the holder was expected to go back to Venice. A high proportion of Cretans remained loyal to their Byzantine past and traditions, and although the Venetians expelled the bishops, the Orthodox parish churches and monasteries were maintained and developed, even if stripped of their estates. The head of the Christian Church in Crete was the Latin archbishop. Orthodox priests could be ordained only outside the island and the movement of monks and priests was controlled. Venice after the Council of Florence of 1439 tried to impose on Crete the union of the Orthodox and Catholic Churches, but while their efforts were in the long term unsuccessful such activities are reflected in a number of works of art of this period that ostentatiously merge Byzantine and Renaissance styles and subject matter (for example a panel by Andreas Ritzos of the monogram IHS, standing for *Jesus Hominum Salvator* (Jesus Saviour of Men), the emblem of the Franciscan saint Bernardino of Siena (1380–1444) who was notable for his attempt to unite the Churches). While institutionally the attempted unification of the Churches was a failure in Crete, in cultural terms the westernization of Byzantine art which became so conspicuous a feature of the products of Cretan artists did radically transform the character of Orthodox art.

It is also clear that, despite the failure to unify the Churches, congregations in the Catholic and Orthodox churches on the

Veneto-Cretan Renaissance: church of the Arkadi monastery near Rethymnon, built in 1587

island were mixed, with Catholics present at Orthodox services. Catholic churches no doubt contained decorations carried out by Cretan artists and both Latin and Greek inscriptions are found on Cretan icons. Renaissance musical settings for the Mass, religious processions, and secular occasions were composed on Crete. The demography of the island inevitably became less polarized over the course of the period. When the Venetians took over at the beginning of the 13th century, the island was divided up into large estates owned either by the Greek aristocracy (*archontes*) or by the Orthodox monasteries. This situation soon changed (despite some opposition), and by 1300 the countryside had been organized into four administrative districts which consisted of properties now in large part owned by Venetian colonists who had been given land in return for military duties. Cretan society had now developed into four categories: *nobili veneti*, the Venetian colonists; *nobili cretensi*, the new assimilated group of intermarried Venetian and Greek aristocracy; a bourgeoisie; and the peasants. The Latins preferred to live in towns, and so village churches remained Orthodox. With few exceptions, new church buildings in the villages were relatively small, usually with barrel vaults over the nave; western architectural features might occur in the exterior in the window mouldings or architectural carvings, particularly on the apse. The buoyant nature of patronage is shown in western Crete by the fact that eight churches were decorated there between 1313 and 1347. The work was entrusted to one artist who signed the wall-paintings as John Pagomenos.

The architectural development of the cities was substantial (and has only become less obvious today through earthquake and war damage and through neglect and destruction in the first half of the 20th century). Candia was dominated by the spire and high Gothic nave of the church of San Marco (now St Mark's Hall, converted from use in the Turkish period as a mosque), and in front of this church has survived the fountain built by Morosini the Elder in 1626–28. Other important churches were those of St Peter and St Titus. The inner harbour is guarded by the Venetian fortress (1523–40), and the 16th-century arsenals have survived (the Venetian loggia is a modern reconstruction). The Venetian population could describe their city as having a Palazzo Ducale and Palazzo del Capitan Generale on the Piazza del Biada, while on the Piazza del Signore were the Palazzo del Capitan Grande and the Loggia. The third piazza contained the church of San Marco. The Venetians built the imposing walls and fortress at Rethymnon (the latter was constructed in the years 1573–83 by the Venetian engineer Pallavicini), and they fully developed Chania with a cathedral, rector's palace, walls, and bastions, and with a protected harbour and arsenal. These ports became ostentatious Venetian fortress cities, but the vocabulary of

Renaissance architectural forms spread throughout the island also as a result of church building. This operated in two distinct ways. First, as a result of the encouragement of missionary activities to convert Cretans to Catholicism, impressive churches were built over the island to house the monastic orders (Franciscans, Dominicans, and Augustinians). The Dominicans built St Peter Martyr close to the port of Candia, and its surviving shell shows that it was a large single-naved church with a flat sanctuary, pointed wooden roof, and ribbed vaults. The rich church of St Francis at Candia disappeared in the Turkish period, and the mendicant church of S. Salvador where many prominent Venetians were buried was demolished in 1970, but the smaller church of St Mary of the Crusaders has survived and indicates the nature of a simple Italianate church of the early Venetian period. The monuments of Chania give a much better record of the Italian workmanship of the period, with the Dominican church of St Nicholas (*c.* 1300), San Salvador, and the church of St Francis (now the archaeological museum) which is a grand church of the 14th century (and later additions) with rib vaults, capitals, and a bell-tower with window tracery, closely copied from Venetian models. The second way in which the environment was westernized was through the adoption by Orthodox monasteries and other civic buildings of the ornamental and structural features of Italian architecture: the west front of the church of the Arkadi monastery (near Rethymnon) built in 1587 is a complex mix of Classical orders and Renaissance ornamentation, and on the Akrotiri peninsula near Chania both the monastery of Hagia Triada (built in the 17th century by two Venetian monks of the family Zangaroli who had converted to the Orthodox faith) and the Gouverneto monastery of St John are built in stone with Renaissance mouldings and Classical façades.

The atmosphere of the Veneto-Cretan Renaissance is therefore consciously proclaimed by its Italianate civic environment, but the intellectual climate was equally strongly influenced by humanist interests, communicated in part through the new printing presses of Venice and the development of literary societies or academies in each of the three main cities of Crete. All Cretan writers used some form of the vernacular, and in their poetry and prose covered a range of modes. The masterpiece of religious drama is *The Sacrifice of Abraham*, a short and very popular play in rhyming couplets, generally attributed to Vitsentzos Kornaros (1553–1613/14), who was also the author of a poetic romance, the *Erotokritos*, in which the two separate strands of Greek and Western narrative fiction have been described as coming together. From the same period of production comes the *Erofili*, a classicizing tragedy of 3205 verses written in Rethymnon around 1600 by Georgios Chortatsis. The miniature drama *Fortounatos* by Markos Antonios Foskolos (1597–1662) supplies a literary work from this period by a writer of Venetian origin and Catholic faith who in language and culture was integrated with the Greek-speaking majority.

While the literary scene flourished in the last century of the Venetian period, the pace of the transformation of the pictorial arts in Crete can be succinctly measured over the whole period. In the initial phase of conservatism the 14th-century wall-paintings of the church of Panagia Kera at Kritsa exhibit a strongly traditional nature; they relate closely in style to such Byzantine works as the Peribleptos church at Mistra in the Peloponnese. Among the innovators of the 15th century, one of the most prolific artists was Angelos Akotantos (whose career is well documented in his will of 1436 which is preserved in the Venetian archives). He worked in Crete and visited Constantinople, and among his signed icons ("Hand of Angelos") are paintings in both a decorative Byzantine style and also a more narrative and naturalistic style which exhibits a knowledge of Venetian and Tuscan quattrocento interests in landscape and perspective. Other 15th-century artists show a considerable ability to use Italian themes and expressive forms. A century later, when the literary scene was so highly prominent, the paintings of Michael Damaskinos and the young El Greco, who both worked in Venice as well as Crete, fully integrated the developments in colour and tone of Venetian Renaissance artists, while their contemporary Georgios Klontzas worked in a more miniaturist and decorative manner.

The Veneto-Cretan Renaissance was a reflection of contact with the Italian Renaissance and not a separate autonomous movement. It came to an end with the departure of the Venetian colonists. However, the result of eastern contacts with the west in this impressively creative environment was permanently to transform eastern Christian art into a new form of expression and to change the horizons of Orthodox society and thinking. As a cultural unit on the periphery of the Renaissance world, Crete selectively appropriated Italian ideas, and thereby also offers a contemporary critical assessment of the values of that Renaissance.

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See also Architecture (religious), Crete, Music, Painting, Venetokratia, Venice

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Republic

Meaning a political system in which supreme power is vested in the people, a republic is the modern equivalent of an ancient democratic city state. Since the birth of the modern Greek state in 1830 experience of republican government has been considerable, but interrupted. There were declarations by Greek national assemblies in republican directions even before the establishment of the Greek state, during the War of Independence. Hence the period of the War of Independence and the first years in the life of the new state have been regarded as the First Republic (1821–32). Despite clear indications of an increasing preference for a republican model, geostrategic realities, foreign influences, and the complex domestic situation eventually led to the imposition of monarchy in 1832. After the 1830s, however, it became evident that different sociopolitical factions championed different models of government. Those who aimed to initiate a process of state-building in the western tradition pushed for a centralized state with strong executive and rationalized administrative structures. On the other hand, those who wished to retain the power of local notables had a preference for more decentralized governmental structures.

The westernizers prevailed in the end, despite the power of the conservative local oligarchies. Still, the state apparatus soon became colonized by the so-called *tzakia*, influential families whose origins can be traced to those local notables (*proestoi*) who had played a critical role during the War of Independence. By and large, the *tzakia* increasingly favoured a loose parliamentary model, since the latter, adapted to 19th-century Greek conditions, would simultaneously constrain the capacities and the reach of central authority and assist the patrician families to strengthen their role in the state, based on their local power resources and their extensive presence in parliament. In 1875 the king accepted the parliamentary principle in government formation, against the background of the liberal constitution of 1864 and of the early (1844) declaration of parliamentarism. The balance thus achieved survived until 1909, when a coup set in motion developments that favoured the ascendancy of liberal statesmen and the prevalence of liberal institutions. The formation of a modernized and operational political system, a rationalized bureaucracy, and a professional army was a slow and difficult process, and it was not until the 1920s that the Greek state can be said to have acquired modern structures of government.

The political regime of the Second Republic (between 1924 and 1935) represents a remarkable combination of a liberal institutional edifice and political uncertainty. The revision in 1911 of the Constitution of 1864 had as a main objective the establishment of a modern constitutional state based on respect for parliamentary government and the rule of law. In brief, there were strong liberal elements in the Constitution of 1864/1911 and these were extended and acquired a republican form in the Constitution of 1927. Venizelos, the liberal statesman, aimed to steer the Second Republic towards liberal consolidation on the domestic front and in foreign policy. In 1930 Greece and Turkey signed the Atatürk–Venizelos agreements, which were largely the culmination of Venizelos's efforts to put an end to the irredentist drive, which had suffered a massive blow in 1922 with Greek defeat in Asia Minor and the expulsion of the Greek population, and to redirect Greek policy. At the same time, the Second Republic bears the marks of the conflict between the republicans and the royalists, a conflict that acquired considerable dimensions and became a crucial parameter in Greek politics in the early decades of the 20th century (see Mavrogordatos, 1983). One aspect of the legacy of the cleavage over the regime was the politicization of the military, which participated in various royalist or republican coup and counter-coup activities throughout the early decades of the century (see Veremis, 1997).

The restoration of the monarchy after World War II and the Civil War took place in a context of political turmoil and institutional uncertainty. It was only with the Constitution of 1952 that a new institutional equilibrium was reached, based on the consolidation of a political regime with several authoritarian aspects. The Constitution of 1952 was, in many respects, "an authoritarian version of the liberal constitution of 1864/1911" (Alivizatos, 1979). First, it was based on and confirmed a political regime that excluded the left, mainly through the extension of various measures and decrees from the period of the Civil War into the postwar period. Second, it provided for a strong executive which was later used in another direction, namely the conservative modernization efforts of the late 1950s and early 1960s under Constantine Karamanlis (Charalambis, 1985). The Constitution of 1952 remained in place until 1967, when a military coup installed an authoritarian regime. The coup was apparently aiming to block the possibility of a centre-left government emerging from the planned elections of 1967. The regime's attempts to institutionalize itself proved unsuccessful. The main feature of the regime was "a blind and militant anticommunism and a conscious attempt to secure its political base by resuscitating the polarization of the civil war. Its dismal failure was due as much to its anachronistic message as to the inability to appreciate the enormous transformation that Greek society had undergone since the 1940s" (Diamandouros, 1995, p.287). The authoritarian regime collapsed in 1974 amid foreign-policy crisis and domestic upheaval.

The Third Republic (since 1974) represents the most successful period of sustained democratic government in the history of the modern Greek state. In 1974 a referendum abolished the monarchy, whose ambivalent role in domestic politics in the 1960s was widely seen as a crucial factor in causing the political instability that paved the way for the coup in 1967. The republican Constitution of 1975 is a modern democratic constitutional document. From the perspective of a comparison with similar documents in countries that went through comparable political processes in the 1970s, such as Portugal, the Greek constitution included aspects that manifest a clear break with the recent past without necessarily incorporating elements that marked the particular mode of regime change (such as the constitutional role of the Council of the Revolution in the Portuguese Constitution of 1976, which was later amended). The authoritarian potential in conservative rule having exhausted itself, the new equilibrium which was reflected in the 1975 Constitution allowed the operation of liberal institutions, lifted the ban on the communist left, and sought to reorient the role of the military in the political system. But there were also elements of continuity with the

situation before the coup. The emphasis on a strong executive essentially represented a continuity from political and institutional strategies before 1967, only this time the organization of relationships between the head of state, the government, and the parliament revealed the influence of French semi-presidentialism. Also, the regime change in 1974 did little to challenge the inherited corporatist structures which govern the participation of organized interests in the making and implementation of policy. The transformation of interest politics was gradual and took place in the 1980s and 1990s through the shifts and the revisions in the structures of policy making and collective action, largely as a response to the process of Europeanization (see Lavdas, 1997).

The limited constitutional revision of 1986 eliminated most of the extensive powers of the president of the republic. Despite its opportunist aspects, which reflected the government's political priorities, the limited constitutional revision of 1986 marked an important shift in the institutional balance of power. The revision's institutional net result has been to enhance further the role and powers of the prime minister and to constrain the president of the republic, whose role became largely ceremonial. To some extent, the revision was consistent with the socialist (PASOK) analysis of the 1975 Constitution arming the president with extensive powers and distorting parliamentarism. It can be argued that the revision reduced the president's capacity "to exercise initiative in moments when it is most needed, that is, during political uncertainty or crisis", while at the same time helping to create a unitary power circuit centring on a powerful prime minister and his government majority (Diamandouros, 1995, p.295). In this sense, the revision represented an unnecessarily drastic reduction of the powers of the head of state. A more reasoned revision might have resulted in a more efficient organization of constitutional relationships.

Under the Third Republic Greece has been able to reach considerable levels of affluence and political stability. The processes of democratization and Europeanization led to changes in the practice of government in terms of both form (governmental and administrative structures) and content (public policies). Since 1981 membership in the EC/EU has given a new sense of direction to the Greek state. New orientations in public policy have included the spatial reorganization of government and the emergence of a new pluralism of policy-making centres at various levels: local, regional, national, European. It can be argued that, despite rhetorical assurances to the contrary, the political system has been slower to respond to the process of Europeanization in comparison to the economic and even the administrative and policy-making systems. Persistent clientelist linkages have resulted in parties and political leaderships often being unable to set priorities and act in a coherent way. On the other hand, both PASOK and New Democracy have been able to avoid extensive fragmentation and, crucially, have been able to play reasonably well their institutional roles in government and in opposition since 1974. More generally, republican government has ceased to be a divisive issue. Against the background of a successful regime change in 1974, the Third Republic has been able to consolidate itself as a modern democracy.

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See also City State, Constitution, Government, Monarchy

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Rhetoric

Rhetoric is commonly understood to have to do with persuasive speaking – when, that is, it is not thought of as verbal deception or coercion. It is important to realize, however, that

rhetoric has a long and complex history as a discipline taught in schools and as a way of doing things with words in the public sphere.

As a cultural practice, the resolution of disputes and the formation of policy decisions by means of discourse can be traced back to preliterate Greek society, as is evident from numerous episodes in epic poetry, for example the assembly early in book 2 of the *Iliad* and the debate at the beginning of *Odyssey* 2. From these it is clear that there were strict conventions governing the conduct of debates, and of what was considered adequate and relevant evidence. From the mid-5th to the end of the 4th century BC, one can see the development in Athens of competing systems for the teaching and practice of speaking persuasively in court and in public assemblies, where institutional frameworks had been erected in the wake of judicial and political reforms. An old tradition has it that the teaching of rhetoric began in Sicily; but it is clear that the earliest significant lessons were given in Athens by two non-Athenians, the so-called sophists Protagoras and Gorgias. We see, next, in Plato's *Gorgias* and *Phaedrus*, a scathing critique of sophistic teaching, which, in Plato's view, would include that of Isocrates. Plato's pupil Aristotle composed a systematic treatment of rhetoric which takes issue with Plato and the sophists alike. During this same period, independently of the others, Anaximenes of Lampsacus composed another handbook, the *Rhetorica ad Alexandrum*. Its orientation is quite pragmatic, but its origins and intended audience are not clear.

Reduced to their basic elements, the rhetorics produced in Classical Greece differ from one another in important ways. The sort of rhetoric taught by Gorgias, so it seems from Plato's testimony and from the *Encomium to Helen* attributed to Gorgias, gave almost unlimited power to the speaker, who used language as a means to condition the emotions of his audience to achieve its compliance. Plato, by contrast, allowed as legitimate only a rhetoric that communicated to its audience truth arrived at by means of dialectic. The rhetoric of Aristotle's *Rhetoric* is one based on a method of arguing from "what usually happens" – i.e. "probabilities" – using rhetorical syllogisms (*enthymemata*) to provide audiences with grounds for judgement on legal, political, and moral issues. For Isocrates, the teaching of rhetoric would produce eloquent speakers with the ability to bring about consensus (*homonoia*) among the citizens of the state. The Gorgianic and Platonic models are both unilateral and asymmetric, because the only function of the audience is to attend to the speaker. The Aristotelian and Isocratean models of the speech situation tend more towards a collateral relationship between speaker and audience; and it is the audience that provides the grounds for argument and makes the decisions. These four notions of rhetoric – all developed in the same place over less than a century – have persisted down to our own time, sometimes in competition with one another, with one becoming dominant at one time, another at another time.

Only Isocrates continued to exert any significant influence over succeeding generations in antiquity, and only in the context of a rhetoric curriculum that had been developed in schools all across the Greek world after the conquests of Alexander the Great as part of the standard programme of basic education, the *enkyklios paideia*. This curriculum, designed to train boys to succeed in a range of discursive activities from letter writing to diplomacy to the practice of political and forensic oratory, was the one inherited both by Cicero (see, e.g., *De Oratore*, 3. 23ff., 59ff., 86ff.; and *Epistulae ad Familiares*, 1. 9), who continued to dominate rhetorical education in the west until well into the 17th century, and by Hermogenes (d. AD 225), whose refined versions of it virtually defined rhetoric in the eastern, or Byzantine, tradition.

The school curriculum consisted of, first, a set of elementary exercises (*progymnasmata*) and, at a later stage, declamations on assigned questions, usually of a fictitious nature. The lessons that were inculcated and repeated performance aimed at producing "the good man skilled in speaking". The art, as it was taught, consisted of five parts: invention (the techniques for discovering arguments); arrangement (consideration of order and amplitude in making the argument); expression (deploying the techniques for composition and ornamentation); memory (techniques for remembering both one's own speech and the body of accepted opinions on every subject); and delivery (the rules for the control of voice and gesture). At the heart of the process of invention is the so-called *stasis* system, a methodical way of determining the issue in dispute – is it the issue of fact, of definition, or of quality? – and of developing appropriate argumentative strategies. Students were taught a standardized format for speeches, usually based on a conventional courtroom argument, that consisted of the exordium (in Greek, *prooimion*), or introduction; the narration (*diegesis*); the argument (*pistis*) and refutation (*lysis*); and the peroration (*epilogos*). With minor variations, this standard format persisted in school rhetorics, in both the Latin and Greek traditions, throughout late antiquity, the Middle Ages, and the Renaissance.

To the school curriculum, Cicero (or perhaps his rhetoric masters) added a philosophical dimension borrowed from Academic scepticism as taught by Carneades, the idea that, in the absence of certain knowledge, it is necessary to be able to produce the arguments on both sides (*in utramque partem*) of an issue. An issue addressed by this "multivoiced method" (*multiplex ratio dicendi*), *controversia*, is resolved only in so far as one decides to adopt one of the positions in conflict as having more *probabilitas* or to modify it or to formulate a new position. It is precisely this method that Cicero uses in *De Oratore* and in such philosophical works as *De Natura Deorum*. As with Isocrates, "philosophy" is assimilated to rhetoric.

The persistence of the Isocratean–Ciceronian tradition in the west is evident in such works as Augustine's *De Doctrina Christiana* (completed *c.*AD 325), the last book of which is devoted to the principles of eloquence in a Christian setting; the brief dialogue on rhetoric composed by Alcuin (*c.*800); and the many handbooks on preaching, letter writing, and poetic composition that were in circulation during the later Middle Ages. In the east we find the tradition of Greek eloquence as defined by the likes of Isocrates and Demosthenes and systematized by Hermogenes in the productions of the so-called Second Sophistic, the works of Church Fathers, and in Byzantine diplomatic and court literature up to the fall of Constantinople in 1453.

As Christianity moved from being a persecuted sect and became the official religion of the Roman empire under Constantine, rhetoric became the vehicle both of public policy

and of religious discourse. Perhaps the most important figure in the reconciliation of Classical rhetoric and Christianity was the 4th-century theologian Gregory of Nazianzus, who became in the Byzantine world the model of Christian eloquence. Commentaries on Gregory's speeches appear as early as the 6th century; and Byzantine commentaries on Hermogenes regularly cite passages from Gregory. John Chrysostom ("The Golden-Mouthed"), roughly contemporary with Gregory, was perhaps the most prolific of the Church Fathers; and his homilies were likewise looked upon as models.

During the late 10th and early 11th centuries there was a surge of scholarly production in the field of rhetoric, partly due to the recovery of near-forgotten texts under Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos and the consequent need for new commentaries. In this, John Sikeliotes and John Doxapatres (both late 10th or early 11th century) were probably the most productive and influential scholars, producing extensive commentaries on Aphthonius and Hermogenes. (Byzantine rhetoricians were not much interested in Aristotle's *Rhetoric*.) Rhetoric played a central role in the imperial court from the 11th century on, and the office of *maïstor ton rhetoron* (director of the rhetoricians) became one of the most prestigious in the bureaucracy.

Byzantine Greek rhetoric arrived in the west even before the fall of Constantinople, smuggled in, as it were, by George of Trebizond (1395–1472), who used Hermogenes extensively (but cited him seldom) in his *Rhetoricorum Libri Quinque*. But it was after the fall that the deluge of Greek rhetorical manuscripts truly began; and Aldus Manutius' publication of the two-volume *Rhetores Graeci* in 1508/09 guaranteed that Greek rhetorics would be widely disseminated throughout Europe. The Reformation played an important role in this too. Frankiskos Portos's editions of Hermogenes and of Longinus (Geneva, 1569), Sturm's editions and commentaries on Hermogenes (Strasbourg, 1570, 1571, 1575), and Margounios's 1595 Augsburg edition and translation of the *Epitome of Rhetoric* by Matthaios Kamariotes (d. *c.*1495) were all part of a short-lived programme to provide the foundations for a counter-curriculum in Protestant schools.

By the beginning of the 17th century Greeks were teaching rhetoric in the College of St Athanasios in Rome and at Padua to the many Greek students who, in the absence of such opportunites in Greece during the Tourkokratia, were sent there by their families. These teachers sought to achieve a synthesis of the Latin western and Greek eastern rhetorical traditions, and the results can be seen in, for example, the bilingual sermons of Cyril I Lukaris (d. 1638) and in the *Techne Rhetorike* (Art of Rhetoric) by Theophilos Corydalleus (London, 1625). Corydalleus (1565–1646) turns for authority to both Aristotle and Cicero in his exposition.

Rhetoric was also taught at the Flanginian Academy in Venice, founded in 1626, where, likewise, Aristotle was read alongside Cicero and Hermogenes. One of the teachers there, Frankiskos Skoufos (1644–97), drew upon his experience of Classical authors, Church Fathers, and Byzantine writers in composing his *Techne Rhetorike* (Art of Rhetoric, Venice, 1681). Significantly, he borrows also from the *De Eloquentia Sacra et Humana* of the Jesuit Nicolas Caussin and from the sermons of Segneri and Bossuet. The organization of the book is fairly conventional. Book 1 contains introductory matters and the fundamentals of invention, drawing on, among others, Aristotle's *Topics* and doctrine of four causes. Book 2 treats of arrangement, taking each part in order. Book 3 is on style, with copious attention to metaphor and the other tropes. Book 4 continues the subject, treating at length the figures of speech and figures of thought. These latter two books make up well over half of the treatise as a whole. Book 5 treats, comparatively briefly, memory and delivery. All of this theoretical doctrine was given life in the practice of Corydalleus's student, Elias Miniates (1669–1714), one of the most famous preachers in the history of Europe.

Rhetoric, Skoufos writes, is the art of speaking well in such a way as to agitate the souls of the hearers (*Techne*, 1. 2). This conception of rhetoric is in full correspondence with other 17th-century works on the subject that, in the wake of Reformation and Counter-Reformation struggles and the relegation of morals to the realm of emotion by Cartesians and Empiricists alike, emphasized the centrality of affect, or feeling, in persuasion. Not that Skoufos neglects to treat of argumentation; but affect plays an immeasurably more important part in his rhetoric. This, in turn, explains why he draws almost indiscriminately from both Aristotle and Cicero, and holds Bossuet (whom he calls "the Gallic Hercules") and Segneri in such high regard. His goal, after all, is to give instruction on how to "move souls". Although training in rhetoric could prepare students for careers in law or government, the more intense interest in rhetoric centred on its use from the pulpit.

Many of the rhetorics produced by diaspora Greeks in the late 17th and early 18th centuries, consequently, have a distinctly homiletic focus. Gerasimos Palladas (d. 1714), who became patriarch of Alexandria, composed a treatise on rhetoric, as did Nikolaos Mavrokordates (1670–1730), who draws from Aristotle, Cicero, and St Ambrose. Anastasios Gordios (1654–1729) composed a rhetoric handbook for his students; and Ephraim the Athenian (d. 1771), metropolitan of Jerusalem, saw his rhetoric as a continuation of the tradition of the great Greek Fathers. Makarios Patmios supplemented his *Ekthesis Kanonon Rhetorikon* (Exposition of the Rules of Rhetoric, Venice, 1755) with *Evangellike Salpinx* (Evangelical Trumpet, Leipzig, 1758).

Rhetoric also continued to be taught at a more elementary level in general liberal arts curricula in schools all over the Balkans. In the National Library in Athens, for instance, there is a manuscript copy of the *Rhetorike Leucheimonousa* (White-Robed Rhetoric) composed by Anastosios Papavasilopoulos while he was teaching in Trnavo around 1700. It is a short introductory treatise composed in catechetical form that emphasizes not style, but invention. The Leichoudis brothers, Joannikios (1633–1717) and Sophronios (1652–1730), taught Latin and Greek rhetoric in a variety of schools, including one in Novgorod. Manasses Eliades (died 1785) lectured on the *Rhetoric* of Corydalleus and on Hermogenes at the Academy in Bucharest; and Països Paramythias (*fl.*1770) taught from his *Rhetorical Exercises* in schools in Moldavia, Hungary, and Corfu. Vikentios Damodos (1700–52), who had trained at the Flanginian Academy and at the University of Padua, composed at least three separate treatises on rhetoric for his students in Cephalonia, none of which was published in his lifetime. And Demetrios Darvaris, who studied philosophy at Halle and went on to become a teacher

in Budapest and Vienna, included a modern Greek rendition of Isocrates' *Pros Demonikon* (To Demonikos) in his *Guide to Happiness* (Vienna, 1796).

Rhetoric, in both its ecclesiastical and secular forms, continued to be taught during the Tourkokratia. The generation before the War of Independence recognized another important aspect of rhetoric, however – its role in the formation of national identity. It is no coincidence that authors of rhetoric texts such as Spyridon Vlantis (1765–1830) and Konstantinos Bardalachos (1755–1830) were also deeply involved in the publication and translation of major Classical and Byzantine poets, historians, and philosophers, and translations into Greek of some Latin writers as well (e.g. Vlantis's translation into modern Greek of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (Venice, 1798). Most of them were also involved in the debates about the Greek language itself. Vlantis, who taught at the Flanginian Academy, produced several grammatical works in addition to his editions of Hermogenes (Venice, 1799) and Longinus (Venice, 1802); and so, too, Bardalachos, who published his grammar in Odessa in 1830, 15 years after the appearance of his *Rhetorike Techne* (Art of Rhetoric, Vienna, 1815). Coincidentally, it was also in 1830 that Konstantinos Oikonomos (1780–1857) published in St Petersburg his treatise on the correct pronunciation of Greek. Oikonomos had published a major work on rhetoric in Vienna in 1813, drawing on Aristotle, Cicero, and borrowing much from Hermogenes, particularly in the area of *stasis* and topics of invention.

However important rhetoric seemed to the founders of modern Greece, their successors found little place for it in schools. Greek education in the mid-19th century – and indeed, to this day – modelled itself on its European counterparts, particularly France and Germany. Rhetoric in Greece, as in those other countries, was not very prominent in the curriculum; and there are no chairs of rhetoric in Greek universities – as is the case in Europe generally. Yet the tradition clearly lives on in Greek literature and jurisprudence.

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See also Education, Second Sophistic, Sophists

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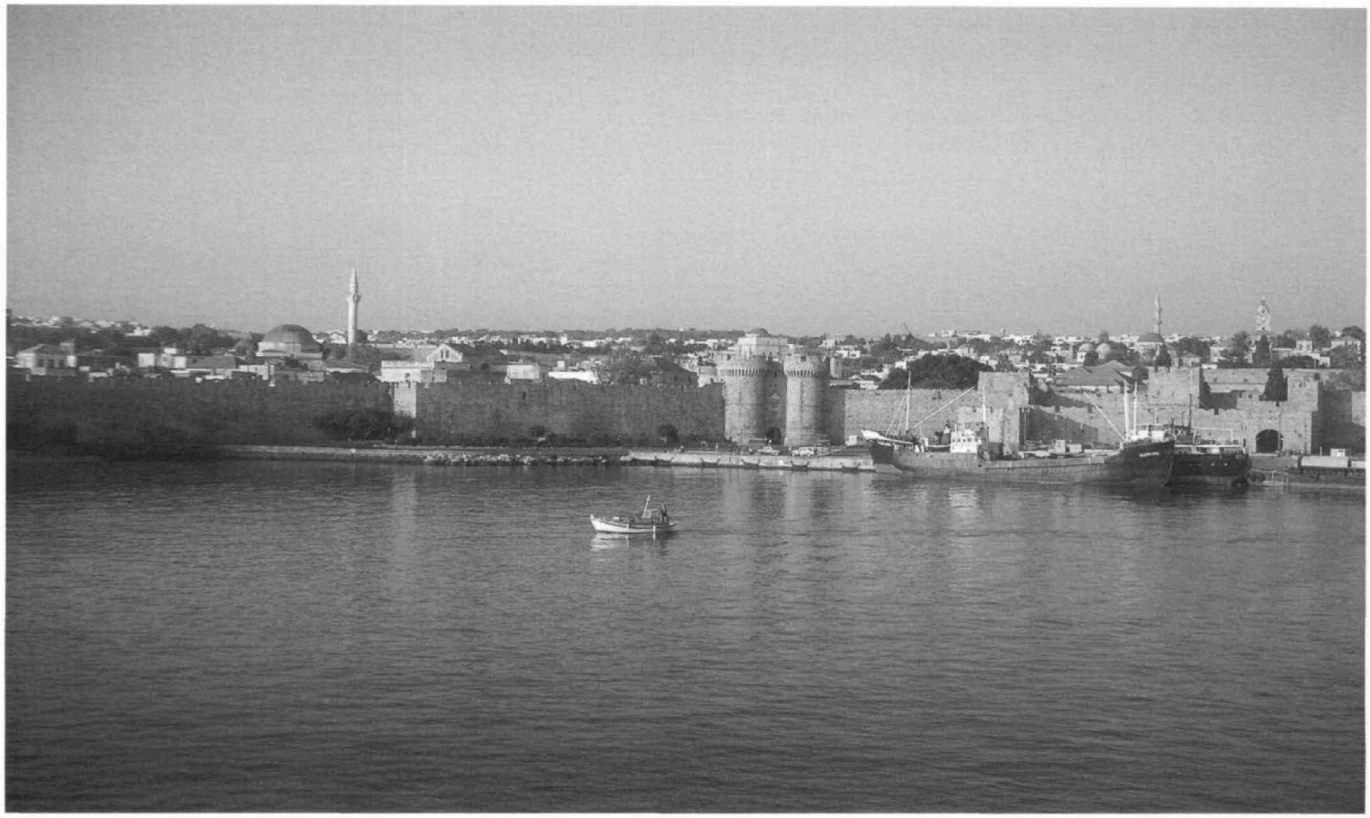
Rhodes

Island in the Dodecanese

The largest of the Dodecanese group of islands, Rhodes lies in the eastern Aegean a few miles off the southwest corner of modern Turkey. Habitation on the island extends back as far as the neolithic period, and pre-Greek and early Greek settlements are attested in the 2nd millennium BC. The Minoans, a highly civilized seafaring people from Crete, had founded a trading post at Trianda (on the west coast about 9 km south of modern Rhodes town) by the 16th century BC, and the Mycenaean Greeks who succeeded the Minoans as the main power in the Aegean appear to have established prosperous colonies on the island some two centuries later, judging from the presence of chamber tombs and rich finds from the cemetery near Ialysus (not far from Trianda).

After the collapse of the Mycenaean civilization, the Dodecanese islands were inhabited in the so-called Dark Age of Greece by Dorian-speaking Greeks emigrating eastward from mainland Greece. The island had various names in antiquity, but finally "Rhodos" (in Greek) became standard. Mythological legend held that Rhodos was the child of the sun god Helios and the nymph Rhoda. Other traditions associated it with the Greek work for rose, *rodon* (whether or not this etymology is true, the rose appeared as a symbol on Rhodian coinage in the Classical and later periods, and Rhodes is popularly known as "the Island of Roses" in modern times). Three city states were founded: Ialysus (see above), Camirus (also on the west coast some 35 km south of Rhodes town), and Lindus (about halfway down the east coast). These three cities are mentioned in the Homeric Catalogue of Ships as sending ships to the Trojan War (*Iliad*, 2. 656).

The cities flourished in the 7th–6th centuries BC and, like many other cities in archaic Greece, sent out colonies (Lindus founded Phaselis on the east coast of Lycia *c.*690 BC, and, in association with Cretans, Gela on the south coast of Sicily in 688 BC). The cities on Rhodes were on the whole ruled by tyrants from local aristocratic families. The most famous of these was Cleobulus of Lindus in the early 6th century BC, who was one of the "Seven Sages" – men renowned for their wisdom in political and practical matters – in Greek literary tradition (an impressive round structure on the headland just north of Lindus is traditionally known as the tomb of Cleobulus, but it is of pre-Hellenic date).



Rhodes: view of the harbour, Rhodes town. The walls were built by the Hospitaller Knights of St John in the 15th and 16th centuries

Rhodes was caught up in the political situation affecting the rest of the Greek world in the 5th century BC. In common with the rest of east Greece, the island became subject to the growing power of the Persian empire in 490 BC. After Greece – under the leadership of Athens – finally defeated the Persian empire in 479 BC, the cities of Rhodes, like most of the other Greek cities, joined the Delian League, a confederation of cities which paid tribute to Athens in return for protection against a possible new Persian threat (all three cities of Rhodes are recorded in the Athenian Tribute Lists). The Rhodian cities remained under Athenian influence until they revolted in 412/11 BC during the Peloponnesian War and switched their allegiance to Sparta. The revolt is often attributed to the encouragement of a prominent aristocrat from Ialysus named Dorieus, who had been exiled by Athens some years previously and had turned to Sparta.

The most important political event in the history of ancient Rhodes occurred in 408/07 BC, when the three independent city states formed a single community and founded a federal capital city, also called Rhodes, at the north tip of the island. The three old cities thereby lost their independent status, and together formed a single political unit run by federal officials and legislative bodies. The reasons for this dramatic political rearrangement are not known, but an economic motive seems likely. Rhodes island occupied an ideal position between east and west, and a city at the northern tip of the island provided easy access to both seas. The economic prosperity of Rhodes in years to come proves the wisdom of the synoecism. The old cities continued to be inhabited, had local governments, and controlled their own local religious cults, but, from now on, the capital city of Rhodes controlled the federated island's foreign policy.

The political life of Rhodes in the 4th century BC is complex. A revolt from Sparta in 395 led to the return of Athenian influence, despite continuing internal unrest, and within the next decades to the establishment of a democratic government which was the hallmark of Rhodes throughout the rest of its independent life. It was during the 4th century that Rhodes consolidated overseas territory and incorporated it into the Rhodian state. This consisted of the so-called *peraia* ("the land opposite"), the area of southwest Turkey immediately opposite Rhodes, as a result of which Rhodes gained a firm foothold in Asia Minor between Caria and Lycia. Various nearby islands were also incorporated (Chalki, Symi, Tilos, Nisyros, Karpathos, Kasos, and Megiste [Kastellorizo]). As an Athenian ally, Rhodes joined the Second Athenian Confederacy in 378/7 BC, but the growing influence of the Persian satrap Mausolus of Caria upset the political equilibrium in the eastern Aegean. His meddling led to the "Social War" against Athens in 357, and the consequent emancipation from it of several former allies, including Rhodes. Nonetheless, Rhodes remained under the domination of Caria until the arrival of Alexander the Great in 332. The island submitted to the conqueror, and its "liberation" from Persian influence consisted in the installation of a Macedonian garrison whose removal after Alexander's death was a cause for celebration.

Alexander's conquests and the activity of his successors created the conditions in which Rhodes was to thrive. The foundation of Greek cities in the new Hellenistic empires transferred the centre of trade to the east. The new trade routes

converged on Rhodes, and it rapidly became the chief commercial entrepot of the Levant, with consequent enormous economic prosperity. Furthermore, Rhodes managed to maintain its system of democratic government and independence even in the face of the warring Successors.

When the Successors Ptolemy of Egypt and Antigonus Monophthalmus were engaged in a power struggle in the eastern Aegean, Rhodes refused to join Antigonus against Ptolemy, thereby preserving its alliance with Egypt (Antigonus was interested in Rhodes because of its naval capacity – a considerable navy, impressive harbour installations, and shipbuilding timber). This was the occasion which led in 305/4 BC to the famous year-long siege of Rhodes by Antigonus' son Demetrius (who was to receive his nickname "Besieger" (in Greek, "Poliorcetes") as a result of this action; the siege is vividly described in Diodorus Siculus, 20. 82–88, 91–100). Demetrius did not take Rhodes despite ferocious assaults by land and sea, and in thanks for their salvation the Rhodians erected a 33-m-high bronze statue of their patron god Helios which was paid for from the sale of Demetrius' abandoned siege equipment. The Colossus of Rhodes was one of the most famous statues of all antiquity and was reckoned as one of the seven wonders of the ancient world. It stood until toppled by an earthquake in the early 220s BC.

In the first half of the 3rd century the friendship between Rhodes and Egypt was the mainstay of Rhodian policy and responsible for its rise to pre-eminence in both the political and commercial spheres. Under the benevolent eye of Egypt, Rhodes began to play an active role in the Aegean, beginning its crusade against the marauding pirates who threatened economic stability. Rhodes kept the pirates contained through special naval techniques, and this activity enhanced its prestige and the confidence felt towards it by seafaring communities.

Some time around the middle of the 3rd century, Rhodes appears to have distanced itself politically from an Egypt which had suffered loss of face on land (in the Chremonidean War) and sea (at the battles of Cos and Andros) at the hands of the Antigonids. For the rest of the 3rd century Rhodes stands on its own feet as the paramount Aegean power, stepping into the position of naval supremacy vacated by Egypt. At the same time these political differences do not seem to have led to a rupture of commercial relations between Rhodes and Egypt, since these ties were economically essential to both. Rhodes continued to win for itself the recognized position as protector of the island communities, and this was achieved when it refounded the "Nesiotic League" ("League of the Islanders") by the end of the 3rd century. The earthquake of the early 220s which toppled the Colossus (see above) also destroyed much of the ancient city. Significantly, all of the Greek kings of the east and west contributed lavishly to the cost of reconstruction, and even assisted in money and kind for the rebuilding of the Rhodian fleet – a sure sign of the high prestige and pacific intentions of the independent democracy at the time.

At this period Rome began to interfere in Greek affairs, and Rhodes was an active Roman ally in the wars against the Macedonian Philip V and the Seleucid Antiochus III. As a result, the Treaty of Apamea in 188 BC rewarded Rhodes with the possession of Caria and Lycia. Internal dissension between the pro- and anti-Roman factions within Rhodes led to political equivocation, for which Rhodes paid the price in the aftermath of the Third Macedonian War when it was deprived of Caria and Lycia. It was further punished in 167 BC by Rome's declaration of Delos as a free port, which gave Rhodes overwhelming competition as the centre of transit trade in the Aegean. Rhodes finally became an ally of Rome in 164 BC, thereby ending its political independence. From then on it shared the consequences of Roman intervention in the east, notably the Mithradatic War of 88 BC, and the Roman civil wars of the second half of the 1st century BC.

Ancient Rhodians famous for their cultural achievements include the 2nd-century BC Stoic philosopher Panaetius and his pupil Posidonius (a Syrian granted Rhodian citizenship); the sculptor of the Colossus of Rhodes, Chares of Lindus, a pupil of the great Greek sculptor Lysippus of Sicyon; and the 3rd-century BC epic poet and author of the *Argonautica*, Apollonius Rhodius (who may have been a native of Alexandria who settled in Rhodes).

Christianity came to Rhodes early. The apostle Paul records that he stopped in Rhodes on his way to Jerusalem (Acts 21: 1), local tradition maintaining that he came to a small harbour at Lindus. The importance of the early Church is attested by the fact that it had a bishop from early times, and the title of metropolitan was bestowed upon Rhodian bishops in the 4th century AD. Rhodes became part of the eastern empire after the Roman empire was divided in AD 395, and was subsumed into the history of the Byzantine empire for the following centuries. The Greek governor of Rhodes declared the island's independence during the troubled times of the Fourth Crusade, but in the early 14th century it was taken by force and occupied for the following two centuries by the Hospitaller Knights of St John of Jerusalem, having fled Cyprus en route from the Holy Land. The Knights constructed in western European style the medieval city which is a remarkable example of the military and domestic architecture of the period, and is the chief glory of Rhodes town today. Evidence of their relations with the local Greek population is still being researched, but the continuation of Orthodox traditions is clear from the evidence of Rhodian religious icons and frescos of the 13th–16th centuries AD.

The Knights of St John were expelled from Rhodes in 1523 after a formidable siege mounted by the Ottoman sultan Suleiman I ("the Magnificent") and eventually established themselves in Malta. Rhodes was garrisoned and became part of the Ottoman empire for the next four centuries. The conversion of several churches in Rhodes town into mosques during this period has given the surviving city a curious blend of western and eastern medieval architecture.

In the political turmoil leading up to the collapse of the Ottoman empire and World War I, Italy (then at war with Turkey) invaded and captured Rhodes and the other Dodecanese islands in 1912. The islands became part of Italy's Aegean empire, and Rhodes town in particular retains some extraordinary public buildings erected in a distinctive style during the next decades. The Italians were in turn expelled by the German forces during the later stages of World War II. Rhodes was then occupied yet again but was liberated by British and Greek forces in a daring commando raid in 1945. Rhodes was finally united with the state of Greece in 1947. Over the past 50 years Rhodes has become a thoroughly

modern Greek island, and Rhodes town a sophisticated cosmopolitan city. The 2400th anniversary of the foundation of Rhodes town was commemorated with great fanfare in 1992–93. The success of Rhodes as a major tourist resort has ensured that knowledge of the island – ancient, medieval, and modern – has spread throughout the westernized world.

E.E. RICE

See also Dodecanese

Summary

Largest of the Dodecanese islands, Rhodes has been settled since the neolithic period and has traces of Minoan and Mycenaean presence. Three city states were founded (Ialysus, Camirus, and Lindus) which together established a federal capital, also called Rhodes, in 408/07 BC. It prospered as a trading centre and retained its independence and democratic government until 164 BC. From the 14th to the 16th century Rhodes was occupied by the Knights of St John of Jerusalem.

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Ritsos, Yiannis 1909–1990

Poet

Ritsos was one of the most eloquent and prolific modern Greek poets. Displaying an extraordinary ability to combine the realistic, lyric, dramatic, and epic elements in his poetry and drawing on a surprisingly wide gamut of ideas, he has been recognized not simply as the poet of sensation but, most importantly, as the bard of the spontaneous and impulsive response to any kind of intuition. Being endowed with a genuine and effortless sense of compassion, possessing pure poetical gifts, and exercising the most remarkable skills, he was considered to be the initiator of cinematographic picturization and the personification of reality in modern Greek poetry. With his sharp and alert political spirit, Ritsos was capable of both conveying his own political experiences and reflecting the contemporaneous Greek political situation in his verse. His poems are filled with personal visions, individual denunciations and apologies, and enduring messages. Ritsos's poetry enabled him to express his doubts and hesitations, to voice his biting criticism, to phrase his disillusionment, and, finally, to convey his deeper concern for man and society. Thus, he is rightly numbered among the prominent representatives of Greek surrealist poetry able to express the subconscious mind, the irrational juxtaposition of things, and the illogical dimension of everyday reality.

The poetic legacy of Ritsos is huge in quantity and outstanding in quality. He began to write poetry from a very young age, and poetry soon became his dominant interest. Ritsos's formal debut in the literary milieu of his time took place in 1934 when his first collection was published under the title *Tractor*. His published *oeuvre* amounts to seven volumes (*Poems* in four volumes, *Fourth Dimension*, *Chronicles*, *Being*), while a significant number of his poems remain uncollected and some unpublished.

Ritsos treated the art of poetry as a means to approach the social and personal problems of his time and to propose possible solutions. He led a tumultuous and active political life stigmatized by personal deprivations, serious health problems, exile, and imprisonment due to his espousal of socialist ideas. Meanwhile a number of historically important events exerted a profound influence on the poet's work: the Balkan Wars, World War I, the Russian Revolution and the rise of socialism, the Asia Minor disaster of 1922. Not surprisingly, all those political transformations together with his involvement in the Greek Communist Party and his participation in the National Liberation Front (EAM) inspired his poetry.

Ritsos's principal contribution to the Hellenic literary tradition is twofold: on the one hand, through the thematic framework of his poetry; and on the other hand, through the art of poetry itself which he treated as the means to pronounce on the national accord, harmony, fellowship, and consensus among his compatriots. It is on that point that Ritsos's message acquired a universal quality emphasizing the principles of love, freedom, concord, and peace throughout the world. One of the recurrent themes of his poetry is the idea of his homeland, Greece. Ritsos's Greece is perceived as both the country and the people who are always striving to overcome the barriers, to heal their wounds, to surpass their difficulties in order to validate their enduring tradition. It is the same theme that had dominated the wider spectrum of Greek poetry, starting from ancient Greek epic and lyric poetry, transmitted to the Byzantine literary tradition, culminating in the literary production of the years after the Greek War of Independence, and transplanted to modern Greek poetry. Ritsos's Greece can be seen in its entirety, as the diachronic Greece, the living Hellenic heritage thriving throughout its long history.

Another main theme, closely related to that of Greece, is the worship of one's homeland. Nevertheless, Ritsos's passion for his native land is accompanied by a commensurate feeling of sorrow, agony, and pain. He insisted on a Greek landscape

drawn with the simplest, palest colours while at the same time depicting it as wild, barren, and infertile, permeated with perpetual light and inexhaustible sounds. In many respects, it resembled Homer's plain, bright, fierce panorama.

Of equal importance in Ritsos's perspective is the idea of the vigilant soldier, enhanced by his deep admiration for all those who never betray their principles, withdraw from the battlefield, or yield before the enemy. The poet seems to identify himself with the persona of the fighting man, when referring either to his ideological comrades or to the protagonists in any sort of struggle that validates life. In this respect Ritsos's contribution to the Hellenic tradition is indisputable. He recognizes the essential role of tradition in fusing the present, past, and future into an organic whole and in ensuring its continuity. Tradition operates as a powerful spiritual force that encourages man to look ahead to the future, and to make his return to the simple, archetypal way of life. Following the example of Socrates, he posed crucial philosophical questions and rhetorical dilemmas without offering any real answers to them.

Ritsos's meditative style and analytical interpretation are ratified in the theme of falsehood. He tends to disapprove of and express his aversion to any sort of hypocrisy. In fact, he attempts to emphasize the difference between the reality and the appearance of falsehood by standing between them. The philosophical treatment of this theme made a tremendous impact on the thought of other modern Greek poets and appealed to the general public.

As for his technique, Ritsos's verse is marked by vivid original imagery. His powerful pictures recall Homer's descriptive picturization of landscape, nature, and people. By making extensive use of a personified depiction of reality, he utters his personal cry. In this way, the inanimate reality automatically receives a real substance, undergoes psychological crisis, reacts, feels, suffers, and performs. Ritsos's cinematographic pictures come to replace words. His supreme ideas are heard distinctly from the mouth of an inanimate cosmos. His favourite imagery has to do with an extremely diverse landscape: on the one hand, it carries within it the elements of Andreas Kalvos's mute landscape; one the other hand, it is diffused by a blissful light which monopolized Odysseus Elytis' poetry.

Ritsos was capable of interweaving the world of dreams and fantasies with the world of factual reality. In this way, he presented his readers with a multidimensional reality. To understand such a reality, the reader has to set in motion his imagination and his insight.

Ritsos's persistence on a meditative, interior monologue in blank verse, the continual use of the collective first person plural, his apparent tendency towards introspection, his enlarged vision and philosophical manner led him to compose a kind of poetry which commanded a wide appeal and which could be addressed to all generations. Inspired by the most elementary objects of reality, he revealed an astonishingly mature vision of life and art. His first appearance in the literary world was greeted enthusiastically by Kostis Palamas, and his incorporation in the body of the Hellenic tradition was immediate. In 1956 he was awarded the Lenin Prize for literature, and he received numerous other international awards. His work has been translated into many languages. His contribution to the Hellenic tradition is of twofold importance. First, he succeeded in revitalizing the art of poetry by renewing its basic elements and by proposing a reality fused with traditional and new structures. Secondly, he made an enormous contribution to the revival of Hellenic poetry as a whole by introducing and exploring a number of striking poetic expressions and philosophical ideas. His influence on other Greek poets is considerable and will continue to be so. Passages from his poetry, particularly his distinctive long poem *Romiosini*, have been set to music by the composer Mikis Theodorakis in an attempt to marry modern Greek verse with folk music.

MARIA ROUMBALOU

See also Poetry (Lyric)

Biography

Born at Monemvasia in 1909, Ritsos moved to Athens in 1925. His health was poor and he suffered from tuberculosis. Moved by the political events of his time, he became a communist and was exiled during the Civil War. He was prolific as a poet – his published work runs to more than 5000 pages of poetry. He was awarded the Lenin Prize for literature in 1956. He died in Athens in 1990.

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Roidis, Emmanouil 1836–1904

Critic, novelist, short-story writer, and translator

Emmanouil Roidis is remembered today chiefly for his satirical novel *I Papissa Ioanna* (Pope Joan, 1866), which provoked an

outcry in the Athenian press on its publication and was vigorously condemned by the Orthodox Church in a synodical encyclical. Subtitled "A Medieval Study", Roidis's novel is characterized in the book's lengthy preface as "a narrative encyclopedia of the Middle Ages". The narrator self-consciously evokes the apparatus of academic scholarship, including extensive footnotes, in order to present his fiction as an erudite study grounded in irrefutable historical fact. The narrative that follows, however, is a ribald adventure that draws upon an obscure medieval legend which claimed that the 9th-century Pope John VIII was, in fact, a woman.

The novel begins with Joan's "miraculous" birth, following her father's castration and her mother's rape by two soldiers, and proceeds to describe her relationship with the young monk Frumentius, her arrival in Rome, and her subsequent journey to Constantinople. On her return to the papal city Joan is elected as pontiff and conducts an illicit affair with the Chamberlain. It is only with her death in childbirth that the plague which is ravaging Rome is finally assuaged.

On the one hand, Roidis's novel engages ironically with the conventions of the historical novel which had become popular in Greece, partly through the translations of Sir Walter Scott's fiction into Greek from the 1840s. The riotous, indecorous ecclesiastical world Roidis evokes is far from being an idealized milieu of chivalrous deeds and romance. Significantly, it was during this period in the 1860s that Byzantium was being rediscovered by Spyridon Zambelios (1815–81) and the historian Konstantinos Paparrigopoulos (1815–91) as a vital link that established the historical continuity of modern Greece with the ancient world. On the other hand, the novel questions the assumptions that underlie realism by presenting outrageously fictional material as if it were documentary evidence and by consistently drawing the reader's attention to the rhetorical strategies which are mobilized in fiction to produce the illusion of verisimilitude. Recent scholarship has tended to emphasize the experimental, self-reflexive, and ironic nature of Roidis's fiction which, it could be argued, prefigures the exploratory narrative techniques of writers such as Kostas Tachtsis (1927–88) in the late 20th century. It was doubtless this interrogative aspect of Roidis's novel that prompted the satirical dramatist and author of *Ubu Roi* Alfred Jarry (1873–1907) to translate the novel into French. Indeed, *Pope Joan* is the only 19th-century Greek novel to have entered the European canon. First translated into English in 1886, a version was also produced by Lawrence Durrell in 1960 (reissued in 1999).

The fame of *Pope Joan*, which the author later dismissed as a "youthful sin", has tended to eclipse Roidis's major contribution in other fields. As the poet and critic Kostis Palamas (1859–1943) observed in 1899, Roidis's fame was a result of his notoriety following the publication of the novel, rather than of any deep acquaintance with his work. Yet Roidis was arguably the most perceptive and wide-ranging critic of his generation, a translator of versatility who produced short stories towards the end of his life, as well as making an important intervention in the language debate. Although the first attempt to anthologize his work took place within his own lifetime, in 1885, it was not until after Roidis's death in 1904 that an attempt was made by his nephew A.M. Andriadis and D. Petrokokkinos to collect his writings together in seven volumes (1911–14). Yet, with a few exceptions, notably Kleonas Paraschos's laudatory biography (1942, 1950), Roidis's reputation continued to wane and critics, taking their lead from K.T. Dimaras's summary treatment of the writer in his *History of Modern Greek Literature* (1948), tended to view his work (which, with a few exceptions, was written in katharevousa, or purist Greek) as obscure, superficial, and uninspiring, even while they conceded his enlightened intervention in the language debate on the side of the demoticists. The reassessment of Roidis which began in the 1970s and 1980s, after a long period of neglect, has at last brought the variety and percipience of Roidis's writing to the attention of a wider reading public. A decisive step along the way of Roidis's rehabilitation was the publication in 1978 of Alkis Angelou's authoritative *Collected Works*.

Roidis was born into a well-to-do family in Ermoupolis on the island of Syros in 1836, one of the commercial hubs of the eastern Mediterranean with a lively cultural life. Although the family moved to Genoa in 1841, Roidis returned to his native island in 1849 where he attended school and was a classmate of the writer Dimitrios Vikelas (1835–1908). Subsequently he studied literature and philosophy in Berlin, before working in the family business of his mother, Cornelia Rodokanaki. He travelled extensively before returning to Athens in 1859 and the following year published a translation of Chateaubriand's *Itinéraire*, which was followed two years later by a study of the critic Sainte-Beuve. During his career Roidis translated work from such diverse authors as Edgar Allan Poe, Charles Baudelaire, and Thomas Macaulay, whose *History of England* appeared in Greek between 1898 and 1902. Roidis also contributed numerous articles and reviews to journals and newspapers such as *Estia*, *Parnassos*, *Asti*, *Ora*, and *Avyi*. In 1873 Roidis lost the bulk of his family fortune through bad investments; with the help of friends, however, he secured a position at the National Library in Athens where he worked from 1880.

The combative, sometimes vituperative style of Roidis's writing offended many of his contemporaries. The writer Georgios Drosinis (1859–1951), for example, recalled in his autobiography how Roidis was known as "the policeman of Art" who was apt to censure others without offering a positive alternative to the positions being criticized. No doubt Drosinis had in mind Roidis's criticism of contemporary Greek ethographic writing in the preface to Konstantinos Metaxas-Vosporitis's collection of short stories entitled *Skinai tis Erimou: Ithi Vedouïnou* (Scenes of the Desert: Customs of the Bedouin, 1899). Contemporary Greek writers, Roidis asserted, had become monotonous in their preoccupation with an idealized rural setting and the public had grown weary of fishermen and shepherds. It is undoubtedly true that, as in his famous exchange with Angelos Vlachos (1838–1920) in 1877, Roidis revelled in controversy. On the occasion of a drama competition organized by the *Parnassos* literary society, Roidis, who was on the competition's committee, published an article in which he maintained that poetry reflected the cultural and social concerns of the society in which it was produced. He concluded, devastatingly, that: "it is impossible for a poet to be born and to exist outside of any poetic atmosphere; we do not have such an atmosphere in Greece today, since, on the one hand we forsake our local traditions, and on the other, we still

play no part in the intellectual life of Western nations." Roidis's bold assertions were attacked by Vlachos, who vehemently rejected what he construed as Roidis's deterministic view of culture. Poetry, for Vlachos, was born of the imagination; the influences of the poet's surroundings hindered rather than nourished his creativity. This essentially Romantic conception of poetry was in turn condemned by Roidis who went on to develop his ideas in a sharp-witted article entitled "On Contemporary Criticism in Greece". Here he evoked Darwinian thinking and quoted Herbert Spencer as saying that great men must be classified as part of the society which produced them. For Roidis all cultural expressions were historically contingent and a complex reciprocal relationship existed between artistic creation and social and political environments. This comparative interest in a more broadly defined notion of culture is evident in the range of Roidis's articles that touch upon all aspects of Greek society from women's emancipation to food, urban living, and the treatment of animals. His journalistic sketches vividly evoke the texture of everyday life in late 19th-century Athens and, ironically, in so doing are reminiscent both of Vlachos's sketches as well as the tales of Michail Mitsakis (1863–1916).

With the principal exception of a fairy tale entitled "The Apple Tree" most of Roidis's texts are written in a purist Greek. Ironically, however, he was a supporter of Yannis Psycharis (1854–1920) and celebrated the poetry of demoticists such as Athanasios Christopoulos (1772–1847), Ioannis Vilaras (1771–1823), Dionysios Solomos (1798–1857), and Aristotelis Valaoritis (1824–79). In his study *Ta Eidola* (The Idols, published in 1893), Roidis supported the cause of the spoken language, although he expressed himself in an elegant katharevousa. The term *diglossia* (bilingualism) first seems to have been used by Roidis in his review of Psycharis's controversial book *To Taxidi mou* (My Journey, 1888).

ROBERT SHANNAN PECKHAM

See also Novel

Biography

Born on Syros in 1836, Roidis moved with his family to Genoa in 1841 but returned in 1849 to Syros where he attended school. He studied literature and philosophy in Berlin, returning to Athens in 1859. He is best known as the author of the satirical novel *Pope Joan* (1866) and as one of the most perceptive critics of late 19th-century Greek culture. He produced several short stories and translations. He died in Athens in 1904.

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Roman Catholic Church

In Greek lands the Roman Catholic Church was distinct from the Greek Orthodox Church in that its members, known as "Latins" (*Latinoi*), recognized the authority of the Roman Church in ecclesiastical matters and because they used Latin as their liturgical language. It is therefore in everyday events and in personal relationships that the Roman Church is important in the Levant. Generally, tolerance and mutual cooperation between lay members of the Roman and Orthodox faiths existed in the face of political and doctrinal disputes at the level of popes and patriarchs. The Great Schism of 1054 led to the mutual excommunication of pope Leo IX and patriarch Michael Keroularios, but both sides had been careful to limit their mutual censures, and the dispute seems to have affected individual Greek and Latin Christians little. There was no general excommunication of either the Greek or the Latin Church and indeed much cooperation is evident.

Amalfitan merchants had established a Benedictine monastery on Mount Athos in the 10th century. This, one of the oldest Athonite houses, was to maintain an independent existence down to 1393. In 1212 the patriarch of Alexandria had ordained a Latin deacon to the Latin priesthood in the absence of any Latin bishop, while his clergy had a tradition of giving spiritual succour to Latin prisoners in Alexandria. In the Crusader states set up in the 12th century, Latin patriarchs in Jerusalem, Antioch, and (later) Constantinople saw themselves as successors to their Greek predecessors, even if this perception was not shared by their Greek subjects. In their day-to-day dealings Greek and Latin Christians in the Levant paid little or no heed to papal pronouncements and patriarchal opinions. The pope or the patriarch might disapprove at an official level of such cooperation between members of the two communions, but they were after all coreligionists.

This general mood of cooperation and mutual toleration could be upset by specific political and military causes which might in turn be affected by demographic factors. Thus the Norman conquest of southern Italy and Sicily in the late 11th century not only brought an effective end to the Byzantine patriarchate in the region but was also marked by considerable pressure on Greek priests in the area to acknowledge the ecclesiastical primacy of Rome. In return, considerable flexibility over the Latin tonsure and rules of celibacy was allowed but Greek religionists were enjoined to conform to Latin practices. This, together with the encouragement of Latin immigration from northern Italy, resulted in the virtual extinction of Greek culture in Sicily by the beginning of the 13th century.

Before 1204 the presence of western merchants, pilgrims, mercenaries, and other Latins in the Byzantine empire necessitated the availability of Latin priests to minister to their spiri-

tual needs according to the Latin rite. However, Latin priests were few and the materials needed for their ministrations – such as a church building, candles, chrism, and bread – had in practice to be obtained locally and with the cooperation and assent of the Greek host community. In the cities of the Levant most concern at an official level was focused on the relations of the minority Latin Christians to the Byzantine patriarch. This usually took the form of attention to minor differences in practice such as the use of unleavened bread at the Eucharist, certain dietary issues, the observance of particular fast days, and the fingers used in signing with the cross. These were differences that would be evident in daily practice. Interestingly, Latin clerical celibacy and the tonsure received scant attention at patriarchal level. It is also notable that so much was said about *azymes* (unleavened bread) and virtually nothing about the *filioque* which was to be the major sticking point of Church union debates at papal/patriarchal level in the 13th century and later.

In practice there seem to have been few problems with the establishment of the Benedictine monastery on Mount Athos around 985. Similarly, all the trading outposts granted to the Almifitans, Genoese, Pisans, and Venetians were endowed with the grant of a church for their use. Latin burials were also respected by the host communities. Political disputes that culminated in the Great Schism might result in local difficulties. The patriarch Michael Keroularios closed Latin churches in Constantinople, but this ban was difficult to enforce and at the time of his death in 1058 all churches were open and functioning. There was concern in Rome that Latins resident in the Byzantine empire might conform too readily to Greek rites. Around 1200 Innocent III banned Latin priests from confirming children by chrismation in accordance with Orthodox practice and was uneasy about Latin communities obtaining chrism from the patriarch. On the eve of the Fourth Crusade there was no clear line distinguishing Roman Catholics from Greek Orthodox.

Even with the fall of Constantinople in 1204 and the subsequent establishment of Latin lordships in Greece and the Aegean there appears to have been no plan on the part of Innocent III to set up a separate Latin Church in the conquered territories. It was the Crusaders themselves who had elected a Latin patriarch. Although Innocent acquiesced, he was much more concerned with this election as a gross example of lay intervention in clerical appointments. He was also particularly concerned with the protection of the rights and lands of the Greek Church, for which the Crusaders had made no provision in their division and subsequent conquest of the Byzantine empire. Innocent III viewed the fall of Constantinople as a just judgement on the proud and schismatic Greeks, who would now see the error of their ways and acknowledge the ecclesiastical supremacy of Rome. Greek lands were to be preserved and Innocent's legate in Constantinople was to conduct seminars to persuade and instruct the Greek clergy in their error and in the way forward. In fact only a handful of Greek bishops became Latinized. Union did not follow conquest. Pressure was brought on the Greeks within the city by the closure of their churches, but was ineffectual. In the provinces where the Latins formed a very small minority of the population it was never even tried. Accommodation based on mutual toleration was reached with local notables. Despite occasional fulmination from Rome during the course of the Latin occupation, this situation held firm. It was only on the island of Cyprus that there were Greek martyrs to the division of the churches. Latin bishops were appointed in the former Greek diocese; the motivation for these appointments came from the new Latin lords themselves, concerned both for the spiritual needs of their Latin followers and for their own status. The presence of the bishops persisted only as long as Latin control held firm. In some areas like Thessaly and Thrace this was not very long at all. The extreme violence shown by Michael of Epirus to Latin priests who fell into his hands in 1210 is a sign that a new element of intolerance was appearing between the Roman Catholics and Orthodox Christians. This manifested itself in the writings of propagandists at the court of the Greeks in Nicaea, eager to condemn anything Latin and in particular Roman Catholic religious practices. After the loss of Constantinople by the Latins in 1261 attempts on the part of the papacy to lend support to the former Latin emperor exacerbated this polarization. The capture and sack of Constantinople would never be forgotten or forgiven. The Latins were no longer coreligionists to be tolerated but heretics who were now enemies of the Hellenes and targets to be attacked. Such attitudes can be detected in the village of Galaxdi in 1404, yet even there hostility did not result in violence but in legerdemain at the expense of certain Hospitaller knights.

The new Hellenism of the late 13th century defined itself in large part by its religion, and the differences between Roman and Orthodox Christianity became more clearly defined. This was certainly evident at an official level: the Orthodox Church of Cyprus was banned from communion with the Orthodox Church until the Turkish conquest in 1571 because it was deemed to have submitted to Rome during the years of Lusignan rule, while the Great Schism of 1054, which had gone largely unnoticed at the time, took on such significance that the rift was not to be healed until 1965.

The Ottoman conquest of Greece and the Aegean (Greece 1450–1500, Rhodes 1523, Chios 1566, Cyprus 1571, and Crete 1669) led to the reduction of Roman Catholic communities by emigration and deportation. It appears from the island of Chios that this particularly affected the availability of Latin priests. Nevertheless, pockets of Latin Christians persisted in Constantinople and other cities of the Ottoman empire and on the Aegean islands. The Catholic communities had powerful protectors in the west, particularly the kings of France, and to some extent this set them apart from the other religious groups, or *millets*, within the empire. Interestingly, at a local and personal level, there are many examples of cordial relations, mixed marriages, and common services. Again such behaviour might be disapproved of at an official level on both sides but it persisted. It was as an institution and as an idea that Roman Catholicism was unacceptable in Greek lands. At a personal and practical level Christians from both communions had always coexisted with and assisted each other as neighbours in Christ.

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See also Orthodox Church, Papacy, Schism, Uniates

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Roman Period 31 BC–AD 330

Long before Roman political control of Greece began in the 2nd century BC, contact between Greece and Rome had already wrought cultural and economic changes in both regions. Scholars have found evidence of a Greek presence in Italy from as early as the Mycenaean era and throughout the period of colonization in the 8th and 7th centuries BC. Within 50 years of colonizing southern Italy and Sicily (Magna Graecia), Greek communities began to engage in a flourishing trade and an exchange of ideas with the Italians. The Romans adopted some Greek gods, their temples took on aspects of Greek architectural styles, Greek artisans produced pottery for the Italian market, and Greek historians wrote about the origins of the Italians and Romans. Writers such as Timaeus made genuine efforts to understand the history of Italy, in light of the growing power and influence of Rome. While these writers tended to Hellenize Roman history and origins, their views were accepted by the Romans themselves.

Gradually there began a fusion of Greek and Roman cultures. The Romans entered into more formal relations with the local Greek city states, while the mainland Greeks became actively involved in conflicts in Magna Graecia. The merging of Roman and Greek politics and culture began in earnest with the military interference in Greek affairs by the Romans, in particular during the Achaean War (146 BC). After the Achaean War Corinth was levelled, vast amounts of booty were shipped to Rome, the men were massacred, and the rest of the inhabitants sold into slavery – leaving the once bustling town empty and in ruins. The events that followed this war are unclear, but over the course of the next century these events slowly reshaped the Hellenistic east into provinces of the expanding Roman empire, and Greek city states into Graeco-Roman municipalities.

This contact, while certainly important politically and economically, at first had only limited influence on the essence of Greek civilization. The Greeks themselves, and the Romans too, had a profound respect for the language, literature, and culture of the Hellenic world, which would remain unshaken by political conquest, devastation by Roman legions, and economic turmoil of the 1st century BC. Elite Romans continued to send their sons to Greece for the finishing touches on a proper education. Cicero and then his son went to Athens, as did Ovid and Horace – who saw that Greece had captured its captors ('Graecia capta ferum victorem cepit et artis intulit agresti Latio' [*Epistulae*, 2. 1. 156–57]). Colonies of veterans were founded, especially by Julius Caesar and Augustus, some nine or ten in Greece, and included the revival of cities such as Patras and Corinth. Yet these colonies were quickly assimilated to Greek culture, and the Greek language superseded Latin. Indeed, the administrative language in the east generally was Greek; edicts and legal proceedings were in Greek. The eastern legions were largely recruited from among the Greek-speaking peoples. Roman citizenship remained rare in the Greek east (until AD 212 when Caracalla proclaimed the *Constitutio Antoniniana*), and only a few citizens were created by their enrolment in these legions.

This is not to say that no Romanization occurred. Greek art, which the Romans greatly admired, was influenced by Roman patronage. The Romans showed their affection for things Greek both by carrying off treasures to Italy and by buying copies of the Classical and archaic works that were in vogue. But the Romans also controlled the economic life of Greece by providing a market and consumer demand thus dictated artistic output. Among the distinctive forms of Roman art was realistic portraiture, rather than the pure idealization found in Greek art. New subjects were explored by Greek artists as a result of Roman interest in recreating a strong sense of psychological reality. Stricter realism was appealingly combined with an attempt to convey character. Common themes investigated youth and age, hermaphrodites, groups suggesting a complex set of emotions (e.g. the *Laocoön*), or physiological studies (e.g. the *Belvedere Torso* and the *Boxer*).

During the principate, Roman building techniques were widely adopted in Greece (for example, in the use of fired brick and brick with mortar construction, as well as, occasionally, podium-style temples). Other Roman amenities, such as baths, became a common feature of any well-appointed Greek town, while mosaics, wall paintings, marble revetments, and Roman-style garden sculptures became an integral part of costly homes and public buildings. For reasons of both economy and an archaizing spirit, reuse of architectural materials was common throughout the Roman period (for example, 12 unfluted Ionic columns were brought from the temple of Athena at Sunium for use in Athens for a podium temple in the Agora).

Since Greece had lost its ability to compete through war, the centuries of Roman rule provoked a new competitive spirit. Abandoning the old political rivalries, cities were now transformed by cultural battles. Citizens strove to build ever more beautiful buildings, and, with Roman direction and encouragement, they offered expensive prizes to their victors in the Panhellenic games. During the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD Achaea held a privileged position in the world of these athletic competitions. Celebrating such contests in the Greek manner became a popular pastime throughout the Graeco-Roman east. The games were expanded and an elite circuit of festivals was established that included the four ancient Panhellenic festivals, as well as newer games such as the Asclepian games at Epidaurus, the Olympia Commodea at Sparta, and at Athens the Panhellenia, the Olympia, and the Hadriana. Other popular games, off the most common circuit, were found at Sparta (the Urania) and in Boeotia (the Eleutheria at Plataea, Trophonea at Lebadea, and Heraclea at Thebes). Regional games also existed and, though these were locally popular, they tended to have fewer out-of-town visitors and very small prizes

(such games included the Gorgas festival at Ambryssus and the Euryclea at Sparta). Nearly every city had its own gymnasium where the young men could train for the games.

Likewise drama, music, and even religion provided an arena for competition, not only through the building of temples and theatres, but also through the professionalization of actors, singers, and poets, who toured throughout their regions. Religious festivals generally became elaborate affairs, particularly with the introduction of popular new cults into the Graeco-Roman world. The mystery cults of Isis, Mithra, Judaism, Christianity, and the imperial cult of Roma and Augustus were among the most common of these. The imperial cult was, of course, also a means to express loyalty and support for the rulers of Rome. This cult was introduced very early in Greece; for example in Athens the cult was founded in 27 BC. In fact, religious fervour seems to have been on the rise throughout the Graeco-Roman world and can be seen even in philosophical movements such as Neopythagoreanism and Neoplatonism, both of which evoked strongly emotional and spiritual reactions. Cities also demonstrated their importance through their support of education: higher education was paid for out of public funds and even smaller cities had teachers on salary.

Many Roman emperors showed an active interest in Greece (sometimes, of course, this meant despoiling Greece of its art and antiquities). Pausanias reports that Claudius restored to Greek cities the artworks and statues that his predecessor Caligula had looted. He also remodelled the entrance way to the Athenian Acropolis. Nero was a devoted and active Philhellene. He spoke Greek, attempted to cut a channel through the isthmus of Corinth (to improve communications and trade), and he declared Achaea free at the Isthmian Games in AD 66/67, though this status was overturned by Vespasian only a few years later.

While the emperors clearly felt it their right to remove whatever objects from Greece they wished, imperial dedications to Greece could be substantial, including buildings, roads, and other physical manifestations of their concern for Achaea (as well as concern for their own prestige). The Flavian and Trajanic ages particularly marked an increase in both local and imperial benefices to Greek cities. Trajan built the Library of Pantaenus in Athens and instituted a competition in Sparta for the "best citizen". Sparta's competition relied on a citizen's "love of honour" and the prize was the right to take over the city's costly liturgical offices in a generous way.

Some Roman benefits had a profound effect on the appearance of Greek cities. Among the most dramatic of these was introduction of the colonnaded street – broad avenues flanked by matching porticoes and often paved in marble (such as at Athens and Corinth). Hadrian supported numerous costly projects including buildings at Delphi and many structures in Athens – transforming and restoring Athens in the process (Hadrian's Library in Athens was closely modelled on the temple of Peace in Rome and helped to create a new sense of space in the centre of one of Greece's oldest cities). The emperor also had constructed stoas, temples, aqueducts, bridges, and baths throughout the province of Achaea. Private benefactors participated in such largesse as well. One of the most famous of these was the wealthy Athenian, Herodes Atticus. A Sophist, Roman senator, and a friend of Hadrian's, he used his wealth and power to beautify Greece (for instance, he built a music hall and stadium in Athens, replaced statues at Olympia, and remodelled a music hall in Corinth).

In 131/32 Hadrian founded the "Panhellenion", an organization of Greek cities (from Greece, Asia Minor, and north Africa) centred in Athens. By creating this organization he implicitly joined himself to the traditions of Classical Greece and the legends of Athens' founder, Theseus. Hadrian's behaviour was set neatly within a cultural context that generally idealized and tried to revive the Greek past. A specific feature of this 2nd-century Greek revival was known as the Second Sophistic, a movement in which Sophists, or teachers of rhetoric, sought a public reputation. References to the past were central to their approach and were integral in their performances. Most Roman elites, even many of the emperors, had been schooled by such rhetoricians. Thus, rhetorical and philosophical schools flourished in many Greek cities, including Athens and Sparta. (Marcus Aurelius eventually endowed philosophy chairs in the cities of Achaea, in part because of the respect instilled by his own training.) This education and the fairly common activity of tourist travel to Greece – a fashion encouraged by Hadrian's own travels in Greece – combined with the foundation of the Panhellenion, created a climate favourable to merging both the "Greek past and the Roman present". This lively and pro-Greek atmosphere, though archaizing, benefited Greece both materially and intellectually. Roman respect for Greece and its traditions lasted well into the 3rd century AD.

At the same time, Greek elites were beginning to infiltrate the Roman aristocracy, by being admitted increasingly to the senate and equestrian classes. Local elites continued to play important roles as Roman administrators and representatives. These men formed a part of the empire's governing body. This is not to say, however, that the Greeks accepted Roman authority without resistance. Revolts erupted periodically throughout the period of Roman rule into the 2nd century AD. Indeed, a small abortive rebellion occurred even under the relatively benevolent rule of Antoninus Pius. Less overt forms of resistance were also present in Greek behaviour through, for example, continued local control of religious icons, rituals, and sacred space.

The late 2nd and 3rd centuries AD brought unwelcome changes to the entire Roman world. Civil wars, economic woes, migrations, and invasions from the north characterize this era in Graeco-Roman history. The needs of the imperial treasury increased economic and material demands on the provinces. Ambitious building projects and artworks were neglected in favour of defensive structures and strategies, especially since the northern peoples were no longer held back at the borders of the empire, forcing the Greeks to defend themselves from invaders such as the Goths in AD 262 and the Heruli in AD 268 (these latter were expelled by the Philhellene emperor Gallienus). According to tradition, the Herulians destroyed nearly every building in Athens (except perhaps the area around the southern slope of the Acropolis). These attacks did leave tangible remains, both in the numerous destruction layers of Greek towns, and in the visible response of the inhabitants of Greece. The citizens of the unarmed province of Achaea, Zosimus recalls (1. 29. 3), fell into a panic at first, but evidence also suggests that inhabitants fought the invaders off

and then, in some regions, hurried to restore and/or build fortifications both in urban areas and on the frontiers. An inscribed poem in Athens records this building effort after the Herulian attack: "As Amphion raised the walls of Thebes by the music of his cithaera so now do I, Illyrius, follower of the sweet voiced muse build the walls of my native city." Claudius Illyrius was the governor of Cyprus and was honoured with statues on the Acropolis of Athens, perhaps for the gift of walls to his native city.

Upon Diocletian's accession to the throne, the empire was temporarily at peace and the emperor set about solving the more serious economic and social problems in the provinces. Some regions in Greece enjoyed a brief building boom, but when he stepped down, conflict began again, and the Balkans, Greece included, became a recruiting ground for Constantine's civil war with Licinius. Constantine, once in power, moved his capital to Byzantium,"New Rome" or Constantinople. In deference to Greece's illustrious past, Constantine encouraged another revival of Greek letters and renewed support for educational institutions after the hiatus of the civil wars. Thus, during the early 4th century Achaea generally saw a renewal of building and literary activity, rejuvenation in the decorative arts (Christian sarcophagi were the medium of some of the best sculptural artists of the times), and an invigorated economy. Nevertheless, in the tradition of earlier emperors, Constantine felt it his right to remove art and artefacts from his provinces, including Achaea, to beautify his new capital. Despite the emperor's respect for Greek traditions, and his desire for its art, there was a widespread decline in the dominance of Hellenic culture among the Latin ruling classes. The court at Constantinople, for example, was predominately Latin-speaking, forcing ambitious Greeks to learn Latin and Roman law in order to get ahead. Increasingly too, after the 4th century, Greeks became Christianized. Hellenic political, religious, and economic orientation turned east and thus began the transition in earnest to the later Roman empire, or early Byzantine era, in Greek history.

CYNTHIA K. KOSSO

See also Political History 31 BC–AD 330

Summary

Dated 31 BC to AD 330, the Roman period follows the Hellenistic and precedes the early Byzantine. The annexation of Egypt in 31 BC completed the Roman conquest of the Hellenistic world. Greek culture was widely admired and imitated by the Romans. Many Greek works of art were removed to Italy but Greece was also the recipient of much imperial munificence. Roman and Greek cultures merged, revealing the power of Greek traditions.

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Romance, Byzantine

The reign of Manuel I Komnenos (1143–80) saw the revival of both satire and romance, the latter dormant since the 4th century AD. A tiny quantity of fiction had been written in the intervening years, most notably the romantic epic *Digenis Akritas*, recensions of such things as Aesop's fables and the *Alexander Romance*, and innovative adaptations from the Arabic of, in the 8th or 9th century, the immensely popular *Barlaam and Ioasaph* (originally a Buddhist fable in Sanskrit) and, in the late 11th century, *Stephanites and Ichnelates* (mainly animal fables, again originally in Sanskrit), while around 1100 a series of largely sexual tales in a narrative framework (of probably Persian origin) had been reworked from the Syriac as the *Book of the Philosopher Syntipas*.

Pure fiction had, however, been largely supplanted as entertaining literature by the saints' Lives, which were also uplifting. These, like the romances, often entail exciting adventures and end in the much-desired union of the hero with the beloved. It is perhaps more than merely coincidental that the revival of the romance followed close upon the decline of hagiography. The collapse of military, territorial, and economic strength, and the growing concomitant doubt that the Byzantines were the favoured recipients of divine providence, probably also encouraged a genre whose theme was largely the subordination of man to the cosmic forces of Love and Chance. The ancient novels were still known (the five surviving examples today are the result of Byzantine choice), their popularity being in part due to the metaphorical interpretation of their plots as struggles for salvation. Most often read seem to have been those of Achilles Tatius and Heliodorus, the subject of reviews by Photios and of a comparison by Michael Psellos. This ancient inheritance became the inspiration for the 12th-century "learned" romances, which are nonetheless no slavish imitations. All four are written in the high language, with only very few and minor intrusions of the vernacular, and are clearly intended for an educated readership that must have been familiar with the prototypes in order to appreciate their literary allusions. All four are again traditional in that they retain an antiquarian and pagan setting, but three break new ground by being in verse.

The earliest is almost certainly *Rhodanthe and Dosikles*, which was written in the 12-syllable accentual metre by the court poet Theodore Prodromos, perhaps in the 1140s. Though imitating Heliodorus' *Aethiopica*, it is more skilfully constructed, more rhetorically sophisticated, and more intellectual and, while keeping the excitement of piratical and other adventures, it probably reflects through them contemporary military and diplomatic preoccupations.

Clearly modelled on this romance, and written in the same metre, is *Drosilla and Charikles*; the author, Niketas Eugeneianos, wrote an epitaph on Prodromos and was either a younger friend or his disciple. Like his predecessor, Niketas does not completely avoid his own world, and his *ekphrasis* (description) of Drosilla coincides verbatim with that of the ideal bride in his own *epithalamium* on the wedding of the court official Stephen Komnenos. Nevertheless, Niketas's tone is more pastoral, with an obvious debt to Longus' *Daphnis and Chloe*, and on occasion he introduces a note of pure comedy as in his description of Maryllis's drunken dancing upon the table or the literary pretensions of the bumpkin Kallidemos.

Constantine Manasses is best known as the author of a popularizing verse chronicle, and his romance *Aristandros and Kallithea* survives unfortunately only in fragments. Despite an interest, new to the romance, in fabulous beasts, it is most noteworthy for its choice of the 15-syllable metre known as "political", which became standard for vernacular poetry until the late 17th century.

The last romance written in the high language, and also the only Byzantine example to revert to the ancient precedent of prose, is Eustathios (or Eumathios) Makrembolites's *Hysmine and Hysminias*. This is modelled on Achilles Tatius' *Leucippe and Clitophon* and, especially, the romances of Prodromos and Eugeneianos. More interestingly, Makrembolites appears to draw also on the novel *progymnasmata* (preparatory exercises) of his contemporary Nikephoros Basilakes, especially in abandoning the traditional narrative style for the character study. His romance is highly charged with eroticism, although in conformity with the still-unbroken rule of romances the heroine miraculously preserves her chastity to the end. This eroticism is largely realized in the early books by allegorical paintings and Hysminias's own dreams. No other surviving romance is as psychologically subtle, and no other makes such demands on the reader to appreciate the often humorous parody created by quotation and covert allusion to a wide range of ancient literature. It is innovative also in using a first-person narration.

With the sack of Constantinople in 1204 the era of the "learned" romances in the high language came to an end. The 11 surviving romances of the 14th to 16th centuries are all written in some form of the vernacular, but with a widely differing lexical and grammatical admixture of the high language. Since, however, most of their manuscripts date from *c.*1500 or later and exhibit considerable divergences in language, it is a matter of much scholarly debate as to what was their exact original form and consequently readership. That, for some of these works, this must have included the intellectual elite is shown not only by literary subtleties but also by the fact that the single one that is not anonymous, admittedly the least "vernacular", was actually written by a member of the imperial family and received a religious exegesis from the court poet Manuel Philes. One feature common to most of these compositions is an exuberant enthusiasm for the coining of multiple compound words, especially adjectives. They all exhibit also a varying and at times dominating degree of influence from western romances. Five are original Greek works, six are adaptations or translations. Whereas the verse romances of Prodromos and Eugeneianos numbered just over 4600 and 3600 lines respectively, the "vernacular" romances tend to be considerably shorter.

The earliest original work, possibly dating to the very early 1300s, may be the *Tale of Achilles*, which has been preserved in three separate versions. It is best described as a romance of chivalry that is indebted not only to *Digenis Akritas* but also to more conventional romances. It reveals the contemporary Graeco-Frankish world of tournaments, jousting, and a knightly abduction, and retains from Homer no more than the names of Achilles, Patroclus, and the Myrmidons. Unlike other romances, which conclude happily with the union of the lovers, the *Tale of Achilles*, like *Digenis Akritas*, ends in a death, this time of the heroine who is mourned inconsolably by her husband.

Kallimachos and Chrysorrhoe (2607 lines) was written by Andronikos Palaiologos, a nephew of the first Palaiologan emperor, Michael VIII (1259–82). Although it shows considerable acquaintance with earlier romances, both ancient and Byzantine, it contains many folkloric elements. The hero is the youngest of three princely brothers who set out to prove themselves worthy of succeeding their father. He penetrates a castle perched on a mountain, rescues a damsel from an ogre, loses her to an abduction by a neighbouring king, feigns death through a witch's magic apple, and works in disguise as a gardener in the king's palace grounds. The ending is unexpected: when the two are caught together Chrysorrhoe wins their freedom with a well-composed speech.

In the much shorter *Belthandros and Chrysantza* (1348 lines), most probably from the 14th century, the hero follows a magical river of fire and water to the castle of Eros the king, where he reads a prophecy that he will fall in love with the heroine. Unfortunately, just after he has adjudicated her the winner of a beauty competition which is reminiscent of a bride show, she vanishes. However, a few exciting adventures later, they are permanently united. Like *Kallimachos and Chrysorrhoe* this romance moves from the world of fantasy to that of a fictional reality.

The five surviving manuscripts of *Libistros and Rhodamne* differ so greatly in length, language, and even sequence of episodes that it is impossible to reconstruct exactly what the 14th-century original was like. The probably most reliable manuscript gives a length of 4407 lines. Alone of the vernacular romances it interweaves two love stories, one of the eponymous couple, which ends with their union, and the other of the narrator Klitobos, the result of whose courting of Myrtane, a widow and his former mistress, is left uncertain. Realistic elements again appear in combination with the fantastic, which latter take the form of a magic ring, flying horses, and erotically prophetic dreams.

Because of its familiarity with other literature and its use of Italian loanwords the *Tale of Troy* (1166 lines) may perhaps be dated as late as the fall of Constantinople or even later. It begins as a romantic tale of Paris. To prevent the destruction of Troy should he reach manhood, he is put to sea in a basket, but, having been rescued, shut up in a tower, and shipwrecked, he eventually gains access to Helen in the disguise of a monk and takes her back to Troy. Thereafter Paris recedes into the background as the emphasis shifts to Achilles, the lamentation over whose death at the hand of Paris concludes this poorly constructed story.

A further work of fiction, though not strictly a romance, depends upon the romantic tradition. In the late 14th century Theodore Meliteniotes, possibly the same as a writer on theology and astrology, composed in 3062 lines an astonishing allegorical poem in the high language entitled *To Chastity*, in which may be found allusions not only to Greek authors but even to Pliny the Elder, Boccaccio, and Dante. In its attack on entertaining literature it mercilessly parodies Byzantine and western romances. The late 14th-century verse *Romance of Belisarius* is a largely legendary history of Justinian's general rather than a true romance. Emphasizing the workings of envy and revealing tension between classes, a feature rarely found in Byzantine literature, it proved sufficiently popular to gain two rhymed redactions during the Tourkokratia.

Of the Greek adaptations and translations the closest to their originals are the 14th- or 15th-century *Phlorios and Platzia-Phlora* and the probably late 15th-century *Theseid*. The former is a translation of *Il Cantare di Fiorio e Biancifiore*, the Tuscan version of a widespread western medieval tale of ultimately eastern origin. The latter is a translation of Boccaccio's *Teseida*. The monstrously long *War of Troy* of perhaps *c.*1350 is at 14,369 lines still slightly less than half the length of its immediate source, Benoît de Saint-Maure's *Roman de Troie*. The tale thus goes full circle since the French version derives from the pseudo-autoptic Latin accounts attributed to Dictys Cretensis and Dares Phrygius, the former of which for certain and the latter probably were translated from Greek in the 4th and 5th or 6th centuries respectively. The Byzantine version oddly omits exotic details, but, indicative of the less warlike nature of the Greeks, it also omits the prolix battle scenes. The omission of the judgement of Paris probably reflects its suppression in Manasses' influential chronicle. The short *Imberios and Margarona* is a translation from either French or Catalan which probably predates the oldest surviving French version from 1453 of *Pierre de Provence et la Belle Maguelonne*. *The Old Knight* is the modern title for an incomplete 14th-century poem of only 307 lines very freely taken, perhaps through an Italian intermediary but with added Homeric allusions, from the Arthurian prose romance *Guiron le Courtois*. Its theme is Branor le Brun's challenge to the younger knights of the Round Table. Uniquely in the post-12th-century romances it is written in the high language. The 14th- or 15th-century *Apollonios of Tyre* is an adaption of a 14th-century Tuscan translation of a Latin tale, itself possibly dependent upon a Greek original of the time of the early romances. Its main interest is in the Christianization of the pagan setting of its model. It also is thus unique among Byzantine romances. The verse redaction of Callisthenes' *Alexander Romance* is, like the *Romance of Belisarios*, fabulous history rather than romance. It, *Imberios*, and *Apollonios* also share the fate of later reworkings into rhyming verse.

The greatest Greek literary production of the Tourkokratia is the *Erotokritos*, written in Crete around 1600 by Vitsentzos Kornaros, a poet of noble Venetian descent. Despite its debt to Pierre de la Cypède's *Paris et Vienne*, it is an original work in its own right. Set in ancient Athens, it unfolds in just over 10,000 lines the ultimately successful love affair of king Heracles' daughter Aretousa and Erotokritos, the son of a royal counsellor. Possibly aware only of the *Theseid* and *Imberios* among Byzantine romances, Kornaros nonetheless suffuses a romance of western chivalry, replete with long speeches and psychological exploration, with the hues of a poetic and chronologically composite Greek world.

Traditionally castigated by scholars, when not completely ignored, for being paltry imitations of ancient exemplars of a second-rate genre, Byzantine romances are now enjoying a sensitive re-evaluation. Their *ekphraseis* are no longer regarded as wearisome rhetorical irrelevancies but as integral parts of a whole, their literary borrowings are being appreciated as frequently subtle or even humorous parody, and, in the best of them, artistic construction and psychological characterization are being carefully revealed. They can now claim a small, but not contemptible, place in the history of world literature.

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See also Novel

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Romania

Romania is situated on the western shore of the Black Sea at a point where routes from Central Europe to the east and southeast converge. Its southern and southwestern frontier is marked by the Danube (ancient Istrus); its western and northwestern frontier extends far into the Hungarian plain; and its northeastern boundary is the Prut river, although from time to time it stretched to the Dniester by the incorporation of all or part of Bessarabia. Dobrudja abuts its Black Sea coastline, and this too has been attached to the core of modern Romania – the principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia – within varying boundaries at different times. The Carpathian mountains cut an arc through the country from northeast to southwest, separating those parts long under the influence of Constantinople and those which, looking to the Black Sea from Transylvania, the Banat, and Maramures, belong to the Danube basin and formed part of millennial Hungary before 1919.

The territory of modern-day Romania has been populated from the Palaeolithic period. The country's historical period begins in the 9th–8th centuries BC and is connected in southwestern Europe with the so-called Thracian Hallstatt period (*c.*600–550 BC), which corresponds to European Hallstatt C. Basarabi culture is considered the most representative of this new period within Romanian territory: the population was formed of mainly agricultural tribes living in fortified or open villages whose dwellings were constructed of timber.

The middle Danube was populated by the Tribali, a Thracian tribe, and Dobrudja by the Crobyzi and Getae. In Dobrudja the assimilation of the Getae and other Thracian tribes by the Dacians (from the second half of the 6th century BC) led to the creation of a Geto-Dacian culture. In addition to these tribes, Scythians inhabited both Dobrudja and Transylvania, introducing certain types of iron weapon, contributing to the development of art, and bringing certain features of Greek civilization to Transylvania. Greek influence reached the Geto-Dacian peoples more directly—via Greek colonies established on the Romanian Black Sea coast. The lands south of the Carpathians have yielded very fine examples of metalwork (helmets, greaves, goblets and other vessels, and a gilt rhyton), decorated mainly with zoomorphic figures, although human figures and floral and geometric ornament are not entirely absent. Some of these objects may have come from native workshops (Thracian or Getic); most, however, are from Asia Minor or the Pontic region, or are of Persian workmanship.

Histria was the first Greek colony on the Romanian Black Sea coast. It was founded by Milesians in the last quarter of the 7th century BC at the mouth of the Danube, and named accordingly. In the archaic period it was a small settlement of modest wattle-and-daub houses, surrounded by defensive walls. From the Classical period it grew: stone temples were built in the city's sacral area; stone dwellings were constructed, many with fine masonry, some with an upper storey; and the city minted its own coins. Histria became the centre of Hellenic culture in Getic lands. It was a centre of trade through which Greek goods penetrated deep into the hinterland. Its agricultural territory (*chora*) was populated by local people, who also formed a small part of the city's own population. In the Hellenistic period Histria doubled in size; new city walls were built, as were new temples. In the Roman period the city was enlarged further and yet new city walls and new temples were built. It remained a craft and trade centre until its destruction in the 4th century AD.

Another two Greek colonies, Tomis (modern Constanta) and Callatis (modern Mangalia), were established on the Romanian coast. Tomis, Ovid's place of exile, was established, also by Milesians, at the end of the 6th century BC. Excavation is very difficult, as the modern city lies directly above the ancient settlement; chance finds, however, demonstrate that it was an important craft and trading centre. In the Roman period it was decorated with marble sculptures, and mosaics were also found there. Callatis was established by Heraclea Pontica, itself a Dorian colony on the south coast of the Black

Romania: monks at the skete of Lakkou, which is reserved for Romanians, on Mount Athos. Romanians form the largest ethnic minority on the Holy Mountain today.

Sea. Archaeological material and inscriptions demonstrate that Callatis, sited in a fertile cereal-growing region, was a prosperous city.

At the end of the 4th century BC the Celts entered Transylvania, bringing with them a more advanced iron-working technology and the potter's wheel. Celtic tombs in this area contain fine metal objects and pottery. North of the Carpathians Celtic influence played a role of similar importance to that of the Greeks in the southern and eastern regions.

Under Greek influence the Geto-Dacians minted their first coins in the 3rd century BC, imitating those of Philip II and Alexander the Great. Assimilation of the different tribes and cultures was gradually completed. A similar process affected Scythians of the Dobrudja, who exacted tribute from neighbouring Greek cities in exchange for military protection: by *c.*AD 100 they had disappeared, the memory of their presence retained in the Roman name for Dobrudja – Scythia Minor.

In *c.*80 BC Burebista established the kingdom of Dacia and became its first ruler. Dacia reached its peak under King Decebalus, who fought against the Romans. The second Dacian War (AD 105–106) brought about the destruction of the Dacian kingdom and Roman conquest of the entire region. The importance of this to the Romans is shown by the erection of Trajan's column (*Tropaeum Traiani*) at Adamclisi in AD 109; this, the most important Roman monument on the lower Danube, depicts scenes of Roman victory in the war. Trajan made Dacia a Roman province. Because of its strategic importance, an outpost of empire in the hostile region north of the Danube, it was placed under direct imperial authority. Three legions reinforced by various auxiliary troops, a force of some 50,000 men, were permanently stationed there. Here Roman culture had a clearly military character. New Roman cities (such as Sarmizegetusa, Apulum, Napoca, and Drobeta) were established, as well as military settlements. The Danubian *limes* was strengthened by the construction of fortresses at such points as Axiopolis, Carsium, and Capidova. New cities (Tropaeum Traiani and Troesmis) were also founded in Scythia Minor.

The province of Dacia, extremely hostile to the Romans, could be held against frequent invasions by aggressive neighbours only at enormous cost in terms of money and manpower. In 271 the emperor Aurelius decided to evacuate the province. This led to a cultural retreat and Dacia's return in the 4th century to its old agrarian lifestyle. The departure of the Romans provided an opportunity for fresh tribes to fill the vacuum and invade this fertile region. This culminated in a period of mass migration by (seriatim) the Huns, Gepids, Ostrogoths, Avars, Slavs, and Protobulgarians, who fought each other as well as the Byzantines. Justinian was the last emperor to guarantee protection of the border on the Danube; it gave way in 602.

Byzantine remains are found in Histria and other Romanian Black Sea coastal cities and settlements. The history of post-Roman art in the region is closely linked with protonational

historical developments. Features of Roman and Byzantine origin were assimilated with Dacian tradition, whose wooden buildings gave way to stone architecture. The spread of Christianity over the course of the 4th century throughout the region south of the Carpathians, Dobrudja, and Transylvania exerted a deep influence on the art and artistic language of the Middle Ages, but interacting with historical factors peculiar to particular areas this common inspiration yielded a rich diversity of results. The influence of Byzantine Orthodox culture came to the area indirectly through a Serbian intermediary. This was of considerable importance for the development of indigenous Romanian art and architecture. No stone churches predating the 14th century survive in Romania, earlier ones being built of wood. Early stone-built examples have the usual Byzantine cross-in-square arrangement and basilican ground plans. The typical Romanian church has a distinctive form, Morava style, that developed in Serbia in the 14th and 15th centuries. Church painting echoed the techniques of 15th-century Byzantine art, and in later centuries was in keeping with late Byzantine trends (scenes are multifigured and small scale, with many tiers of paintings covering the walls from top to bottom). Jewellery and church utensils were either Byzantine or locally produced under Byzantine artistic influence. This was especially the case before the Tatar invasion of 1247.

Richly embroidered and adorned ceremonial garments dating from the 14th and 15th centuries are found, as well as jewellery of Byzantine craftsmanship (although western jewellery had also been introduced). The ladies of the ruling families were depicted in contemporary murals and embroidery wearing gold crowns of a characteristic shape decorated with pearls and precious stones, their shoulders and upper torsos draped in richly ornamented pendants, the whole redolent of Byzantine imperial dress.

The question of the ethnic origins of the modern Romanians has, in recent times, become embroiled with the rival national and territorial claims of Hungary and Romania in Transylvania. There is long gap in written sources, especially between the Roman/Byzantine collapse on the Danube and the re-establishment of Byzantine domination there 300 years later. Two rival theories have gained currency: that developed by Roessler holds that the modern Romanians have their origin outside the Carpathian area, while that known as continuous development holds that they are the descendants of the Daco-Roman population and the Slavs who through fusion and assimilation in the 7th–9th centuries, developed a "proto-Romanian" language.

The foundations of the modern Romanian state rest on a number of small feudal states (*terrae valachicae*), governed by chieftains, which were established in the 10th century. Over the succeeding centuries those to the west of the Carpathians were overrun by the kingdom of Hungary and settled by Saxon colonists. Those to the south and east, after two centuries of exposure to further invasion by Cumans and Tatars, and intermittent Hungarian involvement, were consolidated in the 14th century to form two large and independent principalities (Moldavia and Wallachia) with elected rulers. Dobrudja, formerly part of Wallachia, was conquered by the Ottoman Turks at the end of the 14th century. The two principalities, despite spirited resistance and the manoeuvring common in buffer states (seeking to play off Hungary, Poland, and the Ottomans), ultimately fell under Ottoman suzerainty (in the generation after the fall of Constantinople) but retained their separate identities, considerable autonomy (politically and culturally), and an appetite for using Hungary and Poland as some counterbalance to the Ottomans – who interfered in princely elections and might eliminate overambitious or restive princes. From the 17th century Phanariot Greeks (native or adoptive) became ever more prominent in both principalities, with families such as the Mavrogordato furnishing some 90 per cent of the ruling princes in the century up to 1812. Thereafter, modern nationalism, Ottoman weakness, and great-power patronage ushered the principalities towards *de facto* independence and unity in the 1850s under the native prince Alexander Ion Cuza, and full independence and the acquisition of Dobrudja in 1877 under his German successor. The creation of greater Romania followed in the aftermath of World War I (with the acquisition of Transylvania, parts of the Banat, Maramures, etc. from Hungary, Bukovina from Austria, Bessarabia from Russia, and various unreconciled minorities from all of them); various territorial amputations (some temporary – to Hungary; some permanent – southern Dobrudja returned to Bulgaria, and Bessarabia to the USSR) occurred during and as a result of World War II.

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See also Moldavia, Wallachia

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Romanos I Lekapenos *c.*870–948

Emperor

Romanos I Lekapenos (920–44) was a Byzantine emperor whose reign coincided with a period of military success and territorial expansion, a process that continued throughout the 10th century and reached its culmination during the reign of Basil II (976–1025). Romanos Lekapenos's family took its name from the town of Lakape, near Melitene, and was ethnically Armenian. Although of peasant background, Romanos had a successful military career as a naval officer. He held the post of *strategos* (commander) of Samos and eventually became *droungarios* or commander-in-chief of the fleet. Because of this important military command, he became a

pivotal figure in the struggle for the regency after the death of the emperor Alexander in 912. Romanos's political support was solicited by Theodore, the tutor of Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos (913–59), for help against rival claimants to the regency. In May 919 Romanos secured his position by repudiating the marriage pact already arranged by the patriarch Nicholas between Constantine VII and the daughter of the Bulgarian king Symeon by having his own daughter Helen marry Constantine instead, for which Romanos took the title *basileopator* (royal father-in-law), previously held by Symeon. Romanos also ordered the patriarch Nicholas to hold a Church council in 920 to reconcile differences between the proponents of Nicholas and the former patriarch Euthymios. This council issued canons condemning Leo VI's fourth marriage as illicit and allowing the third only under certain circumstances. Later, after the death of Nicholas, Romanos replaced him with one of his own sons, Theophylact. Following the conclusion of the council, Romanos charged the empress Zoe Karbonopsina, widow of Leo VI (886–912) and mother of Constantine VII, with trying to poison him and had her tonsured. Finally Romanos secured control of the regency by having the tutor Theodore exiled. After being declared Caesar, Romanos further strengthened his position by having himself crowned co-emperor with Constantine on 17 December 920. In 921–22 he decided to push the child emperor into the background and reserved most of the responsibility for governing the state to himself. Romanos would eventually have three of his sons, Christopher, Stephen, and Constantine, crowned as co-emperors, with Constantine VII remaining as the most junior of them.

Romanos was an effective emperor who initiated legislation that helped to protect small landholders against the encroachments of the *dynatoi* (magnates), who would buy out poor farmers and then use their position to obtain tax exemptions for themselves. Romanos believed that reform was necessary to protect the recruiting base for the army and to secure revenues for the state. In 922 he reversed the legislation of Leo VI by reinstating the right of preemption for relatives or neighbours in the sale of soldiers' land. The law enumerated five categories of neighbours who had preemptive rights in any alienation of peasant land. This was designed to prevent the transfer of land to large landowners unless they fitted into one of these categories. All soldiers' holdings that had been previously alienated had to be returned without compensation. The legislation created more problems than it solved. Many peasants were not interested in assuming control of this land again because of the onerous obligations it entailed. Of course, the local nobility were opposed to any legislation that expropriated them of their property. Eventually the situation in the countryside became worse as the famine of 927–28, resulting from bitter winter weather, imposed more hardships on the smallholders and led to the transfer of more land to the *dynatoi*. In 932 the rebel Basil attempted to take advantage of this discontent by staging an uprising in the Opsikion theme, for which he was eventually executed. In response, in 934 Romanos issued another decree that denounced the *dynatoi* and required the return of all land transferred since 928.

Romanos also enjoyed success in dealing with the empire's many enemies, especially Bulgaria. In 924, after receiving news of Romanos's usurpation and the cancellation of Nicholas's marriage pact, Symeon marched on Constantinople, but Romanos confronted him personally and successfully turned him away. After Symeon died in 927, Romanos was able to manipulate his successor Peter by having him marry one of his own granddaughters, Maria. On the eastern front the Armenian general John Kourkouas conducted several successful campaigns against the Hamdanids of Aleppo, the leading Islamic state at this time. John's victories eventually aroused the jealousy of Romanos which resulted in his replacement by the less talented Pantherios, a relative of the Lekapenoi. Romanos also suppressed revolts in Italy, the Peloponnese, and Chaldia.

A major change in Romanos's fortunes occurred after the death of his son Christopher, a bitter blow that seemed to sap his will to carry on. He later specified in his will that Constantine VII (son of Leo VI) would succeed him ahead of his own two sons, Stephen and Constantine. Fearing their impending loss of power these two brothers, with the backing of some courtiers, organized a coup against their father in 944. Romanos was overthrown and sent to a monastery; however, a month later, the two Lekapid sons met the same fate when they tried to assassinate Constantine VII, and were exiled to the same monastery as their father. Despite a plot to restore Romanos to power in 946, he spent the rest of his life on the island of Prote, eventually dying there on 15 June 948.

JOHN F. SHEAN

Biography

Born in Lakape *c.*870, the son of Armenian peasants, Romanos had a naval career. He became *strategos* of Samos and commander-in-chief of the Byzantine fleet. He married his daughter Helen to Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos. After being declared Caesar, Romanos had himself crowned co-emperor in 920. He was dethroned by his sons in 944 and sent in exile to Prote where he died as a monk in 948.

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Romanos the Melodist, St

Hymnographer of the 6th century

Honoured on 1 October by the Orthodox Church as its patron saint of music, St Romanos the Melodist is also revered by modern scholars as Byzantium's greatest sacred poet. The

primary sources for his life and career are the short summaries of his lost *Life* transmitted in Byzantine Synaxaria and Menologia, to which one may also add the autobiographical references and other historical evidence found in his poetic works. These indicate that Romanos was born in the Syrian city of Emesa during the late 5th century, most probably to a Semitic (possibly Jewish) family. After his ordination to the diaconate, he was assigned to the church of the Resurrection in Beirut, where he spent several years before journeying to Constantinople during the reign of Anastasius I (491–518). In the capital Romanos served at the church of the Mother of God of the Kyros district, while also frequenting the all-night vigil (*pannychis*) at the city's important Marian shrine and stational church of Blachernae. According to the *Life*, his poetic gift was revealed when the Virgin Mary appeared to him during the vigil of Christmas at his home parish in Kyros with a scroll that she asked him to swallow. After acceding to her request, he mounted the ambo of the church and began to sing his famous hymn "Today the Virgin Gives Birth". The *Life* then records that Romanos went on to compose more than 1000 such hymns, the manuscripts of which were preserved in the church of Kyros, where he was eventually buried.

Today the figure of more than 1000 hymns is held to be a superlative form of praise for the Melodist. Only 85 texts bearing attributions to Romanos have survived, of which the editors of the Oxford edition of his works selected only 59 for inclusion in their volume of his *Cantica Genuina*. All of the latter belong to the early Byzantine genre of hymnography known anachronistically as the kontakion (the term refers to the scrolls from which the hymns were later sung), which Romanos is generally acknowledged to have brought to its apogee. The kontakia of Romanos are metrical homilies consisting of a short prologue (originally called a *koukoulion*, but later confusingly referred to as a kontakion) which serves to introduce the subject and refrain of the work, followed by a series of up to 40 longer and metrically identical stanzas known as *oikoi* that are united by an acrostic. Although the structural affinities between the kontakion and earlier forms of Syrian liturgical poetry have long been recognized, recent scholarship has also revealed cases of direct borrowing by Romanos from such Syriac sources as the *Diatesseron* of Tatian and the hymns of St Ephraim the Syrian, thus indicating that he may have been fully bilingual. The significance of other concordances noted earlier in the 20th century between the works of Romanos and Greek works that circulate under the name of St Ephraim, however, remains to be determined by future study.

The language of Romanos's genuine kontakia is an Atticized form of koine that, despite the poet's frequent use of rhetorical devices, remains fresh and direct. Particularly appealing are the many episodes of dialogue between historical or symbolic figures that occur in his hymns, in which Romanos demonstrates both a keen sense of drama and considerable psychological insight. These kontakia cover a variety of subjects: 34 are on the person of Christ, five relate other episodes from the New Testament, seven commemorate figures from the Old Testament, three praise martyrs and saints, and the remaining ten address other topics. Considered together, they constitute an almost complete cycle of hymns for the major fixed Christological and Marian feasts of the liturgical year, many of which were created or positioned in the Byzantine calendar during the reign of Justinian (527–65). To this fixed cycle may be added a second group of hymns for the movable seasons of Lent – notably including kontakia for the original Sunday cycle of Old Testament commemorations – and Easter. A number of the poems falling outside these main cycles of feasts were inspired by contemporary events. The hymns *On Earthquakes and Fires* and *On Baptism* relate, respectively, to the Nika rebellion of 532 and to the imperial edict issued in or around 528 requiring the baptism of all remaining pagans. Similarly, the only two genuine hagiographic kontakia of Romanos commemorate the Forty Martyrs of Sebastea, saints who were personal favourites of Justinian.

The discovery of a 6th-century papyrus containing a fragment of an authentic hymn by Romanos would seem to indicate that he became famous in his own lifetime. In the centuries following his death, his continuing popularity is attested to by the frequency with which the metrical patterns (and therefore the melodies) of his hymns were borrowed by later composers of kontakia, the existence of a body of (mostly hagiographical) hymns posthumously attributed to him, and his canonization at an unknown date. It also appears that for some time his hymns continued to be performed in their entirety within their original context of the Constantinopolitan service of *pannychis*. An episode in the 7th-century *Miracles of St Artemios*, for example, refers to the chanting of hymns by Romanos during a popular all-night vigil, while the 10th-century *Typikon of the Great Church* contains hints of similar practices at Hagia Sophia and its dependent stational churches.

During the 9th century the kontakia of Romanos were adopted by St Theodore of Stoudios for use within the monastic rite of St Savas as *mesodia*, i.e. compositions to be sung between the biblical odes and poetic canons of the Palestinian psalter. Although St Theodore and other Middle Byzantine hymnographers initially continued to draw on the poetry of Romanos as a source for their own hymns (mostly *stichera* and canons), whole kontakia began to disappear from the active repertory. Whatever the causes of this curtailment, one result was that Romanos's reputation as the Orthodox east's patron saint of music came to rest increasingly on the miraculous origins of his gift, which became the centrepiece for icons of the Protection of the Mother of God. In the 14th century, for example, Nikephoros Kallistos Xanthopoulos attributes the origins of the kontakion to Romanos by retelling the story of the Virgin's appearance during the vigil of Christmas. Echoed in the lives of the 14th-century musical saints John Koukouzeles and Gregory the Domestikos, this episode is cited directly in the post-Byzantine period by Agapios Landos in his devotional collection *Amartolon Soteria* (The Salvation of Sinners, Venice, 1641). Indeed, it is only with the publication, study, and translation of his works over the course of the late 19th and 20th centuries that Romanos has again become firmly established as Byzantium's preeminent sacred poet.

ALEXANDER LINGAS

See also Hymnography

Biography

Born at Emesa in Syria in the late 5th century, perhaps to a Jewish family, Romanos served as a deacon in Beirut before moving to

Constantinople where he served in the church of the Mother of God in the Kyros district. According to tradition he composed over 1000 hymns. In fact just 85 survive, of which only 59 are considered genuine. He is revered as the Orthodox Church's patron saint of music and Byzantium's greatest sacred poet. He died after 555.

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Romanticism

The protagonists of the Romantic movement drew their inspiration from themes connected with the revival of an idealized past. Chateaubriand's *Le Génie du christianisme* rallied the French Romantics around ideas associated with the sentimental reawakening of medieval Catholicism, while the Germans sympathized with Herder's rediscovery of a Gothic past. Although the German Romantics wished to break free from the heavily weighing tradition of Classical Hellenism, they owed a great debt to the forerunners of the Romantic movement, Hölderlin and Goethe, who remained unequivocally Hellenists throughout their poetic career.

The central Romantic themes of struggle with invincible powers, freedom, self-determination, and divinely inspired creativity were formidably expressed in the most significant works of Romanticism inspired by the Greek struggle for independence. Shelley's *Hellas*, Byron's *Giaour* and some cantos of *Childe Harold*, Delacroix's *Massacre of Chios* and *Greece Lamenting on the Ruins of Missolonghi*, Ary Scheffer's antagonistic treatment of similar themes accompanied by Victor Hugo's *Les Orientales* (*Chio ... tout est désert*), Beethoven's *The Ruins of Athens*, and Keats's New Hellenism dominated the cultural landscape of the first two decades of the 19th century and contributed to easing the controversy waged between the Classical and the Romantic. In this way a balance was restored between the Romantic Hellenism of Hölderlin, the Weimar Classicists, and the Romantic Philhellenism associated with the sympathizers to the Greek cause.

Romanticism, as an emotional reaction to the rationalistic spirit of the Enlightenment, infused the rediscovery of Hellas with the power of the sensation of *Gefühl*, understood as an intense feeling capable of producing interior states of revelatory insight in the mind and soul of the person who would surrender to its influence. The setting of the stage in the Greek War of Independence helped to resolve the conflict between the traditional-Classical and the modern-Romantic formulations as set forth by A.W. Schlegel. In both the Jena (1798) and the Berlin lectures (1801–04) Schlegel had contrasted the Classical literature of antiquity with the modern Romantic literature in which he included Shakespeare, Goethe, the folk poetry of the Spanish romances, the Scottish ballads, as well as the medieval romances of Charlemagne and the Nibelungen. A few years earlier, in the spirit of *Sturm und Drang*, Hamann and Herder had stressed the vitality of folk poetry, contrasting it with the dead letter of Classical poetry. The latter's collection of German popular poetry, *Stimmen der Völker in Liedern* (1778–79), advanced the notion that the folk poetry of a nation is imbued with the spirit of the people, the so-called *Geist des Volkes*, and that the national poetry expressed in vernacular speech is the authentic expression of the spirit of a nation, *Geist der Nation*.

Madame de Staël, greatly influenced by Schlegel, was instrumental in the dissemination of Romantic ideas in France. In 1813 *De l'Allemagne* was published in London, and two months later Schlegel's lectures were published in a translation done by her cousin, Madame Necker de Saussure. C.C. Fauriel had a first-hand knowledge of these ideas through his intimate association with Madame de Staël. His Preface to the *Chants populaires de la Grèce*, the *Discours préliminaire*, reproduced the pattern of thought of the German Romantics.

Set against this background, Solomos's Romanticism acquires a particular colouring inherited by the German Romantics. Even his impassioned defence of the demotic language, opposed to the dubious reforms of Korais, as presented in his *Dialogos* (1824), and the emulation of popular poetry in his own compositions point to Herder's unmistakable influence. From his correspondence it transpires that he was familiar with K. Ludwig Michelet's "neo-Christian spiritualism" and that he had studied attentively Hamann, Schelling, Manzoni, Speroni (who had also written a *Dialogo sopra le lingue*), and the circle of Italian Romantics associated with the literary review *Conciliatore*. Solomos had already put together

a collection of popular songs which were later offered to Nicolò Tommaseo, who included them in his three-volume *Canti popolari toscani, corsi, illirici, greci* (1841–42). However, what is of paramount importance is not Solomos's debt to the popular Muse, but rather the role that the German and, to a lesser degree, the Italian Romantics played in the consolidation of the arguments for the encouragement given to the predominance of the demotic language as the authentic medium for the expression of the Greek version of *Volksgeist*.

This particular streak of Romanticism associated with the authentic expressions of national idiosyncracies left its distinctive marks on all facets of Greek cultural, social, and political life in the 19th century. Linked to the theme of the revival of the past, it created a particular style in architecture known as the Neoclassical Romantic style in which Athens, Aegina, Nauplia, and other urban centres were built. Its main exponents, who were responsible for designing and building Athens as the new capital of the Greek state, E. Schaubert, C. and T. Hansen, E. Ziller, and S. Kleanthis, were all steeped in the tradition of German Romanticism. Both L. von Klenze and F. von Gärtner, who were responsible for some of the most representative works of German Romanticism in Ludwig I's Bavaria, were instrumental in giving Athens its Neoclassical look. This distinctive style was original enough to be imitated throughout the world's great cities, from Paris to Moscow and from Cape Town to New York. The same spirit, which had dictated a return to the forms of the past, penetrated other disciplines and influenced, through the pioneering work of K. Paparrigopoulos's national historiography, the theories about the uninterrupted continuity of the Greek nation – *to Hellenikon ethnos*, notwithstanding the incomprehensibility of this term to a Byzantine Greek – in the ancient, Hellenistic, medieval, and modern periods. It was also responsible for creating the new discipline of folklore (*laographia*) which under Nikolaos Politis was elevated to the rank of an authoritative branch of knowledge and painstakingly sought to find the origins of popular customs in antiquity.

An infinitely more complex form of Romanticism was cultivated in Greece by the Phanariots. The 18th-century *Mismagia* collections of poetry glorifying unrequited love are certainly the precursors of the melancholic mood with its despairing *Weltschmerz*, which thoroughly permeated the entries in the diary of P. Kodrikas, where the first instances of all gradations of sultry sentiment, sensation, and feeling – *aisthesis, aisthema, aisthetikon* – are tirelessly recorded in an endless succession for the years 1790–97. P. Soutsos, whom Hugo respected sufficiently to quote him in *Le Derviche*, is responsible for the first Greek novel, *Leandros* (1834), one more variation on the perennial theme of unrequited love, which ends in death and suicide, but in reality forming an elaborate pastiche made up from plagiarized paragraphs from Goethe's *Werther*, Lamartine's *Lac*, and mainly Chateaubriand's *René*.

Irrespective of the influences brought to bear on Romanticism from the Ionian or the Phanariot schools, the Romantic movement exercised a lasting power on Greek thought in the 19th century and tipped the scales in favour of the demotic language, the unquestionable sovereignty of the popular taste in poetry, song, dance, and discourse, the adoption of the distinctive Neoclassical style in architecture, and the idea of the uninterrupted continuity of the Greek nation. It was to this last concept that modern Greece owed one of the most tragic chapters of its recent history – the ideological deployment of the Great Idea and its disastrous conclusion in Asia Minor. In spite of its infelicitous ramifications on political thinking Romanticism infused the vision of new Greece with a dynamic vitality and produced some of the most representative works in literature and the arts, their echo still resonating with intensity well into the 20th century.

LAMBROS KAMPERIDIS

See also Folklore, Great Idea, Neoclassicism

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Rome

Largely through Magna Graecia, Greek influence on Roman life began to be felt at least as early as the 5th century BC. The *Sibylline Books* early acquired importance: kept beneath the temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, they are first recorded as being consulted in 496 BC. The cult of Apollo was introduced to Rome in 431 BC, and his oracle at Delphi was consulted in 398. As Rome's empire expanded, contact with the western Greeks increased; Greek art – particularly statues – arrived in large quantities on the capture of Syracuse, Capua, and Tarentum (211–209 BC).

Extensive Hellenization, however, began mainly in the 2nd century BC and chiefly as a result of Roman military conquest of the east, climaxing in Perseus of Macedon's defeat at Pydna in 168 BC and the sack of Corinth in 146 BC. More works of art came to Rome. (Polybius reports that in 146 Roman soldiers used Corinthian paintings as gaming boards, but more often captured artefacts were reverently or ostentatiously displayed in temples, villas, and public buildings.) Whole libraries also came: Aemilius Paullus took Perseus', and in the 1st century victors' spoils included libraries which had once belonged to Aristotle and Theophrastus; Pompey brought the medical works collected by Mithridates. And also, most importantly, there came the Greek personnel – refugees, political detainees like Polybius, educated slaves, many of whom were later manumitted – who could organize libraries and give instruction at all levels in Greek language, rhetoric, and philos-

ophy. Other visitors who whetted an appetite for such learning included Crates of Mallus, who lectured in Rome probably during the 160s, and the three philosophers who came as ambassadors from Athens in 155 BC. The presence of such figures contributed to an already strong Greek element in Roman education; increasingly in the 1st century BC Latin equivalents to Greek teaching materials were produced, but the principles remained Greek and knowledge of the language from an early age continued throughout the Roman period to be regarded as essential for members of the ruling class. (In literature Greek influence was also pervasive, as for instance in Plautus' adaptations of material from New Comedy in his plays.)

Some prominent Republican Romans were evidently philhellenic: for example Aemilius Paullus (d. 160 BC) and his son Scipio Aemilianus (185/4–129 BC), friend of Polybius. On the other hand Cato the Censor (234–149 BC) was one of those who publicly associated Hellenization with moral degeneracy, and the stereotype of fickle, unreliable Greeks – used on occasion for forensic purposes, for instance, by the otherwise generally philhellenic Marcus Tullius Cicero (106–43 BC) – remained commonplace into imperial times. But even Cato was fearful only, according to the usual modern view, of excessive Hellenization; he was himself well versed in Greek literature. By the 1st century BC Hellenism had clearly acquired an irresistible momentum. (On the other side, it seems to be in the late Republican and early imperial centuries that the double meaning of *Rhome* in Greek – Rome and strength – gave the city, and increasingly the cult of the goddess Roma, as Erskine has suggested, "a special aura in the eyes of the Greeks".)

Under the principate (as often earlier) it is not always possible – or profitable – to separate Roman and Hellenic elements in Roman culture. But there are some episodes and periods where one can be more specific. Augustus' rebuilding of Rome relied heavily on Greek expertise in working with marble and Athenian craftsmen in particular led the "neoclassical 'purification' of architectural decoration" (Torelli, 1996). Some of the most evidently Hellenic work was for Gaius Sosius' restoration of the temple of Apollo in the Circus Maximus. Nero indulged in public, in Rome as in Greece itself, in Greek athletics and singing to the lyre. The notably philhellene Hadrian (whose early nickname *Graeculus* indicates that resistance to such immersion was not yet dead) introduced many Greek elements into the decoration of his villa near Tibur (Tivoli) and brought a fresh wave of artists from the east to work there and on projects including the temple of Venus and Roma in the Forum Romanum. At the same time the status of non-Italians was changing: senators with origins in the Greek east, occasionally admitted since Augustus' day, were numerous by the reign of Trajan.

Once Constantinople was established as the Second or New Rome (terms in common use by the 6th century AD) Rome gradually declined in importance for the Greek world. Until final separation in the 8th century, however, the city's history is often dominated by its uneasy relationship with its eastern overlords. For a time, after the third and final recapture of Rome from Ostrogothic control by Justinian's general Narses in 552, the much-ravaged city benefited from Byzantine reorganization and repair. But in the absence of any lastingly effective imperial involvement, it was the popes (especially from Gregory I the Great (590–604) onwards) who came in practice to administer Rome and pay its soldiers. Nevertheless, in the early 650s the emperor Constans II could still (if not without resistance from Rome and Ravenna) arrest and later dethrone pope Martin I for non-compliance with his edict of 648 banning discussion of the imperially approved doctrine of Monotheletism (the single will in Christ); the papacy acknowledged Byzantine suzerainty and papal elections were, nominally at least, subject to imperial approval until the 8th century. (Byzantine coinage may have been minted in Rome as late as 781.)

A more broadly eastern influence was felt as a result of a long line of popes of Syrian or Greek background or descent between Theodore I (642–49) and Zacharias (741–52), and by the arrival of several waves of refugees: many fled the Arab incursions of the 630s onwards, and many fled iconoclasm, mainly in the mid-750s or after 816. (The papacy was by now sufficiently powerful to resist stoutly the iconoclastic edicts.) These new arrivals were mostly Greek-speakers and many of them were monks. Greeks had their own church in Rome at Santa Maria de Schola Graeca (subsequently Santa Maria in Cosmedin); Pope Paschal I (817–24) founded a monastery for them at Santa Prassede. Partly because of the presence of the refugees, the use of icons became more widespread in the city and other Eastern customs, notably the translation of martyrs' bones, gained acceptance.

As in earlier periods, Greek and Roman art can easily be too rigidly divided – some work was carried out by refugees from the East, but some, in styles more loosely inspired by Byzantine work, derived from common early Christian sources, or was distinctively adapted by local artists. In a number of cases, however, Byzantine influence seems to be generally agreed: in the fragmentary 8th-century frescos of Santa Maria Antiqua, for instance, and above all in the resplendent 9th-century mosaics of the chapel of San Zeno at Santa Prassede. With a few exceptions (there are, for example, evidently Byzantine elements in the late 13th-century mosaics at Santa Maria Maggiore and Santa Maria in Trastevere), such influences declined fairly rapidly once the papacy sought the aid of the Frankish kings against the Lombards from the 750s; this movement westward culminated in the crowning of Charlemagne as emperor in St Peter's in 800.

MARTIN GARRETT

See also Roman Period

Summary

Greek influence reached Rome as early as the 5th century BC, and large-scale Hellenization began in the 2nd century BC. Roman art, literature, philosophy, rhetoric, and education were heavily Hellenized. Rome was less important to the Greek world after the foundation of Constantinople, but it remained theoretically subject to Byzantium until the 8th century AD.

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Rumeli

The Ottoman name for the Balkan peninsula

Rumeli was the name given to the Balkan peninsula by the Ottomans. The Byzantine empire understood itself to be the inheritor of the Roman empire and Byzantine Christians called themselves Romans. Among the Muslims this translated into *Rum*, and the Arabs referred to the Byzantine empire as the *Bilad al-Rum* (Land of the Rum) or *Mamlakat al-Rum* (Country of the Rum). When Turkish Muslims conquered Byzantine Anatolia, they referred to this new territory as *Rum*, since it had belonged to the Byzantines. Once they had gained possession of the Balkan peninsula as well, they began referring to the Balkans as *Rum-ili*, a name they borrowed from the Latin term *Romania*, which originally designated the Byzantine empire as a whole. Anatolia was now more commonly called Anadolu, in order to distinguish it from Rumeli. As with the Byzantines before them, the Ottomans considered the northern boundary of Rumeli to be the Danube and the Drava rivers.

Although Anatolian Turks began settling in the Balkans as early as 1264, the Ottomans did not begin their conquest of the peninsula until the middle of the 14th century. The chaotic conditions obtaining at that time in both the Byzantine empire and the various Balkan states were of enormous help in allowing the Ottomans to extend their rule. Taking advantage of the Byzantine civil wars that pitted the supporters of John V Palaiologos (1341/55–91) against John VI Kantakouzenos, the Ottoman leader Orhan came to the aid of the latter. Orhan's troops routed the Serbian-Greek forces supporting John V and it was this victory, in 1352, that allowed the Ottomans to begin settling in Rumeli. Just three years later, in 1355, Stephan Dushan, the Serbian ruler whose state covered a vast area of the Balkans, died and the Ottomans were once again able to benefit from the civil wars that broke out after his death. By 1400, apart from the Dalmatian coast and some cities in the Morea, most of the Balkans were under Ottoman rule. Serbia, Bosnia, and Wallachia were vassal states and Byzantine possessions in the Balkans barely extended beyond the walls of Constantinople.

But Ottoman control of the Balkans was not yet assured. The Mongol defeat of sultan Bayezid at Ankara in 1402 dealt them a severe blow and handed the Balkan Christian princes the opportunity to reconstruct their states. They were not able to do so. Nor were the Europeans able to form a successful alliance against the Ottomans once the latter's fortunes recovered after 1413. It was the great victory at Varna, on 10 November 1444, that sealed the fate of both the Balkans and Constantinople. Murad II came out of retirement to defeat a Hungarian-Wallachian army, which had crossed the Danube and was marching towards Edirne, the Ottoman capital. With this defeat the European threat to Ottoman rule in the Balkans was effectively extinguished. Rumeli would remain an integral part of the empire until the early 20th century.

Significant numbers of Turkish settlers from Anatolia, both sedentary and nomadic, followed in the footsteps of the military beys who were constantly extending the borders of the Ottoman principality. Thrace, eastern Bulgaria, the valley around the Maritsa river, and the Dobrudja – all fertile areas which were conquered early by the Ottomans – were the regions of most extensive colonization. All received large numbers of immigrants from Anatolia in the 14th century. Turks would continue to form a large part of the population in these areas throughout the centuries of Ottoman rule. Turkish settlement was important not only in the countryside but in the cities as well. In fact, after the 15th century, Turkish immigrants from Anatolia settled almost exclusively in the cities, or else along the major military roads, so much so that the cities came to be associated with the ruling Muslim elite, while the countryside was the stronghold of Orthodoxy. Religious fraternities (*akhis*) played an important role in the founding of new cities, or, more commonly, the revitalization of existing ones. As the fraternities established themselves in urban centres, they petitioned the sultan for land that would sustain their religious and commercial activities in the city. Through these endowments (*waqfs*), which supported inns, baths, hospitals, fountains, bridges, and markets, the cities came to control substantial amounts of income from large rural estates. Such endowments were responsible for the transformation of Sarajevo, for example, from an obscure village into a major city in the 16th century. Edirne, Serres, Sofia, and Monastir, among others, owed their rapid development to this system of religious endowments.

Despite significant Turkish settlement in the eastern part of the Balkans, the Ottoman conquest of Rumeli did not dramatically alter the region's ethnic composition. There were no mass migrations similar to those of the Slavs during the Byzantine era, although Jewish refugees from Christian Europe in the 15th and 16th centuries did transform Thessalonica into a town with a Jewish majority. But certain demographic shifts, however minor in a relative sense, did come to acquire great significance during the period of nationalism and nation-state

creation. Building upon the Ottoman–Habsburg peace at the very end of the 17th century, Greek merchants established a series of trading posts stretching from the northern Balkans through Hungary, and into southern Russia. Greek commercial and then intellectual florescence in the 18th century accelerated the process of Hellenization in the Balkans, whereby Balkan Christians from other ethnic backgrounds became Hellenized through their contact with Greek culture. The vibrant Greek communities that developed in Wallachia and Moldavia at this time help to explain why the initial focus of the Greek revolution was the Danubian lands, not the Peloponnese which was very marginal to Greek life in the Balkans. The Serb lands had the misfortune of being right on the border between the Ottoman empire and its various Christian opponents. Serbs often took flight as a result of war, the most famous example being the large migration into southern Hungary at the end of the 17th century; more than 200,000 Serbs followed the metropolitan of Pec into Habsburg lands. The cumulative effect of Serbian migration was that, by the 19th century, Serbs had spread far to the north and west – into Croatia, Bosnia, and Hungary – of their original homeland and this fuelled the hope for a greater Serbia which would include the far-flung Serbian population in both the Habsburg and Ottoman empires. At the same time that the Serbs and the Greeks were moving north and west, mountaineers from the Albanian lands moved down into the recently vacated plains. "Old Serbia" came to have a majority Albanian population – those few Serbs who had remained became assimilated – and large numbers even made their way to southern Greece. The famous merchants and sailors of the island of Hydra were recent Christian Albanian immigrants.

If Turkish settlement did little to disturb the ethnic balance of the Balkans, Ottoman policy encouraged the maintenance of the religious status quo. The Ottomans in Rumeli were never concerned to convert the Christians to Islam. In fact, they moved decisively to protect the Orthodox Church, as part of a policy of encouraging the hostility that already existed beween eastern and western Christianity. The Balkan Christian peasants, who were, of course, the majority of the population, were already well disposed towards the Ottomans because the latter abolished the most onerous demands of the feudal system in the areas they controlled. Their sympathy for the Ottomans could only have grown as they watched their own landlords and princes bring in various Latin armies, such as the Hungarians, to help roll back the Ottoman advance. As the Hungarians waved the flag of Catholic crusade and made it clear that they considered the Orthodox to be schismatic, the Ottomans offered recognition and protection to the Orthodox Church, including generous terms for the monasteries on Mount Athos. Certainly the Orthodox patriarch of Constantinople benefited from the Ottoman conquest of Rumeli. Prior to 1453 the patriarch had had to watch helplessly as the Byzantines were pushed out of the Balkans and independent Serbian and Bulgarian Churches were established. His jurisdiction dwindled to the immediate environs of the capital city. After 1453 the Balkans were once again ruled from Constantinople and the sultan showed himself willing to let the patriarch move against autonomy-seeking bishops and metropolitans, although the Serbians, it should be noted, were able to regain their ecclesiastical independence in the 16th century. Ottoman policy towards the Orthodox Church in Rumeli is of the utmost importance in understanding why the Balkan peninsula remained largely Christian, despite 500 years of rule by a Muslim empire. A very different situation obtained in Anatolia where successive waves of Turkish conquest and immigration, beginning in the 11th century, succeeded in gradually changing Anatolia from a Christian to a Muslim peninsula.

Despite this relatively generous attitude towards the Orthodox Christians, conversion to Islam did occur in the Balkans and remains a hotly debated topic. The largest number of converts were to be found in Bosnia and Albania, where significant Muslim populations remain to this day. The inhabitants of certain parts of Bulgaria also accepted Islam and came to be known as Pomaks (as distinct from ethnic Turks, who were also Muslim, living in the Bulgarian lands). Not all conversions followed immediately upon the Ottoman conquest. The Albanians, for instance, did not convert in extensive numbers until the 17th century, while the Muslim population in Bosnia-Hercegovina was already strong by the time of the Ottoman provincial census of 1520–30. The *kaza* (district) of Bosnia was 18.4 per cent Muslim in 1489; in 1520 that number had soared to 46 per cent. Sarajevo was 100 per cent Muslim. Clearly a phenomenon that stretched out over many centuries cannot be explained by one factor alone. Historians have traditionally emphasized some balance of the legal and economic advantages that stemmed from conversion, the prestige of Islam, the willingness of Muslim missionaries to accommodate folk belief, and, finally, fear. Much empirical work remains to be done, however. For a long time, for example, historians believed that conversion to Islam in Bosnia-Hercegovina was explained by the prevalence of Christian heretical beliefs in this mountainous remote district. Conversion from one heresy to another, as it were, was relatively easy to do. Subsequent research, however, has thrown serious doubt on this theory.

Although the Ottomans had already lost Hungary by the end of the 17th century, they managed to hold on to Rumeli proper until the early 19th century. This did not preclude certain cities on the border – such as Belgrade – from going back and forth between the Ottomans and the Habsburgs with an almost monotonous regularity, nor did it prevent the Russians from making serious inroads on Ottoman sovereignty in Moldavia and Wallachia. Yet the first serious loss of territory came not from yet another clash with the Habsburgs or the Russians, but rather from a peasant uprising in 1821 on the southernmost tip of the peninsula that doggedly refused to go away. This turned into, of course, the Greek revolution and ultimately involved the Great Powers at the highest levels of diplomacy. With the Treaty of London (1830) the Ottomans lost this territory for ever. A long period of calm followed, but in just one short decade – the 1870s – the Ottomans were obliged to recognize the independence of Montenegro, Romania, and Serbia, as well as the entirely new state of Bulgaria. By the eve of World War I, all that remained of Ottoman Rumeli was the city of Constantinople itself and most of eastern Thrace. With the loss of Ottoman political control, Balkan Muslims began fleeing their homeland for the greater safety of Constantinople and Anatolia.

MOLLY GREENE

See also Conversion to Islam, Ottoman Period, Ottomans

Summary

Rumeli was the Ottoman term for the Balkan peninsula as far north as the Danube and Drava rivers. By 1400 most of the Balkans were Ottoman territory and remained so until the late 19th century. Despite almost 500 years of Ottoman rule most of Rumeli remained Christian thanks to generous treatment of the Orthodox Church. By 1914 all that remained was Constantinople and eastern Thrace.

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Russia

"Russia" is the designation customarily applied to (1) territories once constituting the Russian empire or the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) in Europe and Asia; (2) those areas of Eastern Europe inhabited by Eastern Slavic populations (Great Russians, Ukrainians, White Russians); and (3) those areas of Europe and Asia constituting republics of the Russian Federation excluding Ukraine, Belarus, Moldova, and the Baltic republics. For the purposes of the following discussion, "Russia" shall designate that area of eastern Europe predominantly inhabited by peoples of Eastern Slavic origin on the territories of the Russian Federation, Ukraine, and Belarus, bounded on the east by the Ural Mountains and Caspian Sea; on the south by the Caucasus and the Black Sea; on the southwest and west by the present political borders of the Russian Federation, Ukraine, and Belarus; and on the north by the Arctic Ocean. Similarly, "Russians" shall denote persons of Eastern Slavic ethnic origin, including the Russians, Ukrainians, and White Russians.

The English "Russia" is a Latinized form deriving from Russian *Rossiya* and Greek *Ros* or *Rosia*, both coming ultimately from the Old Slavic *Rus'*, the exact etymology of which remains controversial, being said by some to derive from the Finnish *Ruotsi*, a corruption of Swedish *Rothsmenn*, "rowers", hence "seamen", or, by others, from the name of the *Roxolani*, a steppe people of Indo-Iranian origin known from the Greek and Latin sources.

Humans appeared in Russia about 30,000 years ago and several early to late Stone Age sites attest to this settlement. The transition from stone to copper occurred during a time that a highly advanced culture, called Tripolye or Cucuteni from the sites of its first discovery in Ukraine and Romania, began producing exquisite ceramic wares. This represents the northeasternmost of the cultural provinces of Old Europe, predating Indo-European settlement by two millennia. Fragments of Tripolyan ceramics have been unearthed in Greece and Palestine, indicating well-developed systems of commerce, while patterns used in Tripolyan art suggest parallels in contemporary Greece.

Beginning about 4000 BC, incursions of stock-breeding peoples, ethnically distinct from the Tripolyans, and possessing domesticated horses, carts, wooden ploughs, and bronze instruments and weapons disrupted the Tripolyan culture: these people, probably of Indo-European origin, belong to the corded-ware culture and introduced new social, cultural, and religious ideas. With them begins the Bronze Age in Russia. Evidence of continued connection with the Aegean cultural region is widespread: carvings and paintings of bulls' heads in graves and homes, characteristic ritual vessels, and clay statuettes of females with wide, pleated dresses recall parallels in Minoan Crete. In southeastern Russia, along the north Black Sea coast, related nomadic tribes settled down to stock breeding and simple agriculture, beginning intense production of bronze weapons using techniques learnt in Transcaucasia. These people, possibly identical with the Cimmerians mentioned in the *Odyssey* as living on the edge of the world, settled a broad area north of the Black Sea. Their *kurgans*, or burial mounds, have yielded rich finds of gold and silver objects showing the influence of Transcaucasian cultural centres.

Iron, first imported from Asia Minor, came into widespread use about 800 BC. Simultaneous advances in agriculture and architecture and in social and administrative practices were facilitated by the local occurrence of iron in Russia. Beginning in the 7th century BC, incursions of Indo-Iranian Scyths displaced the Cimmerians, whose invasion of Asia Minor was described by Herodotus in the 5th century BC. The Scyths, to whom Herodotus devotes a large part of his *Histories*, were divided into the "ploughmen" and "royal" Scyths, the former representing the local agricultural populations who had enjoyed several centuries of contact with the Aegean/Greek and the Caucasian/Asiatic cultural spheres. Contacts with the Greeks became more intense. Mentioned by Homer, Hesiod, Eumelus, and Arteinus in the 7th and 6th centuries BC, the peoples of the north Black Sea coastline came into the cognizance of Greek explorers and merchants. The tale of Jason and the Argonauts represents a mythic retelling of the expeditions of Greek mariners to new lands in search of gold and riches.

The Scyths established a kingdom between the Danube and Kuban and their raiders ranged into Asia Minor and beyond. In 513 BC the Persians under Darius I mounted an attack on the Scyths, who, though not entirely subdued, sustained sufficient

Russia: monastery of St Panteleimonos, Mount Athos. There has been a Russian presence on the Holy Mountain since the 11th century.

losses to stop their raids on Asia Minor. North of the Black Sea, in a climatic zone quite different from the Mediterranean climate to which they had been accustomed, Greeks established colonies, beginning around 650 BC. Of these, the most important were Olbia, called "the rich", located at the mouth of the Dnieper and Bug, and Panticapaeum, later capital of the kingdom of the Bosphorus (with Nymphaeum), predecessor of modern Kerch at the Cimmerian Bosphorus, providing access to the Sea of Azov (Lake Maeotis); the other cities commanded the mouths of the Dniester (Tyras), the Don (Tanais), and the Kuban (Phanagoria). Developing close commercial and social ties with neighbouring territories, these colonies drew them into the cultural and economic sphere of Hellas. Following their defeat by the Persians, the Scyths entered a period of decline, ultimately being replaced in their hegemony of the northern Pontic regions by the Sarmatians, an Iranian people, who held sway from the 2nd century BC to the 2nd century AD.

The kingdom of the Bosphorus, profiting from the trade of the district, became the major power in the area and a centre of culture and the arts, its coins being prized down to our own times for their beauty. The rich soil made the area an important source of wheat, the control of which had already become vital to Athens at the time of Herodotus. In return, the Scyths purchased Greek wares, which, traded far inland, reached finally into Prussia, whence the prized amber was imported. Together with the Scyths and Sindians, a so-called Bosphoran group emerged, whose influence spread westward into the Crimea. First under the Archaeanactids and, after 438 BC, under the Spartocids of Panticapaeum, a type of military tyranny was founded, which, developing into a Hellenistic monarchy, flourished for two centuries. Beginning around 250 BC, the Greek colonies entered a long period of decline. In the face of the influx of Sarmatians, the kingdom sought the protection of Pontus, whose king, Mithridates VI, defeated the barbarians, but also captured Panticapaeum and in 106 BC founded a new Pontic-Bosphoran state, which remained semi-autonomous under Roman rule, finally succumbing to the attacks of the Huns.

As elsewhere, the Romans were content to control this area through local powers, taking care that these local powers remained adequately strong and loyal. The ravages of the Germanic Skirians and Bastarnae and of the Getae in the 3rd to 1st centuries BC were checked by Roman arms and it was this protection which helped preserve the Greek colonies through difficult times to come. In the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD the region experienced significant prosperity, deriving from trade with the neighbouring barbarian tribes and with Asia Minor and the Caucasus. Much of the grain required for the Roman legions guarding the Danube was obtained from the area. Relations with the barbarians, such as the Sarmatians and Alans, appear to have been favourable, though this seems to have contributed to increased cultural influence by the

Sarmatians among the inhabitants of the coastline. The alliance of the Goths and Alans directed against Roman authority in the 3rd century was felt at Panticapaeum, which became a Sarmato-Gothic settlement.

The Greeks themselves do not seem to have penetrated far inland, since their geographical knowledge, beginning with Aristeas of Proconessus and Hecataeus of Miletus, is sketchy and often flawed. Herodotus provides a description of the Russian hinterland but includes fantastic descriptions of the tribes and conditions in those regions. Though Herodotus himself questioned the accuracy of what he had heard, later authors received and embellished these data with new inventions. Beyond the Scythian tribes and regions inhabited by strange races of men and monsters, there were the Rhipaeans, an impenetrable range of mountains, or a snowy desert punctuated with ill-defined lakes, and finally the Outer Sea or Ocean. The sole tangible highways were the large rivers at the mouths of which the Greeks had settled. The ancient geographers, including Herodotus, Ptolemy, and others, knew of a so-called Scythian route leading up the Don (Tanais) and Volga (Oarus), past Kazan, Orenburg, and Perm toward Central Asia and China, but the details are very confused and identifications depend on conjectures not always well taken.

Christianity in Russia dates to the 1st century, thus predating the conversion of the Slavs by eight centuries. The legendary *Lives* of St Andrew, one of the patron saints of Russia, affirm that the apostle reached the site of present-day Kiev, and Eusebius states that St Andrew did indeed preach among the Scyths. Whether the apostle did reach the northern shore of the Black Sea is not known, though contact with both Judaism and Christianity through the Bosphoran kingdom occurred at an early date. Early traditions state that pope Clement I, martyred under Trajan, was first banished to the Tauric Chersonese in southern Russia. The Pannonian *Lives* of Sts Constantine (Cyril) and Methodios tell of the translation of St Clement's relics to Rome, while some late Russian chronicles report that some of these relics were presented to the Kievan prince St Vladimir (?956–1015) after his conversion to Christianity. The Greek Fathers mention the Scyths and Sarmatians repeatedly, and bishops from Cherson or from the eparchy of "Gothia", that region inhabited by the Ostrogoths, are mentioned in the acts of the ecumenical councils beginning with Nicaea in 325. It is obvious that Christianity spread rapidly throughout the Hellenized regions of the north Black Sea coast and that even the Scyths and Sarmatians may have embraced the new religion.

Beginning in the 2nd and 3rd centuries, there were great movements of tribes from the east (Alans, Roxolani, etc.) and from the northwest (Germanic tribes such as the Gepids and Goths) into the north Pontic region. By about 200 the Goths had reached the Black Sea and begun to dominate large areas to the north. They destroyed Olbia, Tyras, and other cities in 251. Once the Goths had divided into the Ostrogoths and Visigoths, the Ostrogoths formed a large kingdom centred in southern Russia on the Dnieper. This kingdom reached its height under Hermanaric (reigned 350–75), who united all the Goths under his rule.

The appearance of the Huns in AD 375 led to the disruption of the Gotho-Alanic alliance and begins a new epoch in the history of the lands north of the Black Sea. From this time, hordes of barbarians, who had previously been checked in the north Pontic steppe, including the Avars and, later, the Khazars, Bulgars, and Magyars, found their way into Pannonia and the Balkans. While some of these tribes, such as the Avars, Bulgars, and Magyars, dissipated or settled beyond the borders of southern Russia, the Khazars were to remain a significant factor in the history of the region, ruling the left bank of the Dnieper and exacting tribute from the citizens of Kiev. The memory of their suzerainty over Kiev forms the basis of the story of the summoning of the Varangians out of Scandinavia by the Kievans, given as the central event in the founding of the state of Kievan Rus'. The immense wealth and strength of the Khazars derived from their control of the rivers Volga and Don and of the trade of the Black and Caspian Seas. Their power was finally broken by the Kievan grand prince Svyatoslav about 965.

Under Justinian and throughout the succeeding centuries, Byzantine policy had attempted to maintain some control over possessions north of the Black Sea. This was maintained, sometimes by military force, sometimes by treaties and tribute. Though these territories had never been fully integrated into the provincial system, cities sometimes quartered imperial garisons. The interest of Byzantium focused more keenly on the area because of the migrations of barbarians, such as the Bulgars, who passed through southern Russia in the late 7th century. By the mid-9th century both the Byzantine empire and its allies, the Khazars, found themselves confronted with dangerous developments in the region. Under Theophilos (reigned 829–42), the *klimata*, Byzantine possessions in southern Russia, were reorganized. Cherson was made their centre, and, as a theme, was governed by a *strategos*, or military governor. At the same time, Byzantine architects aided the Khazars in designing the fortress of Sarkel, which commanded the entrance to the Don from the Sea of Azov. The cause for this concerted action remains disputed, though there is much to favour the hypothesis that these measures were taken because of the appearance and expansive potential of the Kievan Rus'.

The north Pontic regions became an outpost of the empire against the Turkic steppe tribes, such as the Pechenegs (10th century) and Polovtsians (11th century), as well as against the Rus', both from Kiev and from their southern centre at Tmutarakan. In the 13th century the area came under the influence of the Grand Komnenids of Trebizond. The population was made up of diverse nationalities, including Greeks, Alans, Armenians, and Jews. In the 14th century the Genoese made inroads in the regional economy, establishing commercial centres along the northern Black Sea coast. The region was ravaged by the Mongols, first in 1222–23, then again in 1299, when Cherson was destroyed. After the fall of Constantinople (1453) and of Trebizond (1461), the area passed finally under the cultural and political influence of the Ottoman Turks and their subject Crimean Tatar khanate.

With the rise of the Slavs and, in particular, with the formation of the state of Kievan Rus', the influence of Byzantium in Russia becomes less political and more pronounced in the realm of culture, religion, and the arts. The conversion of Kiev to Christianity in 989 was a major success for both Byzantine political and ecclesiastical policy, since, with Vladimir's baptism, the last pagan and, at the same time, largest Slavic

nation came under the cultural influence of Constantinople. The energetic politics of Basil II, during whose reign this event occured, strove to maintain and increase the strength of the state; indeed, his political survival was due, in no small part, to the assistance of Vladimir and his Varangians. Nevertheless, the advent of the Turks in Anatolia in the second half of the 11th century turned the political attention of Byzantium towards the east, though the cultural development of the Kievan state was to remain under Byzantine influence for years to come.

The Russians belong ethnically and linguistically to the Eastern Slavic branch of peoples. Their language, together with those of the Ukrainians and White Russians, belongs to the eastern branch of the Slavic group of the Indo-European family of languages. Deriving from the "proto-Indo-Europeans", a grouping of seminomadic pastoralists who from about 4000 to 2300 BC had infiltrated the north Pontic regions, subduing and becoming assimilated with the resident populations, the Slavs arose as an Indo-European group distinct from neighbouring Baltic and Indo-Iranian tribes in a circumscribed area between the Vistula and the Dnieper, comprising Galicia, Volhynia, Podolia, and the middle Dnieper region. This corresponds with the development of the North Carpathian culture in this same area during the Bronze and early Iron Ages. In historical records the Slavs appear at the beginning of the Christian era, when their ancestral lands had already been penetrated by Germanic and Sarmatian invaders from the west and south. The "Veneti" were known to Pliny and Tacitus, while Claudius Ptolemy mentions the "Soubenoi", derived by Moszyński from *Slovene*, a tribe said vaguely to be living north of the Scythian lands and before the Imaos (Ural?) mountains. Only about AD 500, however, when the Sclavini are repeatedly mentioned by Procopius and Jordanes, is it possible to speak of an expanding, clearly Slavic culture. The state of the Antes, which occupied the regions of southern Russia and Ukraine, flourished from the late 4th to early 7th centuries, and was distinguished for its attacks on both Byzantium and on the Avars and Bulgars. By about 900, Slavs filled the large tracts between the Oder and the sources of the Dnieper and Don.

By this time development of distinctly Eastern Slavic culture had begun, coinciding with the growth of political centres at Kiev and Novgorod and the beginnings of the state of Kievan Rus'. The 11th-century *Primary Chronicle*, or *Tale of Bygone Years*, composed by Nestor, a monk of the Cave Monastery at Kiev, tells of the distribution of the Slavic tribes, such as the Polianians, the Severians, and the Derevlians, among many others, stretching from the region of Novgorod in the north to the delta of the Kuban river in Ciscaucasia. Bordering these tribes to the north were peoples of Finnish origin, who once occupied lands as far south as the upper reaches of the Desna and the Dnieper. In the west they bordered on Polish lands, on Great Moravia (which formed at the beginning of the 9th century), and on lands occupied by Magyars from the end of the 9th century. In the south their neighbours were the Bulgars across the Danube and the north Pontic regions, under Byzantine sway.

From the mid-9th century, with the legendary calling of the Scandinavian Ryurik to Kiev, the Rus' state grew to encompass the lands occupied by the Eastern Slavs. Their princes Oleg (d. 912) and Igor (d. 945) concluded commercial treaties with Constantinople, guaranteeing the rights of their merchants in Byzantine territories and including a pact of non-aggression. Igor's widow Olga, embracing eastern Christianity about 955, was baptized at Constantinople in the presence of the emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos. Her son Svyatoslav dreamt of expanding his realm into the Balkans, but reverses against the Byzantines and his murder by the Pechenegs ended this phase of Rus' history. Svyatoslav's son, Vladimir I, acted to consolidate Kievan Rus' by unifying the Slavic tribes in a process begun by Igor and Olga. Vladimir himself was baptized around 989. Because of the increasing power of the emperor in the Byzantine Church and the implications of political subordination inherent in receiving Byzantine Christianity, Vladimir attempted to establish an autocephalous Church, even entertaining overtures from the Latin west. Vladimir's son, Yaroslav the Sage, received a metropolitan, Theopempt, from Constantinople in 1037, though a war in 1043 against the Byzantines and later disturbances (such as the appointment of independent metropolitans in the 11th and 12th centuries) show that neither Yaroslav nor his successors recognized the absolute political supremacy of the Byzantine emperors.

Though the Christian religion had been present in Russia since the 1st century, the conversion of the Slavs was a phenomenon of the 9th and 10th centuries. Beginning with the missions of Cyril (Constantine) and Methodios to the Khazars and their later activity in Moravia, Greek Christianity reached out to the nations of eastern Europe. While the patriarchs Photios and Ignatios stood in communion with a Russian eparch (probably at Tmutorokan) as early as 867, it was only the baptism of Olga and the later conversion of her grandson Vladimir that made Rus' a Christian state. Ecclesiastical exchanges proved the strongest link in the chain of Russo-Byzantine relations. With only two exceptions (Hilarion in 1051 and Kliment in the 12th century), all metropolitans of Kiev were Greeks. Similarly, about half of the other eparchs came from Constantinople, accompanied by their retinues of clerics and secretaries. These churchmen were instrumental in importing Greek artists, whose influence in determining the style of Russian art is obvious. However, despite the immense importance of Greek artists, the native Russians were not totally subservient to Byzantine tastes and developed a style uniquely their own. Similarly, the use of the old Slavonic language in Church literature and the liturgy was symbolic of the independent tendencies arising in Russia and of the ecclesiastical mentality, which differed in many respects from the spirit pervading Byzantine Christianity.

Beside the presence of Greek, later Byzantine, colonies along the north Black Sea coast, merchants established an interface of contact which comprised the so-called "great waterway from the Varangians to the Greeks". Beginning at the Baltic Sea and taking advantage of the numerous navigable rivers throughout Russia, traders ascended the Neva and Volkhov and then crossed overland to the headwaters of the Dnieper, which they descended in boats to the Black Sea. This route is described by Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos in *De Imperio Administrando*. Merchants traded in the emporia of the north Black Sea coast, such as Cherson (Korsun'), or went on to Constantinople, where their activities were regulated by commercial treaties. The major wares acquired at Constantinople included gold, silver, and glass vessels,

jewellery, ornaments, gold and silk textiles, as well as wine and dried fruits. The main Russian exports included furs, wax, and slaves, commodities also traded with western Europe, the Khazars, and the Arab world. The desire to secure the trade routes to the Black and Caspian Seas against the steppe nomads and the Khazars and Byzantines was probably one of the greatest motives behind expansive moves by the early Russian state, beginning with the attack on Constantinople by Askold and Dir in 860 and a later one by Oleg around 907.

Parallel to the commercial treaties, Byzantine law exerted no small influence on everyday life. The *Kormchaya Kniga,* the body of ecclesiastical law, was derived from the Byzantine *nomokanons,* the digests of canon law and imperial edicts touching on the Church. The ecclesiastical ordinances of Vladimir and Yaroslav also show Byzantine influence in some of their provisions. In the civil law the *Russkaya Pravda* is based in form and content on the systematic digests of Byzantine law, such as the *Procheiros Nomos,* or "handy law". As elsewhere, the Church did not attempt radically to change the law of the land in which it had been recently established, and many provisions of Byzantine law had to be modified or experienced lax enforcement.

As elsewhere in the sphere of eastern Christianity, monasticism proved to be a powerful cultural force in Russia. The first monasteries were founded in the 11th century, the most famous being the Cave Monastery near Kiev, in which St Theodosios (d. 1074) introduced the rule of St Theodore the Studite. Monasteries exercised notable social functions, for monks went abroad, recommending people to penance and devotion; they served the poor, but became important land-holding entities in their own right. Furthermore, their influence was magnified, for it was from the ranks of unmarried monastic priests that bishops were chosen. Monasteries were also involved in the colonization of the Russian north. Beginning with the earliest higumens of the Cave Monastery, monks travelled to the Christian east and there was early contact with Mount Athos. The first Russian monastery on the Holy Mountain was founded in 1169. The invasions of the Tatars interrupted these connections, but they were renewed at the end of the 14th century.

The beginnings of literature in Russia were also closely related to the Church and, with it, to Constantinople. Translations of the scriptures, of edifying works, and histories formed the models upon which original works were composed. Beginning with the *Primary Chronicle,* one is confronted with the use by Nestor of Byzantine sources and with the very fact of his compiling a work constituting a continuous, annalistic account of Russian history. Further examples are seen in the immense body of hagiographical literature, it too based on Byzantine models. Book illustration was also a monkish art with Byzantine roots, which developed luxuriantly on Russian soil.

The invasion of the Tatars in the early 13th century radically changed the political and cultural landscape of Russia. The destruction of Kiev resulted in displacement of political power to the northeast (Yaroslavl, later Moscow) and to Galicia, where a branch of the Rurikide line established itself at Galich and later in Lvov, before incorporation into Poland in the mid-14th century. The years of struggle against the Tatars reached fruition in the victory of the Russian armies at Kulikovo Pole in 1380. Over the next 100 years Russian policy slowly developed a theory of royal sovereignty, culminating in the marriage of Ivan III to Sophia, niece of the last Byzantine emperor, in 1472 and the adoption in 1480 by the same monarch of the title "tsar", renouncing the Tatar yoke and proclaiming the autocrat's independence of any foreign power. Within this time frame Bulgaria fell to the Ottoman Turks (1393), resulting in the emigration of Bulgarian intellectuals to Russia, one of whom, Kiprian, became metropolitan of Moscow. Constantinople, seeing the advance of the Turks, entered into a union of the Eastern and Western Churches at the Council of Florence (1438–39), but its fall in 1453 opened the way for Russian claims of its Church being the single, true representative of Orthodoxy. In 1551 the *Stoglav,* or Council of the Hundred Chapters, proclaimed Moscow's Orthodoxy as a model for the whole Eastern Church and in 1589 Jeremiah, the Ecumenical Patriarch, recognized Moscow as the Third Rome and its tsar as the "only Christian sovereign in the world".

The fall of Constantinople and the subjection of both the Greeks and their Church to the Ottomans after 1453 of necessity changed the relationship between Russia and the Greek world. While earlier Russian policy had centred on inheriting the spiritual legacy of the Byzantine empire, later tsars, beginning especially with Peter the Great at the turn of the 18th century, began looking to the Orthodox, primarily the Greek population of the empire, as a sort of "fifth column", potentially useful to Russia in the case of territorial expansion at the expense of the Turks. After 1764 the Russian government took an active role, portraying itself as the liberator of the Greeks, while, as a result of treaties, beginning with that of Küçük Kainarci (1774), Greek merchants came under the protection of Russian consuls with the privilege of flying the Russian flag. Later, the Ionian islands stood briefly under Russian protection, forming a nidus for the crystallization of interest in an autonomous or sovereign Greek state. Young Greeks, selected from principal Levantine families, were educated in Russia, many of them gaining wealth and often high rank in Russian service. Russian officers, among whom were several Greeks who had entered Russian service, including Count Ioannis Kapodistria, later president of the provisional Greek republic, became involved with efforts of the Greeks to throw off the Turkish yoke. In Odessa the so-called *Philiki Hetaireia* ("Friendly Society") was formed which, though the Russian government did not directly sanction or support it, became a major force in the organization of the Greek movement for independence. In general, however, Greek sympathy for and reliance on Russia was motivated by questions of religion and, throughout the late 18th and the 19th centuries, the Greeks were often disappointed by Russian policy resulting from changes in the tsars' political aims.

With the consolidation of the kingdom of Greece, Russian influence in Greek affairs declined throughout the 19th and early 20th centuries. During the Crimean War, despite British efforts, Greek public opinion, seconded by King Otho, supported the Russian cause and the Greeks invaded Thessaly and Epirus until a landing by French and English forces at the Piraeus forced Otho to abandon the Russian alliance. The Russo-Turkish conflict of World War I centred in the Caucasus and the end of Russian participation in the war in 1918 was

followed by large emigrations of ethnic Greeks from portions of Turkish territory into lands controlled by the nascent Soviet state. Russian influence now took the form of supporting revolutionary and leftist groupings in Greece, and Greek communists based their policies in part on ideas formulated by the Cominform. With the German invasion of the Soviet Union in 1941, Greek communists (KKE) formulated the fundamental duty of Greeks to participate in the defence of the Soviet motherland, forming the National Liberation Front (EAM) in September 1941. In 1943 agreements between Churchill and Stalin delineated Britain's and the Soviet Union's "interests" in Greece at 90 per cent and 10 per cent, respectively. In the Civil War (1946–49) which followed the close of World War II, communist support for political allies in Greece did not receive Stalin's complete backing, since a victory by communists in Greece was seen potentially to strengthen Tito's hand in gathering the Balkans under Yugoslav influence, while the importance of Greece to both the United States and Britain, the lack of a sufficient Soviet navy to aid the partisans, and the fact that the Soviet Union could not afford a confrontation with the West convinced Stalin that there was little hope of avoiding an eventual crushing of the revolt.

Greek influence in southern Russia continued into the 20th century. Living as they did along the shores of the Black Sea, Greeks gradually came under the political domination of the Russian empire. Some Greeks had been settled by Catherine the Great in the region of Mariupol in southern Russia (so-called "New Russia"), while others (mostly Pontic Greeks) migrated into Russian territory upon the withdrawal of Russian armies at the end of the Russo-Turkish wars of the 19th and early 20th centuries, settling mainly in port cities, such as Odessa, Sevastopol, and Rostov, in the Kuban steppe, and in Abkhazia and Georgia. After the Revolution of 1917 Greeks made notable cultural progress and Greek autonomous regions were established in some parts of the Ukraine and southern Russia. Beginning in the mid-1930s and continuing to 1949, Greek populations were decimated and up to 170,000 Greeks were exiled from southern Russia (especially the Crimean and Kuban regions) and the Caucasus, their lands were collectivized, and the people dispersed among Muslim communities in Central Asia. Following Stalin's death in 1953, some of these exiled Greeks began to return westwards and, after the dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991, many Greeks, most of them of Pontic origin, began to emigrate to Greece. It is estimated that about 500,000 Greeks lived in the Soviet Union in the mid-1980s, at least half of them in Central Asia.

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See also Black Sea, Bulgars, Colonization, Commonwealth, Crimea, Hetairists, Slavs

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S

Sacrifice

Thought to be an important means of communication between divinity and mortals, sacrifice is a central feature of religious practice. In antiquity, although animal sacrifice was predominant, the offering of fruit and vegetables was also considered to be sacrifice. The mythological *aition* (origin) of the idea of sacrifice is believed to be the story of Prometheus in Hesiod's *Theogony* (521–616). Prometheus, representing mortals, hosts a dinner at Mekone (Sicyon) and purposely deceives Zeus by assigning for him a good-looking portion that consists of nothing but bones. There are references to sacrifice throughout ancient Greek literature, and with the help of archaeological finds such as vase paintings and votive reliefs we are able to reconstruct approximately what went on. The sacrifice probably consisted of three stages. There was a procession that led the animal to the altar, and a purification ritual in which the animal's head was cleaned with water and sprinkled with barley grain. Then followed the cutting of the throat, and finally the burning of the meat. The gods' portion was bones covered with fat; then the entrails and the meat were given to the participants for consumption. The entrails were observed by the priests because their condition was supposed to provide omens. That is why sacrifices were often made at critical moments in mythology as well as in history, before mounting an expedition or taking an important decision. Most cults and festivals (such as the Dionysia, the Bouphonia, and the Eleusinian mysteries) involved some form of sacrifice. Besides the official celebrations in honour of a god or goddess, where sacrifice plays a central role, sacrifices were made at major events in private life, such as marriage, childbirth, death, and were often accompanied by libations. Sacrifices could be organized at various levels, by a city, a deme, a family, or an individual. Young people of both sexes would offer sacrifices to Artemis before they got married. Pindar tells us about fireless sacrifice (*Olympian*, 7. 47). Burned sacrifices were believed (Philostratus, *Eikones*, 2. 27) to have first appeared in Athens, where they were conducted gloriously. The altar was the site of the sacrifice. The Classical Greek altar was stone-built and often decorated at the sides. As for human sacrifice, some scholars have argued that it was practised by the Minoan civilization, citing examples from myths such as that of Iphigeneia; but this is a theory that requires more research before it can be accepted.

Sacrifice was conducted to honour not only the gods but also heroes and heroines in corresponding cults. Very often the word *enagizein* ("make sacrifice to the dead") is used for heroic cults in contrast with *thuein* ("make offering to the gods"). Many heroes featured in the deme calendars that regulated the sacrifices that were to take place during the year. Most often the sacrifice was followed by a banquet, as in the cult of gods. In addition to blood sacrifice, libations were performed at the tomb of a hero, as on a funerary occasion, and votive offerings would be dedicated to heroic figures, most often objects (vases, shields, etc.) with artistic depictions inspired from the life of the hero. Some scholars have argued that there was sometimes ritual antagonism in sacrifice between gods, or between heroes and gods, as in the case of Erechtheus and Poseidon in Attica.

The concept of sacrifice and offering is believed to have survived in the Christian religion, as we know from the writings of the early Church Fathers. The notion of sacrifice exists in Greek Orthodox liturgical practice, at the Eucharist, in a reverse means of communication between the divinity and mortals. The concept that the Son of God was sacrificed in order to save mankind from sin creates a different model of communication, in which the divine initiates sacrifice and invites human participation. The sacrifice of Christ is symbolized in Holy Communion, in which the faithful receive his body and blood.

In modern Greek folklore tradition sacrifice is an important feature, reflecting the importance it had in antiquity. Sometimes it is done at important feasts, or in private life, particularly to mark certain rites of passage (at weddings, births, deaths), or in order to avert an evil. The ritual and the ideological form that it assumes justify labelling the act as a sacrifice and distinguish it from normal animal killing for the purpose of food. The act of sacrifice today is often seen as a clash between paganism and Christianity that has survived from the past, whereas in truth it shows the need of humans to express their feelings and convey a message to the divinity in material terms.

ANDROMACHE KARANIKA-DIMAROGONA

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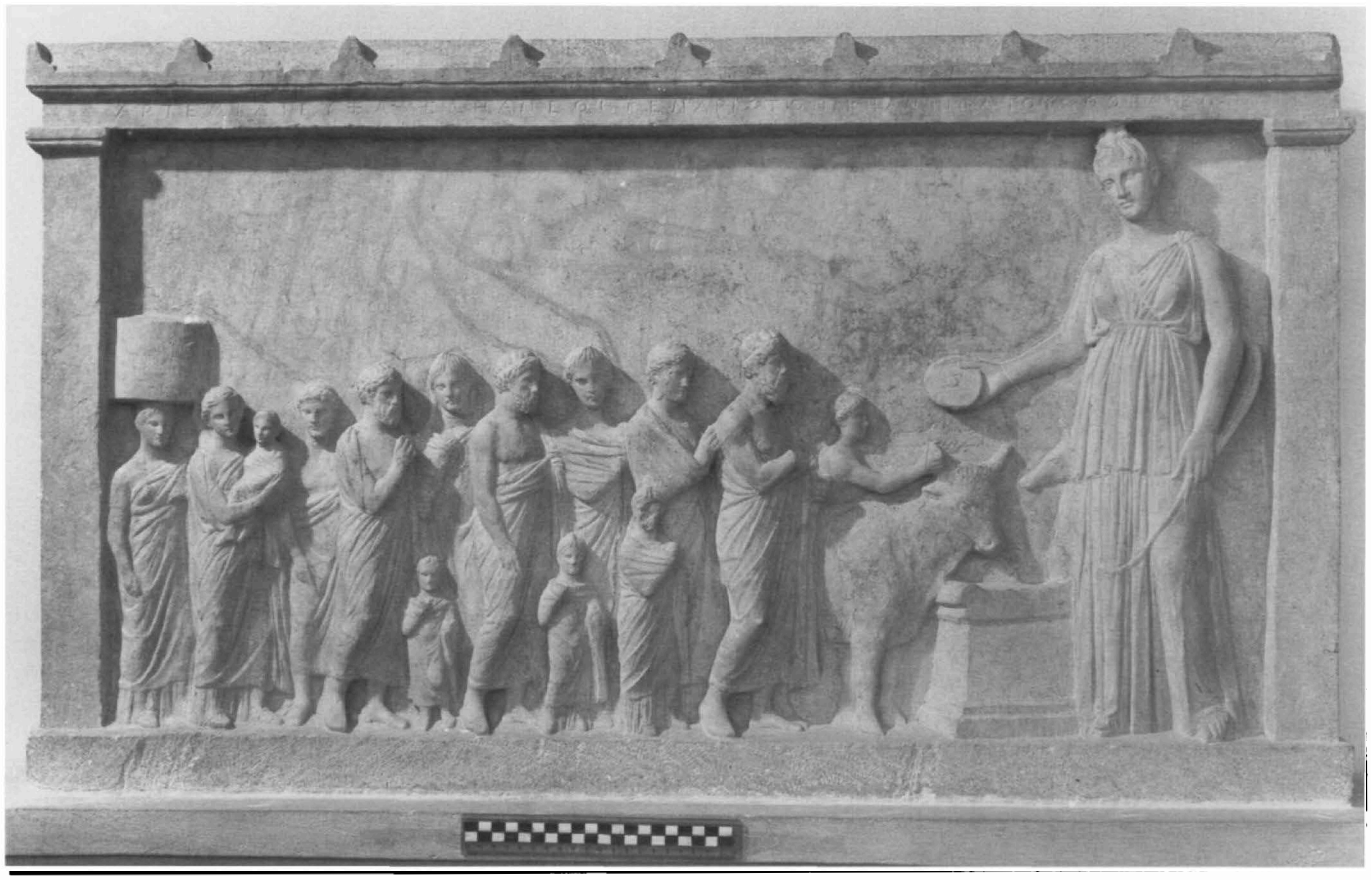

Sacrifice: worshippers of Artemis are shown offering sacrifice on this 4th century BC votive relief from the sanctuary of Artemis at Brauron, Brauron Museum

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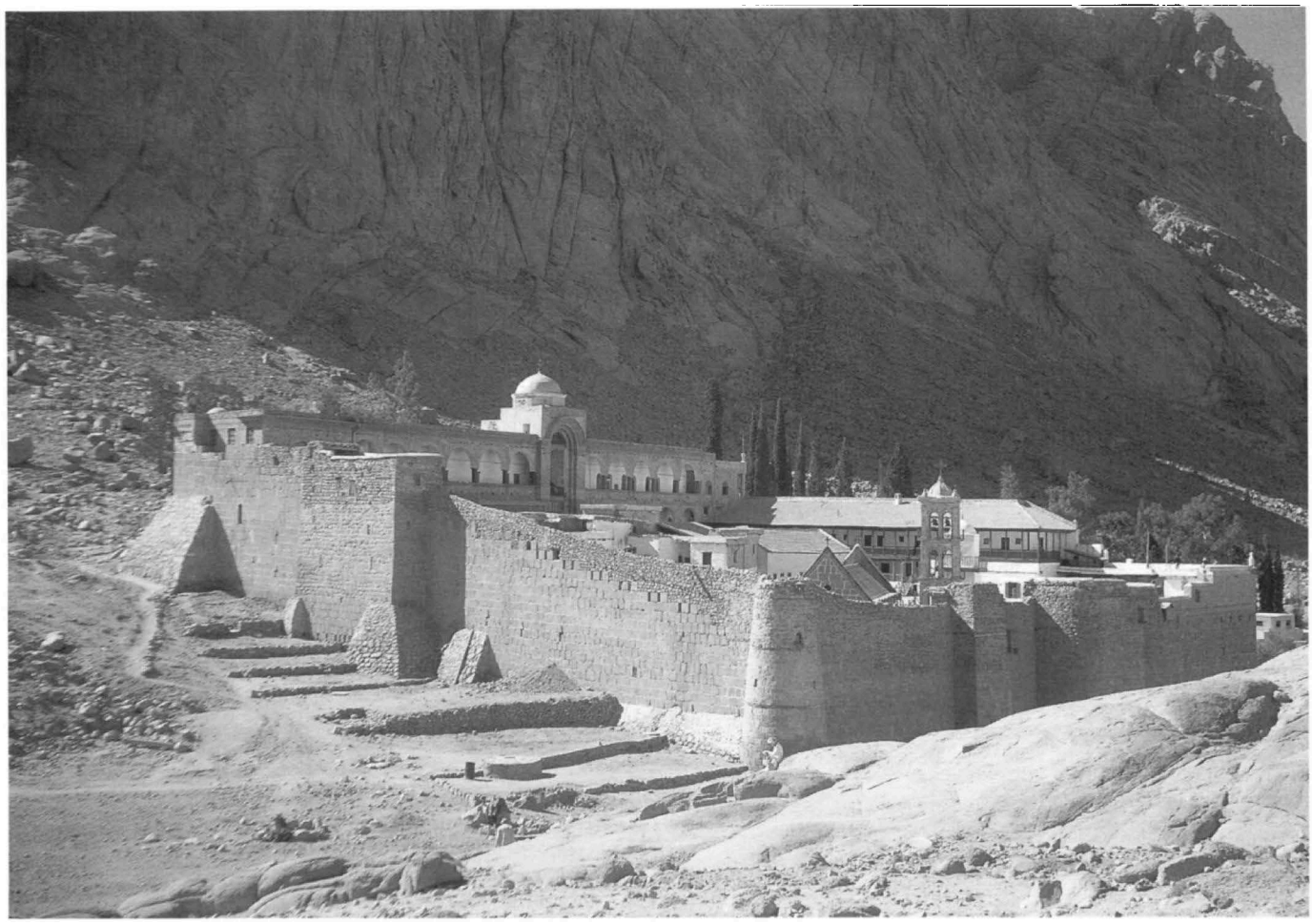
St Catherine's Monastery, Sinai

The monastery of St Catherine at Sinai is located in the southern part of the triangular Sinai peninsula, between the continents of Asia and Africa. It is unique in many ways: it is one of the oldest Orthodox monasteries, with an uninterrupted life of more than 14 centuries, during which it was never totally destroyed or abandoned. It is the only Orthodox monastery that is also the seat of an archbishop; it is also the smallest Orthodox diocese.

St Catherine's has the oldest monastic library in the Christian world and has preserved some of the best examples of early Christian icons (the earliest dating from the first half of the 6th century). The Sinai peninsula has been a monastic centre since the early days of monasticism. The proximity to Egypt as well as Palestine, the fact that it is sparsely populated, and the harshness of conditions made it ideally suited as a centre for anchorites, the early Christian monks who sought a life of isolation and prayer. The community of monks in Sinai (and neighbouring Raitho, now El Tor) was already in place during the reign of the emperor Diocletian (AD 284–305), when a number of them were slaughtered by the Blemmyes, a local marauding tribe. According to tradition (recently partly confirmed by archaeological evidence), St Helena ordered a fortified tower and church to be built on the site of the Burning Bush, in order to protect the monks living in the area from raids. Travellers and visitors of the 4th century refer to a small church and a fortified tower on the plain of the Burning Bush. (Egeria in 400 also reports the existence of a church on top of the mountain and on Mount Horiv.) In any event the tower already existed by 381 and pottery of the early Christian period confirms the existence of communities of monks.

The life of the monastery as we know it today began during the reign of the emperor Justinian (527–65). It is probable that the monastic community had grown in size and the earlier buildings were no longer sufficient. Justinian ordered a large basilica to be built near or on the site of the earlier structures and also a rectangular fortified protecting wall surrounding the church and the other buildings. The historian Procopius refers to the need to protect not only the monks but also the route from Egypt to Palestine as a motive behind the building of the fortress-monastery. The walls and the church (as well as some



St Catherine's Monastery, Sinai, where there has been an unbroken tradition of asceticism since the 6th century

of the buildings inside the walls) were designed and built by Stefanos, from nearby Aila (now Eilat). Apart from imperial funds, Stefanos also had at his disposal a contingent of soldiers. Some 200 of them with their families settled around the monastery to help protect it, but also the imperial communications. The monastery soon became well known: pope Gregory Dialogos (590–604) financed the building of a hospital; and other dignitaries in East and West also endowed it with property.

The monastery found itself outside imperial jurisdiction quite soon; the Arab conquest of Sinai (633) and the conversion of the inhabitants of the peninsula to Islam left the monks the only Christian population in the region. However, on the whole neither the monastery nor the monks were greatly affected: they had secured from the Prophet Muhammad himself the *Ahtiname*, a document signed by Muhammad with the imprint of his hand, in which his followers were asked not to molest the monastery, which was also given tax privileges. Moreover, being outside the empire, the monastery escaped the depredations of iconoclasm in the 8th and 9th centuries. While the monastery has had periods of trouble (e.g. in the reign of the caliph Hakeem, 1101–06), the *Ahtiname* has always been recognized as genuine by Muslims. This and the diplomatic conduct of the monks have ensured a largely peaceful coexistence between the dominant faith in the region and the monastery.

Originally named after the Burning Bush, the monastery changed its name to St Catherine in the 9th century, when the saint became known in the West. Greater prominence was achieved in the 11th century largely through the efforts of a monk from Sinai, Symeon Pentaglossos ("of the five tongues"), who took some relics of St Catherine to western Europe. Following this and other tours, the monastery received donations of property throughout Europe and other privileges, confirmed by papal bulls of Honorius III (1217), Gregory I (1271–76), and John XXII (1316–34). Venice granted tax exemptions to the monastery for its dependencies in Crete; and after the Turkish conquest of Egypt and Sinai (1517) sultan Selim confirmed the privileges. He also took the original *Ahtiname* to Constantinople, leaving copies in the monastery. Even Napoleon issued an edict confirming the monastery's privileges in 1798; his army also repaired one of the walls of the monastery which had collapsed following heavy rain that year. The monastery received considerable patronage from Russia as well; apart from gifts of land, both Catherine the Great and Alexander II donated reliquaries for the relics of St Catherine.

Within the formidable walls of the fortress lies the complex of monastic buildings. These include the main church and numerous chapels, the old refectory, the library, a mosque (for the local bedouin), a mill, and many other buildings. The monastery church was probably originally built in honour of

the Transfiguration, as the magnificent mosaic in the apse attests. Evidence from inscriptions on the beams supporting the ceiling suggests that it was built at some time after the death of empress Theodora (548) and before the death of Justinian (565). It is a three-aisled basilica with a narthex at the west end. On the east, south, and north sides it has nine other chapels dedicated to various saints. Of particular interest is the chapel of the Burning Bush on the eastern wall of the church, behind the chancel. Among its many remarkable features are the doors to the main church dating from the 6th century and the doors to the narthex (from the period of the crusades).

Other notable buildings include the mosque (a Byzantine building, formerly the monastery's refectory and turned into a mosque early in the 12th century) and another building of unknown use from the 12th or 13th century. This has Gothic arches and a fresco of the Second Coming (dated 1573). Graffiti in Latin on its arches seem to imply that it was used as quarters for pilgrims from the West. The monastery of St Catherine of Mount Sinai has preserved priceless architectural, artistic, and cultural treasures as well as its Greek Orthodox tradition. It has also been and continues to be a unique (if lonely) Greek and Orthodox Christian beacon in the Sinai wilderness.

GEORGE KAZAMIAS

See also Monasteries

Summary

Founded in the mid-6th century by the emperor Justinian I on the traditional site of the Burning Bush, the monastery has enjoyed good relations with neighbouring peoples throughout its existence. It changed its name to St Catherine in the 9th century. Still functioning as a Greek Orthodox house, it preserves a unique collection of architectural, artistic, and cultural treasures.

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Sakellarides, John Theophrastos

*c.*1853–1938

Composer and teacher of music

The life and work of John Theophrastos Sakellarides, teacher, arranger, and reformer of Byzantine chant, is of fundamental importance for understanding the development of sacred music in the Greek Orthodox Church since the late 19th century. Born *c.*1853 in Litochoros, Olympus, outside the Greek kingdom, he received his first instruction in Byzantine chanting from his father, a priest. Sent to secondary school in Thessalonica, he continued to study chant under the noted cantor Papa-Theodoro Mantzourani, a former Constantinopolitan, who also taught the young Sakellarides Arabo-Persian music. He then enrolled in the medical school at Athens university, transferring later to its school of philosophy. During this period he secured the first of his many cantorial positions in the Athens area, while also studying Western musical theory under a German teacher at the recently founded Athens conservatory.

Sakellarides's encounter with Western music proved decisive, causing him to reject many elements of the received tradition of Byzantine chanting as relics of Turkish domination. He began to view the repertories of florid chant as bodies of formless creations in which the meaning of the text was obliterated by senseless melismas, and to criticize traditional vocal production as barbaric *rhinophonia* (nasal singing). Thereafter he cultivated a more Western manner of singing and embarked on a mission to purify Byzantine chant through a radical recomposition of the central repertory. He simplified or eliminated most melismatic chants, while rewriting many of the less florid chants to conform to his classicizing theories of metre and punctuation. In 1880, while still at university, he published his *Christomatheia Ekklesiastikis Mousikis* [Handbook of Church Music], a book of liturgical music in modern Byzantine notation containing a theoretical prologue recommending the adoption of equal-temperament tuning, followed by a compendium of the most frequently encountered chants for the Divine Liturgy and major offices. This volume was soon followed by others in both Byzantine and Western staff notation, some of which also contained elementary harmonizations in two, three, and occasionally four parts. Sakellarides justified the latter innovation with citations of Classical and patristic texts, dubiously interpreting references to *harmonia* as evidence for harmonized singing in the modern Western sense. Moreover, he defended his harmonizations – often little more than parallel thirds or sixths over a rudimentary bass part – as *triphonia* (three-voice music) not subject to the recent synodal and patriarchal proscriptions of *tetraphonia* (polyphonic compositions, usually in four parts). These rationalizations did not prevent his censure in 1886 by the Holy Synod of the Church of Greece for breaking the ban on polyphony with his choir at the church of Hagia Eirene, as well as for having introduced female voices into his ensemble. Although the synod's action forced him to resign from Hagia Eirene, it did little to stem his rapidly growing popularity. The subsequent accession of a new archbishop from the Ionian islands brought Sakellarides toleration followed by official sanction as he successively assumed musical directorships at the most promi-

nent churches of Athens, including its cathedral. Attracting large crowds wherever he went, he was renowned for the clarity of his tenor voice, his diction, and for inviting the congregation to participate in certain of his simplified chants with the command "*Laos!*" ("People!"). He eventually returned to Hagia Eirene, where he remained *protopsaltes* (chief singer) until his death on 15 December 1938.

Prior to the Asia Minor disaster of 1922, Sakellarides worked vigorously as a composer and teacher to reconcile the musical cultures of ancient Greece, Byzantium, and the contemporary West. In addition to producing a comprehensive repertory of reformed chant that was constantly republished, he wrote incidental music for three Classical dramas and composed a large number of patriotic songs intended for use in schools, many of which appear in his nationalistic collection *Tyrtaios* (1907). Sakellarides personally taught his music to nearly two generations of Athenian clergy and laity (both men and women) at such institutions as the Rizarios seminary and the Arsakeion school for girls. His firm belief in the fundamental unity of Greek musical culture through the ages took him and his three children to Munich in 1903, where they presented lecture-recitals of sacred and folk music. These included a concert featuring the participation of the Munich Philharmonic Orchestra under the direction of his son Theophrastos, a composer of operetta who had orchestrated the music performed on that occasion. Back in Athens, from 1904 to 1907 he instructed the young H.J.W. Tillyard, a future cofounder of the *Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae*, in the received tradition of Byzantine chanting, thereby influencing the subsequent course of Byzantine musicology in the West with his reformist views.

Sakellarides continued to clash with traditionalists even after his *Hiera Hymnodia* [Sacred Hymnody] – which contains among its chants for the Orthodox wedding service such curiosities as a Greek adaptation of Wagner's famous march from *Lohengrin* – was recommended for general use by the Holy Synod and ministry of education in 1902. In that same year he provoked a public disturbance by attempting to provide piano accompaniment for the public final examination of one of his chant students. His 1904 transcription of an acclamation for the last Byzantine emperor from a medieval manuscript precipitated a bitter debate in the periodicals of Athens and Constantinople regarding the true nature of chant in Byzantium. This was also the first of many conflicts with the newly arrived Constantinos Psachos (*c.*1866[–]1949), another student of Mantzourani who had just been sent by the ecumenical patriarchate to direct a school of traditional Byzantine music at the Athens conservatory.

The influence of Sakellarides on liturgical music in Greece began gradually to wane after the 1950s. By the late 1980s a revival of traditional Byzantine and folk music had relegated the vast majority of Sakellarides's reformed chants to the musical periphery. An exception to this trend is his melody for the vesper hymn *Phos Hilaron* [Hail Gladdening Light] which has all but completely displaced the ancient chant even on Mount Athos. For a variety of cultural and historical reasons, the music of Sakellarides has proved far more durable in the Greek Orthodox churches of the West. This is particularly true of the United States, where his reformed melodies were so widely disseminated during the heaviest periods of Greek immigration that they have since come to be regarded by most people as traditional. Yet with the rise of professionally trained Greek-American musicians, Sakellarides's elementary harmonizations have largely given way to more sophisticated modal arrangements by such composers as Frank Desby, Anna Gallos, and Tikey Zes.

ALEXANDER LINGAS

Biography

Born *c.*1853 at Litochoros on Mount Olympus, Sakellarides was educated in Thessalonica and Athens where he was a student at both the university and the conservatory. He introduced Western elements into Byzantine chant which brought him censure from the Holy Synod of the Church of Greece but great popularity. His influence on liturgical music has waned since the 1950s. He died in 1938.

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Salamis (city)

City in Cyprus

Unlike Paphos, which had a predecessor in the Bronze Age and even earlier at the same location, Salamis is a relatively new foundation, dating to the 11th century BC. Its Late Bronze Age predecessor Enkomi lies *c.*2 km inland, to the southwest. Around the beginning of the 11th century BC the inner harbour of Enkomi silted up, perhaps as a result of earthquakes, and the town was gradually abandoned; its inhabitants chose a site near the sea, which was provided with a natural harbour, and the town of Salamis developed around this harbour. Judging from the perimeter of the 11th-century BC fortification wall, the early town was small, with its necropolis situated *extra muros* to the west. Of the 11th century BC only one sanctuary has been excavated, as well as a portion of the city wall, but there is ample ceramic evidence that the town originated at that time. This is also supported by the discovery of a tomb of the same period, west of the harbour, with a long narrow *dromos* (entrance passage) and a rectangular chamber, of a

Salamis: the ancient city viewed from the air. In the foreground the gymnasium and to the right the theatre which dates from the 1st century AD.

type which was introduced to the island from the Aegean. According to mythical tradition the founder of Salamis was Teucer, the son of Telamon, king of the island of Salamis (near Attica) and brother of Ajax, who came to the island after the end of the Trojan War. Underlying this myth may be the phenomenon of the foundation of new towns by Achaean immigrants of the 12th century BC, after they finally established themselves on the island and gained political power.

Salamis of the Dark Ages (10th and 9th centuries BC) is not represented in the archaeological record, but the 8th–7th centuries BC are represented by a number of large built tombs with monumental *dromoi*. Although the chambers of these tombs have been found looted or half-looted, many important objects were found in the spacious *dromoi* which the looters left intact. The size of the tombs, their style, and the wealth of objects which they have yielded justify their identification as "royal", although not all of them were used for the burial of members of the royal family. As in other tombs, at Salamis too there must have been an aristocratic elite, probably the descendants of the Achaean immigrants of the 12th–11th centuries BC. The burial customs which have been observed for these "royal" burials are remarkable: the dead person was placed in a ceremonial chariot or hearse, drawn by two or four horses, and was carried to the tomb. The chariots and horses were richly adorned with bronze plaques and gear respectively, all decorated in repoussé with Egyptianizing scenes. The chariot was drawn down the slope of the *dromos* to near the entrance of the chamber. There the horses were ceremonially killed. The sacrificing of horses in honour of the dead recalls Mycenaean burial customs. In one case there is evidence for the burial of slaves in the *dromos* of a tomb to serve their master in the afterlife. Among the tomb gifts there were weapons and ivory furniture (a bed and a throne were found in Tomb 79). There were also iron skewers (*obeloi*) and firedogs of a type known on Crete and in the Argolid during the same period. The burial customs of the "royal" tombs of Salamis, as well as the gifts offered to the dead, recall customs and objects mentioned by Homer in the *Iliad* (book 23, where the burial of Patroclus is described). This has led some scholars to interpret the appearance of such burial customs at Salamis as the result of the reciting of the Homeric epic in the court of Salamis. The most plausible explanation, however, is that such "heroic burials" also existed on the Greek mainland, and it was quite natural for the aristocratic elite of Salamis to imitate these burial customs.

Salamis maintained close relations with Greece throughout its history. In a "royal tomb" of the 8th century BC a large number of Greek Geometric bowls and dishes were found, as well as a *krater* (mixing bowl). The dead person, a woman, was cremated and her incinerated remains together with her necklace were put in a bronze cauldron. Gjerstad ingeniously proposed that this was the tomb of a Greek princess who had married into the royal court of Salamis.

Salamis of the late-Archaic and Classical periods is known from tombs as well as the votive offerings belonging to a sanctuary on the western outskirts of the town. The style of the limestone statues, most of them female, imitates that of the

Greek *korai* of the end of the 6th and the beginning of the 5th century BC.

The earliest king of Salamis whose name is known is Euelthon (560–525 BC). He was the first to issue silver coins on the island in 530 BC. Herodotus (4. 162) records that queen Pheretima of Cyrene visited Euelthon in 530 and asked for his assistance in re-establishing her son on the throne. Herodotus also mentions Euelthon as having dedicated an incense burner at Delphi, which could be seen in the treasury of the Corinthians. Another Salaminian who offered a *peplos* (robe) at Delphi, woven by himself, was Helicon, son of Acesas.

Herodotus describes very vividly the dramatic events connected with the Ionian revolt and the active participation of the Salaminians under their king Onesilus (5. 104, 108–16). The latter managed to dethrone his brother, the pro-Persian king, and lead the revolt. He died while besieging the pro-Persian kingdom of Amathus.

One of the most famous kings of Salamis was Evagoras I, probably a member of the Teucrid royal family and a great supporter of Athenian policies. He was honoured by the Athenians, who erected his statue in the Agora of Athens next to the statue of Zeus Eleutherios. His ideal was to unite all the Greeks under the leadership of Athens. In Cyprus his efforts were to unite all Cypriot kingdoms under the leadership of Salamis in order to free the island from the Persians. Neither of these ideals was fulfilled. He fought against the Persians and helped the Athenians against the Lacedaemonians. He died in 374/73 BC, a few years after the Peace of Antalcidas was signed in 386, which decreed that all cities of Asia and Cyprus should belong to the Great King. The Greek orator Isocrates praised Evagoras in one of his orations; Isocrates was the tutor of his son, Nicocles.

A funerary monument, the cenotaph of the last king of Salamis Nicocreon, was excavated in the necropolis of Salamis. On the funerary pyre, under the tumulus of earth, the Salaminians buried rich gifts for the brave king and the members of the royal family who preferred to die rather than surrender to the Ptolemies. This event, narrated by Diodorus, is dated to 311 BC. The burial may have been effected by Demetrius Poliorcetes, who became the ruler of Cyprus in 306 BC.

Salamis continued to be one of the most important cities of Cyprus, but with the transfer of the capital to Paphos in the 1st century BC the city must have lost some of its glamour. Its harbour and its rich hinterland, however, contributed to its continued prosperity. During the Roman period the city enjoyed the favours of Trajan and Hadrian, who erected public buildings such as the gymnasium and the theatre, which they adorned with marble statues. The temple of Zeus Salaminios was considered to be one of the most important religious centres in the island. Recent excavations have revealed some of the splendours of Salamis in the northern part of the town including a gymnasium, a theatre, an amphitheatre, a *xystos* (colonnade), and spacious baths.

The city was destroyed by the earthquakes of the 4th century AD, after which it was reconstructed on a smaller scale as a Christian city, named Constantia in honour of the emperor Constantius II, who assisted in its reconstruction.

VASSOS KARAGEORGHIS

Summary

The largest city of ancient Cyprus, Salamis was said to have been founded by Teucer, brother of Ajax, after the Trojan War. Remains date from the 11th century BC. Relations with Greece were close throughout antiquity. Evagoras I, king of Salamis in the 4th century BC, was honoured by the Athenians for his support. The city lost some of its importance when the capital was moved to Paphos in the 1st century BC.

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Salamis (island)

Island in the Saronic gulf

The island of Salamis sits off the western coast of Attica. It is the northernmost island of those which lie in the Saronic Gulf. The island is approximately 100 sq km in area. The terrain is mountainous, with some arable plains. There are no rivers running on the island today. The vegetation consists largely of pine, scrub oak, and olive.

The island was inhabited from at least the Neolithic period. Excavation in a cave on the south coast of the island has produced numerous stone implements. In addition, prehistoric pottery has been found at various spots on the island. The Bronze Age is well represented by tombs and pottery, both of which have been found all over the island. The remains of a Bronze Age settlement may be seen at Ginani in the southern part of the island. A large sub-Mycenaean cemetery was excavated on Salamis around the start of the 20th century. It yielded much pottery, some of which came from Attica. There

was thus a connection of some kind between the two places from an early period.

Although the centuries between 1000 and 800 BC are less well represented, there is some evidence of habitation, and from the Archaic period through to the present there is clear, continuous habitation. While the area most heavily inhabited in the Bronze Age seems to have been the southern section of the island, in the Archaic and Classical periods the settlement moved north to the middle of the island. The Classical city sat on a peninsula on the east which juts out towards Attica. Later, at a date which is still not certain, the principal settlement moved to the west coast of the island, and this city (modern Salamina) is still the principal city on Salamis.

The mythology of the island is related by the 1st-century BC historian Diodorus Siculus, among others, who says that Telamon and Peleus killed their brother Phocus on the island of Aegina, and then Peleus fled to Thessaly and Telamon to Salamis. Telamon, according to one version of the story, was then married to the daughter of the king of Salamis, and they had a son, Ajax. When the old king died, Telamon inherited the island, and one of his grandsons in turn gave it to the Athenians. (Peleus married Thetis and she bore him Achilles. Thus Achilles and Ajax are cousins.)

The close ties between Athens and Salamis are further demonstrated by the earliest Athenian decree (late 6th century BC), which deals with regulations for those living on the island, and by the use of Ajax as one of the ten eponymous heroes chosen by Cleisthenes in 508 BC for the Athenian tribes. Ajax was the only non-Athenian in the group.

In 480 a critical naval battle in the Persian Wars was fought in the straits between Salamis and Athens. The smaller, swifter ships of the Athenians outmanoeuvred the large Persian ships, and the Athenians and their allies defeated a larger power. This battle became a legend in Athenian history, and a topos in Athenian literature. Thus later writers who refer to Salamis often do so with reference to this battle. The island itself served as a refuge for women and children during the Persian invasion of Athens.

At least two major figures in the 5th century had connections with Salamis. Towards the end of the Peloponnesian War democratic sympathizers took refuge on the island, and they were pursued there by the Thirty Tyrants. An incident involving one such individual, a certain Leon, is mentioned by Socrates in the *Apology*. Socrates was meant to retrieve Leon from Salamis, but he refused to do so. Also there was a tradition that the playwright Euripides was born on the island, and that he used to write his plays there in a cave overlooking the sea.

Mention must be made of two groups of people who lived on the mainland of Attica and called themselves Salaminioi, i.e. men from Salamis. These men from Salamis were dubbed the Salaminioi of the Heptaphylai, and the Salaminioi from Sunium. It is unclear when, where, and why they had their origins, and furthermore we have little idea of their purpose. They are known through fragmentary inscriptions, and study of those is still ongoing. They were apparently a kinship group with a civic function.

Aristotle tells us that Salamis had its own archon, although no remains of any inscriptions concerning archons on the island have been identified. It is also known (from the *Athenaion Politeia*) that Salamis had its own dramatic festival, but no remains of the ancient theatre have been found.

The island changed hands in the late 4th century, when Demetrius was in control at Athens, but there is little other solid information about the status of the island in the literature of the Hellenistic period. It is known through inscriptional evidence that the Ephebes, Athenian (and later, wealthy Roman) young men in military training, performed some of their activities on and around the island. Numerous honorific inscriptions attest to their good behaviour while on the island.

Roman pottery is visible at many sites on the island and it is thus clear that Salamis remained active in the waning years of the pre-Christian era, and the subsequent centuries of the empire. Chapels from the Byzantine period, as well as the occasional mention of the island in literature, are evidence that Salamis was inhabited in the medieval period. Turkish and Albanian place names on the island attest to the presence of those peoples, and much later, during the War of Independence, Salamis served as a base of operations in Attica. It was from Salamis that George Karaiskakis set out on the mission to take the Acropolis. Karaiskakis lost his life just as the battle was beginning. In May 1997 a monument was erected on the island in Salamis town to commemorate this event.

TIMOTHY F. WINTERS

See also Persian Wars

Summary

The northernmost of the islands in the Saronic gulf, Salamis has been inhabited since the Neolithic period. There are mythological as well as historical connections with Athens. An important battle was fought in 480 BC in the straits between Salamis and Athens in which the Persian fleet was defeated. Salamis was a base of operations in the War of Independence in the 1820s.

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Samos

Island in the east Aegean

Samos is one of the larger of the Aegean islands, with an area of 492 sq km, and it lies closest of all of them to the coast of Asia Minor: the channel dividing it from Turkey is today only 3 km wide, and in prehistoric times it was joined to the mainland. In antiquity it was known as both Parthenia and Anthemus, but as Samos from at least the 5th century BC. Pausanias (10. 12) claimed that the island had an early distinction as the home of one of the first of the Sybils. It is quite mountainous, well watered, and heavily wooded, and has always been known principally for the fertility of its land; the island still exports olive oil and tobacco. While for later centuries the fineness of Samian muscat wine was much famed, and was later to be extolled by Byron, it was not always thus. Strabo (*Geography*, 14) emphasized the poor quality of the island's wine compared with other islands in the region, but praised its other products, and quoted Menander as saying that "it even produces birds' milk".

Throughout the pre-Christian period from the 3rd millennium BC the island was populated, but it was only in the 6th century BC that Samos knew real fame and power, when the tyrant Polycrates established himself as sole ruler. He built up a powerful fleet, annexed other islands, and established a famous court that attracted artists of all kinds. A tunnel more than 900 m long that was completed in 524 BC under the direction of Eupalinus of Megara, ensuring a water supply to the city of ancient Samos in time of siege, remains to this day a unique monument to another aspect of his reign. To Polycrates is also attributed the construction of a man-made harbour and breakwater. The success with which the Samians resisted a siege by the Lacedaemonians for 40 days (Herodotus, 3. 56) during the reign of Polycrates, when they were unable to bring about the city's subjection, was no doubt due in part to this tunnel. The tyrant's eventual death at the hands of Oroetes is described by Herodotus (3. 125): "He slew him in a way too horrible to describe, and then crucified him."

At least one and a half millennia of the history of Samos can be traced in the extensive coastal site of the sanctuary of Hera, known as the Heraion. Its earliest remains date from the Bronze Age, but its most impressive feature, which was known all over the Hellenic world, was the great temple built during the 6th century BC; its size (it was almost 100 m in length) caused Herodotus to state that it was the largest of all the temples he had seen. "Its first architect was Rhoecus, the son of Phileas, who was a Samian" (3. 60). Burnt down in the later 6th century BC, it was rebuilt, with numerous other structures added at various dates, before an early Christian basilica was built at its east end during the 5th century AD; a cistern here was in use into the 6th century AD. Pausanias also credited the same Rhoecus with being one of the first Greeks to make images by casting molten bronze (8. 14). Another 6th-century BC artist of great fame was Theodorus of Samos, who was a sculptor and architect, and made a magnificent ring of gold and emeralds for the tyrant Polycrates. He was credited by Pliny (*Naturalis Historia*, 34. 83) with creating the first self-portrait to be made in bronze.

Further evidence of the vigorous developing life of Samos in late antiquity and the early Christian centuries is provided by several excavations, such as that at Pithagorio, where an early Christian basilica was built on the site of a Roman villa; at Panagitsa another basilica and baptistery were built over Roman baths. Churches were built in various parts of the island between the 4th and 6th centuries, showing that a vigorous island life persisted until Arab raids began in the 7th century, but this must have continued because a bishop of Samos attended the important Church council of 787 in Nicaea at which iconoclast edicts were revoked. The island's position continued to dominate its history, since it was chosen as the base from which Nikephoros Phokas would reconquer Crete in 960.

In the 10th century Samos was the only Aegean island to be named as the centre of a theme, when it became a subdivision of the theme of the Aigaios Pelagos; this importance was probably due to its geographical location close to the mainland, and it was governed from Smyrna. The island's prosperity continued into at least the early 12th century, when a Russian traveller, the *higumen* (abbot) Daniil, wrote admiringly of his visit here, noting that "the sea abounds with fish, and the island is very fertile."

In the Deed of Partition of 1204 Samos was listed as being allocated to the new Latin emperor, but he never occupied it and from *c.*1225 it was taken into the empire of the Byzantine government in exile in Nicaea. In the 14th century, with weakening Byzantine power, the island suffered Turkish raids, and then was occupied briefly by the Genoese in 1304 and again in 1346 for some 30 years. Samos, like so many other islands, began to suffer from the incessant plague of piracy, and after a little more than a century of Western government the population was moved to the more secure Genoese island of Chios. The proximity of Samos to the mainland meant that it was thereafter one of the earliest islands to come under direct Turkish rule, probably during the 1470s.

Samians became known during the early history of the Greek War of Independence for their bravery and dedication, and Samiots joined the revolution in 1821 at the earliest possible moment, taking up arms in April of that year and murdering the entire local Turkish population. Samos contributed more than any of the other smaller Aegean islands to the cause of independence, and was given exceptional status at several stages in the development of the Hellenic state during the 19th century. A substantial castle, known as the Kastro tis Logothitis, was built in 1824 and it still occupies the hill to the west of Pithagorio; no other island is able to demonstrate the assertion of its independence at such an early date with a building of this kind. At the London Conference of 1829–30 it was proposed that Samos, with Crete, should be excluded from the geographical division of the rest of Greece, but the island was granted special privileges, and from 1834 to 1859 was governed by a Greek ruler, Stephanos Bogaridas. This autonomous status only came to an end in 1913 when, in the distribution of territories after the Balkan wars, Samos came under fully greek rule; from that point it received the same treatment and status as any other Aegean islands that were not then still under Turkish or (from 1912 in the case of the Dodecanese) Italian, rule.

PAUL HETHERINGTON

Summary

The closest of all Greek islands to the Turkish mainland, Samos first claims attention in the 6th century BC when it was ruled by the tyrant Polycrates. Monuments of this date include a tunnel (900 m long) ensuring the supply of water to the city of Samos, and the temple of Hera. Samos was very active in the War of Independence in the 1820s.

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Samothrace

Island in the northern Aegean

Samothrace lies in the northern Aegean, at a point approximately equidistant from Thasos, Alexandroupolis, and the Gallipoli peninsula. It covers an area of 176 sq km and is well watered and quite fertile, although it has a ruggedly mountainous interior. It was from the "topmost peak of wooded Samothrace" that Poseidon was said by Homer to have watched the fighting on the plains of Troy (*Iliad*, 13. 12). Pausanias (7. 4) records that it was first called Dardania, a name perpetuated in the important sea channel nearby of the Dardanelles. Samothrace has been populated from earliest times, but controversy surrounds the place of origin of its inhabitants. It was peopled initially by Thracians from the nearest part of the mainland of what is now northern Greece. In the Classical period colonists were said to have come to the island from Samos in the 8th century BC, hence its name. However, archaeological evidence tends to support Lesbos or the Troad as the source of these new settlers, though the Thracian dialect continued to be used until the end of the pre-Christian era.

The outstanding importance and fame of Samothrace in the Hellenic world was due to its being the focus of a cult, which caused the island to become the foremost religious centre in the northern Aegean from the 6th to the 1st century BC. The sanctuary of the Great Gods, excavation of which has continued for over a century, reveals that a complex process of initiation rites took place there. The mysteries that were enacted here are referred to by Plato and Aristophanes, and it is known that the historian Herodotus (among many others) underwent them. The physical remains of the sanctuary are immensely impressive; the rotunda, dedicated to the Great Gods by queen Arsinoe in the late 3rd century BC, is the largest circular structure known to have been built by Greek architects. The world-famous statue of the Winged Victory, also known as the Nike of Samothrace and now in the Louvre, was found here in 1863. With the statue of Venus found on Melos it perhaps shares the distinction of representing the essence of the Hellenic artistic spirit of its age.

The prosperity of the island must have continued into the early medieval period, as an inscription records the restoration of baths here by the emperor Justinian; it formed part of the eparchy of Thrace in the 10th century. After 1204 it was awarded to the Latin emperor, and as its location was not as favourable as that of Lemnos, it was retained by his successors until 1261. Subsequently it was the Genoese dukedoms of the northern Aegean that were to leave the most substantial remains on Samothrace after the sanctuary of the Great Gods.

The Gattilusi dynasty, from Genoa, became more closely integrated into Greek life than almost any other of the Italian families that settled in the Aegean, and so have a place in the Hellenization of western European culture. The *kastro* (castle) that Palamede Gattilusi built in the 1430s at the Chora on Samothrace carries an inscription in Greek that states that "the fortress will strike fear into his enemies". The family was proud of having married into the Palaiologos dynasty in 1355, and the monogram of the imperial family figures on this inscription. When the antiquarian Cyriacus of Ancona visited the *kastro* in 1444, he called it "the new inland town". He also visited the towers that Palamede Gattilusi had built near to the sanctuary of the Great Gods, and mentioned the Classical inscriptions in both Latin and Greek that the Genoese lord had assembled in his tower, where "he loved greatly to hear learned discussions".

The victorious sultan Mehmet II dispossessed Palamede Gattilusi in 1456, but in the same year the island (with Lemnos and Thasos) was annexed by an Italian cardinal, Ludovico Trevisan, who had been sent as part of a crusade against the Turks by pope Callixtus III. For three years the banner of St Peter was flown from the *kastro* until Mehmet II retook the island, and it was to remain in Turkish hands (except for a brief Venetian hiatus of 1466–79) until 1912. Only then was the island able to resume its full place in the Hellenic island tradition.

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Summary

An island in the northern Aegean, Samothrace was traditionally colonized from Samos, though this is not supported by archaeology. The island's fame rests on the mystery cult of the Great Gods (Cabiri), the remains of whose sanctuary survive. The *kastro* (fortress) built by the Genoese duke Palamede Gattilusi dates from the 1430s.

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Sanctuaries

In the context of Classical Greece a "sanctuary" is best defined as a sacred space, formally bounded and set aside for ritual activity. In historical times at least, such centres usually provided sanctuary in the sense of asylum for refugees from human or divine persecution.

Most of the important sanctuaries of Classical Greece were founded or underwent major development from the 8th century BC. The traditional date of 776 BC for the foundation of the Olympic Games is a good benchmark. The evidence is at first provided chiefly by sacrificial debris and small-scale votive offerings (among which pottery and terracotta and bronze figurines are prominent) at sites such as the sanctuary of Zeus at Olympia. Modest temples were sometimes built, but the most prominent structural and ritual component of the sanctuary was always the altar where sacrifical victims were burned.

Although ritual activity in sanctuaries was standardized to a degree (public and private sacrifice, votive offerings, some components of festivals), there were numerous local variations corresponding to the character of the individual cults.

Greek sanctuaries developed an increasingly monumental character after 700 BC, with first temples, then other buildings, constructed of ashlar masonry. These tended to accumulate slowly and haphazardly (e.g. at Olympia) in and around the sacred area. Only in the Hellenistic period did formal regular planning become the norm and then it could be effectively applied only to new or previously undeveloped sites (e.g. the Asclepieum on Cos).

The architectural character of sanctuaries, such as that of Apollo at Delphi in the late-Classical and Hellenistic periods, when structural development was most intense, provides the clearest indication of the major aspects of the festivals – athletic competitions (stadia, gymnasia, baths, offerings of victors), theatrical events (theatres, offerings). Their administration and the importance of the major sanctuaries (especially the Panhellenic centres of Olympia, Delphi, Isthmia, and Nemea) as international meeting places are indicated by other elements, such as *bouleuteria* (council chambers) and treasuries, as well as significant sculptural and architectural dedications, which often had a propaganda intent. Some of these functions are likely to go back to the period of expansion of the sanctuaries in the 8th century BC, although (unless the large bronze tripods from Olympia are athletic prizes, as is sometimes thought) there is little direct evidence, since most of them can be carried on without the need for any formal structures (races can be run on open ground: a stadium is a luxury).

In the Roman period the use of the Greek sanctuaries continued uninterrupted, although new buildings (the bath houses are particularly common and striking) were regularly added in the new and distinctive building style of concrete and brick. The appearance of temples to house the imperial cult (there was a temple to Rome and Augustus on the Athenian Acropolis) is another distinctive feature.

As Christianity gradually took hold of the Roman world, especially after its adoption in AD 313 by the emperor Constantine, the pagan sanctuaries went into decline, although they continued to be patronized at least until closed by edict of Justinian in AD 529.

The fact that many ancient sanctuaries have later Christian churches within their boundaries (at Olympia the workshop of Phidias was converted into a church in the 5th century AD), and particularly that some of these (the basilica at the sanctuary of Asclepius, Epidaurus, *c.*AD 400) seem to have been built before the pagan complex became defunct, shows that sometimes paganism and Christianity intermingled and that the places retained their sacred character, even when the formal nature of the religion changed. Some later monasteries (e.g. at Daphni, on the outskirts of Athens) are even built on the sites of ancient sanctuaries, and the modern buildings incorporate material from the ancient.

While the sanctuary in the sense defined at the beginning of this entry seems essentially a creation of the Geometric period and to have died with the banning of pagan religion, various similarities of form and function can be identified at sites of both earlier and later periods. In Greece some prehistoric sites have been designated sanctuaries, with varying degrees of probability and correspondence to the above definition. Although the Neolithic period is a blank, in the Early Bronze Age the Cycladic island of Keros has sometimes been thought a sanctuary on the grounds of unusually rich discoveries of marble artefacts, but this is disputed. More plausible is the rustic shrine at Korfi t'Aroniou on Naxos, which was uniquely adorned by decorated stone blocks.

In Minoan Crete the most convincing candidates are the peak sanctuaries, remote hilltop sites with clear evidence of exclusively ritual activity (sacrifice, votive offerings). The Middle Minoan complex at Anemopsilia, near Archanes, is perhaps a temple rather than a sanctuary, but its ritual use is undoubted. Sacred groves are sometimes identified in scenes in art (seal stones, the "sacred grove" fresco from Knossos). Some houses (especially Xeste 3) at Akrotiri on the Cycladic island of Thera have extensive and clearly ritual painted scenes but their assignation as sanctuaries is difficult, since the focus again seems to be on the individual building rather than a sanctuary area; the same is true of other ritual structures, such as the "temple" on the island of Kea, the Mycenaean-type "sanctuary" at Phylakopi on Melos, the "cult centre" at Mycenae itself (a stronger candidate), or the shrine area at Mycenaean Tiryns.

It is impossible to say how far the elaborate festivals, often involving athletic and dramatic competitions, so characteristic of Classical sanctuaries, may have existed in prehistoric times, but there is so far no evidence for the sort of installations that later became the norm. One could however appeal to the funeral games mentioned in Homer or the scenes of chariots on Mycenaean gravestones and vases as hints of similar activities in earlier times.

While a few important later sanctuaries (Hera on Samos, Apollo Maleatas at Epidaurus, etc.) have produced virtually certain evidence of continuous use from prehistoric times into Classical antiquity, the extent to which this reflects continuity of religious belief and practice in detail is obscure. As well as these possible prehistoric predecessors, the continued use of parts of some sanctuary sites after AD 529 has already been mentioned. Several aspects of ancient practice associated with sanctuaries find echoes even up to the present day, although the degree of genuine continuity is hard to assess, partly because people look for similar relationships with their gods,

whether Christian or pagan, and may approach them with similar rituals.

Votive plaques seem to have lasted from antiquity, through Byzantine times, to the present day. Representations of diseased limbs etc., similar to those that used to be offered to Asclepius, can still be seen in Orthodox churches.

The annual patronal festival of each Orthodox church takes on a festive character that involves the sharing of a meal. In several parts of Greece animals are slaughtered on the spot. One example of this is on Imbros (now under Turkish control), where the festival of the Dormition on 15 August is accompanied by the blessing and slaughtering of animals, and the cooking and consumption of the meat. Patronal festivals are still occasions for reunion of émigré locals from all over the world and, as in antiquity, larger festivals are used as occasions for secular activities (fairs etc.). They may also be the occasion for political pronouncements. In Cyprus, up until quite recent times, cattle markets took place at some festivals.

Occasionally too contemporary religious festivals are accompanied by competitive events, such as that at Hagios Soulas on Rhodes, described by Lawrence Durrell in *Reflections on a Marine Venus* (1953), where the saint is honoured *inter alia* with athletic contests and horse and donkey races. On Lesbos, at Hagia Paraskevi, the festival of Hagios Charalambos includes the slaughter of bulls and an equestrian parade and races.

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See also Architecture (Religious), Festivals, Healing Cults, Votive Offerings

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Santorini

Island in the Cyclades

This form of the island's name is Frankish, from Santa Irini, one of the local churches. In antiquity, as often nowadays, it was called Thera, also at times Kalliste and Strongyle. At the southeast of the Cycladic group, it is geologically the most remarkable of the Cyclades, since it contains an active volcano.

Although there have been numerous recorded volcanic episodes over the last 4000 years, sometimes severe, the most violent concluded with the explosion and collapse of the crater in a massive catastrophe during the Bronze Age (*c.*1500 BC, or 1628 BC if recent scientific analyses are correctly interpreted). During the eruption phases at that time the volcano disgorged pumice and tephra (volcanic ash). The latter covered the island with a layer up to 50 m thick. This extraordinary event is thought by some to have been the source of the myth reported by Plato of the submerged city of Atlantis. Research has shown that tephra was also deposited in substantial quantities on Crete, Rhodes, and the mainland of Asia Minor, with potentially serious consequences for the agriculture of those areas. The massive tidal wave which followed the collapse of the crater almost certainly inflicted heavy damage on coastal sites in the southern Aegean. The psychological consequences of this catastrophe cannot now be accurately assessed but were surely profound, and must have played a part in the transfer of political and cultural authority in the Aegean from Minoan Crete to the Mycenaeans of mainland Greece, by weakening the former.

At the time of the eruption the material culture of Thera was spectacular. Archaeological work near Akrotiri since 1967 has uncovered a town with many buildings in fine ashlar masonry and richly decorated with frescos. If the unusually good state of preservation has not led to an overestimation of the significance of Late Bronze Age Thera, it may well have been a centre of architecture and the arts whose influence spread throughout the Aegean. Even if, as seems more probable, the artistic and technical achievements of the Therans were learnt from the Cretan palaces, it was nonetheless probably a centre of Cretan authority in the Aegean and must have acted as a conduit through which ideas and techniques were exchanged.

In later mythology Thera got its name from Theras, who supposedly came there with a group of settlers from Sparta. This would explain the Dorian character of the island. Thera seems to have had significant settlement from the Geometric period and produced locally distinctive Geometric and Orientalizing pottery. The earliest remains of the ancient town, on an impressive but remote site high on Mesa Vouno, belong to the Archaic period. The nearby cemetery (Sellada) has produced finds from the Geometric period onwards, including three archaic *kouroi* (nude statues of standing young men). Therans founded the colony of Cyrene in 631 BC, according to Herodotus because their homeland was devastated by a long

drought. The place flourished particularly in Hellenistic times, to which many of its surviving remains belong and when it was a forward naval station under the Ptolemies. It does not seem to have been particularly important in the Roman or Byzantine periods, although there are remains of both, including the painted church of the Panagia Episkopi, reputedly founded by the emperor Alexios I Komnenos (1081–1118).

From 1207 (apart from a brief interlude in 1269 when it was retaken by the Byzantines), it was in the hands of various Frankish families – the Sanudi, the Barotsi, the Crispi, etc. In the 15th century the island's prosperity was curtailed by pirate raids and it became impoverished and depopulated. Several hundred families fled to Crete. In 1537 it was captured by Barbarossa and became part of the Ottoman empire, though without much direct interference. In 1821 the Greek flag was raised.

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Summary

Santorini (or Thera) was a flourishing centre of prehistoric civilization of which remarkable artistic remains survive. The volcanic eruption of the island which brought that to an end may be the source of the legend of Atlantis. In early antiquity the island was prosperous and took part in the colonizing movement. In the medieval and later periods its history was similar to that of the other Cyclades.

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Sappho

Poet of the 7th–6th centuries BC

Born probably at Eressos on Lesbos around 630 BC, Sappho was a contemporary of Alcaeus and of Pittacus, the tyrant of Lesbos. Her family may have been involved in the same upheavals among aristocratic factions that feature prominently in Alcaeus, since sometime before 595–594 BC she is said to have been exiled to Syracuse, where there was a statue of her down to the 1st century BC. She seems otherwise to have spent most of her life in Mytilene.

The remains of Sappho's poetry consist of one whole poem (poem 1), preserved by Dionysius of Halicarnassus as an example of the "smooth and exuberant" style, in which she invokes Aphrodite to assist her in love; about ten substantial fragments, including five stanzas (poem 31) preserved by "Longinus", describing the physical symptoms of love; 100 short citations from ancient writers; and around 50 papyrus fragments. The poems are written in the Aeolic dialect native to Lesbos. Unlike that of Alcaeus, Sappho's extant poetry barely mentions contemporary politics, and her focus of interest instead is on individual emotion, and the traditional female concerns of love, marriage, and beauty. This focus accords with the general tendency of the early lyric poets to reject the Homeric role of poet as impersonal narrator. No more than the other lyricists, however, did Sappho ignore Homer, and some of her poetry seems to recast Homeric themes from a female perspective.

Her poetry indicates intense romantic and probable sexual involvement with some of the young women of whom she writes. The exact nature of these relationships must remain uncertain because our evidence is so fragmentary: possibly as early as Anacreon, but certainly by the time of Ovid's *Heroides*, the affairs were assumed to be sexual. Female same-sex love is rarely mentioned, though not unattested, in early Greece, and may have become tahoo later on, but one may assume that such relationships and sentiments were acceptable in the Lesbos of Sappho's time. A relatively large number of her poems concern young girls, marriage, or farewells. It is therefore sometimes suggested that her poetry reflects a social structure in which young girls came to Sappho prior to marriage for some kind of education in music and other arts, and romantic or sexual involvement was part of the educative process. If so, one may compare the better-attested educational relationships between men and boys in the ancient world. Sappho's passionate descriptions of female beauty may be intended to inspire male desire for the girls in marriage – the destination of all Greek girls – as much as it expresses any personal feelings of Sappho herself. Some of the content of Alcman's *Partheneia* may be comparable.

Lesbos was home to an unusually large number of early poets – Terpander and Arion as well as Alcaeus and Sappho. It was also known for the beauty of its women, and as both a gifted poet and a celebrator of female beauty Sappho may be regarded as typical of her island. In later tradition she is regarded as anomalous precisely because of these two features. Although she was not the only female poet in the ancient world, she seems to have outshone others to such a degree that Galen states that "the poet" is Homer, and "the poetess" Sappho. Again, the intense passion of the poems has had a clear effect on her later reputation: one may guess that such passion was unusual, at least from a woman. One late tradition divides Sappho into two people – one a remarkable lyric poet, the other a sex-crazed courtesan. Down to Roman times, emphasis is less on the female objects of her passion than the passion itself, with the result that in Greek comic traditions she is portrayed as heterosexually voracious. Popular tradition recounts that she fell in love with a fisherman called Phaon and threw herself off the Leucadian rock when her passion was

unrequited. The story probably derives from mistaken extrapolation from her verse: it appears on vases of the late 5th century BC, and was popular among comic poets from the 4th century BC. Roman attitudes to sexuality focused more on the female objects of her passions, and the concerns of the late 20th century have made Sappho's perceived lesbian sexuality nearly as important as her poetry.

Ancient sources unanimously praise her brilliance. She is a subject of vase painting from the late 6th century BC. She found favour with Solon and Plato's Socrates, and she is the subject of treatises from at least the 4th century BC. The Alexandrian scholars included her in the canon of the ten lyric poets, arranging her songs in nine books, according to metre. Theocritus, Callimachus, Apollonius, Moschus, and Bion all show her influence. Epigrams honour her: Dioscorides in the late 3rd century BC calls her the tenth Muse, and this honorific title becomes conventional for her thereafter. Her fame in her native island was such that coins from Mytilene of the 1st to 3rd centuries AD bear her portrait.

Sappho's poetic reputation has survived on progressively slimmer evidence, since she suffered the fate of all those writers whose subject matter or dialect did not suit the educational requirements of the later ancient world. Her difficult dialect rendered her writing unsuitable for inclusion in a canon that increasingly favoured Attic Greek: the lyric poets are notoriously under-represented in the body of texts that came to form the educational canon. Moreover, her passionate subject matter, like that of many other lyricists, did not suit the prevailing preference for texts suitable for the classroom.

As the canon came to dominate textual production, fewer and fewer noncanonical texts were copied, especially in the 2nd–4th centuries AD when the transition from the book roll to the codex took place. Even so, some of Sappho's poems did make that transition, and in the 2nd century AD the poems seem to have been popular as after-dinner entertainment. Most surviving papyrus fragments of her poetry may be dated to the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD. Gradually, however, Sappho came to be quoted in short citations more for grammatical or metrical peculiarities than for literary reasons, although writers down to the 6th century AD quote her and show some familiarity with her works. A parchment from Egypt shows that she still had an audience even in the 7th century AD.

After this the trail starts to go cold. This is more likely to be due to a general decline in circulation of all but the most standard authors than to Christian distaste for her subject matter. It is sometimes asserted that her books were burned, for example by Gregory VII in 1073, but the evidence for this is far from conclusive. Although the 9th-century lexicographer Photios cites her, the *Etymologicum Magnum* of *c.*1000 mentions her only five times and later encyclopaedias after the *Suda* ignore her. Byzantines of the 12th century and later mention her, but it is impossible to determine whether their knowledge derives directly from texts or from reference works. Tzetzes even claims that her work had disappeared by his time, although this may be an exaggeration. Certainly after the sack of Constantinople in 1453 rare texts such as hers are unlikely to have survived. In 1546 Robert Estienne published the first edition of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, which contains Sappho's only complete surviving poem, and in 1554 there followed the edition of "Longinus".

SOPHIE MILLS

See also Poetry (Lyric)

Biography

Born at Eressos on Lesbos *c.*630 BC, Sappho was a contemporary of the poet Alcaeus. She may have been involved in local politics, for she was exiled to Syracuse in the 590s, but she spent most of her life in Mytilene. Very little of her poetry survives but it was much admired in antiquity. Her passionate subject matter may not have endeared her to the Byzantines.

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Sarakatsans

Nomadic people of northern and central Greece

Up until 30 years ago it was possible to find in Greece a shy breed of nomads living in straw huts, known as Sarakatsans. In Bulgaria similar nomads, also speaking Greek, were called Karakatchans, but their way of life had been regulated, although not abolished, by communist bureaucracy. There were over 4500 Karakatchans in the 1965 census, and this number is almost certainly an underestimate. In the 1980s the Karakatchans seemed to be doing rather well in Bulgaria, the authorities having decided that collective farming in winter and summer pasturage was best left in their hands, but the

Sarakatsans: a traditional straw hut of the Sarakatsans. A hut such as this houses a family of six or seven adults and is erected by five or six women in two to three days.

collapse of communism has led to much emigration to Greece. In Greece the forces of capitalism and bureaucracy have led to collapse in the Sarakatsan way of life. Sometimes wandering families of Sarakatsans were settled in Greek villages, causing a certain amount of resentment from the villagers, some of whom as semi-nomadic transhumants like the Vlachs felt that they had a better claim to the land being settled. Alternatively the Sarakatsans, used to travelling long distances, made with other emigrants from the Balkans the pilgrimage to Germany in search of employment as *Gastarbeiter*. Here they rapidly lost their distinctive identity and gave up their way of life, so different from that practised in western Europe. Sarakatsans used to be found in the mountain ranges of Macedonia, Epirus, Thessaly, and even Boeotia and Attica. In Bulgaria they roamed the Rhodopes and the Haemus mountains. Now one can occasionally find them in mountain villages, frequently confused with the Vlachs. Because of their nomadic habits it is hard to tie them down to one place, and their lack of regional identity is a further factor which will probably lead to their disappearance.

If the future of the Sarakatsans seems dim, their past is yet more obscure. Scholars are divided as to whether they are Hellenized Vlachs or pure Greeks. The former theory rests on certain common habits like transhumance with a biannual journey beginning on St George's Day (23 April) and ending on St Demetrius' Day (26 October), and certain common words like *tselnik*, the leader of a tribe, and *kalivi*, a hut. On the other hand, Vlachs, though confused with Sarakatsans, are contemptuous of them. Customs in such matters as marriage ceremonies and the construction of huts are different in the two groups. Most scholarly opinion holds that the Sarakatsans are purely Greek, indeed more purely so than the average Greek. An occasional straight nose, reminiscent of a Minoan fresco, seen on a Sarakatsan, and the geometric pattern of their costume lend support to the theory, well argued by Hoeg and Hadjimichalis, that the Sarakatsans are an ancient Dorian tribe who somehow never became incorporated in the life of ancient and medieval Greece. Leigh Fermor, who travelled among the Sarakatsans of western Thrace, put a romantic gloss on this theory, imagining a people who somehow managed to escape from history, bypassing the Persian invasion, the empire of Alexander the Great, the Roman conquest, the Slav invasions, and even the fall of Constantinople in the same way that their modern descendants by being constantly on the move have managed to bypass the apparatus of the modern state.

Such a theory, as Kavadias has pointed out, flies in the face of linguistic and historical evidence. There is no mention in ancient or medieval sources of a fully nomadic Greek tribe like the Sarakatsans, although there are references to non-Greek nomads, such as the Scythians, and of transhumance as practised by shepherds in *Oedipus Rex* and by the medieval Vlachs. Nor does the language spoken by the Sarakatsans, although it

contains several archaic features, show like Tsakonian any resemblance to the pre-koine dialect. It seems more likely that the Sarakatsans were Greeks settled in the Byzantine empire who, when this empire collapsed in the 13th century, took to a wandering life in the mountains in order to preserve their Greekness and their ancient customs.

It is in their customs rather than their language that the Sarakatsans show their ancient roots. Many of their rituals display a strange syncretism between Christianity and perhaps pre-Classical paganism. Campbell establishes well the Sarakatsan subordination of women to men, combined with a protective reverence to the female sex. In Sarakatsan marches the place of honour at the rear of the column is taken by the last woman to be married; the Vlachs give this post to an old man. Any offence against female chastity is severely punished, particularly if it is the woman who is the sinner. As with so many minority groups, the moral values that kept Sarakatsans together as a close-knit community receive scant respect in the modern world.

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See also Transhumance

Summary

A nomadic Greek-speaking people, the Sarakatsans used to inhabit the mountainous areas of Macedonia, Epirus, Thessaly, Boeotia, and Attica. In Bulgaria they were known as Karakatchans. Their origins are obscure and the subject of debate. In recent decades they have mostly lost their identity.

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Sassanians

Persian dynasty

The name Sassanians, given to the royal dynasty which ruled the third Persian empire from AD 224 to 651, derives from Sasan, possibly the grandfather of the first Sassanian king, Ardashir I (224–39/40) (Tabari I. 814). Ardashir's family ruled as local dynasts of the Parthian empire in Istakhr, near Persepolis, but he extended his power to Elymais and Kerman, forcing the submission of local kings and vassals. On 28 April 224 Ardashir defeated the Parthian king Artabanus IV in a battle on the plain of Hormazdjan in Media and, after the capture of the Parthian capital Ctesiphon, celebrated his official enthronement there as "king of kings". At its utmost extent the empire of the Sassanians stretched from Syria to India, and from the Caucasus to the Persian Gulf, but borders changed frequently in its 427-year existence. Middle Persian was the principal language of the Sassanians, though Parthian, Greek, Aramaic, and Bactrian, among others, were also used.

Throughout Sassanian rule the Persian empire was faced with two principal enemies, the Romans in the west, and invading tribes from the north and northeast. Though written Greek and Roman sources focus predominantly on the Persian–Roman aggressions, the constant threats to the Sassanian empire from nomadic peoples were equally serious and have to be taken into account. Relations between Rome and Persia were characterized by their respective ideologies. As with their attitude towards the Parthians, the Romans saw their fight against Persia in the ideological light of the Graeco-Persian wars of 490 BC and 480/79 BC and Alexander's conquest of Persia in 331 BC. Alexander Severus, like Caracalla, regarded himself as a "second Alexander" (Dio, 79. 17. 3) while Gordian III celebrated a festival in honour of Athena Promachos for the Athenians at Marathon prior to his eastern campaign. The Sassanians, though they lacked any direct knowledge of the first Persian dynasty, laid claims to the heritage of the Achaemenids. Politically this was manifested in the use of Achaemenid sites in Fars, and militarily in their claim to Achaemenid domains, which in particular meant the region west of the Euphrates river. This was the prime motivation for their western campaigns, though the reconquest of this region was never achieved.

Hostilities against Rome began with raids into Syrian territory in AD 230, and escalated under Shapur I (239/40–70/72), who claimed victories over Gordian III (244), Philip the Arab (244), and Valerian (260). Roman–Persian aggression continued under Shapur's successors, and Ctesiphon was briefly taken by the Romans (283). Between 337 and 363 the Persians under Shapur II (309–79) fought intermittently against the Romans, but a peace settlement agreed under Shapur III (383–88) led, with one brief exception in 421–22, to a long period of peace, which lasted until the beginning of the 6th century. Shapur II undertook a campaign against the Arabs, and settled Arab tribes in Iraq as protection against the desert Arabs and those Arab tribes who supported Rome. The threat of invading nomads became reality in 395 when Huns invaded Armenia and even reached Syria and Cappadocia.

After a period marked by seven years of famine during the reign of Peroz (459–84), by Sassanian defeat by the Hephtalites (White Huns), and by inner revolt, a phase of revival began with Chosroes I (531–79). Though his reign also saw Persia at war with Byzantium, Chosroes I reached several peace settlements with Justinian I in 545, 551, and 561. The 6th century was a period of close cultural exchange between Persia, China, and Byzantium. The three thrones, which stood beneath the throne of Chosroes I in Ctesiphon, ready to receive the emperors of Rome and China and the great khan of Central Asia as his subjects, are perhaps the best demonstration of the fact that the Sassanians were well aware of their central position between the eastern and western empires. Cultural exchange between the Far East and the Mediterranean was transmitted through merchants and traders as well as the Syriac-speaking Christians of Mesopotamia. Through them Byzantine medicine and philosophy became known in Ctesiphon, while in 527 Nestorian Christian scholars from Nisibis were received in Constantinople. In 638 Nestorians explained their religious

beliefs to the emperor of China, while Indian science and knowledge found their way into the west via Ctesiphon.

Chrosroes I defeated the Hephtalites in 568, an achievement which he commemorated on specially minted coins. Chosroes II (590–628) undertook major campaigns, invading Byzantium (603), taking Antioch and Jerusalem (614), and Egypt (619), but he was met with an equally strong opponent, Herakleios (610–41), who marched against the Sassanian king in 622. The fall of the Sassanian empire, however, was brought about by a third power, which both Byzantium and Persia had neglected with grave consequences—the Arabs, who invaded Persia and the Roman Near East in the mid-7th century.

The cities of Ctesiphon, Firuzabad, and Bishapur were the main seats of Sassanian power. At its centre was the king, who ruled as a god-king (*bay*) with the divine sanction of Ahura Mazda (*yazd*), together with his queen, whose public role is well documented on rock reliefs and on coins. The king was the guardian of the Zoroastrian religion, though other religions—Judaism, Christianity, and Manichaeism—were, depending on the respective king, tolerated. The aristocracy consisted of four groups, the local dynasts (*shahrdar*), the princes (*vaspuhragan*), the heads of the noble houses (*vuzurgan*), and the Persian nobility (*azadan*). These were followed by a middle class of merchants, craftsmen, and traders, as well as peasants and slaves, about all of whom very little is known. In the 4th century high offices emerged in religion and politics: the head of the high priests (*mobad*), the great priest (reconstructed term: *vuzurg mobad*), and the priests themselves (*mobads*), and in the political sphere the head of the farmers (*vastaryoshan salar*) and the head of the army (*arteshtaran salar*).

Frequent military aggression between the Romans and the Sassanians undoubtedly led to reciprocal influence in weaponry and military tactics. Under Chosroes I Sassanian fortifications seemed to follow the prototype of the Roman *limes*, while it is thought that equipment of the heavily armoured Sassanian cavalry, the cataphract, which had been developed in their wars against the nomads, was adopted by the Roman army (*clibanarii*; Ammianus Marcelinus, 16. 10. 8). The claim that a mutual influence existed in the respective administration and fiscal policy of the Sassanian and Roman empires has yet to be convincingly demonstrated, but in art and architecture reciprocal inspiration is well attested. Sassanian artistic elements can be traced in Byzantine decorative motifs, and it is thought that the Persian dome-structured buildings provided the prototype for Byzantine architecture. The find of a silver jug with Classical figures in China, and a silver gilt *rhyton* (drinking horn) from Tibet decorated in a Classical/Sassanian style, are evidence that Persia was the transmitting power of western and Sassanian culture.

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Summary

The Sassanians were the royal dynasty which ruled the Persian empire from AD 224 to 651. Hostilities with Rome were frequent for the first 150 years. Revival came with the reign of Chosroes I (531–79). In the 6th century there was close interchange between Persia, China, and Byzantium. The Sassanians were defeated by Herakleios in 622. Their empire fell to the Arabs in the mid-7th century.

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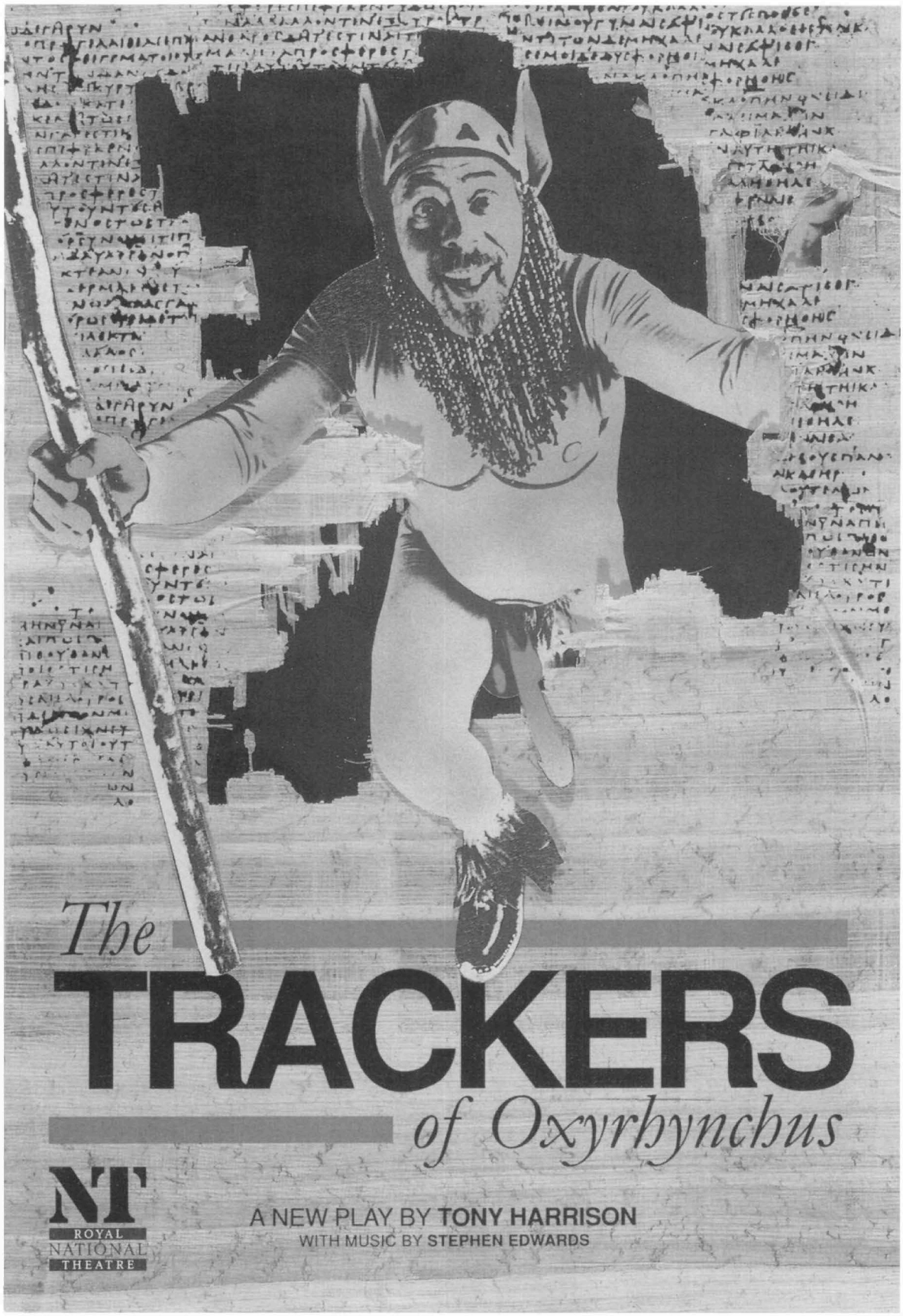
Satyr Play

The satyr play was a type of Classical Greek drama that stood midway between tragedy and comedy. Satyr plays were composed by tragedians and performed with tragedies at dramatic festivals in Athens; the rules of these contests required that each tragedian present three tragedies followed by a satyr play. Satyr plays also resembled tragedies in being concerned with mythological subjects for the most part, rather than with contemporary ones, as were comedies. Like comedies, however, satyr plays were humorous, irreverent, and frequently obscene. The chorus was always composed of satyrs, mythological servants of Dionysus who were partly human but had horses' hooves, ears, and tails and wore enormous erect pballuses.

Satyrs were known for their wildness, drunkenness, cowardice, sexual appetite, and total lack of the virtues of civilization. The one satyr play that survives intact, Euripides' *Cyclops*, makes use of these attributes to produce a very funny



Satyr: programme of Tony Harrison's satyr play *The Trackers of Oxyrhynchus*, based on Sophocles' *Ichneutae*, National Theatre, London, 1990

parody of Homer's tale of Odysseus and the Cyclops, a one-eyed giant named Polyphemus. In Homer's version Odysseus and his men land on the Cyclops' island and are captured after they take some of his food. Polyphemus locks them in his cave and promises to eat a few of them every day for dinner, but Odysseus gets him drunk and blinds him, enabling the men to escape. In Euripides' version Silenus, an old man who cared for Dionysus in his youth, has been shipwrecked on the Cyclops' island with the band of satyrs he leads, and all of them are serving as slaves when Odysseus and his men turn up on the island. Silenus sells them the Cyclops' property in exchange for wine, of which he has long been deprived, but when Polyphemus returns unexpectedly Silenus is terrified and pretends that the Greeks have robbed him by force. The Cyclops imprisons Odysseus' men and eats two of them, but Odysseus plies him with wine, while Silenus does all he can to get some of the wine for himself. Eventually Polyphemus becomes drunk enough to think that he is Zeus and Silenus Ganymede, and carries the frantic Silenus off into the cave. While he is gone Odysseus prepares a burning stake for blinding the giant, but the satyrs, who have promised to help him, prove to be too cowardly to do so. Odysseus gets his crew to help instead, and they blind the Cyclops and escape, taking the chorus with them.

The origins of the satyr play and those of tragedy are probably linked. Aristotle says both that tragedy grew out of the dithyramb and that it emerged from satyric drama; this satyric drama is probably not the Classical satyr play but its ancestor. The link between dithyramb and satyr play may have been made (sometime around 600 BC) by the poet Arion, who is said to have been the first to have his dithyrambs sung by choruses of satyrs. The word "tragedy" itself, which means "goat song", may come from the satyrs of such choruses; although depictions of satyrs on Greek pottery suggest that at an early period their non-human features were those of horses rather than goats, the satyrs in drama may well have disguised themselves as goats or acted like goats.

One ancient explanation for the development of satyr plays into their Classical form is that as tragedy developed from the dithyramb (originally a hymn to Dionysus), the tragedians started to use plots that had nothing to do with Dionysus; this annoyed the audience, and to satisfy them the poets invented the satyr play. More modern ideas are that the satyr play started from a humorous part of a tragedy (functioning to relieve tension like the grave-diggers in *Hamlet*) that was gradually split off, or that satyr plays were a genre parallel to tragedy that evolved somewhere in the Peloponnese while tragedy was emerging at Athens. In any case, the structure of satyr plays seems to be much like that of tragedies, though the length of the *Cyclops* suggests that such plays were in general much shorter than tragedies. They were probably performed, like tragedies, by three actors and a chorus of 12 (later 15).

According to legend, the first writer of satyr plays in their classical form was Pratinas of Phlius at the beginning of the 5th century BC; he was one of the most important and prolific writers of such works, but almost none of his output survives. Pratinas' son Aristias was another great writer of satyr plays, as was the tragedian Aeschylus, parts of whose satyr play *Dictyulci* have survived on papyrus. Euripides had a tendency to replace satyr plays with tragedies that had happy endings, such as the *Alcestis*, or with humorous pieces that did not use a chorus of satyrs; it is possible that Sophocles too may have written such "prosatyric" plays. Both dramatists, however, also wrote a number of satyr plays; Euripides' *Cyclops* survives intact, and a large portion of Sophocles' *Ichneutae* has been found on papyrus.

In the 4th century BC the production of satyr plays declined, and their number was reduced to one per tragic festival, rather than one per trilogy. The genre was revived in the Alexandrian period and still kept its chorus of satyrs, although these late satyr plays seem to have been concerned with contemporary events as well as with mythology. Eventually the genre inspired a type of Latin satyr play in Rome but died out in Greece. The satyr play has remained essentially a dead form to the present day, though the *Cyclops* and the *Ichneutae* are occasionally performed, the latter sometimes with a good deal of modern creativity supplying the missing portions.

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See also Dithyramb, Tragedy

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Scepticism

The philosophical denial of the possibility of human knowledge

There are varieties of scepticism. Natural scepticism is simply asking for sufficient evidence before trusting some claim. This mode of doubting protects people from ignorance or credulity. Philosophical scepticism goes far beyond this.

Scepticism comes from *skeptomai*, which means "I inquire, consider, reflect". Inquiry can lead to answers (*dogma*), or to confusion when there is no reliable way to decide between competing answers.

Philosophical scepticism challenges all claims to knowledge by seeking to show that all is confusion. Philosophical scepticism challenges all epistemologies. Doubting, or withholding belief, until satisfactory reasons to believe are offered is the core of the sceptical method.

The Greek sceptics claimed they were the intellectual descendants of Socrates. They believed that the Socratic claim to ignorance, "I only know that I do not know", was not due to inadequate inquiry. Socrates could not know because no inquiry will ever find any answers.

Actually the real fountainhead of scepticism lay not in Socrates, but in his opponents, the Sophists. These teachers had expressed the confusion felt by many Greeks at the contradictory answers of the Presocratic metaphysicians, and the scepticism implicit in their thought. In addition, the flood of

conflicting ideas challenging traditional belief after Alexander the Great's conquests and the loss of meaning in public life with the end of independence of the city state made despair common.

The sceptics attacked the claims to knowledge made by the dogmatic philosophers, especially the Stoics and Epicureans, by raising the problem of the criterion (Sextus Empiricus, *Outlines*, I. 21). To answer questions about how a person has acquired knowledge of something, rules of evidence need to be offered. Reasons need to be given. The reasons which support a truth claim (or a value judgement) need in turn to be supported. This eventually leads to an infinite regress, or to circular argument, and not knowledge, they claimed.

Ethically the sceptics rejected positive knowledge of ethical values. For practical reasons they usually adopted a strategy of behaviour that accommodated them to the values prevailing in the community.

Philosophical scepticism began in the Hellenistic age with the teaching of Pyrrho of Elis (*c.*363–273 BC). His goal was peace through an apathetic state of mind (*artaraxia*). Freedom from care through an indifferent attitude was the goal of the sceptics in general (Sextus Empiricus, *Outlines*, I. 8–12).

Pyrrho's ideas were popularized in Athens by his student, Timon of Phlius (320–230 BC). He used lampoons (*silloi*) to attack dogmatic claims. This form of scepticism claimed to be unable to decide if the dogmas of the Stoics and Epicureans could be proved. Since he was unable to decide if something was fact or error, the wise man should suspend judgement until proof could be offered.

In the 3rd century BC a more radical form of scepticism appeared. The Middle or New Academy of Plato became the centre of Academic scepticism. The first of the Academic sceptics was Arcesilaus of Pitane (*c.*316–240 BC). His arguments attacked the Stoic criterion of knowledge.

The most important of the Academic sceptics was Carneades of Cyrene (*c.*215–129 BC), who also headed the Academy in Athens. He taught that nothing can be known with certainty, but that there are degrees of probability which will assist the wise when deciding how to act. He was succeed by Clitomachus (Hasdrubal) of Carthage (*c.*270–200 BC). Clitomachus was a dedicated popularizer of the arguments of Carneades. Little remains of his 400 works.

The later sceptics revived Pyrrhonism at Alexandria. They include Aenesidemus of Cnossus (*c.*80 BC–AD 30), Agrippa (dates are unknown), and Sextus Empiricus (*c.*AD 163–210). The last of these preserved the sceptic tradition. In his works Sextus discusses the methods of his predecessors including the use of modes (tropes) of doubting used to attack empirical claims. Essentially these pile enough differences in sense impressions to create doubt, so suspension of judgement is warranted. He also presents arguments for attacking rationalist claims to knowledge.

Eventually Greek teachers and Roman students of the Academy, such as Cicero, were to spread scepticism to Roman literature where it would be refuted by Plotinus and Augustine. The success of these critiques of scepticism was to last for over a thousand years.

The Renaissance introduced western Europe to the Hellenistic philosophies. By the 1500s Greek editions of Sextus' books were being printed. These printed editions were based on manuscripts preserved in the Greek-speaking east since the advent of Christianity.

Sceptical thought had played some role in the theology of the east. The early Church Fathers had made some use of it. Usually they were opposed to the sceptics because the latter were seen as a threat to Christianity. Gregory of Nazianzus (*c.*330–89) argued that the sceptics were to be lumped with Greek philosophers in general as incompatible. The Fathers occasionally used sceptical arguments to advance the faith.

In the following centuries occasional references to the sceptics can be found in Byzantine thought. In the 14th century a few Byzantine thinkers revived sceptical arguments. Their thought was opposed by Theodore Metochites (1260–1322) in his *Miscellanea Philosophica et Historica*. Others also worked on sceptical issues, including Gregory Palamas (1296–1359). Little use was made of scepticism after the fall of Constantinople in 1453.

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See also Philosophy

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Schism

Schism is a term designating the separation of a group from the main body of the Church due to disagreements on doctrinal, administrative, or other issues. This separation, however, is not absolute and irreconcilable but rather, as pointed out in the definition of "schism" given by Basil the Great, "capable of mutual solution" (J.B. Migne, *Patrologiae Cursus Completus, Series Graeca*, 32. 665). The term is first found in the New Testament and, although in patristic writings "schism" is distinguished from "heresy" – a much stronger term denoting a deviation from "correct faith" – schismatics have often come to be regarded as heretics.

The long history of Christianity displayed many schismatic tendencies. Some of them, particularly those of the 5th and 6th centuries, concerning the interpretation of Christological doctrine, resulted in permanent splits, such as that of the Nestorians and Monophysites who subsequently maintained a separate existence. These earlier schisms were mostly a natural consequence of heresies. From the 9th century onwards, however, the causes of schisms assumed a more personal character and the usual motives were the attempts of the emperors to exceed their prerogatives and privileges. Yet most of these schisms – such as the Photian schism of the 9th century, the schism known as "the affair of the tetragamy" of Leo VI in the 10th century, and the Arsenite schism of the 13th century – were temporary rifts and were eventually resolved. In many ways, however, all these ecclesiastical conflicts, from the 4th century onwards, may be regarded as the onset of an estrangement that was taking place within the main body of Christians and that was to widen century after century.

This estrangement reached its climax with the so-called Great Schism of 1054 between the Latin and Byzantine Churches. In the history of Christianity the Great Schism is considered to be the most significant one, and the term "schism" is most habitually employed to denote this particular split. The alienation of eastern and western Christians was not a synchronic historical event that took effect everywhere at once. It was rather a lengthy and perplexing process, the origins of which can be dated back to the 4th, 5th, and 6th centuries, while its final stage did not occur until the middle of the 15th century. In this extended process two incidents are explicitly acknowledged by historians as reflecting the widening gulf.

First there was the conflict between pope Nicholas I of Rome and patriarch Photios of Constantinople in 863–67. The appointment of Photios as patriarch and the deposition of his predecessor Ignatios were clearly connected with the papal controversy. Different interpretations concerning the primacy of Rome and other important ecclesiastical centres were apparent already in the 4th century and were related to the crisis over Arianism and the Acacian schism (485–519). The dispute between the two patriarchs, Photios and Ignatios, was used by Nicholas I to enforce his claim for universal papal jurisdiction. Although Nicholas's legates had acknowledged Photios as the legitimate patriarch, Nicholas repudiated their decision and demanded a retrial. A council was held in Rome under his presidency in 863. Here Photios was declared deposed and Ignatios was restored as patriarch. This approach was unacceptable to the Byzantines, who regarded the Church not as a monarchy, as the Latins did, but rather as conciliar in structure. The Council of Chalcedon (451) had attributed to the bishop of "Constantinople which is New Rome" equal privileges, in keeping with those of Old Rome, which was the imperial city (canon 28). Thus Byzantines saw Nicholas's actions as an intolerable interference in the affairs of another patriarchate. Photios also caused an additional strain to Byzantine–papal relations by adding a doctrinal dimension to the jurisdictional conflict through the questioning of the so-called *filioque* clause. This came at a time when a strong political rivalry existed between the Roman and Byzantine Churches over the control of the newly converted tsar of Bulgaria, Boris (852–89). Photios then in an encyclical to the Eastern patriarchs presented a list of Latin errors, the most important of which was the *filioque*. He went so far as to suggest that it was heretical, since to affirm that the Spirit "proceeds from the Father and the Son" was to admit of two principles. Although the *filioque* was not used at that time in Rome, German missionaries had introduced the creed in Bulgaria with this addition. By this act Photios was aiming to persuade Boris to embrace the Eastern rather than the Western form of Christianity. Boris received baptism from the Byzantines and, despite the fact that he negotiated with Rome when Constantinople refused to grant autonomy, Bulgaria remained Eastern in its polity. Photios in his second patriarchate (877–86) remained in communion with Rome. But even though it appeared that the Photian schism came to an end, its underlying causes were never really solved.

At the beginning of the 11th century relations between Rome and Constantinople were allowed to backslide once more. Rome in 1014 added the *filioque* to the creed. Moreover, at that time, for reasons that still remain unclear, patriarch Sergios II excluded from the Diptychs (i.e. excommunicated) the name of the new pope Sergius IV. This meant that the loss of communion was there even before the second incident, which is recognized by historians as leading to the final rupture between the two parts of Christendom.

This new incident took place in the mid-11th century when Constantinople was at the peak of its medieval power, and the see of Rome had just reformed itself, after passing through a century of decadence and confusion. At the same time the Normans were invading the Byzantine provinces in south Italy, thus complicating the already fragile political and ecclesiastical relations between Rome and Constantinople. The matter became even worse when the Normans compelled the Greeks living in Byzantine Italy to comply with Latin practices. The patriarch, Michael Keroularios, retaliated by closing down all the Latin churches in Constantinople. A reconciliation effort was made by Constantinople, which included an invitation to a papal delegation. In 1054 pope Leo IX sent cardinal Humbert as his legate to Constantinople. Humbert was annoyed by the uncooperative attitude of Keroularios and excommunicated him in a bull, which was left on the altar of the church of Hagia Sophia. Keroularios, in turn, anathematized Humbert. These mutual anathemas have been identified

as the incident from which we may date the consummation of the schism. After these anathemas, however, relations between the two Churches continued to be unclear for many years. The quarrel was perceived by many as a simple misunderstanding, which would be easily resolved. Furthermore, it appeared not to have had a great impact on the Byzantines, who continued communion with the Latins on a local basis. Yet, doctrinally, culturally, and institutionally, the two sides had drifted so far apart that their estrangement proved to be intractable.

It was the sack of Constantinople on Good Friday 1204 by the Fourth Crusade that made even the laity aware that the split between the two sides was profound and decisive. For three days the crusaders were allowed to kill their fellow Christians as well as burn and ruin the sacred city of the Christian East. This act initiated a spirit of abiding bitterness and hatred. Thereafter the Latins were considered by most Byzantines as enemies of their Church and nation. Nevertheless, since then, efforts have been made to reestablish full communion between Eastern Christianity and the Roman Church. The attempts at union of the councils of Lyon (1274) and Ferrara-Florence (1438–39) failed: first because they were politically rather than spiritually motivated; and second because the overwhelming majority of the clergy and laity throughout the Orthodox world were not ready to accept the Latin doctrine of the *filioque* and the papal claims. Even in the last days of Byzantium, when the political situation became desperate due to the advances of the Ottomans, the animosity between western and eastern Christians was not lessened; many of the latter even came to look upon the Ottoman advance as a lesser evil than submission to the Latins.

At first sight, the whole story of the Great Schism seems to be one of political and personal conflict, often rooted in human folly and narrow-mindedness. Recently, however, historians looking at the underlying causes of the schism have stressed the importance of historical, cultural, and even ethnic factors. It is important to point out that the breach of communion between pope and patriarch occurred when the Church of Old Rome was under the influence of Germans. In fact, it was the Normans who made the restoration of communion between the two sides impossible. This led some writers to view the schism as a conflict not between the Latin and Orthodox Churches, but between Franks and (east) Romans, and to go so far as to suggest that the Franks used the institutional aspects of Christianity to keep the conquered (west) Romans in a submissive state (cf. J. Romanides, 1981). However, all the aforementioned factors found a suitable expression in religious and doctrinal differences. Nevertheless, many writers still hold that the schism was above all a matter of theology and doctrine.

Although geographically the Christian East and West could not be clearly delimited, differences in modes of thinking and theologizing were (and still are) very apparent. Orthodox theology was a patristic one based on the writings of the Greek Fathers of the 4th century. It was a theology that was lived and taught liturgically, principally through Eucharistic worship. Western Christianity, on the other hand, until the 12th and 13th centuries when it was influenced by the rationalism of Scholasticism, had a more rudimentary theology. It subsequently became common to consider Orthodoxy as more conservative, ritualistic, mystical, personal, and existential in comparison with Western Christianity, which was seen as more rationalistic, "scientific", and systematic. The two wings of Christianity, therefore, developed a very different outlook as far as church life was concerned. Their difference in theological outlook coloured not only the two fundamental issues of their controversy, which still remain unsolved, i.e. the teaching concerning the procession of the Holy Spirit and the limits of papal power, but also the less important issues involved in the conflict, such as the celibacy of the clergy, the use of the *azymes* or unleavened bread in the Eucharist, the manner of conferring confirmation, and the Western teaching on Purgatory.

The schism of 1054 is regarded as one of the greatest tragedies in Church history with far-reaching consequences for both Eastern and Western Christianity. It is connected to the fall of the Byzantine empire and the advance of Islam, to the failure of the crusades, to the Reformation, which divided the West into two hostile camps, and to the rivalry between Russia and Western Europe. Even the schism of 1923 that took place within the Church of Greece and resulted in the excommunication of a group of Greek Orthodox known as the "Old Calendarists", can be seen as part of the aftermath that followed the breach of communion between the Orthodox and Western Churches. The Old Calendarists refused to follow the Gregorian calendar, introduced by pope Gregory III in 1572, which the Greek Church officially adopted, and still continue to adhere to the Julian reckoning.

In the course of the centuries various attempts have been made to restore unity between East and West. On 7 December 1965 the mutual anathemas were revoked by both sides. Yet such efforts resulted in further tensions and oppositions because of the fear of many Orthodox of losing their identity and autocephaly, and also because of the additional Latin innovations made after the schism of 1054, specifically the dogma of the infallibility of the pope and his immediate and universal jurisdiction over the entire Church. Further complications in the relations between East and West were also added by Uniatism, which appeared in eastern Europe in the 16th and 17th centuries, the consequences of which are still apparent today. The Uniates follow the Byzantine ritual in their worship, but recognize the supremacy of the pope. Such partial unions have been regarded by Orthodox as imbued with proselytism and as an unacceptable form of "missionary apostolate" on the part of the Latin Church.

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See also Heresy, Old Calendarists, Roman Catholic Church, Uniates

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Scholarship, History of

Whether there is any Greek word that corresponds to the English "scholarship" may be doubted. Nevertheless it is clear from what is known of men of letters in antiquity that they engaged in activities that would fall within any ordinary definition of the term. The understanding and criticism of literature were stimulated by the existence of schools where Homer and other poets formed a substantial part of the syllabus, and the teacher was forced to explain the texts and answer questions. Apart from the numerous minor linguistic difficulties arising from archaic words in Homer there were bigger questions: how could one interpret suitably such passages as Hera's approaches to Zeus in *Iliad* 14 or the tale of Hephaestus catching Ares and Aphrodite in flagrante delicto in *Odyssey* 8? For that difficulty it seems probable that the method of allegorical interpretation was invented, apparently by Theagenes of Rhegion (*c.*525 BC).

A desire to illuminate literary history and the origins of genres becomes visible in Aristotle's circle in such works as his *Homeric Questions* or the lists of dramatists who had won victories in the competitions at the Athenian state festivals, and a teleological view of the world was naturally conducive to such inquiries. But most of what would nowadays be considered literary scholarship (I leave out of account philosophical monographs and commentaries on Plato and Aristotle) appears to be the invention of men working in Alexandria in the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC. The librarians at the Museum collected Greek literature systematically, and they must soon have been puzzled and dismayed by the number of texts that had unintelligible passages resulting from careless transcription, or – worse still – by serious discrepancies between copies of the same text, a problem very noticeable in the case of Homer. There were also questions of authenticity. Though our sources of information on all these matters are very fragmentary, it is clear that discussions in the Museum led to the development of a number of aids for the reader, some of them mundane, such as the possibility of marking the accents so as to facilitate reading or the insistence on dividing lines of lyric verse so as to respect the metrical units, and others more sophisticated, such as the use of symbols in the left-hand margin of texts to advise the reader of certain problems raised by the passages in question. And with all this there had to be a second-order literature, i.e. books about books. Some of these were detailed commentaries on the texts, in others the critic expounded a topic and offered solutions to the problems, sometimes with an explicit mention of the principles by which puzzles might be solved. An enormous quantity of such literature was produced in antiquity. The most important scholars and critics were Zenodotus, Callimachus, Aristophanes of Byzantium, and Aristarchus. None of their work survives in its original form; at best we have brief citations, more usually a substantially rephrased and abbreviated version of their views, often not specifically attributed to the original author. So it is not always clear to whom we owe the best ideas; it is for instance a matter of debate whether Aristarchus is to be credited with the important maxim that "Homer should be illuminated from Homer", in other words that one needs to explain difficulties as far as possible by looking elsewhere in the writings of the same author. The question then arose whether a unique feature could be accepted, and one anonymous scholar formulated the necessary principle that in Homer there are many unique words, without which there would have been a temptation to deal drastically with the text. As it was, some critics declared a number of passages "improper" for one reason or another, but fortunately they did not go so far as to delete the lines in question, which would have had disastrous consequences, since their judgement now seems to us to have been at fault in most cases. Nevertheless there are many stimulating observations to be found in the surviving sources, for example the note that remarks that in the first book of the *Iliad* there are no similes, or the statement attributed to both Aristophanes of Byzantium and Aristarchus that the end of the *Odyssey* is to be placed at line 296 of book 23. It is therefore extremely unfortunate that the only critical monographs to survive from antiquity in their original form are not by the leading scholars of the period *c.*275–150 BC but works of later date or of marginal interest. The earliest appears to be a discussion of Aratus' and Eudoxus' *Phaenomena* by the astronomer and geographer Hipparchus (*c.*150 BC); the most famous, assuming it to be genuine, the brief *Techne Grammatike* of Dionysius Thrax (*fl. c.*150–90 BC); others are an essay by one Heraclitus (1st century AD?) on allegory in Homer and part of a commentary by Didymus (1st century BC) on speeches 9–11 and 13 of Demosthenes; this is a careless and unimpressive piece of work by a man whose fluent pen made him almost proverbial.

Any author of reasonably high quality could become the subject of a commentary, especially if his works were adopted for the school curriculum. But the lion's share of attention went to Homer, a fact reflected in the bulk of the surviving scholia, that is, notes written in the margins of medieval manuscripts but deriving from ancient monographs. One especially

famous manuscript of the *Iliad* (Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, gr. 454) has preserved a quantity of material not known from any other source, with many snippets of information or judgements attributed to their authors. This manuscript gives us an idea of the specialized and detailed nature of studies devoted to Homer, including a great deal of a book by a certain Nicanor (*fl.* *c.*AD 130), on the correct way to punctuate the more complex sentences in Homer; what was presumably a series of notes presented as a running commentary has been divided into tiny sections and inserted into the rest of the commentary at the appropriate places. A similar fate befell an equally specialized monograph on the lyric metres in Aristophanes' comedies: quite a few excerpts of work by Heliodorus (1st century AD) are embedded in the scholia to Aristophanes.

In the expanding and changing cultural world of the late Hellenistic period and the Roman empire, the types of scholarship developed in Alexandria continued to flourish and prove their value. In the Greek-speaking Jewish community of Alexandria the Old Testament was studied in the Greek Septuagint version. Difficulties in the text had already been expounded by one Aristobulus (*c.*150 BC), and he may have had some connection with the Museum, since he shows occasional awareness of Greek poetry. When the Christians began to study their sacred texts they too availed themselves of the tools of pagan culture. The most notable figure is Origen, active in Alexandria from 202 until 223, then in Caesarea until 253. He and some of his successors were keen exponents of allegory as a means of interpreting the scriptures, but he was also aware of other scholarly methods, and in his remarkable *Hexapla* he produced an edition of the Old Testament set out in six columns, a somewhat clumsy forerunner of the critical apparatus typical of modern scholarly editions. Origen was not unwilling to use the techniques of the pagan scholars of Alexandria in dealing with the Bible; the same is true to a greater extent of the members of what is generally treated as a rival school in Antioch, whose leading exponents Diodore of Tarsus (d. 394) and Theodore of Mopsuestia (350–428), though ignorant of Hebrew, showed an acute awareness of the problems of translation.

Just as there had been commentaries on Homer and other pagan classics, so too there were commentaries on books of the Bible, and by the early 6th century the number of such texts, though probably not equal in bulk to what had been written about the leading pagan classics, was substantial. But it was difficult, especially in an age of declining economic resources, for readers to find copies of all the commentaries they might wish to consult, and frequently there was repetition of material. A solution was found by selecting and amalgamating notes from existing commentaries or monographs; the new collections of material, generally known as scholia on pagan texts and catenae on books of the Bible, could be fitted into the margins of the codex form of book that had replaced the roll and become standard since *c.*AD 400. It is not known exactly when and where this important and time-consuming operation took place, but catenae are perhaps the invention of Procopius of Gaza (*c.*475–538), a leading member of an intellectual circle in which devout Christians continued the study of the pagan classics as part of the educational curriculum. Catenae and scholia, though very similar, exhibit one important difference: whereas material on pagan texts rarely gives the name of the scholar who is being quoted, many catenae make a point of naming the authors of each extract, and it is interesting to note that catenae preserve a fair number of observations by Church Fathers such as Origen and Theodore of Mopuestia who subsequently fell out of favour.

Since the 2nd century AD Greek literature had been dominated by the archaizing Atticist movement, which obliged authors to imitate as best they could the language of acknowledged masterpieces written when Athens was at its peak. Manuals of correct usage were produced in abundance; we still have those compiled by Moeris, Phrynichus, and Pollux. The fashion lasted much longer than might have been expected. Classical texts were studied as much for their stylistic qualities as their power to instruct or edify, and their place in the school syllabus was barely affected by the spread of Christianity. Authors were equipped with scholia so that teachers should never be at a loss when questioned by pupils, and what had been done for pagan authors was replicated for the one significant addition to the corpus of *Kunstprosa*, a selection of 16 orations by St Gregory of Nazianzus. No other substantial alterations seem to have been made to the curriculum and essentially the educational system remained unchanged until the end of the Byzantine empire.

The fragmentary nature of our sources makes it hard to discern any scholarly achievement of note in the period of Justinian (the preparation of the *Digest* falls outside the scope of this article). It is perhaps worth noting one specific controversy: at a church council held in 532 Hypatius, bishop of Ephesus, put forward a properly argued case against recognizing the works of Dionysius the Areopagite as genuine. Unluckily this pioneer of rational thought was a millennium ahead of his time and his view did not gain acceptance.

After the Dark Ages, which may be reckoned as falling between the death of the emperor Herakleios in 641 and the end of the 8th century, we find a literary scene not much changed except geographically, for some centres of cultivated urban life had been lost to the empire. Yet the libraries of Constantinople still contained many texts that have not come down to the modern world, and these were exploited by one outstanding figure, the patriarch Photios (*c.*810–?after 893), especially in his so-called *Myriobiblon* or *Bibliotheca*. The title is misleading and not authentic, and the habit of referring to each chapter as a "codex" is unfortunate, because it suggests that a personal library is being described. The work is in fact a series of notes and essays compiled for the benefit of his brother, describing books he had read. Poetry is barely represented, but there are accounts of many texts now lost, for which Photios is the best or the only source; his comments on their stylistic merits or failings, while couched in vocabulary he may have acquired from predecessors, are not just plagiarism and show a well-developed literary sensibility. He was also alert to problems of authenticity and interpretation of texts, for example in one passage ("codex" 230, p.270 a 17) he uses an adapted form of a principle cited earlier when he says "Who could be more suitable to interpret St Cyril than Cyril himself?" A more remarkable statement occurs in his *Amphilochia* (chapter 152) where, basing himself at least in part on an earlier patristic writer, he states that heretical doctrine can arise from small faults in texts such as the loss or

addition of a single letter, or a faulty accent or inadequate punctuation.

No later Byzantine scholars quite equalled Photios. But much energy was devoted to preserving the Classical literary heritage. In the 10th century the emperor Constantine Porphyrogennetos and his circle attempted an encyclopaedic compilation of useful knowledge arranged in categories, which survives only in part and may never have been completed. From much the same period comes the *Suda* or *Suidas*, a large dictionary and encyclopaedia designed to help the reader of the classics of pagan and patristic literature. The polymath and professor of philosophy Michael Psellos (1018–78?) has left a number of essays on literary themes, including one on the ancient novels by Achilles Tatius and Heliodorus, and another on the respective merits of Euripides and George of Pisidia (the latter too poorly preserved to be properly assessed). Archbishop Eustathios of Thessalonica (1115–95) was an indefatigable compiler of commentaries on Homer and other authors. He and his fellow bishop Michael Choniates of Athens (1138–1222) had access to some texts that did not survive the onslaught of the Crusaders in 1204, and their quotations from such works are valuable; their own contribution to scholarship, however, probably amounted to little more than maintaining tradition in the schools.

That tradition had to be restored when the Byzantines recovered their capital in 1261, and during the Palaiologan period that followed, despite a deepening economic crisis, there was much scholarly activity of a high calibre. Particular credit is due to Maximos Planudes for his wide interests. *Inter alia* he prepared a recension of Plutarch and a somewhat bowdlerized edition of the *Greek Anthology*, and tried to improve the text of Aratus' poem *Phaenomena* by substituting lines of his own for passages that were now known to be astronomically erroneous. Less wide-ranging but in a way more important was the work of the 14th century scholar Dimitrios Triklinios on Greek tragedy and comedy. Triklinios understood Classical metre much better than anyone else in Byzantium, and he used this knowledge to correct many faulty verses; his corrections in many cases are accepted by modern editors, a fact that distinguishes him from other Byzantine scholars.

The final stages of Byzantine scholarship can be said to have taken place in Italy. The diaspora of refugees began well before the Turkish capture of Constantinople, and many educated men came to Italy in the hope of making a living as teachers. The most notable refugee was a clerical member of the delegation sent to the Council of Florence, Bessarion, who soon after settled in Italy and was made a cardinal. His astonishing personal library became the basis of the Marciana in Venice through his donation of 1468. But he was not simply a bibliophile, and though his marginal annotations to the texts he read do not demonstrate a particularly happy touch in making suggestions to heal corrupt passages, his pamphlet dealing with the disputed verse in St John's Gospel (21: 22) is important for the way it casts doubt on the wording found in the Vulgate.

Once the study of Greek took root in Italy it could spread to other western countries, especially with the aid of the printed book. Many of the early editions are due to Aldus Manutius, who did not always succeed in finding in Venice plentiful manuscript sources and collaborators of high ability. But he had great success with one of the Greek refugees, Markos Musuros (1470–1517), who prepared editions of Aristophanes and other authors, and at his best did excellent work towards the restoration of corrupt texts. From the middle of the 15th century onwards, however, Greek scholarship gradually became an international activity, with various western countries in turn producing a crop of eminent scholars, while Greece itself languished under Ottoman rule. The most remarkable personality from Greece in early modern times was Adamantios Korais (1748–1833), born in Smyrna but resident in Paris for much of his life; in addition to contributing to the Greek language question he published editions of the classics and made many acute conjectures that have won the admiration of modern critics. But he does not seem to have had close contacts with the German scholars of the day who were transforming the study of the classics into a science of antiquity, the study of ancient civilization as a whole.

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See also Books and Readers, Education, Humanism, Libraries, Museum of Alexandria, Printing, Renaissance (Palaiologan)

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Schools and Universities

The word "school" is of Greek origin: *schole* means "leisure, liberty from waged work and affairs of state". This leisure time could be devoted to scholarly studies. In this way the place where such occupations were practised received the same name. Through Latin (*schola*) the term then passed into many European languages. The "university" (from Latin *universitas*, "totality, teaching staff"), however, is a product of medieval western Europe; it did not exist in an institutionalized form in the Byzantine empire. Nevertheless facilities for a higher schol-

Schools: primary school in Athens. There is compulsory education for nine years in Greece today.

arly education already existed in Classical times (and later in the Byzantine period), but one should rather speak of academies or colleges.

An essential aspect of schools and academies in antiquity and in Byzantium is that they were mostly organized on a private basis. The state was not responsible for education and therefore there was no compulsory schooling or any continuous support for academies – it happened only occasionally that some project received support – or any permanently employed teachers. On the other hand, society as well as state authorities had an interest in passing on the cultural values of their civilization to the younger generation to make good citizens of them. In addition, the state was intent on getting good staff for its civil service and thus had a natural interest in enabling children and young people to obtain a comprehensive general education.

Fixed educational forms existed from approximately the 6th century BC. One of the few organized schools of this period was to be found in Sparta. Boys there were educated under state control between the ages of 7 and 29. In addition to elementary teaching in the basic principles of reading and writing, music and sports were taught. To a large extent the education was oriented towards the military in order to prepare boys for a life as soldiers. Girls received a similarly regulated education meant to prepare them for their social roles as mothers and educators of their children.

These elementary schools, which were mostly private, were also found in other regions of Greece. In Athens this educational form must have existed from at least the 6th century BC, as widespread writing skills demonstrate (e.g. written votes for citizens). Normally, elementary schools were run by a single teacher (the so-called *grammatistes*, from Greek *gramma*, "letter") who taught children between the ages of 7 and 14 in his private room. The furnishing was scanty: an easy chair for the teacher, simple benches or stools for the pupils, no tables. Wax tablets and slate pencils or papyrus and ink served as writing materials. The lessons at the *grammatistes* consisted of writing, reading, and arithmetic. Children learned to write by a strictly systematic, bottom-up method: first single letters, then syllables, and finally whole words. Reading was practised in the same way. Memorizing and reciting texts went together with reading them. The pedagogical method was limited to passive instruction, and corporal punishment often used. Since the elementary schoolteacher had to support himself from grants by his pupils' parents, his social standing was not very high. Nor was there any special training for teachers; anybody who could write and read was allowed to act as a teacher. There were no fixed holidays, but no lessons took place on the numerous monthly feasts and holidays.

In the 5th century BC it was the sophists (primarily philosophers and scholars who truly distinguished themselves as educationists) who, more than any others, helped to raise

education to a higher level. They gathered young people around them to offer them a more ambitious intellectual training that lasted several years. This was, however, a collective instruction rather than an institutionalized schooling. The sophists were "travelling teachers" who went to different regions and villages demonstrating their knowledge in order to gain new trainees.

From about the 4th century BC true schools were created instead of individual educational schemes. They provided a secondary education that lasted two years. Boys especially, after finishing elementary school, i.e. at about the age of 14, were instructed – sports and military training apart – in theoretical subjects to achieve the so-called *enkyklios paideia* ("all-round, general education"). Besides scientific subjects (viz. geometry, arithmetic, music, astronomy) literary studies were mostly pursued. The Classical Greek writers – mainly poets, but also historians – were read, and their works were analysed and explained from a lexical and a grammatical perspective as well as in relation to their contents. The theory of grammar, which was an independent discipline, was treated too. Moreover, pupils had to do practical exercises in the form of literary essays.

These educational institutions, the so-called ephebic colleges (from Greek *ephebos*, "boy who has reached puberty"), were dependent on the particular town or municipality, which undertook to pay the teachers (Greek *grammatikos*, "grammar teacher"), though often private donors had to help out. Originally, these schools were compulsory for young men but over the centuries they gradually became elite schools for rich parents' children in the same measure as instruction in the humanities became more significant. The teaching place was the so-called *gymnasion* (the German term *Gymnasium* corresponds to the English "college") which originally meant sports field. There were comparable higher schools for girls, but here instruction was limited to music and literature.

In the Classical and Hellenistic periods it is impossible to draw a clear line between secondary and higher education. But scholarly instruction concentrated on such subjects as rhetoric and philosophy, which were seen as the main pillars of education. Specialized teachers, i.e. rhetoricians or sophists, gathered groups of pupils around them and trained them – over a period of up to five years – in theoretical and practical rhetoric in a private and friendly atmosphere. From the 2nd century BC Rhodes was particularly famous for its rhetorical schools. There were schools for philosophy as well, as in Athens, where teachers conveyed their philosophical opinions in lectures and personal conversations with the pupils, together with explanations of Classical authors. The two kinds of higher education competed with each other, but also mutually influenced each other. Teachers in these institutions had a high social standing, often occupying honorary state positions. It is striking that no professional training conveying practical skills (except for medicine) was offered in the higher schools. Special skills could only be acquired by practising with a specialized instructor.

In late antiquity the state, represented by the emperor, increasingly intervened in educational policy in order to induce the towns and municipalities to open new schools and to ensure the teachers' payment. There were practical reasons for this, since the state needed trained civil servants for administrative tasks. Christianization did not have any far-reaching influence on school education since religious education was regarded as the responsibility of the parental home. Schools continued to pass on Classical "pagan" values. As to higher education, centres for special subjects arose in different towns of the empire: Antioch for rhetoric, Athens and Alexandria for philosophy; Berytus (Beirut) for the new subject jurisprudence (under the influence of Roman legislation).

In the Byzantine period educational structures from antiquity were in general adopted almost without any change, but with certain individual developments. From the 5th century Constantinople became the centre for education, retaining this status until the 15th century. Elementary teaching could be obtained in almost every town, even in provincial ones, while secondary education was available only in the larger towns. Of course, not every member of every social class was able to do so. Girls especially received a rudimentary education in reading and writing at best. Primary-grade schoolmasters still had a bad reputation. Secondary-grade private tutors however were appreciated socially, living on payments by their pupils or partly supported by patrons. In this period, as in late antiquity, support for secondary schools and academies for the education of civil servants (and of clerics for Church offices), doctors, and jurists is noticeable. Apart from private schools public ones were founded and maintained by the state (i.e. by the emperor or by the Church), which ensured that the state and the Church retained substantial control of education. The founders won great fame, not to speak of the practical benefits, for themselves because by training people they could expect to have loyal civil servants and clerics. Nevertheless, one cannot speak of state institutions since they were connected to an individual, after whose death they stopped functioning.

The *grammatikos* or secondary-school teacher instructed his pupils mainly in Classical Greek. As the written and spoken languages drifted apart, the schoolmaster's task of teaching the grammar and literature of antiquity became more important.

The last stage of education was rhetorical training in reading the Classical and post-Classical orators and also in writing and giving lectures. At least in Constantinople there were several schools of grammar and rhetoric. The pressure of competition among teachers was sometimes high and schoolmasters were often tempted to woo pupils away from each other.

A formal institution, however, that today we would call a "university", cannot be found in this period. Over the centuries different emperors made isolated attempts to guarantee a higher education – for the above-mentioned reasons – by intervening personally. In the 5th century, for example, there was a higher school in Constantinople that offered Greek (and also Latin) rhetoric, grammar, philosophy, and jurisprudence. But in the 6th century it was already beginning to decline. During the following centuries individual foundations were again and again patronized by emperors to support higher education. In the 11th century under emperor Constantine IX Monomachos schools for philosophy and jurisprudence were created for the training of high-ranking civil servants, lawyers, and notaries. In the 12th century a Church academy, the so-called Patriarchal School, was founded in Constantinople that particularly offered lessons in theology, as well as in grammar and rhetoric for future clerics and monks. The sources give no

clue as to whether it still existed in later centuries. In the late Byzantine period new educational centres arose in places other than Constantinople, e.g. in Thessalonica and in Mistra. Imperial patronage, however, decreased as the state became more and more impoverished, which is why many scholars emigrated to western Europe.

After the fall of the empire the Orthodox Church as the only official Greek institution made it its duty to maintain and to pass on the traditions of Byzantine education during the long period of the Tourkokratia. A newly founded school in the vicinity of the patriarchate (perhaps a revival of the Patriarchal School) covered secondary education. Elementary teaching, in former times mostly delivered by parish priests, remained almost unchanged over the centuries. New methods, particularly educational reforms, gradually came in from the West.

After the establishment of the free Greek nation (1821) the educational system was also structured anew. In the course of the 19th and 20th centuries a three-tier system was established that was essentially adopted from western Europe: the lower or primary level at primary school (six years of education) which is followed by higher schools divided into the so-called secondary level 1 or *gymnasion* (three years of education) and the secondary level 2 or *lykeion* (again three years of education). The third level finally is university. There is general compulsory education for nine years, i.e. for primary and secondary level 1. Secondary level 2, apart from schools providing a general education, includes specialized and professionally oriented educational branches. It also serves to prepare pupils for university. There are also private schools as well as church high schools that admit only boys. Teacher training is now regulated by the state and primary teachers are trained in pedagogical academies. Graduates of different university faculties, who are not compelled to acquire didactic skills, are engaged as teachers for the secondary levels. Recently, however, these posts have been given only to the best performers in a competitive examination.

In 1837 the first university (Greek *panepistimion*) in the modern sense was founded in Athens with originally four faculties: theology, philosophy (humanities and sciences), law, and medicine. Technological academies such as the polytechnic university (1836) gradually sprang up. In the course of the 20th century more universities were founded, in Thessalonica, Patras, Ioannina, Thrace, on Crete, in the Aegean, on Corfu, and in Thessaly. As a member of the European Union, Greece is now involved in many cultural programmes that support the exchange of university lecturers and students.

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See also Education, Rhetoric, Sophists

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Scopas *fl.*360–335 BC

Sculptor

Though Scopas is counted as one of the greatest of Classical Greek sculptors, our definite knowledge of him, as with all named ancient sculptors, is slight and partially suspect. What we can reasonably guess from suggestive but unreliable traditions and remains widens our discernment but is also more hazardous. The remaining sculpture and testimonia, however, are so important for our understanding of ancient Greek art and so beautiful that we must make the effort: unreliability is not negation. And the ancient Greeks were excellent judges of their art, so that the traditions, even if unverifiable, can lead our eyes and minds to a just appreciation. Because Scopas was traditionally one of the three great sculptors of the late Classical age – the decades before Alexander's conquests – there are old traditions, modern attributions, and influences. Out of them an artistic personality emerges.

After the triumphs of the 5th century BC, 4th-century BC artists, while maintaining the basic Classical stylistic criteria of idealism combined with realism, felt the need to change and experiment. Where Praxiteles of Athens (Scopas' main rival) was sensuous and soft in his development of the female nude, and Lysippus of Sicyon interested in reforming the proportions of the male nude (providing, for example, a longer body and a smaller head) in portraits and increasing movement, Scopas of Paros was famed for emotional intensity, for a tragic, which means noble, sense of man's intense struggle. These three sculptors dominated the 4th century BC in the way that Myron, Phidias, and Polyclitus had dominated the 5th century BC, and determined much ancient art for hundreds of years – to Hadrian and beyond. Like their contemporary Plato, they looked to the towering past for their ideals and to the uncertain future in their ideas.

According to Pliny, Scopas was the son of the Parian sculptor Aristandros (working in 405 BC); Scopas is documented as active between 360 and 335 BC. Probably because it is the source of the world's most translucent marble for sculpture, Paros had a long sculptural tradition, including Aristion in the Archaic age and Phidias' pupil Agoracritus in the high Classical age. Scopas, who worked mostly in marble, was to be the greatest in this unbroken line.

We know that Scopas was as esteemed in his own age as in succeeding ages, because he was employed to work on the great projects of the period, including the temple of Athena Alea at Tegea, the Mausoleum of Halicarnassus, and the temple of Artemis at Ephesus. It is from the first of these that we get the best idea of his style.

At Tegea in the Peloponnese Scopas was an architect as well as a sculptor. The original temple had burned down in 395 BC and Scopas was at work some decades later. (The nearby temple of Nemea is so close in style and date that it seems that Scopas was active in the neighbourhood.) Pausanius says of Tegea: "The present temple is far superior to all other temples in the Peloponnese on many grounds, but particularly as regards its embellishment and size" (8. 45). The temple is the best example of 4th-century BC Doric; it was peripteral with a pronaos and opisthodomos and very narrow. Though it was Doric, Scopas brought from his home island a new spirit of lightness and delicacy: the columns were slender, and the interior columns were very early Corinthian with Ionic elements. On one of the pediments Scopas sculpted the *Hunt of the Calydonian Boar* (whose hide the temple displayed), and on the other the *Battle of Telephus and Achilles in the Kaikos Plain*. Many fragments of these sculptures survive and can be admired in the local museum and in the National Archaeological Museum in Athens. For the temple, Scopas also sculpted an *Asclepius* and a *Hygeia*, whose head, with its expression of divine sweetness, survives (National Archaeological Museum). He also made another *Asclepius* for a temple of Gortys in Arcadia. The squarish warriors' heads from the pediment, though battered, show brooding, deep-set eyes and furrowed brows – the new emotionalism of the 4th century BC.

The Mausoleum of Halicarnassus was the most ambitious monument of its day (355–330 BC), and all good sculptors were eager for employment there. According to Pliny (36. 30) Scopas worked on the frieze of the east side. The panel most usually attributed to him, now in the British Museum, depicts an animated *Battle of Greeks and Amazons*.

Pliny also says (34. 95) that Scopas carved and decorated one of the columns from the famed temple of Artemis at Ephesus, but the remains are too scanty to form a judgement. Of the other statues or copies of statues attributed to him, the finest are probably the deep-eyed *Meleager* (perhaps original) in the gardens of the Villa Medici and the copy of the *Pothos* ("Longing") in the Museo dei Conservatori, both in Rome. For his *Pothos*, Scopas sculpted a youth with crossed legs; his head looks longingly up with melting gaze. The Romans, who starting with Augustus carted off many of his sculptures to their capital, often copied this work, indicating its popularity. The lovely *Dancing Maenad* (a copy) in Dresden is thought to be an example of Scopas' new swirling movement. Callistratus wrote at length about it:

> Scopas, as if moved by some inspiration, imparted to the making of his statue the divine frenzy that possessed him ... The Maenad wrought from Parian marble has been transformed into a real Maenad ... You would have seen that, hard as it was, it became soft to resemble the feminine, though its vigour corrected the femininity, and that, though it lacked the power to move, it knew how to dance in Bacchic frenzy, responding to the god as he entered within ... (*Descriptions*, 2. 1–4)

Hellenistic critics considered that Scopas' forte was statues of the gods, a genre unfortunately very poorly represented among the surviving monuments. We know of a *Heracles* for Sicyon, an *Apollo* for Rhamnous, a bronze *Aphrodite Pandemos Riding a Goat* for Elis, an *Artemis Eukleia* for Thebes, a *Dionysus* for Cnidus, a *Hecate* for Argos, and many more: it seems that Scopas was in demand everywhere.

Given his popularity, originality, and skill, it is not surprising that his influence on the ensuing Hellenistic age was pervasive. It has been especially remarked on in the great *Gigantomachy* frieze from the altar at Pergamum (*c.*180 BC), now in Berlin. Although it can be frustrating trying to recreate the work and thought of a great artist from toppled stones, hopeful assumptions, and guesswork, Scopas will no doubt continue to provoke lovers of ancient art to do so, in the hopes that he may become for us ever clearer and closer.

JEFFREY CARSON

See also Sculpture

Biography

Born in Paros, Scopas was active as a sculptor and architect *c.*360–335 BC. With Praxiteles and Lysippus he dominated Hellenic art of the 4th century BC. He is known to have worked on the temple of Athena Alea at Tegea, the Mausoleum of Halicarnassus, and the temple of Artemis at Ephesus. In antiquity he was famous for statues of gods.

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Sculpture

The mythical Daedalus was viewed in the ancient world as being one of the earliest sculptors in the Greek world. Although he had associations with Crete, he was later thought to have been an Athenian and a member of the Erechtheid family. His name has been linked to "daedalic" statues, which were recognized by Pausanias in the 2nd century AD. These included a statue of *Aphrodite* on the island of Delos which Pausanias (9. 40. 3) believed had been given to Ariadne by Daedalus.

Daedalus' influence was seen by ancient art historians as giving birth to the Sicyonian school of sculpture in the Peloponnese, which in the fullness of time was to see the appearance of the master sculptor Lysippus. Pliny the Elder (*Naturalis Historia*, 36. 9) retains the tradition that the marble sculptors Dipoenus and Scyllis – thought by Pausanias (2. 15. 1) to be either the pupils or even the sons of Daedalus – settled in Sicyon and made the city a centre of the arts.

Some have seen the creation of monumental sculpture in the Greek world as deriving from contact with Egypt. This tradition, cited by the historian Diodorus Siculus (1. 97. 5–6) in the 1st century BC, links the composition – the Greek term is *rhythmos* – of Daedalus' work with that found in Egypt. Certainly the establishment of a Greek settlement at Naucratis, according to Herodotus during the reign of the pharaoh Amasis, may have facilitated such contact. Whether or not Greek sculpture was derived from Egyptian proportions, it has long been recognized that *kouroi* – naked male statues of the Archaic period – had been carefully designed with set proportions. Such statues were used both as dedications within a sanctuary as well as for placing on tombs. An example of a funerary *kouros* comes from Anavyssos in Attica, where it was erected over the grave of one Croesus who had been killed in battle. *Kouroi* were a regular dedication in the Archaic Ptoan sanctuary in Boeotia.

The Peloponnese, and especially Argos and Sicyon, seems to have been innovative in sculpture, particularly monumental bronzes. Some of the key personalities, fulfilling commissions from both the western and the eastern Greeks, were the sculptors Ageladas of Argos and Canachus of Sicyon. The former is known to have accepted both private and public commissions from the Greek colony of Taras in southern Italy for statues which were erected at Olympia and Delphi, and the latter made a bronze statue for the important sanctuary of Apollo at Didyma in western Asia Minor. Argive sculptors were responsible for a pair of archaic *kouroi* which were dedicated to the Anakes (the Argive version of the Dioscuri) at Delphi; the pair were formerly known as Cleobis and Biton after the sons of the Argive priestess of Hera who according to Herodotus (1. 31) were commemorated by statues at Delphi.

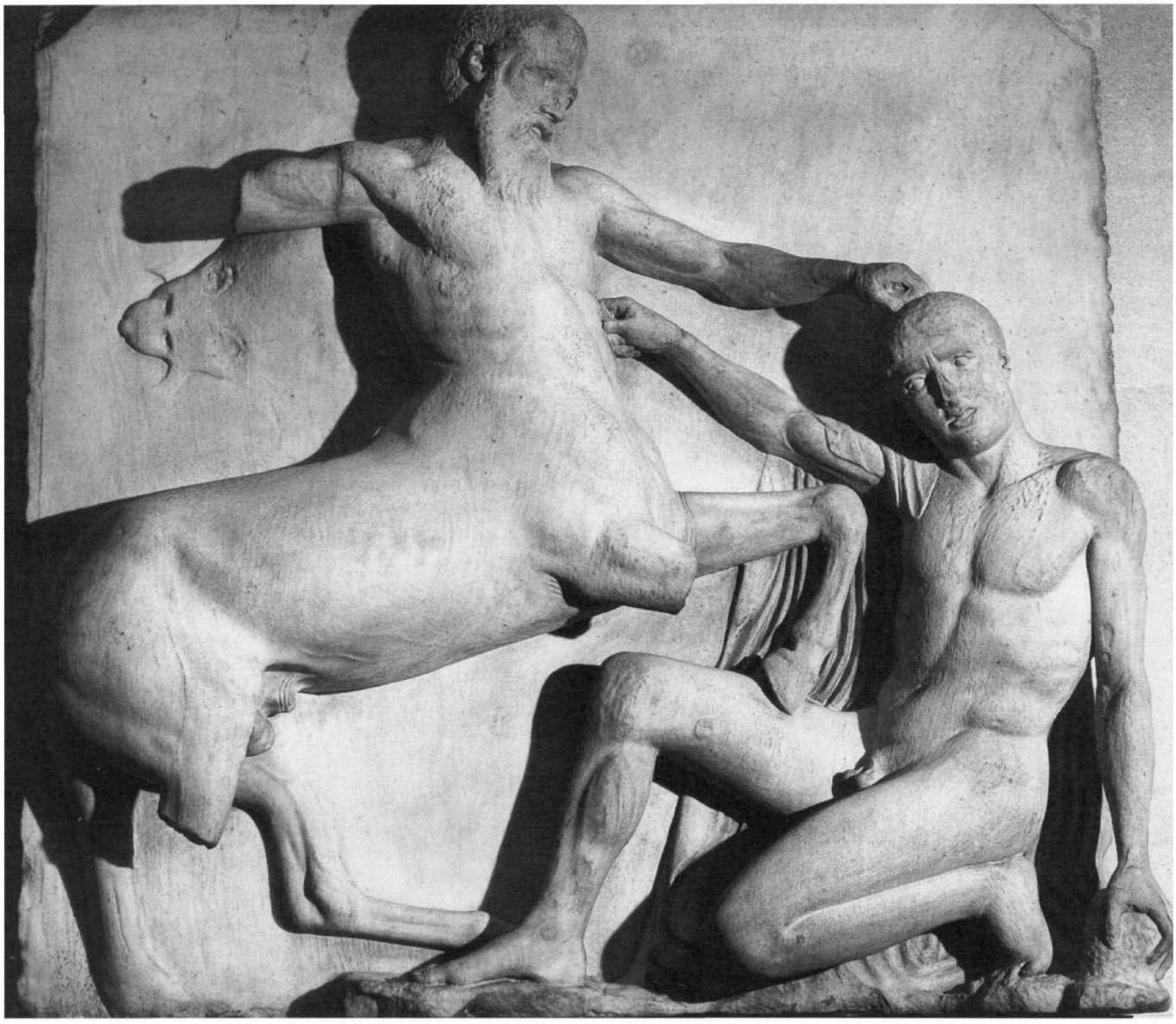
Other schools of sculpture in the Archaic period were located on the islands of Aegina and Naxos. Aeginetan sculptors seem to have been in demand for making victory monuments at Olympia. Marble versions of their work can be glimpsed in the marble pediments, showing the two separate expeditions to Troy, from the temple of Aphaea on the island. The Naxians seem to have had one of the earliest schools of sculpture. Their sculptors made such works as the colossal Naxian *kouros* dedicated at Delos, as well as the statue of the Naxian Nicander who dedicated a *kore* (statue of a young woman) to "the far-shooter of arrows" in the sanctuary of Artemis on Delos. The Naxians also seem to be responsible for a large marble sphinx dedicated at Delphi, where it rested on a 10-m-high Ionic column.

Due to the habit of signing works, a more detailed picture can be derived from Attica in the 6th century BC. It is clear that both Attic and non-Attic sculptors (such as Aristion of Paros) were active in creating funerary monuments (*kouroi* and stelae) as well as dedications in sanctuaries such as the Athenian Acropolis; for example some 17 sculptors – identified by name, and not all of them from Attica – are known to have worked on the Acropolis alone in the late Archaic period. It seems that around the end of the 6th century BC there may have been a move towards specialization either in funerary sculpture or in religious dedications.

The Archaic period also saw the increased appearance of architectural sculpture. One of the earliest uses was on the temple of Artemis at Corfu where the sculptor has conceived of the triangular pediment as a frame for a series of scenes of differing scales, dominated by a large central gorgon. The temple of Apollo at Delphi received new pediments thanks to the generosity of the exiled Alcmaeonid family in the late 6th century BC (Herodotus, 5. 62). The pediments featured rather static individuals, the *korai* differing little from the freestanding figures found dedicated in Greek sanctuaries or as funerary monuments. The late Archaic period also saw the appearance of highly decorated treasuries at the Panhellenic sanctuaries. One of the best known was the treasury of the Siphnians at Delphi, which was noted by both Herodotus (3. 57) and Pausanias (10. 11. 2). The building identified as the Siphnian treasury was decorated with monumental caryatids, a continuous frieze, and pedimental sculpture. After the Battle of Marathon Athens celebrated its victory over the Persians with a small treasury decorated in the Doric style with metopes of the heroes Theseus and Heracles (Pausanias, 10. 11. 4).

After the Persian Wars there was a move away from the static pose of *kouroi* and *korai*. For example, the replacement group of the tyrannicides (Harmodius and Aristogeiton) made by the sculptors Critios and Nesiotes and erected in the Athenian Agora, showed the pair of "heroes" in the process of striking down the "tyrant" Hipparchus in 514 BC; he was in fact the son of Pisistratus and the younger brother of the actual tyrant Hippias. An attempt was made to distinguish between their ages by showing one of the figures bearded, the other beardless. From the 470s BC comes the hollow-cast statue of a charioteer – part of a larger group – dedicated by the Sicilian tyrant Polyzalus of Gela to celebrate a chariot victory at the Pythian games at Delphi.

During the 5th century BC, perhaps due to the increasing use of bronze casting, there were numerous innovations in sculpture. One of the key figures who can be identified in this process was Myron of Eleutherae (in Attica). He is perhaps best known for his discus-thrower (or *Discobolos*) where the



Sculpture: Greek youth fighting a centaur on a metope from the Parthenon, 5th century BC, British Museum, London

sculptor has captured a moment in the swing which would never normally be seen by the human eye. The statue itself, though lost, has been recognized in a number of Roman copies. Before this, victors in the discus competition are likely either to have been shown standing holding a discus, or the nature of their victory would have been identified by the inscription accompanying the statue. Such action poses seem to have been the hallmark of Myron. For example, the victory monument for the runner Ladas was celebrated for capturing the runner leaning forward in anticipation of his prize (*Anthologia Graeca*, 16. 54).

A sense of proportion in sculpture was created by Polyclitus of Argos, apparently a pupil of the Argive sculptor Ageladas. He is known to have been interested in the theory of sculpture and was said to have written a treatise on the subject whose tenets were then put into practice by his creation of the canon or spear-carrier (*Doryphoros*). Certainly the distinctive Polyclitan pose – straight and flexed arms, head turned to one side, and straight and flexed legs – suggests the formation of a new style which was to have great influence on subsequent generations of Greek sculptors as well as the creation of an image for the Roman emperor Augustus.

Greek victories against the Persians, notably at Salamis and Plataea but also at the Battle of Eurymedon in the 460s BC, led to the production of a number of monuments to celebrate Greek prowess. This civic patronage may have given opportunity to gifted sculptors such as Phidias who not only became one of the chief overseers for the Pericleian building programme at Athens, but also produced some monumental chryselephantine sculptures. Two of his most famous statues served as cult images for the temples of Athena Parthenos at Athens, and Zeus at Olympia. At Olympia itself the remains of the workshop where Phidias did his work have been found. Neither statue has survived, though both are known from contemporary images, such as the Attic Baksy krater, or from Roman copies. Phidias himself also created a monumental

bronze statue of Athena Parthenos, apparently made to celebrate the Athenian victory at Marathon in 490 BC, which was dedicated on the Athenian Acropolis; the tip of the spear could apparently be seen as far away as Cape Sunium.

A number of highly sculpted marble buildings were raised in Athens in the 5th century BC as part of the Pericleian building programme. The most notable was the Parthenon, which housed Phidias' chryselephantine statue. This highly decorated building, with a continuous frieze, sculpted metopes, and two pediments, must have required teams of sculptors to complete it. Detailed accounts indicate the progression of the temple. At the same time the Acropolis was given a monumental entrance, the Propylaea, and in the 420s BC the bastion above the entrance received a new temple dedicated to Athena Nike and designed by Callicrates. This Ionic building was decorated with a continuous frieze, and the parapet around the temple was decorated with reliefs. This period also saw the erection of the Erechtheum.

Although much attention is focused on Athens of the 5th century BC some major sculptural schemes were being created elsewhere in Greece. At Olympia Phidias' chryselephantine statue of *Zeus* was placed in a Doric temple which was decorated with a sophisticated pair of pedimental sculptures depicting, respectively, the mythical origins of the games and the battle between the Lapiths and the Centaurs. The temple itself must have been nearly complete in 457 BC, as in that year the Spartans and their allies placed a dedication on the roof to celebrate their victory at Tanagra (Pausanias, 5. 10. 4). One of the architects of the Parthenon, Ictinus, was also apparently involved in the creation of the temple of Apollo Epikourios at Bassae near Phigaleia in Arcadia; although some would dispute this connection, the temple carried an internal frieze showing a centauromachy and an amazonomachy.

This tradition of architectural sculpture produced one of the seven wonders of the ancient world, the Mausoleum of Halicarnassus. This monumental tomb was built for Mausolus of Caria, a former Persian satrap. Although this was in western Turkey, technically beyond the Greek world, Mausolus' widow Artemisia engaged notable Greek sculptors to create an elaborate tomb after his death in 353 BC. The tomb was later dismantled, but it is clear that it had a continuous frieze showing an amazonomachy and a chariot race. Individual portrait statues may have stood between columns and the top was decorated with a chariot. Ancient writers such as Pliny the Elder and Vitruvius associate several Greek sculptors with the project: Leochares, Bryaxis, Scopas, Timotheus, and even Praxiteles.

During the 4th century BC a number of personalities in Greek sculpture emerged. In Athens Praxiteles came to prominence and was particularly celebrated for his creation of a naked Aphrodite displayed in a circular temple at Cnidus in western Asia Minor. Scopas, from the island of Paros, was regarded in antiquity as a rival of Praxiteles, no doubt due in part to having his name associated with the Mausoleum of Halicarnassus. One of the most innovative sculptors of the 4th century BC was Lysippus of Sicyon, who can perhaps be considered the creator of portraiture.

Although the literary sources, especially Pliny, allow us to identify a number of individual artists during the 4th century BC, many extant works are in fact anonymous. These include a group of bronzes from the Piraeus which may have been lost when Sulla destroyed the port in 86 BC. These fine works include an *Athena* and two statues of *Artemis*. Another high-quality bronze of this period is the statue of a youth found in the sea off Marathon.

Attic sculptors continued to make copies of famous Greek works in the Roman period to meet the tastes of the elite in the areas bordering the Mediterranean. A batch of marble reliefs from the Piraeus contains scenes copied from the amazonomachy on the shield of the Athena Parthenos; presumably some educated Roman wished to enhance his villa with elements from this major Athenian monument. An Athenian sculptor, Apollonius son of Archias, signed the bronze herm representing Polyclitus' *Doryphoros* which was found in the Villa of the Papyri at Herculaneum.

Sculpture continued to be created in the Greek east during the period of late antiquity, particularly under the patronage of Constantinople. It includes portraits of local governors, such as those erected at Megara and Athens. Some of the late antique sculpture is in marble, such as the relief of the archangel Gabriel at Antalya in southern Anatolia, derived from the quarries of Proconnesus which had been heavily exploited in the Roman imperial period. Low reliefs continued to be made in the Middle Ages, including representations of the Virgin Orans and Virgin Hodegetria.

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Second Sophistic

Literary movement of *c.*AD 60–410

Philostratus (d. AD 249) coined the term "Second Sophistic" to create a connection between current rhetorical practice and the sophists of the Classical period. He marks the beginning of this "movement" during Nero's reign (*c.*AD 60), in the speeches (now lost) of Nicetas of Smyrna. This "Second Sophistic" continued until the sack of Rome in AD 410, and included such rhetoricians as Dion of Prusa, Herodes Atticus, his student Aristides (d. *c.*AD 181), Polemon, and Libanius. Much of the activity of these rhetoricians was in the realm of public performances in aristocrats' mansions, lecture-rooms, libraries, and amphitheatres, mainly in provincial cities such as Smyna, Ephesus, Antioch, and Pergamum, where their displays were often greeted by large, enthusiastic audiences.

Some idea of the variety of occasions for such performances can be gained from the two treatises on "epideictic" attributed to Menander Rhetor (3rd century AD) and from the *Techne* traditionally attributed to Aristides. These include instructions on how to compose speeches in honour of a city, at birthday and wedding celebrations, or to the emperor or other dignitaries. A very important part of a rhetorician's repertoire consisted of "political" declamations recreating mythological or historical situations, for example, a member of the delegation sent to persuade Achilles to return to the ranks (Aristides, *Orationes*, 52). Set-piece descriptions (*ekphraseis*), too, were popular and influential in other areas of literary production, for example in the works of the "novelists" Longus and Achilles Tatius, who are both described as "Sophists" in the manuscripts. The influence of these rhetoricians extends also to the great Church Fathers, almost all of whom were converts who had studied or taught rhetoric, for example, Gregory of Nazianzus (d. 390) and John Chrysostom (d. 407), who was a student of Libanius.

Many of the rhetoricians in this movement were active in state affairs, as ambassadors, as envoys sent to the emperor to speak in his praise or to secure privileges for their cities. So important was their eloquence that Vespasian established a salaried chair of Greek rhetoric, and Marcus Aurelius sponsored a chair of rhetoric that was worth 10,000 drachmas per year. Many later emperors reserved important offices for distinguished rhetoricians, some of whom moved up in the ranks of the imperial court to achieve even higher honours and more powerful positions.

The display speeches of the new "Sophists" were more than mere entertainment. Aristides, for instance, delivered speeches at festivals in all the great cities of the Greek-speaking parts of the empire, bringing to widely disparate audiences a common set of cultural themes and standards of taste and behaviour, fulfilling, in a way, Isocrates' dream of Panhellenism. The Church Fathers found in the rhetoric of the Second Sophistic a way of rehabilitating the eloquence of scripture and, in doing so, of helping their fellow Christians to achieve an identity of their own. What is perhaps most striking about this rhetorical movement is the fact that it was almost exclusively Greek, in spite of the dominance of Latin Rome over the entire Mediterranean basin. Even Favorinus, from the Gallic city of Arles, composed and delivered his speeches in Greek. In the Second Sophistic, then, we see no attempt to adapt to the culture of Rome, but a reassertion of Greek cultural values as a unifying force in an empire that was becoming more and more fragmented in the centuries before it collapsed in the west.

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See also Rhetoric, Sophists

Summary

A term coined in the 3rd century AD by Philostratus to demonstrate the link between contemporary rhetoric and the sophists of the Classical period, the Second Sophistic was a literary movement that began in the 1st century AD and continued until AD 410. It influenced all Greek literature of the day and represented a reassertion of Greek cultural values.

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Secularization

Secularization is one of the most commonly debated issues not only in sociology, but in philosophy, theology, history, and other disciplines as well. Originally, the term "secularization" was used in early modern times to signify the passing of ecclesiastical and monastic property to the control of a secular institution. The concept has since been incorporated into several theories, whose aim was to examine the role of religion in society in the wake of the continuing sociocultural evolution and change, especially with regard to modern times. There have been various secularization theories relating to specific aspects of this process across the centuries. Thus secularization was aptly described as a "multidimensional concept", while some scholars considered the secularization thesis as a modern myth. It is possible, though, without turning secularization into an ideology, to single out its basic postulates, which are useful for examining religious evolution and change in various contexts.

Generally speaking, secularization refers to the decline of religion either in theory and practice or in the public and private spheres. This phenomenon should be not equated, however, with the (hypothetical) complete disappearance of religion, since religion seems to belong somehow inherently to the human condition. Further, although there exist certain historical antecedents of secularization, this process is basically connected to developments in the western world in modern times. For example, the massive de-Christianization of western Europe in the 19th century was related to the specific socioreligious background and evolution of this particular geographical and cultural unit. Though exceptional in their secularity, these changes in western Europe have also influenced significantly the non-western world.

With regard to the Greek world, early forms of secularization can be located in the development of rationalism and scientific inquiry in ancient Greece, which contributed to an understanding of the world from a causal perspective and consequently to a relative desacralization of nature. Apart from this, the passing from pagan polytheism to Christian monotheism has also been considered as a major shrinkage of the supernatural realm from its numerous deities and supernatural beings to their replacement by the one God as the sole lord of the entire universe. Such developments did not signify a direct decline of religion, but opened the door for subsequent religious changes. After all, these were premodern societies in which religion played a vital role in all spheres of life as well as in the entire world order. The same is true with regard to the Byzantine empire, in which Orthodoxy as the official state religion was a most crucial parameter in the articulation of political ideology and permeated all societal sectors in a decisive way. Of course religious changes did take place during that period too, but they did not undermine the dominant role of Orthodoxy in society.

As far as the Greek world and its Orthodox tradition in modern times are concerned, the period of Ottoman domination is of paramount importance. Due to the privileges bestowed on the Orthodox Church after the fall of Byzantium, the patriarch became the head of the Orthodox *millet* ("community"). His jurisdiction was not confined to the religious domain alone, but concerned various other spheres (e.g. educational, judicial, social-communal, economic). This new status of the patriarchate of Constantinople enhanced substantially its role within Ottoman society. This may be also interpreted as a kind of worldliness due to the relative loss of its religious specificity and its involvement in manifold mundane activities and dealings with the Sublime Porte. Yet the patriarchate's religious role remained its most basic and characteristic feature throughout this period.

The main challenge for the Church appeared from the second half of the 18th century onwards under the influence of the Enlightenment. The Greek diaspora and students in western Europe as well as the merchant and trading communities initiated a major shift towards societal liberalization and modernization. Despite anticlericalist criticism, their intention was not to destroy the Church, but to limit its influence to the religious domain. Its polysemic role was of utmost importance at that time, thus social innovators tried to reform the Church partially rather than collide with it frontally. During the period of the Greek Enlightenment several such secularizing trends can be observed: the separation of various sectors (e.g. education, communities) from religious control and their independent development; the deflecting of interest from metaphysics and otherworldliness to worldly, practical, and socially useful issues; and the explanation of natural phenomena scientifically and empirically and not by reference to supernatural factors. These trends, though influential enough, did not alter radically the socioreligious establishment of the day and were met with the staunch reaction of the Church, which feared losing its privileges. But they acted as catalysts for subsequent change in the newborn Greek state.

The 19th century was marked by several important developments concerning the Church's role in Greek society. In the wake of social differentiation the Church lost its previous broad societal responsibilities and was subjected to the state. This shrinkage of religious influence, which resulted in the autonomous evolution of various sectors (e.g. education), was mitigated later due to popular reactions and the Church's worldliness, i.e. through its tranformation into an organ of the state and its involvement in vital national issues (e.g. the Great Idea). The social marginalization of the Church was effected also through the pluralization and cultural differentiation of Greek society under western influences, which allowed the existence and dissemination of anti-Orthodox and antireligious ideas by scientists and intellectuals despite ecclesiastical countermeasures. Yet, the consequences of secularization remained ambiguous, a fact attributed to the cultural specificity and idiosyncrasy of eastern Orthodoxy as distinguished from western Christianity. Despite the serious changes and problems created for the Church, secularization in Greece was limited and adapted to its specific exigencies. Orthodoxy, both as a personal belief system and as an institution, continued to exercise a powerful authority over the collective mentality of the Greeks. The same situation continued mutatis mutandis in the 20th century when the Church, despite the pervasive impact of westernization and modernization, still constitutes a crucial parameter of Greece's sociopolitical and cultural environment. This is clearly manifested in the fact that Church and state, despite numerous disagreements and conflicts, are still strongly bound together, and no separation between them is in prospect.

Modern Greece, despite its alliance with the western world, is a country continuously oscillating between its own traditions and the multifaceted challenges of modernity. This situation creates numerous paradoxes and contradictions. On the whole, popular sentiment remains close to the Church. Greeks may be very critical of their Church, but they do not intend to annihilate its power, but rather to ameliorate its condition and modernize it in certain ways. Although they do not follow meticulously the Church's directives, its influence permeates their entire cultural ethos – the phenomenon of "diffused religion". Historically, Greek society never wanted to sever its relationship entirely with the Orthodox Church, as has happened in many western countries with Roman Catholicism. This explains why secularization, despite its limited success, cannot neutralize the Orthodox factor.

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See also Anti-westernism, Enlightenment

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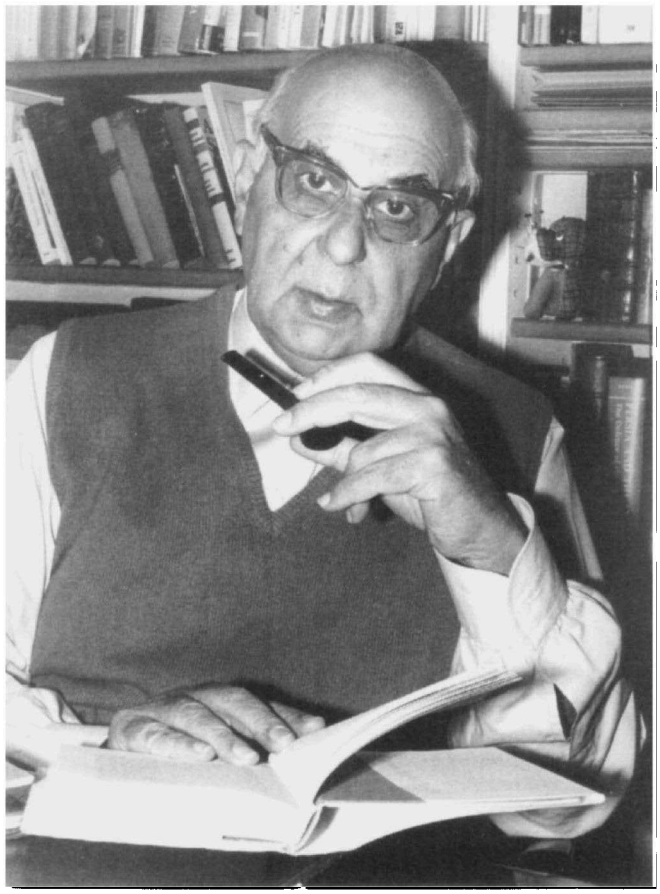
Seferis, George 1900–1971

Diplomat and poet

The title of Seferis's first collection, *Turning Point* (1931), was intended to suggest his own "turn towards the world": that is, away from the introvert and nihilistic tendencies which characterized much of the poetry of the 1920s and, indeed, his own juvenilia. It also proved to be a turning point for Greek poetry as a whole, heralding a period of literary experiment and innovation. The collection consists of 13 short poems in a variety of rhyming patterns and metrical forms, and the large-scale "Erotikos Logos", cast mainly in the traditional 15-syllable verse (*politikos stichos*) which dates back to Byzantine times. As such, it draws and builds on the tradition of the folk song but also of earlier poets who cultivated this verse form, particularly Vitzentzos Kornaros, Dionysios Solomos, Kostis Palamas, and Angelos Sikelianos. The theme of love, a recurrent one in Seferis's poetry, plays a dominant role in the collection. Likewise, the extensive use of myth and literary allusion he was to make later is already adumbrated here. Although poetically accomplished, *Turning Point* is the product of Seferis's apprenticeship in the Symbolist tradition. The same is true of *The Cistern* (1932), his poem closest to Paul Valéry's work and to the ideal of *poésie pure*, and of the early poems in the *Book of Exercises* (1940), a collection the coherence of which, as he saw it, is none other than "that provided by ten years of continuous effort towards poetic expression". It was the publication of the poem sequence *Mythistorema* (1935) – marking his abandonment of an indisputably masterful handling of strict metre and rhyme in favour of free verse – that established him as a key exponent of Modernism in Greece.

If the example of the Symbolists fostered in Seferis a proper regard for the aural quality of poetry, it also made him wary of the dangers to the language inherent in their wish to attain the condition of music. Like T.S. Eliot and Ezra Pound, he sought to revivify poetic diction which he believed should be an enriched form of contemporary speech; the notorious "language question" made this an even more daunting task for a Greek poet. A desire for clear, precise, more objective expression and the need to give voice to collective rather than personal feelings, already discernible in his earlier verse, grew more imperative. He thus turned to less personal and inscrutable symbols and was increasingly drawn towards dramatic modes, realistic forms of expression, personae, and myth. It was at this stage that he became acquainted with Eliot's work which functioned as a catalyst in the completion of *Mythistorema*. A tension between past and present runs through the 24 sections of this many-voiced poem, set in a Greek landscape, employing ancient myth and conveying a contemporary outlook. More than just relating to the Asia Minor disaster – for the Greeks the tragic aftermath of World War I – it is a powerful comment on, and exposition of, life in modern times: an atmosphere of fracture, of futility and cultural collapse, a sense of acute loneliness, of rootlessness and lost wholeness characterize the world it describes. The same mood prevails in the twin-poemed *Gymnopaidia* (1936).

Written between 1937 and 1940, *Logbook I* (1940) concludes with one of his best-known poems, "The King of



George Seferis, poet and diplomat

Asine". Characteristically, specific events are at most only alluded to, but an atmosphere of apprehension and anxiety about the looming menace of World War II permeates the collection. The drama of this war, its tragic consequences, and the internal politics of the Greek government-in-exile form the background to *Logbook II* (1944/45). Yet, even in this most diary-like of his collections, his poetry also goes beyond a situation in time. For example, while "Last Stop" focuses on the topical reality of wartime and "An Old Man on the River Bank" contains references to it, the former also involves profound, if depressing, musings on human psychology, and the latter a number of quintessentially Modernist themes: the poetic medium and the process of poetic creation, or the contrast between a more wholesome past and 20th-century life with its sense of nullity and lost signification. Above all, however, it is an agonizing cry of the heart for the need to find a way of preserving human qualities – man's humanism.

Logbook II was followed, in 1947, by the large-scale composition *Thrush* which draws on the Odysseus and Oedipus narratives and concludes with the poem's modern Odysseus experiencing a moment of transcendence or, in Seferis's words, "an affirmation of a moment of dazzling and eternal life". Another moment of visionary transcendence, during which love again has a central role, is the subject of "Engomi", which closes *Logbook III* (1955). The main bulk of the poems in this collection were written after Seferis's visit to Cyprus in 1953, a time when the Cypriot struggle for self-determination was rapidly moving towards a climax. They relate to the island's past and present, to its landscape and people. Rich in its appeal to the senses, *Logbook III* arguably contains the most extensive use of literary allusion by a poet in whose work a creative dialogue with the literary tradition, from Homer and the ancient tragedians down to contemporary poetry, is a constant and distinctive feature. This wealth of literary evocation is supplemented here by recourse to religious tradition and an intensified use of inherited popular culture. Myth is not abandoned, but poetic elaboration of historical themes is also introduced. Distilled from the island's reality (past and present) are those elements which at the same time transcend it, for they bear upon human experience more generally. Even in those poems relating to the Cyprus situation at the time the emphasis is still on the sense of belonging or its opposite ("Details on Cyprus" and "In the Kyrenia District", respectively), on the hubris of acting against nature ("Salamis in Cyprus"), and on the tribulation involved in the quest for ideals unrealized ("Helen").

The Three Secret Poems (1966) is the last collection to appear in Seferis's lifetime. Likewise exploiting literary, religious, and folk tradition, it is marked by references to accumulated experience, by allusions to his earlier poetry, and by a reflective mood. Concern with poetic practice emerges as a key theme. Others are the portrayal of a "ravaged" present and a vision of the end approaching, but also of a happier future for coming generations. They bear out the strongly held humanist belief, informing much of his poetry from at least *Mythistorema* onwards, that for all the bleakness of the present there is still hope and promise for mankind.

Seferis's first act of protest at the Greek coup d'état in 1967, and the censorship it imposed, was to refrain from publishing anything in his own country. Two years later he issued, through the BBC, his much-acclaimed "Declaration" against the Greek junta calling on the Colonels to restore democracy. Moreover, he produced two poems ("The Cats of Saint Nicholas" in 1969, and "On Aspalathoi..." in 1971) which, obliquely but unmistakably, warn of inherent dangers and condemn the political reality of the time.

Although three more collections came out posthumously, Seferis's poetic output remains relatively small in size. His oeuvre as a whole, however, was always considerably more extensive and proved to be dramatically so after his death. A novel, *Six Nights on the Acropolis*, begun in the later 1920s and reworked in 1954, appeared in 1974. Seven volumes of his private diaries and two of his political ones (covering the years 1926–60 and 1935–52 respectively) have been published to date as well as much of his vast correspondence. Fascinating in their own right, they add to our understanding of Seferis as man and poet, always open to stimuli from outside, yet deeply rooted in his own language, landscape, and tradition.

His concern with the Greek language, its limits and potentialities, lay behind his decision to translate a variety of texts into modern Greek. Conscious as he was of linguistic continuity, when rendering from an earlier form of the Greek language (passages from the Greek classics, the Revelation of St John, etc.) he insisted on the term "transcription" rather than "translation". In translating Eliot's *The Waste Land*, one of his many renderings of English and French texts into Greek, he prefaced it with an extensive introduction (1936). This was subsequently included in his essays (*Dokimes*), becoming the first of

several in which, with the sensibility of the practitioner, he examined the direction and complexities of contemporary poetic production, the nature of poetry, and its relation to language. Mostly Greek in their focus, his essays also cover a variety of topics as diverse as the *Homeric Hymns*, the Byzantine rock-cut churches of Cappadocia, and the *Memoirs* of general Makriyannis, *Erotokritos*, the poetry of Andreas Kalvos or Constantine Cavafy, and the painting of Theophilos Chatzimichail. For all their ostensible diversity, they constitute facets of Hellenism, a subject Seferis spent a lifetime exploring. Offering new insights and written in a style admirable for its clarity, precision, and economy, *Dokimes* form, with his poetry, a lasting legacy.

KATERINA KRIKOS-DAVIS

Biography

Born in Smyrna in 1900, Seferis moved with his family to Athens in 1914 where he completed his schooling. He studied law in Paris (1918–24) and then spent some months in London to improve his English. Entering the Greek diplomatic service in 1926, he spent most of his professional life outside Greece. His last appointment was as Greek Ambassador to London (1957–62). As a poet he attracted attention from an early stage. He won the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1963. He died in 1971.

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Seleucids

Dynasty of Macedonian kings

The name Seleucids refers to the dynasty of Macedonian kings founded by Seleucus I Nicator (*c.*355–281BC), one of the successors of Alexander the Great. The dynasty dated its beginning to 312 BC (the start of the "Seleucid era") when Seleucus recaptured his original province of Babylon and started on a long career of expansion, during which he assumed the royal title in 305/04 BC. The dynasty lasted until 64 BC when it was overthrown by the Roman general Pompey, who created the Roman province of Syria. The name Seleucids is used by only one ancient author (Appian, *Syriake*, 48–50, 65, 67). More commonly the rulers are referred to in ancient writers from the 2nd century BC onwards as either "the kings descended from Seleucus Nicator", or most frequently as "the kings of Syria", the "Syrian kings", the "kings of the Syrians", but also as the "kings of Asia"; other designations are found as well. None of these territorial designations originates with the rulers, who never described themselves as kings of any particular country or people: the Seleucid empire thus never had a precise territorial definition. The Seleucids are also frequently referred to collectively as "the Macedonians".

Starting from his province of Babylonia, Seleucus I went on to enlarge his territories steadily, first towards the east and then towards the west. By the time of his death in 281 BC his empire extended from Bactria and the borders of India in the east to north Syria and the eastern Mediterranean, Asia Minor, and even a foothold on the European mainland across the straits. This large empire proved difficult to maintain as a unit, and subsequent rulers were frequently on the defensive against internal and external challenges. Under Antiochus III the Great the empire was able to stage a spectacular recovery, though Antiochus then clashed with the Romans and was defeated by them. The Treaty of Apamea that followed his defeat (188 BC) excluded the Seleucids from Asia Minor north of the Taurus and imposed heavy penalties on them. Of subsequent rulers the best known is Antiochus IV because of his attack on Egypt and rebuff by the Romans (168 BC), and especially because of his failed attempt in 167 BC to ban Judaism at Jerusalem. This is recounted at length in the Jewish tradition (Daniel, 1 and 2 Maccabees) on which Antiochus IV made a profound impact, but receives scant mention in the extant Classical sources

(Diodorus, 34. 1; Tacitus, *Histories*, 5. 8. 4–5). After his death in 164 BC the dynasty was increasingly prey to internal dynastic conflicts as well as external intervention. With the defeat and death of Antiochus VII in his Parthian expedition of 130–129 BC the dynasty ceased to play a significant role on the international scene.

The Seleucid contribution to the Hellenic tradition is not easily assessed. The court history that once existed is lost, and other contemporary accounts are incompletely preserved if at all; hence reliance must be placed on later and thus derivative writers, whose ultimate sources are largely unknown. Only two of these give a continuous, but sketchy, account of the history of the dynasty as a whole (Appian's *Syriake*, 2nd century AD; Justin's *Epitome* of the *Philippic Histories* of Trogus Pompeius, 3rd century AD). Whereas Alexander the Great attracted much attention under the Roman empire, the Seleucids were apparently largely neglected apart from their continued reputation in north Syria, especially at Antioch, and were often thought of as kings who had not stood up to Rome. Plutarch's general lack of sympathy for the kings after Alexander is also a relevant factor, as shown by his choice of biographies. The presentation of the Seleucids in the extant literary sources diverges. In one tradition, most clearly represented in the 4th century AD by Libanius of Antioch (*Antiochicus*, 11 especially 100–04; written in AD 360), Seleucus I in particular is presented encomiastically as having extended the Greek world in the east through his city foundations (notably Seleuceia on the Tigris, and the four cities of Antioch, Seleuceia in Pieria, Laodicea, and Apamea in north Syria). Among these, Antioch in particular continued to flourish after the end of the Seleucids as one of the leading cities of the eastern Roman empire. Other writers, dating from the 3rd century BC onwards (Phylarchus, later Posidonius), presented the dynasty negatively as an example of "oriental despotism" and "eastern decadence". This pejorative colouring was further emphasized by Roman propaganda at the time of the conflict with Antiochus III (cf. the speech of the Roman commander Manlius Vulso in 189 BC in Livy, 38. 17: "the Macedonians who hold Alexandria in Egypt, who dwell in Seleuceia and Babylonia and in other colonies scattered throughout the world, have degenerated into Syrians, Parthians, Egyptians"). The presentation in Justin's *Epitome* follows this predominantly negative view of post-Alexander history. In practice it is very unlikely that the Seleucids had any general programme of "Hellenizing" their empire; the action of Antiochus IV at Jerusalem seems to have been strictly local in character (despite 1 Maccabees 1.41), and was in any case soon rescinded. The aims of the kings were probably imperial and dynastic rather than specifically Hellenic. Modern approaches to the Seleucids have fluctuated. In the early 20th century they were presented as champions of Hellenism in the east (E.R. Bevan, A. Bouché-Leclercq, E. Meyer). After World War II Seleucid history was studied increasingly from an eastern perspective, and the Seleucids were presented as continuators of the Persian empire whose centre of gravity lay in Babylonia rather than in the west (P. Briant, A. Kuhrt and S. Sherwin-White), though the approach is controversial. The true identity and orientation of the Seleucids thus remain a matter of dispute.

Macedonian in origin but Greek in culture, the Seleucids used Greek as the language of the court. Their abundant coinage is purely Greek in style, types, and inscriptions, and makes no concession to the eastern world. On the other hand the Seleucids were able to identify at Babylon with native traditions of kingship, and there is much Babylonian evidence for their activity there, though unlike Alexander they made no attempt to connect themselves directly with Persian royal traditions. The Seleucid record in the patronage and promotion of Greek culture appears to be much more limited in all fields than that of the Ptolemies (their rivals) or of the Attalids, and there was no Seleucid equivalent in the cultural field to Ptolemaic Alexandria or Attalid Pergamum. No Seleucid ruler acquired the reputation of being a patron of the arts. This in itself may help to account for their more modest reputation in the general Hellenic tradition.

The last extended mention of the Seleucids in antiquity is in the *Chronography* of John Malalas (8. 197–213) in the 6th century AD; he is fullest on Seleucus I and his foundations, though the reliability of this work is often questionable and there are numerous gaps and confusions. The modern rediscovery starts with Erasmus Fröhlich's *Annales Compendiarii Regum et Rerum Syriae* (Vienna, 1744; 2nd edition 1754), though the stimulus for that was the Jewish tradition on Antiochus IV and the evidence of coinage, rather than the Seleucid reputation in Greek literary sources.

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Seljuks

Turkish dynasty

The Seljuks were a Turkish dynasty that in the mid-11th century dominated the Caliphate at Baghdad to form what is now known as the Great Seljuk empire. While this empire, based in Mesopotamia, existed in one form or another till the end of the 12th century, a sibling state, the Seljuk Sultanate of Rum (the land of the "Romans", primarily discussed here), developed in Anatolia at the very end of the 11th century and was to remain an important factor in Byzantine and Crusader history till its demise at the beginning of the 14th century

Tradition has it that the primogenitor Seljuk was the leader of an Oghuz tribe that appears in history for the first time in the latter half of the 10th century in the region of the Caspian and Aral Seas. Seljuk (d. *c.*1000) was probably the first tribal leader to embrace Islam, ostensibly in its Sunni form.

The Seljuks were originally a nomadic and warrior-like Turkoman people amongst whom there was little political organization. This began to change during the 1020s when they made their presence felt as mercenaries for local warlords and became increasingly ambitious for territory. At the Battle of Dandanquan in 1040 Seljuk's grandsons, the brothers Chaghrï (d. 1058) and Tughrï I (d. 1063), captured Khorasan and effectively destroyed the power of the Turkoman empire of the Ghaznavids. By 1055 Tughrï I had captured Baghdad and was proclaimed sultan (or temporal ruler) by the Caliph, who was largely a religious rather than a political leader.

An influx of Turkoman tribes into Mesopotamia followed, and by the 1050s Turkoman raids were posing a threat to Byzantine possessions in eastern Anatolia where important towns such as Artze, Caesarea, Sebasteia, Ani, and Chonae had been sacked by 1070. Rivalries at home ensured that the Byzantines were unable to offer consolidated opposition. In 1071, at the Battle of Manzikert (Armenia), the emperor Romanos IV was defeated and captured by the Seljuks under the sultan Alp Arslan. The debacle of Romanos's capture, his release to collect a ransom, his deposition, and blinding created a military vacuum in Anatolia which the Turkoman troops of the Seljuks came to fill. Alp Arslan himself, however, was more concerned with establishing his position against fellow Muslims in Mesopotamia and Egypt rather than waging war on the empire.

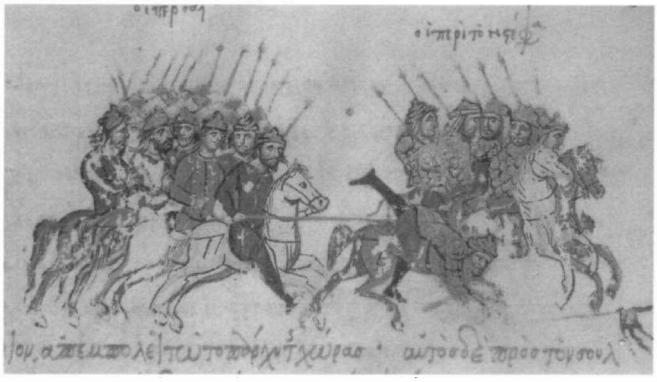
In 1072 the son of the now late Alp Arslan, sultan Malikshah, placed the prince Sulayman Ibn Kutlumush in charge of the Anatolian front. By 1081 Sulayman, who first styled himself sultan, managed to establish himself at Nicaea, some 160 km from Constantinople. In 1084 the important city of Antioch at the other extremity of Anatolia was also taken. Events in the east led to Sulayman's withdrawal from Anatolia, but his son Kilij Arslan I returned to establish himself at Nicaea in 1092. Although some fortified *kastra* were taken in Anatolia, it was in the rural areas that the Turkomans made themselves particularly felt.

Here a distinction has to be made. The embryonic Seljuk state that was developing in Nicaea and other towns regarded the Byzantine empire as an eternal entity: "Rome". Accommodation with Constantinople and the development of a stable state system were the keystones of official Seljuk policy. This sometimes clashed with the many independent-minded Turkoman soldiers-of-fortune (or *ghazi*) on whom the Seljuk state mostly relied. The *ghazi* were interested in booty and fired by Islamic notions of holy war. A third group can also be identified: Turkoman nomads, interested more in grazing lands rather than settled state systems or "holy war". The *ghazi* Turkomans were to prove both a bane and an ally for the Seljuks, and a constant nuisance to the Byzantines throughout the next two centuries. Some managed to establish a powerful state, the Danishmendid, which proved a formidable foe in later years to Greek, Latin, and Seljuk.

Political turmoil in Byzantium after 1070 led to a situation where Byzantine rebels increasingly made use of Turkoman mercenaries, including the armies of the Seljuks, to achieve their aims. In 1092 Alexios I Komnenos had made an agreement with the Nicaean Seljuks to assist him in attacking the *ghazis*. The same emperor, however, is alleged to have invited contingents from the West (which eventually took the form of the First Crusade) to assist him in removing the Turkomans from Asia Minor.

The Seljuks were forced out of Nicaea in 1097 by the First Crusade, but soon reorganized themselves at Iconium (Konya, south central Asia Minor) which became the capital of the Seljuk state. The activities of the crusaders and the Byzantines in Asia Minor had pushed Seljuks and Turkomans from the coasts, and thus the 12th-century Seljuk state was confined mostly to the interior. In 1116 the Seljuks were defeated at the Battle of Philomelion, and a period of relative peace followed between Konya and Constantinople. This was terminated by the Seljuks' defeat of the Byzantine emperor Manuel I at the Battle of Myriokephalon in 1176. Thereafter, turmoil in Asia Minor ensued with Seljuks, Byzantines, Armenians of Cilicia, Turkoman emirs, and crusaders fighting among themselves.

The creation of the Byzantine empire in exile at Nicaea following the capture of Constantinople by the Fourth Crusade



Seljuks: illustration from the 11th-century chronicle of Skylitzes showing a battle between Byzantine and Seljuk cavalry, Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid

in 1204 led, ironically, to a period of relative peace and prosperity for both the Byzantines and Konya. Indeed, the two states enjoyed almost intimate relations. In 1243, however, the Mongol hordes crushed the Seljuks at Köse Dagh, initiating a period of instability that the Seljuks would never fully recover from. In one form or another the sultanate existed till the beginning of the 14th century, when it disappears in obscurity.

The Seljuk state, which developed in virtual isolation from its parent Great Seljuk empire in Iraq-Iran, rapidly drew on Byzantine and Islamic-Persian traditions to establish a permanent state system. The Persian element was especially prevalent. Arabic was used only for Qur'anic and legal matters, and was virtually unknown by the majority of Seljuks. This led to the development of a very different type of Islamic state in Anatolia, one which had no Arab cultural base to speak of. This distinction assisted in the development of a uniquely "Turkish blend" of Islamic, Persian, and Byzantine traditions that would culminate in the Ottoman empire.

By the reign of Kilij-Arslan II (1155–92), an efficient administrative, military, and fiscal machine was perfected and the trappings of the sultanate were firmly established at court. The sultan, however, increasingly lost power to his ministers, especially after 1243, when the famous *pervane* (a sort of chief minister) Muin al Din Sylaman held the reins of power.

Art and letters at Konya from about 1150 up to 1243 were characterized by a strong Persian influence. There is no native Turkish literature from the Seljuk period. Writers, mystics, and artists from Mesopotamia increasingly came to Rum as Mongol pressure on Mesopotamia increased. The most famous was the poet and mystic Jalal al-Din Rumi (1207–73) whose followers developed the whirling Dervishes. (The revolt of the "false prophet" Baba Ishak *c.*1240, however, proved how great a danger these men could be to the state.) Mystic and spiritual traditions (notably Sufism) – sometimes with Shiite overtones – established themselves in Seljuk Anatolia prior to flourishing later in Ottoman times. The study of law was also encouraged, and some great Islamic jurists could be found in Konya. The institution of the *madrasa* (orthodox Sunni school of preparation for the "official classes") was found throughout the sultanate.

Seljuk architecture is justly singled out as an admirable development in that field, while the decorative arts involved mostly relief carving (some of it figural), tile and textile making, and some book illumination.

The Seljuks played an ambivalent role in the history of medieval Hellenism. Despite obvious tensions, the official state was not consistently hostile to the existence of the Byzantine empire and at times allied with it. Kilij Arslan II made a state visit to Constantinople in 1162. Seljuk troops often fought for Byzantium (even in Europe) and vice versa, especially against unruly *ghazis* and the crusader states. Relations were peaceful from 1211 to 1243, and many Seljuks fled to Nicaea in the wake of the Mongol attack. Some of these espoused Christianity and were resettled by the Byzantines. The so-called Gagauz, now living in Bulgaria, may have originally been Seljuk followers of the half-Greek sultan Izz a-Din (Kaykaus II, d. 1289) who was himself openly sympathetic to Christianity and had a Christian chancellor. Many Byzantine nobles, furthermore, served the sultan in many capacities, and many did not convert to Islam.

There is no doubt, however, that the demographic picture of Anatolia was slowly but irreversibly changed in the 12th and 13th centuries. Ecclesiastical administration simply collapsed in many provinces, cutting off a vital lifeline to the Byzantine world. Many people converted to Islam, some of them preferring this to the constant hardships under Christian rule. Islam, as a consequence, was a given fact in Anatolia by the time the Ottomans appeared and this made the eventual Islamization of the region easier than in the Balkans, where Islam for the most part was not adopted by the local Orthodox populations.

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Summary

Originally a nomadic Turkoman people, the Seljuks dominated the Baghdad Caliphate in the mid-11th century and formed the Great Seljuk empire. This was a threat to Byzantine territory in eastern Anatolia and in 1071 the emperor Romanos IV was defeated by the Seljuks at Manzikert. By 1081 they had reached Nicaea but were pushed back by the Crusaders in the following decade. Centred on Konya, a Seljuk state flourished from the mid-12th to the mid-13th century when it was defeated by the Mongols.

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Septuagint

The ancient Greek translation of the Old Testament

The translation of the Hebrew scriptures into Greek first occurred in Egypt. According to the *Letter of Aristeas*, the

pharaoh Ptolemy II Philadelphus (285–246 BC) wanted a translation for the library at Alexandria and sent a request to Jerusalem for translators. The chief priest responded by sending 72 scribes with Hebrew scrolls of the Pentateuch (the first five books of the Old Testament). On their arrival in Egypt they were housed on an island in the Nile where they worked. When completed, their version was approved by the synagogue at Alexandria, and a copy was delivered to Philadelphus. Somehow the original 72 scribes were slightly reduced to 70, and their translation acquired the name "Septuagint", which is Latin for 70; it is usually cited in biblical studies as the LXX, after the Roman numerals for 70.

At first (*c.*250 BC), the Septuagint included only the Pentateuch, but eventually, by *c.*130 BC, all the other Old Testament books had been translated, at different times and by a wide range of hands. This piecemeal translating into a developing Hellenistic Greek, mixed with many Hebraisms, produced translations that varied greatly in style and quality.

Additional Jewish works, probably written in Greek in the Hellenistic Jewish community of Egypt, were added to the Septuagint; they are known as the Old Testament Apocrypha. They were accepted as canonical by the early Church and included in the Septuagint; they were also included in the Latin Vulgate. During the Reformation, however, Protestants segregated the Apocrypha as uncanonical, and in the 19th century it was generally dropped from Protestant Bibles. It remains in Orthodox and Roman Catholic Bibles.

Translating from Semitic Hebrew into Hellenistic Koine Greek forced scholars to take account of the great philosophical critiques of the anthropomorphic Olympian gods. Consequently they frequently suppressed the overt anthropomorphism of the Hebrew stories in favour of the more abstract thought of the Greeks. This anti-anthropomorphism is apparent in many verses. For example, when Moses at the burning bush asks God for his name, the Hebrew says the "one who is present"; the Greek for "I am" becomes an abstract *en an* (the Being). Other Hellenistic thought patterns were also accommodated.

Widely used as the scriptures of the Greek-speaking Jews of the diaspora, the Septuagint soon became the first scriptures of the Church. The writers of the New Testament books drew from the Septuagint. Perhaps as much as 5 per cent of the New Testament is composed of direct quotations from the Old Testament. In addition, there are many allusions, indirect quotations, and paraphrases of the Old Testament in the New. Almost all of these references are drawn from the Septuagint; this is almost always the "scriptures" referred to in the New Testament. (The Nestle-Aland version prints the direct quotations in bold type in its critical apparatus.)

When debates developed between Jews and Christians over the truth of the Christian interpretations of the Septuagint, the Jews argued that the Christians were quoting from translations; the Christians responded that the Septuagint was a Jewish translation. These debates led at first to new Jewish translations into Greek from Hebrew sources. Finally, after the destruction of Jerusalem in AD 70, the reorganization of Judaism under the rabbis involved the abandonment of all versions of the Old Testament except for the Hebrew one.

In order to make the Hebrew scriptures the sole authority for Jews, rabbinic Judaism found it necessary to establish one final version from the various Hebrew ones. Eventually the stabilized Hebrew text was known as the Masoretic text (MT). Meanwhile, in general, synagogues continued to use bulky scrolls for the individual books. Christians abandoned scrolls for the more convenient and "modern" form of the codex, which pulled the books together into a single volume. The books in the Hebrew scriptures soon differed in order of arrangement from that in the Septuagint. The Hebrew scriptures were grouped into the law, the prophets, and the writings; the Septuagint was arranged as law, histories, poetry, and prophets, with the Apocryphal books scattered among the latter three groups according to their character.

The discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls at Qumram from 1947 has revealed that earlier Hebrew text families underlie both the Masoretic Hebrew text and the Septuagint. This has meant that the Septuagint can now be viewed as equal, superior, or inferior to the Masoretic text depending on the books in question. In addition, the discoveries of fragments of the Septuagint have now pushed scholarship back close to the original. It should also be noted that the Septuagint is currently the only source for understanding a number of obscure Hebrew words. Modern study of the Septuagint is now being aided by the use of computers for textual analysis. Major centres of study are in Germany, Finland, France, and Spain.

The value of the Septuagint has been immense. From the beginning the Septuagint has been the official version of the Old Testament for the Greek Orthodox Church. It paved the way for Christian missionaries. And it was the basis for the translations into Armenian, Georgian, Coptic, and other languages.

A.J.L. WASKEY, JR

See also Jews

Summary

The Septuagint is a translation of the Hebrew scriptures into Greek made at the request of Ptolemy II Philadelphus (285–246 BC). A monument of Hellenistic Greek, it is the oldest and most influential of the ancient translations of the Old Testament. It has always been the standard text of the Old Testament for the Greek Orthodox Church.

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Serbia

The boundaries of Serbia have altered during the 14 centuries since the first arrival of Serbs in the Balkan peninsula. The emperor Herakleios (610–41) is supposed to have granted them territory in the northwest Balkans, and also to have settled some Serbians in the north of Greece at Servia, but both grants of territory may be legal fictions. For a long time contacts between Serbia and Greece were limited owing to the presence of the intervening Bulgarian empire. In the 9th century the Serbs were converted to Christianity, adopted the Cyrillic alphabet, and entered the world of Orthodoxy if not of the empire. The emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos (913–59) wrote a good deal about the Serbs in *De Adminstrando Imperio*. Basil II's defeat of the Bulgarians brought the Serbians in Raška and Dioclea under Byzantine control, and the Komnenoi were keenly interested in the Serbians as potential allies or enemies in the face of invasions from Italy or against it. Crusading armies, entering the Byzantine empire at Belgrade, found some kind of Byzantine presence there, but northern Serbia was largely uninhabited and Byzantine control really began at Niš.

After the Fourth Crusade the situation changed. The Nemanjid dynasty steadily extended their power southwards at the expense of Byzantium. They built Byzantine churches and married Byzantine princesses. In return Byzantine chroniclers like Gregoras and Pachymeres commented on the uncouth manners and crude dwellings of the Serbs. Stephan IV Dushan (1331–55) called himself emperor of the Greeks as well as the Serbs and wished to become emperor at Constantinople. He also occupied northern Greece, but on the collapse of his empire Serbs appear to have made little impression in this area, although there were briefly petty Serbian dynasties in Thessaly and Epirus.

The Ottoman invasion again drove a wedge between Serbia and Greece. Each nation fell to the Turks in a catastrophic way, celebrated thereafter in song. The Greeks gave no help to the Serbs at the battle of Kosovo in 1389, the Serbs no help to the Greeks at the siege of Constantinople in 1453. In between these two events, Greeks and Serbs helped the Turks at the battle of Ankara in 1402. While history linked and divided Greeks and Serbs in this way, legend provided more glorious links with each nation carrying with it during years of subservience memories of a heroic defeat, a martyred ruler, and hopes of an eventual triumph.

The Serbs had established an autocephalous Church as early as 1219. A patriarchate at Peć was founded in 1346, but met with opposition from the Greeks. In the early part of the period of Ottoman domination it was Turkish policy to manage ecclesiastical affairs through Greek control, but an independent patriarchate at Peć was re-established from 1557 to 1766. Even outside these years Greek religious influence was never very strong except perhaps in the south, and Greek efforts to set up schools in Serbia were equally unsuccessful. Where Greeks did achieve success and influence was through trade. Greek and Vlach merchants travelling through Serbia to the markets of the Habsburg empire set up warehouses and trading posts in Serbia, sometimes settling to build houses and churches. At one time, Belgrade almost looked like a Greek city. It contained a flourishing Greek school for which Serb government funds were allocated in the 1840s, although it became a private school in 1847. Strong family ties kept Greek merchants in touch with their native villages, to which they often returned, bringing part of their wealth with them. Those who stayed behind in Serbia were eventually assimilated, although they contributed to a feeling of friendship between their adopted country and Greece. There was some contact between the Greek revolutionaries who sought independence from Turkey and those who fought for the same cause in Serbia. Iordakis, also known as Olympiotis, had fought in Serbia and with the Russians before taking part in the abortive rising of 1821 in Romania. Milos Obrenovic, however, adopted a rather pacific role around 1830.

When in 1913 Serbia was awarded the territory now known as the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, it found substantial quantities of Greeks in towns like Titov Veles, Bitola, and Strumica. Many of these Greeks were in fact Vlachs, harbouring pro-Greek sentiments. It is impossible to find such Greeks any longer, as they have either left or been assimilated. Occasionally a building or an old family name is a reminder of the Greek past, although this past is not remote, going back no further than the mercantile expansion of the 18th and 19th centuries.

After World War II a new kind of emigrant entered Serbia in the shape of fighters for the Communist side in the Greek Civil War, but many of these were sent to other Communist countries or were already Slavophones, and the only real Greek-speakers in Yugoslavia after the war were a few elderly Hellenized Vlachs. The emergence of Macedonia as an independent state between Serbia and Greece has made communi-

42. The Serbian empire of the Nemanjids

cation between the two countries difficult, although Macedonia like Bulgaria and Turkey has served as a common enemy to link Serbs and Greeks.

T.J. WINNIFRITH

See also Commonwealth, Serbs, Vlachs

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Serbs

The origin of the Serbs is obscure. It has always been suggested that like both the Bulgars and the Avars they and the Croats were originally of non-Indo-European stock, dominating a subservient Slav population. Alternatively, though they are apparently quintessentially Slav with their Orthodox religion, Cyrillic alphabet, and attachment to Russia, it has been suggested that most Serbs like Vlachs and Albanians are the descendants of the indigenous Illyrian tribes. In the 7th century Serbs are said to have moved from Czechoslovakia to modern Serbia. They are thought to have acknowledged the authority of the Byzantine emperor in the time of Herakleios (610–41), although such authority, if it existed, must have been both nominal and ephemeral. The rise of a powerful Bulgarian kingdom acted as a barrier between Serbia and Byzantium in the early Middle Ages. It is a recurring feature of the relationship between Greeks and Serbs that, through not clashing with each other and clashing instead with the intervening Bulgars, they have been generally on friendly terms with each other.

The Serbs were originally pagans, organized as extended families or *zadrugas*, then as clans, then as tribes. In the middle of the 9th century these tribes were united under one župan (governor), and Cyril (St Constantine) and Methodios introduced Christianity and the Cyrillic alphabet. After the final defeat of the Bulgarians in 1018 the Byzantine empire controlled the Balkan peninsula, and the Serbs once again acknowledged Byzantine rule, although again this rule cannot have been too strictly enforced, especially after the defeat of Manzikert and the arrival of the Crusaders when the empire had trouble on other fronts. The main area of Serb strength was in Dioclea or Zeta, roughly corresponding to modern Montenegro, and Raška, roughly corresponding to the southern part of Serbia and the northern part of Kosovo. Interestingly and tragically, neither area has been the hub of the modern Serbian state.

In 1167 Stephan Nemanja became župan of Raška. The Nemanjis were to dominate Serbian history for the next 200 years. They soon obtained independence from Byzantium after the death of Manuel I Komnenos, and gradually extended their power southwards and northwards until in the reign of Stephan IV Dushan (1331–55) Serbs ruled from the Danube to

the Gulf of Corinth. The Nemanjids were bloodthirsty but pious. It was rare for rulers to suceed to the throne without slaugther of rival claimants or their predecessors. Yet they were builders of beautiful churches, modelled on Byzantine architecture. St Sava, the son of Stephan Nemanja, was a man of conspicuous piety who established an autocephalous Serbian Church. The Byzantines despised the Serbs as rude barbarians, but for political reasons Byzantine princesses often married into the Serbian royal family, and Dushan aspired to become emperor at Constantinople.

On Dushan's death his ramshackle empire fell to pieces. Serbian princelings ruled for a time in Thessaly, Epirus, and Macedonia, but the Ottoman advance soon put an end to them. Further north, Serbian resistance coalesced under prince Lazar with his capital at Kruševac. On 15 June 1389 the Serbs fought the Turks on the Field of Blackbirds in the plain of Kosovo. In Serbian oral poetry, often compared to the work of Homer, this battle is celebrated as a heroic defeat for the Serbs. prince Lazar certainly died. In the west bells were rung for a glorious victory. The sultan was certainly slain. Probably the battle was indecisive. In Serbia prince Lazar's son Stephan and great nephew George Branković continued to have a certain degree of autonomy, but both were forced to help the Turks in their campaigns. In 1459 the Ottomans captured the Serb capital of Smedrevo and ruled Serbia for the next 350 years.

This period was not one of complete stagnation. The Serbian Church was a focus for national feeling. Between 1557 and 1776 there was an independent patriarchate at Peć; before and after these dates Greek influence was strong in the Church. Patriarch Jovan II led a revolt known as the insurrection of St Sava between 1593 and 1609.

In 1691 patriarch Arsenye III led a great emigration of about 30,000 families to the north of the Danube away from the traditional homelands of the Serbs. This was an important if eventually tragic move as it meant that Serbia had a less good claim to areas like Kosovo and Macedonia, and it involved Serbia in a difficult relationship with Austro-Hungary. Serbs in the Voivodina, north of the Danube, were in the 18th century at the forefront of the movement for Serb emancipation, but the Catholic Habsburg empire which briefly occupied Belgrade was not always on good terms with its Orthodox Serb subjects.

In 1804, under the leadership of Kara George, the Serbs revolted against the Turks. This revolt has little to do with similar movements in Greece for independence. Kara George, an illiterate dealer in pigs, has not much in common with lofty idealists like Rigas Pheraios. One of the reasons for discontent was the rapacity of the Greek clergy, dominant since the abolition of the patriarchate of Peć in 1766. Kara George's rebellion failed, but in 1817 Serbia gained a limited form of independence for a small area south of Belgrade. For the next 100 years the Karageorgevic and Obrenovic dynasties were to reign over Serbia in uneasy succession, with no fewer than four rulers meeting untimely deaths.

Milos Obrenovic, who reigned from 1817 to 1839 and then again from 1869 to 1870, did much for the organization of the state. In education he took a strongly nationalistic line. The Serbian language was standardized by the great scholar of the Kosovo epic, Vuk Karadžić. The influence of Serbs in the Voivodina was also marked. Although ancient Greek was part of the curriculum, little help was sought from Greece, although the two countries, recently liberated from the Turk, and proud of their ancient traditions, had much in common. Closer links and also rivalries were established in the latter half of the 19th century when Serbia, Greece, and Bulgaria all became claimants to what remained of the Turkish empire, an area ruled in the past by all these countries. Linguistic claims were equally difficult to determine since, in addition to Albanians, Vlachs, and Turks complicating the issue, the central district under dispute was inhabited by people who spoke a language somewhere between Bulgarian and Serbian, although closer to the former. Bulgaria was indeed awarded this land at the Treaty of San Stefano, but the Treaty of Berlin reversed this decision and left Macedonia in the hands of the Turks. Serbia made some gains around Niš.

In the Balkan Wars of 1912 and 1913 the Serbs and the Greeks were on the winning side, and thus able to divide the bulk of Macedonia between them. The Serbian gains, known as south Serbia, became an integral part of Yugoslavia, and only Serbo-Croat was taught in the schools. Relations with Greece were generally friendly, although there was some tension about Serbian access to a free port at Thessalonica. The Greeks and Serbs had been somewhat uneasy allies during World War I when after a gallant resistance the Serbian army retreated through Albania to Corfu and joined the Allied front at Thessalonica. During World War II the two countries were again briefly allied when in 1941 the German armies drove through Serbia on their way to Greece.

Resistance in Greece and Yugoslavia followed a similar pattern with a right-wing faction supporting the monarchy pitted against a communist faction, both officially fighting the Germans, but sometimes fighting each other. The result of this struggle was, however, different. Yugoslav support for the communists in the Greek Civil War led to much tension between the countries. Tito's break with Russia eased this tension, but his recognition of Macedonia inflamed Greek nationalist feelings. The disintegration of Yugoslavia increased the pressure with an independent state under the name of Macedonia being anathema to the Greeks. Paradoxically Serbs, now dominant in the rump of Yugoslavia, although ruled by a communist and repressive regime, became oddly popular in Greece as a beleaguered Orthodox nation, facing dangers from unreliable Macedonia, Muslim Albanians in Kosovo, Catholic and German-backed Croatia, and a host of other enemies.

T.J. WINNIFRITH

See also Macedonia, Slavs

Summary

Originally pagans, the Serbs became Christian and literate in the 9th century. From 1167 to 1355 the Nemanjids dominated Serbia and ruled an empire that eventually reached from the Danube to the gulf of Corinth. Under the Turks the Serbian Church maintained national feeling. Limited independence was gained in 1817.

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Serres

City in Macedonia

With a population of 50,390 according to the 1991 census, Serres is one of the most populous towns of Greek Macedonia, the second largest in east Macedonia after Kavalla, and capital of the administrative department of the same name. The town's position remains the same as when it was first recorded in antiquity; it occupies the southern slopes of Mount Menoikion, while a vast plain extends to the west and south. Not far from the town, at a distance of about 12 km, flows the Strymon river, a dominant feature of the region. Serres lay close to the Via Egnatia, one of the most important land routes in Roman, Byzantine, and Ottoman times, which linked Thessalonica to Constantinople (modern Istanbul). The development of Serres was much affected by its proximity to that major route.

The first record of the town is connected with events of the 4th century BC. It was probably founded by the Thracian tribe of Odomantes under the name of Sira or Siris, which was later transformed in Serrai/es (the Ottoman Turks knew it as Siroz). Originally a Thracian settlement, it was open to the influences of Hellenic civilization that came from the Greek colonies on the east Macedonian coast. The process of Hellenization was accelerated and finally completed after the region was annexed to the Macedonian state by Philip II between the years 358 and 355 BC. From 146 BC onwards the region of Serres was incorporated in the Roman province of Macedonia. Christianity was introduced to the region by St Paul, who visited the nearby towns of Philippi and Amphipolis and established a Christian church there. In late antiquity the bishop of Serres was a subordinate of the metropolitan of Thessalonica.

Little is known about Serres in the 7th and 8th centuries AD. The collapse of Byzantine authority in most of the Balkans during that period affected eastern Macedonia as well. The Slavic tribes of Strymonitai and Ryghinoi who settled in this region lived an independent existence and were often hostile to Byzantium. However, the Byzantine emperors were keen to re-establish control of the routes between Constantinople and Thessalonica and they seem to have taken some measures in that direction. There is evidence of a campaign by Constantine IV (668–85) against the Ryghinoi Slavs; and Justinian II (565–78) is said to have settled a garrison of Scythian mercenaries at the Strymon defiles, northwest of Serres. Whether Serres continued to be a centre of organized urban life during that period, and what role it might have played in those events, is not known. Byzantine authority was definitely re-established there in the 9th century. Serres too re-emerged from obscurity. By the late 9th century the region of eastern Macedonia was organized into the Byzantine province (theme) of Strymon with Serres as its capital. The rest of the Middle Ages saw Serres as the most important administrative and economic centre in eastern Macedonia, a position which it retained in modern times as well, despite the serious damage it suffered during a Bulgarian raid in the early 13th century from which it quickly recovered. The church of Serres re-emerged in the early 10th century as a separate archbishopric and was later in the same century elevated to a metropolitan see. The town was under Byzantine rule for most of the Middle Ages. The Franks were established there in the aftermath of the Fourth Crusade (1204), to be followed by the Epirot Greeks and then the Bulgarians, until the Byzantines retook the land *c.*1242. The Serbs came a century later and occupied the town in 1345, as a result of their involvement in the Byzantine civil war between the regency of John V Palaiologos and John Kantakouzenos. Serres held an important position in the administration of the short-lived empire of Stephan IV Dushan. The latter's death and the subsequent disintegration of his empire were followed by the establishment of a semi-independent Graeco-Serbian principality centred at Serres, which was first governed by Dushan's widow Elisabeth, then by John Ugljesa until 1371. The years between 1371 and 1383 were the last period of Byzantine rule in Serres; the town fell to the Ottoman Turks on 19 September 1383 and so began the Ottoman period of the town's history which lasted for more than five centuries.

The late medieval and early modern years are a well-documented period for the social and economic life of the town. A wealth of documents from the archives of the Athonite monasteries, which owned a great deal of land in the surrounding region, and from the local monastery of St John Prodromos on Mount Menoikion, which prospered during the 14th century, show that the fertile and well-irrigated plain of southeastern Macedonia was populous and productive enough to create the conditions for the town's development. More about the population and economy of the town itself can be found in the Ottoman fiscal registers of the 15th century.

Agricultural activities in the region were oriented towards cereal cropping and viticulture. The cultivation of textile substances, mainly flax, had a less important role to play and, it seems, was limited to serving local demands, while cotton was only a marginal product in those years. Mining was another significant economic activity of this region with iron being extracted from the (now worked-out) mines of Siderokastro, Vrontou, and Trilision. Serres was the marketplace of the region and also a centre of handicrafts. Merchants and artisans were organized in corporations (guilds) and were able in the course of the 14th century to influence local government. The opposition which the town of Serres raised against the party of John VI Kantakouzenos (who was himself a wealthy landowner in that region), during the Byzantine civil war of the 1340s, was probably a reflection of the anti-aristocratic tendencies of the local mercantile and artisan classes.

The earliest figures for the town's population are derived from the Ottoman fiscal registers of the 15th century: about 6200 people are recorded in Serres in 1454/55 (3450 Christian and 2750 Muslim), and about 4896 in 1478/79 (1706 Christian and 3190 Muslim). The Muslims were introduced into the town straight after the Ottoman conquest, and soon made up a large proportion, often becoming the majority, of the population, as is shown by these figures. They were in part immigrants from Anatolia, in part the product of Islamization.

The emergence of this new element of the population was accompanied by the topographic expansion of Serres, as they established their own quarters outside the old fortified section of the town. This provides good evidence of a voluntary surrender of the town to the Ottomans, because it was against their usual practices to allow the Christian population of places taken by force to remain in the fortified sections; the same can be deduced from the fact that the cathedral church of the town, the church of St Theodore, remained in Christian hands after the Ottoman occupation. The majority of the Christians of the town were ethnically Greek (the early 17th-century chronicle of Papasynadinos is a characteristic text in the local Greek dialect), while the population of the surrounding countryside was mixed, Greek and Slavic. Another ethnic element present in Serres were the Sephardic Jews who were settled there at the end of the 15th century. In 1519 the population of Serres consisted of approximately 6847 people (3157 Christian, 3420 Muslim, and 270 Jewish). Sephardic Jews were settled in other towns of Macedonia as well (about 120 persons are recorded in Giannitsa for the same year), but the largest group of them was to be found in Thessalonica where they numbered 15,715 in 1519.

The following centuries were marked by new developments in the economy of the region. The establishment of large private estates (*çiftliks*) in the 18th century was accompanied by the commercialization of agriculture. As a result, the cultivation of highly commercial products, such as cotton and tobacco, which was strongly favoured by the abundance of water and the quality of the soil in this region, soon gained ground and became the most profitable agricultural activity.

The Ottoman conquest of the land in the late 14th century had brought about the collapse of the local Christian landowning nobility, which was not to reemerge again. During the long period of Ottoman rule the rural estates were in the hands of either Muslim individuals or pious foundations (*waqf*). Nevertheless, several members of the Greek community did make their fortunes through trading. The good economic standing of many local Greeks, as well as contact with central and western Europe, brought a revival of intellectual life to the town. Efforts to promote a form of Greek education in Serres were made throughout the centuries of Ottoman rule (this is indicated even in the early 17th-century chronicle of Papasynadinos), but the earliest known Greek school at Serres was founded by the metropolitan Gabriel in 1735 and was subsidized by many wealthy Serrean merchants. Throughout the 18th century the influence of the ideas of the Enlightenment gave rise to Greek national sentiment. Many prominent members of the Greek community joined the *Philiki Hetaireia* ("Friendly Society"), including the metropolitan Chrysanthos and the rich merchant Emmanuel Papas (1772–1821). The Greek people of Serres remained inactive during the War of Independence, the main reason for this being the large number of Muslims in the town and their readiness to deal ruthlessly with any revolutionary action. Nevertheless, several Serrean individuals either supported the Greek forces or took part in the fighting. Most prominent among them was Emmanuel Papas who organized and led the unsuccessful uprising in Chalcidice between May and November 1821.

Ottoman rule in Serres lasted until the Balkan Wars. The Bulgarian army occupied the town on 25 November 1912 and held it until the 28 June 1913 when it was driven out by Greek forces, after the former members of the anti-Turkish alliance came to blows. The region of Serres and the rest of southeastern Macedonia were officially assigned to Greece by the Treaty of Bucharest (1913) which ended the Balkan Wars. Yet the town of Serres and the surrounding region were occupied twice again by the Bulgarian army during World Wars I and II.

The history of Serres in the 20th century is marked by significant changes in its demographic and economic conditions. First, the Muslims of the region departed as a result of the 1923 exchange of populations between Greece and Turkey and were replaced by Greek refugees from Anatolia. Then the large number of newcomers, the distribution of land to every individual peasant, the expansion of arable land by drainage, and the introduction of modern agricultural techniques resulted in an unprecedented increase in agricultural production (which continues with the cotton and tobacco crops). Contemporary Serres is a large provincial town with a lively economy based on the agricultural production of the surrounding region, commerce, and services.

KONSTANTINOS P. MOUSTAKAS

Summary

Serres is the second largest city of eastern Macedonia after Kavalla and lies close to the ancient Via Egnatia. It has a documented history from the 4th century BC. Christianity was brought to the region by St Paul. Serres was the capital of the Byzantine theme of Strymon. It was taken by the Serbs in 1345 and by the Ottomans in 1383. Agriculture and iron mining were the principal activities of the region. There was a large Muslim population until 1923.

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Sèvres, Treaty of 1920

Treaty of the Allied Powers with Turkey

The Treaty of Sèvres was the last of four treaties ancillary to Versailles that imposed terms on Germany's defeated allies in World War I, after St Germain (Austria), Neuilly (Bulgaria), and Trianon (Hungary). Presented to the Ottoman government on 11 May and signed at Sèvres on 10 August 1920, the settlement was never enforced and was ultimately replaced by the Treaty of Lausanne (1923).

The treaty confined the Turkish state to a part of Asia Minor. The sultan's government was allowed to continue at Constantinople, but the city was included with the Dardanelles, the Sea of Marmara, the Bosporus, and adjacent lands in a Zone of the Straits. This zone was placed under the administration of an international commission, so as to ensure access "to every vessel of commerce or war without distinction of flag". Kurdistan was given local autonomy, with the right to secede within a year. Armenia was made an independent state with boundaries drawn by president Wilson to include Trebizond, Erzurum, and Van. Syria, Mesopotamia, and Palestine were granted independence subject to mandatory powers appointed by the League of Nations. Turkey renounced all claims to the Hejaz, Egypt, Sudan, and Libya, and recognized the French protectorate over Tunis and Morocco, the British protectorate over Egypt, the British occupation of Cyprus, and Italian control of the Dodecanese. The finances of the Turkish state were placed under the control of a financial commission appointed by the Allied Powers. The capitulations affording extraterritorial status to non-Turkish nationals were extended to all the Allied Powers. Also stipulated were the protection of minorities, disarmament of the Turkish military, and the prosecution of war criminals.

The terms of the treaty were particularly favourable to Greece. The exercise of Turkish sovereignty in Smyrna and a large surrounding region was delegated to Greece, with the prospect of annexation to Greece after a plebiscite in five years. The islands of Imbros and Tenedos and the whole of European Turkey outside the Zone of the Straits were ceded to Greece, while Greek possession of other Aegean islands was confirmed.

Five other agreements were signed at Sèvres on the same day. Greece and Armenia both signed treaties for the protection of minorities within their borders. A tripartite pact between Britain, France, and Italy recognized their respective zones of influence within Turkey. Italy agreed to cede the Dodecanese, excepting Rhodes, to Greece. But the only enduring geographical outcome of Sèvres was the transfer of western Thrace from Bulgaria to Greece by a treaty between Greece and the Great Powers.

The treaty of Sèvres proved unworkable. The Greek military presence in the Smyrna region which it codified provoked a resurgence of Turkish power. The Allied signatories were divided among themselves, leaving the Greeks alone to enforce the treaty. But perhaps decisive to its failure was its identification with the political fortunes of the Greek prime minister, Eleftherios Venizelos.

The treaty was signed almost two years after the Turkish surrender. This delay resulted from British resistance to French claims in Syria and Cilicia, Wilson's temporizing over proposed American mandates for Armenia and the Straits, and from consequences of the Greek landing at Smyrna on 15 May 1919. The Greek presence gave coherence to what had heretofore been desultory Turkish resistance to Allied occupation; the British high commissioner commented that "the Greek occupation of Smyrna has stimulated a Turkish patriotism probably more real than any the war was able to evoke." In the summer of 1919 Mustafa Kemal, appointed inspector of the eastern provinces by the Sublime Porte, emerged as the leader of a Turkish nationalist movement. Already a year before Sèvres the National Pact formulated at Erzurum and Sivas defied Allied pretensions in Asia Minor. The Allied occupation of Constantinople on 16 March 1920 led Kemal's Grand National Assembly to denounce the sultan's regime, and swelled the ranks of the nationalist army, already victorious over the French at Marash. The signature of Riza Tevfik, the Ottoman legate at Sèvres, was more representative of an Allied protectorate than of the Turkish nation.

The Greek position at Smyrna and the emergence of Kemal exacerbated differences among the Allies. At the Paris peace conference the Italians, with their interests in the Adalia (Attalia) region, opposed Greek claims in Asia Minor – the Smyrna landing itself was dictated more by Lloyd George's and Wilson's pique over Italian claims than by a concerted strategy. On 13 March 1921 count Sforza signed an accord with the Nationalists pledging opposition to the Sèvres awards to Greece in Thrace and Asia Minor. The report of the Interallied Commission of October 1920 investigating atrocities in the Smyrna region led the French prime minister to criticize the Greek presence. Economic interests disposed France to make a separate peace with Kemal; the Franklin–Bouillon accord ceded Cilicia to Turkey while protecting the French position in Syria. Nor would the British government fight to uphold the Treaty of Sèvres. Although Lloyd George saw the greater Greece it stipulated as a prop to British interests in the eastern Mediterranean, his cabinet was divided – Churchill urged a return to the traditional policy of supporting Turkey against Russia. Venizelos secretly hoped for a Turkish rejection of the Sèvres terms that might force Britain into a larger war, but assured Lloyd George that Greece could enforce the treaty without allied armies.

The Treaty of Sèvres reflected the Allies' desire to support the political position of Venizelos, whom the Entente had installed as prime minister by overthrowing the neutralist king Constantine in June 1917. Venizelos hoped that gains in Asia Minor and Thrace might mitigate popular discontent over his use of foreign intervention against his political opponents, since acquisitions in Epirus and Macedonia had won him popularity after the Balkan Wars. When Venizelos lost the elections of November 1920, the Allies placed an embargo on economic credits to the new government, and by April of the next year they declared neutrality in the Greek–Turkish conflict. Kemal's forces drew the Greeks into the interior, routed them at Sakarya in August 1921, and one year later drove them from Smyrna. In November 1922 Venizelos was at Lausanne negotiating recognition of Kemal's Turkey, while six of his political enemies – including the prime minister, Gounaris – were executed in Athens.

The Treaty of Sèvres was intrinsically untenable. Marshal Foch's commission had estimated that 27 divisions would be necessary to enforce its terms – the Greeks had 6. "To maintain M. Venizelos in power in Greece for what cannot in the nature of things be more than a few years at the outside", the British adviser de Robeck observed, the Allies were "prepared to perpetuate bloodshed indefinitely" and to violate their own principle of self-determination. The census of the ecumenical patriarchate of 1912 (taken before the arrival of thousands of Turkish refugees from the Balkan Wars) had found Greeks a minority on the mainland; the Interallied Commission of 1919 found Greeks a minority everywhere but Smyrna and Aivali. In rejecting the prime minister Gounaris's request to lead the Asia

Minor campaign general Metaxas commented that "we are an ethnological minority even in the area round Smyrna". But more importantly, he recognized, the Turks had developed a national feeling.

Greece and Turkey are the only two countries to have waged their respective wars of independence against one another. As Toynbee observes, the Greek war of 1821 had been the first thoroughgoing application of the Western national idea in Ottoman lands; the Turkish war against the terms of Sèvres a century later was fought for the same principles. The Treaty of Sèvres was the apex of the recrudescence of the Great Idea – the dream of a restoration of Greek hegemony in the heartland of Byzantium. This aspiration, spawned by the romantic nationalism of the French Revolution, corresponded little to the reality that inspired it. In its polyethnic character and the liberty afforded to local administrative, social, and economic structures Byzantium had more in common with the Ottoman regime than with modern Greece. In addressing the Paris peace conference Venizelos used maps showing the historic persistence of Greek settlement in Asia Minor to argue for the introduction of a national regime of a kind the region had never known. His attempt to extend the modern Greek state into Asia Minor fostered a Turkish leviathan. For the Turkish state *Sèvres fobisi* – fear of Sèvres – remains an abiding anxiety. For Greeks the treaty of Sèvres represents the phantom culmination of a century of territorial expansion, precipitating the catastrophe of 1922 and foreshadowing that of 1974.

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See also Asia Minor Campaign, Great Idea, World War I

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Ships and shipping

The Greeks of antiquity lived mostly near the sea; the fact and its significance were not ignored (Aristotle, *Politics*, 1271b34). The influences that formed their culture were seaborne as was its own diffusion; their literature from its earliest pages has references to the sea, to ships, and cargoes. The Greeks of the Middle Ages have been described as suspicious of the sea and of commerce. Nevertheless a Byzantine of the 14th century reportedly considered that his city should become a purely maritime commercial power (John Kantakouzenos, *Histories*, 2. 537). In the contemporary world merchant shipping is one (perhaps the only) commercial activity in which Greece is internationally prominent. The Greek-owned merchant fleet is now the largest on earth; members of a nation accounting for about 0.2 per cent of the world population apparently control about 15 per cent of its maritime carrying capacity.

Such facts create an understandable temptation to see a continuity of maritime genius and to stress its importance in the history of the Greeks. To this some writers have succumbed despite difficulties that should encourage resistance. A number of centuries before the 18th are an almost complete blank. From other facts (these include the Italian basis of the modern Greek maritime argot, the very unsettled conditions in the Aegean during part of the period, the feeble representation of maritime Greeks in surviving commercial documents of late Byzantine times, the known maritime strength of other nations, and the beginnings, so far as documented, of the maritime adventure of the 18th century) it may be suspected that the blank reflects reality rather than lack of evidence or diligence in collecting it. In addition it is not only difficult to assess the importance of shipping but the approach to the difficulty must differ for different ages. Antiquity, therefore, and the modern period will be described separately. Between them there will be an intermission of about a thousand years.

The physical characteristics of ancient ships may be inferred from surviving descriptions, depictions, and wrecks. By the 5th century BC merchantmen and warships were clearly distinguished. The former were known as "round ships" (*strongyla ploia*) or *holkades* or (in the Phoenician context) *gauloi*, the latter simply as ships (*nees*) or long ships (*nees makrai*) or with reference to a specific type *pentekontoroi* (ship with 50 oars) or *triereis* (trireme). The distinction was not only in beam but also the principal means of propulsion, which for merchantmen was sail and for warships, at least in battle, oars. Use of pentekonters by the Phocaeans on their journeys to the west seemed to the 5th century remarkable (Herodotus, 1. 163) and reference to oared merchantmen (Thucydides, 4. 118. 5) is extremely unusual. The date of this functional specialization between speed and capacity is obscure. The earliest surviving picture of a round ship on a pot is from the late 6th century BC (British Museum, London); if the surprise of Herodotus was shared by contemporaries of the events, then round ships should have existed by its earlier years.

The construction of Mediterranean ships, as appears from their wrecks, had certain common features between the late Bronze Age and the end of antiquity. The hull planking is held together by mortice and tenon joints locked with tree nails. In construction the shell would have been built first and the frames added afterwards. The advantage of this method is a

Ships: Kavalla in Macedonia is a major port and entrepôt for the export of tobacco

very firm hull. Its disadvantage is the skill and time required for the adzing and jointing of the timbers. It seems to have given way to skeleton-based construction (in which the integrity of the hull depends on fixing its planking to the frames) by the 7th century AD, Oak was used for the keel and frequently the frames, fir or pine for the hull planking. Hulls were caulked and often sheathed in metal, lead being found more than copper.

Most merchantmen were single masted with a single square (strictly, rectangular) sail. The sail's angle to the mast could be adjusted and it could be flexibly brailed. Some later ships also had a foremast with a smaller sail. Three-masted vessels must have been very rare. Rudders were oar-shaped and projected astern from one or both sides of the hull.

The capacity of merchantmen may be judged from indications of their cargoes or their dimensions. The stone for some archaic statuary or masonry was carried by sea; there are surviving statues of more than 20 tons and blocks of more than 30. Round ships could carry considerably more. Gifts of grain to Athens in the late 4th century BC are attested in quantities of 3000 *medimnoi* (*c.*120 tons) and less frequently of 4000 *medimnoi* (*c.*160 tons) and they are plausibly whole shiploads. The 3000 wine jars that were the cargo intended in [Demosthenes] 35 are likely to have exceeded 100 tons. A decree from Thasos of the 3rd century BC excludes ships carrying less than 3000 talents (*c.*80 tons) from one harbour and less than 5000 talents (*c.*130 tons) from another. There is evidence of much larger cargoes. Privileges in the Roman period were available in respect of vessels carrying at least 50,000 *modii* (*c.*340 tons) of grain (*Digest*, 50. 5. 3) and there are wrecks of the Roman period with more than 400 tons aboard. The vessel that brought the Vatican obelisk to Rome must have been able to carry around 1300 tons (for the ballast see Pliny, *Naturalis Historia*, 16. 201); vessels with such dimensions seem from the tone of Pliny's reference to have been unusual enough to provoke wonder (cf. The *Navigium* of Lucian for the wonder that a ship of enormous dimensions could provoke). The largest vessel that is known (through a description reproduced by Athenaeus, 206ff.) from antiquity was built in the 3rd century BC for Hiero of Syracuse; its size has been estimated at around 2000 tons. The largest vessels of antiquity thus approached the limits of purely timber construction. It was not until the 19th century that ships became substantially larger. Passengers in considerable numbers are recorded on long-distance voyages: 600 from Palestine to Rome (Josephus, *Vita*, 15) and 276 (including crew) on the ship that took St Paul as far as Malta (Acts 27: 37), this at the extremity of the sailing season.

The speeds of which ancient ships were capable were less important than the fact that they were at the mercy of the

winds and weather (the discovery of the periodicity of the monsoon was for this reason very important for Indian Ocean traffic) and that in winter navigation generally stopped (this defined what journeys could be undertaken). A replica of the Kyrenia wreck (*c.*300 BC) has reached 9 knots under sail and records of remarkably fast voyages show that speeds of 5 knots or more could be averaged over several hundred miles. Conversely on a voyage against the prevailing wind a ship was doing well to average 2 knots. The prevailing direction of the winds defined the expected journey times of ancient travel (e.g. fast from the northwest towards Egypt but slow in the opposite direction) and the superimposition of a short sailing season further limited the possibilities. The risks in pushing one's luck with the seasons are accessibly exemplified by Acts 27–28; the story of Paul's journey to Rome is one of the most vivid records (Synesius, *Epistles*, 4 vies with it) of the vagaries of an ancient sea voyage.

As in the modern world, it was much cheaper in antiquity to transport goods over water than over land; to quote a classic inference from the Diocletianic price edict, "it was cheaper to ship grain from one end of the Mediterranean to the other than to cart it 75 miles". Nevertheless, the function and significance of shipping in antiquity are controversial; the divisions in the controversy are aligned with those on the nature of the ancient economy generally. That contradictory accounts of, say, trade in the Archaic period or lending in Classical Athens are pressed on the public with equal conviction is partly due to the nature of the evidence: fragments that may be fitted into different pasticcios whose shape owes more to the restorer than to them. Even apparently elementary questions (e.g. how many of the maritime lenders known from Athens in the 4th century BC were Athenians and/or merchants?) receive different answers because of the opacity of sources that were not composed to satisfy the curiosity of modern scholars. By and large, rival interpreters have not attempted a reconciliation of their differences and the diversity of their views cannot be conveyed in a brief entry.

From the 4th century BC organizational features of shipping that were to endure for centuries (even to the present day) are clearly discernible. Much less can be discerned about earlier periods; this is doubly unfortunate because Greek seafaring created its most important and enduring monument in the vast diffusion of people and culture of the Archaic period. The mere existence of maritime adventures is easy to establish from a variety of sources: stories in Herodotus (e.g. the fabulous wealth gained by Colaeus of Samos and his crew as a result of an unintended voyage to Spain at 4. 152 or the journeys of the Phocaeans in the far west at 1. 163), the remains of trading settlements at, for example, Naucratis in Egypt (see also Herodotus, 2. 178f.) or Al Mina on the Orontes, fragmentary business documents recovered from trading posts of the outer fringes (Berezan on the north coast of the Black Sea and Pech Maho in the west). Since colonists did not set out for the unknown (Herodotus, 4. 150. 4), their choice of destination depended on information brought back by seafaring adventurers.

To picture their adventures, scholars have turned to the *Odyssey* (the earliest reference to seafaring, Hesiod's advice at *Opera et Dies* 618–94 being concerned with less ambitious journeys) assuming that it is, even when the characters are telling lies as at 14. 192–359, in background realistic. Attention is drawn to the commonality of the enterprise (necessary when a leader needed oarsmen and linked to a historical datum such as the dedication of Colaeus and his crew together) and its close association with the exchange of gifts or prestige goods on the one hand and raiding and abduction on the other. A precisely focused picture is impossible; despite elaborate attempts, the basis, for example, of the distinction between the high status of a Mentes (actually Athena in disguise) in search of copper in exchange for iron at 1. 179ff. and the low status of a trader mindful of his cargo (8. 159ff.) is elusive. It has been suggested that by the end of the Archaic period the wealth of some cities (e.g. Aegina) depended on seaborne commerce.

The 4th century BC reveals a clear separation between hull and cargo interests and the finance of cargo by bottomry loans (under which repayment was contingent on the safe arrival of ship and cargo), a financial device that was to endure into the modern world. There is evidence of elementary economic rationality in, for example, the stipulation of maritime lenders that the cargo was to be worth twice the loan and that the borrower was to borrow no additional sums from others, or the diversion of a grain cargo to a port at which prices were higher (Demosthenes, 56). That hardy perennial, the maritime fraud, also heaves into view (Demosthenes, 32). The status and wealth of the participants and the scale and significance of their activities have been much debated. By and large, throughout antiquity, the masters of vessels and the merchants who travelled with them were of low status and for the most part their means were also modest. When, in the case of late antiquity, comparisons are possible, even the largest merchant fortunes are dwarfed by landed wealth. Arguments from silence indicate the same for earlier periods. The capital, though, for the business either in the form of bottomry loans or even ownership of vessels seems throughout antiquity to have been provided by persons (and later institutions such as the Church) of wealth and status. The amount of maritime activity in antiquity cannot be quantified. On the demand side certain large cities (in chronological order Athens, Alexandria, Rome, and Constantinople) imported a significant proportion of their grain needs over water and attracted delivery of luxuries over considerable distances. On the supply side it is difficult to identify cities for which maritime activity was in itself significant. In the Classical period Aristotle names Aegina and Chios (*Politics*, 1291b24); Phaselis is also possible. Later Rhodes is a clear example; with cities such as Alexandria (or for instance Nicomedia in the Roman period) it is hard to tell the relative importance of the maritime activity attested.

The strictly economic effect of maritime activity in antiquity may have been slight, the social status of its participants low by comparison with their counterparts today, and most detail of its organization obscure. These facts do not contradict the assumption of a much wider significance for shipping in antiquity. Already by the 4th century BC a city's access to the sea had effects notable enough for its merits to be the subject of debate (Aristotle, *Politics*, 1327a11ff.). Throughout antiquity ships were the uniting link in the Mediterranean world.

If we pass over the thousand years ending around AD 1700, it is not because maritime activity ceased completely. People continued to travel on ships, the so-called Rhodian Sea Law was recopied presumably because it had a use, references to

maritime loans and cargoes occur. But it is extremely difficult to synthesize this scattered material into a general picture. When with the Italian archival material at the end of the Byzantine period the available documentation becomes richer, the Greek representation is found to be very small. The Ottoman conquest was followed by chaos and depopulation in the Aegean and such Turkey trade as there was was carried in western ships. There are glimmers of revival in the 17th century (in the relative prosperity of settlements such as Lindos and Patmos or passing references in Evliya Çelebi to rich Greek shipowners at Yenikoy) but the scale is very small. A significant revival began only with the stabilization of Ottoman relations with the west from the end of the 17th century (notably through the Treaty of Karlowitz, 1699, and the Treaty of Passarowitz, 1718) and the increasing access to western markets of produce from the southern Balkans.

For this reason the first sizeable merchant fleets were formed in western Greece, chiefly at Missolonghi (whose connections were with the Ionian islands, then Venetian, and Epirus) and Galaxidi (whose connections were with the Morea). The development of these fleets is obscure, but it was extremely rapid after about 1740, and by the 1750s they dominated the trade between the west coast of Greece and Italy. In the Aegean, development was a little slower. While 40 to 50 indeterminately "large" ships are attributed to Mykonos in the early part of the 18th century, Hydra, which was to become preeminent by its end and has the best-documented history, created a vessel of more than 100 tons (a *latinadiko*, twin masted with lateen sails) only in 1745. Up to that time the predominant vessel had been the *sakhtouri*, a small vessel of up to 15 tons engaged solely in Aegean traffic. It has been suggested that a stimulus to the development of Greek shipping after the middle of the century was the weakness of its chief rival, France, during the Seven Years' War.

Notable features of Hydra's development include: its original poverty, which pushed the inhabitants to sea; the favour it enjoyed as a supplier of crews to the Ottoman navy; its astuteness in keeping in with both sides during the Russo-Turkish War of 1770–74 so that unhindered by either it overtook other islands such as Mykonos; and the windfall of the continental blockade during the Napoleonic wars, which the Hydriots had the pluck to run to phenomenal gain. At first the Hydriots did not have the resources to take risks with cargoes and so ships were let on charter to merchants. Later maritime loans would be raised from financiers (*cambiadori*) and later still cargoes were financed by the resources of the owners. To disperse risk, a rich man's wealth would be spread over several vessels and maritime loans, and it was extremely uncommon for a vessel to be in single ownership. The crew (which exceeded 60 on larger vessels) was generally paid out of a profit share. Success led to a gradual increase in the size of vessels. By 1812 the most common size was between 250 and 300 tons and some vessels exceeded 450 tons. At this time Hydra had the largest merchant fleet in the Greek world, twice as large as its neighbour and nearest rival, Spetses. Notable for its weak presence in shipping at the time was the richest island of the Aegean, Chios. The Greek merchant fleet seems to have continued to grow even after the end of the Napoleonic boom and to have reached about 700 vessels on the eve of the War of Independence.

During the war 80 per cent of the fleet (which doubled as a navy) was obliterated, and it did not regain its prewar capacity until the 1840s. By this time the centre of gravity had shifted to Syros (which was also the most important centre of Greek shipbuilding in the 19th century). Greek ships seem to have operated almost exclusively in the eastern Mediterranean and the Black Sea and to have been losing ground to western vessels of greater capacity. The fleet, nevertheless, continued to grow and almost doubled its capacity by the mid-1850s, partly in response to the stimulus provided by the Crimean War.

Conversion to steam was the most significant trend in 19th-century navigation. This was relatively slow because substantial improvements in engine technology and ship construction were required for the steamship to become a competitive carrier over large distances. Even in the most developed fleet, the British, steamships did not provide a majority of capacity until the late 1880s. At this time Greece had hardly started its conversion to steam and did not reach a similar stage till after 1900.

The first Greek steamships belong to 1857, but the fact (despite the efforts made to create them) was not of enduring significance. The ships served as domestic packet boats and the owning company folded after an inglorious history. Around 1860 two Greeks based in Britain began steamship operations, but these belong to the history of British shipping. The start of Greek steam shipping was due to merchant families active in the Black Sea. The first steam cargo ship to enter the Greek registry was the *Chrysovelonis* (of M. Chrysovelonis of Vraila) in 1874 and it was soon followed by others. Rapid growth in steam navigation came after 1890 partly with the development of a financial structure from the same source (specifically the trading houses of P. Vagliano and M. Zarifis) which was to survive until World War II. The trading house provided half the capital for the purchase at interest and with priority on repayment and also undertook the management. This provided capital to those to whom it was otherwise inaccessible but at the same time provided a high return on invested funds and additional commissions from management. Funds for shipping were also raised from domestic investors whose interest was excited by the extremely high returns available during the Boer War. By 1906 Greeks were the largest purchasers of second-hand British tonnage and between 1890 and the eve of World War I the steam fleet had grown tenfold. Greek shipping already had a character it was to retain for the rest of the 20th century, as a low-cost competitor in the general cargo trades; the fleet was still very small, only 3 per cent of Britain's (which then accounted for 45 per cent of world tonnage) and well behind the US, Germany, Norway, Italy, and Japan.

During World War I the Greek merchant fleet shrank by about 70 per cent, but more than half of this reduction was due to sales at inflated war prices. Compensation was also available for some losses with the result that funds for reinvestment were plentiful. Those who succumbed quickly to the temptation regretted it, for ship prices fell abruptly after 1920 and collapsed altogether in the early 1930s. Yet the Greek flag fleet more than trebled in the inter-war period. The stimulus was obviously cheap prices (as shown by the peak years for acquisition, 1933 and 1934, and the advanced age of the vessels acquired). But it was remarkable that the risk was taken. An explanation is in the small scale and informal constitution of

many Greek shipping enterprises. The savings required for acquisition could be pooled by family members, many of whom would have made up the crew. This made for great flexibility on costs by comparison with competitors, as indeed they complained. By 1939 the Greek flag fleet at 1.8 million tons GRT was the third largest in the Mediterranean and the ninth in the world; significantly for the coming war the fleet was to a greater extent than any other (86 per cent) composed of general cargo vessels over 2500 GRT and in this capacity Greece was second only to Britain. There was also about 0.6 million of tonnage under foreign flag.

During the war the Greek flag fleet was requisitioned by Britain and about three-quarters of it was sunk. Some 2000 seamen lost their lives, proportionately as great a loss as Britain's. The war years were also marred by tension between the owners and the Greek government in exile on the one hand and the seamen's union on the other. A consequence was that the expansion of Greek shipping after the war took place mostly outside the Greek registry.

The defining characteristic of shipping in the half-century or so since World War II is an unprecedented increase in demand. The volume of maritime trade increased about tenfold and individual vessel sizes did much the same. The result, with important consequences, was not only that shipping became more capital intensive than ever before but that the capital required for entry rose dramatically. The period since the war can be divided into two halves. The first, during which the increase in demand for shipping was not fully matched by an increase in shipyard capacity, was generally profitable and during certain episodes (the Korean War, the closures of the Suez Canal in 1956 and 1967) exceptionally so; this ended in 1974. The reputation of shipping as a creator of fabulous wealth lingers from this period. In the ten years that followed, the volume of seaborne trade hardly grew at all with the consequence, since vessels (particularly oil tankers) had been built on the presumption of continuing growth, of appalling results. From the mid-1980s growth in seaborne trade has resumed, but the profitability of shipping has been restrained by oversupply.

In consequence expansion was extremely rapid after the war. Greek-owned tonnage regained its prewar level by 1948 and continued to grow at well over 10 per cent per annum. By the early 1950s Greece outside its flag was already talked of as the third maritime power. In 1952 alone Greek owners were reported as having taken delivery of more tonnage from shipyards than was represented by the entire prewar fleet, and by the mid-1950s were said to control more than 50 per cent of the tramp and about 15 per cent of the tanker market.

Successive Greek governments, meanwhile, attempted to entice Greek-owned vessels into the Greek register by assuring freedom of capital movement and low taxation (related at first to gross income and then to tonnage). These measures began in 1951 and reached the apogee of favour during the dictatorship of 1967–74, after which the tonnage tax was substantially increased. The measures (together with the growing inconvenience of flags of convenience) resulted in the proportion of Greek-owned tonnage under the Greek flag growing fairly steadily from about one-third in 1952 to about three-quarters in 1980/1. Since then the process has gone into reverse because, despite concessions on the manning of Greek flag ships, crewing costs can be much lower with fewer Greeks in other registries. The result of growing prosperity in Greece is that Greek shipping is now Greek chiefly in a managerial sense. At sea Greeks serve only as officers (the number of active seamen has halved over the last 20 years and in respect of ocean-going vessels there are now only about 20,000) and with a vanishing interest on the part of the young in sea-based employment there is doubt about how they will eventually be replaced.

Providing even an economic assessment of Greek shipping is not easy. An account of the number and size of ships is no more a history of shipping than an account of the number and square footage of branches a history of banking. Yet a full history of Greek shipping is unlikely to be written. By a curious parallel with Classical Athens, shipping in modern Greece is "unseen" wealth of which no direct knowledge exists. Its most visible economic manifestation is the figure for invisible earnings from shipping in the balance of payments. This consists of seamen's remittances, pension contributions, taxes, and declared dividends to Greek nationals. It currently runs at about $2 billion per annum; in proportional terms it has appeared to wax and wane with the Greek flag fleet and the employment of Greek seamen. As a proportion of GDP it appears to have grown from about 3 to 5 per cent in the 1970s and to have declined to about 2 per cent since then. To name only other invisibles, it was overtaken by tourism in the mid-1980s. Two per cent is not a negligible proportion (it is the estimated contribution of "the City" to the UK's gross domestic product); but it may be misleading since Greek GDP figures are widely assumed to be incomplete and the figure for invisibles does not include all inflows from shipping activities.

A consensus (based on theoretical considerations and empirical evidence from better-documented cases such as the British) holds that general or bulk shipping is a business yielding low average returns and exhibiting high volatility. Some people can be successful some of the time in such activities, which is why they can attract, as do lotteries, a lot of people a lot of the time. But on the whole people do badly out of them and would be better advised to do something else. A useful analysis of Greek shipping would attempt to answer why it has expanded despite this fact. There are many possible explanations. A better choice might not be available (true of barren islands); ship operators might consistently make foolish choices (the lottery analogy) or have motives in which economic rationality plays an insignificant part; they may be the lowest cost supplier or extraordinarily lucky; they may to their own advantage be dividing risks and rewards asymmetrically with less-involved and worse-informed lenders and passive investors; there may be truly hidden returns at or beyond the boundaries of legality (e.g. blockade running, smuggling, or insurance fraud); and so forth. The information for such an analysis is unlikely to be forthcoming; its absence means that a good understanding of Greek shipping will remain elusive.

In the 8th century BC Hesiod's father went to sea leaving behind not wealth and prosperity but poverty (*Opera et Dies*, 637–38). The earliest passage on ships and shipping in Greek literature expresses an enduring truth. Poverty pushed the

Greeks to sea in the modern period as well, and is now pushing others to replace them.

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See also Navy, Trade, Travel, Woodworking

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Shrines, Wayside

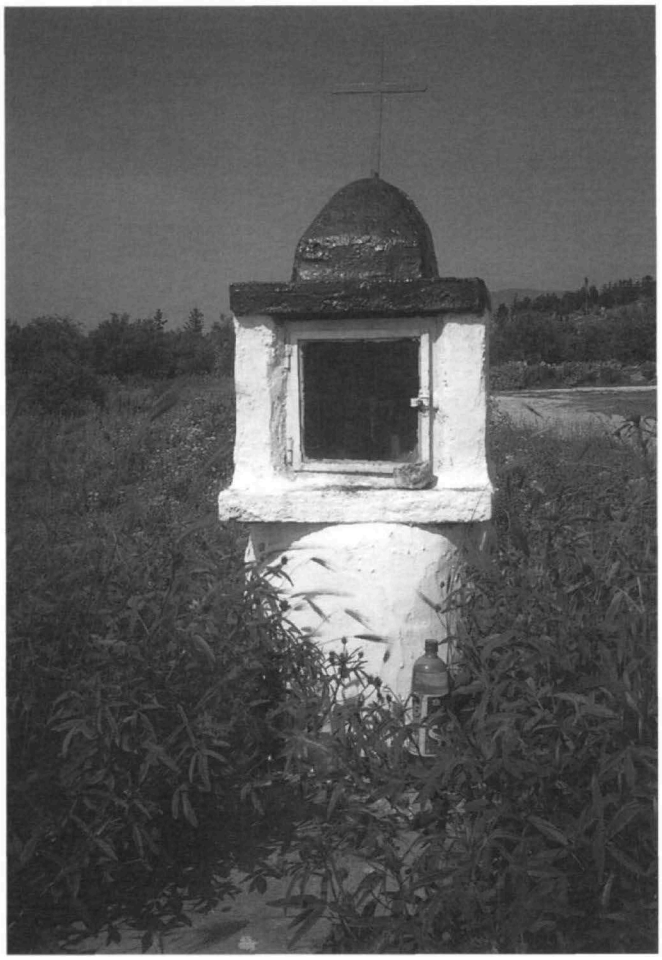
The wayside shrines (*proskynitaria* or *eikonostasia ton dromon*) scattered along most rural roads in Greece and occasionally found in urban locations are both a familiar part of the landscape of contemporary Greece and an inherent part of Greek popular religious devotion. They may well represent a development of Byzantine practices involving the veneration of icons, but while it may be superficially attractive to link them with rather similar phenomena in the ancient Greek tradition, such as herms or shrines to Hecate located at crossroads, there is no firm evidence to suggest a genuine continuity of religious expression.

With some rare exceptions, almost all wayside shrines may be considered primarily as markers, whether of accident sites or of turns and boundaries. Most contemporary wayside shrines stand at the sites of traffic accidents and are thus found particularly beside dangerous stretches of road, on steep mountain bends for example. Such shrines are erected either as memorials by relatives at the scene of fatal accidents or else as tokens of thanksgiving by victims or relatives at the site of accidents in which someone is believed to have been miraculously preserved. Other shrines that fulfil a related function may be placed not at the site of a particular accident, although a number of accidents may have occurred there, but at a location that is thought to be inherently dangerous in spiritual terms and where malign forces are believed to make themselves manifest.

Although most shrines erected in recent decades are of the accident marker type, it would be wrong to assume as a result that this is the original or only purpose of the *proskynitaria*. A substantial number of shrines are thus positioned at the junction of main roads with side roads or tracks that lead (almost always) to a church, monastery, or chapel. The primary function of these shrines is to indicate the presence of the adjacent holy place to the passer-by, although it may also be of practical use to a traveller in providing directions in areas where roads are generally unsigned. Closely related in function are the *proskynitaria* which, typically, act as boundary markers on the outskirts of villages; sometimes four shrines may "cross" the village, being set at the points of the compass, or more shrines may form a circle around it. To the minds of the local inhabitants these shrines delineate an area of sacred protection and aid, as well as of "civilized" as opposed to "wild" space.

A recent study of the shrines of the Argolid region has revealed that, at least in their present form, almost none is more than 40 years old and most have been erected within the last two decades. This is not to say that wayside shrines are a recent phenomenon in the Greek world, but is rather evidence of the fact that, due to the frequently flimsy nature of their construction and their dangerous location, they are essentially ephemeral things, vulnerable to decay and accidental destruction. There is plentiful evidence that the wayside shrines that serve as turn or boundary markers are constantly being replaced (although this does not appear to be the case with accident markers) and this indicates not only that the tradition is flourishing but also that it may well be a long one.

Within some basic parameters, the construction and design of Greek wayside shrines exhibits an enormous variety, and there are many distinctive regional and, indeed, very local features to be observed. The shrines, too, display a range from complex, professional, and extremely artistic creations to simple, sometimes ramshackle structures; it is clear that the purpose rather than the appearance of the shrine is paramount in many cases. Almost all shrines consist of a box (varying in size within a fairly standard range from c. 30 × 30 × 45 cm up to 60 × 45 × 60 cm) supported some 120 cm off the ground. Most contemporary shrines are constructed out of metal with a rectangular box (which may sometimes contain glass "windows") set on a post or legs; there may be considerable elaboration in the metalwork and also in the paint and decoration. Many others are made of masonry or concrete, and recent shrines are frequently faced with or built from marble, sometimes elaborately worked after the fashion of the funerary monuments to which they are related in design; here the box is either set on a rectangular plinth or forms part of a square column that may be topped by a dome. Shrines are occasionally constructed on or in walls, rocks, or the hollows of trees; with the masonry ones, these may perhaps reflect the oldest traditions of design. Almost all shrines have at least one cross set on their roof, while a fair number imitate (to varying degrees) aspects of typical church design. As a practical feature, many incorporate some sort of storage cupboard or niche, and a number, particularly older ones, include a money box.



Wayside shrine in western Crete

Almost all wayside shrines include the same basic elements used for the devotional practices connected with them, although there is great variety in their elaboration and in the care that is taken of them. The most important items in the shrine are undoubtedly the icons, most shrines containing one or two, with some having considerably more. These icons range from cheap card reproductions to more expensive copies of Byzantine originals, some with elaborate silver and gilt frames or covers; hand-painted icons are, however, very rare. A single icon is generally placed against the back wall of the shrine but, when there are a number of icons, that which is the most important (to attendant or location) occupies this position with the others flanking it; smaller icons are sometimes stacked in front of the larger ones. The subject of the icons follows traditional general and local patterns of popular veneration, with the Theotokos (Mother of God) being the figure most frequently represented. Understandably, the dedication of shrines, as exemplified by their icons and occasionally by an inscription, also corresponds in many cases to the association of local churches, monasteries, and natural features with particular holy figures; the same is true of occupations and thus, for example, shrines dedicated to St Nicholas (the patron of sailors) are more common by the sea. There is almost always a simple lamp (*kandili*) of some kind in each shrine, along with the various materials required to tend it (matches or lighter, wicks, a cloth, and bottles of water and oil). In some shrines the lamp burns constantly, but more usually it is lit only at night or on a saint's day or other occasion particularly associated with the shrine. Quite often there is also a small incense burner to be used on such special days, when the shrine may be further decorated or wreathed with fresh or artificial flowers. Functioning shrines are usually tended by neighbouring households that have a personal connection to them, but devout passers-by in general will acknowledge their presence by some simple act of devotion, such as making the sign of the cross.

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Further Reading

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Sicily

Greek colonization of Sicily began in the second half of the 8th century BC. Information about Sicily's indigenes is based upon archaeology and the untrustworthy evidence of later Greek and Roman writers. Thucydides (late 5th century BC), who took his information from an earlier contemporary Antiochus of Syracuse, whose history of Sicily stretched from the earliest period to 424 BC, relates that the first settlers, if Homer's Cyclopes and Laestrygones are excluded, were the Sicans, who claimed to be autochthonous, though Thucydides considered them migrants from Iberia. After them came refugees from Troy who settled at the western end of the island, where they later intermarried with Phocian Greeks driven there by gales at sea and became the Elymians, whose cities were Eryx (now Erice) and Segesta. Then, some three centuries before the Greek colonists arrived, the Sicels migrated from Italy, and gave the island its name.

Archaeology shows modest trade for 1400–1200 BC between mainland Greece and eastern Sicily, and yields no evidence for connections with Minoan Crete, in spite of the legend of King Minos' expedition against the Sican king Kokalos, which resulted in a settlement on Sicily by Cretans who found their retreat cut off. The period of destruction and migration *c.*1200 BC which affected the whole eastern

43. Sicily

Mediterranean and Italy left traces on Sicily as well. But the "Urnfield" culture which is found in central Italy *c.*1000 BC does not appear in Sicily, and archaeology fails to corroborate the tradition of Sicel emigration from the mainland.

The first Greek settlement in the west was not in Sicily, but on the island of Ischia off the bay of Naples *c.*770 BC, followed on the mainland some two decades later by Cumae, some 14 km west of Naples. About the same time, the first colony in Sicily, Naxos, was founded on a headland below Taormina, which was the first landfall a sailing ship coasting eastward along the toe of Italy would reach. Then in rapid succession colonies were planted at Leontini, Catana (modern Catania), Syracuse, Zancle (soon renamed Messina), and Megara Hyblaea. Finally, in 688 BC, Gela was founded on the south coast. The founding city states were Chalcis on Euboea, which founded the four most northerly colonies, Corinth, which founded Syracuse (734–733 BC), Megara (Megara Hyblaea), and in the case of Gela the settlers were Greeks from Rhodes and Crete.

The subsequent history of these settlements varied: Syracuse with its splendid harbour became the greatest city in Sicily, while little Megara Hyblaea was razed *c.*483 BC and its population deported to Syracuse, the wealthy to be absorbed as citizens and the poor to be sold as slaves. Colonies themselves, once established, might send out colonies: Megara Hyblaea founded Selinus (modern Selinunte) in 628 BC, a century after its own foundation, and Gela founded Acragas (modern Agrigento) in 580 BC. Messina founded Himera on the north shore, and Syracuse founded Camerina on the south coast and two inland colonies, Acrae and Casmenae.

The two chief reasons for a city to send out a colony were the promotion of trade and the attraction of arable land, though there were subsidiary reasons in some instances, such as repeated crop failures, or an effort to dispose of potentially troublesome citizen groups. The 8th century BC saw a surge in population in Greece, as well as increased urbanization, marked by the development of the Classical polis (city state) as the unit of government. The pacesetters were the Greeks on the island of Euboea, where the two chief poleis, Chalcis and Eretria, cooperated in founding the first colony in the west on Ischia; but by mid-century Chalcis and Eretria were at war over ownership of the Lelantine Plain in Euboea, and Eretria, the loser, was sidelined. Corinth, an ally of Chalcis in the Lelantine War, was not far behind, and pottery from Corinth was to dominate Sicilian markets until the mid-6th century BC, when imports from Athens displaced it. Colonial foundations were state ventures: the government of the founding city organized the venture, usually consulting Apollo's oracle at Delphi first, and, with the oracle's approval and advice, it chose the colonists, generally unmarried men, and selected a "founder" (*oikistes*) who brought coals from the altar of Hestia in the mother city to light the hearth fire of the new foundation. Once arrived in Sicily, the colonists would acquire territory for themselves, preferably by peaceful means, and divide it into parcels (*kleroi*) for themselves. An urban centre was laid out with an agora as a place for commerce and city government, which, like contemporary polities in Greece, would be an aristocracy. The colony became itself a polis, politically independent, though it might be bound to its mother city by ties of sentiment, and if it in turn founded a colony, it generally invited a citizen from the mother city to serve as *oikistes*. Religion, too, came to the colonies as aristocratic possessions; at Megara Hyblaea, for instance, a century passed before a public temple was built in the agora.

The attitude of the native Sicels and Sicans to the Greek invasion varied. At Megara Hyblaea a Sicel king, Hyblon, helped the colonists find a site on his territory after their first attempts failed. Possibly he hoped for a buffer between his kingdom and Syracuse, for the Corinthian colonists led by their *oikistes* Archias seized their site by force, and once established, Syracuse reduced the Sicels in their territory to serfs called Killyrioi. The native policies of the Dorian Greeks differed from those of the Chalcidian foundations, which maintained generally friendly relations with the Sicels. But both Syracuse and Gela were assimilationist: Gela expanded at the expense of the Sican chiefdoms, and Hellenized as it expanded, and its foundation of Acragas in 581 BC marked the culmination of its westward advance into Sican territory along Sicily's southern shore. There was little overt native resistance to Hellenization, though in the mid-5th century BC a Sicel chief named Ducetius tried to launch a national movement, and captured an outpost of Acragas *c.*450 BC. But Syracuse came to Acragas' aid; Ducetius was defeated and exiled to Corinth, and though he returned and founded a city at Caleacte (modern Caronia Marina), he was no further threat to the Greeks.

The physical remains of Greek Sicily furnish impressive evidence for great wealth in the 6th and 5th centuries BC. On the acropolis of Selinus are the ruins of four Archaic temples and on a low hill to the east are three more, of which the 5th-century "Temple G", measuring 50 × 110.4 m, is one of the largest temples ever built. Yet it was rivalled by the great temple of Olympian Zeus at Acragas. The growing wealth and

population brought with it social unrest, and the names of various early tyrants have survived: Acragas had the dictator Phalaris (*c.*570–555? BC) whose cruelty was legendary: he was said to have a hollow bronze bull in which he roasted his enemies, and their cries issuing from the bull's mouth sounded like lowing! Historical sources become firmer by the end of the 6th century BC. At Gela two brothers, Cleander and Hippocrates, sons of an Olympic victor, ruled in succession from 505 to 491 BC, and after Hippocrates died in battle with the Sicels, his cavalry commander Gelon, son of Deinomenes (hence the name "Deinomenid" for the dynasty), succeeded, first as protector of Hippocrates' sons and then as tyrant in his own right. In 485 BC Gelon captured Syracuse where the aristocratic landowners, the Gamoroi, who had been driven out by the commons allied with the Killyrioi, had appealed to him, thereby giving him an opening. Then he transferred to Syracuse more than half the population of Gela which he entrusted to his brother Hiero, and rapidly added Camarina and Megara Hyblaea to his empire as well. Theron, tyrant of Acragas (488–472 BC), became an ally early in Gelon's career and gave his daughter Demarata to him as wife. The Theron–Gelon power bloc was ominous enough that when Theron took Himera, expelling its pro-Carthaginian tyrant Terillus, Carthage, which had planted footholds in western Sicily first at Motya, then at Panormus (modern Palermo) and Drepana (modern Trapani), reacted by mounting a major invasion which was utterly defeated at Himera by Gelon and Theron. A temple of Victory was built on the battle site at Himera, and a twin was built in Syracuse, where it still survives as the cathedral of the city. The Carthaginian attack took place in the same year, 480 BC, as the Persian invasion of Greece, and Pindar in his first *Pythian* written ten years afterwards in honour of a victory by Gelon's heir, Hiero, in the chariot race in the Pythian Games at Delphi, associates the victory at Himera and the Persian naval defeat at Salamis under the common motif of saving Hellas from slavery, while Herodotus reports a Sicilian tradition that the two victories were on the same day. This seems to have been the beginning of the myth that made Carthage a western outpost of orientalism, which in concert with Persia sought to extinguish western civilization at its birth.

Under Hiero, the Deinomenid dynasty rapidly lost its popular support, and his brother Thrasybulus, the next tyrant, was expelled by the Syracusans with support from Acragas, Himera, Gela, and Selinus, with some Sicel help. The following years in Sicily marked a democratic interlude, though political life remained turbulent, and there was sporadic warfare among the cities. In Greece itself, Athens emerged from the Persian Wars with a sea-based empire which showed an interest in Sicily, but it was not until after the Peloponnesian War between Athens and Sparta broke out in 431 that Athens undertook military intervention. In 427 BC it sent 20 warships to help Leontini against Syracuse; apparently its motive was to block grain exports to Sparta's allies in the Peloponnese. In 415 BC Athens again dispatched a large expedition on a Sicilian venture, ostensibly to help the Elymian city of Segesta against its neighbour Selinus. But its forces became bogged down in a siege of Syracuse and in 413 BC they were completely destroyed. Yet the Athenian intervention had disturbed the balance of power in Sicily, and Carthage, which after its defeat at Himera had remained at peace, intervened, whether from opportunism or because it thought its interests were threatened. In 410 BC it grasped an appeal from Segesta which was again menaced by Selinus. The Carthaginian invasion force destroyed Selinus and Himera in 409 BC, and three years later Acragas fell, followed by Gela and Camarina. In Syracuse, which had been torn by civil strife between the democrats and the moderate oligarchs, the defence was led by Dionysius, who had been a young lieutenant of Hermocrates, the leader of the Syracusan resistance against the Athenian expedition. Hermocrates had been exiled for oligarchic sympathies, and died in a failed coup d'état in 407 BC. Dionysius I was to emerge as the most famous of Sicily's tyrants.

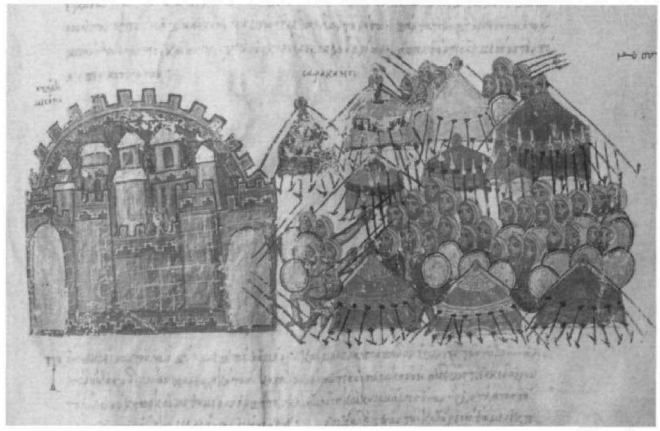
From 405 BC, when Dionysius' career began, until the Roman conquest, Sicily's political history centres around a group of colourful tyrants. Dionysius, whose rule lasted 38 years, was a precursor of the Hellenistic monarchs who dominated the Greek world after Alexander the Great. Like them, he exploited dynastic marriages: he himself took two wives, one a Syracusan and the other from Locri in Magna Graecia, and he arranged political marriage alliances with his daughters. He converted the oldest section of Syracuse, the island of Ortygia, into a fortress for his courtiers and mercenary soldiers, and Greek tradition preserved legends about his elaborate precautions against assassination. He treated neighbouring cities ruthlessly, and bolstered Syracuse's defences with a rampart surrounding the Euryalus ridge which runs westwards from the city for several kilometres and at its western point built a fort which survives as the Castello Eurialo, though it has been much altered since Dionysius' day.

Against Carthage Dionysius fought with varying success: in 396 BC he won an overwhelming victory, aided by plague which broke out among the Carthaginian troops, and he turned back fresh attempts in 393 and 392 BC. But some five years later he suffered a defeat and he was in the midst of a new campaign against Carthage when he died and was succeeded by his son by his Locrian wife. Dionysius II preferred a softer, less active life and made peace.

The involvement of the philosopher Plato with the regime of Dionysius II is a curious adventure, described by Plutarch and by Plato's own *Seventh Letter*. Plato visited Syracuse in 388 or 387 BC and met Dion, the brother of Dionysius I's Syracusan wife. After Dionysius' death, Dion persuaded Dionysius II to invite Plato to instruct him on kingship. Plato made two trips to Syracuse; the first achieved nothing and he left for home in 366 BC, and his second visit, five years later, was equally unsuccesful. He failed to persuade Dionysius to recall Dion whom he had exiled to Greece.

However in 357 BC Dion returned with 3000 mercenaries and expelled Dionysius, but Dion's government rapidly became a disguised tyranny, and in 354 BC he was overthrown and killed by his own soldiers. Sicily lapsed into anarchy which not even the return of Dionysius II in 347 BC could quell, and, faced with a renewed Carthaginian threat, a group of Syracusan exiles appealed to their mother city Corinth, which dispatched the Corinthian citizen Timoleon with ten ships and 700 men to Sicily.

Timoleon's public career in Sicily lasted only from 344 until 337 BC, when he resigned his powers, but during this period he defeated Carthage and forced it back into the west corner of



Sicily: illustration from the 11th-century chronicle of Skylitzes showing the Arab siege of Messina in 842–43, Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid

the island, deposed the tyrants in the Greek cities, and set up a moderate democracy in Syracuse. Exiles were recalled, 60,000 new colonists were recruited in Greece, and the ruined Sicilian economy revived. In retirement he continued to be a respected counsellor of the new regime, but his intervention checked Sicily's decline only briefly. In 317 BC an unscrupulous demagogue, Agathocles, led an uprising against the Syracusan aristocrats, who were massacred or exiled and their lands redistributed. He was an astute and restless tyrant; in 310 BC, when Syracuse was faced with a new Carthaginian invasion, Agathocles mounted a brilliant counterattack in north Africa itself, which was initially successful, though in the end (November 307 BC) he had to abandon his army there and return home without it. The following year Carthage retreated to its corner of the island and made peace, and Agathocles spent the rest of his life consolidating his power in Sicily and south Italy.

Agathocles' empire disintegrated at his death (289 BC) and he left an unhappy legacy. His Italian mercenaries, who called themselves Mamertines after their war-god Mamers (Mars), seized Messina and used it as a base to ravage eastern Sicily. When they allied themselves with Carthage against Syracuse, the Syracusans appealed to the king of Epirus, Pyrrhus, who had just defeated the Romans in two costly victories in southern Italy in the employ of Tarentum, but had failed to achieve a profitable settlement and was ready for a new adventure. But Pyrrhus, brilliant tactician though he was, failed to expel Carthage from the island, and the Sicilian cities rapidly grew weary of his pretensions. Pyrrhus retired to Italy, where he lost his last battle against Rome at Beneventum, and Syracuse turned for salvation to one of his former lieutenants, Hiero, by origin a Syracusan. He was proclaimed king after he defeated the Mamertines in 269 BC and his reign lasted until 215 BC.

Rome's first clash with Carthage began in Sicily in 264 BC and the cause was once again the Mamertines. The First Punic War was long and destructive, and Rome suffered terrible manpower losses, but at the end Carthage departed from Sicily, which became Rome's first province. Syracuse, however, remained independent, for Hiero had shrewdly thrown in his lot with Rome, and it was not until the Second Punic War that Hiero's son Hiero II broke off the alliance and switched support to Carthage. The Romans thereupon laid siege to the city, captured it, and plundered it thoroughly. In the last years of the war Sicily became the base for Publius Scipio the Younger's attack on north Africa which culminated in the defeat of a Carthaginian army led by Hannibal at Zama, and when the war was over, all Sicily became a Roman province, paying tribute to Rome and governed by a Roman praetor (later a *pro praetore*), who installed himself in Hiero's palace in Syracuse.

Rome increased Sicilian grain production enormously, but the profits flowed into the pockets of Roman and Italian businessmen who built up large estates worked by slave labour. Two slave revolts, which were rare in the ancient world, broke out in Sicily under the Roman Republic, one in 139 BC which lasted seven years, and the other in 104 BC. The revolts did little damage to the cities, however, but the same cannot be said for the misrule of the propraetor Gaius Verres (73–70 BC) whose spoliation of Sicily is described vividly in Cicero's *Verrine Orations* which were published after Cicero prosecuted Verres for corruption before a senatorial court and forced Verres to go into exile without attempting a defence. The civil war which followed Julius Caesar's assassination also hurt Sicily, which was held by Sextus Pompeius for seven years during his struggle with Caesar's heir Octavian, the future emperor Augustus, and this was one factor in the decline of Sicilian wheat production, for Sicilian grain was cut off from its market in Rome. With Augustus, Sicily drew closer to Italy: he gave the Sicilians "Latin rights" and planted colonies of Latin-speaking army veterans at Syracuse, Palermo, Tauromenium, Tyndaris, Catana, and Thermae. In AD 212 all the islanders became Roman citizens.

In late antiquity the Vandals, who captured Carthage in AD 439, plundered the island and finally annexed it in 468, only to yield it eight years later to Odoacer who had deposed the last western Roman emperor and needed Sicily's grain. The Ostrogoths under Theoderic, who crushed Odoacer in AD 490, took Sicily the following year and held it until the Byzantine reconquest under the emperor Justinian (527–65). Justinian's war against the Ostrogoths in Italy was long and costly, but Sicily escaped the worst of it. It was not made part of the prefecture of Italy; instead it was governed by an imperial appointee with the title of "patrician" who was responsible to the "Quaestor of the Sacred Palace" in Constantinople, and the armed forces were commanded by a duke likewise responsible to Constantinople. But after the Lombards overran Italy and the Arab menace became acute, Sicily evolved into a "theme" commanded by a *strategos* (commander) and civil government withered. The emperor Constans II (641–68) came to Sicily and seems to have intended to move his capital there from Constantinople, but his oppressions led to his murder in Syracuse. Greek culture and language revived, however, particularly after the emperor Leo III the Isaurian (717–41) attached the Sicilian Church to the patriarchate of Constantinople, and Greek became once again the language of the streets.

The Arab conquest was sparked by the revolt of a Byzantine officer, Euphemios, who sought help from the Aghlabid emir of Kairouan. In AD 827 an expeditionary force from Tunisia, said to number 70 ships and 10,000 men, landed at Mazzara on the south coast. The conquest was slow: Syracuse fought off the initial attack, but in 831 Palermo fell to the invaders who were reinforced by a second fleet of 300 vessels from Spain. In 878

Syracuse was captured at last and sacked so thoroughly that it never recovered its position as the first city of the island. Constantinople could give little help, and in 902 the Aglabid emir captured the last Byzantine stronghold, Taormina, burned it, and killed its population. For over two centuries Sicily was to be under Saracen rule, and perhaps as many as half a million Muslims from Africa, Spain, and the Levant settled there. Christians and Jews were granted the rights reserved for infidels under Islamic law: those who were not enslaved by right of conquest became *dhimmis* (non-Muslim subjects), liable to a polltax (*djizya*) and a tax on their land (*karadj*), but they were allowed freedom of religion. Sicily prospered as a locale where Arab, Greek, and Latin cultures met, and if it were not for the Norman conquest, Sicily's subsequent history might have belonged to the orbit of north Africa. As it was, the Aglabid Caliphs at Kairouan fell in 910 and were succeeded by the Shiite Fatimids; and when the Fatimids moved their capital to Cairo in 969, Sicily became virtually independent under the Kalbid family, descendants of an able emir, al-Hassan, who had been appointed to Sicily in 947. Sicilian agriculture prospered: wheat was still the mainstay, but the Arabs introduced lemons, bitter oranges, cotton, the date palm, the mulberry tree, and papyrus, and reintroduced Roman irrigation technology which they themselves had mastered in north Africa. The Kalbid capital, Palermo, became a city of some 300,000 souls, a brilliant centre famous for its mosques, where Islam met both the Latin west and the Byzantine east. But by the 1030s rival Arab families in Sicily were challenging Kalbid rule, and the emir sought an alliance with the emperor in Constantinople who dispatched a Byzantine army led by George Maniakes to Sicily. For four years (1038–42) Maniakes led a successful offensive, capturing Messina first, followed by many other cities including Syracuse, which he attempted to restore as a Byzantine stronghold before he ran foul of court intrigues; his successor, the emperor Michael's brother-in-law, lost the conquests. Thus when Roger the Norman landed near Messina in 1060, Arab strength was sapped by internal division.

A half-century before the Norman conquest of England, Norman adventurers arrived in southern Italy, where at first they sold their services in turn to the Byzantines, Lombards, and Saracens, and then their ambitions extended to acquiring land for settlement: the first Norman to do so was Rainulf who got the county of Aversa from the duke of Naples, Sergius, in 1030, in return for help against the Lombard prince of Capua. In 1059 pope Nicholas II invested Robert Guiscard, the sixth of the 12 sons of a lesser Norman noble, Tancred de Hauteville, as duke of Apulia and Calabria and future ruler of Sicily. However, it was Guiscard's youngest brother Roger who led the conquest of Sicily. Palermo was taken in 1072 after a six-month siege, and in 1091 the last important Muslim stronghold, Noto, fell.

Count Roger's government restored Byzantine traditions; court ceremonial and protocol were borrowed from Constantinople, and since the Christians who survived the Arab regime were Greek Orthodox, Roger endowed more Greek than Latin monasteries. But he gave fiefs to Norman, French, and Italian immigrants who brought colonists from their homelands, and thus by the 13th century the dominant speech in Sicily had become a dialect of Italian. Count Roger's son, Roger II, added Apulia, which he incorporated into his realm on the death of his cousin, Capua, Naples, and the Abruzzi, and had won a foothold in Africa, and his admiral George of Antioch took Corfu and transplanted silk-workers from Greece to Sicily. Palermo became the most brilliant capital in Europe under Roger's son, Roger II, who was crowned king in the cathedral there in 1130 by a representative of the antipope Anacletus II, though it was more than eight years before pope Innocent II acknowledged the title. Arabs, Greeks, and Latins all served in the royal bureaucracy, though the chief officers were Greek and the flavour of the court was Byzantine. Sicily was a medley of cultures, held together by a monarchy which blended concepts of kingship taken from both Byzantium and Ottonian Germany.

But power was shifting towards the feudal barons; William I (the Bad) faced a baronial uprising in 1155 which he suppressed with help from his Muslim subjects, and when William II (the Good) died childless, the barons divided their support between William's aunt Constance, wife of the Hohenstaufen emperor Henry VI, and an illegitimate grandson of King Roger, Tancred of Lecce. Tancred secured the throne, but in 1194 he died, leaving only a boy to succeed him; when Henry invaded the island, the barons hurried to submit, and on Christmas day Henry was crowned king of Sicily in Palermo. His avarice and despotism soon alienated Sicily which rebelled, and while he was suppressing the revolt mercilessly, he died (1197), probably of malaria, at the age of 32, leaving behind a three-year-old son, Frederick.

During Frederick's minority Sicily fell into anarchy; the Muslim population rebelled and set up an independent principality and the German barons to whom Henry had granted fiefs took possession of Palermo and of the young king, in defiance of pope Innocent III who became Frederick's guardian on his mother's death. Frederick had to leave for Germany in 1212 to defend his election as emperor of the Holy Roman empire against the Welf candidate Otto of Brunswick, but he returned in 1220 and rapidly restored royal authority. The *Liber Augustalis,* the new law code he promulgated, defined a new concept of kingship: the emperor received his royal power from God; clerics were barred from interference in secular affairs; and criminal justice was reserved for the king. Self-government in the cities was disallowed, which had the result of forestalling the rise of any independent merchant class strong enough to counterbalance the landowning aristocracy. Significantly, the *Liber Augustalis* was in Latin, though a Greek translation was provided for the surviving Greek communities.

Frederick presided over a semi-oriental court; the popes, who found him altogether too rationalist and secular, referred to him as a baptized sultan. He claimed to love Sicily more than all his other possessions; yet he used its wealth to support his ambitions in Italy and Germany, and the long decline of Sicily began with his death in 1250. He had been excommunicated twice, and in 1245 he was formally deposed by pope Innocent IV; and upon his death, Innocent hawked the crown of Sicily around the courts of Europe.

Frederick's only legitimate son Conrad survived his father by only four years, but the heir of his Sicilian interests was his illegitimate son Manfred, first regent and then king of Sicily (1250–66). But the papacy would not accept a hated Hohenstaufen, and when a Frenchman became pope as Urban

IV in 1261, he determined to secure Sicily for a French ally. In 1266 Charles, count of Anjou and brother of St Louis, defeated and killed Manfred at Benevento. Two years later the 16-year-old son of Conrad, Conradin, made a last attempt to secure Sicily for the Hohenstaufen, but Charles defeated him and put him to death after a mock trial at Naples.

Angevin rule came abruptly to an end with a massacre known as the "Sicilian Vespers" which takes its name from the incident which sparked it: an insult offered on Easter Monday, 30 March 1282, to a young married Sicilian woman by a French soldier outside the church of San Spirito in Palermo and promptly avenged by her husband. At the beginning of the year Charles of Anjou was Europe's greatest sovereign: he was king of Sicily, Jerusalem, and Albania, Count of Provence, Forcalquier, Anjou, and Maine, regent of Achaea in Greece, Lord of Tunis, and a Roman senator, and in the first week of April his fleet was due to sail against the emperor Michael VIII Palaiologos (1261–82) in Constantinople. Messina, where the Angevin fleet lay at anchor, hesitated at first, but on 28 April it joined the revolt; the fleet was destroyed, and Charles's Vicar, Herbert of Orléans, was allowed a safe conduct out of the city for himself and his staff. Angevin oppression had united Sicily, and a personal affront supplied the incitement, but in the background were the intrigues of the emperor Michael and Pedro of Aragon, who had inherited the Hohenstaufen claim, and the go-between was John of Procida who had been Frederick II's physician and remained a Hohenstaufen loyalist. Legend has exaggerated his role, but there is no doubt that Aragonese agents were active in Sicily and smuggled in arms; and the emperor supplied money. Five months after the Vespers, Pedro landed in Sicily and on 4 September he was acclaimed king at Palermo.

Both Charles and Pedro died in 1285 and Pedro's son James inherited Sicily and, after the death of his elder brother, Aragon as well. James appointed his younger brother Frederick his viceroy in Sicily, although according to Pedro's disposition Sicily should have gone to him if James became king of Aragon. Yet it was Frederick who restored the island's independence. The Sicilians crowned him king in 1296 and he defended his kingdom successfully against both the Aragonese and the Angevins. Thus there were two kingdoms and two kings of Sicily, one with his seat at Naples who for convenience is called the king of Naples, and the other at Palermo. War followed by the Black Death was to exhaust Sicily in the next century. The last remants of the island's Greek population were absorbed, though Sicily had one last encounter with Greece: a temporary peace in 1302 freed Sicily from pillage by foreign soldiers of fortune and the most formidable of these armed bands, the Catalan Company, moved east and in 1311 conquered Athens and attached it temporarily to the Sicilian kingdom. But the heritage of Greece had passed into history.

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See also Arabs, Carthage, Colonization, Normans

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Siegecraft

Whatever its historical validity, the Trojan War and its traditional length of ten years argue for an almost total lack of siegecraft in the Late Greek Bronze Age. That determined attempts were made to take cities, however, is indicated by the massive fortifications of the time (most notably at Tiryns), and that these attempts were mainly directed at the weakest points, the gates, is demonstrated by the existence, as at Mycenae, of a bastion to enable the defenders to hurl missiles at the unshielded left side of the attackers. Furthermore, although the battering ram is first known from Assyrian reliefs of the 9th century BC, it has reasonably been speculated that one with a reinforced head and slung beneath a wooden frame may lie behind the tale of the wooden horse.

Whereas in the Late Bronze Age only the king's palace and its immediate vicinity were fortified, the polis (city state) that emerged at the end of the Dark Age demanded protection for its much larger urban centre. It was, however, only in the late 6th century BC, against the Persian threat to Greek settlements in Asia Minor, that attempts were made to embrace with walls whole cities (and by the 4th century BC agricultural land as well), and not until the 5th century BC that numerous towers were built to facilitate the hurling of greater concentrations of missiles. However, even insubstantial walls were generally sufficient to withstand most hostile attacks. With the exception of a few very small places (e.g. those captured by Brasidas in Chalcidice), treachery and starvation consequent on circumvallation were the engines of capitulation. This situation was probably due to contemporary emphasis upon the hoplite at the expense of archers and slingers who could have afforded covering fire for the attackers. Nevertheless, expertise in the

design and placing of walls and counterwalls by besiegers and besieged made considerable advances (well illustrated in the Athenian siege of Syracuse in 415–413 BC, Thucydides, 6. 63–7. 87).

Siege engines, however, did make a tentative appearance. Rams and "tortoises" (protective sheds) built by a certain Artemon of Clazomenae were introduced by Pericles at the siege of Samos in 440 BC, but Diodorus (12. 28. 3) gives no details. Similarly Thucydides merely mentions (2. 58. 1) "machines" used unsuccessfully by the Athenians at Potidaea in 430 BC. He does, however, describe at great length (2. 75–78) the siege of Plataea in 429–427 BC. The mound built by the attackers against the city wall was countered by the erection on that wall of a wooden frame filled with bricks by workmen protected against flaming arrows by screens of hides. The defenders also knocked a hole through the bottom of their wall to withdraw earth from the mound (an action countered by the Peloponnesians' plugging of the gap with heavy reed baskets of clay), and subsequently they tunnelled underneath to remove loose earth from the bottom of the mound. They further built a crescent-shaped inner wall at this point, a tactic which was to become standard. The blockading Peloponnesians for their part failed to break through with battering rams, because the Plataeans raised up the heads with nooses or snapped them off with beams let down from chains. The attackers' incendiary attempt with faggots piled up against the wall and kindled with brimstone and pitch failed, however, only through rain and the absence of a favourable wind. They consequently resorted, ultimately with success, to circumvallation and resultant starvation. "Machines" on board ships were nevertheless instrumental in capturing two towers on the Megarian island of Minoa in 427 BC (Thucydides, 3. 51. 3); and fire was successfully employed, though only against the palisade of a garrison, at Delium in 424 BC when it was driven through a pipe by bellows (Thucydides, 4. 100).

Huge advances were made in the 4th century BC in siege engines and artillery. Siege towers, possibly learned from the Carthaginians, and arrow-firing catapults, possibly an Assyrian invention, were already being used by Dionysius I of Syracuse at Motya in 397 BC (Diodorus, 14. 48–53), and by the time of Alexander's sieges of Tyre and Gaza in 332 BC siege techniques and machines, including stone-throwing catapults, almost always gave the attackers the upper hand. An eminently sane treatise from the middle of the 4th century BC by an author known today as Aeneas Tacticus (probably the Stymphalian general Aeneas) gives a sobering picture of the strains of a city under siege. It details such things as the organization of guards, scouts, patrols, sorties, and passwords, the smuggling in of weapons, proclamations to the citizenry, the threat of plots, the allaying of panic, and the contrivances needed to counter siege engines, artillery, and sapping. This formidable legacy of technical knowledge was further developed throughout the Hellenistic period. This can be seen, for instance, in Diodorus' account (20. 81–88, 91–100) of the siege of Rhodes in 305–304 BC, which gave its protagonist Demetrius I of Macedon his soubriquet Poliorcetes ("Besieger"), and descriptions (Polybius, 8. 3–7; Plutarch, *Marcellus*, 4–17) of Archimedes' innovations at Syracuse in 213–211 BC.

Technical details of artillery come from four ancient authors. The earliest, a treatise of *c.*240 BC by Biton, supplies instructions for mechanics and includes valuable details on advanced non-torsion catapults. The work of Philon of Byzantium from *c.*200 BC gives critical descriptions of standard and novel torsion catapults. Vitruvius, the Roman architectural writer (*c.*25 BC), is useful for giving highly detailed dimensions, which he probably found in Greek sources. Of Heron of Alexandria in the late 1st century AD there survive two works, one (*Belopoiika*, probably derived from the lost works of Ctesibius of Alexandria) mainly valuable for its descriptions of early non-torsion and torsion catapults, the other (*Cheiroballistra*, but the title may be corrupt) detailing a contemporary torsion weapon with an all-metal frame.

The earliest catapult, the *gastraphetes* ("belly-bow"), had a concavity at the end of the stock which was held against the stomach. An arrow placed in a groove was fired by means of what amounted to a composite bow, whose manipulation was aided by ratchets, pawls, and a triggering mechanism. Its effective range of possibly 200–250 m was somewhat superior to that of the hand-held composite bow (itself known from the Bronze Age). It was subsequently enlarged and furnished with a base to stand on the ground, a universal joint for efficient aiming, and a winched pull-back mechanism, and it could be adapted for stone-throwing. Though superseded by the late 3rd century BC, non-torsion machines reappeared in the 4th century AD and spawned the medieval crossbow.

Probably around 340 BC there appeared also the superior torsion weapons in which, effectively, the composite bow was replaced by wooden arms inserted into "springs" of twisted sinews (and occasionally hair). Of two sorts, the *euthytone* to fire arrows, and the *palintone* to hurl rocks, these swiftly became superbly engineered machines, each being optimally designed for the length of arrow or weight of shot. They could project also incendiary bombs consisting of pitch, sulphur, tow, etc. packed into pots (and, if sources are to believed, on one occasion, by Hannibal, even live poisonous snakes). The *polybolos* ("multithrower") described by Philon had an ingenious ammunitionfeed for rapid firing. Such engines were used by besiegers and besieged from the ground, walls, siege towers, and ships. The maximum range, at which point accuracy was much impaired, was probably around 500 m. The main defence was padding on the walls to soften the impact of rocks, while the Tyrians erected on their walls mechanically rotating multi-spoked wheels to deflect Alexander's arrows.

Although circumvallation was still commonly practised, sometimes (and often by the Romans) with an outer wall to protect the attackers from a relieving force, offensive weapons besides artillery were also improved. Siege towers reached massive proportions under Demetrius Poliorcetes, his nine-storey monster at Rhodes being *c.*45 m high. On huge pivoted wheels, it was strongly protected and even furnished with mechanical shutters over the catapult ports. His rams too were massive, the largest being *c.*55 m long. Rams were frequently sheathed in iron and their points could be specifically designed to wreak maximum damage on stone walls or wooden gates. The larger ones were sometimes mounted on rollers and many were slung from a penthouse roof by ropes. One such early penthouse of Alexander was surmounted by a 9-m tower to house a small catapult and pots of water to extinguish fires.

Scaling ladders were improved, some being protected by attached shields and others mechanically operated. Sapping and counter-sapping techniques developed, including timbered galleries and devices for detecting tunnels, while at the siege of Ambracia in 189 BC pungent smoke was driven in the diggers' faces through an iron tube by means of bellows. Against blockading ships defenders could use submarine stakes in the virtually tideless Mediterranean and fire-ships (as famously at Tyre) while, according to a perhaps over-imaginative tradition, Archimedes employed grappling hooks on chains to lift and catastrophically release ships' prows and also set smaller boats on fire by concentrating on them the sun's rays reflected from shields.

Apart from improvements in architecture the main advances in siegecraft during the Roman period were in artillery, in the introduction of the *cheiroballistra*, and, by the 4th century AD, the one-armed stone-throwing torsion *onager*.

The Byzantines' most important contribution was in architecture, most notably the superb walls of their capital, which were never properly broken through by any enemy. Artillery saw the invention in the 7th century of Greek fire, which was employed in siege warfare as well as at sea. The adoption from the peoples of the steppes of the immensely powerful trebuchet or mangonel in place of torsion engines increased the range of artillery, but at some expense in accuracy. The motive force in the trebuchet was the weights attached to the butt end of a pole which was placed over a crossbar, furnished with a cup or sling for the missile, and pulled down by ropes which were released for firing. Cannon were used at the siege of Constantinople in 1453, but only by the Turks after Constantine XI had through poverty rejected the assistance of Urban, the Hungarian gunsmith. Byzantine military manuals (see Dennis, 1985) largely repeat inherited knowledge, which was frequently put to good practical use. An anonymous 10th-century treatise, known today under the Latin title of *De Obsidione Toleranda*, details the stockpiling of various foods and other materials and the choice of personnel most useful in withstanding a siege, while Eustathios, archbishop of Thessalonica, memorably relates the siege of his city by the Normans in 1185, in which he himself took a valiant part. The choice by Constantine XI of a famed expert in siege warfare, the Genoese soldier Giovanni Giustiani Longo, to supervise the defences in 1453 proved to be the immediate cause of the taking of the city (through his retirement from the battle upon injury despite the emperor's entreaties); but it also dramatically demonstrates that Greek contributions to the science had by then come to an end.

A.R. LITTLEWOOD

See also Architecture (fortifications, military), Technology, Warfare

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Sikelianos, Angelos 1884–1951

Poet

Angelos Sikelianos is one of the major poets of modern Greece. His creative period stretched from 1902, when he first began publishing poems in literary magazines, until shortly before his death, in 1951. All the influential poets of his time, including representatives of its two main literary movements, Symbolism and Surrealism, acknowledged him as a leading voice. Sikelianos does not, however, belong to any single school or generation and does not even fit into the broader division of modern Greek poetry into two main schools, the Athenian and the Heptanesian, since he combines both traditions in his poetry. Literary historians place Sikelianos in a category of his own, like Constantine Cavafy.

Born on the Ionian island of Leucas, the son of a schoolteacher and the youngest of seven children, Sikelianos was educated locally and at Athens University (where he failed to complete his studies in law). Since there was no family money available, Sikelianos had no clear idea of how he was to support his ambition to become a poet until, through the agency of his sister Penelope, he met and married the American biscuit heiress Evelina (Eva) Palmer (1874–1952). The marriage took place in 1907, when Sikelianos was 19.

The year 1909 saw the birth of Eva and Angelos's only child, Glavkos, and the publication, at Eva's expense, of Sikelianos's first major poem, *Alaphroïskiotos* (The Light-Shadowed One), together with the sequence of short lyric poems, *Ionian Rhapsodies*. This pattern of long and short lyric poems was to be repeated, and Sikelianos was to publish a further eight collections of short lyric poems (*Songs of Victory* I and II, *Descent into Hades* I and II, *Sonnets*, *Heavenly Aphrodite*, *Orphic Songs*, and *Desires*) and four extended poems (*Prologue to Life*, *Mater Dei*, *Easter of the Greeks*, and *Delphic Word*).

The poetry of Sikelianos is a product of painstaking craftsmanship, based on a complex system of poetics. It draws for its inspiration on two main sources: nature and other texts. Based on a close and accurate observation of the natural world of rural Greece, Sikelianos works with a system of nature metaphors, often very extended, to parallel the experience of the poet as individual and as visionary. At the same time, extensive creative use is made of intertextuality, and Sikelianos draws on ancient Greek poets and philosophers in his attempt to present time in cyclical, rather than linear, terms. Homer, Heraclitus, Pindar, and Aeschylus are particular favourites, but Sikelianos also makes use of the Septuagint, Byzantine liturgy,

and modern Greek folk poetry. Ancient, Byzantine, and dialect words coexist with standard modern Greek in his poetry, underlining his belief in the unity of the Greek language.

A consistent, stated aim of the poetry of Sikelianos is to bridge gulfs. In the first of the early *Ionian Rhapsodies*, the poet's persona speaks of "commingling" the Ionian sea with the Greek mainland, which may be read as a metaphor for combining the Heptanesian and Athenian traditions. In a poem from the late collection *Desires* ("Letter III"), the ability of poetic thought to conjoin incompatible elements is compared to the bridging of unfordable rivers by the god Dionysus, who "hung vines across the chasms of the world". Here, as elsewhere in his poetry, Sikelianos places the poet at the centre. The theme of return is also deeply entrenched in the form and content of Sikelianos's writing, promoting a cyclical view of life and art. A recurring metaphor for the poet is the returning Odysseus.

Sikelianos was the first poet of modern Greece to experiment with free verse. In *Alaphroïskiotos* he adopts and extends the approach of the French poets who first experimented with loosening the Alexandrine by using enjambment and overriding the caesura. Most of the poem is based on the commonest modern Greek metre, the 15-syllable line. *Prologue to Life* represents a far more extreme experiment in free verse, based on lines of differing lengths and differing metrical forms, and completely dispensing with rhyme. Originally printed (privately) in four volumes, a fifth part was added in 1946. It is characterized, like much of Sikelianos's work, by immense syntactic complexity which, in combination with its metrical freedom, sometimes gives an impression of incoherence. For *Mater Dei*, inspired by the illness and death of Penelope Sikelianou Duncan, Sikelianos returned to a strict metrical form: rhymed 15-syllable couplets. *Easter of the Greeks* (which remained unfinished) and *Delphic Word* also employ strict metrical forms and rhyme. All Sikelianos's poetry exploits the acoustic potential of language and is unusually dense in sound-patterning.

Between 1924 and 1936 Sikelianos produced very little poetry. During this period he was working to promote his "Delphic Idea": the establishment of a world spiritual centre and university at Delphi. In this project he was inspired by the religious syncretism of the French writer Edouard Schuré, but it was Eva Palmer Sikelianou who assumed practical responsibility for the two Delphic festivals of 1927 and 1930. At these festivals ancient drama was presented in its original setting for the first time since the inception of the modern Greek state; the stadium was used for athletic contests, and traditional handicrafts were exhibited in local houses. Largely inspired by the work of Isadora Duncan, who attempted to restore a classical simplicity to dance, and her brother Raymond (husband of Penelope Sikelianou), who affected ancient Greek dress, Eva choreographed the plays and set the choral odes to Byzantine-style music. Under her direction, ancient-style costumes were woven on traditional hand looms. The festivals directed international attention to Greece and inaugurated the reuse of ancient theatres. They may also be seen as the inspiration behind present-day arts festivals in Athens and elsewhere.

The Delphic project ultimately led to public ridicule, financial ruin, and the effectual break up of Sikelianos's marriage. Eva returned to the United States in 1933, ostensibly to raise funds to continue with the Delphic project. She did not return to Greece until 1952. Throughout her life Eva Palmer Sikelianou continued to promote Sikelianos's work, translating some of it with her daughter-in-law Frances Lefevre Sikelianos, and sending him money. She also continued to make suggestions for literary projects, encouraging Sikelianos to experiment with ancient Greek drama, a suggestion which he was to pursue, with mixed results, in his last years.

During the later 1930s Sikelianos wrote most of the poems of the two great collections of his maturity, *Orphic Songs* and *Desires*. In 1938 he met Anna Karamani, and the couple married in 1940, following divorces from their respective spouses. Although too old to serve in World War II, Sikelianos engaged in public acts of symbolic resistance during the German occupation. He read a specially composed poem at Kostis Palamas's funeral, and circulated the collection *Akritic Songs* (later assimilated into *Songs of Victory* II).

In 1946 Sikelianos collected his poems in the three-volume *Lyrikos Vios* (Lyric Life), which was republished posthumously in five volumes by G.P. Savidis (Athens, 1966; 2nd edition 1981). A sixth volume contains unpublished poems and juvenilia. The planned seventh volume, which was to have contained the editor's notes and a glossary, unfortunately never materialized. Sikelianos's plays and prose writing have also been collected and edited by Savidis.

Sikelianos died in 1951, after drinking Lysol (a disinfectant) in mistake for Nujol (prescription medication).

SARAH EKDAWI

See also Tragedy

Biography

Born on the island of Leucas in 1884, Sikelianos began (but did not complete) studies in law at Athens University. Ambitious to become a poet, he married the American heiress Evelina (Eva) Palmer in 1907. His first collection of poems appeared in 1909. Between 1924 and 1936 he and Eva devoted themselves to his "Delphic Idea", a project to establish a spiritual centre and university at Delphi. Ancient plays were performed but the project failed and with it the marriage. He died in 1951.

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Silk

Silk is a luxurious fabric; it was called *serikon* because it was made by the Seres, the Indian people from whom wild silk was first purchased by the ancient Greeks. The Latin word *Seres* later came to mean the Chinese, when domesticated silk began to be imported from that country as well.

One type of silk fabric from northern India is called "tussah", or wild silk, and comes from the silkworm called the *Antheraea mylitta* of the family *Saturnidae*. This caterpillar, not needing to be domesticated, feeds on different types of leaves, including oak, and produces short fibres of a brown or yellow colour, that result in a fabric less fine and strong than domesticated silk. The date at which silk was first worn or produced in the ancient Near East and Greece remains a mystery, due to the perishable nature of cloth and the lack of precision in the ancient references about it. Biblical references (Ezekiel 16: 10 and 13) to silk and Herodotus' remarks (1. 135) about Median cloth probably refer to wild silk from India. Aristotle seems to have known something of silk processing (*Historia Animalium*, 5. 19. 6). In Hellenistic times a fine transparent cloth was produced called mussel silk, alluding to the threads by which a mussel attached itself to rocks, and most likely made from a mixture of Egyptian linen and Indian wild silk.

The thread of "true" silk, from China, is produced from the cocoon of the domesticated caterpillar, or silkworm, of the moth species *Bombyx mori* of the family *Bombycidae*. This thread is extremely long since the cocoon is spun with one continuous filament and can be woven into a fabric that is prized for its ability to be smooth, thin, and flexible, as well as strong and readily acceptable of dye. According to Chinese tradition, silk production was known from the Neolithic period and originated with Hsi-ling-shi (or Lei-tsu), the 14-year-old bride of the emperor Huang Ti. The legend credits her with the first knowledge of sericulture or the raising of silkworms. Silkworms were selectively bred until they were enfeebled, easily susceptible to temperature changes, unable to walk, and dependent on human attendants to feed them large quantities of fresh chopped mulberry leaves. At maturity the caterpillar spins a cocoon consisting of one very fine, long (500–1000 m) silk thread. The cocoon is then steamed with the caterpillar inside to prevent it from emerging and chopping through the thread. Six or eight cocoons are spun together through a water bath with an elaborate reel-and-pulley system to form a thread thick enough for weaving. It takes about 35,000 worms to produce 5 kg of silk.

Sericulture was successfully kept secret and guarded by the Chinese until the Japanese learned about it in AD 300. In the 6th century AD, during the reign of Justinian, two Nestorian monks were reputed to have concealed silkworms in a hollow cane and smuggled them into Byzantine territory, along with the procedures of sericulture.

The silk trade between China and the west cannot be traced with confidence before 115 BC. In that year the emperor Wu-ti of the Han dynasty initiated trade with Mithridates II of Parthia. Silk thread and cloth, although not the knowledge of its production, would thereafter be exported from China through the Tarim basin, across the top of the Kushan empire in India and, with the Parthians as middlemen, on to the Near Eastern coast, Asia Minor, Greece, and Italy. In exchange for the cloth, according to the annals of the Later Han dynasty, the *Hou-han-shu* (from the 1st century AD), the Chinese traders received gold, silver (both highly desirable due to the lack of such metals in China), precious stones, amber, glass, gold-embroidered rugs, gold-coloured cloth (from Syria and Alexandria), silk cloth of various colours, and fine cloth made from wild silkworms. The reason why the Chinese bought back silk at Merv is because their own silk was a heavy brocade and densely woven. Silk weavers in Syrian cities and Greek islands, such as Cos, specialized in unravelling the Chinese silk cloth and reweaving it into a lightweight, transparent gauze, thereby multiplying the lengths of fabric for sale in Roman cities, increasing their profit, and satisfying the upper-class desire for erotic, sensational fashion. Other fabrics such as flax and wool could also be mixed with it, which the Romans called *subserica* or *transerica*. Cos, in particular, specialized in a purple-dyed silk, famous enough to be called the "Coan purple" by Augustan poets (Horace, *Odes*, 4. 13).

Trade increased with the peaceful conditions of the Augustan era, but Roman authors from the time of the early empire were scandalized by wearers of silk, "clad in which no woman can honestly say she is not naked" according to Seneca. Although Caesar had silk curtains and Caligula, later, was rumoured to have worn silk clothing, many agreed with Tacitus (*Annals*, 2. 33) that "men should not disgrace themselves with silk clothing from the East" and an edict of the Roman Senate in AD 16 prohibited such dress for men. But the gulf between moralistic intellectuals and public desire was vast, and since all four territories along the silk route – China, India, Parthia, and the Roman empire – were peaceful from AD 90 to 130, the Roman empire acquired plentiful supplies of domesticated silk from China during this period, even though it was said to be worth its weight in gold, due to its difficult manufacture, middlemen fees, and long transport from China.

Strabo (15. 693) thought that silk grew on trees and had to be scraped off the leaves. Pausanias (6. 26. 6–9), however, knew that silk came from an eight-footed insect, called by the Greeks the *ser*, and that they were taken care of by the Chinese in special houses; he mistakenly thought that they were fed millet for four years. Missions were sent to China by Maes Titianus and Marcus Aurelius in the 3rd century to acquire more silk and information.

During the Byzantine empire the meaning of wearing silk, particularly coloured purple and gold, changed from defining women who lived off their beauty to distinguishing men of authority – the emperor, aristocracy, and ecclesiastics. The rarity and glitter of silk, purple dye, and gold embroidery were restricted to those at the top of the Byzantine hierarchy and separated them from common citizens and barbaric aliens.

Complicated monopolistic regulations enforced state control over the production, manufacture, trade, and export of silk cloth. There were two types of guilds in Constantinople that could work silk – imperial guilds (*demosia somata*) and private ones (*somata*). The imperial guilds were directly controlled by the state and manufactured textiles only for the emperor and his court, officers, and for gifts to foreign powers. During the late Roman empire in the 4th century AD rulers had frozen workers in their occupations, obliging them to remain in their guilds as part of a hereditary caste system. By the 6th

Silk: the Epitaphios of Thessalonica, a representation of Christ administering the eucharist to the apostles, in silk with gold and silver thread, 14th century, Byzantine Museum, Athens

century, in the time of Justinian, there were too many textile workers in the imperial guild, so restrictions and examinations were enforced. The head of the *Eidikon*, a branch of the state treasury, was the administrative supervisor of the imperial factory, which was largely housed in a wing of the imperial palace in Constantinople. The three types of imperial silk workers included tailors, purple-dyers, and gold-embroiderers.

The private guilds had begun to decline in the 4th century due to a shortage of labour and a limited supply of higher-priced imported silk because of the war with Persia. The labour shortage was adjusted by legislation that obliged workers to remain in their craft. Emperors tried to find alternative silk routes bypassing Persia, but were not very successful. The restriction on purchases of silk in the Byzantine empire by anyone other than a single imperial officer, the *Comes Commerciorum per Orientem*, however, was effective in keeping prices down.

Justinian took a further series of steps to increase the state monopoly on silk manufacture, which depressed the private guilds during his reign. First he legislated that imperial silk cloth could be purchased by the public but worn only by women, thereby increasing the market for the imperial guild. He also fixed a low price for raw silk at 8 *nomismata* per pound, which may be related to the introduction of the Chinese silkworm and sericulture into Constantinople in 553–54. The result was that foreign merchants refused to sell at such a low price, so the independent private guilds had their supply of silk cut off, and they either left Constantinople for Persia or tried to gain admittance to the imperial guild, which was doing quite well since retail prices for silk clothing had been raised to 6–24 *nomismata* per ounce.

By the late 6th century the single buyer was replaced by the *kommerkiarioi*, who could purchase raw silk at 15 *nomismata* per pound, but had to resell it at the same price to private merchants of raw silk, one of the private guilds, so that the state monopoly created by Justinian loosened. By the 9th century sericulture was thriving in the Byzantine empire and the guilds of merchants of raw silk and spinners could purchase silk without state intermediaries or price limits. The only legislation left concerning the wearing of silk clothing stated that purple cloth could not be manufactured or worn by the public. Besides the private guilds, noblemen were authorized for the manufacture of silk for their own households and certain workers of low status could buy soiled or damaged silk.

The *Book of the Prefect* (911–12), a collection of state-approved by-laws from the time of Leo VI, described the duties and rights of the private guilds and industry. The five guilds in Constantinople, by this time, were merchants of raw silk, silk spinners, clothiers and dyers, merchants of domestic silk garments, and merchants of imported silk garments. These workers were independent of the state and sold cloth to the public, but prerequisites for membership ranged from the necessity of a sponsor to large entrance fees. The goals of guild legislation were to stabilize prices, the amount of work, and the supplies of raw material.

Some Byzantine examples of imperial silk are still in existence, such as the Textile of Liège of the emperor Herakleios (610–41), the Textile of Siegburg of the emperors Romanos I and Christopher (921–31), the Textile of Düsseldorf of the emperors Basil II and Constantine VIII (976–1025), the Textile of Aix-la-Chapelle placed in the tomb of Charlemagne by Otto III (1000), and the Pallium of the emperor Michael VIII Palaiologos (1261). The types of weave included twill, typical until the 11th century; lampas weave, developed then; tabby, damask, and tapestry. The fabric was dyed in vivid yellow, red, blue, or dark purple with designs of heraldic lions, elephants, human figures, geometric patterns, arabesques, leaves, or flowers. Byzantine mosaics, such as the portrait of Theodora and her court at S. Vitale in Ravenna, supply additional evidence for patterns and colours used in royal silk.

Guild conditions continued to loosen until the 12th century when Jewish manufacturers of gold, silk, and purple garments were allowed to work in Constantinople, Thessalonica, and in Thebes. In 1147 Roger II captured Corfu, Corinth, and Thebes, and moved silk workers to Palermo in Sicily. Thebes was still producing silk in 1170, as reported by Benjamin of Tudela who numbered the Jewish silk workers at 2,000 in Thebes and 2,500 in Pera, when the Genoese were denied a licence to buy silk fabric in Thebes.

The Byzantine emperors had used their silk monopoly as a tactical weapon against Europe, guarding the secrets of sericulture as had the Chinese before them. Western rulers capitulated to the power of Byzantine ceremonial dress and its concept of "hierarchy through silk clothing". They tried to imitate purple silk, but never succeeded in producing the highly refined quality of Byzantine fabric.

The Genoese reintroduced the craft of silk production in the 15th century to the island of Chios, whose velvets and brocades remained popular in Europe until the 18th century. Silk embroidery was essential for regional, traditional Greek dress. Girls working on their dowry linens and hangings embroidered in predominantly red and blue silk floss. Designs were conservative and localized so that three main groups can be distinguished – the Aegean islands, with varied designs from figural groups to geometric patterns; Ionia, dominated by Epirus on the mainland with Ottonian-influenced vegetal designs; and Crete, with Venetian-influenced foliage, mermaids, vases, and birds in the Cretan feather stitch. Silk fabric, yarn, and floss for embroidery continued to be exported from Greece until the 1830s, when the mulberry trees in Greece became diseased and political instability increased.

In modern times silk is still produced on a small scale. Refugees from Asia Minor came to Athens and Thessalonica in the 1920s, reintroducing the techniques of silkworm breeding and the production of silk. It continues today as a localized industry, but the competition from cheap, mass-produced, and man-made cloth has lessened demand for it in the 20th century.

CATHERYN CHEAL

See also Dress, Textiles

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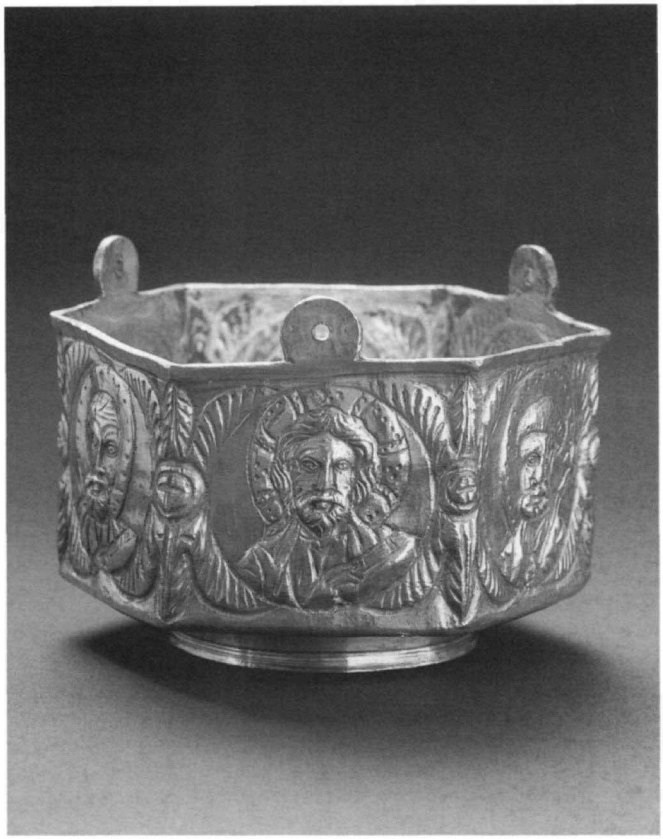
Silver and Lead

Silver and lead were probably among the first metals to be smelted and were used throughout the Copper, Bronze, and Iron Ages. The association of these two metals is fundamentally geological. Silver was valued and used in ancient Greece in exactly the same way as other cultures: for coins, plate, and statuary. Lead was used in its metallic form for anchoring the iron clamps used to secure stone blocks, for covering the hulls of ships, and as sinkers for fishing lines and standard weights. It was added to bronze to improve fluidity in casting and for the patina that such alloys develop. In Roman times large quantities were used for plumbing, cooking vessels, and other purposes. Indeed, lead poisoning may have been a significant problem for the wealthier sectors of the population. White lead (lead carbonate-hydroxide) was used in cosmetics, salves, and medicaments.

The most abundant ore of silver and lead is the lead sulphide called galena, which usually contains 0.1 to 0.4 per cent silver and some gold. This silvery-grey mineral, which breaks easily into cubes, may occur on its own, or associated



Silver: hexagonal silver vessel with representations of Christ, the Virgin, Peter, Paul, John, and James, from Kyrenia, Cyprus, early 7th century, British Museum, London

with copper or iron ores. However, in antiquity the ore first exploited may have been the minerals cerussite or anglesite, earthy, pale-coloured, surface-weathering products of galena. These oxidized ores are commonly richer in silver than galena. Some silver may have also occurred as the native metal, silver chloride and sulphide. However, these more easily smelted ores were probably exhausted by the Iron Age.

The raw ore was first purified by washing – a current of water was directed over the powdered ore and the associated minerals, which are lighter than the lead minerals, were removed. Lead and silver were then extracted from the ore concentrate by roasting with charcoal. If the smelting was done at high temperatures under reducing conditions, the silver in the ore was also extracted into the lead. It was then separated by cupellation – molten lead was exposed to a stream of air, whereby the lead and other base metals were oxidized. The silver remained as a molten bead on the lead-oxide slag (lithage). This simple process can yield almost pure silver. The lithage was resmelted with charcoal to recover the lead. Gold is also extracted with the silver but seems to have been rarely separated, although the technology certainly existed. The provenance of silver and lead can be determined from the isotopic composition of lead, which is used as a "fingerprint" for different ore regions.

Lead and silver mines were worked at Laurium, south of Athens, as early as Mycenaean times, but the really rich veins were not discovered or exploited before the 5th century BC, when this area became the principal source of silver for Greece. Initially, weathered ores were extracted, but later shafts were sunk into the primary galena ore. The silver produced in these mines was used in the minting of coins which were the source of much of the wealth of ancient Athens. The lead by-product was widely exported throughout the ancient Greek world, and has been found in western Turkey and Egypt. More than 2000 shafts produced about 8000 tonnes of silver and between 1 and 2 million tonnes of lead during antiquity. Activity ceased by the time of Christ, and was only revived late in the 19th century, but this time for zinc and manganese. The mines are now idle.

The primary ore at Laurium occurs as a replacement of marble near contacts with schists. The ore was formed during Miocene times (between 22 and 6 million years ago) from the watery solutions expelled during the crystallization of a granite. These solutions circulated along cracks in the rock until they reacted with the marble and crystallized galena and other minerals. The ore contained up to 50 per cent galena, but little can now be found in the area, testifying to the efficiency of ancient mining.

Siphnos was another source of silver and lead from the Early Bronze Age, a long time before Laurium, but production reached a peak at about the same time. The wealth of the island at that time is borne out by the opulence of their treasury at Delphi, which they built around 530 BC. During the 6th and 5th centuries BC silver, lead, and gold were produced in large quantities, but the mines were soon exhausted, and from then on Siphnos was poor and unimportant. As at Laurium, the ore formed as a replacement of marble by circulating watery fluids. The source of the fluids may have been metamorphism, or a granite pluton that does not crop out on the island.

The mines at Balya Maden (Asia Minor) have been active since Phoenician times. They may have supplied lead and silver to nearby Troy. They were particularly active from 1880–1940 and have produced about 400,000 tonnes of lead since Roman times.

There were other silver and lead deposits of lesser importance that were exploited in antiquity at Thera, Kimolos, Thasos, Mount Pangaeus, Mount Samsun, and Balya Maden (Asia Minor). Minor amounts of silver were produced from the natural gold–silver alloy electrum, especially at Sardis in Asia Minor.

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See also Coinage, Metalwork, Mines and Quarries

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Simokattes, Theophylaktos

Historian of the 7th century

Theophylaktos Simokattes was born in Egypt, and wrote his major historical work of the reign of the emperor Maurice (582–602) in the early 7th century. This military, diplomatic, and political history takes the Classical historians from Herodotus to Arrian as an example. The *History* continues from where Procopius, Agathias, and Menander Protector ended their accounts. Theophylaktos's *History* was later extended by the patriarch Nikephoros, who wrote a brief account of the 7th and 8th centuries.

There are three other surviving minor works of this author. One, the *Quaestiones Physicae*, is written in the form of a Platonic dialogue, and belongs to a pseudo-scientific genre of literature. The other, *Ethical Epistles*, is a collection of 85 fictitious letters, ranging from ethical to amatory subjects. Michael and Mary Whitby consider them to be juvenilia, literary exercises composed in testimony to the author's cultural attainments.

The third minor work of Theophylaktos is a discussion of the theological question of whether the duration of human lives is predetermined. The book, *On Predestined Terms of Life*, consists of a dialogue between two speakers, with another set of speakers pronouncing their verdict at the end. This work reflects the rhetorical education that Theophylaktos had no doubt received in his youth. It mirrors the *controversiae* which were a standard exercise in this type of education. In their discussion of *On Predestined Terms of Life* Michael and Mary Whitby point out that the conclusion reached by Theophylaktos in this work has relevance for his judgements of events in the *History*. He admires moderation in good and bad times, and he criticizes immoderation in both triumph and despair.

None of Theophylaktos's works can be dated precisely. His main work, the *History*, covers the 20-year reign of the emperor Maurice. It begins with his coming to the throne in 582, and reports as the last important event the death of the Persian king Khusrau on 25 February 628. Thus it seems reasonable to consider this date as the *terminus ante quem*. The eight books into which the *History* is divided have for their main theme the many wars that the emperor Maurice had to fight against the Persians on the eastern frontier, and the Avars and Slavs in the Balkans. Theophylaktos recognizes that there was little that Maurice could do in the earlier years of his rule, being confronted with war on two sides most of the time. He rejoices when finally a revolt in Persia led to the overthrow of the Persian king in 590, and his successor Khusrau II fled to the Romans asking for help. The situation brightened for Maurice with this event, and so, records Theophylaktos, he was able to return Khusrau to his kingdom, concluding a favourable treaty with him that lasted to the end of the emperor's reign. In general, Theophylaktos's account of Maurice's reign concentrates on the affairs of the empire in the east and Africa, neglecting Italy and the other provinces, which are hardly mentioned.

Theophylaktos's *History* is introduced with a dialogue between a personification of philosophy and history. According to Herbert Hunger, this is unique in Byzantine historical literature. Hunger thinks that Theophylaktos Simokattes used this rhetorical device indirectly to show reverence to the then emperor Herakleios by declaring the reign of his predecessor Phokas as an aberrant episode in history; and also to parade his own scholarliness.

On balance, the author of the *History* is considered to be objective and truthful. On the one hand, he is censured for his confusing chronology; and Photios later considers his heavy-handed use of rhetorical gags as immature tastelessness. On the other, Theophylaktos's work is considered valuable for the many references to peoples such as the Huns and Avars, since his sources are now mostly lost.

Although Theophylaktos seldom makes reference to his sources, it has been assumed that in his elevated position as *scholastikos* ("intellectual") and *antigraphevs* (assistant quaestor) he had access to documents and oral information. The sources used for the *History* that can be verified are mainly Menander Protector, and for books 4 and 5 John of Epiphaneia, with occasional help from the ecclesiastical history of Evagrios. The Whitbys postulate, besides the above, a "Herakleios source", a "Priskos source", the *Constantinople Chronicle*, and the hagiography of Maurice. The latter is used for describing the final days of the emperor during which various portents foreshadowed his tragic end. Hunger sees in the uncritical use of this hagiographical material a clear indication that a new historical epoch was beginning in 7th-century Byzantium.

The *History* of Theophylaktos Simokattes was used by later writers. Of these writers, Theophanes is the most essential for the reign of Maurice. His *Chronographia* treats the events from 284 to 813, and is partly based on works now lost.

FRANZISKA E. SHLOSSER

See also Historiography

Biography

Born in Egypt in the late 6th century, Simokattes had a civil service career rising to be *scholastikos* ("intellectual") and *antigraphevs* (assistant quaestor). His main work is a history in 8 books of the reign of the emperor Maurice (582–602). This continues where Procopius, Agathias, and Menander Protector left off. He also wrote philosophical and scientific dialogues and a collection of letters.

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Simonides

Lyric poet of the 6th–5th centuries BC

Simonides was probably born at Iulis, the chief town of Ceos. Most sources set his birth around 557–556 BC (and some *c.*532 BC). Both he and his nephew Bacchylides, also a lyric poet and also born in Ceos, around 510 BC, were steeped in a cultural tradition marked by the worship of Apollo and Dionysus, which most probably accounts for the intellectual rigour and Bacchic enjoyment that marks their poetry in a way characteristic of lyric poetry of the 5th century BC in its entirety.

Simonides' poetry belongs to the new wave of choral lyric that flourished in the first half of the 5th century BC and which is represented mainly by the extant poems of Pindar, and the fragments of Bacchylides and Simonides himself. Simonides' artistic production, spanning the second half of the 6th and the first half of the 5th centuries BC, is situated at the point of transition from late Archaic to Classical art and so registers the developments triggered by this shift, especially in the field of choral lyric. That is, while the poetry is still heavily dependent on religious and other social occasions for its delivery, it also gradually ceases to preoccupy itself mainly with religious themes, and adopts wider political, moral, intellectual, and literary concerns.

No poem of Simonides survives in its entirety. But the extant fragments indicate that he was an expert in a wide range of lyric expression. We have evidence that he composed epinicians, dithyrambs, dirges, paeans, encomia, partheneia, elegies, and epigrams. His elegies included traditional sympotic pieces as well as some historical ones, such as the elegy on the Battle of Artemisium and the one on Plataea, a portion of which turned up in a papyrus published in 1992 (*Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, 3965).

Simonides was a professional poet with great scope and range. Ancient critics praised his elegant lyricism and his colourful and decorative diction, but they also admired his balanced discourse and the smoothness of his composition. The typical noble features of Archaic lyric are juxtaposed in his work with new ethical preoccupations, and sensuous details with gnomic austerity, just as the heroic absolutes of the aristocratic tradition are framed by a more tolerant and flexible world view that is willing to take into consideration inner conflicts and the uncertainties of fortune.

Simonides' work was an important influence on the poetic production of the two other major choral poets of the 5th century BC, Bacchylides and Pindar. And it was especially Simonides and Pindar who persistently incorporated in their poems reflections on the significance of their craft. Simonides regularly quoted and commented on the earlier poetic tradition and is believed to have explicitly compared himself to Pindar. Aligning himself with a strand of the tradition that goes back to Homer and Hesiod and looks forward to Plato and further down to the Hellenistic poets, he also stresses the alluring enchantment, and even falsehood, of song.

The complex relation of Simonides' art to both the preceding and the subsequent poetic tradition is best celebrated by the new fragments of *Plataea* discovered in *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, 3965. These findings give us a proem to what seems to have been an elegy on an epic-like heroic event, which also happens to be of contemporary historical significance. A proemial hymn to Achilles suggests a parallelism between the Trojan and the Persian wars, thus striking a Panhellenic note that anticipates later historians and rhetoricians such as Herodotus, Thucydides, and Isocrates. Moreover, through this parallelism the Trojans are depicted as barbarians, thus foreshadowing their tragic counterparts in 5th-century Athens. And the connections are not yet exhausted: the new Simonides fragments combine features of Pindaric encomium, Homeric diction and narrative technique, and heroic historiography, all laced with elements of the epitaph and organized by a performer with a remarkably developed persona who dominates the short elegiac poem in a strikingly un-epic way. It is little wonder indeed that critics have detected in Simonides' work a primitive model of the famous Hellenistic features of miniaturization and crossing of genres.

Throughout his long life Simonides was commissioned to work in the courts of many tyrants. He also lived and worked in the cities of the new 5th-century BC democracy. He was notorious for demanding high fees: ancient sources describe him as a money-grubber and Pindar scornfully calls his muse "Muse for hire" (*Isthmian*, 2. 6). However, this mercenary attitude also indicates an emerging professionalism. The poet ceases to be the inspired mouthpiece of the Muses or other divinities and poetic creation is no longer or not mainly their inspired gift: it is rather the combined outcome of skill and practice for which the poet deserves remuneration. Simonides may have been frowned upon for his attitude to money, but his legendary high fees, together with his less solemn tone and a certain deviousness scattered in his poems, make him an

important precursor of the secularized art of the sophists of the Classical period.

EFROSSINI SPENTZOU

See also Poetry (Lyric)

Biography

Born at Iulis on Ceos *c.*557/56 BC, Simonides may have been employed at the court of Hipparchus. Only fragments of his poems survive but he wrote on a wide range of lyric themes. He was the uncle of Bacchylides. He died at the court of Hieron and was buried at Acragas.

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Simplicius

Neoplatonist philosopher of the 6th century AD

Simplicius was one of the most important Neoplatonists of 6th century AD, and one of the last representatives of Greek philosophical thought, as he has often been described. Agathias informs us (*History*, 2. 30. 3) that he was born in Cilicia around AD 500. He was first educated in the philosophical school of Alexandria under the direction of Ammonius. He continued his studies in philosophy at the school in Athens under the leadership of its last director, Damascius, and remained there until 529, when the emperor Justinian closed the school. Then he moved with his master and five other philosophers to Persia, to the school of Gundi-Sapur that was established by the Persian king Chosroes I. There he remained for two years (531–32); but after a treaty of peace was signed between the Byzantine state and the Persians, he returned to the empire with guarantees that he would not be compelled to leave against his will, as Agathias tells us (*History*, 2. 31. 4).

The earliest preserved work of Simplicius is his commentary on Epictetus' *Enchiridion*, written after 529, for he refers to "tyrannical circumstances" (*Enchiridion*, 138. 17–19). He wrote a series of influential commentaries on Aristotelian works after his stay in Persia, in which he endeavoured to harmonize and reconcile Aristotle and Plato. His first commentary was on *De Caelo*, followed by *Physics*, and finally *Categories*. The authenticity of a fourth commentary, on *De Anima*, preserved under the name of Simplicius, was questioned as long ago as the 17th century and is nowadays regarded as spurious. The first Latin translations of his commentaries by William Moerbeke appeared in 1266. The complete Greek text was published in the *Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca* series of the Berlin Academy between 1882 and 1907.

Another question relates to where Simplicius wrote his commentaries. Although it has been suggested that he composed them at Athens or Alexandria where he would have had access to the libraries, modern scholars such as H. Hadot propose Harran, a city in Mesopotamia where Hellenism remained active and powerful, situated close to the Persian border, 30 km from Edessa.

Simplicius' commentaries are a very helpful source for later scholars because they include accurate information about earlier works that have since been lost. For example, his commentary on *De Caelo* (264. 25) tells us of Hipparchus' attempt to justify forced motion with the earliest version of impetus theory. Simplicius' contribution to this problem was outstanding for, although he was himself influenced by Aristotle, he incorporated his objections to the Aristotelian view. He discusses forced motion in his commentary on *Physics* (1348. 36–1351. 13), where he introduces his objections to the pure Aristotelian interpretation with some questions. These questions show that he did not fully accept Aristotle's view of the propelling role of air during forced motion and that he preferred to invoke physical causes as being responsible for a projectile's propulsion. In conclusion, we can say that Simplicius' attempt to interpret forced motion was a cautious one. Meanwhile his contemporary John Philoponus introduced a radical theory for it.

John Philoponus was a Christian Neoplatonist of the 6th century. Simplicius seems to have been a little older than Philoponus (he calls him a "young man" in *In De Caelo*, 42. 17) and he informs us that they did not meet. It seems that a major difference arose between these two great commentators that centred on their different religious beliefs, for Simplicius was not a Christian while Philoponus was (or became one during his lifetime). This difference strengthened after 529, a turning point in the history of ideas. It was the year in which the school of Athens (which Simplicius attended) was closed by Justinian, and Philoponus wrote the essay *De Aeternitate Mundi* that indicates his return to Christian belief. Simplicius was strongly opposed to the principle asserted by Philoponus regarding the origin of the world through divine creation. Nor did Simplicius accept the linear conception of time that sprang from Philoponus' view of a beginning point for the creation of the cosmos, but instead he asserted a cyclical conception for it.

MANOLIS KARTSONAKIS

See also Neoplatonism

Biography

Born in Cilicia early in the 6th century AD, Simplicius was educated at the philosophical schools of Alexandria and Athens where he was a pupil of Ammonius and Damascius respectively. When Justinian closed the school at Athens in 529, Simplicius was one of the seven philosophers who moved to the court of the Persian king Chosroes I. He was later permitted to return and wrote commentaries on the works of Epictetus and Aristotle. The place and date of his death are unknown.

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Sinope

City on the north coast of Asia Minor

Sinope is the most northerly point on the Pontic coast of Asia Minor, lying west of the river Halys. On a coast which afforded little shelter, it was praised from at least the time of Strabo for its harbour, a double bay divided by an isthmus on which the city itself stood. In later periods storm-driven travellers were grateful for its haven. These included the Trapezuntine *archon* (governor) of the Crimea in the 13th century, the great Arab traveller Ibn Battuta and bishop Ignatios of Smolensk in the 14th century, Vincenzo Alessandri, the Venetian ambassador to Persia, in the 16th century, and the patriarch of Antioch, Makarios, in the 17th century. From antiquity to early modern times, links with the Chersonese (Crimea) were important, as well as coasting traffic in indigenous products such as timber, iron, and the arsenical compound *miltos* (Sinop red, cinnabar, realgar) for dyeing, while its fish, especially tunny and mullet, were celebrated.

Sinope has traditionally been seen with Trebizond as a colony of Miletus established in the 7th century BC. In recent times an 8th-century date has been proposed and Corinth is credited with its foundation. Perhaps there was a refoundation after the Cimmerian incursion of the early 7th century. From the 6th century connections with Athens were strong, especially after the visit of Pericles about 436/35 which saw the establishment of 600 Athenian settlers at Sinope. Herodotus remarked on its position on the trans-Anatolian route to Cilicia. The coins of Sinope, which circulated widely in the Pontus, typically have the head of the nymph Sinope and an eagle and dolphin. Diogenes the Cynic was a native of Sinope, where his father was a moneyer. Trade with Colchis flourished, as roof tiles and amphorae from Sinope found there show. Sinope provided the ships and supplies for the return voyage of Xenophon and the survivors of his 10,000. After a period under Persian overlordship in the 4th century, Sinope became part of the kingdom of Pontus in 183 BC. King Mithridates V was murdered at Sinope but his son and successor Mithridates VI Eupator (120–63 BC) embellished its buildings and restored its walls. Sinope fell to the Romans under Lucullus and Pompey (the former displayed sculptures looted from Sinope in his garden) and in 45 Julius Caesar renamed the city, which became Colonia Iulia Felix. Under Trajan, Pliny the Younger surveyed the area and built an aqueduct.

In legend St Andrew evangelized Sinope, but in fact the cult of St Phocas, reputedly its first bishop, eclipsed that of the apostle. The 2nd-century heresiarch Marcion was a shipbuilder in Sinope before, it is alleged, his father (who was a bishop) excommunicated him for immorality. East of Sinope at Çiftlik a large basilica with a fine mosaic in a 4th-century style has recently been discovered.

After some rebuilding in the 6th century by Justinian I, centuries of decline followed, culminating in the taking of the city by the Turks about 1081. The newly established empire of the Grand Komnenoi of Trebizond recovered the city for the Greeks from about 1204 to 1214, when it fell to the Seljuk Turks. Its capture enabled the sultan to claim among his titles "Lord of the two Seas", for the Seljuks now had access to the northern as well as to the southern shores of Anatolia. The Seljuk period saw further rebuilding under the direction of a Greek called Sebastos, commemorated in a bilingual Arab/Greek inscription which survives. Genoese and Venetian merchants increasingly frequented its harbour. Perhaps the most intriguing episode in the period is the assault by Ghazi Çelebi on Genoese shipping in the harbour which was attacked by swimming underwater to hole the vessels. Çelebi's tomb is still to be seen. In 1324 Sinope was taken by the emirate of Kastamonu and in 1461 by the Ottomans. Some of the town's Jewish community moved to Istanbul. An attack by Russia on the Turkish fleet at Sinope in 1853 precipitated the Crimean War (1853–56). The wrecks of the Turkish vessels were reportedly still a hazard to shipping at the end of the 19th century.

Sinope retains traces of its Hellenistic gridiron plan and the remains of the Hellenistic temple of Serapis. The museum has sarcophagi, altars, and jewellery from antiquity, some late icons, and a very representative sequence of coins. The ruinous building known as "Mithridates' Palace" is Roman, perhaps a

Sinope: the walls are mainly Byzantine but incorporate both earlier and later work

bath complex. Its walls, so often attributed to the Genoese, in reality incorporate work of almost every other phase from Hellenistic to Ottoman.

The "Sinope Gospels" are a copy of St Matthew's gospel written in gold uncials on purple vellum with a number of miniatures. They date perhaps to the 6th century. The manuscript was bought from an old Greek woman in Sinope in December 1899 by a French officer and is now in the Bibliothèque Nationale.

The title of duke of Sinope was taken by Konstantinos Ioannes Alexios Laskaris-Komnenos who was born in Saragossa in 1923, the second son of prince Eugenios Laskaris-Komnenos, a claimant to the Greek throne. Prince Konstantinos was professor of philosophy in the National University of Costa Rica.

M.E. MARTIN

See also Black Sea, Pontus

Summary

A city on the Black Sea coast of Anatolia, Sinope was first colonized by the Greeks in the 8th or 7th century BC. It had strong connections with Athens. Its excellent harbour made it a focus for trade. In the 2nd century BC it formed part of the kingdom of Pontus before falling to Rome. It was taken by the Seljuks in 1081, was briefly Byzantine again *c.*1204–14, and Ottoman from 1461.

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Skalkottas, Nikolaos 1904–1949

Composer

The author of more than 110 finely crafted musical works, Nikolaos Skalkottas is generally considered to be one of the outstanding Greek composers of the 20th century. He was born on 8 March 1904 in the town of Chalcis to a family with a strong musical tradition. His great-grandfather Alekos had been a famous folk musician, while both his father and his uncle Kostas were instrumentalists in the town band. When Nikolaos was 2 years old the family moved to Athens, where his uncle began to teach him the violin in 1910. Four years later he enrolled in the Athens Conservatory, graduating in 1920 with a diploma in violin and a gold medal. An Averoff scholarship for study abroad enabled him to continue his violin studies in 1921 with Willy Hess at the Hochschule für Musik

in Berlin. Despite continuing success as a violinist, Skalkottas was increasingly drawn towards composition, which he began to study under a distinguished succession of teachers beginning with Paul Juon, Robert Kahn, and Kurt Weill. During this period he produced his first surviving works, a jazz-influenced *Greek Suite* for piano (1924) and an atonal *Sonata* for solo violin (1925). Overruling the protests of Hess, in 1925 Skalkottas renounced his aspirations for a career as a solo violinist in order to concentrate on composition. For the next two years he studied under Weill's teacher Philipp Jarnach while continuing to support himself with work as a pianist in bars and cinemas.

Shortly after switching to the tutelage of Arnold Schoenberg in 1927, Skalkottas received an Emmanuel Benaki scholarship (1928–31) that enabled him not only to refine his personal style of atonal composition, but also to direct his works at the Singakademie and collaborate with other students in performances of modern chamber music. Schoenberg came to think highly of his Greek pupil, later listing him as one of his few students worthy of the appellation "composer". Meanwhile, Skalkottas's artistic productivity was complemented by a happy personal life centred around cohabitation with the violinist Mathilde Temko, with whom he produced two children (only one of whom survived). Outside the home, he was popular with his fellow musicians, among whom were a significant group of Greek expatriates that at various times included the pianists Marika Papaionannou and Spyros Farantatos, the singers Tito Xirellis and Kostas Mylonas, and the composers Yiannis Konstantinidis and Dimitri Mitropoulos, whose piano piece *Fête crétoise* Skalkottas orchestrated in 1928. He further refreshed his ties with Greece during a brief visit that featured his inauguration of the 1930–31 season of popular concerts in Athens with a performance of his *Concerto for Wind Orchestra* (1929).

The year 1931 was marked for Skalkottas by a series of traumatic events: his departure from Schoenberg's circle, the conclusion of his relationship with Temko, and the end of his scholarship. He composed little during a subsequent period of depression (1932–34), which permanently introverted his formerly sociable personality. In the wake of Hitler's rise to power, Skalkottas left Berlin in May 1933 – the very month of Schoenberg's flight from Nazism – and returned to Athens, leaving behind the scores of his musical works together with most of his possessions. For the remainder of his life he toiled in relative obscurity as a back-desk violinist, initially for the State Orchestra of Athens, and later for the orchestras of the National Opera and Greek Radio. Interestingly, however, Skalkottas's misfortune coincided with a renewal of his interest in Greek folk music. In 1931 and 1932 he produced a few tonal settings of folk songs for voice and piano, while after his arrival in Athens he transcribed a body of Cretan songs for the ethnomusicologist Melpo Merlier. Working with her provided Skalkottas with access to the raw material for his most enduringly popular work, the *36 Greek Dances* for orchestra (1933–36, with later reorchestrations and arrangements). Elements of folk music continued to surface occasionally after 1935 as he returned forcefully to composing atonal orchestral and chamber music in a dense polyphonic style, employing both free atonality and ingenious variations on Schoenberg's method of 12-tone composition. Yet the advent of his most prolific period, during which he wrote many large-scale works in the traditional genres of western art music, passed almost without notice. Faced in Greece with indifference and even hostility towards his progressive music, he composed in radical isolation a substantial body of work that remained mostly unperformed and unknown at the time of his death.

Although World War II brought him such additional hardships as two months in a German prison camp, Skalkottas continued to develop musically, reaching an impressive level of formal complexity with the one-movement symphony *The Return of Ulysses* (1944–45). This massive work, which was originally conceived as the overture for a projected opera, deploys an astonishing 18 different 12-note rows in various combinations over the course of an extended essay in sonata form. In 1946, the year of his marriage to Maria Pigali, Skalkottas entered a new creative phase characterized by greater textural transparency and a partial return to tonality. Shortly before the birth of his second son, however, on 19 September 1949 he died unexpectedly of an untreated hernia.

Without neglecting his musical heritage, Skalkottas was the second Greek composer after Mitropoulos to eschew the musical folklorism of Kalomiris and the National School in favour of a direct confrontation with European modernism. Yet his little-known music exercised only a marginal influence on Greece's post-World-War-II generation of composers, whose more adventurous members were inspired directly by the contemporary international avant-garde. Devotees of Skalkottas's music nevertheless succeeded in establishing an archive of his scores in Athens, while various efforts have been made both in Greece and abroad to perform and record his works. The harpsichordist Maria Lalandi was a particularly successful advocate, organizing numerous overdue premières within the context of the English Bach Festival she cofounded in 1963. Most recently a project has been initiated by Margun Music of Newton, Massachusetts, to publish critical editions of the complete works of Skalkottas.

ALEXANDER LINGAS

Biography

Born in Chalcis in 1904, Skalkottas studied violin at the Athens Conservatory and then at the Hochschule für Musik in Berlin. Turning to composition, he became a pupil of Arnold Schoenberg in 1927. In 1933 he returned to Athens where he supported himself as a violinist but continued to compose. He died suddenly in 1949.

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Skopje

City in Macedonia

The city of Skopje lies along the Vardar river in mountainous country on the north–south route between Thessalonica and Belgrade at a distance of 320 km from Belgrade. The valley near Skopje is flanked by the Sar Planina mountain range, which extends into Thessaly east of Trikkala. In the Roman period the town was called Scupi, an outpost town, which would eventually become the capital of the district of Dardania in the 4th century AD. In AD 518 two events occurred that altered the town's location and name: barbarians sacked it and a disastrous earthquake struck. The town was rebuilt on the Vardar river and given its Slav name of Skopje, which is said to be derived from the Greek word for "episcopal". To this day, many Skopjans and Macedonians deny any significant cultural debts to Hellenism or neighbouring cultures. Linguistic, archaeological, and historical evidence, however, affirms strong Hellenic cultural influence in the Skopje area.

Linguists have traced the influence of Greek over three millennia. As early as 900 BC the area was known to be Greek-speaking. The word "Macedonian" can be traced to the Greek "Makedones", high (tall people) or highlanders. The debate is particularly focused on what language(s) inhabitants of the Skopje area spoke. The Macedonian alphabet, primarily Cyrillic, was established as a language in May 1945, and the first primer appeared in 1946 from the University of Skopje. Others debate the extent to which Macedonian is a dialect of Greek. Since the early 19th century, linguists (H. Ahrens, O. Hoffman, G. Buck, J. Chadwick, and G. Babinoitis) have considered the Macedonian language a form of pre-stage Greek, or a dialect related to northwestern ancient Greek.

Artefacts collected from the Skopje area provide evidence of Hellenic cultural continuity. Archaeological finds housed at the museum in Skopje date from the Neolithic period with artefacts such as the "Great Mother". Habitation continued through the Iron Age (1050–650 BC). The Skopje Museum's collection of substantial Hellenistic artefacts, as exemplified by figures such as *Dionysius the Laurel Bearer*, from the 1st century BC, attests to Greek cultural influences. Recent archaeological excavations have revealed more than 5000 inscriptions in Greek on grave stelae and votive offerings. Coinage and sanctuaries dedicated to the 12 Olympian gods supply evidence of Greek influence in Skopjan Macedonia, even when allowing for cultural distinctions.

Historical documents confirm the Hellenicity of the Skopje area and Macedonia. Thucydides (2. 99) wrote that the Macedonian state was founded in the 7th century BC. The historian Polybius documented flourishing Greek culture between 280 and 160 BC. He recognized the importance of Macedonian cooperation with the Greeks: "The Greeks would be for ever the greatest danger, if we did not have as a bulwark the Macedonians and the ambition of their kings."

The inhabitants of the area, as Macedonians, have claimed ancestral links in turn with Illyrians, Dorians, Thracians, Dardanes, and Paenones. The ancient royal house is traditionally said to be derived from Argive origins when descendants of Temenus and Heracles migrated and ruled as a Macedonian dynasty up to the 4th century BC (Thucydides, 2. 99). Herodotus (5. 22) affirmed that the Macedonian tribes were of Greek descent: "And the people originating from Perdiccas are Greeks". Some question the Hellenicity of Macedonia because Demosthenes labelled Philip a barbarian. From this antique name-calling, it was presumed that Macedonians were non-Hellenes. This presumption does not take into consideration the fact that the word could refer merely to an uncultivated person. Plutarch (*Life of Aratus*) called the Macedonians *allophyloi* (foreigners); but Alexander the Great's ardent support and exportation of Hellenism during his reign is evident.

Skopje's history reflects the sociopolitical movements that affected much of Europe from Byzantium until the Ottoman occupation and the 20th-century reorganization. Skopje was close to the birthplace of the emperor Justinian (527–65). The Serbs took Skopje in 1189, and the coronation of Stephan IV Dushan, emperor of the Serbs, took place here in 1346. The Ottoman Turks held control from 1392 to 1912. In 1913 Skopje was again incorporated into Serbia and from 1918 was under the control of Yugoslavia. German troops occupied Skopje from 1941 until its liberation in 1944. After World War II the Socialist Federal Republic declared Skopje to be the capital of Macedonia. An earthquake struck the city on 26 July 1963, causing over 1000 fatalities and leaving more than 120,000 homeless. As a result 80 per cent of Skopje's infrastructure had to be rebuilt, depriving the city of much of its Turkish character.

Macedonian nationalism and ethnogenesis continue to play a powerful role in Skopje. In 1968 the independent Macedonian Orthodox Church was founded in Skopje. This Church remains unrecognized by the patriarchates of Constantinople and Serbia. In 1977 two Skopje citizens, Lazar Krajnichanes and Angel Miterev, were sentenced to five years' imprisonment for asserting that Macedonians were Bulgarians. Sporadic trials of those who resist the notion of an ethnically pure and long-lived Macedonian nation continue. Skopje's population today is about 500,000.

KATHERINE V. WILLS

See also Macedonia, Serbia

Summary

The capital of the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Skopje was known to the Romans as Scupi. It became the capital of the district of Dardania and was the birthplace of Justinian. Skopje was taken by the Serbs in 1189. From 1392 to 1912 it was part of the Otroman empire. In 1918 it was incorporated in Yugoslavia.

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Slavery

Slavery was apparently known already in Mycenaean times, but it is not quite clear to what extent the Mycenaean *doero* meant the same condition as the Greek word *doulos*. Various kinds of unfree people are also to be found in Homer: prisoners of war, women as booty of war, domestics, and servants in agriculture. The origins of slavery lay probably in war and/or indebtedness; the occurrence of the latter greatly increased after about 600 BC, when money was introduced and trade and business expanded. A real slave trade seems to have been established first in eastern Greece and the areas bordering on northern and eastern barbarian countries; from there it quickly spread to commercial centres such as Athens, Corinth, and Aegina. From the 5th century BC onwards, slavery was an established social institution in Greece, and the laws of this institution were (with minor local variants) more or less the same everywhere. A slave was the property of his master and could be sold and bought like cattle; the price (between a half and ten *minae*) depended on his skills and his physical condition. Slaves toiling in workshops, at public buildings, in mines, etc. received the same salary as free workers and could eventually buy their freedom. They had no political rights, but were in some measure protected by the law; they were allowed to marry and have their own money. In Athens a stranger was not allowed to mistreat or beat a slave who was not his property. Slaves often retained the cults of their native countries; in Athens they were even allowed to take part in the mystery cults.

In Classical Greece slaves were mostly "barbarians", including many from Asia Minor, but also Thracians and Scythians; trading places in the Black Sea and cities such as Byzantium and Ephesus were big suppliers of slaves for Greece. Grave stelae, lists of slaves in the Athenian fleet, lists of the workers on the Athenian Acropolis, and inscriptions of slaves who bought their freedom at Delphi show a wide range of countries from which slaves came: Egypt, Caria, Illyria, Lydia, Mysia, Paphlagonia, Persia, Phoenicia, Phrygia, Syria, and others. Pseudo-Aristotle's *Oeconomica* gives the telltale advice not to have too many slaves from the same nation (ch. 4).

The circumstances that brought people into slavery are not always clear; a great number of them were certainly prisoners of war; armies must have been one of the most important sources of supply in Greece (during his invasion of Scythia in 339 BC Philip II of Macedon enslaved and sold 20,000 women and children). Slave traders apparently accompanied armies on their campaigns and instantly bought prisoners as well as other booty. Sometimes barbarian tribes even seem to have exchanged their own people against urgently needed goods; the sentence "You are a noble Thracian, sold for salt" (Menander, fr. 891 Kassel-Austin) was proverbial in Greece. Another source was piracy, which reached a peak in the middle of the 4th century BC (in 334/33 BC the general Diotimus was honoured in Athens for his fight against pirates). The Attic slave trade was centred in Athens and Sunium, the harbour of which played an important role in the import of goods since the beginning of the 5th century BC; from there the slaves could be brought directly into the silver mines of Laurium.

In the ancient world a slave could work in every kind of profession, not just as "mean slave labour"; there were slave doctors, stonemasons at official buildings, soldiers, enterpreneurs, wetnurses, teachers, musicians, artisans (potters and painters), etc. Household slaves made up the majority of the slave population in Greece; considerable numbers were also employed in agriculture. In Athens minor public positions (the police among them) were filled by slaves; these so-called "state slaves" had a salary and their own dwelling. Astonishingly, the police in Athens consisted of Scythians, who were famous for their skills as archers; several times Aristophanes makes fun of them as stupid, stammering, and randy barbarians. State slaves able to write and calculate were also used in the army; if they were killed in action, they were given a state funeral like free citizens, and the survivors were often set free. The many slaves working in the silver mines were an important factor for the Athenian economy; often they were not the property of the state (who owned the mines), but were hired in groups from private masters (the Athenian general and politician Nicias cleverly employed such slave groups to further his own income). Some of these people must have been highly specialized to do the more difficult work (probably they had already been imported as skilled workers from countries such as Thrace and Paphlagonia which were also renowned for their mines), and they at least had a chance of rising to the post of an overseer; for the great majority, however, working in the mines was by far the worst, most horrible, and most humiliating fate (in this manner the Athenian army captured in Sicily in 413 perished in the quarries of Syracuse). Still, several grave stelae and votives (mostly for gods of Asia Minor and Thrace) found in Laurium show that it must have been possible even

for these people to preserve something of their own life and their native cults.

Serving as nurses and pedagogues was another important "profession" of ancient slaves; in Classical Athens Thracian wetnurses seem to have been very popular. From the middle of the 4th century BC on, numerous grave stelae and grave epigrams were dedicated for nurses by their foster children and their families, often containing the same laudatory epithets as for their next of kin. It is remarkable that the Greeks entrusted their children to barbarian slaves and gave them duties with so much responsibility.

It is still an unsolved question how many slaves lived in Classical Attica (assessments range from one quarter to half of the whole population), to say nothing about other regions; it is also disputed how many slaves lived in an average Greek household, as ancient evidence on this question is almost completely lacking. Still, some remarks in comedies of Aristophanes seem to show that a "normal" citizen had at least one slave; even the poor farmer Chremylus has one (*Plutus*, 253ff.), as do the birds (*Aves*, 70, 1579f.), and to have none means utmost poverty for Praxagora (*Ecclesiazusae*, 593). A middle-class family may have had between three and twelve slaves, but this number certainly varied according to place and epoch. In the later 5th century BC there must have been a considerable number of slaves in the silver mines of Laurium, for according to Thucydides (7. 27. 5) 20,000 of them went over to the enemy after the Spartans occupied Deceleia in 413 BC. Compared with other Greek states, Classical Athens (with its leading role in the Delian League) may have had the largest proportion of slaves in relation to its citizens; in any case they always held an important place in the economy.

From the later 5th century onwards, Greek thinkers developed something like a theoretical concept of slavery. Its institution was usually justified by the notion that barbarians were slaves by nature because they had no political institutions for free and equal citizens and because the monarchies in which they often lived were themselves a kind of slavery; therefore, as Euripides put it (*Iphigeneia at Aulis*, 1400f.), "it is right that Greeks rule over barbarians". The thesis of barbarian inferiority and a legitimate Greek claim of dominion over them is also found in Aristotle (who reportedly advised Alexander the Great to treat barbarians like animals and plants), Isocrates, and Plato, who outlined precise laws of slavery in his *Laws*. These sources, of course, primarily reflect political tendencies after the Persian Wars and do not necessarily tell us how slaves were perceived or treated in reality; many grave stelae with touchingly personal inscriptions were set up for loyal slaves and faithful nurses by their masters and show that their relationships were more complex in the real world than in philosophical theory. The Sophists and later the Stoics and Cynics declared that all people were equal and free by nature, and noble slaves can also be found in the plays of Euripides; even the slaves themselves, however, apparently did not question the institution of slavery and had no "class-consciousness" of their own.

In Hellenistic times new areas of trade and new markets (e.g. Delos) led to an increase of slavery; the legislation concerning slavery saw new developments (taxation of slave trade, intensified search for runaway slaves, but also extended asylum rights). Menander's comedies show that there was often a very familiar relationship between master and slave.

During the Roman empire mass enslavement of free people (as a consequence of wars and conquests) increased; but slave revolts (among other places in Attic mines and on Delos) remained unsuccessful. Many Greek slaves (and freedmen) worked in the imperial household and held important administrative posts. The sources (among others Libanius, Justinian's law corpus, Egyptian papyri, the letters of Sidonius Apollinaris) show that slavery was still an important factor in the economy of the late Roman empire; in Byzantine law, slaves still had almost no civil rights, but at least the intentional killing of a slave was now treated as homicide.

The Church's attitude to slavery was ambiguous: while some (e.g. Gregory of Nazianzus) condemned it, others (e.g. Basil the Great) tolerated it as a necessary evil. The Church (following St Paul) usually pointed out that slaves and free men alike were servants of Christ, so that worldly freedom was irrelevant; nevertheless, Christian masters were advised to treat their slaves as brothers.

There are only a few sources about slavery in Byzantium between the 7th and the 9th centuries AD; during the 10th century slavery apparently expanded once more. After the victories of Nikephoros II Phokas (963–69) numerous prisoners of war were to be found in Byzantine households and fields. A great number of slaves then worked above all in the imperial workshops and in the establishments of goldsmiths and silk weavers of Constantinople. From the 12th century on, slavery declined; and in the 13th century it largely vanished. A new increase followed the fall of Constantinople in 1453, but slavery in Muslim countries was very different from that in the ancient and Byzantine world, because slaves in the fields, industry, or mines were almost unknown; nearly all of them were employed in rich families and usually well treated. In the Ottoman empire slavery was abolished rather late, so that the final end of slavery in Greece itself came only with the wars of liberation.

BALBINA BÄBLER

See also Mines and Quarries, Piracy, Trade

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Slavs

According to the 6th-century historian Procopius Slav incursions into Byzantine territory began in the reign of emperor Justinian I (527–65) whose policy of expansion had clearly strained the resources of the empire. A number of ancient sources confirm that these invasions grew more frequent and severe in the last quarter of the 6th century, although there is disagreement among modern historians about their nature, extent, and duration. It is fairly clear that the Slavs, themselves Indo-European speakers, were dominated by non-Indo-European speakers such as the Avars and Bulgars, although it was the Slav language which eventually prevailed. Although there are references to invasions of Hellas, this was an elastic term. The evidence of proper names suggests that there were more Slavs in western than in eastern Greece. The Slavs did reach the Peloponnese and there were Slavonic tribes – the Ezeritae and Melingi – there as late as the 13th century. The *Chronicle of Monemvasia* with unusual precision says that the Peloponnese was occupied for 231 years after an Avar invasion of 581, but the authority of this chronicle has been doubted by Greek historians anxious to prove the continuity of Greek occupation, for which the survival of the Greek language provides some testimony. Pointing to the Slav domination by the Avars, they like to think of the Slavs as peaceful, pastoral immigrants, fairly rapidly absorbed by the surviving Greek population.

By the 9th century some kind of absorption had begun in southern Greece, but in the north Slav tribes more naturally fell under the powerful sway of the Bulgarian kingdom. The activities of Cyril (St Constantine) and Methodios in inventing the Cyrillic script and the establishment of a separate Bulgarian Church, though civilizing influences, were an obstacle to the work of the Greek Church in re-establishing Greek. Bulgaria was defeated at the beginning of the 11th century and once again Byzantium ruled the Balkans, but in this multilingual empire Slav-speakers dominated in the north and central Balkans, and there were still pockets of them further south.

With the collapse of Byzantine authority after the Fourth Crusade (1204) the Serbs and Bulgars reasserted their independence and occasionally occupied northern and central Greece. The turbulent two centuries until the Ottoman invasion produced many movements of population, Latins, Vlachs, and Albanians all adding to the racial mix of Slav and Greek, and nationalist advocates of ethnic purity or continuous occupation would find it difficult to make sense of these years. The Ottomans were not particularly interested in the ethnic composition of their subject populations, but the long years of Turkish rule did something to restore the balance of Greek against Slav, since Greek was the language of the Church, of commerce, and of education.

It was not until 1870 that the Ottoman authorities sanctioned the founding of the Bulgarian Exarchate and did something to tilt the scales yet again. By this time, apart from some pockets of Greeks or Greek-speaking Vlachs in towns of the central Balkans, the boundary between Greek speakers and Slav speakers stood slightly to the south of the present northern Greek frontier. For the next 40 years Greeks and Bulgars fought a guerrilla campaign with each other and the Turks over the disputed territory. The battle was largely fought in religious terms between exarchists, supporters of the Bulgarian Church, and patriarchists, supporters of the Greek Church. The Serbs were rarely in competition with the Greeks, but as a result of being on the winning side in the Second Balkan War, it was the Serbs who were awarded the territory which now calls itself Macedonia, while Greece gained a large section to the south which confusingly they too call Macedonia. Both areas contained large numbers of people speaking a Slav language akin to Bulgarian.

After World War I, in which again Greece and Serbia were on the winning side and gained territory from Bulgaria as a result, the problem of the Slav-speakers in Greece was solved in a number of ways. There was a series of population exchanges involving Greek-speakers from Bulgaria replacing Bulgarian-speakers in Greece. The much larger exchanges between Turkey and Greece resulted in the population of

Macedonia becoming much more Greek. Assimilation was encouraged and the speaking of the local Slav dialect discouraged. During World War II part of northern Greece was occupied by the Bulgarians and in the Civil War the communist forces had a considerable Slav-speaking element: the defeat and consequent unpopularity of first the Bulgarians and then the communists cannot have helped the Slav cause.

Nevertheless in 1951 the Greek census included 41,017 Slav-speakers and 18,671 Pomaks, Slav speakers near Xanthi who had adopted Islam and in subsequent censuses are recorded as Muslims. Slav-speakers were not recorded as such after 1951 on the grounds that assimilation was likely to take place very rapidly. In the 1970s and 1980s, with relations between Greece and Tito's Yugoslavia fairly amicable, it was possible to find Slav-speakers near Florina chatting with their counterparts near Bitola as they made social or shopping visits to the other country, but with the dismemberment of Yugoslavia and the independence of the Former Republic of Macedonia the Slav-speakers of Greece have again become a topical issue. Their numbers are clearly not great, but minorities all over Europe are the cause for controversy and concern. Greeks see the name Macedonia and the existence of the Slav-speakers as a threat to their northern borders. Such a threat, present at the time of the Civil War and in the Cold War that followed it, is hardly very potent now, but it has affected the attitude of Greeks to the history of the Slavs and to Slav-speakers in Greece.

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See also Bulgars, Pomaks, Russia, Serbs

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Smyrna

City in western Asia Minor

The first ancient Greek settlement of Smyrna was founded in about the 10th century BC on the northeastern shores of the gulf of Smyrna, in what is now the modern Izmir suburb of Bayrakli. Aeolian Greek migrants established their colony here on the site of an earlier Anatolian settlement, but were soon themselves displaced by Ionian Greeks. From this time on Smyrna was considered part of Ionia, though it was not incorporated into the Panionium, or organization of the original 12 Ionian colonies, until the 3rd century BC, following the refoundation of the city. Fortified by at least the 9th century BC, Old Smyrna boasted a fine archaic temple of Athena. It was most famous, however, for its claim, strongly contested by neighbouring Chios, to be the birthplace of Homer. Indeed, still today, Classical scholars generally agree that the Homeric poems underwent their early development in the Smyrna-Chios region: the mixed Ionic-Aeolic dialect of the poems belies their origin in this part of the Greek world, as does also their description of the topography of the Smyrna region. The ancient tradition linking Homer and Smyrna proved to be long-lived and widespread across the Hellenic world: Aristotle, Pindar, Aristides, and Dio Chrysostom, among others, all mention Homer's Smyrnaean roots. By the 2nd century BC coins of Smyrna could be identified by their pictorial device of the seated figure of Homer, shown together with his name. At the turn of the 1st century BC–1st century AD Strabo also details the existence of a Homereion, or shrine to Homer, in the refounded city of Smyrna.

The first Greek city of Smyrna at Bayrakli grew and prospered until *c.*600 BC, when it suffered destruction at the hands of the powerful Lydians. It was never to recover from these destructions, and declined further throughout the Classical period, until by the late 4th century BC it lay more or less abandoned. At this time the second Greek city of Smyrna was founded on the slopes of Mount Pagus, on the opposite (southeastern) shores of the Smyrnaic gulf. The refoundation of the city can perhaps be attributed to Alexander the Great, or alternatively to Antigonus I and Lysimachus. It is this site, gradually and considerably enlarged over the centuries, which has remained in continuous urban use until the present day. Fortified from the beginning, the new city soon prospered and, during the Hellenistic period, attracted the interest of both the Seleucids and the Attalids, to whom it reacted with vacillating loyalty. The increasing power of Rome further served to increase Smyrna's prosperity and prestige as it emerged as one of the major cities of the Roman province of Asia, well placed on routes of trade and communication and functioning as a Roman administrative centre. As such it was graced with many fine public buildings, and Strabo claims it to be the most beautiful Roman city of his day. In AD 178, however, disaster struck in the form of a powerful earthquake, which resulted in grave damage to the city and necessitated much rebuilding. The imperial favour and generous benefactions of Marcus Aurelius, nevertheless, made this reconstruction work possible, the extant remains of the state agora still today bearing testimony to the suitably grand scale on which the refurbishments were carried out. By the mid-1st century AD Christianity seems already to have been established at Smyrna. From this point onwards, the city played a significant role in the development of the early Christian Church, a role perhaps recognized in the book of Revelation by the identification of Smyrna as one of the seven Churches of Asia. As elsewhere, the early Christian Church at Smyrna was subjected to much persecution, and in AD 155 Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna, was martyred.

Smyrna continued as a prosperous trading centre until the onset of the Arab raids in the 7th century AD. Towards the end of the 11th century the city fell briefly into the hands of the Seljuk Turks, until retaken by the Byzantines in 1097. Thereafter, for some 300 or so years, Byzantines, Crusaders, Genoese, and Turks all fought over it. In 1415 it was taken by

the Ottoman Turks and in 1472 was sacked by the Venetian fleet. However, for the most part, Smyrna during the Middle Ages, at least until 1600, had lost the wealth and importance which it had so enjoyed in earlier times. Nevertheless, by 1600 its fortunes were again changing with the establishment of French, Venetian, English, and Dutch factories and consulates in the city. Throughout the centuries which followed, Smyrna reasserted itself as one of the most dynamic and attractive mercantile centres in the Mediterranean, a position greatly assisted and enhanced by the arrival of the railway in the mid-19th century, a development which now linked the city effectively with the Anatolian hinterland. The trade and population of Smyrna expanded rapidly, particularly so in the case of the Greek element for, attracted by the growing wealth of the city, many Greeks migrated there from the islands and Greek mainland. While in 1800 the Greeks comprised under one-third of the city's total population, by the end of the century the figure had risen to almost half, thus giving them the status of the majority population. Even prior to this Hellenic population explosion, the growing wealth and influence of the Greek merchants in Smyrna had led to a revival of Hellenism in western Anatolia. This focused on the Evangelic School of Smyrna, which possessed a fine library of books and manuscripts, and which taught its pupils not only the ancient Greek classics but also a sense of pride in their language and national identity. This sentiment, naturally, was boosted by the 1821 revolt of the mainland Greeks against the Ottoman Turks, and the subsequent creation of the independent Greek state in the Western Aegean. Smyrna now became the lifeblood of Hellenism in the east.

The Smyrna Greek community was organized as a recognizable and, as far as possible, autonomous unit within the Ottoman system: not only its schools, but also its hospitals, were funded by the Greeks for the Greeks, and the community appointed its own representatives to handle its relations with the Ottoman state. All of this was subject to the authority of the bishop of Smyrna and, through him, to that of the ecumenical patriarch in Constantinople. For many decades this arrangement provided mutual benefits to both Asia Minor Greek and Turk. But in the early years of the 20th century, the Young Turk revolution and the First Balkan War undermined the symbiotic balance in Graeco-Turkish relations. Ethnic and religious differences were highlighted and came to be wielded by each side as blunt weapons against the other. World War I compounded matters further. Greece was courted for its participation in the war on the side of the Entente, in return for which Britain promised it territorial compensation on the coast of Asia Minor: the bait, of course, was Smyrna. In this offer Eleftherios Venizelos, prime minister of Greece, saw the ideal opportunity to incorporate the Asia Minor Greeks and their territory into the Hellenic state. When the war ended in September 1918, the victorious Allied Powers duly rewarded Greece for Venizelos's loyalty with the gift of Smyrna: in May 1919 Greek troops entered the city, a Greek High Commissioner was appointed, and the Greeks occupied a zone extending inland from Smyrna. This action provoked Turkish nationalist sentiments; these soon found a focus in Mustafa Kemal, a Turkish army officer who, establishing his base in Turkey's eastern provinces, set about organizing resistance to the occupation. In 1920 the signing of the Treaty of Sèvres brought the Ottoman empire to an end and granted the administration of Smyrna to Greece: if after a five-year period the local populace confirmed this arrangement to be acceptable, Smyrna would then be annexed to Greece. Beginning in June 1920, the Greek army had begun to advance northeast from Smyrna towards Ankara, its goal being to defeat Kemal's Turkish forces. The latter, however, proved too powerful, and in August 1922 the Greek front collapsed and the Greek forces retreated to Smyrna. Troops, civilians, and officials, including the Greek High Commissioner, fled Smyrna for the Greek islands and mainland, ahead of the advancing Turks. When in September the Turkish troops entered Smyrna, the pen stood poised to write one of the blackest pages in Hellenic history and memory. Archbishop Chrysostom, among others, was seized and killed by the angry Turkish mob, in an incident reminiscent of the martyrdom of bishop Polycarp almost 2000 years earlier. A few days after the death of Chrysostom a great fire swept through the city, destroying the Greek and other foreign quarters. Hellenic Smyrna, almost 3000 years in existence, was no more.

Following the Greek defeat, a Convention concerning the Exchange of Greek-Turkish Populations was signed by Greece and Turkey at Lausanne in January 1923. This provided for the compulsory exchange of the, now vastly reduced, Greek Orthodox population still remaining in Turkey, and the Muslim population of Greece. The resulting total of Asia Minor Greeks arriving in mainland Greece in 1922–23 numbered something approaching 1,500,000 refugees. Uprooted from their homeland, they attempted to recreate the familiar in their new surroundings: names such as Nea Smyrna and Menemeni still today identify suburbs in the mainland Greek cities which now became home to these eastern Greeks. With them they also brought their Hellenic Asia Minor culture, including a particular kind of oriental-style café music (*café aman*) and dance which greatly shaped the Greek *rebetika* (popular music) tradition. The influx of such a large number of refugees also made a profound contribution to Greece's interwar economic and political development: with their arrival, the pace of industrialization and agricultural mechanization quickened and the electoral outcomes of the period, too, reflect their considerable influence.

Modern Smyrna, rebuilt after the 1922 destructions as the bustling Turkish port of Izmir, is still regarded with great affection and nostalgia by the Greek people. A Greek consulate still survives today at Izmir, a lonely and isolated reminder of the long Hellenic contribution to the history of the city and of western Asia Minor.

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See also Asia Minor Campaign

Summary

Smyrna (modern Izmir, from Greek "I Smyrni") was first colonized by Greeks in about the 10th century BC. It claimed to be the birthplace of Homer. Destroyed by the Lydians *c.*600 BC, it was refounded in the early Hellenistic period on a different site and flourished. After a period of decline in the Middle Ages it prospered again after 1600 as a trading centre and many Greeks migrated there, making it once again a focus of Hellenism. In the break-up of the Ottoman empire it was given to Greece, but a Greek advance into the hinterland was

defeated in 1922 resulting in the destruction of Smyrna and the expulsion of its Greek population.

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Socrates 470–399 BC

Philosopher

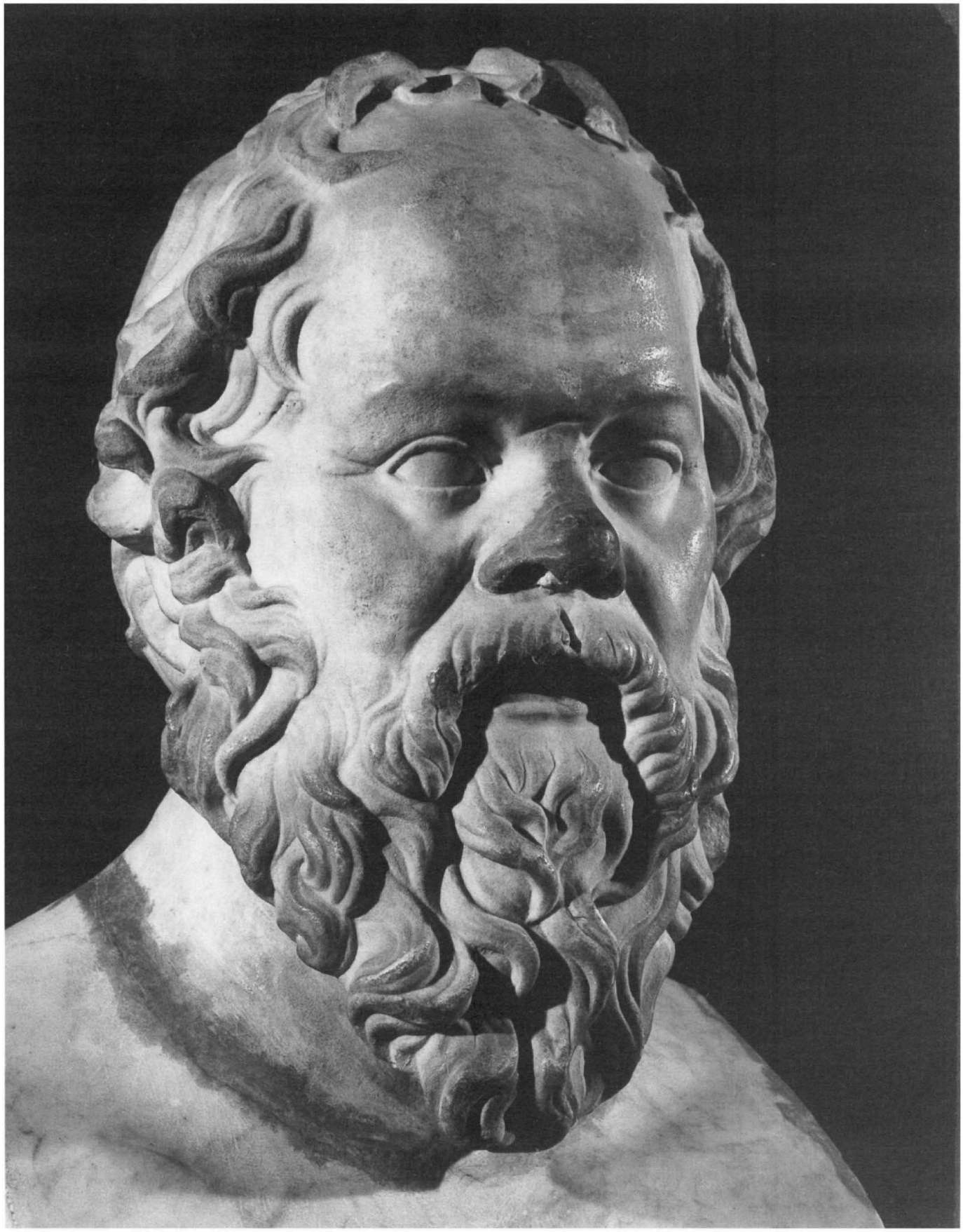
Socrates was born in Athens, the son of a stonemason and a midwife; he was executed by the Athenian democracy in 399 BC. He did not leave any written work; and yet Karl Marx rightly called him the embodiment of philosophy (*Rheinische Zeitung*, no. 179, 1842; Karl Marx–Friedrich Engels, *Werke*, vol. 1, Berlin, 1956, p. 91). For Socrates lived his entire life for philosophy. He learned his father's craft, but the political service of his polis and the education of his fellow-citizens were more important for him. Such a way of life was possible, for everyday life was simple and thus not expensive. He strove to be a good citizen and served his native city several times as a brave and persevering soldier, but he refused to act wrongly when ordered to do so by the authorities of the pseudo-democracy. He considered that his first duty was to seek the truth and he tried to show it by the maieutic method of his mother, the midwife. He made enemies by questioning the knowledge and opinions of his fellow-citizens in chance meetings. But he himself confessed that he knew nothing. Wishing to be taught, he became an ideal teacher; rejecting the sexual pederasty that was common in Classical Greece, he developed the pedagogical ethos. He was familiar with the doctrines and writings of the natural philosophers, especially of Anaxagoras, but their answers did not satisfy him. More important for him was the individual and social morality that was directed by the demonic, which was more powerful than the human conscience: it was a divine voice. Socrates was a deeply religious man. He made use of the sophistic dialectics, not for his personal advantage, but in the search for truth. He was not interested in establishing a philosophical system or in laboriously propagating them by writing. Already in his lifetime there were thus very different views about his personality and his doctrines. He was known as an odd man, and became an object of mockery and caricature (for instance in the comedies of Aristophanes), and, as we have seen, he made enemies for various reasons. He was thus subjected to a political trial, charged with impiety and corrupting young men, and was condemned to death by the Athenian radical democracy.

According to the customs of his time Socrates' wife and sons were in the background of his life. This was the cause of many anecdotes about the character of his wife Xanthippe and his relations with her. Indeed, his relationships with his friends and pupils were particularly important for him. Socrates, the man without riches or power, attracted a circle of aristocratic young men which occasionally attracted criticism from some democrats. Members of this circle included the two authors whose writings about Socrates survive: Xenophon and Plato. Xenophon was a competent officer, a successful farmer, and a good chronicler, but he was more a man of action than of theory. What he reports in his *Memorabilia* is very valuable, but it represents only part of Socrates' philosophical speculations. For Plato the figure of Socrates was a pretext to formulate his own opinions, and it is difficult to fix the boundary between Socratic inheritance and Plato's continuation. It should be noted that neither Xenophon nor Plato mention each other.

Socrates did not participate in Athenian politics, but some of his pupils were celebrated as the founders of various philosophical schools, such as Plato of the Academy, Aristippus of the school of Cyrene, Phaedo of the school of Elis, and Antisthenes of the school of the Cynics. The Hellenistic doxographers did not reflect the doctrines of Socrates, but preserved a tradition of anecdotes and apophthegms, of which we find traces in the writings of Diogenes Laertius of the 3rd century AD.

In the Roman period a new and different interest in Socrates awoke. A collection of fictitious letters of Socrates appeared (edited by L. Koehler, Berlin 1928). Plutarch, the popular philosopher, priest at Delphi, and archon at Chaeronea, wrote *On the Divine Socrates* and *On the Condemnation of Socrates* and produced an *Apology for* Socrates. A friend of Plutarch, Favorinus of Arelate (2nd century AD), rhetorician and polymath, wrote a (lost) book *On Socrates and His Erotic Art*, which drew the criticism of the contemporary physician and philosopher Galen of Pergamum. The archaizing orators Dio Chrysostom and Maximus of Tyre treated Socratic problems in their speeches, such as the demonic or the erotic, and influenced their colleagues. The Neoplatonists celebrated the birthdays of Socrates and Plato with sacrifices, solemn dinners, and speeches.

At Rome the life and work of Socrates were read more in Xenophon than in Plato. The most important mediator was Panaetius (*c.*185–109 BC), the director of the Middle Stoa. Cicero called Socrates the father of philosophy and praised him for bringing philosophy down from heaven to everyday life (*Academica Posteriora*, 1. 415). The philosopher Seneca the Younger (1st century AD), when speaking of Socrates, utters only commonplaces. Valerius Maximus (early 1st century AD) in his *Factorum et Dictorum Memorabilia* sometimes mentions



Socrates: antique marble copy of a bust from the 4th century BC attributed to Lysippus, Louvre, Paris

Socrates as a praiseworthy example of virtue and wisdom with sound character and self-control.

For the Christian Apologists, and especially for Justin (*c.*AD 100–*c.*165), Socrates was a forerunner of Christ; for Socrates the *logos* (intellect) was necessary, while Christ is in possession of the *Logos* (governing principle of the universe). The Alexandrian theologians held this view, but it was rejected by western Christian writers; for St Augustine all the virtues of the pagans were no more than splendid vices.

During the Middle Ages Socrates was nearly forgotten in the West. His name signified the wise man par excellence, but it remained a mere name. The anonymous poem *Causa Pauperis Scolaris cum Presbytero* was ascribed to him; the "doctor universalis" Alanus ab Insulis (*c.*1125/30–1203) in his *Distinctiones Dictionum Theologicalium* had Socrates conversing with Christ. Godefridus of Breteuil (12th century) calls Socrates the "fons philosophiae". In the *Divina commedia* of Dante Alighieri Socrates is to be found in Purgatory (4. 135) beside Plato and Aristotle.

The situation in the Byzantine east was little better. The chapter (2. 5) about Socrates in the *Lives* of Diogenes Laertius (3rd century) is full of anecdotal material, and the lexicon known as the *Suda*, from the 10th/11th centuries, made wide use of it. The *gnomologia* (collections of maxims) are in the same tradition, more interested in biographical dates than in the doctrines of Socrates. But the portrait of the Athenian wise man was also present. In the paintings of the tree of Jesse in the late medieval churches of Greece and Bulgaria Socrates is often portrayed among other pagan philosophers. In the last period of the Byzantine empire Xenophon's *Memorabilia* were again read, and in the controversy over hesychasm the writings of Plato played an important role. Some of the Renaissance humanists revered Socrates extravagantly. Marsilio Ficino, the translator of Plato, was ready to equate Socrates with Christ, and Desiderius Erasmus, the leader of the northern humanists, formulated the prayer: "Sancte Socrates, ora pro nobis!"

But the real Socratic century was the 18th. All branches of philosophy made use of the figure of Socrates, at first leaning on Xenophon, and after the publication of the *Phaedo* by Mendelssohn, more on Plato. Socrates became the type of the popular philosopher. In the 19th century the Danish thinker Sören Kierkegaard admired and interpreted Socrates as a "subjective" (not idealistic) philosopher, whose mode of life he imitated in his own. Friedrich Nietzsche, the philological specialist on Diogenes Laertius, considered Socrates as the philosopher of *décadence*. In the 20th century the Greek publicist Kostas Varnalis in his *True Apology of Socrates* criticized the falsification of Classical ideals by bourgeois society, and in a similar manner Bertolt Brecht wrote about the "wounded Socrates" (*Geschichten*, Frankfurt, 1962, pp 109ff.).

JOHANNES IRMSCHER

See also Dialectic, Philosophy

Biography

Born at Athens in 470 BC the son of a stonemason and a midwife, Socrates served as a soldier in several battles. He was married to Xanthippe and had two sons. He played little part in public life and devoted himself entirely to philosophical debate. He wrote nothing, but his pupils included the founders of several philosophical schools, including Plato. When ordered to arrest an innocent man he refused to comply. He was charged with impiety and with corrupting young men and condemned to death in 399.

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Solomos, Dionysios 1798–1857

Poet

Born on the island of Zakynthos to Count Solomos, a tobacco merchant, and his young maid Angeliki, Dionysios Solomos was raised in the privileged manner of the Zakynthian nobility. In 1808, a year after his father died, Dionysios was put in the charge of his tutor, the liberal-minded priest Don Santo Rossi, who is thought to have exercised considerable influence on the young boy's artistic and political ideas. After a ten-year sojourn in Italy, where he acquired a solid classical education and became acquainted with Italian Neoclassicism and the emergent Romanticism of his day, Solomos returned to his native island in 1818 to begin a career as a poet. His early poems, written in Italian, are mostly of a devotional nature and show him a competent and skilful versifier, though lacking in originality. Within a couple of years of his return to Zakynthos, Solomos began to write in Greek, a language he is said to have "imbibed with his mother's milk". In a bid to

encourage the young poet's use of his native language, Spiridon Trikoupis told him upon meeting him that "Greece is waiting for its Dante". Solomos turned for inspiration to the rich vein of Greek demotic songs, dirges, and pastoral idylls which had formed an anonymous oral tradition since Byzantine times. He wrote lyrics, elegies, odes, and satires, as well as a prose work in defence of vernacular poetry modelled on the Platonic dialogue and probably inspired by Dante's *De Vulgari Eloquentia*.

Solomos's poetry is nearly always fast-moving and melodious. He made use of various metrical forms, Greek and Italian. The most important of these was the 15-syllable line, a distant descendant of the Classical dactylic hexameter, used by Cretan bards throughout the 16th and 17th centuries. Solomos's early poems display a Romantic's preoccupation with death, especially the death of young innocents. Later, as his poetic vision matured, he combined bold lyricism with an ethical outlook rooted in the idea of spiritual freedom. Among Solomos's most important works are *Lambros*, an almost Gothic narrative of betrayal, incest, and suicide; *The Cretan*, a haunting lyric tale set at sea; and his monumental *The Free Besieged*, in which the long, tragic siege of Missolonghi by the Turks shows man defying the sufferings without and the temptations within until he has finally achieved a dignity commensurate with his highest ideals.

The *Hymn to Liberty*, his best-known work, written in 1823 during a month-long outpouring of political and lyrical enthusiasm, is a stirring account of the Greek War of Independence and the ideals it embodied for patriots and philhellenes alike. The poem is made up of 158 four-line stanzas, the first two of which were later adopted as the fledgeling country's national anthem. Thus at the age of 25 Solomos became the country's national poet. His own youth seemed to be consonant with the youth of the nation. The hymn's role in Greek emancipation is rightly deemed inestimable. It was quickly translated into all the major European languages and widely disseminated among foreign politicians and men of letters. The sympathy which it aroused on behalf of Greek independence has prompted one biographer to characterize its political contribution as equivalent to numberless frigates and regiments. Solomos, however, did not see himself as a man of action but as a poet whose first duty was to his art. A restless perfectionist, he set himself the impossible task of single-handedly adapting demotic Greek as a vehicle for the highest philosophical and artistic ideas.

One consequence of this incessant perfectionism was Solomos's inability to complete any of his longer poems. Solomos's continual artistic development invariably tended to outstrip the pace of his work, leaving many of his projects unfinished. Most of his mature work comes to us in what have been wrongly labelled "fragments"; however, nearly all of Solomos's extant poems are complete in themselves, even if the larger work for which they were intended never came to fruition. In this respect Solomos resembled other Romantic poets such as Byron, Shelley, or Keats. It should be remembered that modern Greek was still in its infancy as a literary language, a point well observed by the poet George Seferis, who repeatedly acknowledged his own debt to the Zakynthian bard. Solomos's success can be measured by the fact that vernacular Greek was never again seriously challenged by katharevousa as the natural language of poetry. No one ever again doubted that the everyday speech of the people could articulate the loftiest ideas. But for Solomos this was never an axiom. The many discarded drafts in his extant manuscripts show him wrestling with the problem of finding the right form and register for his ideas.

Solomos believed earnestly that the poet has to be a profound thinker as well as a skilful versifier. He found the technical perfection of Italian Neoclassicism wanting and turned to German aesthetic philosophy for direction. In his later poetry he was greatly influenced by Schiller's ideal of *das Erhabene*, the sublime. The aim of poetry, in Solomos's view, was to elevate men's souls, an artistic virtue he greatly admired in ancient poetry, especially the Homeric epics. Unlike his Neoclassical forerunners, however, Solomos did not dress up his poetry with Classical lore in a bid to make it seem dignified or grand; instead he made sparing use of the motifs of ancient epic, lyric, and tragic verse. He believed that the poets of ancient Greece had struck a perfect balance between form and content. Nevertheless, Solomos refused to subordinate his poetry to the forms of Classical models but sought rather to emulate the spirit in which they had been composed. His translation of book 18 of the *Iliad* was the first truly poetic rendition of the work into modern Greek and it spurred many of his disciples to do the same for other classics.

In his last years Solomos began to write poetry in Italian once more, but by then his contribution to Greek letters had been decisive. Nearly all subsequent Greek poetry owes something to Solomos. Kostis Palamas, who succeeded Solomos as Greece's national poet, paid tribute to the Zakynthian in his own poems and in many articles about Solomos's poetry. The free lyricism of Solomos's later works anticipated the lyrical experimentation of Seferis and Elytis, while the almost prosodic commitment to ideas can be seen in the work of Cavafy. Ironically, Solomos's most lasting contribution may lie in his revisions, aborted poems, and notes to himself. In these one sees the first great modern Greek poet struggling to harness the fleet rhythms of the vernacular to lofty themes which had been the exclusive preserve of classicizing Greek since late antiquity. "With Solomos," Zisimos Lorentzatos has written, "the problem of artistic expression enters our cultural life, as the problem of independence entered our national life."

EMMANUEL C. BOURBOUHAKIS

Biography

Born on Zakynthos in 1798, Solomos was educated in Italy from 1808 to 1818. Returning to Zakynthos in 1818 he wrote his first poems in Italian. Then turning to demotic Greek he wrote lyrics, elegies, odes, and satires. His most famous work is the *Hymn to Liberty* (1823), the first two stanzas of which later became Greece's national anthem. He died in 1857.

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Solon *c.*640–*c.*560 BC

Poet, statesman, and philosopher

Solon lived and worked in Athens in the late 7th/early 6th century BC. His poetry survives only in fragments. The biographical tradition is late and not completely reliable, but one may draw a general picture of Solon's life and activity. He was an aristocrat, and became active in Athenian politics probably at an early age.

Solon's entry on to the political stage appears to have occurred in the following way. Athens and its neighbour to the west, Megara, had been fighting for some time over the possession of the island of Salamis, which lies between the two cities in the Saronic gulf. When Solon was a young man, the island was in the possession of Megara and the Athenians had passed a law forbidding discussion of reopening the war for possession. If the sources can be believed, Solon rushed into the marketplace feigning madness and recited a long poem about the recovery of the island (frr. 1–3). The war was resumed and ultimately Athens regained possession. The story reveals something about the way people perceived Solon's character: fiercely Athenian, he was full of bravado, and very clever. He was a good enough poet and speaker to persuade his audience, and he made his appeal directly to the people rather than going through official channels. All these traits seem characteristic of Solon, even though the story is probably apocryphal.

Having acquired a reputation for wisdom, Solon was given the task of reconciling two opposing forces in Athenian politics: the tyrannical rulers, and the people who were on the verge of revolt. To accomplish this task, Solon composed a set of laws which effectively ushered in democratic ideals (frr. 4a–c). Among his reforms were the *seisachtheia*, or shaking off of debts, the introduction of a representative council of 400 Athenian citizens, the abolition of debt slavery, a grant of amnesty for all those who had left Athens on account of excessive debt, and other measures (see *Athenaion Politeia*, 5–12). These laws were apparently meant to replace the stern measures contained in the code of Draco, the earlier and harsher legislator of Athens. After putting the reforms into place, Solon was said to have left Athens for ten years.

Although Solon clearly opened a door to representative government for the people, the reforms were not entirely effective and ultimately Athens slipped back into a modified tyranny which it would not escape until the late 6th century BC. In spite of this, Solon's name became linked with democracy and remains so to this day. The Attic orators of the 4th century BC (Demosthenes and others) commonly invoked Solon as the founder of democracy, and the mid-4th-century BC text referred to as the *Constitution of the Athenians* (*Athenaion Politeia*) attributes virtually all democratic reform to either Solon or Cleisthenes. Solon was a reform-minded conservative who tried to address the concerns of the people while at the same time maintaining a firm power base for the aristocracy.

So little of Solon's poetry has survived (about 300 lines out of a total output of well over 5000) that it is difficult to draw many firm conclusions about it. His poetry treats various themes, including politics (fr. 4), the dangers of excessive wealth (fr. 13), the notion that there are seven ages to a man's life (fr. 27), and even food (frr. 38–40). He is the first Athenian poet, indeed the first firmly established figure in Athenian history, although he did not write in the Athenian dialect. This poet of Archaic Athens wrote on a variety of topics central to the life of the individual and the polis. In doing so, he foreshadowed the flowering of the Classical period.

Many of the themes which Solon addressed became standard in later literature, particularly in Athenian tragedy. Specifically, fr. 13 contains, among other themes, the notions that one must guard against excess and that one must take care not to offend the gods by obtaining wealth unjustly lest they exact vengeance. This paradigm, excessive wealth (*koros*), leading to an act of overweening pride (*hybris*), which brings on justice (*dike*) and ultimately divine retribution (*ate*), is at the core of much Greek tragedy of the 5th century BC. Solon clearly saw Zeus as the driving force of the paradigm. He is not only the principal deity, but a guide to correct action. One can easily imagine that the early 5th-century BC tragedian Aeschylus had read Solon's poetry. In another poem (fr. 5) Solon spoke of the need to find the middle way, much as Aeschylus did in the final play of the Oresteia, *Eumenides*.

The wisdom for which Solon's poetry and political acumen made him famous is epitomized in his meeting with the Lydian king Croesus (Herodotus, 1. 29–33). After showing Solon his vast wealth, Croesus asked Solon who he believed was the happiest man. Solon replied that Tellus the Athenian was happiest because he had a good family and had died defending his country. Croesus asked who would be second, and Solon chose Cleobis and Biton. These two Argive heroes had yoked themselves to an oxcart and pulled their mother, a priestess, to a festival of Hera. On entering the temple of Hera, the mother prayed that her sons should receive the greatest gift the gods could give. She emerged to find the two lying on the temple steps, dead. Solon then told Croesus to count no man happy until he has passed the limit of his life, i.e. one cannot judge that a man's life has been happy until he has lived all of it. The story and its attendant proverb, often misinterpreted as though the Greeks thought death a good thing, demonstrate the insight for which Solon was famous.

Although Solon's poetry has received some scholarly attention, discussion of it generally focuses not on its technical innovation but on the thoughts that it contains. Through the ages Solon has been cited principally as a statesman, a wise legisla-

tor, and one of the seven sages. His most important legacy has been the ideals of democracy.

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See also Democracy

Biography

Born *c.*640 BC, Solon was an Athenian aristocrat who became active in politics. He was renowned for his wisdom and enacted a number of reforms to address the concerns of the people. He also wrote poetry of which little survives. He died *c.*560 BC.

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Song

The corpus of Hellenic song includes a broad range of repertories for amateurs and professionals that reflect the ubiquity of singing in Greek society from antiquity to the present day. This diversity reflects not only processes of stylistic development, but also the varied ways in which vocal music has served to punctuate nearly every aspect of public and private life. The study of repertories antedating the 19th century, however, is limited by the historical tendency of Greek singers to rely heavily on oral methods of transmission. Despite the existence of ancient Greek musical notation, for example, we possess only an unrepresentative handful of melodies from antiquity. One consequence of these losses is that songs originally viewed as a union of verse, melody, and, in the case of choral lyric, dance are today primarily viewed from a literary perspective. Yet even if the pitches for ancient songs are lost, their rhythm may be partially recovered from the study of their quantitative metres, elements of which have been shown to survive in modern Greek folk music.

The written history of Greek song begins with the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, two relics of oral traditions of sung epic which mention the performance of such forms of vocal music as paeans, laments, and wedding songs. While certain repertories continued to be transmitted entirely through oral means, the texts of others gradually became subject to literary transmission. The inclusion of singing competitions in the festivals sponsored by Greek cities – e.g. the funeral games held in Chalcis around 700, at which Hesiod won a prize for song – was evidently a major stimulant to the development of cultivated forms of song, as was cultural interchange between the Aegean and the mainland. An important link between the latter was Terpander (700–650 BC), who left his native Lesbos to embark on a career as a prize-winning poet and *kithara* (lyre) player that has earned him general recognition as the father of lyric poetry. Such cultural interchange, however, did not prevent the emergence of distinct regional schools of composition during the 7th century BC. Lesbos gave birth to the Aeolian lyric of Sappho and Alcaeus, both of whom wrote solo songs of modest scale intended for private or semi-private performance. On the mainland the remarkable mix of religious and state ceremonial with competition and mass entertainment featured at such festivals as the Carneia in Sparta and the Pythian games in Delphi promoted the growth of increasingly complex forms of solo and choral lyric, most of which were accompanied on either the *kithara* or the *aulos*. Particularly significant was the emergence in Corinth around the year 600 BC of the dithyramb, a choral dance to Dionysus with *aulos* accompaniment that later played a seminal role in the development of tragedy.

Over the course of the 6th century BC poet-musicians received increasing levels of state support, particularly from dictators seeking to heighten the prestige of their city states. Athens, for example, witnessed the enlargement of the Panathenaia and Dionysia festivals, followed later by the Pisistratids' sponsorship of such composers as Lasus, Simonides, and Alcaeus. The succeeding generations of 5th-century BC Athenians, which included Pindar and the great tragedians, brought song to its apogee as an integrated art form encompassing verse, music, and dance. Soon, however, the old categories regulating the form and content of compositions began to break down under the strain of constant innovation and ever-increasing technical virtuosity. Consequently, music and poetry drifted apart not only from the civic and religious contexts that had raised them to prominence, but also from each other, relegating the poets and musicians of later antiquity to separate professional fields.

Harsh criticism of the allegedly decadent state of song began during the 5th century BC with Plato and continued throughout the Hellenistic and Roman periods. This critique was eventually adopted by the Fathers of the Christian Church, who broadened it to include funeral laments and licentious wedding songs. In place of the music of pagan society, St Basil, St John Chrysostom, and other Church Fathers offered psalms, the singing of which was initially popularized by Egyptian desert monks. The rapid development in cathedrals and urban monastic communities of melodically interesting psalmody and hymnography laid the foundations for Byzantine chant and other regional traditions of Christian liturgical song.

With the exception of a few acclamations, notated sources for medieval Greek secular music are completely absent, leaving unknown the extent to which ancient song survived among either the common people or the Classically educated elite of Byzantium. Manuscripts and theoretical treatises of Byzantine chant, however, bear witness to the introduction of new organizational principles for the composition of vocal music. Reflecting the effects of both organic growth and external influence, these innovations included accentual metre – the general adoption of which was stimulated by changes in the pronunciation of the Greek language – and the system of eight modes (*octoechos*) attributed to St John of Damascus. The broader significance of these developments is shown by the presence of cognate modal and metrical structures in Greek folk songs. Indeed, despite the linguistic gulf between the patristic Greek of liturgical chant and the vernacular, Greek sacred and secular song have maintained strong musical and textual affinities to the present day.

The oldest surviving vernacular song texts are the *akritika*, a repertory describing the exploits of the Byzantine empire's border guards during the 9th to the 11th centuries, which are transmitted in 14th-century manuscripts. Four Athonite codices of liturgical music ranging in date from 1562 to the beginning of the 18th century contain the first songs preserved with their melodies, which are notated in Byzantine neumes. Probably transcribed by Cretan monks, these works include both folk and art songs. The fact that one of the latter – the single Greek song of MS Iviron 1189, held on Mount Athos – was recorded alongside two Persian compositions is indicative of the extensive participation of Greeks in the musical cultures of their rulers and neighbours during the centuries of their domination by Ottomans and Italians. One result of this involvement, which extended into the early decades of the 20th century, was the creation of such hybrid repertories of cultivated Greek song as the *kantades* (serenades for male chorus) of the Ionian islands and the *amanedes* (songs with an "aman" refrain) of Constantinople and Smyrna.

Since the 19th century the systematic study of the received tradition of Hellenic folk song as practised from Corsica to Asia Minor has been taken up by scholars employing diverse methodologies. Philologists, musicologists, and ethnographers have discerned in the metres, subjects, and melodies of Greek folk songs a degree of continuity with antiquity and Byzantium, as well as innovation and close relationships with other cultures. Some have grouped the repertories by textual content and social function into such broad categories as life-cycle songs (lullabies, wedding songs, laments, etc.), narrative ballads (*paraloges*), historical songs (e.g. *klephtika* praising the bands of outlaws who resisted Turkish authority), songs for the seasons and Christian feasts of the year (*kalanda*), and dances. Meanwhile, Chianis and others studying the regional traditions of song from a more strictly formal perspective have observed certain shared characteristics differentiating, for example, the repertories of the islands and Asia Minor from those of the Greek mainland. In particular, Baud-Bovy has noted that these families differ according to (*a*) poetic metre and strophic form; (*b*) the presence or absence of rhyme, the former being more typical of island songs; (*c*) their preference for improvised poetry (as in the *mantinades* – improvised couplets – of Crete) or melodic ornamentation; (*d*) their dance rhythms; and (*e*) the composition of their instrumental ensembles. Also of signal importance are the melodic and scalar (diatonic, pentatonic, and chromatic) patterns employed in each area and their degree of kinship to the modes (*echoi*) of Byzantine chant or the *maqams* of Ottoman and Arabo-Persian music.

Although the foundation of the modern state of Greece and the subsequent administrative reforms of the Ottoman empire provided many of the necessary preconditions for the recording and preservation of Greek folk songs, they also fostered the growth of the popular repertories that have progressively replaced them. Disseminated at first through public performances and printed musical scores in western and Byzantine notation, these urban songs became ubiquitous in the 20th century through gramophone records and electronic broadcasting. The prosperous Phanariots of Constantinople and the residents of the Ionian islands preceded the cities of the new Greek kingdom in their development of distinct popular repertories. Eventually the influence of Ionian *kantades* and performances of Italian music by visiting opera troupes contributed to the emergence of a highly westernized form of Athenian song in the last decades of the 19th century. Among the Greek bourgeoisie, popular songs composed in western styles remained in the ascendant until the onset of World War II. Much of this music was intended for the stage, including revues (*epitheoreseis*) dominated by Greek adaptations of foreign arias and popular songs. The arias of Greek operas enjoyed a period of popularity during the early years of the 20th century, before they were overshadowed by the songs featured in the phenomenally successful operettas of such composers as Nikos Hatziapostolou (1879–1941) and Theophrastos I. Sakellarides (1833–1950). Meanwhile, non-dramatic songs employing varying mixes of native and western musical elements continued to be composed, notable among which were the songs of Attik (pseudonym of Kleon Triantaphyllou, 1895–1944), Michalis Souyioul (1906–58), and Kostas Yiannides (pseudonym of Yannis Konstantinides, 1903–84).

The rise of westernized popular song in late 19th-century Athens was complemented by the emergence of orientalizing Greek repertories in the cities of the Ottoman empire. Exported to the west through the harmonizations of Bourgault-Ducoudray and Ravel, these songs were performed for middle-class Greeks along with Turkish and western popular music in cafés that often featured female vocalists and dancers, many of whom were Jews or Gypsies. After musicians from Smyrna founded the first so-called *Café aman* in Athens in 1873, similar establishments began to appear in Greek

communities around the world, provoking denunciations from those who rejected the oriental style on aesthetic and patriotic grounds. The forced migration of Asia Minor's Greek population to the Hellenic kingdom in 1922 brought the essentially bourgeois music of the *Café aman* into close contact with a repertory viewed with even greater distaste by westernized Greeks, namely the *rebetika* of the urban underclass. Frequently compared to the American blues, these songs of hardship and alienation were originally created in prisons and the hashish dens (*tekedes*) of Piraeus. Typically accompanied on such fretted stringed instruments as the bouzouki and the baglamas, *rebetika* featured an evolving mix of modes (*dromoi*) related to Turkish *maqams*, western tertian harmony, and dance rhythms (e.g. the *zeimbekiko* in 9/4 and the *tsifteteli* in 4/4) shared with the songs of the *Café aman*. A more general convergence with the oriental style of the refugees during the 1930s gradually brought *rebetika* greater social respectability while also subjecting their future development to commercial pressures. Vassilis Tsitsanis (1915–84) then led a new generation of musicians who oversaw the transformation of *rebetika* during the 1950s and early 1960s into *laika* (popular song), a hybrid style characterized by technical virtuosity, generally lighter texts, and eclectic borrowing from foreign popular musics, including those of Latin America and India.

Western-oriented Athenian popular song also underwent major changes after World War II. Although ephemeral adaptations of the latest American hits were never lacking, during the 1950s there emerged the distinctly Greek phenomenon of "popular art-song" as a group of composers, many of them classically trained, began to set texts of often outstanding literary merit in a finely crafted popular musical idiom. Pioneered by Manos Hadjidakis in songs and works for the stage transcending the boundaries that existed in Greece between "high" and "low" culture, the style was firmly established by Mikis Theodorakis with a setting of selections from the *Epitaphios* of the poet Yiannis Ritsos in 1958. Over the next two decades Theodorakis, who was grounded ideologically in socialist realism and musically in Byzantine and folk music, and Hadjidakis, who eschewed political involvement, were joined in their efforts to expand the artistic horizons of Greek popular song by, among others, Stavros Xarhakos, Yannis Markopoulos, Christodoulos Halaris, and Thanos Mikroutsikos. In addition to individual songs, these composers produced ambitious song cycles and cantatas setting poetry by Kornaros, Elytis, Kampanellis, Gatsos, Neruda, and Seferis for ensembles often incorporating the bouzouki and other Greek instruments. A refreshing alternative to the increasing historical and political self-consciousness of "popular art-song" was provided by Dionysios Savvopoulos in his relatively unpretentious songs of social critique.

The lifting of censorship in Greece that followed the collapse of the colonels' dictatorship in 1974 temporarily strengthened the links between singing and left-wing politics as the songs of communist guerrillas from the 1940s, the works of Theodorakis, and other suppressed repertories were revived. Nevertheless, within a few years it became apparent that neither leftist ideology nor the return to folk music advocated by Markopoulos could succeed in rejuvenating "popular art song". As Theodorakis, Hadjidakis, and Mikroutsikos turned to focus on the composition of art music, the leadership of Greek popular music passed to Giorgos Dalaras and other celebrity performers. Radical stylistic diversification ensued over the last two decades of the 20th century as foreign influence competed with renewed interest in traditional forms, giving rise to a fragmented culture of song in which orientalism and Europop coexisted with authenticist revivals of folk music and *rebetika*.

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See also Dance, Dithyramb, Opera, Poetry (Lyric), Tragedy

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Sophists

"Sophist" is a general name given to a variety of (mainly rhetorical) intellectuals and virtuosos who appeared in Athens in the mid- to late 5th century BC. It was a term of opprobrium that, while recognizing that these men were all competent at what they did, carried with it many of the connotations of the American phrase "wise guy" when used by such contemporaries as Aristophanes and Plato. Most Sophists that are known about were not Athenians, but flocked there because there was a market for what they had to teach, public speaking skills that would be effective in political life and in litigation. As there is very little extant that might enlighten modern scholars, there have been many efforts to reconstruct their teachings, particularly since G.W.F. Hegel's *Lectures*. Fragments of and *testimonia* relating to the Sophists were included in Hermann Diels's *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker* (1896, with many subsequent editions), which remains the standard reference in spite of long-recognized problems with the texts he published.

Among the most famous are Protagoras of Abdera (*c.*490–420 BC?), Gorgias of Leontini (483–*c.*400 BC), Prodicus of Cos (*c.*470–399 BC), and Hippias of Elis (b. 433 BC?). Protagoras and Gorgias were both active in official capacities, the former as the author of the laws governing the Athenian colony at Thurii (in 443 BC) and the latter as ambassador to Athens in 427 BC. Gorgias is perhaps the best known, since some works attributed to him have survived in their entirety, e.g. the famous *Encomium to Helen*. Only a few lines of alleged quotations of Protagoras are extant. Prodicus and Hippias were polymaths, with interests extending from natural science and mathematics to rhetoric and semantics. Others often named as "Sophists" include Thrasymachus, Antiphon of Rhamnos, and the Athenian aristocrat Critias, a prominent leader of the antidemocratic faction active in Athens in the last decade of the 5th century.

In later antiquity, particularly in the setting of the New Academy, the Sophists were admired, along with Isocrates, for their eloquence and their efforts to systematize the teaching of rhetoric. Since then, the Sophists have been consistently placed on the margins of the philosophical establishment. Their apparent challenges to traditional values and their divergences from intellectual orthodoxy attracted the notice of later philosophers similarly situated; and so their champions tend to be the dissenters: Denis Diderot and Friedrich Nietzsche, for instance. In recent years there has been a resurgence of interest in their ideas, one doomed, perhaps, by the sparse record left to us and by the variety of ideas the Sophists expounded.

THOMAS M. CONLEY

See also Rhetoric, Second Sophistic

Summary

A term of abuse, the word "sophist" was applied to an intellectual circle that appeared in Athens in the 5th century BC. Most were not native Athenians. They set themselves up as teachers of rhetoric. In later antiquity they were admired for their eloquence. The term was revived by the movement known as the Second Sophistic.

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Sophocles *c.*496–406 BC

Tragedian

Sophocles was born at Colonus near Athens in about 496 BC and died in 406 BC. Living through the glorious Persian Wars, and the increasingly inglorious Peloponnesian War, he was spared the sight of Athens' final defeat at the hands of Sparta, when it had to dismantle its walls in 404 BC.

He was a model citizen. He acted as a treasurer in the league Athens organized against Persia. He studied dance and was said to have danced round the trophy after the battle of Salamis. He also served as a general dealing with the Samian revolt in 441. After the Sicilian defeat he was one of the *probouloi* (Committee of Ten) elected to deal with the disaster.

Like Aeschylus, Sophocles acted in his own plays. In extreme old age he is said to have been sued by a son, who claimed he was no longer capable of managing his own affairs. He read lines from the recently written *Oedipus at Colonus*, and was acquitted. After his death Sophocles became a sacred hero like Oedipus, and was worshipped as *Dexion*, roughly translatable as "he who receives", because of his association with the cult of Asclepius, which he had helped to introduce into Athens after the plague (430–426 BC).

In Aeschylus, god can confront god and major questions are raised about conflicting rights. Sophocles shows man confronting god and a world he claims can never be knowable. As one fragment says (871 Radt), the fate given to us by god is as changeable as the moon; "it never can maintain one shape for two nights, ... just when it is at its fullest and most beautiful, it flows away and ebbs to nothing." All that can be known is something transient, like the moon in one of its phases. In spite of this, man struggles nobly. Truth, loyalty, and commitment to one's chosen path, all characterize the Sophoclean hero

Sophocles: scene from a modern production of *Antigone*, with Amy Greenfield in the title role

and condemn him or her to isolation. But often in his isolation he redeems society. For the Sophoclean hero, the love of the impossible proves to be a redemptive love.

Sophocles is said never to have taken third place when he competed. He wrote about 123 plays, more than the other two playwrights, and is said to have won 24 times (18 at the City Dionysia). Aristotle tells us he added one actor to the two that existed; this created additional possibilities for interchange and conflict. Aristotle tells us he increased the chorus from 12 to 15. He also used scene painting to enhance the visual background. He abandoned the practice of the connected trilogy, allowing him to highlight a major character, in contrast to Aeschylus' practice which allowed the development of a concept such as the workings of divine justice over several generations.

Of the plays that survive, only the *Philoctetes* and the *Oedipus at Colonus* can be dated with certainty, and the *Antigone* approximately, with reference to the Samian war. The following chronology is tentatively suggested: *Antigone* 443 or 441 BC; *Ajax* *c.*442 BC; *Trachiniae* *c.*432 BC; *Oedipus Tyrannus* *c.*427 BC; *Electra* *c.*413 BC; *Philoctetes* 409 BC; *Oedipus at Colonus* 401 BC (posthumous). There are many fragments, including a large part of the satyr play, the *Ichneutae*.

Antigone, *Oedipus Tyrannus*, and *Oedipus at Colonus* are often called "the Theban Cycle", but do not make up a trilogy, performed on one day. Instead they span Sophocles' life, and seem to reflect his own developing values. The *Antigone* shows a type of idealism which implies a belief in higher values to the point of sacrificing one's life to achieve them; Antigone opposes civic authority. G.W.F. Hegel said the *Antigone* was "one of the most sublime and in every respect the most consummate work of art human effort ever produced". The *Oedipus Tyrannus* seems to justify the struggle itself, as a type of self-affirmation, rather than the pursuit of an ideal. The last play shows sparks of the earlier struggle, but there is a final capitulation to death, prized as an end to suffering (*Oedipus at Colonus*, 1777–79).

Aristotle sees Sophocles as the greatest of the ancient playwrights and uses his *Oedipus Tyrannus* as a model of the way

a play should be written. Sophocles is a master of character, and of the language which creates character. He steers a path between the grandeur of Aeschylus and the witty colloquialisms of Euripides. He is also skilled at plots, and his *Oedipus Tyrannus* has been called the greatest detective story ever written. His lyrics are superb, and his characters often sing at dramatically important moments. He varies his rhythms and uses words percussively. Sophocles is also master of symbols and imagery, such as the use of blindness in *Oedipus Tyrannus*: when Oedipus can see he is blind, and when he is blind he can see. The bare island of Lemnos is also a wonderful symbol for the craggy hero Philoctetes. Sophocles has brilliant descriptions of nature, such as the ode to fair Colonus, a land of fine horses where the nightingale sings her melodious songs in the wine-dark ivy and sacred foliage (*Oedipus at Colonus*, 668–719).

The City Dionysia in 386 BC instituted a revival of the great plays of the 5th century. Around 330 BC the Athenian politician Lycurgus prescribed that copies of the texts of the plays should be deposited in the official archives, and that future performances should conform to these texts. The purpose was to safeguard the plays from adaptation and interpolation by actors and producers, of a kind to which they had already become vulnerable. These copies were lent to the Egyptian king Ptolemy I Euergetes, and will have passed into the library at Alexandria, to form the basis of the critical edition made by the librarian Aristophanes of Byzantium (*c.*257–180 BC). Aristophanes divided the lyrics (previously written as continuous prose) into metrical cola. He also added brief introductory comments, probably making use of Aristotle's lost *Didaskaliai* (production records). Part of these comments survive in the *hypothesis* (plot summaries) which were prefixed to the plays by later scholars in the Roman period. The composition of commentaries (*scholia*) on the plays was began in the Hellenistic period (by scholars such as Aristarchus of Samothrace, ?217–145 BC, and Didymus, ?80–10 BC). Further scholia were added in the Byzantine period.

The Theban plays were also popular in Rome: Accius (170–?86 BC) wrote a *Thebais* and *Antigona* (besides *Philocteta*) and Seneca (?AD 1–65) a particularly bloody *Oedipus Tyrannus*. The selection of the seven plays that survive was probably made in the 2nd or 3rd century AD and scholia were included for school use. After parchment replaced papyrus (around the 4th century AD), the unselected plays gradually passed out of use. After the Athenian Academy was closed in 529, the Classical texts disappeared from sight for several centuries and did not re-emerge until the revival of learning in the middle Byzantine period, when they were copied from the uncial into the new cursive script. Among the scholars who wrote commentaries and handled the texts of the plays the most important are Thomas Magister (late 13th century), Manuel Moschopulus (*fl.*1300), and Demetrios Triklinios (early 14th century). Triklinios brought a new metrical awareness to the amendment of the text, in particular the lyrics. Sophocles' *Oedipus Tyrannus* was one of the Byzantine triad along with *Electra* and *Ajax*. The oldest manuscript of Sophocles' plays is L (in the Laurentian library in Florence), written in the 10th century, and there are many others from the 12th to the 15th centuries. The first printed edition was published by Aldus Manutius in Venice in 1502.

There was a famous revival of *Oedipus Tyrannus* in 1585 in Palladio's Teatro Olimpico at Vicenza. The music for the odes was by Andrea Gabrieli. There were many European revivals and reworkings for the next 400 years. Notable ones were by Pierre Corneille, Voltaire, John Dryden, Heinrich von Kleist, Friedrich von Schiller, Hugo von Hofmannsthal, André Gide, Jean Cocteau, and others, to say nothing of how Sigmund Freud used both Oedipus and Electra to represent universal drives. *Antigone* is often used to express a country's political unrest.

Constant revivals are given in Greece. *Ajax* has been performed since 1868, with notable productions in 1961 (directed by Takis Mouzenidis, with music by Mikis Theodorakis) and 1983 (directed by Nikos Charalambous); *Trachiniae* in 1960, 1970 (directed by Alexis Solomos), and 1984 (Charalambous). *Antigone* has always been popular and performances date from 1863, with an outstanding one in 1965 (directed by G. Sevastikoglou, with Anna Synodiou as Antigone), 1990 (M. Volanikis, with music by Mikis Theodorakis), and 1994 (Theodoros Terzopoulos). *Oedipus Tyrannus* was performed in Greece from 1878, with excellent productions in 1951 (with Alexis Minotis directing and playing Oedipus), 1958 (also at the Théâtre des Nations with Alexis Minotis and Katina Paxinou as Jocasta), 1969 (directed by Karolos Koun), 1978 (directed by Robert Mitchell, costumes and masks by Dionisios Photopoulos), and 1984 (Koun, sets and costumes by Photopoulos).

Electra is considered a great vehicle for acting and has been done in Greece since 1899, with exceptional performances in 1959 (directed by Dimitris Rondiris, with Aspasia Papathanasiou as Electra), 1960 (with Katina Paxinou as Electra), 1963 at Delphi (Rondiris / Papathanasiou), 1978 (Rondiris, music by D. Metropoulos), 1980, and 1984 (Koun / Photopoulos). *Philoctetes* has been done since 1818, and notably in 1967 (with Alexis Minotis directing and playing Philoctetes), 1988 (two, one with Christos Tsakas directing and starring with sets by Yannis Tsatouchis, the other with Giorgos Lazanis directing and starring with sets and costumes by Photopoulos). *Oedipus at Colonus* has been done since 1907, with an excellent performance in 1975 (dir. Alexis Minotis, also starring) and 1986 (dir. Alexis Minotis, who starred, with sets by Yannis Tsarouchis and costumes by Dion Photopoulos).

There have been several films based on *Electra*, namely Ted Zarpas's in 1962, and *Electre* by Jean-Louis Ughetto in 1972, and a revolutionary *Elektreia* by Miklós Jancsó in 1975. There was also an *Oedipus Rex* by Tyrone Guthrie in 1957 with a screenplay adapted from W.B. Yeats, which emphasized the monumental in its use of masks, a version by Philip Saville in 1968 (*Oedipus the King*) which was more naturalistic in its approach, and an adaptation by Pier Paolo Pasolini (*Edipo Re*) in 1967. George Tzavellas made a politically charged film on *Antigone* starring Irene Papas in 1961, and Liliana Cavani's *I Cannibali* (1970) was also based on this play. Thodoros Angelopoulos's *The Travelling Players* wove its political theme around the Electra legend.

MARIANNE MCDONALD

See also Tragedy

Biography

Born at Colonus near Athens *c.*496 BC, Sophocles played his part in public life. He was a treasurer of the Delian League, a *strategos* (general) at the time of the Samian revolt, and a *proboulos* (member of the Committee of Ten) after the failure of the Sicilian expedition. He wrote more than 120 plays and won at least 20 victories, the first in 468 BC. He died in 406 BC. After his death he was revered as a hero.

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Souli

Region of northwest Greece

Souli is the name of a region comprising a group of inland Epirot villages, located between Ioannina and Parga (on the Adriatic coast). It has stood alongside such places as Mani in the Peloponnese and Sfakia in Crete as a territory symbolic of bravery, freedom, and, particularly, resistance against foreign rule. The name "Souli", while technically that of the principal village of the region, is used more generally for the territory encompassed by the group of villages.

Like Mani and Sfakia, Souli is situated in rugged terrain, which provides a natural barrier from outside invaders. In the Cassiopian mountain range, the villages of Souli perch on mountain crags and beside the gorge formed by the Glykys river. Surrounded by rocky peaks, ravines, and precipitous drops, Souli's remote location has historically allowed for a large degree of independence and autonomy for its inhabitants. Vast panoramas from many strategic locations make it possible to spot anyone approaching from afar, while the distinctive

ethnic background of the Souliots has provided a cultural isolation that parallels their geographic seclusion.

The origins of the Souliots are debated. Within the Souliot population, one tradition maintains that the Souliots are Orthodox Christians of Albanian ethnic descent who fled to their remote, rocky district to avoid Turkish domination following the death of Skanderbeg (Iskander Bey) in 1468. Others claim that the territory was founded in the early 17th century by shepherds looking for both unclaimed pasturage for their animals and relief from Ottoman rule.

By all accounts it seems clear that by the mid-17th century the territory was made up of four core villages, known as the *tetrahorion*: Kako Souli, Avarikos, Samoniva, and Kiafa. By 1700 seven more villages in the region had been founded; they comprised the *heptachorion*, and were situated further down the mountain and thus served as defensive outposts for the *tetrachorion*. In times of war the inhabitants of the lower villages sent their families up to the four villages above, and then defensively staked out the entrance to the narrow ravines that gave access to Souli. The 11 villages together comprised a "warrior confederacy", which came at the peak of its powers to control more than 60 villages on the plains below.

The villages of Souli thus managed to exist as a functionally independent island surrounded by a vast sea of Ottoman-held territory. Their primary, if not sole, territorial allegiance was to Souli itself, and they seem to have had little more loyalty or sympathy towards the Greek Orthodox peoples under Ottoman rule than they had to the Ottoman Turks themselves. Their inaccessibility allowed them to remain clear of the administrative, fiscal, and cultural reach of Ottoman rule. Their legal system was tribal, and all disputes were adjudicated by tribal headmen on the basis of traditional precedent.

For close to two centuries the Souliots remained largely untouched by any outside ruling influence. In 1790, however, Ali Pasha of Ioannina began a series of campaigns against them, with the intention of bringing them and their territories fully under his control. His initial attempt, in the spring of that year, was a disaster, and the following year he recruited the assistance of the neighbouring pasha of Berat, Ibrahim, to whose daughter his second son Veli was married. In July of 1792 Ali sent a message to two Souliot leaders, George Botsaris and Kitsos Tzavellas, ostensibly to gain their favour, but in reality to lure them into a trap. In the ensuing battle Ali managed to take Tzavellas's son hostage, but suffered great losses when he again attacked Souli.

Not until more than ten years later was Ali finally able to subdue the Souliots, and even then he did so only because of the betrayal of the Souliots by Botsaris, and not before losing many men over the course of a long-drawn-out battle with Souli, during which its residents were virtually starved by a blockade imposed on them by Ali's troops. In the course of the final rounds of battle between Ali's troops and the Souliots, the Souliot women inscribed themselves in folk memory through several acts of tremendous bravery and martyrdom. In the most famous instance, 50 women, who had been cut off from their men, and were certain to be captured by Ali's forces, threw their children off the edge of a cliff, then danced in turn over the precipice after them. Another group of women drowned themselves, along with their babies, in the White river on the way to seeking asylum in Parga, while a third group of women blew themselves up. All preferred death to falling into the hands of Ali Pasha, and personified Greek folklore's depiction of the Souliots as a fiercely independent people who preferred death to subjugation to any external power.

K.E. FLEMING

Summary

A group of villages in Epirus, Souli achieved a degree of independence during the Tourkokratia. Ali Pasha of Ioannina set out to subdue them in 1790 but it took him more than ten years to do so. The women of Souli are commemorated in folklore and song for their many acts of bravery and martyrdom.

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South Africa

The 80,000-strong Greek community in South Africa today has a long history. According to existing South African archival records, there were at least 11 known Greeks in the country in 1860 and more than 30 in the early 1800s. At the turn of the 20th century Cape Town attracted growing numbers of Greeks, many of them sailors as well as tobacconists, small entrepreneurs, and adventurers. By 1905 there were over 1500 Greeks throughout South Africa. Greeks fought on both sides during the Anglo-Boer War (1899–1902). A large number of the pioneers in the Transvaal Province became miners and most of them died of miners' phthisis, a deadly progressive disease. The numbers of Greeks grew after World War II and reached a peak of over 120,000 in the mid-1970s.

Due to the "Liberal White Policy" of the apartheid regime of the National Party (which came to power in 1948) many Greek artisans and professionals arrived in the country with one-year contracts. Most of them established themselves later as entrepreneurs and contributed greatly to the economic development of the country. They brought with them individual and collective skills and entrepreneurial spirit of a high calibre. The crisis of the apartheid government and the Soweto riots of 1976 persuaded several sections of the Greek population to return to Greece, where they have established well-organized associations of a philanthropic nature.

Initially they started as small traders in the services and distributive spheres (fruiteries, cafes, general shops, etc.). There were also several small pioneer manufacturers of tobacco, mineral water, confectionaries, bricks, etc. Few were active in agriculture and farming. Many of their businesses were destroyed physically by large hostile crowds in the anti-Greek riots of 1917. These were caused by faction fighting among sections of the community over the attitudes of

Venizelos and King Constantine towards World War I. Political passions ripped the community apart during that period.

The development of the productive forces in the country was instrumental in shaping an ever-increasing upward mobility among Greeks in South Africa. Thus there was a notable transformation of the Greek entrepreneurs from a predominantly service and distribution mould into the broader spheres of the South African economy (building development, shipping, mining, high technology, financial services, etc.). Greeks still have wide control of the restaurant and leisure sectors, many Greek-led companies have entered the Johannesburg Stock Exchange, and it has been calculated that Greek-owned businesses produce over 8 per cent of the country's GDP. Over 200,000 people of all colours and creeds are directly employed by Greek-owned enterprises. There are several Greek and Cypriot banks operating in South Africa, the oldest being the South African Bank of Athens which was established in 1947. Intellectually, the Greek community in South Africa has produced a wide range of academics, researchers, and professionals in all spheres of society, many of them of international standing and reputation.

There is also a surprisingly rich tapestry of Greek culture in South Africa with large numbers of dance groups, theatre groups, musicians, poets, novelists, and the like.

In terms of communal organization, the Greek community associations (*koinotites*) are the stalwarts of development. The first was established in Cape Town in 1898 and the second in Johannesburg in 1908 following the amalgamation of several benevolent and nationalist groups. The Federation of Hellenic Communities and Associations of South Africa was established in 1975. Today there are 20 Greek communities in South Africa whose main aims are the preservation of the Greek language, Orthodox religion, culture, and traditions. There are also 14 brotherhoods and associations of people from different geographical areas, the first of which, for Ithacans, was established in 1906.

Greek education has a long history of struggle in South Africa. Today Greek language, tradition, culture, and history are taught in all community schools throughout the country and also in the South African Hellenic Educational and Technical Institute (SAHETI), which is a private school and one of the best in the country. The community school follows the programmes of the Greek National Education Ministry, which provides the bulk of the teachers.

The Greek press has played an important role in the social and national life of Greeks in South Africa. The first newspaper (*Apokalypsis*, later *Nea Hellas*) was established in 1902 in Johannesburg. *Afrikanis* was established in 1918 and is called today *Hellenikos Typos* (*Greek Press*, incorporating *Nea Hellas*).

Although the first pioneers were mainly from Ithaca and the Peloponnese, the composition today has changed radically. There are large numbers of Greek Cypriots as well as people from throughout Greece living and working in South Africa. Historically South Africa's Greek population has played an active part in all Greece's national struggles. A large number of Greek pioneers fought in the Balkan Wars, World War I, and World War II. Millions of dollars have been collected and sent to Greece and Cyprus during difficult times, especially the 1974 Cypriot tragedy.

EVANGELOS MANTZARIS

See also Diaspora

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Soutsos, Mikhail 1778–1864

The last prince of Moldavia

Soutsos was a descendant of one of the most famous families of Epirus with a long history reaching back at least to the late Byzantine period. The family was first recorded as being settled in Constantinople well before the fall of Constantinople to the Ottomans in 1453. However, after the fall of Constantinople, the Soutsos family among many others was obliged to leave Constantinople and return to Epirus. Yet, following the sultan's decree of 1470, the family once more made its way back to Constantinople. The Soutsos family was to produce a variety of celebrated figures who played an active role or offered their services either to the Orthodox patriarchate or to the Sublime Porte from the 17th century on. Other members of the family took on high office or became distinguished as diplomats, rulers, princes, military officers, or scholars.

Mikhail Soutsos was the grandson of M. Soutsos (b. 1730) who settled in the principalities across the Danube and served as ruler of Wallachia in the years 1783–86 and later as prince of Moldavia in the period 1793–95. Soutsos was born in 1778 at his grandfather's court in Wallachia where he was educated by private tutors. Having received the necessary qualifications and theoretical knowledge, he proceeded to put them into practice by undertaking important political and administrative duties and finally by presiding over the political department of the court. There he witnessed the beheading of his uncle, A.

Soutsos (1807), as well as the execution of the son of the grand interpreter of the princely court. The tragic deaths of these two eminent officers marked a turning point in Soutsos's political career. Almost immediately he succeeded them in their high positions and showed himself to be a resourceful and prudent leader in public affairs and diplomacy. In the meantime, he was appointed as the Wallachian prince's representative to Constantinople. In 1815 he was promoted to the office of the grand ambassador to the Sublime Porte, which he held until 1818 when he entered the advisory body of the sultan Mahmut II. In 1819 he accepted the throne of Moldavia and retained it till the outbreak of the Greek War of Independence (1821).

Soutsos made an enormous contribution to the inception, progression, expansion, and final fulfilment of the Greek cause, which he supported financially and morally. Not only did he encourage it but he supported it by whatever means were available to him. Soutsos, as prince of Moldavia, played an active role in and encouraged the sacred mission of the Society of Friends (*Philiki Hetaireia*), namely the liberation of Greece from the Ottoman yoke. For the attainment of that goal Soutsos was willing to sacrifice his own life and not only did he adopt the principal ideas of the Society of Friends but also he jeopardized his throne and his wealth. Soutsos joined the society in 1820, in the wake of Alexander Ypsilantis's revolutionary movement in Moldo-Wallachia and his subsequent triumphal entry into Jassy that signalled the beginning of the revolution. Since Moldavia occupied a strategic location, it was well suited to carry the seeds of the revolution which erupted there. Moreover, Soutsos could mobilize a significant military force consisting of Serbs, Vlachs, and Bulgars to assist Ypsilantis. It should be noted that, in addition to being a member of the Society of Friends and prince of Moldavia, Soutsos enjoyed the high esteem and support of the sultan.

Soutsos's moral contribution to the Greek revolution is incalculable. He followed the example of Constantine Ypsilantis, the prince of Wallachia some years earlier, who had supported the Serbian revolutionaries in the hope that their regional revolt would develop into a revolutionary movement throughout the Balkans against the Turks. When he joined the Society of Friends Soutsos offered a large amount of money to the revolution. By his example he persuaded other Moldavian princes and governors to contribute financially, militarily, and morally to the success of the revolution. In addition, he put his garrison troops at the disposal of the society and made himself responsible for their overall preparation as well as for supplying the Greek army with food, equipment, and other provisions. By risking his crown he succeeded in mollifying the Boyars, the Romanian notables who were against the revolution, as well as the uncooperative members of the society. When Ypsilantis's troops crossed the river Pruth and arrived in the capital of Moldavia, Soutsos announced his decision to abdicate, since there was no reason to keep his throne once the Greek revolution against the Turks had commenced. However, after Ypsilantis intervened, he remained prince of Moldavia for a while in order to prevent a possible scattering of his population. At the same time he collaborated with the leader of the society and undertook personally to recruit volunteers and to stockpile weaponry and munitions. Immediately after the failure of the revolution in the Danubian principalities and the public burning of the regal insignia, Soutsos was deported to Bessarabia, having been excommunicated by the ecumenical patriarch Gregory V for his involvement in the revolution. Meanwhile, the Sublime Porte repeatedly asked for Soutsos to be expelled from Russian soil in order to prevent the outbreak of a new Russo-Turkish war. Thus Soutsos was forced to live in exile in Austria where he was imprisoned for four years and was then banished to the neutral territory of Switzerland.

Soutsos's contribution to the Greek cause did not stop there but continued until his death. When in Switzerland he still served the Greek revolution he cooperated with Count Kapodistria and the philhellene community there, and he devoted his life to charities and the development of Swiss philhellenism. At the same time, he contributed to the spiritual renewal, enlightenment, and education of Greek refugees there.

After the end of the war and the establishment of peace in Greece, Kapodistria appointed Soutsos as the Greek representative to Paris. In that capacity he persuaded the king of France to give economic and military support to Greece. In fact, he sent 20,000 French soldiers to the Peloponnese to drive out Ibrahim's army. From Paris, Soutsos moved as Greek ambassador to St Petersburg (until 1835) and London (until 1839). That year he returned to Athens where he was appointed a member of the advisory body of the newly established Greek state.

Soutsos saw his dreams come true when the Greek people won their independence. Residing now in Athens, he bought a large area of land in one of the most fashionable suburbs of Athens which even today bears his name, and he built a mansion in which he lived till his death and which he bequeathed posthumously to the Greek state.

MARIA ROUMBALOU

See also Hetairists, Phanariots

Biography

Born in Moldavia in 1778, Soutsos was educated privately at the court of his grandfather. At an early age he undertook political and administrative duties, becoming ambassador to the Sublime Porte and in 1819 prince of Moldavia. He assisted the Greek revolutionary movement in Moldavia and Wallachia. He abdicated in 1821 and was deported to Bessarabia. He later served as Greek ambassador to Paris, St Petersburg, and London. He died in Athens in 1864.

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Spain

Spain occupies the major part of the Iberian peninsula. Iberia is the ancient name of the country and Iberians the name of the people who inhabited the peninsula in ancient times and who became urbanized from the 5th century BC. The first Phoenician settlement in Iberia, Gades (modern Cadiz, northwest of Gibraltar), is traditionally dated to *c.*1100 BC. However, archaeological finds demonstrate that this flourishing Phoenician trading settlement was not established until the 8th century BC. It minted coins down to the 1st century BC and initially traded for metals with Tartessus, a cultural agglomeration in southern Spain. Tartessus developed out of local roots, and from *c.*750 BC was exploiting the rich metal resources in the hinterland of Onoba (Huelva). These were traded with Phoenician settlements on the coast in exchange for metalwork, jewellery, ivory, and ceramics, all of which were in turn traded within Iberia. As a result of its close links with Phoenicians and Greeks in Iberia, Tartessus developed a unique orientalizing culture (expressed in sculpture, jewellery, and architecture, for example). Tartessus collapsed in *c.*550 BC for reasons that are still a matter of academic dispute.

Greek presence in the Atlantic regions of Iberia is traceable from the second half of the 7th century BC, especially in the Huelva region, where it is linked to Tartessian culture; it may also be identified in the same period in the northeastern regions of Iberia. From the last third of the 6th century BC, Greek presence in Huelva diminished and remained at a low ebb for the next 100 years. The Greek colonies in Spain were established by the Phocaeans. Of the three known colonies – Emporion, Rhode, and Maenace – the first, which was indeed the major Hellenic centre in Spain, has received the most detailed archaeological study.

Emporion, northwest of modern Barcelona, was founded *c.*600 BC at about the same time as Massalia (modern Marseilles). Initially a small settlement was established on an island, and in *c.*575 BC it moved to the shore of the mainland, an area populated by local people and set amid marshes. It is clear from finds of local pottery in the Palaiapolis and study of the city's necropolis that the population of Emporion included local people from its very beginnings. Emporion was also surrounded by the settlements of the local population; peaceful relations between colonists and natives were very important for ensuring the survival of the Greeks in the region. Iberian society was highly organized but not centralized. The Ullastret settlement, about 20 km from Emporion, housed the Iberian elite of the hinterland. Situated atop a hill, it controlled the whole of the territory surrounding Emporion. In consequence, the relationship between Emporion and Ullastret was not merely mercantile but political as well. It may be remarked that the city walls of Ullastret were constructed only about 500 BC, long after the final establishment of Emporion. In almost every house in Ullastret large quantities of Greek pottery were found. Greek influence is clearly discernible in the planning of the settlement, in features such as an acropolis with its own inner walls and small temples, and a porticoed marketplace.

Tivisa is another native Iberian settlement. It overlooks the Ebro river, controlling access to the Iberian interior. It has very strong fortifications and a gateway closely modelled on Greek plans of the 4th century BC. Here more Greek pottery was found. These two settlements are evidence of the close and peaceful relationship which the Greeks enjoyed with the Iberian elite who, from well-fortified settlements, controlled the hinterland so vital for Greek trading activity. The Emporitans could expect little benefit from the marshy territory immediately around them. In the southeast of the Iberian peninsula the most important illustrations of Graeco-Iberian relations are the local settlements of Porcuna and Castulo, as well as Huelva.

Although strongly indigenous, Tartessian/Iberian culture was more Phoenicianized than Hellenized. Further Greek influence can be traced from the 4th century BC when, with the fall of the Punic world to Rome, Iberian–Phoenician links became sparse. Ionian influence on Iberian stone sculpture is obvious. Most probably, local, very Hellenized sculpture workshops existed in Castulo and Obulco. In them it is possible that Greek and local craftsmen worked alongside each other, the former adapting their artistic skills to the tastes of the local elite, and the latter working under Greek instruction. Tomb monuments show Anatolian influence (which came via the Ionians); important in this respect are funeral stelae which carry depictions of Ionic columns. Iberian small bronze figures as well as silver gilt *phialai* (libation bowls) from Tivisa and Santiesteban show Greek influence.

Graeco-Iberian script is another aspect of the Hellenization of the Iberian elite and society at large. It uses the Ionian alphabet. The earliest inscription dates from the second quarter of the 5th century BC. The script was widespread in the Hellenistic period, especially after the 2nd century BC. It is found not only at local sites but also in Emporion, on both Greek and local pottery.

Spain first experienced a Roman presence at the very end of the 3rd century BC. In 197 BC Rome divided its possessions in Iberia (or Hispania, as it was known to the Romans) into two provinces: Hispania Citerior, the eastern coastal strip; and Hispania Ulterior, the southeast coast and the Guadalquivir valley. The conquest of the peninsula was completed by Augustus in the Cantabrian Wars (26–19 BC). Twenty-two colonies were founded under Caesar and Augustus. In the 1st century AD many provincial Roman senators came from the colony of Hispania; and several emperors – Trajan, Hadrian, and Marcus Aurelius – could boast Spanish ancestry. The barbarian invasion of 409 resulted in the rapid loss of Roman control of all the Spanish provinces. By 475 Spain was finally lost to Rome. Visigothic control was established in 586 and lasted until the early 8th century, although part of the south of Spain was held by the Byzantines from 552 to 624. In conse-

quence some Greek traditions survived. However, the south of Spain was to be that part of the peninsula which remained longest under Arab control (from the 8th to the late 15th century) and it is that which has left a stronger legacy.

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See also Colonization

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Sparta

City in the Peloponnese

Sparta was the controlling city of Laconia, the southeastern part of the Peloponnese, situated in an extremely fertile area well watered by the river Eurotas. There was a Mycenaean settlement in the vicinity, on the hills above the opposite bank of the river, quite substantial, but hardly comparable with the great palaces of Mycenae, Tiryns, or Pylos. It may or may not have been the residence of the Mycenaean king who is personified in Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey* as Menelaus, the husband of Helen and brother of Agamemnon himself.

Classical Sparta was founded by Dorian settlers who moved in during the confused period after the collapse of the Late Bronze Age political systems. They avoided the previous settlement, which was later marked by a sanctuary dedicated to Menelaus and Helen (the Menelaion) and instead occupied a series of sites on the west bank, where they founded four villages. These merged, by some totally unknown process, into a single political entity which, along with a fifth village at Amyclae a short distance to the south, became the city, though for a long time – certainly until the 5th century BC when Thucydides wrote – it remained in physical terms a cluster of villages. According to Thucydides, it is clear that in his time it was distinctly a non-monumental place, in contrast to his own and other cities of his day.

The Dorian settlers brought with them a primitive constitution, paralleled by those of other settlements, particularly in Crete, which were founded or refounded at the same time as a result of the Dorian migration. It aimed to confirm the military effectiveness of the political body. In adolescence, young men were taken from their families and lived in communal groups, where they underwent a rigorous regime of physical and military, rather than intellectual or academic, training. The effectiveness of this was enhanced by the development of the heavy infantry armour and fighting method of the hoplite type of warrior. By the 6th century BC the Spartan army was generally recognized as the most efficient fighting force in Greece, a reputation which was confirmed by the part it played in defeating the Persian invasion. The total normal strength of the army was 5000, all full citizens of the city. Citizenship was restricted to those who underwent the training regime and served in the army, in effect the adult male population of the five constituent villages. Its function was not so much to ward off external enemies (not merely the Persians, but other Greek city states, particularly Argos) as to maintain a supremacy over Laconia and, by conquest, the district to the west, Messenia. This involved another distinctive element in the Spartan system, the allocation of landed estates away from the city itself to its citizens, who were entitled to the products of their estates, but which were farmed for them by subservient workers, the helots ("captives"), who were tied to the land. This freed the Spartan citizens from the necessity to work for their living, and allowed them instead to dedicate themselves to military training. Part of the food produced by their estates had to be given to the military group to which they belonged, and where they normally ate, rather than at home.

The reason for this system is unclear. In the training and communal meals there is a primitive, tribal element; but when it first emerges, it is devoted to a supremacy which enabled the Spartans to trade agricultural produce for luxury items imported especially from the east, a phenomenon to be found in other contemporary Greek cites, Corinth most clearly. Items such as pottery, metalware, and so forth were also produced in Laconia itself: examples have been found in the Archaic levels at the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia on the banks of the Eurotas, and at the Menelaion, along with ivories and other imports. There must therefore have existed an artisan class, though who they were and where they lived is uncertain. They are usually attributed to a third political category, the "dwellers round" or *perioikoi*, communities which enjoyed local independence (i.e. they were not tied helots), but were under political obligations, particularly of rendering military assistance, to the Spartans. Their numbers, when called upon, seem to have doubled the size of the Spartan army. However, the Spartan army was needed more and more, particularly after rebellion by the Messenian helots, to police and maintain the Spartan constitutional supremacy. It became self-devouring: military supremacy was needed to maintain the training and living systems, which were themselves needed to maintain military supremacy. Thus it had become an end in itself. This led to a tightening of the regime, and in particular a rejection of luxury and personal wealth. Strengthening the system meant its maintenance, and innovations were frowned on: Sparta notoriously did not issue its own coins, since coinage had been invented to facilitate commercial development.

As a result, Sparta emerges as the natural antithesis of Athens: restricted constitution in contrast to democracy, military prowess as opposed to naval development, self-sufficient instead of relying on trade and imperial exploitation. It even kept its curious institution of a dual kingship, at a time when most Greek states no longer had kings. It is a contrast which, in its political application, led to war.

Sparta: view of the plain of Sparta from the castle of Mistra

Sparta failed because it was not equipped to deal with the problems which faced the wider Greek world, particularly the need to maintain a constant defence against the possibility of a Persian resurgence. The consequences of this can be seen in the strains imposed on Sparta when it tried to sustain this role in the first half of the 4th century BC. The loss of Messenia, liberated by the new- style Boeotian army, crippled it permanently. This and other strains led to a steady decline in numbers of the citizen population able to draw from their estates to contribute to their military groups: the problem may have been exacerbated by a primitive system for deciding inheritances. The number of subordinate helots (except for those lost with Messenia) and *perioikoi* does not seem to have declined, and a new group, the "inferiors", grew up in Sparta itself, former citizen families who had lost the necessary property qualifications.

At first, this diminished Sparta stands outside the new order created by Philip II and the Macedonians, largely ignored because it was unimportant, though generally managing to remain independent. Land passed into the hands of an extreme few, usually through female inheritance, and Sparta was regarded as a mere has-been. All this ended with social reform introduced by King Cleomenes III. In this he confiscated all the land and redistributed it into new estates, on the pretext that he was restoring the original Spartan system. The new landholders were, at the same time, liable to military service, and so a new and briefly powerful Spartan army was created. It failed, at the Battle of Sellasia in 222 BC against the superior Macedonian army of Antigonus Doson, and Sparta relapsed into insignificance.

However, it was an insignificance with a distinguished past. As part of the Roman empire Sparta flourished, in the form of a small but prosperous provincial city. It traded on its traditions. The training regime was partly revived, though the harshness, which included whipping the youths, became something of a spectacle, and a theatrical structure was built at the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia so that an audience could observe. The town itself included wealthy families, some of them newly arrived, and houses with lavish mosaic floors have been excavated. A substantial theatre was built in the 1st century BC and subsequently enlarged. In the troubled times of the late empire, and for the first time, fortifications were constructed, delimiting a much-reduced area, and these maintained the place into the Middle Ages until the population was transferred to the stronghold of Mistra, away from the river in the foothills of Mount Taygetus. Such, however, was the reputation of ancient Sparta that, with the freeing of Greece from the Turks, Mistra was abandoned and new Sparta refounded yet again in its old place.

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Summary

A city in the southern Peloponnese, Sparta was the site of a Mycenaean settlement, in Homer the residence of Menelaus. The Classical city, originally a collection of villages, was a Dorian foundation. By the 6th century BC the Spartan army was the best in Greece. But the military system could not deal with wider political problems and ultimately failed. In the Middle Ages the population was transferred to Mistra, but in the 19th century Sparta was refounded on its original site.

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Spells

The vocabulary of casting spells comprehends the terms *epoide*, literally a "singing over", and *pharmakon*, a broad designation that straddles the notions of incantation and drug (medicine or poison, possibly enchanted) and which could be extended to describe any psychagogic force: Plato in particular assimilated the power of the spellbinding word to the power of poetry or rhetoric, both of which deprive their objects of the capacity for autonomous action (*Charmides*, 157a; *Republic*, 607d; *Meno*, 80a; cf. Gorgias, *Encomium of Helen*).

Spells were ubiquitous in ancient Hellenic society. More than 1500 incised tablets associated with spellbinding survive from antiquity as do many incised ostraka and amulets, while the *Papyri Graecae Magicae* (*PGM*) of Hellenistic Egypt, dating from the 3rd and 4th centuries AD but informed by long-established practice, constitute a veritable magician's handbook. Individuals seeking supernatural aid could buy spells from professionals; Aristophanes claims that the witches of Thessaly (an area famous for witchcraft) charged a fee (*Clouds*, 749–52) and Plato suggests that such specialist services came cheap (*Republic*, 364c).

Incantations were accompanied by various practices that served to reinforce the power of the spoken word. One important supplement to the oral spell from the Classical period onward was the process of inscription – the performance of writing down the name of the victim and that of the god or demon invoked to work the spell lent greater efficacy to the accompanying words. Inscriptions could be empowered further by the addition of the inscribed images of humans, animals, and demons and of arcane astrological symbols and mystical numbers; often the words themselves were written backwards, mixed up, or repeated. The language of spells was highly formulaic and sometimes specifically magical; "nonsense" words comprehensible only to demons could be used, such as "abracadabra", attested for the 1st century AD, and the Ephesian *grammata* ("letters"), recited or inscribed in apotropaic rituals.

Herbs and plants, often pharmacologically active, were used in spells, as were minerals and the body parts of animals – the *PGM* record many charming recipes; and personal effects of the victim such as hair, nails, or clothing were employed synechdochically. Magic tools were used, for example the *iunx* (a bronze whirling disc), bull-roarer, and gong, while in the *Odyssey* Hermes, Circe, and Athena have magic wands (13. 429, 16. 172, 456). Voodoo dolls of wax, mud, or dough representing the victim of the spell and often inscribed with his or her name were a common feature of spellbinding. These figurines could be placed in graves, burnt, melted, or transfixed with nails (*PGM*, 1. 83–87 suggests the insertion of 13 needles) and sometimes had their hands tied behind their backs. Indeed the vocabulary of bondage, such as *katadein* (tie down) and *katechein* (restrain), is prevalent in spells – more than 1000 examples of ancient binding spells (*katadesmoi*) have been found, and as late as the 12th century AD Eustathios was familiar with the idea. The concept of binding the victim is important, a notion perhaps related to the bonds of fate and a demonstration of the appeal of sympathetic magic – the victim is bound to the speller's will and rendered powerless. The frequency of curses resulted in their corollary – antidotes: *PGM* 4. 2177 offers a spell to break the power of a curse tablet; many inscriptions suggest remedies to ward off the anger of one's enemies (for example *PGM*, 7. 940–68, 4. 831–32); others have a more general apotropaic function. Of course the notion of magic could be used as a method of saving face: failure in anything from litigation to love could be ascribed to a malignant spell.

Often spells are agonistic in context. Many Athenian *katadesmoi* relate to lawsuits and represent an attempt to silence opponents in court: an inscription on a lead tablet from the 5th century BC calls down a curse upon Aspasia and her legal helpers (*Inscriptiones Graecae*, 3. 3106), while the "binding song" (*hymnos desmios*) of Aeschylus' Erinyes occurs in a legal context (*Eumenides*, 306ff.). Other spells relate to success in athletics, the theatre, and business, while many promise to endow the speller with a more general appeal and success (e.g. *PGM*, 12. 397–400). Another important locus of enchantment was love, and *agogai* – rituals designed to lead the beloved to the speller's bed – form a large part of the literature on spelling. Theocritus' *Pharmaceutria* (3rd century BC), a portrait of an abandoned woman attempting to bewitch a former lover, echoes the sympathetic erotic magic of contemporary practice – the melting of a wax dummy, the burning of a thread from the victim's cloak, the use of magical tools, and an incantatory refrain.

In Greek literature it is women in particular who cast spells and are skilled in the use of *pharmaka*, while bewitchment is often troped in terms of the characteristically female activity of weaving – Medea, ancient literature's most infamous witch, weaves spells and invokes demons (Apollonius Rhodius, *Argonautica*, 4. 1635–90). Yet the spells in the *PGM* are addressed more often to male practitioners, and their use crossed the boundaries of gender and status.

Spells were not used only to harm: some of the earliest references to incantation in Greek literature occur in a medical context. In the *Odyssey* Autolycus and his sons bind Odysseus'

wound and sing incantations over the dark blood (19. 457) and Pindar's Cheiron heals with incantations, *pharmaka*, and surgery (*Pythian*, 3. 43–54). Indeed the distinction between magic and medicine in antiquity is blurred: amulets (*periapta*, *periammata*) applied with incantations were worn as remedies for or prophylactics against disease (e.g. as a cure for headache, Plato, *Charmides*, 155e–156e); healing with spells is mentioned (and disparaged) in a text belonging to the Hippocratic corpus (*On the Sacred Disease*, 1–2); Plato says midwives use *pharmaka* and *epoidai* to induce labour (*Theaetetus*, 149c–d). The distinction between magic and religion is arbitrary too: many spells were in prayer form. Plato claims that sorcerers persuade the gods to serve them by prayers (*euchai*) and *epoidai* (*Laws*, 909b; cf. *Republic*, 364c) and Sappho's prayer to Aphrodite has the tone of an erotic magical spell (fr. 1 L-P). Indeed the whole pantheon of Greek gods was invoked in incantations in which supernatural powers were compelled to serve the speller, although Hecate, Persephone, Selene, and Hermes figure most prominently.

In ancient Greece religion and "magic" were not mutually exclusive categories and no legislation of pagan antiquity relates directly to spells (although Plato suggested that "black magic" should be criminalized, *Laws*, 933a). The Church, however, ideologically mandated against all non-Christian "magic", and spells fell outside its orthodox circumscriptions. Paul made the Ephesians burn their magic books (Acts 19: 18–20) and the use of spells was condemned by patristic writers such as Basil (*Epistles*, 188. 8), Eusebius (*Laus Constantini*, 13), and Jerome (*Life of Saint Hilarion the Hermit*, 21), while the Theodosian code (9. 16. 4) outlawed the use of magic and prescribed death for its practitioners. The Church's proscription of practices it labelled un-Christian led many to seek supernatural consolation in Christianity but a belief in pagan magic, the efficacy of spells, and the power of the evil eye persisted in Hellenic society throughout the medieval period and beyond into the modern era; indeed Dionisopoulos-Mass records a tale of magical intrigue which took place on the Aegean island of Nisi in 1968 when a husband, rendered impotent by a malicious spell, successfully sought help from a professional witch in Athens.

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See also Magic

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Sphrantzes, George 1401–1477/78

Diplomat and historian

As a young man George Sphrantzes entered the service of the emperor Manuel II (1391–1425) and later of Constantine XI (1449–53), whom he accompanied and served as a friend and adviser until the emperor's death during the capture of Constantinople. Sphrantzes carried out several diplomatic missions, to the Turks, Georgia, Trebizond, the Morea, and the Aegean islands. He saved Constantine's life during the siege of Patras, but was captured and imprisoned (1429). After his release and the final surrender of the inhabitants of Patras, he became governor of the city. He was appointed *protovestiarites* (chief of the sovereign's bodyguard) in 1432 and governor of Mistra in 1446. After the fall of Constantinople in 1453 and his release from captivity by the Turks, he joined Constantine's brother Thomas in the Morea and after the final Byzantine defeat followed him to Corfu, where at the end of his life, tired and sick, he entered a monastery. There, Sphrantzes wrote down a personal account of the events that took place during his lifetime, the so-called *Chronicon* (*Minus*). His work is based on a diary and annalistic source material as well as on oral tradition. Sphrantzes focuses on his own experiences and on the person of Constantine Palaiologos, his devotion to

whom is obvious in the whole account. The language of the *Chronicon* is remarkable because it is surprisingly simple and colloquial. Some narrative passages, such as the account of the events that led to his appointment as governor of Patras and the biography of his godmother Thomais, may be regarded as early examples of modern Greek prose writing. The *Chronicon* has some characteristics in common with traditional Byzantine historiography, but differs substantially through the use of informal language and in the extraordinary density of autobiographical elements. Because no addressee is mentioned, we can surmise that the *Chronicon* was intended for members of the former Byzantine ruling elite living in exile after the fall of Constantinople, probably for the circle of refugees around the despot Thomas Palaiologos. Sphrantzes's original work is preserved in a slightly revised version represented by six independent manuscripts, two of which originated in the 1570s, one in the 17th century, and three deriving directly from one of the two 16th-century copies. Through the centuries of Ottoman rule Sphrantzes's account proved a "living text" that was changed and reshaped according to the needs of the period.

In Naples, between 1573 and 1578, Makarios Melissenos (Melissourgos), metropolitan of Monemvasia, composed a historiographical work for the years 1258–1477 in four books. For this compilation he used several authentic, and some forged, sources. Melissenos's text is primarily based on Sphrantzes and supplemented by material from Byzantine and post-Byzantine historiography, for example Georgios Akropolites, Nikephoros Gregoras, and Manuel Malaxos. He presented it as the work of Sphrantzes, so that the true identity of the author was unknown until the research of Ioannis V. Papadopoulos in the 1930s revealed it; previously it was, and sometimes still is, referred to as "pseudo-Sphrantzes". Traditionally Sphrantzes's authentic work has been known as the *Chronicon Minus* to distinguish it from Melissenos's *Chronicon Maius*. A large part of book 3 of Melissenos's compilation is formed by the famous so-called siege section, an account, purportedly by an eyewitness, of the last days of Constantinople. This passage is probably based on the eyewitness account of Leonard of Chios (d. 1459?; originally composed in Latin), though the authorship is still disputed.

Melissenos's compilation may claim independent value because of the author's critical use of the material but also because of his obvious effort to reshape Sphrantzes's original text according to the norms of Byzantine chronography, expanding the chronological frame, and enriching the text with material concerning ecclesiastical history and dogmatic questions as well as natural phenomena. The compiler also attempted to make the language look more like ancient Greek, replacing demotic forms with archaic ones, and occasionally intervened to try to improve the understanding of the text – it is also because of these changes that among historians of Byzantium Melissenos's compilation has often enjoyed higher authority than Sphrantzes's unpretentious original text. We may surmise that Melissenos's ultimate aim was to alert the western powers to the Turkish threat and the suffering of Greece after the victory at Lepanto (1571) when they seemed inclined to a peaceful arrangement with the Ottoman Porte. Instead of being regarded as nothing but a forgery Melissenos's work deserves to be viewed as a creative reworking and a link between Byzantine and modern Greek literature.

Melissenos's creation, due to its historiographical content, literary form, and not least the fact that in the forged additions to the authentic material the author ascribed a prominent role in history to members of influential Neapolitanian families, obviously met the taste of his time as well as of later centuries, and therefore attracted a wide and continuing readership. As many as 27 manuscripts of pseudo-Sphrantzes have been discovered so far. These can be divided into two groups: 7 date to the end of the 16th century and are directly or indirectly connected to the circle of scribes around Makarios Melissenos, representing different stages of a continuous process of reworking of the original text; 15 date to 18th century – a fact that might be linked to intensified literary activities at this time (in particular at the Phanariot courts of Bucharest and Jassy) and growing interest in the history of the Greek nation, in particular in the fate of the Palaiologan dynasty and other families of the Byzantine aristocracy.

Besides being a major source for Greek history of the last 50 years before and the first years after the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople, in the 20th century Sphrantzes' *Chronicon* also exerted some influence on modern Greek literature. The politician, sociologist, and writer Panagiotis Kanellopoulos used his text (in the form of the *Maius*) and other contemporary sources for the composition of his novel *Gennithika sto Chilia Tetrakosia Dyo* (*I Was Born in 1402*, first published in 1957).

MARTIN HINTERBERGER

See also Historiography, Political History 1261–1453

Biography

Born in 1401, Sphrantzes served Manuel II and later Constantine XI as a diplomat and adviser. He became governor of Patras and later of Mistra. After the fall of Constantinople he travelled widely and finally settled in Corfu. There he wrote his *Chronicon* (*Minus*), an account of the events of his lifetime from 1413 to 1477. The expanded version, *Chronicon Maius*, is probably the work of a 16th-century bishop of Monemvasia. Sphrantzes died in Corfu in 1477/78.

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Sporades

Islands in the northwest Aegean

The Sporades comprise a cluster of four islands and a number of rocky islets in the western Aegean Sea, extending in longitude from Thessaly to Euboea. The three main islands – Skiathos, Skopelos, and Alonnisos – lie southeast of the Magnesia peninsula, while Skyros is situated further south, northeast of the midpoint of the island of Euboea. Their geographical location has determined their administrative position, making Skyros part of Euboea while the other three belong to Magnesia.

Although the islands have a common history, each is known for its own character. Skiathos has a cosmopolitan ambiance; Skyros is well known for its rich local folklore; Skopelos is famous for its outstanding churches; and Alonnisos for its scenery.

Skiathos is the closest of the four to the mainland, situated opposite Mount Pelion about 43 nautical miles from the port town of Volos. It covers a surface of 48 sq km and is populated by little more than 4000 people. Endowed with a large number of lovely beaches and a pine-filled landscape, it has long been one of the most attractive tourist destinations of Greece. Of the nine small islands surrounding its coastal waters, two with the name Tsougries lie across the main harbour, making it a safe haven for small boats and yachts.

The island's strategic location was a principal reason for its being conquered by a long succession of rulers since antiquity. During prehistoric times, it was inhabited by Pelasgoi who came from Thrace in northern Greece around the 12th century BC. It is hypothesized that Cretans of the Minoic age also inhabited the island. This idea is supported by the name of the island, which is very similar to "Skianthios", the Cretan name for the god Dionysus. Thessalians of the Mycenean age may also have been among the early settlers. Ionians and later Chalcidians colonized it by the 6th century BC. In 477 BC Skiathos became a member of the Delian League to gain protection from Persian invasion. Initially city members of the alliance were autonomous and had a democratic administration, but Skiathos came increasingly under the direct rule of Athens, until it passed into the control of Sparta following its victory in the Peloponnesian war in 404 BC. The Antalkidios peace treaty in 386 BC gave the island its official independence, but Sparta violated the agreement and Skiathos was again under their hegemony. In 378 BC the island regained its autonomy by becoming an ally of Athens and taking part in the second Athenian Alliance. During almost 40 years of this alliance, Skiathos enjoyed a remarkable economic prosperity, a sign of which was the privilege of minting its own coins. The Macedonian victory in the battle of Chaeronea in 338 BC signalled the beginning of Macedonian occupation. During the second Macedonian war in 199 BC, Philip V completely destroyed Skiathos and Skopelos so they would not fall into the hands of the enemy Roman fleet, which nevertheless reached Skiathos and completed its devastation. A quick recovery followed and the island obtained a democratic regime in 197 BC. When Greece was subjugated by Rome in 146 BC, Skiathos followed the fate of the rest of the country. In 42 BC, after the battle of Philippi, Mark Antony handed the island over to the Athenians as a token of appreciation for their assistance.

After centuries in the Roman empire, Christianity came to Skiathos in AD 325 and in 530 the first church, Agia Triada, was built. The history of the island in the Byzantine years has not been documented in detail, though it is known that it belonged administratively to the province of Thessaly. During the 7th century the island suffered much from Saracen pirate raids. When Constantinople was seized by the Fourth Crusade in 1204, Skiathos, like most of the Aegean islands, was taken by the Venetians. From 1207 to 1454 Skiathos was the property of the Venetian Ghisi family, which built a fortress in 1270 in Bourtzi, a charming quarter of the capital. In 1537 the island was conquered by Haradin Barbarossa and the Turkish navy. Skiathots, like all Greek islanders, used their naval resources and creativity ro aid the struggle for independence that started in 1821. Two years later the island was liberated.

Its capital Skiathos has stood in the same position since antiquity. It was briefly abandoned when its inhabitants moved north to a fortress for security during the precarious times of the Turkish dominance of the Aegean. This fortified capital, Kastro, is best visited today by boat. It provided respite to the Allied forces on their way to the Middle East during World War II. Of the 30 churches once inside the castle, only 3 remain. Several other churches and monasteries dot the island. An unspoiled strip of coast is known as "the port of Xerxes" because during the campaign of the Persian king in 480 BC three Greek ships were waiting here to confront his fleet. The island was the home of two short story-writers, Alexandros Papadiamantis (1851–1911), whose birthplace may be visited, and Alexandros Moraitidis (1851–1929), who towards the end of his life found refuge in the 18th-century monastery of St Charalambos on the north side of the island.

Skopelos (Greek for "steep rock from the sea" because of its rugged coastline) is almost twice as large as Skiathos and has about the same population. It is situated between Skiathos and Alonnisos and, like Skiathos, has frequent connections with Volos and Euboea. Its land is mostly flat with only a few low mountains. Pine trees abound and the local prunes are famous. The verdant landscape, the domestic architecture, and the churches are the chief attractions of this island.

Its present name appeared first in the Hellenistic period. Previously the name Peparithos was used. Legend has it that Peparithos with his brother Staphylos, sons of Ariadne and Dionysus, landed on the island with a group of Cretans in the bay known as Staphylos to this day. Staphylos, who became the first king, was buried there in a grave which was discovered in 1927. The finds – a gold crown, funerary offerings, and

weapons – are displayed in the museum of Volos. During historical times Skopelos was inhabited first by Mycenaeans between 1600 and 1100 BC and later by Chalcidians between 700 and 500 BC. As a member of the Delian League it was ruled by Athenians until 340 BC when it came under Macedonian dominance, which continued until 168 BC when Athenians took over once again. The Ghisi family owned the island during the Venetian occupation and built a castle with a magnificent view over the ruins of the ancient citadel. In 1537–38 Skopelos shared the fate of Skiathos, being sacked by Barbarossa and by the Turks under whose occupation it remained until the revolution, during which its fleet played an active part in the struggle for liberation.

Its main town, Skopelos (Chora), is built on a bay in the southeast, winding in tiers from the quarter of Kastro down to the shore with its gleaming white two- or three-storeyed houses, narrow cobbled streets, quaint alleys, and a plethora of churches, chapels, monasteries, and convents. Chora alone has 123 churches; there are 360 on the island as a whole. Notable also are its 12 whitewashed 17th- and 18th-century convents.

Alonnisos to the east of Skopelos is an oblong island with a hilly landscape covering an area of 64 sq km and is populated by slightly more than 1500 people. It is the least developed of the Sporades and therefore the least visited. The sea surrounding the coastline is designated a marine conservation park to protect the Mediterranean seals which have chosen the coves of smaller islands near Alonnisos as a haven. An earthquake in 1965 damaged the earlier capital, Alonnisos, and most of the inhabitants abandoned it and resettled 5 km to the east near the sea. The present port capital of Patitiri is on the southeastern side, 68 nautical miles from Volos and 35 from Euboea. The same earthquake split the centre of the island into two small islets – Psathoura (the remains of ancient Alonnisos) and Psatharopoula. Both lie submerged.

Signs that Alonnisos was inhabited in prehistoric times were found at Kokkinokastro and on the islet near it. The earliest palaeolithic finds in the Aegean were discovered here: animal bones and stone tools dating from 100,000 to 33,000 BC (Middle Palaeolithic period). The island was known as Ikos in antiquity, and the names Chelidromia and Diadromia were used later. A variation of these, Liodromia, is heard even today. According to mythology Peleus, father of Achilles, spent the last years of his life in Ikos and was buried on the island. Statues, tombstones, potsherds, and wine bottles from Ikos have been preserved at Kokkinokastro. The Athenians maintained a naval base there, stimulating the interest of Philip II of Macedon to bring the island under his rule. In 1538 Barbarossa and the Turks did not spare the island from plunderous attacks.

Alonnisos is surrounded by a host of tiny islands, the largest of which are Peristera and Lehoussa on its eastern side. On the small island of Youra to the northeast the Cyclops' cave with multicoloured stalactites and stalagmites is worth visiting.

Skyros, the largest in the group with an area of 209 sq km and a population of almost 2800, is the closest to Euboea, which is only 24 nautical miles away. Its capital, Skyros (Chorio or Chora), is close to the sea on the northeastern coast, while its port, Linaria, is located on the western side 11 km from the capital. The stark antithesis between the northern and southern parts of the island creates a natural divide connected by a narrow isthmus. Most of the population is concentrated in the northern, verdant part, since the southern, rocky side is virtually inaccessible. The island's vernacular architecture, its rich local folklore, and the diversity of its scenery give Skyros its unique character.

Archaeological finds reveal that the island has been inhabited since the neolithic period (5000 BC). Ancient legend considers its citadel to be the place where Thetis, Achilles' mother, hid her son disguised as a maiden among the daughters of king Lycomedes so that he could avoid the draft in the Greek campaign against Troy. Another legend claims this as the place where Theseus, king of Athens, met his death. Between 469 and 340 BC Athenians colonized the island and during Cimon's rule they divided the land in lots. Macedonians succeeded in taking over the island and kept it until 196 BC; the Athenians took it back and later passed it over to the Romans. Like Skopelos it served as a place of exile in the Byzantine period. The Ghisi family owned it during the Venetian rule until Barbarossa sacked it in 1537 and facilitated the Turkish conquest. It was liberated in 1829. A witness of its continuous history since prehistory is the fortified acropolis around which the present capital is built. A castle was erected on the site of the ancient citadel. At the castle the restored church of St George has dominated the island since its foundation in 963 by the emperor Nikephoros Phokas as a *metochion* (dependency) of the monastery of the Great Lavra on Mount Athos. The houses of the island with their carved wooden furniture and decor, the pottery, the handwoven household items and embroideries exhibit a faithful continuation of a strong tradition in folk art. Beyond the castle to the north in a square overlooking the sea stands the bust of the British poet Rupert Brooke (1887–1915) who is buried on the south coast at Treis Boukes. In the south one may chance upon some of the indigenous ponies that can be found only on this island.

CELIA KAPSOMERA

Summary

A group of four islands and numerous rocky islets in the northwest Aegean. The main islands are Skiathos, Skopelos, Alonnisos, and Skyros. In the 5th century BC they belonged to the Delian League. From 1207 to 1454 they were owned by the Venetian Ghisi family. In 1537 they were sacked by Barbarossa. Though sharing a common history, each island preserves its own character.

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Stephan IV Dushan

Ruler of Serbia in the mid-14th century

A Serbian king and self-styled emperor, Stephan IV Dushan (1331–55) led the southward expansion of the Serbian state and tried to build a Graeco-Slavic empire modelled on Byzantium. He had spent seven years of his youth in Constantinople with his exiled father Stephan III Decanski (1321–31), and he had obtained there a first-hand knowledge of Byzantium. After the assassination of his father by Serbian nobles in 1331, he acceded early to the Serbian throne. The land-hungry Serbian nobility was both the motive force behind Serbia's expansionist drive and the main cause for the rapid disintegration of the Serbian empire after Dushan's death.

The internal difficulties of Byzantium and the Black Death that struck in 1348 greatly facilitated the Serbian success. At the onset of the second civil war (1341–47) in Byzantium, the imperial pretender John Kantakouzenos allied himself with the Serbians against the regency government of John V Palaiologos. When Kantakouzenos found military support among the Greeks in Thessaly, he abandoned the alliance with Dushan, but the Serbs continued to plunder Byzantine territories on their own. Southern Macedonia fell into Serbian hands in 1345, and was followed by Thessaly and Epirus in 1348. After the fall of the city of Serres in 1345, Stephan Dushan began to style himself emperor of the Serbs and Romans. In the following year, on Easter Sunday, he had himself crowned emperor at Skopje by the archbishop of the Serbian Church whom he had elevated to the rank of a patriarch. Dushan sought legitimacy for his title among both the Greek and the Slavic population living under his rule. The coronation was witnessed by the Protos (head of the community) and the abbots of the monasteries of Mount Athos. Dushan generously endowed the Athonite monasteries with lands and privileges and he himself spent several months in the Serbian monastery of Chilandar in 1347–48.

As *basileus* (king) and *autokrator* (emperor) of the Serbs and Romans Dushan intended to take over Constantinople and make himself master of the Byzantine empire. The seriousness of his intentions is seen in the fact that he offered Venice possession of Galata and the whole of Epirus if the Italian republic would help him to storm Constantinople with its fleet. The dream of the conquest of Constantinople was never realized and Dushan died in the last stage of his preparation for assault on the imperial capital. Nevertheless, his advance into the Balkans in the late 1340s and early 1350s met with extraordinary success. By 1355 the Serbs controlled Albania, Epirus, Thessaly, Aetolia, and Acarnania. Their empire stretched from the Danube to the Gulf of Corinth and from the Adriatic to the Aegean Sea. Byzantium lost half of its territory, retaining only Thrace, the Peloponnese, Thessalonica, and Constantinople.

Stephan IV Dushan introduced Byzantine influence into Serbian administration, court ceremonial, and law. The process of Hellenization of Serbian court life and administration had begun already in the late 13th century when the Byzantine princess Simonis came to the Serbian court as wife of Stephan II Milutin (1282–1321). In Dushan's day, Serbian administrators became increasingly adorned with Byzantine titles. Dushan minted silver coins that closely followed the Byzantine model. Churches and monasteries in his empire were decorated in the best Byzantine style. Furthermore, the emperor attempted to merge the legal traditions of the Serbs and the Byzantines. By his order, the *Syntagma* of Matthew Blastares (a collection of both secular and ecclesiastical rulings), written in 1335, was translated into Serbian shortly after its composition. Dushan's code of law, the *Zakonik*, promulgated in 1349 and reissued in 1354, was based partly on Byzantine legal models. It proclaimed the equality of Byzantines and Serbs, and reconfirmed privileges conferred on Greek cities by past Byzantine emperors.

Still, Stephan Dushan was less successful as a state-builder than as a conqueror. This was due primarily to the ambitions of his nobles, but also to the ethnically heterogeneous character of his empire. The Serbian conquest was too rapid and too violent, while the conquered Byzantine population could hardly accept an emperor of the Romans outside Constantinople. Although Dushan tried to accommodate Greeks in his state, the important administrative offices in the conquered territories were held by Serbian nobles or by members of Dushan's family, all decorated with Byzantine titles. His son and heir Stephan V Uroš (1366–77) lacked the energy of his father and saw the disintegration of the Serbian empire into a medley of small states. Stephan IV Dushan's half-brother Uroš carved for himself a principality in northern Greece with a capital at Trikkala and proclaimed himself tsar of the Romans, Serbs, and Albanians. Uroš was a generous benefactor of the monasteries of the Meteora, which would become an important centre of Orthodoxy during the period of the Tourkokratia. Other relatives of Dushan or noblemen established themselves as princes elsewhere. When the Ottomans started their incursions into Europe after 1354, two local lords in Macedonia, the brothers Vukasin and John Uglesa, led the resistance against the Turks and perished in the fateful Battle of Chernomen on the Maritza river in 1371. Soon thereafter Byzantium became a vassal tributary state of the Ottomans. The victory of the Turks in 1371, more than the Battle of Kosovo in 1389, opened up the Balkans for Ottoman conquest.

The empire of Stephan IV Dushan represents the second unsuccessful attempt at the creation of a Graeco-Slavic empire modelled on Byzantium after the one led by king Symeon of Bulgaria (893–927). Like Symeon, Dushan lacked the military and economic resources for such a grand endeavour. The long-term effects of Dushan's empire lay elsewhere, particularly in his patronage of the Orthodox Church, which was revitalized in this period by hesychast monasticism. Hesychasm spread rapidly among the southern Slavs and strengthened the bonds of the Graeco-Slavic cultural commonwealth just before the Turkish conquest of the Balkans. The expansion of the Serbs in the mid-14th century had serious political effects on the Greek peninsula. The breakdown of Dushan's empire left northern and central Greece in a state of extreme political fragmentation and decentralization, a circumstance that eased the Ottoman conquest of this area in the late 14th and the 15th centuries.

DIMITER G. ANGELOV

See also Serbia

Biography

The son of Stephan III Decanski, Stephan Dushan spent some years as a youth in Constantinople. He came to the Serbian throne in 1331 after his father's assassination. He conquered much Byzantine territory south of Serbia and in 1345 proclaimed himself emperor of the Serbs and Romans. His conquests contributed to the Hellenization of Serbia. He died in 1355.

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Stoicism

Stoicism was a philosophical movement that took its name from the Stoa Poikile, or Painted Porch, in the Agora at Athens, the central public place where philosophers used to meet, to lecture, and to engage in discussions. The school was founded by Zeno of Citium (335–263 BC), who came to Athens around 313 BC and studied under the Academic Polemo and the Cynic Crates. He was succeeded as the head of the school by Cleanthes of Assos (331–232 BC), who in turn was succeeded by Chrysippus of Soli (*c.*280–207 BC), perhaps the greatest Stoic philosopher, Diogenes of Babylon (*c.*240–152 BC), and Antipater of Tarsus (2nd century BC). Zeno divided philosophy into three parts: logic, physics, and ethics. His followers took up and developed his doctrines in different directions. Zeno's student Aristo of Chios stressed ethics to the exclusion of physics and logic, whereas Herillus emphasized knowledge at the expense of moral action. Cleanthes, on the other hand, advocated a religious view of the world, and his contributions to Stoicism lay especially in the areas of theology and cosmology. It was Chrysippus more than anyone else who advanced and systematized the doctrines of the school; thus his works came to be regarded as offering the standard formulation of Stoicism. The so-called Middle Stoa attempted to make Stoic doctrine more accessible to a wider audience, and was more hospitable to ideas from other philosophical schools, particularly Plato's and Aristotle's. Panaetius from Rhodes (*c.*185–109 BC) changed the emphasis of the school's teaching to make it more directly relevant to the practical concerns of everyday life. Panaetius' pupil Posidonius of Apamea (*c.*135–50 BC) also modified the traditional doctrine of the school in some areas, but his main interest seems to have been the sciences, including geography and ethnography. Of the writings of the Stoics down to Posidonius almost nothing remains except for a hymn by Cleanthes and a few papyrus fragments. We have, though, numerous reports in later writers, some of them clearly hostile to Stoic philosophy, and many simply failing to grasp fully the Stoic doctrines. Thus reconstructing the philosophical ideas of the earlier Stoics proves to be a difficult, if not at times impossible, scholarly task.

Stoic philosophy was a major influence on political and moral thought in the Roman empire in the last century BC and the first two centuries AD. The treatises and letters of Seneca (*c.*4 BC–AD 65), the lectures of Epictetus (*c.*AD 55–135), and the meditations of the emperor Marcus Aurelius (AD 121–80) laid particular emphasis on the ethical teachings of the school. Seneca and Roman expositors of Stoic philosophy such as Cicero facilitated the transmission of diffuse accounts of Stoic ethics into the writings of the Latin Fathers, such as Lactantius, Ambrose, Augustine, and Martin of Braga, and subsequently into the medieval world. We find a kind of medieval Stoicism, represented by such scholars as Petrarch, and focused mainly on ethics. During Humanism the main sources for ancient Stoicism were all translated into Latin, and in the 15th century scholars such as Justus Lipsius made an attempt to reconstruct and to some extent revive Stoicism, presenting it as compatible with Christian theology. Early modern thinkers of the 16th century such as Jean Pena, Tycho Brahe, Juan Luis Vives, and Guillaume du Vair already show the influence of Stoic ideas. Some of the most important philosophers of the 17th and 18th centuries such as Hobbes, Descartes, and Spinoza incorporated into their philosophy Stoic elements, just as scientists such as Newton also drew on Stoic ideas.

Although it may be true that especially in the later phases of Stoicism ethics became the vital concern, this does not mean that the other parts of philosophy, namely logic and physics, had a subordinate place in Stoic doctrine. On the contrary, the Stoics viewed philosophy as a whole and repeatedly emphasized the close interdependence of the three parts of philosophical discourse. For though the highest aim of the Stoic was to learn how to conduct himself in life, Stoic philosophers never doubted that this was to be based on a firm grasp of the truth and on an adequate understanding of the world. This is the reason why they used to compare parts of philosophy to the parts of an egg or an animal; the shell or the bones are logic, the white or the flesh are ethics, while the yolk or the soul are physics. The tripartite division of Stoic philosophy as well as the different orders that were suggested for the study of the three parts served only as the most appropriate way of expounding or learning the theorems of Stoic philosophy.

Logic, according to the Stoics, was the study of everything to do with rational discourse. It was divided into dialectic and rhetoric; dialectic included logic in the modern sense, but also grammar, semantics, philosophy of language, and epistemology. The Stoics believed that knowledge ultimately is based on sense experience. Human beings start as irrational animals with no mind at birth, and it is only because they receive repeated impressions from the outside world that give rise to concepts that their rationality grows, by the continuous formation of concepts and beliefs. They also claimed that in principle it is possible for human beings to have solid knowledge. For there are certain impressions, the so-called cognitive impressions (*kataleptikai phantasiai*), which by their nature indicate in a clear and distinct way a fact about the world. Hence they can be regarded as criteria of truth, i.e. as instruments for judging whether our opinions are true or false. Needless to say, the ancient sceptics questioned whether there

are such criteria on which the whole of our knowledge may securely rest, and the Stoics, who engaged in a continuous controversy with them, tried to refine and develop their theory in order to meet their objections.

The basis of Stoic logic is a theory about significant speech, in which the Stoics distinguish between the sound uttered, that which is said or meant, the *lekton*, and the external referent. Although this Stoic doctrine is often highly praised, because it seems to resemble recent theories of meaning and, in particular, to anticipate the modern distinction between sense and reference, there are significant differences. For instance, in Stoic logic a *lekton* does not correspond to any expression, say a noun, but only to a complete utterance. So some *lekta* may be questions or commands, whereas others are propositions that may be true or false. The Stoic logical system was concerned with the interrelations of non-simple propositions, in particular of propositions of the form of conditionals, exclusive disjunctions, and negated conjunctions. It was mainly Chrysippus who, also under the influence of Diodorus Cronus and Philo of Megara, advanced the logic of propositions to its highest point in antiquity, presumably independently of Aristotle's logic of terms. According to Chrysippus, this logic can be construed as an axiomatic system in which all arguments are reducible to five basic kinds of indemonstrable arguments (*anapodeiktoi*) whose validity does not admit of proof. The form of the first two indemonstrables, for instance, was as follows: (1) if the first, then the second; but the first; therefore the second; and (2) if the first, then the second; but not the second; therefore not the first. These two indemonstrables became known later in antiquity and in the Middle Ages as the *modus ponendo ponens* and the *modus tollendo tollens* respectively.

Stoic physics was based on the presupposition that there is one world (*kosmos*) which constitutes a single living being, and that there are only two principles from which everything is constituted; an active principle, which is named God, *Logos* (Intellect), or Nature, and a passive principle, which is understood as unqualified substance or matter. The Stoics stressed that these principles are always joined and never exist separated from one another. The active principle is present in the whole universe and gives to every part of it its character. It is therefore the ruling principle of the whole world, a ruling principle itself of the form of a rational living being that is both intelligent and intelligible. Materiality, on the other hand, is not equivalent to corporeality, but just one aspect of it, as any body is already formed. The world is a continuous object and it cannot be divided into discrete particles, as in Epicurus' physics. The Stoics confined existence to bodies, and vehemently rejected claims of earlier thinkers concerning incorporeal entities. Even God was identified with a special form of fire, which gives shape and life to the world. Following Heraclitus, the Stoics claimed that the transformations of fire, which correspond to the designing or creative activities of God, bring about the alternating phases of a cosmic cycle. For the Stoics did not maintain that the present world is ungenerated and indestructible; they rather believed that it will end in a total conflagration (*ekpyrosis*), but will then be reconstituted again as the conflagration subsides. Only God persists through the conflagration as the fire into which everything is absorbed. As the world order again emerges from this fire, God's presence in earthly things is in the form of breath or spirit (*pneuma*), a fiery form of air. Organic and inorganic things alike owe their identity and their properties to it; its two constituents, fire and air, are blended in different proportions in different things. In the case of human beings, it is the human soul that constitutes part of the all-pervasive *pneuma*. Thus within the world order *pneuma* has two related functions: it gives internal coherence to individual bodies, and it also, because it permeates everything, makes the world as a whole a single coherent body.

In this rational world order, which is ruled by God or *Logos*, the interactions of bodies occur according to exceptionless laws; these laws constitute "fate" and are identified by the Stoics with providence. They held the view that for everything that happens there are causes such that, given these causes, nothing else could happen; for the Stoics "chance" is simply a name for undiscovered causes. That is why they claimed that all future events in principle are predictable, and that astrology and divination should be regarded as empirical disciplines. However, in this deterministic world there still is a place for what is just possible and not necessary. Chrysippus understood the possible as that which admits of being true and is not prevented from being the case. He moreover developed a complex theory of causation to explain how human action is free in a sense required if human beings are to be responsible for their actions. According to his view, fate is the set of external causes that act upon the individual and work to bring about their destined effects; but these external causes only trigger things to happen, whereas the primary cause is in the individual itself. Thus the external antecedent cause by itself does not necessitate the action. Now, although for the Stoics all people are responsible for their actions, only the wise man is free; for freedom consists of acting of one's own choice as one is providentially ordained to act for the best of the universe as a whole. Thus Stoicism is not a fatalistic philosophy of inaction, and the wise man will act in whatever way seems appropriate given the understanding he has; to decide to act in the way one is destined to act is in our own power, even if it is settled by fate how we are going to act, given the sort of person we are.

Stoic ethics presents the most demanding account of virtue in antiquity. Virtue alone is the good, while all wrong actions are equally wrong. We acquire the notion of the good as a crucial part of our reason, and this transforms our motivation in such a way as to be attracted by what we judge to be good. Virtue is sufficient for happiness, which is defined as life in accordance with nature; the nature with which one is to live in agreement is both one's own rational constitution as a person, human nature, and the rationality of universal Nature or God. That we are meant to live in agreement with Nature is also expressed by the Stoics in talking about the common law, or a natural law, which demands that we do what is natural and refrain from doing what is against Nature. This gave rise to a theory of natural law that was taken up by the Christian Fathers, notably Augustine, and exerted considerable influence on discussions of human rights throughout modern times. For the Stoics the possible conflict between particular and universal Nature is only apparent; the virtuous man will have no preference of his own in conflict with the good of the world. Passions are the source of unhappiness, for a person in such a

state, by assenting to a certain kind of false impression, has himself generated an excessive impulse to pursue or avoid something that in reality is indifferent. Passions as false judgements are thus not a feature of non-rational animals, but characterize only human beings who should be blamed for them. So there is no conflict between reason and desire in an individual soul free of passion, and apparent conflicts are explained as rapid waverings of our judgement.

Happiness does not in the least depend on the possession or absence of things only conventionally regarded as good or bad, such as health, reputation, wealth, beauty, etc.; these things are regarded as "indifferent", since they make no difference to virtue and true happiness. Now among things indifferent some things are in accordance with nature and others contrary to nature; both lack goodness, but the first should be selected on the grounds of their natural preferability, and that is why they are called "preferred indifferents". Furthermore, "proper actions" are all the actions that are natural to a mature human being. "Right actions" are a special kind of proper actions, the perfect proper actions, which are the peculiar province of the unfailingly wise or virtuous man. The difference lies in the motivation. A right action is a proper action done with the motivation only a wise man can have. A wise person realizes that the important thing is not to attain a particular preferred indifferent but to try to do so, because it is good to do it. For the Stoics there is a sharp distinction between the virtuous or wise person and everybody else, who is regarded as foolish. It is very difficult to be wise, and that is why the Stoics never claimed that they had achieved wisdom.

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See also Philosophy

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Strabo *c.*64 BC–*c.*AD 19

Geographer, philosopher, and historian

Strabo is the author of two monumental works: a universal history in 47 books, which has not survived, and his famous *Geography* in 17 books, which has. As a young man Strabo studied philosophy and was particularly drawn to Stoicism. He knew, and was apparently influenced by, the famous philosopher Posidonius. Strabo believed, with the Pythagoreans, that the universe was geocentric, and that the earth was a sphere with a single land mass surrounded by water. He travelled to Italy three times, visited Greece and Asia Minor, and lived in Egypt for about six years. This combination of travel and philosophical study resulted in a work of geography which is noteworthy for the exposition of a philosophy of geography and for its wealth of historical and mythological information.

Strabo held that the study of geography belongs to the realm of philosophy. He states in book 1 of his *Geography* that, although it is primarily useful to commanders and statesmen, geography is also invaluable for philosophers who investigate everything on land and sea. The study of geography presupposes "the man who busies himself with the investigation of the art of life, that is of happiness" (1. 1. 1). Given this purpose, Strabo's methodology was to interlace clear and accurate descriptions of geographical features with a broad range of cultural information. He saw himself as writing in a tradition of literary, historical geography whose origins went back to Homer, and included Hecataeus and Herodotus.

The value of Strabo's work also lies in the fact that it fills certain gaps in our knowledge of his predecessors. He opens his *Geography* with a history of geographical writing from Homer down to his own day, providing critiques of earlier geographers such as Eratosthenes, Eudoxus, Artemidorus, and Hipparchus. The first two books thus provide us with an invaluable survey of ancient geographical practice, including, among other things, details about ancient mapmaking practices and attempts by Aristotle and Eratosthenes to measure the earth.

In the remainder of the work Strabo describes particular regions. He begins with Europe and works his way east to Asia, ending with north Africa. Within that range he discusses Spain (book 3); Gaul, Britain, and the Alps (book 4); northern Italy (book 5); southern Italy and Sicily (book 6); northern, eastern, and central Europe (book 7); Macedonia and Greece (book 8); Athens, Boeotia, and Thessaly (book 9); and Aetolia, Crete, and certain Greek islands (book 10). His coverage of Asia Minor is divided into four books: Caucasus and Armenia (book 11); Galatia, Bithynia, and Lycia (book 12); the Troad, including the island of Lesbos (book 13); and Ionia, Caria, Samos, Chios, Rhodes, and Cyprus (book 14). The remaining three books describe India and Parthia (book 15); Assyria, Babylonia, Mesopotamia, Syria, Phoenicia, Palestine, and Arabia (book 16); and finally Egypt, Ethiopia, and Libya (book 17).

The books which deal with Greece contain more mythological and historical information than any others. The section on Olympia (8. 3. 30), for example, has as much discussion of Homer as it does of geography. With regard to his reliability, there are times when it is clear that Strabo has visited the loca-

tions under consideration. He describes the coast of Attica in such a way that it seems likely that he circumnavigated it. At other times he seems to have relied largely on other sources. The passages on Boeotia are apparently taken largely from earlier writings, most notably the catalogue of the ships in book 2 of the *Iliad*. Most scholars would agree that Strabo probably never visited the interior of Attica, and perhaps that is true for the rest of mainland Greece as well.

We have no way of knowing whether Strabo's work ever fulfilled its task of aiding some ancient general or politician. We do know that the geography did not find a wide audience in antiquity. Strabo's work was apparently not known to the Romans, not even to Pliny the elder, although the Jewish historian Josephus referred to it. His work was apparently not much used in the Byzantine and medieval periods, but the first translation of his text into Latin (1472) preceded Columbus's voyages by only 20 years. For the next 400 years Strabo's work was in the public eye. As an exemplar of idiographic, or descriptive, geography he was much admired. A prominent German geographer of the 16th century, Sebastian Munster, was referred to as the German Strabo. His *Cosmographia Universalis* was a standard work for over a century. By the mid-19th century such universal geography had become impossible for one man to compile. The trend was toward specialization, and from that point on, Strabo was forgotten as more modern methods of geographical research evolved.

For all that, Strabo's approach to geography is remarkably modern, a suitable predecessor to the current integration of physical and cultural geography. His prose does not, perhaps, reach the heights of literary achievement, but it is serviceable and he does not claim to be writing a literary masterpiece. A. Lesky's harsh judgement (*History of Greek Literature*, London, 1966, p. 890), that Strabo is "not important in any way", is surely unmerited. The value of his work as a compendium of cultural information, a historical geography, and a philosophy of geography is inestimable.

TIMOTHY F. WINTERS

See also Geography

Biography

Born at Amaseia in Pontus *c.*64 BC, Strabo was a pupil of Aristodemus of Nysa and later studied philosophy at Rome. He knew the philosopher Posidonius from whom he may have developed the idea of writing a historical geography. He wrote two major works: a universal history in 47 books (lost) and a *Geography* in 17 books which survives. He died *c.*AD 19.

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Sublime Porte

Ottoman centre of government, 1789–1922

The term "Sublime Porte" is a western description of the Ottoman centre of government from 1789 to 1922. Sublime Porte is an English adoption of the French phrase "La Sublime Porte", derived from the Turkish expression "Bab-I Ali". The literal translation of both phrases is "High" or "Exalted Gateway", representing the elevated western opinion of the Ottoman capital. Central to the effective administration of the Ottoman empire was the efficient bureaucracy that directed the actions of government at every level. An imported system imitating the Byzantine model, the Ottoman government of the late 18th, 19th, and early 20th centuries was one of the most effective administrations in the world.

Denoting the centre of government through description of a physical term is a western tradition similar to that of identifying the king's "court" with the centre of government of a kingdom. The Porte, or actual governmental headquarters of the Ottoman empire, changed location over the period 1789–1922, but the term consistently referred to the building or collection of buildings that housed the principal administrative agencies of the empire. In the 18th century the Porte referred to the actual court of the Grand Vizier; however, by the 20th century the term included the Grand Vizier's household and the multiple dispersed bureaux attached to him.

A lasting legacy that permeated many forms of government in the post-Byzantine world was dependence upon a trained, efficient bureaucracy to regulate and administer empires. The organization of the Porte, and the personnel assigned to it, was distinguished by the education of its workers and their dedication to specific government functions. Bureaucrats were selected by their aptitude for specific duties. Scribes dedicated themselves to the routine and monotonous functions of government record. Derived from this condition was a lack of concern for events beyond those related to the completion of official business. The Hellenic tradition, forming the base of the Ottoman administration, demanded servitude to government needs and duties with a lack of regard to social or soci-

etal disposition. This tradition further demanded a highly skilled and dedicated workforce.

Ottoman bureaucratic efficiency remained constant through the period of significant government change that occurred between 1789 and 1922. In the 18th century patrimonial appointment regulated duty assignments within the government and the Turkish system reflected lingering trends of the Hellenic tradition. Ottoman rulers, faced with the daunting task of administering distant and diverse populations, employed Greek civil servants in an attempt to replicate the efficiency of the Greek model. Greek bureaucrats, likewise, found employment within administrations in Europe and the Middle East. Imperial administration required specialized skills and disciplined dedication to duties, two qualities found in Greek civil servants.

It was not until the 19th century that the Sublime Porte reached its peak of efficiency. Imbued with the ideals of government servitude and possessing a great literary tradition, the Ottoman bureaucracy began a slow but distinct rise to prominence within the Ottoman empire. Most scribes dedicated themselves to a life presenting few opportunities for advancement; however, some civil servants found themselves employed in the highest positions in the state. Bureaucratic personnel in the 19th century came, in large part, from the ruling class. Gradually, Greek professionals lost opportunities to more politically attuned Turkish bureaucrats. Turkish civil servants encouraged a series of changes that resulted in the ability to enforce government policy, a condition absent in the period of Greek domination. No longer were the qualities of servitude and dedication in demand, as the Sublime Porte of the 19th century strove to align itself with changes in society and politics.

The Ottomans created a well-regulated bureaucratic apparatus capable of administering the empire with great efficiency through periods of significant political change. Disregarding political concerns, the civil service as an institution possessed the flexibility to meet the evolving needs of a changing nation. The personnel policy of the 20th century replaced the paternalism of the imperial system. This change facilitated a gradual shift in the balance of power from the government heads to the government as a whole. No longer were the imperialist tendencies of irrational and immediate changes in policy possible. The well-established bureaucracy of the 20th century efficiently carried out policy and administered law and order in a manner that was consistent with tradition but flexible enough to survive contemporary demands. The Sublime Porte represented the continuity of a Greek legacy adapted to the needs of a foreign government and system.

SCOTT BLANCHETTE

Summary

The Sublime Porte (literally the High Gateway) is a western term for the Ottoman centre of government in Constantinople from 1789 to 1922. Its bureaucracy (a system inherited from the Byzantines) formed the heart of the Ottoman administration and managed the empire with great efficiency. Its location changed several times.

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Superstition

Superstition, taken to refer to a mechanical application of ritual without regard for or knowledge of either the outcome or the reasons underlying the act, can be said to exist in one form or another in every culture and society. In this sense the term is derisive and negative. For that reason one would be hard pressed to find any person or group of persons who jealously claimed that they were superstitious or that their beliefs amounted to superstition. Nevertheless, the word does have a certain currency in discussions of religion and magic. Modern scholarship has yet to purge it of its purely negative connotations or to arrive at any adequate definition of it.

The Greek term for superstition is *deisidaimonia* which roughly means "fear of the divine". The adjectival form of the word, *deisidaimon*, entered the language in the early part of the 4th century BC and bears a neutral, if not positive, meaning. Thus in the *Cyropaedia* Xenophon uses it to designate the piety of Cyrus' soldiers. Writing a few decades after Xenophon, Aristotle in the *Politics* also uses the word in a positive sense, saying that a populace takes comfort in a leader who is pious.

Deisidaimonia is far more commonly used in a derogatory sense, and the ancients commonly supposed that women were especially susceptible to it. The most famous discussion of *deisidaimonia* occurs in the *Characters*, a short tract by Aristotle's student and successor Theophrastus, whose purpose was to present the reader with a catalogue of various personality types. Among those enumerated is the type that suffers from *deisidaimonia* or superstition, which, in his words, is a form of cowardice with respect to the divine. People of this type are mechanical and fastidious in their observance of ritual. They live in a state of anxiety and are for ever concerned with the proper observance of rituals no matter how trifling or strange. To cite one example, "upon seeing a crazy person or an epileptic, with a shudder he spits into his bosom."

Writing some 400 years later, Plutarch informs us in an essay devoted to table talk that belief in the evil eye was a superstition that could be ridiculed by the educated classes of his day. In a separate tract *On Superstition* he discusses more fully the meaning of *deisidaimonia*. In his view, it is akin to atheism, the latter resulting from the former, but not vice versa. Furthermore, *deisidaimonia* arises from false reasoning and is characterized by an almost pathological fear of the divine.

Accordingly, a fundamental tenet of *deisidaimonia* is a belief that the gods are evil and visit misfortune upon man, whereas the atheist attributes such misfortunes to chance.

For Christian writers *deisidaimonia* was a convenient term with which to attack traditional pagan belief. In this way Clement of Alexandria, writing his *Exhortation to the Greeks* during the last half of the 2nd century AD, labels non-Christian belief *deisidaimonia* and calls its believers superstitious. In this work, *deisidaimonia* has a sense of demon worship characterized by festivals and sacrifice. While exceptional, it is worth noting that the author of Acts depicts Paul applying this word to the Athenians in the positive sense of "godfearing". Despite this, the general trend throughout antiquity for Christian and pagan alike was to view *deisdaimonia* as negative. In more modern times it is worth noting that the *Didaskalia Patriki* from the 18th century equates superstition with a belief that Christianity depends upon its Churches for survival. Here the emphasis on symbol over faith appears to be the distinguishing mark of superstition.

The modern belief in the evil eye is an oft-cited example of superstition, although this concept is obviously of very ancient origin and not unique to Greece. As manifested in Greek culture, the evil eye is a complex idea that misfortune can accrue to an individual, animal, or object through the mere glance of one who possesses it. Thus, the evil eye entails not only the idea that someone falls victim to it, but also that someone may acquire it as an attribute. The number of qualities that cause an individual to become vulnerable to it are many and at times contradictory. The belief that the beautiful and ugly alike can fall prey to the evil eye is one example of this. Curiously, mothers who have recently given birth, but have not yet been purified, can suffer its effects, while their babies are immune until after their baptism. A variety of defences are available to protect oneself from the evil eye, the most widely used of which is the protective amulet. Once afflicted by it, the victim may seek treatment from spiritual healers, whether in the form of "wise women" or even the clergy.

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See also Atheism, Evil Eye, Magic

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Syllabary, Cypriot

The syllabic writing system used on Cyprus from the Bronze Age to the Hellenistic period

It is more precise to speak of "Cypriot syllabaries" than "the Cypriot syllabary", for there have been discovered many forms of syllabic scripts on Cyprus, corresponding to at least two distinct languages (probably more), and dating from the 16th to the 3rd centuries BC.

The earliest syllabic script on Cyprus, the vehicle of a language commonly called "Cypro-Minoan", remains undeciphered. This script has been found on objects dating from the 16th to the 12th centuries BC, including clay tablets, vases, cylinders, and balls, various objects of bronze, copper, and silver, and cylinder seals. The script generally runs from left to right, though a few short inscriptions run from right to left, and at least one is written in boustrophedon fashion ("as the ox plows", running alternately right to left and left to right). At least 85 distinct signs have been identified, each probably representing a complete syllable – i.e. a vowel sound or a consonant–vowel combination, but not an unvocalized consonant (as in a true alphabet). The subject matter of the Cypro-Minoan inscriptions is obscure, of course, since the script is undeciphered, but the inscriptions appear to serve practical purposes: personal names to identify ownership, records of economic transactions, and lists of names and objects. Even in the present state of ignorance about the language underlying these inscriptions, the fact of there being so many inscriptions on such a variety of objects, all distributed over a wide area, conveys the idea of a general population on Cyprus that had achieved at least a limited degree of literacy by this early period.

The Cypro-Minoan script and the Linear B syllabic script of the Greek mainland stand in equal relation to the Linear A syllabic script of Crete, both Cypro-Minoan and Linear B being offshoots of the even more ancient Linear A. The relationship between these three syllabic scripts was not understood at first, but it is now generally accepted that even the earliest Cypro-Minoan inscription, a small fragment of a clay tablet from Enkomi (on the east coast of Cyprus) containing three lines of text with 20 distinct signs and dated to the late 16th century, is derived directly from Minoan Linear A. Perhaps as many as 18 of the 20 distinct signs on the Enkomi tablet have parallels in Linear A, while none of the 20 signs has been found in any Near Eastern script. This confirms what had been well known from other archaeological evidence: that Cyprus during this period was within the orbit of Minoan Crete. It implies further that epigraphic contact between Crete and Cyprus may date as far back as the late 17th century BC. As this is well before the arrival of Greek-speaking Mycenaeans on Cyprus, the source of the early Cypro-Minoan script can now be confidently ascribed directly to Minoan Linear A, without the intermediation of Mycenaean Linear B.

The script of the Enkomi tablet is the prototype of the three subcategories of Bronze Age Cypro-Minoan (CM) script, which have been classified by type of text, location of find, and writing style: CM 1 (the local script from all over Cyprus), CM 2 (from Enkomi), and CM 3 (from the region of Ugarit in Syria). As such, it is also the ancestor of the second major cate-

Cypriot Syllabary: inscription found on a bronze obelos (spit) in a tomb at Skales, Cyprus

gory of syllabaries on Cyprus: the later Archaic and Classical Cypriot syllabary.

While the Archaic and Classical Cypriot syllabary is epigraphically the natural evolution of the Cypro-Minoan, the language conveyed by the Cypriot syllabary has been understood for over 100 years, its decipherment having been initiated by George Smith in 1871. The language is Greek. Mycenaean Greek traders had begun to focus their attention on Cyprus from as early as the late 15th century BC, and trade between the two countries – as evidenced by the vast quantity of Mycenaean pottery that continues to be found on Cyprus, as well as by the juxtaposition of Mycenaean and Cyprian goods recently discovered in the underwater excavation of a Bronze Age trading vessel wrecked off the coast of Ulu Burun – grew enormously in the 14th and 13th centuries BC. Finally, in the wake of the disturbances that inundated the Mediterranean at the end of the 13th century BC, large numbers of Mycenaean Greeks, displaced from their palace states on the Greek mainland, fled both westward and eastward, one of the more attractive destinations being Cyprus.

These Mycenaean refugees brought with them their language – a dialect of Greek now designated Arcado-Cypriot – which they began to transcribe in the writing system already in place on Cyprus. Like the Linear B syllabary on the Greek mainland, the Cypriot syllabary served this purpose adequately; and the fact that some of the later Cypriot signs – *na*, *se*, *pa*, *po*, *to*, *ti*, *ta/da*, and *lo/ro* – are nearly identical to Linear B signs of the same value shows that some crossfertilization occurred. The Cypriot syllabary has the same five vowel sounds as Linear B, and the consonant sounds are only slightly different (the labio-velars are absent; *t* and *d* are not distinguished, while *l* and *r* are). But unlike Linear B, the final consonants *-n*, *-r*, and *-s* are noted, and consonant clusters and diphthongs are fully spelled out. The ideograms that are so common on the Linear B tablets are absent in the Cypriot inscriptions, and, unlike Linear B, the writing direction of the Cypriot script is usually from right to left, perhaps owing to Semitic influence. The system as a whole is somewhat more streamlined, with only 56 distinct signs in the Cypriot script in comparison to the 87 distinct signs of Linear B.

The earliest inscription in the Cypriot syllabary, found in Palaipaphos in southwestern Cyprus and dating from the 11th century BC, is on a bronze spit; it contains five signs – *o-pe-le-ta-u* – which can be recognized as the genitive case of a Greek name, presumably that of the owner of the spit. The next earliest extant inscription does not occur until the 8th century BC, and inscriptions do not become common until the 6th. These are mostly funerary and dedicatory inscriptions on stone, metal, and clay. A very long inscription dating from 480–470 BC, containing more than 1000 signs, has been found in the city of Idalium, in central Cyprus. It is a large bronze tablet engraved with a promise from the king of Idalium to grant plots of land as a reward to a family of physicians who had operated without pay on those wounded in battle during a siege of the city by the Medes. The corpus of Cypriot inscriptions continues to grow as excavations on Cyprus continue, and it can now boast around 1000 members.

It is a matter of some surprise that although the Greek alphabet, modelled on the Phoenician, was apparently current on Cyprus from the 8th century BC on, the syllabic system continued to be preferred until at least the Classical age. But eventually inscriptions began to be written digraphically, with the Cypriot syllabary and the Greek alphabet written side by side, until the spread of Hellenization under Alexander the Great tipped the scales in favour of the alphabetic system.

As an addendum, it should be noted that several inscriptions in the Classical Cypriot syllabary, some as late as the 4th century BC, found especially in the city of Amathus on the south coast of Cyprus, cannot be deciphered as Greek. This unknown, non-Greek, perhaps native language is conventionally called Eteo-Cypriot. Its relation to the undeciphered Cypro-Minoan of the Bronze Age remains obscure.

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See also Linear B

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Symeon of Thessalonica, St d. 1429

Archbishop and liturgist

Until quite recently, Symeon has been known to scholars and the Orthodox faithful mainly as the author of seven works of pastoral and liturgical theology printed in volume 155 of Migne's *Patrologia Graeca*. These texts, which were first published in 1683 by patriarch Dositheos of Jerusalem and later translated into the vernacular languages of Orthodox Christians, have earned Symeon both recognition as a great authority on Byzantine worship and notoriety for his strong anti-Latin bias. Yet very little was known about either his life or his activities as archbishop of Thessalonica during a particularly turbulent period of that city's history until a substantial body of previously unknown historical, dogmatic, and liturgical writings by Symeon came to light in the last third of the 20th century. In addition to providing a biographical context for the archbishop's previously known work as a theologian and mystagogue, these recently discovered texts also contain valuable information about such events in the history of Thessalonica as the long siege of Murad II and Byzantium's transfer of the city to Venetian rule.

Symeon's spiritual formation apparently began in the last quarter of the 14th century within the circles of hesychast monks who, ever since the vindication of Gregory Palamas, had controlled the patriarchate of his native Constantinople. Tonsured as a monk and later ordained to the priesthood, he preached publicly in the capital and wrote a short treatise *On the Priesthood*. While gaining a reputation for erudition, Symeon evidently became acquainted with high officials of the Byzantine court and Church. Although the exact nature of these contacts is unknown (Balfour suggests that he may even have served as the confessor of Manuel II Palaiologos), they doubtless contributed to his elevation to the archiepiscopal see of Thessalonica sometime between June 1416 and April 1417.

As the archbishop of Byzantium's second city, Symeon immediately sought to put into practice the strong and simple faith in God, Orthodoxy, and empire that he had acquired as a monk in his beloved Constantinople through bold initiatives to raise moral and liturgical standards within his archdiocese. After issuing as his first official act an encyclical urging his entire flock to repent, he began to combat what he saw as moral laxity through a combination of preaching repentance and judicial activism. This course of action, which he pursued vigorously despite being beset by frequent and severe illnesses, soon alienated many members of his flock. Opposition to the rigorous application of the law in the ecclesiastical and civil courts under Symeon's jurisdiction was particularly strong, leading to successful appeals against his harsher decisions on matrimonial impediments to the patriarchal synod. Somewhat less controversial were his efforts to improve worship at his cathedral of Hagia Sophia, which was the last church in the empire to celebrate daily the liturgy of the hours according to the archaic Constantinopolitan "Sung" Office (*asmatiki akolouthia*). Recognizing the desire of worshippers to hear popular hymns from the monastic offices of Mar Saba, Symeon introduced a reformed cathedral Typikon and prayerbook that systematized borrowings of texts and music from the dominant Palestinian monastic rite. These two service books – which have survived incompletely as MSS. 2047 and 2065 in the National Library, Athens – show that Symeon further enriched the liturgy of his cathedral by supplementing the pre-existing liturgical texts of both rites with a considerable number of hymns and prayers of his own composition.

Political events overshadowed Symeon's work as the chief liturgist and moral guardian of Thessalonica when the peace that had held since the city's first Turkish occupation in 1403 began to deteriorate. In opposition to strong civic factions that favoured either a transfer of sovereignty to Venice or outright surrender to the Turks, Symeon preached a policy of total loyalty to Constantinople and Orthodoxy backed up by repentance and faith in the miraculous powers of the city's patron St Demetrius. Already deeply unpopular, this idealistic stand provoked severe criticism that caused the near total breakdown of his health, despite which he embarked on an abortive personal mission to the capital in 1422. After reaching only as far as Mount Athos, Symeon returned to Thessalonica and witnessed the despot Andronikos hand over the city to the Venetians in September 1423. Remarkably, with the transfer accomplished, Symeon began to recover from his illnesses and bargained successfully with his new Roman Catholic masters to safeguard the rights of Thessalonica's Orthodox Christians. During the following six years of constant Turkish siege, he regained the respect of his dwindling flock for his efforts to alleviate their material suffering. These contributions to the maintenance of morale greatly impressed the city's Venetian governors, whose Senate recognized him as *fidelissimus noster* for his determined resistance to the Turks. When Symeon died unexpectedly in the autumn of 1429, some months before Murad II's capture of Thessalonica, his death was recorded by the historian John the Reader as presaging the removal of God's protection from the city.

After the fall of Thessalonica, Symeon's personal and literary reputation went into steep decline. The vast majority of his texts for the archaic public liturgy of Thessalonica probably fell out of use immediately, becoming useless after the city's great secular churches were converted into mosques. His dogmatic and hortatory writings, highly topical and full of temporarily unfashionable anti-Latin sentiments, similarly passed into obscurity. By contrast, the seven mystagogical and didactic works mentioned above were extremely influential as textbooks for priests throughout the period of Turkish domination. The greatest of these is the monumental *Dialogue in Christ*, an extended treatise on doctrine and liturgy set as a dialogue between Symeon and an unnamed lower cleric. Beginning with a section refuting various heresies, the *Dialogue* proceeds systematically to describe and interpret the symbolism of the major liturgical services – both cathedral and monastic – of the Orthodox Church, achieving in its course a valedictory synthesis of the two main streams of Byzantine liturgical theology: the "cosmic" tradition of Maximos and the "life of Christ" tradition of Germanos. In recognition of this and his other achievements, Symeon was finally proclaimed a saint of the Orthodox Church on 3 May 1981.

ALEXANDER LINGAS

Biography

Born in Constantinople in the later 14th century and educated by hesychast monks there, Symeon was tonsured as a monk and ordained a priest. He became archbishop of Thessalonica in 1416/17. He witnessed the handover of the city to the Venetians in 1423. His writings concern pastoral and liturgical theology but also the history of Thessalonica in the 1420s. His didactic works were used as textbooks for priests. He died in 1429.

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Symeon the Logothete

Chronicler of the 10th century

Symeon the Logothete is the name of a 10th-century chronicler who worked in the revived tradition of Byzantine chronicle writing. The tradition of the world chronicle (that is, spanning the period from Creation to present memory) had stalled in the 7th century, only reviving (or surviving) at the start of the 9th century with the world chronicle of Theophanes, which ended in the year 813. Other 9th-century chronicles are Nikephoros's *Short History*, which covered the period from Phokas (602–10) to Constantine V (741–75), and the *Scriptor Incertus de Leone Armenio* covering up to a few years after 813, but it was George the Monk who next took up the mantle of the world chronicler, covering from creation to 842. After George the next surviving chronicle is that of our Symeon. Unfortunately no edition of the original text exists, and the problematic nature of producing one is not in doubt; it is universally acknowledged that Symeon's chronicle presents severe difficulties, for the primary text was soon the object of redactional alterations that have modified its original character (see for instance Markopoulos, 1979, p. 83).

It is however generally agreed that the chronicle covers world history up to 948, that it shows a positive bias towards the emperor Romanos I Lekapenos (920–44) at the expense of the Macedonian dynasty, and extends an earlier chronicle that originally covered from Adam to 713 (see however Markopoulos, 1983, p. 279). The chronicler's hand seems to appear first in the reign of Michael III (842–67), and from this point on the chronicle appears to fall into three distinct parts: the reign of Michael III, the reigns of Basil I, Leo VI, and Alexander (867–913), and a personal account of the period 913–48 (Jenkins, 1965). For the reign of Michael III, the author has apparently united an account of the accession of Basil the Macedonian, a Basilian résumé, and some interpolations, rather than a single hostile account of the life of Basil (Karlin-Hayter, 1991). As for the middle section, it seems that the author has used an annalistic source, with the result that the order of events for this period is chronologically accurate, in contrast to the chronological errors for the periods 856–67 and 913–48 (Jenkins). Following Jenkins's method for the period 867–913 Treadgold argues that Symeon is also chronologically accurate for 813–45, having used accurate chronicles that are now lost, thus making him a very significant source for early 9th-century history. For the four reigns before Leo V the *Chronographia* of Theophanes is used.

The textual history of the chronicle is not, however, so simple; in fact there appear to be two versions of the chronicle: the deemed-authentic A, which is philo-Lekapene and close to the original text; and B, the long version, with interpolations from Genesios (Markopoulos, 1979; Karlin-Hayter, 1971, pp. 454–55). Logothete B is notable for its favouring of the Phokas family, and is extended to 963. There also appears to be a linguistic difference between the two versions. B is more "purist", with methods akin to those of the Metaphrast, but may have been written by the Logothete too, using a pro-Phokas text (Markopoulos, 1979, p. 89).

As noted above, the original text was soon subject to redactions by other authors, notably those of Theodosios Melissenos (once thought to be "Melitenos") and Leo Grammatikos. It is also known as the continuation of the chronicle of George the Monk (Georgius Monachus Continuatus), perhaps done by Symeon the Logothete himself (Moravcsik, 1958, p. 270). There is also another version of Georgius Monachus Continuatus (marked by insertions from Genesios), so there are in fact two redactions under this name also. Thus developed the different redactions of the "Epitome" (the name given to the hypothesized original base text), which appeared under diverse author names or anonymously.

It is interesting to note the different bias of the two other mid-10th-century chroniclers, Theophanes Continuatus (whose chronicle consists of the sections 813–67, the *Life of Basil*, and the later extension from 886 to 961) and Genesios (who spans the years 813–86), who are essentially pro-Macedonian (though all the chroniclers show the preference for the arrangement by reign rather than by year). These two chroniclers continued Theophanes directly, from 813. While Theophanes Continuatus is distinct from Symeon up to the famous book 5, the *Life of Basil*, he does turn to Symeon (via the second recension of Georgius Monachus Continuatus) for material for book 6 (886–961), namely the period 886–948. The later chroniclers Skylitzes and Zonaras were to turn directly to Theophanes Continuatus rather than to Symeon the Logothete. Another chronicler worth noting in connection with Symeon the Logothete is pseudo-Symeon, whose chronicle covered from the creation up to 963, and is in fact largely copied from other sources, including Symeon the Logothete. His chronicle is marked by the insertion of regnal years (which

seem to have no validity), and also by a striking anti-Photios streak.

As to the person of the original Symeon magister and logothete, some seek to identify him with other known 10th-century homonyms, notably Symeon Metaphrastes, thus making a single figure who was "a high imperial official, hagiographer, lawyer, legal writer, chronicle compiler – and poet" (Ševčenko, 1969–70, p. 218). However some still doubt this conjecture. Metaphrastes was famous for his systematized collection of saints' lives, which he reworked in a higher literary style. There are also poems (on the deaths of Stephen son of Romanos I and of the emperor Constantine VII) and letters in the name of Symeon magister and logothete.

SHAUN TOUGHER

See also Chronicles

Biography

The name given to the author of a 10th-century world chronicle covering the period from the Creation to AD 948. Extending the received tradition, the chronicler seems to have contributed three sections covering (1) the reign of Michael III (842–67), (2) the reigns of Basil I, Leo VI, and Alexander (867–913), and (3) a personal account of the period 913–48.

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Symeon The New Theologian, St 949–1022

Mystic

Symeon was a highly controversial figure in his time. His works are among the most vivid of the eastern Christian Church's tradition, with their rhapsodic appeal to direct personal experience. His title "New Theologian" began, in all probability, as a denigration, suggesting an "innovator", but his disciples turned it to their advantage, elevating him to the rarefied heights of only two others who were given that designation – the Apostle John and St Gregory of Nazianzus. He was afterwards to be regarded as a forefather of the hesychast movement, although the influential treatise assigned to his name, concerning the physical method of hesychastic prayer, so highly prized among the Athonites, is not by him; nor can certain noted characteristics of later hesychastic method be found in his work, such as devotion to the Jesus prayer. Nevertheless, his ecstatic light-centred mystical enthusiasm set a standard to which later writers aspired. In a real, but qualified sense he can be regarded as a founder of what later came to be Byzantine hesychasm.

Symeon was born to a wealthy Byzantine family, provincial aristocrats from Asia Minor. His father brought him to Constantinople for his education in 960. In the revolution of 963, as Nikephoros Phokas seized the throne, Symeon's uncle and patron met his end and the child's education was interrupted. After a short setback he reappeared once more in an elevated social setting. An unknown senator had taken him on to his household staff. Symeon attended the palace daily, and soon assumed senatorial rank himself.

In his twenties he described himself as a somewhat rakish youth, travelling to and from court on business. He first encountered the Studite monk Symeon Eulabes at this time, and, like other aristocrats, he was drawn to this odd but generously charismatic figure who served as father confessor to an elite group. He visited him whenever he was in the city, and the monk gave him spiritual books to read, but clearly there was little more to the connection until the occasion, around 969, when he had an experience that he described (much later) as highly significant for him. He tells us of a vision of lights – one light in the presence of another. He interpreted the event as his spiritual father interceding for him before Christ. Nothing much seems to have changed in the outward circumstances of his life subsequent to that first visionary experience, but it would be decisive in retrospect. Seven years after this, in 976, when he was 27 years of age, another palace coup initiated a sequence of events that changed his life permanently. The *parakoimomenos* (guardian of the bedchamber) Basil seized the throne on behalf of the prince (Basil II) and Symeon's family seem to have been clearly marked out by the new power as a hostile element. His political career was definitively terminated at this point, and he seems to have taken temporary refuge with his spiritual father at the Stoudios monastery in Constantinople. Here he tells us that once again he experienced an overwhelming vision of light. He saw the radiance of Christ, directly, and this became for him a definitive conversion point. It marked his permanent entrance into the monastic state.

In a short time Symeon was moved to the St Mamas monastery at the Xylokerkos gate in the capital (not far from

the Stoudios monastery). The hagiographer, and those following him too trustingly (for the *Life* is tendentious and often confused over details), have seen this as an "expulsion". It ought to be read as his promotion and his permanent protection by sympathetic patrons outside the court. Three years later, in 979–80, Symeon was elected *hegoumenos* (abbot) of the same household. It was an event that indicated the significant patronage he could still bring to bear as a powerful aristocratic leader, even though now a monk.

Symeon substantially refurbished the site of St Mamas, and at this time began to deliver the traditional morning Catecheses to the monks of the community, which have survived as the central body of his work. Much of his approach in the Catecheses is traditional Stoudite observance, but he has his own style and emphasis, and so he places a particularly strong emphasis on the dedicated obedience that he expects should be given to the spiritual father by all monks. He stressed the necessity for direct personal experience in the life of the Spirit, underlining the need for tears, even insisting that without tears a monk should not approach the divine mysteries. This telescoping of the roles of spiritual father and *hegoumenos* seems to have caused no little conflict among his subordinates. Between 986 and 989 Byzantine society was disrupted by serious civil dispute. The emperor Basil II took measures to restrict his enemies, and regarded Symeon with more and more suspicion. In the same period (986–87) Symeon Eulabes died at the Stoudios monastery, leaving Symeon as the new head and leader of his school of disciples, a circle that included both monastics and aristocrats.

Some time between 995 and 998 the growing opposition to Symeon's discipline and teaching broke out in the form of a revolt by a large number of his community. They threatened him at morning service and lodged an official complaint against him at the patriarchal court, a plea that was eventually dismissed. The *Life* attempts to minimize the whole affair, but the uprising probably coincided with the death of patriarch Nicholas Chrysoberges and the installation of the first appointment of Basil II in his own right, patriarch Sisinnios II (995–98). Sisinnios was succeeded by Sergios II Manuelites (999–1019) and the latter's court also instituted legal proceedings against Symeon. These processes were more vigorously pursued and eventually would result in his exile. The first formal arraignment turned around the issue of the unofficial cult of the master that Symeon had instituted in memory of his teacher. The elder's reputation was attacked, in an attempt to discredit the younger Symeon, and after 995 his cult (veneration of his icon) was forbidden at St Mamas. The emperor thus began to move against Symeon by means of the ecclesiastical court process, employing his long-time confidant bishop Stephen of Alexina, the patriarchal chancellor. In 1003 an attempt was made to entangle Symeon in a more formal theological debate concerning his Trinitarian orthodoxy. He returned a satisfactory answer to the charges but also took the opportunity to lambaste Stephen for attempting to theologize without first having experienced impassibility and the divine light. It was tantamount to a declaration of war. The attrition carried on for six years in all, culminating in a sentence of deposition issued against Symeon in 1005 with house arrest, then exile.

On 3 January 1009 Symeon was forcibly exiled to Paloukiton, near Chrysopolis. His circle soon supplied the money to buy the oratory of St Marina and nearby lands. Here Symeon wrote some of his most famous works, including the exquisite *Hymns of Divine Love* which are a classic of Byzantine religious writing. They mark him out as one of the Christian tradition's leading mystics. On his last journey, while returning to his monastery, he was worn out by an attack of dysentery, and nearing Chrysopolis he died at the age of 73, in 1022.

Symeon was received as a great master of the inner life by the Athonite monks, and his reputation was championed on the Holy Mountain. In recent decades he has also attracted increasing scholarly attention. His writing is important both for the historical light it throws on a dark period of Byzantine affairs, and more so for the spiritual and mystical themes it treats with such freshness and authority. In a more restricted sense Symeon is also a highly influential figure for the doctrine of spiritual fatherhood that he represented to such a strong degree, and which has had so marked an impact on Orthodox spiritual praxis.

JOHN A. MCGUCKIN

Biography

Born in Paphlagonia in 949, Symeon was brought to Constantinople in 960 by his father for his education. He initally embarked on a career in public life and became a senator. But under the influence of Symeon Eulabes he changed course and entered the Stoudios monastery. He became head of his own monastery in 979, but was exiled in 1009. His writings include catecheses, hymns, and treatises. He died near Chrysopolis in 1022.

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Symi

Island in the Dodecanese

The Aegean island of Symi lies to the north of Rhodes, of which the nearest point is 24 km away, and almost equidistantly between the two rocky mainland peninsulas of Cnidus and Dorakis, the latter some 10 km to the south; with an area of 64 sq km it is one of the smaller islands of the Dodecanese.

Symi is mentioned briefly in the writings of Herodotus, Strabo, and Pliny, but it was the 6th-century AD grammarian Stephanus Byzantinus, drawing on Classical authors, who provided most of the early information on the island's origins. Initially called Metapontis and Aegle, the island apparently obtained the name Symi from the daughter of Ialysus, called Syme; it was she, with Chthonius, a son of Poseidon, who was held to have first populated the island. At several points in its history the island was deserted, but was finally (according to Diodorus Siculus, 5. 33) populated by Argives and Lacedaemonians. In the *De Thematibus* of Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos (913–59) the island is listed in the 14th theme, named Cibyrreote. When Christopher Buondelmonti wrote of the island in his *Liber Insularum* of *c.*1420 he claimed that its name derived either from Simatis, who had been king of the island, or from *sima*, the Greek vernacular for "near", in reference to its proximity to Asia Minor.

The island's history is dominated by its involvement with the sea, the Symiots being renowned boat builders, sponge fishers, and swimmers. The prowess of the men at building boats was already acknowledged in Homeric times, since during the Trojan War the hero Nireus, the son of Aglaia and king Charopus, is reported (*Iliad*, 2. 671) to have gone with a contribution of three ships from Symi to assist Agamemnon in the Trojan expedition.

The small harbour-side village of Nimporeio offers interesting traces of early Christian building activity. Mosaics from the floor of the north aisle of a basilica can be seen there; dated to the 6th century, the inventiveness of the designs, which include a man leading a camel and a stag being chased by a hound, suggests a relatively prosperous phase in the island's history. If so, this would probably have been brought to an end with the widespread Arab raids of the 7th century. Symi is not mentioned by any of the medieval Byzantine historians.

The Hospitaller Knights of St John of Jerusalem, based at Rhodes, were certainly in possession of the island by 1351, since in that year the inhabitants complained to the Order that they could not afford to pay the *mortuaria* (a tax comparable to death duties), but it is probable that the knights were already in control by 1320, as was certainly the case on the nearby island of Nisyros. The castle that the knights built at Symi on the ancient acropolis of the harbour town of Egalio made use of pre-existing Cyclopean walling, and it must have played a significant part in their developing defences against the Turks. In 1457, and so only four years after he had taken Constantinople, the young sultan Mehmet II launched an assault on the castle as part of his campaign of intended subjugation of the Aegean, but his forces were driven off by the boiling oil and liquid pitch that the defenders poured down; the attackers withdrew after ten days. The importance that successive grand masters placed on the castle of Symi is shown by the escutcheons that can still be seen there; one is of the grand master Pierre d'Aubusson (1476–1503), and is dated 1507 (four years after his death), suggesting continued rebuilding.

The natural resources of the island, which has a mild climate although only a modest rainfall, included plentiful trees that for centuries were the source of timber for the construction of boats. This supply was much depleted when many ships were being built during the War of Independence. The land is generally rather infertile, but wine was certainly produced there in the later medieval period.

Symi did not play any major strategic role in Hellenic history, being dominated either by the nearby promontories of Asia Minor or by the much larger island of Rhodes to the south. Thus, with the capitulation of the Hospitallers to the Turks in January 1523, Ottoman rule was inaugurated in Symi. The island was to remain in Turkish hands until 1912, when the Italians occupied all the Dodecanese. The 18th-century monastery of St Michael Panormitis on the south coast played a part as a staging post at the end of the World War II, providing shelter for refugees who were returning to Greece

from Asia Minor. Symi returned to being within Greek governance only in 1947.

PAUL HETHERINGTON

Summary

One of the Dodecanese, Symi is renowned for its connection with the sea. Boat building has been an important industry since Homeric times. The Hospitaller Knights of St John, based at nearby Rhodes, controlled Symi from *c.*1320 to 1523 when it fell into Ottoman hands. Since then its history has followed that of the rest of the Dodecanese.

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Symposium

A *symposion* was a drinking party. It was also the setting from which much of early Greek poetry and philosophy emerged.

The focus of research on symposia is on Greek cities of the 7th to 4th centuries BC: during that period, several forms of evidence concur in demonstrating their crucial importance in Greek culture. They are to be observed in the archaeology of private houses and of temples, in sculpture, in the form and the iconography of vases, and in poetic and prose literature. But if we look for origins, the different kinds of evidence lead us in different directions.

Symposia took place in purpose-built rooms, *andrones* ("men's rooms"), easily recognized by archaeologists because they were designed to take a certain number of couches (usually 5, 7, or 11) around the walls. Sometimes there are surviving floor markings to show the placing of the couches and of the small serving tables. Participants reclined, one or two to a couch. The custom of reclining at banquets and drinking parties is traced to the 7th or 8th century BC in Greece, to the 6th or 7th century BC in Etruscan Italy, and to the 8th century BC or earlier in the Levant and Mesopotamia. The idea thus appears to have spread westwards, and has been linked with Phoenician trading contacts.

Symposia followed an evening meal. Food did not mix with conversation or with cultural pursuits. After eating, a libation of neat wine marked the beginning of the drinking; the libation was mainly for the gods, however. Wine, in large quantities, was then mixed with at least equal volumes of water for the symposium itself. The ideal strength of the mixture was a matter of argument: it was decided on each occasion by the host or by a participant who was chosen as *symposiarchos* ("party ruler"). Mixing was done in a large vase (*krater*). Vase paintings show how attendants ladled wine from the *krater*

Symposium: relief showing a participant holding out his drinking bowl to have it replenished, National Archaeological Museum, Athens

into individual cups. *Krateres*, accompanied by drinking cups, are well known from Classical Greece (and Greek vases were exported in great numbers to Etruria, where they are found as grave goods), but there are also vases of similar forms from much earlier sites in Greece and the southern Balkans, suggesting that the wine-mixing ritual is to be traced back locally to prehistoric times.

Vase paintings depict many other details of the typical or ideal symposium. Sweets, dried fruit, and nuts accompanied the wine. Toasts were drunk, often praising the beauty of boys; some vases appear to have been commissioned as mementos of this. Music was played, both by participants and by slave entertainers such as the ubiquitous "flute-girls" (*auletrides*). Philosophy, politics, and many other topics were discussed; poems and songs were recited. Dancers, acrobats, and prostitutes might be hired. Drunkenness supervened – slowly, since the wine was diluted – but almost inevitably, since not to drink was a cause for mockery and the proceedings might well last all night. Symposia allowed free speech and the release of inhibitions: proverbially, things said and done there were to be forgotten, or at any rate not to be betrayed, the next day.

In Greece the symposium was essentially an activity for those of citizen status, and for men only. The latter was apparently not true of Levantine drinking parties and certainly not of Etruscan ones. In Greece any women who were present were slave entertainers or *hetairai* (courtesan) and in either case sexually available; participants' wives and daughters were not to be seen. The presence of adolescent boys, under the aegis of a parent or a lover, may be regarded as a form of initiation into adult male society.

There was a genre of short poems composed specifically for recitation at symposia, *skolia* or drinking songs. There is persuasive evidence that much of the rest of early Greek poetry, including elegy, iambus, and monodic lyric, was typically performed at symposia too. As a setting for philosophical discussion symposia appear in different, but complementary, lights in the *Symposium* of Plato and the *Symposium* of Xenophon, in both of which Socrates is depicted as a participant. These two works mark the beginning of a literary genre of dialogues with a sympotic setting and, in general, with moral, philosophical, or scholarly themes; examples survive by several much later authors, including Lucian and Plutarch.

While feasting might often be a municipal, and an essentially public, activity, symposia may be seen as essentially private. How far the practice was common to different social classes must have varied from place to place. In the Archaic period, for example, symposia are integral to the aristocratic society depicted in the lyrics of Alcaeus and Anacreon; they are not apparent at all in Homer or Hesiod, though aspects of sympotic behaviour have been observed in the feasts of the *Odyssey* and *Iliad*. In Classical Athens, if we may judge by the written sources, people who went to symposia consisted of a fashionable, cultural, and political elite; others did not know how to behave at such a gathering, or even how to recline elegantly, as Streptocleon teaches his father Bdelycleon to do in an amusing scene from Aristophanes' *Wasps*. Some participants were wealthy enough to act regularly as hosts, while others were perpetual guests or *parasitoi*, tolerated or welcomed for their entertainment value.

It is far from clear how long into Hellenistic or Roman times the symposium remained a living institution. In the 2nd century AD Plutarch's *Symposium Questions* claim to be based on social gatherings that were similar to Classical symposia in their intellectual content if not in their sexual freedom. This is the latest significant source for symposia as a feature of contemporary society.

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Synesius AD 370–413

Administrator and philosopher

Synesius, an aristocrat of Cyrene, proud of the city's Doric past, was educated at Alexandria among other places by the philosopher Hypatia, from whom he acquired his deep love of Plato mediated through the writings of the Neoplatonists. Thanks to his letters (156 survive) we have one of the fullest and most sympathetic depictions of the life of a late 4th-century amateur philosopher and administrator. For nearly three years (AD 397–400) he represented his city in Constantinople on an embassy to secure tax concessions. His essays *On Kingship* and *On Providence* reveal this involvement with contemporary politics in the imperial capital. No doubt this practical experience and the high regard in which he was held by his fellow citizens as well as his own virtuous life were among the reasons why Theophilus, the patriarch of Alexandria, asked him to become bishop of Ptolemais (Cyrene and the Pentapolis) even though he was not yet a Christian. In a long and eloquent letter (105) he attempted, clearly in vain, to dissuade the patriarch, arguing his loyal devotion to his wife and family and his deep attachment to the philosophy of Plato. On three issues in particular he felt he could not compromise: the eternity of the world, the resurrection, and the creation of soul at birth. He was willing to accept certain Christian dogmas as "mythical" truth presented to the faithful in general, so long as he might continue to hold his own, true view, in private. This is how he puts it himself:

> It is difficult if not impossible for doctrines to be shaken which have entered the soul through knowledge and

> proof. You know that philosophy in many ways opposes these doctrines that are on everyone's lips. To be sure, I will never think it right to consider the soul to be generated after the body. I will not say that the cosmos and its parts will perish. The resurrection that everyone speaks about I consider to be something sacred and inexpressible and I am far from agreeing with the ideas held by the masses. The philosopher's mind which has a vision of the truth can agree to a necessary lie.

Synesius served as bishop from 410 to 413, a number of his letters giving details of some of the difficulties he faced with corrupt officials and of some of his pastoral duties. His last days were not happy, because he vainly sought to protect Cyrene from the incursions of marauding tribesmen from the interior.

Although a man who enjoyed the active life – he was particularly fond of hunting – his temperament was also deeply spiritual as is testified by nine surviving metrical hymns that are completely pagan in content. They betray the influence of Orphic, Hermetic, and Chaldaean ideas and expressions grafted onto a metaphysical structure that owes much to a tradition taking its rise in speculations begun by Porphyry. Despite their pagan ethos, the personal engagement and passion of the author as he contemplates his place as an exile in the beguiling and dangerous physical world ensured their popularity among Christians. Synesius, however, and here he was again following in the footsteps of Porphyry, rejected in his work *On Dreams* the sacramental (theurgic) rituals of salvation espoused by Iamblichus and Proclus.This tendency he probably owed to Hypatia's version of Neoplatonism that emphasized science more than ritual religion. The treatise *On Dreams* extols personal moral and intellectual effort in the ascent and return of the soul to God.

The figure of the incorruptible and indefatigable bishop caught the imagination of Christian writers of the 6th and 7th centuries such as Evagrius and John Moschos, whereas from the 9th century onwards the philosophical content of his essays is of greater importance to his readers. Photios praises him as having brought glory again to Cyrene. Synesius' own programme to unite literature (rhetoric) and philosophy, expounded in his essay *Dion*, found a resonance in the similar programme of Michael Psellos who, like Synesius, could also regard the study of Plato as the best of all preparations for Christianity. In the 14th century Nikephoras Kallistes cites with approval a large passage of letter 105, included perhaps as a disguised claim for freedom of thought.

Synesius appealed, too, as a model of Attic style and as an example for the genre of epistolography in which he was admired by Theophylact of Ohrid. Although Synesius was one of the most popular authors of the Byzantine period, he can scarcely be described as an original or fundamental thinker; the later wide circulation and influence of his works can best be ascribed to the fact that he lived at a period of transition from a pagan to a Christian world, a transition that he encapsulated in his own life and thought. It was all too tempting to find together in one person Christian bishop, pagan philosopher, Greek stylist, and an engaging and likable character. Too unorthodox to have been proclaimed a saint, he has nevertheless served as a model for the double ideal of traditional Hellenist and devout Christian.

ANDREW SMITH

Biography

Born at Cyrene in AD 370, Synesius was a pupil of Hypatia in Alexandria. He went to Constantinople on an embassy in 397–400. Though not yet a Christian, he was elected bishop of Ptolemais in 410. His writings include letters, hymns, and essays. He died in 413.

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Syracuse

City in Sicily

Syracuse (modern Siracusa) was the leading city of Sicily virtually from its foundation in 733 BC until its sack by the Arabs in AD 878. It was founded by Corinthian colonists led by Archias, one of the Bacchiad aristocracy of Corinth, who placed his settlement on the island of Ortygia which was well supplied with water: the spring of Arethusa on the waterfront was potable until an earthquake early in the 19th century allowed sea water to seep in. Myth related that, as the nymph Arethusa fled from her lover Alpheus, Artemis saved her from rape by changing her into a spring and her wooer into a river. Strabo claimed that the Alpheus river in the Peloponnese flowed underground to Syracuse where its water mingled with the spring.

The earliest settlers monopolized the land, reducing the native Sicels to serfs, and they became a landowning aristocracy called the Gamoroi. The city prospered, pulling ahead of its nearest rivals Gela and Acragas. It had outgrown Ortygia by the mid-6th century BC, when the island was connected to the mainland by a mole and the population spilled into the Neapolis area. A temple to Apollo was built *c.*565 BC (it is considered the earliest of Sicily's great Doric temples), and it was soon followed by a temple of Olympian Zeus outside the city, south of the river Ciane. In 485 BC the Gamoroi, who had been expelled by a popular uprising of the Syracusan commons and the Sicel serfs, appealed to Gelon, tyrant of Gela, who took Syracuse easily and transferred his headquarters there, conscripting new citizens from Gela and expanding at the expense of Syracuse's neighbours. In 480 BC he destroyed a Carthaginian invasion force at Himera on the north coast, and one monument of this is the Doric temple of Athena which was transformed into the cathedral of Syracuse in AD 640 and is still in use.

Syracuse: the columns of the ancient temple of Athena are embedded in the north wall of the cathedral

Gelon's brother Hiero (478–467 BC) succeeded him as tyrant, but he was a harsh, unpopular ruler, and a year after his death a general uprising ousted his brother and successor Thrasbylulus, and founded a democracy. Yet Syracusan politics were still unsettled at the time of the ill-fated Athenian attack (415–413 BC) which ended with the annihilation of the Athenian forces. Hermocrates, the hero of the Syracusan resistance, was no supporter of democracy, and after the Athenian debacle, when he left Syracuse to lead a squadron of warships to help the Peloponnesian allies, the democratic statesman Diocles persuaded the city to adopt a new constitution and lawcode. Hermocrates was banished in 409 BC, but he returned to Sicily, and in 407 BC he was killed attempting to force re-entry into Syracuse.

Yet one of his followers, Dionysius "the Elder", did manage eventually to seize power and he held it until his death 38 years later. Early in his tyranny Syracuse narrowly avoided capture by a Carthaginian army, which was first weakened by pestilence and finally utterly defeated by a Syracusan attack. Refugees from Acragas, Gela, and Camerina enlarged the city's population, and Dionysius strengthened its defences with walls along the triangular Epipolae ridge and the Euryalus fort (modern Castello Eurialo) at its apex. Dionysius' son and namesake was of a different stripe. Good-natured, impractical, and ultimately oppressive, he toyed with the idea of becoming a Platonic statesman with Plato as his adviser, and for three years (357–354 BC) his step-uncle Dion, having seized power, tried to play the philosopher king and succeeded only in becoming a despot. He was killed by his own soldiers in 354 BC and Syracuse lapsed into anarchy which not even Dionysius II's return to power seven years later could remedy. Finally, with Greek Sicily depressed and Carthage threatening again, Syracusan exiles appealed to Corinth, which sent Timoleon who ousted Dionysius, defeated Carthage, and revived Syracuse.

After Timoleon's death another revolution in Syracuse brought in an oligarchy, and in 317 BC Agathocles seized power, backed by mercenaries from Campania and exiles from the Greek cities. He vigorously resisted the encroachment of Carthage, even invading Carthaginian territory in Africa itself, while at home the conduct of affairs seems to have been peaceful. Disorder followed his death in 289 BC until around 270 BC, when Hiero II began his reign of more than 50 years. Hiero II was a paternalistic despot who shrewdly allied himself with Rome in the First Punic War, and consequently, when Sicily became a Roman province, Syracuse remained a free Roman ally and a centre of Greek culture which could claim the poet Theocritus and the scientist Archimedes. Hiero's successor, his grandson Hieronymus, reversed his policy, but did not live to see the result. A coup overthrew him, and out of the bloodshed that ensued, a pro-Carthaginian faction seized control and Rome laid siege to the city. Syracuse resisted valiantly, helped by the ingenious devices designed by Archimedes, and Carthage sent help, but disease carried off much of the Carthaginian army. Hope vanished by the autumn of 212 BC, and traitors opened one of the gates of Ortygia. In the pillage

that followed, Archimedes was killed by a Roman soldier who failed to recognize him.

Syracuse now became the seat of the praetor or governor of the Roman province of Sicily, and we get a glimpse of the city under Roman rule in Cicero's orations against Verres, a corrupt governor who looted the province. It suffered in the civil war following Julius Caesar's assassination in 44 BC, and the emperor Augustus planted a colony there in 21 BC. In AD 665 the Byzantine emperor Constans II moved his capital there, but he was assassinated in 668 and his plan to remove the imperial capital from Constantinople died with him. The bishops of Syracuse were under papal jurisdiction until the 8th century, but around 733 the emperor Leo III placed them under the patriarch of Constantinople, and the head of the diocese became archbishop of Syracuse, then archbishop of Sicily and, probably from the second half of the 9th century, metropolitan of Sicily. Cultural links with Byzantium were close, and aspiring Syracusan youths sometimes went to Constantinople for their education.

The Arabs raided Syracuse frequently and in 878 they took the city. We have an account of the siege by an eyewitness, Theodosios the Monk, who described it in a letter to the deacon Leo, which has survived complete in Latin translation. The Byzantines recaptured the city in 1040 under George Maniakes, but after his recall the Arabs recovered it, and held it until the Normans took it in 1085. The Arab notables fled when the city fell, and the Normans restored papal jurisdiction and the Latin rite. The Arabs, however, left one memorial: they introduced papyrus, which still grows beside the river Ciane, the only place north of the Equator where it still grows wild.

Modern Syracuse is rich in monuments of the Graeco-Roman past. In Ortygia there are the badly damaged temple of Apollo, *c.*565 BC, and the temple of Athena, now the cathedral, *c.*480 BC. There are also remains of a large unfinished Ionic temple, which would have borne comparison with the great Ionic temples of Hera on Samos and Artemis at Ephesus. On the mainland is the temple of Olympian Zeus, *c.*550 BC, where two columns still stand. The great Greek theatre was remodelled frequently for different uses, and there is a small, unexcavated Roman theatre that was probably used for drama when gladiatorial games became the staple of the Greek theatre. The fortifications of the Epipolae ridge have been extensively modified since they were built by Dionysius I. The great altar of Hieron II was built between 241 and 215 BC for mass sacrifices of victims when the festival of Zeus Eleutherios was held, and the Roman amphitheatre (3rd century AD) is one of the largest still in existence. The Christian catacombs are more extensive than in any other city except Rome. The early Christian churches attest to a vibrant community: one of them, the basilical S. Giovanni Evangelista (6th century?), is the largest church in Byzantine Sicily.

JAMES ALLAN EVANS

See also Sicily

Summary

The chief city of ancient Sicily, Syracuse was founded by Corinthian colonists in 733 BC. In 485 BC Gelon, tyrant of Gela, moved his capital to Syracuse and in 480 defeated the Carthaginians at Himera. After a period of democracy in the 5th century tyranny returned to Syracuse with Dionysius I who continued to fight Carthage. The city prospered in the 4th century BC. It fell to Rome after a long siege in 213–211 BC and became the seat of government of the province. It was taken by the Arabs in 878.

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Syria

The name Syria is variously used in ancient sources. At its widest it is applied to the whole area from the Egyptian border to the Taurus mountains covering modern Israel, Phoenicia, Jordan, Lebanon, and a small part of Turkey. More often Palestine and Phoenicia are excluded from it. In late antiquity Syria was subdivided into ever smaller provinces. Greek traders were active at the Syrian trading centre of Al Mina at the mouth of the Orontes river from around 825 BC. At first they shared it with Phoenicians; later they almost monopolized the emporium. In the late 8th century BC Euboeans predominated. In the 7th century BC the most common pottery was Corinthian, from the later 6th century BC Athenian. Through this trade oriental skills came to Greece at the end of the Geometric period: gold workers learned techniques of granulation, filigree, and inlaying; craftsmen, especially potters, decorated their wares with oriental imagery, with sphinxes, griffins, roaring lions, and lions fighting men. Greeks heard stories about the origin of the world and the birth of the gods that were to be reshaped by Hesiod and to become part of the Greek heritage.

Al Mina remained an important centre until after the conquest of Syria by Alexander the Great (331–333 BC), when it was replaced by Seleuceia, founded 6 km to the north in 301 BC by king Seleucus Nicator, founder of the Macedonian Seleucid dynasty that was to rule Syria until Pompey turned it into a Roman province in 64 BC. At the time Syria had few and small towns and as part of his policy of settling veteran soldiers and immigrants from Greece Seleucus founded ten cities: the

Syria: the church at Qalaat Semaan was a centre of pilgrimage built in the late 5th century around the pillar of St Symeon the Stylite

biggest was Antioch; second-order cities were Seleuceia, Apamea, and Laodicea; others were Beroea (Aleppo), Chalcis, Cyrrhus, and Zeugma. All were laid out on a grid plan and were given the political institutions of a Greek city. Subsequently Greek culture became exceedingly popular all over greater Syria, and ruling groups everywhere gradually adopted Greek ways. Local gods were identified with Greek deities. Young men took up athletics. Wealthy men spent money to provide Greek-type civic amenities for their fellow citizens. So the Greek way of city life spread from the Greek colonies to native towns and larger settlements. Only among the Jews, thanks to the revolt led by the Maccabee family (168/67 BC), was Hellenization checked.

When the Romans took over Syria they divided the province into city territories and delegated most administrative tasks to the civic authorities. So cities flourished under Roman rule and Hellenism in the cities. While a large part of the country population, and a considerable part of the urban population as well, must have retained their Aramaic language and traditional customs, all visible aspects of their way of life, the architecture of temples and houses, the images of gods, the language of monuments and tombstones, came to be almost exclusively Greek. The earlier literary traditions of the area, except those of the Jews, appear to have faded out. What knowledge we have, for instance about the Phoenicians, has been transmitted through Greek writers. By the 2nd century AD all Syrian inscriptions, except at Palmyra which had a bilingual culture, were in Greek or occasionally in Latin. It was only in late antiquity that Aramaic inscriptions were once more displayed in Syria. This was a consequence of Syriac becoming a literary language in Mesopotamia, especially at Edessa and Nisibis, in an environment that was bilingual in Greek and Aramaic. Syriac was used by Christians in Mesopotamia, and became the liturgical language of the Monophysites in Mesopotamia and Syria, and of the Nestorians in Persian Mesopotamia. Some works composed in Greek have survived only in Syriac translation and Syriac hymnography strongly influenced the development of the Greek kontakion, or short hymn.

The rise of Syriac marks the turning of the tide of Hellenization. The retreat of Greek was accelerated by the Arab conquest of Syria in 638, which resulted in the flight of many inhabitants and the settlement of Muslims, perhaps mainly in cities. For the next two centuries or so, many of the cities nevertheless continued to have large Christian populations. Between 969 and 1084 part of Syria was again under Byzantine rule. In the latter year it was occupied by the Seljuks, but soon after it was conquered by the Christian armies of the First Crusade. The Crusaders established the princedom of Antioch, which in 1108 was forced to recognize the suzerainty of the Byzantine emperor. The link with Byzantium was finally

broken in 1268. Subsequently Syria was governed first by Mamluks and then by Turks.

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See also Arabs, Colonization, Phoenicians, Seleucids

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T

Tarentum

City in south Italy

The city of Tarentum (modern Taranto), a colony of Dorian Sparta, was situated on the north coast of the gulf of Tarentum facing the Ionian Sea. The acropolis is perched on a peninsula between two harbours – a main outer harbour and an inland tidal lagoon. It was one of the best ports in southern Italy, with access to good cornlands in the interior.

The literary tradition records that the site was founded in 706 BC (Eusebius, *Chronica*, 91b Helm); the archaeological evidence supports this date. Myth relates that the settlement was established by a group of *Partheniai*, the illegitimate offspring of helots, or slaves, and Spartan women, led by their founder, the *oikistes* Phalanthus. The Delphic oracle directed the settlers to found a colony on the south coast of Italy, rather than closer to home in the Peloponnese, in effect legitimizing colonization by means of war and conquest. What is certain is that this was a group of dissatisfied Spartans, perhaps remnants of the pre-Dorian population or others disenfranchised in the aftermath of the First Messenian War (743–724 BC), affected by a social crisis involving land and status. The site was established through the conquest and expulsion of the native inhabitants – Iapygians, Peucetians, and Daunians. Tarentum is unusual in that it had a "double" founder; the second was the eponymous hero Taras, the mythical leader of the pre-Greek Iapygian settlement.

The area was known to the Greeks, especially the Rhodians, from the Mycenaean period on through trade. Despite this long history of contact, the original settlement expanded only slightly to the southeast in the Archaic period, as the inhabitants were afraid of the native tribes. In the late 6th or early 5th century BC Aristophilides appears to have ruled according to a constitutional model based on that of Sparta, with kings and ephors – officials elected both by lot and by vote. The colony retained Spartan cults in their new homeland, continuing to worship Apollo Hyacinthus, and Spartan rituals, such as the burial of the dead within the city walls. It also continued to maintain close ties of kinship with its mother city. There are few remains of the Greek city today because modern Taranto occupies the same site, but Strabo (6. 3. 1) mentions an Archaic Doric temple thought to be dedicated to Poseidon (late 6th century BC), an altar to Aphrodite, a sanctuary of Demeter and Persephone (containing terracotta votive offerings from the 7th and 6th centuries), and other religious structures.

In the early part of the 5th century BC Tarentum enjoyed victories over its Messapian and Peucetian neighbours (*c.*490 and 460 BC), taking slaves and expanding along the coast to the southwest. The city commemorated these events with the erection of a monument at Delphi. In *c.*475 BC, though, it suffered a crushing defeat at the hands of a native confederation led by the Iapygians, and much of the aristocracy was destroyed, providing the impetus for the establishment of democracy (Herodotus, 7. 170). At the end of the 5th century BC the settlement began to expand once again, filling the vacuum left by the destruction of its rival Croton, a powerful city to the west. This expansion brought Tarentum wealth and power, and it now became the leading Greek centre in southern Italy. In 433 BC the city founded a colony itself at Heraclea (Policoro) on the west coast of the gulf, which acted as a counterweight to the Athenian colony at Thurii, and served as the new head of a league of Italiot Greeks. It was allied with Syracuse in the Peloponnesian War, contributing ships to the cause and sending corn to Sparta, in an attempt to offset Athenian power in the region as well as support its mother city. Consequently it was invaded by the Athenians.

Tarentum began to develop a reputation for possessing many great works of art. Among others, Pythagoras of Rhegium created a famous statue of *Zeus and Europa* which graced the city centre. In the same period the Apulian school of pottery, founded by Greeks who came from Thurii to Tarentum, established its centre in the city (*c.*420 BC). This school was known especially for its representations of myth and comic parodies on the vessels it produced. Much of what we know about Greek theatre today is illustrated by the images painted on these vases. Terracotta figurines and antefixes were also widely exported from the city.

Tarentum attained its greatest wealth and power in the 4th and 3rd centuries BC, at which time it became the pre-eminent city in Magna Graecia, renowned for its luxuriousness. The extent of its wealth and political power is indicated by the great number of goods produced in the city, as well as its attractive series of coins, which were distributed widely around the shores of the Mediterranean Sea. In the early 4th century BC politics were dominated by Archytas, a Pythagorean philosopher-mathematician and friend of Plato, who expanded Tarentine influence in the area. After the mid-4th century BC

the city's difficulties with the surrounding native tribes increased, and it requested help first from Sparta, and then from a series of mercenary princes and kings. Initially it called upon Archidamus III of Sparta (338 BC), who died in battle. Then Alexander I of Epirus came to its aid. In the beginning he was successful, but was eventually slain *c.*330 BC. The next call for help was directed to Cleomenes of Sparta, who also ultimately failed.

Tarentum was host to many famous residents and visitors in this period. Aristoxenus, a philosopher and musician, developed his theory of harmonics there. Rhinton was a comic dramatist who popularized *phylax* farces – local productions that drew on daily life for their inspiration. It was famous as well for its fine works of art, both large and small. At this time Lysippus of Sicyon created a large bronze statue of *Zeus and Hera* for the city. It was a major centre of production for votive figurines of terracotta, primarily religious in nature, which were precursors of the well-known Athenian and Tanagran types. It was also known for its limestone architectural sculpture adorned with human figures.

Towards the end of the century, the inhabitants of the city became fearful of the growing power of Rome, and felt threatened by Roman aid to the nearby cities of Thurii, Locri, and Rhegium. Despite having signed a treaty in 303 BC, in the early 3rd century Tarentine forces attacked Roman ships in the harbour and insulted the Roman ambassador. These actions precipitated war with Rome. Tarentum once again enlisted the help of an Epiriot ruler, Pyrrhus, who responded to its request in 281 BC. The Tarentines were soon joined by the native tribes of the Bruttians, Lucanians, and Samnites. At first Pyrrhus enjoyed a number of successes, especially against the Carthaginians in Sicily, but the city felt threatened by the king's growing power and his plan for a united kingdom of Sicily and lower Italy, and withdrew its support. Upon Pyrrhus' departure, the Romans took over in 272 BC, forcing territorial concessions from the Tarentines. The city became an ally of Rome in 270 BC and the struggle for the control of central Italy was over, with Roman domination of lower Italy now assured. Many of its art treasures were carried off to Rome. At this time the city was the home of Livius Andronicus, a Greek-born slave, who produced comedies, tragedies, and a Latin translation of the *Odyssey*. He played an important part in the creation and development of Latin literature.

A group of Tarentine aristocrats revolted in the Second Punic War (218–201 BC) and went over to Hannibal (213 BC), who fortified the lower city, but it was retaken by Rome in 209 BC. The extension of the Via Appia and the founding of Brundisium (Brindisi) undercut its trade, and part of its territory was confiscated.The city declined from this period on, although it probably regained allied status in 180 BC. It subsequently received colonial status and became a provincial Italian town, but there is much epigraphical evidence of civic activity and mention of the importance of its products – wool, textiles, purple dye made from the processing of murex shells, and agricultural produce. Strabo maintained that the city was still linguistically and culturally Greek in his time (6. 1. 2), but this is controversial. Horace (*Odes*, 3. 5. 53–56) described it as a suitable holiday place for a tired businessman.

From the late-6th and early-7th centuries AD, Tarentum was fought over by the Lombard princes operating from their stronghold at Beneventum (Benevento), and the Byzantine Greeks inhabiting the heel of Italy to the south. After the Italian dukes and the Greeks together took Muslim pirates into their employ in the early 9th century, Saracens from north Africa and Spain entered the fray. The city was destroyed by the Saracens in 927, but was rebuilt by Nikephoros Phokas, who re-established Greek as the common language, and brought the city back into the Greek fold. The southwards-expanding Normans, under the adventurer Robert Guiscard, were invited into the region as mercenaries to fight against the marauding Arabs. The Normans benefited from continual dissension in the area, and finally took control of the city themselves in the 1060s.

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See also Magna Graecia

Summary

Founded as a colony of Dorian Sparta, traditionally in 706 BC, Tarentum played an important part in establishing a Greek presence in southern Italy. It was a centre of Greek culture and power in Magna Graecia, renowned for its fine works of art and luxurious lifestyle attained through the benefits of trade. It fell to Rome in 272 BC. It was destroyed by the Saracens in 927 and rebuilt by Nikephoros Phokas.

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Taxation

Taxes are compulsory levies imposed by the state primarily for the purpose of financing government expenditure. They are commonly classified as either direct or indirect. Direct taxes are levied on an individual's income or personal wealth (e.g. imposts on income) while indirect taxes are assessments on transactions or services (e.g. customs duties). Since taxes are imposed by the state, the nature of the levies collected by each government reflects the interests of the group in power. Thus any treatment of taxation involves discussing the nature of the government imposing the levies in question.

The earliest Greek taxation system that can be discussed in detail is that used by the kingdoms that ruled Greece in the Mycenaean period. In this system each village was responsible for producing specific amounts of individual commodities such as wool and wheat. Taxes were thus of the direct variety and were paid in kind, i.e. with produce rather than with money.

The simpler forms of government that arose after the collapse of Mycenaean civilization adopted equally simple forms of taxation. The ruler (a relatively weak king) was given the use of a piece of public land, the produce of which supported the royal household and paid for the few public functions that were undertaken.

The more complex forms of political organization that arose around 800 BC made use of three basic taxation systems. The simplest of these was used exclusively by Sparta, which was ruled by a fairly numerous military elite. The members of this group were exempt from all taxes and were fully supported by mandatory contributions in kind levied on the serfs assigned to each individual's estate. Apart from small gifts presented to royalty, no other regular taxes existed.

The second system of taxation of interest here was used primarily in cases where the state was ruled by a limited number of individuals. Examples include Corinth under the Cypselid family (*c.*650 BC) and Athens under Pisistratus and his sons (*c.*540 BC). This system relied on direct taxes imposed on the entire population. The most important imposts were a 10 per cent levy in kind on agricultural produce and a yearly fee (a head or poll tax) due from each individual. Indirect imposts, including customs duties and sales taxes, also played a role. The payment of direct taxes by the entire population was a reflection of the concentration of political power.

The link between political power and taxation is also evident in the third system, which is most clearly known from its manifestation in democratic Athens (510–322 BC). Democracy entailed the participation of a substantial number of citizens, who expected to be compensated for their services. At the same time, the obligation to pay direct taxes was seen as a form of subservience. The existence of a democratic government thus meant that a significant revenue stream had to be generated without the imposition of direct levies on most of the state's residents.

A vast variety of indirect taxes were levied on all Athenians. These included customs duties, sales taxes, and levies on banking transactions. Direct taxes in the form of a head tax were paid only by resident aliens. However, the limited number of non-citizens made direct taxation on citizens unavoidable. This taxation took the form of "liturgies". A liturgy was a governmental expense, such as the maintenance of a warship, that was assigned directly to an individual. The liturgist was responsible for providing all necessary funds to complete the designated project. In Athens the wealthiest residents, both citizens and aliens, served as liturgists. This practice was politically expedient since it provided government financing without the use of a direct tax.

The practice of imposing liturgies also simplified the state's administrative duties. The vast number of individual taxes that were imposed and the fact that Athenian taxes were due in the form of money rather than in kind made the collection and supervision of revenue a complicated process. Liturgies provided one solution to this problem by uniting taxation and expenditure. Tax farming was another solution.

Rather than appointing agents to collect taxes, the Athenian state auctioned off ("farmed") the right to procure the revenues generated by a particular impost. In exchange for an advance payment to the state, the tax farmer was granted the right to collect a specific impost for a specific period of time. This practice had two advantages. First, the administrative demands placed on the state were greatly reduced. Second, the yield of each impost was known and acquired in advance. This greatly simplified the process of planning and financing government expenditure.

This system of taxation was shaped by the diffusion of political power engendered by democracy. Other Greek states with democratic government structures took a similar approach to taxation. The political evolution of Greece, however, moved in a direction that made such situations unusual. By the end of the 4th century BC most of Greece was ruled by large kingdoms. The taxation system used by these kingdoms bore a striking resemblance to that used in earlier Greek states ruled by a limited number of individuals. Direct taxes in the form of levies on agricultural produce and a head tax were the primary sources of government revenue. The needs of the kingdoms were such that taxes were levied in monetary form, which again complicated the process of collection. This prompted the use of tax farming.

In spite of the fact that the identity of the state controlling Greece changed on numerous occasions over the course of the centuries, this system of taxation remained in operation with only minor changes well into the 19th century AD. The Byzantine empire (*c.*330–*c.*1453) drew a substantial portion of its revenues from two different direct levies, both of which were payable in cash on an annual basis. A land tax was collected in the form of a flat charge per unit of acreage owned (the *modius*, equal to 0.08 hectares), with some allowance for varying soil fertility and the use to which the land was put. Each household also paid a hearth tax (in essence a collective head tax imposed on each family unit). Non-Christians were obligated to pay a special yearly impost in addition to the

hearth tax. Indirect levies in the form of customs duties and market and inheritance taxes were also collected. As was the case earlier, tax farming was extensively employed during the Byzantine period.

During the Tourkokratia (*c.*1453–*c.*1832) the Ottoman empire, which took control of Greece after the collapse of the Byzantine empire, left the pre-existing taxation system largely intact. The most important differences between the Ottoman system and that of their Byzantine predecessors consisted of the collection of a significant amount of taxes in kind (rather than in cash) and the imposition of special head taxes on non-Muslims rather than on non-Christians. The high degree of continuity between the Byzantine and Ottoman periods is also observable at the end of Ottoman rule in that the newly independent Greek state made relatively few immediate modifications to the extant tax structure.

Over the course of time, however, two major changes took place. First, the gradual construction of a revenue collection system based on western European models made it possible for the Greek government to phase out tax farming. The first sustained effort in this direction began in 1847. Second, there was a distinct trend away from direct levies. Imposts of this kind were strongly associated with political subjection and were thus largely replaced by a variety of indirect alternatives. By the mid-1980s Greeks were paying more than 500 different indirect taxes.

Greece's reliance on indirect taxes continues to the present. About 65 per cent of the national budget (excluding social insurance) is still provided by indirect levies. This is at variance with the practice of most other European states, which finance most of their expenses with direct imposts. Direct taxes are widely used outside Greece because they are relatively easy to collect and because they can be used to reduce the inequality of income distribution, an important goal in many countries. Whereas indirect taxes are imposed at a uniform rate on all individuals regardless of their income, direct taxes can be tailored so as to take a progressively larger share as the total income rises. Rich individuals are thus obliged to turn over a larger percentage of their wealth than poor ones. The ability of direct taxes simultaneously to raise revenue and to reduce income inequalities makes this form of impost highly attractive. During the 1990s the Greek state initiated a series of reforms intended gradually to replace most indirect taxes with direct alternatives.

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See also Finance

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Technology

Technological discoveries and importations from elsewhere are notoriously hard to date in the ancient world. Many techniques leave little or no archaeological evidence and literary mention is sporadic and incidental before the Hellenistic period. Even then from the 3rd century BC we have little other than the Aristotelian *Mechanical Problems* (perhaps by Straton, the head of the Lyceum from *c.*287 to 269 BC) which, though primarily theoretical, does deal with problems in applied mathematics involving levers, compound pulleys, etc. The inventor Ctesibius wrote a treatise on pneumatics (now lost but used by later authors), while his contemporary Archimedes, apart from a lost treatise on how to build a spherical planetarium, chose deliberately to write only theoretical mathematical treatises. Around 200 BC Philon of Byzantium composed a compendium of technology whose main concern was the construction of mechanical devices: surviving books deal mainly with pneumatics and war machines. More remains from the Roman period. The tenth book of Vitruvius' Latin treatise *De Architectura* (*c.*25 BC) details relevant technical devices largely drawn from Greek predecessors. The great *Natural History* of the Elder Pliny (mid-1st century AD), despite its title, ignores virtually no field of human endeavour and preserves much information from lost Greek sources. His contemporary Heron of Alexandria is our principal authority for ancient technology, although his books on mechanics survive only in an Arabic translation and in extensive quotations by the 3rd- to 4th-century Pappus of Alexandria. From the Byzantine period little of use was written and even less survives: in the 4th century Oribasius described mechanical constructions for resetting dislocated limbs; the 5th-century alchemist Zosimus described chemical apparatus and recipes for smelting, dyeing, etc.; while, unfortunately, most of the treatises on mechanics and hydraulics by Anthemius of Tralles

(the innovative architect of Hagia Sophia, Constantinople) are lost. Later works are almost entirely mere reworkings of inherited knowledge.

Until the Hellenistic period the Greeks largely used technology that was already existing in the eastern Mediterranean at the time of their arrival in the late 3rd millennium BC, and remarkably few advances were made. The conservative attitude of the Classical period, known in many other areas for exuberant originality, is sometimes attributed to the existence of slavery, but is more probably due to a cultural attitude of the intellectual elite which elevated "pure" far above "applied" knowledge. Even the famous black- and red-figure Attic pottery in the Archaic and Classical periods depended upon a refinement of a technique known as early as the Middle Helladic age (*c.*2000–1500 BC). The Attic potters placed their pots, painted with a clay slip containing iron oxides, in a wood-fired kiln which with the air vents open produced an oxidizing phase, thereby turning both painted and unpainted parts red, up to a temperature of 800°C, between which and 945°C closure of the vents and the introduction of smoke-producing green wood created a reducing phase in which the whole pot turned black. Subsequently the temperature was allowed to decrease and at about 900°C the vents were reopened to create the final, reoxidizing, phase in which the unpainted parts became red again while the sintered areas remained black.

The most advanced technology before the Hellenistic period was probably metallurgy: alluvial gold was caught in fleeces; gold and silver were extracted from lead by cupellation; and ore-bearing rocks were pounded and washed or heated in a blow- and later bellows-heated furnace to separate metal from gangue. The ability to attain a temperature sufficiently high to form iron blooms for hot-hammering (first managed perhaps by the Hittites *c.*1400 BC) was the single most important technological change in Greek history and may have been partly responsible for the downfall of the mainly bronze-using Mycenaeans. Alloys, especially of copper, were developed for specific purposes and soldering was practised. Implements were made by hot- and cold-hammering or casting (including the lost-wax process). Decorative processes included repoussé work and niello inlays (both known in the Mycenaean period), filigree, and granulation. Metal tools in the Classical and especially Hellenistic periods became increasingly precise. Notably carpentry was provided with hammers, chisels, saws (including the frame saw), and planes, while surgery benefited from a wide range of specialized implements. Locking devices also became increasingly ingenious.

The farmer raised water with the *shaduf* (swing-beam with compensating weight). Tillage of the soil was accomplished through the hoe and the usually ox-drawn ard-plough; seed was broadcast by hand from a container slung round the neck; harvesting was done with sickles; grain was separated from chaff by flailing or threshing, in which centrally tethered animals were driven round a threshing floor and the chaff carried away by a breeze when tossed in the air by hand with the grain from a winnowing basket or by a winnowing fan; milling was done in querns. There was little change in agricultural methods until the addition of the threshing sledge, animal- and water-powered mills, and the rare animal-driven reaping machines in the Hellenistic and Roman periods.

Raw, wetted pelts were moulded over hard cores into containers which became stiff when dry. Cleansed pelts cured with salt or sun-dried were rendered imputrescible and water-resistant by numerous vegetal tanning agents with varying resultant colouration, but there is also some evidence for tawing by minerals. Malleability could be achieved by chamoising, the subsequent rubbing with animal fat, which is mentioned already in the *Iliad*.

Spinning was done most commonly by twisting carded wool (or other fibres) drawn from a distaff on to a suspended spindle to which was attached a whorl to steady rotation. Weaving was done on a warp-weighted vertical loom, the threads alternately hanging straight down or passing over a horizontal shed-rod. Different weaves were attained by manipulation of heddle-rods. During the Roman period the loom at which a standing weaver pushed the weft upwards with the weaving sword gave way to one at which a seated weaver pressed it down with a comb, which was itself replaced in turn by a horizontal version. Specific looms for specific fibres were also being designed.

The Hellenistic and Roman periods were by far the most productive time of technological development in Greek history. Nevertheless, despite important practical advances, especially in the areas of building and war machines, even then a love of theory resulted in the invention and description of many contrivances of such great inefficiency that, even if models were ever built, they could not have served any practical purpose. Most notable in this respect are Heron's descriptions of a ball revolving on its own axis through the emission of steam from angled vents, and his device for covertly opening (and closing) temple doors by the pressure of air heated by fire on an altar forcing water to flow into a bucket which in turn tugged cords wrapped around a subterranean extension of the door-posts. On the other hand his related description of figurines making libations when a fire was lit on an altar is eminently feasible, as is Philon's automaton that alternately handed guests a pumice stone and poured water for washing, which led ultimately to similar but far more complex robots in the Islamic world. Toys, such as Heron's automatic theatre which could mechanically produce a puppet show in several acts, were probably made for amusement, while ingenious hydraulic devices that gave moving figures to fountains were to have a long history. One Athenian device of the mid-4th century BC was certainly of practical benefit: the stone *klerotérion* precluded jury-rigging by enabling black and white balls to fall randomly from a hopper down a tube at the side of a series of rows in which potential dicasts had inserted their metal tickets.

In mechanics we find that the lever, which had been known since the Neolithic age, had multifarious applications (e.g. for raising objects and as a steelyard). While the lever-press became common (the wedge-press was also invented), perhaps the most surprising anticipation of the modern world to employ the lever was a slot machine for dispensing ritual water upon insertion of a coin (but whether this was ever constructed or is merely theoretical is not known). The winch and the pulley (both known much earlier separately) were combined in hoisting- and pulling-engines, while compound pulleys became increasingly effective (often incorporated into cranes powered by human treadwheels). The endless rope or belt, however,

seems not to have been employed for transmitting power but only when itself driven, as in the bucket chain for the raising of water (activated by a treadwheel). Both horizontal and vertical capstans were widely used, while Drachmann (1973) believed that the crank had been invented by Archimedes and underwent subsequent experiments, although strangely this simple but efficient mechanism never enjoyed widespread application until the later Middle Ages, and certainly never appeared in antiquity with a connecting rod.

Of great importance was the invention of the screw-line ("the snail on the cylinder"), attributed to Apollonius of Perge, a younger contemporary of Archimedes who promptly employed it in his *cochlea* ("water-snail") for the raising of water. Screws were used more for moving and adjusting than for holding down (in which role they first appear in goldsmithery). Cortesponding female screws made large presses (e.g. fullers' and olive-presses) more efficient than the alternative lever- and wedge-presses. Female screws were first cut into a split block which was then rejoined, but Heron describes a machine for their manufacture. The impossibility of making them small, however, meant that many instruments (e.g. the gynaecological *specula matris*) had to use the inferior method of a screw with an engaged peg.

Cogwheels, of wood for large machines and of metal for small, were employed for transmission in four ways. The rack and pinion is first attested in a water clock made by Ctesibius, but is not found again until Heron's toys (e.g. a self-snuffing lamp). Archimedes is credited with both inventing and employing in war machines the endless screw (the worm-and-wheel gear), but it does not appear again until Heron, who used it for, among other devices, his surveying instruments the *dioptra* (theodolite) and hodometer. Chronologically next probably comes the use of parallel engaging wheels. Although these were generally inefficient owing to an inability to find the optimum shape, there has been found in a shipwreck off the island of Anticythera a calendarial celestial computing mechanism from *c.*80 BC (the sole surviving machine from antiquity) containing three brass dials and 31 cogwheels of different sizes with teeth in the shape of equilateral triangles: that this was actually used is proved by the evidence of repairs. Toothed wheels engaging at right angles are not attested until Vitruvius, who describes an undershot water wheel that gives motive force to a corn mill, a device of longterm practical benefit. (An overshot wheel is depicted in the Roman catacomb of S. Agnese in a representation of probably the 3rd century AD, probable remains of one from the 5th century have been found in the Athenian Agora, and a certain example has been recently excavated from 9th to 10th century Byzantine Thebes. The wind-driven wheel, mentioned for Seistan, Afghanistan, in the 10th century AD, did not appear in the Greek world until the 14th apart from a miniature experimental usage by Ctesibius.)

In hydraulics and pneumatics the most important advance was in the increasing application of the syphon (used earlier for mixing liquids), which led not only to ingenious toys and drinking vessels (such as one still made in a Chiot village) but to the ability to force water to rise in aqueducts (at Pergamum in the 2nd century BC the citadel was served at 155 m above the lowest level of the aqueduct). Ctesibius' experiments in pneumatic machines, such as his organ (operated from a keyboard) in which water pressure forced air through pipes, led him to the invention of the force pump with cylinders and plungers operated by horizontal levers and vertical connecting rods. One adaptation for fire fighting had a nozzle that could be swivelled in any direction and tilted both ways. Surviving examples of pumps have both flap valves and the superior spindle valves. Ctesibius also improved the accuracy of timekeeping by ensuring a uniform flow in the *klepsydra* (water clock), to which he attached, in addition to all manner of entertaining automata, a figure with a pointer to indicate the hours on a column. Vitruvius describes a later water-driven clock which more efficiently adjusted the varying length of ancient hours on a revolving disc engraved with the zodiacal constellations.

Of great practical value was the development, probably in Hellenistic Syria *c.*100 BC, of glass blowing. Hitherto only modelled around a core of sand or poured into a mould when molten or carved when cold by hand or lathe, glass now became a common and relatively cheap material for vessels of daily use. More expensive articles were subject to an exuberant range of decorative processes including marvering, trailing, engraving, and painting, while openwork cage cups were carved from thick blanks. Gold glass, in which gold leaf carved into patterns or figures was placed between layers of transparent glass, appears to be an early Hellenistic innovation. Lenses are known from the Bronze Age onwards, but they remained a craftsman's (engraver's) tool and are not mentioned in any theoretical treatise on optics. By the 5th century BC they were being employed also as burning mirrors. Glass was used in addition for reflecting mirrors (sporadically from *c.* 600 BC as cosmetic aids and later both for signalling and in lighthouses), for lamps (from the Hellenistic period), in small panes for windows, and in sheets cut into tesserae for mosaics (both from the Roman period). Stained glass was developed, if not perhaps invented, by the Byzantines.

Its Classical inheritance allowed Byzantium to remain the most technologically advanced state in Europe and the eastern Mediterranean until at least the 12th century. It acted, moreover, as a conduit for ancient knowledge to the Islamic world and of Islamic (e.g. of damascening) and even barbarian knowledge (e.g. of the stirrup from probably the Avars) to the West. Nevertheless, Byzantine technology did suffer from the subordination of mundane to heavenly affairs. Apart from a few minor improvements to existing machines (e.g. water mills and a geared quern), ingenuity was largely expended on the making of automata, notably in the 9th and 10th centuries when there was a rivalry with the caliphal court: water-driven clocks indicated the hours with an impressive display of moving figures; compressed air from bellows or water power lifted an imperial throne into the air, caused lions to roar and wag their tails, birds in golden trees to warble and flutter their wings, and figures on fountains to make appropriate movements. Atypically, in the mid 6th century, Anthemius is reputed to have driven away a neighbour and personal enemy with a powerful reflector and contrivances that created artificial thunder and, by steam power, a mock earthquake; the emperor Theophilos in the 9th century was praised for his construction of organs (pneumatic rather than hydraulic as in Heron's original instrument); while in the 11th century Psellos claims to have repeated some of the experiments of Heron.

The most famous invention was Greek fire (which nonetheless may possibly have been of Arab origin) and the most bizarre a paddle boat driven by pairs of oxen attached to capstans in the hold of the vessel, which is described in a Latin treatise of probably the late middle of the 4th century AD, the anonymous author of which was probably a westerner despite some scholars' belief that he was a native Greek-speaker. While useful progress was mostly made in pharmacological and chemical technology, a few other discoveries, improvisations, and technical improvements are known or suspected. The general Belisarius mounted wheels between pairs of boats furnished with mills when the besieging Goths had cut the supply of water to Rome in AD 537; by the 6th century wooden stamps for printing fabrics were employed in Byzantine Egypt and at that time and subsequently refinements were made in silk-weaving looms; Leo the Mathematician devised a beacon system in the 9th century (at which time mention was also made of a water clock with an alarm to awake the monk deputed to rouse his brethren); from the 9th to the 13th century great advances were made in enamelling techniques; an ox-driven mechanism for kneading dough appeared in the 10th; new techniques improved the staining of glass in the 10th and made it more durable in the 11th and 12th; and a more efficient method of stacking pots inside each other and separating them by tripod-stilts facilitated mass-production in the 12th century.

The period of foreign occupation that followed the fall of Constantinople in 1453 allowed little scope for technological innovation. The independent modern state of Greece preferred to establish its literary rather than scientific credentials before the 1980s, since when the Ministry of Education has made a determined effort to promote technology at the secondary and tertiary levels.

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See also Fire, Glass, Metalwork, Pottery, Siegecraft, Textiles, Water Management

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Textiles

Textiles are highly perishable and rarely survive the ravages of time. Our knowledge of them comes from a variety of sources, including archaeological finds, pictorial representations, and written sources.

In the Near East the use of flax to make linen cloth predates silk, cotton, and the domestication of sheep for wool by several millennia. The oldest textile in the world, a woven linen fabric adhering to a tool excavated at Cayonu in southeastern Turkey in 1993, is dated to about 7000 BC; wool did not appear in the Balkans until about 3500 BC.

The history of textiles in Greece begins in early Minoan Crete (*c.*2300 BC) where excavations at the prehistoric village of Myrtos turned up the first evidence for cloth production: sheep bones, tubs for washing wool, bowls for wetting linen thread, and clay spindle whorls. These finds indicate that the Minoans knew how to spin both flax and wool. Remnants of cloth from other sites in Bronze Age Greece and Turkey reveal the human penchant for decorating cloth. At Troy, for example, Schliemann found a linen textile embellished with tiny blue-green faience beads from *c.*2600 BC.

Evidence from later Minoan Crete and Mycenae (1600–1150 BC) tells the story of a flourishing textile industry. The men tended flocks of sheep in the countryside; women spun yarn and wove cloth in the palaces. The sheep were caught and plucked, because shears had not yet been invented to cut the wool from the sheep's back. Early breeds of sheep moulted fine wool from their coats, leaving the bristly kemp hairs, which moulted later. The wool was brought to the palace and weighed, then distributed for cleaning, combing, and spinning. The oils and fats were removed from the wool and retained for use in perfumes and ointments. Spinners worked in groups; weavers worked in pairs. Greek women did not spin on wheels, but on spindles. The spinner held the fibre-laden distaff in her right hand; from this she drew out the fibre and twisted it into thread with the aid of a spindle weighted with a whorl. Large numbers of ancient spindles and whorls have been found in archaeological digs.

The warp-weighted loom, for which ancient Greece is well known in textile history, was apparently already in use among Mycenaean weavers around 1400 BC. The Linear B script lists "cloth with white edges" or "cloth with coloured edges", indicating the use of starting bands typical for weaving on warp-weighted looms. (The starting bands were made by specialists who wove on small band looms.) These bands stabilized the warps which were suspended from a horizontal bar on vertical supports. The warps were anchored at the lower end with clay weights. A shed rod divided the warps, half in front, half at the back. The rear warps were attached to a heddle rod which, when lifted, created a shed through which the weft was inserted. The weft was beaten upwards, towards the horizontal bar, with a sword-like shuttle. Herodotus wrote of "pushing the woof [weft] upwards". Generally the looms were no taller than the weaver's reach, although one depiction of a warp-weighted loom shows the weavers wearing platform shoes to gain height. With warp-weighted looms, the length of the cloth was limited to the height of the loom. However, the loom allowed the manufacture of wide cloth with three finished edges.

Minoan artwork depicts elaborately patterned and coloured textiles, implying advanced weaving skills and a knowledge of dyeing. Patterns include rosettes, grids of tiny diamonds, and spirals. Such patterns could have been embroidered, painted, or woven. Wool, the most common fibre, was easy to dye. The known dyestuffs included two classes of dyes, direct and vat. Direct dyes, unlike vat dyes, required the addition of a mordant, probably alum, to fix the dye to the fibre. Minoans and Greeks used direct dyes such as madder roots and scale insects called kermes to obtain reds; saffron lilies yielded yellow. Woad and murex shells were the two main vat dyes, the former yielding blue, the latter purple. The Minoans may have exported their patterned textiles to Egypt where, according to Barber (1991), they were copied and used for canopies and banners.

Textile making was women's work in Greece. Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey* suggest that weaving was a task fit for queens in Mycenae and Troy. While living in Troy, Helen wove "a purple double-layered cloak" depicting the struggles of the Trojans and Achaeans. Odysseus' wife Penelope spent three years weaving a complicated pictorial cloth by day, unravelling it at night in an attempt to dissuade suitors who believed her long-absent husband was dead. Women were so important to the Mycenaean textile industry that raiding soldiers captured them to weave as captive labourers. So many were brought to Mycenae that they most likely made textiles for export. In Classical Greece women of all ranks spun and wove. Mastery of such household tasks signified a virtuous female. A 6th-century BC vase in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York shows women participating in all phases of textile work from weighing the wool fibre to folding the finished cloth. Woven textiles were used for clothing, bedding, hangings, cushions, towels, banners, burial shrouds, and sails. Greek women were proficient at other textile techniques besides weaving, including a type of knotless netting called "sprang". Vase paintings show women working with small frames to make elastic-like fabrics, probably for hairnets.

Only a few textile fragments survive from Classical Greece. The royal tomb at Vergina in Macedonia, believed to be the final resting place of Philip II of Macedon, father of Alexander the Great, contained a fragment of a purple cloth embroidered with gold. A funerary urn from Koropi, near Athens, held a fragment of linen embroidered in gilt silver in a diaper pattern with small lions in the centre of each lozenge. Several specimens unearthed in a Greek colony in the Crimea comprise tapestry-woven, embroidered, painted, or resist-dyed textiles incorporating either scenes from Greek mythology or geometric motifs.

Cotton, hemp, and silk appeared by the 5th century BC, attesting to the extensive trade networks developed by the Greeks. Cotton originated on the Indian subcontinent, hemp in northern Europe, and silk in China. Several purple and white silk textiles found in a late 5th-century BC tomb in Athens raise questions about when silk arrived in Greece. Silk is the only filament-length fibre in nature, and silk fabrics were thus prized for their smooth, lustrous surfaces. China, Korea, and Japan kept knowledge of sericulture, the raising of silkworms for fibre, a closely guarded secret while exporting both fibre and finished fabrics to the Mediterranean world. Although wild silk was known in the Classical era, was not until trade routes were developed across Asia that cultivated silk was brought to Greece and Rome during the Hellenistic period. According to legend, around AD 550 two Byzantine monks smuggled silkworm eggs and mulberry leaves out of China and presented them to the emperor Justinian, who subsequently established the cultivation of silk in Byzantium.

During the Graeco-Roman period an important technical change occurred. Around the 4th century AD weavers began to work on horizontal looms that had two rigid bars, one for warp and the other for finished cloth. This loom allowed for longer, but narrower fabrics. The transition from vertical, warp-weighted looms to two-bar horizontal looms can be seen in the changing construction of numerous tunics that survive from Coptic Christian burials in Egypt (3rd to 12th centuries AD). These tunics were made of undyed linen with tapestry sections of dyed wool.

Byzantine Greece supplied silk and skilled weavers to the imperial workshops of Constantinople, which had incorporated techniques and motifs from the great silk-weaving centres of Persia and Syria. Constantinople was renowned in the 10th, 11th, and 12th centuries for compound silk textiles. The trade was strictly regulated, but the city exported silk to

Europe where a substantial number of fragments remain in church treasuries. Perhaps the best known is the Quadriga cloth in Aachen cathedral which depicts a charioteer driving four horses. Silk weaving in Byzantium degenerated in the 13th century, but the art of embroidery continued to flourish for church vestments.

Embroidery also flourished in the Greek islands and in some parts of the mainland. Major museums in Greece, Britain, and North America have magnificent examples of needlework including bed tents and valances, cushion covers, spreads, and women's bridal and festival clothing. The embroideries are grouped stylistically by region, because the preferred motifs and stitches reflect local cultural influences. Italian-inspired designs prevailed in Crete and the Ionian islands; Byzantine eagles and mythological creatures were found in the Sporades. Ottoman floral motifs dominated the work of Epirote embroideries, while geometric designs deriving from the Neolithic era were seen on bridal dresses from the mainland. The embroideries of the Dodecanese and the Cyclades featured stylized motifs from nature (i.e. birds, flowers) which are reminiscent of Italian textiles of the same period.

Lace, which originated in Renaissance Italy, was introduced to the Greeks by nuns in Catholic monasteries in the mid-17th century. The technique of making lace, or *danteles*, quickly spread throughout the islands where it flourished during the 1700s. Using needles, bobbins, or drawn threadwork, Greek women created lace borders for bedcovers and other household linens as well as a narrow lace trim known as *bibiles* for the edges of chemises and headscarves.

Greece inspired the textiles of other countries centuries after the eclipse of the Hellenistic world. About the time that democratic ideals arose in Europe and America in the 18th century, designs from Classical Greece and Rome began to appear in French and English textiles. From 1790 to 1830 motifs incorporating ancient ruins, Greek keys, palmettes, Classical drapery, pillars, and columns were printed on, or woven into, textiles indiscriminately labelled "Grecian", "Etruscan", or "Pompeian". Generally large in scale, these textiles were widely used for bed hangings, draperies, and upholstery in Neoclassical interiors.

Fibre production, spinning, and weaving took place in every Greek village until recently. Women used wool, goat's hair, cotton, linen, and hemp. They wove sheets, blankets, cushion covers, and yardage for clothing to stock their dowries. The industrial revolution brought new factory-made textiles and chemical dyes to Greece. Villagers selectively absorbed these commercial products (especially cotton calico and muslin), eventually laying aside their homemade textiles in favour of manufactured cloth. Today women make handwoven textiles for tourists including *tagari* shoulder bags and the fluffy wool rugs known as *flokati*. Greece has several textile factories, but textiles are not an important industry for the country.

Today few Greek women spin or weave, although the love of textile crafts remains. On a warm summer night the visitor to Greece can see women sitting outside their homes crocheting, knitting, or tatting – continuing the long tradition of textile handwork.

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See also Dress, Purple, Silk

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Thasos

Island in the north Aegean

Thasos is the most northerly of all the Aegean islands, lying only some 7 km from the Thracian coastline of northern Greece, where the mouth of the Nestos river forms a low promontory. Its ties with the mainland were always close, and it is today governed from the port town of Kavalla. The mountainous interior of Thasos, rising to more than 1100 m, is thickly wooded, and the whole island has an area of just under 400 sq km. Its rich endowment with mineral wealth has been a source of contention throughout its history: from its mines of gold, silver, and marble that were particularly famous in antiquity, to the substantial installation of a German mineral mining and exporting complex at Limenaria still in operation after World War II, to offshore oil deposits discovered in 1974, the natural mineral endowments of the island have shaped its history.

Both Herodotus (6. 47) and Pausanias (5. 25) claimed that the first people to occupy Thasos were Phoenicians, traditionally led by Thasos, son of Poseidon, but archaeological

Thasos: fishing boats are still being built to traditional patterns on Thasos

evidence has not supported this, and Parian settlers were in occupation by the early 7th century BC. The wealth that they accumulated, deriving from the island's gold mines, was the cause of the island twice being attacked during the 5th century BC, by a tyrant of Miletus and, in 463 BC, by Athens. Herodotus wrote that he had seen the mines "where a huge mountain has been overturned in the search for *metalla*". In 340 BC Philip II of Macedon occupied Thasos, and it remained in Macedonian hands until the Romans took over the island in 196 BC.

Thasos was the birthplace of several personalities of cultural importance in antiquity: the 8th- to 7th-century BC poet Archilochus was among the colonists from Paros; the 5th-century BC rhapsodist and historian Stesimbrotus was a native of the island, as was also the famous athlete Theogenes. But the most famous of all the natives of Thasos was Polygnotus, who was to be numbered among the most distinguished of all Classical Greek painters. Pliny (*Naturalis Historia*, 35. 58) described how he was the first artist to "represent the mouth as open, showing the teeth, and relaxing the rigidity which had been usual before", and he also introduced the painting of women in transparent drapery. Descriptions of his paintings, by Pausanias and other writers, which could be seen all over the Greek world, provide ample evidence of his fame.

The extent of early Christian remains on Thasos demonstrates continuing prosperity well into the 6th century AD. There are the substantial remains of five basilicas in or near the main town of Thasos, and even more impressive are the two adjacent basilicas at Alyki on the south coast; an Archaic sanctuary has been excavated nearby, and the quarries that supplied the marble for these three structures are close at hand.

Thasos passes almost completely unmentioned by Byzantine historians; although Procopius tells of the Vandals under Genseric ravaging the mainland and nearby islands in 467–68, this island is not named; it was just off Thasos that in 829 an Arab fleet from Crete completely defeated the Byzantine navy, but the island itself played no part. Later, under Byzantine administration, it was allocated to the Thracian theme, and so was identified (as was the case with other islands situated closer to the mainland than to other island groupings) with a mainland authority. This absence of any particular identity continued after the Fourth Crusade, when even the Venetians decided that Thasos was too remote from the Cyclades to be of interest to them, and later in the 13th century its port was used by the Byzantines as a naval base for their operations against the Latin invaders. The Genoese presence later became too powerful in the north Aegean, and from 1307 to 1313 Tedisio, of the Zaccaria family, was in control. Although the island was recovered by the Byzantines, its bishopric being raised to metropolitan status, by 1434 the Gattilusi were in overall control. It would have been under this family that the Classical acropolis above the town of Thasos was partly rebuilt and

adapted to form a coastal fortress for the Genoese that overlooked the harbour. They also built a small inland castle in the centre of the island, installing a member of the Grimaldi family as the local captain at the village which is still called Kastro.

Succumbing to Ottoman rule in 1455, the following year Thasos was occupied, like the other north Aegean islands of Lemnos and Samothrace, by a papal force under cardinal Lodovico Trevisan. It was retaken for sultan Mehmet II three years later, and until 1470 he generously made all three islands over to Dimitrios Palaiologos, the dispossessed Byzantine despot of the Morea. Thereafter Turkish control continued until 1760, when the sultan Mahmud II ceded it to the family of the Egyptian pasha Mohammed Ali; in this way Thasos became unique among the Greek islands in having the status, from 1813 to 1920, of an appanage of Egypt, and even having its own president. During World War I it was occupied by the Allies, and in 1941 by the Bulgarians.

Just as its mineral riches were the cause of the island's first colonization, and of its being coveted by other powers at different periods, so its oil deposits in commercial quantities must ensure its importance in the contemporary Hellenic world.

PAUL HETHERINGTON

Summary

The most northerly island in the Aegean, Thasos is only 7 km from the coast of Thrace. Its mineral deposits (gold, silver, marble) made the island sought-after throughout history, and today oil is being extracted in commercial quantities. It was the birthplace of Polygnotus. Ceded to Mohammed Ali of Egypt in 1760, Thasos was an appanage of Egypt from 1813 to 1920.

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Theatres

The rituals of Classical Greek religion involved, above all, the observation by worshippers of actions performed for the gods. In addition to the crucial sacrifices at an altar, there were athletic activities, and the singing and dancing of choral odes, normally as part of a contest. Evidence for this survives from a wide variety of city states; even at Sparta choruses of young maidens danced and sang odes composed for them by poets of the highest calibre, a marked contrast to the superficially dour impression that is attached to that state. The area in which this activity took place formed part of the sanctuary of the god to whom it was dedicated, and in most instances no more was required than a space, usually circular, on which the dancers could perform their movements of turn and counterturn, and round about this, space from which the spectator-worshippers could observe the ritual.

It was out of this that the Greek theatre developed. Drama formed an elaboration of the choral ode, by the separating out of individual characters, performed by actors, from the body of the chorus. This did not happen in all the city states, and is most clearly associated with Athens; the plays whose texts survive were all written for performance at the religious dramatic festivals of Dionysus there. Nevertheless theatres form an extensive and widespread category of building, whatever precisely the type of production that took place in them. The form, however, is best understood in relation to the development of drama as we perceive it from the Athenian examples.

The principal theatre of Classical Athens is situated on the south side of the Acropolis, in the sanctuary dedicated to Dionysus. The circular dancing floor for the chorus was placed between the small temple and the lower slopes of the Acropolis itself, which provide a most suitable area for viewing. The architectural elaboration of this into a developed theatre was protracted in time, and the earliest phases are inextricably obscured by the later, more permanent forms. Though the chorus remained an essential element in 5th-century BC drama, the separating out of actors would have required a distinct area for their performance, which we know took place in front of a structure that provided the setting. Much later accounts (in Vitruvius) talk of actual scenery and scene painting, but this may be something of an anachronism. There are, however, ample references to what are translated as stage buildings, the *skenai*, which may at first have been temporary. In the front of this (usually referred to by the Latin *scenae frons*) were doors through which actors emerged or disappeared. The convention seems to have been a single, central door for tragedy (which might serve, for example, as the palace of Agamemnon or the cave of Polyphemus), and probably three doors for comedy. These gave on to a stage, the height of which above the level of the dancing floor (the orchestra), failing the survival of material evidence from the 5th century BC, is perennially disputed by modern scholars. Actors, particularly those taking the role of messengers, could also come on to the stage from either side without going through the stage building. Within that structure there was provision for ancillary apparatus, particularly the "machine" (*mechane*) used for the sudden appearance of deities (hence the "god from the machine", the *deus ex machina*) which often brought to an end the otherwise insoluble dilemmas created in the plays of Euripides. In Athens in the 5th century BC the auditorium was provided with wooden seating, presumably removable, which seems to have been arranged in a polygonal rather than curved plan.

Everything became more durable in the 4th century BC. The size of the auditorium was enhanced by extensions from the natural slope on terraces supported by massive end walls. Permanent stone seating was placed on this, a development attributed to the statesman Lycurgus, in 346 BC, and the stage building was also translated into stone. This general arrangement is now found in other places, and culminates in the construction of the great theatre at Epidaurus. This was begun, probably, in the 330s BC, though development was slow, and work was still being carried out in the following century. There is a large circular orchestra, with a stage building behind, the

Theatre of Dionysus, the principal theatre of Classical Athens

details of which unfortunately are lost, only the foundations surviving. The seating is on a natural hillside, extended out with terraces on support walls and in plan occupying more than a semicircle. The rows of seats are divided into "wedges" by stairs. Twelve wedges form a semicircle, with a further wedge each side to the terrace walls. There is a middle walkway dividing the seating into lower and upper sections, the upper being possibly an addition to the original plan; here each wedge is further subdivided by an additional stairway, but with only a half-wedge beyond the semicircle. The resulting acoustic qualities are superb, as can be attested in modern performances, although such qualities are more a natural consequence of the layout than the result of deliberate planning. Though small roofed auditoria (*odeia*) were built specifically for musical performances, theatres remained essentially open-air, and so could accommodate large numbers. Epidaurus holds more than 10,000, and this is not unusual. Some later theatres, such as those at Ephesus, Miletus, and Pergamum, are even larger.

There is an interesting theatre of *c.*300 BC at Sicyon, where access to the auditorium was facilitated by two tunnels under the upper section of seating, leading to the walkway dividing the upper from the lower area. These were roofed with tunnel vaults, indicating a Macedonian design and the work of Demetrius Poliorcetes, who ruled over a reduced kingdom here following the defeat and death of his father at the Battle of Ipsus in 301 BC. In Macedon itself there had been a theatre a century earlier, for king Archelaus, who had enticed Euripides to his court, but the surviving theatre at Aegae has only the lowest row of seats in stone, the remainder being wooden on an earth bank. This was the scene of the great wedding procession in which Philip II was murdered. This procession demonstrates how theatres were used for activities that were not, in themselves, dramatic in character. Theatres also served as meeting places for political assemblies, and there is evidence for such use even at the theatre of Dionysus in Athens.

The best-preserved stage building is that of the theatre at Priene in Ionia, which is probably 2nd century BC in date. The stage platform is raised high above the orchestra level, and has in front a row of engaged Doric half-columns, with openings between. Behind the stage the *skene* rose for another storey, with the traditional doorways. Such a stage separated the actors from the chorus, and presumably reflects a decline in the importance of the chorus, which can be seen clearly in the Athenian comedies by Menander of the late 4th century BC. Even so, as well as these plays, the Athenian drama of the 5th century BC was still performed; a guild of professional actors, the "tradesmen of Dionysus", based in the Ionian city of Teos, seems to have gone on tour with such productions, and every self-respecting Greek city now required a theatre for them.

This continued after the Greek cities were assimilated into the Roman empire. It is possible to distinguish Greek from Roman theatres by the later truncation of the auditorium to a strict semicircle, and linking its ends to a high *scaenae frons*, usually with two or three storeys of attached columnar decoration framing the traditional three doors. Such theatres were

built in Rome itself and the western provinces, but those in the Greek areas usually kept enough space for the choruses, even if one suspects that they were not always used solely for revivals of classical drama. But the distinction is primarily a chronological one, and the semicircular plan was evolving already in late Hellenistic theatres. Improved Roman construction methods, particularly vaulting techniques, made it simpler to build theatres on flat ground, though if a suitable hillside was available it would be used; even in the 4th century BC Greek architects could build auditoria with seats resting entirely on artificial terraces, as at Mantinea and Eretria.

By the time of the Roman empire the religious significance of the theatres had largely passed. In the troubled times of the late empire theatres were often incorporated, by virtue of their massiveness, into fortifications. In Byzantine times plays were still written, but as literary exercises, rather than for performance. Theatrical performances in the Greek world continued only with the travelling players who still entertained in villages even in the early years of the 20th century, though without dedicated buildings. The new theatres of independent Greece, like the splendid example at Piraeus, were based rather on western and specifically Italian models.

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See also Comedy, Satyr Play, Tragedy

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Thebes

City in Boeotia

Thebes was the capital of Boeotia, set in its eastern basin with an area of some 12,400 sq km. Centrally located within this basin, Thebes commands the large, fertile Aonian plain to the north, and is near the Asopus valley to the south. The Teneric plain lies only some 7 km to the west. The area is also blessed with ample springs, rivulets, and rivers. Hence Thebes controlled a large, cohesive area of rich, arable land, which meant that it could easily extend its power throughout Boeotia. The city also enjoyed access to the Aegean by way of Aulis. Thebes itself was likewise endowed with a constant, dependable supply of good water. The acropolis of Thebes was the Cadmea, a plateau that rises gently from north to south, reaching a height of 63 m. It has always been the principal site of inhabitation.

Thebes did not become a major city until the Mycenaean period (*c.*1600–1250 BC). Archaeology has revealed two palaces, other buildings, and walls pierced by the famous seven gates of Thebes. The Mycenaean city appears early in the realm of Greek legend. Some ancient traditions attribute its founding to the Phoenician Cadmus, but other legends tell of founders who preceded him. No modern evidence supports the Cadmus legend: even though Cadmus gave his name to the citadel, the settlement was purely Greek.

Thebes entered the historical era in the Archaic period (*c.*600–500 BC). The city grew until it spread its influence abroad in Boeotia. By the middle of the 6th century BC it had helped to forge a loose confederation that was originally a religious amphictyony, marked by a festival in honour of Poseidon. The confederacy gradually served as the inspiration for political unity, and as such its members repulsed a Thessalian attack around 520 BC. Succeeding it was a rejuvenated league that came into conflict with Athens, an enmity that became traditional. These events show a clear and growing Theban policy that sought to strengthen the confederacy and to oppose Athenian ambitions in the region.

The bleakest moment in Theban history occurred when the city sided with the invader during the Persian Wars. Although in 480 BC Thebes defended Thermopylae against the Persians, the other Greeks suspected it of harbouring Persian sympathies. Abandoned by its allies after the loss of Thermopylae, Thebes fought with the Persians against the Greeks at Plataea in 479 BC. Thereafter, Thebes was branded as a traitor to the Greek cause. Following the Greek victory, it fell to a successful siege, but the rest of Boeotia was spared. The aftermath of the defeat was an eclipse of Theban power and authority. The confederacy survived, but only in 457 BC did Sparta strengthen Thebes by making an alliance with it, reaffirming its hegemony of the confederacy, and enlarging its circuit wall. Seeing these developments as a threat, Athens immediately attacked Boeotia, only to be repulsed by Sparta and Thebes at Tanagra. Later that year Athens struck again, routed Thebes at the battle of Oenophyta, and overran Boeotia. The unpopularity of Athenian rule prompted a successful rebellion in 447 BC that resulted in a Boeotian victory at the Battle of Coronea and the expulsion of the enemy from Boeotia. The victory led the major cities of Boeotia to create a new confederacy that conducted all federal business. It was the most innovative, comprehensive, and successful federal government of the Classical period, and helped to make Boeotia a major power in Greece.

Thebes played a disreputable role at the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War, attacking Plataea before the formal beginning of hostilites. Ally and enemy alike considered Thebes guilty of having violated the yet unbroken peace. Nevertheless, in 424 BC Thebes defeated a major Athenian army at the Battle of Delium, and afterwards contributed significantly to the ultimate defeat of Athens. Victory in 404 BC brought the submission of Athens and strife with Sparta: Sparta insisted on a hard but fair peace with the vanquished; Thebes, on the contrary, demanded the complete destruction of Athens. It also unsuccessfully demanded from Sparta a tenth part of the spoils of war. Thebes thenceforth displayed coldness to Sparta and

warmth to Athens. Antagonism gave way to open hostilities during the Corinthian War (395–386 BC). With the encouragement of the Persians, Thebes banded together with Athens, Argos, and Corinth to overthrow Spartan power in Greece. Fighting was at first fierce, with Thebes and its allies defeating Sparta at the Battles of Haliartus (395 BC) and Coronea (394 BC) and holding their own at the Battle of the Nemea River (394 BC). The war thereafter dragged on until Sparta, with vast Persian support, forced its enemies to accept peace. The King's Peace of 386 BC dismantled the Boeotian Confederacy and weakened Thebes.

Not content with humbling Thebes, Sparta sought to enfeeble it. In 382 BC a Spartan army seized Thebes in time of peace, and held it with a garrison. After four years of military occupation the Thebans overthrew the Spartans and rebuilt the confederacy. In 371 BC Thebes, under its two brilliant generals Epaminondas and Pelopidas, annihilated the Spartan army at Leuctra, thus inaugurating the era of the Theban hegemony, a decade when Thebes stood at the pinnacle of Greek politics. During that time it destroyed Sparta as a major power, frequently invaded the Peloponnese, and spread its influence northwards to Thessaly and Macedonia. In 366 BC Thebes won the friendship of the Persian empire. After a fruitless attempt to win naval superiority, Epaminondas made one last effort to reassert control over an unruly Peloponnese, but failed. At the battle of Mantinea in 362 BC Thebes won the victory but lost Epaminondas. That victory, ironically, ended the hegemony.

If the years after the Theban hegemony were anticlimatic, they were nonetheless eventful. In 355 BC Thebes came to the defence of the sanctuary of Pythian Apollo at Delphi. Seized by a band of Phocians whom the Amphictyons had found guilty of sacrilege, the shrine was militarily occupied and systematically plundered. Thebes and many other Amphictyons struggled to liberate Delphi from the Phocian temple robbers in a conflict known as the Sacred War (355–346 BC). Exhausted after years of unavailing warfare, Thebes and Thessaly turned to Philip II, king of Macedon, for succour. Together with the Amphictyons, Philip freed Delphi in 346 BC. His triumph propelled him to prominence throughout the Greek world, on the heels of which came a conflict with Athens that drew him further south to confront his enemy. Thebes and a few other Greek states now saw Philip as a threat to Greek freedom. In 338 BC Thebes, Athens, and some other allies suffered disaster at the Battle of Chaeronea. In its heroic resistance to this threat from the north, Thebes redeemed itself for having earlier sided with the Persians.

Chaeronea marked the end of Thebes' greatest days. In their place came a long period of twilight. Under the Macedonian kings it was generally at the mercy of greater powers. In 335 BC Alexander the Great punished a rebellious Thebes by utterly destroying it. Rebuilt in 316 BC by the Macedonian king Cassander, the city fell to Demetrius Poliorcetes in 290 BC. From 315 to 86 BC the fortunes of the city changed with those of Hellenistic and Roman commanders. Thebes and Boeotia alike suffered years of decline and decadence. The worst came in 86 BC, when the Roman Sulla reduced it to little more than a village.

Under the Roman emperors Thebes enjoyed renewed material prosperity. Its spiritual inspiration came with the espousal of Christianity, and its first bishop, Rufos (AD 81–96), was also its first martyr. Thebes was reputedly the burial site of the evangelist Luke, and in AD 325 it became an established bishopric. Devastated by Alaric the Goth in AD 397 and levelled by an earthquake in 551, it was rebuilt by Justinian. Thereafter it became economically important because of its voluminous industry in silk and purple dye, which not even the plundering of the Norman king Roger II totally ruined. In 1205 Thebes became the capital of the Duchy of Athens. The Turks, becoming predominant by 1447, reduced Thebes to insignificance. In 1829 Demetrios Ypsilantis besieged it. Again rebuilt after the earthquakes of 1853 and 1893, the city grew in 1923 owing to the influx of Greeks from Anatolia. Today Thebes is most prominent as a market city, but bauxite works have also grown on its outskirts.

Thebes has left a rich legacy. From the realm of legend come Heracles, Cadmus, Oedipus, the cycle of the Seven against Thebes, Antigone, and Tiresias. Indeed, Athenian drama would have been much the poorer without the seven-gated city. Pindar and Corinna wrote exquisite poetry, and Pindar's sophisticated verses are masterpieces of metre, variety, and content. In the Middle Ages Thebes became a steadfast seat of Chrstianity, a fundamental ingredient in the heritage of modern Greece and the world at large.

JOHN BUCKLER

See also Boeotia

Summary

The capital of Boeotia, Thebes was an important city in the Mycenaean period and also in Greek legend. For much of the Archaic and Classical periods it was the head of a Boeotian confederacy. It fought alongside the invader in the Persian Wars. Defeated by Sparta in 386 BC, Thebes had its revenge at Leuctra (371 BC) and for ten years enjoyed hegemony over Greece. Defeated by Philip II of Macedon at Chaeronea (338 BC), Thebes went into decline. Famous for its silk industry in the Middle Ages, it was capital of the Duchy of Athens after 1205.

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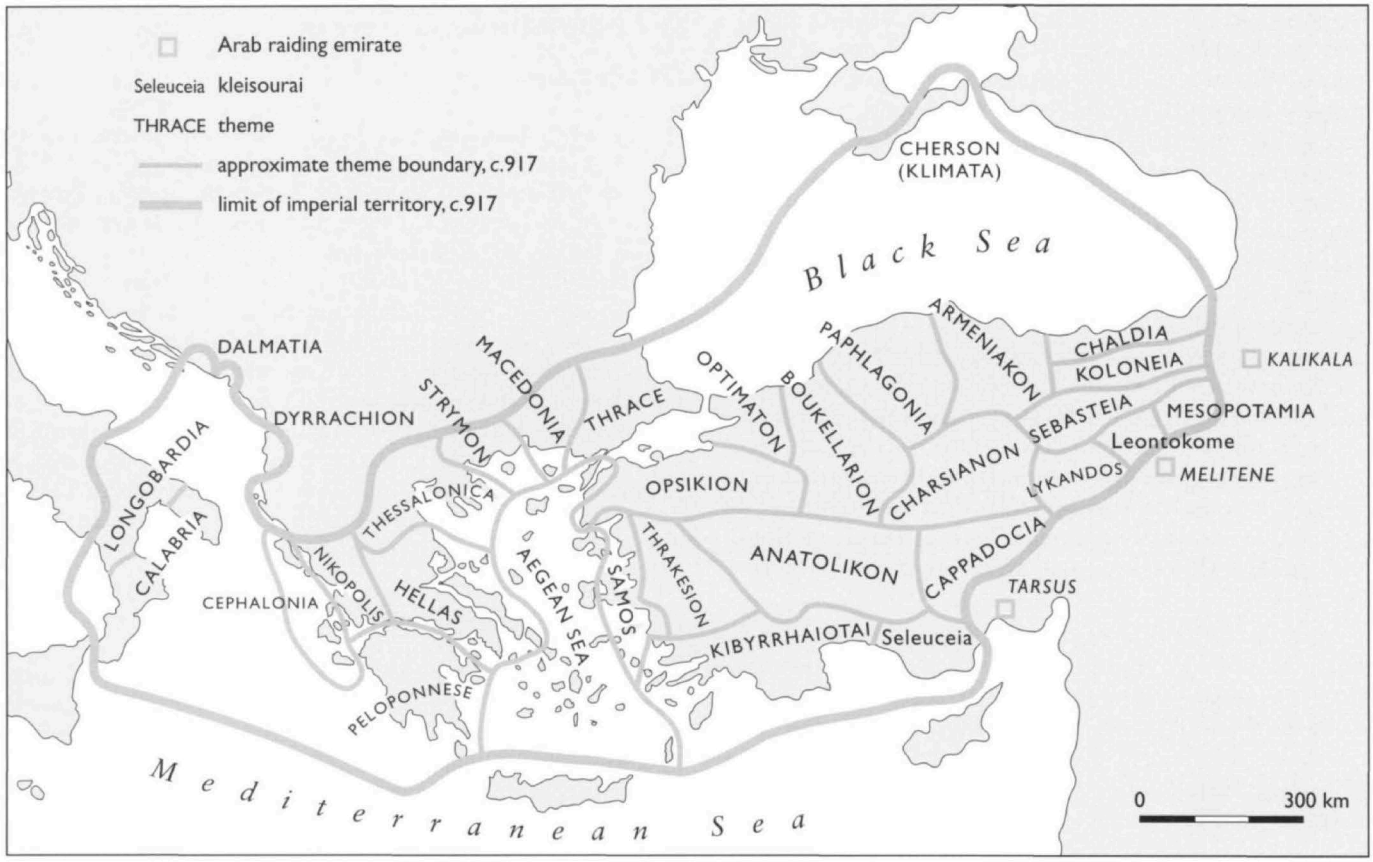
Theme System

Themes were primary divisions of the armed forces, provincial administration, and land or sea territory in the Byzantine empire. As a concept of government they had a remarkable



44. Themes of the Byzantine empire *c.*917

lifespan, from around AD 600 to 1300, although towards the end of this period they were mostly abandoned in practice. Their complex history remains controversial in many respects, but they did acquire a systematic character that reflected both the organizational strengths and individual weaknesses of Byzantine leadership. On the whole, they played a major role in stabilizing the empire, and in enabling it to shield Europe from eastern aggressors, especially the Arab Muslims.

The first Byzantine rulers, striving to protect borders against barbarians from every direction, gradually found that the traditional Roman emphasis on a civil administration with centralized armies was no longer the most effective way to maintain soldiers and defend exposed regions. An improvement was made by the emperor Maurice who, late in the 6th century, subordinated civil to military authority in the Exarchate of Ravenna and imposed a similar regime at Carthage. This measure was not yet extended to other areas that it might have saved, notably continental Greece in the face of Slav invasions. But soon Maurice's successors, from Herakleios (610–41) to Leo III (716–41) , reconquered Asia Minor and began settling troops there, more or less permanently and independently prepared for war.

Men who gained a hereditary right to land that could support them in peacetime were thus expected not only to fight when needed, but to do so at best in defence of their own homes, and to demand little payment from the capital. Such reasoning was not unprecedented, as citizen farmers had been the core of armies a thousand years earlier both in the majority of classical Greek city states and the Roman republic. What distinguished the Byzantine approach was its elaboration, flexibility, martial-law institutions, and focus on survival rather than expansion. It also stimulated local economic life, and agreed with a fundamental tendency in this multiethnic society to feel regional solidarity as opposed to national identity. In some ways anticipating a modern collective security alliance such as NATO, it turned the empire's military efforts into a many-headed monster that often had nothing to fear but changes of heart in Constantinople.

Each province was termed a theme due to the resident army corps (*thema*) and could be named for its particular corps. Its governor, appointed by the emperor, was the corps commander (*strategos*). Beneath him, an intricate hierarchy of officers (chiefly entitled, in ascending order, *droungarios*, *tourmarchis*, and *komis* or count) was responsible for corresponding subdivisions of the theme. *Kleisoura*, meanwhile, was the name given to some frontier districts of the empire, of lesser status than the themes. Themes were not static units with rigid borders, and while the forces in Anatolia usually had greatest importance, further themes were created continually. From a few in the mid-7th century, they proliferated as far as Italy and the Caucasus, numbering nearly 40 before the Crusades. Concurrently they spread to the surrounding waters: in a versatile navy including imperial, local, and thematic fleets, the last were the most autonomous and covered a vast range of east Mediterranean and Black Sea coasts. Maritime themes, led by admirals instead of generals, resembled the terrestrial ones in management, but were based upon many supply ports or islands.

The control and development of themes varied as much as their topography. For example, their very existence invited mutual discord and they occasionally attacked each other or revolted against the emperor. Since the western and maritime themes were more rooted in Graeco-Roman culture than those of the east, the system also worsened relations between the navy and army, contributing to conflicts such as that of 8th-century iconoclasm. Nor did it bridge the social gap between city and countryside. In Greece the key areas came to comprise a single theme of Hellas and the Peloponnese, governed from Thebes or Athens, with self-supporting administrators who collected revenues rapaciously, adding to a burden of imperial taxation. Yet thematic organization helped to recolonize the Aegean in the wake of the Slavs, and persisted in dreams of its rescue from the crusaders. As late as 1300 the historian Pachymeres seemingly imagined that a district somewhere in Laconia had been surrendered by the Franks and still belonged to the old theme or might become a new one, though the place stayed in Slavic hands according to the *Chronicle of the Morea*.

Already at the turn of the millennium, however, success began to spoil the Byzantines and two contrary processes began the decline of the themes. First, the sprawling empire was consolidated by recentralizing authority in a refined, antimilitaristic bureaucracy that neglected the regional defences, promoting civil ministries and local judges (*krites*). Second, its resources were being fragmented through feudalization, eventually under western influence: officials and churches amassed huge estates, while freeholding soldiers and sailors sold out. The 11th- and 12th-century emperors favoured direct systems that gave command to dukes or domestics (*domestikoi*, "commanders"), bought the loyalty of potentates and troops with grants of land or produce (*pronoia*), and defined the provinces differently, reducing "themes" to a vague geographic and fiscal term.

Thus, again like their ancient predecessors, and despite correctives by some Komnene and Palaiologan rulers, the themes largely succumbed to the rise of aristocrats competing at the expense of the peasantry, who increasingly merged with the urban proletariat and were replaced on the battlefield with costly, unreliable mercenaries. All this was soon proved unwise by the Turkish invasions, which can be seen as a legacy in default of the theme system.

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Themistius *c.*AD 317–*c.*388

Philosopher

Like his father, his first father-in-law, and a grandfather, Themistius was a philosopher, and throughout his life he continued to regard philosophy as his chief calling. Perhaps born in Paphlagonia like his father, he was made a member of the senate of Constantinople in 355 by the emperor Constantius II, son of Constantine. From that time on, he was very active in public affairs. In the late 350s he played an important role in recruiting new senators for what was fast becoming the "eastern capital" and almost certainly held the high urban office of proconsul of Constantinople. His rise to prominence in the senate was rapid; he served as a spokesman for the city and its aristocracy and frequently represented them abroad. Office came to him again in the mid 380s, when he assumed the urban prefecture, which had replaced the Constantinopolitan proconsulship in 359. He died soon after holding this office.

In addition to serving Constantinople and its senate, Themistius was a panegyrist and adviser of emperors. He gave the usual general advice of the philosopher on how to govern well. On specific issues a reconciling tone prevails. A flexible pagan who worked well with Christian emperors, he urged the pagan emperor Julian (361–63) not to persecute Christians and later tried to moderate the Arian emperor Valens' persecution of Nicene Christians. He encouraged emperors to show clemency to their domestic foes. The Goths, who were threatening the Roman empire in the north under Valens (364–78) and Theodosius (379–95), should, in Themistius' view, be offered peace and admission into the empire. Themistius' influence at court was probably strongest in the late 350s under Constantius and in the 380s under Theodosius. Ironically, he may have been somewhat marginalized under his fellow pagan Julian. The two men had disagreed on certain issues of political philosophy, as Julian's *Letter to Themistius* reveals, and Themistius could not have been comfortable with Julian's religious fanaticism. Themistius' closeness to Constantius, against whom Julian revolted, may have caused an initial awkwardness. And it is hard to imagine the irenic Themistius approving of Julian's military campaign against the Persians.

Before he became involved in public affairs in 355, Themistius devoted all his time to the pursuit and teaching of philosophy. Although he was open to a variety of philosophical influences, he regarded himself mainly as a follower of Aristotle. His so-called *Paraphrases* or explications of Aristotelian works were a project of his early career. Some of the *Paraphrases* have not survived; but we do have those on Aristotle's *Analytica Posteriora*, the *Physica*, and the *De Anima* in Greek and those on the *De Caelo*, *Metaphysica* book 12, and the *Analytica Priora* (excerpts only) in Arabic and especially in Hebrew. Most if not all of these commentaries were completed before 355. After 355 public affairs as well as philosophy would have a claim on Themistius' time.

In his *Oration* 23 Themistius says that his *Paraphrases* attempted nothing more than to clarify Aristotle's words, have nothing new in them, and were never intended for publication. He was being excessively modest. The *Paraphrases* were cited by subsequent Greek Aristotelian commentators, from

Ammonius in the 5th and 6th centuries to Eustratios of Nicaea in the 11th and 12th centuries. According to his modern editor G. Vitelli, John Philoponus (6th century) in his commentary on Aristotle's *Physica* not only explicitly cited Themistius' commentary on the same work some 15 times, but also tacitly drew from it 600 times!

We have, in addition to the Aristotelian commentaries, a collection of Themistius' orations. Thirty-three have survived in Greek and, along with them, an oration in Latin that has been proved to be a forgery of the 16th century. We also have a Themistian work on virtue that survives only in Syriac and a work, addressed to Julian, on governing the state that survives only in Arabic; these may also be orations. The Greek orations have traditionally been divided into "public" or "official" (*politikoi*) addresses (1–29 minus the spurious Latin *Oration* 12) and "private" ones (20–34). It is in the public orations that one finds Themistius praising and advising emperors. These orations make it clear that, for Themistius, the central imperial virtue is *philanthropia*, the benevolence of which the emperor is uniquely capable and through which he becomes like God. The private orations consist of apologetics, cultural (i.e. rhetorical and philosophical) programmatics, material of autobiographical interest, and philosophical discourses. In these orations Themistius argues, against his critics, that the philosopher should be involved in public affairs. He also argues that the lessons of philosophy should be broadcast, in an appropriate form, to the masses, not reserved for a few select pupils. Holding this view, he was in disagreement with the contemporary Neoplatonist circles to which Julian was drawn; in these circles esoteric learning was shared with an elite corps of disciples. It was rhetorical skill, Themistius contended, that allowed the philosopher to present his teachings to the general public in an attractive and persuasive manner. The philosopher's use of rhetoric was not "sophistical", not merely for show, pleasure, or gain.

The Byzantines admired Themistius' orations. They belong to the long tradition of classicizing Greek oratory in the Roman empire that produced Dio Chrysostom and Aelius Aristides in the 1st and 2nd centuries AD, included Themistius' contemporaries Julian and Himerius, and had its final florescence in late antiquity in the so-called school of Gaza.

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See also Philosophy, Rhetoric

Biography

Born *c.*AD 317, perhaps in Paphlagonia, Themistius became a senator in Constantinople in 355. He was urban prefect in the mid-380s. His fine rhetoric attracted imperial attention. As a philosopher he wrote commentaries on various Aristotelian works; also public and private orations. He died *c.*388.

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Themistocles *c.*525–459 BC

Athenian statesman

Themistocles first appears in our sources as archon of Athens for 493/92 BC, when he began fortifying the Piraeus, as a much superior replacement for Athens' former harbour at Phaleron. This first appearance exemplifies the central preoccupation of his career, that Athens should become a great naval power. It also exemplifies the legendary intelligence that all the sources emphasize. Similarly, in 483 BC, when a rich seam of silver was discovered at Laurium, he urged that it be used not for the short-term individual gain of the citizens, but to augment the Athenian fleet, which then numbered only 50, but would number 180 at Salamis. Whether Athens' ongoing dispute with Aegina or rumours of a Persian invasion were his focus, his policy was directly responsible both for Greece's unexpected victory against Persia and the thalassocracy on which the Athenian empire was based.

The climax of Themistocles' Greek career was his performance as commander of the Greek fleet at Salamis in 480 BC. Aeschylus himself fought at this battle, and his *Persians* and Herodotus are our most contemporary sources for what happened. Though there are different emphases in each, they agree that Themistocles forced the battle – in Herodotus, against the will of the Peloponnesians – by sending word to Xerxes that the Greeks were planning to retreat by night: Xerxes blocked off the escape routes and the Greeks and Persians were forced to fight. Themistocles' motives and the exact details of what happened are disputed, but his plan enabled the Greeks to fight in narrow waters, which were advantageous to them, but detrimental to the Persians, because of their superior numbers. It was widely acknowledged in Athens that the Battle of Salamis was decisive in saving Greece, and in Simonides' poem on the battle Themistocles' wisdom was especially praised. A sanctuary of Artemis and a trophy for the victory on Salamis were discovered in the 19th century, though little is visible today.

Themistocles foresaw that Athens' new prestige and power would eventually damage its relations with Sparta. When the Athenians began to rebuild their ruined city, and the Spartans suggested that refortification was unnecessary, Themistocles

Themistocles: marble portrait bust, Museo Ostia, Italy

outmanoeuvred them as he had outmanoeuvred Xerxes. Ordering the Athenians to finish the rebuilding as quickly as possible, he went to Sparta, allegedly to discuss the issue there. By delaying and making excuses, he kept Sparta uncertain of what was happening in Athens until it was too late and the fortifications were established: Athens' credit was too good in Greece for the Spartans to complain openly, but they were not pleased, and this is an early sign of the tensions that would ultimately lead to the Peloponnesian War.

In the spring of 478 BC Themistocles returned to the fortification of the Piraeus that he had begun in his archonship. Although events ultimately proved the wisdom of his plan, in the short term the decision worked against him. While Cimon and Aristides pursued glamorous foreign campaigns of revenge against Persia, Themistocles presided over the valuable but dreary and exhausting work of fortification at home. His desire for continuous expressions of gratitude for his services at Salamis also harmed him among the people, who became resentful, especially when he constructed a temple of Artemis of the Best Advice (Aristoboule) which contained his own statue. One of his supporters, however, may have been Aeschylus, whose *Persians*, performed in 472 BC, is sometimes interpreted as an attempt to remind Athens of Themistocles' services at a time when he was unpopular, although only a few lines concern him and he is never actually named. At any rate, Aeschylus was not enough to save him and, perhaps in 471 BC, he was ostracized. In fact, ostraca dating back to the mid-480s BC indicate that he had always had many enemies, and it is surprising that he had managed to avoid ostracism for so long.

He went to Argos, and it may be significant that Elis and Mantinea acquired democratic governments at this time. If he was stirring up democratic anti-Spartan feeling in the Peloponnese, it is not surprising that the Spartans wanted his removal. An opportunity presented itself when they put to death their own general Pausanias under suspicion of treason with Persia. Letters were allegedly found that implicated Themistocles, but before he could be arrested, he fled to Corfu. A strongly romanticizing strain, which seduced even Thucydides, colours the rest of his story: it probably derives from Themistocles himself and his descendants. Thucydides tells a stirring tale of hair's breadth escapes from capture, as Themistocles' ship was carried by a storm straight into the Athenian fleet besieging Naxos, until he finally landed in Persia, where he seems to have lived a life of obscurity for several years before approaching the Persian king. The dating for this part of his career is uncertain, for the obvious reason that his actions had to be so clandestine.

Later accounts describe his meeting with Xerxes' successor Artaxerxes, in which he won him over. Themistocles reminded the king that he had persuaded the Greeks not to break the bridges that had conveyed the Persians into Europe, thereby saving Xerxes. The story is told first in Herodotus, who interprets it – implausibly – as a sign that Themistocles was already planning to defect after Salamis, and the story may derive from Themistocles' own fertile imagination. Tradition recounts that he learned Persian in a year and became a friend and adviser to the king, who gave him control of several towns, including Magnesia. He settled there happily, keeping up with his origins by introducing Athenian festivals into Magnesia, and issuing his own coinage on the Attic standard, of which some examples are extant. Aristophanes already knew of a tradition in which Themistocles committed suicide by drinking bulls' blood when the king insisted that he should repay his kindness by leading an expedition against Greece: this too may come from Themistoclean sources, eager to erase any stain of disloyalty to Greece, and a natural death is more likely. For his descendants, honours were maintained in Magnesia even down to the time of Plutarch. It is likely that Themistocles' relatives eventually brought his body back to Athens: monuments to him in both Magnesia and Attica are recorded.

Though quite abundant, all accounts of Themistocles are shaped by the strong reactions, both positive and negative, that he elicited from his fellows. In Herodotus his greed and deception predominate, though his services to Greece are also acknowledged; for Aeschylus and Thucydides his "deceit" is cleverness, and Thucydides may deliberately have rehabilitated a man whose outstanding intelligence he regarded as equal only to that of Pericles. The life of Themistocles, with its exceptional triumphs and reverses, generated tremendous interest in later tradition. Some information on his life is historically valuable, though much is also of a purely anecdotal variety: strands of both types are clearly evident in Plutarch's *Life*. Because of his part in building the Athenian navy, he is regarded as Pericles' forerunner as a democrat, and sources tend to speak well or ill of him according to their judgements of democracy. Among philosophers, his character was a favourite test case on the relative roles of nature and nurture in creating intelligence, and rhetorical schools used incidents from his thrilling life as material for debates: these factors exacerbated the tendency for traditions to be embroidered even more as time went on, even to the extent of the forgery, probably in the late 1st or 2nd century AD, of 21 letters, allegedly written by Themistocles to friends from various stops along his escape route.

SOPHIE MILLS

Summary

Born *c.*525 BC, Themistocles was archon at Athens in 493/92, when he began fortifying Piraeus. When silver was discovered at Laurium in 483, he urged that it be used to enlarge the fleet. In 480 he commanded the fleet at Salamis. Ostracized in *c.*471, he went to Argos and then Corfu; then he fled to Persia and settled at Magnesia. According to tradition he committed suicide in 459 BC.

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Theocritus

Poet of the 3rd century BC

Theocritus lived and worked in the first half of the 3rd century BC. A native of Syracuse, he was probably also active in Cos and in Alexandria under Ptolemy II Philadelphus. This peripatetic poetic career may be considered as characteristic of a period in which old loyalties to individual cities were eroded under the larger governmental units that were their successors. Theocritus is typical of his time also in his movement away from the older literary forms native to the Greek polis, such as epic and drama, and for his preference instead for creating new combinations within traditional genres out of his intimate knowledge of the Greek literary heritage, and mixing "high" and "low" literary forms, to create new poetic blends designed to appeal to a highly sophisticated audience.

Theocritus is best known for bucolic poetry, whose setting is the countryside and whose subject matter is herdsmen, their animals, their loves, and above all their songs. The countryside is highly idealized: specific indications of places and times are generally ignored in favour of timeless scenes that emphasize the abundance and beauty of the countryside, the sensual pleasures of its colours, smells, and sights, and the leisurely lives of the herdsmen. Theocritus likes to contrast the world of nature and simplicity with a larger world of civilization beyond it. His herdsmen partake of both worlds, being simultaneously portrayed with amusement as representatives of rustic simplicity, yet also admired as artists and creators of exceptional poetry. Thus his portrayal of them is never consistent and somewhat detached, and the tone of the poems moves constantly between the realistic and the idealized. This shift is also reflected in their form and language. Theocritus writes in Doric, but not the Doric actually spoken by Sicilian herdsmen, but a stylized mixture of contemporary and poetic forms, and while an occasional bawdiness colours the poems to give some illusion of reality, mostly he prefers a formal elegance and motifs that look unceasingly to his great predecessors for their inspiration. Although superficially his thought seems straightforward, with only occasional ventures into symbolism or obscure myths, these poems of simple country life are as much a product of Alexandrian literary taste as the more obviously learned poetry of Theocritus' library-dwelling contemporary Callimachus.

The relation of Theocritus' bucolic poetry to contemporary practice in the countryside is unclear, but the repetitions and use of refrains that are such a notable stylistic feature in his poems are attested in other traditions of pastoral poetry. Furthermore, the singing contests of which he writes still exist – in a less self-consciously literary form – in modern-day Sicily, Crete, and Rhodes, and the capping of stanzas, the use of phonological and syntactical parallelisms, and the general spirit of display and mockery that Theocritus' herdsmen exhibit all feature in modern songs of this type. In ancient tradition there is also a consistent association of shepherds and herdsmen with music making, as is seen in the biographical traditions attached to Archilochus and Hesiod. Theocritus may possibly have been the first poet to make higher literature from traditions of popular song. If so, he is again typical of his time, since the high poetry of the Hellenistic age tended to rework elements from popular culture into new, literary modes.

Theocritus is best remembered for his poems of country life, largely because, via Virgil's adaptations of them in the *Eclogues*, they influenced later European pastoral poetry so strongly, but his extant corpus extends beyond these in subject matter, tone, and dialect. He addressed poems to the great men of the day, such as Hieron II of Syracuse, from whom he may, probably unsuccessfully, have hoped for patronage, and to Ptolemy II Philadelphus (who may have been more generous). Some poems are set in the city, such as poem 2, which is a monologue by a young woman using magic to retrieve her errant lover, and 15, a dramatic dialogue of two women in Alexandria and their day out at the festival of Adonis. The amusing realism of this poem and its interest in the lives of ordinary people reflect general tendencies in Hellenistic literature and art. These poems have an antecedent in the work of Sophron, a writer of mimes of the 5th century BC, a "low", but popular, genre of entertainment, and a parallel in the rather earthier mimes of Theocritus' contemporary Herodas.

Other poems are written in epic dialect, or in a mixture of epic and Doric, and Theocritus even seems to have imitated the Lesbian of Alcaeus and Sappho. Twenty-seven epigrams are preserved under his name, as is the novelty poem "Syrinx" written in the shape of panpipes. In his handling of epic themes, such as stories of Heracles and the Dioscuri, he shows the normal tendencies of this time to retell lesser-known stories in a domesticizing, small-scale style. His treatments of the myths of Heracles and Hylas and of the Dioscuri may be compared with those of Apollonius, which, by contrast, are in a more traditional epicizing mode. It would appear from these and other evidence that Theocritus was a devotee of Callimachus' small-scale aesthetic, rather than that of Apollonius.

At least one Theocritean poem, the *Berenice*, has not been preserved, while several poems transmitted in the Theocritean corpus are the work of later imitators. Little bucolic poetry between Theocritus and Virgil survives, but Moschus in the mid-2nd century BC and Bion, *c.*50 years later, show a strong Theocritean influence. The first ancient collection of Theocritus was gathered by Artemidorus of Tarsus (1st century BC), and from the writings of Lucian, Longus, and others it is clear that bucolic poetry remained popular in the next century. Our papyri range from the 1st to the 7th centuries AD. A maintenance or revival of interest in bucolic is evident in the 4th to 6th centuries in the poems of Quintus, Nonnus, Tryphiodorus, and epigrammatists, some Christian writers, and also in the numerous papyri datable to the 5th century AD. To the pastoral renaissance in the Greek world from the 12th century on we owe a large number of Theocritean manuscripts – nearly 180 in all – and Byzantine scholars such as Planudes, Moschopoulos, Triklinios, and probably Tzetzes all wrote commentaries on his poems.

Although Theocritus' secure place in the Byzantine canon has ensured that relatively substantial remains of his work have come down to us, the Byzantine enthusiasm for Attic Greek has wreaked havoc with Theocritus' Doric forms, and has caused problems for modern editors trying to restore his original language. Throughout the 15th century Byzantine manuscripts came to Italy and Theocritus was one of the first

Greek poets to be produced in printed form, in Milan *c.*1480. More people continued to read translations of Theocritus than the original, however, and he has been translated into many languages throughout Europe, including modern Greek. No other Greek author was as often and as successfully imitated as Theocritus, but his influence on western literature is primarily through Virgil whose Latin was more acccessible to many more people than Theocritus' Greek.

SOPHIE MILLS

See also Poetry (Lyric)

Biography

A native of Syracuse, Theocritus was active in Cos and Alexandria in the 270s BC. He is famous for his bucolic poetry, which was the model for Virgil's *Eclogues*; but he also wrote mimes, epigrams, and minor epics. He was much read in Byzantium and has been translated into many modern languages.

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Theodora *c.*497–548

Empress and wife of Justinian I

Theodora grew up in an impoverished environment that contrasted sharply with the glamour and power of her adult life as empress and wife of the Byzantine emperor Justinian I. Her unprecedented power as Augusta and her deep influence over Justinian were bound to attract attention and mixed reactions from contemporary observers in an age when the political role of the empress was neither well received nor formally spelled out. Our main source on Theodora's early years as well as on her public life is the contemporary historian Procopius, whose *Wars* and *Buildings* attempt to be an official history of the reign of Justinian and Theodora, while his *Secret History* engages in an exhaustive and often vitriolic examination of Theodora's origins, morality, and private life. Procopius' work is valuable evidence of the reception of female political power in the early years of the Byzantine empire; however, its involved character makes a reliable reconstruction of Theodora's life particularly difficult, especially since no other contemporary source enlightens us much on the subject.

In Procopius' account of events, Theodora is presented as the daughter of Akakios, a bear keeper employed by the Greens in the Hippodrome in Constantinople, whose family was put under the protection of the Blues after his death. Procopius is not sparing with scurrilous descriptions of Theodora's allegedly profligate youth in the rough culture of the Hippodrome. Other sources, however, point at Paphlagonia as her birthplace and suggest that she made her way to Constantinople as a lowly spinner of wool. Reading between the lines of Procopius' account, we can be fairly sure that Theodora was a rather successful comic actress, a kind of courtesan with considerable popularity in the capital, as well as in Alexandria and Antioch, before her meeting with Justinian around 520 and her subsequent marriage to him in 525.

To make things appear more seemly Justinian persuaded his uncle, the emperor Justin, to confer upon Theodora the dignity of the patriciate. Additionally, a special edict had to be issued allowing senators to contract a legal marriage with actresses who had abandoned their former life. Both acts signify the highly unconventional character of Theodora's ascent on to the public stage, which in fact was bound to have far-reaching repercussions on the way that power was distributed and important decisions were made throughout Justinian's long reign, which began in 527 and ended with his death in 565.

The sources describe Theodora as a woman with remarkable compassion for the unprivileged, no doubt related to the destitution of her early life. This compassion triggered what should be seen as the first important social reform programme in the empire, involving welfare programmes for the poor, rehabilitation projects for former prostitutes, and endowment schemes for hospitals, orphanages, and schools. Her public role is, however, more difficult to ascertain.

Procopius draws our attention to Theodora's conspiratorial palace politics, which nevertheless appear rather unavoidable given that the political status of the Byzantine empress was never explicitly defined. He presents her as a forceful and domineering woman constantly meddling in state affairs and dominating an impressionable and weak-willed Justinian. Her most notable interventions were her fervent support of Monophysitism throughout her life, her outspoken and courageous attitude during the riot of Nika (11–19 January 532), her manipulative intervention in the rupture of the empire with the Ostrogoths in Italy in the early 530s, her involvement in the removal of pope Silverius (536–37), her hostile attitude to pope Vigilius (537–55), and her plotting against John of Cappadocia, a high-ranking official, which led to his deposition in 541.

In the light of the above, it is not surprising that Theodora's political role has always been deemed ambivalent. Modern historians have often pointed to her inability to grasp the main weaknesses and needs of the expanded but also fragile and

Theodora: mosaic of the empress in San Vitale, Ravenna, 6th century

rather loosely integrated Byzantine empire of the 6th century, and have held her accountable for letting her personal preferences and aversions interfere with judgements on sensitive matters of state. Charges of political ineptitude seem to apply, at least in certain cases, and one need not underestimate the fact that, having been catapulted into her royal position by marriage, Theodora, just like Irene in the 8th century and the second Theodora in the 9th century, was certainly never properly prepared for her imperial duties. On the other hand, reading between the lines of the contemporary hostile accounts, we perceive her as an exceptional individual with remarkable personal courage. We also realize that she was perhaps the first, most highly eccentric and vivid example of a small but not insignificant series of Byzantine imperial women who wielded considerable, even if often indirect, power, against the background of a highly militarized and largely male-dominated society that tacitly accepted but never felt at ease with the female influence exercised by the empresses. Theodora died in Constantinople on 28 June 548, perhaps of cancer, and was buried in the church of the Holy Apostles.

EFROSSINI SPENTZOU

Biography

Born *c.*497, perhaps in Paphlagonia, Theodora was allegedly the daughter of Akakios, a bear keeper in the Hippodrome of Constantinople. In 525, after a career as an actress, she married the emperor Justinian I and played an active part in politics. She died in Constantinople, perhaps of cancer, in 548.

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Theodora d. 867

Empress and saint

Born at Ebissa (Paphlagonia), the daughter of an Armenian in the service of the empire, Theodora married (either in 821 or in 830) the iconoclast emperor Theophilos, becoming regent at his death in 842. According to the chronicler, the loveliest girls in the empire had been brought to Constantinople for Theophilos to choose a bride: he chose Theodora. (The same is

told of half-a-dozen other empresses. Ryden, 1985, convincingly suggests that in each case the story is a "stylized" description of imperial weddings, popular for a time, rather than a realistic account.) Five daughters (Thekla, Anna, Anastasia, Pulcheria, Maria) and one son (Michael) were born of the marriage.

After Theophilos's death in 842 there is little doubt that a small number of men, of imperial blood or with other claims, envisaged bidding for the throne. Theodora relished power, and, as regent, she meant to keep it. Connected to her plans, but in what manner can only be conjectured, is the pardon of Theophilos. Was Theodora motivated by love for her dead husband or was she aware that the Church's curse on him for having prohibited the cult of icons, publicly renewed yearly, might be damaging for his son – and for the regent?

The different accounts of the "Restoration of Orthodoxy" (i.e. the cult of icons) are perhaps best understood as reflecting the positioning and the initial moves made by the parties in confrontation. Theodora relied on the civil service and certain elements of the Church, including holy men from the hills in considerable numbers, whose presence in Constantinople made any attempt to seize the throne far more risky, and took as a symbol of her assumption of power a change of religious policy, presented merely as a return to the former state, in fact imposing the contrary option as iconoclasm had never been imposed. At the same time the whole episcopate was changed.

Not all the sources mention the pardon of Theophilos, but the number of variants suggests that great importance was attached, not only to obtaining it, but also to having this known. As justification for it, in most sources, he is alleged to have repented and venerated images before his death, in the presence, according to one version, not only of Theodora. But in general Theodora is presented requesting the new patriarch, Methodios, and the new hierarchy – as she is granting them restoration of icons and showing them every possible favour – in return, to grant her, their sovereign, a favour: God's forgiveness, pardon, and amnesty for her husband for his sins with respect to images. "Your request is just", they reply. "It is right to repay benefactors and rulers freely, so let it be not a tyrant's hand that rules, but a God-fearing mind. But we cannot snatch from God's judgement one already departed to the other life. Those who died manifestly condemned, their guilt we cannot remove." The empress, "telling the truth or out of love for her husband", related on oath to the sacred assembly that he had abjured on his deathbed, and embraced icons that she had supplied; on the strength of this she asked for "a written forgiveness of his sin". They accept her story. In an alternative version the patriarch Methodios lays a list of heretics' names, including Theophilos's, on the altar, and he and all the Orthodox metropolitans, monks, and laymen pray earnestly. An angel appears to Methodios saying: "Your prayer has been heard, Theophilos is pardoned." When the list is checked, Theophilos's name, and his alone, has disappeared; all the other names are still on it. The historian Genesios makes Theodora bargain more crudely: "If this is not granted me, you will not find me on your side, nor will you obtain from me the restoration of icons, nor the direction of the Church."

However, the advantage of having witnesses is obvious – and not only for Theophilos. The principal witness apart from Theodora was Theoktistos, who had been Theophilos's right-hand man, and whom Theodora intended to keep as her principal collaborator and supporter. How fortunate that he was able to pull an image of the Virgin out from under his clothes for Theophilos to adore! So he had been a crypto-iconodule! It suited both Theoktistos and Theodora to propagate this image of him, and this may well have been the final official story, once everything was settled. Possibly the other stories reflect what happened more faithfully.

Theodora's investment in the bureaucracy and suspicious attitude towards generals enabled her to retain power but did not lead to success in war. She also made Theoktistos, her principal minister for home affairs, a general for campaigns; he seems to have been defeated more often than he was victorious, but remained in position till his murder was organized by Theodora's brother Bardas, assisted by Michael, in 856.

Bardas left the empire to Michael, and himself founded the College of the Magnaura (where the syllabus included philosophy, geometry, astronomy, and grammar, in a much broader sense than it has today). He was also active in the law courts, representing the emperor and reviving the tradition of justice being meted out by him. Theodora did not appreciate being set aside and participated in a plot against Michael. It was uncovered, the other leading participants were executed, and Theodora and her daughters were sent to a convent. Her relations with Michael seem, however, to have remained good, and the picture of her mourning over his corpse is surely at least figuratively true.

Theodora's canonization was purely political. There was no canonically defined process for achieving that state. Recognition by a sufficient number of people and, after death, having a hagiographer, or at this date having been father-superior of one of the more powerful monasteries, were in the Eastern Church the normal stepping stones to becoming a saint.

PATRICIA KARLIN-HAYTER

See also Iconoclasm

Biography

Born in Paphlagonia the daughter of an Armenian civil servant, Theodora married the iconoclast emperor Theophilos. She became the mother of five daughters and one son, later Michael III. After Theophilos's death in 842 she ruled as regent for Michael. In 843 she restored the cult of icons. She was deposed in 856 by Bardas and sent to a convent. She died in 867.

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Theodorakis, Mikis 1925–

Composer

Mikis Theodorakis is not only the leading modern Greek composer of his generation, but an internationally acclaimed

artist who became a symbol of resistance to the 1967–1974 dictatorship in Greece. Outside his own country he is probably best known for his film scores for *Zorba the Greek*, *Z* , *State of Siege*, and *Serpico*. His popular songs, many of them settings of well-known poetry, inspired a generation of Greeks, many of whom shared the composer's left-wing political beliefs. In the 1960s Theodorakis established a new style of song that combined elements of low-class popular music with sophisticated poetry. Less well known but equally impressive are Theodorakis's achievements as a classical composer. From his first symphony, begun in a prison camp in 1948, to the trio of operas – *Medea*, *Electra*, *Antigone* – completed in 1996, Theodorakis has composed a large body of classical works, many of which have had successful performances in Europe. As a political figure Theodorakis has always been controversial. Persecuted and tortured, like so many Greeks of his generation, for his loyalty to the communist-led resistance during World War II, he was never a doctrinaire politician and even became, for a brief period in the early 1990s, a minister for the conservative New Democracy Party. Despite the unpopularity of many of his political decisions, Theodorakis remains a legendary figure in Greece, a hero to many, and a composer whose songs are familiar to an entire population.

Theodorakis's life has been shaped by the tumultuous events of his country's history. He was born in 1925 on the island of Chios, where his parents had fled following the burning of Smyrna in the Graeco-Turkish war of 1920–21. His father was a Cretan civil servant and loyal supporter of the anti-monarchist leader Eleftherios Venizelos. At the outbreak of World War II Theodorakis senior was posted to Tripolis, in the Peloponnese. The young Theodorakis was already composing his first choral works when the Germans occupied Greece. He soon joined a youth group allied to the partisan resistance and in 1944 became a captain in the partisan army ELAS. He continued his musical studies at the Athens Conservatorium but was arrested and tortured in 1945 and 1946. During the Greek Civil War Theodorakis spent months in prison camps on Greek islands where he began to compose his first symphony.

In 1952 Theodorakis married a medical student, Myrto Altinoglou. The young couple both won scholarships to study in Paris, she to study radiology at the Curie Foundation, he, composition at the Paris Conservatoire. Despite his initial success as a composer, including a commission for the ballet score *Antigone* from Covent Garden, Theodorakis was dissatisfied with the esoteric world of classical music and he longed to play an active part in the political life of his own country. When the well-known Greek poet Yiannis Ritsos sent him his poem *Epitaphios*, a lament for a young man killed by police in a street demonstration, Theodorakis immediately set the verses to music. Influenced by the popular music he had come to know while in prison, he deliberately wrote the songs in a style that he knew would be accessible to working-class Greeks. He then returned to Greece to record his song cycle, which would change the course of Greek music for ever.

The furore that erupted over Theodorakis's first popular song cycle *Epitaphios* centred on his use of the bouzouki and of a popular singer of the low-class *rebetika* music associated with the instrument, to perform his settings of sophisticated poetry. Both conservative and left-wing intellectuals thought Theodorakis had taken leave of his senses, to try to combine "highbrow" poetry with such low-class music, but the success of *Epitaphios* was immediate and lasting. In the years between 1960 and 1967 Theodorakis produced an astonishing volume of songs, setting the poetry of George Seferis, Odysseus Elytis, Nikos Gatsos, Federico García Lorca, and Brendan Behan to music. At the same time he and his fellow artists, many of whom had suffered persecution for their left-wing views, were engaged in ambitious programmes to bring art to the working-class areas of Athens. Theodorakis formed a chamber orchestra in Piraeus and wrote a number of scores for the theatre. He was also active in politics and became a deputy for the United Left Party. When his fellow-deputy Grigoris Lambrakis (hero of the novel and film *Z*) was murdered, Theodorakis became the leader of the left-wing Lambrakis Youth Movement.

During these seven years of frantic political and musical activity, Theodorakis was always looking for texts that expressed the Greek struggle for a contemporary national identity. It was Elytis, who later won the 1979 Nobel Prize for literature, who seemed to the composer to speak for his generation in his long poem *Axion Esti*. Taking the poem as his text, Theodorakis created what is considered by many Greeks to be his finest composition. The musical divisions of his setting mirrored the formal structure of the original, employing elements from all the genres with which he was familiar: the music of the Orthodox Church, contemporary classical music, folk music, and popular bouzouki music. Despite the difficulties of the classical sections of the composition, the performances of *Axion Esti* attracted a broad audience. Like Elytis's poem, the music material is rich in traditional echoes, in melodies, and rhythms deeply embedded in modern Greek culture.

The exciting blend of music and poetry that Theodorakis, together with fellow composers such as Manos Hajidakis, had established in the early 1960s, was interrupted by the military coup of 1967. One of the first acts of the dictatorship was to ban performances of Theodorakis's music and prevent sales of his recordings. The international fame brought by his film score for *Zorba the Greek* ensured that Theodorakis was only briefly imprisoned during the dictatorship, but when the regime failed to silence the composer, he and his family were placed under house arrest in a remote mountain village in Arcadia. While there, he continued to compose and managed to smuggle tapes of his work to the outside world. In 1970, suffering from severe health problems, Theodorakis was allowed to leave Greece. He and his family settled in Paris for the remainder of the dictatorship. He began touring the world to protest against the dictatorship, giving concerts of his music wherever he went and attracting, for the first time, an international audience for his songs.

With the fall of the dictatorship in 1974, Theodorakis returned to a hero's welcome in Greece, but soon became involved in bitter political controversies. The compositions he had produced in exile, including a large-scale setting of Pablo Neruda's *Canto General*, were not nearly as popular as his pre-dictatorship works. Disillusioned with his reception in Greece, Theodorakis returned briefly to Paris and talked of leaving Greece permanently. Instead, he began to compose classical music again. In the 1980s he composed four symphonies, a liturgy, a cantata, and an opera: *Kostas Kariotakis*. In 1988, following the enormous success of his ballet score *Zorba* at

Verona, he decided to write a trilogy of operas based on ancient Greek drama, beginning with *Medea*. Theodorakis's *Medea* received its premiere at the Bilbao opera house in 1991. Its richly melodic score, often drawing on the composer's early songs, contributed to its success. His second opera *Electra* was performed at the Municipal Theatre of Luxembourg in May 1995, a few days before the composer's 70th birthday. Theodorakis had always been attracted to the character of Electra, and had composed what he considered his finest film score for Michael Cacoyannis's 1962 film of *Electra*. Using some of the same melodic material but with greatly expanded orchestral resources, he produced an impressive, moving version of Sophocles' tragedy. Theodorakis was pleased by the reception of his operas in Europe, but he was determined that the premiere of the third opera of the trilogy, *Antigone*, would take place in Greece – this eventually took place in an enthusiastically received production at the Athens Music Hall in 1999.

Theodorakis has often been frustrated by the lack of appreciation of his classical compositions in his own country. Greek audiences still think of him as a writer of popular songs. In addition, his political activities, including his support for a dialogue with Turkey and his collaboration with the Turkish composer Zülfü Livaneli, have alienated many Greeks who once idolized him. Recognition of the breadth of Theodorakis's achievements as a composer and as a force for international cooperation has tended to come from outside Greece rather than inside. It was not surprising to Theodorakis that his highest honour should come from abroad: in 1996 Theodorakis was awarded the Légion d'Honneur by the French government

GAIL HOLST-WARHAFT

See also Song

Biography

Born in 1925 in Chios, Theodorakis began composing his first choral works during the German occupation. He joined the communist resistance and became a captain in ELAS. After the war he studied at the Athens Conservatorium and the Paris Conservatoire. Returning to Greece, he set Ritsos's poem *Epitaphios* to music and won instant acclaim. He has composed classical music (including four symphonies and several operas) as well as film scores and popular music. He was awarded the Légion d'Honneur in 1996.

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Theodore of Stoudios, St 759–826

Politician and monastic reformer

Born into a family in the upper ranks of the civil service, in 781 Theodore entered the family monastery of Sakkoudion in Bithynia which was administered by his uncle Plato. In 794 Plato made way for Theodore to become abbot and in 798 the community transferred to the Stoudios monastery in Constantinople.

Of the seven rulers whose reigns are spanned by Theodore's active life, two enjoyed his support: Irene (797–802) and Michael I (811–13). When Irene overthrew her son Constantine VI in a palace coup and had him blinded, on the pretext of his "adulterous" marriage – in fact a marriage contracted after divorce, which was legal and usually celebrated religiously in the Byzantine empire – she knew she could count on the support of Theodore, who was in exile because of his campaign against the emperor.

The remarkable aspect of Theodore's campaign against the "adulterous" marriage is that it took place ten years after Constantine's death. Nikephoros I (802–11) had seized the throne, shutting Irene up in a convent. He was probably never as ready as she had been to take Theodore's advice, but there was no open opposition until the patriarchate became vacant. Theodore, backed by his uncle Plato, had aimed at it; but when it became clear that the emperor intended to appoint a namesake, Theodore and Plato set about some underground activity (the text says no more than that) which led to Theodore's being flogged and their both being jailed until all the rites of enthronement were accomplished, whereupon they were released. Shortly after, the priest who had blessed Constantine's marriage was restored to communion and to his priestly function, in recognition of his important role in ending the war with Bulgaria. This provided Theodore with grounds for attacking the patriarch. He himself informs us that this was seen at the time as the real significance of his action: he is "accused falsely", he claims, of intending, once the priest who had celebrated the marriage had been removed from the ministry, to "seize on the excuse for bringing down the patriarch on the grounds of having concelebrated with him". Since restoring a deposed priest was authorized by the leading canonical authorities of the eastern Church, St Basil and the Council in Trullo of 691–92, Theodore unearthed a canon from an African council of 419 that prohibited the restoration of a priest who had been deposed for more than a year. This had no success, and he decided to change tack. The letter in which he informs his uncle Plato of this decision is a singularly opaque exercise in Aristotelian syllogisms, perhaps deliberately opaque in case it fell into the wrong hands. The basis is Aristotle, but the wording is in places clearly that of John Philoponus' 6th-century commentaries on Aristotle, possibly also those of Alexander of Aphrodisias (a pagan philosopher of the late 2nd/early 3rd century AD). The *Organon* is the main work drawn on, and a few quotations from the *Topica* and the *Physica* are also exclusively concerned with distinguishing between "necessary" and "contingent". Renouncing canonical attack, Theodore proclaimed it heresy to lift the ban on the priest and share communion with those who had lifted it. His closest supporters, including Plato, almost without exception,

drew the line here; the Synod said he was babbling; he promptly excommunicated the Synod. He persisted in this incredible campaign till the death of the emperor Nikephoros in Bulgaria.

In Michael I (811–13) he again found a submissive sovereign who, in disregard of his advisers but obedient to Theodore, led his armies against the Bulgars; the result was disaster. With Leo V (813–20) Theodore no longer had much say, and when Leo revived iconoclasm in 815, Theodore, who in a letter probably of 809 had defended the re-establishment of the iconoclast bishops after the Seventh Ecumenical Council of 787, since "their sin [iconoclasm] had not been over essentials", promptly reversed his views. As well as letters, three tracts against iconoclasm by him survive. The first two take the form of dialogues with an iconoclast, the third consists simply of a string of 102 syllogisms.

Homer and Euclid are the only pagan writers with which Theodore appears to have had direct acquaintance – the other references are simply jargon of the educated, though this does not prove that he had no acquaintance with those authors. His main contribution to the history of the Hellenic tradition, and perhaps to history, is the information that he supplies on the fantastic loss of documents for his period: his 556 preserved letters represent slightly less than three-quarters of the collection preserved in his monastery. Some 250 named correspondents wrote to him. Naukratios quite probably wrote as much as Theodore; one of his letters survives, 20 or so for them all. But from the many important monasteries and abbots in communion with the iconoclast hierarchy, not to mention the hierarchy itself, there is not one. One of Theodore's letters and his *Life* bear witness to a genre of which no trace is left: versified biographies. Arethas of Caesaraea speaks of beggars singing ballads relating the deeds of great men to win their favour; one can imagine some of these sending out a secretary to take the words down. But for Theodore it is stated that his first biographies were written in verse, and in one of his letters he calls for the *Lives* of the "martyrs of iconoclasm" to be written in verse.

Theodore endeavoured to enlist papal support for his battle against patriarch Nikephoros, and for his proclamation of the sharing of communion with the priest who had married Constantine VI as heresy. Two letters from him to the pope survive. The second and a letter to a "monk Basil" show that the appeal did not meet with success: "What is it to me that the pope should act this way or that? ... When he says he is not impressed by the manifest crimes of the priest, he mocks and shames [in himself] the very Head of the Church."

PATRICIA KARLIN-HAYTER

Biography

Born in 759 into a family that served the empire and venerated icons, Theodore entered the monastery of Sakkoudion in Bithynia in 781. In 794 he became abbot. In 795 he was exiled for opposing the marriage of Constantine VI. In 798 he moved to the Stoudios monastery in Constantinople and restored it. Exiled again (twice) he was recalled by Michael I in 821. His writings include hymns, homilies, and treatises against iconoclasm. He died in 826.

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Theodoret *c.*393–*c.*466

Christian writer

Translated from his monastery to the bishopric of Cyrrhus in 423, Theodoret became conspicuous only when he sided with Nestorius against Cyril of Alexandria after the Council of Ephesus in 431. The Alexandrian delegates, pre-empting the arrival of John of Antioch with the easterners, had announced the deposition of Nestorius and declared the Second Letter of Cyril canonical – this urged that whatever is true of Christ as God was also true of him as man. In the Third Letter Cyril denounced Nestorius for refusing to accept that God could suffer in the Incarnate Christ or that Christ the man could be worthy of divine honours. The dispute turned on a hair, and in 433 a Formula of Reunion, asserting both the unity of Christ's person and the distinction between his natures, was accepted by both parties, though Nestorius gained no relief from this. On his behalf Theodoret continued to write vehemently against Cyril, whom he accused of being a follower of the Apollinarian heresy. Cyril of course demanded that the emperor Theodosius II depose him from his see, but this object was achieved only by Cyril's successor Dioscorus, whose violent partisans overwhelmed the moderates at the so-called Robber Council of 449. The subsequent controversy was resolved in 451 by the Council of Chalcedon, when Theodoret, though greeted at first with jeers and hissings by the Cyrilline party, was finally restored with acclamation.

He owed his vindication to his dialogue *Eranistes*, the first work of its kind in which the speakers' names are indicated only in the margins. The form is more dramatic than the content, for all the best lines are awarded to Orthodoxus, as he responds to the inquiries of a sceptical but deferential pupil. The premiss of his orthodoxy (one that Cyril would not have disputed) is that the Godhead must remain changeless and impassible in its union with humanity. The epithets that the manuscripts give as titles to the three parts of the dialogue are *atreptos* (immutable), *asynchytos* (unconfused), and *apathes* (impassible). Each part is succeeded by an eclectic florilegium, drawing on eastern and western sources, which illustrates both the learning of Theodoret and his eirenic disposition. For him, as for all theologians of his time, the chief authority is scripture: drawing a metaphor from John 2: 21, he argues that the body of Christ is his temple, not his person, and that the manhood is what God assumed, but not what he became. The resultant thesis, like that of Nestorius, belongs to the

Antiochene tradition in Christology, which declines to add speculation to the statements of the Bible, and insists upon the inconvertibility of the human and divine. Theodoret is careful, however, not to ascribe two persons or *prosopa* to the incarnate Christ, as Nestorius seems to have done, and therefore the fourth anathema of Cyril's Third Letter could not apply to him. His formula "one person in two natures" was adopted by the Chalcedonian Council in the teeth of the Monophysites, who soon fell into schism. Nevertheless, the party of Cyril continued to rage against him, and in 553 he was posthumously condemned by the Second Council of Constantinople, along with the great Antiochene exegete Theodore of Mopsuestia, who is often thought to have been the mentor of Nestorianism.

His works, however (unlike most of Theodore's), survived his condemnation. The *Ecclesiastical History*, one of many continuations of Eusebius, covers the interval from Constantine to the outbreak of the Nestorian controversy in 428. It is, like all its rivals, a mixture of good and bad reporting, punctuated by original documents that retain their value for the modern scholar. A combination of hearsay and firsthand knowledge produced his *Religious History*, an anecdotal record of the Syrian Desert Fathers. Competing with the popular *Lausiac History* of Palladius, this work proved that the extremes of self-denial, and even novel forms of it such as living on top of pillars, could be practised outside Egypt. There is more polemic than scholarship in his *Curatio Omnium Affectuum Graecorum* (*Therapy for All the Greek Diseases*), which purports to be a therapeutic guide to the philosophic roots of heresy. The biographical details are of more interest to modern readers than his summaries of doctrine, and one could almost say the same of his commentaries on the Pauline letters. These are a stock example of the Antiochene exegesis, which treated the letters not (in the Alexandrian way) as libraries of prooftexts, but as pedagogic documents designed to meet peculiar circumstances. Most of Theodoret's comments are abridged from the more eloquent and copious observations of John Chrysostom, but he offers an original contribution in his prefaces, which explain the situation of both the apostle Paul and his audience in each letter. Rather than allegorize a difficult passage, he is more likely to commend the rhetorical flattery (*psychagogia*) by which the apostle works upon the feelings of his hearers. It is only in recent times that biblical scholarship has retrieved his sense of history, though the King James Bible incorporates the epigraphs in which he states each letter's place of origin. Unfortunately, most of these are no more credible than his attempts to prove, against the obvious meaning of Galatians 1: 19, that James was not the brother of the Lord.

Theodoret has rarely detained the attention of either scholars or theologians, though Protestant controversialists have quoted him against the doctrine of transubstantiation. He was neither saint nor heretic, neither scholar nor ignoramus, but a pious churchman snatched from willing obscurity by the troubles of his age.

MARK EDWARDS

Biography

Born *c.*393 in Antioch, Theodoret received a Classical education and entered a monastery in Syria. In 423 he became bishop of Cyrrhus and was frequently involved in controversy, supporting Nestorius against Cyril in 431. In 449 Theodoret was exiled, but later recalled. His writings include the dialogue *Eranistes*, the *Ecclesiastical History*, the *Religious History*, and other discourses. He died *c.*466.

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Theology

"Theology, study of the highest problems in the universe by means of philosophical reason, is a specifically Greek creation. It is the loftiest and most daring venture of the intellect" (Werner Jaeger in *Paideia*, vol. 2, Oxford: Blackwell, 1944). Plato was the first great theologian, and he appears to be the first to use the term *theologia*; the speculations of the Presocratic philosophers about the origin of everything, however, were regarded as "theologizing" by Aristotle, who ranks their speculations with the cosmogonic notions of poets such as Hesiod and Homer, whom he called "theologians", *theologoi*. For Plato, theology was the study of eternal realities, that is the realm of the Forms or Ideas. For his pupil Aristotle, theology was the study of the highest form of reality, the "first substance", which he seems to have regarded at different times as being the "unmoved mover" or as "being *qua* being"; he spoke of three theoretical, or speculative, ways of knowing, the mathematical, the physical, and the theological, theology being the "most honourable". Such a notion of theology as the study of, or contemplation (*theoria*) of, the highest form of reality was a commonplace in the Hellenistic philosophy of the Roman world in which Christianity first emerged. But that was a world in which the quest for God had for many, besides Christians, a certain urgency: the realization of the highest contemplative exercise of the mind acquired a religious colouring. The "lower" studies of logic, ethics, and the understanding of the natural order became a sequence of preparatory training for communion with the divine, seen as fulfilment. These ideas very quickly found acceptance among Christian thinkers, so that in the 3rd century Origen saw three stages in the Christian's advance to communion with God, the ethical, the physical, and the "epoptic" or visionary, a triad that found

its classical form in the 4th century with Evagrius, the theorist of the monastic asceticism of the Egyptian desert: *praktike* (ascetic struggle), *physike* (contemplation of the natural order), and *theologia* (theology as contemplation of God). Such an understanding of theology as essentially prayer or contemplation, the highest exercise of the human mind or heart, the fruit of sustained ascetic struggle, quickly established itself in Greek Christianity, and is still fundamental in Orthodox theology. It is expressed succinctly in Evagrius' oft-quoted assertion: "If you are a theologian, you will pray truly; if you pray truly, you will be a theologian."

Alongside such an understanding of theology as a state to be attained, theology is also used among Christian thinkers to mean study of the nature of the divine, in a way very similar to its Classical Greek usage. The God of the Christians is not, however, some remote principle, but one who has revealed himself, not only through the works of nature, but also in his dealings with his chosen people, Israel, and pre-eminently in the incarnation of the Son or Word of God: in those events to which the writings of the Old and New Testaments bear record. In patristic and Byzantine thought a distinction is often made between *theologia* and *oikonomia*, *theologia* referring to the doctrine of God himself, and *oikonomia* to God's dealings with his creation, especially in the Incarnation. *Theologia*, in this restricted sense, means the doctrine of the Holy Trinity, and the names (or properties) of God. Within theology in this sense a distinction is further made between kataphatic and apophatic theology, that is between theology that makes affirmation (*kataphasis*) of what is revealed of God through the created order and scripture, and theology that points to the transcendent nature of God by denial (*apophasis*) of any of the concepts or images by which we seek to express an understanding of God. The idea that God is most surely approached by denial of our concepts and images of him can be traced back to the roots of both the Classical tradition (e.g. Plato's assertion that the Idea of the Good is "beyond being and knowledge") and the Hebrew tradition (e.g. God's riddling revelation of himself to Moses as "I am that I am"), and is strongly asserted in the 4th century by the Cappadocian Fathers and St John Chrysostom. The terminology of *apophatic* and *kataphatic*, in a theological context, is first found in the Neoplatonist Proclus, and was introduced into Christian theology by Dionysius the Areopagite in the 6th century. It quickly became popular in Byzantine theology. Of the two, apophatic theology is understood to be more fundamental, undergirding the theology of affirmation, while appearing to undermine it. In the idea that God is most truly known, not in concepts or images that the human mind can grasp, but in a movement beyond them in which God is acknowledged in silent wonder as transcendent, theology as doctrine is united with the notion, more fundamental to the Orthodox mind, of theology as prayer.

The consequences of the conviction of the more fundamental nature of apophatic theology are profound. A realization of the ultimate inadequacy of the human intellect paves the way for a recognition of the place of poetry and imagery of the most diverse kinds in any attempt to express human understanding of the reality of God. It is no coincidence that the great theologian of apophatic theology, Dionysius the Areopagite, speaks not of predicating terms of God, but of praising him by ascribing names to him; nor is it a coincidence that the same theologian devotes much space to exploring the nature of the liturgical action in which the sacraments of the Church are celebrated, seeing in this liturgical action a reflection of the heavenly liturgy of the angelic beings. Orthodox tradition grants the title *theologos* to only three people: John the Evangelist, Gregory of Nazianzus, and Symeon the New Theologian. John's Gospel is the one that most aspires to the form of poetry, and the other two "theologians" were both poets. The liturgical poetry of the Orthodox Church is a vast repository of theological reflection: theology presented in the form of song.

The theology of the Orthodox Church, in the broader sense, including both *theologia* and *oikonomia*, is an attempt to express in terms of Greek intellectual culture the revelation of God that found its fullest form in the Incarnation and to which the canonical scriptures bear witness. At its most fundamental level, theology is a sustained meditation on the scriptures, read in a "sophianic" way, that is, read as a confirmation of the witness to God found in the cosmos, created through his wisdom (*sophia*), and especially in the human person created in God's image and likeness. Such an approach finds different levels of meaning in scripture, and sees in the advance through these levels to deeper forms of understanding an adumbration of the Christian life. Christian thinkers departed from such a pondering on scripture only in order to meet challenges from outside, in defending Christianity from attacks by pagan and Jewish critics, and from within, from heretics. In due course this process led to dogmatic definitions, intended not so much to define what ultimately lies beyond human understanding (in dogmatic theology, too, the apophatic principle applies), as to prevent human misunderstanding of the nature of God and his ways with humanity and the cosmos. The most important of these definitions were endorsed by church councils, or synods, especially "ecumenical" councils (from *oikoumene*, "the inhabited [world]"), called in Byzantine times by the emperor. The Orthodox Church recognizes seven such ecumenical councils. The decisions of these councils represent for the Orthodox Church a further level of authority, irrefragable, though open to interpretation, beyond that of scripture, on which it reposes. The decisions of the councils themselves make it clear that they represent a crystallization of the authority of the Fathers (conciliar definitions are commonly prefaced by the phrase "Following the holy fathers").

The first two ecumenical councils (held at Nicaea in 325 and Constantinople in 381) defined the doctrine of the Trinity, which holds the three persons to be co-equal, the Son and the Spirit each *homoousios* ("consubstantial", i.e. "having the same essence") with the Father. The next four councils (Ephesus 431, Chalcedon 451, Constantinople II and III, 553 and 680–81) were principally concerned with defining Orthodox belief in the Incarnation, affirming that the Son of God, being perfect God, assumed a perfect humanity, "*homoousios* with us" and like us in all respects save for sin: these two natures (*physeis*) being united in the person (*hypostasis*) of the Son. A consequence of this definition is that the Virgin Mary is truly *Theotokos* ("one who gave birth to God") and, as Constantinople III affirmed, that the natures, being perfect, both possess their natural activity (*energeia*) and will (*thelema*). The Seventh Ecumenical Council (Nicaea II,

787) defended the veneration of icons or images of Christ, the Mother of God, and the saints, as entailed by God's assumption of a material human form in the Incarnation. The witness of the ecumenical councils is, then, to the fundamental doctrines of *theologia*, the Trinity, and of *oikonomia*, the Incarnation, the veneration of icons being regarded as a matter of Christology.

Thereafter, theological concern in the Byzantine world, apart from some controversy about the doctrine of the Trinity (including the question of the procession of the Holy Spirit, whether from the Father "alone", as Photios defined it in the 9th century, or from the Son also (*filioque*), as the West came to affirm), the reality of Christ's presence in the Eucharist, and the nature of the Eucharistic sacrifice, focused on matters directly affecting the spiritual life. These concerned the reality of the experience of God in prayer, and how such experience of the presence of God himself could be reconciled with the apophatic assertion of God's transcendent ineffability. Controversy broke out in the 14th century in which solitary monks known as "hesychasts" (from *hesychia*, meaning stillness), who claimed in prayer to experience transfiguration in the uncreated light of the Godhead, were defended from charges of hallucination by St Gregory Palamas, archbishop of Thessalonica from 1347 to 1359. Central to Palamas's defence of hesychasm was his distinction (based on earlier Fathers) between God's essence and his energies: both essence and energies are God, and therefore uncreated, but in his essence God is unknowable, whereas in his energies (or activities) God makes himself known. Palamite doctrine was endorsed by synods held in Constantinople between 1341 and 1351.

After the fall of Constantinople in 1453, Orthodox theology, whether among the Greeks or the Slavs, became defensive, and ultimately entangled in the concepts and terminology of western theology (notably in the "Symbolic Books", endorsed at the synods of Jassy, 1642, and Jerusalem, 1672). A decisive moment in the renewal in modern times of Orthodox theology, based on the theology of the Fathers, was the publication of the *Philokalia* in 1782 by St Nikodimos of the Holy Mountain and St Makarios of Corinth. This anthology of largely ascetic writings from the Fathers, notably St Maximos the Confessor and St Gregory Palamas, soon translated into Slavonic and Russian, is the inspiration behind the "Neo-patristic synthesis" that Father Georges Florovsky (1893–1979) hoped modern Orthodox theology might become. Perhaps the most comprehensive attempt to explore what such a synthesis might be can be found in the works of the Romanian theologian, archpriest Dumitru Stăniloae (1903–93). In a complementary way, the Philokalic vision found poetic expression in the writings of the uneducated Russian peasant St Silouan (1866–1938) who became a monk of the Holy Mountain.

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See also Councils, Hesychasm, Orthodox Church, *Philokalia*

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Theophanes of Crete *c.*1490–1559

Monk and painter

Theophanes of Crete (also known as Theophanes Strelitzas and Theophanes Bathas), Greek monk and painter, was a native of Candia, the modern Herakleion. He became one of the foremost representatives of the Cretan school of wall and icon painting that flourished in Venetian- and Ottoman-ruled Greece during the 16th century. His distinctive style is characterized by an ability to fit balanced compositions into available wall spaces, and by dramatic and realistic figures. The primary influence on his work appears to have been the Constantinopolitan painters of the 14th-and 15th-century Palaiologan renaissance, some of whom worked on Crete for a time, especially after the fall of Constantinople in 1453. Examples of their wall paintings survive in a number of Cretan churches, so that it is likely that Theophanes had seen them and that they provided a starting point for his own.

It would seem, however, that Theophanes was also influenced by contemporary Italian art, no doubt as a result of his being brought up on Crete which was then under Venetian rule. The similarity of some of his compositions to the work of the engraver Marcantonio Raimondi, particularly in his depiction of the Massacre of the Innocents, has been noted, and the influence of the Venetian painter Giovanni Bellini has been discerned in some of the figures in Theophanes's *Supper at Emmaus* (now in the katholikon of the Great Lavra on Mount Athos), particularly that of a shepherd in a fur hat. Theophanes's interest in using white highlights to achieve a realistic depiction of clothing and drapery also suggests Italian influence.

Theophanes's earliest known work is to be found in the *katholikon* or monastery church of St Nicholas Anapavsas at Meteora in Thessaly. His frescos, which according to an inscription over the door were completed in October 1527, cover the walls and vaults, inserting small-scale scenes into restricted spaces. Particularly impressive is his large scene showing the death of the Syrian monk Ephraim, and his burial with an icon laid on his breast.

In 1535 Theophanes became the first Cretan to be invited to

work at the Great Lavra on Mount Athos. Taking his sons Symeon and Niphon/Neophytos with him, he worked on the much larger expanses of wall in the *katholikon* there for about five years. The result was some of his finest work, especially his depiction of the *Massacre of the Innocents*, the *Supper at Emmaus*, and the *Transfiguration*, all of which are distinguished by hard-edged drapery and a dramatic impression of movement. Theophanes may also have participated in the decoration of the refectory of the Great Lavra between 1535 and 1540.

Together with his son Symeon, Theophanes also painted the walls of the *katholikon*, refectory, and tiny side chapel of the monastery of Stavronikita on Athos in 1545–46. Although these frescos have since been overpainted, enough remains to identify Theophanes's style, for example in the carefully executed creases in the tablecloth in the depiction of the *Last Supper*. In 1552 he returned to Meteora, where he supervised the painting of the dome of the *katholikon* in the Great Meteoron.

Apart from his work as a fresco painter, Theophanes is also thought to have been a painter of icons. Although those icons that are attributed to him are not signed, they show all the hallmarks of his style, when compared to his known mural work. The icon of Christ Pantokrator in the modern marble iconostasis in the *katholikon* of the Great Lavra, for example, is very similar to the figure in the dome in the *katholikon* in the Great Meteoron. The surviving 11 icons in a series of 12 depicting the *Dodekaorton*, or 12 great feasts of the Christian Church, also at the Great Lavra, are likewise attributed to him. That which depicts the Nativity has a great deal in common with Theophanes's treatment of the same subject at St Nicholas Anapavsas.

Another series of 28 icons, in the monastery of Stavronikita, is thought to be Theophanes's work, and to date from around 1546 when he was working on the monastery's *katholikon* and refectory. In the Protaton, the chief church of Karyes, the administrative centre of Athos, a series of seven icons makes up a Deësis, a depiction of Christ with the Virgin and John the Baptist interceding on either side. An inscription on the icon of John the Baptist dates the composition to around 1542, and the treatment of the figures suggests the hand of Theophanes of Crete.

After Theophanes's death his work remained an important influence on subsequent Greek wall painters, especially those working on Mount Athos. The influence of his workshop can be seen in numerous other decorations on the Holy Mountain, such as the refectory of the Philotheou monastery (1539–40). As late as 1730, when the monk Dionysios of Phourna published a *Hermeneia*, or manual of painting, it was to Theophanes's work that he turned to provide examples of perfection in the painter's art.

JONATHAN HARRIS

See also Painting, Renaissance (Veneto-Cretan)

Biography

Born in Candia (modern Herakleion) *c.*1490, Theophanes was a monk who became one of the principal representatives of the Cretan school of painting. He was influenced by both Constantinopolitan and Italian painters. His work, in the form of both wall and icon painting, is to be found in the monasteries of Meteora and Mount Athos. He died in 1559.

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Theophanes the Confessor, St *c.*760–818

Monastic leader and historian

Theophanes's main claim to fame is the historical opus entitled the *Chronography* (*Chronographia*). He was also a leading monastic figure, earning the epithet Confessor for his support of the icons during the first years of the second period of iconoclasm (815–43).

Theophanes was born into a wealthy family. His father, Isaac, was *droungarios* (commander) of the imperial fleet in the Aegean under Constantine V (741–75) and a close friend of Constantine's son and successor Leo IV (775–80). Leo was Theophanes's godfather and, after Isaac's death, his guardian. In Leo's reign the youth was made a *strator* (or subaltern officer) and then *spatharios* (sword bearer), becoming engaged to and then marrying Megalo, the daughter of a prominent patrician and confidant of the emperor.

Despite their fortune, Theophanes and Megalo decided not to consummate their marriage, preferring the monastic life instead. Each went their separate ways after having sold or given away their possessions, much to the horror of their families. In about 780/81 Theophanes left Constantinople and entered the monastery of Polichnion on the slopes of Mount Sigriane near ancient Cyzicus on the Asian side of the Sea of Marmara, where he may have been tonsured. This monastery appears to have been on one of his father's estates, but Theophanes left it to build a monastery on land he owned on the nearby island of Calonymus. Resisting attempts by the monks there to elect him *higoumenos* (or abbot), Theophanes spent six years in relative seclusion reading and writing. None of his works from this period appears to have survived and their nature remains unknown. At the end of this period he returned to Sigriane and entered the monastery of the renowned monk Christopher (patriarch Methodios's *Life* of Theophanes suggests that he was only then tonsured). Around 786/87, however, he purchased a tract of land nearby and built his most famous monastery, the Agros, soon to became known

as Megas Agros to distinguish it from Christopher's monastery (now the Mikros Agros).

Theophanes's *Lives* state that he accompanied Christopher to the Seventh Ecumenical Council of Nicaea II (787), where the empress Irene restored the icons. While unsubstantiated, the claim is not impossible. He remained in the Megas Agros monastery until the outbreak of the second period of iconoclasm in 815.

The monastery of Megas Agros appears to have been a thriving coenobitic community by the first decade of the 9th century, with its own estates and daughter monasteries (*metochia*), all under the ultimate guidance of Theophanes. His reputation as well as his family links to powerful people in the capital appear to have brought him into close contact with the patriarch Tarasios (784–806) and high state and church officials, including the patriarch's *synkellos* (cell companion), George (see below). He supported the patriarch in his stand against Theodore of Stoudios and his monks during the controversies over the "adulterous" second marriage of Constantine VI (795–99 and 808–11) and is at times negative in his *Chronographia* about Stoudite conduct between 790/91 and 813. Nevertheless, Theodore's own letters (edited Fatouros, 1991–92, nos 319, 333) indicate that Theophanes was Theodore's spiritual father and that Theodore and many others held him in especially high regard. (Two of Theodore's letters are addressed to Theophanes: Fatouros, nos 214, 291.) Theodore even wrote an encomium for him around 820 on the translation of his relics back to the Megas Agros monastery (see Vorst, 1912). This text includes our only physical description of Theophanes, who seems to have been of a robust, soldier-like build. Constantine VII (913–59) proudly claimed in his *De Administrando Imperio* that on his mother's side he was related to Theophanes.

Theophanes and Theodore both refused to accept the restoration of iconoclasm by Leo V (813–20) in 815. Both were among the *hegoumenoi* of the empire's most distinguished monasteries, whom Leo was particularly keen to recruit to his cause. One of the few who resisted the emperor's bribes and threats, Theophanes was consequently imprisoned in the Hormisdas monastery (Sts Sergius and Bacchus) and then in the Eleutherios palace, both in Constantinople, prior to exile on the island of Samothrace in 818, where he died on 12 March, just 23 days after arrival.

Theophanes was a close friend of George, a *synkellos* of the patriarch Tarasios, who was writing a history from the creation to his own day when he fell ill around 810. George asked Theophanes to complete the work, and the result was Theophanes's *Chronographia* which recounted events from 284 to the beginning of the reign of Leo V.

The resulting work is mostly a collation of the edited works of previous chroniclers and historians, and scholars have debated whether Theophanes's own hand can be found therein. Cyril Mango's assertion (*Zbornik Radova–Vizsantološkog Instituta*, 18 (1978): pp. 9–17) that Theophanes had very little to do with the compilation process, and that hardly any comments of his own are to be found in the work, is not widely accepted; this despite Theophanes's own self-deprecating words to that effect in his preface, a topos that would become typical in the prefaces of later chroniclers.

The *Chronographia* is arranged in strict chronological order, with years highlighted by various dating systems, ranging from the Alexandrian *Anno Mundi* to the regnal years of emperors, shahs, caliphs, popes, and patriarchs. A few serious chronological oversights appear but the dating is usually accurate.

Theophanes's sources may have included summaries of important historical works rather than the originals themselves, a good many of which are still extant (e.g. Socrates's *Ecclesiastical History*, Malalas, Theophylaktos Simokattes, George of Pisidia, and others). The sources for the 7th century to 813 are less easy to trace, and this part of the book remains the most significant source for that period. A hypothetical Great Chronographer may have served as one of many sources for the historical works of both Theophanes and the patriarch Nikephoros (806–15). The period after 713 also appears to contain imperial, ecclesiastical and even military documents (iconoclast ones for the campaigns of Constantine V). Theophanes is surprisingly informed about affairs in the Caliphate and the east, but less so on western matters.

The *Chronographia* was compiled or written between 810 and 814. The most fascinating part is therefore the last section, from about 780 to 813. Theophanes seems at times to have included his own personal observations as well as records of oral sources (e.g. de Boor, 1998, p. 490). His negative picture of the emperor Nikephoros I has been interpreted by scholars as a reflection of a monkish resentment of the emperor's purported attack on the landed wealth of the rich and the Church and a sign of the author's resentment at the emperor's apparent toleration of iconoclasts. But far from representing a fanatical "monk's chronicle" for this period, Theophanes has left us with the only contemporary text expressing the bewilderment caused by the events surrounding the disastrous Bulgar war of Nikephoros I and the subsequent turmoil in Constantinople. In many respects, his account is the iconophile flip side of the reaction that restored iconoclasm in 815 precisely because of widespread dissatisfaction with the previous regimes.

The 9th-century translation of the *Chronographia* into Latin by the Roman scholar Anastasios is literal, and of great importance since it was made from a Greek manuscript earlier than any that now survive, the earliest of which comes from the late 9th century (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Wake 5). The *Chronographia* served as a major source for virtually all later Byzantine histories dealing with the period it covers, and a demoticizing Greek version exists in a post-Byzantine manuscript (Austrian National Library, Vienna, Vindob. Hist. gr. 76).

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See also Chronicles

Biography

Born in Constantinople *c.*760 into a wealthy family, Theophanes was godson of Leo IV. He embarked on a career at the emperor's court and married well. But both Theophanes and his wife chose instead the monastic life. Theophanes founded the monastery of Megas Agros. Refusing to accept the restoration of iconoclasm in 815, he was exiled to Samothrace in 818, where he died in the same year. His chronicle, the *Chronographia*, covers the years 284–813.

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Theophilos 812/13–842

Emperor

Born possibly at Amorium in 812 or 813 to Michael II and Thekla, the emperor Theophilos (829–42) was brought up in Constantinople. He was crowned co-emperor in the spring of 821 and succeeded his father in October 829 at the age of 16, but, in accordance with the latter's wishes, as co-emperor with his stepmother Euphrosyne, daughter of Constantine VI. After arranging his marriage through a bride show (if this is indeed a genuine historical event and not merely a rhetorical device) perhaps in May 830 (though possibly in 821) at which Theophilos chose Theodora, daughter of the late tourmarch (squadron commander) of Paphlagonia, Euphrosyne retired to a monastery of her own founding. After some years of poor health Theophilos died in Constantinople of dysentery on 20 January 842, leaving the crown to his 2-year-old son Michael and the empire in the hands of his wife and the logothete of the post (*logothetes tou dromou*, an officer in the imperial bodyguard), the eunuch Theoktistos.

In military affairs Theophilos's main task was to preserve the empire against Arab incursions. His efforts in Sicily and southern Italy were sporadic and hampered both by a lack of ships (a problem which he later took pains to remedy) and by the fact that the loss of Crete to expatriate Spanish Arabs shortly before his accession had created another hostile base for Muslim control of the seas. In Asia Minor he campaigned himself with personal bravery and no little success, but ultimately his destruction of Sozopetra provoked substantial Arab retaliation from the caliph Mutasim in 838. Theophilos was badly defeated, and nearly killed, in the ensuing Battle of Dazimon which opened the way to the Arab destruction of Amorium, a major blow since the city was the capital of the important theme of Anatolikon. Elsewhere Theophilos in 836 rescued from Bulgar rule Macedonian Byzantines who had been deported by Krum 25 years before to the area between the Danubian delta and the Dniester; and in 839 he built the fortress of Sarkel in the Crimea to protect his Khazar allies against the Rus. His military reorganization included the creation of further subdivision of the thematic *droungoi* (units) into *banda* (detachments), thereby improving control over his troops, and the establishment of the new themes of Cherson (in the Crimea), Paphlagonia, and Chaldia (both on the southern coast of the Black Sea) and the *kleisourai* (minor themes) of Charsianon, Cappadocia, and Seleuceia facing Arab-held territory to the east. He also increased the soldiers' pay and strengthened Byzantine forces by recruiting military detachments of Khurramite rebels (mainly Kurds) from what is now Azerbaijan, who converted to Christianity and served under their own leaders, and by forming a band of Ethiopian soldiers.

In domestic affairs Theophilos fully deserved his description by an anonymous historian of the first half of the 10th century as "a fiery lover of justice and a strict guardian of civil laws" (*Theophanes Continuatus*, 85. 1–2). He frequently demonstrated his willingness to punish even the most influential without favour, most notoriously by executing his father's accomplices in the assassination of Leo V (his godfather whom he seems to have admired and perhaps tried to imitate) and by having his brother-in-law Petronas publicly flogged for illegally building a palace that cut off the sunlight from a widow's house. An unfortunate tendency to assume guilt too hastily on insufficient evidence was partly compensated by contrite efforts at restitution, as is demonstrated by the elaborate plans to help Manuel, a former *strategos* (commander) of Asia, escape from the caliphate whither he had fled when slanderously accused by another official of treason. His reputation in this sphere persisted in Byzantium, since the anonymous 12th-century satirical *Timarion* presents Theophilos as a judge in the underworld together with the mythical Aeacus and Minos.

His highly developed social conscience, which won him considerable popularity, was publicly shown also in his weekly rides around Constantinople, when he checked the quality and prices of merchandise and heard petitions from the people. His fiscal policies were generally sound and the treasury consequently benefited considerably. Under his rule provincial economies began a slow recovery, profiting from both the establishment of regional mints and the issue of large quantities of *folleis*, the principal copper coins, a measure which contrasted with his predecessors' undue preoccupation with gold, and which was probably intended to facilitate daily shopping in the capital.

The principal domestic strife that disturbed his reign was occasioned by his increasingly enthusiastic promotion of iconoclasm, which had been pursued rather half-heartedly in recent years. He had probably been schooled in this by his former tutor, John the Grammarian, himself a convert to the cause. Despite, however, his religious convictions, his language suggests that his hostility to iconodules stemmed principally from the fact that they were breaking the law. The increasing zeal of his persecution (an initial policy of toleration has perhaps been overemphasized by historians) seems to have been exacerbated by attacks on him in iconodule pamphlets, but according to Eutychios, a Melkite patriarch of Alexandria writing in Arabic, it was ignited by his disgust at the charlatanry of a church administrator who, by means of a lead tube,

caused an image of the Virgin to lactate. Until the disastrous loss of Amorium he was encouraged in his policy by a remarkable coincidence of his military fortunes with the severity of his persecutions. The latter, nevertheless, continued and on occasion took bizarre forms, as when he ordered 12 iambic lines to be tattooed on the foreheads of two Palestinian brothers, Theodore and Theophanes (hence known as the "graptoi"), to advertise their propagation of heresy. During his reign he issued two iconoclastic edicts, one forbidding the manufacture and use of all sacred images, the other barring iconodule monks from public places and even their own monasteries. His religious problems penetrated his home life as well, for both his stepmother Euphrosyne and Theodora, the wife whom she had encouraged him to choose, were both iconodules (as was the only other known contestant at his bride show, the future poetess Kassia). In mid-839 he learned from Pulcheria, the youngest of his five daughters, that Euphrosyne was secretly teaching them to venerate icons by kissing "dolls" that she kept in a box. Nevertheless, Theodora permitted the restoration of icons in 843 only after fabricating the tale of her husband's recantation on his deathbed, whereby she saved him from condemnation. The posthumous rehabilitation of Theophilos, with the accretion of several fictitious tales, continued into the late 10th century, most notably in Theophanes Continuatus and the anonymous *De Theophili Imperatoris Absolutione* and *De Theophili Imperatoris Benefactis*.

Unlike his provincial and uncultured father, Theophilos was well educated, most notably by John the Grammarian. As emperor he encouraged learning and extended his patronage to three of the most influential scholars of his day, his former tutor, John, whom he elevated to the patriarchate in 837, John's cousin (or nephew) Leo the Mathematician, and the future patriarch Methodios I, whom he released from the imprisonment imposed upon him by Michael II and brought to court, though apparently not trusting him completely because of his iconodule position. Theophilos himself delighted in intellectual conversation and wrote hymns that were sung in Hagia Sophia. His artistic interests extended to architecture, for he was not only responsible for the restoration of the capital's sea walls and a hospital but was also by far the most influential figure in the development of the Great Palace. His additions there included a small but refined residence for himself (the "Pearl"), which was adorned with mosaics and was perhaps constructed for his bride show, and later some adjoining domestic buildings (one of which probably included a nursery for his children), a palace for his daughters ("Karianos"), business and ceremonial halls (the "Triconch" and "Sigma"), which were splendidly decorated with marble inlays, a chapel, and a large courtyard adorned with elaborate fountains. His beautification of other more public buildings within the complex was further enhanced by the making of two huge golden organs, a golden plane tree with golden birds, and two golden lions which chirped and roared respectively in rivalry with similar technological marvels in Baghdad. At Bryas on the Asiatic shore of the Sea of Marmara he built a new palace which, with the exception of a church and a chapel, was entirely Arab in style.

Theophilos's faults were due mainly to an excess of zeal, but his energy, his willingness to learn from his mistakes, and his warm personality, well exemplified by his loyalty to and fondness for both his old tutor and his iconodule stepmother, suggest that but for a premature death his could have been a truly memorable reign. At the very least it provided or consolidated the bases for the economic, military, and cultural successes of the Macedonian dynasty which were soon to follow.

A.R. LITTLEWOOD

See also Iconoclasm

Biography

Born in 812 or 813 the son of emperor Michael II and Thekla, Theophilos was brought up in Constantinople. He was crowned co-emperor in 821 with his step-mother Euphrosyne. He married Theodora. He campaigned against the Arabs but lost Amorium. He improved the thematic organization of the empire and strengthened its defences. He was a popular ruler and he encouraged learning but he promoted iconoclasm. He died of dysentery at Constantinople in 842.

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Theophrastus *c.*371–*c.*287 BC

Philosopher

Theophrastus succeeded Aristotle as the head of the Lyceum in Athens. More than 200 works are attributed to him. Allowing for duplications because of confused titles and some works that are excerpted from larger ones, the volume of his writings spanning numerous subjects is enormous. Diogenes Laertius wrote Theophrastus' biography and related the testimony of numerous later authors who preserved quotations from lost works. Only a few of his works survived intact. Theophrastus' influence is measured in differing ways: the accomplishments of his students; the indirect influence through intermediary writers who summarized his ideas; the knowledge in his scientific works on mineralogy and botany; and his writings on philosophy and religion.

Among the 2,000 students taught by Theophrastus were Strato of Lampsacus (physics), Erasistratus (physiology), Demetrius of Phalerum (librarian at Alexandria), and Arcesilaus (philosophy). In the turmoil of Athens in the 320s and 310s BC, the works of Aristotle and Theophrastus did not circulate widely. In the arrangement of Aristotle's works by Andronicus of Rhodes (*c.*70 BC), some of Aristotle's writings may have been confused with Theophrastus' in what is now called the *Corpus Peripateticum*. At the very least, during the Middle Ages a number of small works and fragments of

larger works circulated under Theophrastus' name, some of which are not now regarded as genuine. Conversely some works attributed to Aristotle (e.g. *On Colours* and *On Sounds*) were probably written by one or more of Aristotle's or Theophrastus' students or by Theophrastus himself.

While accepting most of Aristotle's ideas, Theophrastus broke with his mentor in a number of ways important in later Hellenistic, Islamic, and Christian theology and natural philosophy. He challenged Aristotle's notion that to all things nature imparted a final cause, a direction towards which action takes place. Theophrastus said that nature does many things "at random" and that there is no discernible purpose for such things as the tides, breasts on men, and horns on deer. He also raised doubts about fire as an element: it alone generates and destroys itself; there are numerous ways in which it is born; it requires a substratum (something to burn); thereby, it cannot exist by itself. On motion, Theophrastus questioned why, if there was one mover (*primum mobile*), all heavenly bodies did not have similar motions; if such bodies have a desire for circular motion, does that not imply a soul in them?

Theophrastus' major surviving works now regarded as genuine are: the *Enquiry into* Plants (*Historia Plantarum*, 9 books: morphology, classification, habitats, uses including medicinal); *Plant Explanations* (6 books: generation, propagation, environmental factors including cultivation, seeds, degeneration, juices); *Minerals* (2 books: formation and differences among minerals and stones such as by visual and tactile qualties); *Metaphysics* (1 book which questioned some of Aristotle's ideas but was published in Aristotle's works); *Characters* (1 book: 30 profiles of personality types); and short works: *Odours*, *Meteorology* (preserved only in Syriac and Arabic), and *Senses* (in manuscript with Aristotle's treatises).

Theophrastus' importance is perhaps greater because of his influence on other writers than because of the direct knowledge from his surviving treatises. Some patristic writers knew him and, especially, Jerome quoted Theophrastus' work on *Marriage*, but he disapproved of Theophrastus' negative opinion, and Chaucer's Wife of Bath agreed with Jerome. Strangely, Theophrastus was less influential on Byzantine writers than on those in Arabic and later Latin. Eustathios referred to *Characters* and Michael of Ephesus knew of several of his works. Cicero said that Theophrastus placed more emphasis than Aristotle on the importance of fortune and wordly goods. Arabic writers knew of Theophrastus' philosophy and discourses on botany and minerals. In the west Theophrastus' works on minerals had indirect influence on lapidaries. The biggest impact came in the 15th and 16th centuries when a rediscovery of Theophrastus began with Lupus Castilliunculus's translation of *Characters* (*c.*1430s) and Theodore Gaza's rendering of the botanical works (1453/54). The fields of botany (including pharmaceutical uses) and minerals were the centres of Theophrastus' considerable impact on the Latin Renaissance. Appropriately the first printed edition, by Aldine (Venice, 1497) combined both Aristotle's and Theophrastus' works.

JOHN M. RIDDLE

See also Lyceum

Biography

Born in Lesbos *c.*371 BC, Theophrastus succeeded Aristotle as head of the Lyceum in Athens. His pupils included Strato, Erasistratus, Demetrius of Phalerum, and Arcesilaus. His writings ranged over many subjects including mineralogy, botany, philosophy, and religion. He died in Athens *c.*287 BC.

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Theopompus 378/77–*c.*320 BC

Historian

Theopompus of Chios, son of Damasistratus, was one of the most important historians and public men in the years leading up to and including the reigns of Philip of Macedon and Alexander the Great. Not much is known for certain about his life. Photios (9th century AD) wrote a detailed biography (*Bibliotheca*, 176 = T2): he was exiled from Chios with his father; he later returned, thanks to a letter written by Alexander to the Chians; on the death of Alexander he fled to Egypt, where Ptolemy I Soter almost had him killed. While some of these details may be doubted, he did in fact write letters to Alexander, and Alexander did restore exiles to Chios.

Although there are good reasons for doubting it, Theopompus is widely credited with being one of the pioneers of "oratorical" or "tragic history", in part due to the alleged influence of the Athenian rhetorician Isocrates whose student he was later thought to have been. Certainly for his Roman readers he was thought of as a combination of historian and orator. In the Byzantine period his writing was known chiefly by lexicographers and grammarians, arising from the fact that he was not a canonical author. His work survives to us only in the form of later paraphrase and quotation (F. Jacoby, *Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*, 115).

According to ancient testimonia, Theopompus was the author of a number of historical works and minor treatises: the *Epitome of Herodotus*, *Hellenica*, and *Philippica* on the one hand, and *On the Funds Plundered from Delphi*, *Against the Teaching of Plato*, and encomia of both Philip and Alexander on the other. Given the propensity in antiquity to epitomize works and then view those epitomes as different productions from the material from which they came, it is probable that Theopompus did not in fact write all of the above works. Far and away his most important contributions were the *Hellenica* and *Philippica*.

According to Marcellinus' biography of Thucydides (chapter 45), both Xenophon and Theopompus completed their great predecessor's history of the Peloponnesian War, which breaks off in the year 411 BC: in both cases, these works were entitled *Hellenica* or *Greek Affairs*. However, unlike Xenophon's text, which reports events down to 362 BC (the second Battle of Mantinea), Theopompus took his narrative down only to the year 394 BC (the Battle of Cnidus). A claim by Porphyry that Theopompus plagiarized a portion of Xenophon's history in his own work places its composition in the late 350s BC. A papyrus published in 1908 and subsequently called the *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia* was thought by some to be Theopompus' *Hellenica*, though this claim has not won general acceptance. The two fragments of any real substance that survive from the *Hellenica* deal with the moral characters of the Spartan leaders Lysander and Agesilaus, in the same spirit as much of what survives from the *Philippica*.

The *Philippica* treated events between Philip II's assumption of the Macedonian throne in 359 BC and his death in 336 BC; it comprised 58 books, and must have been massive in scale. As the title suggests, it is an account of Greek history understood as unified by the activities of Philip; according to Polybius (2nd century BC), Theopompus chose to organize his text around Philip because "Europe had never before produced such a man as Philip, son of Amyntas" (8. 11. 1 = fr. 27). While Theopompus recognized the king's importance for shaping the events of his age, he did not take a positive stance towards him. Indeed, quite the contrary: Philip is simultaneously a corrupting force in the Hellenic world, and his victory over the Greeks is proof of their decadence. Theopompus frequently engages in an analysis and evaluation of the characters of men and states, and he is especially interested in the detrimental effects of luxury: so, for example, famous Athenian statesmen are criticized for their personal failings (frr. 97, 99), and whole populations such as the Ardiaeans (fr. 40) and the inhabitants of Byzantium (fr. 62) are singled out for scorching moral censure. Some of Theopompus' criticisms stem from personal bias as well as a dislike for democratic institutions. He can also offer positive evaluations of character: the portraits of Lysander and Agesilaus from his *Hellenica* are good examples.

With the exception of a few Hellenistic historians who were also interested in the question of moral decay and luxury (Timaeus, 4th–3rd centuries BC; Duris of Samos, 4th–3rd centuries BC; Phylarchus, 3rd century BC), Theopompus' influence on subsequent historiography was not great. However, ancient readers were broadly familiar with his work. Critics such as Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Cornelius Nepos, and Lucian all point to Theopompus' acerbity and censorious stance: he is, as Nepos describes him, "maledicentissimus" – the most abusive writer.

Theopompus' work was known in some form by late anti-Atticist writers and lexicographers. Several of his fragments are taken from Stephanus of Byzantium (6th century AD); and, as noted above, the patriarch Photios provides an important biographical notice, as well as fragments of his work. Krumbacher (*Geschichte der byzantinischen Literatur*, 1. 232) adduces Theopompus as a precedent for the court historian Procopius of Caesarea (5th–6th centuries AD), but does not claim any direct influence.

JOHN DILLERY

See also Historiography

Biography

Born in Chios in 378/77 BC, Theopompus was exiled from Chios with his father for sympathizing with Sparta. Allowed back by Alexander the Great in 333/32, he was exiled again on Alexander's death and fled to the court of Ptolemy I Soter. According to tradition he was a pupil of Isocrates and worked as an orator. In addition to various speeches and treatises, his principal works were historical: *Epitome of Herodotus*, *Hellenica*, and *Philippica*. He died *c.*320 BC.

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Theotokis, George 1844–1916

Politician

Few Greeks today recall the name of George Theotokis, prime minister of Greece four times between 1899 and 1909. Unlike his predecessor Trikoupis, the ardent reformer, and his successor, Venizelos, the unmatched diplomat, Theotokis was a moderate politician but by no means mediocre. He was not a passionate man (at least not passionate for power) but he had

sophistication and natural nobility. He was descended from the Byzantine family of Theotokis who had eventually settled in Venetian-held Corfu. In the 16th century they were registered in the Venetian *Libro d'Oro*. In the following centuries several members of the Theotokis family distinguished themselves in the humanities and sciences, the most famous being Nikiphoros Theotokis, an 18th-century representative of the Greek Enlightenment.

George Theotokis was the grandson of John-Baptist, the Greek minister of justice in 1824, a man of religion, strongly anti-British, and a keen supporter of king Otho. He was the son of Nikolaos, a low-profile judge at the Court of Appeals of the Ionian islands, a landowner of average income. There is evidence that the influence exercised by John-Baptist's ideas about God, king, and country on the young George was even stronger than his own extravagant life and law studies in Paris, where he received his baccalaureate in 1863 and eventually his doctorate in 1868.

In mid-19th-century Greece all men educated in Europe were expected to play a role in politics and Theotokis was no exception. Local society in Corfu was experiencing a difficult transitional period from a British colony into a Greek province tormented by social controversies and little respected for its lost nobility. Having failed to enter parliament in 1873 and 1874, Theotokis was elected mayor twice (1879 and 1883) and contributed much to Corfu's infrastructure. Better roads, gas lighting, the demolition of the city walls, and the installation of sewage works restored the lost European glamour of Corfu and secured for Theotokis an easy election to parliament (April 1885) as a deputy of the Trikoupis party.

A year later, when Deliyannis's government resigned, Trikoupis, the new premier, appointed Theotokis minister for the navy, to implement the armament programme he had launched five years earlier. At a period when the Greek nation's most fervent desire was to free Crete from the Turks and Macedonia from Bulgarian infiltration Theotokis was justified in devoting most of his efforts to bargaining for three French-built cruisers and introducing measures for the better training of the crews. In early 1889 he was also assigned the Ministry of Education and Religious Affairs, but under constant pressure from the opposition he did not manage to introduce any legislative measures at all.

Trikoupis remained in opposition from 1889 to 1892. When he resumed office, he appointed Theotokis his minister of the interior. He was then assigned (1893) the mission to contract a new British loan, which was expected to save the government and prevent the country's bankruptcy. The tough terms demanded by London bankers were eventually accepted by the premier but declined by king George I in May 1893 under heavy pressure from the opposition. In 1894 Greece's bankruptcy was officially announced. Theotokis was among the few of Trikoupis's deputies who survived the electoral disaster of 1895.

Bankruptcy was followed by the Cretan revolution in 1896 and the gradual involvement of the National Society (*Ethniki Hetaireia*) in Greek military and political affairs, encouraging a war against Turkey. Theotokis tried to strike a balance between war and peace. He criticized the government for its lack of determination and approved the dispatch of Greek troops to Crete in 1897; but he also suggested that encounters at the Thessalian border should be avoided. He refrained from siding with the National Society "hot-shots", as he called them, but when, amid Greek military disaster and humiliation, he was again appointed minister of interior of the short-lived Dimitrios Rallis government (April–September 1897), he failed to bring about the Society's dissolution. In November 1898 he was elected head of the Trikoupis party and in February 1899 he won the elections. In early April Theotokis became prime minister, an office he held until November 1901 and three more times in the following years: 14–28 June 1903, December 1903–December 1904, and December 1905–July 1909.

At the turn of the century the Eastern Question was entering its last stage and Greece was approaching the climax of irredentism. Armaments were again the chief priority if the disaster of 1897 was not to be repeated. Under pressure from the opposition and the army Theotokis eventually succeeded in passing and implementing a series of laws providing for the reorganization of the General Staff, the reserve officers' training, mobilization plans, and military medical services. He also ensured the purchase of modern rifles and artillery, and a significant increase of both serving and reserve forces. His choices were justified by the Greek victories in the Balkan Wars of 1912–13.

Meanwhile foreign policy required caution. Theotokis was known for his "blameless position" (*apsogos stasis*) towards Turkey but in fact he had few options. Alienated from Russia, the patron of Bulgaria, rejected more than once by Britain and France, which supported Ottoman integrity, he occasionally sided with Germany, Turkey, and Romania in order to protect Greek interests in Macedonia. But, on the other hand, he provided diplomatic and financial support for the Greek bands to counterattack Bulgarians and Romanians. He also tried (in vain) to play the Turks and the Great Powers against each other during several crises over Crete, Macedonia, and Samos.

In domestic affairs his achievements were inferior to his intentions and abilities. He contributed in particular to administrative decentralization, tramway and railway communications, and Athens' infrastructure; he established a bank for raisin producers and a fund for retired seamen. He might have done even more had more of his laws been approved by parliament. But like most premiers of his time, Theotokis had just as many problems with keeping his party together as with defending his policy against the opposition. Certainly he was most unwilling to exert pressure in order to prolong his tenure of office; and he gave in rather easily to the pressure of the Church, to social riots, the raisin producers, the guilds, and army officers, resigning with dignity because he was a man of honour, loyal to his king, but not a conservative by conviction.

Theotokis was in favour of the king's interference in foreign policy but not at any cost. When he was called to ministerial office again in 1915, he advised king Constantine to no avail not to defy Venizelos's majority in parliament. He was elected deputy for the last time in December 1915 but did not enjoy an easy comeback. He died in January 1916 worrying over the disasters looming on the horizon, which eventually came in the form of a national schism, the Asia Minor catastrophe, and the execution in 1922 of his own son, Nikolas Theotokis, after the famous "trial of the six" (the scapegoating of prominent anti-Venizelists following the Asia Minor Catastrophe). It was in fact his grandson, another Greek premier, George Rallis

(1980–81), who pointed to Theotokis's mildness as his chief contribution to Greece's public affairs. If that was the case, then his chances of qualifying for the Greek national pantheon, crowded with passionate heroes, were very slim indeed.

BASIL C. GOUNARIS

Biography

Born in Corfu in 1844, the grandson of a minister of justice and the son of a judge, Theotokis was educated in Paris. Twice mayor of Corfu, he was elected to parliament in 1885 as a deputy of the Trikoupis party and became a minister in 1886. He was prime minister four times between 1899 and 1909. He was elected to parliament again in 1915 but died in January 1916.

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Theotokis, Nikiphoros 1731–1800

Scientist and theologian

Nikiphoros (baptized Nikolaos) Theotokis was one of the brightest scholars of the modern Greek Enlightenment. His multidimensional contribution classifies him as one of the pioneering representatives of modern Greek scholasticism who during the century before independence battled against ignorance and superstition to develop a national conscience within the Greek population of the Balkans and Asia Minor.

According to the official record in the *Libro d' Oro*, Nikiphoros was born in Corfu on 15 February 1731. He studied initially in his own country under Jeremia Kavvadias, who also taught during the same period the other great Corfiot scholar, Evgenios Voulgaris. Kavvadias's overpowering personality steered the young student towards the Church, so in 1748 at the age of 17 – in spite of objections from his family and various bureaucratic obstacles – he was ordained a deacon. But since he was not allowed to practise his religious duties until he came of age and since he had completed his basic studies, Theotokis travelled to Italy around 1749 – which was then the centre of studies for the majority of Greeks who wanted to enrich their knowledge – where he studied philosophy, physics, and mathematics at the universities of Bologna and Padua. Here the teachings of modern physical theories already prevailed, theories that questioned Aristotelian authority.

Even though his attendance at the University of Padua has been questioned, reports by Theotokis himself as well as the scientific content of his work verify the fact that he actually did study at Padua under Giovanni Poleni. Poleni, a pioneering leader of the scientific reformist movement in Italian universities, also taught other significant scholars of the first period of Greek Enlightenment, such as Voulgaris, Josephos Moisiodax, and Zerzoulis, scholars who generally supported the introduction of modern scientific thought into the wider Balkan region. The young Theotokis was especially impressed by the value of experiments in the sciences and this can be seen in his books. At the same time he acquired an adequate knowledge of higher mathematics, a knowledge that was among the best for a Greek of that period. His biographers mention that he also studied medicine and E. Sarafidis tells us that Theotokis practised medicine in Jassy in 1775.

He returned to Corfu after three years of studies and at his own expense founded an educational centre where he taught philosophy, mathematics, and physics, while his former teacher Kavvadias taught all other subjects. During this period, vice-admiral Iakovos Nanis of the Venetian navy asked Theotokis for his advice concerning the repair work being carried out at the port of Gouvion. Nanis accepted and recognized his scientific knowledge – especially in hydraulics – since Poleni (Theotokis's teacher) was considered then to be one of the greatest experts in Europe in these matters.

In conjunction with the founding of his educational centre, Theotokis was appointed a priest at the church of Sts John the Baptist and Paraskevi in 1758 and for the next three years he delivered inspiring Christian sermons.

During this period Theotokis received an invitation from patriarch Ioannikios to assume the management of the academy on Mount Athos, which had been closed since 1761 when Voulgaris had left it. But objections were raised on the Holy Mountain to his assumption of these duties.

Theotokis therefore travelled to Constantinople where he developed close ties with Grigorios Gikas, a leading person among the aristocracy of Constantinople. It should be noted that during his stay in Constantinople Theotokis replaced Voulgaris as head of the patriarchal school but, since he worked in a climate that negated progressive thought, he soon came into conflict with the conservative Phanariot groups. Theotokis eventually resigned after clashing with the patriarch himself. When Gikas assumed the throne of Moldavia, he invited Theotokis to head the academy at Jassy and to teach mathematics, physics, and geography. In 1765 Moisiodax succeeded Theotokis as head of the academy and the latter travelled to Leipzig where after a number of years he published the first volume of his work *Stichia Physikis* (Elements of Physics), which even today is considered to be a milestone for science in Greece. At the same time, he was being systematically informed about all recent scientific developments. His activities soon became known to other European scientists and their respect is confirmed by the fact that J.J. Reisck dedicated the eighth volume of his work *Analekta ton Ellinon Ritoron* (Outstanding Greek Orators, Leipzig, 1773) to Theotokis.

In 1772 he persistently refused the archbishopric of Philadelphia in Venice since he did not want anything to do with the Catholic Church. Returning to Jassy in 1773, Theotokis assumed the directorship of the academy (a three-form school for children aged 10–13), teaching there until 1776 and thus contributing to the introduction of modern scientific theories to the principalities along the Danube. He travelled to Russia at the end of 1776 at the invitation of Voulgaris. When Voulgaris resigned, Theotokis was ordained archbishop of Cherson on 6 August 1779, and later assumed the archbishopric of Stavroupolis, which he resigned in 1792 after clashing with Potemkin. Theotokis lived in the monastery of St Daniel in Moscow until his death on 31 May 1800. Evidence of his pastoral work in Russia includes the conversion of a good many Muslim Tartars to Orthodoxy.

His published work may be classified under two main headings: ecclesiastical and scientific. With regard to the first, Theotokis was one of the clerics who made Christian doctrine

more easily understood by the people. His most valuable book on that subject was *Kyriakodromion* (Sunday Cycle, Moscow, 1796), in which he tried to explain New Testament passages by means of the interpretation and annotations of the early Church Fathers. He also wrote sermons, a guide to the ascetic life, and a treatise on the conversion of the Jews. With regard to the second, Theotokis the scientist showed a restless and investigative spirit and had a complete understanding of the Hellenic Enlightenment of which it would not be an exaggeration to consider him a co-founder.

GEORGE N. VLAHAKIS

See also Enlightenment

Biography

Born in Corfu in 1731, Theotokis was a pupil of Jeremia Kavvadias who steered him into the Church. He was ordained a deacon in 1748 at the age of 17. He continued his studies of philosophy, physics, mathematics, and medicine at the universities of Bologna and Padua. Returning to Corfu, he founded a school. Moving to Constantinople, he succeeded Voulgaris first as head of the patriarchal school and in 1779 as archbishop of Cherson. He died in Moscow in 1800.

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Theotokopoulos, Domenikos (El Greco) *c.*1541–1614

Painter

Domenikos Theotokopoulos, usually known as El Greco ("the Greek"), was one of the most original and innovative painters of 16th-century Europe. The curiously elongated figures that people his later compositions are instantly recognizable, as are the brilliant and contrasting colours in which he clothes and surrounds them. So unusual are his portrayals of the human figure that they have even been attributed to mental illness or to the distorted vision caused by astigmatism. In the same way, so unique is his style of painting that no consensus has emerged on exactly how to categorize it. He has been described as a member of the Castilian school, as a follower of the Venetian master Titian, and as a representative of the fervour of the Counter-Reformation. Yet, while each of these categories may have some claim to authenticity, the origins of El Greco's art lie in the Byzantine tradition and in the Cretan school of icon painting.

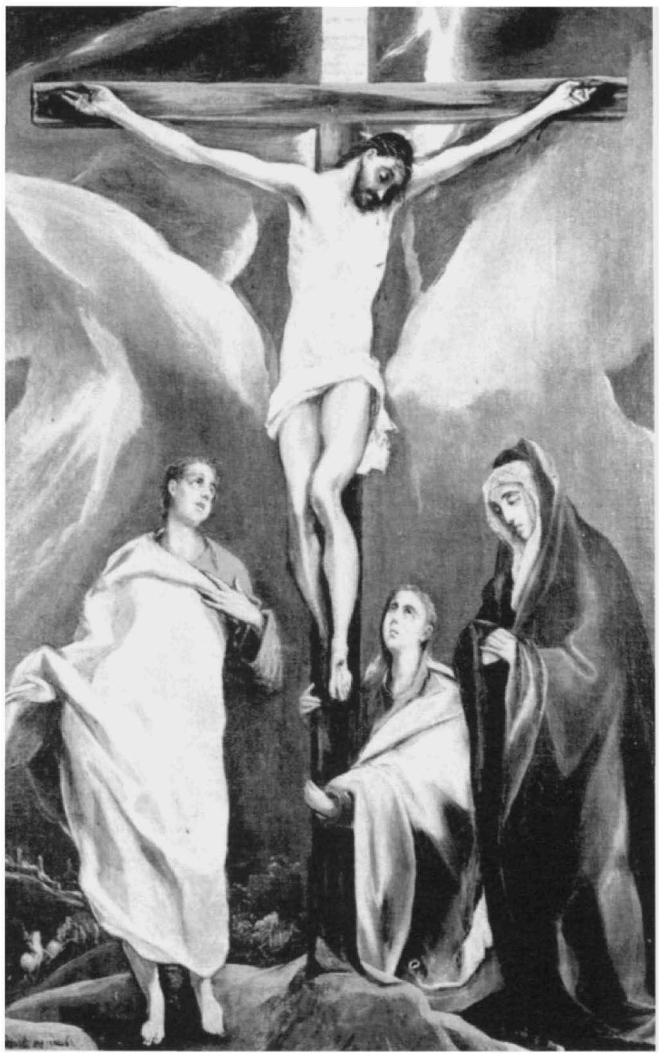
Like another famous representative of that school, Theophanes of Crete, El Greco was a native of Candia, the modern Herakleion, on Crete. His family were Roman Catholics and a number of his relatives worked as officials in the service of the Venetian government of the island. It used to be thought that he had trained under Titian in Venice, but it is now clear from documentary evidence that he had learnt his trade long before he left Crete. One document dated 1563 describes him as a master painter, and evidence of the value placed on his work as early as 1566 is given by another which prices one of his paintings at the considerable sum of 70 ducats. A number of works from this early period have now been identified. They include a signed *Dormition of the Virgin*, painted in about 1567, in the church of the Koimesis on Syros, and an *Adoration of the Magi*, now in the Benaki Museum in Athens. Both works are in the post-Byzantine style, although Italian influence is already noticeable in the mobility and corporeality of the figures.

Had El Greco remained on Crete, he might perhaps have continued to work in this unremarkable style, but in about 1568 he left the island, never to return. He went first to Venice, where he seems to have had some contact with Titian. By the end of 1570 he had moved on to Rome, where he operated a workshop for some years. He left Italy altogether in 1577 and moved to Spain, first to Madrid and then to Toledo, where he remained for the rest of his life.

The move westwards was accompanied by a profound change in El Greco's style, transforming him into a fundamentally Western painter. The change is plain to see in the public commissions that he carried out during his early years at Toledo, such as his *Disrobing of Christ* (1577–79) in the cathedral sacristy, and his famous *Burial of the Count of Orgaz* (1586–88) in the church of Santo Tomé. As his fame as a painter spread, his workshop produced scores of religious paintings for private clients and he was unanimously acclaimed by his contemporaries as a portraitist. His portraits tend to be austere in tone and usually on a neutral background, but they show an ability to convey character and physique. Perhaps the best known is the full-length depiction of the bespectacled inquisitor, cardinal Fernando Niño de Guevara, in his red robes and biretta, now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. A number of self-portraits also survive.

His later work became increasingly impressionistic, as he adopted an ever freer style. In the *Immaculate Conception* of 1607–13, in the Museo de Santa Cruz, Toledo, the Virgin floats upwards, supported by spindly angels. The *Adoration of the Shepherds*, painted in 1612–14 for his own burial chapel in Toledo, displays vivid, dissonant colours and distorted physical shapes. These compositions puzzled contemporaries and were regarded as eccentric, but they were to be a powerful influence on painters of the early 20th century.

Yet, in spite of his move to Spain and the radical development of his painting style, El Greco did not lose touch with his Greek origins. He tended to associate mainly with the Greek community in Toledo, and had little to do with local Spanish life. He continued to sign his paintings in Greek, and on a



Domenikos Theotokopoulos: *The Crucifixion* (1600–1605), National Gallery, Athens

number of occasions came forward to support his fellow Greeks when they were involved in cases in Spanish law courts.

It is therefore not surprising that elements of Byzantine iconography still occur in his later work. His depictions of Mount Sinai, painted in the 1570s, contain the same angels, tombs, and camels, in the same places, as a treatment of the same subject painted in traditional style in Thessalonica around the same time. The *Disrobing of Christ* in Toledo Cathedral preserves some Byzantine feeling in the superimposition of the heads of the figures in the background to the main scene. Other works display not so much elements from Byzantine imagery as a mystic vision, similar to that of icons venerated in the Orthodox Church. His *Christ as Saviour of the World*, in the National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh, exemplifies this tendency. The figure of Christ is placed in no definite time or space, in stark frontality, with light and dark colours used to enhance the effect. It would, of course, be easy to make too much of these Graeco-Byzantine influences in El Greco's work, and David Talbot Rice was surely exaggerating when he described the painter as "the last of the Byzantines". Nevertheless, such influences remained an aspect of his work, up to the very end of his life.

Thus El Greco's idiosyncratic style should not be seen as the product of any particular school, Byzantine or Western, any more than it should be dismissed as the result of madness or myopia. Rather it grew out of his physical and artistic journey westward: the fusion of Greek, Italian, and Spanish influences with his own unique creativity and genius.

JONATHAN HARRIS

See also Painting

Biography

Born *c.*1541 in Candia (Herakleion), Crete, to a Roman Catholic family, El Greco was trained as a painter in his home island. Some works survive from his Cretan period. He left Crete *c.*1568 and went first to Italy (Venice, then Rome) and in 1577 moved to Spain (Madrid, then Toledo). He was admired by his contemporaries as a portraitist. He died in Toledo in 1614.

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Thessalonica

City in Macedonia

Thessalonica is the second largest city of Greece, with a population of 750,000 according to the census of 1991. Founded by decree in 316 BC by Cassander, who subsequently became king of Macedonia, the city was named after his wife Thessalonica, half-sister of Alexander the Great. It comprised 26 older towns and hamlets of the region, whose inhabitants were encouraged to resettle at the new location. Some of these towns survived the foundation of Thessalonica, while others disappeared entirely. Thessalonica was to serve as the harbour of Pella, the Macedonian royal capital, which had become landlocked as a result of the sedimentation deposited by the four large rivers of western and central Macedonia. The city plan followed the Hippodamian system applied to contemporary cities, a grid of streets at right angles to each other. Despite its long and turbulent history since the Hellenistic era, through periods of great

Thessalonica: the Rotonda of Galerius, late 3rd century AD

prosperity and times of hardship and instability, Thessalonica has preserved the main features of the original orthogonal layout, corrupted in times of overcrowding. Furthermore, the walls, which have defended Thessalonica since late antiquity, defined an area of 330 hectares, which – with some alterations mainly on the eastern side – became the confines within which the city developed until its expansion after the mid-19th century.

Owing to its geographical position Thessalonica prospered as a centre of commerce and industry and was already a wealthy city when the Romans conquered Macedonia in 168 BC after the battle of Pydna. Its inhabitants remained loyal to the imperial party during the civil wars that followed the assassination of Julius Caesar in 44 BC. Under the Romans Thessalonica acquired an additional military importance, since it often hosted army units on their way to defend the empire against enemies in the east or against hostile tribes of migrating peoples from the north. Indeed, the very routes that carried trade, ideas, and wealth in times of stability were to bring raids, armies, and violence in times of instability, both on a large scale, as the Pax Romana, the lengthy period of peace inaugurated and secured by the Romans, was drawing to an end in the mid-3rd century AD.

The Romans provided the city with public works. Many public buildings came down in the earthquake that shook the city in AD 620 and their materials were either reused in Byzantine constructions or served as landfill. By contrast, however, a small number of Roman public works outlasted the Roman era, most notably the Via Egnatia, the road constructed by the vice-consul Gnaeus Egnatius in the 2nd century BC to connect the Adriatic coast to the eastern regions of the Roman empire. The main highway, which branched off the Via Egnatia and ran across the city from west to east, was named Via Regia in antiquity, Leoforos in Byzantine times, Broad Street under the Ottomans, and Egnatia today.

At the end of the 3rd century AD Thessalonica became the residence of the tetrarch, or quarter-emperor, Galerius, who constructed a palace, a triumphal arch to commemorate his victories against the Persians, a hippodrome, and a round building, the Rotonda, whose original use is still an issue of debate among scholars. It is the oldest surviving building in continuous use in the Balkans, was converted to a Christian church, then to a mosque in 1591 by the Ottomans. In 320 emperor Constantine replaced the ancient harbour at the southeast end of the wall with an artifical harbour at the western end of the city limits. This harbour served the city during the Byzantine era. Even after it had fallen out of use, the harbour has remained in the same area.

Among the foreigners who had settled in the ancient city, probably since pre-Roman times, was a community of Jews. They retained their religion but became linguistically assimilated and later became known as Romaniot Jews. It was among this early Jewish community of Thessalonica that St Paul preached his new faith when he visited the city in AD 40. He then kept contact with his Jewish and Gentile converts through his letters to the Thessalonians.

Christianity became important as a force of ideological cohesion in the subsequent history of the city, which gradually assumed a truly Christian character during the 4th century. The focus of this new identity was the cult of St Demetrius, a young Roman officer, who had died for his faith in 305. The new cult was a Christian substitute for the older mystic cult of the Cabiri brother-gods, who, like their Christian counterpart, had also been the city's patrons. The first church to St Demetrius was built on the site of the Cabiri shrine in the 5th century. It burned down after the earthquake of 620, was rebuilt, then became a mosque in 1491, and was reconverted to a Christian church when Thessalonica became Greek again in 1912. It burned a second time in the great fire of 1917 and was rebuilt once more.

Throughout the 6th century the Avars and Slavs raided the environs and besieged the city. They never succeeded in capturing Thessalonica, but drove large numbers of the rural population inside its walls. After the emperor Justinian II put an end to these attacks at the end of the 7th century prosperity returned, while peaceful exchanges began with the Slavic settlers in the area. The church of St Sophia was constructed during this period. In the 9th century the monks Cyril and Methodios set off from Thessalonica to convert the Slavs to Christianity and introduce literacy by creating a suitable alphabet.

In 904 the Saracen Arabs from their pirate state in Crete, which thrived on plunder, piracy, and the slave trade, attacked and sacked the city, and killed and captured its inhabitants, carrying them off to be sold as slaves. John Kameniatis, who was among the captives, wrote a gruelling account of the incident.

Thessalonica withstood the clash between the Byzantine empire and the Bulgarian state in the 10th century, but had once more to take in large numbers of destitute peasants. In 1185, however, it fell into the hands of the Normans from Sicily, who sacked it, killed and plundered, held it for a year, and then left. When the city fell to the Latin crusaders in 1204, after the sack of Constantinople, the city elders negotiated their surrender and were thus able to retain some of their traditional rights of self-government. The Byzantines recaptured the city 20 years later, while the imperial capital was restored to Byzantine rule in 1261.

The empire was weak and fragmented. Nevertheless, Thessalonica experienced its last period of greatness: the Palaiologan renaissance of the 14th century. Profiting from the overall economic decline of the state, the Venetians had expanded their commercial business, acquired trading privileges, and settled in Thessalonica, thus contributing to intense economic activity and prosperity to the benefit of the arts. Several of the surviving Byzantine churches with their paintings and mosaics (Holy Apostles and St Catherine) date from that period and illustrate the artistic achievements of the Macedonian school of architecture and painting.

During this period of social cleavage, economic inequity, civil war, and foreign attacks, some scholars found new values in Classical Greek literature, began to speak of justice and freedom, and chose a western political and philosophical orientation. By contrast, their opponents developed the mystical movement of hesychasm of eastern inspiration, which became attractive to the wealthy and the nobility. They

Thessalonica: illustration from the 11th-century chronicle of Skylitzes showing the Thessalonians repelling a Bulgar siege in the 10th century, Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid

supported the pretender to the Byzantine throne, John Kantakouzenos. The middle classes and the poor took the opposing side in the ideological controversy, that of the Zealots, and supported the legitimate heir to the throne, John V Palaiologos. In 1342 they rebelled, assumed control of the city, held it for seven years, and established a republic, confiscating the estates of the Church and of the nobility.

Throughout this period the neighbouring Serbs, Bulgarians, and Turks were also drawn into the conflict. Finally, in 1387, Thessalonica surrendered to the Ottoman Turks; in exchange for tribute to sultan Murad I it retained some of its communal privileges – as it turned out, only in name. The city returned to Byzantine rule for a short while until, in 1423, unable to defend itself against the Turks, it voluntarily capitulated to the Venetians. In 1430, after a long siege that left Thessalonica virtually depopulated and defenceless, the second largest city of the empire fell unconditionally to the Ottomans under sultan Murad II and was incorporated into his private domain.

The Ottomans established a military guard of Janissaries and proceeded immediately to resettle the city. The great population influx, however, occurred two generations after the fall of Thessalonica, in 1492, when the Ottoman sultan Bayazid II welcomed the Sephardic Jews expelled from Spain by king Ferdinand and queen Isabella. Approximately 20,000 of them settled in Thessalonica, which became a predominantly Jewish city and began to thrive once again in trade and industry. Until the beginning of the 19th century the relative proportions of the three main ethnic groups were approximately half Jews and, of the remaining half, slightly more Turks than Greeks. The principal occupation of the Jews of Thessalonica was connected with the production and trade of woollen textiles for military uniforms. Thanks to its importance for the army their community acquired the monopoly in this field, in exchange, however, for the economic protection of the Janissaries. The heyday of the Jewish community of Thessalonica was the 16th century. Thereafter, with the decline of Venice as the Mediterranean trade lost its international importance in favour of the Atlantic routes, the Jews in Thessalonica entered a period of crisis, accompanied by a serious rift when, in the 1660s, large numbers converted to Islam and became known as "Dönme".

New circumstances in the 18th century proved favourable for the rise of the Greek community of Thessalonica, when French merchants settled in the city to trade in grain, wool,

cotton, and hides from the Macedonian hinterland, and were followed by other European nationals. However, as a consequence of the Greek national uprising of 1821 the Greeks of Thessalonica suffered atrocities at the hands of the Turks and their community entered a period of decline. Furthermore, the destruction of the Janissaries as a result of the reforming efforts of sultan Mahmud II in 1826 disrupted the overall economy of the city, which had been in Janissary hands to a great extent.

Although there was no institutionalized segregation, each ethnic group lived in a more or less distinct neighbourhood, whose boundaries varied over the years. The Turks lived mostly in the higher section of the city in large and more hygienic housing. The Greeks lived lower down and towards the eastern parts of the city in smaller houses, while the Jews lived in the city centre and closer to the harbour and the marketplace in confined, occasionally overcrowded conditions, in narrow streets, more exposed to the hazards of epidemics and fire. Each group was governed by a communal body of elders with legal jurisdiction led by its religious head.

A new age of prosperity came to Thessalonica after the mid-19th century with the age of steam, accompanied by a great interest among the European powers in the economic and political reforms of the Ottoman empire. The Greeks had profited from the support of the Greek kingdom and they as well as the other nationalities from the benefits of secular education, economic progress, and modern banking. The affluent members of all ethnic groups were acquiring larger houses beyond the city walls, which the enlightened regional authorities began to pull down, since they no longer served the city's defence. Construction of a railway line from Thessalonica to Mitrovica began in 1871 and, as a result of new transportation requirements, the harbour had to be modernized. Public works began on a large scale. However, in 1890 an extensive fire burned down a large section of the town centre, which was redesigned and rationalized.

Thessalonica was liberated by the Greek army on 26 October 1912, at the beginning of the First Balkan War. During World War I it became the quarters of large numbers of Entente army units and the temporary seat of the pro-Entente Greek government of Eleftherios Venizelos in 1916. In August 1917 the last major fire destroyed the centre of the city and left approximately 15,000 families homeless. A new town plan was devised by the French city planner Ernest Hébrard, which created the outline of Thessalonica as it is today through a significant reallocation of properties.

Dramatic changes were to occur in the following years, which affected the ethnic composition of the city, namely the arrival of thousands of destitute Christian refugees from Asia Minor in 1922 and 1923 and the fall of Greece to the Nazis in April 1941. In March 1943 the German authorities deported the Jewish population of Thessalonica by train loads to the Nazi extermination camps, from which only a few were to survive. Of the 50,000 Thessalonica Jews 95 per cent perished. The city suffered the disruptive consequences of the Civil War (1946–49) and was able to begin its economic recovery only in the early 1950s.

KATERINA GARDIKAS

See also Jews, Macedonia, Renaissance (Palaiologan)

Summary

Founded by Cassander in 316 BC, Thessalonica was an amalgam of 26 older towns and villages. It was the port of Macedonia and prospered as a centre of commerce and industry. It lay on the Via Egnatia which connected Constantinople with the Adriatic. It had a Jewish community in antiquity and was visited by St Paul. It was raided by Slavs and Avars in the 6th century, sacked by Arabs in the 10th, and taken by Latins in 1204. Finally taken by the Ottomans in 1430, it received an influx of Spanish Jews in 1492. It was liberated by the Greek army in 1912.

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Thessaly

Region of central Greece

Thessaly is an easily identifiable area, bounded by the Pindus mountains on the east, Pelion and Ossa to the south, and Mount Olympus to the north. In between there are two large plains, divided by a range of hilly country. These plains, at the centre of which lie Larissa and Trikkala, are much larger than any other comparable area in Classical Greece, and perhaps explain why Thessaly in both ancient and modern times has not followed the pattern of the rest of Greece. The climate is a little harsher. Thessaly never really developed the city state. The territory became Greek in 1881, well before Macedonia and Epirus, but long after the rest of Greece. Though more clearly Greek than either Macedonia or Epirus, it used to contain a large Turkish element in its population and still contains many Vlachs. It has an extensive coastline and a major port in Volos, but is far less bound to the sea than most of Greece. The olive and the vine grow less well, but traditionally Thessaly has been rich in horses, cattle, and grain.

Thessalians figure in the Homeric catalogue, and Achilles came from Pthiotis in the southeastern portion of Thessaly. The Thessalians of the Classical period appear from their dialect to have been a mixture of the original Homeric element and invaders such as the Dorians from the northwest. The latter appear to have ruled as an oligarchy with one of their number elected as *tagos* or leader of the whole of Thessaly. An early family to achieve prominence were the Aleudae, based on Larissa, but they lost favour through supporting the Persians. In the Peloponnesian War the Thessalians were generally on the Athenian side, but not very effectively. Jason of Pherae in the 4th century BC gained considerable power, but his assassination prevented him from anticipating Philip of Macedon, who easily gained control of a divided Thessaly. Thessalian cavalry formed an important part of Alexander's army, and Thessaly generally remained loyal to Macedon until the Roman victory at Pydna in 168 BC.

While the rest of Greece on the whole suffered under Roman rule, there are complimentary references in Latin literature to Thessaly's plains, mountains, and rivers. Lucan, though mainly concerned with mythology, gives a glowing tribute in his *Pharsalia*. A Roman colony at Dium and a good

road from Thessalonica to Athens ensured a plentiful Roman presence, well attested by inscriptions. Larissa and Tricca (Trikkala) were the main towns. Towards the end of the 2nd century AD Apuleius paints a gloomier picture of brigandage and witchcraft. The barbarian invasions in the Roman empire's declining years sometimes reached as far as Thessaly, and when the Danube frontier finally broke in 602, western Thessaly was soon lost to the invaders with Byzantium maintaining a precarious control only over the coastline. As late as the end of the 10th century Larissa was sometimes in the hands of the Bulgarian tsar Samuel. Even after the conquest of the whole of the Balkans by Basil the Bulgar slayer there was always a threat from rebellious Vlachs in the mountains and from western invaders like the Norman Bohemund, who crossed the Pindus mountains and besieged Larissa before being defeated by Alexios Komnenos in 1083.

After the Fourth Crusade of 1204 Thessaly passed under various rulers before the Turks arrived at the end of the 14th century. Originally it was part of the subordinate Latin kingdom of Thessalonica which Boniface of Montferrat had carved out for himself after failing to gain the throne of Constantinople. Then in 1224 it was captured by Theodore Doukas of Epirus and, in spite of Byzantine successes at Pelagonia in 1259 and the reconquest of Constantinople in 1261, it remained under the rule of a member of the Doukas family, being independent of Epirus from 1271. In 1318 the Catalans gained possession of southern Thessaly, while Stephen Gabrieloupolos preserved a precarious independence in the north. The frequent changes of ruler and the presence of so many external threats cannot have made Thessaly a peaceful place, and it was in the 14th century that the extensive monastic foundations of the Meteora were established, no doubt as a place of refuge from the strain of the internal and external strife. In 1335 the Palaiologoi briefly under Andronikos III regained both Thessaly and Epirus, but there was a new danger in the north in the shape of the Serbs. A disastrous civil war (1341–47) between John Kantakouzenos, a great landowner in Thessaly and a benefactor of the Meteora, and John Palaiologos gave the Serbs their opportunity and in 1348 Stephan IV Dushan conquered both Thessaly and Epirus. On his death his half-brother Symeon Uroš ruled for a time; his mother was a Palaiologos and wife a Doukas. But Symeon's son did not rule in his place, retiring instead to the Meteora to end his days as Father Iosaaph. The Turks conquered Thessaly in 1393, although Manuel II Palaiologos (1391–1425) briefly recovered the eastern coastline after the Battle of Ankara.

The Turks were rulers of Thessaly for nearly 500 years. Arriving early in the rich plains with a similar climate to Anatolia, they settled there in considerable numbers, often reducing the original inhabitants to near serfdom, forced to work the land with few rights and heavy taxes. In the mountains the Greeks and Vlachs had more independence, often gaining special privileges in return for nominal duties as guardians of passes. As the central authority became weaker we have evidence from western travellers and from Greek and Vlach folk song of how the independent mountain villagers were able to deceive the Turks by adopting a dual role as *armatoloi*, guardians of law and order, and klephts, disturbers of the peace. No doubt the success of these heroic manoeuvres is exaggerated in our sources, and other Thessalians played a more pacific part. In the 18th century the villages of Pelion with their distinctive houses became an intellectual centre of Hellenism, while the cotton merchants of Ambelakia on the slopes of Mount Ossa established a thriving trade.

Thessaly remained in Ottoman hands after the rest of Classical Greece had been granted independence in 1830. Greece was not formally represented at the Congress of Berlin in 1878, and it needed a general mobilization in 1880 to secure the cession of Thessaly in 1881. In 1897 a disastrous war against Turkey resulted in a major defeat for the Greek forces in Thessaly and there were small frontier rectifications in Turkey's favour. Between 1881 and 1912 Thessaly was a frontier province and a haven for freedom fighters in Macedonia and Epirus.

The Balkan Wars, World War I, and the Greek disaster in Asia Minor of 1922 brought about a major change in Thessaly's position. It was no longer a frontier province. Population exchanges meant that there was no longer a substantial Turkish element in the area. Immigrants from Asia Minor who replaced them were sometimes rich merchants who took over the privileged position of the Turkish landowners, sometimes landless refugees with left-wing sympathies. In World War II and the Civil War that followed it Thessaly played a crucial part since through it lay the life-line from Athens to Thessalonica. Forces of ELAS (*Ellinikos Laikos Apelevtherotikos Stratos*, the Greek Popular Liberation Army) were strong in the area, hindering first the German occupation and then the royalist government. Support for ELAS was strong, as was resentment against it. The head of Ares Velouchiotis was exhibited briefly in Trikkala after his death in 1945.

Such a bloodthristy episode seems at variance with the position of modern Thessaly, peaceful if unexciting. With little in the way of Classical sites and few beaches except in more remote Pelion, Thessaly has escaped the perils of modern tourism, but has prospered from European Union support for agriculture. Volos and Larissa are among Greece's six largest towns, but well below Athens and Thessalonica in population. The slightly provincial note about Thessalian society is perhaps best shown by the fact that it features in modern Greek literature very infrequently, although there is a novel, *The Beggar* by Andros Karkavitsas, written in 1896 and set at the foot of Mount Olympus.

T.J. WINNIFRITH

Summary

A region of central Greece, Thessaly did not develop into city states but was ruled by an oligarchy in the Classical period. Its plains were famous for horses. Invaded by Slavs in the 7th century and Bulgars in the 10th, Thessaly changed hands many times between 1204 and the Ottoman conquest in 1393. It was united with Greece in 1881.

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Thrace

Region bordering the north Aegean

Thrace and Thracians are the names given by the ancient Greeks to the territory and the people living in the region bordering the north Aegean. Neither the origin of the name nor the local name for this large territory is known. Over time the boundaries of Thrace changed. It was at its greatest extent in the 5th century BC when the Odrysian kingdom was established, stretching over present-day Bulgaria, east of the Hebrus (Turkish Thrace), and Greece between the Hebrus and Strymon, except for the coastal areas from the Danube to north of the Hellespont, and from Constantinople to Strymon in southwest Bulgaria. The territory was rich in fertile plains, forests, fish, precious metals, and iron and copper ores. The Thracians who are mentioned by Homer (*Iliad*, 6. 130, 9. 5, 14. 227, etc.; *Odyssey*, 8. 361) were agricultural tribes. Ancient writers give the names of many Thracian tribes: Tribali, Odrysae, Dardani, etc. They were a warlike, rural people, ruled over by various dynasties. The king of Odrysae was the dominant figure in the Classical period, until Philip II of Macedon invaded Thrace in the 4th century BC and established various cities including Philippopolis (Plovdiv). After the death of Alexander the Great in 323 BC Thrace fell to Lysimachus.

Greek colonies were established on the shores of Pontic Thrace from the end of the 7th century BC (Apollonia Pontica, Mesembria, Odessus) and from the middle of the 7th century BC in Aegean Thrace (Abdera, Maroneia, Aenus, Perinthus). Orpheus, the mythical singer, son of Apollo and a Muse, is generally called a Thracian and Thrace was considered to be his home. His grave and cult belong not to Thrace but to Pierian Macedonia, northeast of Mount Olympus, a region that the Thracians had once inhabited. Orpheus' song had superhuman powers and an important consequence of his miraculous song was his creation of Orphic poetry. The image of Orpheus was very popular in Greek and Roman art. In Attic vase painting he was represented in oriental as well as Greek costume. Several vases show him being killed by Thracian women.

The close links between Greece and Thrace are demonstrated not only by the depiction of Thracians in Attic vase painting but also by the introduction of the cult of the Thracian goddess Bendis to Athens in the 5th century BC. Greek artists represented her as a booted huntress, like Artemis. A priestess was assigned to her by one of the decrees of 413/12 BC and a great festival was established in Piraeus, at which twin processions of native Thracians and Athenians were followed by a torch race on horseback, and celebrations continued all through the night.

Thracian religion is a much-debated subject. The information given by ancient writers, especially Greeks, presents the Greek interpretation of local religious beliefs. Herodotus (5. 7) states that the Thracians worshipped Ares, Dionysus, Artemis, and Hermes. The similarities between the worship of a Great Goddess and the cult of Artemis in Asia Minor or of Cybele are obvious. The idea of heroization was restricted to members of the nobility and royal family. The existence of a cult of Helios is attested not only in Greek literature (Sophocles, *Tereus*, fr. 582) but by archaeological and numismatic data. The most popular cult was that of the so-called Thracian Rider, represented by about 2500 votive stone monuments, often of the rider hunting.

Little is known about Thracian culture of the Archaic period. We have much more evidence from the period of the establishment of the Odrysian kingdom in the 5th century BC, although our knowledge of Thracian culture is confined to that of the ruling elite. The Thracians were very advanced metalworkers, and many metal objects made of gold or silver, especially drinking vessels, are known from the tombs of local rulers and nobles; Greek and Achaemenid or Achaemenid-type vessels are also known. Stylistically, there is a mixture of Greek, Achaemenid, and local elements. The quantity of vessels and pieces of jewellery found in tombs is quite impressive. The information provided by Thucydides (2. 37) concerning gift giving and tribute collected from Greek cities and from "all the barbarous nations" in the reign of Seuthes (424–*c*.408 BC), the king of the Odrysae, makes it clear that the Odrysian kingdom was similar to the Achaemenid empire in that the king exploited Greek craftsmen to create his culture. Excavation of the settlement at Vetren, in the Thracian hinterland not far from Plovdiv, shows that this practice began in Thrace in the mid-5th century BC. This settlement, the residence of the local ruler, was built entirely by Greek architects and masons, as the planning and layout, paved streets, and, most importantly, city-gate and fortification system demonstrate.

Greek influence on local elite culture was strong. The nobility used the Greek alphabet, as seen on a ring and vessels from the Rogozen Treasure (now in the National History Museum, Sofia). In the Hellenistic period the Greeks became even more heavily involved; for example, the town planning and architecture of Seuthopolis (which had an agora), as well as its fortifications, are examples of Greek craftsmanship and masonry, as in Vetren. Inscriptions, legends on coins, and stamps and graffiti on Thracian pottery all indicate that the Greek language was very much used in Seuthopolis. In this royal city, built and decorated entirely by Greeks, temples as well as Thracian clay altars were found. The religion shows very strong Greek influence. Another royal city, Cabyle, archaeologically less well known, has an inscription in ancient Greek which is identical to that found in Seuthopolis. The Getic capital at Sboryanovo, which has been studied since the late 1980s, has also revealed a stone fortification system, stone architecture, and inscriptions in Greek.

Greek masons were further employed to build and decorate tombs. In the chamber of the barrel-vaulted tomb at Sveshtari a Doric entablature is supported on the raised hands of women, with the help of five Corinthian half-columns: this is redolent of Greek caryatids. There are impressive murals in a tomb at Kazanluk: chariot races, a Greek decorative frieze of bowls and bucrania, and figures approaching the dead prince and his consort seated at a table. All the trappings and furniture are Greek. Since the 1980s excavations in the Shipka area have brought to light several dozen rich tombs, some decorated with very impressive murals.

Roman involvement arose from Thrace's links with Macedonia. After the Macedonian revolt of 149 BC (in which Thrace was heavily involved) was put down, Rome aimed to stabilize the area by establishing client kings in Thrace. These continued until AD 46 when the country was annexed and made into a province. It became one of the most important Danubian provinces of the Roman empire, and protected the lines of communication from Macedonia to Bithynia and Asia Minor via Byzantium. Barbarian ravaging of Thrace, which began with the Goths passing through in a swathe of destruction, continued in the 4th and 5th centuries AD.

Under Byzantium, Thrace, especially along the Black Sea littoral, continued to be an area of Hellenic culture, as it had been in the Graeco-Roman period. Bulgarian churches show strong Byzantine influence. The earliest surviving example, dating from the 5th century AD at Nessebur (Greek Mesembria), was constructed as a conventional basilica, with aisles added in the 8th century when the main arcade columns were changed to square piers. Medieval churches exist throughout Bulgaria, many dating from the second Bulgarian empire (late 12th–13th centuries), and most have the typical Greek cruciform plan. Many contain frescos demonstrating very strong Byzantine influence, particularly the Ivanovo rock churches. Monasteries, 150 at the peak, flourished as centres of Christian culture and literacy, Rila and Bachkovo among the most prominent. They house very fine collections of illuminated manuscripts and icons, which, once again, betray the closeness of links with Byzantium. Many Bulgarian monks lived and worked on Mount Athos.

The Bulgars, a non-Indo-European people, had a long migrant history before entering Europe in the wake of the Huns. They crossed the Danube in the second half of the 7th century AD and settled in Moesia (modern Bulgaria), gradually fusing with the resident Slavs and spreading further to the south and west. From khan Krum's defeat of the Byzantine emperor Nikephoros I in 811, Byzantium's most disastrous defeat for a considerable time, until the overwhelming victory of Byzantium at Kleidion in 1014, the first Bulgarian empire was a power with wide dominion over the mid-Balkans. Christianity was accepted in 865 at the hands of Sts Cyril and Methodios, the former devising the Glagolitic alphabet, based on Greek characters, which is the ancestor of most modern Slav scripts. Although all of Bulgaria passed back to Byzantine control, the Church remained autonomous. The second Bulgarian empire lasted from the late 12th century for less than a hundred years. The centre of Balkan power moved into Serbia and the whole of Bulgaria passed under Turkish control in the 14th century.

In the first half of the 19th century many monasteries were restored: Rila, Troyan, Bachkovo, and Preobrazhenski were repainted by Zakhari Zograph from Samokov, who also worked on Mount Athos. This reflects the importance of the Church in stimulating a "national revival". Modern Bulgaria arose from a nationalist revolt in the 1870s, combined with the Ottoman decline and strong pan-Slavist Russian support. The other Great Powers intervened to prevent the Bulgaria (including most of Macedonia and part of the Thracian seaboard) envisaged in the San Stefano treaty of 1878 disappearing. Northern Bulgaria achieved de facto independence under nominal Turkish suzerainty; Eastern Roumelia, newly autonomous within the Ottoman empire, joined it in 1885 (a position not regularized until formal Bulgarian independence in 1908); and other territories were added from Turkey (including western Thrace) and lost (to Greece – western Thrace; Romania and Serbia) as a result of the two Balkan Wars of 1912–13 and World War I. Between the wars a limited population exchange of Greeks and Bulgarians took place. Until 1944 Bulgaria skilfully avoided participation in World War II but used its German alliance to reoccupy many lost territories and much of its San Stefano inheritance. Disaster struck in September 1944: the country found itself simultaneously at war with Germany and Russia and undergoing a communist-backed putsch. Territory was lost again and the Bulgarian elite cut down on a scale not seen since Kleidion.

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See also Bulgaria, Bulgars

Summary

The boundaries of Thrace, a region bordering the north Aegean, have changed much over the centuries. Greek colonies were established on the Black Sea coast from the 7th century BC. From the Classical (Odrysian) period much metalwork and jewellery of Greek craftsmanship survives. Thrace was even more Hellenized in the Hellenistic period. It became a Roman province in AD 46. Under Byzantium it remained an area of Greek culture. Its borders have changed frequently since the creation of modern Bulgaria in the 1870s.

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Thucydides

Athenian historian of the 5th century BC

Thucydides was a member of an Athenian aristocratic family which owned gold mines in Thrace and was connected at least by friendship, possibly also by marriage, with the local Thracian aristocracy. In 424 BC, during the Peloponnesian War between the Athenian empire and the alliance headed by Sparta, he held an amphibious command on the Thracian coast, but went into exile in consequence of his failure to prevent the Spartan capture of a strategically valuable city. He returned to Athens in 404 BC, when all the exiles were recalled, and died probably about 395 BC.

According to his own account, when the Peloponnesian War began in 431 BC he decided to write its history. This ambition was not completely realized, because his work, which survives, ends abruptly in the winter of 411 BC, though passages elsewhere refer clearly to the end of the war in its 27th year. His account (book 8) of the 20th and 21st years differs in character from books 1–7, and may represent a stage intermediate between a first draft and a final version. Histories of the last six years of the war were written by others in the 4th century BC.

Thucydides was not the first major Greek historian, for Herodotus' history of the Persian invasion of Greece appeared a generation earlier, but he was nevertheless a pioneer who did much to shape the form and nature of subsequent historiography. In particular, he put speeches, condensed in language and thought, into the mouths of his personages on critical or otherwise memorable occasions. The most famous has long been the funeral speech of his Pericles in book 2, at the burial of the war dead of 431 BC. The speeches are sophisticated in language and replete with moral, political, and psychological generalizations. There are, of course, abundant speeches in Homeric epic, and quite a number in Herodotus, but Thucydides is peculiar in that he had been present on some of the occasions which he adorns with speeches, and could have learned much about the rest from contemporaries. Aware of the role of the spoken word in determining the decisions of the Greek city states, in his preface he divides the content of his work into "what was said" and "what was done", and claims that he had recourse to inventing what speakers "needed" to say only when he could not recall or discover what they actually said. The extent to which this claim is compatible with what we read in his text (in books 1–3 speeches amount to nearly a third of the whole) is a focus of controversy which is likely to continue. Whatever his own intention, he unwittingly set a bad example to later historians, Greek and Roman alike, who, writing for a culture devoted to the art of oratory, assumed the right to invent speeches.

In narrative his style is usually simpler than in speeches, and sometimes vivid and dramatic, but his generalized descriptions of situations (for example, the moral effects of the plague in book 2 and the disastrous spread of civil strife in book 3) are hard going. He experiments with syntax, deploys a stock of unusual abstract nouns (some probably coined by him), and often seems to be trying to convey too much in too few words. Our problems as readers might well be solved if we could hear him reading his own text aloud and could note his placing of stress and pause. Since ancient literary critics could no more do that than we can, they found him a difficult author and often disagreed over his meaning.

Such experimental language is one aspect of the tendency among intellectuals in his time to innovation and rejection of tradition. Save in one doubtful instance, he is sceptical about oracles, never attributes historical events to divine intervention, and gropes after scientific explanations of natural phenomena. In these respects he is much nearer to early medical writers than to Herodotus; indeed, he seems to have modelled his description of the plague on them, though differing from them in terminology. In a few articulate intellectuals the shift from a religious to a scientific world view generated the idea that the good and admirable person is the one who (following the law of nature) imposes his will on others for his own self-aggrandizement. Thucydides certainly does not think that. The belief that he does, still widespread, is generated by the error of treating arguments put forward in this or that speech as if they were his own.

He is undeniably an impressive, magisterial writer, professing strong attachment to accuracy and adopting a detached view which only rarely wavers under pressure from his emotional reactions and predilections. A sombre tone manifest in some of his observations on human behaviour may also be inferred from some of his apparently "deadpan" statements, and this has given him, over the centuries, a reputation for integrity, profundity, and wisdom. He was extensively read and studied in Byzantium; Procopius in the 6th century AD borrowed whole passages, and in the 12th century, while the scholar Tzetzes was exasperated by Thucydides' obscurity, Anna Komnene strewed her history with unusual Thucydidean expressions, thereby enlarging the gulf between classicizing language and the vernacular of her time. Thucydidean language and style (with some injections from Herodotus and Polybius) continued to serve as a model for Byzantine historiography; a notable example is the work of the emperor John VI Kantakouzenos in the 14th century. He was translated into Latin by Lorenzo Valla in 1452, and into English in 1628 by Thomas Hobbes, who idolized him, not least for his exposure of what Hobbes regarded as the follies of democracy.

In Greece, Neophytos Doukas prepared an edition of Thucydides with Latin translation, published in Vienna in 1805. Korais in his *Hellenic Library* ignored Thucydides, either because Doukas had got in first or because Thucydides was unedifying and insufficiently philosophical. The difficulty of the language came to be recognized as a serious obstacle to Thucydides' attainment of the central place in educational curricula that his fame might seem to justify, and in 1920 the statesman Eleftherios Venizelos embarked on a translation into a somewhat literary demotic Greek, published posthumously in 1937. Venizelos believed (as Thucydides himself did, to judge from what he says in his preface) that constants in human behaviour are such that a careful and wise account of an ancient war abounds in political lessons which are still valid.

But *is* Thucydides "careful and wise"? Is he even a reliable authority on the details of his narrative? In the 20th century no other Greek author has been subject to so heavy a revisionist onslaught. A general decline in reverence reminds us that a gifted writer can profess devotion to truth and then compose a

narrative that is largely fiction. Modern standards of historiography make us aware that a narrative such as Thucydides' comprises many thousands of data, of which only a very small fraction can be checked against other relevant evidence. On topographical matters he is sometimes wrong; and when what he says is irreconcilable with what is said by later historians patently drawing on independent sources, we cannot simply assume that he, the master, must be right. No later historians, of course, can be treated as "confirming" him, because they may be drawing on him. He virtually never reveals, let alone discusses, his sources, but expects us to trust him to have put the right questions to his informants and to have pursued them until he got what we would regard as adequate answers. He very often makes firm statements about the hopes, fears, plans, and ambitions of individuals, and it is a failure of historical curiosity on our part if we do not ask, "How did he know?" There is a certain arrogance in his declaration that he begins his history with an account of the causes of the war "so that no one need ever seek to discover how so great a war arose"; little did he know how much would be written in our time on precisely that question.

Historians are necessarily selective, for otherwise their task would never be done, but selection presupposes at least a tentative interpretation, no matter what may be added or subtracted in the definitive interpretation. Given massive evidence, it is easy to discern what underlies a particular historian's selectivity, but our evidence for the Peloponnesian War is far from massive. The most interesting aspect of Thucydides' selectivity is his allocation of space: four lines on the massacre at Scione, six pages for the dialogue between Athenian and Melian negotiators preceding the siege and eventual massacre at Melos. Selection apart, it is suspected that Thucydides on occasion went beyond mere exaggeration, beyond an illegitimate slide from "must have been" to "was", and had recourse to fiction in order to assimilate his narrative to the theatrical unfolding of a Greek tragedy. The implausible role which he consistently assigns to pure chance in the account of the fighting at Pylos (in book 4) is notably vulnerable to this suspicion. However, the evidence that he embraced fiction on that occasion and may possibly have done so on others falls far short of proving that he had any intention of turning historical exposition systematically into myth. A chain of tragic events must necessarily resemble tragedy, and before denying Thucydides the status of historian we would need to discount the immense quantity of down-to-earth details which constitute by far the largest ingredient of his work.

KENNETH DOVER

See also Historiography, Peloponnesian War

Biography

Born to an aristocratic Athenian family which owned gold mines in Thrace, Thucydides fought as a general in 424 BC. After a period of exile he returned to Athens in 404. His history of the Peloponnesian War survives but is incomplete, ending in 411. He died *c.*395 BC.

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Timaeus

Historian of the 4th–3rd centuries BC

Timaeus of Tauromenium in Sicily, a Greek historian of the front rank, was born in the middle years of the 4th century BC and died in the late 260s BC in advanced old age. Naxos, the original home city of his family, was destroyed by Dionysius I of Syracuse in 403 BC. In 358 BC Timaeus' father Andromachus gathered together all the surviving Naxians and settled them at Tauromenium. There Timaeus was born and there he lived until the mid-310s BC when he was exiled by the tyrant Agathocles of Syracuse. He took refuge in Athens where he spent the next 50 years, first studying under a former pupil of Isocrates, and subsequently researching and writing in that city's libraries, for which he was derided by Polybius as a pedant and an armchair historian par excellence. Possibly he died at Athens.

As a preliminary to his historical work he researched (at Olympia) and published a study of Olympic victors to which he appended, apparently in the form of tables, the correspond-

ing sequences of Spartan kings and ephors, Athenian archons, and priestesses of Hera at Argos. Greek chronology at the time was a highly complex and bewildering affair that hampered the task of serious historians. Timaeus' system of reckoning by Olympiads, though by no means perfect, marked a definite advance and was a commendable effort to impose order on chaos. It was adopted by Polybius, who otherwise had no kind words for Timaeus. Though he lived and worked at Athens, like many another émigré, Timaeus' attention was constantly turned towards the country of his origins, his concern as a historian being the history and achievements of western Hellenism. His *Histories*, in 38 books, were a detailed study of the Greeks of the west, of Sicily in particular, from earliest times until the death of Agathocles in 289/88 BC. To this magnum opus he added a further composition that dealt with the wars in Italy against Rome of king Pyrrhus of Epirus, and which brought events in the west in general down to 264 BC. And this therefore became Polybius' starting point.

As one of the earliest and best of Hellenistic historians, Timaeus' work seems to have combined with some success the various strands and tendencies of Greek historical writing that had been developing since the late 6th century BC. Into a framework of straightforward political and military history (what Polybius called a "pragmatic" history) he incorporated much else of diverse nature, very much in the mould of Herodotus and Ephorus. On the other hand, the unwelcome tendency to dramatize, and indeed sensationalize, historical narratives by, for instance, emphasizing and developing further appropriately pathetic elements in a story, a characteristic of much of Hellenistic historiography, appears to have been a feature of Timaeus too. Furthermore, his Sicilian background and experiences clearly conditioned his work and help to explain certain aspects of it that gained its author notoriety. One such aspect was the extreme hostility with which he dealt with the tyrannies of Dionysius I, Dionysius II, and Agathocles at Syracuse, which took up most of the 4th century BC, a most important period for western Hellenism. As Polybius and Diodorus Siculus pointed out, blinded by personal hatred Timaeus seriously distorted the record of history. The other side of the same coin, which Polybius likewise criticized as a falsification of history, was Timaeus' propensity, when the above tyrants and their associates were not involved, to idealize Siceliots and their achievements.

Yet even when his personal feelings were not involved, Timaeus, it would seem, was far readier to censure than to praise, a trait that earned him the epithet (a play on his name) of "Epitimaeus", meaning the "fault-finder". He was not a respecter of persons, the greatest writers and thinkers being criticized alongside persons of humbler accomplishments. The surviving fragments do not enable us to draw any firm conclusions as to his motives, but in some instances certainly a passion for accuracy appears responsible, as when he criticized Ephorus' arithmetic. Diodorus has preserved for us the respective figures for Carthaginian armaments given by Ephorus and Timaeus and we see that in every instance Timaeus' numbers are far more moderate and realistic. The merits of the *Histories*, therefore, outweighed the flaws and it is not surprising that such a detailed and readable account, one moreover set against a firm and lucid chronological framework of Olympiads, quickly established itself as the standard account of western Hellenism and the western Mediterranean in general, and so it remained for centuries. Undoubtedly a contributory factor here was what Timaeus said about Rome. He was not the first Greek historian to refer to Rome, but he was one of the first to appreciate the city's significance and certainly the first to present a fairly detailed and connected account of Rome's early steps on the international scene. As such he exerted considerable influence on Roman historiography.

P.J. STYLIANOU

See also Historiography

Biography

Born in the mid-4th century BC at Tauromenium in Sicily, Timaeus was the son of Andromachus of Naxos who refounded Tauromenium in 358 BC. Timaeus was exiled by Agathocles of Syracuse in the mid-310s and moved to Athens where he studied and wrote his *Histories*, a study of the Greeks of the west in 38 books. He died *c.*260 BC.

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Tinos

Island in the Aegean

The small island of Tinos lies to the northwest of the main group of the Cyclades, with an almost equal distance separating it from Andros to the northwest and Mykonos to the southeast; it has an area of 60 sq km. The interior is hilly, with a major mountain formation, called Mount Tsiknia, rising to 713 m in the east of the island; where crops can be grown, often by means of terracing, it is mainly fertile. The silk grown here was the most prized throughout the Cyclades, and for several centuries in the post-Byzantine period it was exported to Italy and France where it was widely bought as a Tiniot speciality.

According to an early tradition, the island abounded with snakes, and due to this it was known as Ophiousa; by tradition, Poseidon sent storks to eliminate the snakes, and the grateful Tinians built a famous temple dedicated to him. In 480 BC Xerxes forced the islanders to serve in his navy in the war with Greece, but before the battle of Salamis one of their ships was able to desert and tell the Greeks of the Persian plans. "For this reason the Tinians were inscribed upon the tripod at Delphi among those who overthrew the barbarians" (Herodotus, 8. 82). In 378 BC the islanders joined the Athenian

confederation and fell under Macedonian control in 338 BC after the Battle of Chaeronea.

Like most of the Aegean islands Tinos suffered from Arab raids in the 9th and 10th centuries, but medieval sources do not mention the island until 1204, when it appears in the Deed of Partition as being one of the eight islands awarded to the Latin emperor; but Venetians, in the persons of Andrea and Geremia Ghisi, were already in occupational control by 1207 as vassals of the emperor. This association with Venetians was to last longer in the case of Tinos than with any of the other Aegean islands, and it was to be more than 500 years before they finally left, being forced by the Turks to evacuate their castle of Exobourgo only in 1715. The Venetian attitude to their last Aegean colony seems to have been equivocal, because an 18th-century engraving of the castle indicates that its fortifications could not have been extensively modernized, and that their commander could never have been expected to hold it against the overwhelming might of the Turkish forces; yet on his return to Venice he was tried and imprisoned for his act of supposed cowardice. In the peace agreed with the Turks in 1540 Tinos, with Crete, Cyprus, and some of the Ionian islands, had been even then the only Aegean island still to remain in Western hands.

Due to this long Western presence Tinos always had (and continues to have) the largest Roman Catholic population of any of the Aegean islands; in the 17th century their number was greater than all the rest of the Cyclades together. Tinos also came to be linked closely with Mykonos, and for centuries the two islands shared a Latin bishop. Today a large Roman Catholic Neoclassical church (renamed in 1895 as the church of the Sacred Heart), and an Ursuline school for girls at Loutra, remain as evidence of the continued Western involvement here.

Tiniots, both Orthodox and Catholic, became known in the 17th and 18th centuries for their industry and honesty, in contrast to the Naxiots. The islanders took part in the War of Independence with other islands of the Cyclades, but in 1833 their individualism took the form of a minor insurrection against the regency, which resulted in the imposition of martial law. The event that may have ultimately contributed more to the modern fame of Tinos, both within the Hellenic sphere and in the world outside, and has certainly brought substantial wealth to the island, was the "discovery" in 1822 of an icon of the Virgin which is believed to have miraculous powers. It was made by a nun, Pelagia, and every year on 25 March and 15 August the island is visited by thousands of pilgrims coming to honour it, many climbing the street from the harbour to the large church of the Panagia Evangelistria on their knees.

PAUL HETHERINGTON

See also Cyclades

Summary

One of the Cyclades, Tinos was occupied by the Mycenaeans. In antiquity it was said to be famous for snakes. In later periods it was famous for its silk. It was in Venetian hands from 1207 to 1715, longer than any other Aegean island, which accounts for its large Roman Catholic population. It has been a centre of pilgrimage since the "discovery" in 1822 of an icon to which miracle-working powers have been attributed.

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Tiryns

Bronze Age city in the Argolid

Tiryns is described by Homer as "wall-girt" and, in the catalogue of ships, it formed part of the realm of Diomedes, ruler of Argos. The north/south division of the Argive plain that this implies may now be justified on recently expanded evidence of the Bronze Age road system. In myth Tiryns was the seat of Eurystheus who inflicted the 12 labours on Heracles, and thus features in several of Pindar's odes.

The site lies in the southeast of the Argive plain on an isolated limestone knoll rising some 20 m above the surrounding area; it divides naturally into three sections known as the Oberburg, Mittelburg, and Unterburg. Geomorphological work indicates that in the Late Bronze Age the sea lay only 1 km from the foot of the knoll. Tiryns may thus have been the main port for the Argolid at a period when boats were beached rather than moored or anchored. In the 12th century BC the settlement extended widely around the site. Lack of evidence for this feature from earlier periods is thought to be the result of deep deposition from a flash flood that buried the settlement under alluvium. To prevent further inundation an extensive barrage was built higher up the valley to divert the torrent into another streambed. A hill to the southeast has two tholos tombs built into the west face and a series of chamber tombs (15 fully excavated) on the east. Further cemeteries for the 15th to 12th centuries BC remain to be found.

Excavation was begun in 1831 by Friedrich Thiersch and Alexander Rizos Rangabé and continued by Heinrich Schliemann in 1876. From 1884 Schliemann with Wilhelm Dörpfeld carried out a systematic exploration for the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, which continued at intervals until 1929. Restoration of the walls was initiated by the Greek Archaeological Service in the late 1950s and led to discoveries requiring further excavation. In 1965 the DAI resumed its work under the direction of Klaus Kilian; the work of publication and clarification continues despite his early death.

Settlement on the site dates back to the Neolithic period (5th millennium BC) but the earliest architectural remains of importance belong to the Early Helladic period. A round building was built on the top of the citadel; it is considered to be one

of the series of large monumental buildings built for public or elite use in the EH II period (early 3rd millennium BC) but is the only one of this particular type known to date.

The site was continuously occupied but there are only scattered remains of structures before the Mycenaean period. Then a series of major buildings, usually known as palaces, were constructed on the Oberburg and fortifications of Cyclopean type built around each of the three sections of the site. Several features are particularly notable. A room floored with a single slab of limestone is identified as a bathroom. The so-called galleries are passages that led to storerooms, all corbel-vaulted and built within the thickness of the fortification walls. A similar passage, this time curving, led through a bastion to a small west gate. On the west side of the Unterburg two similar passages led through the wall and underground at a distance of *c.*30 m to sumps where water collected, thus affording an emergency supply of water approachable only from within the walls.

In post-Mycenaean times, probably in the Geometric period, the central megaron was divided and a small temple created. This was dedicated to Hera. To the same period may be assigned the final square phase of an altar in the inner courtyard. Well-equipped tombs of the Protogeometric and Geometric periods have been excavated from immediately south of the citadel. A notable find has been identified as a helmet of Protogeometric date. To the Archaic period can be assigned a group of unique votive offerings including terracotta shields painted with scenes of warfare and gorgon masks as well as many more usual small terracotta figures of women. Also of the Archaic period are inscriptions carved on the upper outer face of the stones that roofed the passages leading to the underground water supply. These indicate that the partially destroyed wall was used at this point as seating for the population in an assembly. Tiryns joined with Mycenae in sending troops to fight the Persians at Platea in 479 BC, and a decade later suffered a similar destruction at the hands of the Argives. The population is said to have migrated to Haleis (modern Porto Cheli) at the southern end of the Argive peninsula, where numismatic evidence supports the claim.

Strabo describes Tiryns in terms similar to those he uses for Mycenae, as a site once famous and now without significant habitation. Pausanias mentions only the walls. In Roman times an olive press was constructed inside Tholos I. A small Middle Byzantine church was built over the inner side of the outer wall at the south of the Oberburg. Around it were several graves. Both church and graves as well as a threshing floor that had been built above them were removed in excavation to reveal the Mycenaean site.

The first description of the site by European travellers is by the French envoy de Monceaux in 1668. Around the start of the second Venetian occupation of the Morea (1686), Piero Antonio Pacifico states that the site was barely inhabited; unfortunately he does not give a description. It appears correctly placed on the maps of Barbié de Bocage (late 18th century) and is mentioned by many 19th-century travellers. Among the illustrations that they made, a watercolour by Rottmann (now in the Graphische Sammlung, Munich) and a sketch by Edward Lear (J. Fitton collection) are particularly attractive. Others indulge in a rather Gothic interpretation of the massive masonry.

Finds from all periods, though mainly pottery, are exhibited in Nauplia while the outstanding finds of the Mycenaean period, including frescos, the carved stone base of a throne, and a group of small objects of various dates known as the Tiryns Treasure are on display in the National Museum in Athens. Following structural damage there is only restricted access to the site for visitors.

ELIZABETH FRENCH

See also Mycenaeans

Summary

Located in the southeast of the plain of Argos, Tiryns was inhabited from the Neolithic period. A series of major buildings (palaces) dates from the Mycenaean period when it was (in myth) the seat of Eurystheus. It may have been the port for the Argolid. There are some remains from the Archaic period but Tiryns was destroyed by Argos in the 5th century BC.

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Tobacco

Tobacco was first cultivated in Greece during the early years of 17th century. Because Greece is a mountainous country with a climate marked by long dry periods in summer, the cultivation of tobacco was a natural choice. The regions that are major tobacco producers are Macedonia, Thrace, to a lesser extent Thessaly, and some parts of western Greece where the weather and soil conditions are ideal for the cultivation of the product.

Before the First Balkan War (1912–13), the districts that accounted for much of the production of tobacco were under Turkish occupation and most tobacco farms were in the hands of few Turkish landlords. Many of the landlords were nobles with limited agricultural education. They usually resided in Constantinople or Thessalonica, and had very little knowledge of or interest in the technological developments that might have enabled them to intensify and modernize the cultivation of the product. Absent from their lands, they relied entirely on the uncertain productive capacity of their tenants. These tobacco growers, working under various restrictive practices, inadequately equipped, using traditional methods of cultivation, having to bear various tax abuses and extortionate credit terms, were heavily dependent on weather conditions. There was little incentive to increase tobacco output since any additional profits were unlikely to end up in their pockets. Small

independent tobacco growers, on the other hand, although more efficient as producers, suffered from similar disadvantages and were probably more vulnerable to bad crops than tenants since they were not always self-sufficient in labour, given the manpower that tobacco production requires. The harvest was sold mainly to Greek and foreign merchants, at prices dictated by them, to be exported.

With the annexation of Macedonia to Greece and after the Asia Minor disaster of 1922, a number of laws were passed redistributing most of the fertile land to the impoverished tenants and refugees. The arrival of refugees, many of whom were tobacco growers, resulted in an increase of the skilled labour force and the introduction of modern cultivation methods. The cultivation of tobacco was one of the main activities of the refugees, especially in Macedonia and Thrace. The revenue gained from selling the crop greatly mitigated their hardships in those difficult times and accelerated the restoration of their livelihood in their new home.

The tobacco industry greatly benefited in the early 1930s from an increasing demand for the oriental type of tobacco that Greece produced in large quantities. Prices doubled and tripled in a few years, a development that significantly improved the living conditions for both cultivators and retailers. According to some estimates, 10 per cent of an area cultivated with wheat, if planted with tobacco, could give an export value 10 times greater than the whole of the area under wheat cultivation. Greek firms were gaining ground in the international markets not only with the trading of tobacco but also with the production of cigarettes, at home and abroad.

The presence of Greek cigarette manufacturers in Egypt is particularly notable. The majority of them settled in the country after a monopoly granted by the Porte in 1897 to a firm in Constantinople for the production and sale of tobacco. Egypt had the advantages of a very cheap labour force, easy access to a great variety of Greek and Turkish leaf tobacco needed for the production of superior-quality cigarettes, and a dry climate which, although unsuitable for growing anything but low-quality tobacco, was ideal for processing the imported leaf into cigarettes. Despite their dynamism, the Greek cigarette manufacturers in Greece and abroad before the start of World War II faced a number of internal and external problems such as lack of modernization and fierce competition from foreign capital. Most Greek manufacturers in Egypt in the late 1930s were unable to compete efficiently with the foreign firms and sold their factories. The same to a lesser extent was true of manufacturers in Greece.

Until the early 1930s, state policy with regard to the tobacco industry and the agricultural sector in general suffered from a lack of coordination of means and ends. This reflected in part the emphasis of the national economic policy towards the development of a sufficient industrial base. The tobacco industry was seen only as a source of income, as is evident from a series of laws relating to control of production and tax evasion. Gradually the importance of the tobacco industry, which employed more than a sixth of the working population, was recognized, and the state took measures to support it. One of the plagues from which producers suffered greatly, given the unavailability of credit, was usury. Banks were reluctant to take over the extremely risky business of financing the small farmers, since commerce was a far more remunerative occupation. For this reason, in 1929, the state established the Agricultural Bank of Greece which set favourable credit conditions for farmers in general and tobacco producers in particular.

After World War II the Greek tobacco industry, with its structural inefficiencies (such as the small size of farms for historical reasons and the low level of modernization), suffered a great setback from the changing tastes of the world market. Oriental tobacco went out of fashion and the American blend was preferred, so Greek tobacco farmers lost their competitive advantage as they had specialized in the former. The foundation of cooperatives was promoted in order to resolve the problems of the size of farm holdings and the low bargaining power that individual producers had in the market. In 1957 the National Board for Tobacco was founded in order to implement and coordinate the state policies with respect to the tobacco industry.

The state increasingly supported the tobacco industry and the agricultural sector in general which was important for social as well as economic reasons. The principal objectives with respect to the tobacco industry included the raising and stabilizing of income and living standards of the farming population, the increase of productivity, and the cultivation of new varieties in accordance with international demand. Because of the political influence of the rural population, subsidies and price supports had been used as income aids. Gradually the policy concentrated increasingly upon support for the tobacco producers through intervention in the market rather than through direct income aids. The National Board for Tobacco became the means of supporting tobacco growers by its marketing and trading operations.

The admission of Greece to the EEC (now the European Union) gave tobacco cultivators, through the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP), great benefits and opportunities to modernize their business in order to compete more efficiently in the marketplace. But the CAP failed to achieve its targets not only because of the farmers' complacency but also because of an escalating antismoking campaign and changing consumer tastes. Nowadays, the Greek tobacco industry is gradually losing the subsidies provided by the state and the CAP as the result of World Trade Organization treaties, and it faces its greatest challenge. If radical measures are not taken soon, the economic survival of tobacco cultivators in Greece without any state support is questionable.

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See also Agriculture, Industry

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Tourism

Tourism, in the sense of travel undertaken for pleasure, was probably not a common feature of ancient Greece, or in fact of the ancient world as a whole, where the conditions of travel must generally have been far from pleasant. Poor and dangerous roads, uncomfortable inns, expensive and inconvenient transport, and rampant piracy must all have contributed to discourage travel as a pastime.

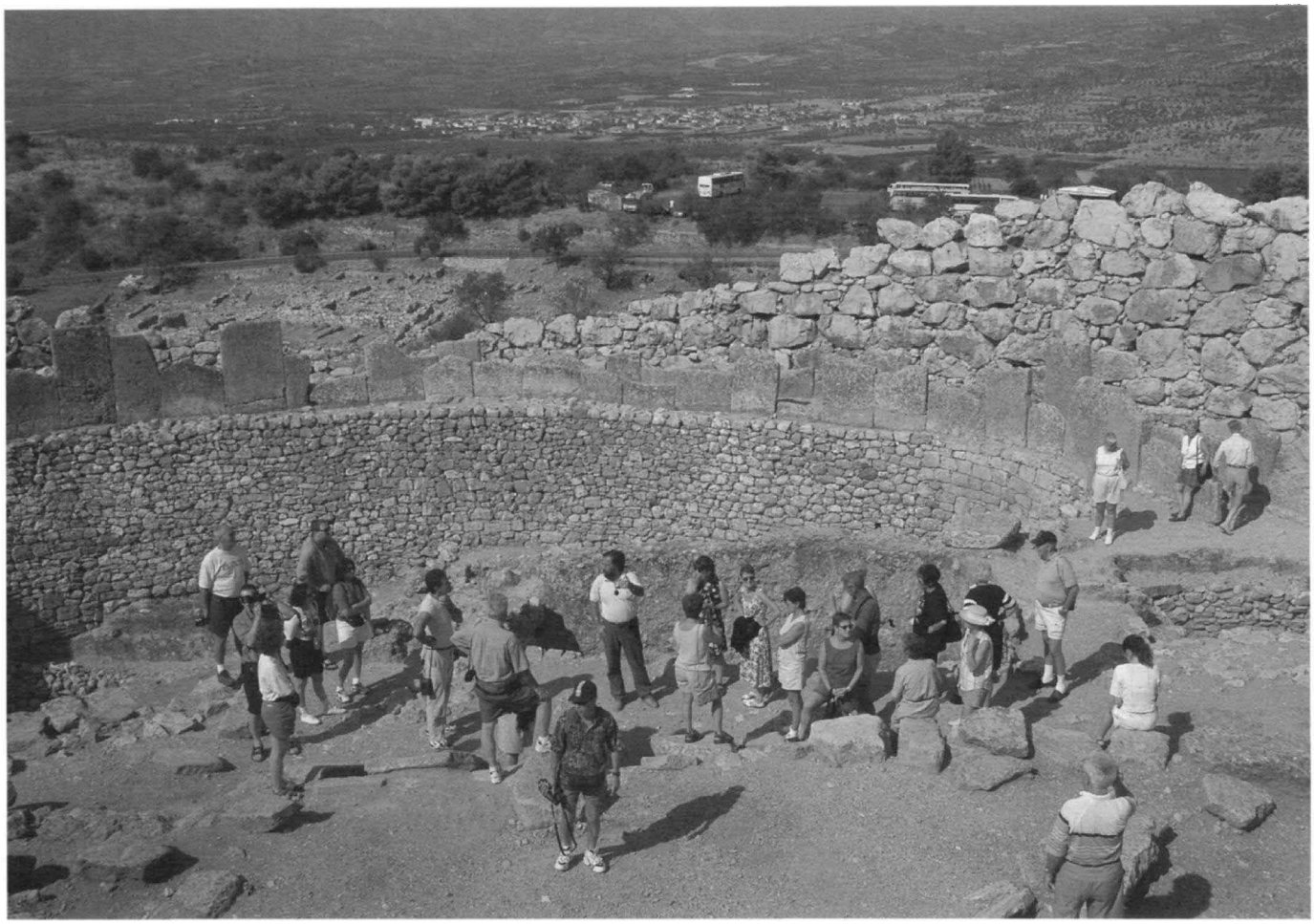
Ancient travellers, however, the wealthy ones in particular, shared many of the objectives of tourism as we know it today: rest, recreation and relaxation, education, religious, cultural, and aesthetic experience, sports, food, shopping, and social contact. They may have retreated to the mountains or the seaside in summer to get away from the congestion or the boredom of the city, as suggested, for instance, by Lucretius (*De Rerum Natura*, 3. 1301–1318). Others probably visited curative thermal spas in search of relief from ill health. In the absence of diplomatic establishments, they relied on guest-friendships between families of different regions.

Although mass tourism is a relatively modern phenomenon, travellers throughout the ages have reacted as tourists, whatever the original purpose of their journeys may have been. From early times seaborne trade, in particular, was closely associated with sightseeing, even though the Greeks, at least those of the Homeric epics, did not show much enthusiasm for seagoing. Yet Odysseus, the ancient traveller par excellence, was admired as one who had seen many cities and visited many nations. Roman country estates and watering places and medieval centres of religious pilgrimage no doubt represent the small beginnings of a tourist industry. Some of the spas frequented by the Romans attracted pleasure seekers as centres of luxury, gambling, and high living. Due to its prestige as a cultural centre Athens, even after losing political importance, continued to attract Romans with pretensions to learning. The Greek and Latin graffiti on pharaonic monuments and the papyrus (*Tebtunis Papyri*, 1902–38, 1. 33, p. 58 in Bagnall and Derow's edition) detailing instructions to prepare for a Roman senator's visit to the Fayum prove that in Roman Egypt sightseeing had come into its own. Memphis and the Fayum, Thebes, and the Valley of the Kings were popular destinations. On the Nile the Ptolemies employed great luxurious houseboats known as *thalamegi*. With the growing popularity of Panhellenic sanctuaries and the growth of academically prestigious centres, travel for spiritual and intellectual purposes must have become more common; in any case, sightseeing received monumental conceptualization in the idea of the seven wonders of the world. These consisted of the greatest achievements of ancient technology, architecture, and art known to Greek and Roman writers, which were visited during the Hellenistic age and remained the most famous attractions of the Roman world. The list first appeared around 130 BC in a poem by Antipater of Sidon included in the *Greek Anthology*, and a treatise on the subject (probably from the time of the Roman empire) has been attributed to the engineer Philo of Byzantium (*fl.* 146 BC). The canon originally consisted of the pyramids of Giza in Egypt, the city walls of Babylon, the hanging gardens of Babylon, the temple of Artemis at Ephesus, the statue of Zeus at Olympia, the Mausoleum at Hallicarnassus, and the colossus of Rhodes. Listings from Pliny's time onwards generally substitute the Pharos lighthouse at Alexandria for the city walls of Babylon.

One of the earliest Greeks known to have gone abroad (at least ostensibly) for the purpose of seeing the world was the Athenian statesman and poet Solon (*c.*640–*c.*558 BC). Although he belonged to an aristocratic family, he was poor in his young days and travelled as a merchant to enrich himself. But after promulgating his laws he travelled to Egypt and Lydia as a tourist (Herodotus, 1. 30). Herodotus (*c.*480–*c.*425 BC) himself travelled widely in order to gather material for his *Histories*. He was intrigued by the customs of Egypt, where nothing was done as in Greece. His theme was the conflict between the Greeks and the Persians, and he personally visited many of the regions that made up the Persian empire. He was preceded in this respect by the geographer Hecataeus of Miletus (*fl.* *c.*500 BC) who compiled a book entitled *Journey round the World* (*Periodos Ges*), a sort of itinerary, based partly on his own travels, in which he described countries, their inhabitants and customs, animals, and curiosities, and included local fables. A map (which may have been an improvement on an earlier one by Anaximenes) was appended to it. The authenticity of this book, which survives only in fragments, has sometimes been questioned, but is now generally accepted. Fragmentary also is the descriptive work *On the Cities in Greece* by Heraclides Criticus of the 3rd century BC (ed. F. Pfister, 1951). The Roman elite, and above all emperors, pursued travel as a pastime. Hadrian (AD 117–38), a Hellenist who spoke Greek better than Latin, travelled in all the provinces, and built at Tivoli near Rome a vast villa in which the finest buildings he had seen on his travels were reproduced on a small scale.

The only work of ancient travel literature that has come down to us in its entirety is the *Description of Greece* (*Hellados Periegesis*) of Pausanias who, in the middle of the 2nd century AD, travelled throughout the Greek mainland visiting the principal cities (including Athens) and religious sanctuaries such as Olympia and Delphi. His work is a guidebook for tourists, in which he describes in succession various parts of Greece, and he enumerates their most worthy possessions including statues, pictures, tombs, and sanctuaries, giving their etymology, narrating anecdotes, legends, and historical episodes. He related in detail what he saw, and his book is particularly valuable for information about Classical works of art and buildings no longer extant. He also provides much information about customs, religion, and social life in Greece under the Roman empire. He mentions rivers, roads, and villages, curious customs and superstitions, but references to scenery and natural products are rare, and he shows little interest in economic aspects of the country or in its inhabitants.

The extirpation of piracy by Pompey and Augustus and the unification of the Roman empire by the latter gave greater security to travel, though it was still vulnerable to weather conditions, the menace of robbers and brigands, and the many discomforts of ancient transport. The development of travel necessitated the growth of infrastructure, which in its turn encouraged voluntary travel by the provision of support in the form of inns, eating places, etc., though the elite often preferred to rely on reciprocal hospitality. Travelling for pleasure was no doubt enhanced by geographical writing which grew in parallel with mobility in general.



Tourism: a group of visitors view the remains of Mycenae

There was a marked shrinking of the scope of travel in the Byzantine world after the 7th century and the horizons of mobility rarely spread beyond Baghdad in the east, Alexandria in the south, France in the west, and the northern coast of the Black Sea, although we occasionally hear of journeys to India, the Baltic regions, and England. Although Constantinople was visited by travellers from the east and the west (especially after the 11th century), the Byzantines themselves did not travel much. The travellers mainly comprised merchants, officers on government business, ambassadors, and pilgrims and patients visiting shrines of healing. Travel was rarely undertaken for education or pleasure. In the *Lives* of saints we hear of monks travelling to Jerusalem or Rome. Unlike merchants, however, who preferred to travel in groups employing professional ass drivers, these holy men liked to travel by themselves or in pairs. Travellers went on foot or rode horses, mules, or donkeys, or carts drawn by horses and oxen, and the rich were sometimes carried on a litter. But the preferred mode of travel was by ship, which was easier, faster, and cheaper. The travel literature of the period concentrated mainly on Palestine, Egypt, Constantinople, and Rome. It comprised mainly *hodoiporiai* or guidebooks for pilgrims and descriptions of pilgrimages. Their interest was largely directed to religious monuments and relics, sometimes including tales of wonder-working, accounts of diplomatic missions, and the adventures of captives.

In more recent times tourism has been encouraged by changes in aesthetic thought that awakened fresh enthusiasm for the beauties of untamed nature. This change was accompanied by a newfound enthusiasm for antiquity and its ruins and remains. Thus, in 1788 the 72-year-old Abbé Jean-Jacques Barthélémy published, after working on it for 30 years, *Voyage du jeune Anacharsis en Grèce*, which purported to describe the physical appearance, antiquities, institutions, customs, and coins of Greece in the 4th century BC as seen by a Scythian traveller. Much of its success was due to its vividly detailed topographical descriptions, but its author had never set foot in Greece. The clear and intense sunlight of Greece was one of the favourite topics of the numerous visitors to the country in the 19th century who recorded their experiences in an unprecedented proliferation of travel memoirs.

This romantic sensibility stimulated the craving for viewing and sightseeing that is the prerequisite for the evolution of modern tourism. Thanks to the industrial revolution long-distance travel has become comfortable and attractive through safer and faster modes of transport on both land and sea, and Greece and the Greek islands are among today's most popular holiday resorts and centres of tourism.

Tourism has benefited many of Greece's industries, chief among them being the service industry. Since the 1950s many hotels have been built to cater for the rapid increase in tourism. Athens, which is one of the most historic cities in the world,

attracts about 90 per cent of all travellers to the country at some point in their stay. In 1998 nearly 11 million foreign visitors came to Greece, the greatest numbers coming from (in descending order) Germany (some 2.1 million), the United Kingdom, Italy, the Netherlands, and France (nearly half a million). The most popular primary destinations for these visitors were (in descending order) Rhodes (with nearly 9 million), Herakleion, the remaining Dodecanese (excluding Rhodes), Athens, and Corfu (with just over 3 million).

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See also Travel

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Town Planning

In the Neolithic settlement of Chirokitia on Cyprus (*c.*5500 BC) we encounter one of the first examples of a street. It runs uphill from the bank of the Maroniou river, crosses the settlement, and descends on the opposite side. In modernday Athens archaeologists can trace the path of ancient roads under some of the paved streets. Clearly streets are among the earliest signs of town-planning efforts, underscoring the element of continuity in human settlements. Our experience of the urban environment, however, is not limited to the street layout and its two-dimensional representation on a map. Towns also gain their character from their governing institutions, their civic and religious buildings, their residential quarters, their open spaces, the goods they produce and trade, and their relationship to the surrounding regions.

The plan of ancient Athens, one of the best-studied cities of antiquity, was largely consolidated in the 6th century BC. At that time the Acropolis, once a defensive fort, became dedicated to the deities, and the first administrative buildings were erected in the Agora, the city's political and social centre. By the end of the 6th century BC the Agora defined a quadrilateral area, bounded by magnificent buildings. Other public works were carried out throughout the city, including water and sewer networks. A new road system was established, originating from the Agora. Outside the city there existed three gymnasia, for the military, athletic, and academic training, respectively, of the male youth. Urban legislation, dating also from the 6th century BC, forbade burials inside the city and controlled new building, while the city architect was charged with the maintenance of temples and other public structures. There was, therefore, an already established town-planning tradition that dictated the city's urban affairs, even though the street network remained irregular – "Attic", as it was often called – following closely the site's topography, rather than a prescribed orthogonal geometry. After the destruction of Athens by the Persians in 480 BC the Athenians could have redesigned their city in a regular manner. Instead, they adhered to tradition and rebuilt it along the same lines, this time surrounding it by a new set of walls. The Persians were finally defeated in 479 BC and the Athenian statesman Pericles marked this victory by initiating a completely new building programme on the Acropolis, with the erection of the Parthenon (447–432 BC), the Erechtheum (421–405 BC), and the temple to Athena Nike (427–424 BC), all dedicated to the goddess Athena.

Unlike Athens, the city of Miletus in Asia Minor, which was also destroyed by the Persians, was rebuilt in 479 BC following a regular plan of orthogonal blocks. Possibly the earlier settlement there was also regular. One of its residents, Hippodamus, who was fairly young at the time, might have participated in the city's rebuilding. Later he undertook the design of Piraeus (*c.*460 BC), Thurii in southern Italy (444–43 BC), and, allegedly, of Rhodes in 408–407 BC. In 432 BC the city of Olynthus in Chalcidice was laid out according to the Hippodamian manner. Its grid of parallel and perpendicular streets defined mostly identical building blocks, with some variations among the individual property lots.

Hippodamus is the only architect and planner whose name has come down to us from Greek antiquity. He certainly did not invent regular, orthogonal planning, since there are several earlier examples of regularly planned settlements from around the world. Greek colonial settlements in southern Italy and Asia Minor also adhered to regular, orthogonal planning. According to Aristotle:

> he was the first who, not being actually engaged in the management of public affairs, set himself to inquire what sort of government was best; and he planned a city state, consisting of 10,000 persons, divided into three parts, one consisting of artisans, another of husbandmen, and the third of soldiers; he also divided the lands into three parts, and allotted one to sacred purposes, another to the public, and the third to individuals.
>
> (Politics, 2. 8)

Hippodamus was one of the first urban theorists and philosophers to reflect on the relationship between a society and its

urban environment. His legacy has been associated primarily with regularly planned cities, made up of streets that follow an orthogonal grid.

According to Plutarch, Alexander the Great founded approximately 70 new cities. After his death his successors continued to establish numerous new cities in northern Greece, Egypt, Asia Minor, and Anatolia. They all followed the regular, Hippodamian plan, the simplicity of which facilitated expeditious settlement and land allocation. Thessalonica, an important Hellenistic centre, was founded by Cassander in 316 BC, and laid out in orthogonal building blocks measuring 100 ¥ 50 m. Two major east–west roads, on the site of modern Agiou Dimitriou and Egnatia Streets, traversed the city and led to the city gates. Open public areas contained the ancient agora, a sacred precinct, a stadium, a gymnasium, and a Serapeum. The modern city was redesigned after a catastrophic fire in 1917, but a careful examination of the pre-1917 plan allows us to recognize the Hellenistic grid that ordered it originally. Other prominent Hellenistic cities included Alexandria in Egypt, Pergamum and Priene in Asia Minor, and Damascus, Palmyra, and Dura Europus in modern Syria.

We can also gather significant information on the town-planning practices of the Hellenistic period from *De Architectura*, the only surviving architectural treatise from antiquity. Written by the Roman architect Vitruvius (*c.*90–*c.*20 BC), it makes reference to famous Greek architects and their building methods. Vitruvius outlined site considerations for a new city: healthy location, moderate climate, protection from hot winds, and examination of the animals living on the site. "I cannot too strongly insist upon the need of a return to the method of old times", he wrote. "Our ancestors, when about to build a town or an army post, sacrificed some of the cattle that were wont to feed on the site proposed and examined their livers" (*De Architectura*, 1. 4).

After Greece became a Roman province in 146 BC, some of its cities became the beneficiaries of imperial building programmes, while others fell into oblivion. In Athens under Julius Caesar and Augustus the Roman Agora and the Library of Hadrian – both structures located east of the ancient Greek Agora – were erected. Hadrian, the philosopher-emperor (AD 117–38), endowed Athens with a number of buildings and laid the foundations for a new city, Hadrianopolis, on the site of the modern National Garden, Zappeion, and Constitution Square. As a sign of gratitude, the Athenians erected a dedicatory triumphal arch that marked the city of Theseus, on one side, and the city of Hadrian, on the other side. Roman town planning was also based on an orthogonal grid, punctuated by the *cardo* and *decumanus*, the two main streets meeting at right angles at the Roman forum. Thessalonica, which retained its Hellenistic grid, enjoyed a building boom in the years of the Antonines (end of the 2nd century AD), as is evident from the Roman forum, the stoa of the Incantadas, the exedra, and other epigraphic evidence. Also significant is the imperial complex of Galerius Maximianus, built around AD 305, in the southeastern part of the Roman city. It consists of the Rotunda, the arch of Galerius, the palace, the octagon building, and the hippodrome. The north–south axis of the complex follows the orientation of the already established street network.

During the Byzantine era most cities preserved their earlier street network and continued to maintain their public buildings, often adding new structures that included aqueducts, cisterns, baths, hospitals, and churches. New defensive city walls were erected, protecting not only the urban but also the rural population in case of enemy attacks. The ancient Greek gymnasia, stadia, and theatres were gradually replaced by the hippodrome. Used for race tracks but also for political meetings and rallies, the hippodrome came to replace the ancient Greek agora. Eventually, the singular focus of the ancient agora was superseded by the multiple focal points of the neighbourhood, the parish churches. Parishes became administrative divisions that were preserved in the subsequent Ottoman period and are in effect to this day.

Important Byzantine urban centres such as Thessalonica maintained their significance under Ottoman rule. Although the street network was not altered, cities acquired an Ottoman physiognomy with the addition of new religious and civic buildings. The outlines of the minarets and the prominently positioned mosques signalled to both visitors and residents the presence of a new political and religious power. Baths, khans, caravanserais, poorhouses, fountains, and coffee shops brought together the diverse population and forged a common lifestyle among them. Travellers during the Ottoman period were often unable to distinguish between the houses of Christian and Muslim inhabitants. Travelling building groups were responsible for the most complicated structures – bridges, inns, etc. These groups often worked throughout the empire and adapted their building vocabulary to regional practices, working for both Christian and Muslim patrons.

The War of Independence (1821–27) and subsequent formation of the modern Greek kingdom in 1833 marked a break with the existing conditions. Originally, the new kingdom did not contain any of the major urban centres of the Greek world, namely Thessalonica, Ioannina, Constantinople, Smyrna, and Alexandria. The liberated territory was primarily agrarian, none of its small towns and villages containing more than 15,000 inhabitants. Following the destruction of the war, many of these settlements had been ruined or abandoned, the population seeking refuge in the countryside. One of the main intentions of the 19th-century administrations was the establishment of a unified, rational, urban network throughout the country, initiated by the capital and comparable to prevailing western models. Newly imposed grid lines sought to erase most historical particularities of existing towns and villages that had developed along irregular street systems. Planning legislation also aimed at establishing homogeneity among the rebuilt or newly built towns and villages. The territorial expansions of the state in 1864 and 1881 offered further opportunities for regularized town-planning projects, while generous contributions from wealthy Greeks of the diaspora endowed the capital and other cities with new and imposing civic buildings. By the end of the 19th century more than 170 plans were approved for the foundation of new towns and the restructuring of existing ones. Planning alone, however, did not guarantee a town's economic and cultural prominence. The cities that flourished the most were well-established commercial centres such as Piraeus, Athens, Patras, and Hermoupolis.

In the 20th century the borders of Greece expanded to incorporate Macedonia, western Thrace, and the Dodecanese,

while its population grew dramatically after the arrival of 1.2 million Greek refugees, mainly from Asia Minor. The urgent needs for housing and accommodation dictated the state's planning efforts, while the powerful post-1960s wave of urbanization tested the state's ability to control and direct future growth. The issues facing Greek planners today are global, rather than regional or national. Cities and towns have to accommodate local, immigrant, and transient populations, balance the needs of economic growth with the protection of the natural and cultural environments, and pursue the goals of a unified Europe while showing respect for local histories, traditions, and aspirations.

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See also Cities, Urbanization

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Trade

Trade has always played an important role in the economic and social life of Greece. The earliest evidence for some kind of formal trade (both national and international) comes from the Bronze Age, when the Minoans and the Mycenaeans were interacting with Asia Minor, Cyprus, the Levant, Egypt, and Italy. This is mainly attested by several exotic materials found on Crete and the Greek mainland and by Aegean pottery found in the areas mentioned above. In addition, there are numerous references in Egyptian 18th-Dynasty sources to "Keftiu", which appears to be the equivalent of Caphtor and to be associated with Crete and the Aegean. Whether these exchanges were palace-administered or "free-enterprise" is not easy to say. The Linear B tablets (in the Mycenaean script) do not even mention the word "trade" but the shipwrecks of Ulu Burun and Cape Gelidonya (off the Turkish coast) indicate that some sort of free entrepreneurs were "tramping" from port to port, making various goods available to Greeks, Cypriots, Syrio-Palestinians, and Egyptians. Both the Minoans and the Mycenaeans mainly imported luxury goods such as gold, ivory, ostrich eggs, and lapis lazuli, but also copper, which was very important for them.

After the fall of the Mycenaean civilization around 1200 BC these exchanges did not cease completely, but became less organized than previously. The period from 1200 to 800 BC, which is widely known as the Greek Dark Ages, is considered as a time of poverty, isolation, and illiteracy. One would therefore expect a complete breakdown of such exchanges. The sites of Lefkandi in Euboea and Knossos in Crete, however, have yielded large numbers of high-value Near Eastern imports such as gold jewellery and ivory objects, indicating frequent contacts with the eastern Mediterranean.

It is not a coincidence that the Euboeans were the first Greeks to establish colonies in the west (such as Pithekoussai) and to participate in the development of multinational emporia in the east (Al Mina) during the 8th century BC. The commodities most sought after in the west were metals – iron, copper, and tin. Soon other Greek cities, such as Corinth, Rhodes, and Chios, founded colonies in the west (mainly in southern Italy and Sicily). These colonies, although politically independent, still kept close trade links with their mother city.

By 600 BC Greek trade was flourishing, mainly due to the establishment of permanent trading posts in Egypt (Naucratis), the Levant, and Etruria. In Greece some of the most important trading cities were Corinth, Megara, and the island of Aegina. It was during this time that Athens started to develop as a major commercial centre. The distribution of black-figure ware is the clearest indication of the growth of Athenian trade. In the period 560–520 BC Attic pottery reached most of the Aegean islands, Asia Minor, Cyprus, the coasts of the Black Sea, Egypt, southern Italy, Sicily, and southern France. The most important Athenian import was corn.

The conquest of the east by Alexander the Great in the 4th century BC widened the field of operation open to Greek trade. His successors carried exploration even further and we see, for example, the Seleucids securing the route to India and the Ptolemies encouraging the development of the trade route around southern Arabia. The most traded goods were grain from Egypt and the Crimea, silk from China, gold from Nubia, silver from Asia Minor and Iberia, wine from north Syria, and slaves. Most of our information about trade patterns during the Hellenistic period comes from the distribution of large pottery containers known as amphorae which survive in huge numbers and whose handles used to be stamped with a state's symbol. Many of them are Rhodian and are found in Alexandria. From this we can infer that Rhodes was a major exporter of liquids, with Alexandria being a major recipient.

By the 2nd century BC Delos had become one of the most important commercial centres, especially after 166 BC when the Romans made it a free port. Unfortunately, the most traded commodity was slaves, something that attracted large numbers of Roman businessmen there. It is said that tens of thousands of slaves could pass through Delos in a single day.

During the Byzantine era trade increased. Few cities have enjoyed so magnificent a commercial site as the capital of the empire, Constantinople, located on the sea channel between the Aegean and the Black Sea and the land bridge between

Europe and Asia. From the earliest years of the Byzantine empire most of its emperors took a keen interest in trade. Especially from the 5th century onwards, emperors such as Anastasius and Justinian managed to gain control of the most sensitive areas for trade near the Red Sea. By the 6th century Byzantium had become the principal intermediary between east and west. The main trade goods were silk from China, aloes, cloves, and sandalwood from Indo-China, pepper from Calliara, various herbs from India, and precious stones from Sri Lanka. It was the trade in silk, however, that made the Byzantine empire so wealthy. All these goods arrived at Constantinople both by land and by sea. The land route passed through Persia and the sea route through Sri Lanka. Most of the goods were carried by Abyssinian ships to the Red Sea, and from there by imperial ships to the Byzantine customs station at Jotabe near Suez.

In the 9th and 10th centuries Byzantine trade was at its height. Far Eastern and Indian goods continued to reach Constantinople in large quantities. At the same time, trade with the north started to develop. Furs, dried fish, amber, and slaves were the main imports from Russia and central Europe. In the west Bari was the principal Byzantine trading post. Gradually, however, the Italian merchant fleets took over, and by the end of the 10th century the Adriatic was in the hands of the Venetians.

The 11th century marked the beginning of the decline of Byzantine trade. The Seljuks conquered most of Asia Minor, destroying the organization and infrastructure of the imperial commerce in the area. Norman invaders captured important trade centres such as Corinth and Thebes and carried off silkworms to Italy, breaking the Byzantine monopoly. Finally, the crusades changed the trade routes of the east, to the detriment of Constantinople. Goods no longer travelled through the Byzantine capital but were shipped at the ports of Latin Syria and carried by the Italians directly to the west, avoiding the customs dues of the empire. After that, Byzantine trade never managed to recover.

After the fall of Constantinople in 1453 and for the next two centuries Greek merchants mostly interacted with central Europe and especially Austria, Hungary, Serbia, and Romania. During the 16th century the most traded goods were cotton, wine, and tobacco, which were mainly distributed by the Macedonian traders located in Budapest and Temesvar. This Greek presence in central Europe had some very important implications for the Greek economy. The inflow of money from these traders back to their places of origin stimulated the underdeveloped mountainous areas of the Greek mainland, and created opportunities for further development. For example, in areas such as Epirus and western Macedonia, small cities started to develop that gradually became commercial and cultural centres.

For the 18th century most of the information available to us comes from the French archives. The most common Greek exports were agricultural products and especially grain and cotton from the Peloponnese and Crete. Imports consisted of industrial products mainly coming from western Europe, food supplies from Russia, and wax from Romania.

In the 19th century and during the reign of king Otho foreign trade flourished. According to Thiersch (quoted in Christopoulos, 1970–79), in 1832 Greece had a merchant fleet consisting of 2000 ships and about 30,000 families working in the business. The main trade centres were Nauplia and the islands of Spetsae, Syros, and Hydra. In the years 1855–60 a new increase in trade occurred. Corinthian raisins were the primary export, with Britain being the main recipient. Greece imported iron from Britain, timber from Austria, cereals from Turkey, and coffee from France. From 1858 onwards it started to export large quantities of wine and olive oil, mainly to Russia, Austria, and Turkey.

Greek trade experienced some growth during 1906–07, a slight fall during 1908–09, and a new rise in 1910. At the same time, the Greek merchant fleet acquired large numbers of steamships. In 1915 it consisted of 475 steamships with a capacity of about 893,650 tons; it was the 11th largest fleet in the world with 2 per cent of world tonnage. During World War I and despite the great difficulties, the Greek merchant fleet not only survived but produced huge profits. It is estimated that in a normal year the Greek merchant fleet produced profits of about 30 million francs (the common currency of Greek trade at the time). In the first year and a half of the war profits rose to about 200 million francs. After the end of the war, Greek trade continued to grow both in quantity and in value. The main exports were tobacco, raisins, olive oil, and wine which accounted for 75 per cent of the total exports during 1919–23. The main destinations were Britain, the United States, and Germany. Imports consisted of cereals, linen, coal, and metals, with the United States being the main supplier.

During the early 1930s a new trade policy was implemented in Greece. Its basic principal was that imports should be paid for by the profits from exports. Under this system, known as "clearing", Greece imported goods only from those countries that accepted Greek products of the same value. By 1936 76.5 per cent of Greek trade was carried out in this way. The period from 1940 to 1950 was very problematic for Greek trade due to World War II and the Civil War that followed. By the early 1960s, however, the total volume of Greek foreign trade had increased by more than 50 per cent over that of the 1930s. Exports still consisted mainly of agricultural products (about 81 per cent of all exports in 1963) and imports mainly of industrial products such as machinery and transportation equipment. During that period Greece was heavily dependent on eastern Europe for trade expansion.

The acceptance of Greece into the European Economic Community (EEC) in 1981 offered significant economic improvement through wider markets for Greek products. Exports now included textiles, clothing, fruits, and vegetables, primarily going to Germany, Italy, and France. Imports included crude petroleum, ships and boats, and chemicals, mainly from Germany, Japan, Italy, and Saudi Arabia. Since the early 1970s Greek-owned merchant shipping has ranked first in the world fleet in terms of tonnage, a distinction it still holds today with 16 per cent of world tonnage.

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See also Colonization, Ships and Shipping, Slavery

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Tragedy

Greek tragedy matured in Attica in the 5th century BC. With one possible exception, all of the surviving plays date from this time and were written by Athenians for competitive performance at dramatic festivals, notably the City (or Great) Dionysia (from at least the end of the 6th century BC) and the Lenaea (from the 430s BC). There were also performances at the Rural Dionysia. Productions were not confined to Attica and there are traditions that earlier forms of tragedy originated in the northern Peloponnese. The main festivals were important civic and political occasions with a strong religious framework expressed in sacrifice, ritual, and processions. There were performances of dithyramb and comedy as well as tragedy. The tragedy competition was part of the Athenian culture of public display, also evidenced in the gymnasium, law courts, and Assembly. Each contestant entered a trilogy followed by a satyr play. Judges were selected by lot from across the tribes and their votes were delivered by secret ballot. Victories were listed in public records (*didaskalia*). These records, although fragmentary, help with dating.

The origins of tragedy are somewhat obscure. Aristotle (*Poetics*) put forward an analysis that has strongly influenced subsequent debate. He suggested that early tragedy was improvised by the leading performers of the dithyramb, a choral song and dance in honour of Dionysus, and that it was also influenced by the satyr play. Aristotle also gives an account of 5th-century BC developments affecting staging, the balance between choral and spoken words, and the increase in the number of actors from two to three. He emphasized the concept of the tragic hero and argued that tragedy inspired in the audience the emotions of pity (for suffering that was largely undeserved) and fear (because the hero represented the human condition). As a result, the audience would experience catharsis or relief of these emotions, tempered by a sense of satisfaction at recognizing and learning about moral and spiritual truths.

This combination of powerful emotions and the political context of popular democracy was thought by Plato to be dangerous. In the *Republic* he associated tragedy with his criticisms of poetry, especially Homer. Drama and poetry were to be banished from education in Plato's ideal state because he thought that they were concerned with representation rather than reality. He held that their appeal to the imagination and their portrayal of the extremes of divine and human behaviour were morally and politically subversive.

Greek tragedy is a prime example of the theatre of convention. These conventions cover staging, subject matter, and form. The main contextual conventions are that the plays were staged in large, open-air theatres as part of a performance culture embedded in civic and religious life. All actors were male. The City Dionysia had a tradition of competition by choruses. The financing of the chorus (including its maintenance and training) was undertaken as a liturgy (or public service) by a wealthy citizen, appointed by the eponymous archon who also chose the three tragedians who were to be "granted a chorus". The visual nature of the theatre spectacle, with its large audiences (perhaps in excess of 14,000 at the major festivals), had considerable impact on performance styles, especially masks, costume, gesture, and movement. The archaeological evidence for the orchestra, the part of the theatre where the chorus performed, between the stage and the audience, dates from the 4th-century BC theatre at Epidaurus. In the 5th century BC the stage and its buildings (*skene*) were probably wooden with steps down to the orchestra. Stage machinery for tragedy included the *ekkyklema*, a wheeled platform for set-piece displays (such as Sophocles' Ajax surrounded by the carcasses of the animals he had slaughtered in mistake for the Greek leaders). The *mechane*, a crane, enabled "flying" entrances and exits of the gods. Literary sources and vase paintings suggest that masks had stock features according to the character represented. Taken together, masks and the size of the theatre precluded the use of facial expression, thus putting more emphasis on grand gesture, costume, music, and choreography, as well as on the rhetorical force of the dialogue. Masks also facilitated the doubling of roles.

The subject matter of tragedy was also bound by conventions. With one exception all the surviving plays are based on stories from myth. These were part of the common culture of Greece, expressing values often shaped by the Homeric poems and transmitted by the rhapsodes' performance of epic, particularized in vase painting and sculpture, and given local associations through cult. However, these myths, with their stories about the relationships between gods and heroes and their dilemmas of rivalry, revenge, murder, and betrayal in peace and war, were not presented by tragedians as fixed icons of the past. They were reworked and reinterpreted and, because of their indeterminate historical provenance, they provided a distanced but culturally influential setting for the exploration of suffering and the examination of moral and religious imperatives. The selection of particular myths and contrasts in the ways in which they were treated provide important insights into changes in attitude and artistic aims as well as a commentary on Greek perceptions of the relation of myth to the contemporary world and its problems. The surviving exception (others are lost) to the convention of mythological setting is Aeschylus' *Persians* (472 BC), which depicts the aftermath to the Persian defeat by the Greeks at the Battle of Salamis, although the Persian setting maintains the remoteness from Athens that is a feature of most tragedy. A striking feature of tragedy, created in a society that subordinated and marginalized women, is that a significant proportion of the protagonists are female (e.g. Antigone, Medea, Hecuba) and that issues of gender and power are presented from a variety of perspectives.

The formal conventions within which the plays were constructed also served to distance tragedy from over-ready identification with everyday life. Of these conventions, the most important are the chorus, the various types of verbal

Tragedy: a performance of Euripides' *Suppliant Women* at one of the Delphic Festivals staged by Angelos Sikelianos and Eva Palmer, late 1920s

exchange, and the lament. The chorus consisted of 12 or 15 singers and dancers who performed in the orchestra, providing for the audience a collective mediation of the moral and religious implications of the action of the tragedy. Their entry song (*parodos*) was supplemented by lyric exchanges with the actors and by the choral ode (*stasimon*). Reconstruction of the music and dance in tragedy is speculative and so presentation of the chorus has been difficult for modern productions, especially those that take place in a commercial or studio theatre. There were normally five choral performances in a tragedy and the episodes between these were the focus of sung or spoken exchanges. These might include the narration, often in a messenger speech, of vital events, including violence, which by convention took place off stage. Even more important was the formal debate or *agon* between two main characters. This usually included the dramatic device of *stichomythia*, in which actors spoke alternate lines or pairs of lines. Conventionally, a sung lament (*kommos*) expressed the pent-up emotions produced by the dramatic tension and the suffering of the hero. The ways in which these formal conventions are refined or varied provide significant insights into the work of the different writers.

Major parts of the work of three 5th-century BC tragedians have been preserved, while others are represented only by fragments. Aeschylus has seven plays extant and records indicate that he gained 13 victories. Sophocles wrote more than 120 plays and won at least 20 victories, 18 of them at the City Dionysia. Seven plays survive. Euripides had a less consistent record, with four victories at the Dionysia. He wrote about 90 plays, of which 19 survive.

The reception and transmission of tragedy in antiquity from the 4th century BC onwards shaped the responses of later ages. Fifth-century plays were performed and read in the 4th, when there was legislation to prevent wholesale changes to the text. In 386 BC a competition for revivals was established at the City Dionysia, but the 4th century BC also included important new work, and tragedians such as Archestratus, Astydamas, Carcinus, Chaeremon, and Theodectes are either mentioned by Aristotle or were themselves the subject of revivals in the 3rd century BC. The "family" archives of theatre practitioners were a significant means of preserving previously unperformed plays and an influential feature of the widespread demand for performance was the development of powerful guilds for actors (Craftsmen or Artists of Dionysus) with their own institutions and privileges.

Adding to the early demand for Athenian tragedy in Sicily and Macedonia, Alexander the Great's policy of establishing Greek cities in the east both spread Hellenic culture and exposed it to the contributions of non-Greeks. At Alexandria in Egypt the process of canon formation intensified from the 3rd century BC onwards with the collection together of selected plays of Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides and the addition of commentaries. Demand for the availability of texts for education may have helped to make this a self-replicating operation. Greek tragedy also entered the culture of the Roman Republic through the plays of Ennius, Accius, and Pacuvius. In

the 1st century AD Seneca's tragedies, nine of which survive, violently orchestrated the situations and some of the formal elements of the Greek corpus. Senecan tragedy strongly influenced Renaissance theatre, especially in Italy, France, and England.

Once the Roman empire was Christianized and the centre of power shifted to Byzantium, tragedy was again regarded as dangerous, because it was a pagan art form and part of a theatre culture that the Church regarded as obscene (since it involved cross-dressing) and blasphemous (since it invoked the name of Dionysus). State funding for the traditional dramatic festivals was withdrawn and drama exiled to the melange of popular events in the Hippodrome. The alternative to suppression was appropriation and some features of the language and rhetoric of tragedy were absorbed into political and religious life. There was, however, continued artistic interaction between the tradition of tragedy and new work. For example, an undated Byzantine tragedy *Christos Paschon* drew heavily on Euripides, particularly the *Bacchae*, in its exploration of the suffering of Christ.

In Greece itself cultural activities that attracted crowds were forbidden during the 400-year period of Turkish domination after the fall of Constantinople, but tragedy continued to be performed in the Greek communities on the Danube and in Bucharest, Odessa, and Jassy, cities controlled by Russia. The ancient theatre became an icon of Hellenic identity and a symbol of the desire for freedom, notably in the Hellenic Carta, designed by Rigas Pherraios (1797) at a time when translations of tragedy were being widely circulated among Greeks, especially in the diaspora. More radically, the *Philiki Hetaireia*, which promoted rebellion against the Turks, regarded the establishment of a Greek theatre as a means of ensuring the translation of historical and cultural awareness into revolutionary action. After Greek independence (1821) the association between Greek tragedy and freedom influenced drama and poetry in other literatures, including the work of Byron and Shelley.

In 1867 the (Roman) theatre of Herodes Atticus in Athens was used for a revival of *Antigone*, performed by students with music by Mendelssohn, and in the early 20th century Angelos Sikelianos and his wife Eva Palmer developed the "Delphic Idea". This aimed at establishing at the *omphalos* (the navel of the earth at Delphi) a university based on a spiritual and communal ideal of world peace. A festival was held in 1927 at which tragedy was performed, together with athletics and folk dancing. Part of the performance of Aeschylus' *Prometheus Bound* has been preserved on film. In 1930 another festival was held, which also included Aeschylus' *Suppliants*. There was some criticism from the radical press that such festivals were inaccessible to the public and encouraged cultural nostalgia, but the staging of the plays stimulated debate about performance styles and there were further productions at Constantinople and Alexandria.

Regular productions of tragedy were also instituted by the Greek National Theatre (founded 1930), which in 1938 performed Sophocles' *Electra* at Epidaurus, where a festival was instituted in 1954. The Piraiko Theatre and the Theatro Technis also established distinct traditions in the performance of tragedy, as did the National Theatre of Northern Greece and the innovative Amphi-Theatro. More than 20 ancient theatres have been brought into use, with regular productions at the Athens and Epidaurus festivals.

Discussion and experiment were further encouraged by the European Cultural Centre at Delphi, founded in 1964 to encourage cultural exchange among all nations. In recent years performances of tragedy in Greece have included *Antigone* by an Inuit company, *Oedipus Tyrannus* by the Central Academy of Drama of Beijing as well as Noh- and Kabuki-inspired productions directed by Tadaski Suzuki (Japan), and the Epidaurus Festival performance of Aeschylus' *Oresteia*, directed by Peter Hall and translated into English by Tony Harrison.

Following the Sikelianos *Prometheus in Chains*, film has presented tragedy in both realistic and experimental forms, using myth as a catalyst for invention, as did the tragedians. Work by Greek artists includes *Electra* (Sophocles, directed by Zarpas, 1962), *Antigone* (Tzavellas, 1961), *Electra* (Euripides, directed by Cacoyannis, 1961), *Orestes* (Fotopolous, 1971, shot in Mani), *Iphigenia* (Cacoyannis, 1976), *Phaedra* (Dassin, 1961, joint USA/Greece production), the experimental *Prometheus Second Person Singular* (Costas Ferris, 1975), and *A Dream of Passion*, based on Volonakis' modern Greek version of *Medea* (Dassin, 1978, Swiss/Greek production). Cacoyannis also made a version in English of *The Trojan Women* in Spain (1971) while the Junta was in power in Greece and this was perhaps influenced by his staging of the play, which had more than 650 performances. In 1994 Nikos Koundouros directed *Antigone*, subtitled "A cry for peace", in no man's land between northern Greece and the former Yugoslavia, with a backdrop of troops and armoured weapons.

In contrast to the fear expressed by some modernist theatre practitioners, 20th-century work on ancient tragedy has not led to a mood of nostalgia and cultural fossilization. The themes and ethos of tragedy have continued to figure in novels, poetry, and drama, notably in the work of Nikos Kazantzakis, where they are mediated both by Homer and by Byzantine traditions. Such works, together with modern films, versions, and performances, have explored, both aesthetically and politically, that theme of reinterpretation of myth in the context of debate about the present with which the ancient tragedians were themselves engaged.

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See also Comedy, Dithyramb, Festivals, Satyr Play, Theatres

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Transhumance

Transhumance is a form of herding organized around the movement of livestock between lowland pastures in the winter and mountain pastures in the summer. Herding of this type is a recurring feature of Greek life because year-round maintenance of substantial numbers of animals in either the plains or the mountains of Greece is difficult. The plains must be avoided during the summer months because a nearly complete lack of rainfall makes it impossible to find forage. The mountains must be avoided during the winter months because deep snows and extreme cold make it impossible for flocks to graze. Greek transhumants, drawn by relatively abundant vegetation and mild temperatures, spend the months from October to April in various coastal plains. As summer approaches, they move to upland areas where melting snow produces rich forage. Greek transhumants rely almost exclusively on sheep and goats; the nimbleness and size of these animals make them much better suited to the rough topography of the country than cattle.

Transhumance can take one of two very different forms. In some cases it involves nothing more than individual shepherds migrating with their flocks. Typically such shepherds are employed by large landowners who provide the animals and grazing lands. In other cases transhumance is a form of societal organization in which large, independent family groups migrate with and organize their lives around the care of their flocks.

While the latter form of transhumance is the more common and probably the more ancient, the earliest documented instance of transhumance in Greece is an example of the former. During the Mycenaean period (*c.*1600–1100 BC) Greece was divided into a number of kingdoms, each with a ruler and an elaborate bureaucracy. These rulers controlled very large numbers of sheep that were assigned, flock by flock, to individual shepherds. In return for sustenance provided by the royal household, the shepherd was responsible for tending the animals assigned to him and for producing a specified amount of wool each year. Extant records indicate that the ruler of Crete owned 80,000 sheep which produced nearly 68,000 kg of wool each year.

This system of transhumance broke down with the collapse of Mycenaean civilization. The highly unsettled conditions that ensued were an ideal environment for group transhumance. The ability of transhumants to move out of the way of danger was an important aid to survival in a period of societal disintegration. In addition, the steep decline in population levels and in agricultural activity that marked the post-Mycenaean period made extensive areas of Greece newly available as pasture land. Animal bones from this period found at the site of Nichoria in the southwest Peloponnese show that the composition of herds differed from that found in the Mycenaean period in such a way as to increase the production of meat and milk and at the expense of wool production. This change reflects the transition from individual transhumants supported by the Mycenaean state to group transhumance and direct reliance on flocks for sustenance.

While the collapse of society and population levels encouraged transhumance in the years immediately after 1100 BC, the gradual restoration of society and rise in population levels that took place in the 8th and 7th centuries BC did the reverse. In settled conditions the advantages of mobility were considerably lessened. More importantly, the fact that herding, relative to agriculture, is a non-intensive land-use pattern that is capable of supporting a limited number of people meant that as population densities in Greece increased, so did the importance of agriculture. Even so, transhumance continued to be practised throughout antiquity. Sophocles' *Oedipus Tyrannus* (lines 1133–40), for instance, includes a scene involving two shepherds who spent summers with their flocks on Mount Cithaeron and then returned to lowland pastures in the winter.

Group transhumance returned to prominence during the confused period of the 12th–15th centuries AD which was brought about by the gradual collapse of Byzantine rule in Greece. Albanians and Vlachs moved into Greece from the north, bringing their families and flocks with them, displacing though not entirely destroying native Greek transhumants in the process. One of the more enduring results of this migration was the division of transhumants in Greece into two groups, Vlachs and Sarakatsans. After this period and right up to the present day, ethnic Vlachs who speak their own language and who descend directly from these migrants have remained sepa-

rate and distinct from the Greek-speaking Sarakatsans, who are descended from the native transhumants resident in Greece as early as the Byzantine period. The Albanian and Vlach migrants found a depopulated countryside ideal for transhumant herding. A 14th-century document describes a group of Albanian transhumants who wintered in the coastal plain of Elis (northwestern Peloponnese) because the area "had good grazing and was deserted by men" (cited and translated by Hammond, p. 61).

The imposition of Turkish rule in the 15th century did not bring an end to group transhumance because much of Greece was divided into large estates under the control of powerful Turks or of monasteries. These estates were not as a rule intensively cultivated and significant areas were thus available as pasturage, which was rented out on a seasonal basis. This pattern continued even after Greece achieved independence from the Ottoman empire. Throughout the 19th century most of the large estates continued in existence despite changes in ownership brought about by the departure of the Turks. Group transhumance continued much as before.

This situation was drastically altered as a result of the population exchange undertaken by Greece and Turkey beginning in 1922. The Greek government settled the people arriving from Turkey on smallholdings carved out of the large blocks of land mentioned above. This made winter grazing lands very much more difficult to find and resulted in a significant decrease in the number of transhumants active in Greece. In order to ameliorate the situation, a law of 1930 gave shepherds the right of protected leasing of grazing land. Under the provisions of this law, grazing leases had to be offered for yearly renewal at prices set by the government. Further relief was given to transhumants in 1938 when legislation permitted them to register as official residents of the mountain villages where they spent their summers. Registration brought with it the right of free access to public grazing lands held by these villages.

Despite these measures, during the 20th century there has been a continued marked decline in the numbers of transhumants in Greece. Most transhumants are now confined to the less densely settled, more mountainous regions of Greece such as Epirus. Increases in settlement density and the advent of heavy motor traffic have made migration across the countryside increasingly difficult. The steady economic development that Greece has experienced since World War II presents a real and growing threat to the continued existence of transhumance within its borders.

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See also Sarakatsans, Vlachs

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Translation from Greek

Translations, together with adaptations and imitations, have been an important vehicle in the diffusion of Greek literature and thought. In certain instances, translations from the Greek represent the earliest examples of written literature. This is the case in particular with the Christian literature in Armenian and Georgian, where translations from Greek and Syriac played a formative role. Similarly, Roman literature is believed to have begun in 240 BC when a Greek schoolmaster named Livius Andronicus translated into Latin a tragedy, a comedy, and an epic, the last being the *Odyssey* which he rendered into Saturnian verse. New Comedy (and possibly Middle Comedy) provided the sources for the earliest literary comedies in Latin, of which we have surviving examples by Plautus and Terence, on whose work we have to depend for our knowledge of many lost works by poets of New Comedy such as Philemon, Diphilus, and Menander. The plays of Seneca are the only surviving examples of Latin adaptations from the great Classical Greek tragedians. Latin poets did sometimes translate Greek lyrics, Catullus 51 being a well-known example; but no one today would wholeheartedly agree with Aulus Gellius who held that Virgil in his *Eclogues*, *Georgics*, and *Aeneid* translated Theocritus, Hesiod, and Homer respectively, his debt to these poets being best described as one of inspiration and imitation.

Most educated Romans were bilingual, and many of them endeavoured to make the literature and learning of the Greeks available to Romans by translation and adaptation of Greek works into Latin. Thus, Cicero translated the *Phaenomena* of Aratus, a Hellenistic didactic poem on astronomy (this work was translated once again in the 7th century). But the Romans, and especially their poets, were quite conscious of the limitations of the Latin language in matching the richness and subtlety of Greek (cf. the complaint of Lucretius in 1. 139 about the poverty of the language).

The Romans conceptualized the process of translation and established the framework and norms which endured in the west until the end of the 18th century. The younger Pliny (*Epistulae*, 8. 9. 1) recommends translation from Greek to Latin and vice versa as an exercise for developing verbal fluency and critical discernment. There was also advice against undue literalism. Horace (*Ars Poetica*, 133–34 tr. Dorsch) says:

> A theme that is familiar can be made your own property as long as you do not waste your time on a hackneyed treatment; nor should you try to render your original word for word like a slavish translator, or in imitating

> another writer plunge yourself into difficulties from which shame, or the rules you have laid down for yourself prevent you from extricating yourself.

On translating from Demosthenes and Aeschines, Cicero's advice is "not the words of the orators". "To explain not word by word but sense by sense", says St Jerome, who produced the Latin Bible known as the Vulgate.

During late antiquity translators into Latin concentrated mainly on science, military exploits, and adventures, and Christian works on theology, hagiography, and ecclesiastical history. Among scientific writings, the *Periegesis* of Dionysius was rendered into Latin by both Rufus Festus Avienus and Priscian. The gynaecological works of Soranus of Ephesus were translated by Mustio during the 6th century. The metrological treatise of Epiphanius of Salamis, written around AD 392, was translated in the 5th or 6th century. The alleged memoirs of Dares of Phrygia (6th century BC) and the story of Apollonius of Tyre are representative of military exploits and adventures. Translations of hagiography began quite early: Athanasius' *Life of St Antony* appeared in Latin as early as AD 373, and the story of *Barlaam and Joasaph* was translated into Latin during the 11th century.

Theology became the main focus of attention from the 9th century onwards. In 824, at the request of Louis the Pious, Erigena translated the Greek manuscript of *The Celestial Hierarchy*, attributed to Dionysius the Areopagite, and was deeply influenced by it. The result was the unofficial establishment in Christian theology of the Neoplatonist picture of a universe evolving or emanating out of God through different stages or degrees of diminishing perfection, and slowly returning through different degrees back into the deity. John Chrysostom and John of Damascus were among the authors translated by Burgundio of Pisa in the 12th century, while Moses of Bergamo translated a treatise attributed to Epiphanius of Salamis and a florilegium on the Trinity.

Greek science and philosophy had so far been rendered into Latin mainly from Arabic versions which were themselves sometimes made from Syriac versions. But the desire for more accurate renderings led to such productions as Aristotle's *Topics*, *Sophistici Elenchi*, and *Posterior Analytics* by one James, known to us only as "a clerk of Venice", at some time before 1128. Eugene "The Emir" of Palermo translated the *Optics* of Ptolemy in 1154, and in 1160 shared in a Latin translation of the *Almagest* directly from the Greek. Before this, Aristippus of Catania had translated (*c.*1156) Diogenes Laertius' *Lives of the Philosophers* as well as Plato's *Meno* and *Phaedo*.

The revival of interest in Greek philosophy that began in the 13th century resulted in Latin renderings of the Aristotelian corpus and its commentaries. Notable in this regard are William of Moerbeke, the Flemish archbishop of Corinth and friend and fellow Dominican of Thomas Aquinas (he also translated works by Hippocrates, Galen, Heron of Alexandria, Proclus, and Archimedes), and the circle of scholars at Lincoln headed by Robert Grosseteste (who also translated works of pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite and John Argyropoulos), Theodore Gaza, and George of Trebizond (who also translated Plato and some Church Fathers). Several writers including Demosthenes and Plutarch were translated by Nicholas Sekoundinos. These Latin translations exerted a profound influence on developments in grammar and philology, medicine, astronomy, and mathematics as well as theology and philosophy. They enlarged the curriculum of the schools and contributed to the growth of European universities in the 12th and 13th centuries.

The only Latin translation of Homer known to Europe in the 14th century was the inaccurate and prosaic version by Leon Pilatus, a pupil of Barlaam of Calabria and an acquaintance of Bocaccio and Petrarch. Pope Nicholas V commissioned Francesco Filelfo to prepare a fresh translation; but this commission, like that given to Manetti and his aides for a new translation of the Bible, was terminated by the pope's death in 1455. He also made liberal grants for translations of Classical Greek texts: to Lorenzo Valla for Thucydides, to Guarino da Verona for Strabo, to Niccolo Perotti for Polybius, to Poggio Bracciolini for Diodorus Siculus, to Theodore Gaza for Aristotle, to Gianozzo Manetti and George of Trebizond for Cyril, Basil, Gregory of Nazianzus, Gregory of Nyssa, and other patristic texts. Though hurried and imperfect, these Latin translations opened these Greek authors for the first time to students who could not read the originals. In February 1516 the printer Froben brought out Erasmus' critical revision of the Greek New Testament with a new Latin translation and a commentary, and this was reprinted in 1518.

Next in importance to Latin translations in the conveying of Greek ideas to the west are the translations into Arabic. The earliest instances were of Christian origin, and the translations were made mainly through Syriac versions. Here, too, the emphasis was on religious, philosophical, medical, and scientific works. The earliest religious translations were of biblical and liturgical texts whose dating, however, is uncertain, especially whether any of them predate the coming of Islam. Both hagiographical works and the writings of Church Fathers and ascetics came to be translated in the monasteries of southern Palestine by the 9th century. Medical material most probably came initially through Syriac before direct translations from the Greek were made. The case of astronomy and mathematics may have been the same except that the Syriac versions appear to be contemporaneous with the Arabic, being largely the work of Hunayn Ibn Ishaq al-'Ibadi (died 873 or 877) or his school. It does not appear that the translations of Euclid and Ptolemy were made until after the reign of Harun al-Rashid (786–809), so the story that they were suggested to the caliph by Jafar Ibn Barmak as a remedy for the Arabs' inability to understand a version of the Indian *Siddhanta* of Brahmagupta cannot be trusted.

In astronomy and mathematics, where absolute accuracy of terminology was imperative, direct reference to the Greek originals appears to have taken place earlier than in medicine, whose terms, when borrowed from the Greek, suggest a greater degree of Syrian intermediation. The desire for more accurate scientific knowledge led to more careful translations or revision of existing versions, as well as commentaries and original works based on Greek authorities. The best-known translator of Greek scientific works into Arabic is Hunayn Ibn Ishaq al-'Ibadi, whom the caliph al-Mamun placed in charge of the House of Wisdom (*Bayt al-Hikmah*) that he established in 830 at Baghdad at a cost of 200,000 dinars as a scientific academy, an observatory, and a public library. Here he installed a body of translators and paid them from the public treasury in order to foster the preparation and propagation of

translations from Greek scientists. The resulting translations included the greater part of the works of Galen, Hippocrates, Ptolemy, Euclid, Aristotle, and other Greek authorities. The desire for greater accuracy is reflected in the preparation of Syriac translations in addition to the Arabic to replace defective versions already in use. A Syrian Christian named Qusta Ibn Luqa al-Balhakki (*fl. c.*912) translated several works including Hypsicles (later revised by al-Kindi), Theodosius' *Sphaerica* (later revised by Thabit Ibn Qurra), Heron's *Mechanics*, Autolycus, Theophrastus' *Meteora*, Galen's catalogue of his books, and John Philoponus on the *Physics* of Aristotle. He also revised the existing translation of Euclid. Aristotle's *Poetics* was translated by Matta Ibn Yunus al-Qunnai (d. 940). Among the medical and logical works translated by the monophysite logician Abu Zakariya Yahya Ibn Adi al-Mantiqi (d. 974) was the *Prolegomena* of Ammonius and an introduction to Porphyry's *Isagoge*. Thereafter, translation gave way to revisions, commentaries, and expositions.

The literatures of the eastern Christians owed their formation to a large extent to translations of Greek texts into Syriac, Armenian, Georgian, Arabic, Coptic, Ethiopic, and the Slavonic languages. These translations of biblical, theological, and liturgical texts represent the common cultural debt of eastern Christianity to Hellenistic civilization, whose impact transcended linguistic, cultural, and even theological differences and was not confined to religious literature. Thus translations from the Greek works on theology, philosophy, rhetoric, and science not only laid the foundation for Syrian learning in those spheres, but also served as the principal medium for the transmission of Greek thought to the Muslim world. Throughout the Byzantine period Armenian literature was enriched by translations from the Greek. Of particular significance was the impact of the Hellenistic Jewish writers Josephus and Philo, and of the church historians Socrates and Eusebius. Georgian translations have preserved the liturgical traditions associated with Jerusalem that were later subordinated to the Byzantine rite. Since they remained Chalcedonian, the Georgians were in touch with Greek scholars at monastic centres such as Mount Athos (Iviron in particular), Mount Sinai, and the Black Mountain (in the Karakorum near Peshawar in Pakistan).

Because the Slavonic translations made by Cyril and Methodios for their Moravian mission (863–85) have not survived, the earliest examples are those belonging to the Christian period of the first Bulgarian empire (864–971). These were mainly religious in character (biblical, exegetical, homiletic, historical, and liturgical writings as well as hagiography, gnomologia, florilegia, works on canon law, and the like), as were those from the 12th to 15th centuries made in Bulgaria, Serbia, and on Mount Athos (e.g. at Hilandar). Many of these were literal translations, in keeping with the medieval insistence on preserving both the content and the form of the original.

The immense popularity of certain works is indicated by the number of translations into various languages. As examples may be cited the story of *Barlaam and Joasaph*, the fables of Aesop, and the *Alexander Romance*. The last-mentioned work was translated into Armenian and the Slavonic languages.

During the second half of the 16th century a large number of English translations of the classics were made, including Theocritus' *Idylls*, Musaeus' *Hero and Leander*, Epictetus' *Enchiridion*, Aristotle's *Ethics* and *Politics*, Xenophon's *Cyropaedia* and *Oeconomicus*, the speeches of Demosthenes and Isocrates, the histories of Herodotus, Polybius, Diodorus Siculus, Josephus, and Appian, and the novels of Heliodorus and Longus. In 1579 Sir Thomas North translated Plutarch's *Lives* using Amyot's French translation. These translations exerted such an immense influence upon Elizabethan literature that, during the next two centuries, English poetry and prose were fraught with Classical allusions. There were no Greek plays in English for quite some time, however, and Homer had to wait till the verse renderings of George Chapman (1611) and Alexander Pope (*Iliad*, 1715–20; *Odyssey*, 1725–26).

Some recent collections of Classical texts are accompanied by translations into modern languages. Thus, the Budé edition (named after the well-known French humanist Guillaume Budé, 1467–1540) includes a French translation, while the collection known as the Loeb Classical Library, founded in 1912 by the American banker James Loeb, presents the original text with an English translation on opposite pages. Meanwhile, in 1946, under the general editorship of the late E.V. Rieu, the Penguin Classics series was launched with Rieu's own translation of the *Odyssey*. This series has been instrumental in popularizing the Classics among the English-reading public throughout the world by providing highly readable translations at affordable prices.

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Translation into Greek

Translation in the west goes as far back as the Septuagint – the translation, in the 3rd century BC, of the Old Testament from the original Hebrew into Greek Koine. Yet, it was only in the last decades of the 20th century that translation practice and theory became objects of systematic enquiry with histories of translation attempting to unearth and organize them into a distinct field of knowledge. Although references to Greece in such works of reconstruction are conspicuously absent, there exists, nevertheless, a long and particularly interesting tradi-

tion of practice and thought regarding translation into Greek; a tradition that brings into focus three distinct yet interrelated contexts where translation constitutes a key issue: Greek Orthodoxy, Greek national identity, and the so-called Language Question. Modern Hellenism's relation to its ancient past, the much-debated question of continuity, and, more generally, the definition of the modern Greek state's national and cultural identity (tradition, religion, educational system, form of government, form of language, etc.) are all issues that, directly or indirectly, translation brings to the fore as Greek translators, at different historical moments, have had to decide whether, what, how, and for whom to translate.

Although by no means an exclusively Greek phenomenon, no other European nation has practised or debated more intensely the category of translation that Roman Jakobson (1959) has termed "intralingual": translation, that is, that brings into contact different phases of the history of a language as opposed to interlingual or translation proper. Intralingual translation in Greece has, traditionally, concerned the rendering of the Classical and biblical texts into a more or less simple katharevousa or into demotic and the existence of various terms to describe this practice – *metaphrasi*, *metagraphi*, *metaglotisi*, *metaphora*, *devteri graphi*, *morphi* – testifies to the different ways of conceiving it. As early on as the first stages of the Tourkokratia, Greek scholars faced the question of whether to adapt the biblical texts to a more accessible form of language, creating, thereby, two opposed traditions. The one, represented by the Greek Orthodox Church, remained hostile to and deeply suspicious of such adaptations maintaining that the original Greek language of the texts was the only language of Orthodoxy, that any form of interference with it was fraught with doctrinal and political dangers – altering the true letter and spirit of the texts and subverting the authority of the Church – and that the Greek vernacular was too poor and vulgar to express the divine meaning of the texts. For the Church hierarchy, translation of the holy scriptures into the spoken language amounted to treason and heresy or, as expressed by Konstantinos Oikonomos, a leading conservative theologian in the first decades of independence, to a futile, damaging, and useless activity. To this day, the Greek Constitution does not recognize any translation of the scriptures that does not have the authorization of the Church. But the very fact that the Greek Constitution is itself written in two versions – katharevousa and demotic – testifies to the importance and still unresolved status of intralingual translation.

In opposition to this ultraconservatism, however, there runs a liberal tradition which goes as far back as 1544, in which year Nikolaos Sophianos printed in Venice his version of pseudo-Plutarch's *Peri Paidon Agoges* in the "common language". The tradition inaugurated by Sophianos began by recognizing translation as a means of making knowledge accessible to all social layers and thus contributing to the construction of the nation – an idea that was to remain a constant throughout this tradition. For Sophianos, compiler of *A Grammar of the Common Language of the Greeks*, concern with translation went hand-in-hand with concern for language and education; just as five centuries later, in 1938, translation, particularly of the ancient texts, was to be seen as a key to the construction of a modern national education and language system by Manolis Triandaphyllidis, author of a *Neoelliniki Grammatiki*, this time in demotic. But even within the Church hierarchy there have been enlightened figures who defended (sometimes with their own lives) the value of intralingual translation. Cyril I Lukaris (1572–1638) who, within a more general context of reforms and innovations which included the setting up of a Greek printing house and the translation into spoken Greek of the New Testament, is a case in point. And, continuing with this tradition, two centuries later Neophitos Vamvas (1776–1855), a Greek liberal intellectual and close collaborator of Adamantios Korais, was to play a crucial role in the translation (published in London in 1836) from Hebrew to modern Greek of the Old Testament. By then, however, the equation of Orthodoxy with Hellenism, with the question of a national identity, and with the consolidation of a modern national state, linked to the Church's anxiety to maintain the power and independence gained during the Tourkokratia, had converted Greek intralingual translation into a key doctrinal as well as national issue while marking profoundly, and for centuries to come, the Language Question. The conflict was to reach dramatic dimensions in the so-called *Evangelika*, the bloody street incidents in 1901 that forced the interruption of the newspaper publication of Alexandros Pallis's translation into demotic Greek of the Gospels, and again in 1903 (*Orestika*) following the performance of Aeschylus' tragedy as translated into a "mixed" Greek by G. Sotiriadis.

It was in the 18th century, however, the century of the Enlightenment and a period marked by intense intellectual curiosity, that translation into Greek began to acquire full-scale dimensions embracing an unprecedented variety of fields of knowledge: from works with a moral, pedagogical, and didactic purpose to works of narrative, theatre, philosophy, history, geography, law, mathematics, medicine, astronomy, psychology, political theory, and others. Evgenios Voulgaris (translator of Voltaire and pioneer of a Greek theory of translation), Josephos Moisiodax (pioneer of the spirit of Enlightenment in Greece and especially interested in translation), Dimitrios Katartzis (whose Prologue to Réal de Curban's *La Science du gouvernement*, 1784, constitutes the first attempt at a systematic theory of translation), Korais, and Rigas Pherraios are landmark figures in this tradition for whom translation theory and practice constituted an intrinsic part of the projects of national rebirth and emancipation to which they were committed. Questions of why, what, for whom, and how to translate began to be rigorously posed. Translation became a means for the introduction of new ideas and knowledge, a means of satisfying the need for a new code of moral and social values, of transferring to Greece the secularizing spirit of the Enlightenment. It was recognized as a crucial instrument of moral instruction and as a means for the cultivation of the spoken language as an instrument of written expression. Translation became a means whereby Greek people might become aware of, recover, and transplant to their own soil their rightful cultural inheritance, a means of elevating their educational and cultural level and of bringing the emerging nation into line with achievements in the west. Having access, through translation, to the ideas already available in other languages, developed by other nations, was a way of laying the foundations for Greece's own intellectual production, since no original intellectual production can take place without a constant cultivation and elaboration of the language in which

it is to be expressed. Translation for Korais, for example, was a crucial means of combating the Church's obscurantist hold on people's consciousness and education and, of course, people's education is directly linked to its emancipation as a nation. Thus, it is no accident that his calls for financial support of translation were made in patriotic terms; nor can it be doubted, as he argued in his *Mémoire sur l'état actuel de la civilisation dans la Grèce* (1803), that translations of works by Molière, Voltaire, Condillac, Montesquieu, Locke, and other scientific, philosophical, and historical works testify to the emerging nation's rapid progress and development. Every nation needs a model on which to base itself and, for all these men, the model of modern Greek cultural identity could not be other than that of Classical Greece as discovered and reconstructed in Europe. The decade 1790–99, marked by the ideals of the French Revolution, was exceptionally fruitful for translation into Greek and Rigas occupies an outstanding place in it. For him, translation was not only a means of struggle against ignorance but an efficient way of disseminating the most emancipatory and revolutionary ideas of his period: Voltaire and the Encyclopaedists D'Alembert and Diderot, Restif de la Bretonne, Montesquieu, Metastasio, Marmontel, Salomon Gessner, Abbé Barthélemy, selections of texts from astronomy, the natural sciences, and physiology.

The question of what to translate was obviously closely linked to the question of why translate. Translating not just any but those worthy works capable of transmitting knowledge as well as moral and ethical instruction became a conscious criterion of choice. To this was added the requirement for clarity and pleasurable reading, aiming as the Greek translators did at the widest possible circulation of the translated printed work. Equally important were the twin questions of whom should the translations be addressed to and how should the task of translation (methods, procedures, and form of target language) be carried out. If translation were to serve the pedagogical and national emancipatory aims of these men and provide the ideological elements out of which the modern Greek national identity was to emerge, it should address itself to the widest possible readership, to the emergent nation. And, naturally, its language could not be but the closest form to the Greek vernacular (even if purged of all foreign and vulgar elements, as in the case of Korais). Being conscious of translation's crucial role in introducing new concepts and terminology into the Greek language (and mentality) also made the 18th-century translators highly conscious of the additional difficulties facing the Greek translator: the lack of infrastructure (finance, dictionaries, and reference books), the lack of established linguistic norms, the poor state of spoken Greek as a result of the absence of sufficient experience and experimentation with it as a vehicle of written expression. And this consciousness produced another: the realization that translation was not only a source of knowledge and ideas but also, crucially, a space for the creation of language itself. Thus, as from the late 18th century, it is possible to speak of the beginnings of a Greek theory of translation that underlines the singularity of each text and the need of translation to respect and reflect it by adopting the appropriate form of language and style that demands precision and clarity, that introduces the concept of translation as faithful recreation, and, alongside the concept of usefulness, the aesthetic requirement of a "good" translation. Influential views on translation practice are encountered in Emmanouil Roidis's prologue to his translation of Chateaubriand's *Itinéraire* in 1860, in Iakovos Polylas whose translation activity embraced ancient Greek (Homer), Latin, and western classics (*Hamlet* and *The Tempest*), in Stamatios D. Valvis's outstanding essay *Peri Metaphraseos Poiiton* (On Translating a Poet, 1878) which poses many of the issues that still concern modern translation theory – the questions of translatability and ethnocentrism, among others – in Ioannis Kambouroglou's insightful prologue to his translation of Zola's *Nana* in 1880 (commenting on what is today known as dynamic or functional equivalence) and whose naturalist realism was to exercise a great influence on Greek literary writing, or in Ioannis Kakridis's *To Metaphrastiko Provlima* (The Translation Problem, 1936), an important source of information, moreover, regarding the history of Greek translation.

The role played by both intra- and interlingual translation in the construction of a modern Greek national literature cannot be overestimated. The methods, interventions, and statements, the works chosen, and, of course, the form of language used in translation provide a guide to the different – and changing – ways of conceiving the history and identity of Hellenism. For Andreas Kalvos and Dionysios Solomos the experience of translating from ancient Greek, koine, and modern European languages, especially Italian, not only helped them to find their own approach to the Greek language, to dig into Greek tradition and combine it with the European, but also provided them with elements that proved essential in their own poetry, thereby marking the subsequent course of modern Greek literature. George Seferis and Odysseus Elytis in the 20th century, both of whom translated the Revelation of St John, followed in their footsteps. Seferis's translations of T.S. Eliot (particularly *The Waste Land* in 1936) and Elytis's translations of, especially, French poetry played a key role in their poetics and, consequently, in the configuration of Greek postwar poetry. To this day, translation from katharevousa to demotic (Alexandros Papadiamantis is a case in point) remains a controversial issue, demonstrating that translation not only reflects but also generates ideas, conflicts, ideological and political stakes, and that the history of modern Hellenism is inextricably tied to the problem of translation. Today, Greece possesses a rapidly developing field of translation studies with interlingual translation, in which literature in English holds the lead, occupying one third of the total book publication. The fact that, in 1997, the European Prize for Translation was awarded to the Greek translation of James Joyce's *Ulysses* is undoubtedly an indication of the distance covered by Greek translation since its beginnings.

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See also Enlightenment, Language

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Travel

Long-distance travel was widespread in all periods of Greek antiquity. Already in the *Odyssey* we encounter itinerant experts, including seers, physicians, builders, and bards, who, as Homer tells us (17. 386), were "invited from the ends of the earth". Questions such as "Who are you? Where do you come from? What is your city? Who are your parents?", which occur frequently in the *Odyssey*, no doubt reflect the realities of Homer's own world where travel for military or commercial purposes was commonplace. In later times sophists and – a much larger category – mercenaries travelled extensively. In addition, many individuals occasionally made long journeys, either to attend a distant festival or celebration of the games, consult an oracle, or visit a healing sanctuary. It is unlikely that anyone ever undertook a long journey purely for pleasure, however. The most widely travelled Greek in antiquity was probably Herodotus, who in the 5th century BC visited Babylon, the Black Sea region, Egypt, and Phoenicia while researching his historical account of the Persian Wars, which is also the world's first travel book. The only guidebook that has survived is Pausanias' *Description of Greece*, written *c.* AD 150, which claims to describe "all things Greek".

Since no part of the Greek mainland is more than 100 km from the coast and since safe harbours abound, the most common method of long-distance travel as well as of transportation was by sea. Owing to the frequency of storms in the Aegean, however, seafaring was regarded as a dangerous undertaking. As today, it was largely confined to the months from May to October. In the winter very few voyages were undertaken, except in the case of an emergency such as that resulting from a desperate food shortage. A further hazard was piracy, which was endemic throughout the Aegean from early times onwards. Passenger ships were unknown and those who wanted to take a sea voyage would generally have had to stand on the waterfront and request a place on a cargo ship that happened to be travelling in the right direction, if not to their actual destination. No food or bedding was provided on board, so passengers had to come supplied with their own. The perilousness and unpredictability of the sea is a central motif in the *Odyssey*, since it is due to the wrath of the sea god Poseidon that Odysseus, who is returning home to Ithaca at the end of the Trojan War, loses all his companions and is delayed for nine years. Poseidon's enmity reflects a genuine paranoia about sea travel, notwithstanding its importance.

From early times the sea played a vital part in shaping Greek history and in moulding the Greek character. There is evidence of settlement in several of the hundreds of islands dotted around the Aegean already in the Early Bronze Age. Homer's world extended from Sicily in the west to the Hellespont in the east. It was surely due to their familiarity with this element that seafaring Greeks came to develop a flexible response to the challenges of the outside world. Almost all the most important city states possessed seaports and those that were landlocked remained conservative. The dichotomy is exemplified by the difference in character between the Athenians and the Spartans, the dominant powers in the Classical era. Whereas Sparta, an inland state, was reactionary and unenterprising, Athens, whose might and wealth were based on the sea, was innovative and progressive.

None of Greece's rivers is navigable and only a few have estuaries wide enough to serve as ports. Hence travel on the mainland was generally by road or track. Owing to the unevenness of the terrain, this tended to be slow, arduous, and difficult. Most people travelled on foot with a slave or two to carry their baggage because horses were not capable of travelling long distances or of negotiating the steep mountain paths that often provided the only means of access from one community to another. Likewise chariots and other wheeled vehicles were useful only over short distances. The island of Ithaca, which is described as "rugged and unfit for driving horses" (*Odyssey*, 13. 242), is typical of much of Greece and the suggestion that the road between Pylos and Sparta was sufficiently smooth to permit Telemachus to traverse it in a chariot is a sublime fantasy on Homer's part (*Odyssey*, 3. 482–86). Even so, horses remained important status symbols throughout antiquity.

It follows that in all periods up until the present day Greeks would have been accustomed to walking considerable distances. Socrates in Xenophon's *Memorabilia* (3. 13. 5) talks nonchalantly of undertaking a five to six days' walk from Athens to Olympia. Even though the distance from Athens' furthest demes to the capital is no more than 50 km, it is unlikely that its rural population would have regularly travelled to the city to attend meetings of the assembly, however. Probably women, the elderly, and the infirm hired wagons

drawn by horses, mules, or oxen to convey them short distances, where the roads permitted. In later times a litter or sedan chair, known as a *phorelon*, was available to the wealthy.

The dangers of moving about in a world where no protection was offered to travellers gave rise to the image of the culture hero, whose task was to clear the roads of brigands and wild beasts. Examples include Theseus and Heracles. One of the brigands eliminated by Theseus was Sciron who, after robbing travellers, ordered them to wash his feet before kicking them over a cliff into a ravine below. Though we hear of highwaymen only occasionally, they must have presented a constant danger on land, as did pirates on the high seas. To safeguard the interests of their compatriots, many states appointed officials called *proxenoi* in foreign cities. *Proxenoi* were resident aliens who lived permanently abroad.

In times of emergency a city might call upon the services of a professional runner to bear a message to an ally. The stamina of such runners was prodigious. A famous example was the Athenian Pheidippides, who according to legend ran from Athens to Sparta – a distance of 240 km – to request military assistance against the Persians in 490 BC. Pheidippides then ran a similar distance to Marathon and followed up this feat by running to Athens, whereupon, after delivering his report of the Athenian victory, he expired. In the Hellenistic era the Greek kings took over the highly efficient network of roads and communications maintained by the Persians throughout their vast empire.

A number of Greek roads that were used in historical times had their origins in the Mycenaean period. Very few were paved, but the Greeks developed a number of sophisticated roadbuilding techniques. These included ramps, switchbacks, and pulloffs, for which there is evidence already in the archaic era. All roads, however, were local, their purpose being to facilitate travel within a state's territory rather than to join communities to one another. Mule and drovers' tracks provided the only link between communities. It was common to bury the dead in family plots adjoining major roads, for which reason epitaphs frequently address the wayfarer.

Many sanctuaries were served by sacred ways, though these usually extended only a short distance. As Pausanias reports, however, even an international sanctuary like Delphi was difficult to approach on foot. The principal paved road in Athens was the Panathenaic Way, which began at the Dipylon Gate on the west side of the city and ended up on the Acropolis, barely 1.5 km away. A more functional paved road extended from the marble quarries on Mount Pentelikon to Athens. Goods were conveyed to and from the port of Piraeus along a paved cart road. During the Peloponnesian War, when it was no longer safe to travel outside the city, a road running the entire length of the Long Walls joining Athens to its port served in its place. The most impressive road-building project in Greece was the *diolkos* or slipway, which was constructed by the Corinthians in around 600 BC. The *diolkos* enabled ships to be towed across the isthmus of Corinth, rather than having to circumnavigate the Peloponnese. It remained in use until the 9th century AD.

Though Agamemnon supposedly conveyed his mighty army to Troy by sea, in historical times armies travelled to the theatre of war by land. Homer's warriors are usually conveyed to the battlefield in chariots, though they fight almost exclusively on foot. Their chariots remain parked while their owners engage, ready to provide a means of escape if their owners are forced to retreat or when they go off in search of a new opponent. Cavalry, though frequently mentioned in our sources, played a relatively minor part in Greek warfare.

In the absence of inns and hostelries, aristocrats in the Archaic period operated a system known as guest-friendship or *xenia*. This facilitated long-distance travel by providing hospitality on a reciprocal basis. The guest–host relationship was judged to be so sacred that its supervision was placed under the protection of Zeus Xenios. Homer suggests that guest-friendship transcended what passed for national boundaries. In the *Iliad* (6. 230f.) the Greek Diomedes and the Trojan Glaucus refuse to fight against one another once they have discovered their parentage "so that everyone will realize that our families have provided hospitality for one another in days of old". Not until the 5th century BC do we hear of facilities offering accommodation for travellers. These remained basic throughout antiquity. Even in a major commerical centre like the Piraeus, accommodation was limited. Aristophanes (*Frogs*, 112–15) indicates that its inns had a reputation for discomfort and bedbugs. By the middle of the 5th century BC the lack of decent facilities led Xenophon (*Revenues*, 3. 12) to recommend the construction of more facilities, though whether his advice was followed is not known. By the Roman period the situation seems to have deteriorated further. Cicero (*Letters to Friends*, 4. 12. 3) states that when a certain Servius Sulpicius journeyed to the Piraeus to collect the body of a friend, he found the latter stretched out under a tent, evidently because he had been unable to find more suitable accommodation in the port. Throughout antiquity the wealthy continued to find hospitality in one another's houses or brought tents and other gear in their entourage.

Under Roman rule the provinces of Macedonia in the north of Greece and Achaea in the south became linked by an efficient network of roads like the rest of the empire, with Thessalonica, Athens, and Corinth representing the principal hubs. The most important road in the region was the Via Egnatia, which ran in an east–west direction through Thessalonica, parallel to the northern border of the empire. It was strategically important in the late Republic at the time of the Civil Wars but declined in military significance from the 1st century AD onwards when the frontier moved north to the river Danube. In this period, too, Roman tourists began to visit Athens and other major sites. The first guidebook on Greece, which was essentially limited to the province of Achaea, was written by Pausanias (fl. AD 150).

The early Christians, notaby St Paul, travelled extensively through the Greek-speaking half of the empire, seeking to convert its population. When the Roman empire fell, the road system remained largely intact and travel continued. Guest houses known as *xenodochia*, which were run by monks, provided accommodation for pilgrims visiting holy places. Some Christians even adopted a wandering life-style and journeyed perpetually throughout the Mediterranean. With the advent of the Dark Ages, much forced migration took place throughout the region. Under the Ottoman Turks Greece became something of a backwater and long-distance travel became less frequent.

When the Ottoman empire began to fragment at the end of the 17th century, Greece became increasingly accessible to European travellers. Henceforth, the story can be told largely from the perspective of foreigners, many of them British, who were lured to Greece in part by the desire to acquire antiquities. Now, too, Athens became the focal point of any tour of Greece – a position which it retains to the present day, due not only to its incomparable treasures but also to its location as a convenient point of departure for travel within the mainland. In addition, the Piraeus, Athens' port, provides easy access to the Aegean islands, many of which, including Aegina, Hydra, Poros, and Salamis, can be visited in a day. The decision to establish Athens as the capital of the fledgeling kingdom of Greece following the Greek War of Independence in 1829 ensured that the city would be laid out on modern lines with broad thoroughfares. Shortly afterwards the Piraeus was provided with modern harbour facilities. It was also at this time that the first detailed maps of Greece were made.

Today large hotels dominate the islands and coastal towns of Greece and the needs of the tourist often prevail over those of the local residents. All the occupied islands of the Aegean are served by ferries, many of which originate from the Piraeus, Greece's busiest port. In addition, some islands are served by hydrofoils, known popularly as "Flying Dolphins". Recently catamarans have also been introduced to some routes. The Aegean is host to numerous cruise liners in the high season. Athens Airport has two main terminals, East and West, which handle a vast amount of international and domestic air traffic in the summer months. Greece's national airline is Olympic Airways; its affiliate, Olympic Aviation, provides domestic flights. The road system still remains somewhat rudimentary by the standards of other European countries. The only major highways are those that run between Athens, Thessalonica, Volos, and Patras. The train service is very limited, the most efficient line being the one that runs between Athens and Thessalonica. There is also a narrow-gauge railway that connects Athens to stations in the Peloponnese. By contrast, Greece's bus service is excellent and virtually every village, no matter how remote, is provided with a service. Travel in Athens tends to be slow, owing to the heavy congestion. In an attempt to ease the congestion and pollution, cars with an odd-number licence plate are permitted to enter the central area only on dates with an odd number and those with even-number licence plates on even dates. Athens' metro, however, which began in the 1930s with one line running from Kifisia to the port of Piraeus, now has two further lines, opened in January 2000.

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See also Tourism

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Trebizond

City on the southeast coast of the Black Sea

Trebizond is the English name for the Greek Trapezous, modern Turkish Trabzon, a city in the Pontus, on the south-eastern shore of the Black Sea. The port was a Greek colony, daughter of Sinope and granddaughter of Miletus, from the 7th century BC (its traditional foundation date of 753 BC is much too early). Historically Trebizond owes its importance to two factors. First, as Xenophon found as early as 400 BC, it is the political capital of a distinct and persistent local identity, a combination of indigenous, especially Caucasian (including Laz), people and of Greek colonists and culture (Pontic Greek is one of the oldest spoken examples of the language). Second, Trebizond is the furthest port east through which European shipping could once reach an overland route that penetrates Central Asia. This combination of factors made Trebizond both a local provincial capital and, intermittently, a port of intercontinental strategic and commercial importance. The periods of the city's commercial importance (especially from 1258 to 1475 and from 1829 to 1869) coincided with its local autonomy (particularly under the Grand Komnenoi, emperors of Trebizond from 1204 to 1461) and with the patronage of most of its major monuments.

The city basically consists of two settlements, hemmed between the sea and Mount Minthrion (Boz Tepe). On the west is a naturally defensive site, wedged between two deep ravines that narrow to an acropolis 1 km inland, on which the Upper City bears the accumulated masonry of an administrative citadel and palace of the Grand Komnenoi. Below it the Middle City is dominated by the domed basilican cathedral of the Chrysokephalos, remodelled as a coronation church in the 13th century, now the Orta Hisar Camii and principal mosque of Trabzon. Trebizond was an episcopal see from the 3rd century AD and Justinian dedicated its aqueduct to St Eugenios, its patron martyr. The Lower City reaches the sea to embrace an artificial harbour, the Molos, plausibly attributed to the emperor Hadrian (AD 117–38).

The second settlement lies about 1 km east of the walled city and acropolis, around the commercial harbour of Daphnous. Trebizond appears to have lacked many of the conveniences of a Hellenistic city, such as a theatre, although the cathedral probably stands on the site of a temple. But the modern street plan that links the city with the eastern suburb reveals a Milesian or Hippodamian grid, such as in Sinope, Histria, and Cherson, of blocks of about 100 ¥ 60 m, complete with a *cardo*, or main street. Four empty blocks suggest an agora, today the *meydan* or main square of Trabzon, around which all the Classical inscriptions have been found. This open space overlooking Daphnous is the oldest monument of Trebizond in continuous use; it became the supply base of the Roman campaign against Armenia in AD 58, from AD 64 of the legion XV Apollinaris, stationed at Satala (Sadak), of Justinian's 6th-century Laz and Persian wars, and of 9th- and 10th-century

Trebizond: 17th century engraving of the city which was the last Byzantine outpost to fall to the Turks, in 1461

Byzantine campaigns on the eastern frontier, when Trebizond was capital of the theme of Chaldia. From the 13th century it became the ceremonial square of the Grand Komnenoi and assembly point of caravans going south. Venice and Genoa built their own castles on the seaward side – the latter, Leontokastron (now Güzel Hisar), rivals that of their host emperors. The *cardo* (now Meraş Caddesi) remains the principal commercial quarter and bazaar of the city. The overland route to Tabriz, 32 staging posts away, reaching eventually to Central Asia, was already in decline after the break-up of the Mongol and Timurid empires before sultan Mehmet II conquered Trebizond in 1461. The *meydan* was reanimated after 1829, when western traders returned to exploit the overland route to Persia, but declined after 1869 when the Suez Canal offered a more convenient alternative. Trebizond is not a convenient port. Although Daphnous faces east, before the 20th century all goods had to be beached or taken ashore by double-ended lighters, including the first Ford motor car, rowed ashore in 1921. Until then pack animals assembled in the *meydan*; today the stables on its corner have been replaced by the garage of the Ulusoy Bus Company. Marco Polo was not the last to mislay his luggage on the square.

The Greek monuments of Trebizond reflect its periods of prosperity before the exchange of populations of 1923, since when its demography has been transformed. Of the first period of prosperity under the Grand Komnenoi, from 1204 to 1461, the Chrysokephalos in the Middle City and St Eugenios (Yeni Cuma Camii) in the eastern suburb are preserved as mosques, their paintings and *opus sectile* floors safely hidden. The paintings and mosaic floor of the 13th-century monastic church of St Sophia in the western suburb are preserved as a museum. Of the final period of Trapezuntine Greek prosperity the exotic house that Constantine Kapayiannides built in the summer resort of Kryonero (Soğuksu) above Trebizond in 1903 is happily preserved as a museum too, because Mustafa Kemal Atatürk wrote part of his will there in 1937. But, after the *meydan*, the most impressive surviving monument of Greek culture in the city is the Phrontisterion, which still stands between the square and the sea, beside the site of the colossal and now dynamited cathedral of St Gregory of Nyssa. Founded by Sebastos Kymenites in 1683, this institute of higher education could claim to be the first of its kind in the Black Sea – Kymenites went on to regulate others in modern Romania. The elegant 19th-century building of the Phrontisterion now houses the Anadolu Lisesi, which retains its function of enlightenment.

ANTHONY A.M. BRYER

See also Pontus

Summary

A city on the southeastern shore of the Black Sea, Trebizond was founded as a Greek colony in the 7th century BC. Its position on the land route to Central Asia made it an internationally important port. Commercially it flourished especially under the Grand Komnenoi from 1204 to 1461, and in the 19th century. Several Greek buildings

survive, having been converted for use as mosques, museums, or schools.

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Trikkala

City in Thessaly

Trikkala has had a long and varied history. As Trikka or Trike it appears in the *Iliad* as the home of the sons of Asclepius, one of whom, Machaon, was the chief physician of the Greeks. There are signs of Mycenaean and early Iron Age settlements in the area. In Classical times the town did not figure very prominently, situated as it was in a remote part of Thessaly, itself on the periphery of the Hellenic world. It appears occasionally in inscriptions. There is a shrine to Asclepius in the area. In 352 BC it suffered during the war between the Phocians and Philip of Macedon. It played a part in the wars between Rome and Macedon and that between Caesar and Pompey, occupying a strategic position at the foot of the high Zygos pass that provides the only route between Epirus and Thessaly. It was one of the cities that according to Procopius was fortified by Justinian (527–65), and there are traces of masonry from this period in the Turkish fortress, which is a conspicuous feature of the modern town. There is also one church that is of 6th-century origin.

After Justinian Trikkala passed from Byzantine control. In the 11th century, after Basil II (976–1025) had regained the Balkans, we still find Kekaumenos referring to Trikkala as a Vlach town. He is the first person to give the town its modern name, which may have a Vlach origin; as in Homer, there has always been some doubt as to whether it had two *k*s or one. Briefly captured by the Normans in 1082, Trikkala after the Fourth Crusade was sometimes in Byzantine, sometimes in Epirot control. The Serbs occupied it in 1348, and the last Serbian ruler in the region, Symeon Uroš, made it for a short time the capital of the fragment of the empire that he had inherited from his brother Stephan IV Dushan. The 13th and 14th centuries in spite of, or more probably because of, the frequent changes of ruler were great periods for church building, and most of Trikkala's Byzantine churches date from this period.

The Turks made Trikkala a provincial capital, the seat of a bey, and many Turks moved into the town. Remains of a picturesque Turkish quarter including a graceful mosque can be seen to this day, although all the Turks left after World War I and the exchange of populations. A third element of the population were the Vlachs from the villages of the Pindus who came down to the town in winter. Writing at the beginning of the 19th century, Leake comments on the mixed population, noting that many of the Turks were absentee landlords. At the time he wrote, Trikkala was controlled by Ali Pasha from Epirus, and the town had been sacked by marauding Albanians in 1770. Holland, writing of a journey in 1810, said that the population was mainly Turkish, and enumerates ten churches, seven mosques, and two synagogues. In 1853 Tozer talks of gleaming minarets, but these have vanished.

In 1881 Trikkala became Greek. Possibly because of the Turkish element in the population it did not play a particularly prominent part in the war of 1897 or the campaign to free Macedonia or the Balkan Wars, as might have been expected from a town that was on the borders of the unliberated areas of Macedonia and Epirus. The Balkan Wars moved back the frontier, and the exchange of populations removed the Turkish element. There was some brigandage between the wars, and the town suffered in World War II and the Civil War that followed it. The severed head of Ares Velouchiotis was displayed there in 1947. These not very distant events seem a far cry from the present state of Trikkala, pleasantly situated on the banks of the Lethaios river with the plains of Thessaly on the one side and the Pindus mountains on the other. Although only the third town of Thessaly after Larissa and Volos, to which it is attached by an erratic rail service, Trikkala acts as the centre for both the villages of the west Thessalian plain, and for the villages, many of them Vlach, of the east Pindus, the local bus station being a hive of activity.

T. J. WINNIFRITH

See also Thessaly

Summary

The third city of Thessaly after Larissa and Volos, Trikkala has existed since the Bronze Age and is mentioned by Homer. It had a shrine to Asclepius. As the gateway to the Zygos pass it was fortified by Justinian. Occupied by the Serbs in 1348, it was briefly the capital of their empire. Under the Ottomans it was a provincial capital. It became Greek in 1881.

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Triklinios, Dimitrios *c.*1280–*c.*1340

Scholar

Triklinios was born in Thessalonica probably around 1280. He began his scholarly career in his home town under the guidance of Thomas Magistros. One of his early editions is a rhetorical corpus (Hermogenes and Aphthonius) contained in an autograph of 1308, in which Triklinios still calls himself Triklines. In his edition of Hesiod (another autograph, dated both 1316 and 1319) Triklinios for the first time subscribes as Triklinios; before this he may already have undertaken an edition of Theocritus. He also corrected the text of what is our chief manuscript witness for the fables of Babrius. Compared with his later work, however, these are mere preliminaries.

During the second decade of the 14th century Triklinios came into contact with the school at Constantinople of Manuel Moschopoulos, who had become the successor of Maximos Planudes; Triklinios either stayed longer in the capital himself or at least visited it several times during those years. At Constantinople he worked with manuscripts written by Planudes and revised the Planudean Anthology. Moreover, the contacts with Moschopoulos and his school apparently stimulated Triklinios's interest in ancient metre and set him on his way to his most decisive contribution to scholarship: Triklinios in fact came furthest of all Byzantine scholars in grasping some basic principles of ancient Greek lyric metre. In this area scholars before Triklinios could draw upon not much more than the metrical handbook of Hephaestion and more or less ancient notes (scholia) connected with the poems of Pindar. Moschopoulos had already made a start in further elucidating the structures of Pindaric metre (he was the first to discover the triadic structure in Pindar's *Olympian Ode* 5), but Triklinios in time surpassed Moschopoulos considerably. He developed a firm understanding of the triadic strophic systems in Pindar's choral songs (in which the first two parts of a triad are characterized by elaborate responsion) and after that probably turned his attention to the lyric passages of the Attic dramatists, which (apart from some metrical scholia on Aristophanes) were almost totally devoid of any help with the metre. Working on the tragedians Triklinios gradually discovered that the lyrics in Greek drama had structures similar to Pindaric odes (i.e. triadic and internally responding), a really fundamental insight; by 1319 he seems to have come to a full appreciation of responsion in tragic lyrics.

Working with Moschopoulos apparently induced Triklinios to produce his first commentary on Pindar, which contained only the *Olympian Odes*. After returning to Thessalonica – where he was to stay until his death (around 1340) – he embarked on annotating and editing the Greek dramatists (his work on Euripides probably started only after he had already worked on Aristophanes and Sophocles, with Aeschylus probably coming last, i.e. not before 1330); he also expanded his commentary on Pindar beyond the *Olympian Odes*. Careful study of manuscripts connected with Triklinios (e.g. Triklinios's autograph of the "Byzantine triad" of the plays of Aristophanes, i.e. *Plutus*, *Clouds*, and *Frogs*, discovered by Koster in the 1950s) has shown how he proceeded: he copied a manuscript of Thomas Magistros, revised its text several times, added metrical notes and excerpts from the old scholia to Thomas's commentary, and thus created a new edition. Triklinios proceeded similarly in the case of the Euripidean triad: he based his own edition on Thomas's so-called second edition of Euripides and supplemented it over the years with additional notes; he also rewrote a number of pages, especially those containing choral parts, which he corrected considerably. Triklinios's "work in progress" on this and other authors well shows how he moved from a more primitive metrical annotation to a more complex one.

It is important to note that Triklinios also moved beyond the very restricted number of plays tackled by his predecessors as part of the normal Byzantine school curriculum – the "triad" of Aeschylus (*Prometheus*, *Persians*, *Seven against Thebes*), of Sophocles (*Ajax*, *Electra*, *Oedipus Tyrannus*), of Aristophanes (see above), and seven plays by Euripides. Thus, among the five tragedies of Aeschylus edited by Triklinios there were two (*Agamemnon* and *Eumenides*) that had previously been ignored. Of Sophocles, Triklinios edited all seven plays still extant, basing this edition on a text by Thomas Magistros (who had supplied only four tragedies with notes), on Moschopoulos's recension of the Byzantine triad, and on one or two "old" (i.e. pre-Palaiologan) manuscripts. Triklinios's edition of Aristophanes contained eight plays instead of the former three. Most important, however, was his edition of all the surviving plays of Euripides: he found the sole surviving manuscript of the so-called alphabetic plays of Euripides and revised and annotated it.

By this indefatigable activity over many years, Triklinios became the greatest of all Byzantine editors of Classical Greek texts. He wrote introductions and explanatory notes for the metre of each part of the plays he commented upon, and he usually tried to base his editions on several manuscripts, a practice not yet very common in his time (or afterwards). It was in these editions of dramatic texts that Triklinios reaped a rich harvest of corrections based on his superior knowledge of metre; Triklinios in fact is the only Byzantine scholar whose name still appears in the critical apparatus of modern editions of ancient texts. Apart from his editorial work, Triklinios had other scholarly interests as well, for example in astronomy (he wrote an essay on lunar theory) and in geography (he annotated a manuscript of Ptolemy's *Geography*).

In the later decades of his life, contacts between Thessalonica and Constantinople became much more precarious (due to the constantly deteriorating political situation of the dwindling empire and Thessalonica's growing isolation), so that Triklinios's final editions with their remarkable philological achievements apparently remained unknown in Constantinople until the beginning of the 15th century. Between 1423 and perhaps 1432 an increased interest in Triklinios's philological contributions is documented by some manuscripts written then (in the circle of John Chortasmenos); another such period already postdates the fall of the empire (1489–95: manuscripts produced in Crete, where the material remains of Triklinios's scholarship had been transmitted). Every time, however, that Triklinios's work was brought to the attention of scholars, they have been justifiably enthusiastic about his mastery of the principles of ancient Greek metre, the level of which had not been attained since Alexandrian times and was reached again only several centuries afterwards in western philology. Already one of Triklinios's pupils in his awe

called him a "mystagogue", Wilamowitz (1889) acclaimed him as the first modern critic of tragedy, and still today his achievement is judged as "admirable on any count" (Zuntz, 1965).

HEINZ-GÜNTHER NESSELRATH

See also Scholarship

Biography

Born in Thessalonica *c.*1280, Triklinios was a pupil of Thomas Magistros. Visiting Constantinople he had contact with the school of Manuel Moschopoulos and worked on manuscripts copied by Maximos Planudes. He developed an unprecedented understanding of ancient lyric metre and wrote a commentary on Pindar. He also edited the texts of the three great tragedians of Classical Athens, and of Aristophanes. He died *c.*1340.

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Trikoupis, Charilaos 1832–1896

Politician

Charilaos Trikoupis was the most important Greek reformer of the 19th century. His contribution was multifaceted. He was responsible for ensuring that the royal head of state would refrain from granting a mandate to governments that lacked the confidence of parliament, he introduced legislation that secured the tenure of civil servants, he created a modern political party based on liberal democratic principles as well as discipline, he improved the readiness of the armed forces and military education, and, most of all, he attempted the monumental task of creating the infrastructure necessary for the take-off of the Greek economy. His thrust, however, was impeded by unfavourable international circumstances and his foreign loans therefore were instrumental in inflicting bankruptcy on the state. Although he did not live to witness the fruition of his strategy for growth, subsequent generations of politicians reaped the harvest of his labour.

Son of Spyridon Trikoupis (historian and prime minister), he studied law in Athens and Paris and entered the diplomatic service in 1856. While serving in London he was elected representative of the city's Greek community in the Hellenic parliament. As a parliamentarian, Trikoupis made good use of his diplomatic skill during the negotiations for the 1864 accession of the Ionian islands to Greece. In 1865 he resigned from the diplomatic service and was elected representative of Missolonghi, his parental home-town. In 1866 he became foreign minister in a government headed by his future political opponent, Alexander Koumoundouros, and signed a treaty with Serbia. During the 1874 constitutional crisis his famous article, "Who is to blame?", criticizing royal interventions in parliamentary politics, earned him a brief prison sentence, but his position was vindicated. He was foreign minister again in the 1877 grand coalition under Constantine Kanaris and in 1880, after the fall of a Koumoundouros government, he became prime minister. His 1882 government was the first of several, the duration of which allowed his reforms to take effect. His defeat in 1885 by his populist opponent Theodoros Deliyannis reflected public discontent with his austerity programme. The see-saw of victory and defeat between Trikoupis and Deliyannis continued during the decade of 1886–96, but with the bankruptcy of 1893 the former's popularity waned until his abject electoral defeat in 1895. He died in a Parisian hotel a year later while Greece was hosting the first modern Olympic Games.

Trikoupis's times constitute an interlude between two eras of modern history. The transition from steam to electricity was accompanied by a protracted recession of the more developed Western economies with a concomitant dearth of domestic demand for capital. In their quest for customers many Western banks turned to the states of the developing periphery of Europe and Trikoupis was quick to embrace the opportunity of available credit to spur the growth of his country's economy. His substantial investment in the construction of railway networks was aimed at unifying disparate agricultural regions into an expanded market. In this project Trikoupis was repeating the experiment of western European industrial prototypes. His venture however yielded fewer economic results in the short term than was anticipated. Domestic markets were still in their infancy and could not be induced technologically to a state of development that required a few decades of growth and social transformation. Although this and other public works laid the infrastructure of a transportation system that proved invaluable for the future take-off of the Greek economy, the railways of Trikoupis were in his time perceived as a premature and costly undertaking that benefited speculators, financiers, and international middlemen. Such people became a familiar spectacle in the Greek capital and the object of criticism by Trikoupis's chief political opponent, Deliyannis. The latter was an exponent of splendid isolation from international financial influences and a firm believer in an agrarian economy that aspired to self-sufficiency, rather than economic growth. Deliyannis's major flaw, however, was his predilection for irredentist adventures that proved inconsistent with his pipe dream of independence from foreign creditors and great-power involvement. His views in fact caused more foreign

intervention in Greek affairs than Trikoupis's own policy of growth.

At about the same time, Russia's return to Balkan politics after a long period of absence, following its Crimean misadventure, revived the slumbering Eastern Question. The Russo-Turkish war that ended in 1878 with the San Stefano treaty encouraged the irredentist debate in the Balkans, and Greek governments were faced with the dilemma between Trikoupis's priority of domestic development and Deliyannis's agenda of territorial aggrandizement. Trikoupis had visited Serbia, Bulgaria, and Romania in an abortive attempt to forge a Balkan alliance in 1891 but was soon disappointed and thereafter pursued a policy of abstaining from confrontations with Turkey. In the Cretan uprising of 1889 he went as far as to discourage the insurgents and was for that reason defeated in the elections.

The Graeco-Turkish war of 1897 was largely created by the political camp that considered irredentist priorities more pressing than development and growth. The disastrous outcome of the war nevertheless vindicated Trikoupis.

THANOS M. VEREMIS

Biography

Born in Nauplia in 1832 the son of prime minister Spyridon Trikoupis, Charilaos Trikoupis studied law in Athens and Paris. He entered the diplomatic service in 1856. In 1865 he became MP for Missolonghi and in 1866 foreign minister. He was five times prime minister: 1880, 1882–85, 1886–90, 1892, 1893–95. He modernized the economy and the armed forces. He died in Paris in 1896.

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Tripolis

City in Arcadia

Tripolis, the capital city of Arcadia, lies at the foot of Mount Mainalon, in the centre of the Arcadian plain at an altitude of 655 m above sea level, surrounded by Mainalon, Ktenias, Artemision, Parthenion, Taygetus, and the mountains of Dimitsana. Due to its geographical position, it is the administrative centre of the Peloponnese and has between 30,000 and 35,000 inhabitants. The city's economy depends on several industrial units related to leather dressing, carpet making, weaving, cheese manufacture, etc. Its inhabitants are also engaged in trade, cattle breeding, and agriculture. In the vicinity there are marble quarries as well as local iron ores. In the 20th century Tripolis suffered the greatest mass emigration of all Greek regions.

In 1476 Stefano Magno in his *Estratti degli Annali Veneti* referred to "Dropoliza" as one of the deserted castles of the Peloponnese and we find the same toponym on maps dating from the 16th century. As far as the provenance of the name is concerned, it is generally accepted that the name Dropoliza, which changed in the 19th century to the literary form Tripolis, derived from the Slavonic word *dabr*, which means oak tree. This agrees with Pausanias' description (*c.*AD 150) which confirmed that the place was full of oak trees. The originally obscure settlement began to develop after the conquest of Mouchli(on) by the Ottoman Turks in 1458, but the name Dropoliza is rarely mentioned during the first two centuries of Ottoman rule. In the middle of the 17th century sources refer to revolutionary activity by several people originating from Tripolis, and references become more frequent after the end of the Turko-Venetian war (1686–99), when the Peloponnese was occupied by the Venetians. The *teritorrio* of Tripolitza had a population of no more than 8000, including 1200 inhabitants of the town of Tripolis and also about 50 large villages.

The reoccupation of the Peloponnese by the Turks in 1715 was an important event for the history of the town. At first it was one of the 17 *vileatia* (provinces) into which the region was divided and after 1719 it became the seat of the pasha of the Peloponnese. Its population increased gradually and by the end of the 18th century it had reached 10,000 inhabitants, of whom one quarter were Turks. During the Orloff rebellion (1770) the town was besieged by the Russians and the Peloponnesians and was badly damaged. Until 1799 Tripolis suffered continuous disasters and plunderings by Albanian troops. From 1807 to 1812 Veli Pasha, the second son of Ali Pasha, was commander of the town. In the last decade before the revolution it was the most important military base in southern Greece. The siege of Tripolis by the Greeks started in the first days of April 1821 and lasted five months, resulting in its capture by Theodore Kolokotronis and his men on 23 September 1821; this victory was the first important prize of the Greek revolution. After the liberation, Patras, Nauplia, Kalamata, and Tripolis became the most significant administrative centres of the Peloponnese, which was then divided into five prefectures. Tripolis – the name was established at that period – was the capital of the prefecture of Messenia. In February 1822 it became the seat of the Peloponnesian Senate. In June 1825 Ibrahim conquered Tripolis, and destroyed it completely on 16 February 1828. In 1834 the Court of First Instance was installed there, as well as one of the two courts of appeal in Greece. During the 19th century Tripolis showed important progress in the cultural and economic fields.

The town of Tripolis, although totally destroyed in 1828 by Ibrahim, still preserves important architectural monuments. The cathedral of Hagios Vasileios and the church of Hagioi Taxiarches, the Neoclassical Malliaropouleion Municipal Theatre, Mantzouneios Municipal Library, town hall, and court of justice are some of the most important traditional buildings in the town. The Archaeological Museum (1895–1905), which was designed by the famous Austrian

architect Ernst Ziller, houses the cultural and archaeological treasures of Arcadia. Many important personalities were born in Tripolis, including the poet Konstantinos Karyotakes, the writer Nikos Gatsos, the academic Nikos Veis, the philologists G. Mystriotes and D. Goudes, and the writers T. Valtinos, Y. Panou, B. Benopoulos, G. Lambrakis, A. Petronotes, and the Angelopoulos brothers.

CHRYSANTHI GALLOU

See also Arcadia

Summary

The capital of Arcadia, Tripolis is the administrative centre of the Peloponnese. The town was of little importance before the 17th century. In 1719 it became the seat of the pasha of the Peloponnese. It was liberated in 1821 and became the seat of the Peloponnesian Senate. It was destroyed by Ibrahim in 1828 but recovered later in the 19th century.

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Trojan War

The Trojan war was a legendary expedition undertaken by the Mycenaean Greeks against the people of Troy, the modern Hisarlik which lies in northwest Asia Minor, 6.5 km from the Aegean coast. This military operation was made famous mainly through the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, two epic poems attributed to the Archaic poet Homer.

Hisarlik's identification with the Homeric Troy has never been proved, but it is generally assumed that the legends relating the Trojan War also encompass elements of historical truth. It is plausible that the Mycenaean Greeks could have destroyed Troy between 1270 and 1190 BC; Troy VIIa – which lasted until 1190 BC – is considered by Carl Blegen to be the Homeric city, but others push the date of the sack back to *c.*1270 BC, the time that coincides with the peak of power of both Mycenaean Greece and Troy. According to Thucydides, the Achaeans' sack of Troy led to no permanent settlement in the Troad; instead the Greeks returned home with their plunder to face destructions connected with the Dorian invasion, which put an end to the Mycenaean period.

Neither the *Iliad* nor the *Odyssey* gives a comprehensive account of the events related to the Trojan War. The *Iliad* concentrates on only four days of fighting in the tenth and last year of the war and its major theme is Achilles' anger over Briseis, who was given to him as booty and subsequently taken away from him by Agamemnon. The *Odyssey* includes consecutive flashbacks of Odysseus' adventurous trip home, and its second half is devoted to Odysseus' cunning restoration of order in Ithaca.

Several other aspects of these events were covered by the cyclic epics, subsequent hexameter poems reproducing the repertoire of the oral bards and indicative of the heroic poetry before Homer. Among them, the *Cypria* narrates the causes of the Trojan War, the judgement of Paris, the abduction of Helen, and the gathering of the Greeks in Aulis; the *Aethiopis* recounts the story of Amazon Penthesileia and the death of Achilles; the *Sack of Ilium* deals with events connected with the Greek victory such as the ruse of the wooden horse and the deaths of Priam and Astyanax; the *Telegonia* narrates the later adventures and the death of Odysseus.

The Trojan War is widely represented on Greek vases, sculpture, and architecture. Among the earliest Archaic representations of scenes from the Trojan War are the wooden horse on the 7th-century pithos of Mykonos (still in situ), the pediments of the temple of Aphaia Athena in Aegina, and several black-figure vases from Athens and elsewhere. Famous later representations include the metopes from the north side of the Parthenon and the temple of Asclepius in Epidaurus.

Subsequent Greek literature gives centre stage to the Trojan War. Both Herodotus and Thucydides attempt to provide rational accounts of the war, but Stesichorus' famous *Palinode* and Sappho's ode to Helen's passion for Paris (fr. 16 L-P) are indicative samples of the poets' early fascination with the legendary beauty of the queen of Sparta. Helen, the dehumanizing power of the war, and the ambiguities of military heroism are also some of the main themes developed further in the Athenian tragedies of the 5th century BC. Famous among those surviving are Aeschylus' *Agamemnon*, Sophocles' *Philoctetes*, and Euripides' *Hecuba*, *Andromache*, *Troades*, and *Iphigeneia in Aulis*. In post-Classical times *Hecuba* was one of the three tragic plays of the Byzantine academic canon. In early modern times the earliest attempts at the revival of tragedy include P. Katsaitis' *Tragedy of Iphigeneia* (1720) and Metastasios' *Achilles en Skyro* from the period of the Greek Enlightenment (1794).

The Trojan War and its deeply human conflicts have survived in Greek literature to the present day. Modern literature, mainly of the late 19th and the 20th century, has given remarkable centrality to the Trojan myth. Constantine Cavafy's famous *Ithaca* (1905–1915) is the first in a series of symbolic interpretations of Odysseus' wanderings as an inexhaustible source of self-learning and self-renewal; Nikos Kazantzakis' *Odysseia* (1938), with Odysseus involved in a revolt against Pharaoh in Egypt and in an uprising of workers and slaves in Knossos, is another striking example.

Ancient Troy is rooted in the poets' subconscious life. It is part of a continuum: in Angelos Sikelianos's *Lyrikos Vios* the epic coexists with folk elements and Odysseus is linked with Solomos and Palamas. In poems such as George Seferis's *King of Asine* (1940) and *Helen* a series of images evocative of the nation's past becomes the means that captures the mood of current historical moments. The Homeric themes give depth to modern Greek worries and visions and the Homeric figures are anachronistically revived in modern Greek society. So Takis

Trojan War: Sophia Schliemann wearing the so-called Treasure of Priam, discovered by her husband at Troy

Sinopoulos portrays Helen and Elpenor in a taxi or on the train from Larissa; similarly, Yiannis Ritsos' Agamemnon, Heleni, and Iphigeneia, even though explicitly evoking their mythical past, are familiar figures of modern Greek reality, whose disturbingly disrupted lives reflect the political and social turbulence of this reality that Ritsos wants to denounce.

Alongside the existential projection of the Trojan myth into modern Greek poetry, the Trojan War has had a separate revival with a wider social impact in many modern performances of Greek tragedy. Even though several Trojan plays – such as Euripides' *Helen* – were not properly re-established until the 1960s, the Trojan saga was the subject of engagingly powerful performances; notable among them were Marika Kotopouli's acclaimed Hecuba in the Panathenaic Stadium (1927), when the chorus of the defeated Trojan women-refugees recalled recent poignant memories of the Asia Minor defeat, and Anna Synodinou's moving Andromache in the theatre of Dodona (1963).

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Tsakonians

Ethnic group from the eastern Peloponnese

There are still today on Mount Parnon in the eastern Peloponnese a few villages where Tsakonian is spoken. This is a language of Greek origin, but it is virtually unintelligible to other Greeks. Alone among modern Greek dialects Tsakonian appears to derive not from the Attic koine, but from Doric, the dialect of ancient Sparta, which is parodied by Aristophanes, appears on inscriptions, and is recorded in the 5th century AD by Hesychius. The most obvious feature of the dialect is the substitution of alpha for eta. Thus "day" in Tsakonian is *hamera* (instead of *hemera*), "mother" is *mate* (instead of *metera*). Another feature of ancient Spartan apparent in Tsakonian is the rhotacism that turns *tes hemeras* into *tar ameri*. The dialect has other peculiarities that owe nothing to Spartan origins, in particular the fact that the present and imperfect tenses can only be found in a periphrastic form. Thus "I see" is *emi horu* or *emi horua* if the speaker is feminine, and "I was seeing" is *ema horu*.

The similarity between the words *Tsakones* and *Lakones* has led both ancient and modern writers to claim a further proof of this remarkable survival, but the similarity may be coincidental. The Spartans called themselves Lakedaimonians rather than Lakonians and the change from *l* to *ts* is not explicable, although other consonants do change to *ts*, *kai* becoming *tse*. The first reference to Tsakonians is in the *Chronicle of Monemvasia* (*c.*1000 AD). This describes them as living in the neighbourhood of that town, simultaneously claiming that the Lakonians, still preserving their dialect, had fled to Italy; one version of this chronicle expressly links Lakonians and Tsakonians. Other medieval sources are less specific about the Lakonian origins of the Tsakonians, and indeed do not necessarily describe them as an ethnic group or place them in the

Peloponnese. Thus Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos (913–59) among others mentions Tsekones as a kind of military corps, and we find Tsekones and Tsakones referred to in Thessaly and Macedonia. Sometimes the term is used with a derogatory religious sense to describe Paulician heretics.

In the 14th century the *Chronicle of the Morea* places Tsakonia in the Peloponnese without any very precise location, and in the 15th century Theodore Palaiologos mentions Tsakonia and the names of some existing Tsakonian villages such as Prastos and Kastanista. In 1668 the Turkish traveller Evliya Çelebi appears to place Tsakonia to the west rather than the north of Monemvasia. This may be a mistake, but it might suggest that the dialect was once spoken more widely. When philologists discovered Tsakonians at the end of the 18th century, they were confined to Cynouria, a small area of north-eastern Laconia, and perhaps numbered about 10,000 people. In the past few years, with new roads in the interior and Leonidion on the coast more accessible by sea, Tsakonians have been subject to the modern pressures that destroy minority languages.

Sparta was a conservative state and tried to preserve its particular constitution even in the Hellenistic age. There is evidence, however, that in the towns koine rapidly prevailed, and 2nd-century AD inscriptions in Sparta do not differ from those in Athens. It was different in remote rural areas. Two other factors combined to keep a Dorian dialect going. Laconia was reluctant to accept Christianity with its centralizing tendency, and we hear of paganism in Mani as late as the 8th century. Moreover the Slav invasions of the 6th and 7th centuries would cut off Dorian pockets from their fellow Greek speakers. The slow reclamation of mainland Greece from the Slavs would require special bodies of soldiers, and it is therefore not surprising that we find Tsakones both in the Peloponnese and elsewhere, although only in the former did the name last and only in the former did they speak a dialect derived from ancient Spartan. Attempts to link the language of the Tsakonians in Cynouria with other odd dialects such as the language of Silli in Asia Minor (Pernot, 1934) and even the language of the Vlachs in the Pindus (Katsanes, 1989) seem far fetched, although there were Tsakonian colonies in the Propontis that after the transfer of the populations managed to preserve their dialect for a time in the Macedonian village of Chionades. The number of those stubbornly speaking Tsakonian now is about 300, and the fate of the language seems as doomed as that of the 300 who fought at Thermopylae.

T.J. WINNIFRITH

See also Dorians

Summary

Tsakonians are a people who live in the eastern Peloponnese and speak a language that appears to derive from Doric. Attempts to link this Tsakonian language with Lakonian are unproved. Today Tsakonian speakers number about 300.

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Tsarouchis, Ioannis 1910–1989

Painter, stage designer, and director

The painter Ioannis Tsarouchis was born into an affluent merchant family. Tsarouchis's talent extended to many fields, but it is no exaggeration to style him the father of postwar Greek painting. His first period proper as a professional painter began in 1936 following his studies under Konstantinos Parthenis at the School of Fine Arts in Athens from 1928 to 1934. He had also been an apprentice, from 1930 to 1934, in the workshop of the painter Photis Kontoglou who introduced him to the secrets of Byzantine painting and to the whole culture of Byzantium in general. Tsarouchis's second period, highly influenced by the European Renaissance, may be said to have begun in 1969 and terminated with his death.

For Tsarouchis, as for many Greek artists, Paris was to become a second home. In 1936, on his first period of travels abroad, he met Matisse, Laurens, and Giacometti in Paris. His first one-man show was held in Paris in 1951 and in London later that year. Moreover, from 1967 to 1984 Paris was Tsarouchis's home. Between 1951 and 1957, he established a fruitful relationship with the Iolas Gallery in New York. Tsarouchis was probably the first Greek painter that could be classed as a European artist, but he by no means abandoned the long and multifarious artistic tradition of his homeland.

From Kontoglou, Tsarouchis learnt that inspiration is something totally different from tradition. In the 1930s one recognizes in Tsarouchis's works powerful influences from contemporary European painting, especially Matisse. Such influences, however, were harmoniously blended with elements drawn from the traditional Greek shadow theatre (*Karaghiozis*), from the art of the Greek folk painter Theophilos Chatzimichail, from Byzantine art, ancient Greek Classical art, and, of course, from the Egyptian Fayum portraits. All these influences are recognizable in most of Tsarouchis's output. His first main period is marked by youthful vitality and new ideas. His second period, however, from 1969, is more contemplative and attains a certain maturity, with memories of Renaissance art and, more particularly, of the art of 17th-century Italy. His canvasses combine the formality of Byzantine style with a use of colour and a freedom typical of the Renaissance. He also executed several works of a distinctive baroque flavour, and was particularly aware of Dutch painting as represented by Vermeer, but also of ancient Greek art via the Pompeii wall paintings.

Much has been said and written about the "Greekness" of Tsarouchis's work, especially of that executed in the 1930s. But nothing can replace the simple contemplation of the works themselves. Since Greece itself lies on the border between East and West, Tsarouchis strongly believed that national traditions could be used in a fecund combination with outside influences. He explains: "Do not accept it with enthusiasm nor reject it with hate, treat it as something inevitable." The artistic expression of this belief is evident in both periods in the thousands of variations he made on individual themes. Here, according to Tsarouchis, the world could be faithfully reflected. All his work, except for a short period of experimentation with cubism, surrealism, and abstract art, falls within this category.

Tsarouchis introduced Greek painting to a new repertoire of subject matter which reflected his basic thinking. Different types drawn from the life of the people: soldiers, sailors, and village women among the most popular. His central subject was the human being, most importantly the male nude. Much later, when he had isolated himself from people, he painted more and more landscapes and still lifes. He painted a disappearing world: the large Neoclassical houses and the grand coffee houses of Athens. In his works there is a tenacious sadness in the eyes of his fellow man. His art is a painted story, quite uneven, conservative yet revolutionary, somewhere between nostalgia and reality, imbued with a positive moral bearing and a conscious miniaturism.

Tsarouchis was also closely involved with stage design and the theatre in general. In 1935 he was stage designer of the National Theatre in Athens. Other theatres he worked with included the Theatro Khun, the ancient theatre at Epidaurus, the Dallas Civic Opera of Texas, Covent Garden in London, La Scala at Milan, the Olympico at Vicenza, and the National Popular Theatre of Paris. Tsarouchis designed the decor and costumes for Cherubini's opera *Medea*, which became a leading success for Maria Callas. Under his direction, Euripides' *Women of Troy* was staged in 1978 in the centre of Athens. With good sense and a new outlook on ancient drama, Tsarouchis transformed stage design in this field. In 1983 Aeschylus' *Seven against Thebes* was directed by him in Thebes. Both plays were performed in his translations from the ancient Greek. He also wrote humorous pantomimes.

Besides painting, the young Tsarouchis between 1935 and 1937 wrote surrealist poems that were published as a collection in 1980. In December 1986 a book of some 300 pages was published with articles he had written over the years about art and artists. Within two months it was in its third printing.

HANS HENDRIKX

Biography

Born in Piraeus in 1910, Tsarouchis was a pupil of Konstantinos Parthenis at the School of Fine Arts in Athens (1928–34). He was also an apprentice in the workshop of Photis Kontoglou (1930–34). He specialized in painting the male nude, landscapes, and still lifes. He lived in Paris 1967–84. He also designed and directed for the theatre. He died in Athens in 1989.

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Turkey

The modern republic of Turkey was born from the ruins of the Ottoman empire after World War I, in 1923. Established partly in Europe (area of 23,623 sq km) and mostly in Asia (area of 756,953 sq km), it has a population of 60.8 million. European Turkey lies west of the Dardanelles, the Sea of Marmara, and the Bosporus; these link the Black Sea with the Mediterranean, giving the country control of important waterways. Asian Turkey, known also as Anatolia, with its fertile coastal plains constitutes the mainland. The geostrategic importance of the country "at a multifold crossroads between East and West, North and South, Christendom and Islam", and the fact that it was the main obstacle to Soviet expansion in the Mediterranean, "the southeast keystone of NATO during the Cold War", facilitated its integration into the Atlantic Alliance and its ties with western Europe and the United States.

There had been a close relationship between Greeks and Turks inside the Ottoman empire where Greeks lived for more than four centuries under Turkish domination. In 1923 Mustafa Kemal (later Atatürk) proclaimed the end of the Ottoman empire and created the nation state of Turkey. Encouraged by the hostility of some of the Allies (notably the French and the Italians) to Greece's presence in Asia Minor, Kemal refused to accept the Treaty of Sèvres signed by the sultan's delegation in August 1920. Receiving support from the Soviets who considered that the Greeks were acting on behalf of British imperialism, Kemal gained control of Anatolia. Abandoned by the British after Lloyd George's resignation, the Greeks were forced in August 1922 to evacuate Smyrna, which was sacked and looted. Greece had to absorb about a million and a half refugees under the terms of the exchange of populations. The Turks who were evacuated from Greece to Turkey amounted to fewer than 400,000. With the abandonment of the Treaty of Sèvres Greece lost Asia Minor, Eastern Thrace, and the islands of Imbros and Tenedos. Under the Treaty of Lausanne, signed in 1923, which confirmed these losses for Greece, Turkey renounced its claims on Cyprus in favour of Britain.

The debacle of 1922 remains a trauma for Greeks, the greatest national disaster since the fall of Constantinople in 1453. The Greek culture and population that had been established in Asia Minor for 3000 years were driven out. But the Lausanne treaty led to a normalization of Graeco-Turkish relations and a brief period of friendship followed.

Relations between the two countries later became hostile, however, and came dangerously close to a clash. A number of factors account for the deterioration of relations: the Turkish

invasion and occupation of northern Cyprus, the Aegean dispute, and the question of minorities.

As far as minorities are concerned, the exchange of populations was not applied to the Muslims of western Thrace or to the Greeks of Constantinople. About 250,000 Greeks remained in Constantinople and on the islands of Imbros and Tenedos, while about 120,000 Muslims stayed in western Thrace. The Greek minority in Constantinople suffered continual harassment. For instance, in November 1942 the emergency tax called *varlik vergisi* (wealth tax) was imposed upon the community, a measure that caused distress and loss of property. In September 1955 anti-Greek riots encouraged by government officials led to the destruction of many churches as well as Greek businesses and properties. Thousands of Greeks were forced to leave Constantinople in an exodus that marked the end of the Greek community there. After the coup d'etat of 1960 the Turkish prime minister Menderes and the foreign minister Zorlu were subsequently charged and found guilty of inciting the riots.

Nevertheless the harassment of the tiny Greek minority continued. In 1964–65, 9000 Greeks were expelled and the Turkish government confiscated their property. In addition, the Turkish authorities placed restrictions on Greek educational establishments and in some cases closed them. From the 250,000 Greeks living in Constantinople in 1923, their number has declined to an anaemic 3000 consisting mostly of elderly people, while the Muslim minority in Western Thrace has not only prospered but is represented in the Greek parliament. Greece and the Greek diaspora in the US have also raised the case of the mistreatment and harassment of the ecumenical patriarchate of Constantinople and the restrictions imposed on it contrary to the Treaty of Lausanne and international law.

Even though relations remain tense, Greece and Turkey are allies inside NATO and under American influence. Efforts are made from time to time to reduce tension and improve the relationship. Yet these efforts are hampered by several factors: the political instability in Turkey, the Kurdish situation, and the rise of Islamic fundamentalism. Movements towards a "re-Islamization" and "re-Ottomanization" of Turkey's foreign policy also hinder these efforts.

Only increased democratization in Turkey and a respect for human rights may help to establish better relations with Greece. As long as the country remains under military supervision with what is considered from a Greek point of view to be an expansionist foreign policy – in Cyprus, in the Aegean, and even in the Balkans – relations between the two countries will continue to be tense and may become worse. Nevertheless, if we take the example of Franco-German reconciliation in the postwar period, there is no reason to assume that Greece and Turkey will be rivals for ever and that beneficial cooperation between the two countries is impossible.

STEPHANOS CONSTANTINIDES

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Tyranny

The word "tyranny" was almost certainly Lydian in origin. From its first use in Greek – in a fragmentary poem of the 7th century BC by Archilochus of Paros – it was associated with the kingdoms of the Near East. The speaker in Archilochus' poem denies any ambition for the wealth of the Lydian king Gyges or for a great tyranny: "these things are far from my eyes". The term was subsequently applied, however, to a number of Greek figures – Pheidon of Argos, Polycrates of Samos, Cypselus and Periander of Corinth, Cleisthenes of Sicyon, Pisistratus and Hippias of Athens – who came to exercise dominant positions within their cities in the Archaic period of Greek history (7th to 6th centuries BC). These men were, characteristically, fringe members of a ruling elite of their city who took power with the help of a faction of supporters. In some cases it is possible that they represented a body of those who felt excluded – due to their status or their geographical position within the city's territory – from the political constitution. The common view, however, that the Archaic tyrants were the product of a newly wealthy class of hoplites (or heavily armed soldiers) who felt that their contribution to the city merited a share in its political offices, is, at the very least, a caricature. Many tyrants seized power with no sign of any great ground-swell of support, sometimes with only a handful of men. Arguably tyrants were motivated by little more than a desire for glory and power.

There are some signs of the contemporary popularity of the Archaic tyrants. Stories of miraculous escapes from death or of their usurpation being forecast by miracles may suggest that their rule was seen as divinely sponsored. Later writers often dwell on the mild and constitutional nature of tyrannical rule: tyrants are seen as exercising an excessive influence on the selection of magistrates but allowing such magistrates to rule according to the constitution of the city – even though such constitutions were themselves probably very ill defined. Tyrants seem often to have initiated massive building projects; such largesse must have bought them popularity. Tyranny, nevertheless, came to be seen as archetypally unconstitutional, often contrasted with kingship, the archetypally constitutional form of monarchy. This view of tyranny was first defined in theoretical terms by the historian Herodotus in his *Debate on the Constitutions*, a discussion between three Persians, shaped also by a stereotypical image of oriental kingdoms, on the relative merits of oligarchy, democracy, and tyranny. The tyrant, according to the Persian Otanes, "disturbs the ancestral laws,

rapes women, and kills men without trial"; the unaccountability of a monarch will necessarily breed hubris and violence. Stories abounded of the crimes of tyrants, perhaps most colourfully of the bronze bull in which Phalaris of Acragas roasted his enemies.

Though some such stories may have a historical kernel, to a large extent they probably derive from the backlash subsequent to the fall of a tyranny. Tyrannical rule rarely lasted more than two generations. Inherited rule seemed perhaps more patently unjust. Stories of cruelty tend to be focused on the second rather than the first generation. In some cities – Corinth is the most prominent example – tyranny was replaced by a broader oligarchic clique. In Athens, however, the city for which there is the best evidence, tyranny was followed by democracy. The idea of tyranny indeed seems to have been defined in opposition to the ideal of accountable, democratic government. When the early 6th-century BC Athenian reformer Solon had warned of the threat of tyranny in Athens, he seemed to conceive that men might aspire to tyranny. The imaginary tyrant was an ever-present bogeyman of the democracy. The institution of ostracism (a period of ten years' exile imposed on leading politicians) was probably introduced, for example, as a safeguard against the excessive power of individuals in response to the expulsion of the Athenian tyrants. The charge of aiming for tyranny was one that was frequently laid against Athenian leaders, most famously Alcibiades.

The distinction between tyranny and democracy took on an additional sharpness of focus, and a patriotic gloss, in the light of the Persian Wars fought between the Persian kings Darius and Xerxes and the cities of Greece (490–479 BC). The Persians had been responsible for maintaining a number of petty tyrants in power within their sphere of influence in Asia Minor. The association of tyranny with the Persian enemy was ensured in Athens by the participation of Hippias, the expelled Athenian tyrant, in the Persian campaign that culminated in the battle of Marathon (490 BC). Already in Aeschylus' play the *Persians*, performed in 472 BC, the superiority of the Athenian system of government is seen as a crucial factor in the Greeks' victory. Like the tyrants of Archaic Greece, Darius, Xerxes, and subsquent Persian kings down to Darius III (the defeated opponent of Alexander the Great) were portrayed in an almost consistently lurid light: whimsically cruel, sexually decadent, surrounded by powerful queens and a population of slavish "yes-men".

In addition to the Archaic tyrants, another group of rulers are commonly referred to as tyrants: Gelon and Hieron of Syracuse in the 5th century BC and Dionysius I and II in the 4th. These Classical tyrants are usually seen as being very different in character from their Archaic counterparts: essentially military dictators, in the size of their power bases they preshadowed the rule of the Hellenistic kings who followed on from Alexander's conquest of the Near East. But just as in the case of the Archaic tyrants – where, however, the simultaneous appearance of so many figures lends the group an artificial coherence – tyranny is essentially in the eye of the beholder, an accusation rather than a position. The charge of tyranny was one that could even be turned against Athens. The Athenian writers Aristophanes and Thucydides (as well as the pamphlet often known as the *Old Oligarch*) reflect in their work the idea that the Athenian dominance over their allies in the 5th century BC also constituted a tyranny. A compelling argument makes out that Herodotus, writing his *Histories* in the early years of the Peloponnesian War, draws parallels between the empires of the Athenians and the Persians before them.

In the period of the Roman empire the charge of tyranny was regularly laid against imperial usurpers. A hostile tradition could even brand a successful emperor a tyrant: the Byzantine historian Socrates terms Constantine a tyrant. The same extremes of tyranny and freedom were predictably potent – though they took on a different colouring – in the period of the independence movement: the anonymous *Hellenic Nomarchy* of 1806 gave two explanations – the Church and the Greek diaspora – for why Greece was "bound with the fetters of tyranny". As Ypsilantis crossed the river Pruth between Bessarabia and Moldavia at the launch of the War of Independence in March 1821, he invoked the shades of Themistocles and Leonidas, the generals of the Persian Wars, in the struggle to bring "liberty to the classical land of Greece". Even today the assertion in Aeschylus' *Persians* that the Athenians are "slaves to no man", by implicit contrast to the Persians, is met in performance in Athens by rapturous applause – the result, arguably, of an equation of the Persians with a more recent enemy.

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Tzanes, Emmanuel *c.*1610–1690

Painter and man of letters

Emmanuel Tzanes, whose surname was Bounialis, was a notable 17th-century figure. Known mainly as a painter, he

also wrote poetry (verses by him were published in Venice in 1668 and 1684) and composed religious services (for the saints Govdelaas, 1661; Joseph the Hymnographer, 1665; Theodora, 1671; Photini, 1671; and Alypios, 1679). He was distantly descended from a noble Cretan family and was brother of the poet Marinos Tzanes, who composed the extensive narrative poem *Cretan War*, and of Konstantinos Tzanes, also a painter. He was also connected to the Cretan priest and man of letters Kalliopios Kallergis.

Tzanes was ordained a priest before 1637. He probably fled from his native Rethymnon in 1646, the year in which that city was captured by the Turks. Between 1648 and 1656 he was in Corfu, executing numerous icons and collaborating with the painter Philotheos Skoufos. By 1658 he was in Venice, where he remained for the rest of his life. In 1660 he was elected parish priest of the Greek Orthodox church of San Giorgio dei Greci, which he served for approximately 20 years; for a short time he was also supervisor of pupils at the Flanginian School of the Greek Confraternity in Venice.

Tzanes had an active career of about 60 years (dated works range from 1636 to 1689), which came to an end only a few months before his death in March 1690. His oeuvre is large, comprising some 130 known works, and paintings by him are to be found in museums and other public foundations, private collections, churches, and monasteries in Greece (most of them in Athens, though some also on the mainland and the islands) and abroad (most in Venice, with a few in other European cities, St Catherine's, Sinai, and Baltimore in the US). Some works formerly thought to be by him have been shown to bear forged signatures, such as *St Anne Holding the Young Mary*, which is actually a 15th-century icon, and the icon of the *Allegory of the Holy Eucharist*, both in the Benaki Museum in Athens.

Tzanes executed paintings of differing sizes, shapes, and styles, ranging from small icons and triptychs to monumental paintings and large sanctuary doors. A conscientious and methodical craftsman, he had a strong grounding in the tradition of Cretan painting, which he had studied at Rethymnon before his flight to Corfu. Equally competent in both miniature painting and monumental art, and trained in both the traditional and more modern style, his artistic background enabled him to respond to the demands of a public of varying social status and tastes. His clientele came from both the secular and the religious world and included Greek Orthodox and Catholics. Among the latter was the Venetian overseer (*provveditore*) of Rethymnon, Andrea Corner, for whom an icon of the Virgin was commissioned from Tzanes in 1645 (Venice, Giudecca, Santa Trinità).

Tzanes sometimes depicted his patrons in his works (*St Demetrios on Horseback*, 1656, Loverdos Collection, Byzantine Museum, Athens; *St James*, 1683, Museo dell'Istituto Ellenico, Venice; *Triptych*, Kanellopoulos private collection, Athens), rendering these secular figures quite successfully with personal features and wearing contemporary dress. He frequently includes a date on his icons, contrary to usual custom, which enables us to trace the enviable continuity of his output virtually year by year from 1640 to 1689, and to document the various phases of his work. His art does not exhibit any spectacular development.

Tzanes brought a rather different approach to a tradition that covered about two centuries of Cretan artists painting in the Byzantine manner, adopting Western iconographic and stylistic elements. He shows a marked preference for iconographic innovations, although he also executed a large number of traditional subjects. Sometimes he returns to subjects that were very popular in the 15th century, repeating them with minor changes or additions (*Virgin with the Symbols of the Passion*, *Christ Enthroned*, a full-length *St John the Baptist*). He also makes use of details from much earlier Cretan painting, such as the characteristic dotted haloes, though he gives them richer floral decoration. Essentially he is an exponent of the Byzantine tradition, which he attempts to enrich with new elements. At the same time, he created new iconographic types, modifying and varying the traditional elements and enriching his repertoire by selecting and transforming features borrowed from works of the late Renaissance and Mannerism, and also from engravings by the Flemish Sadeler brothers and other artists. Architectural and sculptural elements are derived from Renaissance and Baroque art, but the poses and movements of his figures show Mannerist features.

Tzanes had a varied repertoire, despite the fact that he painted individual saints much more often than narrative scenes. Some of these saints were clearly favourites, such as *St Alypios the Stylite*; *St Govdelaas the Persian*, whose iconographic type he created and established, and was even the subject of an engraving executed in Venice in 1681; and *St Demetrios on Horseback*. He also painted many icons of the Virgin and of Christ, enthroned or bust-length, and in a variety of iconographic types. Icons notable for their monumental size or of particular iconographic interest include: the icon of *St Spyridon*, with charming miniature scenes from the saint's life – the earliest (1636) dated work by Tzanes (Museo Correr, Venice); the *Annunciation*, flanked by ten other scenes in a smaller scale (1640, Berlin); the *Tree of Jesse* (1644), an old subject given a new treatment (Museo dell'Istituto Ellenico); the *Virgin and Child Enthroned* (1664) and the corresponding icon of *Christ Enthroned* (1664) in the Byzantine Museum in Athens, which repeats, with minor additions, the type used by the painter Angelos (first half of the 15th century, according to recent research); the *Adoration of the* Magi (1667; Loverdos Collection, Byzantine Museum, Athens), obviously based on an engraving (1585) by J. Sadeler after a composition by Martin de Vos; *Sts Constantine and Helen with the Cross* (1669, Loverdos Collection, Byzantine Museum, Athens); *Christ Pantocrator Enthroned* (1678, Kato Panayia Monastery, Arta); the *Virgin Lambovitissa Enthroned* (1684, Loverdos Collection, Byzantine Museum, Athens); the *Miracle of the Holy Girdle of our Lady* (Benaki Museum, Athens); and the *Virgin between Sts John the Baptist and Philip* (Baltimore). Three large sanctuary doors preserved in Corfu and dated 1654 (St John of Damascus, St Cyril, St Gregory Palamas) contain inscriptions with a reference to the procession of the Holy Spirit from God the Father.

Works of interest for their narrative character and the treatment of the background, with the scenes set in a landscape or accompanied by buildings include two scenes of Christ's miracles: the *Healing of the Paralytic* and the *Healing of the Blind Man* (1682 and 1686), and also *Christ and the Samaritan Woman* (1689), the *Incredulity of Thomas*, and the

Appearance of Christ to the Holy Women Bearing Myrrh, the two last undated (all in the Museo dell'Istituto Ellenico). This group of five paintings is also of iconological interest, in that it is a visual representation of the Gospel passages for the five Sundays after Easter, until Ascension Sunday, which come from St John's Gospel. The *Entombment* (1677, San Giorgio dei Greci, Venice) has an unusual form: it is painted on both sides and the background is cut away around the figures. The work is still used as a processional icon during Good Friday of the Orthodox Easter.

Tzanes follows the traditions of the Cretan school, but his modelling is more calligraphic and he includes picturesque details; his use of line is distinctly decorative, occasionally producing a dry style, or a sweetish expression and loose gestures. He clearly admired the compositions of Michael Damaskinos, though he lacked this painter's compositional abilities, and his drawing and painting were weaker. His technique is flawless and he gave great attention to detail, leading to a degree of pedantry, and his style recalls that of Emmanouil Lambardos, an older fellow-Cretan artist. The decorative charge that inundates many of his works is often carried to the point of affectation: great attention is paid to the treatment of fabrics and the details of thrones (*Enthroned Virgin and* Child, 1650, Corfu; *St Cyril*, *St Gregory Palamas*, and *St John of Damascus*, all 1654, Corfu; St *Basil*, 1667 and *St James*, 1683, both in the Museo dell'Istituto Ellenico), and there is distinct eclecticism in the western elements. His workmanship, with its delicate modelling and large number of white highlights (*psimmythies*), produces meticulous results (e.g. the *Holy Mandylion*, 1659, formerly in a private collection and now in the Benaki Museum), and bright icons that are nevertheless rather academic in style. Among the most positive features of Tzanes's paintings are the brilliant colour combinations that create pleasing, though occasionally cold, ensembles. Generally speaking, he prefers symmetrical compositions. He essays a few timid steps in the articulation of space and the perspective rendering of buildings, though without fully grasping the problems. In this, too, he follows the line of Damaskinos, though not particularly successfully.

A bearer of the Byzantine tradition in his calling as priest, and also as composer of religious services and an individual with a genuinely religious character, Tzanes reveals himself as a more complex personality through his painting. Though a conservative at bottom, his leaning towards western European art and iconographic amalgams makes him a representative of certain regenerative trends in Greek 17th-century painting. His work was accordingly much appreciated and his style exercised a great influence on post-Byzantine religious painting.

MARIA CONSTANTOUDAKI

See also Renaissance (Veneto-Cretan)

Biography

Emmanuel Tzanes, whose surname was Bounialis, was born to a cultivated family at Rethymnon in Crete *c.*1610. He was ordained a priest before 1637, and in 1646 (when Rethymnon fell to the Turks) he fled to Corfu. By 1658 he was in Venice where he remained for the rest of his life, serving as parish priest of the church of San Giorgio dei Greci *c.*1660–80. He had a long and distinguished career as a painter. He died in Venice in 1690.

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Tzetzes, John

Scholar of the 12th century

John Tzetzes was a Byzantine scholar and teacher who has a certain importance for the tradition of Classical Greek literature, because he preserved some otherwise unknown fragments of ancient authors. His writings also provide rich biographical material.

Tzetzes was born in Constantinople around 1110. His mother's family originated from Georgia (Caucasus); his great-grandmother had accompanied the princess Mary of Alania from Georgia to the capital. His father was a Greek, whose "Hellenic" roots Tzetzes proudly mentioned in a letter. He had several brothers, of whom only Andronikos and Isaac are known by name. John's father appears to have been an educated man, because he acquainted his son with a wide range of Classical literature (Tzetzes later compared him to the elder Cato, who had instructed his son in a similar way). His brother Isaac was also interested in ancient literature and a commentary on Pindar is evidence of his scholarship; he died at Rhodes returning from a military campaign in the eastern parts of the empire. Tzetzes first found employment in the provinces as a secretary in the office of the governor Isaac Komnenos in Verroia (Macedonia), but he had to give up his job because of an affair he seems to have had with his employer's wife.

He later referred to this experience several times, accusing the woman of having ruined his career. Leaving Verroia, he returned to Constantinople, where financial necessity forced him to sell his library piece by piece – a manuscript of Plutarch's *Parallel Lives* was the last remaining book, as he laments. He started to earn his living by teaching (parents who could afford it would send their children to a grammarian for primary lessons). In one of his letters he describes a scene in his classroom: some pupils are reading and interpreting a passage of Homer; they are divided into different levels, from beginners to advanced students. In addition he gave lectures on various Classical topics. The scholar became a respected teacher and a tutor to members of distinguished families. Finally he was chosen by the emperor Manuel I Komnenos (1143–80) to instruct his wife Irene, the former German princess Bertha of Sulzbach. Tzetzes had to acquaint her with the literature of her

new home and was charged to prepare a commentary on the Homeric poems. But he did not finish this work: discontented with the delay in his payment, he gave up this position. He finished the commentary only several years later, encouraged by his friend Konstantinos Kotertzes.

We do not know exactly why Tzetzes moved to the Pantokrator monastery in Constantinople. It seems likely that he had run into trouble by joining the supporters of patriarch Kosmas II Attikos who was deposed at the synod of 1147 because of his contacts and sympathies with heretics. At the monastery of the Pantokrator, founded by John I Komnenos in 1136, Tzetzes continued to teach monks. Some of his last letters deal with the monastic life. He died there after 1165.

The main source for reconstructing Tzetzes's life – besides some autobiographical notes in other works – is his correspondence, which he arranged himself and put into chronological order. He also commented on various topics mentioned in his letters and published them as the *Histories* (*Historiai*). N. Gerbel, the first editor of this commentary, divided it into 12 parts, each containing 1000 verses, and titled it *Chiliades* (from *chilioi*, "thousand"). This work, written in political verse (the Byzantine 15-syllable metre), is a thesaurus of Tzetzes's enormous knowledge of Classical literature and history.

There are also commentaries on Homer. Tzetzes wrote a hexameter poem describing the situation before, during, and after the fall of Troy (*Antehomerica*, *Homerica*, *Posthomerica*). He also interpreted Homer by allegories (*Chronike Biblos*). Finally he commented on Aeschylus, Aristophanes, Euripides, Hesiod, Lycophron, Nicander, Oppian, and Porphyry.

As far as we know, Tzetzes gave no public lectures, but he composed some funeral orations for members of the emperor's family and high officials. Although he is often accused of quoting inexactly, he remains an authority on Classical literature.

MICHAEL GRÜNBART

Biography

Born in Constantinople *c.*1110, Tzetzes's mother's family was Georgian but his father was Greek. His father taught him ancient literature. Tzetzes first worked for Isaac Komnenos in Verroia. Returning to Constantinople he lived by teaching. Later he moved to the Pantokrator monastery where he taught the monks. He wrote letters which he prepared for publication with a verse commentary. He also commented on Homer and other poets. He died after 1165.

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U

Ukraine

It is now thought that Greeks from Miletus first settled in the Ukraine in the course of the 6th century BC, though a century earlier has been claimed. Settlement was either coastal or along the banks of the major rivers of the region and their estuaries. By about 550 BC the town of Olbia was established near the modern village of Parutino, on the west shore of the estuary of the river Bug (the Greek Hypanis), when an agora and religious precinct were laid out. Numerous minor Greek settlements fringed the whole estuary around Olbia, while the islet of Berezan just beyond the mouth of the estuary had been settled at the same time as Olbia itself, if not a little earlier. The island was named Borysthenes by the ancient Greeks, as was the great river Dniepr which emptied into the Black Sea immediately to its east, beside the Bug. The name Borysthenes was also attached to Olbia itself, especially in more literary accounts of the town, such as that of Dio Chrysostom, composed about AD 100 (*Oration* 36). Dio's gloomy account is not to be taken at face value, as archaeology now shows: it is designed to make a philosophical argument about civic culture and harmony, for presentation at Prusa in northwest Asia Minor. Later, in the 10th century, the Byzantine emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos (913–59) in his famous survey of his realm looked upon the Dniepr as the principal highway to the first Russian state, the Rus of Kiev, and beyond as far as the Baltic. It was down this river that furs, amber, and mercenaries came into the Byzantine world, including the Varangian bodyguard of the emperor himself.

The hinterland of the Crimea was a continuation of the Ukrainian steppe to the north: Greek settlement followed its coast. The largest Greek cities were Chersonesus (modern Sebastopol) in the southwest Crimea and the cities of the Bosporan kingdom that formed its eastern part, especially Panticapaeum (Kerch) and Theodosia. Recent work has indicated Greek settlement also on the northeast coast, on the shallow Sea of Azov, which was dominated by the Bosporan kingdom as far as the Don (the Greek Tanais). The Greeks reasonably treated Azov as a lake and named it Maiotis.

Chersonesus offered excellent harbours, but seems not to have been established as a Greek settlement until about 422 BC, when settlers came from Heraclea Pontica. No doubt the local Tauri, famously ferocious, were a main reason for earlier neglect of the site. It was here that Euripides set his *Iphigeneia in Tauris*, first performed in Athens about 412 BC and a very popular theme in art thereafter. Euripides' version of the myth stresses that the cult of Artemis at Halai Araphenides (modern Loutsa in Attica) took its origin and ritual from the Taurian form of the cult.

Chersonesus (then Kherson) remained a strong outpost of the Byzantine empire after much else in the region had been lost. It was here that Cyril and Methodios wintered in AD 860/61 en route to the Volga Khazars. Here too in 989 prince Vladimir of Kiev was baptized and married to a Byzantine princess: this was the beginning of the Russian Orthodox Church. Not far from Chersonesus lay the promontory that gave its Greek name to the Crimea, the Ram's Head (Kriou Metopon).

Theodosia was founded by Milesian Greeks in the 6th century BC on the southeast coast of the Crimea; for the Byzantines it was Theodosioupolis, and later for the Genoese the great trading port of Kaffa. In the 4th century BC much of the grain imported into Athens seems to have come from Theodosia and its hinterland. At the eastern extremity of the Crimea lay Panticapaeum, the capital of the Bosporan kingdom. It too was established in the 6th century BC by Milesian Greeks. About 438 BC the Spartocid dynasty formed the Bosporan kingdom, which embraced both the eastern Crimea and the Taman' peninsula across the straits of Kerch to the east. It was to last into the 3rd century AD. Pericles, who led an expedition to the Black Sea in the 430s BC, may have played a role in creating the dynasty. Certainly, Athens subsequently developed close social and economic ties with the kingdom, whose rulers could even receive Athenian citizenship in the 4th century BC. Although Bosporan rulers had other cultural allegiances (Iranian and perhaps Thracian), the language and principal culture of their realm were firmly Greek throughout its history.

Across the whole region and through most of their history Greek communities of the Ukraine had to come to arrangements with local populations who were often nomadic – Scythians, Sarmatians, Goths, and others. For the most part, the Greek literary tradition stresses hostility with these peoples, while epigraphic and archaeological evidence reveals also more friendly or at least structured interaction and exchange, including formal treaties. The great ramparts across the breadth of the eastern Crimea, with which the Bosporan kingdom shielded itself, indicate the significant threat of

assault by land. However, in surveying the region in book 4 of his *Histories*, Herodotus observes the existence of Scythian–Greek intermarriage and mixed populations, as near Olbia. He also describes a Hellenized settlement in the Ukrainian hinterland (perhaps modern Bel'sk), settled by the Geloni, whom he regards as of Greek descent, but as in his day speaking a language that is a mixture of Scythian and Greek (4. 108–09). No doubt Greeks of the region mediated exchange between the Scythians and the Aegean world: it was presumably through the Greek settlements of the region that the Scythian archers came who maintained public order for 5th-century Athenian democracy. For the Greeks of the Aegean the whole region was a reservoir of resources (slaves, grain, leather, and other goods).

From the perspective of the mainland Greeks the Ukraine was viewed as significant also for its peculiar geography and climate. The flat grassy steppe was contrasted with Greek landscapes, while the great rivers of the region had few parallels among the rivers of Greece. The climate was imagined as very cold, rather colder than it was in fact. The medical writers in particular viewed the region as a source of enlightenment about the effects of severe cold on the human body, for example in reducing fertility. The fate of Greeks in the Ukraine in modern times replicates that of Georgia.

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See also Black Sea, Colonization, Crimea, Georgia

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Uniates

"Uniates" is the name given to the entirety of the flock of those Churches of eastern Christendom that are in communion with Rome. In their ecclesiastical life they still retain their own respective rites, languages, and customs. After the great schism between the Churches of the East and the West (1054) several attempts were made at reunification. But they were not successful, and the gap between the Churches widened after the sack of Constantinople by the Latins of the Fourth Crusade (1204). The latter dismembered the empire into numerous Frankish territories, while the Church of Rome established Latin patriarchates in Constantinople, Antioch, and Jerusalem, under its jurisdiction. The Franks, the political rulers, forced the Orthodox clergy to take an oath of devotion to the Roman pontiff. A number of Orthodox clergymen took this oath; others refused; while a third group among them rejected the unilateral solution of the oath and suggested the convocation of an ecumenical council. The council was convened in 1215 in the Lateran, but no Orthodox clergy were present. Evidently no discussions took place, as the intermediate faction had hoped. But since the Catholics had prior knowledge of the Orthodox reaction, they decided not to impose the Latin rite on them. The Orthodox would be allowed to keep their doctrine, liturgy, language, and customs in their ecclesiastical life. Nothing would change in their traditions, except for a fundamental element: their subjugation to the pope of Rome. This decision of the Lateran Council constituted the beginning of the Unia.

The advance of the Ottomans into Asia Minor gave a political and a military dimension to the move towards the unification of the Churches. Despite the favourable decisions taken in this direction in the context of several councils (e.g. the Council of Lyon in 1274 and the Council of Ferrara–Florence in 1439) convened by the political and ecclesiastical authorities of the East and the West, the union of the Churches that was decided on remained temporary. Already before the fall of Constantinople to the Turks (1453) prominent clerics and a large number of lay persons denounced the unification. Besides, the West failed to provide military assistance. Immediately after the fall, Turkish policy was hostile to unionist tendencies. Apart from that, the sultan Mehmet II the Conqueror selected as patriarch George/Gennadios Scholarios, who had become anti-unionist, following the Council of Ferrara–Florence.

Rome practised proselytism even towards the followers of other Orthodox Churches using the same method, that of Unia. On several occasions, in fact, its politics were backed up by military action, as well as by alliances with other states. Poland, for example, having the Ukraine under its rule, protected the Jesuits in their efforts to force the Orthodox inhabitants into a unification with Rome. In Poland the term "Uniati" was used for the first time. The synod in Brest (1596) was divided into two camps: the Orthodox and the Uniates.

The Polish king Sigismund ratified the decisions of the latter, while he launched a persecution against the Orthodox, who asked the Greek patriarchates of the East to help them. It was then that Cyril Lukaris was sent to Poland, where he recommended the founding of schools and printing houses. The Jesuits attempted to proselytize the Russians. As their pawn, they used a Russian monk, who because of his resemblance to Dmitri, the deceased last descendant of the Rurik dynasty, managed to ascend the Russian throne with the help of the Poles (1604–06). (He is better known as False Dmitri.) The people revolted and executed him. Sigismund of Poland invaded Russia, occupied Moscow (1607), annexed Russian territories, and imposed unification with Rome on the Russians. A period of upheavals followed, until Michael Romanov became tsar (1613) and put an end to Western intrusions.

The Uniate tactic of proselytizing the Orthodox was also employed towards other confessions of the East. Thus, several oriental rites were formed, which are distinguished as: the Alexandrian rite (for Copts and Ethiopians); the Antiochene rite (Malankarese, Maronite, and Syrian Churches); the Chaldean rite (Chaldeans and Malabar Christians); and the Armenian rite. The Uniates who come from the ranks of the Orthodox call themselves Greek Catholics or followers of the Constantinopolitan or Byzantine rite. The individual faithful are divided into national community Churches, such as the Albanians, Byelorussians, Bulgarians, Georgians, Greeks, Italo-Albanians (in southern Italy), Serbs (in Croatia), Melkites (in the Near East), Romanians, Russians, Polish Ruthenians (now called Ukrainians), and Podcarpathian Ruthenians. Among the Greek Catholics, there are also a number of Chinese, Estonians, Latvians, Finns, Japanese, Slovaks, and Hungarians. After World War II the Greek Catholics of the Ukraine and Romania were forced by the state to join the Orthodox Church. They were legalized in 1989 and 1990 respectively. In 1990 a Code of Canons for the Oriental Churches was issued in Rome. According to data that were published in Rome by the Sacred Congregation for the Oriental Church in 1962, the total number of Uniates was estimated at 8 million. In Greece the Greek Catholics number approximately 2,500 and are subject to the Apostolic Exarchate in Athens.

CHARALAMBOS K. PAPASTATHIS

See also Papacy, Roman Catholic Church

Summary

Uniates are members of those Churches in predominantly Orthodox societies that are in communion with Rome. They retain their own rites, languages, and customs but take an oath of devotion to the pope. Those Uniates who come from the ranks of the Orthodox call themselves Greek Catholics. In Greece itself they number today about 2500.

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Urbanization

When Aristotle famously described man as a political animal the strict meaning of the Greek – *politikon zoon* – is "an animal that lives as part of a polis", that is, a member of what is usually translated as a "city state". Latinized he would be an urban creature. The implication is that urbanization, the forming of cities, is the natural way of life for a Greek community. In its simplest form, this is true. In both ancient and modern Greece people prefer to live together, forming communities, rather than isolated in individual homesteads. An obvious original reason for this is the need for security; isolation is potentially dangerous, particularly in unsettled times. On top of this, though, come the social reasons: the need to belong, to be part of the whole, rather than a self-contained individual. Human fulfilment required the larger grouping.

This in turn requires an understanding of the communities, the poleis. There is no implication of great size. Many of the city states in Classical Greece are more readily defined as villages, rather than cities in the sense of modern urban sprawl, while at the same time the population was not necessarily concentrated in a single urban centre; in the largest of them, Athens, the majority of the citizens lived not in the city of Athens, as defined by its encircling fortifications, but in outlying villages scattered throughout the various regions of Attica. It was the village that formed the essential starting point. It was from this that urbanization, in the strict sense, started.

Urbanization was a response to the political condition of the times. The earliest urban communities of Greece developed in the Middle and Late Bronze Age, initially in Crete. They vary in size, from Gournia, no more than a village in modern terms, to the much larger (and still mostly unexplored) communities at places such as Knossos. All centred on the architectural complexes usually termed palaces, presumably the residences of monarchs but including the administrative (in all senses), economic, and religious functions that their owners represented. Similar urban groupings, some much larger then the Cretan examples, are, of course, found in the Near East at an even earlier date; there is every likelihood of direct influence on Crete, just as in the same way the Cretan examples influenced similar developments in mainland Mycenaean Greece. What is uncertain, in what is essentially a prehistoric context, is the relationship between the palaces and the urban areas surrounding them. Some of the "villas" or "mansions" (terms applied by the archaeologists who have explored them) round the palace at Knossos are substantial and opulent, but it is unclear whether they were "official" buildings or the residences of well-to-do individuals. Similarly, houses outside the palace at Mycenae have been attributed to merchants, though again the ownership is unclear.

What is certain is that with the destruction of the palaces and their organization the urban centres collapsed; in the succeeding Dark Age it is assumed – there is little archaeological evidence – that a village pattern resumed. Some of these villages were the settlements of newcomers. Those that coalesced into the city state of Sparta, which retained their village form long into the Classical, historical period, are a good example. Others were formed by survivors from the earlier populations, and for these, in mainland Greece, the heavily fortified citadels that surrounded the sites of the former palaces often became the urban nucleus. Some (Mycenae) hardly outgrew their citadel. Others (Athens) from an early date spread over the lower ground below the Mycenaean citadel walls of the Acropolis. It was all this that developed as the urban centre for the enlarged city state, which came to include the other villages of Attica.

Thus in Classical Greece urbanization meant the provision of an urban centre rather than simply a place of residence for an enlarged population. Compared with a modern city, a much greater proportion of the area within a city's defined boundaries was devoted to public building, religious, economic, administrative. It included places, which may or may not be actual buildings in the architectural sense, where the citizens could gather for political or religious purposes. The central "gathering place", the agora, in Athens was the place where in the 5th century BC the citizens collected when they voted to banish (ostracize) politicians who had lost their favour, while on the adjacent hill of the Pnyx was the open-air location for the political assembly, the Ekklesia. Those who attended came from the whole of Attica, not merely the city itself. Within the urban area the Acropolis (now demilitarized, the city fortifications instead now including the whole town) formed the gathering place for the entire population of Attica when they came to worship Athena at her annual festival. With the growth of wealth and the desire for prestige that came with it, the city was embellished with fine buildings, to modern thinking completely out of scale compared with the size of the actual population dwelling within the walls.

A further stage in urbanization was the deliberate, planned construction of cities. This started in the colonies that the Greeks founded overseas, where the settler community was concentrated in the urban centre, the outlying land being allotted to them, often with non-Greek inhabitants to work it for them. Such artificial cities are easily recognized by the use of a regular grid plan for their street system, facilitating the allocation of equal-sized individual plots to the settlers. Himera, in Sicily, is an excellent example of such a city. The concepts involved in this were elaborated into theories of urban planning and the proper form a city should take, with the emergence of individual town-planning experts, the most famous of whom was Hippodamus of Miletus. He may have been responsible for the planning of his native city when it was recreated after its destruction by the Persians; he certainly planned the new harbour city of the Athenians at Piraeus. The basis of his theories was the inevitable grid plan of streets, but planning extended also to the proper location of the different areas and structures a city requires.

Thus during the 5th and 4th centuries BC a new category of urbanization developed, the deliberate bringing together of people from a wider area and its villages into a large, planned urban centre. The motives were various, but the underlying purpose was to create more powerful communities. The city of Rhodes, formed by the amalgamation and transfer of population from three older poleis, Lindus, Ialysus, and Camirus, embraced a large area within strong fortifications, though it seems never to have been fully built up. Other cities were moved to new, planned sites, such as Priene and Cnidus, these perhaps at the behest of a foreign ruler, Mausolus of Caria. By the 4th century BC urbanization, often on a substantial scale, was considered an ideal; it formed a crucial element in propelling backward areas, such as Macedon, into the forefront of up-to-date powers, even if politically they adhered to the older concept of monarchy. A culmination comes with the laying out of Pella as the Macedonian capital. Here urbanization created a spacious city, with broad streets, proper drainage and water supplies, and opulent houses. No doubt it represented a considerable improvement in the standard of living for the people who came to inhabit it; at the same time they were content with a regime that controlled them, rather than a political system under which they governed themselves.

So the Greek city was transformed from a political to an urban organization. In the Hellenistic period, and following the conquests of the Macedonian Alexander the Great, this was extended, and many more urbanized places were organized. Some of these were too artficial, too remote from a natural raison d'être, and failed (though one of the remotest, Aï Khanum in Afghanistan, was remarkably successful). Others prospered. In Greece itself Cassander's foundation of Thessalonica was one of the triumphs of the urbanization movement. In the newly conquered areas the greatest of the Alexandrias founded by Alexander the Great, that "next to" (rather than "in") Egypt, to use the official nomenclature, became one of the greatest cities of the whole ancient world. Urbanization was a policy that was synonymous with the concept of Greek political superiority and domination.

Even after the collapse of the Hellenistic monarchies, the Romans continued the policy of urbanization, using the cities as an essential method of local political control, extending the policy to the non-Greek parts of their empire. The Hellenistic and Roman periods thus saw the apogee of Greek urbanization. The cities played a vital role in the political and economic order of things, and were rewarded accordingly. Where the Classical cities had built for the gods, the Hellenistic and Roman cities built for man; or at least, those men who were privileged to be part of them. Public buildings were constructed on a magnificent scale. The agoras were lined all round with stone colonnades (stoas), behind which were shops, offices, rooms for dining and feasting. Each city had its theatre; its gymnasia – which became places of education – were no longer mere open fields, but colonnaded courtyards, with assembly rooms and running courses (that at Cyrene roofed to provide shade from the African sun). Streets were wide, and paved; in late Hellenistic and Roman cities they were monumentalized with long lines of columns. Water supplies were, where necessary, piped in (Priene affords a 4th-century BC example of this), or, where suitable springs were not available, stored in specially built and often cavernous cisterns (Alexandria). Much was done at the expense of the kings and the Roman emperors who succeeded them. Where cities fell back on their "own" resources, this often meant the pockets of

the well-to-do, from whom lavish public expenditure was an expected duty.

In many senses the heyday of Greek urbanization was the 2nd century AD; the worsening conditions of the 3rd century brought an end to much urban development (it has been suggested that excessive expenditure on urban amenities hastened, or even created, the economic collapse of the mid-3rd century AD). Even so, the concept of the urbanized ideal continued, so that when the emperor Constantine founded his New Rome at Constantinople, it was conceived on the grand urbanized scale, with the same lavish amenities, as in earlier times. Constantinople flourished as the new imperial centre. Other Greek cities declined, impoverished by the Byzantine financial system, or the victims of political change. A few survived right through the Middle Ages, though often much reduced, such as Thessalonica. But even the greatest, Alexandria, dwindled to a small town, though the ghost of its vast Hellenistic grid plan was still discernible in the sands as late as the early 19th century. Under the Turks, Athens was a small, squalid town huddled against the north slopes of the Acropolis.

The revival of urbanization came with the liberation of Greece from the Turks. Athens was deliberately extended as the capital of free Greece (though the inevitable grid plan, despite the magnificent broad main street, Panepistemiou, is now a traffic nightmare). Other Classical cities were revived, as centres for the new Hellenism. None of these places reached any great size in the 19th century. Athens continued to be separated from its (equally revived) harbour town of Piraeus by open country and olive groves as late as the 1950s. A new and unplanned impetus for urbanization was the Asia Minor disaster of 1922, when refugees arrived at the principal centres, creating new, unplanned extensions to the existing cities, particularly Athens and Thessalonica. But on top of this, modern economic pressures, the creation of factories and employment, turned the cities into magnets, drawing ever-increasing populations from the rural areas, and putting enormous strain on what must now be termed the urban infrastructure. Now, Greek urbanization needs to be rescued from its own success.

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See also Cities, City State

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USA

In spite of the scarcity of relevant records, it is widely believed that several Greek immigrants landed in America – mostly as members of Spanish crews – in the very early years of its colonization, mainly driven by a spirit of adventure. The first Greek recorded to have arrived in the New World with the Spaniards was a certain Theodoros who landed at Tarpon Springs in Florida in 1528. The records have also registered that the first Greek coffee house was established in New England in 1652.

The first organized settlement comprising about 500 Greeks, as well as Minorcans and Italians, was established in the 1760s in the wilderness of Florida by John Turnbull, a British citizen, with generous help from his king and government. The colony was named New Smyrna, after the birthplace of Turnbull's Greek wife, but it hit difficulties from the very beginning mainly due to the hostile wilderness that surrounded it, as well as insufficient provisions, short supplies of food, malaria, excessive labour demands, and a general mismanagement and lack of human consideration for the settlers. However, a significant number of Greeks survived the hardships and carried on as an ethnic group in the region with John Giannopoulos as their teacher; his house – subsequently restored – is registered as the first schoolhouse in America.

However, these first Greeks seem to have disappeared by the early 19th century. The new century brought new arrivals – the records give 20 for 1821–30, 49 for 1831–40, 16 for 1841–50. The Greek War of Independence against Turkey, which had started on 25 March 1821, had also attracted a lot of attention in the New World which offered substantial help for the cause of Greece either by sending fighting troops or by bringing many Greek orphans to America. As a rule, the Greeks who settled in the United States before the mid-19th century made little effort to retain their ethnic identity. Yet, many among them managed to develop unusually successful careers and so they helped foster a positive image of Greece and of Greek identity in other Americans. Examples include Evangelidis Apostolidis Sophocles who became professor of Ancient, Byzantine, and Modern Greek at Harvard University in 1842, Georgios Perdikaris who was appointed United States consul in Athens in 1845, John Rodonaki who was Greek consul in Boston from 1850 to 1872, and Michael Anagnos who married into a highly respectable Boston family and became director of the Perkins Institute for the Blind in 1872.

From 1880 onwards, Greek immigration rates to the United States started rising sharply and reached a peak between 1890 and the late 1920s with a mass exodus of what is estimated to be one third of the total labour force of Greece at the time. Statistical figures give 173,513 immigrants for 1900–10, 196,119 for 1911–20, 91, 369 for 1921–30, and 9138 for 1930–34 – although one has to take the figures only indicatively.

The earliest waves of this systematic immigration came from the Peloponnese, especially Laconia and Messenia, as early as the mid-1860s. However, the point of exodus soon spread to the mainland (mainly Attica, Boeotia, Phthiotis, and Phocis), and in the 1900s and early 1910s emigration from the northern parts of Greece, which were fighting their own war for independence, was particularly heavy. The last massive wave of immigrants was about to surge during the years following the defeat of the Greeks in Asia Minor (1922), when masses of Greek refugees from the wider area were directed to the States, just as Greece itself was unable to accommodate them all. But American views and laws on immigration had already toughened: by 1917 Greek and other immigrants realized that admission into the USA was no longer based on the individual concerned, but was based on racial and ethnic discrimination, while the Immigration Act of 1921 – limiting the number of each country's new immigrants to 3 per cent of its natives already living in USA – was a further blow to Greeks, who had only recently begun to enter the country in substantial numbers.

In fact, the Greek immigrants of the late 19th and early 20th centuries were part of the second substantial immigration wave which is associated with the USA during the second half of the 19th century and which supplied the country with newcomers from southern and eastern Europe, mostly fleeing depressed economies and oppressive governments. They were thus faced with a certain anti-foreign sentiment, which had developed against them not only among long-established Americans but also among the many immigrants of the first wave who were on their way to becoming Americanized. This first large-scale immigration had taken place in the mid-19th century and comprised immigrants coming primarily from Germany, the British Isles, Norway, and Sweden. Fair-skinned and usually Protestant, these new inhabitants blended fairly quickly into the American mainstream and gained relatively easy acceptance from their American neighbours.

The great majority of the Greek immigrants were men in their late teens or early twenties, most of them shepherds, farmers, merchants, and fishermen with minimal education who were mainly seeking to escape the compulsory military service in those turbulent times, or the dire economic conditions currently prevailing in Greece, especially after the humiliation of the 1897 war and the economic sanctions imposed by the European forces. There was also a small proportion of women among them seeking husbands without demand of dowry. Even though from a rural background, almost all felt a strong aversion for agriculture, due to their painful recollections of it, and so they gathered in the northeast (New York, Chicago, Washington, Massachusetts) facing the hard competition for industrial jobs and troubles connected with their ignorance of the English language and with the antagonism from the earlier immigrants mentioned above. Some of the earliest arrivals peddled cigars, flowers, or sweets from push-carts, or became bootblacks or dishwashers. Some more adventurous newcomers headed for the western frontier, to Nevada, Utah, and California, taking jobs in the mines or laying track for the transcontinental railway that was being constructed.

In spite of the hardships, America remained for years the dream destination for thousands of impoverished Greeks, most of whom were seeing their immigration to the US as a temporary stay that would earn them enough money to pay off debts or the mortgage on the family property before coming back home. With the exception of the period just before and during the Balkan Wars of 1912–13, when restrictions were imposed on the emigration of Greek males capable of fighting, the Greek government directly or indirectly encouraged emigration, often misleadingly glorifying the achievements of the Greeks in the New World and avoiding references to their failures, for obvious reasons: according to a bulletin issued by the Bank of Greece in 1921, $114,010,259 was received through immigrant remittances, most of them from Greeks living in the United States.

Of course, some Greeks did return to the homeland, especially in periods of economic depression in America: according to the Annual Report of the Commissioner General of Immigration, 197,088 Greeks had returned to Greece between 1908 and 1931. However, for many Greek immigrants the prospect of returning to their family and home country with pockets full of new wealth soon turned out to be untenable. Realizing that their stay in the country was being indefinitely prolonged, they started organizing themselves around a society of Greek character and structure that would help them preserve their Greek identity. One of their first steps was the establishment of Greek Orthodox churches that were initially ministered by priests sent from home. The first Greek Orthodox congregation was formed in New Orleans, Louisiana. Several churches and communities centred around them were established in the following years, while Greek newspapers soon made their appearance with a double aim: to create a bridge to English-speaking society for the mostly Greek-speaking immigrants and to keep them updated with events in the homeland. *Neos Kosmos* started up in Boston in 1892 but closed after only eight years. *Atlantis* was founded in New York City in 1894 and lasted until the mid-1970s. *Ethnikos Kiryx* appeared in New York City in 1910 and has been in circulation ever since.

However, these communities did not always conduct their affairs harmoniously. Intragroup differences would often plague them, frequently kindled by similar divisions in the home country. That was the case with the friction around Eleftherios Venizelos and the loyalists in Greece, especially during the 1910s, which brought severe conflict to the Greeks in America and thus encouraged anti-Greek sentiments amongst the American press and public who were dismayed at this divisive behaviour. Even the churches were for a long time at the centre of a fierce controversy over their jurisdiction, into which the Holy Synod of Greece and the Ecumenical Patriarchate were both drawn, and which formally ended in 1930–31 when the Archdiocese of North and South America was definitively attached to the Patriarchate. The new archbishop of North and South America, Athenagoras, then started his long tenure during which he worked persistently and efficiently towards uniting the Greek communities in the United States.

The wake of the defeat of the Greeks in Asia Minor in 1922 saw the onset of a gradual withdrawal of the concern of the American Greeks for affairs in the homeland. Disillusioned with the vices tormenting Greek political and economic life and accepting the indefinite nature of their stay in America,

they started to feel a need for further integration into and for a deeper commitment to their new homeland. The Greek entrepreneurial spirit had already worked miracles throughout America and many Greeks were known to own small and successful business in the places where they started as cheap labourers. In September 1922 AHEPA (the American Hellenic Educational Progressive Association) was formed in Atlanta, Georgia, with the explicit aim of uniting the Greek communities and promoting Americanism among the Greeks of the United States.

World War II had a significant effect on the Greek communities in the United States. The heroic resistance of Greece against the Axis powers attracted attention and much admiration in the United States, also filling the Greek Americans with a renewed sense of pride in their homeland and a renewed concern for its plight. The Greek War-Relief Association was founded less than a fortnight after Greece was invaded, and within a few months it was reported that $5,250,000 had been collected. In February 1943 the Friends of Greece announced a plan to finance the reconstruction of Greek cities and towns, with blueprints to be drawn up at the School of Architecture of Columbia University. Additionally, throughout the war, numerous organizations fundraised continually towards shipping foods, medicine, and clothing to Greek war victims. In the aftermath of the war these Greek-Americans' support for Greece was reflected in the favourable terms of the Marshal Plan, while their pressure was instrumental in the decision for the return of the Dodecanese islands to Greece in 1947.

In the years after the war new waves of emigrants departed for America. This immigration pattern involved well-educated people, many of whom are now enjoying highly respectable positions in American society. Lobby groups have been created in Washington, promoting in Congress the concern of Greek-Americans for issues related to their mother country; notable among them are the United Hellenic Congress and the American Hellenic Institute. These and other lobbying groups staged substantial opposition to the 1967 dictatorship in Greece and the Turkish invasion of Cyprus in 1974, enlisting important academic and professional people in their campaigns.

Nowadays, Americans of Greek descent for the most part enjoy an integrated position in American society, with many of them retaining a keen interest in the affairs of Greece. Several Greek-Americans have held influential political positions, notably Spyro Agnew, John Brademas, Paul Sarbanis, and Michael Doukakis. Greek- Americans as a whole enjoy professional success: it is estimated that their income falls only 4 per cent below the average for the total American population. The latest immigration wave from the late 1960s onwards has established the new type of Greek-born university-educated student immigrants, who have subsequently moved on to occupy respectable positions in American academia.

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See also Emigration

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V

Varnalis, Kostas 1884–1974

Poet, prose writer, and critic

Kostas Varnalis's work – more than the work of his contemporaries Angelos Sikelianos and Nikos Kazantzakis – could be read as a striking paradigm of "the anxiety of influence", with the persona of blind Oedipus in his poem *Proskynitis* ("Pilgrim", 1919) functioning as an emblem of this anxiety. His most important texts constitute a disciplined distortion of powerful precursors such as Aeschylus, Plato, Xenophon, Aristophanes, Solomos, Rabelais, Goethe, and Flaubert, in the name of a truth they failed to discover. The historical and ideological conditions at the end of the 20th century encourage an evaluation of Varnalis as a poet who was defeated in his struggle to assert himself against his renowned precursors. Furthermore, literary ideologies that dismiss traditional poetics or the ideals of human emancipation and solidarity as tedious anachronisms classify Varnalis as an overvalued writer, while ideologies that resist the modernist and postmodernist "prejudices" consider him as either a twilight hero or a pioneering figure. Irrespective of the validity of such value judgements, the relationship of his oeuvre with the ancient Greek tradition and the poetics of the demoticist school remains a significant and appealing issue in the history of modern Greek letters.

Varnalis's work is usually separated schematically into two periods: the first (1902–19) includes all the poems he wrote before he embraced dialectical materialism, and the second (1922–74) his lyrical and satirical texts written from a revolutionary, demystifying perspective. His long idealistic poem *Proskynitis* does not belong to either period because of its transitional character.

After the Graeco-Turkish War of 1897, the relative uniformity of the demoticist attitude towards antiquity broke down. The older generation of demoticists headed by Kostis Palamas continued to regard the ancient past as a reviving symbol which was to serve the present. For the younger demoticists however, and among them Varnalis, ancient tradition in their early poetry was to function as an "independent", autonomous symbol of beauty and vitality, apparently devoid of any social and political preoccupations. Contrary to established literary practice at that time, they adapted the Parnassian and Nietzschean readings of antiquity to their own aspirations in order to deliver Greek poetry from any social and political associations, from long-winded lyricism and ornate language. Whereas in Palamas's mature work Parnassianism and Nietzscheanism served the modern Greek search for a historical and cultural self-identity, in Varnalis's early poetry these were related to the attainment of beauty and the celebration of the Dionysian spirit.

The centrality of the category of the beautiful, the perception of art as the supreme value in life, the cult of instincts, the liberation of poetic language from the bonds of conventional morality, the lack of any nationalistic mystique, all constitute dominant features of the Varnalian use of ancient tradition up to 1919. It was mainly because of his "unpoetic" language and coarse realistic imagery that he was acclaimed by many critics of his time as the initiator of new and unconventional elements in Greek poetry and a champion of the so-called "poetic revolution of 1910".

The period of painfully wrought, impeccable sonnets came to an end when Varnalis went to Paris in 1919. There, in an extraordinary atmosphere of ideological and literary effervescence, the need for a renewal of his poetic practice became self-evident. At this crucial point, the national literary tradition performed an important role in the transition from the aesthetic/hedonistic Hellenism of his first period to the idealistic Hellenism of *Proskynitis*. It was in the light of the Parisian experience that Varnalis decided to follow Dionysios Solomos's example and become a national bard. In *Proskynitis*, for the first time, an interest in the national collective psyche enters the domain of his poetic practice. The ideological representation of Hellenism as the incarnation of "the human Essence" is central to the poem. Thematic subdivisions devoted to the Homeric world, the cult of Dionysus, the folk songs, Cretan poetry, and Solomos stress the continuity and "eternal greatness" of the Hellenic historical-cultural tradition. Nevertheless, this embellished and idealized picture of the Greek nation is undermined by the anticlimactic epilogue where the tension between the real and the ideal appears unresolved.

Varnalis's idealism achieved its full embodiment in *Proskynitis*, but the poem already adumbrates an opposite standpoint. *To Phos pou Kaiei* ("The Burning Light", 1922), *Sklavoi Poliorkimenoi* ("Enslaved Besieged", 1927), and *I Alithini Apologia tou Sokrati* ("The True Apology of Socrates", 1931) are the three major works of his artistic maturity. They all oscillate between bitter scepticism about the human condition and the expectation of a classless society as a

historical imperative. *Sklavoi Poliorkimenoi* – a refutation in verse of Solomos's *Elevtheroi Poliorkimenoi* ("Free Besieged") – is the only one which does not draw on symbols from antiquity. The demystification of war, religion, and Solomos's idealist notion of freedom is effected through the radical reappropriation of Christian myth and folk tradition.

To Phos pou Kaiei is a symbolic dramatic composition in the manner of Goethe's *Faust* and Flaubert's *La Tentation de Saint Antoine*. The assimilation of traditional material from the standpoint of internationalism and class humanism is achieved through the dialectical tripartite organization of the work, the reinterpretation of mythological archetypes as familiar human figures, and the intensity of satirical unmasking. The symbols of Prometheus and Jesus were used to point out the deficiencies of Hellenic and Christian thought, while ancient sources (Hesiod, Aeschylus, Aristophanes, Nicander, Lucian) were treated in such a way as to present a demystified antiquity. The poetics of unmasking reached its culmination with *I Alithini Apologia tou Sokrati*, one of the three major satirical texts of modern Greek literature, the other two being Solomos's *I Ginaika tis Zakynthou* ("The Woman of Zakynthos") and Emmanouil Roidis's *I Papissa Ioanna* ("Pope Joan"). The tension and synthesis between the ancient and the modern, the radical and the regressive, the realistic and the symbolic, satire and lyricism, emerge as the ideological and formal principle of the work. The Varnalian Socrates, functioning simultaneously as an apostle of idealism and a social rebel, an advocate of social discriminations and a prophet of the classless society, a sensitive lover of nature and a relentless critic of the Athenian polis, reenacts and defies in a Rabelaisian fashion the Socrates of Plato, Xenophon, and Aristophanes.

This highly dialectical combination of antitheses based on ambivalence is absent in Varnalis's two postwar prose works, *To Imerologio tis Pinelopis* ("The Journal of Penelope", 1947) and *Attalos o Tritos* ("Attalus III", 1972). The first, a satirical demythologization of Penelope and the Homeric world, does not achieve the balanced combination of symbolism and satire found in *Alithini Apologia*. The second, the poet's sole play, reveals the network of power relationships in Hellenistic Pergamum as similar to that in postwar Greece, but is lacking in ambivalence and suggestiveness.

With the exception of *Proskynitis*, the relation of Varnalis's oeuvre to the Hellenic tradition never entailed a notion of Greece as a hypostasized essence. During the poet's first creative period Hellenism was a source of symbols and metaphors for the celebration of aesthetic life. From 1922 onwards its artistic assimilation subserved a twofold objective: to unmask and censure the dominant readings of past and present alike. The Varnalian use of tradition, far from constructing an ahistorical concept of "Greekness", exposes the recurrence of relations of power and exploitation in different forms. And in doing so, it indirectly demonstrates intertextuality as a poetic device, as a critical practice, as much as an inherent property of writing itself.

THEANO MICHAILIDOU

Biography

Born in Burgas in 1884, Varnalis studied classics at the University of Athens and was a militant member of the demoticist movement. In 1919 he won a state scholarship to study in Paris, where he attended courses on aesthetics and modern Greek literature. He worked as a teacher but was relieved of his post in 1926 on the grounds of being a communist. From then onwards he lived as a journalist and translator. The inter-war years were the most creative period of his life. In 1959 he was awarded the Lenin Prize for peace. He died in Athens in 1974.

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Velestinlis, Rigas *c.*1757–1798

Revolutionary and martyr

Rigas (as he is usually known) was born at Velestino, ancient Pherae (hence his cognomen Velestinlis or Pheraios) about 1757. According to one tradition his father was a rich landowner and Rigas was educated in Thessaly and worked for some time as a schoolmaster. To improve his financial situation he went to Constantinople and from there to Bucharest, the capital of Wallachia, which was governed by Greek Phanariots under the dominion of the sultans. Rigas had close relations with some of these Phanariot princes and also with representatives of the incipient Greek Enlightenment. He acquired a large holding of land and cattle. In 1788 he joined the service of the Baron de Langenfeld, whom he accompanied to Vienna in 1790. In the Austrian capital he published three books as an essential contribution to the enlightenment of his people: (1) *Scholeion ton Delikaton Eraston* ("The School for Discerning Lovers": six love stories from the collection of the French author Nicolas Edmonde Rétif de la Bretonne, 1734–1806, as an example of "modern" European literature and of the new relations between the sexes); (2) *Physikis Apanthisma* ("Physics Anthology": an introduction to physics on the basis of European works, to stimulate the legacy of Plato and Aristotle); (3) a translation of *L'Esprit des lois* by Charles de Montesquieu.

In 1791 Rigas returned to Bucharest in order to administer his property and to continue his activity as a translator and writer. He made contact with French revolutionaries residing in Wallachia, especially the diplomat Émile Gaudin; from these friends Rigas obtained the latest news and literature about the French Revolution. Rigas developed the idea of a national and social uprising of the Greek people, and although it is not certain, it is possible that he founded a secret society. In 1796 he returned to Vienna, which was also a centre of the Greek intelligentsia and offered him the opportunity for political agitation in Austria and neighbouring countries. At the start of 1796 the *Thourios Ymnos* ("War Hymn") was published; it

Rigas Velestinlis

analysed the political and military situation of the time and called for an insurrection not only of the Greeks, but of all the peoples of the Balkans, including the Turks. In 1797 the Viennese publishing house of the brothers George and Poulios Pouliou printed the following works by Rigas: (1) *O Ithikos Tripous* ("The Ethical Trilogy"), a collection of three belletrist works of the European Enlightenment, translated into Greek: the drama *Olympia* by the versatile Italian Pietro Antonio Metastasio (Rome 1698, Vienna 1782), the novelette by the member of the Paris Academy and favourite of Voltaire, Jean François Marmontel (1723–99), *La Bergère des Alpes*, and the idyll *Der erste Schäfer* by the Swiss poet and painter Salomon Gessner (1730–88); (2) *To Taxidion tou Neou Anacharsidos, IV*, a translation of part of the fourth volume of the famous work *Voyage du jeune Anacharsis en Grèce*, a kind of *Kulturgeschichte* of Classical Greece, published by the French antiquary Jean Jacques Barthélemy (1760–95) in 1788; for Rigas it was an aid to the formation of the national consciousness of his people; (3) *Megali Charta tis Ellados* ("Great Map of Greece"), a geographical map of the territories with Greek settlements: Greece and the Aegean, Asia Minor, southeast Europe; many placenames are given in ancient and modern Greek forms; important historic places have special illustrations in the margin; (4) *Geniki Charta tis Moldavias* ("General Map of Moldavia"); (5) *Nea Charta tis Vlachias* ("New Map of Vlachia"); (6) *Eikon tou Megalou Alexandrou* ("Likeness of Alexander the Great"), with marginal sketches illustrating the life of Alexander and an explanatory text in modern Greek and in French; (7) *Enkolpion Stratiotikon* ("Military Handbook"), a translated extract from the writings of the Austrian field marshal Count Ludwig Andreas Khevenmüller (1683–1744), as a help in the preparation of the armed insurrection (no copy of this work has survived); (8) *Epanastatiki Prokiryxis* ("Revolutionary Manifesto"); the original text has not survived, but it can be reconstructed in its four parts: the *Nea Politiki Dioikisis* ("Modern Civil Government") provides an introduction to Rigas's political programme, which applies to all regions where Greeks are living together with "non-Christians", i.e. Turks; the second part contains 35 articles on human rights according to the French *Déclaration des droits de l'homme*, but adapted to the Greek situation; there follows a plan for a constitution of this region in which several peoples are to be found but the Greeks are dominant; the last part repeats the *Thourios Ymnos*, a kind of poetic interpretation of the constitution. Separately Rigas published two other political poems, the *Ymnos Patriotikos* ("Patriotic Hymn") and the *Paian i Ethnikos Ymnos* ("Paean or National Hymn").

On 17 October 1797 France and Austria concluded the Treaty of Campoformio. This treaty ceded the Venetian possessions in Albania and in the Ionian islands to Napoleon. The changed political situation seemed to Rigas to be the right moment for the insurrection. He wrote a letter to Napoleon (which was confiscated by the Austrian police) and without waiting for an answer he went to Trieste with his revolutionary material in order to travel to Greece. But he was betrayed and arrested by the Austrian police. He was taken to Vienna and from Vienna to Belgrade in the spring of 1798. Here he was strangled by the Turks on 28 June 1798 together with seven comrades.

Rigas was one of the most eminent representatives of the Greek Enlightenment and the most important forerunner of the Greek uprising of 1821. His poems were very popular and he himself became a martyr not only in Greece but throughout the Balkans. His politics were geared to the liberation of all Balkan peoples and to the formation of a Balkan state under Greek hegemony. But in the wave of Greek nationalism after 1821 his intentions were misunderstood. The Patriarchate of Constantinople condemned his actions and Greek chauvinism later falsely made him into a precursor of the *Megali Idea* ("Great Idea") of the reconstruction of the Byzantine empire. His unfettered patriotism was based on the memory of Greek antiquity and influenced by the ideas of the European Enlightenment and the French Revolution.

JOHANNES IRMSCHER

See also Enlightenment

Biography

Born at Velestino (ancient Pherae in Thessaly, whence his alternative name Pheraios) *c.*1757, Rigas was educated in Thessaly and worked for a while as a schoolmaster. He moved first to Constantinople and then to Bucharest where he befriended the Phanariots and representatives of the Enlightenment. Inspired by the French Revolution with ideas for Balkan liberation he published revolutionary tracts for which he was arrested in Trieste. Strangled to death by the Turks in Belgrade in 1798, he became a martyr throughout the Balkans.

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Velouchiotis, Ares 1905–1945

World War II resistance leader

Ares Velouchiotis was the nom de guerre of Thanasis Klaras, leader of ELAS (*Ellinikos Laikos Apeleftherotikos Stratos*, or the Greek Popular Liberation Army) which spearheaded the resistance to the German and Italian occupation forces during World War II and later became the military wing of the Communist Party in the Civil War against the combined Greek and British royalist forces. Velouchiotis's life has been obscured by countless layers of ideologically driven calumny from both the left and the right in Greece. He has been variously portrayed as a self-serving renegade, a merciless terrorist, or communist pawn. To many, however, he remains a shining example of patriotism and idealism during one of the country's darkest hours. He led one of the most effective resistance movements in all occupied Europe and his military prowess was legendary.

Born in Lamia to a middle-class family, Klaras demonstrated from a young age a nonconformism and iconoclasm that would mark his entire adult life and would eventually lead to his death. Although undoubtedly intelligent, he was refused entry into high school because of his ungovernable temperament. Since he was unwilling to follow in the footsteps of his father and older brother, who were both lawyers, his family arranged for him to be trained as an agronomist. After a brief tenure in the Ministry of Agriculture, Klaras left for Athens where he sought the company of like-minded young idealists who had grown impatient with the rising poverty of the masses and the government's authoritarian methods. This led him to join the motley coalition of leftists who then made up the emergent Communist Party of Greece. He became a member and served the party in a wide variety of functions, including journalist, courier, and political agitator. On one notable occasion he risked his life to save that of the party's leader, Nikos Zachariadis, who, ironically, was to betray him years later in the name of party discipline. Unrepentantly irreverent, Klaras smoked, drank, and sang popular songs, refusing to toe the party's puritanical line that forbade most forms of entertainment as degenerate. Klaras was jailed repeatedly for his political activities and suffered torture at the hands of the state security services until, in 1939, disillusioned with the party's inflexibility on the issue of signed renunciations of communist ideology, he won his release from prison by signing such a declaration. His membership in the party was revoked and he was ostracized by his former comrades, many of whom had always viewed his boldness and nerve with suspicion. After his release from prison he became isolated and dejected, eventually taking to drink, until the declaration of war in October 1940.

With the onset of the German-led occupation in 1941, Klaras began secretly organizing resistance. A gifted orator, he made speeches in which he invoked the heroic achievements of the revolution of 1821 against the Turks. He held that the key to effective resistance was armed struggle in the mountains, the traditional haven of the Greek klephts, the rebels who had won independence for the nation by fighting a war of attrition against the Turks. In a bid to remove this agitator from their midst, the Communist Party sent him to central Greece with the mission of exploring the possibilities for armed resistance. Slowly at first and against great difficulties, Klaras, now known as Ares Velouchiotis (a name derived from his ancestral village of Velouchi), began recruiting men from villages across the mainland. Velouchiotis's manner quickly won over the rural population and his resistance force gradually grew. His partisans struck at the Italian and German occupiers with swiftness and daring, often defeating numerically superior forces with great displays of courage and audacity. In November 1942 Velouchiotis's men, together with a smaller force from the rival resistance organization EDES (*Ethnikos Dimokratikos Ellinikos Syndesmos*, the National Democratic Hellenic Union) and a small detachment of British commandos, blew up the Gorgopotamos rail bridge. The most important European sabotage operation up to then, the destruction of the bridge cut off the principal supply line to Rommel's forces in North Africa for nearly five weeks, thus giving the British Eighth Army the upper hand in what became the first Allied victory, at El-Alamein.

Under Velouchiotis's leadership ELAS grew into a formidable, agile, and uniquely effective resistance movement with a broad popular base. By the spring of 1943 they had liberated nearly a third of Greece, from Kastoria to the Corinthian Gulf. Velouchiotis's guerrilla tactics had forced the Germans and Italians to withdraw to a handful of small cities. His success was viewed with amazement and suspicion by the political classes of Athens and by the British who cooperated with him nominally while financing independent, right-wing resistance forces in an effort to ensure Greece became a pro-British monarchy after the war. He in turn was deeply suspicious of politicians and openly hostile to most foreigners, especially the British, whose political intentions he rightly mistrusted. Velouchiotis showed brazen disregard for party policies, a fact often overlooked by critics who accuse him of having blindly served the communist cause. He cared little for ideology and was noted for invoking the glorious achievements of the ancient and 19th-century Greeks rather than the militant ideas of Marx or Lenin. His success as a partisan leader among the mountain villagers of Greece can be partly attributed to his profound respect for rural customs and the often harsh discipline he imposed on his men. Although he had no military training, he was a peerless tactician and charismatic leader who earned the loyalty of his men through humility and fairness. Demotic songs composed in his honour still survive.

Velouchiotis nevertheless made many enemies, especially among those on both the left and the right who saw their own political prospects in postwar Greece threatened by his popu-

larity and military might. The communists began a secret smear campaign against him in the cities, implicitly supporting the accusations of theft and savagery levelled by rival right-wing partisan groups. On a number of occasions Velouchiotis's men came into open conflict with right-wing partisans supported by the British. These conflicts foreshadowed the Civil War that followed the liberation of Greece and resulted in the transformation of Velouchiotis's resistance force into an armed wing of the Communist Party. Velouchiotis did not live to see this. He broke ranks with the party over the controversial agreement with the British-backed Royalists, signed at Varkiza in the winter of 1944. Accompanied hy a core group of his most loyal fighters, he went into hiding in the mountains of central Greece, pursued by right-wing militias. Driven to despair over the country's political situation and his own increasing isolation, Velouchiotis took his own life on 16 June 1945 near the Acheloos river. His head was cut off by right-wing militiamen and set on display in the town of Trikkala as proof of his death. His memory remains a source of vociferous political debate and attempts to recognize his decisive role in the liberation of Greece continue to provoke contention.

EMMANUEL C. BOURBOUHAKIS

See also EAM and ELAS

Biography

Born in Lamia in 1905 to a middle-class family, Velouchiotis (whose real name was Thanasis Klaras) was trained as an agronomist. At the age of 19 he joined the Communist Party in Athens and was often jailed. In World War II he became the charismatic leader of the ELAS resistance movement. Accused of treachery, he took his own life on 16 June 1945.

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Venetians

The region at the head of the Adriatic – Venetia and Istria – formed one of the imperial provinces. In the early Byzantine period, as the barbarian invaders moved into Italy, the islands of the Venetian lagoon were settled by refugees. The newcomers retained their imperial links: their dukes or doges had portentous Byzantine titles, frequent embassies passed between Venice and Constantinople, and Venetian chroniclers concerned themselves with events in Byzantium. Venetian churches were dedicated to Greek saints and were enriched with Greek relics, such as those of St Sabas, St Donatus, and St Nicholas of Myra, some received as gifts, others filched by raiding parties. The church of St Mark in Venice, which served as the palatine chapel of the doge, was adorned with a succession of rich altarpieces made up of pieces of Constantinopolitan workmanship reaching their final form in the Pala d'Oro of the 14th century. The third rebuilding of St Mark's in the years 1063–94 was in conscious imitation of the church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople. A set of doors made in Constantinople graced its portals. As for ecclesiastical traffic the other way, a Venetian chronicler claimed that Greek use of church bells began with a gift of bells from Venice. The coincidence of Venetian and Greek interests in opposing Dalmatian piracy and Saracen advances in the Adriatic strengthened the relationship, prefiguring the Venetian-Byzantine resistance to the Normans in the next two centuries. Venetian merchants became increasingly active in trade between Italy and the empire, importing even silk textiles, despite imperial prohibition, and competing with the Greeks for the carrying trade within the empire itself.

From 992 comes the first of a series of privileges that further mark the stages in the relationship between the empire and Venice. An imperial bull of that year established a favourable scale of tariffs for Venetian merchants and, by excluding them from the jurisdiction of certain officials, gave them an advantage from which their Amalfitan and other rivals were explicitly excluded. Almost a century later under the emperor Alexios I Komnenos (1081–1118), a bull, or perhaps a series of bulls, exempted the Venetians from payment of duties throughout the empire. The concession further made over to the Venetians a number of properties on the Golden Horn, which later became the Venetian quarter of Constantinople where the Venetians enjoyed rights of extraterritoriality. During the 12th century Venetian privileges were confirmed and extended. The survival of several hundred private Venetian commercial contracts shows how active the Venetians were in the empire at this time. They had their own churches, monasteries, domestic and commercial properties, not only in Constantinople but also elsewhere in the empire, for example at Corinth and Almyros. Olive oil is the commodity most often the subject of these contracts. By the second half of the 12th century the numbers of Venetians resident in Constantinople, said to be 10,000, inflamed anti-western feeling in the capital. In a famous passage Niketas Choniates refers to Venetian arrogance, to the affront caused by Venetian marriages into Greek families, and to the great temperamental gulf that divided the two peoples. The tension exploded in 1171 when the emperor Manuel ordered the arrest of all Venetians in the empire. The disruption of life in the empire must have been severe and this, perhaps combined with Venetian retaliation and their pact with the Normans, led Manuel to negotiate, but at his death in 1180 negotiations were still incomplete. Under the Angeloi emperors the old Venetian privileges were confirmed and more fully enumerated while their legal status was enhanced.

The Fourth Crusade of 1202–04 delivered Constantinople to the westerners. The story, perhaps not literally true, that the doge Enrico Dandolo had lost his sight in the struggle with the

Greeks in 1171 was at any rate expressive of the residue of bitterness against the Greeks that those events had produced in Venice. In the division of the spoils the Venetians took three-eighths of the city and the Balkan coast south of Dyrrachium. They obtained Crete by purchase from the Crusaders, and the Ionian Islands and others such as Euboea, Andros, Naxos, and Santorini fell to Venice or Venetian citizens in the course of the next century. The doge took the title of lord of a quarter and a half of a quarter of Romania, that is of the "Roman lands" or Byzantine empire. A Venetian *podestà*, or governor, was appointed in Constantinople and rivalled the Latin emperor and the doge himself in influence. The monastery of the Pantokrator became his headquarters. It took years for the abundant loot to be transported to Venice. The plunder included antiquities such as the great bronze horses from the Hippodrome destined to adorn the loggia of St Mark's, church plate for the treasury of St Mark's, innumerable architectural trophies, some to adorn the exterior of St Mark's and some, like so many columns, to be sliced into roundels for the decoration of *palazzi*. Relics included the icon of the Hodegetria, said to be the work of St Luke, carried off to the Venetian Pantokrator, while others such as the head of John the Baptist, an arm of St George, the headless body of St Paul the hermit, and the body of St Eutychios ended up in Venice. Even the Crown of Thorns, initially appropriated by the Latin emperors, was pawned to a consortium of Venetian businessmen in 1238. Gleeful Venetian chroniclers catalogued the extent of the spoils while Niketas Choniates mournfully recorded the losses.

In 1261 the Greeks once more took Constantinople, with the help of Venice's great rival, Genoa. During the period between 1261 and 1381 there were four Venetian–Genoese wars, some of great intensity, which were often fought off the Byzantine coast or on Byzantine seas. Neither the restoration of Greek power in Constantinople nor the enmity of the Genoese inhibited the progress of Venetian commerce so much as might have been expected. In the 14th century Venice, like Genoa, made agreements with the Grand Komnenoi in Trebizond, modelled on the concessions in Constantinople, which gave them an enclave and commercial advantages. Throughout the Byzantine lands and through those lands to distant destinations beyond them, Venetian commercial enterprise continued to prosper. The two centuries between 1261 and the fall of Constantinople to the Ottomans in 1453 were dominated by conflicts in which the two Italian states, Byzantium, and the emerging Ottoman power were the leading protagonists in an intricate and changing set of alliances and counter-alliances, seldom made with regard to religion or to the interests of western Christendom as a whole. A series of short-term treaties between the Greek emperors and Venice gave the Venetians new quarters in Constantinople and Thessalonica, protection for their ecclesiastical usages, and their own weights and measures. These rights were extended to those of mixed parentage who classed themselves as Venetians. A commission was established to examine the many demands for compensation for losses that the Venetians claimed to have suffered in the empire. Concessions and agreements constantly broke down under the pressure of threats, squabbles over alleged infringements, and disputes over the regulation of corn sales or taxing wine. In 1343 the poverty of Byzantium compelled the empress Anna, regent for her son John V, to pawn the crown jewels to Venice to secure a loan of 30,000 ducats. Four years later, at the coronation of John VI, glass baubles had to be substituted, while Venice became restless at the failure to repay the interest. In the 1370s Venice seized the strategic island of Tenedos when negotiations to buy it from the emperor were stalled by dynastic disputes and Genoese subversion. After the Peace of Turin in 1381 ended the Venetian–Genoese wars, Venice was principally concerned with the protection of its trade and possessions in Greece from the rising Ottoman power. In 1453 some individual Venetians fought bravely against the Turks, hut the Venetian state made an alliance with the sultan. Venice had already written off Byzantium.

Under the Ottomans Venice struggled, not unsuccessfully, to retain some of its outposts and even to take new ones, such as Monemvasia. Crete remained Venetian until 1669 and the Ionian islands until the fall of the Venetian republic in 1797. The visible remains of the Venetian presence include loggias and fortifications in Crete and on the coast of the Peloponnese, such as Modon and Monemvasia, while Venetian architectural features appear in the churches of the Ionian islands and the Argolid. A scattered Roman Catholic population in some Aegean islands such as Naxos and Santorini is attributable to the Venetian presence.

In the early centuries a knowledge of Greek had been rare, almost unknown, in Venice, but even before 1453 Greeks had begun to arrive in the city. Famous scholars included Demetrios Kydones and Bessarion, while the Cretan painter El Greco was numbered among the artists. Some 4000 Greeks were resident there before 1500. Bessarion made a gift of his library to Venice. For Aldus Manutius Venice was the best city for the foundation of his Greek press, although some may claim that his founts, based on the Greek script of the day with ligatures and accents, were less successful than the typeface of Nicolas Jenson who himself had worked in Venice. From 1573 the church of S. Giorgio dei Greci was the focus of the Greek community in Venice and became a centre for Hellenic studies.

M.E. MARTIN

See also Venetokratia, Venice

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Venetokratia 1204–1797

Venetokratia is the term given to the period of Venetian rule in the areas of Greek-speaking, formerly Byzantine-controlled territories. The period begins with the Fourth Crusade (1204) and closes essentially with the formal end of the Venetian Republic in 1797. Those Greek lands that were divided between Frankish and Venetian rule experienced over this period – some for a longer and others for a shorter length of time – foreign domination that varied in character. Some, for example, passed directly from Byzantine to Venetian rule, others became feudal fiefs according to the pattern of the medieval West, while yet others had to undergo a process of feudalization before finally becoming Venetian dominions. These differing historical circumstances affected the local populations of each region in various ways.

After the Latin conquest of Constantinople in 1204, Crusaders and Venetians divided among themselves the territories of the dismembered Byzantine empire. According to the terms of the agreement known as the *Partitio Terrarum Imperii Romaniae*, the Byzantine lands were divided into six lots, of unequal size, two of which were given to the Latin emperor, two to the Crusaders, and two to the Venetians. In reality, however, the *Partitio* was of little practical worth since the lands that were assigned to the Crusaders had not as yet been conquered.

One of the Greek lands that was to experience a long period of Venetian rule was Crete. The island is not mentioned in the *Partitio* because it had ceased to be part of the Byzantine state just prior to the Crusade. Among the terms of the agreement made between Alexios Angelos, son of Isaac II, and the Crusaders, whereby Alexios secured the Crusaders' support in his efforts to put his father back on the throne of Byzantium, was the cession of Crete to Boniface, marquis de Montferrat, the leader of the Fourth Crusade. Since the island already belonged to Boniface before the conquest of Constantinople, it was not mentioned in the *Partitio*.

A few months after the conquest of the Byzantine capital, however, on 12 August 1204, in his efforts to win the support of Venice in his dispute with the Latin emperor of Constantinople, Baldwin of Flanders, Boniface signed a treaty ceding Crete to the most Serene Republic of Venice. At first Venice was too involved with establishing control over its newly won Greek-speaking territories to push ahead with a full takeover of the island of Crete as well. Thus when Genoese pirates, led by Enrico Pescatore, titular count of Malta, attempted to seize the island, they succeeded in taking control of it relatively quickly. Venice reacted immediately by sending its fleet to Candia. Pescatore was eventually compelled in 1211 to come to terms with Venice, though he was not sent away empty-handed. The withdrawal of the Genoese marked the beginning of Venetian rule in Crete, which was to last until 1669.

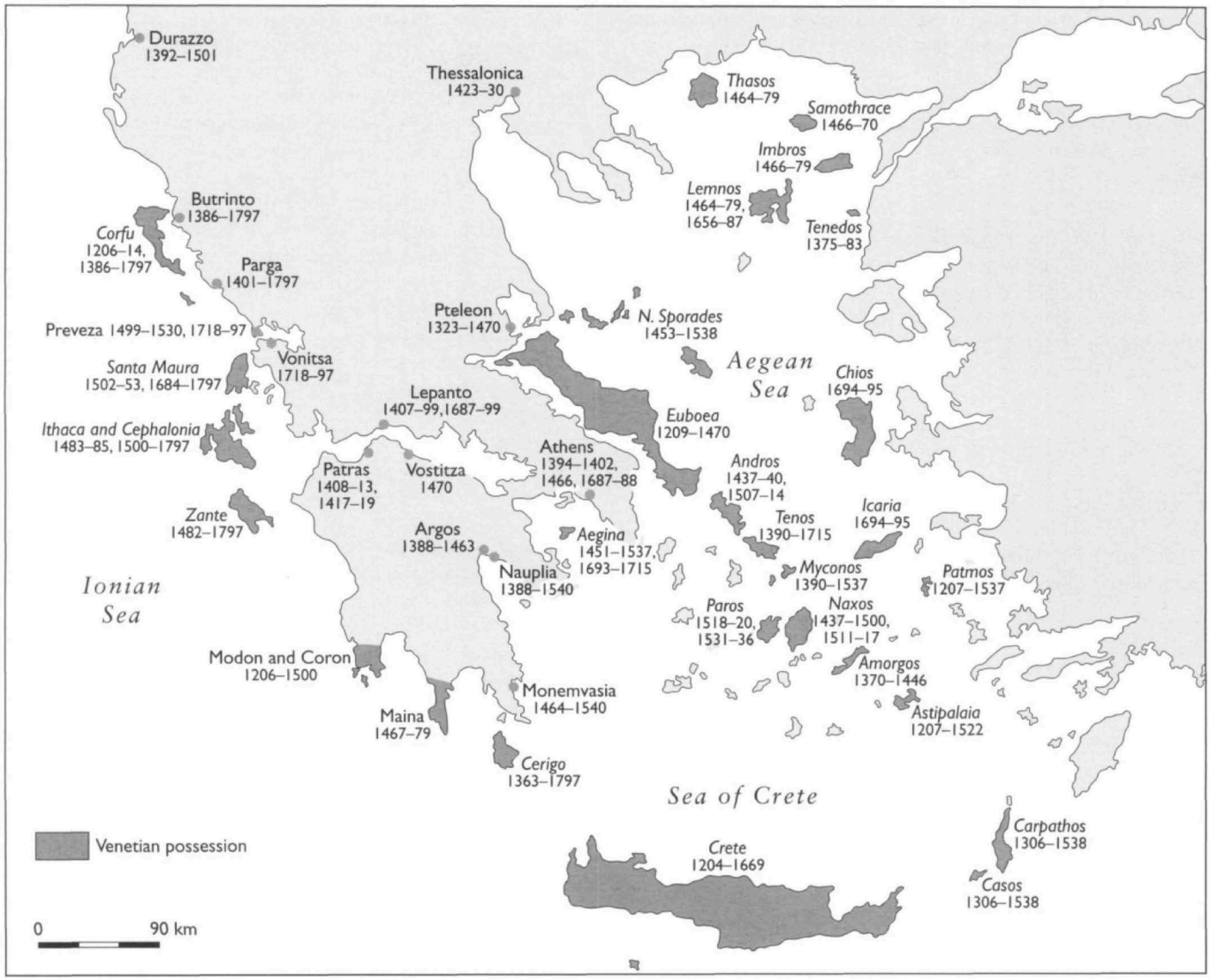
Another island that had been prised from Byzantine control on the eve of the Fourth Crusade was Cyprus. The island had originally been conquered in 1191 by king Richard the Lionheart of England, one of the leaders of the Third Crusade, who subsequently gave his dominion first to the military Order of the Temple, and then to Guy de Lusignan, king of Jerusalem. The French Lusignan dynasty was to remain in Cyprus for the next 300 years. The marriage of Giacomo II (1460–73) to Caterina Cornaro, the daughter of a noble Venetian family, signalled the beginning of Venetian mercantile domination of the island. Venice meanwhile prepared the ground for outright control of the island and in 1489, after the death of Giacomo, compelled Caterina, now queen regent of Cyprus, to resign her right to sovereignty of the island and to hand it over to Venice. The Venetian period in Cyprus lasted until 1571, when the island was conquered by the Turks.

Thessalonica also experienced a short period of Venetian rule. In 1423 the despot Andronikos Palaiologos found himself unable to defend the city against the Turkish threat and consequently ceded control of it, with the approval of the Byzantine emperor and the local population, to the Venetians. Ever with an eye to its commercial interests, Venice snatched up the offer and rushed to take over the city. Venetian control lasted until 1430, when the Turks captured it.

Athens was initially conquered by the French and ruled by the la Roche Burgundians. Later, however, it came under the control of the Catalans and then the Florentines, before succumbing to the Turks in 1456. Two centuries later Athens experienced further misfortune. In 1687, in their efforts to contain the Turkish military threat, the forces of the Venetian Francesco Morosini and of the Swede Königsmarck decided to invade and take control of Attica. During the course of the siege of the Acropolis by the Venetians, explosives fell on the Parthenon, which the Turks were using as a magazine, and the Classical monument was severely damaged by the enormous explosion that resulted. Despite initial successes, Morosini was eventually forced to abandon his siege of the city, taking a number of important Classical sculptures back to Venice with him as a consolation prize.

The Venetian period in the Peloponnese can be divided into two phases: the first extends from 1204 to 1540, and the second from 1685 to 1715. During the first period the Venetian territories consisted of Modon and Coron (1206), Nauplia (1388), Argos (1388), and Monemvasia (1464). During the course of the second and third Turko-Venetian wars (1499–1502, 1572–73) Venice lost its dominions in the Peloponnese, together with Lepanto (Naupactus), its sole dominion in mainland Greece. The Venetian flag was not raised again in the Peloponnese until the end of the 17th century when Venice joined the Holy League (*Sacra Lega*) and declared war on the Turks. The second period of Venetian rule in the Peloponnese was not to last long: in 1715 the Turks replied to the blow dealt them earlier by the Venetians by recapturing the entire peninsula.

After the Fourth Crusade, Euboea (Negroponte) was divided between Boniface, marquis de Montferrat, who took the central part, and Venice, which took the northern and southern ends – Oreos and Carystus – of the long island. A little later Boniface gave his share to three nobles from Verona, who came to be known as the *terzieri* since they each took a



45. Venetian possessions in the Greek world

third. In 1390, following the death of the Latin feudal lord Giorgio Ghisi, the Venetians annexed the entire island. With the first Turko-Venetian war, however, the island fell under Ottoman control in 1470.

The Ionian islands were only gradually absorbed into the overseas dominions of Venice. Corfu was granted to Venice during the first period of Venetian rule, being placed under the control of ten Venetian nobles. This regime, however, lasted for less than ten years (1206–14) after which the island passed first to the Despotate of Epirus and then to the Angevins. Later, in the 14th century, the local population consented to being brought under Venetian rule, and were granted various privileges by the Serenissima. Venetian administration on the island survived to the end of the Venetian Republic in 1797. Zante became a Venetian dominion in 1482, and Cephalonia and Ithaca in 1500, while Leucas (Santa Maura) came under Venetian rule much later, in letter in 1684 and in practice in 1699, with the treaty of Karlovich. With the annexation of Leucas Venice also acquired Vonitsa and Preveza. Lastly, Cythera became Venetian in 1363, when Venice declared its virtual rulers – the members of the Venier family – personae non gratae because of their involvement in the St Titius rebellion in Crete. The two smaller islands of Paxos and Anticythera followed the fortunes of neighbouring Corfu and Cythera respectively. It was under the flag of St Mark that, for the first time in their troubled history, the Ionian islands acquired a specific political and geographical identity, when the whole group was treated as a clearly defined entity. The Venetian state, as early as the 14th century and long before gaining formal control of the Ionian islands, "desired", as a Venetian chronicler succinctly put it, "to acquire the configuration of islands comprised of Corfu, Zante, and Cephalonia". This "configuration" later comprised the principal feature of the Venetian presence in the Ionian Sea.

The Aegean islands, with their capital on Naxos, comprised the duchy of the "Arcipelago", and were divided into feudal domains governed as family fiefs by Venetian nobility, some for longer, others for shorter periods of time. Often the names of the families came to be linked with the local history of the various islands, such as the Sanudi in Naxos, Paros, Antiparos, Melos, Ios, Kythnos, and Siphnos; the Dandoli in Andros; the Querini in Astypalaia; the Barozzi in Santorini; and the

Cornari in Karpathos. The decline in power of the various Latin fiefdoms began in 1537 when Barbarossa crushed the strength of many of the Latin dynasties in the Aegean. The consolidation of Turkish power throughout the Aegean, however, was not effected until 30 years later, in 1566.

In the first centuries of Venetian rule in Greek lands the elements of the distinctly foreign culture established themselves only very slowly, faced as they were by a tightly knit Greek social body, and succeeded in influencing only a limited number of areas of local life. Nevertheless Hellenism, presented as it was with an open road of communication with the West, came under the influence of the European Renaissance and began to assimilate the values of the Western world. With the gradual meeting of these two worlds, over time relations between what had originally been mutually hostile communities became warmer. Greek society not only assimilated foreign influences but also blended older and newer cultural traditions. The fusion of the foreign with the Greek reached its quintessence perhaps in Crete, where a fertile cultural dialogue between the Byzantine tradition and western Europe gradually led to a common, Veneto-Cretan form of cultural expression, particularly in painting and literature. Despite the unpleasant aspects of foreign occupation, and despite the unusual blend of conditions under which the Greeks lived throughout the course of Venetian rule, they nevertheless managed to maintain their own cultural character and potential and to make of this a new, exciting fabric.

CHRYSSA A. MALTEZOU

See also Renaissance (Veneto-Cretan), Venetians

Summary

Dating from the Fourth Crusade in 1204 to the end of the Venetian Republic in 1797, *Venetokratia* denotes Venetian rule in former Byzantine territory. The principal areas were Crete (1204–1669); Cyprus (1489–1571); Thessalonica (1423–30); the Peloponnese (1204–1540 and 1685–1715); Euboea (1390–1470); the Ionian islands (various dates from 1206 to 1797); and the Aegean islands (various dates from the 13th to the 16th centuries). The two cultures merged to form a generally harmonious and often creative blend.

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Venice

Of all the maritime cities of Italy it was Venice that had the greatest impact on the fortunes of the Byzantine and modern Greek world. Itself a creation of Byzantium, it developed into a major economic power, rising from the status of a Byzantine province to be the ruling master of formerly Byzantine territories. With the reconquest of Italy by the Byzantine emperor Justinian in the 6th century, Venice became a part of the Byzantine empire. The governor of the *provincia Venetiarum* was the *magister militum*, later *dux*, who was under the direct authority of the exarch of Ravenna. A fine example of the Byzantine presence in the lagoon of Venice in this period is the inscription, dated 639, in the cathedral of Torcello, in which mention is made of the emperor Herakleios, the exarch Isaacius, and the *magister militum* Mauricius.

Venice: San Giorgio dei Greci and its 16th-century leaning bell tower

The fall of the exarchate of Ravenna in the mid-8th century marked the beginning of Venetian autonomy. However, the theoretical bond of vassalage that continued to unite Venice with Byzantium in fact served its interests. Thus the dukes, or *doges*, of Venice continued in this early period to use such titles as consul, *spatharius*, *protospatharius*, patrician, and *protosebastus*, awarded them by the Byzantine emperor. From the 10th century onwards the power and prestige of Venice increased. Following a request by the doge, the Byzantine emperors Basil II and Constantine VIII issued a *chrysobull* in 992 granting Venetian merchants tax exemptions in exchange for transporting Byzantine troops to Italy in Venetian vessels. This *chrysobull* was the first in a series of imperial documents

defining relations between Byzantium and Venice. Political and commercial relations between Byzantium and the maritime power resulted ultimately in the penetration of Venice into the sphere of Byzantine influence. Byzantine saints were worshipped, their relics were brought to Venice, doges were wedded to the daughters of Byzantine nobles, and Byzantine artistic styles were adopted or imitated. The earliest mosaics in the basilica of St Mark, whose architectural plans were based on the church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople, together with the mosaics in the cathedral of Torcello, are among the finest examples of Byzantine art in the region of the lagoon.

In 1082 the emperor Alexios I Komnenos was hard pressed by the Norman invasions of Byzantine territories in the Balkans. In order to deal with the threat he sought the help of Venice, in exchange for which he granted the city far-reaching privileges that allowed Venetian merchants free access to all Byzantine ports. These served to open the way for Venetian expansion into the lucrative trade of the Levant. It has often been claimed that the seed of the Fourth Crusade that was to take place in 1204 was in fact planted with the *chrysobull* of 1082. In the words of Fernand Braudel, as termites eat away at the structure of a building invisible to the outside observer, so too Venice managed gradually to consume the vast Byzantine edifice. In 1204 the Venetians, with the help of the Crusaders, conquered the city of Constantinople and became masters of the lands of the dismantled Byzantine state. For a large part of the Greek world the period of Venetian rule had begun, to last in some areas for many centuries.

After the final fall of Constantinople to the Turks in 1453, Venice became a great cultural centre for the subjugated Greek world. In 1498 the Greeks of Venice, merchants, craftsmen, sailors, and soldiers (*stradioti*) set up the Greek Orthodox Contraternity of Venice, which was to be the most renowned of all the Greek confraternities of the diaspora. The Orthodox church of San Giorgio dei Greci, built in the years 1539–73, was decorated with beautiful works of art. Later, some of the greatest figures in the world of modern Greek learning were to study and teach at the college set up thanks to funding from Thomas Flanghinis in 1665. The Greeks of Venice maintained a hospital and a convent, and provided major bequests for schools in the Turkish-ruled Greek east (such as in Patras, Athens, and Ioannina). Numerous Greek books were printed in the Greek printing houses of Venice, and were then sent for sale and distribution in the Orthodox centres of the East. Besides the printing houses, Venice also played host to numerous scribes and copyists of manuscripts, editors and correctors of ancient texts, and painters and artists who contributed not only to the development of Greek cultural styles and values but also, more generally, to European culture and learning. Such figures included Ianos Laskaris, Markos Moussouros, and Domenikos Theotokopoulos, known as El Greco.

CHRYSSA A. MALTEZOU

See also Venetians

Summary

Venice became part of the Byzantine empire with the conquests of Justinian in the 6th century. It became autonomous after the fall of Ravenna in the mid-8th century. Its merchants were first granted tax concessions by the Byzantine emperor in 992 and further privileges in 1081. Venetian rule of much of the Greek world began with the Fourth Crusade in 1204. After the fall of Constantinople in 1453 expatriates made Venice a centre of Greek culture and learning.

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Venizelos, Eleftherios 1864–1936

Politician

Eleutherios Venizelos was eight times prime minister of Greece. His legacy is a mixed one. An advocate of *enosis* (union) of the unredeemed Greeks with Greece, in the aftermath of World War I he came closer than any other Greek leader to achieving the *Megali Idea* (Great Idea). When this new empire was subsequently lost after his fall from power, Greece again turned to him to salvage what could be saved from the ruins. One of his last achievements was to inaugurate an unusually long period of Graeco-Turkish amity. Domestically he was a reformer, modernizing the government services and constitution, but his disputes with the king would begin the national schism which would dominate Greek political life for decades to come.

Venizelos was born on 23 August 1864 near Chania on the island of Crete to a Greek family which had migrated to Crete in the late 18th century. He graduated from the university in Athens in 1886 and returned to Crete to practise law. Venizelos became active in the political life of the island, was a leader of the local Liberal party, and a strong advocate of *enosis* of the Ottoman-ruled island with independent Greece. In 1888 he was elected to the Cretan assembly, but was forced to flee the following year after an unsuccessful insurrection against Ottoman rule. He was later allowed to return and was again elected to the assembly, becoming minister of justice. He was one of the leaders of a revolt against the Ottomans in 1897 and was one of the Cretan delegates sent to meet the admirals of the Great Powers dispatched to mediate a settlement. As a result of this mediation, Crete achieved autonomy within the Ottoman empire, under a high commissioner selected by the powers. The new high commissioner was prince George of Greece, son of king George I. Venizelos became head of the new island executive in 1899, but quarrelled with prince George, and they fell out by 1904. When Venizelos was defeated at the polls in 1905, he organized a revolt, proclaiming *enosis* with Greece. The revolt failed but it contributed to the departure of prince George and the appointment of a new high commissioner. During the years 1906–09 Venizelos served as either head of the Cretan government or leader of the opposition.

Venizelos's career was transformed as a consequence of the Goudi coup in Greece, which saw a significant faction within the army demanding reforms. Venizelos, who had become widely known because of his role in Cretan politics, was seen by many in metropolitan Greece as a politician who could implement reform, unsullied by close contact with the ruling elites of Athens. In 1909 king George invited Venizelos to Athens to advise him, in 1910 he was elected to parliament as a member for Athens, and then became prime minister, combining it with the war and naval portfolios. With tremendous energy, Venizelos set about modernizing the public services, including both the army and the navy. He also helped shape a new constitution, and in the elections of 1912 held under this new constitution he won a significant majority.

Venizelos displayed great shrewdness throughout his career in foreign policy. In 1912 he engineered Greece's role in the Balkan League, and in the Balkan Wars which followed (1912–13) he accomplished a significant expansion of territory for the Greek state, including *enosis* with his home island of Crete. Venizelos had worked well with king George, but the king was assassinated at the peak of Greece's victories, and his son and successor, Constantine I, did not enjoy as easy a relationship with Venizelos. The two fell out in particular over Greece's response to the outbreak of World War I in 1914. The entry of the Ottoman empire into the war on the side of the Central Powers led Venizelos to advocate support of the Allied cause, seeing an opportunity to acquire much of Greece's *irredenta* with Allied support. Throughout 1914–15 the king and Venizelos disagreed as to policy, the king advocating neutrality, Venizelos anxious to join the Allies. The dispute came to a head in 1915 over Greece's reaction to the Gallipoli campaign, with Venizelos advocating support for the Allies. The result was Venizelos's forced resignation. In the elections which followed, Venizelos's supporters won 190 out of 316 seats in parliament. This election can be seen as the beginning of the national schism which would bedevil Greek political life for decades to come, drawing sharp divisions through Greek life. Despite this commanding electoral victory, Constantine delayed as long as possible in appointing Venizelos as prime minister. Once this was done he reluctantly followed his prime minister's advice and allowed the Allies to land at Thessalonica (1 October 1915), which they wished to do in order to assist their beleaguered Serbian allies. The king still refused to countenance entering the war, backed by such figures as the chief of the general staff, General Metaxas. The king's unhappiness with Venizelos finally led to his dismissal. In the elections which followed, the Venizelists, who claimed the king's action to be unconstitutional, boycotted the elections and as a result a neutralist government was elected.

Venizelos now embarked on a dangerous course. At the end of September 1916 he and some supporters sailed for Crete, his original base of support. From there they sailed through the Aegean islands to Thessalonica, rallying support. On reaching Allied-occupied Thessalonica Venizelos proclaimed a Provisional Government of National Defence, which was quickly recognized by Britain and France, and which declared war on Germany and Bulgaria. king Constantine, who was rapidly losing support, left the country in June 1917, passing the throne to his son Alexander. Venizelos returned in triumph to Athens, and Greece as a whole now declared war on the Central Powers. Venizelos's acquisition of power with foreign support would turn many against him, and deepened national divisions.

Greece now reaped the benefit of Venizelos's earlier overhaul of the military. Venizelos was one of the great war ministers of the early 20th century, on a par with such figures as Britain's Lloyd George. Venizelos's energy saw the creation of a highly effective 11-division army, which performed with great effectiveness in the last offensive of the war. The collapse of both the Ottoman empire and Bulgaria in the autumn of 1918 opened the way for Venizelos to launch a diplomatic offensive to achieve the *Megali Idea*.

At the Paris peace conference summoned to settle the issues of World War I Venizelos, a consummate diplomat, emerged as one of the key figures, wielding influence out of all proportion to Greece's power. In the Treaties of Neuilly and Sèvres Greece acquired western Thrace and a substantial district around Smyrna in Asia Minor. Venizelos's fortunes now suffered a sudden reverse. The unexpected death of the young king Alexander, continued fighting in Asia Minor which necessitated continued mobilization, and the persistence of martial law led to an upsurge in favour of the return of the soldier-king Constantine. In a general election in November 1920 Venizelos was decisively defeated, the king returned, and Venizelos went into self-imposed exile.

The Greek armies suffered from these national divisions, with Venizelist officers now being purged in favour of royalists, and this contributed to Greece's defeat in 1922 and the evacuation of Asia Minor. The country now turned to Venizelos to save what he could from the wreckage, and in the 1923 Treaty of Lausanne he undoubtedly accomplished what could be done in such adverse circumstances. He returned to Greece briefly in 1924, serving as prime minister for one month, before once again going abroad to live. Shortly after this the monarchy was abolished and a military regime for a while dominated the country. Venizelos re-entered political life in 1928, winning a majority in the general election, and embarked on a four-year premiership. During this period he established good relations with Italy, Yugoslavia, and Turkey, making a highly successful visit to Ankara in 1930. His government, however, suffered from the impact of the world economic crisis which began in 1929, and he had to resign in 1932, serving again briefly as prime minister that year and again at the start of 1933. He ended his political life much as he had started, by taking part in an abortive revolt based on Crete, this time aimed at preventing a restoration of the monarchy. After its failure Venizelos went into exile in Paris where he died in 1936, his body being brought back to Crete for burial.

ERIK GOLDSTEIN

See also Lausanne (Treaty of), World War I

Biography

Born in Crete in 1864, Venizelos studied in Athens and returned to Crete to practise law. He became active in Cretan politics and was made head of the island's executive in 1899. In 1909 King George I invited Venizelos to Athens. In 1910 he was elected to parliament and became prime minister. His disagreement with King Constantine over Greece's involvement in World War I led to his resignation. He

secured Smyrna for Greece at the Paris Peace Conference but was defeated in elections in 1920. After the Asia Minor disaster in 1922 he negotiated the Treaty of Lausanne. After several more terms of office he went into exile in Paris where he died in 1936.

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Verroia

City in Macedonia

This large town of south central Macedonia is one of the few in the region that has enjoyed a more or less continuous existence from antiquity to the present day and has retained its original name over the centuries (the same is also true of Thessalonica and Serres). Verroia stands on the site where it was originally founded, i.e. on the slopes of a hill at the eastern extremities of Mount Vermio, overlooking the vast coastal plain of central Macedonia. In antiquity Verroia lay much closer to the sea than it does now, for the Thermaic Gulf extended so far inland as to include the area of the future lake of Giannitsa. Located in the heart of Macedon, in the neighbourhood of the royal residence and cemetery of Aegae (modern Vergina, where the tombs of the Argead dynasty have been excavated), Verroia was already in existence in the 5th century BC, if not earlier, and was one of the main urban centres of the ancient Macedonian state. The town's name is believed to derive from Veres, a hero of the Macedonian religious tradition.

Being the birthplace of Antigonus I, the renowned general and one of the successors of Alexander the Great, Verroia was particularly favoured by his descendants who ruled in Macedonia as the Antigonid dynasty between 294 and 288 BC and from 277 BC to the end of the Macedonian kingdom in 168 BC. The town's prosperity continued during the Roman era, when Verroia is attested as a place of significant commercial activity and also the centre of the *concilium* (*koinon*) of the Macedonians, an ethno-religious league of the Macedonian towns and districts under Roman rule. A Jewish mercantile and artisanal community existed there by the 1st century AD, a fact that attracted St Paul to visit the town and preach there. The only obscure period in Verroia's history coincides with the so-called Byzantine dark age (7th and 8th centuries). The serious demographic crisis and urban decline that mark the Byzantine Balkan provinces during that period must have affected life in Verroia and the development of the town. This probability is supported by the absence of any record of the town's existence for that period, and also by the fact that the surrounding district was occupied by the Slavic tribes of the Drogouvites and Sagoudatoi that were independent for a long time and had uneasy relations with the Byzantine authorities.

The history of medieval Verroia actually begins in the 9th century when the town reemerged from obscurity. The early 10th-century text of John Kameniatis makes reference to Verroia, which is described as a prosperous town (Böhlig, p. 8), at a time when the Byzantines had reestablished control over that area of Macedonia and placed the Slavic tribes under their yoke. In the same period the bishop of Verroia was a subordinate of the metropolitan of Thessalonica.

Verroia remained under Byzantine rule for most of the Middle Ages, save for rather short intervals of Bulgarian (985–1001, 1205–07), Latin (1204/05, 1207–15/16), and Serbian (*c.*1345–50, 1351–56) occupation. The town was finally occupied by the Ottoman Turks around 1385 and, like the rest of Macedonia, remained under their control until 1912. Byzantine and Ottoman Verroia was one of the largest towns in Macedonia, although its oldest surviving records date from as late as 1519. Its diocese was promoted to the rank of a metropolitan see late in the 13th century.

Verroia was an important centre of Byzantine and post-Byzantine art. Its artistic development is represented in its surviving monuments, namely the old cathedral church of SS Peter and Paul (which was later converted into the Hunkyar Camî, the principal mosque of the town), the churches of St John the Theologian, St Paraskevi (also converted into a mosque by the Ottomans), St Vlasios (13th century), SS Kerykos and Julieta (13th century), and the Resurrection church which was painted in 1315 by the famous Thessalonian artist George Kalliergis. Verroia's development was based on the resources of the surrounding region, particularly on the agricultural production of the coastal lowlands (mainly grain, wine, and fruits), as well as on livestock and timber from Mount Vermio. Moreover, Verroia lay close to an important junction where the coastal road from Thessaly met the route of the Aliacmon, which led to Kastoria and Albania. As a result of the Ottoman conquest, most of the landed estates in Verroia's vicinity passed under the possession of Muslims – in fact many of those estates became *waqf* (i.e. pious endowments) of the family of Evrenos – though Christians could still make their fortune out of trade.

From the 15th century onwards Verroia's history ran in parallel to that of the newly founded town of Naousa, which stood on higher ground on Mount Vermio and is traditionally believed to have been settled by people who left the lowlands of Macedonia in order to escape Ottoman rule. These neighbouring towns were different in many respects. While Verroia became a typical Ottoman Balkan city, which housed every kind of institution that represented Ottoman authority and had a significant Muslim population (approximately 1155 Muslims to 3874 Christians in 1519), Naousa was an exclusively Greek Christian town in a state of self-government. For this reason Greek education and the Greek national ideas, which took shape in the 18th century, found a more hospitable environment in Naousa than in Verroia. During the War of Independence the restless elements of Mount Vermio (a retreat

of the renowned klephts and *armatoles* ("armed men") throughout the centuries of Ottoman rule) and the inhabitants of Naousa were urged to revolt by the town's patriots – Zapheirakis was the most notable among them – which resulted in a military failure accompanied by massacres and the destruction of the town in April 1822. Meanwhile, Verroia remained calm due to the size of its Muslim population – a big proportion of the town's 18,000 people at the end of the 18th century (Cousinéry, 1831, p. 69) — and to its less revolutionary background.

Verroia was finally annexed to Greece in 1912, as a result of the Balkan Wars. The subsequent departure of the Muslim population and the assimilation of whatever other ethnic elements had existed in the town (Evliya Çelebi wrote in the 17th century of a Christian population consisting of Greeks, Bulgarians, and Vlachs) gave Verroia the image of a typical provincial Greek town. Yet contemporary Verroia is one of the biggest towns in Greek Macedonia, with 37,858 people according to the census of 1991, and is particularly wealthy due to the agricultural resources of the surrounding countryside (cotton and fruits being the main products today) and to the development of a considerable industry specializing in food processing.

KONSTANTINOS P. MOUSTAKAS

See also Macedonia

Summary

The principal town of south central Macedonia, Verroia has had a continuous existence on the same site since antiquity. It was established by the 5th century BC and received favourable treatment as the birthplace of Antigonus, founder of the Antigonid dynasty. Several Byzantine churches survive. It fell to the Ottomans in 1385. Unlike nearby Naousa, which was a hotbed of Greek nationalism, Verroia had a large Muslim element in its population and played little part in the War of Independence.

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Village Society

The first traces of permanent human settlement on the Greek peninsula date back to the early Neolithic era, long before its penetration by Greek-speaking tribes around the end of the 3rd millennium BC. Archaeological excavations have revealed remains of permanent settlements of agriculturalists and sedentary pastoralists consisting of densely built single-room habitations surrounded by gardens. Their burial customs indicate a society organized in clans, while the absence of sizeable buildings denotes an egalitarian society without centralized forms of government or administration. Excavations of large private buildings of the Bronze Age with ample storage areas and numerous yards possibly designate the emergence of social stratification.

As we advance into historical times, social stratification became increasingly complex as did the interrelations between the different echelons of the social ladder. The formation of the city state in the 8th century BC, in particular, defined a situation where villages became dependent on urban centres. Village society at the time consisted of independent households of free peasants. The family unit was the economic and social nucleus of a society whose economy depended on agricultural production. However, the majority of peasants were owners of small plots of land that were often insufficient for the subsistence of the household. While peasants were faced with poverty, large landed properties began to form, increasing the social distance between villagers and aristocrats. Peasant contributions, furthermore, were appropriated by the aristocracy, who thus augmented their wealth.

Byzantine villages were fiscal and legal units that consisted of independent land holders. The peasants were poor, but their plot of land secured them their subsistence. Furthermore, village life was far more healthy than life in the city. Monasteries provided education for peasant offspring, while religious celebrations provided the opportunity for feasting. Local festivals held considerable importance for the peasant economy since their open markets were a focus for economic transactions. An important principle in Byzantine village society was that of collective tax liability. Taxes were allotted to whole villages, not to individual landowners, so that if a peasant had had a bad year the rest of the village community had to make up for his share in the taxes. However, in actual fact peasants were overtaxed, and punishment for those in debt to the state was particularly harsh. Village life was further aggravated by invading troops of the empire's enemies, as well as by natural causes, such as drought. This led great numbers of peasants to sell their land, and, during the decline of the Byzantine empire, large landed properties began to form, thus transforming the character of rural Byzantium.

The Ottoman conquest halted these changes. State ownership of the land replaced both family and communal property. Peasants were able to secure their plot of land, but had to pay excessive taxes to the sultan's tax collectors. For reasons of fiscal effectiveness the sultan retained the system of collective tax liability at the level of the community. The village community was further strengthened as it was granted relative administrative autonomy. Local communities were ruled by an elected council of elders. Since land accumulation was not possible, participation in local administration became the new basis for social stratification within villages; the council of elders represented the wealthier sector of the village households who, moreover, often took advantage of their position in order to augment their wealth.

Village Society: two women load a mule in the village of Olimbos

On the eve of Greek liberation village society was characterized by relative autonomy and self-sufficiency; it had its own distinctive social and cultural character and an ethos peculiar to it. Towards the end of the 17th century the Ottoman empire entered a prolonged phase of crisis with repercussions for village communities. The centralized state gradually took over the authority of the semi-autonomous local communities, while the local council of elders became mere functionaries of the state.

The kind of village society that emerged as the continuation of the semi-autonomous communities of the Ottoman era is what has been referred to by folklorists and others as traditional society. Its basic productive and reproductive unit was the extended family household. The family was the primary source of identification for villagers. Village families related through blood or affinity formed a network of relations of cooperation and solidarity within the village. Outside this circle of relatives and affines lay the world of strangers: unrelated, potentially hostile families competing for prestige in the village hierarchy.

What bound unrelated families together into a relationship of solidarity and cooperation, making them transcend possible causes of friction and rivalry, was the sense of belonging to a community. The village community provided the second most important source of identification for the villagers. The relationship of the villager with the community was mediated by the neighbourhood. The neighbourhood provided an important network of relations of cooperation outside the immediate circle of the kindred.

Traditional village society was a society of relative self-sufficiency. It was an endogamous society. Likewise most goods needed for its sustenance were produced within the village itself. Despite the introduction of monetization and the cultivation of cash crops in the 19th century, the production was basically subsistence-orientated.

Traditional village society was a community bound by a set of moral values and beliefs observed by all. Central to its identification as a moral community has been the Orthodox Christian religion. As such, the Church and the religious calendar have played, and still play, an important role in village life. What is particularly revealing of the role of the Church and the Orthodox faith for village society is the annual feast or *panegyri*. This feast, held on the name day of the saint to whom the local church is dedicated, is important because it draws together not only those resident in the village, but their migrant relatives as well, in a celebration of village identity.

The processes of modernization and urbanization that were at work in Greece after the Civil War (1945–49) deeply affected the character of traditional village society. The most profound changes were brought about by the process of rural exodus, which became particularly intense during the 1960s and 1970s. As a result, numerous mountain and island

communities became depopulated and heavily dependent on resources coming from centralized state mechanisms, such as the Ministry of Agriculture, the Agricultural Bank, and recently the European Union. Social relations within villages have been disrupted due to depopulation. Village youth have left for urban centres, leaving villages with ageing populations; houses have been abandoned, impairing the structure and function of the neighbourhood. On the other hand, villages in the plains have developed as satellite communities to urban centres, functioning more and more as city suburbs.

GABRIELLA-EVANGELIA ASPRAKI

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Vine

Viniferous species of grapes (*vitis vinifera sativa*) were known to the Mycenaean Greeks. The mythological account of Dionysus' importation of the vine from Asia Minor, the evidence of wine on the Linear B tablets, and the remains of storage vessels make it clear that by the 2nd millennium BC grape growing was firmly entrenched on the Greek mainland.

Yet only with the rise of the polis (800–300 BC) did domesticated cultivars, which produce larger and better-quality fruits, become truly ubiquitous. The Classical Greeks planted vineyards from the Black Sea to Crete, and from southern Italy to northern Asia Minor, where, along with olives and grains, they became part of the great triad of Greek agronomy – an agricultural diversity that helped to make the ancient rural household self sufficient and the city state prosperous. Vines could grow well on difficult terrain and produce on poor soils; they were resistant to extremities of temperature and humidity, and provided the farmer with in-season fresh fruit and juices, storable raisins, and non-perishable wine. That versatility of the grape prompted the 7th-century BC poet Alcaeus to advise: "Plant no other tree before the vine."

The wide variety of soil and weather conditions in Greece and Italy allowed for regional specialization, as the Aegean islands, the bay of Naples, and Rhodes earned a Mediterranean-wide reputation for premium vintages. There is some practical advice found in Greek agricultural writers such as Theophrastus on establishing the vineyard, but the full sophistication of the Greek art of viticulture can be appreciated only in extant and derivative Latin texts such as Cato, Columella, and Varro. It is clear from these authors that the Greeks translated empirical observation into a more abstract and theoretical knowledge of the proper combination of climate, soil, and vine species necessary to produce premium grapes. Such scientific treatises attest to the Greek mastery of viticulture from the arts of vine trellising, fertilization, pruning, and pest management to the intricacies of wine pressing and processing – a level of expertise not surpassed until the 19th century with the rise of bacteriology, soil chemistry, and plant biology.

The polis Greeks saw viticulture as emblematic of Classical culture at large, whose stable populations, local councils, sturdy yeomen, and fiercely independent rural communities were the natural dividends of the time, patience, expertise, and investment necessary to grow good grapes. Thus vine growers are idealized as dependable, though crusty sorts, in the comedies of Aristophanes and Menander. The livelihood of entire communities might depend on the success of the autumn vintage, and during wartime it was a crucial factor in state policy. In Thucydides' history, for example, the small north-east-Greek city state of Acanthus sued for peace when its grape harvests were threatened by Brasidas and his Spartan invaders; similarly the Acharnian viticulturalists outside Athens were especially critical of the Athenian leaders when their vineyards were left unprotected before the annual Spartan invasions of Attica (431–425 BC).

In Hellenistic and Roman times, agriculture in general and viticulture in particular in the Greek world became increasingly divorced from the Classical ideal of agrarianism and evolved more into a cash enterprise, where large absentee estate holders, through the use of slave gangs and skilled overseers, grew grapes aimed at particular specialized wine markets, often at great distances and throughout the Mediterranean. Athenaeus (*c.*AD 200), for example, provides a comprehensive catalogue of choice regional wines that attests to the sophisticated commercial nature of Greek viticulture in

Vine: interior of a bowl by Execias showing a vine growing above a ship in which Dionysus sails, mid-6th century BC, Antikensammlung, Munich

Roman times. Yet even as exports grew, viticulture ceased to be part of a vibrant countryside, which for the most part suffered continual depopulation due to emigration, banditry, and oppressive taxation.

With the collapse of the Roman empire and during the subsequent Byzantine protectorate, viticulture returned to a more subsistence and local enterprise. There was some renewed commercial prosperity during the Frankish and Venetian occupations of the Peloponnese (13th–15th centuries), when the export of wine and raisins to western Europe increased. The name *currant* (extremely small, dark purple grapes used for raisin production and now variously known internationally as Black Corinth or Zante Currant) is a corruption of the word Corinth itself (*raison of Couraunte*), attesting to the popularity of such raisins that were grown near the isthmus and from the Middle Ages were shipped throughout western Europe. The distinctive resinated flavours of many Greek wines – which often hampered their export value – are an acquired taste and may date back to antiquity, when herbal, spice, and resin preservatives were first used to maintain wine quality during storage and transport. Problems of security and high taxation under the Ottoman empire, along with the continuance of large monasteries and estates with absentee landlords, depressed Greek viticulture, which returned to subsistence levels, largely to provide in-season table grapes, local wines, and a few raisins for export.

Until very recently, Greek viticulturalists have suffered from technological stagnation and the increasing fragmentation of farmland; both developments tended to reduce vineyards to dispersed plots of tiny acreages that involved lengthy commutes and made mechanization nearly impossible. However, during the 1980s there was a veritable revolution in the practice of Greek vine growing. The entry of Greece into the European Common Market in 1981, together with strong government programmes to supply agricultural expertise, capital, and machinery, increased the subsidized export of Greek wines and raisins throughout the world – even as grape growing became no longer one of the central cultural experiences of the small Greek village. Currently, Greece is the world's third largest producer of raisins and there are well over 200,000 hectares planted to various species of grapes. Such guaranteed export profits have sparked a remarkable spread of vineyards on to marginal lands, together with an increase in irrigation in otherwise unfarmable arid soils. At the millennium, the danger grows that historically unprecedented levels of Greek grape production may not be sustainable – given the age-old limitations of rocky soil, difficult terrain, and shallow aquifers. And should lucrative European subsidies be withdrawn, Greek wines and raisins may lose many of their markets to higher-quality and less expensive grape products from America, South Africa, and Turkey. Thus a decline of vine acreage is probably inevitable, part of the boom-and-bust cycle of Greek viticulture that has characterized the past four millennia of Hellenic history.

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See also Agriculture

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Vizyinos, Georgios 1849–1896

Short-story writer

Being a distinguished craftsman of lyricism, a skilful and exceptionally competent author of manners, Georgios Vizyinos devoted his short life to the perfection of psychoanalytical writing. Exhibiting an extraordinary ability to describe in every possible detail ordinary events as well as to portray and explore the psychological dimensions and moral tenets of his characters, he shattered old orthodoxies in Greek literature and erected new ones. He pronounced on cultural and social

questions and played a central role in the evolution of modern Greek fiction. He is regarded as one of the forerunners of the modern Greek novel. His tentative experimentation in style, structure, and diction contributed to the development of Greek moral and psychological writing and laid the foundations of modern Greek fiction.

Vizyinos had an adventurous life tinted with energy, spirit, uncommonly romantic visions, moments of great passion and sometimes unfulfilled love. However, paradoxically enough, the last years of his life were spoiled by disillusionment, pessimism, and psychological problems, which turned into a fatal, chronic paranoia. It is no exaggeration to say that Vizyinos is numbered among the less fortunate writers of Greek literature. He was not simply a tender, nostalgic poet but also a gifted author of philosophical, aesthetical, and psychological essays, teaching textbooks, and folklore documentaries. As far as his fiction is concerned, it consists of six stories: "Metaxy Pirea ke Napolis" ["Between Piraeus and Naples"], "To Amartima tis Mitros mou" ["My Mother's Sin"], "Pios Ito o Phoneus tou Adhelphou mou" ["Who was my Brother's Killer?"], "Monon tis Zois mou Taxidiou" ["The Only Journey of my Life"], "I Sinepie tis Palaias Istorias" ["The Consequences of an Old Story"] were all published in *Estia* during the years 1883–84 and a sixth, "Selim Moskov" ["Selim the Muscovite"], though written earlier, was published in 1895. Vizyinos's primary concern in these stories is the depiction of the rural way of life in his native Thrace. In this way, he became the spiritual stimulus and mentor for two of the most distinguished authors of manners, namely Alexandros Papadiamantis and Andreas Karkavitsas, and inaugurator of a whole generation of literature dominated by the figures of George Drosinis, Kostis Palamas, and other representatives of the so-called New Athenian school of poetry.

Vizyinos was born in 1849 in a small village in Thrace with a rich historical past and living folklore traditions which are revived and reflected in his work. With the patronage and support of a wealthy man from Constantinople, Vizyinos completed his higher education in Germany where he became acquainted with classical German literature. He also paid visits to London and Paris. In his stories, he analysed the outward behaviour and manners of his characters but, most importantly, he aimed to expose the conscious and unconscious motives affecting that behaviour. The same psychoanalytical perspective was endorsed later by Papadiamantis, Karkavitsas, Nikos Kazantzakis, Demosthenes Voutiras, and Nikolaos Politis. Moreover, his work was pervaded by a genuine feeling of patriotism which he inherited from Andreas Kalvos and Dionysios Solomos, and a deep religious faith would be passed on later to Photis Kontoglou. By relying on a Pindaric lyricism and sensual appeal, he delivered a precise depiction of the Greek natural landscape with specific reference to his home and the cordial relations of its people, who were in close contact with Turks. In this way, his work gives a credible historical account of his time while simultaneously it epitomizes the ancient Greek ethos.

Vizyinos's main persona, dominating his work, is that of an unfortunate mother figure, a common theme in the Hellenic literary tradition. The same motif appears first in the pages of ancient Greek tragedy, is fashioned in popular culture, and is transplanted to modern fiction. Another topos that repeatedly occurs in his stories is that of the mystery of human psyche. In other words, he professed the unpredictability of human behaviour, which is dependent on the psychological condition and the special external circumstances affecting the actions of human beings. Thus, it is not accidental that the most sensitive people sometimes display ill-mannered behaviour. Vizyinos had undergone a similar psychological metamorphosis when personal troubles transformed him into a gloomy unconfident man.

An equally important place in his work is occupied by the phenomenon of emigration (expatriation) with specific emphasis given to its emotional parameter. Vizyinos wrote about the classic model of the reluctant exile that prevails in the Hellenic literary tradition from Homer to Kalvos till today. It is the idea of diaspora combined with the nostalgia for return. Vizyinos's stories also contain the idea of the human soul seeking revenge for any injustice as well as the notion of humanity's power to replace dissension and enmity with harmony and unity. With reference to the first idea, he was reproducing one of the pivotal dilemmas of ancient tragedy. As far as the second idea is concerned, he glorifies the principle of altruism, generosity, and humanitarianism.

Finally, he commented on much more difficult philosophical themes such as the eternal conflict between reason and emotion, mind and soul, and logic and sensation. Each of them represented a completely diverse world: the first represents the world of critical mind and rational thinking, of strong arguments and scientific thought, while the other is that of spontaneous emotions, sentiments, and passions. Once more, Vizyinos pays homage to the world of ancient tragedy and reemphasizes the theme of Sophocles' *Antigone*. Closely related to these ideas in Vizynos's work is the notion of human mania (frenzy), the turbulent and disordered state of mind. He considers such a theme either by stressing its tragic dimension or its comical alternative. This double treatment of human mania is endorsed by Papadiamantis.

Vizyinos's works overflow with a lively, animating imagery, and are marked with elegance and clarity of style, elaborate, effective dialogues, and rich, vibrating plors. All of his characters undergo an inner conflict and suffer a personal ordeal. Their tragic element is intensified by their ignorance (like that of Oedipus) of their fate. Vizyinos insisted also on an unusual idiom. Whereas his narrative is written in a dense, archaic, but pleasant idiom, his dialogue is enriched with a vernacular language enlightened with local expressions and jargon. In this way, Vizyinos's idiom stands as a bridge between the old-style language of the past and the vernacular of the future without neglecting the accents of the periphery.

Vizyinos was a tragic figure and at the same time a gifted writer who made a profound contribution to the Hellenic literary tradition. He was considered the renovator of the Greek literary model and the founder of psychoanalytic modern Greek fiction. His work is filled with national folk-traditions and is inspired by nostalgia for the past. His task was to present customs and emotions as well as high ideas to his own generation and to impart knowledge of them to the next. His stories appeared in a transitional period for Greek literature marked by spiritual stagnation, conventional ideas, and decline. In the face of bitter criticism from his opponents and the conventional literary milieu of his time, which could not

understand his lasting message, he became disillusioned and disappointed, and his work was destined to receive only posthumously the recognition it deserved.

MARIA ROUMBALOU

Biography

Vizyinos (whose real name was Michaelides) was born in Vizyi, a small village in Thrace, in 1849. With the support of a wealthy benefactor he was educated in Athens and later in Germany where he studied philosophy and psychology. He became a professor of philosophy at the University of Athens and wrote essays and textbooks as well as short stories. In 1892 he was confined to a mental hospital and died in Athens in 1896.

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Vlachs

Ethnic group from the Balkan mountains

The Vlachs, who call themselves Aroumanians and in Greece are known as Koutzovlachs or by a host of regional names, are found in scattered pockets throughout the Balkan peninsula. In Greece they are principally settled in the Pindus mountains around Metsovo. At the beginning of the 20th century there were in the Balkans about half a million people speaking Vlach, a Latin language akin to Romanian. Now this number has been reduced to about 100,000 with only a third of this total living in Greece. Exact numbers have always been difficult to calculate owing to the political dimensions of the question, the migratory habits of the Vlachs, and the fact that almost always Vlachs will be fluent speakers of the language of the country in which they are located.

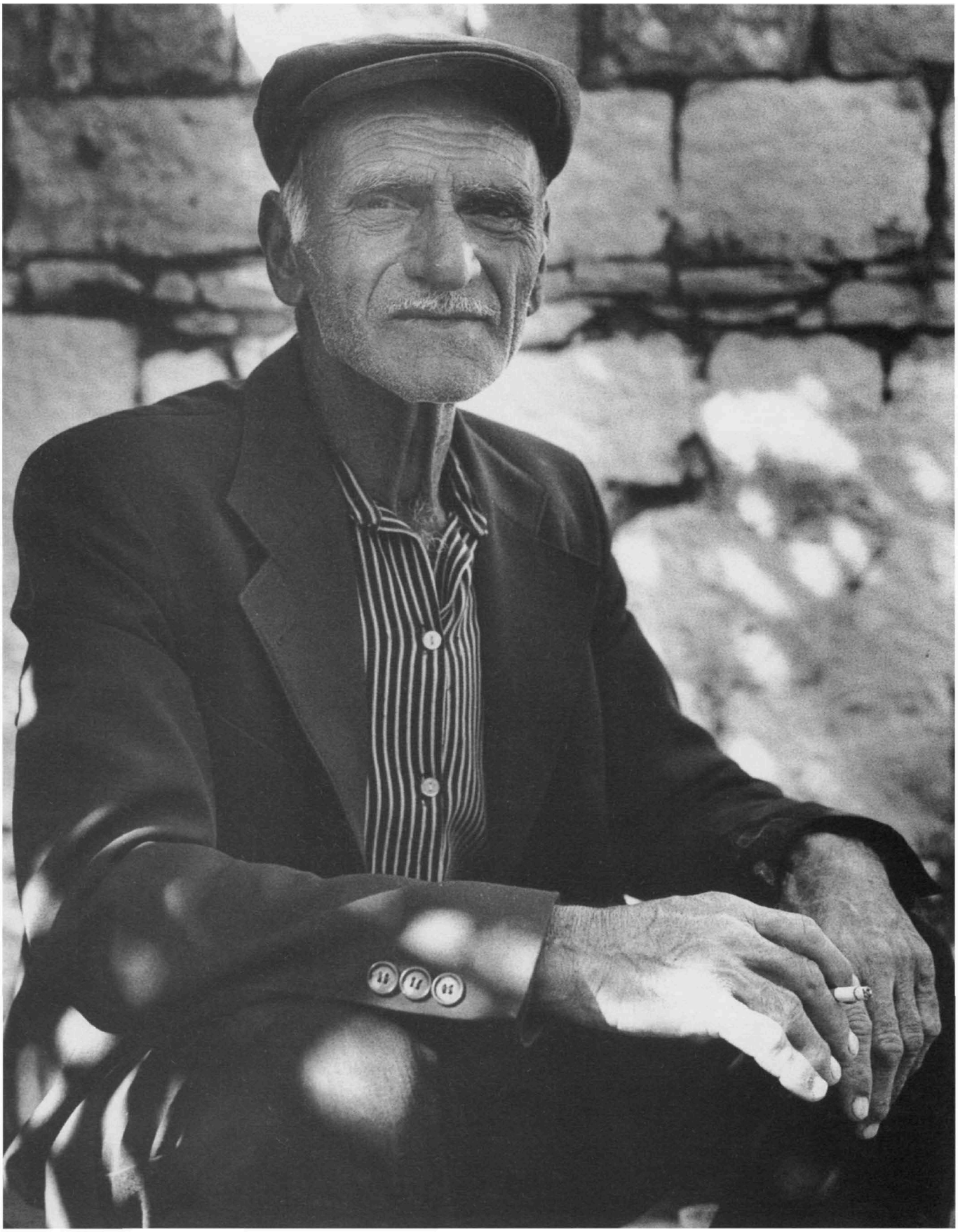
It is equally hard to be exact about Vlach history. Almost all are staunch members of the Orthodox Church, and most Vlachs have followed a Greek nationalist line. Greek and Vlach historians are therefore anxious to prove the long association of the two ethnic groups, and have therefore concluded that Vlachs are the descendants of Roman legionaries, guarding the mountains and marrying Greek speakers. There is little evidence for this theory, which is inherently improbable. Romanian historians, anxious to use the Vlachs as counters in Balkan politics, assume that they left Romania in the Middle Ages, although again we have no evidence or explanation why difficult areas like the Pindus mountains should be attractive to migrants from the Danube.

Even after the collapse of the western Roman empire there were Latin speakers in the eastern half of the empire, mainly settled along the Danube frontier and in the province of Illyricum, roughly corresponding to modern Yugoslavia. The emperor Justinian (527–65) was such a Latin speaker. Just before the collapse of the Danube frontier we hear of an incident in 586 in which two muleteers in a Byzantine army appear to be speaking Vlach. When in 602 most of the Balkan peninsula was lost to the empire and there were massive Slav incursions, Latin speakers must have been involved in these movements of populations, journeying southwards with the invaders or to escape from them. They could thus have reached their present dwellings by the 7th century, although it is difficult to talk of dwellings with any confidence since in both medieval and modern times the Vlachs have been associated with transhumance, moving to the mountains in summer and the plains in winter.

There are no references to Vlachs between 586 and 976. This lack of evidence is hardly surprising in view of the almost total silence of Byzantine sources about events in the western and central Balkans when these areas passed out of the empire's control. With the 10th-century recovery the Vlachs are mentioned quite frequently, although some references to Vlachs may be to shepherds or nomads rather than to Latin-speakers. Most Byzantine sources comment on the Vlachs' migratory habits, their connection with sheep, and a tendency to treachery, perhaps engendered by the fact that as transhumants they were hard to fit into any administrative system. Transhumants make poor taxpayers.

In 976 certain Vlach *hoditai* ("road-men") killed David, the brother of the future Bulgarian emperor Samuel, in the area between Kastoria and Prespa. *Hoditai* is ambiguous; it is not certain whether the Vlachs so described were there to guard the roads or to pillage them as highwaymen. Perhaps as with *armatoloi* ("armed men") and klephts, the distinction was not a precise one. As with the muleteers of 579, the *hoditai* of 976 were involved in trades that Vlach merchants of the 18th and 19th centuries sending baggage trails of mules along the highways of the Balkans would easily recognize. It is not clear whether on this occasion the Vlachs by killing David were acting on the Byzantine side, the position being made more obscure by the fact that it is not certain whether David and Samuel were themselves originally in the Byzantine service. It is just possible that David and Samuel may themselves have been Vlachs.

There are Vlachs today between Kastoria and Prespa. More can be found in Thessaly where in the 11th century Benjamin of Tudela speaks harshly of their unreliable behaviour. There was a scandal on Mount Athos involving Vlach women. In 1194 a revolt in the Haemus mountains led by the Asen brothers brought into being the second Bulgarian empire. Most contemporary sources refer to this as a Vlach empire, although Bulgarian historians play this down. Romanian historians like to think of the Vlachs as being really Romanians, and the Haimos mountains are fairly close to the Danube, although at its greatest extent the second Bulgarian empire would have included a great deal of territory now inhabited by Vlachs.



Vlachs: portrait of a Vlach man in Voskopje, eastern Albania

With the collapse of the Byzantine empire at the end of the 12th century the lawless Vlachs would seem to have profited. Thessaly became known as Vlachia, and there were ephemeral Vlach states. We also hear of Vlachs joining the Albanian incursions into Greece. Our sources are not particularly helpful about ethnological matters. A certain Boncoes in the early 15th century is called *Serbalbanitobulgarovlachos*, suggesting that in the Middle Ages, as at the present time, many Vlachs spoke more than two languages. Metsovo is referred to for the first time in 1380. By this time the Turks had entered the Balkans. On the whole the Turks were not too interested in the ethnology of their various subject races, but there are some mentions of specifically Vlach villages in Ottoman records.

Most Vlachs remained under Ottoman rule until the Balkan Wars of 1912–13. On the whole they prospered. The Ottoman authorities tended to favour local arrangements over taxes, and the Vlachs made several advantageous bargains in this respect. A strong central government protected trade, and as merchants the Vlachs with raw materials from their sheep and transport with their mules were in a good position to take advantage of this trade. In the 17th century the Ottoman empire began to decline, and its frontiers to recede, but this meant new markets and avenues for trade, particularly in central Europe, where Vlachs established prosperous businesses.

It is to the 17th century that we can date the formation of many Vlach villages. Such villages now seem poor and remote, although occasionally a large if battered mansion hints at former prosperity. As merchants and as owners of large flocks of sheep some Vlachs became extremely wealthy and such houses reflect this wealth. A particularly wealthy Vlach centre was Voskopoje in southern Albania where as well as large houses and fine streets there was also an academy and a printing press.

In the late 18th century Voskopoje incurred the wrath of Ali Pasha, the virtually independent ruler of southern Albania and Epirus. His Albanians destroyed the city, and the inhabitants fled to other Vlach centres in the Balkans. This diaspora probably strengthened the presence of Vlachs in the Balkans, but the story of Voskopoje illustrates the difficulties that they faced when Ottoman authority collapsed. With the breakdown of law and order Vlach prosperity was reduced. The future might seem to lie with the new national states, but here the Vlachs were in something of a dilemma. Though speaking Vlach at home, the merchants of Voskopoje would naturally use Greek in commercial business, and Greek was the language of the academy and printing press. Vlach was rarely written, and there was no standard grammar or orthography. Greek schools and priests encouraged Greek and discouraged Vlach.

Not surprisingly many Vlachs became fervent Greek nationalists, most notably Rigas Velestinlis, a visionary poet and patriot, author of the Greek national anthem, but a Vlach from Velestino. The first prime minister of Greece, John Kollettis, was a Vlach from Sirrakou. Some of the finest buildings in Athens were erected owing to the munificence of Vlach families such as the Averoffs from Metsovo and the Sinaias, originally from Voskopoje. Other Balkan nationalities were slower than the Greeks in asserting their claims, and it was not until the end of the 19th century that the Romanians started to promote the idea that Vlachs were really Romanians.

Their campaign was not very successful. Schools, though they cost the Romanian government a great deal of money, were not well attended, attracting perhaps a quarter of the population, generally the poorest quarter. There was no real Vlach church, although eccentrically and heroically Apostol Margarit (1832–1903) tried to start one. There were differences between Vlach and Romanian and between different dialects of Vlach. Romania was a long way away from the Pindus mountains.

Economic problems were as pressing as political ones. Vlachs, accustomed to lengthy journeys, found new boundaries and customs dues a barrier to migration and trade. Metsovo, just to the north of the Greek border of 1887, experienced a period of economic decline. The guerrilla campaigns in Macedonia led to hardship and persecution. Generally Vlachs were on the Greek side, but we sometimes find them supporting Bulgarians, taking a pro-Romanian line, or even allying themselves with the Turks. The Ilinden rising of 1903 began in the Vlach town of Kruševo north of Bitola and spread to the Vlach villages now in Greece of Neveska and Pisoderi. Though some Vlachs were involved in the revolt, and severe damage was done to the Vlach quarter in Kruõevo, the Ilinden rising was not a Vlach rebellion any more than it was an uprising of the Slav Macedonian nation or the proletariat against the bourgeoisie. In 1905 the Ottoman authorities recognized the Vlachs as a separate *millet* (community), a move probably intended to divide their subject races in order to rule them, but the days of Ottoman rule were almost over.

The Balkan Wars were fought over Vlach territory and the subsequent peace treaties divided the Vlachs among the various Balkan states. World War I produced new battles and new frontiers. None of these wars was good for the Vlachs. Their attempts to win a hearing in the peace treaties were generally unsuccessful, although Greece did allow Romanian-sponsored schools in its territory. Some pro-Romanians in Greece left for Romania, others to America. The Greek refugees from Turkey made northern Greece much more ethnically homogeneous, and the assimilation of the Vlachs proceeded apace.

World War II and the Greek Civil War did further damage to Vlach mountain villages. Attempts by the Italians to show friendship to the Vlachs as fellow Latins were fairly futile, and did not help the Vlach cause. Material progress after World War II, bringing non-Vlachs to Vlach villages, making some villages inaccessible, and turning the biannual migration into a summer holiday, increased the process of assimilation. It is remarkable that Vlach has survived so long. The census of 1951 recorded that there were 39,855 Vlach speakers in Greece. This is probably an understatement, but numbers would have declined in the next 40 years, perhaps to be revived by an interest in minorities and the discovery of Vlachs in other parts of the Balkans and among the Vlach diaspora.

T.J. WINNIFRITH

See also Transhumance

Summary

Vlachs are a transhumant people speaking a Latin language that is similar to Romanian. Their origins are obscure. They inhabited the mountainous regions of the central Balkans and northern Greece,

where they prospered as merchants and muleteers. They have declined in numbers since World War II. The census of 1951 recorded fewer than 40,000 Vlach speakers in Greece.

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Volcanoes

Humanity has always had an ambiguous relationship with volcanoes. Volcanic eruptions can be tremendous forces of destruction, but soils produced by the weathering of volcanic rocks are very fertile in the right climate. For the archaeologist, eruptions can preserve aspects of communities almost instantaneously. The earliest record of a volcanic eruption is a wall painting from Çatal Hüyük, central Turkey, dating from 6200 BC. This is beyond the scope of this volume and here only the volcanoes of post-Stone-Age Greece and Italy will be discussed.

The recently active volcanoes of Greece lie along an arc from Corinth to Nisyros, near the Turkish coast. They are produced by the melting of the Mediterranean sea floor as it is subducted beneath the Aegean region. The sea floor descends at an angle of about 45 degrees until parts of it melt at a depth of 150 km. The magma (molten rock) then rises and is stored in chambers at depths of 5 to 10 km before eruption.

The most famous Greek volcano is Thera (Santorini). It had been dormant for a long period before the famous "Minoan" eruption in 1450 or 1650 BC – the exact date is still disputed. Before the eruption the present bay was probably almost filled with a volcano, similar to but larger than the present Kameni islands. The eruption started on this volcano and quickly destroyed it, creating a caldera (giant crater) 8 km in diameter. At its maximum the cloud of volcanic ash rose to more than 35 km in the atmosphere and was dispersed as far as Turkey, Israel, and Egypt. On the island the ash was up to 40 m deep and buried all the settlements, including the well-preserved village now known as Akrotiri. Towards the end of the eruption parts of the island collapsed into the caldera. These giant landslides, or particularly violent episodes of the eruption, produced a tsunami (tidal wave) more than 40 m high. Such a wave must have caused considerable erosion, damage to coastal communities, and the salination of agricultural land on nearby islands. These destabilizing effects may have led to the collapse of the Minoan civilization on Crete.

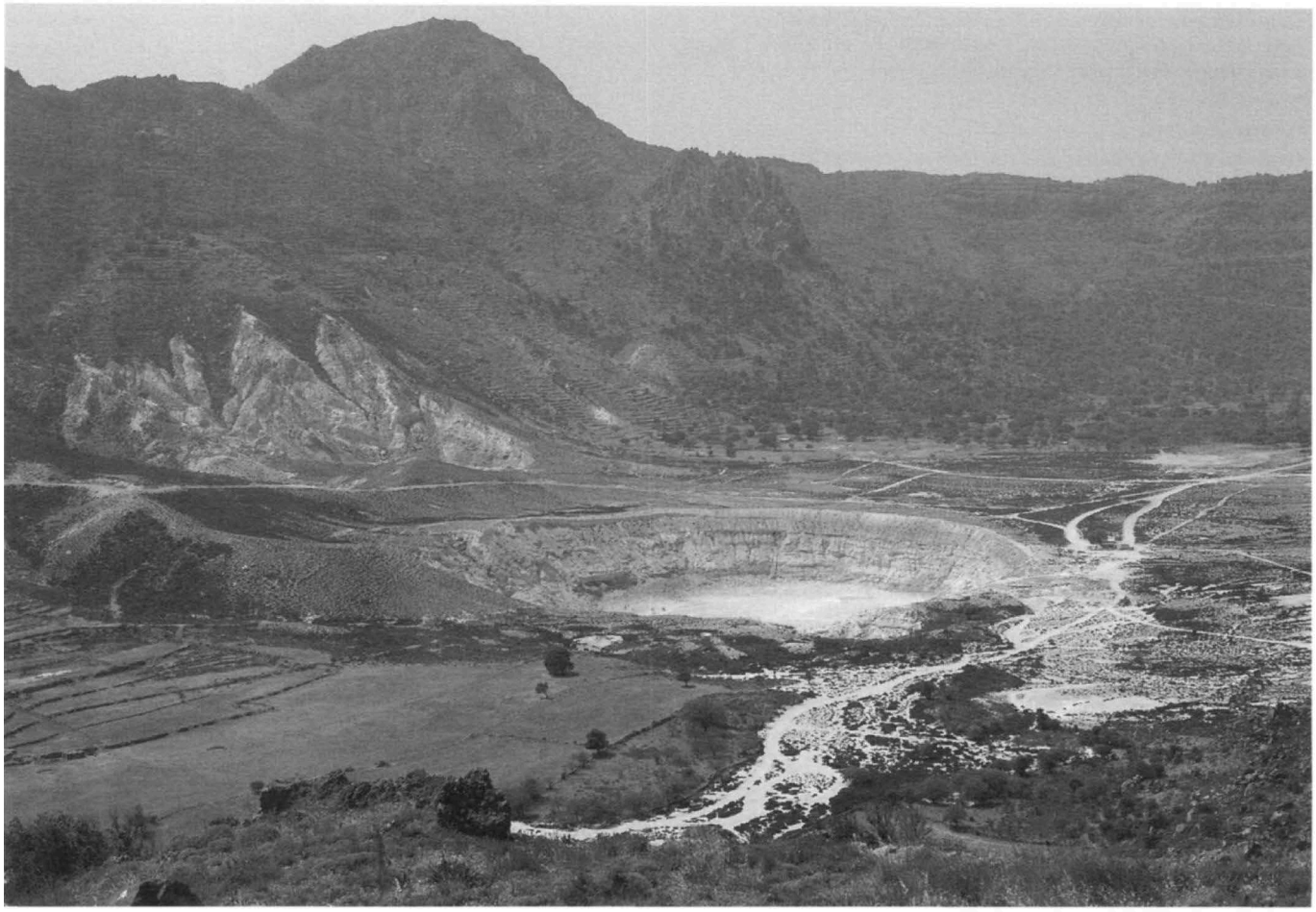
Since then, sporadic minor lava eruptions have created the Kameni islands. The only violent eruption was in AD 726, when so much pumice was produced that it reached Constantinople. There it was noticed by Leo III who interpreted it as a sign of divine displeasure and imposed iconoclasm. The last eruption was a minor one, in 1950. Another volcano 15 km northeast of Thera erupted in 1650. It started underwater and built up a small island, which was rapidly eroded below sea level. Gas from this eruption killed animals and people on Thera.

The largest volcano of this arc is Melos and its archipelago. Volcanism started 3 million years ago, but essentially finished 100,000 years ago. In antiquity the most important volcanic product of the island was obsidian, a natural glass that occurs in ancient lava flows. It was used for knives from the 9th century BC. Recently, exploitation has turned to clay (kaolinite and bentonite) and volcanic ash (perlite). The easternmost volcano of the chain is Nisyros, a small island that has not had any eruptions of lava during historical times. However, there have been a number of steam explosions caused by the interaction between rainwater and magma at shallow depths. These made an impressive series of craters in the interior of the island, the last in 1887. Another small volcano is the peninsula of Methana, in the Saronic gulf. Fresh lavas in the northwest may have been erupted in the 3rd century BC.

In Italy there are recently active volcanoes around Naples (Vesuvius and the Phlegraean fields), on the Aeolian islands, and in eastern Sicily. As in Greece, this volcanism is related to the subduction of the Mediterranean sea floor. Here, however, the geometry is more complex and no single arc has formed. Mount Vesuvius is probably the best-known volcano in the world. The oldest parts, known as Mount Somma, started to form some 12,000 years ago. Construction continued intermittently until 1100 BC, when the volcano was about 2,000 m high. A long period of repose ended with the famous eruption of AD 79, when the top of the mountain was completely removed in three days. A cloud of volcanic ash rose to 30 km and fell on the surrounding countryside: Pompeii was buried to a depth of 7 m. Rain falling on the ash near the vent transformed it into hot mud flows that swept down and engulfed Herculaneum. Eruptions of ash since that time have partly filled the crater to form the present cone of Vesuvius. Most of these were small, except that of 1631. The last eruption was in 1944.

The Phlegraean ("burning") fields volcanic area lies just to the west of Naples. It comprises more than 50 small ash cones, some under the gulf of Pozzuoli. A large magma chamber underlies this region at a depth of a few kilometres. Magma movements can produce rapid changes in the height of the land. The effects of these changes can be seen in the Roman market place (Serapheum), where marine molluscs drilled holes in the columns at a height of several metres above the present sea level. The most recent eruption produced Monte Nuovo in 1538.

Most of the Aeolian islands are volcanic, but only three are of interest. Lipari was a major source of obsidian in the western Mediterranean. It was obtained from lava flows erupted during the 4th millennium BC. The last eruption was in AD 729, when up to 200 m of pumice was deposited in the north, burying the Roman acropolis. The eruption terminated with new flows of obsidian. The island of Vulcano has two independent volcanoes, Fossa and Volcanello, which were linked by an isthmus during the 16th century. Fossa has generally been more active with explosive eruptions about twice a century. The last eruption was in 1886–89; hence we can



Volcanoes: view of the caldera of Nisyros-Stephanos

expect a new eruption soon. Stromboli is a small, almost perfect, volcanic cone that has been active for at least 2,500 years. However, the activity is not generally intense and consists of small explosions every 5 to 10 minutes from the summit craters. These are caused by large gas bubbles that rise up the narrow conduits and burst, scattering parts of the bubble wall.

Mount Etna, the mythical forge of Vulcan and also home of the Cyclopes, is the largest volcano in Europe but also one of the youngest – it was mostly formed during the last 150,000 years. The volcano has been almost permanently active for at least 2,500 years. The lava flows from fissures or small ash cones on the flanks of the volcano and more rarely from the summit craters. At other times there are explosions and small eruptions within the craters.

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See also Geology, Santorini

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Volos

City in Thessaly

Volos is the capital of the nome of Magnesia, the chief port of Thessaly, and a regional commercial and industrial centre (particularly during the period 1860–1980). It stands in the deepest recess of the gulf of Pagasae, between Mount Pelion and the coast, on slightly sloping ground. It is the sixth biggest municipality in Greece with a population of some 100,000.

In the Bronze Age the site was occupied by the city of Iolcus, from where the Argonauts set out on their quest to bring the golden fleece back to Greece. Homer reports that Iolcus was a city in the kingdom of Eumelos and Herodotus records that the

city was given as a present to the tyrant Hippias when he was exiled by the Athenians. Despite the importance of the place, systematic archaeological excavations have not been performed because the site is inhabited. Also close to modern Volos was the ancient city of Pagasae (600–353 BC) and on the same site flourished from AD 393 to 1423 the town of Dimitrias, built by Demetrius Poliorcetes. The first dwellings of the modern city of Volos were constructed in 1833. A small pre-existing residential area was occupied by the Turkish authorities.

The derivation of the city's name is not known with certainty. There are two prevalent opinions. The first argues that the name is derived from the Slavic *gol* (deserted) or *golos* (administrative centre); the second that it is a corruption of the name Iolcus, in Turkish Giolkaz, from Giolkas, Golos, and finally Volos. The problem is that until the 12th century the region was known as Iolcus, but after 150 years the ancient name disappears and the area is mentioned as Golos. At Volos the Byzantines erected a great castle that fell to the Turks in 1389. The Christian population took refuge in Mount Pelion and the Turkish army and a few Turkish families occupied the city. Despite having been destroyed by the Venetians, the castle was fortified and rebuilt by the Turks and became one of the most powerful in Greece. During the revolution of 1821 it was defended vigorously and was not taken by the Greeks. A squadron of the Turkish navy, stationed in the port of Volos, was destroyed in 1827 by the Greeks, but again the castle prevented the capture of the city.

The economic development of Volos began at the end of the 16th century, beginning with the fair that took place twice a week outside the castle walls. The country people from the Pelion area traded their merchandise there. Because of the restricted area and the arrival of merchants from all over Greece, the need arose for a suitable harbour from which to export the products of Pelion. A port was built on the beach beside the castle and during this period the first European merchant ships arrived in Volos.

The city started to flourish after the end of the Greek revolution, when its port became the trading centre for Greeks from all over Thessaly. In 1833 the first coastal dwellings were built. In a few years, the seashore had been transformed into a fine residential area following European models. Consulates from Austria, Britain, France, Italy, and Greece were located there. In 1860 Volos had 80 dwellings and, by 1880, more than 1,000 European-style residences had been built. After the annexation of Thessaly to Greece in 1881 the Turks surrendered the castle. This was later abandoned by the Greek authorities and finally destroyed. Once part of the Greek state, Volos quickly became a commercial and industrial centre, and its cultural activities were equal to those of Athens. By the start of the 20th century, the city was a focus of progressive thought and one of the first places in Greece where socialist ideas found fertile ground. At the city's girls' school (Parthenagogion) innovative educational methods were applied. The acute agricultural problems, particularly over the redistribution of land from the aristocracy to the peasantry, led to many revolts and confrontations with the state in the years before 1920. Volos was the birthplace of the principal revolutionary ideas. The poor working conditions and the inadequate income of industrial workers made the city one of the first in Greece where a Labour Centre (1908) was established. This became one of the founding members of the Confederation of Greek Labourers (Geniki Sinomospondia Ergaton Ellados). The predecessor of the Labour Centre was the Panergatikos Syndesmos Volou (All-Labour Association of Volos) (1907) which reinforced the notion of workers' solidarity in a town that was experiencing a steady process of urbanization. Its aims were the promotion of the workers' moral and cultural development, the bolstering of their consciousness as regards their rights as citizens and as working class, the enactment of protective social legislation, and the proffering of mutual support to any of the workers' material and moral needs. The city accepted many refugees from Asia Minor after the disaster of 1922, and these were employed in Volos's thriving spinning mills and cigarette factories. The port, which suffered severe damage during World War II, handled most merchandise arriving from the Middle East.

Nowadays Volos is well placed to benefit from the development of tourism in the Pelion region and the islands of the northern Sporades but it has lost its preeminence as an industrial and commercial centre.

DIMITRIOS GKAMAS

See also Pelion

Summary

Volos is the chief port and commercial centre of Thessaly. As ancient Iolcus it was the point of departure for the Argonauts. Ancient Pagasae was also nearby. During the Tourkokratia the Christian population fled to Mount Pelion. Commerical development began in the late 16th century and expanded in the mid-19th. In the early 20th century Volos was a focus of revolutionary ideas.

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Votive Offerings

Strictly speaking, the term "votive offering" signifies something dedicated in consequence of a vow. Partly because the exact circumstances of a dedication are not always known,

partly because a gift to the gods can almost always be taken to imply some kind of a vow, the category is elastic.

Comparison of the modest tin votive plaques readily available to worshippers in Greece today with the terracotta plaques or representations of parts of the human body from the ancient (4th century BC) sanctuary of Asclepius at Corinth or, on a larger scale, with the stone relief of a leg from Epidaurus demonstrates the identity of practice. Furthermore the existence of early Christian votive plaques supports the idea of a continuous tradition.

More substantial gifts to churches from the early Christian period onwards (furniture, church plate, icons) can often be seen to be votive from accompanying inscriptions, and the votive dedication of churches themselves in Byzantine and later times is demonstrated by the known origins of numerous chapels in the Greek countryside and elsewhere. Similar gifts to sanctuaries, deities, or other superhuman authorities are attested in antiquity by inscriptions and literary sources as well as the objects themselves. Ancient figurines and statues are regularly inscribed ("Mantiklos dedicated me to Apollo"; "The Messenians and Naupactians dedicated |this statue| to Olympian Zeus as a tithe of the spoil of their enemies").

The custom of making votive offerings may well go back into prehistory, since some of the objects found in prehistoric shrines, such as the terracotta animals in Minoan peak sanctuaries and in other sacred places, seem certainly votive. The subject is best presented with primary reference to antiquity.

Since the definition of a votive offering is by the intent of the donor, whether an individual or a group, and is dependent also on economic circumstances, the range of types, sizes, material, and value is immense. The material may be perishable (vegetable), cheap (wood, terracotta), or more valuable (stone, metal, precious metal). The type may be anything from a wreath, a candle, or a tiny object to a building. The treasuries (small temple-like buildings but without colonnades) that individual Greek states erected in sanctuaries to house the ritual equipment that their representatives used on ceremonial occasions were a kind of votive offering, intended to glorify the sanctuary and its patron deity. Temples such as the Parthenon, which were additional to the temple that housed the cult statue of the sanctuary, could be votives. If the item concerned was itself representational, or else decorated with figures, possible subjects include images of the deity addressed, images of the worshipper (often with the intention of making permanent an act of piety depicted, e.g. the bringing of an animal for sacrifice), images of sacrificial animals, or sacred objects. Otherwise, attractive or precious items of any kind at all could be offered. Occasions of offering can be summarized by quoting the chapter headings of Rouse (1902), with some additional comments.

Rouse's categories are: (1) to the dead, heroes, chthonian deities (in anticipation of or gratitude for help or favours); (2) tithes, first fruits, kindred offerings (whether crops or the products or profits of trade or business); (3) war (spoils, commemorative statues, etc.); (4) games and contests (prizes, instruments, commemorative statues); (5) disease and calamity (models of the diseased part; an inscription relating a cure); (6) domestic life (items relating to marriage and childbirth); (7) memorials of honour or office (herms, honorific statues or reliefs); (8) memorials of feasts and ceremonials (inscribed vases, representations of the animal sacrificed or the votary carrying a sacrificial animal or object); (9) propitiation (offerings given in redress for impiety, such as the "Zane" statues at Olympia); and (10) rarities and valuables (as the due of deities).

Votive Offerings: clay heads of deities offered at altars, Calabria

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Voulgaris, Evgenios 1716–1806

Intellectual

Voulgaris was one of the most eminent ecclesiastical and learned figures of the Greek world in the 18th century. Born in Corfu in 1716 as Eleftherios, Voulgaris assumed the name Evgenios upon his ordination as a deacon. His initial studies were completed in the Ionian islands. Between 1740 and 1742 he stayed in Italy studying and serving the Greek community of Venice as a preacher. From 1742 to 1761 he taught at various schools in Ioannina, in Kozani, on Mount Athos (Athonias Academy), and finally in Constantinople (Patriarchal Academy). His innovative teaching as well as the western ideas that he introduced provoked the reaction of several Orthodox traditionalists, who, apart from personal rivalries, accused him of heresy and even of atheism. He was thus forced to resign or to escape in order to avoid further confrontations with this conservative religious and social establishment.

In 1763 Voulgaris finally left for Germany (Leipzig and Halle) to continue his studies. There he familiarized himself with German rationalism and the latest scientific developments. He also published some of his writings and translations including his influential *Logic* (Leipzig, 1766). In 1771 Voulgaris was invited to Russia by the empress Catherine II to become librarian and curator of antiquities at her court in St Petersburg. Voulgaris accepted this invitation, which should be understood in the light of the growing Russian interest in Greek antiquity and in the Orthodox populations of the Balkans. After the end of the Russo-Ottoman war of 1768–74 and the treaty of Kuchuk-Kainardji, Voulgaris was appointed from 1775 to 1779 archbishop of the diocese of Kherson and Slaviansk in Novorossia, the strategic new frontier of the Russian empire. After his retirement Voulgaris stayed in Poltava and Kherson until late 1788 when he returned to St Petersburg. There he lived for the rest of his long life, studying as well as revising his previous works. Many of them were published in the early 1800s through the financial support of the Zosimades brothers, a wealthy Greek merchant family. Voulgaris died in 1806 in the Aleksandr Nevskii monastery in St Petersburg.

Voulgaris is rightly considered an outstanding intellectual and theologian of the 18th century. Although he has had many enemies and opponents, his numerous contributions to the Greek people were highly appreciated even during his lifetime. Voulgaris was usually referred to and known at that time only by his first name (Evgenios). It was deemed a great honour for someone to have been a pupil of the "celebrated Evgenios", whose definitive flight to Germany was considered an irreparable loss for Greece. Adamantios Korais called Voulgaris the doyen of the Greek intellectuals of his age, while Josephos Moisiodax considered him "the living library of polymathy".

Voulgaris was a real polymath and polyglot. His interests were manifold and encyclopedic, ranging from philosophical and scientific to theological and historical, as manifested in the wide range of his numerous publications (see Batalden, 1982, pp. 148–72). He attempted to combine the religious humanism of the Orthodox east with western philosophy and rationalism. Among other things, Voulgaris contributed especially to the renewal of Greek philosophical thought on the basis of western developments including the work of Francis Bacon, René Descartes, Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz, John Locke, C. Wolff, J.B. Duhamel, E. Purchot, J.F. Wucherer, A. Genovesi, W.J.S. Gravesande, and others. Proclaiming the freedom of thought from the chains of outdated authorities (e.g. Scholastic Aristotelianism), Voulgaris moved Greek thought beyond the Neoaristotelianism which was established in Greek schools. He introduced an eclectic form of philosophical inquiry in order to profit from the major systems and move towards the construction of a "sound philosophy", but without upholding them as absolute and infallible authorities. In a similar manner, Voulgaris's influence was instrumental in renewing the scientific thought of Greece on the basis of new theories and discoveries (e.g. by Galileo, Newton, and Andreas Segner). Yet, in some cases Voulgaris showed a reluctance to accept novel theories and criticized them. Motivared probably by religious concerns, he rejected heliocentrism and resorted to the compromising Tychonian world system that posed no threat to the authority of the Bible.

Voulgaris's religious thought was firmly anchored in the Orthodox tradition. He repeatedly defended the Orthodox Church against the Roman Catholics and against the anti-Christian atheistic trends of western Enlightenment. He wrote a compendium of dogmatic theology, polemical and exegetical works as well as a treatise on religious tolerance. Voulgaris was fond of Voltaire and translated some of his works into Greek, but he did not share his antireligious sentiments. Generally, Voulgaris's preoccupation with western ideas did not alienate him from his Orthodox background. He accepted a moderate Enlightenment in which religion occupied a central role and determined his overall objectives. He never intended to compromise his highly valued Orthodox faith. He also tried to distinguish clearly between the areas of jurisdiction of faith/revelation and reason. After all, from his youth Voulgaris was a cleric and remained loyal to the Church until his death.

Voulgaris also took a keen interest throughout his life in the cause of his compatriots against Ottoman rule. Before moving to Russia, he had translated into Greek the *Nakaz* of Catherine, namely the Instructions to the Legislative Commission, and published it, with the Russian text attached, in St Petersburg in 1771. In his dedication to Catherine, Voulgaris wished that the Greek nation one day might be governed by the same laws as Russia was. During this period Voulgaris wrote and translated other works into Greek (e.g. some philhellenic pieces by Voltaire) hoping to persuade Catherine to liberate his Orthodox brethren. This was in the context of the widely circulating apocalyptic literature of the time. One of his works, published in 1772, contained an assessment of the political situation in the Ottoman empire in the light of the Russo-Ottoman war of 1768–74. There Voulgaris opined that, aside from France which had strong commercial interests in the Levant, all other European nations

could easily undertake a common struggle against the Ottomans. Otherwise, the Ottoman menace would be always imminent for Christian Europe. Probably aware of Catherine's "Greek Project", Voulgaris also followed closely the political developments and the growing role of Russia in Balkan politics. He was particularly thrilled by the treaty of Constantinople (May 1800) between Russia and the Ottomans, which acknowledged the independence of the Ionian islands, including his birthplace Corfu, and by the creation of a "Heptanesian Republic" under Ottoman suzerainty and Russian protection with a moderate constitutional government from 1800 to 1807.

Given the wide range of Voulgaris's activities and interests, it is no wonder that he was regarded as an authority by some of his admirers, a phenomenon comparable to the adoption of Theophilos Corydalleus's Neoaristotelianism a few decades ago. Such a development drew various criticisms from his contemporaries, ranging from the moderate of Moisiodax to the sharp from Athanasios Psalidas, who tried to demonstrate certain drawbacks in Voulgaris's character, teaching methods, archaic Greek style of writing, as well as ideas. These criticisms notwithstanding, it is generally held that Voulgaris's overall contributions to the Greek nation and prodigious output of writings were seminal and almost unparalleled in his time.

VASILIOS MAKRIDES

See also Enlightenment

Biography

Born in Corfu in 1716 as Eleftherios, Voulgaris took the name Evgenios when he was ordained deacon. Educated first in the Ionian islands, he lived in Venice from 1740 to 1742 and from 1742 to 1761 taught at schools in Greece and Constantinople. His teaching displeased the Orthodox establishment and he fled to Germany in 1763. Invited to St Petersburg by Catherine II in 1771, he was appointed archbishop of Kherson and Slaviansk (1775–79). In 1788 he returned to St Petersburg where he died in 1806.

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W

Wallachia

A principality on the lower Danube that joined Moldavia in 1859 to form the state of Romania

Roughly corresponding to the southern half of Trajan's Dacia, the territory of Wallachia (named after the Vlachs and known to the Byzantine chancellery as Oungrovlachia) lay between the Danube and the Transylvanian Alps. It had enjoyed an indigenous Romanized culture despite being overrun in the 4th to 6th centuries AD by Goths, Huns, Gepids, Avars, and Slavs. When a major part of it was incorporated into the Bulgarian state in the 9th century it came increasingly under largely second-hand Byzantine influence, which persisted sporadically during subsequent invasions by Pechenegs, Cumans, and Tatars. It became a political entity in its own right during the early years of the 14th century through the unification of various small states by Basarab I, who established its independence by defeating his overlord, the Hungarian king Charles I, at the battle of Posada in 1330. With the accession of the Dobrudja it reached its acme under Mircea the Old (1386–1418) despite increasing pressure from the Ottomans, to whom Wallachia was paying tribute by 1391. Although enjoying internal self-government and never becoming an Ottoman *pashalik*, it was forced to recognize Ottoman suzerainty until well into the 19th century (the sultan abandoned his claims as late as 1878), despite the occasional briefly successful attempt to break free.

From its beginning Basarab's state was open to Byzantine influence. This came at first mainly through trade and the Church. Though having first reached the area much earlier, Christianity had been spread by Byzantine missionaries in the mid-10th century, so Wallachia had followed Constantinople rather than Rome in the schism of 1054 and remained firmly Orthodox despite Hungarian pressure. The principal medium of this influence was texts in Old Church Slavonic, the language of both Church and administration until late in the 17th century and the only language of the approximately 2,000 manuscripts known from Romania prior to the 16th century. These texts included translations from Greek of *euchologia* (prayerbooks) and numerous saints' lives and patristic works, and also of secular works, mainly chronicles and legendary tales such as the ever popular *Alexander Romance*. Law was at first largely orally transmitted Roman law, but Byzantine influence was seen here too, most notably in translations of Matthew Blastares's *Syntagma* of 1335 (a legal handbook for clergy that included material from both ecclesiastical and secular sources) and the slightly later compilation of secular laws (*Hexabiblos*) of Constantine Harmenopoulos.

After repeated requests from the Wallachian *voievod* (ruler) Nicolae Alexandru, the ecumenical patriarch in 1359 appointed a metropolitan, Iachint, to the state, a practice that continued until the fall of Constantinople to the Turks in 1453 (the metropolitanate's authority extended to Transylvania, where Hungarian domination allowed Orthodoxy only a tolerated status). Thus encouraged, Wallachian *voivode* both established in their own country many monasteries, which attracted a number of Byzantine monks to administer them, and became patrons of Greek monasteries elsewhere, most notably on Mount Athos, where Alexandru and his son Vladislav completely rebuilt the monastery of Koutloumousiou (whose abbot Chariton later became metropolitan of Wallachia).

Byzantine artistic influence had long been apparent in pottery (in both imports and imitations) and, through Bulgarian intermediaries, in ecclesiastical architecture (e.g. the 11th–12th-century church in the cemetery of Dinogetia), but the reign of Basarab I saw the beginning of much more extensive and closer links. Although his princely church at his first capital, Cîmpulung, was Romanesque, the church of S. Nicolae-Domnească at his new capital, Curtea de Argeş, was not only architecturally dependent upon Byzantine models but contains frescos remarkably similar to those in the narthex of the celebrated church of the Chora (Kariye Djami) in Constantinople. Later in the century Byzantine influence was often more in a Serbian guise (most notably at Cozia) owing to the half-Serbian Athonite monk Nikodemos, who established two monasteries and probably served as the principal conduit into Wallachia of the spiritual movement known as hesychasm which long persisted there.

Under Ottoman vassalage the Wallachian boyars prided themselves upon their Byzantine culture, and after the fall of Constantinople in 1453 they and their Moldavian counterparts, as the ruling class in the only self-governing Orthodox states in southeastern Europe, supported the faith throughout the Balkans: many Greek (especially Athonite), Bulgarian, and Serbian monasteries owed their enhancement and even survival to Wallachian benefactions; influence was exercised even in the

appointment of the ecumenical patriarch (e.g. Niphon II and Pachomios I); and late in the 17th century polemical treatises were published in Greek. Wallachian (and Moldavian) independence naturally attracted Greek churchmen and scholars, who in turn fostered a Byzantine culture in their new homeland (one, Ignatios Petritzis, founded a Graeco-Latin college at Tîrgoviște, the capital in 1646). The Byzantine-Slavonic literature, both religious and secular, also became better known through its translation into Romanian during the 16th and 17th centuries, in the latter of which it received an additional impetus from the establishment of printing presses. Among the enthusiastic promoters of this neo-Byzantine renaissance were the *voivode* Şerban Cantacuzino (1678–88) and Constantin Brâncoveanu (1688–1714), who respectively founded and reorganized at the new capital of Bucharest a Greek academy of such quality that it attracted students from throughout the Greek-speaking world.

From 1714 to 1821 Wallachia was ruled by Phanariot Greeks (or part-Greeks) from Constantinople and members of two families of Hellenized Romanians, who were appointed, dismissed, and often reappointed, like their native predecessors, by the Sublime Porte. The average length of reign for this period was two and a half years, while between 1730 and 1769 Konstantinos Mavrokordatos precariously enjoyed no fewer than six terms in Wallachia and four in Moldavia. Both greed and the need to disburse lavish bribes to gain reappointment ensured that a major preoccupation of their reigns was the amassing of wealth. Since they alone could elevate to the class of boyar, their frequent acceptance of bribes from ambitious members of their accompanying Greek entourage created a strong Greek element among the Wallachian aristocracy. On the other hand, Mavrokordatos weakened their power by granting personal freedom to the serfs in 1746 (although the land was still owned by boyars and monasteries) and limiting to 12 the number of days that they had to work without pay.

Greek language and culture now became dominant for all classes down to the artisanate, as large numbers of Greeks entered the country as both courtiers and merchants. Also, many boyars imitated the Phanariots in having their children educated at home by Greek tutors, who were often priests; and Greek schools were established in provincial centres, although the quality of pedagogy there was frequently very poor. Nevertheless western news, ideas, and culture increasingly penetrated the country, a result of both the importation by traders of Greek newspapers and books printed in Vienna and the Italian education enjoyed by most of the Phanariots, one of whom, Alexandros Ypsilantis, introduced science into the curriculum at the academy in Bucharest. In religious matters, however, the Phanariots continued to be staunch upholders of Orthodoxy and patrons of monasteries both inside and outside the country. The end of their rule came through a conflict of interests in the Greek War of Independence, but Romanians have remained very conscious of their Byzantine Greek inheritance and enjoy a growing presence on Mount Athos, which was revitalized in the 1990s through a reversal of the policy of the communist leader Nicolae Ceauşescu.

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See also Moldavia, Phanariots, Romania, Vlachs

Summary

The land between the Danube and the Transylvanian Alps, Wallachia was named after the Vlachs and was known to the Byzantines as Oungrovlachia. Part of the Byzantine Commonwealth from the 9th century, it became an independent state in the 14th century. Though forced to recognize Ottoman suzerainty, it remained a self-governing state until 1859 when it joined Moldavia to form the state of Romania.

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Warfare

Antiquity

Civilized warfare on a grand scale in Greece began with the rise of Mycenaean civilization during the 2nd millennium BC. From roughly 1600 to 1250 BC palaces at Mycenae, Pylos, Tiryns, Thebes, and elsewhere fielded well-equipped forces that put a high premium on the use of the horse, chariot, and bow. By the last century of Mycenaean civilization well-protected foot soldiers with spear and sword were fielded in response to seaborne attackers. From the evidence of the Linear B tablets, painted pottery, engraved jewellery, and the physical remains of the vast fortifications of the citadels, the Mycenaean palace armies were probably small, tightly controlled by royal dynasts, and generally inflexible in their response to less well-organized raiders and plunderers, who posed a far greater threat to their stratified societies than did other royal armies in Asia Minor and Egypt. By 1200 BC most of the palaces were destroyed, the population had plummeted, and material culture was impoverished. For the next four centuries Greek warfare of the Dark Ages was probably characterized by the haphazard raiding and skirmishing of mounted grandees accompanied by small bands of attached light-armed foot soldiers.

The rise of the Greek polis – by 700 BC there were probably more than 1,000 city states in the Greek-speaking world – was probably the result of an emerging middling class of adroit and independent small farmers. Their peculiar practice of phalanx warfare was inseparable from their own agrarian chauvinism and political autonomy, and marks the true beginning of western infantry practice. The predominately agrarian character of these citizen militias tended to define hoplite war as a single collision between phalanxes of heavily armed infantry – a decisive engagement in which casualties were limited, victory and defeat clear-cut, and damage to the surrounding countryside and civilian population limited. Such fighting did not require taxation, public investment in war material, or fortifi-

cations, and thus helps to explain the astonishing rise of the Archaic city state itself.

Infantrymen were known as hoplites, due to their cumbersome gear (*hopla*): bronze breastplate, greaves, and helmet; a wooden double-grip concave shield; a spear about 2.7 m long; and a secondary short iron sword. The large shield, more than 7 kg in weight and 90 cm in diameter, also explains the nature of hoplite fighting. The infantryman depended on the man next to him to shield his own unprotected right side and to maintain the cohesion of the entire phalanx, military service now reinforcing the solidarity of the citizenry. The shield's unique double grip allowed its weight to be held by the left arm alone, and its concave shape permitted the rear ranks to rest it on their shoulders as they pushed on ahead. The weight of the panoply – ranging anywhere from 20 to 30 kg – meant that hoplite battle would be short and decisive: infantrymen massed into the columns of the phalanx and charged each other head-on, soldiers seeking cover from the array of shields and victory through the sheer force generated by spearmen pushing against the backs and sides of their friends and family ahead. On flat ground, hoplites in formation were usually invulnerable to mounted assault by the more wealthy and the harassment of poorer skirmishers.

Generals fought in the front rank and their tactical options were exhausted with the prebattle placement of particular contingents along the battle line and the choice of terrain. Before the 6th century BC fleets were rare and sea battles essentially non-existent. Armies were challenged to fight by formal notification and occasionally coerced to action by the ravaging of local crops. Battle itself was not much longer than a half-hour or so; pursuit was haphazard. The Persian (490–479 BC) and Peloponnesian (431–404 BC) wars changed all that, and revealed the tactical limitations of hoplite armies when faced with forces that did not share the same protocols of warfare and fought in theatres and on terrain far removed from flat plains. During the 5th century BC Athens turned to its fleet and soon developed sophisticated methods of defensive and offensive naval manoeuvres, attacking through or around an enemy line of ships to achieve easy ramming. In contrast, the Spartans sought to improve on the simple collision of hoplite battle by mastering outflanking movements on the right wing, made possible by the superior drill and training of their professional corps. Thucydides' magnificent description of Mantinea (418 BC) reveals how such tactical competence might shatter an enemy line and change the entire course of battle. At the battle of Delium (424 BC) the Theban general Pagondas first employed reserves, massed phalanxes deeper than the standard eight shields, and used horsemen for more than just preliminary skirmishing. Cleon, Brasidas, and Demosthenes during the Archidamian War (431–421 BC) experimented with light-armed troops to attack hoplites, through manipulation of terrain, darkness, and sheer surprise. No-one sought decisive confrontation through traditional hoplite pitched battles, since warfare was now beginning to be governed more by military necessity than by cultural restraint.

Epaminondas the Theban (d. 362 BC) is often considered the father of Greek infantry tactics. In fact, none of his "discoveries" – a deepened phalanx, the use of superior troops on the left, the oblique order of march, the incorporation of elite units, and the combined use of horsemen – was novel per se. Rather his originality lay in combining these previously known tactical options into a unified battle plan – one uniquely suited for his phalanx of dour Theban agrarians who had a reputation in antiquity for physical prowess and infantry ferocity. Epaminondas' victories at Leuctra (371 BC) and second Mantinea (362 BC) proved that an innovative heavy infantry might alone still clear a battlefield of the enemy. Yet, his grand invasion of Laconia (370–369 BC) that freed the Messenian helots did more to emasculate Sparta than did his defeats of Spartan hoplites in pitched battles, proving that victory now required the use of infantry as part of larger economic and cultural strategies. More abstract 4th-century BC reactionaries also sought to maintain infantry superiority through more innovative use. Plato and Aristotle, for example, speculated on novel ways of preserving the noble tradition of hoplite supremacy within the city state; their advice ranged from the employment of infantry in expanded roles on the borders to the incorporation of stockades and fortifications within the old civic idea of a hoplite militia defence.

Nevertheless, throughout the 4th century BC most generals worried less about the tactical possibilities of infantry employment than learning the new uses of artillery, missile troops, peltasts, and cavalry, both for the attack on and defence of fortified positions. The more utilitarian philosophers and rhetoricians of the 4th century BC reflect this growing tactical renaissance, as they sought to apply dialectic and induction to generalship (*strategika*), the arrangement of troops (*taktika*), and weapons training (*hoplomachia*). War was no more a question of bravery or a reflection of values, but simply an art (*techne*), teachable like any other. Xenophon (428–354 BC), as author of monographs such as *The Cavalry Commander* and *On Horsemanship*, is the best example of this mixture of battlefield experience and philosophical training. His contemporary, the pragmatic Aeneas the Tactician, follows in the same utilitarian tradition. Aeneas' apparently vast *Military Preparations* is lost, but an extant monograph about survival under siege covers everything from the mundane (e.g. passwords, reveille, codes, tunnelling, fire-signals) to the broader employment of mercenaries, sorties, and plans of evacuation.

Philip II (359–336 BC) and his son Alexander III (336–323 BC) of Macedon sought to combine infantry innovation with light-armed, missile, and mounted troops to form a true symphony of forces. Battle became longer, as much as several hours in duration. The general – nearly always mounted – now had a host of options and different troops at his command, which allowed the much smaller Macedonian armies to create havoc at particular spots in the enemy's battle line, through which poured heavy cavalry and infantry, causing psychological terror and general collapse – as the Greek confederates learned at Chaeronea (338 BC), the last battle by truly independent city states. Perhaps Alexander's greatest tactical contribution was the idea of rapid and unceasing pursuit, as part of his overall aim of destroying the enemy outright on the battlefield. Heretofore, battle tactics had not been closely integrated with larger strategic issues. But Alexander saw troop arrangement as merely a part of grand strategy – his aim was not only to win on the battlefield, but to destroy both materially and spiritually the enemy's will to resist. Infantry battle would then logically lead to the invaded surrendering its territory and very culture to Macedonian royal control.

In that regard, Alexander entirely reinvented the notion of Greek tactics, which in the 4th century BC had evolved from, but not replaced, the original emphasis on formal infantry engagements to resolve border disputes. The original purpose of Greek battle had been to limit casualties and resolve disagreement through the simple and often economic use of force. With the decline of the agrarian city state in the 4th century BC, however, the Greeks enhanced decisive battle with auxiliary troops to make fighting longer and more elaborate – but not necessarily all-destructive. Under the Macedonians the West at last applied its full scientific and rational arsenal to the battlefield, as part of a larger effort to destroy a culture, rather than to defeat an enemy. Tactics at last now fully served strategy and Hellenic warfare became the most lethal in the history of civilization up to that time.

During the subsequent Hellenistic era (323–146 BC) Greek-speaking mercenaries were prized throughout the Mediterranean as pike-carrying phalangites that could rout indigenous tribal armies and alone stand up to the Roman legions. Pikes lengthened to nearly 6 m in length and were wielded by both hands, as body armour and the shield shrank or disappeared altogether – the safety of Greek mercenaries' lives was now less important than their ability to kill. After the failure of Pyrhhus in Italy (280–279 BC), the Greeks spent a century and a half resisting Roman invasions. Some of the great battles of the age – Cynoscephalae (197 BC) and Pydna (168 BC) – pitted Greek hired infantry on Greek soil against republican legionaries. But the inflexibility of Greek tactics, the cumbersome nature of the Macedonian phalanx, the greater manpower reserves of Italy, and the superior élan of agrarian Italian recruits led to the doom of the Greek-speaking armies. With the final subjugation of Corinth (146 BC) Greek military forces per se ceased to exist and the phalanx became the curiosity of pedantic armchair strategists. In some sense, Roman republican militias with their emphasis on group solidarity, patriotism, and belief in a superior culture had become more Greek than the Hellenistic dynastic armies they conquered. The forces of Alexander's successors were every bit as despotic, top heavy, and corrupt as the old Persian imperial levies, whom the Greeks had conquered almost two centuries earlier.

Under the Roman empire Greece suffered from high taxation and general depopulation, ensuring that organized military rebellion was out of the question. Most Greek soldiers fought anonymously as hired soldiers in the legions on the northern and eastern frontiers of the empire. Yet except for a few horrific battles between rival Roman dynasts, Roman control brought Greece a half-millennium of general tranquillity (100 BC–AD 400) – the longest period free of major wars in Hellenic history. With the collapse of the western empire, Byzantine armies took over the exclusive protection of Greece. For the first time since the 2nd century BC, there were now to be independent Greek-speaking armies in Italy, North Africa, and Asia Minor. Under Justinian's skilled generals Narses (478–573) and Belisarius (500–65), Greek soldiers ranged from Italy to Persia, trying in vain to reconsolidate the western empire under the aegis of Hellenism and Orthodoxy. Sound tactics and the Byzantines' technological edge in shipbuilding, fortifications, and armament compensated for a general absence of manpower and hardy rural infantry. Still, small mobile Greek armies would keep foreigners out of Greece until the arrival of the Franks in the 13th century. The ancient and modern history of Greek warfare is characterized by remarkable success when local, highly motivated militias are used for defence, but eventual failure when Hellenic armies are sent far overseas without adequate material and spiritual support from home.

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See also Architecture (Fortifications), Architecture (Military), Siegecraft

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Byzantium

Peace was not the expected norm for the Byzantines, who inherited traditions of planning and practising warfare from their ancient and Hellenistic predecessors and from the Romans, although usually reported through the medium of the later Greek military writers. Yet the Byzantines were not primarily a warlike people nor was Byzantium a martial state, even though it inherited and adapted some Roman traditions. Caution, resort to cunning, and confidence in the value of mental expedients to compensate for the lack of numbers were vital features of Byzantine military strategy. Byzantine military manuals owe much to Hellenistic models, such as the 1st-century AD treatise of Onasander. In the early Byzantine period some generals found advantage in using or adapting ancient and Hellenistic Greek battle formations to their own situations. A close examination of the historical narratives indicates that such exercises were not merely theoretical, but were occasionally used in reality.

There are many gaps in the sources. Byzantine historical narratives about warfare seldom provide detailed reports on combat, except for some stereotypical flourishes about the feats of arms of a few prominent individuals. Military manuals provide some of the best information concerning battle,

Warfare (Byzantium): illustration from the 11th-century chronicle of Skylitzes showing troops of Basil I (right) fleeing from the Arab army, late 9th century, Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid

manoeuvre, and logistics, but they are abstract. Speeches, letters, and other literary works are usually unhelpful on the subject of battles and campaigns. Autobiographical reminiscences are rare in themselves and seldom useful. There are no memoirs or other autobiographical accounts by Byzantine warriors, whether at the top of the military hierarchy or in the ranks. These omissions limit our understanding of warfare and soldiers' experiences of it. Archaeology provides some evidence concerning arms and armour, and occasionally on topography and the appreciation of its contribution, but it cannot resolve many serious questions about actual battles or campaigns. Representations of combat and military dress in illuminated manuscripts and frescos may appear to be important but they are problematic, because they may depend on non-contemporary prototypes and models.

Opponents of the Byzantines, both western European and Muslim, have left important narrative accounts of their military encounters. These external accounts are valuable for the 10th century and later, and especially for the 12th century and beyond. Warfare changed measurably during this long period. In the early Byzantine periods, the armies fought in different kinds of terrain and were subject to the vagaries of very different climates.

Whenever possible, irrespective of period, Byzantine strategists preferred to avoid pitched battles and their attendant risks of human and material losses, and instead to resort to their intellect. Because human and material resources were limited, they tended to try to avoid risking what they had. The Byzantines seldom enjoyed numerical superiority in the field. Instead, they often sought to destabilize their opponents through assassination, diplomacy, delay, craft, deception, and the exploitation of internal divisions, to cause them to desert, switch sides, or flee. They tried to take advantage of the impetuousness, recklessness, and thoughtless greed of their opponents. They sought to gain intelligence about their opponents through any possible means and they developed reference works about the weaknesses and strengths of the fighting techniques and practices of various contemporary ethnic groups. They sought to adjust warfare to the practices of their foes, whose psychological vulnerabilities they tried to exploit. This prudent avoidance of gambling everything on the outcome of a single battle or campaign contributed to the longevity of the empire, although it did result in some humiliating and serious territorial losses, and ultimately there were situations in which there was no choice but war. The Byzantines became overconfident in their ability to use intelligence instead of raw power to prevail, and there were occasions in which superior power determined the outcome.

More difficult to trace but nonetheless valuable was another Byzantine inheritance from ancient Greek and Hellenistic practices: the passing down and modification of lore from the Balkans and from Anatolia about fortifying and exploiting mountain passes in warfare. Mountain passes could permit small forces to check or destroy much larger numbers of opponents. Techniques for trapping raiders reached their perfection in the early 10th century. The Byzantines developed techniques for observing, tracking, trapping, and destroying the Arab raiders who penetrated on to the Anatolian plateau, especially between the mid-7th and 10th centuries. These techniques may have originated in unrecorded practices of guarding and using mountain passes in earlier warfare against the Persians, and to some extent they may even have derived from lessons learned in defending rough terrain and passes in Byzantine Africa against Berber raiders.

Byzantium had no military academy. Soldiers learned by apprenticeship, direct and third-party experience, and for a few of the elite, by reading military manuals from the larger corpus of military literature. Likewise there was no general staff in some centralized location. Although Constantinople was the nerve centre for the reception and filtering of military and political intelligence, given the slowness of communications, many important decisions had to be made by comman-

ders on the spot, especially in the early and middle periods when the empire's perimeters were vast and conditions poor on many of the routes. Local situations could not be micromanaged from faraway Constantinople; local commanders therefore enjoyed considerable discretion.

Civilians and the ecclesiastical hierarchies probably had little accurate understanding of the realities of warfare, so that although popular support and input might be valuable at times, it was rarely useful. No great effort was made to bridge this gap, apart from some late theoretical treatises, such as a memorandum of George Gemistos Plethon. Morale-building was important to the Byzantines. What has been called a liturgy of war had already appeared by the 6th century. Exhortation to Christian as opposed to ethnic solidarity was fundamental in some cases of Byzantine combat. However the efforts by such emperors as Nikephoros II Phokas (963–69) to obtain patriarchal approval for promises of salvation for those who died in combat failed; concepts of holy war were alien to the Byzantines.

Success in warfare met with both appreciation and fear. Victorious commanders might win popular adulation but they might also become objects of fear and envy – fear (especially on the part of emperors and their bureaucratic counsellors) that they might attempt to seize power for themselves. Because of their perpetual fear that generals might be tempted to revolt and covet the imperial throne for themselves, the officials of the imperial government often sought to deny them large amounts of funds and supplies and discretion and imposed rigid bureaucratic controls.

The Byzantines relied on both horse and foot. Field armies seldom exceeded 15,000 or 20,000 men, and were usually smaller. Although cavalry may have been dominant, infantry was important in many actions. Archery, especially mounted archery, gave the Byzantines an asymmetrical advantage over some Germanic opponents in the 6th-century reconquests of the era of Justinian I (527–65). Heavily armoured horse became predominant by the late 10th century. Throughout their history the Byzantines made extensive use of a combination of naval and land forces. Their extensive coastlines and islands and their maritime heritage made the naval dimension an important one in their ability to wage war. Siegecraft was a particular speciality of the Byzantines, and owed much to its Hellenistic and Roman heritage.

The zenith of Byzantine skills in actual combat, as opposed to the containment and destruction of Muslim raiders, may well have occurred in the late 10th century, contemporary with and an essential ingredient of the Byzantine reconquest of eastern Anatolian and north Syrian territories from the Muslims. This was the era of heavily armoured (cataphract) Byzantine cavalry, armoured themselves as well as their mounts, and also the era in which Byzantine expertise in shock in mounted combat peaked. One difficult aspect of such combat, as in earlier Roman and Byzantine warfare, was the coordination of horse and foot: hollow squares might be formed from which horse would sally and foot would open and then close ranks. It was easy for such formations to make mistakes that led to costly losses in men and beasts.

In the early centuries the Byzantines drew on a vast repertory of ancient and contemporary military experience from many regions, climates, and ethnic groups. They adapted manoeuvres, weapons, and techniques from the best of the array of contemporary friends and foes. What might be effective in the Balkans might be impractical in North Africa or Syria. The Byzantine Balkans, with their marshes, mountains, and severe winters and greater precipitation than Asia, offered challenges and opportunities. Booty, including prisoners, was an important aspect of warfare. Exchanges of prisoners took place from time to time. Noncombatant casualties were high, and although some effort was made to evacuate the wounded, losses from wounds were probably very high throughout Byzantine history.

Byzantine armies were not homogeneously Hellenic, for at all periods of the empire there were substantial numbers of non-Greeks serving in the armies. Latin remained the language of command until the end of the 6th century, but presumably it gave way permanently to Greek in the 7th. The core of the officers who dominated the Byzantine army and organization of warfare were of mixed Greek-Armenian background and, between the 6th and 11th centuries, largely from Anatolia. Belisarius (died *c.*AD 565?) was the greatest master of Byzantine warfare, for he waged war competently and successfully against the Persians in western Asia, in North Africa against the Vandals, and in Italy against the Goths.

The greatest Byzantine innovation in warfare was the invention and use of Greek fire, an igneous petroleum mixture, which is first attested in the late 7th century, although it may owe something to traditions of Hellenistic techniques. Eventually, most notably by the time of the Crusades, other peoples learned and mastered these techniques. Fortification and siegecraft consumed many financial resources as well as much mental effort. Special attention was given to problems of selecting, creating, and securing camps, a process that owed much to adaptations from earlier Roman traditions. In principle, conforming to Roman tradition, emperors ideally were soldier-emperors and leaders in war. The reality was often different.

The Byzantines relied heavily on the gathering of intelligence to aid their military and tactical decision-making and performance in warfare. They developed skills in fighting against diverse peoples in diverse terrain and weather. They made use of climate (darkness, cold weather) in fighting certain peoples. Expeditions into enemy territory involved different problems from arranging local defences against raids. Elaborate preparations were necessary for expeditions. Some extant treatises describe expeditions that included the emperor, which were, of course, very special cases.

By the middle of the 11th century the Byzantines began to lose their superiority in expertise in warfare. Innovation in technology, weapons, tactics, and in military theory took place outside the borders of the empire, which henceforth had to hire external specialists. Norman men at arms in the west and Turkic horsemen in the east simultaneously proved superior in combat by 1100. The reasons for this loss of initiative and innovation are unclear. Resort to diplomacy became even more important than before. The Byzantines drew heavily on Turkish and western manpower and specialized foreign skills in warfare in the 11th to the 15th centuries. They failed to internalize either the gunpowder revolution or newer techniques of drilling and deploying infantry that were emerging in Europe and in the Levant in the 14th and 15th centuries, such

as training infantry to develop cohesive formations using the pike. This helps to explain the increasing Byzantine dependence on foreign mercenaries, although soldiers of foreign origin existed in every century of Byzantine history. Their specialized skills were valued. But mercenaries were an expensive option for the fisc and also brought in their wake political costs, for they were unpopular with many of the empire's subjects, including significant parts of the elite.

Traditions of Byzantine warfare became an important and lasting Hellenic legacy to early modern military thought, that is, in continental Europe in the 17th and 18th centuries. Even the modern term "strategy" derives from a late-18th-century inspiration from a Byzantine military treatise, the *Strategikon* of Maurice. That treatise, as well as the *Tactica* of Emperor Leo VI the Wise and some writings of emperor Nikephoros II Phokas, marked the apogee of Byzantine military writing. It is unclear to what extent later estradiots (light cavalry), who were prominent in early modern warfare of the late 15th and 16th centuries, consciously inherited and perpetuated Byzantine traditions.

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See also Architecture (Fortifications), Army, Brigandage, Fire (Greek), Navy, Siegecraft

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Water management

Use and distribution of water

Whenever more than a handful of human beings settle permanently in one spot the availability of water becomes one of the parameters that determines their survival. Water for drinking must be reliable and potable. Water for crops must be available at the right time and in the right quantities. For the Greeks, the availability of water is itself largely determined by the Mediterranean climatic regime and the limestone-dominated geology of Greece, which allows for the formation of many subterranean sinkholes and channels.

Perpetual streams and springs are rare, with even major rivers shrinking to trickles or dry stream beds in the summer, only to become rushing torrents when the winter rains arrive. Across the millennia the Greek farmer needed to be opportunistic with regard to the use of water. Along with wells, cisterns for catching and storing rainwater are a regular feature of ancient houses, whether they stand in town or in the country. Terracing of fields is also a product of the rainfall regime of the Mediterranean climate; it simultaneously prevents erosion and ensures that more water saturates the agricultural land. Cereals must go into the ground in the winter to take advantage of the period of maximum moisture and be harvested at the beginning of the summer. Grapes, on the other hand, need the long dry weeks to ripen and become sweet. After picking, fruit that the farmer intends to dry for raisins can safely be left to bake in the open under the sun. The chances that sudden rain will ruin the harvest are slim.

The Aegean cultures were not like the "hydraulic civilizations" of Mesopotamia and Egypt which depended on the construction and coordination of a vast network of irrigation canals and dykes. Water management, whether rural or urban, tends to be small-scale and locally controlled. A simile from Homer's *Iliad* (21. 257–59) gives a vivid picture of the typical irrigation technology of ancient and medieval Greece:

> as a man running a channel from a spring of dark water
> guides the run of the water among his plants and his gardens
> with a mattock in his hand and knocks down the blocks in the channel...

An important exception to this rule can be observed through the history of Lake Copais in Boeotia. Historically, it was more of a swamp than a continuous expanse of water, waxing and waning with the seasons. The ancient Greeks believed that the Minyans, a legendary people of the heroic age, had drained the water and turned it into arable land. When drainage operations were begun in the late 19th century, the truth behind the tradition was revealed. The lake had been drained in Mycenaean times by a series of canals and earthen dykes, reinforced by Cyclopaean masonry, which conveyed the water to natural fissures in the earth. Perhaps this work was overseen by the rulers of the citadel of Gla which overlooks the Copaic plain. There were attempts at drainage in classical and Roman times, but none was carried through to completion. Even the modern efforts were not completed until well into the 20th century.

If the Mycenaean rulers were capable of envisioning and carrying out the draining of the Copaic basin, it should not be surprising to find that they had a sophisticated infrastructure for providing for the water needs of the palaces and surrounding settlements. Large populations living in close quarters had to be provided with drinking and washing water, while waste water and sewage had to be drained away from areas of habitation. In this technology, as in so many other things, they borrowed heavily from their Minoan predecessors.

Given the high level of luxury and elegance in the palace of Knossos, it should come as no surprise that much care and ingenuity were devoted to the area of personal hygiene. This is seen most strikingly in the suite of rooms known as the Queen's Megaron. Besides the bathroom proper, furnished with a soaking tub, there was a separate chamber with an elaborate system of interconnected cisterns, drains, and sewers. This running water was apparently used for a lavatory and, perhaps, a shower (Pendlebury, 1933, p. 52). At one of the outbuildings of the palace complex, dubbed the Caravanserai, there were provisions for travellers to wash their feet and bathe in tubs filled with water heated by wood fires. Even at this level

of society, however, water was not wasted: the water from the footbath flowed out into a drinking trough for animals.

Mycenaean palaces and towns have produced evidence of aqueducts and public drainage systems. The most impressive Mycenaean water projects date from the late 13th century BC. This was a time of increased fortification at major citadels such as Mycenae and Tiryns. If, as seems likely, the rulers of these towns felt the need to prepare to face external threats, their efforts to secure the water supply can be seen as part of that preparation. At Athens, Tiryns, and Mycenae tunnels or passages were opened to secret springs, so that they could be reached even in the event that the city walls were besieged. Despite all these precautions, the Mycenaean civilization collapsed in the 12th century BC. With the administrative structure of the palaces gone, the Mycenaean drains and aqueducts fell into disrepair.

The depopulation and devolution of the Dark Ages saw the loss of many of the technological achievements of the preceding centuries. Although people may have been aware of the principles behind the construction of systems for water transport and drainage, there seems to have been little incentive and/or logistical support for carrying out such projects. This situation changed in the Archaic period when many Greek cities were ruled by tyrants. Dependent on popular support in their conflicts with aristocratic factions, these despots often undertook major public works projects for the improvement of their cities. In the late 6th century BC Polycrates, the tyrant of Samos, was responsible for what Herodotus would later call three of the greatest feats of building and engineering in the Greek world: the great temple of Hera, the island's artificial harbour and breakwater, and a tunnel driven straight through a mountain to bring water to the city.

This tunnel, called the tunnel of Eupalinus after its architect, was inspired by the same desire that we saw in the Mycenaean citadels: to provide the city with a hidden and secure water source in times of siege. What sets Eupalinus' achievement apart is that he drove his tunnel straight through a mountain for approximately 1 km. Even then the water had to be brought from its source more than 800 m away through an underground conduit. Water did not flow through the tunnel itself, but through a covered conduit that ran below the level of the tunnel floor and at a steeper gradient. It is not known whether this secondary excavation was part of the original plan or was added when it became clear that the slope of the tunnel was inadequate to maintain the flow of water. How exactly the line of the tunnel was laid out and followed with such remarkable accuracy by the workmen is another mystery (Goodfield, 1964).

Although none of the other tyrants attempted anything so grandiose, many of the famous fountain houses of antiquity had their first architectural elaboration in the 7th and 6th centuries BC. For the ancient Greeks, even natural springs had an aura of sanctity about them because of their importance and rarity. Obviously a settlement could not be contemplated where there was no source of water, but the built-up area might be some distance from the spring itself, perhaps because of concerns about contamination. Transporting the water to a more convenient location became an objective. Pisistratus of Athens, for example, laid an aqueduct that ran into the Agora, as well as building Athens' famous nine-spouted fountain called Enneakrounos. The location of this fountain is still uncertain, although a contemporary fountain house was found in the southeast corner of the Agora.

Archaic and Classical fountain houses tended to be relatively simple. The first modifications to the natural spring might be simply to carve out a basin or storage cisterns from the surrounding rock. After that came the roofing over of the cisterns, and then the construction of a columnar porch under which the people drawing water might stand. Other amenities might be a parapet on which to rest one's jar, or a spout to fill it. Fountain houses, along with government buildings, a theatre, an agora, etc. were among the marks of a polis, according to Pausanias. This public supply of water had several advantages over what might be available in private homes. Well water, though fresh, was difficult to draw up and might disappear in times of drought. Runoff water was collected and stored in underground cisterns, but was used for purposes other than drinking if at all possible. By bringing water from the fountains, women (and it was almost always women who performed this task) got better-quality drinking water as well as a chance to meet friends. Many depictions on vases make it clear that going to the fountain house was a time for socializing.

Classical cities, by the end of the 6th century BC, also had provisions for draining away storm and waste water. These sewers ran in large channels through public open spaces and in smaller pipes beneath the streets of residential areas. Private houses were equipped with a small room holding a drain leading into the sewer lines. By the 4th and 3rd centuries BC, Greek latrines progressed to wooden benches or terracotta seats. Bath tubs were still free-standing containers without drainage holes, so drawing and emptying a bath must have been tedious work. Public baths had individual tubs which in some cases were filled by running water from a channel that ran by them at shoulder height. These baths were connected with gymnasia or shrines of Asclepius and thus generally for the use of men only (Crouch, 1993, pp. 26–29).

Aqueducts, fountains, and baths from the Roman period show a much higher degree of elaboration than earlier structures. Roman rule brought an end to endemic warfare, so it was possible to run above-ground aqueducts for great distances without fear of exposure to enemy forces. Large public baths open to both sexes are a prominent feature of Roman urbanism throughout the provinces. During this period fountains become nymphaea – ornate, usually multistorey constructions which were only secondarily places to get water. With their sculptural decoration, multiple fountains and pools, and rich materials they existed mostly as a stage for the display of the interplay of light, water, and stone which is such a hallmark of the architecture of the empire at its height.

As conditions deteriorated in the empire, bringing water to cities and towns over long distances became more problematic. Constantinople was largely dependent for water on an aqueduct originally built by Hadrian and restored by Valens in the 4th century AD. More aqueducts were constructed around this time, but both the capital and provincial towns became increasingly dependent on cisterns. This was especially true after the wave of destructions in the 7th century when many aqueducts were destroyed and never replaced. Urban need for water may in fact have been less in the 7th century, since by

this time most of the large public baths had fallen into disuse. Declining population and rising maintenance costs were no doubt a factor in this decline, but there was also a change in attitude towards the public baths. Attendance at the baths was no longer considered part of one's daily routine but a rare luxury, or something undertaken as part of a medicinal regimen. Monasteries, on the other hand, constructed baths that were specifically associated with healing throughout the Byzantine period. During this time there was an increase in the use of water, instead of oxen, to power mills. Remains of several examples from the late 5th century AD, along with the aqueduct that brought water to them, are preserved in the Athenian Agora.

Changes in Greece's economy and society since the late 19th century have raised a whole new set of problems connected with water. The reorientation of the agricultural sector towards the commercial exports of crops such as citrus, tobacco, and cotton which require extensive irrigation has led to a depletion of groundwater and the salinization of farmland that often accompanies irrigation. The generation of hydroelectric power has resulted in the draining of many lakes. Greece's population is inadequately served by waste-water treatment plants, with the result that industrial wastes and untreated sewage have rendered the inner Saronic Gulf almost lifeless in recent years (Curtis, 1995, p. 106). Water management is a subject that will loom large in planning for future development in Greece.

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See also Canals, Climate, Technology

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Women

There is little certain information about women in Bronze Age Greece and Crete so that most of our knowledge of them during this period is speculative. The two main sources of information are art and the Linear B tablets.

While feminine figures play an important role in both Minoan and Mycenaean art, their identity is not clear. They may be goddesses, priestesses, nobility, or common women. It appears that in many instances females portrayed in Bronze Age Aegean art are goddesses. Feminine statues are shown adorned with snakes, birds, or floral motifs, often with arms upraised in a possible pose of prayer or benediction (the "Goddess with Upraised Arms"). One small ivory figurine from Mycenae shows two women seated together with a small child on the lap of one of them. Some scholars have interpreted this as an early portrayal of Demeter, Persephone, and Plutus. In glyptic art, especially from Crete, females are shown in the centre of outdoor religious scenes, often engaged in dances. Women were represented in the frescos that adorned houses and palaces. In some instances they are depicted gathering crocuses in idyllic scenery, while in others they are shown socializing in the company of men. In Crete they participate in scenes of ritual procession, while one fresco from Mycenae shows two females together driving a chariot.

Linear B texts, while fragmentary and of a "shopping list" nature, give clearer glimpses into the everyday lives of women: they appear as queens (*wanassa*), priestesses (*hiera*), landowners, temple servants, and slaves. While only the surface of the roles of women in Linear B has been scratched, it appears that on the Greek mainland a patriarchal system was already in place. Among women, only religious functionaries owned land. Conversely, texts from Knossos in Crete show women owning fruit orchards independently of men, possibly indicating their higher status in the wake of the Minoan civilization. In both regions female slaves were common, usually identified by a proper name and the land of origin. This may be indicative of the seizure of women as war booty as portrayed in Homer's *Iliad*.

Beginning with Homer and Hesiod, literary and historical texts and art provide information concerning the lives of women in the historical period. Unfortunately, most of these texts and images were rendered by men, and thus they offer a view of women from the male perspective. While women had extremely limited political and economic powers, they played active roles in the cultural life of ancient Greece. Prominent literary names that have survived are of the poets Sappho of Lesbos (6th century BC) and Telesilla of Argos (5th century BC).

Women were most active in the religious life of the polis. The two most important fertility rites, the Thesmophoria and

the Skirophoria, were administered solely by women. Since the former was a three-day-long affair involving all Greek women (except virgins – Callimachus, fr. 63), it is evident that considerable planning was involved, all controlled by women. In Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* (640ff.) the chorus of women recounts bearing the basket in the Arrhephoria, milling flour for the Athenaion festival, "playing the bear" for Artemis at Brauron, and serving as basket-bearers in the Athenaion festival. While such roles were often reserved exclusively for the upper classes, other important religious positions were not. The priestess of Athena Nike on the Athenian Acropolis was chosen by lot from the female population of Athens. For her services she received an annual salary of 50 drachmas and the hides and legs from the public sacrifices. On the more human side of religion, literature and art show that it was women who were responsible for the care and remembrance of the dead. Women prepared corpses for burial, were the chief mourners during funeral processions, and brought offerings of garlands and funerary libations to the dead after burial (*Choephori*).

Beyond religious duties, women's lives consisted of marriage and motherhood, textiles, and household management. The clearest picture of household life comes from Xenophon's *Oeconomicus* and Lysias' *Murder of Eratosthenes*. Combining the two, a picture of married life emerges. The woman is married very young to an older husband chosen by her parents. Once married, she cares for the organization of the household, spinning and weaving, and, in the case of more affluent brides, supervises the household slaves. Women wore lead cosmetics to make themselves appear pale, the ideal shade for those expected to remain indoors. They travelled outside the house for religious events, funerals, and to meet neighbours. These forays outside the home were viewed with suspicion by men, who were apparently in chronic fear of adultery (*Eccleseazusae*). Lower-class women also worked outside the home (Demosthenes, 57. 31–35; *Thesmophoriazusae*, 446–52). Between the "respectable" and working classes were the *hetairai* (courtesans), the most famous of whom were Aspasia, Neaira, and Lais.

From the end of the 5th century BC into the 4th, women's lives became increasingly constricted. Pericles claimed that the best that could be said of any woman was that her name was never mentioned in public either for praise or blame (Thucydides, 2. 45). In the 4th century BC gynaecology, and thus women's bodies, fell increasingly into the hands of male doctors, while philosophers such as Plato ascribed the roles of midwife and mother to males and their progeny of the mind.

In the Hellenic period, while many general aspects of life such as religion and motherhood remained the same, women of all classes made greater contributions to politics, culture, and society than previously, and women experienced greater freedoms than at the end of the Classical period. In the aristocracy, women ruled as queens, either side by side with their consorts or independently. Notable at the head of dynasties were Olympias, queen of Macedon and Alexander's mother; Berenice II (3rd century BC), queen of Cyrene and Egypt; queen Arsinoë of Egypt (*c.*270 BC); and Cleopatra VII (1st century BC), queen of Egypt and final monarch of the Hellenistic dynasties.

Nonroyal women also enjoyed social, legal, and economic benefits in the Hellenistic age. In the 2nd century BC a woman called Archippe was publicly honoured in Cyme (Asia Minor) for financial contributions made to the polis (Pleket, no. 3), while an inscription from Histria records the existence of a female archon (ibid., no. 2). In the 1st century BC Phile of Priene held the office of *stephanephoros* ("garland bearer") for building, at personal expense, the city aqueduct and reservoir (*Inschriften von Priene*, 208). Economic independence, if not wealth, was possible for lower-class women. Documents preserved from Egypt reveal: a marriage contract sworn between Heraclides and Demetria to regulate their claims to property and means of redress in case of violation (*P. Elephantine*, 1); a lawsuit enacted by Philista, "a working woman", in a case of personal injury (*P. Enteuxis*, 82); and the complaint of one father whose daughter Nike was expected to support him financially through her labour (ibid. 26).

In the cultural sphere, this was the age of the female intelligentsia. Poets such as Erinna (4th century BC) and Nossis (3rd century BC) were likened to Sappho (Antipater, 9. 26), while Aristodama of Smyrna was made *proxenos* ("patroness"), citizen, and benefactor of Lamia for her verses (W. Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*, 1915–24, 3. 532). Anyte of Tegea, among other works, wrote epigrams for dead maidens, noting their wisdom as well as their beauty (*Anthologia Palatina*, 7). Some women became painters, with Laia of Cyzicus renowned as the finest portrait painter of her day (Pliny, *Naturalis Historia*, 35. 147ff.). In philosophy, women studied at Plato's Academy (Diogenes Laertius, 3. 46, 4. 2, 6. 96ff.), while in the 4th century BC women began formal practice of medicine (Hyginus, *Fabula*, 274. 10–11).

Like the Hellenistic age, the Byzantine period is punctuated by prominent women in politics and the intelligentsia. Earlier female aristocrats, such as St Helena and Pulcheria, functioned mainly through the offices of their male relatives (the emperors Constantine I and Theodosius II respectively). Empress Theodora (*c.*497–548), wife of Justinian, was the first woman co-autocrat of Byzantium, with her own functions within government and the power to legislate reforms. Many of these reforms benefited women, such as an edict of 535, interdicting procurement and brothels in all major cities of the empire. At the pinnacles of female political power were empress Irene (fl. 800), and Anna Dalassene (fl.1090). The former, having blinded her son and rival to the throne, ruled as sole autocrat of Byzantium, prompting the coronation of Charlemagne in the West. Dalassene was chief adviser to her son, emperor Alexios I Komnenos (1081–1118), and she ruled Byzantium with full administrative powers when her son was on campaign.

Female intellectuals were rare but significant. The most famous is Hypatia of Alexandria (*c.*AD 370–415), scientist, mathematician, and Neoplatonic philosopher. In the 12th century lived Anna Komnene, the only female historian of the Byzantine era, who wrote the *Alexiad*, her father's biography.

The Church Fathers of the now Christian empire proclaimed that women were inferior and weak; even sins acquired feminine personifications (Neophytos Enkleistos). Thus women were barred from priestly functions and teaching. The ideal role of woman was, of course, wife and mother, with this latter occupation receiving high praise in panegyrics from

such notables as Theodore of Stoudios and Psellos. While virginity was considered a high virtue, its inappropriate loss was not as severely punished as in the days of Solon; a girl who lost her virginity to a man other than her betrothed could simply be repudiated by the bridegroom (Leo VI, *novels* 93).

Women wielded considerable economic power at all levels of society for which data exist. From the days of Theodora, sisters shared equal inheritance rights with brothers, and widows kept full control of their dowries. From the 11th century at least a significant portion of legal cases concerned women's control of their property (Laiou, 1992, vol. 1, p. 239). Abbesses who wrote typika (or rules) for their monasteries had full economic powers and deliberative control (ibid p. 242). As for employment, although women were expected to work only in textiles, it is evident that they were occupied in other fields. One typikon of the Pantokrator monastery in Constantinople refers to female doctors and nurses (ibid, p. 245), while the 14th-century traveller Ibn Battuta wrote that most artisans and merchants in the Constantinople bazaar were women.

In most respects, Greek women's lives today differ little from those of other western women. They have the right to education, property, and equal representation in law. Specifics of life, as always, are determined by class and region of habitation. The lives of upper-class women and villagers are more restricted before marriage than those of the lower classes and urban residents. A "proper" upper-class young woman travels with a chaperone until she is married. After marriage, and especially after divorce, however, these women are free to travel and spend their time as they will. While divorce is a more difficult matter for less affluent rural denizens, marriage does nevertheless allow a new freedom for women. Even adultery may be acceptable should the husband not be present for extensive periods of time (Loizos and Papataxiarchis, 1991, p. 229).

Bourgeois and urban women travel, socialize, work, study, and live freely although, as in the villages, they usually live with their families until marriage. Since approximately half the population of Greece now resides in Athens, most Greek women have considerable freedom (although disapproval of this "wanton" lifestyle is often expressed when city-dwellers return to the family village).

Two aspects of women's lives in Greece are distinctive from other western cultures. First is the continued use of the dowry (despite 20th-century legal sanctions) given by the bride or her family to the groom upon marriage. The bride's age and social position, especially relative to the groom's, determine the size of the dowry. In rural communities the dowry often takes the form of a house (Dubisch, in Loizos and Papataxiarchis, 1991, p. 36) located in the wife's area of residence. Thus, while Greece itself is essentially patriarchal (if not sexist) in its attitudes towards women, the dowry creates a matrilocal structure whereby women have greater familial support after marriage than men necessarily do.

Second is the general segregation of the sexes, especially after marriage, in non-urban areas. As in previous ages, outside the home is male territory, notably the *kafeneia* (cafés) where women are very rarely found. The household is feminine space, where women with female friends and family spend both free and working hours. Thus, women have the opportunity for equally fulfilling social interactions and community; they are simply less visible to the casual observer.

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See also Adultery, Children, Divorce, Dowry, Gender, Marriage, Men

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Women's cults

In antiquity women played a significant role in religion, and the existence of female divinities in the Greek pantheon has led many scholars to investigate further the relation between mortal women and their gods and goddesses. Some cults were exclusively practised by women, whereas in others women participated by fulfilling certain roles. Not surprisingly, many women's cults were closely associated with female divinities.

The Brauronia, originally a local festival at Brauron in Attica, became associated with the goddess Artemis. Girls between 5 and 10 years of age were sent by their mothers in procession to Artemis, the eternal virgin goddess. Artemis is also connected with childbirth, and therefore many women's cults are related to her. According to evidence from Plutarch (*Aristides*, 20. 6), young women would make premarital offerings to Artemis, a goddess associated with transition in a woman's life. Women participated fully in cults that honoured Demeter. Besides the Eleusinian mysteries the festival of Thesmophoria was widely celebrated among women, who performed fertility rites. The festival took place in the autumn and was open to women only. Demeter, together with her daughter Persephone, and Dionysus were worshipped at the festival of Haloa in December. Demeter, the goddess of grain, was often worshipped with Dionysus, the god of wine. In Arcadia she was worshipped with Poseidon. In later times she was syncretized with Gaia and Rhea, or Cybele.

Women played an important role in civic festivals. In the Panathenaia they were the ones who wove and presented the *peplos* (a special embroidered robe) to Athena, and on the night before the procession that held central place in the festival they performed ritual cries and choral dances. The Athenian festivals occurred in early and midsummer in the

following order: first the Plynteria and Kallynteria (cleansing and beautifying festival), then the Skira (threshing festival), and finally the Panathenaia. The Arrhephoria was a mystic festival in honour of Athena that took place in midsummer parallel to the Panathenaia. Four girls of noble families had to spend some time at the temple of Athena: two of them had to present to the goddess the *peplos* that the women had woven, and the other two received coffers from the priestess, the contents of which could not be revealed, and carried them in the great procession.

Many women's cults had a strong local element, such as the cult of Hera, the goddess of marriage and domestic life, in places like Argos and Samos. The cult of Dionysus was particularly associated with women. Dionysiac orgies were celebrated on Mount Parnassus by cult associations of women, and were later incorporated in the cult of Apollo at the same place. In later times, especially in Hellenistic Alexandria, women performed lamentation rites for Adonis after the celebration of the wedding of Adonis and Aphrodite. The Adonia was also celebrated in Classical Athens in the spring. Rituals of incubation, like those connected with Asclepius, were also popular among women, but were not exclusive to them.

Women also played an important role in official and mystic cults as priestesses. (It should be noted that there was no such thing as a caste of priests or priestesses.) Many priesthoods were filled by women only, mainly for the cults of goddesses. There were various rules as to the status and age of a priestess. The priestess of Athena was a married woman, whereas virginity was required for priestesses of Hestia. Pythia was the name given to the priestesses of Apollo who played an important role in Greek history by giving the oracular response on many important public and private matters.

Heroines held an important position in women's cults. Various phases of life involving marriage, pregnancy, and children were associated with specific cults of heroines, the most notable being those that feature in myths around the Olympian pantheon, such as Ariadne, Semele, and Iphigeneia. The clothes of women who died in childbirth would be dedicated to Iphigeneia at Brauron, but of those who survived to Artemis. There were other cults addressed to less well-known heroines in myth, such as the celebration of Hecale in the Attic deme of the same name, a heroine mostly known from the cycle of myths around Theseus. At Olympia Pelops and Hippodameia were honoured in an agonistic setting. Last but not least comes the expression of religious feeling towards a divinity, or often in heroic cults, in choral contests as an agonistic ritual.

Women played an important role in the spread of Christianity, and although there are no women priests in the Orthodox Church, women have filled various offices in the structure of the Church, for example, as deaconesses. Many have followed the monastic life, like men, without being priests. Just as there are spiritual "Fathers", so there are also "Mothers", although most women religious lived in monastic communities rather than in the desert. The ascetic life is presented by many Fathers of the Church as a model for life in the household, denoting the sacrifice needed.

Many modern Greek folk customs exhibit the influence of antiquity and many festivals are celebrated exclusively or predominantly by women. There are many practices associated with the cult of the Virgin Mary in which women play an important role. Their importance in certain cults, and particularly how they are represented in various customs, varies from place to place. Although certain rites of passage, like marriage and death, have official ceremonies within the Church, there are many customs forming part of the local cult that are practised by women only. Every village in Mani or Crete has its *moirologistris*, who will perform rites of lamentation, beyond those at the official service in the church, sometimes with the tolerance of the Church but often without it.

ANDROMACHE KARANIKA-DIMAROGONA

See also Festivals, Orgiastic Cults, Priesthood, Religion, Women

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Woodworking

Ancient Greek carpentry is not well known because of the lack of permanently dry or permanently waterlogged conditions that favour the preservation of wooden objects. Carpentry, moreover, is not a craft that lends itself to written description. Theophrastus wrote much on the choice and preparation of timber, but this amounts to little more than the lore which carpenters thought fit to relate to him; much of it seems to be nonsense or misunderstood.

Greek buildings were walled with stone or mud brick, but sockets reveal something of the missing timbers. Almost every building had a timber roof, often upper floors, and usually joinery (in windows and doors), none of which survive. Temple roofs could be mighty timber structures, but involved timbers merely resting on each other; internal walls reduced the span and usually made it unnecessary to use timbers more than

about 10 m long. Sophisticated carpentry with tension-transmitting joints, of the kind found in Western cathedral roofs, was apparently unknown. The oldest surviving, still functional timbers are the original wooden blocks that join the column-drums of the Parthenon and prevent them from disconnecting in an earthquake. Occasional timber elements survive in Roman buildings.

Furniture, as known from vase painting, was rich and varied, at least among the well-to-do, but there is little evidence of its construction. Musical-instrument-making involved complex woodworking: a lyre, for example, was a clever piece of miniature engineering. Military equipment, especially artillery, could involve massive timber structures.

Our knowledge of Greek shipbuilding comes from underwater excavation of the wrecks of cargo ships (not triremes, which had a positive buoyancy and thus never sank). Ancient Greek shipbuilding was as complex and sophisticated as any that the world has seen. As with other ancient ships, the hull was built as a shell of planks and the ribs added later. The planks were ingeniously and laboriously joined edge-to-edge by hundreds of tenons hidden in their thickness. As in all subsequent ages, the size of ships was limited by the length of the longest tree. Timber was usually brought from a distance: it is unlikely that Greek shipbuilding was ever on a scale which used timber faster than the growth of trees could replace it.

Timber shipbuilding continued into the Byzantine period and beyond. It became assimilated to northern European methods of construction, the skeleton being built first and the planks then added. In this form it still continues on the Greek islands, and on a larger scale in western Turkey.

The craft of coopering is north European, and reached Greece in the Middle Ages, when barrels replaced amphorae and pithoi for storing wine, and to some extent oil. Barrels were often prefabricated in Venice or elsewhere and assembled in Greece from loose staves and heads. The Cretan style of watermill, with its elaborate carved turbine, is probably a medieval invention.

Timber-framed building was known to the Minoans, but probably not in Classical and Hellenistic Greece. Timber-framed houses, with overhanging upper storeys and brick or stone infill, are found in parts of northern Greece and the islands. They are mainly urban – there are good examples in Siatista (Macedonia) and Chania and Herakleion (Crete) – and appear to be of the 18th and 19th centuries. In remote country districts outhouses with earth-fast posts and woven wattle walls are still to be seen. Timbers are often built into stone or mud-brick walls as reinforcement. Tile-covered timber roofs of the 19th and early 20th centuries often follow a Roman pattern; there are some large examples on warehouses in Crete. Timber is not often a medium for architecture or decoration in ordinary houses: exceptions are house doors, and the magnificent carved and painted house interiors of the island of Karpathos.

Surviving furniture begins with the cypress chests made in Sphakia (Crete) for export in the 15th and 16th centuries, and now to be seen in churches and museums all over Europe. The icon painter's craft begins with the joining of pieces of board (usually cypress timber) edge-to-edge with hidden nails to form a panel. In a few churches an ancient iconostasis survives as a monument of fine joinery and woodcarving.

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See also Architecture (Domestic), Furniture, Ships and Shipping

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World War I 1914–1918

The history of Greece's participation in World War I is inextricably linked with the first phase of the national schism. As the Great War broke out in the summer of 1914, Greece had only been at peace for a year, following the end (in summer 1913) of the highly successful Balkan Wars, during which it had almost doubled in population and size.

With the European conflict under way in August 1914, the Greek leaders disagreed as to the course the country should follow. The prime minister, Eleftherios Venizelos, who commanded a substantial majority in parliament, was in favour of entering the war on the side of the Entente. He was convinced that the Entente would eventually be victorious. In any event, it was clear that Greece, a maritime country, was not strong enough to withstand British and French naval power in the Mediterranean and was therefore easily susceptible to Entente pressure. This was a fact that had been demonstrated repeatedly by the naval blockades of the country during the 19th century.

On the other hand, king Constantine I had studied in the German Military Academy and was an honorary field marshal of the German army; he was a firm believer in Germany's military might. There was also a dynastic link with the German royal family: Constantine's wife, Sophia, was the kaiser's sister. All the above made credible at the time the allegation that in August 1914 he offered the kaiser the services of Greece, though little evidence of this has been found. It is clear that, personal preferences aside, Constantine did favour neutrality, in the belief that Greece's interests as well as those of the Greek populations of the Ottoman empire would be better served by this course of action. The division between the king and his prime minister was to persist and fester, with disastrous consequences.

In any event, in September 1914 under the premiership of Venizelos (and initially with the consent of the king) Greece offered to join the Entente. The offer was rejected by all three powers: Britain wished to avoid provoking the Ottoman empire (at the time neutral) into joining the Central Powers; France reserved the right to accept the offer at a later stage; and Russia was prepared only to accept any help that Greece

could offer to Serbia. The result was that initially Greece stayed formally neutral; yet, even with the best intentions, this neutrality was increasingly difficult to maintain in the face of the unravelling of events in the region and the world.

The Ottoman empire entered the war on the side of the Central Powers in November 1914; nevertheless, the main opponent for Greece was not Ottoman Turkey but Bulgaria, which remained out of the war for another year, making any decision on the participation of Greece in the war more difficult. Both Greece and Bulgaria were wooed by both sides, but both bided their time.

During the last months of 1914 and the first months of 1915 the struggle between Venizelos and Constantine intensified, centring around the participation of the Greek military in the Dardanelles campaign planned by the Entente. In return for joining the Entente, Greece was allowed to occupy northern Epirus and was offered unspecified gains in Asia Minor after the war. Britain also promised to discuss the future of the island of Cyprus, inhabited by a large Greek majority.

Venizelos, initially with the consent of the king and the crown council, had offered the Entente a Greek army corps for the Dardanelles operation; when later on Constantine changed his mind (influenced by the views of his chief of staff, Ioannis Metaxas), Venizelos scaled down the offer to a division, in an attempt to regain royal assent for Greek participation. This was not forthcoming. In any event, from the first months of 1915, the island of Lemnos was used as a base by the Entente forces for the Dardanelles campaign, even without Greek participation in the operation. At this point the disagreement between king Constantine and prime minister Venizelos on the question of maintaining neutrality or entering the war on the side of the Entente Powers became acute and sparked off the government crises of 1915.

Venizelos was dismissed in March 1915 but was then returned to office with a comfortable majority in the elections of June 1915. Following the mobilization of the Bulgarian army in September 1915, Venizelos persuaded the king to order the mobilization of the Greek army and invited the Entente to land forces (later to be dubbed the "gardeners of Salonika") in Thessalonica, in the north of Greece, in a desperate attempt to help Serbia; the plan was carried out initially with the consent of the king, who, however, was later once more to change his mind.

On 4 October 1915 Bulgaria declared war on the Entente and attacked Serbia; Greece was still bound in alliance with Serbia under the terms of the treaty of 1913, though it had refused to come to Serbia's aid when a European power (Austria-Hungary) had attacked it. Now that Bulgaria had attacked Serbia, the conflict was assuming a Balkan dimension. Venizelos was in favour of coming to the aid of Serbia, and even secured the assent of the Greek parliament to this end, but the next day he was again dismissed by the king, who also dissolved parliament. A government controlled by the palace was set up. It declared a benevolent neutrality towards the Entente; it also declared that the 1913 treaty of alliance with Serbia applied only to a purely intra-Balkan conflict and not to a war where a Great Power was involved. Subsequently no Greek troops were allowed to move in aid of Serbia. That remained the case even when Britain, in a desperate last bid to help Serbia, offered Greece the cession of Cyprus in return for its immediate participation in the war; Zaimis, the prime minister at the time, refused the offer, which was never repeated. With Greek forces unavailable, the small Entente forces in Thessalonica were unsuccessful in their offensive; the Bulgarian and Austrian forces soon overpowered Serbian resistance and occupied Serbia. The inability of the Entente to help Serbia undermined Greek confidence in it, as did reports about the treaty of London (April 1915), by which the Entente ceded the Dodecanese islands (claimed by Greece) to Italy, promised to Italy territory in Asia Minor (where large Greek populations were present), and effected a partition of Albania most favourable to Italy; further demands for the evacuation of northern Epirus (where Greek troops were replaced by Italians) did little to shore up Greek confidence in the Entente. Further Entente actions such as the demand for all Greek troops in Greece to be moved to the Peloponnese, for war materiel to be handed over, and for a change of government in Athens as well as the obvious failure of the Dardanelles campaign (which was eventually wound up in January 1916) added to Greek doubts.

Venizelos's Liberals abstained from the elections called for December 1915. The (royalist) Populist Party secured a very large majority and another government controlled by the palace was set up; Greece continued to remain formally neutral, but the Athens government allowed the German and Bulgarian forces to occupy Fort Rupel and the region of Kavalla, ordering the Greek 4th Army Corps in the region not to resist. Subsequently, several thousand Greek officers and men of the 4th Greek Army Corps spent the rest of the war as "guests" in Gerlach, Germany. The Athens government also had to allow the landing on the island of Corfu of the remnants of the Serbian army evacuated by Entente ships from the Adriatic coast after the collapse of Serbia, though it later refused to allow their transport overland to Thessalonica, to join the Anglo-French forces stationed there. Greek neutrality was becoming increasingly threadbare.

In October 1916 Venizelos left Athens and went to Crete; from there he issued a proclamation to the Greeks, inviting them to help "save what could still be saved" and landed in Thessalonica. There he put himself at the head of the national defence movement (*Ethniki Amyna*) and formed the provisional government of Thessalonica. This duly declared war on Germany and Bulgaria; but the Entente followed an ambiguous policy, supporting the provisional government, but not actually extending formal international recognition to it.

Between October 1916 and June 1917 Greece was divided in two and in a state of civil war: the north of the country, most of the islands, and Crete were under the provisional government under Venizelos; the south of mainland Greece and the Peloponnese were under the control of the king and his government. In both parts of Greece opponents were persecuted. In Thessalonica the national defence government began organizing an army, drawing from the manpower available to it in the parts of Greece it controlled, with the aim of participating as quickly as possible in the war effort of the Entente. The army used numbers of Venizelist officers who joined it, as well as numerous volunteers who travelled to the north of Greece to join up, often driven to do so by the excesses of the royalists or the oppression and even pogroms Venizelists had to suffer in the south.

The conditions deteriorated further with the abortive Entente attempt to depose the king by force in December 1916 and the subsequent blockade of the part of Greece controlled by the royalists; Piraeus, the largest port of Greece, was also occupied. In June 1917 the Entente presented an ultimatum to Constantine, requesting his abdication. On 12 June 1917 Constantine appointed his second son, Alexander, in his place (but did not formally abdicate) and left the country. A largely French force extended the Allied occupation from Piraeus to Athens and deported some staunch royalists (including Ioannis Metaxas) to Corsica. By the end of June 1917 Greece was forcibly reunited, with Venizelos as its prime minister. It declared war on the Central Powers and mobilized, offering 12 divisions for the Thessalonica front, provided they could be armed by the Entente; but six months elapsed before the Allies could provide the necessary equipment. Nevertheless, by late spring 1918 around 250,000 Greeks were fighting alongside French, British, and Serbian forces in the front to the north and east of Thessalonica, facing Bulgarian and German armies.

The Greek forces played an important role in the Allied offensive that began on 15 September 1918. The offensive was a success: the front was rolled back, the Bulgarian and German armies collapsed, and the Allied forces pursued them into Bulgaria and Serbia. In little more than two weeks Bulgaria was asking for an armistice. Six weeks after the beginning of the offensive, both Bulgaria and Turkey had capitulated, virtually the whole of Serbia was recovered, and the position of the Central Powers was precarious. This operation, later described as the Allied drive into "Germany's soft underbelly", helped significantly to end the war. Strategically, it was also to colour German and Allied thinking in World War II: in the spring of 1941, with the war well under way, the German intervention in the southern Balkan region was partly a result of the fear of a repetition of the events of the previous war and an attempt to forestall the creation of another Thessalonica front.

Despite difficulties, Greece did find itself on the winning side at the end of the war, with additional territory allocated to it in western and eastern Thrace and Asia Minor. Indeed, the treaty of Sèvres and the treaty of Neuilly, which formally ended the war for the Ottoman empire and Bulgaria respectively, almost spelt for Greece the realization of the Great Idea, with Greece becoming a country spanning "two continents and five seas". Yet, as was the case in Western Europe, the postwar settlement was not to last.

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See also Sèvres (Treaty of)

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World War II 1939–1945

Prior to the war Greece was under the ultra-conservative dictatorship of prime minister Ioannis Metaxas and king George II. The main objective of the dictatorship was to crush labour movements and liberal left-wing parties. Although Metaxas's style of government was similar to Mussolini's Italy and Hitler's Germany, ideologically Metaxas embraced the Greek monarchy, an institution supported by Great Britain, and Greece sided with the Allies (British Empire, France, later the USA) against the Axis powers of Europe (Nazi Germany, fascist Italy) and their satellite countries, including Bulgaria, Croatia, Hungary, Romania, and Slovakia. Metaxas's dictatorship, which was established on 4 August 1936, suspended the Greek constitution and dissolved parliament, consequently resulting in the suppression of civil liberties, as well as the prosecution of liberal and left-wing social activists.

On 28 October 1940 fascist Italy declared war on Greece by launching an invasion from Albania, a country already under the occupation of Italian armed forces. Italy's invasion had been approved by Hitler in order (*a*) to prevent the establishment of Allied forces in Greece, which could have strategic importance in the Balkan area, and (*b*) to facilitate his military campaigns in North Africa. The efforts of the Italian army to conquer Greece failed. By 2 November 1940 the Greek army had evicted the Italian invaders and by March 1941 the Greeks had advanced deep into Albania.

On 6 April 1941 the German army intervened to assist the Italian forces. The invasion came from Bulgaria and Yugoslavia to destroy the Greek armed forces, crush all British forces in Greece, and secure the south flank of the Balkans from Allied attacks, while the Nazis invaded the Soviet Union. Many of the Greek government leaders, including king George II himself, and units of the Greek army and navy, escaped to the Middle East, notably Egypt, where they established a government in exile.

On 28 April 1941 the Nazis established a Greek government of collaboration in Athens, to have more effective control of the enslaved Greeks and eventually prevent movements of national liberation. The Greek army general George Tsolakoglou was appointed by the Nazis as the leader of the quisling government and Colonel Angelos Everet as the commander of the police forces. The occupying forces destroyed the country's economy, taxed and terrorized the Greek people, and seized their food supplies. Consequently, over 250,000 Greeks died from starvation.

After the oppressive triple occupation and the establishment of a Greek-German government of collaboration, national resistance (*Ethniki Antistasi*) movements were organized with the help of the Allies, and England in particular. On 27 September 1941 the *Ethniko Apeleftherotiko Metopo* (EAM, the National Liberation Front) was organized with the cooperation and participation of centre-left Greek political parties (*a*) to liberate Greece from the Axis armed forces, (*b*) to hold free elections after independence without foreign intervention, and (*c*) to establish a people's government without a king. The Communist Party was the nucleus of the movement and provided leadership and central planning.

Another but smaller organization of the resistance movement was the *Ethnikos Dimokratikos Ellinikos Syndesmos*

(EDES, the National Democratic Hellenic Union) under the leadership of Colonel Napoleon Zervas. This organization, whose objectives were poorly defined, was ineffective as a political and military force and on occasions it established policies of coexistence with the Nazis. Other smaller resistance groups under Britain's Special Operations Executive (SOE), a wartime intelligence and sabotage agency, played an important role in collecting intelligence for Allied forces and committing acts of sabotage against the Axis.

Although the participants of the national resistance came from all socioeconomic backgrounds, the movement was strongest among the middle classes (e.g. civil servants, professionals, merchants, shopkeepers) in the urban areas, and among the wealthy peasants in the rural areas. Many leadership positions in the EAM went to left-wing or liberal professionals who were motivated by patriotism, as well as values of social justice. The communists made up approximately 15 per cent of the leadership and rank and file of the EAM/ELAS. Women also played an important role in the resistance movement as participants in combat as well as providers of medical aid, information, supplies, and ammunition.

The EAM became the most popular resistance movement by building a firm political and economic infrastructure to deal not only with the Axis occupation, but with other social problems including hunger, social inequality, illiteracy, and women's issues. On 12 April 1942 EAM organized the first labour strike in Athens and on 22 May of the same year entrusted Ares Velouchiotis (the nom de guerre adopted by Thanasis Klaras), a non-commissioned officer in the Greek army, to organize the first team of the *Ethnikos Laikos Apeleftherotikos Stratos* (ELAS, the National Popular Liberation Army) – the military wing of the EAM (National Liberation Front). By the early part of 1943 the EAM/ELAS movement increased rapidly and demonstrated its strength, not only by military operations against Axis armies, but also through organized labour strikes in large Greek cities and the establishment of social and educational programmes in liberated territories. More than 2,150,000 men and women (approximately 30 per cent of the population) were active members of EAM/ELAS auxiliary organizations, including EPON (Panhellenic Organization of Youth), *Ethniki Allilegie* (National Solidarity), a charitable organization, and PEEA (Panhellenic Committee of National Liberation) to serve as a temporary government in liberated Greek territories. Through PEEA, EAM empowered women with the right to vote for the first time in Greek history.

The rapid growth of the EAM/ELAS movement created frustration among the occupying Axis armies and the "collaborationist" government of Greece. In April 1943 the Nazis appointed Ioannis Rallis as prime minister of the quisling Greek government to suppress resistance movements. Rallis and the Nazis organized the Greek Security Battalions (*Tagmata Asphalias*) to counter EAM/ELAS forces. The battalions consisted of more than 20,000 men who were active in large cities and the Peloponnese. Their main functions were to minimize Nazi casualties and carry out reprisals against the civilian population sympathetic to the resistance movement.

The Security Battalions consisted of ex-officers and enlisted men of the Greek army, as well as civilians, with ultra-right-wing leanings, many of whom were members of pre-World War II Greek fascist organizations. The majority of the collaborators were influenced by Nazi propaganda claiming that all of EAM/ELAS members and their supporters were communists who had to be eliminated. It has been estimated that about 10 per cent of the Greek population collaborated or were sympathetic to the occupying Axis forces.

By October 1943 ELAS had emerged as the only effective and disciplined military organization under the supreme command of a Greek army officer, Stephanos Sarafis. In the summer of 1944 ELAS had about 80,000 regular troops and over 40,000 reservists. They participated in more than 600 battles causing enemy troops many casualties, including 21,800 dead, 8276 wounded, and 6370 taken prisoner. The heavy casualties inflicted on the Axis resulted in enemy reprisals against Greek citizens. More than 50,000 Greeks were executed by the occupying Axis armies and their Greek collaborators. Executions of Greek citizens by the Axis forces resulted in counter-reprisals against enemy collaborators by vengeful relatives of victims.

During their three and a half years of military action, Greek resistance organizations, and EAM/ELAS in particular, made at least five major contributions to the war against the Axis powers: (1) Through labour strikes and military operations the resistance movement forced the Nazis to abandon their plans for recruiting Greek citizens to work in German industry or to serve in Nazi auxiliary miliary units outside Greece. (2) Greek resistance forces preoccupied and effectively fought more than 300,000 enemy troops who could have been used against Allied forces in other fronts. (3) Through intelligence operations Greek resistance groups kept the Allied command in the Middle East informed of Nazi movements that could launch a surprise attack against Allied forces in North Africa. (4) The Greek resistance forces obtained or destroyed many thousands of tons of enemy ships and supplies, including ammunition, medicine, food, and clothing. (5) With the capitulation of Italy on 8 September 1943 leaders of the Greek resistance persuaded the Italian army division Pinerolo, which was serving as an occupying force in Greece at that time, to surrender to ELAS forces. The commander of the Pinerolo division, General Adolfo Infante, signed an agreement with ELAS leaders to recognize his unit of 12,000 men as an Allied force. On 14 October 1943 the Pinerolo division was disarmed by the ELAS commander, Ares Velouchiotis. These Italian soldiers participated in ELAS combat missions against Nazi troops, intelligence operations, and transportation of supplies.

After the withdrawal of the Axis forces from Greece in October 1944, the political aims and objectives of EAM/ELAS forces to participate in Greece's post-liberation politics and economic reconstruction were challenged by the Allies. The British, who feared that the popular EAM/ELAS forces would form a post-war leftist government without a king, intervened immediately to demobilize ELAS, form a post-liberation Greek government representing pro-monarchist and ultra-right-wing conservative parties, hinder the process of bringing traitors and collaborators to trial for war crimes, and organize a post-liberation Greek army of right-wing officers and enlisted men, many of whom had served in the pro-Nazi Security Battalions. These armed forces came under the tutelage of the British devoted to the palace, anti-communist to the point of fanaticism, with little respect for democratic procedures.

In December 1944 ELAS units and British forces accompanied by pro-monarchist Greek army units clashed in Athens, resulting in the death of 17,000 combatants and civilians. The ELAS army, which consisted of many thousands of non-proletarian resistance fighters of peasant origin, became fragmented with the unfolding of political events. Most of the ELAS leaders decided in favour of peaceful solutions and not to continue the war, this time, against the British and the ultra-conservative government in Athens. They ultimately realized that post-war Greece was to remain under Britain's sphere of influence.

With the return of a pro-monarchist and vengeful right-wing government to power, members of EAM/ELAS forces were labelled as communists (the leftist bad guys), antinationalists, and were excluded from civil service jobs and the armed forces. Many thousands were unjustly terrorized by paramilitary right-wing groups, imprisoned, tortured, sent into exile, or tried in military courts and executed by army firing squads. The commanders of ELAS forces, unlike other successful commanders of the victorious Allied armies, were discredited and prosecuted. Rather than falling into the hands of his former enemies – ex-Nazi collaborators – the pioneer commander of ELAS, Ares Velouchiotis, committed suicide. The Supreme Commander of ELAS, General Sarafis, and 30 of his senior ELAS officers were arrested and exiled to the Greek island of Macronisos.

By the end of 1945 the British succeeded in establishing a new Greek government under the leadership of Themistoklis Sophoulis, a leader of the conservative populists. Sophoulis announced the first national elections in Greece since 1936 to be held on 31 March 1946. The leftist political forces and even supporters of liberal-centre parties abstained, contributing to a victory of right- wing coalition under the leadership of Dino Tsaldaris. The new coalition government, under anomalous circumstances (e.g. using out-of-date electoral registers, intimidation of voters by pro-monarchist police forces, and British pressures to restore the monarchy), held a plebiscite on 2 September 1946, resulting in the return of king George II to serve Great Britain's geopolitical interests in the area and prevent radical institutional changes, as demanded by the leftist EAM forces.

The reestablishment of the monarchy, along with a right-wing coalition government, increased political polarization in Greece and the prosecution of leftist and liberal elements, especially ex-members of EAM/ELAS organizations. The systematic prosecution of members of Greek resistance forces by the post-liberation pro-monarchists and right-wing governments was an important factor contributing to the Greek Civil War (1946–49) between nationalists (pro-monarchists) and leftist forces, costing over 160,000 lives and billions of dollars' damage to property. The leftist forces of the Civil War consisted mainly of ex-EAM/ELAS members who were forced by an ultra-right-wing government and para-military groups (e.g. X-ites) either to resort again to the mountains or let themselves be beaten, tortured, murdered, or exiled to concentration camps.

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See also EAM and ELAS

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X

Xanthus

City in Lycia

The river from which the city of Xanthus takes its name appears frequently in Homer's *Iliad* (though it should not be confused with the alternative name for the Scamander). It is where Sarpedon's kingdom is based, and where his body is taken for burial after his death.

In historical times Xanthus was the economic, political, and cultural centre of Lycia down to the Hellenistic period. Subsequently, other cities in Lycia, such as Patara and Myra, came to rival it in importance, but Xanthus remained one of the prime Lycian settlements until the general abandonment of the Lycian cities in the Arab invasion of the 7th century AD. As such, it stands as an epitome of many of the cultural developments and interactions with the Greek world that are to be found generally in Lycia; indeed, it is not unknown for ancient Greek authors to use the terms "Xanthus" and "Lycia" as if they were synonymous.

The best-known Lycian writer of the Classical period, Menecrates, came from Xanthus. Xanthus has one of the earliest examples of sculpture executed by Greek (or Greek-trained) artists to a Lycian commission, the so-called Lion Tomb (6th century BC). The centre of the "dynastic" system of rule was in Xanthus, and it was dynasts associated with Xanthus who were the first to put their portraits on their coinage. They were also the first to use Greek inscriptionally, commissioning poets to compose appropriate lines in praise of them (e.g. the 12-line epigram on the "Inscribed Pillar" at Xanthus of the late 5th century BC, and the poems by Symmachus of Pellana in honour of the dynast Arbinas of the early 4th century BC at the Letoum sanctuary).

The national sanctuary of Lycia was the Letoum, in the territory of Xanthus. Originally this was associated with a manifestation of the Anatolian mother goddess, but later was assimilated to Leto, and so many of the traditions that associated Leto and her children with Lycia are centred upon Xanthus and the Letoum. It was probably here that Alexander was supposed to have discovered a tablet indicating that he would conquer the Persian empire (Plutarch, *Alexander*, 17. 4–5). By the 2nd century BC the Letoum had acquired two large temples, one of Leto and one of Apollo, complementing an earlier late-Classical temple of Artemis; all three temples probably replaced earlier structures.

In the Hellenistic and Roman periods Xanthus, like the rest of Lycia, became further integrated into the Greek world as a whole, acquiring many of the typical features (theatre, etc.) of a Greek polis. An example of how integrated Xanthus was is provided by a unique document of 206/05 BC (*Supplementum epigraphicum Graecum*, 1923– , 38. 1476), recording an appeal made by the Cytenians in Aetolia to the Xanthians, appealing for help from Xanthus on the grounds of mutual kinship, based on their common links with Leto.

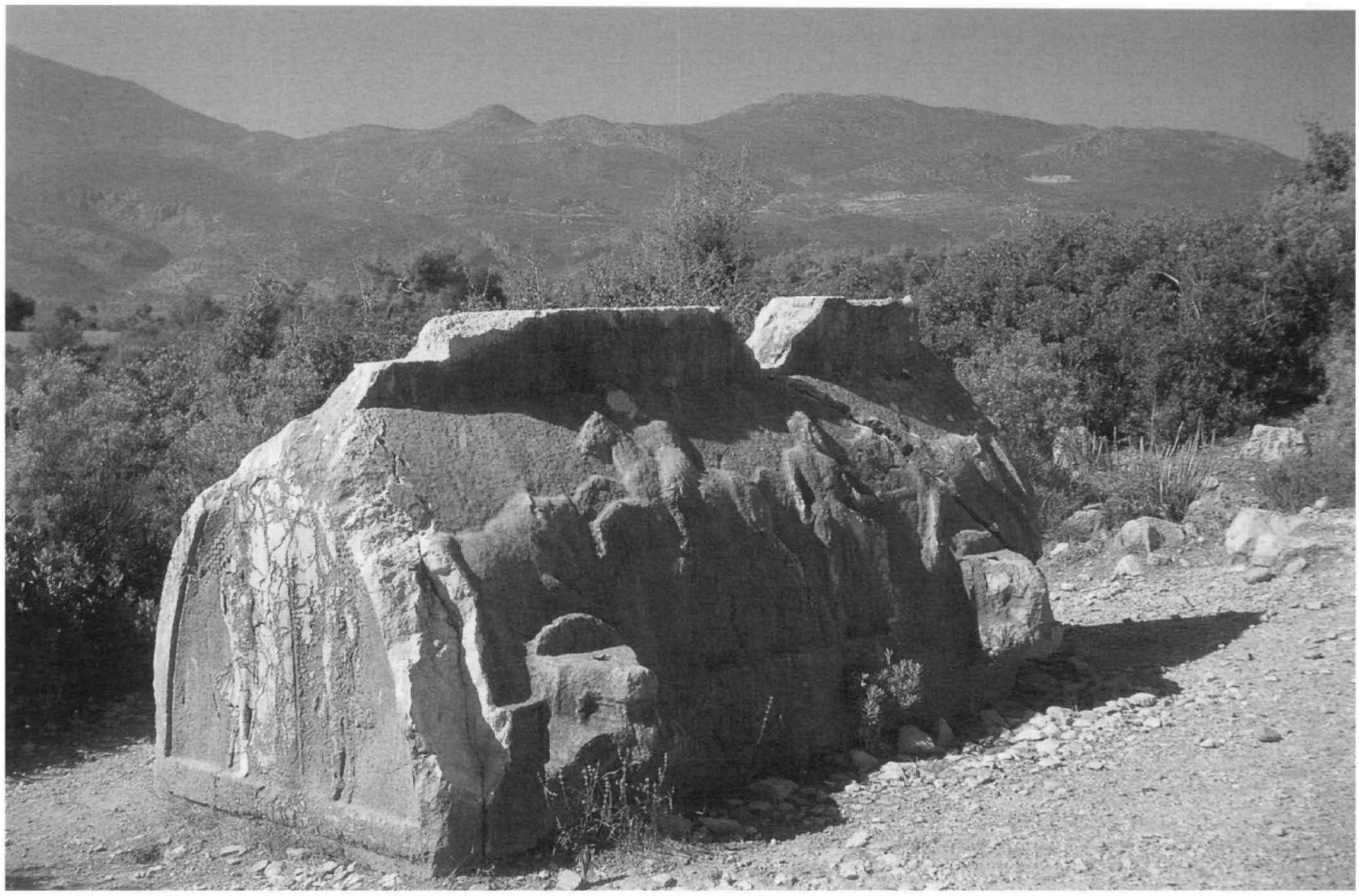
After the abandonment of the city in the 7th century AD, Xanthus was largely neglected by westerners until the arrival of Charles Fellows in 1838. His subsequent discoveries, publications, and recovery of antiquities, though ranging through much of Lycia, centred upon Xanthus, and antiquities from Xanthus had pride of place in the "Lycian Room" of the British Museum in the 19th century. The Nereid monument is undoubtedly the most famous of these discoveries. This, commissioned probably by Arbinas as his tomb, was a podium monument, deriving from other earlier Lycian monuments (such as a now destroyed building tentatively identified as a heroon (hero-shrine) of Sarpedon), but incorporating a façade modelled after a Greek temple. It directly influenced the style of the Mausoleum of Halicarnassus, and from that much of later Hellenistic and Roman funerary architecture (and beyond). The monument's sculptures, dancing figures usually identified as Nereids but probably Lycian deities of the dead, and reliefs showing scenes of warfare and the dynast's court, are now held up as typical examples of Greek sculpture of the early 4th century BC, and the Nereid monument has pride of place in the British Museum second only to the Parthenon marbles.

ANTONY G. KEEN

See also Lycia

Summary

The ancient city of Xanthus was the economic, political, and cultural centre of Lycia. It became integrated into the Greek world in the Hellenistic and Roman periods. It was the source of the Nereid monument, probably commissioned by Arbinas (4th century BC) as his tomb. The city was abandoned in the 7th century AD.



Xanthus: Lycian tomb decorated with scenes in relief of the life of the deceased

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Xenakis, Iannis 1922–

Composer

As a French citizen who has lived most of his life outside Greece, Iannis Xenakis is generally regarded as an international musical figure rather than as a Greek composer. His earliest musical influences were Greek, however, and despite the abstract, mathematical basis of his mature work, he has always claimed that there are deep links between his compositions and the Byzantine tradition of music that attracted him in his youth. Xenakis's collaboration with the French architect Le Corbusier during the 1950s and his intense interest in mathematics led him to develop new theories of musical composition. He was always fascinated by the concept of space and mass in music, and from the 1950s he made use of mathematical models such as the laws of probability, game theory, and group theory as a formal basis for his compositions. His most famous innovation was to treat sounds not as isolated points but as "sound masses", an approach that led to the creation of what he termed "stochastic music".

Iannis Xenakis was born of Greek parents in Braila, Romania. From the age of 12 he decided to devote his life to music. His earliest interest was in Byzantine Church music and Greek folk music. Although he destroyed his early compositions influenced by Greek music, his interest in the timbre and sonority of modal music affected his later musical development. In 1932 his family moved back to Greece and Xenakis attended a private school on the island of Spetsae. He entered the Athens Polytechnic to study engineering. When the war broke out, Xenakis became actively involved in resistance to the German occupation of Greece. In 1945 he was severely wounded, losing the sight of one eye. After the war he resumed his studies and graduated from the polytechnic in 1947.

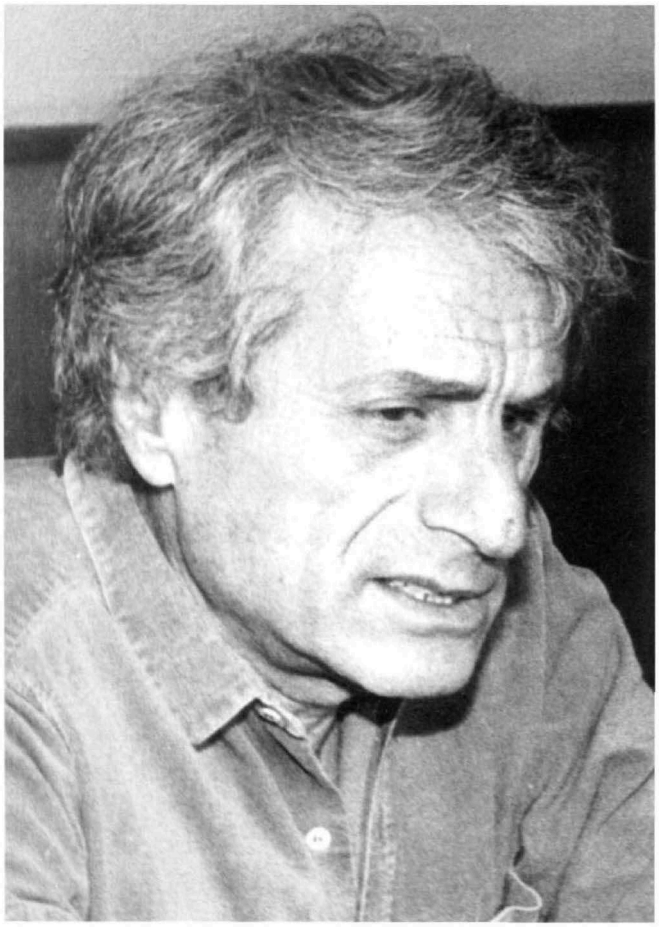
In the same year Xenakis left Greece for Paris, intending to travel to the United States. In Paris he met the leading composers of the day – Honegger, Milhaud, and Messaien – and decided to stay on. In 1950 he took up his musical studies seriously again, enrolling in Messaien's class of musical aesthetics, and working with the architect Le Corbusier. Initially he was employed by Le Corbusier to assist with some engineering calculations. Later he collaborated closely with him on some of Le Corbusier's most famous projects: the housing project for Nantes, the convent of La Tourette, the assembly building at Chandigarh, and the Baghdad stadium. In 1956 Xenakis conceived a revolutionary design for the Philips pavilion at the Brussels Exposition. Derived from the hyperbolic paraboloid, his design was influenced hy his research into new musical forms. Indeed Xenakis later claimed that his first composition, *Metastaseis*, written in 1953–54, had directly inspired his architectural design.

Metastaseis was given its first public performance in 1955 at Donaueschingen. Xenakis made use of some of the principles of serial composition in his work, but he was already reacting to the contradiction he saw in serial music between method and result. He was searching for a musical means to define what he described as "sound masses" or "galaxies". In *Metastaseis* he formed sound analogies of "ruled surfaces" by using complexes of glissandos.

In his next attempt to handle sound masses in his music Xenakis turned to the mathematics of probability. In particular, he drew on the law of large numbers. Borrowing a term from mathematics, he called his new compositions "stochastic music". His string quartet *ST/4* (1956–62) is an early example of the new technique. The theory provided the composer with limits for sound effects and with a formula to determine the probabilities of choices within those limits. His calculations could be carried out manually or on a computer. In his book *Formalized Music* (1971) Xenakis stated that his aim in developing stochastic music was "to attain the greatest possible asymmetry...and the minimum of constraints, causalities, and rules".

Xenakis's interest in indeterminacy led him to investigate the possibilities of applying another field of mathematics to his music. He turned to game theory. His first compositions inspired by game theory were *Stratégie* and *Duel* (1959–62). In his application of the theory two contestants reply in alternation to each other's tactics (passages of music). These musical passages are not chosen by the performers but stipulated by the composer, and points are awarded according to a predetermined scheme. In the compositions *Stratégie* and *Duel* rival conductors direct their own groups of instrumentalists. In *Linaia-agon* (1972) a solo trombone plays against a duo of horn and tuba in a contest that resembles a musical game of chess.

From the early 1950s to the early 1960s Xenakis had been concerned with introducing chaos and disorder into his music. The images he used to describe his music were generally derived from mass phenomena such as the behaviour of crowds of people or the burst of rockets in a fireworks display. In the mid-1960s he decided that he had explored this direction long enough and began to investigate new theoretical possibilities based on symbolic logic and set theory. *Herma*, a piano piece from 1960–61, was the first of the compositions Xenakis described as "symbolic music". Taking his analogy from set theory, the composer used sets drawn from the pitches of the equal-tempered semitone scale. *Nomos alpha* for cello (1965–66) was another early attempt to apply set theory to his composition.



Iannis Xenakis

An important result of Xenakis's work with set theory was the development of a concept of "outside time structure", i.e. of a collection of values for one sound aspect. He was led to this concept partly by the realization that western music has a much smaller range of pitch and rhythmic variation than ancient Greek, Byzantine, or many kinds of folk music. In *Nomos alpha* the quarter-tone rather than the semi-tone is used as the unit interval for establishing sets of pitches.

Xenakis's experiments with mathematical theory and attempts to develop a new approach to composition brought him great popularity in Europe and the United States during the 1960s and 1970s. From 1967 to 1972 he taught for several months of each year at Indiana University, Bloomington, where he founded a sister institution to the Équipe de Mathématique et d'Automatique Musicales, an institution he had established in Paris to stimulate research into musical theory. He also toured the world giving lectures on composition and aesthetics.

Xenakis has always been interested in electronic music and was quick to explore the possibilities of computers. In 1975, he created UPIC, a computer-based electronic music system which allows people with no prior knowledge of composition or

computers to create their own works. He began composing his own electroacoustic works for tape in the late 1950s and has continued to produce electronic works, including *S. 709* in 1994. During the 1980s and 1990s Xenakis also produced a steady stream of works for solo instruments, chamber ensembles and orchestra. Many of these pieces are Greek at least in name. They include *Alax* (1985) for 30 players divided into three ensembles, *Horos* (1986) for 89 players, and *Ioolkos* (1995). Despite a decline in the popularity of avant-garde classical composition during the last two decades of the 20th century, Xenakis has remained an active and widely admired composer, receiving numerous international awards for his contributions to modern music. In 1997, the year of his 75th birthday, his music was featured in a series of concerts all over the world, including the premiere of *Sea-Change*, a work commissioned for the BBC Proms, and *Omega*, for percussion and ensemble, written for the London Sinfonietta.

Most of Xenakis's works are not only connected with mathematics, but with ancient Greek literary sources, as their titles and texts indicate. An exception is *Nuits* (1967–68). The dedication of this choral composition ("For you, unknown political prisoners...and for you, the thousands of forgotten whose very names are lost") suggests that Xenakis has remained committed to the cause of human freedom, even though he never became actively engaged in politics after he left Greece. Not only in its dedication but also in its exploration of the resources of the human voice, *Nuits* is often considered the most moving of Xenakis's compositions. It suggests that whether or not the composer's theories of music will outlast him, his genuine musical gifts have made an important contribution to 20th-century music.

GAIL HOLST-WARHAFT

Biography

Born in Romania in 1922 to Greek parents, Xenakis moved to Greece with his family in 1932. He attended a private school on Spetsae and studied engineering at the Athens Polytechnic. He left Greece in 1947 and studied in Paris under Messiaen. He collaborated with the architect Le Corbusier. Interest in his mathematical approach to musical composition, high in the 1960s and 1970s, has declined since the 1980s, though he has remained active as a composer.

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Xenophon *c.*430–*c.*353 BC

Athenian soldier, philosopher, and historian

Unrivalled in the ancient world for the breadth of his personal experience and the originality of his writing, Xenophon was important to subsequent ages as a Socratic philosopher and an heir to the legacy of Thucydides; as a prose stylist he was central to the Atticist and, later, the Byzantine canons.

Born into a wealthy family during the early years of the Peloponnesian War, he probably saw combat late in the conflict. In his early years he became associated with the circle of individuals who admired Socrates. His aristocratic background, association with Socrates, and an eyewitness feel in the relevant portions of the *Hellenica* encourage the view that he was involved in the government of the Thirty Tyrants immediately following the war (404–403 BC). In the spring of 401 BC he joined the Greek mercenary contingent of the army of Cyrus the Younger, who was attempting to usurp the Persian throne. Following Cyrus' death at the battle of Cunaxa, and the later abduction and murder of the commanders of the Greeks, Xenophon emerged as an important leader. When the mercenaries were absorbed into the Spartan army operating in Asia Minor, Xenophon was as well, and he remained there for the next five years. With the outbreak of the Corinthian War in 395 BC, Xenophon returned to Greece in the company of the Spartan king Agesilaus; he seems to have witnessed first-hand the battle of Coronea (394 BC). Either because of his presence in the Spartan ranks at Coronea, or because of his service with Cyrus, or perhaps both, he was exiled from Athens during this period. Thanks to his Spartan connections, he was granted an estate at Scillus near Olympia (recalled by Leake, 1830, 2. 86), where he lived until Spartan control of the north Peloponnese collapsed after the battle of Leuctra in 371 BC. Although a return to Athens cannot be ruled out (his exile was at some point revoked), he probably lived out his last years in Corinth. He was married and had two sons, one of whom (Gryllus) was killed in combat before the second battle of Mantinea (361 BC). Xenophon died soon after 355 BC.

Xenophon's corpus can be divided into three parts: historical, philosophical, and technical treatises. He wrote up a history of the Greek world from 411 to 362 BC that was known in antiquity as the *Hellenica*; it is in part a continuation of Thucydides' unfinished history of the Peloponnesian War, but takes events down through the Corinthian War, the hegemony and collapse of Sparta, and the rise of Thebes. The *Anabasis* is his account of the march of the 10,000 Greek mercenaries in the service of Cyrus the Younger. The *Cyropaedia* is a quasi-historical work that is in part a proto-novel; it treats the education and life of Cyrus the Great, the founder of the Persian royal house (the Achaemenids). Xenophon also contributed one of the very first biographies in ancient Greek literature, the encomium of his friend king Agesilaus. So far as his philosophical writings are concerned Xenophon is an important figure in the Socratic tradition. In addition to rivalling Plato with an *Apology* and *Symposium*, he wrote up a set of anecdotal remembrances of Socrates known as the *Memorabilia*. Further, Socrates also plays an important but subsidiary role in a work entitled the *Oeconomicus* (Household Management). The *Hieron* is a dialogue that features the tyrant of that name

conversing with the poet Simonides on the topic of absolute power (Socrates is not present). Xenophon also wrote a number of smaller, technical works: *Revenues*, the *Cavalry Commander*, *On Horsemanship*, and *On Hunting*. A *Constitution of the Athenians*, traditionally attributed to the "Old Oligarch", was also included in the works of Xenophon in antiquity, but is clearly not by him.

As a participant on the famous *anabasis*, as well as an observer of Greek internecine strife in the years that followed, Xenophon had experience of Panhellenism at first hand, yet he also had a more practical understanding of it than a figure such as Isocrates; while passionately devoted to the principle of an alliance of all the Greeks and the cessation of hostility between Greeks, he also recognized that war was a constant feature of Greek political life. Later historians such as Polybius (2nd century BC) and Arrian (*c.*AD 90–160), who were in a position to make comparisons with the forces of Philip and Alexander, saw the 10,000 in particular as a precursor of the Macedonian army that was to bring to reality dreams of Panhellenism. Arrian, for his part, even considered himself a "second Xenophon", and the title of his account of Alexander's conquests is telling: the *Anabasis of Alexander*. The great orator Dio Chrysostom (1st–2nd century AD) modelled his writing on that of Xenophon. Indeed, Xenophon was widely regarded as the "Attic Muse" for the sweetness of his style (see e.g. Cicero, *Orator*, 32), and was an important model for Atticist writers, even though modern studies have revealed that his work contains many non-Attic features. Xenophon of Ephesus, the novelist of the 2nd century AD, is in fact probably a nom de plume for a writer working in the tradition started by the *Cyropaedia*.

For many in antiquity Xenophon was first a philosopher and second a historian: as Quintilian says in his list of Greek and Roman historians, "I have not forgotten Xenophon, but I think he ought to be included among the philosophers" (*Institutes*, 10. 1. 75). His picture of Socrates is fundamentally different from the man we see in Plato: in Xenophon, Socrates is much more a sage interested in the practical issues of day-to-day living, from self-control to the proper training for public life, and to the ordering of the household; his piety is also a common theme. The choice of Heracles between virtue and vice from the *Memorabilia* became a popular subject in later thought and art. The story of Xenophon's first encounter with Socrates was also widely treated. He was an especially popular author with the Romans, in particular with figures such as Cicero (see, for example, his *Oratore*, 2. 58).

In late antiquity Xenophon's influence diminished somewhat: the pagan Libanius (4th century AD) read him, as did the Church Fathers Basil and John Chrysostom, but the former knew him only indirectly (the choice of Heracles story). In the early Byzantine period his importance was reestablished, in particular as a historian-soldier and prose stylist: the historian Agathias relies on him, as does the Constantinian excerptor later. For men of state who were also writers such as Nikephoros Bryennios (11th–12th century), husband of Anna Komnene and pretender to the throne, he was an especially important model. Manuel II Palaiologos (1391–1425) quotes from his work. Xenophon was among the first ancient Greek authors translated into Latin in the Renaissance, during the papacy of Nicholas V (1446–55). In the modern period his role as commander of the 10,000 was especially cherished: so, for example, the great klepht commander Androutsos (d. 1798) led his men on a march that was popularly compared with the *Anabasis* of Xenophon.

JOHN DILLERY

See also Biography and Autobiography, Historiography

Biography

Born *c.*430 BC, Xenophon associated with Socrates in his youth and may have fought at the end of the Peloponnesian War. He was involved in the government of the Thirty Tyrants (404–403) in Athens. In 401 he joined the army of Cyrus the Younger as a mercenary. After Cunaxa (401) Xenophon led the surviving forces back to Byzantium. He then fought for Sparta at Coronea (394) and was exiled from Athens. He was given an estate near Olympia but after Leuctra (371) moved to Corinth where he died *c.*353. His writings include historical and philosophical works and technical treatises.

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Y

Yarmuk, Battle of

Battle fought between Arabs and Byzantines in AD 636

The decisive battle fought in AD 636 near the confluence of the Yarmuk river and the Wadi'l Rukkad, which today marks part of the border between Jordan, Syria, and the Israeli-occupied Golan Heights, determined the fate of Byzantine Syria. Early in AD 636 the Byzantine emperor Herakleios (who was not himself present at the battle) raised a very substantial Byzantine and Christian Arab force to reverse recent Muslim victories in Syria, Transjordania, and Palestine, and drive the Muslims out of Syria and Palestine. The site, a strategic one, included high ground, water supplies, and pasture, and dominated important routes between Damascus and Galilee. It was an important sedentary base, with pasture grounds crucial to the friendly Christian Arab tribe of Ghassan, and it lay within traditional Byzantine territory, near the intersection of the boundaries of four Byzantine provinces. A major battle had taken place near the site in 614, when the Persian general Shahrbaraz had resoundingly defeated the Byzantines, opening the way into Palestine for the Persians. The terrain's strategic significance was apparent to both sides and in theory was familiar to both.

On the eve of the battle the Byzantines had not succeeded in developing any effective new tactics or strategy for checking the Muslims. The battle of the Yarmuk, or al-Jabiya, lasted more than a month, including preliminary manoeuvrings. It began in the vicinity of al-Jabiya, the traditional base of the Ghassan, with manoeuvrings, and terminated on 20 August 636. Byzantine forces had come from Emesa under General Vahan, who was probably *Magister Militum per Orientem* (Master of the Soldiers in the East), and Theodore Trithurios, the *sakellarios* (treasurer). Jabala bin al-Ayham, king of the Ghassan, led Ghassanid forces. Other Christian Arabs, whom Herakleios had recruited in upper Mesopotamia and elsewhere, participated. There are contradictory reports concerning whether Theodore, the brother of Herakleios, was present. Although he participated in planning some of the campaign, Theodore probably had been recalled to Constantinople in disgrace before the final stages of the battle. Muslim forces under Abu 'Ubayda bin al-Jarrah withdrew from Emesa and Damascus in the face of the approach of stronger Byzantine armies from the north. They retired to a line between Dayr Ayyub and Adhr'iat, where they waited for more than a month, in a topographically strong position, to deter any Byzantine move further south. On 23 July 636 the Muslims emerged victorious after an initial clash near al-Jabiya. The Byzantines attempted to use the waiting period to familiarize their forces with the Muslims and, unsuccessfully, to encourage desertion and dissension within Muslim ranks. Both sides received reinforcements, but the decisive engagement took place when the Muslims were continuing to gain more reinforcements. The Byzantines, together with their Christian Arab allies, probably enjoyed numerical superiority, having troops that numbered 15,000 or 20,000 men, possibly even more.

The Muslims, by feigning retreat, lured the Byzantines into attacking their camp near Dayr Ayyub. The Muslims penetrated the exposed Byzantine left flank, and then exploited gaps that yawned between Byzantine infantry and cavalry. Byzantine infantry apparently attempted to lock shields and to engage in intricate, complicated, risky exercises (the so-called mixed formation) that involved opening the ranks of foot for horsemen to pass through and then relocking shields. Poor Byzantine coordination allowed the Muslims to exploit the gap and to slay many exposed Byzantine infantry. Byzantine forces withdrew into territory that lay between the Wadi'l Rukkad and Wadi'l Allan, both west of the Wadi'l Harir, to what they believed to be a secure encampment protected by the high bluffs of the wadis.

In a night raid the Muslims under the capable Muslim commander Khalid bin al-Walid seized the critical bridge over the Wadi'l Rukkad, which offered the only viable retreat route for the encircled men and animals of the Byzantine army. The Byzantines found themselves blocked and could neither retreat in formation, fight their way out, nor negotiate a reasonable settlement. Having learned that they were cut off, the Byzantines panicked. The Muslims stormed their camps between the wadis as well as at the village of Yaqusa, on the edge of the Golan Heights. The Byzantines lost cohesion and most were slaughtered, although a few may have managed to flee down the steep walls of the wadis. The Muslims took few or no prisoners. Some Christian Arabs allegedly wavered in their loyalty to the Byzantine cause and managed to flee, which aided the Muslims. One Muslim tradition reports that some dejected and defeated Byzantine troops, having perceived the hopelessness of their situation, fatalistically awaited their slaughter.

The battle destroyed the only viable Byzantine army in Syria and its commanders, who ceased to exist as a fighting force. A rout ensued. For the Muslims the victory eliminated the possibility of any Byzantine penetration further south, reconfirmed Muslim control of Palestine and Transjordania, and opened the way for the Muslim conquest of the Bika' Valley, Damascus, and, beyond it, all of Syria. The Muslims consolidated their victory by a rapid, far-reaching, and ruthless pursuit of retreating Byzantines, giving them no respite. The battle had great psychological as well as material effects: it broke the will of the Byzantines to engage in more open battle. The Byzantines henceforth avoided open battle with the Muslims in Syria and upper Mesopotamia, and ended their efforts to recover or hold Syria. Together with Emperor Herakleios, who was staying first at Emesa and then at Antioch, they evacuated northern Syria and withdrew into Anatolia, where Herakleios attempted to improvise new defences.

The Byzantines suffered logistical problems on the eve of the battle. They lacked experience in handling and supplying large numbers of troops in the region of these manoeuvrings. This inexperience may have contributed to the logistical problems they experienced and to tensions with local civilians. Byzantine leaders found it difficult to procure adequate supplies from local inhabitants on the eve of the engagements. Mansur, son of Sergius, the local fiscal official at Damascus, refused to provide supplies to the unprecedentedly large Byzantine forces. The Byzantine forces consisted of heterogenous ethnic elements, many of whom had no experience in fighting or manoeuvring in the region. Distrust, misunderstanding, and friction between Greeks, Armenians, and Christian Arabs probably existed within the Byzantine ranks. There is no indication that the local inhabitants participated in fighting on either side. The Byzantines were already suffering psychological shock from a series of recent defeats at the hands of the Muslims. Muslim losses were considerable, but far smaller than the human and material ones suffered by the Byzantines. However, all statistics for the battle, both concerning numbers of combatants and numbers of casualties, are worthy of suspicion.

The account of the battle by the Muslim historian of Damascus Ibn 'Asakir, *Tarikh Madinat Dimashk*, is probably the best. No documentary records or eyewitness accounts survive. Memory of the actual facts of the battle soon faded and quickly became embellished with legends. The magnitude of the Muslim victory received instant recognition and continued to resound later in the 7th century. The military manual entitled the *Strategikon* of Maurice, although written in about 600, provides some reliable insight into contemporary Byzantine fighting techniques and logistical strategy that were probably used in the battle. The reigning Byzantine Herakleian dynasty appears to have attempted to shake off responsibility for the disaster, blaming an alleged abortive rebellion of the Armenian Byzantine general Vahan, or to the failure to follow Emperor Herakleios' injunctions to be wary of Arab ambushes, or to adverse climate. There is no evidence that Christian religious dissension affected the outcome. Muslim writers later celebrated the role of Islamic religious zeal, but superior Muslim leadership as well as superior morale, including confidence that derived from their recent pattern of successes, were important factors in their victory. The battle sharply contributed to the permanent reduction of the importance of Hellenism in western Asia, Egypt, and north Africa.

WALTER E. KAEGI

Summary

Site of a battle on the borders between modern Jordan and Syria fought in AD 636 between the Byzantines of Emperor Herakleios and the Muslim Arabs. Decisively defeated, the Byzantines suffered heavy losses. The battle confirmed Muslim control of Palestine and Transjordania.

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Ypsilantis family

Several members of the Ypsilantis family have left their mark in the Byzantine, Ottoman, and modern periods of Greek history. Ioannis VIII Xiphilinos Ypsilantis became patriarch of Constantinople in 1064, "a man perfect in virtue and eminently worthy of the patriarchal throne", according to Michael Psellos. George II Xiphilinos also occupied the throne from 1191 to 1198. After the conquest of Constantinople by the Crusaders in 1204 the Ypsilantes resettled in their native Trebizond and their fortunes were linked to the imperial dynasty of the Komnenoi. In 1390 the great *domestikos* ("commander") Constantine or Dimitrios Xiphilinos Ypsilantis married Eudoxia, daughter of the emperor Manuel Komnenos.

Following the capture of Trebizond by the Turks in 1461 the family was forced to move to Constantinople as a result of the sultan's policy to repopulate the deserted city, but according to a historical work written in the third quarter of the 18th

century by a descendant of the family, Athanasios Komnenos Ypsilantis, several of its members were still residing in Trebizond in the early part of the 17th century. During this period, Triantaphyllos Ypsilantis, a renowned merchant and warden of the monastery of Soumela, fled to Constantinople in order to save his 15-year-old daughter from incarceration in the harem of the pasha of Trebizond. He was accompanied by his nephew Ioannis, and by his three friends, the Mourouzi brothers.

It was to this Ioannis, also known as Hadji-Yannis, that the Phanariot Ypsilantes trace their lineage; he was extremely wealthy, and was executed by the Turks in his old age. His daughter Helen married Tzannetos, the son of Ioannis Mourouzis. He had three sons – Antonios, Constantine, and Emmanuel (Manolakis); the last was executed through the machinations of the *kaymakam* (district governor) Yengin Mehmet Pasha, who seized his properties in Galata, Neochorion, three houses in Therapia, 15 in Tatavla, and his ancestral house in Phanar, with all their valuable furnishings.

Hadji-Yannis's brother Constantine was *postelnikos* (chamberlain) in the Moldavian court of Michael Racovitza. His son Ioannis married Smaragda, daughter of Mariora and Laskarakis Mamonas. Mariora's mother was Roxandra, daughter of Alexander Mavrokordatos, the Exaporite (Minister of the Secrets and private secretary to the sultan). Although the Ypsilantes were continually feuding with the Mavrokordatoi, their legendary rivalry contributed also to their closeknit relationship through which they could check more effectively each other's intrigues and ambitions. Their paths crossed more than once, culminating in the showdown between Constantine Mavrokordatos and Dimitrios Ypsilantis in Greece during the War of Independence. Nevertheless, if the number of the Ypsilantes executed by the Turks is a telling sign of the risks associated with public office, one marvels at the political acumen of the Mavrokordatoi, who managed to fulfil their functions unharmed.

Unfortunately, this was not the case with Alexander, son of Ioannis and Smaragda, born in Constantinople in 1726. According to Athanasios's account "he studied Greek and philosophy, as well as Italian and French, reading and conversing in these languages with ease. He then studied Arabic and Persian, and the mixed Turkish derived from them, which he spoke thoroughly in the *mustalah* manner", that is, in the literary polished style. He was also related by marriage to the Mavrokordatoi; his wife Ekaterini was the daughter of the *spatharios* ("bodyguard") Dimitrios Mourouzis, whose mother was Sultana, daughter of the *voevod* (local governor) Nicholas Mavrokordatos. Thus, Alexander was twice related to the Mavrokordatoi: on his mother's and on his wife's side. He was appointed *postelnikos* and *nazir-viesternic*, a general term denoting the function of a minister with sweeping powers, in the court of Ioannis Kallimachi. He acted as *bashkapikehaya*, representing in Constantinople the *voivode* Skarlatos and Alexander Gikas. During the Russo-Turkish War (1768–74) he was named *vekil*, deputy to the Grand Dragoman; in 1774 he became Grand Dragoman himself. Through his influence on Abdul-Hamid he averted the general massacre of the Greeks, for the support they had shown to the Russians in the Orlov incident. He was also instrumental in the negotiations leading up to the treaty of Küçük Kaynardji, which ended the Russo-Turkish War. Soon after the treaty he was appointed *hospodar* (governor) of Wallachia. Once in Bucharest, he rebuilt the palace, reorganized the Academy by rebuilding it in the monastery of St Sava, appointed nine professors, and provided scholarship funds for 75 students; he established an orphanage, and undertook several works of public utility. He also drew up a new code, improving the legal work of his predecessor Constantine Mavrokordatos. When his two sons Dimitrios and Constantine took off to Transylvania, on what seems to have been an escapade attributed to the folly of youth, his detractors accused him of plotting against the Porte. Alexander submitted his resignation and withdrew to Rhodes. He was reappointed to his see in 1790, just before the outbreak of the war with Austria and Russia. His secret correspondence with Joseph II of Austria was intercepted by the Ottomans and he sought refuge in Brünn in Moravia where he was interned till 1792. He returned to Constantinople and withdrew from public life. When his son Constantine, who succeeded him on the throne of Moldavia in 1799, was accused of plotting against the sultan, he was captured and executed on conspiracy charges in 1806.

Constantine's popularity with the Porte was partly attributed to his translation of and commentary in Turkish on Vauban's military treatises. His plans to raise an army and liberate Greece were frustrated and he escaped to Kiev, where he died in 1816. His sons Alexander and Dimitrios were more successful in carrying out his plans. Alexander (1792–1828), who had accompanied his father to St Petersburg in 1805, served in the cavalry of the imperial guard, and fought at the Battle of Dresden, losing an arm. In 1817 he was promoted to major general and commander of the brigade of hussars. In 1820 he was elected president of the *Philiki Hetaireia* (Friendly Society) and in 1821 he placed himself at the head of an armed force composed of several Greek officers of the Russian forces, who had hoped for the support of the tsar and of the Romanian peasants in their insurrection against the Turks. They were let down by both and Alexander found himself isolated in his struggle. Following a final defeat in Dragashan, where 200 poorly armed students who had formed the Sacred Battalion died in a desperate fight, Alexander with his brother Nicholas fled to Vienna, and there they both died in extreme poverty.

His brother Dimitrios (1793–1832) had arrived in Hydra a few days before the battle of Dragashan, on 8 June 1821. Alexander had instructed him to prepare the ground for his triumphal entry into Greece. Dimitrios placed himself at the head of the Greeks in the siege of Tripolis, and when that operation was successfully completed, he moved on to liberate Argos. His continual squabbles with the local chiefs and with Alexander Mavrokordatos, who managed to take a commanding position in the first national convention at Epidaurus, on 30 November 1821, left him disappointed, despite the enthusiastic support of Kolokotronis and Makriyannis, who placed themselves and their men under him. His heroic resistance at Myloi in 1825, and the defeat inflicted on the 7000-strong Turko-Egyptian force by fewer than 500 men under his command, won him the admiration of the western world as far as America, where a town in Michigan was named after him. Ioannis Kapodistria appointed him commander of the troops

in eastern Greece in 1828. In this capacity he fought the last battle against the Turks at the pass of Petra in 1829, and he obtained the capitulation of the Turkish commander Aslan Bey.

Thus, the first battle that inaugurated his brother's insurrection against the Ottomans in Wallachia and the last battle which ended the military operations in the Greek mainland were both fought by the Ypsilantis. Dimitrios died at Vienna in 1832. Descendants of a fourth brother, Gregory, are still living in Austria.

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See also Independence (War of), Phanariots

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Z

Zagori

Region of northwest Greece

Zagori is a region of Epirus in the prefecture of Ioannina, covering an area of 1002 sq km. It is bordered by the Mitsikeli mountain region to the northwest, the Aoos river to the north, the western Pindus to the east, and the Zagoritikos, a tributary of the Arachthos river, to the west. The area is divided into three: West Zagori, East Zagori, and Central Zagori. The name *Zagori* is Slav and means "mountainous area" and Zagori is the most mountainous region in Epirus, having an altitude ranging from 500 to 2497 m; its highest peak is Gamila. Between the mountains are the plains of Dovra, Pedina or Soudena, and Vitsa and the tableland of Riziana. There are extensive forests of beech, fir, pine, and oak in Central and East Zagori, where the main occupations are forestry and stock raising. The flora and fauna of the area are quite rich: there are 219 plant species and a large number of wild animals such as wild goats, wolves, bears, and deer.

The whole region consists of a cluster of 45 villages which are built at altitudes ranging from 620 to 1340 m, usually close to springs. The rivers, mountains, forests, history, and architecture of the settlements contribute to the fame of the area as one of the most interesting and beautiful in Greece and Europe. After World War II the population of the villages was considerably reduced by emigration both within Greece and abroad because of the lack of employment opportunities. In recent years, through the controlled development of tourism in West Zagori and of logging and stock-raising in East and Central Zagori, this decline has stabilized, and there has been an increase in the size of the population. There are four main social groups: the native Zagori population; the Sarakatsans, cattle-breeders, descendants of Greek nomads of the Pindus who settled in Epirus during the 12th century; some Vlach-speaking people in East Zagori; and the Gypsies.

Although historical sources on Zagori and Epirus in general are few, archaeological survey has shown that the area has been inhabited since prehistoric times. During historical times Zagori was inhabited by Molossian tribes. One Molossian settlement has been excavated in Vitsa, which was once the summer settlement of nomad shepherds, at an altitude of 1030 m. The houses resemble those of the modern shepherds (Sarakatsans) of the area. The cemetery dates from the 9th to the 4th centuries BC. The bronze ware shows the prosperity of the settlement, and its pottery, which was handmade with painted decoration, demonstrates connections with the Peloponnese. Since antiquity the mountainous nature of the area has required the wintering of cattle in the plains and coastlands of Epirus.The Vitsa cattle breeders of antiquity lived in families and buried their dead in tombs with grave goods.

Apart from Vitsa, ancient sites have been located in the Mega Dendro area, next to the Voutsa monastery, where the ruins of ancient walls stand, and elsewhere. Moreover, at Kastraki, a hill near the village of Hagios Minas, there is an ancient fort with the remains of walls and houses. In the same area, ruins were found of the Byzantine city of Revnikon. There are also several post-Byzantine monasteries.

No historical sources exist for the early Christian times to the Middle Byzantine period, but we know that Epirus suffered invasions of Goths during the 3rd and 4th centuries AD and of Avars and Slavs during the 6th and the 7th centuries. The latter established settlements all over Epirus and some of the Slav place names of the area are probably survivals from these.

In the Middle Byzantine period Epirus belonged to the theme of Naupactus. Anna Komnene mentions the Norman invasions of the 11th century. From the time of the so-called Despotate of Epirus (13th–15th centuries) there is an increase in the historical evidence relating to Epirus and Zagori. Reference to Zagori is found in chrysobulls of Andronikos II Palaiologos, dated 1319 and 1321. A Byzantine document of 1326–28 refers to Papingo (either the village or the mountain) in Zagori. Evidence of settlements in the area during the 14th and the 15th centuries is found in the Ioannina Chronicle and the Tocco Family Chronicle, both of which contain rhyming accounts of historical events in the region. The people of Zagori joined Carlo II Tocco, count of Cephalonia, on his journey to Ioannina in 1411 where he was acclaimed despot.

In 1418 the Turks invaded Papingo and in 1430 they occupied Ioannina. During the Turkish occupation the region acquired great importance. The mountainous terrain offered many opportunities for settlement and security for the Greek population. In order to ensure their suzerainty over these areas, the Turkish rulers therefore granted them special political privileges, and the area became an autonomous prefecture with Papingo as its capital. By the 17th century the whole area had become a federation bearing the name *koinon* or *villayet* of Zagori. Apart from their administrative and political advan-

tages, the people of Zagori were also granted special taxation privileges as well as privileges relating to social and religious concerns, which were preserved till late in the period of Turkish occupation. Moreover, between 1790 and 1822, Ali Pasha increased these privileges for fear of the influence exerted by the powerful Constantinopolitans from Zagori over the sultan.

From the 17th century many of the inhabitants of the area emigrated, mainly to Moldavia and Wallachia, but also to Austria, Serbia, Russia, and Constantinople, where they became successful merchants and writers. The remittances of merchants from abroad were invested in Zagori, where the inhabitants continued to enjoy the freedom associated with their privileges. Apart from investments in the private sector, Zagorians also funded public works, and numerous bridges, public fountains, and roads, as well as schools and churches were constructed during this period. Teachers and priests were employed for the villages' needs by the rich inhabitants, resulting in impressive educational developments; all the villagers knew how to read and write at least. The monasteries and churches, the public buildings (schools and orphanages), the beautiful big houses of the area, all made of stone, stand today as proof of the prosperity of Zagori during the 18th and the 19th centuries.

Between the 15th and the 17th centuries several monasteries were founded in wonderful settings. They played an important religious, spiritual, social, and financial role over the next two centuries. During the 18th and the 19th centuries large parish churches were built to the plan of early Christian basilicas. During the first years of the Tourkokratia painters from Linotopi (in the area of Kastoria) and from all over Epirus, monks mainly, decorated churches in the Zagori area, some groups of painters from Epirus becoming famous during the 18th and the 19th centuries. Wood carving was also developed to a fine art, and there are many examples in churches and manor houses.

During World War II Zagori witnessed several campaigns and battles. Greek resistance to the Italian invasion lasted from late 1940 to 6 April 1941, when battles were fought in Grabala and Kalpaki. Many men from Zagori saw military service in the 8th Division under the command of general Katsimitros. The 15th Infantry Regiment fought a series of battles in the highlands of Kato Soudena. With the support of both the British and the Greek air forces the Greeks drove the Italians back to Argyrokastro between December 1940 and January 1941. Immediately after the German invasion (6 April 1941) the men from Zagori returned to their villages to organize the resistance movement and the rebel forces of EAM/ELAS (*Ethniko Apeleftherotiko Metopo*, the National Liberation Front, *Ellinikos Laikos Apeleftherotikos Stratos*, Greek Popular Liberation Army) and later EDES (*Ethnikos Dimokratikos Ellinikos Syndesmos*, the National Democratic Hellenic Union). It was because of these activities that the area suffered so much during the Italian and German occupation, when famine was a major cause of suffering. The urban population began to return en masse to the villages, since the threat of famine was greater in the cities. Yet the worst of the suffering came as a result of the savage German reprisals against the rebel forces. In 1943 whole villages were burnt to the ground all over Zagori. In 1944, after Allied victories, the Germans retreated and Zagori was liberated.

The victory was very soon besmirched, however, by the ensuing Civil War between the main rebel forces. Besides ELAS and EAM, EDES was organized and activated in Zagori, under the command of captain G. Lygerakis. The two forces had initially shared common headquarters for Zagori and Konitsa. But as the recriminations developed – ELAS accusing EDES of fascism, EDES regarding ELAS as communist – the conflicts in Central and East Zagori grew increasingly bitter. In Zagori the bitterness persisted long after the official cessation of hostilities.

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See also Epirus

Summary

A region of Epirus in northwestern Greece, Zagori is a mountainous area with Sarakatsans, Vlachs, and Gypsies as well as a native Zagorian population. The area was inhabited by Molossian tribes in antiquity. It belonged to the Despotate of Epirus in the 13th–15th centuries. During the Tourkokratia the population enjoyed many privileges and prospered. Zagori suffered badly in World War II and the Civil War, resulting in much subsequent depopulation.

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Zealots

An ultraconservative Church party in modern Greece

The term "Zealot" designates someone who pursues a goal passionately, excessively, and perhaps fanatically; today it has mostly disparaging connotations. Yet, the term has been used positively in the past (cf. Acts 21: 20, 22: 3; 1 Corinthians 14: 12; Galatians 1: 14; Titus 2: 14) to indicate zeal for God and other good things. The members of a religiopolitical patriotic current within Judaism in the days of Jesus Christ were also called Zealots, as were the leaders of a revolt in Byzantium, who between 1342 and 1349 were in control of Thessalonica.

In modern Greece the term has been used in two, rather overlapping ways. In the first place, it refers loosely to Orthodox fanatics who are distinguished from the main body of the Church through their radical thinking, militant acts, and uncompromising positions. Such hardliners are included in the multidimensional current of Orthodox fundamentalism. Zealotry is exhibited in a variety of ways including devastating criticism of the official Church, which may finally lead to a schismatic movement, and militant and violent acts (e.g. the Rotonda incidents in Thessalonica in 1995) against real or alleged enemies of Orthodoxy. Orthodox zealotry is not only confined to marginal groups (e.g. the Old Calendarists); even leading members of the Church (e.g. Avgustinos Kantiotis, bishop of Florina) may exhibit signs of a zealotic mentality and pursue concomitant activities. The same spirit is sometimes shared by academic and other lay theologians.

In a narrow sense, the term "Zealots" was a self-designation of certain monks on Mount Athos who not only vehemently opposed the reform of the calendar by the patriarchate of Constantinople and the Church of Greece in 1924 (bringing Greece into line with the Gregorian calendar used in the rest of the Western world), but also broke communion with them. They founded organizations to promote their ideas, called themselves "True Orthodox Christians", and considered the New Calendar Churches to be schismatic, even heretical. They have also engaged in propaganda activities outside Athos since 1924. Two Zealot monks in particular, Arsenios Kotteas and Matthaios Karpathakis, made headlines because of their impact on the Orthodox flock and being the moving force of the "True Orthodox Christians". Their activities provoked a reaction not only from the official Church, but also from the Holy Community of Mount Athos. The Sacred Union of Zealotic Athonite Fathers or Sacred Union of Zealotic Monks, founded in April 1926, ceased to exist in 1927 according to the Constitutional Charter of Athos, Article 183 of which prohibited the foundation of monastic societies and organizations on the Holy Mountain. But its members as well as other Zealots continued their activities in other ways, both on Athos and elsewhere, and formed the backbone of contemporary Orthodox Zealotry.

Athonite Zealots used to live outside the monasteries, mostly in sketes or in other establishments near Megisti Lavra, until they brought the Esphigmenou monastery under their control in 1971. In total, they constitute approximately one quarter of the monks of Athos. Generally, the ruling monasteries do not accept the New Calendar. Yet, all of them, except Esphigmenou, maintain communion with the Orthodox authorities in Constantinople and Athens. Esphigmenou, however, shows an elitist attitude not only towards the Orthodox Church body in general, but towards the other monasteries as well. The Esphigmenites think of themselves as being the "most Orthodox" in the entire world, and suspect heresies and innovations almost everywhere. Since 1971 they have not commemorated the patriarch's name, due to Athenagoras's involvement in the ecumenical movement and his moves towards reconciliation with the Roman Catholic Church. In 1972 the other 19 Athonite monasteries expelled Esphigmenou's representative from the Holy Community. Since then Esphigmenou has followed an isolationist and separatist policy and joined the Old Calendarist group under archbishop Avxentios. Despite the counter-measures of the patriarchate of Constantinople, the Esphigmenites have not backed down and occasionally threatened extreme measures. At present their monastery is flourishing, and this is perhaps indicative of the wider appeal of zealotist ideals. The characteristic black banner on the monastery walls with the inscription "Orthodoxy or death" is indicative of their militant spirit. It is no wonder therefore that Esphigmenou was among the few monasteries that did not participate in the exhibition "Treasures of Mount Athos" in Thessalonica in 1997.

There are also various periodicals published by Zealots from Athos, such as *Agios Agathangelos Esphigmenitis* (St Agathangelos of Esphigmenou, formerly entitled *O Agios Simon o Myrovlitis*, St Simon the Myroblete), produced by the monk Iakovos. This contains only very critical articles and negative comments on all alleged anti-Orthodox policies, and supports with apocalyptic ardour traditionalist Orthodox views including the Old Calendar issue and the anti-ecumenical struggle. Another journal of related Zealotic line is *O Agioreitis* (The Athonite), published since 1978 by the monk Kallinikos.

The term "Zealots" has related to Athonite monasticism in recent times, and Athos is thus regarded by many as the most reliable bastion of the Orthodox tradition in the contemporary and radically changing world. Yet it should not be forgotten that zealotry, both historically and traditionally, has characterized many Orthodox believers and particularly monks in the past as well. The violent killing of the philosopher and mathematician Hypatia in 415 by Christians in Alexandria, despite its various underlying causes, was but one example of Christian zealotry. Various zealotic acts on the part of Orthodox monks were also castigated by the learned archbishop of Thessalonica Eustathios in the 12th century, who in his work *De emendanda vita monachica* pointed out their numerous transgressions and tried to ameliorate the overall condition of monastic life. Zealotic phenomena can also be observed later in the Kollyvades movement of the late 18th century as well as among other Orthodox (e.g. Kosmas Flamiatos). Needless to say, zealotic attitudes were very common in the wider Orthodox world as well, as an interesting dialogue between the Serb monk Dimitrije Obradović and a "Zealot" (Zilotij) in the 18th century reveals (Obradović, 1953). These cases attest to the fact that zealotry in its various expressions within (Orthodox) Christianity is not solely a contemporary phenomenon.

It goes without saying that Zealots in contemporary Greece, due to their ideas and acts, provoke negative reactions not only

from the official Church but also from the wider public. They are often considered as fanatics, vociferous protesters, intransigent, ultraconservative, bellicose undiscriminating ignoramuses, despite the fact that their intentions as guardians of the Orthodox faith are in some cases genuine and sincere. The official Church has been following their activities closely since the 1920s and has tried repeatedly to bring them under control. It also fears their challenge to its authority and their wider influence upon the Orthodox flock. Thus, the Church of Greece prohibited the activities of all wandering monks in any diocese without the permission of the local bishop (see the encyclical 2563 of 20 October 1993). On 14 December 1993 the patriarchate of Constantinople excommunicated the lay theologian Nikolaos Sotiropoulos of A. Kantiotis's movement, who was accused of troublemaking activities in the archdiocese of Australia. Moreover, through a State Council's decision in 1996, monks who do not acknowledge the direct spiritual jurisdiction of the patriarchate of Constantinople over Athos and do not commemorate the patriarch's name are not allowed to stay there. These incidents show that both the official Church and the state are negatively disposed towards the Zealots and intend to discipline them and neutralize their influence everywhere.

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See also Athos, Fundamentalism, Old Calendarists

Summary

In antiquity there were Jewish Zealots in the time of Christ. And Zealots controlled Thessalonica in 1342–49. But in modern Greece Zealots are Orthodox fanatics and more specifically separatist monks (opposing ecumenical moves), based particularly on Mount Athos. About a quarter of all Athonites (and all the monks of the Esphigmenou monastery) call themselves Zealots.

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Zeno of Citium 335–263 BC

Stoic philosopher

Zeno was the founder of Stoicism, a philosophical movement that had a great impact in the Greek and Roman world of the Hellenistic and imperial age. Stoicism was named after the place where Zeno used to teach in Athens, namely the Stoa Poikile (Painted Porch). Zeno, a Phoenician, came to Athens around 313 BC, and he studied first with Crates the Cynic, then with Stilpo and Diodorus of the Megarian school, and finally with Xenocrates and Polemo of the Academy. He had many students and he was well respected by the Athenians and also by Antigonus Gonatas who often attended his lectures and invited him to his court. His successor in the headship of the Stoic school was Cleanthes, but the most important contribution to Stoicism came later from Chrysippus. From Zeno's numerous writings we have only fragments from much later sources such as Cicero (1st century BC), Diogenes Laertius (2nd century AD), Galen (2nd century AD), and Stobaeus (5th century AD). Famous was his *Republic*, where he argued for a society of the wise who do not need the conventional institutions of a Greek city. The fullest account of his life and his doctrines comes from Diogenes Laertius (7. 1–160).

Zeno is accredited with the tripartite division of philosophy into logic, physics, and ethics. He is said to have started his course with logic, going on to physics, and finishing with ethics. Zeno's prime interest lies in ethics, but this interest motivated a physical enquiry and then an enquiry into logic. Yet all these parts are seen as part of an organic and coherent whole and thus none of them can be studied independently. Zeno's holistic understanding of philosophy results from his attempt to establish a system accounting for all aspects of a coherent and rational universe; reason (*logos*) and nature (*physis*) are the most crucial concepts for the Stoic understanding of the world.

Zeno put considerable emphasis on dialectic which included epistemology. He attempted to argue for the possibility of attaining cognition, an epistemic state midway between belief and knowledge. He argued that to know something is to have grasped it in such a way that one's grasp (*katalepsis*) cannot be shaken by argument. This grasp presupposes perception. Perception strikes our rational principle and generates impressions (*phantasiai*). Nature endowed us with the ability to form impressions of things, and impressions form the content of our mind – actually, rationality develops through them. Thus perception constitutes for Zeno a mental act to which we can

give assent. But not all impressions deserve assent. An impression deserves assent if it represents something as it is in reality, namely in such a clear way that it cannot possibly be false (Cicero, *Academicae Quaestiones*, 1. 41). These are cognitive impressions, i.e. they can convey knowledge. Zeno sharply contrasted secure assent (grasp) and weak assent, the latter amounts to ignorance. Yet a cognitive impression does not amount to knowledge; it still has to be confirmed by reason. For Zeno whatever does not qualify as knowledge amounts to ignorance. Accordingly he divided people into two categories, the foolish and the wise, the latter being the only one who knows. No intermediate state exists; unless someone is wise, he is foolish.

Zeno argued for two principles in the universe, the active and the passive. The passive principle is the qualityless (*apoios*) substance, the matter, while the active is the *Logos* in that which is called God (Diogenes Laertius, 7. 134). The whole of the universe is perfect, though destructible and subject to no other force but to itself. It was one of Zeno's fundamental ideas that every productive cause is corporeal and that only corporeal things can act. Thus mind and even God, the active principle, are corporeal. God, identified with fire, is the disposer of the things of nature and maker of the universe; it is also called reason and fate and is the determining force of all things. Zeno's account of nature is strongly teleological and his universe is very determinist; nothing happens in the world but by God's will and in accordance with God's providence. Fate not only governs everything but is defined as the reason by which the world goes on. For this reason divination is possible and can be true.

The world is considered to be a rational and intelligent being, a living organism with its own soul just as man has a soul. Human souls are fragments of the universal soul, man being an organic part of the cosmic whole. Zeno maintained that both the universal soul and the human soul are corporeal, a warm spirit (*pneuma*), which is the vitalizing force behind both humans and the universe itself. Soul has eight parts, the five senses, the faculties of reproduction and speech, and the rational principle (Diogenes Laertius, 7. 157). As the term of the rational principle suggests (*hegemonikon*, "governing principle"), there is nothing superior to this but this alone determines human life, even when it follows wrong reason. Zeno introduced some new terms to describe psychological or mental functions that take place in the rational principle such as "impulse", a soul's movement as a reaction to an impression. Man is free to follow an impulse by giving assent to an impression.

Zeno thought that philosophy had to show its fruits in ethics. According to Zeno, our goal is to live in accordance with reason, later formulated as living in accordance with nature. The law of nature can guide a man unerringly to virtue. Zeno maintained that virtue is something pertinent, endearing (*oikeion*) to the nature of man in the sense that nature directs man towards the acquisition of virtue. Therefore man should seek after virtue. In seeking virtue man is doing justice to its nature (*oikeiosis*), and being virtuous is a manifestation of one's rationality. Zeno held that only virtue has intrinsic moral value since only virtue is up to us. Therefore virtue is the sole good and the sole constituent of happiness. All other things, however good or bad, are regarded as morally indifferent (*adiaphora*). Within the group of indifferent Zeno distinguished three classes, the preferable, the non-preferable, and the indifferent. Natural advantages such as beauty and wealth are preferable. Accordingly Zeno distinguished between appropriate and perfectly appropriate acts; the first refer to preferable things, while the latter to morally valuable ones. Virtue is said to be one; individual virtues are inseparable and they constitute a state in which their possessor would always do the right thing. The smallest failure makes somebody unvirtuous. To be virtuous is the achievement of the wise man. As is the case with knowledge, so in ethics Zeno does not allow for any degrees of goodness. The wise man never fails in practising virtue, because of his acquired moral expertise; thus the wise man is free from all passions that would have a bad impact on his soul (Cicero, *Academicae Quaestiones*, 1. 39).

Zeno's doctrines were considerably modified by his successors. Yet he enjoyed a venerable status as the founder of the school. Later Stoics such as Posidonius (1st century BC) opposed their predecessors and tried to go back to Zeno's views. Stoic doctrines had an impact on Christian Fathers who shared the Stoic hostility to sceptics and Epicureans. Clement of Alexandria (*c.*AD 150–215) is likely to have had access to Zeno's writings, which by that time must already have become difficult to find.

GEORGE E. KARAMANOLIS

See also Stoicism

Biography

Born at Citium in Cyprus in 335 BC, Zeno moved to Athens in 313 to study first under Crates the Cynic, then with Stilpo and Diodorus, and lastly with Xenocrates and Polemo of the Academy. He was founder and head of the Stoic school of philosophy. He was succeeded by Cleanthes. Only fragments of Zeno's writings survive. He died in 263 BC.

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Zenobia

Queen of Palmyra in the 3rd century AD

Septimia Zenobia was born in Palmyra, to a family of the city's Graeco-Syrian elite. She claimed to have Macedonian blood, by descent from Antiochus IV Epiphanes, and a kinship with Cleopatra VII of Ptolemaic Egypt – this perhaps at a time when she felt herself heiress to a string of powerful women from the Hellenized east. The sources on her life and career are largely of a biased Western (Roman) nature – passages in the *Historia Augusta* and the later Byzantine histories of Malalas (6th century) and Zosimus (5th–6th century). However, the Arab historian Tabari (839–923), who refers to her as Zabba, places her in a localized scenario that is largely irreconcilable with the western sources.

Her marriage to Odenathus, who rose to become *dux oriens* under Roman suzerainty for his assistance in combating Persian advances, enhanced her position in the city where she claimed the title of queen. Odenathus and his son from a former marriage were murdered in AD 267 and from this time Zenobia ruled in the name of her eldest son Wahballat (Greek Athenodorus, Latin Vaballathus).

At this time Palmyra was at its cultural peak, and Zenobia sought to create a brilliant court by attracting a number of Graeco-Syrian literary figures. Foremost was the philosopher Cassius Longinus who, although a Syrian, had studied for years in Athens and upon his arrival in Palmyra composed a paean in praise of Odenathus. The *Historia Augusta* suggests that it was Longinus who tutored Zenobia in Greek and diplomacy and encouraged her revolt against Rome. This is unlikely since it is inconceivable that a woman of her position would not know Greek and her political skills (and reasons to revolt, see below), will have been honed over many years. Another well-known figure at the Palmyrene court was the sophist Callinicus of Petra who wrote a history of Alexandria – after Zenobia had conquered Egypt – and dedicated it to her under the name of Cleopatra. Perhaps the most important figure to arrive in Palmyra at this time was Paul of Samosata who fled from Antioch where he had been bishop, after being condemned as a heretic. Indeed, according to the sources, he converted Zenobia to Christianity, or even to Judaism. Although it is true that there was a sympathetic Jewish community in Palmyra and Zenobia is known to have paid for the restoration of a synagogue in Egypt, these views are thought to be an exaggeration. It is more likely that she displayed an intellectual curiosity, rather like the earlier Syrian empress Julia Domna, seeking information on Christian, Jewish, and even (according to Coptic sources) Manichaean doctrine. There is no reason to deny that she adhered to anything other than the Palmyrene sun cult.

It is probable that Zenobia would have been ignored by history were it not for the revolt she led against Roman power in the east. Much recent analysis has revealed, however, that although Rome's position there had been severely weakened, such a revolt is a simplification and that the brief flowering of a Palmyrene empire was based on more localized factors. The immediate reason may have been a frustration with what appeared to be the Roman disinclination to extend the preeminent position held by Odenathus to his heirs. There was also the need to bolster Palmyra's economic position at a period of commercial and financial instability in the East; thus it was an attempt to restore rather than create or enhance a position of financial preeminence within the eastern provinces. Lastly, the revolt would seem to have been deeply ensconced within a political power struggle among the Arab tribal federations of the area. Here, Tabari's account has been supported by recent epigraphic and archaeological evidence for an increased unrest among the tribes, jealous of Palmyrene hegemony. The *Historia Augusta* lists a wide range of Palmyrene allies based as far away as India, Persia, Ethiopia, and Yemen, suggesting that such a movement must have been far wider than merely anti-Roman. Latin inscriptions of Vaballathus give him the title "Arabicus Maximus" and this can now be understood as more than the mere aping of Roman imperial titulature. Moreover, the coins of Vaballathus have double portraits with himself on one side and the legitimate emperor Aurelian on the other, which indicates a desire for imperial association rather than any move to supplant western suzerainty.

The actual course of the revolt can be briefly described. Led by the general Zabdas, Palmyrene forces marched through Palestine and invaded Egypt in AD 269/70, ostensibly with fifth-column support in Alexandria, where one Timagenes (possibly a Palmyrene himself) is said to have raised Palmyrene support. Once Roman resistance had been finally crushed, Zenobia set about immersing herself in local support, using the name Cleopatra and paying for the restoration of a number of Egyptian monuments as well as a synagogue there. Turning north, Palmyrene forces captured Antioch, the great Syrian metropolis, in AD 270. From here coins were issued under the name of Vaballathus Augustus but now associated, significantly, with Zenobia Augusta rather than Aurelian – a clear statement of where the real power finally lay. The Palmyrene armies are said to have advanced through Asia Minor as far as Chalcedon, but after being repulsed from there, they held the country east of Ancyra.

The new Roman emperor Aurelian launched a strong counter-attack against what he clearly perceived as usurpers. Sending troops to Egypt, Aurelian himself led a larger army through Asia Minor, eventually confronting the Palmyrene forces outside Antioch and again in a decisive battle at Emesa where Aurelian captured Zenobia's war chest. From here Zenobia fled towards Palmyra where the Roman forces arrived to besiege her. The exchange of letters between Zenobia and Aurelian recorded in the *Historia Augusta* at this time is clearly a fiction. Nevertheless the besieged suffered a blow when their Armenian allies defected to the Roman side. Zenobia thereupon fled towards Persia – whence she had expected help – but was caught at the Euphrates by Roman cavalry. The city now opened its gates to Aurelian and it is clear that he was welcomed by some of the population there. The long struggle over, a garrison was installed and Aurelian set off for Rome. After crossing into Europe, however, he heard that the garrison had been massacred and another Palmyrene noble, thought to have been a relative of Zenobia, had raised the standard of revolt once more. Furthermore there were also disturbances in Egypt, again possibly fermented by Palmyrene agents. Aurelian hastily returned, at a speed that surprised the Palmyrenes, and this time made no misrake by sacking the entire city. Thus was

Palmyrene independence, and to a large extent Palmyrene culture and wealth, extinguished.

Zenobia is said to have been paraded in Aurelian's eventual triumph through Rome, loaded down with chains of gold. Most sources agree, however, that she in fact ended her days in a villa at Tivoli just outside Rome and there are even suggestions that she may have married again.

Zenobia the queen of Palmyra has passed into Western, and Arabic, literature as a romantic figure. Most emphasize her beauty, her chastity, and above all her bravery, stamina, and fortitude in taking on the might of Rome. Nevertheless, she must also be remembered as an agent of the distinctive Graeco-Syrian culture that was Palmyra's, tempered with an enquiring mind in the best traditions of the far-flung Hellenic world.

JULIAN M.C. BOWSHER

See also Palmyra

Biography

The second wife of Septimius Odenathus of Palmyra in Syria, on his death in AD 267 Zenobia assumed power on behalf of her son. Palmyra was at its cultural peak and she attracted writers to her court. Leading a revolt against Roman power, her forces conquered first Egypt in 269–70 and then Antioch and much of Asia Minor. Finally subdued by Aurelian in 272, Zenobia died at Tivoli near Rome.

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Zervas, Napoleon 1891–1957

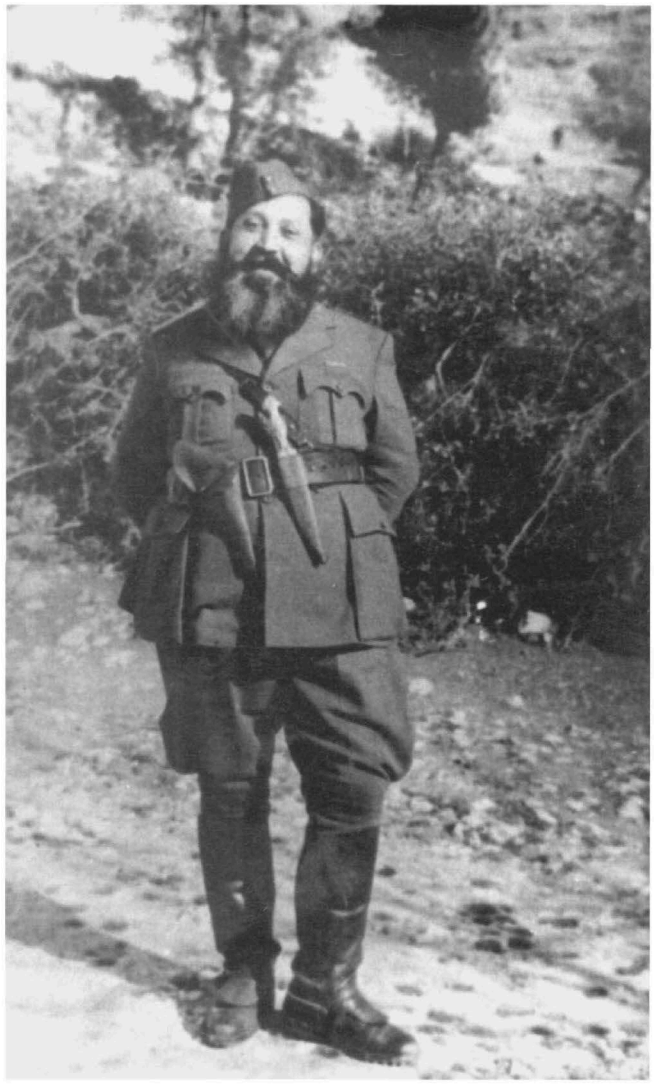
Resistance leader

Napoleon Zervas was one of the preeminent leaders of the national resistance movement in Greece in both the political and the military realms. Born in the province of Arta, Zervas enlisted in the Greek national army upon completion of his schooling as a volunteer, and at the age of 21 had his first encounter with the battlefield in the Balkan Wars (1912–13). Shortly before the outbreak of World War I Zervas studied briefly at the academy for non-commissioned officers and in 1914 received the rank of second lieutenant.

The Greek political sphere was divided between the supporters of neutrality represented by king Constantine and the advocates of an active alliance for involvement in the war led by the prime minister Eleftherios Venizelos. Zervas supported the Venizelist movement from the outset and participated in the Macedonian front, which in 1918 resulted in the armistice with Bulgaria. For his contribution to the campaign and for his valour and courage Zervas was in 1920 promoted to the rank of major. As a staunch supporter of the democratic movement he was forced to flee following the defeat of Venizelos in the elections of 1920. He moved to Constantinople where he joined the Venizelist support group, always in anticipation of his return to Greece. In 1922 he was given that opportunity and immediately upon returning to Athens joined the armed forces, becoming within a short period of time a lieutenant colonel.

The devastating losses of the Asia Minor campaign had a disastrous impact both militarily and politically. The political vacuum resulted in the dictatorship of Theodoros Pangalos in June 1925. Zervas, who was closely associated with the general, became garrison commander of Athens and in August 1926 was placed as adjutant to the president of the republic, Pavlos Kountouriotis. Zervas had the crucial role of battalion commander of one of the two main battalions that guarded Athens and supported general Pangalos. Zervas, taking advantage of the political instability, was quick to join the counter-coup of 22 August 1926 by Georgios Kondilis. As a reward he received full command of the Athens brigade, which had previously been divided between himself and lieutenant colonel Panagiotis Dertilis. A few days after his appointment, however, Kondilis decided to disband the Democratic Guard responsible for the protection of the city, which resulted in the outbreak of hostilities between units supporting Zervas and government forces. The deadly battles fought in the streets of Athens ended in defeat and a sentence of life imprisonment for Zervas. Two years later, following the return to power of the Venizelists, Zervas was released. He withdrew from politics, only to return following the invasion of Greece by the Axis troops in April 1941. With the assistance of liberal democrats and under the guidance of general Nikolaos Plastiras, who at the time was in self-imposed exile in France, Zervas founded in September 1941 the *Ethnikos Dimokratikos Ellinikos Syndesmos* (EDES, the National Democratic Hellenic Union). The goals of this movement were the expulsion of the occupation forces and a return to parliamentary democracy. Zervas established a paramilitary organization in June 1942 which waged a guerrilla war against the Italian and German forces. The Ethnikes Omades Ellinon Antarton (EOEA, National Bands of Greek Rebels) were a paramilitary faction of EDES and were involved in sabotage missions against the Axis, including the destruction of the Gorgopotamos bridge on 25 November 1942.

Zervas remained actively involved in the guerrilla movements throughout the war, but his forces were inferior to the power of EAM *(Ethniko Apeleftherotiko Metopo*, the National Liberation Front) and its military wing ELAS *(Ellinikos Laikos Apeleftherotikos Stratos*, the Greek Popular Liberation Army). After the end of the war, EAM/ELAS oscillated between concealed and open resistance, according to political circumstance, refusing to recognize the postwar Greek government of Papandreou. The superiority of the EAM forces resulted in the loss of the Epirus region which Zervas had secured during the occupation. He was forced to retreat to Corfu where he retired from military life in March 1945 with the rank of lieutenant general.



Napoleon Zervas

Aware of the political vacuum once again, Zervas remained active not as a military figure, but as the founder of the National Party. During the elections of 1946 he secured 20 seats in Parliament and later served as minister of public order (1947) in the government of Dimitrios Maximos. In the elections of 1950 Zervas lost 13 seats and had to create an alliance with the Liberal Party. He served as minister of public works under the government of Sofoklis Venizelos (1950–51). During the elections of 1952 Zervas was unable to accumulate enough votes to secure any seats in Parliament and retired from the political scene. He died five years later, having served the democratic causes in which he believed.

STELIOS ZACHARIOU

Biography

Born in 1891 in the province of Arta, Zervas fought in the Balkan Wars (1912–13). In World War I he supported Venizelos and fought on the Macedonian front. He became garrison commander of Athens in 1925 and commander of the Democratic Guard in 1926. In 1941 he founded the National Democratic Hellenic Union (EDES) and engaged in sabotage missions against the Germans and Italians. After the war he served twice as a government minister. He died in 1957.

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Zoe *c.*978–1050

Empress

Empress Zoe and her younger sister Theodora were the last surviving heirs of the Macedonian dynasty of the Byzantine empire. They were the second and third daughters respectively of Constantine VIII (1025–28); the eldest, Evdokia, had entered religious life. Zoe and Theodora occupy a unique place in Byzantine history, in that they were the only princesses born in the purple (*porphyrogennetai*) to be the bearers of dynastic legitimacy to the throne. Other empresses, such as Irene (780–802) and Evdokia (1067; again in 1071), ruled only through their rights as widows and/or mothers of emperors.

Constantine VIII waited until he was on his deathbed to find himself a son-in-law and successor to marry Zoe. His choice was Romanos Argyros, eparch of the city of Constantinople. Romanos and Zoe were married on 12 November 1028, and Romanos ascended the throne as Romanos III (1028–34) on Constantine's death three days later. Zoe was at that time nearly 50 years of age. Michael

Psellos, in his *Chronographia*, reports that the royal pair consulted fertility experts when they failed to conceive a child. Indeed, Psellos claims that Zoe even resorted to magical practices, but with no success. The couple gave up, and each took other lovers. Zoe fell in love with a young man from Paphlagonia named Michael, the brother of John the Orphanotrophos, an influential eunuch at court.

Romanos died in his bath on 11 April 1034, ostensibly murdered by the agents of Michael and Zoe. The lovers married that evening, and Michael became emperor Michael IV (1034–41). He quickly lost interest in Zoe; she had merely been his route to power. He kept her under guard in the women's quarters, fearing that she might take revenge against him. But Zoe suffered quietly, and agreed to adopt his nephew, also named Michael, as her son and heir. This scheme was engineered by John the Orphanotrophos, who wanted the throne to remain in his family.

Michael IV died of epilepsy on 10 December 1041. The new emperor, Michael V Kalaphates (1041–42), turned against those who had raised him to the throne: first he exiled his uncle, John the Orphanotrophos; then he banished the empress Zoe to a convent. A popular uprising ensued, fuelled by the feeling that Zoe (and Theodora) were the legitimate rulers of the empire by right of their birth. Michael was viewed as a usurper, and so was deposed and blinded on 20 April 1042. Zoe and Theodora ruled jointly for three months, until Zoe decided to marry once more. She chose Constantine Monomachos, a senator, who ruled as Constantine IX (1042–55). The two empresses shared the throne with Constantine but left the running of government affairs to him. Zoe even accepted his mistress, Sklerena, and agreed to honour her with the newly created title *Sebaste* ("Augusta"); the mistress ranked just below the emperor and the two empresses. These four proceeded to empty the treasury of funds, contributing to the decline of the Byzantine state in the 11th century.

While Zoe did not actively engage in politics herself, the rule of her consorts was characterized by the rise of the civil aristocracy and policies which favoured that party's interests. Landed magnates also began to increase their power and wealth at the expense of the small-holdings of soldiers and free peasants. According to George Ostrogorsky, the emperors themselves are not entirely to blame for these developments: "They were merely the exponents of vigorous and irresistible social and economic forces" (p. 323).

Zoe loved much and was known for her generosity, long-suffering, and piety; she also committed murder, hated her sister, and dabbled in the occult. She also spent money on costly incense and on materials used to manufacture perfumes and ointments, an unusual hobby that she and Theodora shared. Psellos expresses surprise that Zoe preferred this hobby to more typically feminine occupations such as weaving and needlework; nor did she adorn herself in luxurious gowns as one might expect a woman of her rank to do. He does, however, comment with approval on Zoe's piety. Thanks to Psellos's observations we have some idea of how Zoe compared to the ideal aristocratic woman of her time.

Empress Zoe died in 1050, during the reign of Constantine IX, who survived her by five years. After Constantine's death in 1055, Theodora ruled again in her own right for less than two years until her death in 1056. Zoe and Theodora, as the last members of the Macedonian dynasty, were the only women in Byzantine history to rule as empresses by right of birth. Zoe was also unique in that she was the only empress to give legitimacy to her husbands' rights to the throne: they became emperors only because of her own dynastic inheritance. A mosaic portrait of Zoe and Constantine IX flanking the enthroned Christ survives in the south gallery of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople.

Zoe: mosaic showing Christ enthroned between Zoe and Constantine IX Monomachos, Hagia Sophia, Constantinople, 11th century

CONSTANTINA SCOURTIS

Biography

Born *c.*978 the second daughter of Constantine VIII, Zoe and her sister Theodora were the last heirs of the Macedonian dynasty. Her husbands were Romanos III (r. 1028–34), Michael IV (r. 1034–41), and Constantine IX (r. 1042–55). Zoe and Theodora reigned jointly from 21 April to 12 June 1042, the only women in Byzantine history to do so by right of birth. Zoe died in Constantinople in 1050.

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Zonaras, John

Historian, theologian, and canonist of the 12th century

Born in the last decade or two of the 11th century, Zonaras achieved a certain distinction in the service of Alexios I Komnenos (1081–1118), acting as a judicial official (*megas droungarios tes viglas*) and as head of the imperial chancellery

(*protasekretis*). He appears, however, to have fallen out of favour with the imperial family, probably because of his criticism of Alexios's financial policies, particularly the distribution of public money and properties to his relatives, and shortly after the accession of Alexios's eldest son John II (1118–43) Zonaras was dismissed from court and became a monk at the monastery of St Glykeria. Here he composed his massive *Epitomi Historion*, a summary of history in 18 books beginning with the creation of the world and continuing to the death of Alexios in 1118. The latter portions of this history (especially book 18. 21–29) preserve his critical views of Alexios's reign and act as a polemical counterbalance to Anna Komnene's lengthy eulogy of her father. For the earlier sections of his history Zonaras relies on a wide variety of sources – biblical, Classical (e.g. Arrian, Cassius Dio, Herodotus, Xenophon, Plutarch, Philostratus), and near-contemporary (especially Psellos and Skylitzes). Especially valuable are the sections of his narrative that reflect sources now lost, in particular his account of the so-called Neo-Flavian emperors Constantius II and Julian "the Apostate", preserving content from the histories of Philostorgius and Theophanes. Even more valuable is Zonaras's summary of early Roman history, since it is based largely on the lost books 1–21 of Cassius Dio's *Roman History*, a work that was highly esteemed among Byzantine scholars, especially for its insights into the foundations of the principate, a form of government that they found not unlike their own. Zonaras's interest in Dio may have been prompted by the *Epitome* of the Roman historian assembled by Xiphilinos, a well-known and near-contemporary literary figure who was prominent early in the reign of Alexios I. Zonaras reflects a close dependence on Xiphilinos's work for his narrative of events following Trajan's reign (AD 98–117), but his techniques of compression produce a result rather more coherent and intelligible than that of his countryman. Zonaras's *Epitome* was used extensively by later scholars, notably Constantine Manasses and Michael Glykas, and was translated into Serbian, Old Church Slavonic, and later, during the Renaissance, into Latin, French, and Italian. No English translation has yet been produced.

In addition to the *Epitome* Zonaras also wrote important *Commentaries* (*Patrologia Graeca* [*PG*], 137 and 138) on the Apostolic Constitutions, canons of councils, and the Church Fathers. Cardinal Pitra, the eminent 19th-century Church legal scholar, described Zonaras as "easily the most eminent of all commentators on Byzantine law" (*facile omnium juris byzantini magistrorum princeps*), and it is evident that Zonaras's *Commentaries* were closely consulted by other respected canonists, including Alexios Aristenos and Theodore Balsamon. Zonaras carefully distinguishes (*PG* 137. 509) "the investigation of dogma and decisions (*psephoi*) from formal canons which bore the authoritative signature of emperors and fathers".

Zonaras is also known to have written a synodal monograph (*PG* 119. 741–42) concerning degrees of consanguinity as they pertained to marriage law, as well as a synodal oration (*PG* 119. 1011–32) examining the moral implications associated with seminal discharge (*physiki tis gonis ekroi*). From a letter of Michael Glykas we hear of a poem written by Zonaras in which doctrine concerning the nature of the Holy Spirit is disputed.

Among Zonaras's homiletic and hagiographic writings are sermons for the feast of the Hypapante, commemorating the presentation of the infant Christ in the Temple, as well as one for the Sunday of the Veneration of the Cross; also a *Life* of pope Silvester I, celebrating the popular legend that it was he who had baptized Constantine the Great in Rome. Until 1913 this work had been published only in Latin translation and had been attributed to Symeon Metaphrastes. The anonymous editor of the original Greek text (*Roma e l'Oriente*, 6 (1913): pp. 340–67) has adduced linguistic and historical evidence that has convinced most scholars that Zonaras was, indeed, the author of this biography. Also among Zonaras's writings are commentaries on the writings of John of Damascus pertaining to Church precepts regarding the Resurrection, as well as on the epigrams of Gregory of Nazianzus (*PG* 138), and finally a Canon (hymnographic verse), in the Theotokion mode, concerning various heresies (*PG* 135. 413–422). Attested, but no longer extant, are Zonaras's summaries of the writings of Cyril of Alexandria, Sophronios, patriarch of Jerusalem, and a *Life* of St Eupraxia. A lexical collection of words from important books preserved under Zonaras's name is almost certainly not his work but rather that of an otherwise unknown Antonios Monachos.

No firm date can be established for Zonaras's death, but because his *Commentary* on the Canons appears to reflect familiarity with that of Alexios Aristenos, written in the late 1150s, some date shortly thereafter may be suggested.

M. JAMES MOSCOVICH

Biography

Born in the late 11th century, Zonaras became a judicial official at the court of Alexios I Komnenos. Dismissed by John II, Zonaras became a monk. His chronicle *Epitomi Historion* summarizes history from the Creation to 1118. He also wrote commentaries on Byzantine law, sermons, and other works. He died in the late 1150s.

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Zoology

It would not be entirely true to say that no Greek philosopher before Aristotle took an interest in the animal kingdom. Anaximander in the 6th century BC had speculated on the origins of animal life; Empedocles had included animals in his account of the cosmic cycle; and the Hippocratic treatises show some interest in the systematic study of animals in the context of their therapeutic value. None of this, however, shows signs of any but the most superficial observation. Democritus the atomist is credited with a treatise on zoology, but we have no idea what it contained; reports that survive, largely in the works of Pliny, consist of no more than disconnected anecdotes, without a context (indeed it is sometimes doubted whether Pliny's Democritus is the same as the philosopher). Plato's method of division embraces the classification of animals, but they are mentioned hardly at all in his surviving works. His successor Speusippus wrote a work called the *Homoia*, or Similarities, on defining classes on the basis of characteristics that individual members have in common, and he seems to have included animals in this process, but we know little about the work.

The fact that Aristotle, the author of the first surviving zoological treatises, feels the need to defend the study of animals (*On the Parts of Animals*, 644b22–646a4) gives a clue to reasons for the comparative neglect of this field. The imagined objectors against whom he directs his defence (presumably Platonists) regard animals as insignificant and distasteful, and are shocked by the prospect of the unpleasant task of dissection. They prefer the study of grander themes such as astronomy and cosmology, whose subjects are unconditionally beautiful and which admit of a degree of precision and absolute truth not possible in the study of the messier works of nature. Aristotle counters by pointing out that, lowly though they are, animals are at least accessible to close and detailed observation (unlike the heavenly bodies), and argues vigorously that all of the works of nature show purpose, and contribute to an end, and for that reason are intrinsically beautiful.

Five principal zoological treatises of Aristotle survive: *The History of Animals*, *On the Parts of Animals*, *On the Reproduction of Animals*, *On the Motion of Animals*, and *On the Progress of Animals*. They are, by any standards, remarkable works. Between 500 and 600 different kinds of animals are discussed, sometimes in considerable detail. There is clear evidence of the systematic collection of data throughout Aristotle's career. Place names mentioned suggest that he was already gathering information in northwest Asia Minor and on Lesbos, which he visited in the period between leaving the Academy in Athens and becoming the tutor of the future Alexander III of Macedon. There is no positive evidence from Aristotle's own works to support the suggestion that is sometimes made, both in antiquity and by later writers, that Alexander sent Aristotle interesting specimens gathered as he travelled east into the Persian empire. Nevertheless, the story should not be dismissed out of hand. For example, Aristotle is exceptionally well informed about the diet, capacities, habits, and anatomy of the domesticated elephant, and it may well be that reports on the animal had been sent to him in the course of Alexander's campaigns in the east. Elsewhere, much of his information seems to have been derived from questioning fishermen, herdsmen, beekeepers, and travellers, among others. What is more, there are clear signs that Aristotle dissected a good number of specimens (or at any rate had access to reports of such dissections). He is credited with a work on dissection (now lost), and his extant works contain frequent references, not only to the results of dissection, but also to the technical problems involved (for example, he was aware that an animal killed by having its throat cut will not have its circulatory system in a normal condition, and recommends strangling instead; but his belief that the heart has three rather than four chambers suggests that his own technique may have been just as unsatisfactory). For the most part, however, the care and meticulousness of the observations are very impressive. For example, he describes in detail the development of a chick inside an egg (*The History of Animals*, 561a4–29): after three days, he says, the embryo of the chick can already be seen; later the parts of the body can be distinguished – first the heart and veins, then the head and the eyes; by the tenth day the chick itself is clearly distinguishable (and he describes what can be seen if one of the eyes is dissected); finally, the chick is ready to hatch on the twentieth day. This series of observations could have been made only as the result of a deliberately planned programme of investigation. One of the best known of his systematic descriptions is that of the reproductive system of the dogfish. This fish, like a number of other closely related fishes, bears live young, but Aristotle reported that it is unusual in that before birth the embryo is attached to its mother by a structure similar to the navel-string and placenta in mammals. It was only in 1842, after centuries of scepticism, that it was confirmed (by Johannes Müller) that Aristotle's account was essentially correct.

Impressive though this is, Aristotle is by no means infallible, and his works contain numerous mistakes. Some seem to be the result of simple observational error (such as his belief that a lion's neck contains only one bone, or that the heart has only three chambers). Sometimes, he seems to have been misled by fanciful travellers' tales (such as the report that hares invariably die if they are imported into Ithaca, or that the bite of the gecko is fatal in Italy). More significantly, he sometimes misleads himself by the inappropriate application of general principles, as when he argues that worker bees are neither male nor female, on the grounds that no female animal has defensive weapons (and worker bees have a sting), and no male animals care for their young (as worker bees do). Applying the same principles to queens (or "kings", as Aristotle calls them) and drones, he concludes that all three kinds of bee reproduce parthenogenetically, from their own kind. It must, however, be said, in Aristotle's defence, that the task of sexing a bee, using the resources he had available, would be by no means an easy one.

It is not at all clear what Aristotle thought was going to be the end result of his zoological researches. Although there is certainly evidence of systematic collection of material, the actual arrangement of the pieces of information in his zoological works shows no obvious system; facts are roughly grouped together by topics, but the structure of the classification remains obscure. It is too easy to assume that Aristotle was aiming at the sort of classification of animals that biologists, following Linnaeus, achieved from the 18th century onwards.

Though Aristotle's work can undoubtedly be regarded as the foundation on which later scientists built, it may well be that his own purposes were quite different from theirs, and that his collection of zoological facts was actually intended to be the raw material for his study of the purposive working out of nature's goals, or for an exercise in putting into practice his logical theories. Even so, the quality of his empirical investigations remains impressive, and without precedent until modern times.

After Aristotle, his pupils and associates continued with his work (and indeed it is likely that many of Aristotle's zoological treatises were themselves the result of collaborative work). His successor Theophrastus wrote *On the Character and Intelligence of Animals*, and a number of other works on the behaviour of different classes of animal, all of which have been lost. One short zoological work of Theophrastus, however, *On Fish*, does survive. It deals with the apparent anomaly of fish and other sea creatures which can sometimes be found surviving on dry land, or may even be dug up out of the ground, and shows evidence of careful observation of a variety of species. Theophrastus' successor as head of the Lyceum, Strato of Lampsacus, is also credited with works on zoology.

In the Hellenistic period some physicians (Herophilus, for example) seem to have taken an interest in comparative anatomy, and the surgeon Sostratus (1st century BC) is credited with the books *On Animals*, *On the Nature of Animals*, and *On Animals Which Sting and Animals Which Bite*. Dissection of animals later became a standard tool of medical research, but the real centre of interest is the human being. The same can be said of later writings on animal behaviour, which was of interest only in so far as it illuminated or provided models for human behaviour. Epicurus, for example, cited the alleged fact that animals invariably seek pleasure and avoid pain as proof that hedonism is natural (and his opponents the Stoics used zanimal examples to assert the opposite). Similarly, Plutarch investigated the question of whether animals are capable of exercising reason. This tradition was continued by Christian writers such as Origen and Basil of Caesarea, who used reports of animal behaviour derived from Aristotle and other Greek writers to illustrate moral arguments and as symbols representing theological positions.

The *Natural History* of the Roman writer Pliny the Elder contains a mass of facts about various animals, treated mostly as interesting curiosities without serious attempts at classification, and the same can be said of *On the Nature of Animals* and *Varia Historica* of Aelian. Both draw extensively on the writings of earlier Greek zoologists (indeed, more than two-thirds of Pliny's sources are Greek). The ultimate source of much of their information seems to be Aristotle himself, but these later writers seem not to have consulted his texts (or those of other authorities such as Theophrastus) directly, but to have used collections of excerpts (such as that of Pamphilius), summaries (such as that of Aristophanes of Byzantium), or works which are heavily dependent on earlier sources (such as Alexander of Myndos's *On Animals*). In other words, their works are in no way empirical studies, but are purely literary compilations drawing on reference works. It is in fact this moralizing and anecdotal tradition of zoology that passed on into the Middle Ages; it was only with the scientific revolution of the 17th century that Aristotle's systematic studies became the foundation of modern zoology.

RICHARD WALLACE

See also Animals

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Barker, John W. Professor Emeritus of History, University of Wisconsin-Madison. Author of *Justinian and the Later Roman Empire* (1966), *Manuel II Palaeologus, 1391–1425: A Study in Late Byzantine Statesmanship* (1969), *The Use of Music and Recordings for Teaching about the Middle Ages* (1988), *A Directory of American Byzantinists* (1996), and of articles on the Palailogan period and on opera. Contributor to *The Ottoman State and Its Place in World History*, edited by K.H. Karpat (1974), *Essays in Honor of Peter Charanis* (1979), *Tribute to Andreas N. Stratos* (1986), *Wagner in Retrospect: A Centennial Reappraisal* (1987), *To Ellenikon: Studies in Honor of Speros Vryonis Jr*, vol.1: *Hellenic Antiquity and Byzantium* (1993), *Peace and War in Byzantium: Essays in Honor of George T. Dennis SJ*, edited by Timothy S. Miller and John Nesbitt (1995), and *The Treasury of San Marco: A Symposium* (in preparation). **Essays:** Byzantine Period (Late), Byzantines, Constantine XI, Constantinople (Fall of), Gennadios II, John VI, John VIII, Manuel II, Manzikert, Mehmet II, Michael VIII, Palailogos family.

Bastéa, Eleni. Visiting Associate Professor, Comparative Literature, Washington University, St Louis. Author of *The Creation of Modern Athens: Planning the Myth* (2000). Contributor to *Cities: Critical Perspectives on Public Space*, edited by Zeynep Celik *et al.* (1994) and *Greek Society in the Making, 1863–1913: Realities, Symbols, Visions*, edited by Philip Carabott (1997). Member of the editorial board, *Journal of Architectural Education*. **Essays:** Architecture (domestic), Architecture (public), Cities, Neoclassicism, Town Planning.

Beaumont, Lesley A. Lecturer in Classical Archaeology, University of Sydney. Former Assistant Director, British School at Athens. Co-director of the Kato Phana Archaeological Project on Chios. Contributor to *The Sacred and the Feminine in Ancient Greece*, edited by Sue Blundell and Margaret Williamson (1998), and *Children and Material Culture*, edited by J. Sofaer Derevenski (in preparation). Author of articles on the archaeology of Chios and the iconography and social history of children and childhood in ancient Greece. **Essays:** Antiquity Service, Chios, Family, Smyrna.

Beck, Hans. Assistant Lecturer at the University of Cologne. Author of *Polis und Koinon: Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Struktur der griechischen Bundesstaaten im 4. Jahrhundert v. Chr.* (1997). **Essays:** Federal States, Military League.

Bien, Peter. Professor of English and Comparative Literature, Emeritus, Dartmouth College. President of the Modern Greek Studies Association of America. Author of *Three Generations of Greek Writers: Introductions to Cavafy, Kazantzakis, and Ritsos* (1983), *Nikos Kazantzakis, Novelist* (1989), *Nikos Kazantzakis: Politics of the Spirit* (1989), and *God's Struggler: Religion in the Writing of Nikos Kazantzakis* (with D.J.N. Middleton, 1996). Translator of works by Kazantzakis and by Stratis Myrivilis. Former editor of *Journal of Modern Greek Studies*. **Essay:** Kazantzakis.

Blanchette, Scott. Defense Analyst, Global Research Corporation International. Intern to the editor, *Journal of Military History*, and contributor to the *Journal of Southwest Military History*. **Essays:** Bureaucracy, Sublime Porte.

Boardman, Sir John. Professor Emeritus of Classical Archaeology and Art, Oxford University. Author of *Greeks Overseas* (1964, 1999), *Greek Art* (1964, 1997), *Greek Gems and Finger Rings* (1970, 2000), *Diffusion of Classical Art in Antiquity* (1994), *Persia and the West* (2000), and of several handbooks on Greek vases and sculpture and many other books on Greek archaeology and art.

Borthwick, E. Kerr. Professor Emeritus, University of Edinburgh. Contributor to the *New Grove Dictionary of Music* and to *Classical Review*, *Classical Quarterly*, *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, *American Journal of Philology*, *Classical Philology*, *Hermes*, *Mnemosyne*, *Phoenix*, *Greece and Rome*, and *Music and Letters*. **Essay:** Dance.

Bourbouhakis, Emmanuel C. Doctoral candidate, Department of Classics, Harvard University. **Essays:** Solomos, Velouchiotis.

Bowman, Steven B. Professor of Judaic Studies, University of Cincinnati. Author of *The Jews of Byzantium, 1204–1453* (1985), "Josephus in Byzantium" in *Josephus, Judaism and Christianity*, edited by Louis H. Feldman and Gohei Hata (1987), and "Yosippon and Jewish Nationalism" in *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research* (1995). Editor of *Birkenau: The Camp of Death* (with Marco Nahon, 1989) and of *In Iure Veritas: Studies in Canon Law in Memory of Schafer Williams* (1991). Contributor to the *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (1991) and *Encyclopedia of the Holocaust*. Book review editor of *Byzantine Studies/Etudes Byzantines* and of *Journal of the Hellenic Diaspora*. **Essay:** Jews.

Bowsher, Julian M.C. Senior Archaeologist, Museum of London Archaeology Service. Honorary Secretary, Palestine Exploration Fund. Author of articles on coins and archaeological sites in the Levant, including contributions to *Jerash Archaeological Project, 1981–1983*, vol.1, edited by F. Zayadine (1986), *The Defence of the Roman and Byzantine East*, edited by P.W.M. Freeman and D.L. Kennedy (1986), *The Eastern Frontier of the Roman Empire*, edited by D.H. French and C.S. Lightfoot (1989), *Studies on Roman and*

Islamic Amman, edited by A.E. Northedge (1993), and articles on Roman architecture in *The Dictionary of Art*. Contributor of articles to *ARAM*, *Palestine Exploration Quarterly*, and *Levant*. **Essays:** Palmyra, Zenobia.

Boyd, Michael J. Researcher. Author of *Middle Helladic and Early Mycenaean Mortuary Practices in the Southern and Western Peloponnese*, British Archaeological Reports (in preparation). **Essays:** Copais, Phaestus.

Braund, David. Professor of Black Sea and Mediterranean History, University of Exeter. Author of *Rome and the Friendly King* (1984), *The Administration of the Roman Empire* (1988), *Georgia in Antiquity* (1994), and *Ruling Roman Britain* (1996). Member of the editorial board of *Ancient Civilizations from Scythia to Siberia*. **Essays:** Athenaeus, Georgia, Ukraine.

Brock, Sebastian. Reader in Syriac Studies, University of Oxford. Author of *Syriac Perspectives on Late Antiquity* (1984), *The Luminous Eye: The Spiritual World Vision of Saint Ephrem* (1985, 1992), *The Syrian Fathers on Prayer and the Spiritual Life* (1987), *Studies in Syriac Christianity* (1992), *Bride of Light: Hymns on Mary from the Syriac Churches* (1994), and *From Ephrem to Romanos* (1999). **Essays:** Ephraim the Syrian, Isaac the Syrian.

Brosius, Maria. Research Associate, Centre for the Study of Ancient Documents, Oxford. Author of *Women in Ancient Persia, 559–331 BC* (1996) and *The Persian Empire from Cyrus I to Artaxerxes I* (2000). Co-editor of *Studies in Persian History: Essays in Memory of David M. Lewis* (1998); editor of *Archives and Archival Traditions: Concepts of Record-Keeping in the Ancient World* (in preparation). **Essays:** Bactria, Parthians, Persian Wars, Persians, Sassanians.

Brown, C.G. Adjunct Professor, Department of Classics, George Washington University. **Essays:** Bouboulina, Old Calendarists, Sèvres

Brown, Christopher G. Chair, Department of Classical Studies, University of Western Ontario. Author of articles on Greek epic, lyric, drama, and religion. Contributor to *A Companion to Greek Lyric Poetry* (1997). **Essays:** Dithyramb, Poetry (Epic, antiquity), Poetry (Lyric, antiquity).

Bryer, Anthony A.M. Emeritus Professor of Byzantine Studies, University of Birmingham. Former Chairman of the British National Committee of the International Byzantine Association, and Convenor of the 21st International Byzantine Congress, Britain (2006). Author of *The Empire of Trebizond and the Pontos* (1980), *The Byzantine Monuments and Topography of the Pontos* (with David Winfield, 1985), *Peoples and Settlement in Anatolia and the Caucasus* (1986), and *The Post-Byzantine Monuments of the Pontos* (2000). **Essays:** Ani, Black Sea, Conversion, Crimea, Political History 1453–1832, Pontus, Trebizond.

Buckler, John. Professor of Greek History, University of Illinois. Author of *The Theban Hegemony, 371–362 BC* (1980), *Philip II and the Sacred War* (1989), and of articles on Greek history of the 4th century BC. Editor, with Hartmut Beister, of *Boiotika: Vorträge vom 5. Internationalen Böotien-Kolloquium zu Ehren von Professor Dr Siegfried Lauffer* (1989). Contributor to *American Historical Association's Guide to Historical Literature* (1995) and *The Oxford Classical Dictionary* (3rd edition 1996). **Essays:** Agesilaus II, Boeotia, Epaminondas, Marathon, Philip II, Thebes.

Buckton, David. Fellow of the Courtauld Institute of Art, University of London; Leverhulme Emeritus Fellow. Former Curator of Early Christian and Byzantine Antiquities, British Museum. Author of *Catalogue of the Medieval Enamels in the British Museum, 1: Byzantine and Early Medieval Western Enamel* (in preparation) and of articles on Byzantine enamels. Editor of *The Treasury of San Marco, Venice* (1984), *Studies in Medieval Art and Architecture, Presented to Peter Lasko* (with T.A. Heslop, 1994), and *Byzantium: Treasures of Byzantine Art and Culture* (1994). **Essay:** Enamel.

Budin, Stephanie Lynn. Graduate Student, University of Pennsylvania. Author of articles on gender and sexuality in the ancient Greek world. **Essays:** Gender, Women.

Campbell, J.K. Emeritus Fellow, St Antony's College, Oxford; former University Lecturer in Modern Balkan History. Author of *Honour, Family and Patronage: A Study of Institutions and Values in a Greek Mountain Community* (1964) and *Modern Greece* (with Philip Sherrard, 1969). Co-editor of *Europe Observed* (1995). **Essays:** Honour and Shame (modern), Patronage.

Carras, Costa. Vice-Chairman of Europa Nostra (Confederation of European Conservation Organizations). Author of *3000 Years of Greek Identity: Myth or Reality?* (1983) and of articles on the relation between Christian doctrine and the secular world. Co-editor of *Living Orthodoxy* (1996). Contributor to *Democracy and Civil Society in the Balkans* (1996). **Essays:** Chandris, Identity, Livanos, Makarios III, Orthodox Church.

Carson, Jeffrey. Professor of Literature and of Art History, Aegean Center for the Fine Arts. Author or editor of *Six and One Remorses for the Sky* (1972), *Paros* (with James Clark, 1977), *49 Scholia on the Poems of Odysseus Elytis* (1983), *The Temple and the Dolphin* (1995), *The Collected Poems of Odysseus Elytis* (1997), and *Poems 1974–1996* (1997). **Essays:** Menander, Poetry (Lyric, Byzantium and Modern), Renaissance (Palaiologan), Scopas.

Champion, Craige. Assistant Professor of History and Classical Languages, Allegheny College. Contributor to *Phoenix*, *American Journal of Philology*, *Historia*, *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, and *Bryn Mawr Classical Review*. **Essay:** Aetolia.

Cheal, Catheryn, L. Adjunct Professor, California State University, Northridge. Author of articles on Hellenistic clay sculptures and the coins of Selinus. Contributor to *Classical World*. **Essays:** Furniture, Silk.

Chimbos, Peter D. Professor of Sociology, University of Western Ontario. Author of *Marital Violence: A Study of Interspouse Homicide* (1978), *The Canadian Odyssey: The Greek Experience in Canada* (1980), and of articles on Greek communities in Canada. **Essays:** Civil War, World War II.

Chotzakoglou, Charalampos. Author of articles on Byzantine lead seals, Greek monks in Hungary, and on the appearance of the double-headed eagle in Byzantium. **Essay:** Eagle.

Christesen, Paul. Assistant Professor of Classics, Dartmouth College, New Hampshire. **Essays:** Finance, Taxation, Transhumance.

Chryssavgis, John. Professor of Theology, Holy Cross School of Theology, Brookline. Author of *Fire and Light* (1987), *Repentance and Confession* (1988, 1996), *Ascent to Heaven* (1989), *The Desert is Alive* (1991, 1994), *Love, Sexuality, and Marriage* (1996), *The Way of the Fathers* (1998), and *Beyond the Shattered Image* (1999). **Essays:** Australia, Monasticism.

Clay, Diskin. Professor of Classical Studies, Duke University. Author of *Lucretius and Epicurus* (1983), *Lucian of Samosata: Four Philosophical Lives* (1992), and *The Philosophical Inscription of Diogenes of Oenoanda* (1990), *Paradosis and Survival: Three Chapters in the History of Epicurean Philosophy* (1998), *Four Island Utopias* (with Andrea Purvis, 1999), and *Platonic Questions: Dialogues with the Silent Philosopher* (2000). Translator of *Philodemus: On Frank Criticism* (1988). Editor of the *American Journal of Philology*. **Essays:** Heroes and Heroines.

Conley, Thomas M. Professor of Speech Communication, University of Illinois, Urbana. Author of *Rhetoric in the European Tradition* (1990), *Byzantine Culture in Renaissance and Baroque Poland* (1994), "Byzantine Literary Criticism and the Uses of Literature" in *The Cambridge History of Literary Criticism*, vol. 2, edited by A. Minnis (in preparation), and an article on Aristotle's *Rhetoric* in Byzantium. **Essays:** Aristotelianism, Italos, Rhetoric, Second Sophistic, Sophists.

Connolly, David. Lecturer in Translation Studies, University of Athens. Translator of major 20th-century Greek poets, and author of articles on translating. **Essay:** Elytis.

Conomos, Dimitri. Visiting Professor, Royal Holloway and Bedford New College, University of London. Director of Studies, Academy of Theological Studies, Volos, Greece. Author and editor of publications for Syndesmos (the World Fellowship of Orthodox Youth) and the World Council of Churches. **Essay:** Ecumenism.

Constantinides, Stephanos. Professor, Department of Political Science, University of Quebec at Montreal; Director of the Centre for Hellenic Studies and Research (Canada). Author of *The Greeks in Canada* (1983), *The Social Structures of Cypriot Society and Their Influence on the Cyprus Question* (in Greek, 1995). Co-editor of *The Aegean Dispute* (1996) and *Greek Foreign Policy* 1997), and co-author of *Hellenism in the Twenty-First Century* (2000). Editor of *Etudes Helleniques/Hellenic Studies*. **Essays:** Fascism, George II, Turkey.

Constantoudaki, Maria. Assistant Professor of Byzantine Art, University of Athens. Author of "La pittura di icone a Creta veneziana (secoli XV e XVI)" in *Venezia e Creta*, edited by Gherardo Ortalli (1998), "L'arte dei pittori greci a Venezia" in *La pittura nel Veneto*, vol.3: *Il Cinquecento*, edited by Mauro Lucco (1999), and "Painting in Crete during the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries" in *El Greco: Identity and Transformation*, edited by José Alvarez Lopera (1999). Co-author of *Research in Kato Mani* (1993). **Essays:** Damaskinos, Klontzas, Tzanes.

Cormack, Robin. Deputy Director, Courtauld Institute of Art, University of London. Author of *Writing in Gold* (1985), *The Byzantine Eye* (1989), and *Painting the Soul* (1998). **Essay:** Renaissance (Veneto-Cretan).

Coumounduros, Mark A. Graduate student, Harvard University. Contributor to *Let's Go: Greece and Turkey 1998* (1997). **Essay:** Karamanlides.

Crowther, Nigel B. Associate Professor of Classical Studies, University of Western Ontario. Contributor to *Classical Quarterly*, *Greece and Rome*, *Phoenix*, *Nikephoros*, *American Journal of Philology*, *Mnemosyne*, *Eranos*, *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, and *Classical Philology*. **Essay:** Olympia.

Cunningham, Mary B. Honorary Fellow, Institute for Advanced Research in the Humanities, University of Birmingham. Author of *The Life of Michael the Synkellos* (1991). Editor of *Mount Athos and Byzantine Monasticism* (with Anthony Bryer, 1996) and *Bulletin for British Byzantine Studies*. Review editor of *Sobornost* (incorporating *Eastern Churches Review*). **Essay:** Andrew of Crete.

da Costa, Virginia M. Assistant Professor of Art History, West Chester University, Pennsylvania. Author of articles on Renaissance portrait medals and Roman relief carvings and coins. Editor and curator of *Mothers, Maidens, Sirens and Slaves: Images of Women in the Ancient World* (1996). **Essays:** Painting (antiquity), Portraiture, Purple.

Dalby, Andrew. Author of *Siren Feasts: A History of Food and Gastronomy in Greece* (1996) and of *Empire of Pleasures: Luxury and Indulgence in the Roman World* (2000). Editor and translator of *Cato: On Farming* (1998). **Essays:** Fairs and Markets, Food and Drink, Libraries, Oral Tradition, Symposium.

Dark, Ken. Lecturer, University of Reading, and Chair, Late Antiquity Research Group. **Essays:** Byzantine Period (Middle), Constantinople, Great Palace, Hagia Sophia, Hippodrome, Petra.

De Chaves, Lila Chronopoulos. Ethnologist, Curator of the Jewellery workshop, Benaki Museum, and Consultant of ELKA (the Greek National Goldsmiths Centre). Author of *Greek Jewellery in Space and Time: History of the Art and*

Craft (1994), and of articles on Coptic textiles, lace, and traditional costumes. Editor of *Friends of the Benaki Museum Bulletin*. Vice-President, UNESCO International Committee for the Preservation and Promotion of Folk Art and Culture. **Essay:** Metalwork.

Demetriou, Kyriacos. Assistant Professor, Department of Social and Political Science, University of Cyprus. Author of *George Grote on Plato and Athenian Democracy: A Study in Classical Reception* (1999). Contributor to *History of Political Thought*, *Utilitas*, *Dialogos*, *Polis*, *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*, *Quaderni di Storia*, and *Classical Views*. **Essay:** Paparrigopoulos.

Dickey, Eleanor. Assistant Professor of Greek, Columbia University. Author of *Commentary on Selected Odes of Pindar* (1991) and *Greek Forms of Address: From Herodotus to Lucian* (1996). Contributor to *Mnemosyne*, *Classical Quarterly*, *Language in Society*, and *Journal of Linguistics*. **Essays:** Homer, Josephus, Language, Lucian, Satyr Play.

Dijk, Gert-Jan van. Professor of Greek, Catholic University of Nijmegen and Amsterdam Free University. Author of "De theorie van de fabel in de Griekse Oudheid" in *Mijn naam is haas: Dierenverhalen in verschillende culturen*, edited by W.L. Idema, M. Schipper, and P.H. Schrijvers (1993), "Greek Fable Theory after Aristotle: Characters and Characteristics" in *Greek Literary Theory after Aristotle: A Collection of Papers in Honour of D.M. Schenkeveld*, edited by J.G.J. Abbenes, S.R. Slings, and I. Sluiter (1995), and *Ainoi, Logoi, Muthoi: Fables in Archaic, Classical, and Hellenistic Greek Literature* (1997). Contributor to *Mnemosyne*. **Essays:** Aesop, Babrius, Fable.

Dillery, John. Associate Professor of Classics, University of Virginia. Author of *Xenophon and the History of His Times* (1995). Editor of the 1998 Loeb edition of Xenophon's *Anabasis*. Contributor to *Classical Philology*, *Historia*, *Classical Quarterly*, *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, and *American Journal of Philology*. **Essays:** Isocrates, Theopompus, Xenophon.

Dover, Sir Kenneth. Chancellor of St Andrews University. Author of *Greek Word Order* (1960), *Lysias and the Corpus Lysiacum* (1968), *Greek Popular Morality in the Time of Plato and Aristotle* (1974), *Greek Homosexuality* (1978), *Greek and the Greeks* (1987), *The Greeks and Their Legacy* (1988), *Marginal Comment* (1994), and *The Evolution of Greek Prose Style* (1997). Co-author of *Historical Commentary on Thucydides*, vols 4 and 5 (1970 and 1980) and *Ancient Greek Literature* (1980). Editor of *Clouds* (1968) and *Frogs* (1993) by Aristophanes, *Select Poems* by Theocritus (1971), and *Perceptions of the Ancient Greeks* (1992). **Essays:** Aristophanes, Lysias, Thucydides.

Drosos, Fr Nektarios. Priest. Author of book on hagiography and articles on Thessalian history. **Essays:** Athanasios of Athos, Maximos the Greek, Olympus.

Edmonds, D.J. Freelance editor and lexicographer. Co-author of *The Oxford Dictionary for Writers and Editors* (1981), and author of *On Prayer* (with Fr Ioannikios Iliotis, 1991) and *The Oxford Reverse Dictionary* (1999). **Essay:** Nektarios of Aegina.

Edwards, Mark University Lecturer in Patristics, Oxford University. Co-author of *Portraits: Biographical Representation in the Greek and Latin Literature of the Roman Empire* (with S. Swain, 1997). Editor and translator of *Philoponus: Commentary on Aristotle, Physics III* (1994) and *Optatus: Against the Donatists* (1997). Contributor to the *Journal of Theological Studies*. **Essays:** Alchemy, Carneades, Christianity, Cynics, Dionysius the Areopagite, Eusebius, Gnostics, Irenaeus, New Testament, Origen, Paul, Theodoret.

Edwards, Michael J. Senior Lecturer in Classics, School of English and Drama, Queen Mary and Westfield College, University of London. Author of *Companion to Plutarch, Lives of Pompey, Caesar and Cicero* (1991), and *The Attic Orators* (1994). Editor of *Greek Orators*, vol. 1: *Antiphon and Lysias* (with S. Usher, 1985), *Greek Orators*, vol. 4: *Andocides* (1995), and *Lysias: Five Speeches* (1999). **Essays:** Aeschines, Demosthenes, Judicial Procedures, Magistrates, Ostracism, Political History 490–323 BC.

Ehaliotis, Constantinos. Lecturer, Agricultural University of Athens, and Research Fellow, National Agricultural Research Foundation. Contributor to *Agrivita*, *Soil Biology and Biochemistry*, and *FEMS Microbiology Ecology*. **Essay:** Pollution.

Ehaliotis, Rennos. Historian. Author of *Libraries of Sifnos, Cyclades: Catalogue of Printed Books* (with Nikos Andriotis, 1994). Currently engaged in the document transcription programme commissioned by the Oinousses Maritime Museum. **Essays:** Archives (modern), Croatia, Dalmatia, Historiography (modern), Nationalism, Papanastasiou.

Ekdawi, Sarah. Faculty Research Fellow, University of Oxford. Author of "Cavafy's Mythical Ephebes" in *Ancient Greek Myth in Modern Greek Poetry*, edited by Peter Mackridge (1996), and other articles on the poetry of Angelos Sikelianos and C.P. Cavafy. Contributor to *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*, *Journal of Modern Greek Studies*, and other journals. **Essays:** Cavafy, Sikelianos.

Erskine, Andrew. Senior Lecturer, Department of Classics, University College, Dublin. Author of *Hellenistic Stoa: Political Thought and Action* (1990) and *Troy Between Greece and Rome: Local Tradition and Imperial Power* (in preparation). **Essay:** Polybius.

Evans, J.D.G. Professor of Logic and Metaphysics, Queen's University of Belfast. Author of *Aristotle's Concept of Dialectic* (1977), *Aristotle* (1987), and *Moral Philosophy and Contemporary Problems* (1987). Contributor to the *Cambridge Philological Society*, *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, *Classical Review*, *Aristotelian Society Proceedings*, and *Philosophical Quarterly*. **Essays:** Dialectic, Parmenides.

Evans, James Allan. Professor Emeritus, University of British

Columbia. Author of *A Social and Economic History of an Egyptian Temple in Greco-Roman Egypt* (1961), *Procopius* (1972), *Herodotus* (1981), *Herodotus, Explorer of the Past: Three Essays* (1991), *The Age of Justinian: The Circumstances of Imperial Power* (1996), and a book on the empress Theodora (in preparation). **Essays:** Independence, Leonidas, Magna Graecia, Mavromichalis family, Sicily, Syracuse.

Evely, Don. Freelance research archaeologist. Author of *Minoan Crafts: Tools and Techniques* (1993). Co-editor of *Knossos: A Labyrinth of History* (1994) and *Minotaur and Centaur* (1996). **Essays:** Knossos, Minoans.

Fennell, Nicholas. Assistant Master, Winchester College. **Essay:** Paisy Velichkovsky.

Fernandes, Eugénie. Lecturer at the University of Liverpool and Member of King's College, Cambridge. **Essays:** Adultery, Antiquity, Children, Disease, Divorce, Dowry, Marriage, Prostitution, Spells.

Fiedler, Barbara. Lecturer in Classics, George Washington University. Author of "Ritual Innovation and Political Change in Iron Age Greece" in *Papers of the World Archaeological Congress, Southampton* (1986). **Essays:** Canals, Land Tenure, Water Management.

Fisher, Elizabeth, A. Associate Professor and Chair, Department of Classics/Semitics, George Washington University. Author of *Planudes' Greek Translation of Ovid's Metamorphoses* (1990) and *Michael Psellus: Orationes Hagiographicae* (1994). Translator of "The Life of Nikephoros, Patriarch of Constantinople" in *Defenders of the Images* (1998). Contributor to *Byzantion*, *Yale Classical Studies*, *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*, *Arethusa*, *Byzantinoslavica*, *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, and *Classical Outlook*. **Essay:** Planudes.

Fleming, K.E. Assistant Professor of History and Hellenic Studies, New York University. Author of *The Muslim Bonaparte: Diplomacy and Orientalism in Ali Pasha's Greece* (1999) and of articles on Turkish and Greek history. Book editor, *Southeast European Monitor*. **Essays:** Antisemitism, Armatoloi, Hellenism and Neohellenism, Hellenism as Viewed by Visitors, Ioannina, Janissaries, Jerusalem, Mar Saba, Ottoman Period, Souli, Ali Pasha.

Foley, Anne. Associate Professor, Classics Department, Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario. Author of *Argos and the Argolid, 800–600 BC: An Archaeological Survey* (1988), "Idle Speculation about Argos? Some Thoughts on the Present State of Eighth and Seventh Century Argive Studies" in *Klados: Essays in Honour of Professor J.N. Coldstream, BICS*, edited by C. Morris and A. Peatfield (1995), "Ethnicity and the Topography of Burials in the Geometric Period", *Argos et l'Argolide: Topographie et urbanisme*, edited by A. Pariente and G. Touchais (1998), and "Pheidon of Argos: A Reassessment" in *Argolo-Korinthiaka I*, edited by J. Fossey and P.J. Smith (1999). Contributor to *Excavations in the Levendis Sector at Asine, 1973–1974 and 1989*, edited by R. Hägg and G. Nordquist (in preparation). **Essays:** Archaic Period, Geometric Period, Nauplia.

Foss, Clive. Professor of History, University of Massachusetts. Author of *Byzantine and Turkish Sardis* (1976), *Ephesus after Antiquity* (1979), *Roman Historical Coins* (1990), and *Nicaea* (1996). **Essays:** Ephesus, Nicaea, Political History 802–1204.

French, Elizabeth. Co-author of *The Mycenae Atlas* (in preparation). Co-editor of *Well Built Mycenae*. **Essays:** Mycenae, Mycenaeans, Pylos, Tiryns.

Frend, William H.C. Retired Professor and Clerk in Holy Orders; currently, Bye-Fellow of Gonville and Caius College. Author of *The Donatist Church: A Movement of Protest in Roman North Africa* (1952, 1985), *Martyrdom and Persecution in the Early Church* (1965), *The Early Church* (1965, 1991), *The Rise of the Monophysite Movement* (1972, 1979), *The Rise of Christianity* (1984), and *The Archaeology of Early Christianity* (1996). **Essays:** Copts, Gortyn, Martyrdom, Monophysites, Nestorius, Nicopolis.

Gallou, Chrysanthi. Doctoral candidate, Department of Archaeology, University of Nottingham. **Essay:** Tripolis.

Gantzias, George K. Lecturer in Communication Policy, City University, London. Author of *The Info-Communication Industry* (1998) and the forthcoming books *Digital Communication, New Media and Information Society in Greece: Convergence, Electronic Commerce and Portals* (with Demetris I. Kamaras), *Media Power, Digital Communication and Digital Markets in Greece* (with Kamaras), and *The Dynamics of Regulation*. Editor of the series *Communication, Media and Cyber Space* for Zeno Publishers, of the electronic journal *Greekpolitics* (www.greekelections.gr), and of the info-communication policy issue of *Synthesis: Review of Modern Greek Studies* (in preparation). **Essay:** Media (with Demetris I. Kamaras).

Gardikas, Katerina. Teacher of History in the Department of Journalism and Mass Communication, Aristotle University, Thessalonica. Author of "The Changing Language of Political Contention" in *Greek Society in the Making, 1863–1913: Realities, Symbols and Visions*, edited by Philip Carabott (1997) and *Protasia kai eggyiseis* [Protection and Guarantees] (1999), Contributor to *Balkan Studies* and *Deltiou tou Kentrou Erevnis Istorias Neoterou Ellinismou* (1998). **Essays:** Deliyannis, George I, Otho, Thessalonica.

Garland, Robert. Roy D. and Margaret B. Wooster Professor of the Classics, Colgate University. Author of *The Greek Way of Death* (1985), *The Piraeus* (1987), *The Greek Way of Life* (1990), *Introducing New Gods* (1992), *Religion and the Greeks* (1994), *The Eye of the Beholder* (1995), and *Daily Life of the Ancient Greeks* (1998). **Essays:** Afterlife, Death, Hades, Piraeus, Priesthood, Travel..

Garrett, Martin. Writer and lecturer. Author of *Massinger: The Critical Heritage* (1991), *Greece: A Literary Companion* (1994), *Sidney: The Critical Heritage* (1996), *Traveller's*

Literary Companion to Italy (1998), *A Browning Chronology: Elizabeth Barrett Browning and Robert Browning* (1999), and *George Gordon, Lord Byron* (2000). **Essays:** Byron, Corfu, Hadrian, Hieron I, Missolonghi, Ravenna, Rome.

GavriloviD, Zaga. Honorary Fellow, Institute for Advanced Research in the Humanities, University of Birmingham. Contributor to *Cahiers Archéologiques*, *Zograf*, *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik*, *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*, *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, *Byzantinische Forschungen*, *The Dictionary of Art*, and *Dictionary of Eastern Christianity*. **Essays:** Bosnia, Montenegro.

Georganas, Ioannis. Research Student at the University of Nottingham. Contributor to *Corpus: Magazine of Archaeology and History*. **Essay:** Trade.

Gill, David. W.J. Senior Lecturer in Ancient History, University of Wales, Swansea. Author of *Artful Crafts: Ancient Greek Silverware and Pottery* (with Michael Vickers, 1994). Editor of *The Book of Acts in Its First Century Setting*, vol.2: *Graeco-Roman Setting* (with Conrad Gempf, 1994). Contributor to *The Oxford Classical Dictionary* (3rd edition 1996), *The Cambridge Illustrated History of Archaeology*, edited by P.G. Bahn (1996), and to the *American Journal of Archaeology*, *Annual of the British School at Rome*, *Antiquity*, *International Journal of Nautical Archaeology and Underwater Exploration*, *Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts*, *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, *Libyan Studies*, *Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts: Römische Abteilung*, *Oxford Journal of Archaeology*, *Revue des Etudes Anciennes*, and *Revue Archéologique*. **Essays:** Cyrenaica, Lysippus, Mines and Quarries, Pastoralism, Praxiteles, Sculpture.

Given, Michael. Research Fellow, Department of Archaeology, University of Glasgow. Co-author of *Under the Clock: Colonial Architecture and History in Cyprus* (1995). Contributor to *Journal of Mediterranean Studies*, *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology*, *Levant*, *Deus Loci* and *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus*. **Essays:** Cyprus, Estates.

Gkamas, Dimitrios. Doctoral candidate, Manchester Business School. Contributor to *Money (Greece)* and *Money and Market (Greece)*. **Essays:** Banking, Hydra, Patras, Railways, Tobacco, Volos.

Goldstein, Erik. Professor of International Relations, Boston University. Author of *Winning the Peace: British Diplomatic Strategy, Peace Planning, and the Paris Peace Conference, 1916–1920* (1991), *Wars and Peace Treaties* (1992) and "The New Europe and the New Greece" in *Greece and Europe in the Modern Period: Aspects of a Troubled Relationship*, edited by P. Carabott (1995). Co-editor of *The End of the Cold War* (1990) and *The Washington Conference, 1921–22: Naval Rivalry, East Asian Stability, and the Road to Pearl Harbor* (1994). Editor of *Diplomacy and Statecraft*. Member of the editorial board of *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*. **Essays:** Metaxas, Venizelos.

Gothóni, René. Professor of Comparative Religion, University of Helsinki. Author of *Modes of Life of Theravada Monks: A Case Study of Buddhist Monasticism in Sri Lanka* (1982), *Paradise Within Reach: Monasticism and Pilgrimage on Mt Athos* (1993), *Tales and Truth: Pilgrimage on Mount Athos Past and Present* (1994), *How to Survive in Academia* (1996), and *Attitudes and Interpretations in Comparative Religion* (2000). Editor-in-chief of *Byzantium and the North* and *Acta Byzantina Fennica*. **Essays:** Monasteries, Pilgrimage.

Gounaris, Basil C. Head of Research Department, Museum of the Macedonian Struggle. Author of *Steam over Macedonia* (1993) and *Stis Ochthes tou Ydragora* [On the Banks of Ydragoras] (2000). Editor of *Taftotites Sti Makedonia* [Identities in Macedonia] (1997). Contributor to *Journal of Modern Greek Studies*, *Balkan Studies*, *East European Quarterly*, *Journal of Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*, *Review*, *Makedhonika*, and *Ellinika*. **Essays:** Macedonia, Theotokis (George).

Graham, Daniel W. Professor of Philosophy, Brigham Young University. Author of *Aristotle's Two Systems* (1987). Editor of Gregory Vlastos, *Studies in Greek Philosophy* (1995). Translator of Aristotle's *Physics, Book VIII* (1999). Contributor to *Philosophical Quarterly*, *Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie*, *Journal of the History of Ideas*, *Journal of the History of Philosophy*, *Classical Quarterly*, *American Journal of Philology*, *Oxford Studies in Ancient Philosophy*, *Apeiron*, *Phronesis*, and *Ancient Philosophy*. **Essays:** Cosmology, Empedocles, Heraclitus.

Graham, Mark W. Doctoral candidate and History Instructor, Michigan State University. Contributor to *Military Women Worldwide* (in preparation) and to *Medieval Prosopography*. **Essay:** Diocese.

Greatrex, G.B. Assistant Professor, Department of Classics, Dalhousie University, Halifix, Nova Scotia. Author of *Rome and Persia at War, 502–532* (1998). Contributor to *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, *Byzantion*, and *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*. **Essay:** Procopius of Caesarea.

Greene, Molly. Associate Professor, Princeton University. Author of "Bankrolling the Sultan: The Career of a 19th-Century Greek Patriot" in *Trading Cultures: The Worlds of Western Merchants*, edited by Jeremy Adelman and Steve Aaron (1999), *A Shared World: Christians and Muslims in the Early Modern Mediterranean* (2000), and an article on Ottoman land policy in Crete. **Essays:** Berlin, Great Idea, Lausanne, Rumeli.

Greenfield, Richard P.H. Associate Professor, Department of History, Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario. Author of *Traditions of Belief in Late Byzantine Demonology* (1988), "Sorcery and Politics at the Byzantine Court in the Twelfth Century: Interpretations of History" in *The Making of Byzantine History: Studies Dedicated to Donald M. Nicol*, edited by R. Beaton and C. Roueché (1993), "A Contribution to the Study of Palaeologan Magic" in *Byzantine Magic*, edited

by H. Maguire (1995), "The Wayside Shrines of the Argolid" in *Argolo-Korinthiaka I*, edited by J. Fossey and P.J. Smith (1999), and *The Life of St Lazaros Galesiotes* (2000). **Essays:** Divination, Evil Eye, Magic, Necromancy, Shrines.

Grond, Maarten J. Teacher of classical languages at the Sint Maartens College, Maastricht. Contributor to *Nestornieuws*. **Essays:** Kalamata, Messene, Messenia.

Grünbart, Michael. Librarian, Fachbibliothek für Byzantinistik und Neogräzistik, University of Vienna. Author of an article on John Tzetzes in *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* (1996). **Essays:** Eustathios, Tzetzes.

Haldon, John. Professor of Byzantine History and Director of the Centre for Byzantine, Ottoman and Modern Greek Studies, University of Birmingham. Author of *Recruitment and Conscription in the Byzantine Army c.550–950: A Study of the Origins of the Stratiotika Ktemata* (1979), *Byzantine Praetorians* (1984), *Byzantium in the Seventh Century* (1990), *State, Army and Society in Byzantium: Approaches to Military, Social and Administrative History, 6th–12th Centuries* (1995), and *Warfare, State and Society in Byzantium 550–1204* (1999). Editor of *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*.

Hall, Jonathan M. Assistant Professor, Departments of History and Classics, University of Chicago. Co-author of "Achaian Poleis and Achaian Colonization" in *Introduction to an Inventory of Poleis*, edited by M.H. Hansen (1996). Author of *Ethnic Identity in Greek Antiquity* (1997), "Sparta, Lakedaimon and the Nature of Perioikic Dependency" in *Further Studies on the Ancient Greek Polis*, edited by P. Flensted-Jensen (2000), and of articles on ethnicity in *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society* and *Omnibus*, and on Argive archaeology and history in the *American Journal of Archaeology*. **Essays:** Aeolians, Colonization, Dark Age, Dorians, Hellenes, Ionians, Political History to 490 BC.

Hamblet, Wendy C. Advanced Graduate Student in Philosophy, Pennsylvania State University. Contributor to *Face to Face with the Real World: Contemporary Applications of Levinas* (in preparation), *Eidos*, and *Philosophical Writings*. **Essay:** Ancestor Worship.

Hanson, Victor Davis. Professor of Greek, California State University, Fresno. Author of *Warfare and Agriculture in Classical Greece* (1983, 1998), *The Western Way of Warfare* (1989, 2000), *The Other Greeks* (1995, 1999), *Fields without Dreams* (1996), *Who Killed Homer? The Demise of Classical Education and the Recovery of Greek Wisdom* (with John Heath, 1998, 2000), *The Wars of the Ancient Greeks* (1999) and *The Soul of Battle* (1999). Member of the editorial board of *Arion* and *Military History Quarterly*. **Essays:** Oligarchy, Vine, Warfare (Antiquity).

Hardwick, Lorna. Senior Lecturer in Classical Studies, The Open University. Author of "Convergence and Divergence in Reading Homer" in *Homer: Readings and Images* (1992) edited by with C. Emlyn-Jones, L. Hardwick, and J. Purkis, "Ancient Amazons: Heroes, Outsiders or Women?" in *Women in Antiquity*, edited by I. McAuslan and P. Walcot (1996), "A Daidalos in the Late Modern Age? Transplanting Homer into Derek Walcott's The Odyssey: A Stage Version" in *Proceedings of the January Conference: The Reception of Classical Texts and Images* (1996), *Translating Words: Translating Cultures* (in preparation), and articles on Greek social and cultural history and literature. Contributor to the *International Journal of the Classical Tradition*. Editor of *Reception of the Texts and Images of Ancient Greece* database (http://www2.open.ac.uk/ClassicalStudies/GreekPlays/index.html). Member of the European Network of Research and Documentation of Greek Drama. **Essay:** Tragedy.

Harlaftis, Gelina. Assistant Professor of Maritime Economic History, University of Piraeus. Author of *Greek Shipowners and Greece, 1945-1975: From Separate Development to Mutual Inderdepence* (1993), *A History of Greek-Owned Shipping: The Making of an International Tramp Fleet, 1830 to the Present Day* (1996, winner of the Runciman Award), "The Maritime Historiography of Greece since 1975" in *Maritime History at the Crossroads*, edited by Frank Broeze (1995) and articles on the history of Greek shipping. Co-editor of *Global Markets: The Internationalization of Sea Transport Industries since the 1850s* (1998) **Essay:** Onassis.

Harris, Anthea. Part-time researcher, University of Reading. **Essay:** Commonwealth.

Harris, Jonathan. Lecturer in Byzantine History, Hellenic Institute, Royal Holloway and Bedford New College, University of London. Author of *Greek Emigres in the West* (1995). Contributor to *Byzantinoslavica*, *Revue des Etudes Byzantines*, *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, *Journal of Medieval History*, and *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*. **Essays:** Archives (Byzantium), Argyropoulos, Bessarion, Chrysoloras, Gaza (Theodore), George of Trebizond, Plethon, Theophanes of Crete, Theotokopoulos.

Harrison, Thomas. Lecturer in Ancient History, School of Greek, Latin and Ancient History, University of St Andrews. Author of *Divinity and History: The Religion of Herodotus* (2000), *The Emptiness of Asia: Aeschylus' Persians and the History of the Fifth Century* (2000), *Greek Religion: Belief and Experience* (in preparation), and articles on ancient historiography. Editor of *Greeks and Barbarians* (in preparation). Series editor of the Duckworth Classical Essays, Duckworth Companions to Ancient Tragedy, and Duckworth Archaeological Histories. Joint series editor for *Readings in the Ancient World*, Edinburgh University Press. **Essays:** Foreigners, Herodotus, Religion, Tyranny.

Hendrikx, J.F.W. Adviser on fine arts. Chair, Association of Friends of the Netherlands Institute at Athens. **Essay:** Tsarouchis

Henig, Martin. Visiting Lecturer in Roman Art, University of Oxford. Editor of *A Handbook of Roman Art* (1983). Author of *Religion in Roman Britain* (1984), *The Content Family Collection of Ancient Cameos* (1990), *Roman Sculpture from*

the Cotswold Region (1993), *Classical Gems: Ancient and Modern Cameos in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge* (1994), *The Art of Roman Britain* (1995), and *Roman Oxfordshire* (with Paul Booth, 2000). Editor of *Classicism to Neo-Classicism: Essays Dedicated to Gertrud Seidmann* (with Dimitris Plantzos, 1999). Honorary editor of *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*. **Essay:** Gems and Seals.

Hetherington, Paul. Retired. Author of *The "Painter's Manual" of Dionysius of Fourna* (1974, 1997), *Byzantium* (1981), and *Byzantine and Medieval Greece: Churches, Castles and Art* (1991). Contributor to *Apollo, Arte Veneta, Burlington Magazine, Byzantinische Zeitschrift, Cahiers Archéologiques, Dumbarton Oaks Papers, Gazette des Beaux-Arts, Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik, Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, Rinascimento*, and *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*. **Essays:** Aegina, Arta, Cos, Dionysios of Phourna, Lemnos, Melos, Mistra, Monemvasia, Patmos, Samos, Samothrace, Symi, Thasos, Tinos.

Hidber, Thomas. Assistant, Classics Department, Berne University. Author of *Das Klassizistische Manifest des Dionys von Halikarnass: Die Praefatio zu "De Oratoribus veteribus"* (1996). Contributor to *Der Neue Pauly: Enzyklopädie der Antike* and to *Metzler Lexikon der antiken Autoren*. **Essay:** Dionysius of Halicarnassus.

Higgins, Michael D. Professor of Geology, University of Québec at Chicoutimi, Canada. Author of *A Geological Companion to Greece and the Aegean* (1996). **Essays:** Copper and Tin, Earthquakes, Geology, Gold, Iron, Marble, Minerals, Silver and Lead, Volcanoes.

Hinterberger, Martin. Research Fellow, Kommission für Byzantinistik der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenchaften. Author of *Autobiographische Traditionen in Byzanz* (1999). **Essay:** Sphrantzes.

Hoffman, C.A. Independent scholar. **Essays:** Atheism, Superstition.

Holst-Warhaft, Gail. Associate Professor of Classics and Comparative Literature, Cornell University. Author of *Road to Rembetika* (1975), *Theodorakis: Myth and Politics in Modern Greek Music* (1980), *Dangerous Voices: Women's Laments and Greek Literature* (1992), and *The Cue for Passion: Grief and Its Political Uses* (2000). Translator of *Collected Poems of Nikos Kavadias* (1987) and other works of modern and ancient Greek literature. Poetry editor of *BookPress*. Book editor of *Journal of Modern Greek Studies*. Former Music critic, *Nation Review* (Australia). **Essays:** Theodorakis, Xenakis.

Holton, David. Lecturer in Modern Greek, University of Cambridge, and Fellow of Selwyn College. Author of *Diegesis tou Alexandrou* (1974) and *Greek: A Comprehensive Grammar of The Modern Language* (with Peter Mackridge and Irene Philippaki-Warburton, 1997). Editor of *Literature and Society in Renaissance Crete* (1991) and of *Kambos: Cambridge Papers in Modern Greek*. Member of the editorial board of *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* and of the international advisory board of *Journal of Mediterranean Studies*. **Essays:** Chortatsis, Kornaros.

Ierodiakonou, Katerina. Assistant Professor in Ancient Philosophy and Logic, National Technical University, Athens. Author of "The Image of Young Men in Visual Arts and Kavafis' Poems" in *Kavafis and the Young Men*, edited by D. Maronitis (1984, in Greek), "Rediscovering Some Stoic Arguments" in *Greek Studies in the Philosophy and History of Science*, edited by P. Nicolacopoulos (1990), *Alexander of Aphrodisias on Aristotle Prior Analytics 1.1–7* (1991), "The Stoic Indemonstrables in the Later Tradition" in *Dialektiker und Stoiker: Zur Logik der Stoa und ihrer Vorlaufer*, edited by K. Döring and T. Ebert (1993), "Alexander of Aphrodisias on Medicine as a Stochastic Art" in *Ancient Medicine in Its Socio-Cultural Context*, edited by Ph.J. van der Eijk *et al.* (1995), "Aspasius on Perfect and Imperfect Virtues" in *Aspasius: The Earliest Extant Commentary on Aristotle's Ethics*, edited by A. Alberti and R.W. Sharples (1999), *Analysis in Stoic Logic* (in preparation), *Michael Psellos' Paraphrasis on Aristotle's De Interpretatione* (in preparation), and "Michael Psellos' Scholia on the *Prior Analytics*" in *L'Organon d'Aristote et ses commentateurs*, edited by R. Bodéus and L. Dorion (in preparation). Editor of *Topics in Stoic Philosophy* (1999). **Essays:** Blemmydes, Logic, Metochites, Michael of Ephesus, Philoponus, Stoicism.

Irmscher, Johannes. Professor Emeritus, Academy of Sciences, Berlin. Author of *Götterzorn bei Homer* (1950), *Einführung in die Byzantinistik* (1971), *Aristoteles als Wissenschafts Theoretiker* (1982), *Antike Fabeln* (1988), and many other books and articles on ancient and Byzantine Greece. **Essays:** Arcadia, Socrates, Velestinlis.

Jeffreys, Elizabeth M. Bywater and Sotheby Professor, University of Oxford. Author of *The War of Troy* (1996) and *Digenis Akritis* (1998). Co-author of *Popular Literature in Late Byzantium* (1983). Editor of *Byzantine Papers* (1981) and *Studies in John Malalas* (1990). Co-translator of *The Chronicle of John Malalas* (1986). **Essays:** Chronicles, Chronology, Digenis Akritis, Doukas family, Hagiography.

Jeffreys, Michael. Sir Nicholas Laurantus Professor of Modern Greek, University of Sydney. Co-author of *Popular Literature in late Byzantium* (1983). Co-translator of *The Chronicle of John Malalas* (1986). **Essays:** Komnenos family, Modern Period, Poetry (Epic, Byzantium and modern).

Jenkins, Fred W. Head of Collection Management and Associate Professor, Roesch Library, University of Dayton. Author of *Classical Studies: A Guide to the Reference Literature* (1996). Contributor to *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik, Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists, College and Research Libraries News, Eranos, Studia Papyrologica*, and *Archiv für Papyrusforschung*. **Essay:** Archives (antiquity).

Johnson, Edward. Professor and Chair, Department of Philosophy, University of New Orleans. Contributor to *Ethics*

and Animals, edited by Harlan B. Miller and William H. Williams (1983), *Earthbound* (1984), *Animal Rights and Human Obligations*, edited by Tom Regan and Peter Singer (1989), *Encyclopedia of Ethics* (1992), *Cambridge Dictionary of Philosophy* (1995), *Nagging Questions*, edited by Dana E. Bushnell (1995), *Human Sexuality* (1997), *Encyclopedia of Applied Ethics* (1998), and to *Environmental Ethics*, *Ethics and Animals*, *Between the Species*, *Ethics*, *Philosophical Review*, *Social Science Quarterly*, *Philosophy of the Social Sciences*, and *Tulane Studies in Philosophy*. **Essays:** Freedom, Humanism.

Jurgens, Jane. Instructor of Information Studies and Librarian, Minneapolis Community and Technical College, Minnesota. Author of articles on Albanian-Americans and Greek-Americans in the *Gale Encyclopedia of Multi-Cultural America* (1995). **Essay:** Pallis.

Kaegi, Walter E. Professor of History, The Oriental Institute, University of Chicago. Author of *Byzantium and the Decline of Rome* (1968), *Byzantine Military Unrest* (1981), *Army, Society and Religion in Byzantium* (1982), *Byzantium and the Early Islamic Conquests* (1992, 1995), and "Egypt on the Eve of the Muslim Conquest" in the *Cambridge History of Egypt*, edited by C. Petry (1998). **Essays:** Africa, Herakleios, Warfare (Byzantium), Yarmuk.

Kalogeras, Dimitris A. Attorney at Law and doctoral candidate, University of Amsterdam. Author of "Grundzüge des griechischen Seerechts" in *Griechisches Wirtschafts und Unternehmensrecht*, edited by I.M. Papagiannis (1997), and of articles on legal matters in *Athens University Law Review*, *Efarmoges*, and *Review Enausma*. Member of the board of directors of *Athens University Law Review*. **Essays:** Canon Law, Cleomenes III.

Kamaras, Demetris I. Doctoral candidate, Graduate School of Journalism, City University, London. Author (with George K. Gantzias) of the forthcoming books *Digital Communication, New Media and Information Society in Greece: Convergence, Electronic Portals and Portals* and *Media Power, Digital Communication and Digital Markets in Greece*. Senior Editor (Business), *Epilogy Monthly Economic Review*. Senior Editor of the electronic journal *Greekpolitics* (www.greekelections.gr). **Essay:** Media (with George K. Gantzias).

Kamperidis, Lambros. Assistant Professor, Université de Sherbrooke. Author of *To Nay To Glyky...To Praon* (1982, 1990), *Apo Ton Bret Harte Ston Papadiamandi* (1992), and *The Greek Monasteries of Sozopolis: XIV–XVII Centuries* (1993). Editor of *Alexandros Papadiamandis: Short Stories and Essays* (in preparation). Contributor to *Parabola* and *Indiktos*. **Essays:** Diaspora, Mavrokordatos family, Neomartyrs, Romanticism, Ypsilantis family.

Kapsomera, Celia. Assistant Vice-President, Gerling Global Reinsurance, New York. Author of short stories published in *Ta Nea* and *Kathimerini* (1980–81). **Essay:** Sporades.

Karageorghis, Vassos. Professor Emeritus, University of Cyprus. Author of many books and articles on ancient Cyprus. **Essays:** Paphos, Salamis (city).

Karamanolis, George E. Doctoral candidate in ancient philosophy, Keble College, Oxford. **Essays:** Academy, Books and Readers, Choricius of Gaza, Diogenes Laertius, Epigram, Fate, Lyceum, Orphism, Pyrrho, Zeno.

Karanika-Dimarogona, Andromache. Doctoral candidate, Classics Department, Princeton University. Co-author of a textbook on modern Greek (in preparation). **Essays:** Ambelakia, Apulia, Calabria, Gods and Goddesses, Italy, Nonnus, Orgiastic Cults, Pelion, Prevelakis, Prodromos, Sacrifice, Women's Cults.

Karlin-Hayter, Patricia. Author of *Vita Euthymii Patriarchae* (1970) and *Studies in Byzantine Political History* (1981). Contributor to *Analecta Bollandiana*, *Byzantion*, *Byzantinische Forschungen*, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, *Byzantinoslavica*, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, *Jahrbuch des Österreichischen Byzantinistik*, *Revue Bénedictine*, *Revue des Etudes Byzantines*, *Speculum*, and *Traditio*. **Essays:** Arethas of Caesarea, Iconoclasm, Leo III, Leo the Mathematician, Theodora [d.867], Theodore of Stoudios.

Kartsonakis, Manolis. Teacher of Technology. Author of "Reasons for the Non-acceptance of Aristarchus' Heliocentric Theory: Aspects of an Astronomical Conflict" in *Ancient Greek Mathematics*, edited by D.A. Anapolitanos and B. Karasmanis (1993, in Greek), "Greek Philosophy and Christian Principles on Nature in Nikephoros Blemmydes' *Summary of Physics*" in *Orthodox Church and Science of Nature*, edited by G.D. Metalinos and L. Zouros (1996, in Greek), and "The Comparative Study of Newtonian Law of Motion and Pre-Newtonian Laws of Motions" (in Greek) in *Essays of 7th Congress of the Union of Greek Physicists* (in preparation). **Essay:** Simplicius.

Kasdagli, Aglaia. Lecturer, Department of History and Archaeology, University of Crete. Author of *Land and Marriage Settlements in the Aegean: A Case Study of Seventeenth-Century Naxos* (1999). Editor of the papers of the Scottish philhellene Thomas Gordon and author of articles about Gordon and his archive. **Essay:** Philhellenes.

Kazamias, George. Lecturer, Department of European Studies, University of Bradford. Author of articles on occupied Greece in World War II and on Greek security in *Balkan Studies*. **Essays:** Asia Minor Campaign, Balkan Wars, Communist Party, Constantine I, Constitution, EAM and ELAS, Niarchos, Political History since 1832, Refugees, St Catherine's Monastery, World War I.

Keen, Antony G. Associate Lecturer, Open University. Author of *Dynastic Lycia* (1998) and of an article on Athenian campaigns in Karia and Lycia in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*. **Essays:** Lycia, Xanthus.

Kefalas, Georgia. Consultant, Anderson Consulting. **Essay:** Chatsidakis.

Kefallonitou, Frangiska. Director of the Byzantine Museum of Ioannina. **Essay:** Zagori.

Kennedy, Jennifer Y.T. Freelance writer. **Essay:** Naxos.

Kislinger, Ewald. Associate Professor, Institut für Byzantinistik und Neogräzistik der Universität Wien. Author of many articles on Byzantine history, material culture and everyday life in *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik*, *Byzantinoslavica*, *Diptycha*, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, *Byzantiaka*, and other journals. Editor of Anna Muthesius, *Byzantine Silk Weaving* AD *400 to* AD *1200* (1997). Contributor to the annual news-bibliography of *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*. **Essays:** Andronikos I, Pelagonia.

Kitromilides, Paschalis. Professor of Political Science, University of Athens, and Director, Institute of Neohellenic Research, National Hellenic Research Foundation. Author (in English) of *Cyprus* (1982, 1995), *The Enlightenment as Social Criticism: Iosipos Moisiodax and Greek Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (1992), *Enlightenment, Nationalism, Orthodoxy: Studies in the Culture and Political Thought of South-Eastern Europe* (1994). Author (in Greek) of *Political Thinkers of the Modern Era* (1989, 1999), *The French Revolution and Southeastern Europe* (1990, 2000), *Modern Greek Enlightenment Political and Social Ideas* (1996, 1999), and *Rhigas Velestinlis Theory and Practice* (1998). Co-editor (in English) of *Small States in the Modern World: The Conditions of Survival* (1979) and *Culture and Society in Contemporary Europe: A Casebook* (1981).

Kosso, Cynthia K. Associate Professor of History, Northern Arizona University. Author of an article on a late Roman complex at Palaiochora in southern Euboea and other articles on Roman Greece. Contributor to *Philosophy of Science*. **Essays:** Achaea, Chalcis, Euboea, Political History 31 BC–AD 330, Roman Period.

Krikos-Davis, Katerina. Honorary Research Fellow, University of Birmingham. Author of *Diavazontas ton Seferi* (1989), *Kolokes: A Study of George Seferis' Logbook III (1953–1955)* (1994), and "Seferis and the Myth of Adonis" in *Ancient Greek Myth in Modern Greek Poetry*, edited by P. Mackridge (1996). Contributor to *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*, *Folia Neohellenica*, *Journal of Modern Greek Studies*, *Mandatoforos*, and *Scandinavian Studies in Modern Greek*. **Essays:** Enosis, Seferis.

Kyllo, Eric. Lecturer, Department of Classics, Baylor University. Author of an article on Lucretius in *Classical Bulletin* (1997) and numerous reviews. **Essays:** Harbours, Julian the Apostate, Larissa, Ottomans.

Lambrou, Michael. Associate Professor of Mathematics, University of Crete. Author and translator of several books. Contributor to the *Bulletin of the London Mathematical Society*, *Fundamenta Mathematicae*, *Indiana University Mathematical Journal*, *Integral Equations and Operator Theory*, *Journal of Approximation Theory*, *Journal of the London Mathematical Society*, *Journal of Mathematical Analysis and Applications*, *Journal of Operator Theory*, *Linear Algebra and Its Applications*, *Memoirs of the American Mathematical Society*, *Proceedings of the American Mathematical Society*, and *Studia Mathematica*. Scientific Adviser to *Quantum*. **Essay:** Hypatia.

Lapatin, Kenneth D.S. Professor of Art History, Boston University. Author of "Antiquity Consumed: Transformations at San Marco" in *Antiquity and Its Interpreters*, edited by Alina Payne *et al.* (2000) and *Chryselephantine Statuary in the Ancient Mediterranean World* (in preparation). Contributor to *Archaeology*, *American Journal of Archaeology*, *Art Bulletin*, *Bonner Jahrbücher des Rheinischen Landesmuseums*, *Museum Helveticum*, *Hesperia*, *Bryn Mawr Classical Review*, *International Journal of the Classical Tradition*, and *Source: Notes in the History of Art*. **Essay:** Ivory.

Lavdas, Kostas A. Senior Lecturer in Political Science, University of the West of England; Research Associate, Hellenic Centre for Political Research, Panteion University, Athens. Author of *The Europeanization of Greece* (1997) and co-author of *Politics, Subsidies and Competition* (1999). Contributor to the *European Journal of Political Research* and *Journal of Political and Military Sociology*. Member of the editorial board of *Episteme koi Koinonia*. **Essays:** Army, Government, Industry, Republic.

Lemos, George. Director of Freud Lemos Ltd. **Essays:** Cilicia, Ships and Shipping.

Liebeschuetz, J.H.W.G. Professor Emeritus, Department of Classical and Archaeological Studies, Nottingham University. Author of *Antioch* (1972), *Continuity and Change in Roman Religion* (1979), *Barbarians and Bishops* (1990), and *From Diocletian to the Arab Conquest* (1990). **Essays:** Antioch, Beirut, Gaza, Libanius, Miletus, Syria.

Lingas, Alexander. British Academy Postdoctoral Research Fellow, St Peter's College, Oxford. Author of "Hesychasm and Psalmody" in *Mount Athos and Byzantine Monasticism*, edited by Anthony Bryer and Mary Cunningham (1996) and "The Liturgical Use of the Kontakion in Constantinople" in *Liturgy, Architecture and Art in the Byzantine World* (1995). Contributor to *Byzantinorossica* and *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*. **Essays:** Callas, Chrysaphes, Hadjidakis, Hymnography, Instruments, Joseph the Hymnographer, Kassia, Koukouzeles, Music, Opera, Romanos the Melodist, Sakellarides, Skalkottas, Song, Symeon of Thessalonica.

Littlewood, A.R. Professor, Department of Classical Studies, University of Western Ontario. Author of *The Progymnasmata of Ioannes Geometres* (1972), *Michaelis Pselli Oratoria Minora* (1985), *Under the Presidency of Saint Paul: The Case of Byzantine Originality* (1996), and various articles, mainly on Byzantine literature (especially the Byzantine letter), Byzantine gardens, and the symbolism of the apple. Editor of *Originality in Byzantine Literature, Art and Music* (1995). Co-editor of *Byzantine Garden Culture* (in preparation). President of the Canadian Committee of Byzantinists. **Essays:** *Anthology*, Armenia, Astrology, Biography and

Autobiography, Byzantium, Calendar, Canada, Constantine IX, Coronation, Education, Exile and Detention, Games and Sports, Gardens, Geometres, Historiography (Byzantium and Tourkokratia), Hunting, Imperialism, Jeremias II, Literacy, Mardaïtes, Meteora, Olympic Games, Oracles, Photios, Psellos, Romance, Siegecraft, Technology, Theophilos, Wallachia.

Livanios, Dimitrios. Georgakis Research Fellow in Modern Greek Studies, Pembroke College, Cambridge. **Essay:** Melas.

Llewellyn Smith, Sir Michael. Former British Ambassador to Greece. Author of *The Great Island: A Study of Crete* (1965), *Ionian Vision: Greece in Asia Minor 1919–22* (1973, 1998), and *The British Embassy, Athens* (1998). **Essay:** Britain.

Lock, Peter. Head of the School of Historical and Geographical Studies, College of Ripon and York St John. Author of numerous books and articles on the history and archaeology of the medieval Aegean including *The Franks in the Aegean 1200–1500* (1995) and *The Archaeology of Medieval Greece* (with G. Sanders, 1996). **Essays:** Amalfi, Catalans, Constantinople (Sack of), Crusades, Genoese, Hospitaller Knights of St John, Latin Empire, Normans, Papacy, Political History 1204–1261, Roman Catholic Church.

Louth, Andrew. Professor of Patristic and Byzantine Studies, University of Durham. Author of *Origins of the Christian Mystical Tradition: Plato to Denys* (1981), *Denys the Areopagite* (1989), and *Maximus the Confessor* (1996). **Essays:** Athanasius of Alexandria, Constantine I the Great, Demetrius, Germanos, Helena, John of Damascus, Kabasilas, Mary, Maximos the Confessor, Philo, Theology.

Lowden, John. Reader, Courtauld Institute of Art, University of London. Author of *Illuminated Prophet Books* (1988), *The Octateuchs* (1992), *Early Christian and Byzantine Art* (1997), and *The Making of the Bibles Moralisées* (2000). Contributor to *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, *The Oxford History of Western Art*, *The Dictionary of Art*, and *Enciclopedia dell'arte medievale*, to the *Art Bulletin*, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, and *Gesta*. **Essay:** Manuscripts.

McDonald, Marianne. Professor of Classics and Theatre, University of California, San Diego. Member of the Royal Irish Academy. Author of *Terms for Happiness in Euripides* (1978), *Euripides in Cinema: The Heart Made Visible* (1983), *Ancient Sun, Modern Light: Greek Drama on the Modern Stage* (1991), *Star Myths: Tales of the Constellations* (1996), "Medea as Politician and Diva: Riding the Dragon into the Future" in *Medea: Essays on Medea in Myth, Literature, Philosophy, and Art*, edited by James J. Clauss and Sarah Iles Johnston (1997), and *Mythology of the Zodiac* (2000). Founder of *Thesaurus Lingua Graecae*, a project to computerize Greek literature. Member of the editorial board of *Raritan*. President of *Desmi*, Center for Research and Practical Realization of Ancient Greek Drama, Athens. **Essays:** Aeschylus, Euripides, Sophocles.

Macfarlane, Roger T. Associate Professor of Classics, Brigham Young University. Author of "Tyrrhena Regum Progenies: Etruscan Literary Figures from Horace to Ovid" in *Etruscan Italy: Etruscan Influences on the Civilizations of Italy from Antiquity to the Modern Era*, edited by John F. Hall (1995), and articles on Caesar's *Bellum Civile*, Goethe's "Kronos als Kunstrichter", and the classics in early 19th-century America. **Essays:** Aratus, Hipparchus.

McGuckin, John A. Professor of Early Church History, Union Theological Seminary, New York. Author or translator of *Symeon the New Theologian: Chapters and Discourses* (1982), *Saint Gregory of Nazianzen: Selected Poems* (1986), *The Transfiguration of Christ in Scripture and Tradition* (1987), *St Cyril of Alexandria: The Christological Controversy* (1994), *At the Lighting of the Lamps: Hymns from the Ancient Church* (1995), *St Cyril of Alexandria: On the Unity of Christ* (1995), *St Gregory Nazianzen: An Intellectual Biography* (2000), and of articles on New Testament, patristic, and Byzantine studies. Member of the Advisory Board of *Pro Ecclesia*. **Essays:** Canonization, Cyril of Alexandria, Klimakos, Neophytos Enkleistos, Relics, Symeon the New Theologian.

Makrides, Vasilios. Professor of Religiology and Orthodox Christianity, Faculty of Philosophy, University of Erfurt, Germany. Author of *Die religiöse Kritik am kopernikanischen Weltbild in Griechenland zwischen 1794 und 1821* (1995) and articles on the religious and cultural history of modern Greece, the sociology of Eastern Christianity, and the relationship between science and religion in Greece. **Essays:** Anti-Westernism, Athenagoras, Church-State Relations, Corydalleus, Fundamentalism, Gregory V, Kollyvades Movement, Korais, Makriyannis, Moisiodax, Neo-Orthodoxy, Orthodoxy and Hellenism, Orthodoxy and Nationalism, Paganism, Phanariots, Proselytism, Religious Brotherhoods, Secularization, Voulgaris, Zealots.

Maltezou, Chryssa A. Professor of History, University of Athens. Author of *O thesmos tou en Konstantinoupoli venetou vaïlou, 1268–1453* (1970), *Venetiki paroussia sta Kythira* (1991), and "Crete: The Historical and Social Context" in *Literature and Society in Renaissance Crete*, edited by David Holton (1991). **Essays:** Candia, Cythera, Venetokratia, Venice.

Mantzaris, Evangelos. Senior Research Officer, Department of Social Policy, University of Durban-Westville. Author of *The Greek Workers in South Africa, 1890–1930* (1995), *The Anti-Greek Riots in Johannesburg 1915–17* (1995), *Forgotten Pages in South African Labour History, 1903–1920* (1995), and *The IMF and the Destruction of Africa* (1997). Co-editor of *O Apodismos Ellinismos stis Hores tis Afrikis* [Greek Immigrants in Africa] (1998). Contributor to *Journal of the Hellenic Diaspora*, *Jewish Social Studies*, and *Greek Review of Social Research*. **Essay:** South Africa.

Martin, M.E. Honorary Fellow, Institute for Advanced Research, University of Birmingham. Contributor to *English Historical Review*, *Byzantinoslavica*, *Archeion Pontou*, *Byzantino-Bulgarica*, *Byzantinische Forschungen*, *Rivista di Bizantinistica*, *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, *Byzantine and*

Modern Greek Studies, *Anatolian Studies*, and *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*. **Essays:** Odessa, Sinope, Venetians.

Mason, Hugh J. Associate Professor, Department of Classics, University of Toronto. Author of *Greek Terms for Roman Institutions* (1974), and articles on ancient novels, Greek topography in relation to literary texts, modern Greek literature, and the linguistics of classical languages. Associate editor of *Phoenix*. **Essays:** Chatzimichail, Lesbos.

Mason, Richard A.E. Director, Senior City Services, Inc. Author of *Echo der Heimat: Eine Ausstellung ukrainischer Künstler* (1988), *Ernte der Verzweiflung: Die Hungersnot in der Ukraine, 1932–1933* (1988), "Saint Olha's Christianity and Its Sources" in *The Millennium of Ukrainian Christianity*, edited by N.L. Fr.-Chirovsky (1988), *The Development of the Christian Church in Ukraine from an Historical Perspective* (1990), *The Ancient Religion of Kyivan Rus'* (1994), *Testimonia auctorum antiquorum historiam geographiam et ethnographiam Ucrainae illustrantia: Auctores orientales et latini* (in preparation), and articles on early Christianity in Russia. **Essay:** Russia.

Matthews, Elaine. Co-editor of *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* and Fellow of St Hilda's College, Oxford. **Essay:** Onomastics.

Mayer, Kenneth. Assistant Professor, Assumption College, Worcester, Massachusetts. Contributor to *American Journal of Philology*, *Gymnasium*, *Bryn Mawr Classical Review*, and *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*. **Essay:** Diodorus Siculus.

Michailidou, Theano. International Baccalaureate Literature Co-ordinator at the Costeas-Gitonas School, Athens. Author of several articles on Kostas Varnalis. Editor of *Meres*, vol.7, by George Seferis (1990). Contributor to *Spira* and *Politis*. **Essay:** Varnalis.

Mills, Sophie. Chair of Classics, University of North Carolina at Asheville. Author of *Theseus, Tragedy and the Athenian Empire* (1997). **Essays:** Archilochus, Cimon, Sappho, Themistocles, Theocritus.

Mitsilegas, Valsamis. Doctoral candidate, Faculty of Law, University of Edinburgh. Research Associate, Centre for European Politics and Institutions, University of Leicester. Author of "Culture in the Evolution of European Law" in *Europe's Other: European Law between Modernity and Postmodernity*, edited by P. Fitzpatrick and J.H. Bergeron (1998) and "International and Regional Initiatives" in *Money Laundering*, edited by B. Rider and C. Nakajima (in preparation). Contributor to *Journal of Money Laundering Control*. **Essay:** Corruption.

Momigliano, Nicoletta. Lecturer in Archaeology, Department of Archaeological Sciences, University of Bradford. Editor of *Knossos: A Labyrinth of History: Papers in Honour of Sinclair Hood* (with H. Hughes-Brock and D. Evely, 1994). Author of "La catastrofe di Thera (Santorini): Problemi cronologici e conseguenze storiche" in *I terremoti prima del Mille*, edited by E. Guidoboni (1989), "Duncan Mackenzie" in *Klados: Essays in Honour of J.N. Coldstream*, edited by C. Morris (1995), *Duncan Mackenzie: A Cautious Canny Highlander and the Palace of Minos at Knossos* (in preparation), *Knossos Pottery Handbook: Neolithic to the End of the Bronze Age* (in preparation), and of articles on Knossos. **Essay:** Crete.

Morgan, J.R. Senior Lecturer in Classics, University of Wales, Swansea. Editor of *Greek Fiction: The Greek Novel in Context* (with Richard Stoneman, 1994). Translator of Heliodoros' *Aithiopika* in *Collected Ancient Greek Novels*, edited by B.P. Reardon (1989). Contributor to *Classical Quarterly*, *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, *Classical Antiquity*, *Classical Philology*, *Latomus*, *Groningen Colloquia on the Novel*, *Nottingham Classical Literature Seminars*, and *Philologus*. **Essays:** Heliodorus, Longus, Novel (antiquity).

Moscovich, M. James. Associate Professor of Classical Studies, University of Western Ontario; now retired. Author of *The Rise of Rome: An Historical Commentary on Books 11–21 of Dio Cassius' History* (in preparation). **Essay:** Zonaras.

Moustakas, Konstantinos. Doctoral candidate, University of Birmingham. Author of articles on the fleet base of Constantinople during the Byzantine period and the name of Argos Oresti Kou. **Essays:** Chalcidice, Florina, Kastoria, Kavalla, Ohrid, Serres, Verroia.

Murison, Charles L. Professor of Classical Studies, University of Western Ontario. Author of *Galba, Otho and Vitellius: Careers and Controversies* (1993) and of articles on the peace of Callias, Darius III and the battle of Issus, and Roman history of the 1st century AD. Editor of *Suetonius: Galba, Otho, and Vitellius* (1992) and *Rebellion and Reconstruction: Galba to Domitian* (1999). **Essays:** Cartography, Crates of Mallus, Delian League, Historiography (Antiquity).

Nesselrath, Heinz-Günther. Chair of Greek, University of Bern. Author of *Lukians Parasitendialog* (1985), *Die attische Mittlere Komödie* (1990), *Ungeschehenes Geschehen* (1992), and articles on Silius Italicus, Xenophon, Lucian, Livy, Claudian, Solon, Julian the Apostate, Herodotus, Aristophanes, Valerius Flaccus, and the Church historian Socrates. Editor of *Rudolf Kassel: Kleine Schriften* (1991) and *Einleitung in die griechische Philologie* (1997). **Essays:** Aristides, Callimachus, Dio Cocceianus, Herodas, Triklinios.

Nicgorski, Ann M. Assistant Professor of Art History, Willamette University; Assistant Director, Mochlos Excavations, Crete. Author of "Polypus and the Poppy: Two Unusual Rhyta from the Mycenaean Cemetery at Mochlos" in *Meletemata: Studies in Aegean Archaeology Presented to Malcolm H. Wiener as He Enters His 65th Year*, edited by Philip Betancourt *et al.* (vol. 20 of *Aegaeum*, 1999). Contributor to *Athenian Potters and Painters: Catalogue of the Exhibit*, edited by John H. Oakley (1994), the *Encyclopedia of the History of Classical Archaeology*, edited by Nancy Thomson de Grummond (1996), and *Mochlos Period III* and

Mochlos Period IV, edited by Jeffrey S. Soles and Costis Davaras (in preparation). **Essays:** Etruscans, Jewellery, Mallia.

Nicolaidis, Efthymios. Associate Research Professor, National Hellenic Research Foundation. Author of *Le Développement de l'astronomie en URSS, 1917–1935* (1984) and *The Prologues of the Scientific Books of the Greek Enlightenment: A Statistical Analysis* (with Th. Behrakis, 1990). Editor of *The Mathematical Sciences in the Greek World under the Ottoman Rule* (1992) and *Trends in the Historiography of Science* (with K. Gavroglu and J. Christianides, 1994). Contributor to *Archives Internationales d'Histoire des Sciences*, *Byzantiaka*, *Cahiers d'Analyse des Données*, *Etudes Balkaniques*, *Journal for the History of Astronomy*, *Revue d'Histoire des Sciences*, and *Thesaurismata*. **Essays:** Astronomy.

Nicolaidoù, Ioanna A. Associate Professor, University of Malaga, Spain. Author of "Re-belle et infidèle o el papel de la traductora en la teoría y práctica de la traducción feminista" in *El papel del traductor*, edited by E. Morillas and J.P. Arias (with M. López Villalba, 1997), and of articles on feminist literary criticism and on the theory of translation. Editor of *Traducir al otro/traducir a Grecia* (2000). **Essay:** Translation into Greek.

Oberhelman, Steven M. Professor of Classics at Texas A & M University. Author of *Rhetoric and Homiletics in Fourth-Century Christian Literature* (1991), *The Oneirocriticon of Achmet* (1991), *Epic and Epoch: Essays on the Interpretation and History of a Genre* (1994), and *Prose Rhythm in Latin Literature of the Empire: First Century BC to Fourth Century AD* (1998). Editor of *Helios*. **Essays:** Corinth (Sack of), Dodona, Eleusis, Eratosthenes, Laurium, Paestum.

Oliver, Graham. Senior Research Fellow, School of Archaeology, Classics and Oriental Studies, University of Liverpool. Editor of *The Epigraphy of Death: Studies in the History and Society of Greece and Rome* (in preparation) and co-editor of *Hellenistic Economies* (in preparation). **Essays:** Agriculture, Attica, Coinage, Economy, Inscriptions, Phoenicians, Pyrrhus.

Otte, T.G. Lecturer in International History, University of the West of England, Bristol. Editor of *Military Intervention* (1995) and *Personalities, War and Diplomacy* (1997). Contributor to *English Historical Review*, *Diplomacy and Statecraft*, *Contemporary Security Policy*, and *New Dictionary of National Biography*. Review editor, *Diplomacy and Statecraft*. **Essays:** Diplomacy, Ionian Islands, Kapodistria, Moldavia.

Panourgiá, Neni. Assistant Professor, Anthropology Department, Columbia University. Author of *Fragments of Death, Fables of Identity: An Athenian Anthropography* (1995) and of articles on the anthropology of death, racism, and national ideology in Greece. **Essays:** Folklore, Karaghiozis, Politis.

Papastathis, Charalambos K. Professor, Faculty of Law, Aristotle University, Thessalonica. Author (in Greek) of *The Legislative Work of the Cyrillo-Methodian Mission in Great Moravia* (1978), *On the Administrative Organization of the Church of Cyprus* (1982), *The Statutes of the Orthodox Hellenic Communities of the Ottoman Empire and the Diaspora* (1984), *The Nomocanon of George Trapezountios* (1985), *The Legal Status of the Mount Athos Monks* (1988), and *Manual of Ecclesiastical Law* (2nd edition 1994); co-author of *Catalogue of the Greek Legal Manuscripts at the Dujèev Centre in Sofia* (1994). President of the editorial board of *Thessaloniki*. Vice-President of the Hellenic Association of Slavic Studies. **Essays:** Apostasy, Uniates.

Parker, Robert. Wykeham Professor of Ancient History, and Fellow of New College, Oxford. Author of *Miasma* (1983) and *Athenian Religion: A History* (1996).

Peckham, Robert Shannan. Democracy 2500 Fellow in Aegean Studies, St Peter's College, Oxford. Author of "Papadiamantis, Ecumenism and the Theft of Byzantium" in *Byzantium and the Modern Greek Identity*, edited by D. Ricks and P. Magdalino (1998), "Consuming Nations" in *Consuming Passions: Food in the Age of Anxiety*, edited by S. Griffiths and J. Wallace (1998), "The Exoticism of the Familiar and the Familiarity of the Exotic: Fin-de-Siècle Travellers to Greece" in *Writes of Passage: Reading Travel*, edited by J. Duncan and D. Gregory (1999), and *National Histories, Natural States: Nationalism and the Politics of Place in Greece* (2000). **Essays:** Angelopoulos, Cacoyannis, Cinema, Papadiamantis, Roïdis.

Penella, Robert J. Professor of Classics, Fordham University. Author of *The Letters of Apollonius of Tyana: A Critical Text with Prolegomena, Translation and Commentary* (1979) and *Greek Philosophers and Sophists in the Fourth Century AD: Studies in Eunapius of Sardis* (1990). Translator of *The Private Orations of Themistius* (1999). **Essay:** Themistius.

Petropoulos, Jacqueline. Educator and Writer. Assistant Editor, *APA in Focus*. **Essay:** Botsaris.

Petsalis-Diomidis, Nicholas. Author (in Greek) of *Greece at the Paris Peace Conference, 1919* (1979), *Ghika: Catalogue Raisonné, 1920–1940* (1979), *Greece with Two Governments, 1916–1917* (1986), *Vassiliou: The Engravings* (1989), and *The Unknown Maria Callas* (1998). **Essay:** Ghika.

Pettifer, James. Visiting Professor, Institute of Balkan Studies, University of Thessalonica; Research Fellow, European Research Institute, Bath University. Author of *The Greeks: Land and People since the War* (1992), *Blue Guide Albania* (1993), *Albania: From Anarchy to a Balkan Identity* (with Miranda Vickers, 1997), *The Turkish Labyrinth* (1997), and *Blue Guide Bulgaria* (1998). Member of the editorial board of *Albania Life*. **Essays:** Albania, Prespa.

Philippaki-Warburton, Irene. Professor of Linguistics, Department of Linguistic Science, University of Reading. Author of *Modern Greek: A Descriptive Grammar* (with Brian Joseph, 1987), "O Psycharis os glossologos" [Psycharis as a Linguist] in *O Psycharis kai to Kinima tou Dimotismou*, edited by David Holton (1988), *Introduction to Theoretical*

Linguistics (in Greek, 1992), *Greek: A Comprehensive Grammar of the Modern Language* (with D. Holton and P. Mackridge, 1997), and "Grammar and Language Teaching" in *Proceedings of the Conference on the Teaching of Greek: University of Crete, Rethymnon* (1999). Contributor to *The History of the Greek Language*, edited by M. Kopidakis (1999). **Essay:** Psycharis.

Plested, Marcus. Independent Scholar. Contributor of articles on patristics, Eastern Christian ascetism, and contemporary Orthodoxy to *Christianskij Bostok*, *Sobornost*, *Sourozh*, *Studia Patristica*, and *Touchstone*. **Essays:** Akindynos, Anastasios of Sinai, *Apophthegmata Patrum*, Baarlam of Calabria, Clement of Alexandria, Evagrius of Pontus, Gregory Palamas, Hesychasm, Macarius, Mysticism, *Philokalia*.

Podlecki, Anthony J. Professor of Classics, University of British Columbia, Vancouver. Author of *The Political Background of Aeschylean Tragedy* (1966), *The Life of Themistocles* (1975), *The Early Greek Poets and Their Times* (1984), *Perikles and His Circle* (1998), and articles on ancient Greek drama and society. Editor and translator of *The Eumenides* by Aeschylus (1989). **Essays:** Democracy, Pericles, Pisistratus.

Powell, Judith. Research Adviser, Department of Classics and Ancient History, University of Queensland. Author of *Fishing in the Prehistoric Aegean* (1996) and of articles on fishing in ancient Greece. **Essay:** Fishing.

Pyla, Panayiota. Doctoral candidate, Department of Architecture, Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Author of articles on architectural theory and the environment in *Journal of Architectural Education*, *Thresholds*, and *Work in Progress*. **Essays:** Doxiadis.

Rackham, Oliver. Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. Author of *The History of the Countryside* (1986), *The Making of the Cretan Landscape* (with J.A. Moody, 1996), *The Nature of Mediterranean Europe* (with A.T. Grove, 2000), and an article on the historical ecology of Boeotia. **Essays:** Botany, Climate, Ecology, Forestry, Landscape, Plants, Woodworking.

Rapp, Claudia. Assistant Professor, Department of History, University of California, Los Angeles. Author of "Christians and Their Manuscripts in the Greek East during the Fourth Century" in *Scritture, libri e testi nelle aree provinciali di Bisanzio*, edited by G. Cavallo *et al.* (1991), "Epiphanius of Salamis: The Church Father as Saint" in *"The Sweet Land of Cyprus": Papers Given at the Twenty-Fifth Jubilee Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies*, edited by A.A.M. Bryer and G.S. Georghallides (1993), "Der heilige Epiphanius im Kampf mit dem Dämon des Origenes: Kritische Erstausgabe des Wunders BHG 601i" in *Symbolae Berolinenses für Dieter Harlfinger*, edited by F. Berger *et al.* (1993), "Byzantine Hagiographers as Antiquarians, 7th to 10th Century" in *Bosphorus: Essays in Honor of Cyril Mango*, edited by C. Rapp *et al.* (1995), and "'For Next to God You Are My Salvation': Reflections on the Rise of the Holy Man in Late Antiquity", in *The Cult of Saints in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, edited by J. Howard-Johnston and P.A. Hayward (1999). **Essays:** Bishops, Epiphanius of Salamis.

Reece, Steve. Associate Professor of Classics, Saint Olaf College, Northfield, Minnesota. Author of *The Stranger's Welcome: Oral Theory and the Aesthetics of the Homeric Hospitality Scene* (1993). Contributor to *Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists*, *American Journal of Philology*, *Oral Tradition*, *Classical Journal*, *Classical World*, *Glotta*, and *Favonius*. **Essay:** Syllabary.

Rice, E.E. Senior Research Fellow, Wolfson College, Oxford. Author of *The Grand Procession of Ptolemy Philadelphus* (1983), *Alexander the Great* (1997), *Cleopatra* (1999), and of articles on ancient naval history and on Rhodes and the Dodecanese islands. Editor of *Revolution and Counter-Revolution* (1991) and *The Sea and History* (1996). Contributor to *Who Was Who in the Greek World* (1982), *The Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*, vol.1 (1987), *The Dictionary of Ancient History* (1994), and *The Oxford Classical Dictionary* (3rd edition 1996). **Essays:** Alexander III, Alexandria, Antigonids, Cleopatra, Egypt, Halicarnassus, Philip V, Philopoemen, Political History 323–31 BC, Ptolemies, Pydna, Rhodes.

Riddle, John M. Alumni Distinguished Professor and Chair, Department of History, North Carolina State University. Author of *Contraception and Abortion from the Ancient World to the Renaissance* (1992), *Quid pro quo: Studies in the History of Drugs* (1992), and *Eve's Herbs: A History of Contraception and Abortion in the West* (1997). Member of the editorial board, *Medieval Encounters* and *Journal of Alternative and Complementary Medicine*. **Essays:** Abortion, Contraception, Erasistratus, Theophrastus.

Roumbalou, Maria. Doctoral candidate, Department of Politics, Reading University. Contributor of translations to the Greek poetry magazine *Poiese*. **Essays:** Gatsos, Kalvos, Kantakouzenos family, Myrivilis, Ritsos, Soutsos, Vizyinos.

Ryder, T.T.B. Visiting Fellow in Classics (Retired Reader), University of Reading. Author of *Koine Eirene* (1965), "The Diplomatic Skills of Philip II" in *Ventures into Greek History*, edited by I. Worthington (1994), and "Demosthenes and Philip II" in *Demosthenes*, edited by I. Worthington (2000). Contributor to *Classical Quarterly*, *Greece and Rome*, and *Didaskalos*. **Essays:** Alcibiades, Chaeronea, Cleisthenes, Lysander, Peloponnesian War.

Saitas, Yanis. Ethnologist, architect, city planner, and researcher at the Institute for Neohellenic Research of the National Hellenic Research Foundation. Author of *Mani: Greek Traditional Architecture* (1987) and of articles on the Mani. Editor of *Témoignages sur l'éspace et la société de Mani* (1996). **Essay:** Mani.

Scavone, Daniel C. Professor Emeritus of History, University of Southern Indiana. Author of "Technology in the Ancient World" in *Technology and Society*, edited by Daniel A. Miller (1983), "The Turin Shroud in Constantinople: The

Documentary Evidence" in *Daidalikon: Studies in Memory of Rev. R.V. Schoder, SJ*, edited by R.F. Sutton (1989), *The Shroud of Turin: Opposing Viewpoints* (1989), *Vampires: Opposing Viewpoints* (1990), *The Importance of Christopher Columbus* (1992), and "The Shroud of Turin from 1204 to 1355" in *Alpha and Omega: Scholarship in Honor of George Szemler* (1993). Contributor to *The Princeton Encyclopedia of Classical Sites* and *The New International Dictionary of the Christian Church*, edited by J.D. Douglas. **Essays:** Ignatius, John Chrysostom, Mausolus.

Schachter, Albert. Hiram Mills Professor Emeritus, Department of History, McGill University. Author of *Cults of Boiotia* (1981–), *Le Sanctuaire Grec* (1992). Co-editor and contributor to *Le Sanctuaire Grec* (1992) and *La Montagne des Muses* (1996). Editor of *Teiresias*. **Essays:** Cult, Festivals, Hesiod, Lebadea, Orchomenus, Pindar.

Scharrer, Ulf. Doctoral student in ancient history, Martin Luther-Universität-Halle-Wittenberg. Author of *Seleukos I. und das babylonische königtem* (in preparation) and *Aristotles' Theorie der Monarchie bei John Milton, Robert Filmer und William Prynne* (in preparation). **Essay:** Monarchy.

Scourtis, Constantina. Doctoral candidate, University of California, Los Angeles. Author of an article on the Council of Ferrara-Florence. **Essays:** Councils, Kosmas the Aetolian, Zoe.

Shean, John F. Visiting Assistant Professor, Department of Classical Studies, University of Michigan. Author of articles on slavery and construction in the ancient world in *The Historical Encyclopedia of World Slavery*, edited by J.P. Rodriguez (1997), "The Religious Iconography of Septimius Severus and His Wife Julia Domna" in *Gli imperatori Severi: Biblioteca di Scienze Religiose*, edited by E. dal Covolo and G. Rinaldi (1999), and "The Church and the Duties of the Christian Soldier" in *Proceedings of the Second Shifting Frontiers Conference: The Transformation of Law and Society in Late Antiquity* (in preparation). Contributor of an article on Hannibal's mules to *Historia*. **Essays:** Basil II, John I, Justinian I, Paulicians, Romanos I.

Sherwood, Andrew N. Lecturer, Department of History, McGill University. Co-author of *The Caesarea Ancient Harbour Excavation Project: The Small Finds* (1995) and *Greek and Roman Technology: A Sourcebook* (1998). Contributor to *Classical Views*, *American Journal of Archaeology*, *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, and *British Archaeological Reports*. **Essays:** Adrianople, Apelles, Goths, Imperial Cult, Papyrus, Plataea.

Sherwood, Kathleen Donahue. Independent scholar. **Essays:** Andronikos, Catana, Massilia, Museum of Alexandria, Tarentum.

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Staikos, Konstantizos. Interior architect and historian of the book. Author of *Charta of Greek Printing* (1998) and *The Great Libraries from Antiquity to the Renaissance* (2000). **Essays:** Cyril I Lukaris, Printing.

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Sykes, D.A. Honorary Fellow and former Principal of Mansfield College, Oxford. Co-editor and translator of *Poemata Arcana* by Gregory of Nazianzus (1997). Contributor to *Journal of Theological Studies*, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, and *Studia Patristica*. **Essays:** Apologists, Basil the Great, Cappadocia, Gregory of Nazianzus, Gregory of Nyssa, Justin Martyr, Nemesius, Procopius of Gaza.

Symeonides, Anestis T. Political Specialist, American Embassy, Athens. Author of articles on Greek strategic concerns in the 20th century. Editor of *Forty Years of NATO: Present and Future* (1990) and *European Security in the 1990s* (1990). **Essays:** Kanaris, Miaoulis.

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Vlahakis, George N. Researcher, Centre for Neohellenic Research, National Hellenic Research Foundation. Author of "Problems and Methodology of Exploring the Scientific Thought during the Greek Enlightenment, 1750–1821" in *Trends in the Historiography of Science*, edited by Kostas Gavroglu *et al.* (1993), and articles on science and the Greek Enlightenment. **Essays:** Atomism, Physics, Theotokis (Nikiphoros).

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(1998). "Hellenistic Reflections on the History of Medicine" and "Celsus as Historian?" in *Ancient Histories of Medicine*, edited by P.J. van der Eijk (1999), "Rostovtzeff at Yale" in *Rostovtzeff e l'Italia*, edited by A. Marcone (1999) and "Body, Soul, and Nerves" in *Psyche and Soma*, edited by J.P. Wright and P. Potter (2000). Editor of *Western Literature*, vol.1: *The Ancient World* (1971, 1993), **Essays:** Anatomy and Physiology, Dioscurides, Galen, Health, Herophilus, Hippocrates, Nicander.

Waal, Cornelis de. Assistant Editor at the Peirce Edition Project, and Adjunct Assistant Professor at Indiana University, Indianapolis. Assistant Editor of *The Writings of Charles S. Peirce: A Chronological Edition*, vol. 6 (2000). Contributor to *Transactions of the Charles S. Peirce Society* and *Locke Newsletter*. **Essay:** Medicine.

Wagstaff, Malcolm. Professor Emeritus, University of Southampton. Author of *The Development of Rural Settlements: A Study of the Helos Plain in Southern Greece* (1982) and *The Evolution of Middle-Eastern Landscapes: An Outline to AD 1840* (1985). Editor of *Landscape and Culture: Geographical and Archaeological Perspectives* (1987) and *Aspects of Religion in Secular Turkey* (1990).

Walcot, Peter. Retired. Author of *Hesiod and the Near East* (1966), *Greek Peasants, Ancient and Modern* (1970), *Greek Drama in Its Theatrical and Social Context* (1976), and *Envy and the Greeks* (1978). Contributor to *Classical Quarterly*, *Classical Review*, *Greece and Rome*, *Classical Philology*, *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, *Symbolae Osloenses*, *Classica et Mediaevalia*, *Revue des Etudes Grecques*, and *Ancient Society*. Editor of *Greece and Rome*. **Essay:** Honour and Shame (ancient).

Wallace, Richard. Senior Lecturer in Classics, University of Keele. Author of *The Acts of the Apostles: A Companion* (with W. Williams, 1993), *The Three Worlds of Paul of Tarsus* (with W. Williams, 1998), and of articles on Greek mathematics. Member of the editorial board of *Classical Journal* and *Greece and Rome*. **Essays:** Anaximander, Apollonius of Perge, Archimedes, Epicurus, Euclid, Eudoxus, Heron, Mathematics, Palestine, Ptolemy, Pythagoras, Zoology.

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Waskey, A.J.L. Associate Professor of Social Science, Dalton State College. Contributor to *Survey of Social Science: Government and Politics Series*, edited by Frank N. Magill (1995), *Censorship*, edited by Lawrence Amey *et al.* (1997), *The Encyclopedia of Civil Rights in America*, edited by David Bradley and Shelly Fishkin (1997), *The Encyclopedia of Propaganda*, edited by Robert Cole (1997), *The Encyclopedia of American Law* (in preparation), and of reviews to the *Southeastern Political Review*. Editor of *Philosophy and Religion: A Reader* (1994). **Essays:** Aristocracy, Censorship, City State, Metaphysics, Missionaries, Protestantism, Scepticism, Septuagint.

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Odessa
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Crimea
RUSSIA
Sevastopol
GEORGIA
ITALY
Adriatic Sea
YUGOSLAVIA
Black Sea
Rome
Sofia
BULGARIA
Skopje
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MACEDONIA
Naples
Tiranë
ALBANIA
Istanbul
(Constantinople)
Serres
Kavalla
Thessalonica
Thasos
Sea of
Marmara
Kizil Irmak
Tyrrhenian
Sea
Ankara
Lemnos
Lake Van
Corfu
Ioannina
Larissa
Trikkala
Volos
Aegean
Sea
Lake Tuz
Ionian
Sea
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WEST
BANK
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Jerusalem
Dead
Sea
SAUDI
ARABIA
Benghazi
LIBYA
JORDAN
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EGYPT
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